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A MEMORIAL NOTE

Mary Beth Trubitt

President, Caddo Conference Organization

In 2011 we lost several people who enriched our community. We mourn the passing of LaRue Parker in May, of Helen Tanner in June, of Randlett Edmonds in August, of George Odell in October, and of Cecile Carter in November.

LaRue Martin Parker

Ms. LaRue Martin Parker died May 20, 2011 in Anadarko, Oklahoma. She was born July 21, 1935, to Wynema Southerland and Michael Martin. She married to Leonard Parker in 1951, and together they raised six children. LaRue earned a bachelor's degree in elementary education, and worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, first at Fort Sill Indian School in Lawton, then at Magdalena Boarding School in New Mexico, and then at Riverside Indian School in Anadarko.

Ms. Parker served the Caddo Nation in several ways during her lifetime. She was Caddo Tribal Princess between 1950-1952. She worked as director of the Caddo Nation's Indian Child Welfare Program. She was elected to the Caddo Nation Tribal Council and served for two years as the Anadarko Representative and a year as Vice-Chairperson. She then served for three terms as Chairperson of the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma between 1999-2009. In a message posted on the Caddo Nation website in 2008, she wrote of her administration's accomplishments, noting the establishment of the Caddo Heritage Museum, strengthening the NAGPRA and Historic Preservation Office, and making improvements to the equipment, infrastructure, and programs of the Caddo Nation. She represented the Caddo Nation at numerous Caddo Conferences (*see photo*), and will be missed.



LaRue Parker with Dayna Lee, Pete Gregory, and Jeff Girard at the 50th Caddo Conference in Natchitoches, Louisiana, in March of 2008 (Photo AASHSUD_K0334).

Helen Hornbeck Tanner

Dr. Helen Hornbeck Tanner died June 15, 2011, at her home near Beulah, Michigan. She was born in 1916 in Minnesota and raised in Michigan. She graduated from Swarthmore College in 1937, and later earned a master's degree (University of Florida) and Ph.D. in history (University of Michigan, 1961). She married Wilson Tanner Jr. in 1940 and they raised four children. She was Senior Research Fellow at the Newberry Library in Chicago, serving as Interim Director of the D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian History at the Newberry between 1984-1985.

Dr. Tanner specialized in American Indian history. She served as an expert witness for Indian tribes in numerous court cases before the Indian Claims Commission, including one landmark case that was settled by the U.S. Supreme Court. Her testimony on the territory of the Caddo was published in 1974 in *Caddoan Indians* as part of Garland Publishing's American Indian Ethnohistory series. At the Newberry Library, she directed a major ethnohistory project, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, which resulted in the 1987 publication of the *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*. She helped establish a fellowship program for American Indian woman at the Newberry Library, as well as one that supports Ph.D. and post-doctoral research by American Indian scholars. Helen attended and made presentations at Caddo Conferences regularly until the early 2000s.



(<http://publications.newberry.org/indiansofthemidwest/the-homeland-its-use/how-we-know/>)

Randlett Edmonds

Mr. Randlett Edmonds died August 24, 2011 at his home in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. He was born June 15, 1914 in Binger, Oklahoma. His parents were Blanche and Houston Edmonds. He married Geneva Yandel Bates in 1937 and together they raised a family. He held a number of different jobs during his career, including working for 20 years at Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas.

Mr. Edmonds was fluent in the Caddo language and was a master singer with knowledge of numerous Caddo ceremonial and social dance songs. In his work to preserve the Caddo language, he compiled a Caddo dictionary as a teaching aid, and served as an advisor to the Kiwat Hasinay Foundation. He also collected Caddo songs and was an active member of the Caddo Culture Club. Recently, he attended and danced at the 2011 Caddo Conference. As the oldest member of the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma, his passing is a loss to us all. As I was compiling this, I learned that his wife, Geneva Edmonds, passed away in January, 2012. As she was the oldest member of the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, this is a loss to that community as well.



Randlett Edmonds with Butch Lee (left) and Arnold Taylor (right) (Photo provided by Dayna Lee).

George Hamley Odell

Dr. George Hamley Odell died October 14, 2011 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He was born April 17, 1942. He earned his bachelor's and master's degrees from Yale University, and the Ph.D. in anthropology from Harvard University (in 1977). George was married to Frieda Vereecken-Odell. He was Professor of Anthropology at the University of Tulsa in Oklahoma.

Dr. Odell was an archeologist who specialized in the study of stone tools, and published on use-wear analysis as well as methods of lithic analysis. He edited the journal *Lithic Technology* between 1993 and 2010. He conducted numerous field research projects in the United States and in Europe, including one at the Lasley Vore site near Tulsa that resulted in the publication of *La Harpe's Post: A Tale of French-Wichita Contact on the Eastern Plains* in 2002. He attended and made presentations at occasional Caddo Conferences, and became a member of the new Caddo Conference Organization in its initial year in 2011.



(Photo by Andrew Slautajis.)

Mary Cecile Elkins Carter

Ms. Mary Cecile Elkins Carter of Mead, Oklahoma, died November 1, 2011. She was born in 1928 to Falt Elkins and Thelma Perkinson, and grew up in Oklahoma. She was married to Jack Carter. Drawing on reading and historical research, interviews and conversations with Caddo family and friends, and experiences with archeological training programs beginning in the 1970s, Cecile became the Caddo Nation's tribal historian. She is best known for her 1995 publication, *Caddo Indians: Where We Come From* (University of Oklahoma Press), which traces Caddo history through written records, archeological findings, and oral histories and personal experiences.

Cecile Carter served the Caddo Nation and wider community in several ways. In 1993 she volunteered as the first NAGPRA representative for the tribe. She served on the board of the Caddo Heritage Museum, and was an advisor to the Kiwat Hasinay Foundation. The Caddo Heritage Museum honored her at their November 2002 Honor Dance for her contributions in history and literature. She gave numerous presentations on Caddo history, culture, and preservation issues. Her recent "A Decade of Straight Talk and Trust" article was published in the *Caddo Archeology Journal* in 2008 and her "Caddo Nation" summary appears in the online *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History and Culture*. Cecile regularly attended the annual Caddo Conferences. Our thoughts are with her family at this time.



Cecile Carter with Sonny Thurmond at the 46th Caddo Conference in Natchitoches, Louisiana, in March 2004. (Photo provided by Dayna Lee)

Note: This memorial note drew from obituaries and memorials published in the *Lawton Constitution*, Facebook, Wikipedia, the *American Historical Association Perspectives on History*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Caddo Nation Newsletter*, the Caddo Nation official website, and *Tulsa World*.

CADDO POTTERY IN MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY ART AND PROTECTION OF NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURES IN FINE ARTS BY THE IACB'S INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS ACT

Chase Kawinhut Earles

Hello, my name is Chase Kawinhut Earles. I was named by Julia Edge, daughter of Pauline Washington, who was the granddaughter of the Caddo chief, George Washington. I recently, well, not that very long ago started creating Caddo pottery with the much appreciated guidance from Jeri Redcorn. I have been an artist all my life, but mostly only a painter, not much clay, sculpture or pottery. I was inspired to create pottery though, but my experiences were with the Southwest and the Pueblo artists, as this is what I grew up around and what I learned. But I never started. I never found any inspiration. I realized one day it was because I am not a Pueblo Indian and creating Pueblo or Southwest pottery would, to me, feel hollow. I would feel as though I was just creating knock-offs or replications, and not truly inspired or authentic art. This beginning is what defines me and my ideas about Native American Art. Jeri Redcorn and I are two of only maybe a few active Caddo traditional potters. As we work to revive our long tradition and heritage of pottery we have started to unfold an ancient legacy that has proven to be very unique among other native cultures.

However, as we progress in the awareness of this legacy, not only for the pride of our young ones that are growing up learning the Caddo ways, but also so that we might begin to construct a base of financial return for those that choose to continue the ways, we have found that we are running into a lot of individuals that are destroying what consumer confidence we may build up by *copying, replicating, and knocking-off* our very unique style of pottery for their own personal gain.

Now, this does have to do with Caddo Fine Arts and Arts & Crafts, but as I am involved more and learn more about this I am starting to see that Native Arts and *archaeology* are sometimes very much intertwined.

I know a lot of people are looking to the overseas replicating of Native arts being imported here, but they are then overlooking the very real issue that we have at home with people and even Native people defrauding other tribes to which they don't belong. We have sought recourse by contacting the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the Department of the Interior, but they have revealed to us a very severe flaw in their laws—a *loophole* by which any Native person can copy any other tribes' art style or traditional heritage. How is this *any* different from people overseas knocking-off our art? It accomplishes the *same exact thing*. It *destroys consumer confidence*. Consumers will have no faith and no trust in what any Southeast Native American would try to sell them is authentic, citing that *we* don't even know what is of our own tribe and what is not. As if *we* just make things up and copy anything that suits our fancy.

For example: We had a Native potter, that is not Caddo, copy Caddo pottery claiming that the "Caddoan" pottery he creates is also the heritage of his tribe, because it is Mississippian, so that he has the right to copy it as his own tribe's work. He goes so far as to claim that no one really knows what is Caddo, and what is not.

This is where archaeology does get involved. This artist claims that his references are anthropologists and archaeologists he knows—*"friends and acquaintances."*

Also, I have heard mention of individuals with no discernable Native blood, who sometimes claim the heritage, creating and selling Caddo pottery, that should be warned of the laws of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act. This is not to discredit or dissuade anyone, like archaeologists or educators, from making Caddo pottery for science, experimentation, replication for museums, or for their own enjoyment. But it should be a warning for those people that make this pottery and try to sell it in shows, exhibitions, festivals, and competitions as modern Caddo pottery.

Some people have no afore knowledge of the laws of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act. Some people that have heard of it usually quote the old outdated law, or they try to make sense of the very new bylaws of the Act, that I have right here. *In the end*, the Act only states that if you are going to use any word describing any tribe whatsoever, if you are not in that tribe, you have to put the word “style” or “like” or “inspired” in the title.

Here is where the flaw is, The law doesn’t actually discern what is Hopi, or what is Caddo, or what is Cherokee. It simply states that the artist must title the work “*appropriately*.” So, if that artist understands the loophole, then they can call the Cherokee pot a Seminole pot, for example, and if the artist was Seminole then no one could do anything about it. A Native Artist can essentially call his work his tribe’s work and the law cannot even begin to approach whether he or she is telling the truth or whether it is factual. The law actually even states that it is not within its scope. In this case, the law is worthless. Consumers wouldn’t be able to tell between what is Creek or what is Chickasaw or what is Cherokee, and no one would trust their arts anymore as authentic. That is destruction of consumer confidence and defeats any ability to build a stable market for Southeast Indian arts like which exists in the Southwest; like what the Pueblo Indians enjoy because of the stringent laws that New Mexico has built up to protect them.

Anyway, I just wanted to pass along to you my two cents from an emerging Caddo artist as I start to see and understand the landscape of Native Arts in the Southeast. It is starting to grow and become more popular, but it has not embraced the protections that the Southwest saw they needed to install. Thank you.



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Figure 1. Koo-Dah-Do-uh-Sin "One Foot over Another" Stirrup Pot by Chase KahWinHut Earles. Engraved after firing.



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Figure 2. Haley Complicated Incised by Chase KahWinHut Earles. Handmade clay from creek bed. Traditional pit firing.



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Figure 3. Nish "Moon", Hodges Engraved by Chase KahWinHut Earles. Handmade clay from Red River and mussel shell. Traditional pit fired.



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Figure 4. Bus-kah-noo "Grey Horse", Friendship Engraved tripod by Chase KahWinHut Earles.



Figure 5. Nih-dah-hih "River", Hodges Engraved by Chase KahWinHut Earles. Handmade clay from the White River, Arkansas. Traditional pit fired.



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Figure 6. Kah-kee-bin-ayah-teno "Red Ribbons", Natchitoches Engraved by Chase KahWinHut Earles.

A CADDO ARCHEOLOGY MAP

Timothy K. Perttula

Archeologists use the term “Caddo” to refer to the many archaeological sites and abundant material remains that the ancestors of the modern Caddo peoples left behind over a large area of four different states, including eastern Texas, northwestern Louisiana, southwestern Arkansas, and eastern Oklahoma, traditionally centered on the Red River and its tributary streams. That record is marked by the remains of farmsteads, hamlets, villages, family and community cemeteries, and many small and large mound centers with public structures on and off mound platforms, plazas, and the burials of the social and political elite in and off mounds, as well as a rich material culture, especially their well-crafted ceramic wares. The peoples that lived in this area shared a common cultural heritage and native history that spanned more than a millennium.

There have been almost as many maps prepared showing what was thought to be the boundaries of the Caddo archeological area as there have been archeologists who have studied the archeological record of the Caddo people. Part of the differences likely relate to (1) the state of knowledge of Caddo archeology at the time the various maps were prepared, (2) differences between archeologists in the criteria being employed to define the Caddo archeological record at specific times and places, and (3) the inherent difficulty in defining boundaries between ancestral peoples and cultures in what must have been fluid and shifting zones of shared cultural practices, material culture traditions, and biological and genetic relationships.

These considerations led to the question: based on current (2011) understandings of Caddo archeology, what do Caddo archeologists consider as the areas where the Caddo peoples lived in ancestral times? In other words, what I was interested in ascertaining was the *maximum* spatial and geographical extent of Caddo communities and settlements between ca. A.D. 800 and ca. A.D. 1685, before Europeans made any sustained appearance among the Caddo peoples.

I posed this question to experienced Caddo archeologists that work in the four states of the Caddo area, namely: Dr. Ann Early (State Archeologist, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville, Arkansas), Dr. Mary Beth Trubitt (Arkansas Archeological Survey, Arkadelphia, Arkansas), Jeffrey S. Girard (Regional Archeology Program, Department of Social Sciences, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana), Dr. Robert L. Brooks (State Archeologist, Oklahoma Archeological Survey, Norman, Oklahoma), and Ross C. Fields (Prewitt & Associates, Inc., Austin, Texas). Specifically, I provided them with a base map of the region, and requested that these Caddo archeologists plot on the map the maximum extent through time (ca. A.D. 800-1685) of what they considered to be (on whatever criteria) the Caddo culture-geographical area for the state they knew best. I added my input for the East Texas area. The resulting map is shown as Figure 1.

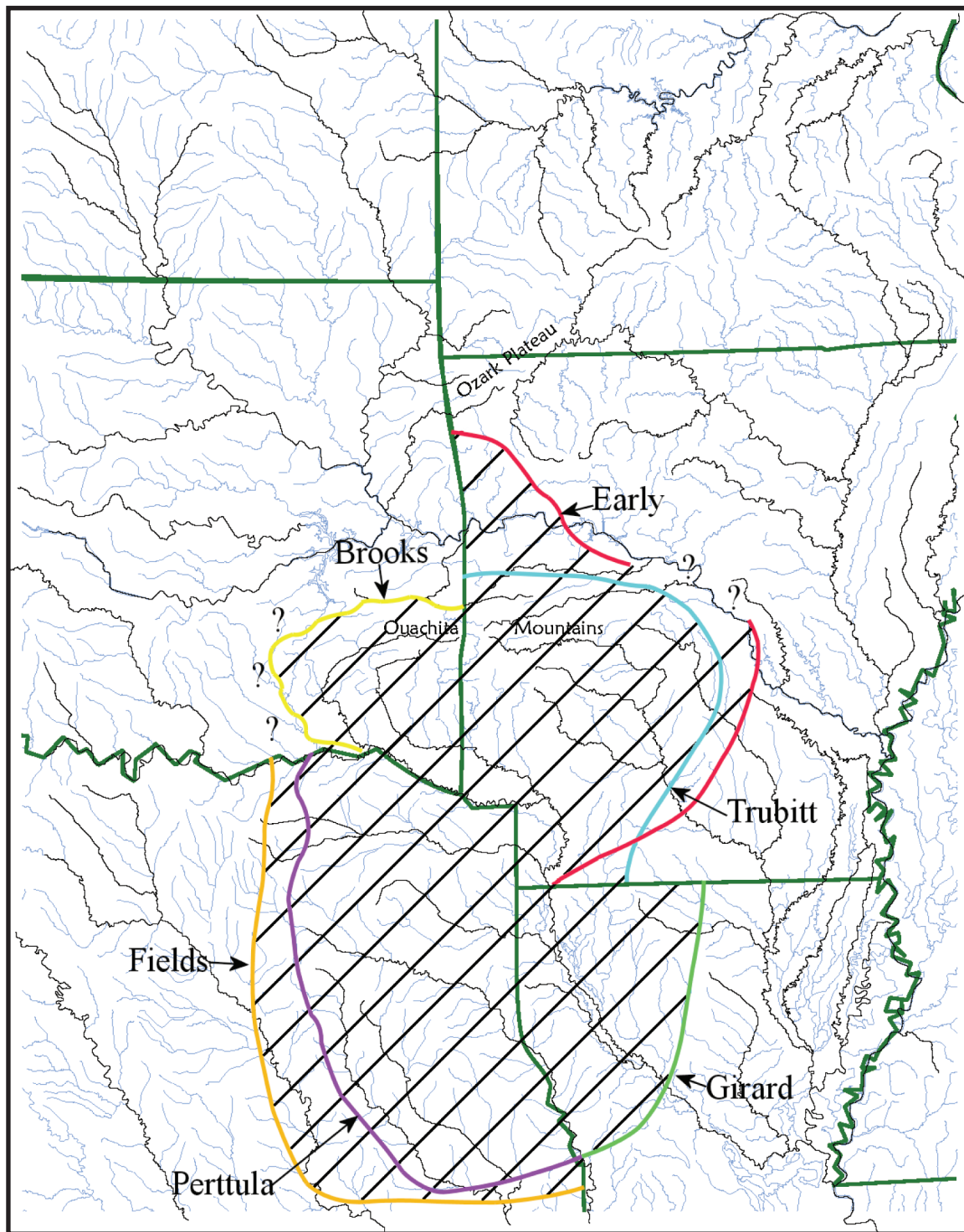


Figure 1. A composite Caddo archeology map for southwest Arkansas, northwest Louisiana, eastern Oklahoma, and east Texas. Drawn by Lance Trask.

An examination of Figure 1 clearly shows that the “boundaries” vary from state to state, and on this small sample of Caddo archeologists, there does not appear to be a consensus on what constitutes the estimated spatial extent of Caddo archeological sites across the four-state region. In Arkansas, Dr. Early includes part of the Arkansas River basin and Ozark Plateau within a Caddo archeological area, with some questions about the extent and inclusion of the middle part of the Arkansas River area.¹ Dr. Trubitt only includes several tributary stream basins of the Arkansas River, but excludes the main part of the Arkansas River basin.² Boundaries to the south (into Louisiana), mainly the inclusion or not of parts of the Ouachita River basin, and to the west (into Oklahoma) are spatially disjunctive (see Figure 1), especially with respect to the inclusion of the Arkansas River basin and adjoining Ozarks.

Jeffrey S. Girard places the eastern extent of the Caddo area in Louisiana farther east, into the upper part of the Bayou d’Arbonne stream basin, than the boundaries as drawn for the southwestern part of Arkansas (see Figure 1). The southern boundary of Caddo archeological sites along the Red River is placed just below the Natchitoches, Louisiana area, while their western extent is near the southern end of modern day Toledo Bend Reservoir.

In Oklahoma, Dr. Brooks excludes the Arkansas River basin and any portion of the Ozarks as part of the Caddo archeological area (see Figure 1). In a personal communication on June 2, 2010, Dr. Brooks noted that he does “see some significant distinctions between the Red and Arkansas River drainages. I suspect these people may be related biologically if not culturally—but at the same time, I think they would distinguish themselves from one another. (Just as the Caddo distinguish between their confederacies.)” He questions what is known about the western periphery of the Caddo, west of the Ouachita Mountains.

In East Texas, both Ross C. Fields and I have placed the western boundary of the Caddo archeology area along the Red River farther west than Dr. Brooks had, as he drew the boundary basically at the confluence of the Kiamichi River and the Red River (see Figure 1). Fields and I place that boundary on one side or the other of Bois d’Arc Creek, a number of miles upstream from the Red-Kiamichi confluence. Fields also drew the Caddo archeology boundary to include portions of the Trinity River basin, including lands west of the Trinity River itself³, while I placed the western extent of the Caddo archeological area to encompass much of the Neches River basin, but not the Trinity River basin. Based on ethnographic and historical records alone, the area east of the Trinity River has been considered the Caddo homeland (Foster 2008:195), but Foster (2008:208-209) also has noted that early 18th century historical documents place “permanent Hasinai farming villages established ten to twenty miles west of the Trinity.”

In sum, while I received input from experienced Caddo archeologists, a definitive map that depicts the spatial extent of the Caddo archeological area in Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas still remains to be developed. As the composite map indicates, the Caddo archeological area is considered to cover a ca. 235 x 350 mile area (ca. 82,200 square miles) of these four states. The archeological reality is very different than the historic domain of the Caddo people as portrayed by Helen Tanner (1993:6), as Tanner defined the “original Caddo country, a realm that extended about four hundred miles east to west, and four hundred miles north to south.”

There are spatial discontinuities between each of the states in the plotting of the maximum extent of the geographic landscape of the Caddo peoples between ca. A.D. 800-1685. This is despite more than 100 years of archeological investigations of Caddo sites. It is suspected that the re-thinking of the cultural affiliations of certain archeological phases and traditions has played a large role in the existence of these disjunctions, as has the lack of modern research in some areas. Certainly the most disjunctive geographical conclusion of this map-making exercise is the exclusion by Dr. Brooks and Dr. Trubitt of the archeology of the Arkansas River basin and major tributaries in both eastern Oklahoma and parts of southwest Arkansas, contra the spatial extent of Caddo archeological sites depicted by Dr. Early.

End Notes

1. In an August 12, 2011 e-mail to the author, Dr. Ann Early noted that she “had the opportunity to actually handle pottery from some of those sites on the Arkansas River, especially Greer. There is a large collection from a cemetery near the Greer Mound in the Lemley Collection, and we documented it the last time we were at Gilcrease. All of the pots in that cemetery are Caddo, comparable to the Social Hill phase pottery in the Ouachita valley. The Kuykendall Brake Site has similar pottery. So, today I’d firm up that loop de loop [area of question marks from the Little Rock to Pine Bluff area on the Arkansas River, see Figure 1) I did in my map drawing.”
2. The map that Mary Beth Trubitt sent me showing Caddo boundaries in southwest Arkansas was one she “had used for a recent Caddo Conference presentation on radiocarbon and other dates from Caddo sites in southwest Arkansas. Because we were focusing that research on this part [of the] region, it was bounded arbitrarily on the west and south by the state lines, and on the north by the Arkansas River valley. If I were to draw a map of Caddo homelands as a whole, I’d include parts of Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, and more of Arkansas. Yes, I’d include parts of the Arkansas River valley around Fort Smith, and yes, I’d include parts of the Ozarks in northwest Arkansas. I think there are enough similarities between northern (Arkansas River) Caddo and southern (Red River) Caddo to include both as Caddo” (August 23, 2011 e-mail from Trubitt to the author).
3. Ross C. Fields, in an August 19, 2011 e-mail, explained that in drawing the western boundary of Caddo groups in East Texas he “was trying to depict what I think was the maximum territorial extent (for residential purposes) of the Caddo in Texas in prehistoric times. It goes far enough west to include some marginal things like Cooper Lake, Cedar Creek [Reservoir], Richland Creek [Reservoir], and Jewett. I suspect most of what we see in some of these places (particularly Richland Creek and Jewett) are local non-Caddo developments, but I am open to the possibility that Caddo peoples occasionally moved out there and tried to make a go of it. I think McGuire’s Garden [41FT425, at the Jewett Mine, see Gadus et al. 2002] is one of those. Hence, the western line I drew can be seen as “Caddo homeland plus,” exclusive of Caddo hunting, trading, etc.”

Acknowledgments

I appreciate the input I received from Ann Early, Mary Beth Trubitt, Jeff Girard, Robert L. Brooks, and Ross C. Fields on the maximum extent of the Caddo archeological area. Thanks also to Robert Cast, Ann Early, and Mark Walters for comments on an earlier version of this paper.

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RECENT INVESTIGATIONS AT THE MOUNDS PLANTATION SITE (16CD12), CADDO PARISH, LOUISIANA

Jeffrey S. Girard

Introduction

Dr. Montroville Wilson Dickeson, born in Philadelphia in 1810, was a medical doctor, taxidermist and avid collector of fossils. Between 1837 and 1844 he pursued another interest—excavating Indian burial mounds in the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys. He claimed to have “opened up” more than a thousand mounds and collected more than 40,000 objects. He also made drawings of the mounds and later provided these to an artist by the name of John J. Egan, who, about 1850, converted the drawings into a series of large paintings on huge canvases. Dickeson toured the country in 1852 allowing the public to view the canvasses and his artifact collections for a fee of 25 cents (Figure 1). The panorama, titled “Monumental Grandeur of the Mississippi Valley”, was nine feet high, 400 feet long, and consisted of 27 scenes. The canvasses later were curated at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania until 1953 when purchased by the St. Louis Art Museum where they remain today (Rathbone 1950; Rodgers 2009).

Dickeson’s lecture notes refer to Scene 21 as follows: “The following picture shows a group of connected mounds in Caddo Parish, in Northwestern Louisiana, with some of the aboriginal inhabitants of the region . . .” The scene depicts a cluster of nine mounds, some of which are connected by low earthen walls (Figure 2). In the background are mountains, and a group of Indians with elaborate headdresses are shown in front of tents. Similar mountains and the same Indian scene appear in other segments of the Mississippi Panorama and are understandable in light of the Romantic artistic style of the times, as well as the fact that the panorama was part of a show intended to evoke wonder and awe in its audience. Today we know of only one place in Caddo Parish where there is a cluster of at least nine mounds. Located on the western side of the Red River, north of the present city of Shreveport, is the Mounds Plantation Site (16CD12), the single largest Caddo ceremonial center in northwestern Louisiana (Figure 3). It seems fitting that the earliest reference that we have to a prehistoric site in northwest Louisiana likely pertains to Mounds Plantation, a place of primary importance to its ancient Caddo inhabitants, as well as to modern archaeological research.

Mounds Plantation is situated on natural levee deposits associated with a now abandoned Red River channel segment known as Moon Lake Bed (Figure 4). The main portion of the site is located southwest of a shallow channel scar that parallels Moon Lake Bed. However, some artifacts have been reported between the scar and lake. The highest portion of the natural levee lies adjacent to the shallow channel scar. This area contains the highest surface artifact densities and appears to have been a major locus of habitation. However, dense concentrations of pottery have been located beneath Mounds 3 and 6, and considerable material also was found beneath clay deposits adjacent to Mound 2 (see below). The clay probably resulted from deposition of fine-grained sediments when the site lay on the margin of a large floodplain lake known as T’Soto or Sodo Lake. T’Soto Lake apparently began to form in the late 18th century due to the effects of the Red River Raft, and it reached its maximum size around 1840. Veatch (1899) compiled 19th century survey plat maps to show the overall extent of the lake in the early 19th century (Figure 5).

MONUMENTAL GRANDEUR OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY!

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Dr. Dickeson, late Professor in Philadelphia College of Medicine; Member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, and Fellow of the Royal Society of Copenhagen, &c., &c., will Lecture **THIS EVENING** on the

ANTIQUITIES & CUSTOMS OF THE UNHISTORIED INDIAN TRIBES, who dwelt on this Continent 3,500 years ago, and also on the leading peculiarities in the construction of these *Mounds, Tumuli, Fosses, &c.*, with the Geology, Mineralogy and Botany of this beautiful country.

Dr. D. has devoted twelve years of his life in these investigations, having in that time explored the whole Valley of the Mississippi, and opened over 1,000 Indian Monuments or Mounds, and has now a collection of 40,000 *relics* of those interesting but unhistoried Native Americans.

During the entertainment, the Doctor will unroll a most magnificent *Scenic Mirror*, covering 16,000 feet of canvass, illustrating the Monumental Grandeur of the Valley, with the splendid scenes that occur upon the *Father of Rivers*.

His Lecture, which accompanies each moving of the Tableaux, abounds in invaluable information, and is worth alone, double the price of admission.

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Indian Mounds.

SECTION I.

Marietta Ancient Fortification—A grand view of their Walls, Bastions, Ramparts, Fosses and Walls, with the relics therein found—Circleville Aboriginal Tumuli—Cado Chiefs in full costume—Youths at their War Practices—Hanging or Hieroglyphical Rock—Colossal Bust at low water mark, used as a metre by the Aborigines—Portsmouth Aboriginal Group in a Storm—Cave in the Rock, Stalagmitic Chamber and Crystal Fountain, Desecrated and Mummified Bodies in their burial places—Magnificent effect of Crystallization—Terraced Mound in a snow storm, at sunset—Twelve gated Labyrinth, Missouri—Indians at their picaresque exploits.

SECTION II.

Bon Hom Island Group—Distant view of the Rocky Mountains—Encamping Grounds of Lewis and Clark—Louisiana Swale Group, with extensive Wall—Lakes and Sacrificial Monuments—Natchez Hill by Moonlight—Indian Encampment—Distant view of Louisiana—Indians preparing supper—The Torpedo of 1844—Destruction of Indian Settlements—Horrid loss of Life—Louisiana Squatter pursued by Wolves—Humorous Scene—Prairie with Buffalo, Elk, and Gigantic Bust on the ledge of a Limestone Rock—Spring Creek, Texas—Fort Rosalie—Extermination of the French in 1729—Grand Battle Scene—Mode of Scalping.

SECTION III.

Chamberlain's Gigantic Mounds and Walls—Natches above the Hill—Indians at their Games—Baltico Shell, Mounds—Ferguson Group—The Landing of Gen. Jackson—Lake Concordia and Aboriginal Tumuli—Huge Mound and the manner of opening them—Cado Parish Monument—De Soto's Burial at White Cliffs—Mammoth Ravine—Exhumation of Fossil Bones—Temple of the Sun by sunset.

Exhibition to commence at 8 every evening, and at 3 o'clock every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon.

Admission - - - - - 25 cents.
Children under 12 - - - - - 12½ "

During the week a **FREE ENTERTAINMENT** will be given in the Afternoon, for the examination of the *Indian Museum*.

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[John J. Egan, American (born Ireland), 1810-1882; Panorama of the Monumental Grandeur of the Mississippi Valley (handbill), c. 1850; Saint Louis Art Museum, Eliza McMillan Trust 34:1953]

Figure 1. Handbill for the exhibit, *Panorama of the Monumental Grandeur of the Mississippi Valley.*



[John J. Egan, American (born Ireland), 1810-1882; Panorama of the Monumental Grandeur of the Mississippi Valley (scene 21 of 25), c. 1850; distemper on cotton muslin, original of scene 21 is 90 in. x 25 ft.; Saint Louis Art Museum, Eliza McMillan Trust 34:1953]

Figure 2. Scene 21 of 25 from the exhibit, *Panorama of the Monumental Grandeur of the Mississippi Valley*.

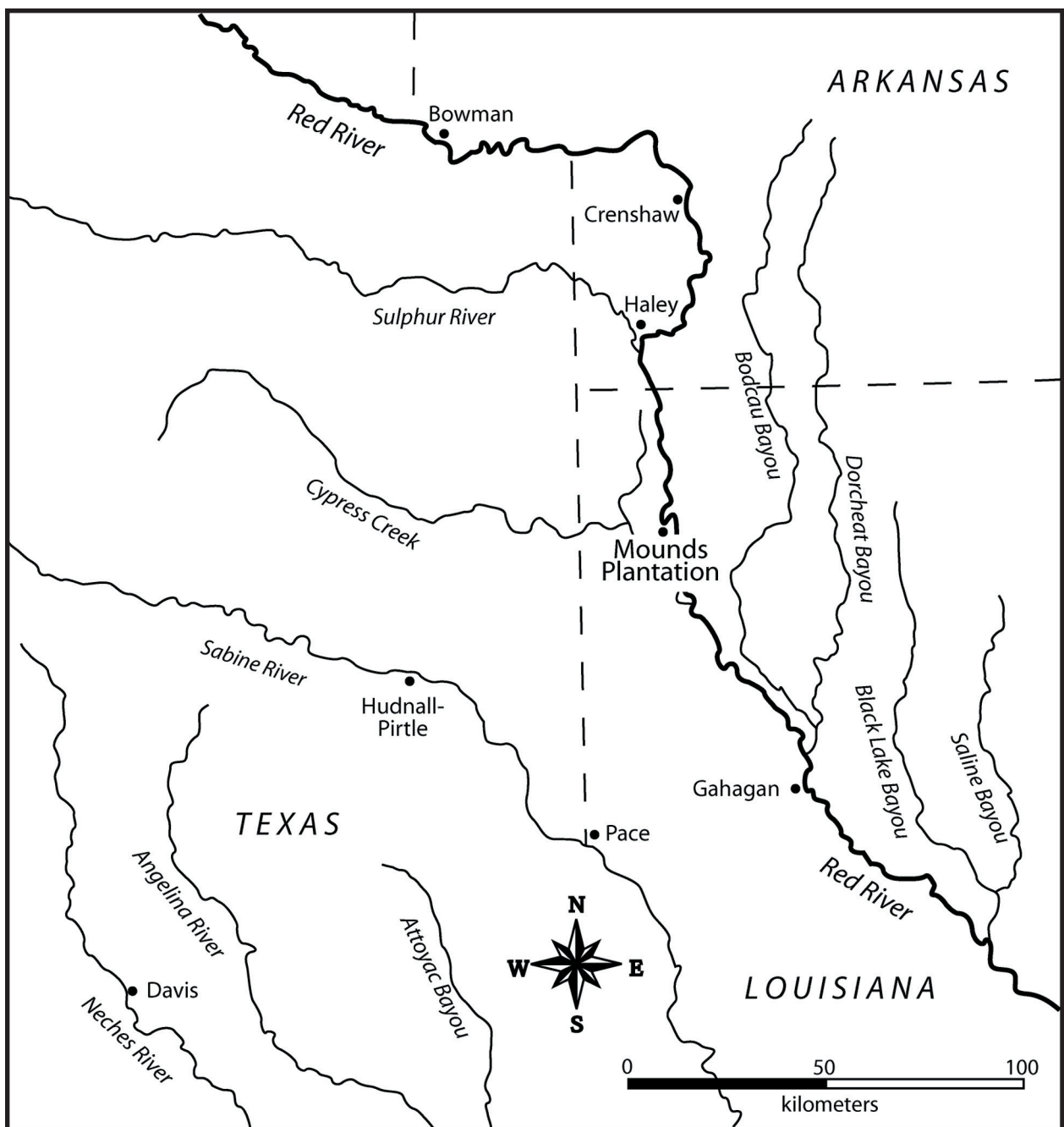


Figure 3. Location of the Mounds Plantation Site and selected other Early Caddo period mound sites.

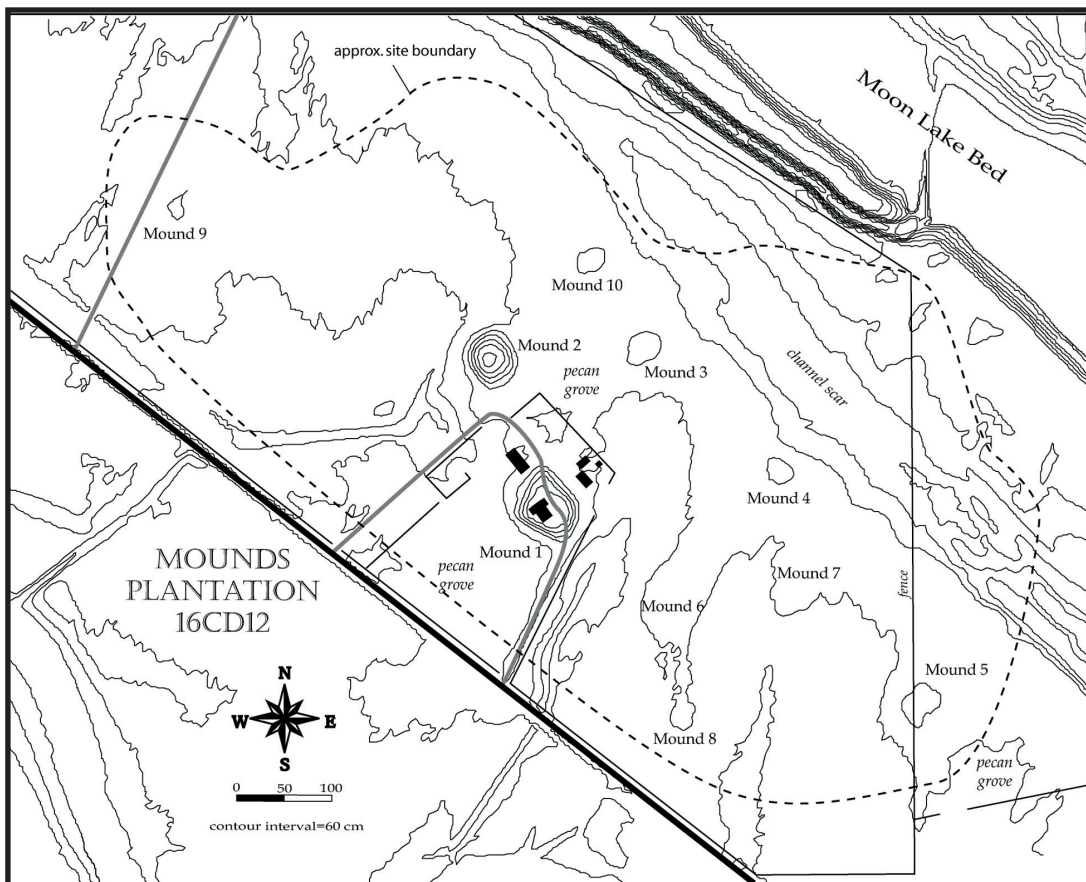


Figure 4. Map of the Mounds Plantation Site. LIDAR contour data distributed by “Atlas: The Louisiana Statewide GIS.” LSU CADGIS Research Laboratory, Baton Rouge, LA, 2006, <http://atlas.lsu.edu>.

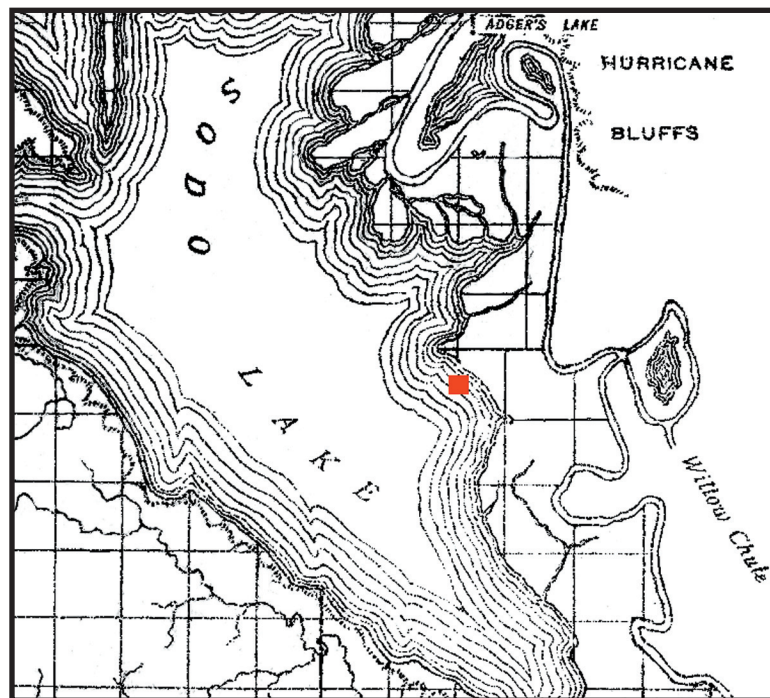


Figure 5. Detail of Red River floodplain map in Veatch (1899) showing location of the Mounds Plantation Site in relation to historic Sodo Lake.

Dickeson apparently visited Mounds Plantation not long after Henry Shreve initially cleared portions of the raft between 1833 and 1838. Rafting continued upstream from Shreve's projects, however, and steamboats were able to navigate through the lake until it was drained following the work of Lt. Woodruff in 1873 (Veatch 1899:164-167; Triska 2008).

More than 50 years after Dickeson's visit, geologist Arthur Veatch (1899) made the following notes about the site:

Group of three mounds. They are rudely rectangular, truncated pyramid mounds. The largest is known as "Treasure mound." It is almost square, measuring about 75 feet each way, and is about 16 feet high. It is composed of black, sandy loam like that beneath the veneer of red clay on the surrounding land. An excavation about six feet square has been made on the eastern side and a pot is reported to have been discovered. A small excavation was started on the west side but was abandoned before anything was discovered. About 150 feet south of the mound is a "water-hole." This probably represents the excavation from which the material was obtained for the mound. The top of the mound is covered with a growth of white locust and is said to be the only place in the region where it is found. The mound although surrounded by the waters of Sodo Lake during the raft period, was not covered. It was used as a place of refuge during the war by persons desirous of escaping the conscription officers.

"Arick's mound," the second of the series, is rudely rectangular, measuring 40 by 50 feet on top, and is 12 feet high.

"Youngblood mound" is 6 feet high and about the same dimensions on top as "Arick's mound."

A fourth elevation, known as "Trezevent mound," is found in the same group. It is very irregular and appears to be simply a natural elevation (Veatch 1899: 210-202).

In 1912, Mounds Plantation was visited by C.B. Moore on his Red River expedition (Moore 1912; Weinstein et al. 2003). At that time it was located on the plantation of Mr. H.L. Heilperin of Shreveport and Moore referred to the site as "Pickett's Landing." Moore noted the presence of seven mounds along with several insignificant rises and small ponds representing borrow areas. The mounds formed an irregular ellipse. Two (probably those later designated by Clarence Webb as Mounds 2 and 5) faced one another at a distance of 615 yards. Two other mounds were located south of the ellipse (probably Mounds 1 and 6), and the remaining three (Mounds 3, 4, and 7) were situated to the north. Moore noted that all of the mounds probably were quadrilateral, but two were too badly eroded to determine their shapes.

In 1912, atop all but one of the mounds was a house preventing extensive excavations. However, Moore excavated "numerous trial holes" in the two largest mound summits (apparently Mounds 1 and 2), as well as in two smaller mounds. He found nothing that he considered significant except that "... on all four of which dark soil indicated former aboriginal abode." Artifacts, except for a few sherds, were scarce at the site but Moore believed (correctly) that most evidence was buried (Moore 1912:524-525).

Gerard Fowke of the Smithsonian Institution provided the next description of the site and was the first to use the name "Mounds Plantation" in print:

A group of these [flat-topped mounds], seven in number, 10 miles north of Shreveport, gives the name of "Mounds Plantation" to the estate on which they stand. Six of them have farm buildings on them, the seventh being cultivated as a garden or truck patch. It is unknown how far below the present surface their foundations may be; the ground has filled in several feet since the country was settled. This sedimentation no longer takes place, as floods are now confined by levees (Fowke 1928:406-407).

The site subsequently was visited several times by Clarence Webb. In notes probably dating to the 1930s, he described site as consisting of “Large mounds in crescent shape, 4 distinct mounds all surmounted by dwellings, 2 less distinct. Few pottery fragments in fields”. He reported that significant portions of Mounds 1 and 2 were cut down during the 1950s. In about 1950, Webb excavated a pit within a large depression that apparently served as a borrow area for the mounds. The pit contained numerous sherds and was underlain by fired clay likely to be the remnants of a hearth. Webb noted that, since the borrow area appeared to cut into the pit, the pit likely pre-dated mound construction (Webb and McKinney 1975:44-45).

Webb also excavated a child’s burial that had been partially impacted by plowing in 1952. The burial was located on the slope about 15 m east of Mound 7. Sherds of an undecorated, grog-tempered vessel were found to the right of the cranium (Webb and McKinney 1975:45). Webb reconstructed the vessel which now is in the Williamson Museum collection at Northwestern State University (Figure 6).

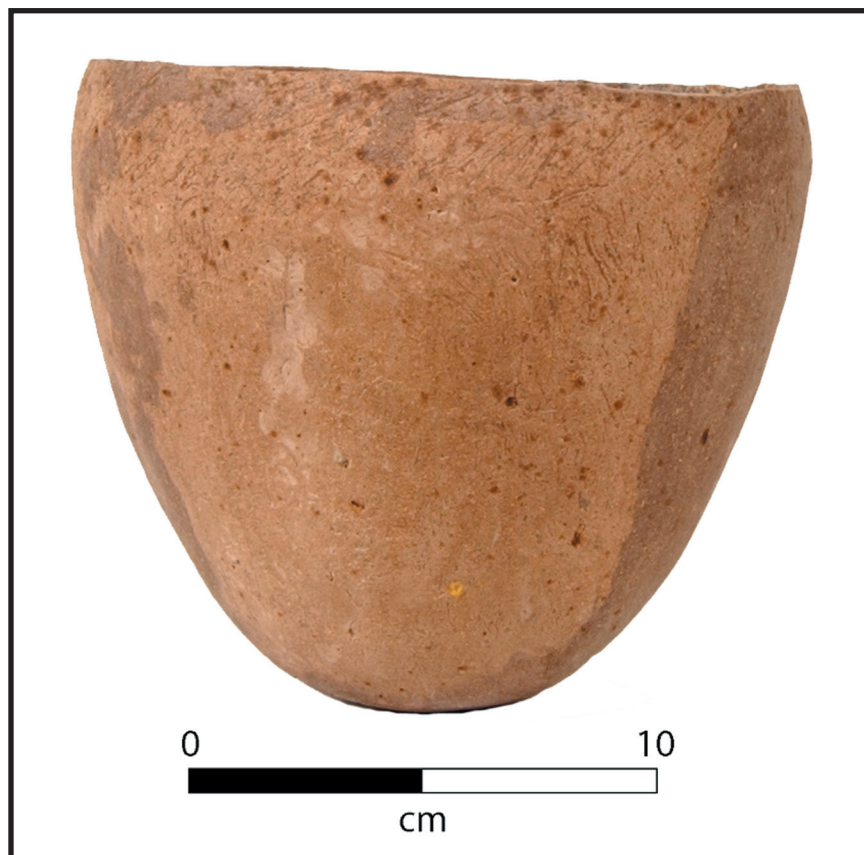


Figure 6. Undecorated deep bowl associated with child’s burial.

Most of our present information about Mounds Plantation resulted from excavations conducted in 1959 and 1960 in Mounds 3 and 5 by Ralph McKinney with the assistance of Webb. Descriptions of these investigations, and the artifacts recovered from these mounds, are presented in Webb and McKinney (1975). Webb also made a map of the site based on aerial photographs and field observations. By that time, Webb had identified nine mounds, seven surrounding the plaza, and two (Mounds 8 and 9) on the periphery. Artifacts from Mound 5 have been loaned by the McKinney family to the Bossier History Center, Bossier Parish Library, in Bossier City, Louisiana. The McKinney Collection also appears to include some materials recovered from Mound 3, but these were stored in poorly labeled paper bags and proveniences are uncertain.

In 1985 members of the Louisiana Archaeological Society led by Claude McCrocklin conducted a survey of the site and surrounding lands (McCrocklin 1985). The site had been plowed and cultivated for many years by this time and numerous artifacts were exposed on the surface. McCrocklin revised Webb's earlier map by plotting areas where artifacts appeared to be concentrated. He also identified two additional rises as probable mounds, bringing the site total to eleven.

Information acquired during mapping and test excavations conducted by Louisiana's Regional Archaeology Program based at Northwestern State University are the subject of this paper. In 2005, a detailed contour map was made of the site and several auger tests were placed along the terrace edge to determine the nature and depth of the remaining deposits (Girard 2005). The site was mapped to the fence that crosses Mound 5 on the eastern side of the site. A new landowner on the adjacent property granted us permission in January 2006 to extend the map and determine if any of Mound 5 remains on the eastern side of the fence. A 1-x-2-m test unit excavated into the northeastern edge of the mound remnant revealed that additional large pits likely remain beneath the low rise representing the former mound.

An archaeogeophysical survey, directed by Jami Lockhart of the Arkansas Archeological Survey was carried out in sample areas during 2007 (Lockhart and Girard 2007). The survey was conducted over a period of four days using three technologies. A total of 9,200 m² was covered using gradiometry; 3,600 m² with ground penetrating radar; and 2,800 m² with electrical resistance. Of the four areas tested (Figure 7), Mounds 6 and 7 contained anomalies most similar to burned archeological features that have been ground-truthed in other agricultural settings, such as in the Mississippi River alluvial valley of Arkansas. Historic and modern disturbances and the introduction of metal near Mound 2 and the pecan grove resulted in these anomalies being less clear. Geophysical interpretation for these areas in particular would have benefited greatly from full-coverage using electrical resistance, which is far less sensitive to the presence of metal. Electrical resistance data were collected, but spurious positive and negative data spikes in most of the data grids were more numerous than plausibly correct readings, so the data could not be salvaged. Test excavations were conducted adjacent to Mound 2 in 2008 and 2009 in areas where the geophysical data suggested possible features. In 2010 auger tests and one test pit were placed in Mound 6.

Subsurface Investigations in the Mound 2 Area

Mound 2 apparently was quadrilateral and flat topped in the early 20th century and might be that referred to as Arick's Mound by Veatch (1899:202) who described it as 40 x 50 ft (about 12x15 m) on the summit and 12 ft (3.7 m) tall. Moore's (1912) description of what probably is Mound 2 states that it was 70 ft (about 21 m) in diameter on the summit with a base of 150 ft (45.7 m) in diameter (he did not estimate the height). The base of the mound now is much wider (73 x 60 m or about 240 x 197 ft) but not as tall as described by Veatch (it now is 2.6 m or 8.5 ft. high). A tenant farm house that formerly stood on the mound summit was moved in the early 1960s. Webb reported that more than half of the mound was destroyed when the house was moved (Webb and McKinney 1975:43). It is more likely that about 1 m was removed and spread around the base of the mound, particularly on the southeastern side. The mound now is planted in grass and only minor erosion is visible.

The area immediately east of Mound 2 has not been plowed. Currently, grass covers the surface and a pecan grove is present farther to the east. Resistivity data obtained in 2007 showed numerous anomalies in this area, but none clearly related to prehistoric features. In 2008, two test units (Test Pit 1 and Test Pit 2) were excavated on the southeastern flank of the mound in areas where greater electrical resistance was indicated. A third unit was excavated in 2009 where soil probes showed that particularly dark buried deposits were present (Figure 8).

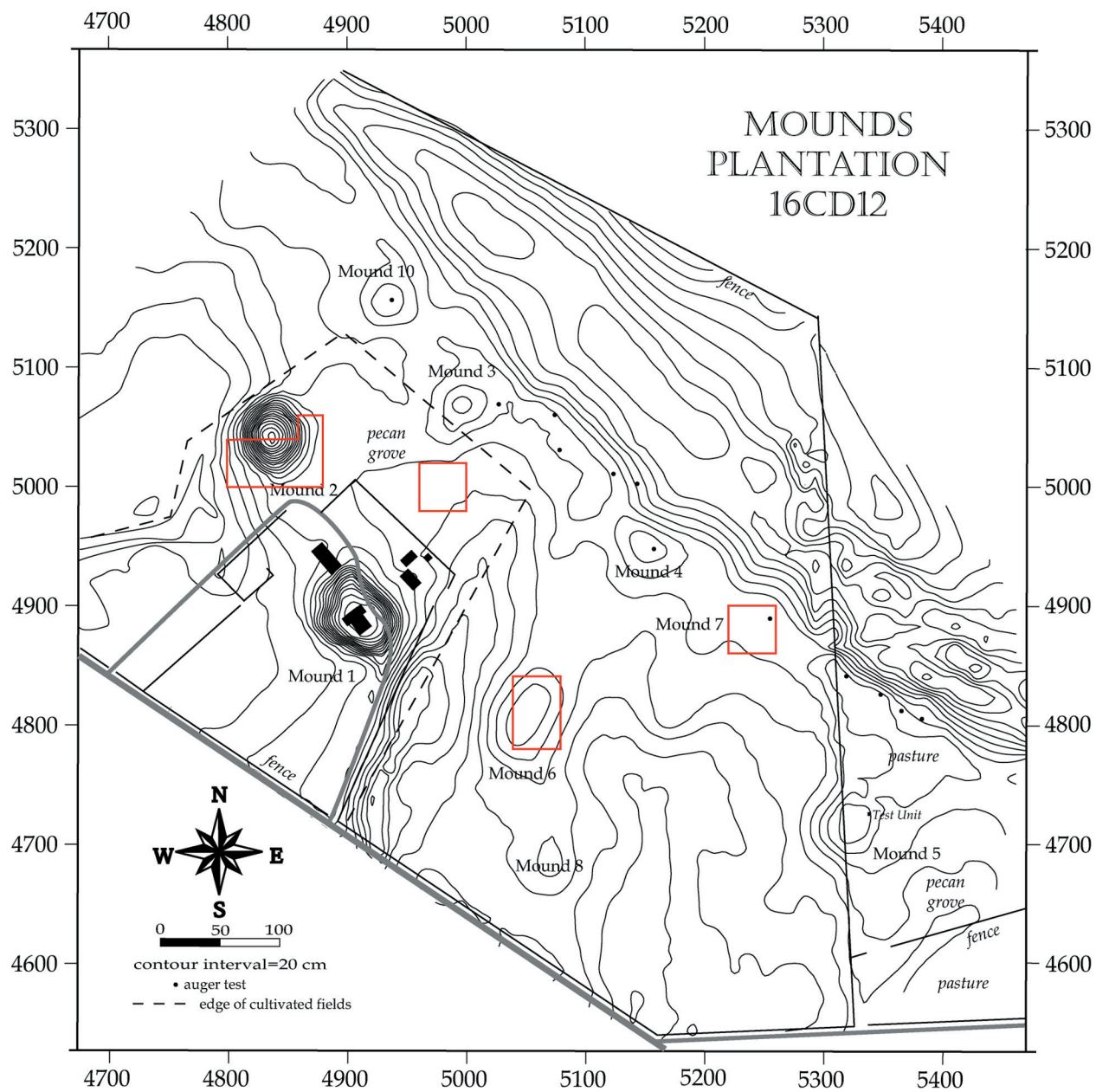


Figure 7. Sample areas for geophysical survey.

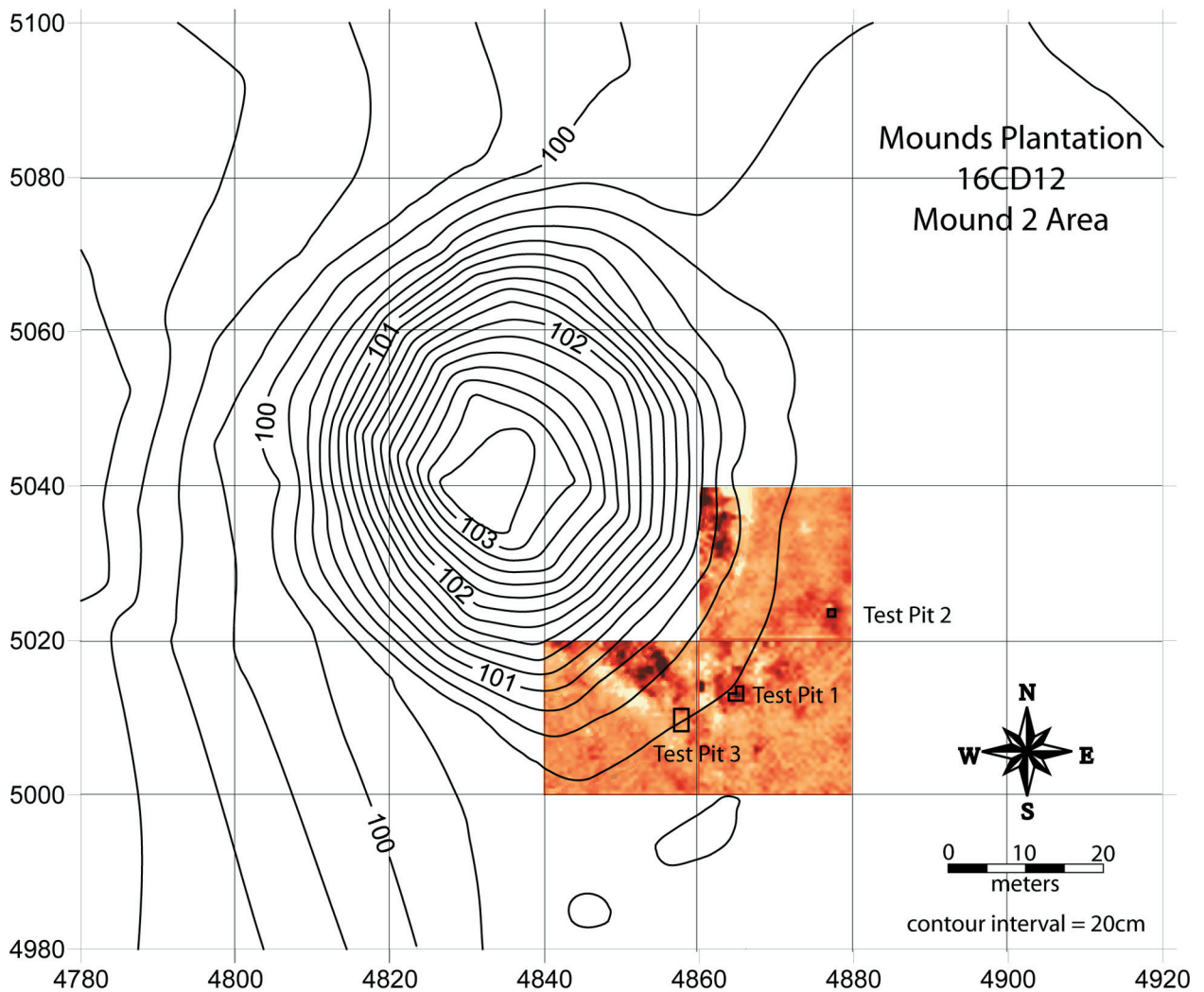


Figure 8. Locations of test units in the Mound 2 area with electrical resistance data.

Test Pit 1

Test Pit 1 was excavated in three 1-x-1-m units, each designated by its southwest corner gridpoint. The upper 15 to 20 cm consisted of dark reddish brown (5YR3/2 to 5YR3/3) very fine sandy loam, containing numerous historic artifacts, as well as a few chert flakes and Caddo sherds. The sediments and artifacts likely had washed or had been scraped off the top of the mound.

Underlying the upper deposits was a dark reddish brown (5YR3/4) clay stratum (C) devoid of artifacts (Figure 9). Clay covers large patches of the site, but is not uniformly present everywhere. A similar clay stratum was present at the base of Mound 5 (designated Stratum 1, see below) and was reported by Webb and McKinney (1975:50-51) directly overlying the submound midden in their Mound 5 excavations. They also noted discontinuous clay strata within the mound suggesting that the Caddos placed clay to serve as capping material as the mound was constructed. The submound clay stratum and that near Mound 2, however, likely is a natural lacustrine deposit related to the existence of T'Soto (or Sodo) Lake prior to clearing of the rafts in the Red River floodplain (see above). Veatch (1899:170) noted: "In the region of the Indian mounds . . . , which was all under water during the raft period, there is a layer of stiff red clay from 6 inches to a foot thick overlying a black sandy clay similar to that on the Caddo prairie." The "black sandy clay" of the Caddo prairie probably is what now is classified as Armistead clay, but it is not clear why Veatch thought that this underlay the red clays in the Mounds Plantation area.

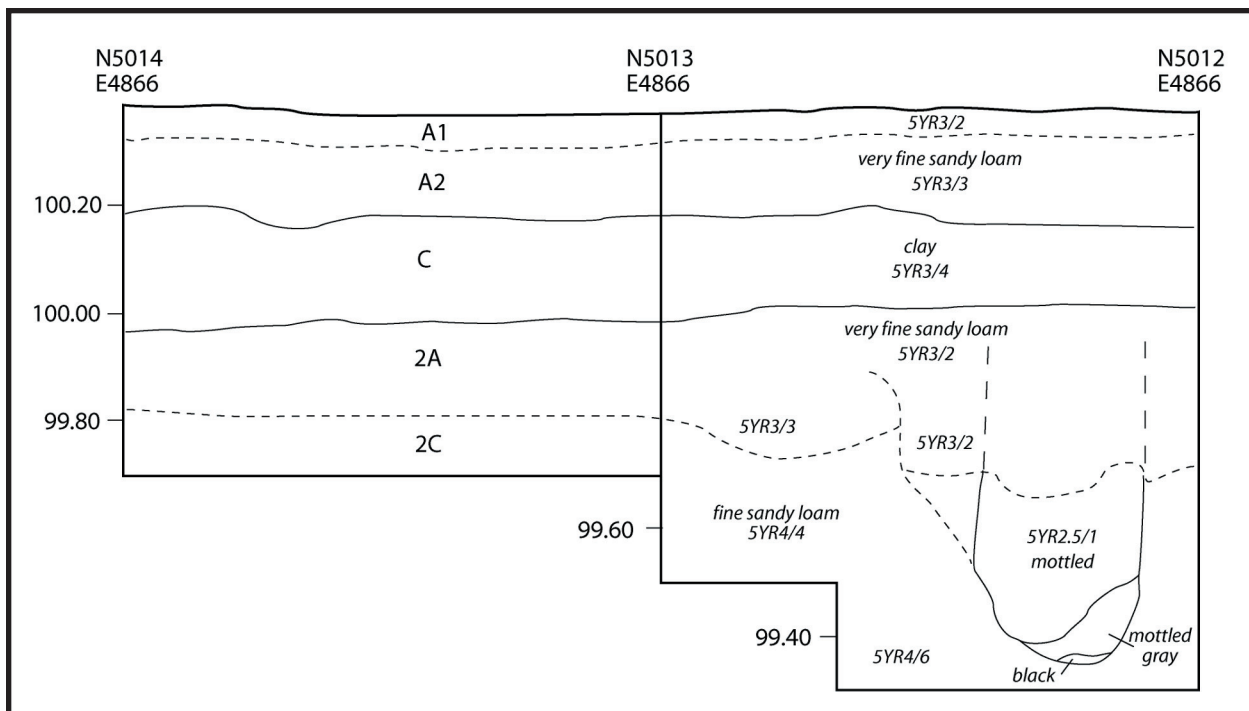


Figure 9. East profile of Test Pit 1, Mound 2 area, showing Feature 1.

Because excavation of the clay was extremely difficult and we felt that we had a sufficient sample of the historic artifacts, we only shovel excavated one of the three 1-x-1-m units (N5013E4865) in Test Pit 1. In the remaining two units (N5012E4865 and N5012E4864), we took off the upper strata (Levels 1-4, to 100.00 m) with a backhoe. The landowner was able to do this without disturbing the underlying deposits or profiles (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Removal of overburden using backhoe in the Mound 2 area.

The clay stratum in the Mound 2 area was 15 to 20 cm thick and underlain by a dark reddish brown (5YR3/2 to 5YR3/3) very fine sandy loam, similar to the sediments overlying the clay stratum. This buried soil contained only prehistoric Caddo artifacts. The 2A horizon was about 20 cm thick. The underlying 2C horizon was a reddish brown (5YR4/4) to yellowish red (5YR4/6) fine sandy loam. Artifacts diminished in numbers with depth and few were recovered by the base of Level 7 (99.70 m) except in the vicinity of Feature 2-1.

Dark deposits similar to the top of the 2A horizon remained in the southeast corner of unit N5012E4865 at the 99.70 m level (base of Level 7). Using a soil probe, we found that similar deposits extended at least an additional 30 cm and contained numerous flecks of charcoal. We continued excavation of the unit and at 99.65 m, a well-defined semi-circular outline truncated by the east wall of the unit was visible and designated Feature 1. The feature appeared to represent a posthole similar to that found frequently in other Caddo sites. The fill was dark reddish brown (5YR3/2) with darker (5YR2.5/1) patches throughout. We continued excavation of the entire unit down to 99.50 m, and then took a 40-x-50 cm area down to 99.30 to expose the base of the feature in profile. No artifacts were recovered in the surrounding 2C horizon below the base of Level 8 (99.60 m). The darkest portions began at the base of the 2A horizon (Figure 11). The diameter of Feature 1 was about 25 cm when detected. It tapered slightly with depth and the base appeared to be at 99.35 m. Some leaching of charcoal was apparent causing mottling directly beneath. At the base of the 2A horizon, the feature deposits were black and contained numerous flecks of charcoal. This dark area might be the charred and decayed remains of an actual post and not just the posthole. In the profile, it was possible to trace the feature almost to the top of the 2A horizon, although the color difference between the feature fill and 2A horizon was subtle. The feature almost certainly originated from the former surface at the top of the 2A horizon and did not go through the clay, ruling out the possibility that it was a historic fence post. A sample of the charcoal filled sediment from the lower portion of the feature was submitted for radiocarbon analysis and yielded an age of 930±25 B.P. (UGA3264; wood charcoal; $\delta=-27.1$) [cal A.D. 1030-1160, 2-sigma].

Test Pit 2

Test Pit 2 consisted of a single 1-x-1-m unit with the southwest corner at N5023E4877 (see Figure 8). The clay extended to the surface in this area and no historic artifacts were recovered although a few small chunks of brick rubble were noted near the surface. The top of the buried soil (2A horizon) was encountered at about the same elevation (100.00m) as found in Test Pit 1, and was similar in color and texture. Very few artifacts were recovered, and no cultural features were detected.

Test Pit 3

To investigate this area further, we used a soil probe to explore variation in the buried A deposits in the vicinity of Test Pit 1. A particularly dark area was identified to the southwest and, in January 2009, we laid out a 2-x-2-m grid consisting of units N5008E4857, N5008E4858, N5009E4857, and N5009E4858 (Test Pit 3). We later expanded the test pit to the north by excavating units N5010E4857 and N5010E4858.

After placing stakes at the corners of the original 2-x-2-m area, the landowner removed the upper deposits (the upper A horizon and clay stratum) with a backhoe. The ground surface was at a site grid elevation of approximately 100.40 m in this area. We leveled the base of the backhoe excavation at 99.90 m, approximately the contact of the clay with the underlying buried A horizon. Deposits in the buried A horizon were very dark gray (5YR3/1) to dark reddish brown (5YR3/2) loam that became gradually lighter in color (5YR3/3 to 5YR3/4) and slightly coarser (very fine sandy loam) with depth (Figure 12). Upon exposure, the deposits quickly dried out making excavation difficult, and a pick had to be used to loosen and break up the sediments. All fill was dry screened through ¼" mesh. Artifact density was low to moderate to about the 99.60 m level, beneath which only a few specimens were recovered. Deposits below 99.60 m consisted of brown (7.5YR4/4) very fine sandy loam. Excavations were stopped at 99.60 m in the two southern units, but were taken down to 99.40 m to the north.



Figure 11. Feature 1 in southeast corner of Test Pit 1, Mound 2 area.

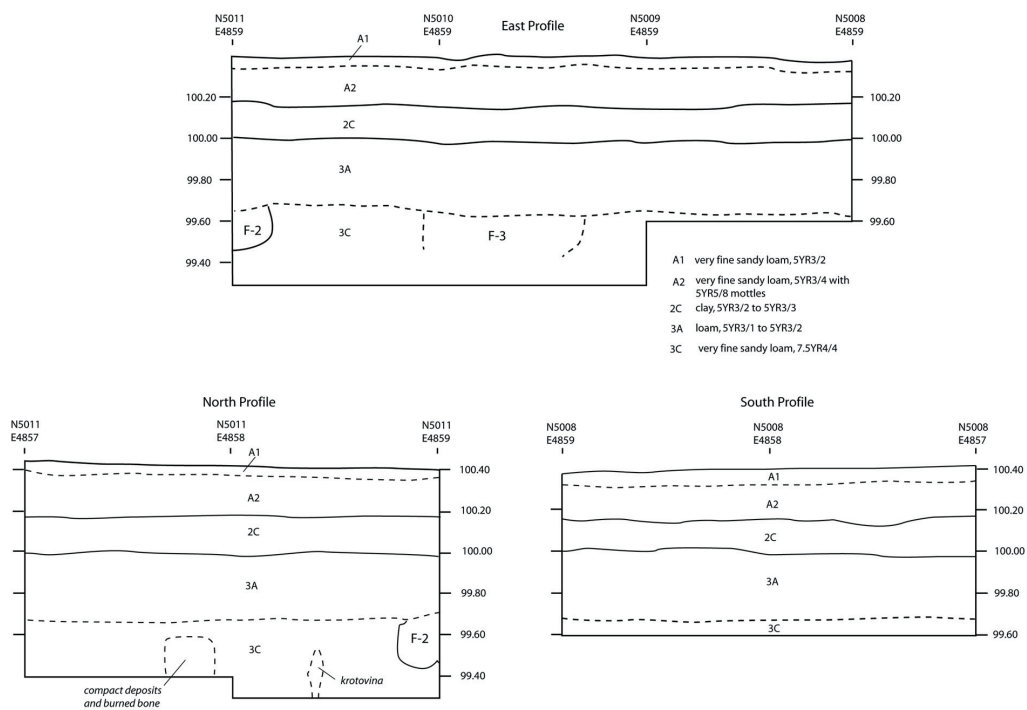


Figure 12. Profiles of Test Pit 3, Mound 2 area.

In the northeast corner of Unit N5010E4858, a dark area was noted at the 99.70 m level. This became distinct by 99.65 m and was designated Feature 2. By 99.60 m, the darkest portion of the feature appeared roughly circular although it extended beyond the unit into the north and east profiles (Figure 13). A more diffuse, lighter colored area extended to the west. Although the margins of the feature were distinct, the boundary with the surrounding deposits was not sharp. The fill contained small flecks of charcoal, but we did not recover a sufficient amount for radiocarbon dating. No artifacts or faunal remains were recovered in the fill. Feature 2 extended to approximately 99.42 m and had a well-defined, rounded base. The fill was darkest near the base, and could not be traced through the 2A horizon. It is possible that the dark deposits resulted from the former presence of a post with a charred base that had been removed during the Caddo occupation. There was no evidence of *in situ* burning, nor did it appear that the post had rotted in place. Feature 1 also appeared to represent a former post charred only at the base—possibly a deliberate technique employed by the Caddos to retard post rotting. It should be noted, however, that the interpretation of this feature as a posthole is based on the exposed portion and the total extent is not known.

The 3C horizon consisted of a mottled fine sandy loam with different shades of brown (7.5YR4/4 and 7.5YR5/3) present in approximately equal degrees. Of a slightly different color (5YR4/4 dominant with mottled 5YR5/4) was a linear swatch that extended along a southeast to northwest axis through units N5009E4858, N5010E4858, and into N5010E4857 where it became difficult to discern (Figure 14). It was first apparent at the 99.60m level, and continued to be well defined at the 99.40 m level. By 99.30 m, however, it could no longer be detected. The lateral margins of the feature (designated Feature 3) were distinct, but neither the top nor the base was visible in the east profile of the test pit. Sediments did not differ in texture from the surrounding fine sandy loam of the 3C horizon—the feature was definable only on the basis of color. I think it unlikely that Feature 3 represents a pit or trench. It probably resulted from variation in permeability and compaction of the sediments due to the presence of a historic road that led to the tenant farm house on the top of the mound. Electrical resistance data clearly showed the former road in the vicinity of Test Pit 3 extending along a similar axis to the feature (see Figure 8).



Figure 13. Northeast corner of Test Pit 3, Mound 2 area.

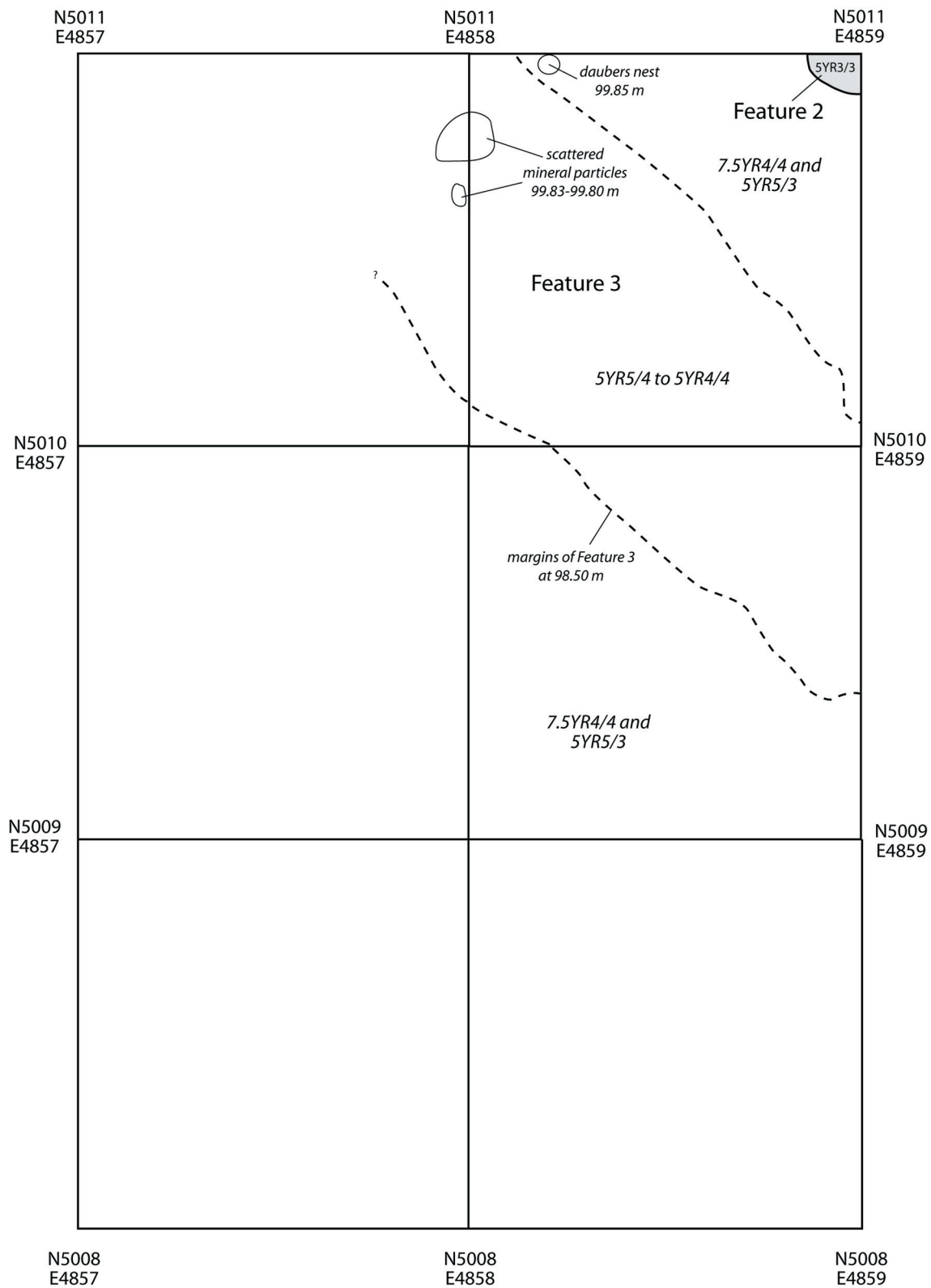


Figure 14. Base of Level 5 (99.50 m), Test Pit 3, Mound 2 area.

Discussion

A few traits suggest that one or more prehistoric structures once existed in the vicinity of Test Pits 1 and 3, but additional excavations are necessary before this can be determined with certainty. Both Features 1 and 2 appear to represent postholes. They are approximately 7 m apart and are roughly similar in size and depth, and it is possible that they relate to a single structure. Both features were charred at their bases, but other evidence of *in situ* burning is missing other than widely scattered flecks of charcoal found throughout the 2A deposits. Burned lumps of clay, possibly structurally related, were found in low numbers in Test Pits 1 and 3, except the southern portion of Test Pit 3. A few of these lumps have possible impressions of grass or cane thatch, but most specimens are too small to determine this with certainty. The highest amount by weight was in N5010E4857 of Test Pit 3. Another clue regarding the possible presence of a former structure in the area was a mud daubers nest recovered in the north profile of N5010E4858 at an elevation of 99.85 m. The nest was made of grayish-green silty clay. At a slightly deeper elevation (between 99.83 and 99.80 m) along the E4858 line, we encountered scattered lumps of mineral matter that have a glassy, siliceous appearance when magnified 10x or more using a binocular microscope. The nature of these particles is uncertain, but they may be examples of silica froth, possibly relating to burned thatch architecture (e.g., Jurney and Bergstrom 2001).

Artifact counts recovered from Test Pit 3 were comparable to those from Test Pit 1 (Figure 15). Sherd counts were highest in the northern units of Test Pit 3. Counts were more than twice as high in N5010E4857 and N5010E4858 as they were in the four units to the south. However, counts were almost as high in the eastern units of Test Pit 1. Stone artifacts, mostly small flakes, were scattered in relatively similar numbers throughout both test pits. Small fragments of burned bone were recovered in all of the Test Pit 3 units, but none were found in Test Pit 1. With the present sample, it is not possible to delimit a distinct “midden” or trash dumping area.

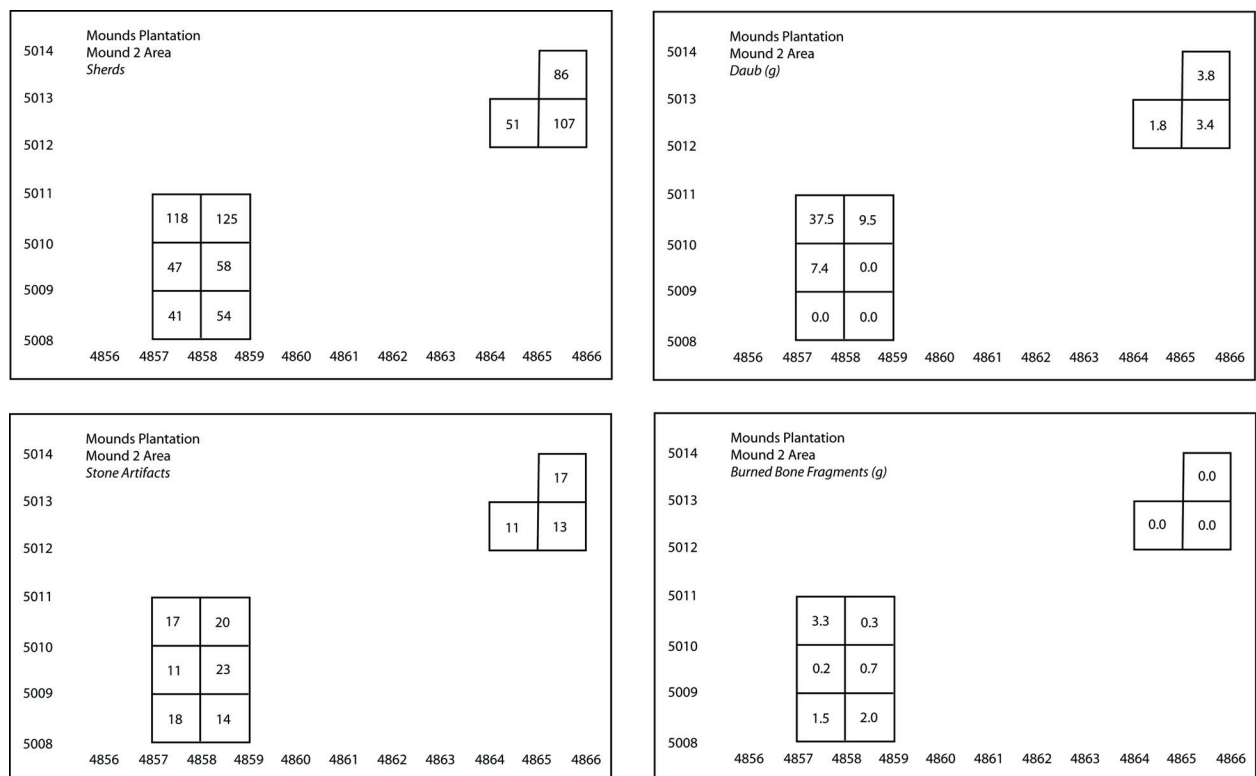


Figure 15. Schematic views of Test Pits 1 and 3 showing artifact distributions, Mound 2 area.

Ceramic Artifacts

A total of 691 sherds greater than 1.5 cm were recovered from the Mound 2 area. Of these, 636 (92.0%) are undecorated (Table 1). By far the most frequent decorative elements represented in the collection are horizontal incised lines, almost all of which appear to be applied to the neck or rim of the vessel. Sixteen of the 41 horizontal incised sherds have only a single line, either because only one line was present on the vessel or because multiple lines were spaced widely apart (Figure 16 A-G). One specimen (Figure 16 G) has short diagonal slashes below the horizontal line. All of the single line specimens were recovered from Test Pit 3. Both Test Pits 1 and 3 contained several multiple horizontal line sherds (Figure 16 H-V) and probably relate to the type Coles Creek Incised. I did not attempt to differentiate varieties for this sample, but a few specimens with relatively wide spacing might relate to *vars. Greenhouse or Blakely* (Figure 16 O-Q, T-V); and the closer-spaced specimens to *var. Hardy* (Figure 16 J-N, R-S). Multiple horizontal line incising also occurs on several types with punctated, incised, or brushed bodies, but the absence of body sherds with these decorations suggests that those types are not represented in this sample. Four sherds, three from Test Pit 3 and one from Test Pit 1, have triangular punctations underlying one or more horizontal incised line (Figure 16 W-Z). These specimens are classified as Coles Creek Incised, *var. Coles Creek*. However, on one specimen (Figure 16 Z), the punctation is arc-shaped and the specimen could be classified as Weches Fingernail Punctated. One Hollyknowe Pinched sherd (Figure 16 AA) was recovered. Curvilinear incising is present only on two specimens, one from Test Pit 1 and one from Test Pit 3 (Figure 16 BB,CC). Both specimens probably are from vessels of the type Crockett Curvilinear Incised. Engraving is present on four specimens, all from Test Pit 3 (Figure 16 DD-GG). On three, only horizontal lines are present. White pigment is present in the lines on one sherd (Figure 16 FF). The fourth engraved sherd (Figure 16 GG) has a curvilinear element and possibly relates to the type Glassell Engraved. This sherd, along with three sherds (not illustrated) of the type Belcher Ridged are considered diagnostic of the Middle and Late Caddo periods. Note that the midden from the sampled area near Mound 2 was not covered by moundfill and it appears that a few later specimens were incorporated into the deposits.

Table 1. Sherds Recovered in the Mound 2 Area

	<i>Test Pit 1</i>	<i>Test Pit 2</i>	<i>Test Pit 3</i>	<i>Total</i>
horizontal incised single line	0	0	16	16
horizontal incised multiple line	11	0	14	25
Coles Creek Incised, <i>var. Coles Creek</i>	1	0	3	4
Crockett Curvilinear Incised	1	0	1	2
Hollyknowe Pinched	0	0	1	1
Belcher Ridged	3	0	0	3
curvilinear engraved	0	0	1	1
linear engraved	0	0	3	3
undecorated polished	8	0	14	22
undecorated other	244	4	366	614
<i>Total</i>	268	4	419	691

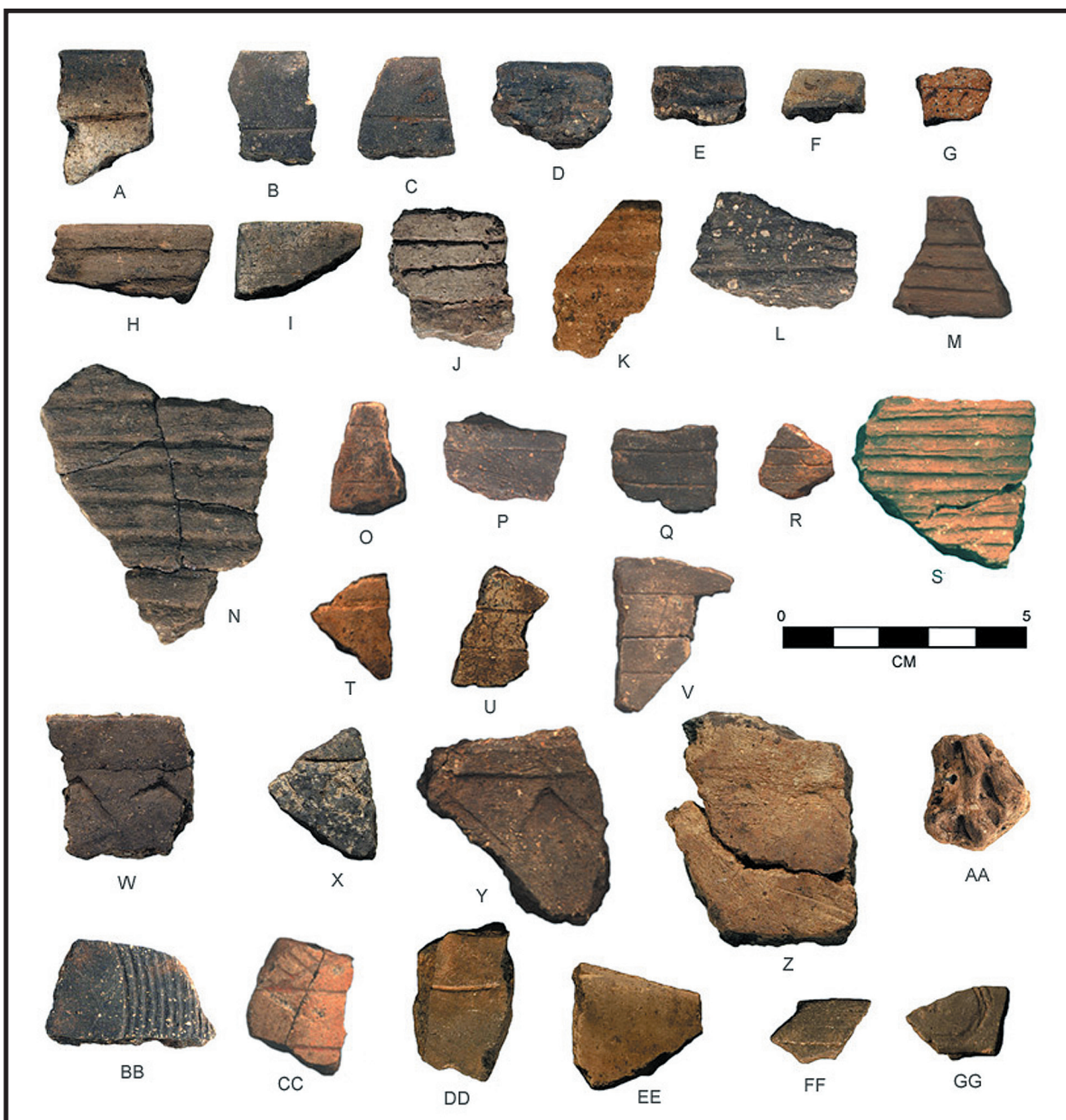


Figure 16. Selected decorated sherds from the Mound 2 area.

Mean sherd thickness is relatively high for the undecorated and Coles Creek specimens (Table 2). Other decorated specimens tend to be slightly thinner, although the incised specimens exhibit considerable variation. Mean sherd thickness over 7 mm is common in Late Woodland period contexts in the region (e.g., Girard 2005; Schambach 1998), but in later Caddo period contexts, vessel walls tended to be thinner.

Temper was examined using a low-powered magnifying light except for some ambiguous specimens where a binocular microscope was employed at 10x to 20x magnification. All specimens appear to have grog temper, with a small percentage (9.4% overall) containing crushed bone as well (Table 3).

Table 2. Thickness (mm) Data for Sherds in the Mound 2 Area				
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev.</i>
single horizontal line incised	16	3-11	6.125	2.125
multiple horizontal line incised	25	4-11	6.280	1.568
Coles Creek Incised, var. <i>Coles Creek</i>	4	7-9	8.500	1.000
Crockett Curvilinear Incised	2	5-5	5.000	0.000
Hollyknowe Pinched	1		6.000	
engraved	4	4-6	5.500	1.000
Belcher Ridged	3	5-6	5.333	0.577
undecorated, polished	22	4-8	5.091	1.192
undecorated, other	582*	3-15	7.390	1.894
*32 sherds were split so that thickness could not be measured				

Table 3. Temper Categories for Sherds in the Mound 2 Area (row percentages)			
	<i>grog</i>	<i>grog and bone</i>	<i>Total</i>
single horizontal line incised	14 (87.5)	2 (12.5)	16
multiple horizontal line incised	23 (92.0)	2 (8.0)	25
Coles Creek Incised, var. <i>Coles Creek</i>	4 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	4
Crockett Curvilinear Incised	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	2
Hollyknowe Pinched	1 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	1
engraved	4 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	4
Belcher Ridged	3 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	3
undecorated, polished	19 (86.4)	3 (13.6)	22
undecorated, other	557 (90.7)	57 (9.3)	614
<i>Total</i>	626 (90.6)	65 (9.4)	691

Stone Artifacts

Classification and distribution of the stone artifacts is presented in Table 4. Raw materials used for stone tool production consist almost entirely of local chert pebbles (152 of the 159 specimens, 95.6%). Most are tan or dark red, but various shades of gray, black, and white specimens are represented as well. All seem to be within the range of locally observed pebbles—no distinct Ozark or Central Texas cherts were noted. Other materials represented consist of four flakes of fine-grained quartzite, one angular fragment of sandstone, one angular fragment of silicified wood, and one arrow point of novaculite.

Table 4. Stone Artifacts from the Mound 2 Area (column percentages)				
	<i>Test Pit 1</i>	<i>Test Pit 2</i>	<i>Test Pit 3</i>	<i>Total</i>
flakes	30 (73.2)	11 (73.3)	60 (58.3)	101
angular fragments	11 (26.8)	4 (26.7)	29 (28.2)	44
pebble cores	0	0	5 (4.9)	5
flake bifaces	0	0	9 (8.7)	9
<i>Total</i>	41	15	103	159

Of the 101 flakes, 38 specimens have cortical striking platforms, 10 have single-facet platforms, one has a multi-faceted platform, 23 have crushed platforms, and the remaining specimens are distal flake fragments. Cortex is present on 75 of the 101 flakes (74.3%). The high percentage of specimens with cortex and the almost total lack of faceted platforms suggest that chipping activities were confined largely to the splitting of chert pebbles, probably for production of flakes and angular fragments for expedient use without further retouch. However, two specimens, a flake of black chert and an angular fragment of tan chert have retouch flake scars along portions of their margins. The manufacture of arrow points appears to have been carried out occasionally, as at least two specimens probably represent unfinished points (Figure 17C, G), and two fragments (Figure 17H,I) may represent portions of specimens broken during manufacture.

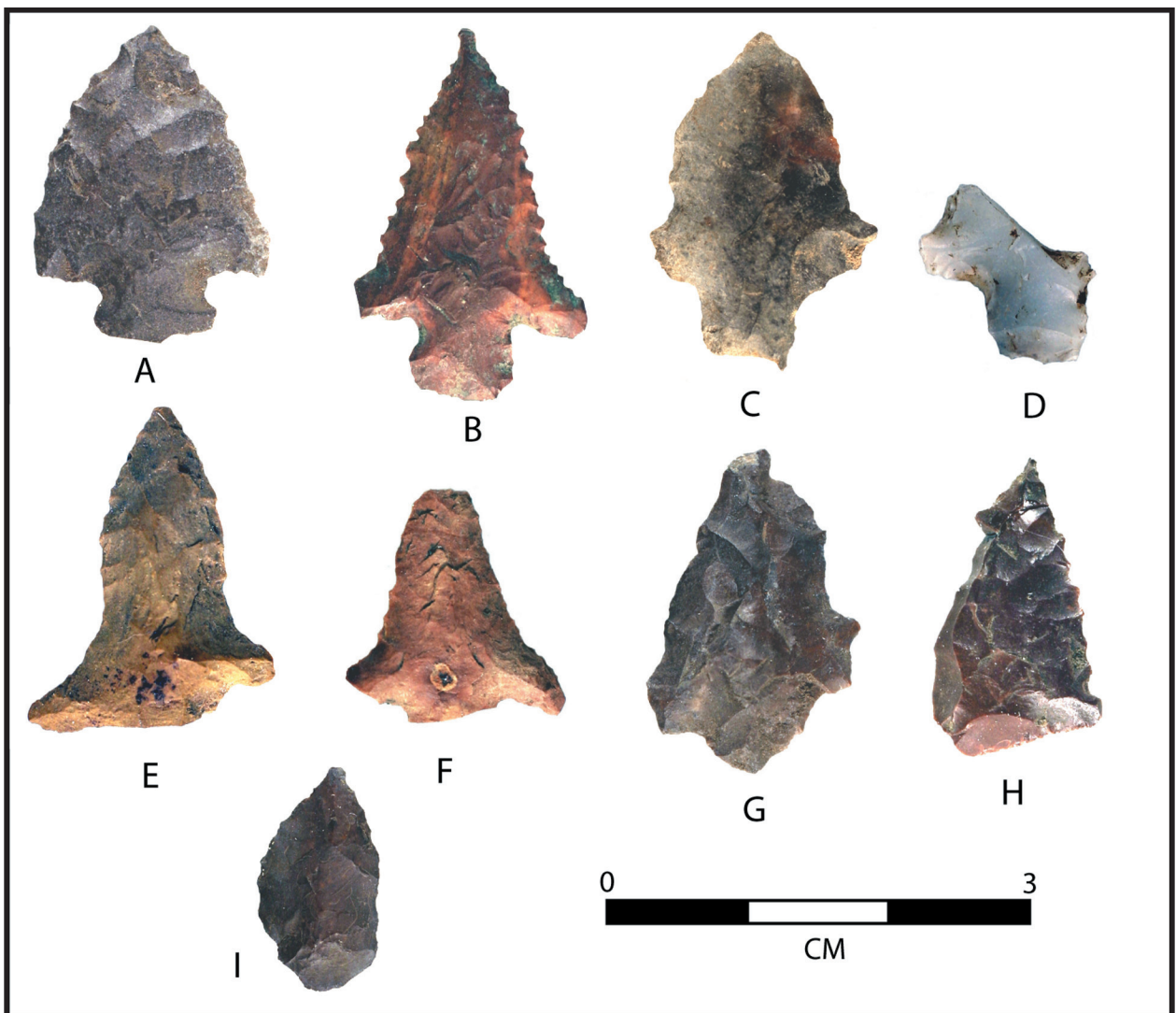


Figure 17. Arrow points from the Mound 2 area.

Nine flake bifaces were recovered from the test units in the Mound 2 area. Arrow point forms are similar to those found previously at Mounds Plantation and other Early Caddo period sites in the region. Two specimens (Figure 17 A,B) have slightly expanding stems with straight bases and appear to relate to Webb's (2000:16) Colbert type. The other two points with stems (Figure 17 C,D), including a novaculite specimen (Figure 17 D), have rectangular stems and relate to the widespread Alba type (Webb 2000:14). Webb and McKinney (1975) reported Colbert points only from Burial 12 in Mound 5, a single interment containing exclusively arrow points as burial goods. Burial 12 apparently was made prior to construction of the bulk of Mound 5 during what Webb considered to be the Coles Creek occupation of the site. Alba points were the most numerous forms reported by Webb and McKinney (1975:Table3), and were found both as surface finds and in burial contexts. The remaining two recovered arrow points (Figure 17 E,F) have prominent shoulders but the stems are missing. One specimen (Figure 17 G) appears to be a preform, and two (Figure 17 H,I) are fragments.

Test Unit in Mound 5

According to Webb and McKinney (1975:47), the former landowner removed the upper two-thirds of the western portion of Mound 5 in 1959 and additional fill from the top of the eastern portion in the following year. Bone fragments and Belcher Ridged sherds were uncovered suggesting that a human burial was disturbed. In the fall of 1960, McKinney was allowed to excavate remaining portions of the mound. Webb participated intermittently, and, along with Robert Plant, made notes, photographs, and drawings. Although the exact locations of the excavations are not known, a map made by Webb showing the location of the property boundary on the eastern side of the site enables us to make a reasonable plot of the trenches and units on our contour map (Figure 18).

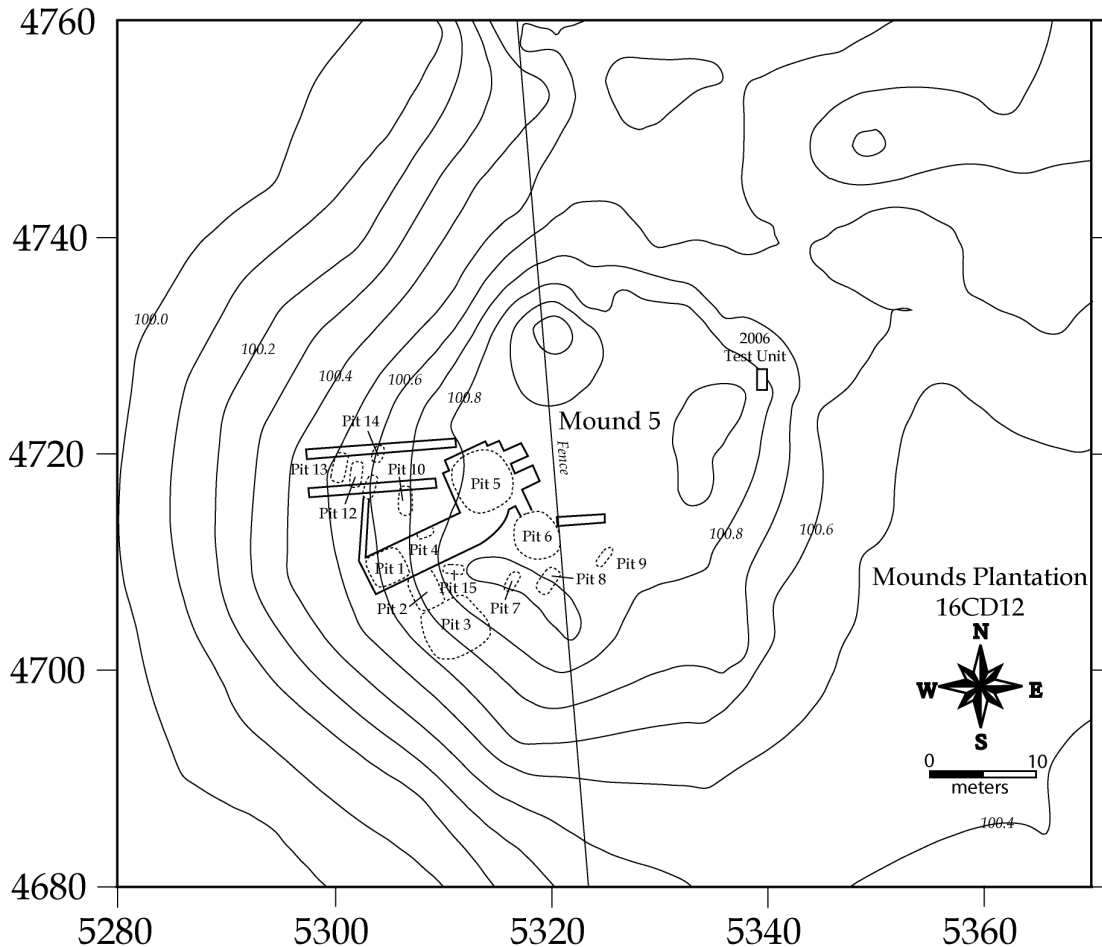


Figure 18. Contour map of Mound 5 showing excavation units.

Near the top of the mound (within the upper 50 cm), two burials were encountered, both with ceramic vessels relating to the Late Caddo period (see Webb and McKinney 1975). Four trenches were then excavated into the mound. In Trench 1, the pre-mound surface was encountered at 2.7 m below the crest of the mound. Although the situation was not completely clear, it appeared that the mound was constructed in at least two stages. There was no evidence of midden accumulation or soil development on top of the primary mound which was approximately 1.2 m high. A summary of the burial pits encountered during the excavations is presented below. For more detailed information, and descriptions of the recovered artifacts, see Webb and McKinney (1975). Cross sections and a planview presented in that paper are reproduced here as Figures 19 and 20.

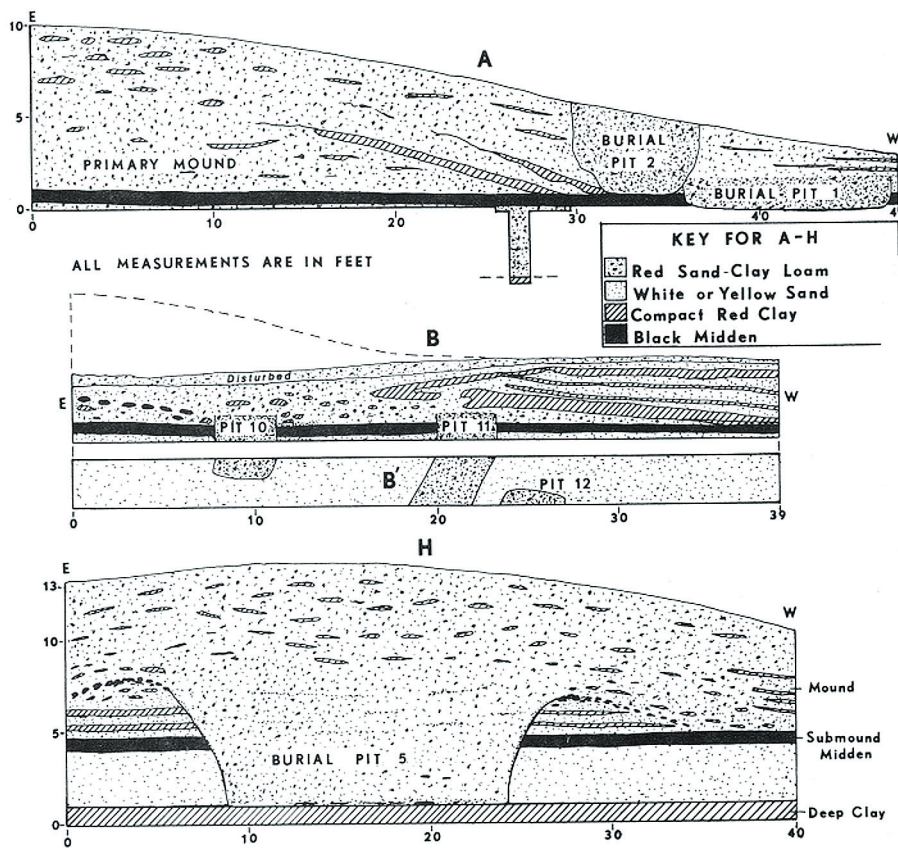


Figure 19. Mound 5 Profiles from Webb and McKinney (1975: Figure 7).

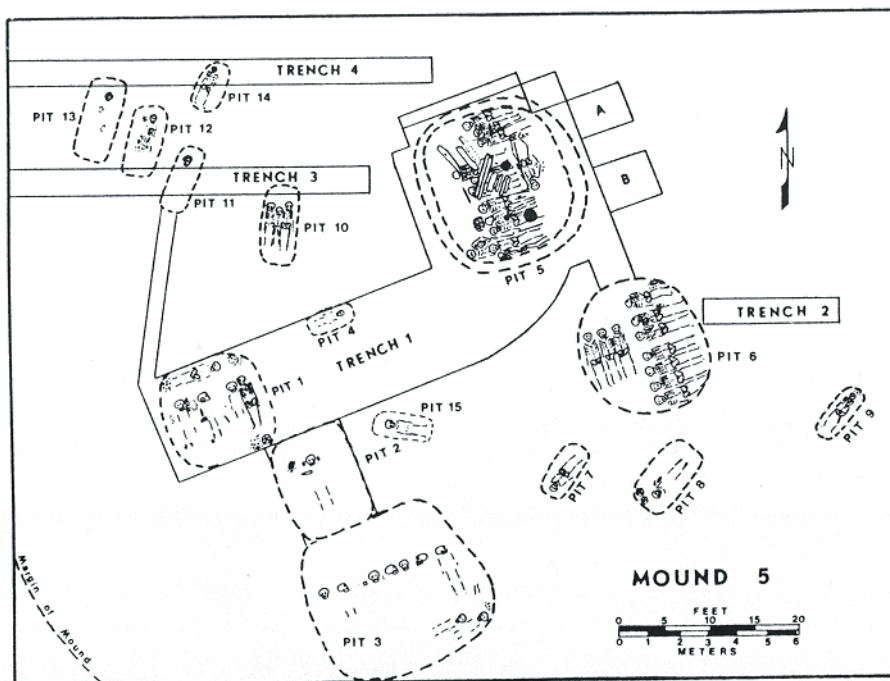


Figure 20. 1960 Excavation Units into Mound 5 from Webb and McKinney (1975: Figure 4).

Burial Pit 6 was placed through the primary mound and represents one of the earliest burials discovered in the Mound 5 excavations. Seven individuals were placed in a row with heads to the southwest. Above their heads were three additional individuals with heads to the northwest. Six other burials encountered in the northwestern portion of the mound (Burial 4 and Burials 10 through 14) also appeared to relate to the primary mound. Burial Pit 10 had three individuals without burial goods. Burial Pit 12 contained a single individual. Stains suggested that litter poles and possibly fabric were present. Finally, Burial Pits 4, 11, and 14 also had single individuals with skeletal material in poor condition. No grave goods were present.

Burial Pit 1 appeared to be in the sand and clay cap that covered the primary mound near the southwestern end. However, it did not appear to originate from the top of the mound and its position in the sequence of burials is not clear. A row of five individuals were present and a sixth individual was perpendicular on the north side about 20 cm above the base of the pit. Several burial goods were included in Burial Pit 1.

After the primary mound in Mound 5 was capped, a large (4.6 x 4 m) central shaft burial (Burial Pit 5) was sunk through the mound into the underlying deposits. The pit contained multiple individuals along with numerous burial goods (see discussion by Webb and McKinney 1975:55-63). Several well-preserved logs overlay the burials. Two radiocarbon determinations on samples taken from these logs relate to the Early Caddo period: 860+/-120 B.P. (TX55) and 900+/-100 B.P. (M-1446). A third sample 475+/-100 B.P. (TX56) is considerably later, perhaps due to modern contamination or lab error.

Following additional mound construction, six more burial pits were put in Mound 5. Burial Pit 2 began at the mound summit and went through the pre-mound midden to a depth of 1.8 m. A larger pit, Burial Pit 3, was adjacent to Pit 2 at about the same level. Three burial pits were found along the upper slope of the mound on the south side. Burial Pit 7 originated in the primary mound cap and was sunk through the pre-mound midden. Burial Pits 8 and 9 apparently were in the same stratigraphic context. Finally, human skeletal material in poor condition washed out of the upper mound slope south of Trench 1 was labeled Burial Pit 15.

In an attempt to determine the condition of the remaining moundfill and nature of the sub-mound deposits, we excavated a 1-x-2-m test unit on the eastern edge of the remaining rise in January 2006. The excavations were conducted in 10 cm horizontal levels and the fill was screened through ¼-inch mesh. The unit went through the mound remnant (Strata 1 and 2), into the sub-mound 2A and 2C soil horizons. A large pit feature (Feature 2) with a ring of dense red clay (Feature 1) around its upper periphery was partially exposed. Distinct loadings within Feature 2 were assigned separate designations (Feature 2A through 2E). A small pit feature (Feature 3), likely to represent a posthole, was encountered adjacent to Feature 2. Each of the deposits and features is described below.

Stratum 2

Stratum 2 consists of very fine sandy loam sediments that constitute the uppermost remaining moundfill (Figure 21, Figure 22). A weakly developed soil is developed in the fill with the upper 10 to 12 cm (A horizon) slightly darker (7.5YR3/2) in color than the underlying deposits (C horizon) (7.5YR3/4). The deposits were homogeneous in color, with no evidence of basket loads. Roots were numerous and there was evidence of rodent burrowing. Early 20th century artifacts were scattered throughout the stratum. A tenant farm house was located on top of the mound until 1959 when the structure was dismantled and the surface leveled. Four undecorated, grog-tempered sherds also were recovered in this stratum.

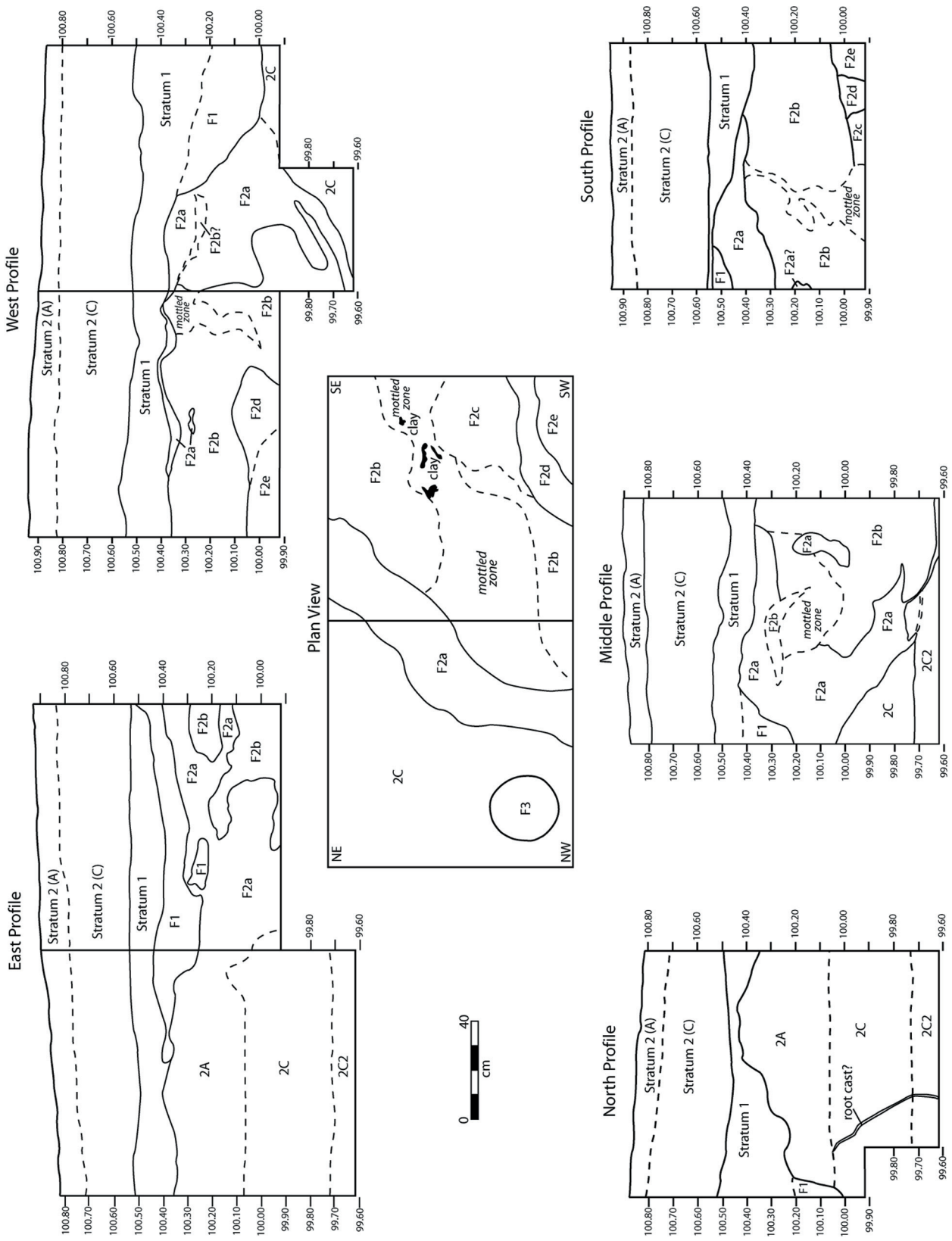


Figure 21. Profiles of the Mound 5 Test Pit.

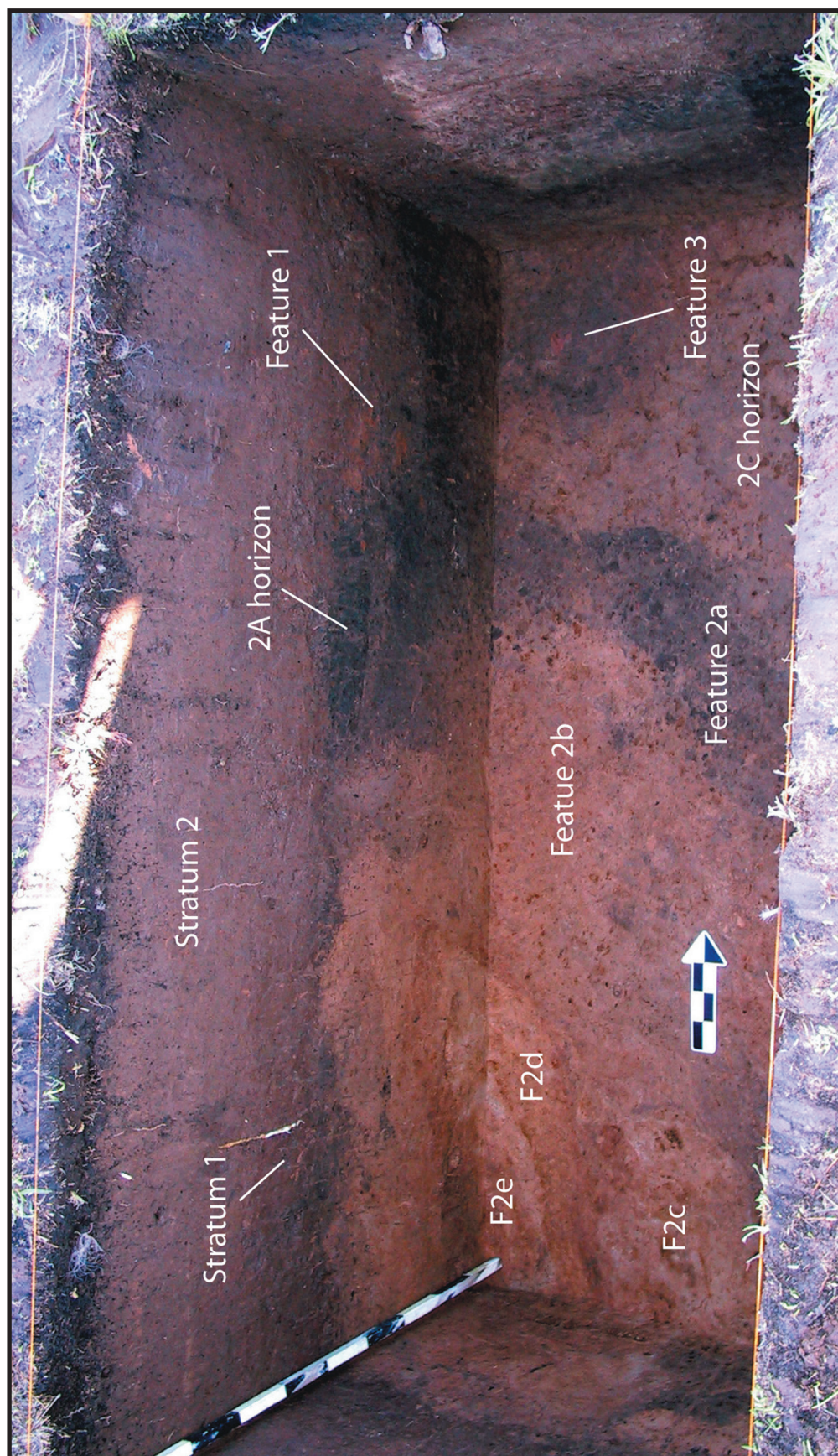


Figure 22. Photo of the west profile of Mound 5 Test Pit.

Stratum 1

Underlying Stratum 2 was a layer of dark reddish brown (5YR3/3) clay. The boundary with the overlying deposits ranged from level to wavy. The lower boundary with the 2A horizon was wavy. In some areas (particularly the northwest corner of the unit), Stratum 1 appears to dip into the 2A horizon. Stratum 1 was generally 15 to 20 cm thick, but almost pinched out in the north profile (see Figure 21). A few historic artifacts were recovered, apparently having been displaced by bioturbation from Stratum 2. The clay appeared chunky rather than massive, and likely represents a clay base to the mound rather than a natural alluvial deposit. The clay that overlies the buried A horizon along the terrace edge is similar in color, but, as noted in the Mound 2 area discussion, is a natural deposit that accumulated long after the site was abandoned. Webb included discontinuous strata of red clay in his Mound 5 profiles (see Figure 19). He noted that, along the lower slopes, a clay layer of about the same thickness as Stratum 1 directly overlay the submound midden, then rose toward the mound center capping the primary mound (Webb and McKinney 1975:50-51).

Submound Deposits.

The upper deposits (2A horizon) of the land surface directly beneath Stratum 1 were dark brown (7.5YR3/2) very fine sandy loam. Small chunks of clay were present throughout due to leaching of Stratum 1. The 2A horizon was truncated by Feature 2 in the southern portions of the unit. A gradual boundary separated the 2A and 2C horizons of the submound terrace deposit. The 2C horizon consists of a brown (7.5YR4/4) to strong brown (7.5YR4/6) very fine sandy loam. Red and gray mottles increased with depth and by about 99.70 m they constituted at least half of the deposits (2C2 horizon).

Feature 1.

Feature 1 consisted of a dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/4) clay that was present intermittently along the margins of the large Feature 2 pit. The feature clearly intruded into the 2A horizon (see Figure 22). Feature 1 directly underlay Stratum 1 and was distinguished from it by its slightly redder color and chunkier nature. In the east profile, the upper boundary is gently concave and has an overall basin shape. The clay deposits were clearly loaded in chunks, some of which are isolated in the 2A deposits. The Feature 1 deposits were not present over the central portion of Feature 2. Webb plotted small lenses of compact red clay throughout the mound fill. Although the test pit obviously only samples a small area, it appears that the Feature 1 clay is associated with the Feature 2 pit.

A single brushed sherd was recovered in the Feature 1 clay. Brushing is not a common surface finishing technique at Mounds Plantation, although Webb and McKinney (1975:Table 2) reported 15 specimens. Brushed utilitarian jars became dominant after about A.D. 1200 (Middle Caddo period) in the region, but have been reported from other Early Caddo period contexts (Webb 1983:192).

Feature 2.

Feature 2 appears to be the northwest corner of a large, submound pit, probably similar to the burial pits encountered on the west side of the mound by McKinney and Webb. The complete outline of the feature was not exposed, but it is likely to be a slightly squared oval, similar to the other large burial pits (Pits 1, 3, 5, and 6—see Figure 20). The orientation, with the long axis slightly northwest to southeast, also appears the same.

The Feature 2 deposits are subdivided into five units for descriptive purposes. Feature 2A appears to represent 2A horizon sediments that line the upper margins of the pit. These sediments are thickest at the top of the feature, and thin out into lenses with depth (best seen in the middle and west profiles of Figure 15). These sediments also became thinner over the interior portions of the feature (as seen in the east and south profiles of Figure 21).

Feature 2b is the primary fill of the pit. It apparently was basket loaded and varies in color with strong brown (7.5YR4/6), reddish brown (5YR5/4), and yellowish red (5YR4/6) dominant, and numerous grayer patches. The texture generally was a very fine sandy loam, but small patches of gray clay were present. Features 2c, 2d, and 2e appear to represent three distinct loadings. The fills are multi-colored. All are present in the southwest corner of the test unit. Feature 2C is the outermost fill and present primarily in planview at the 99.92 m level (see Figure 21). The fill is similar to the surrounding Feature 2b, but contains more gray mottles. Feature 2d is separated from 2c by a thin reddish brown band. The boundaries are well defined in both the south and west profiles, as well as in planview. The feature appears to have cut through (and thus postdates) Feature 2c, and extends farther to the north. Feature 2e lies entirely within Feature 2d, and might simply represent a basket load within the fill. The outer fill consists of a gray band with a very thin dark reddish brown band around its perimeter. None of the inner features appear to extend to the top of Feature 2, but rather have a distinct upper boundary that slants down from west to east from approximately the 100.05 level to the 99.95 level, suggesting that the deposits were loaded as the Feature 2 pit was filled. However, this is not completely clear and the possibility that the pit was filled, partially re-opened, and re-filled on more than one occasion cannot be dismissed.

Feature 3.

Feature 3 is a dark oval area, approximately 27 cm by 30 cm in size at the 99.92 m level, visible beneath the 2A horizon in the northwest corner of the test unit (see Figure 20). The fill at the upper level was similar to the 2A horizon—very fine sandy loam, 7.5YR3/2, with a grayer more mottled zone along the south and east sides (Figure 23). The feature was left on a pedestal as the surrounding deposits were excavated to 99.62 m, and later was cross sectioned. The dark deposits continued to a depth of about 99.76 m. Beneath these was a mottled zone that tapered to the base of the excavation. It is possible that the mottled zone represents a posthole, with the darker area the decayed remains of a post. Although the top of the 2A horizon (the pre-mound surface) is truncated by Stratum 1 in this area, it likely was about the 100.40 m level, indicating that the posthole was about 80 cm deep and the post set about 64 cm deep. Stratum 1 was visible across the northwest corner of the unit and was not cut through by Feature 3. Thus the upper portion of the post must have been broken or removed prior to deposition of Stratum 1.

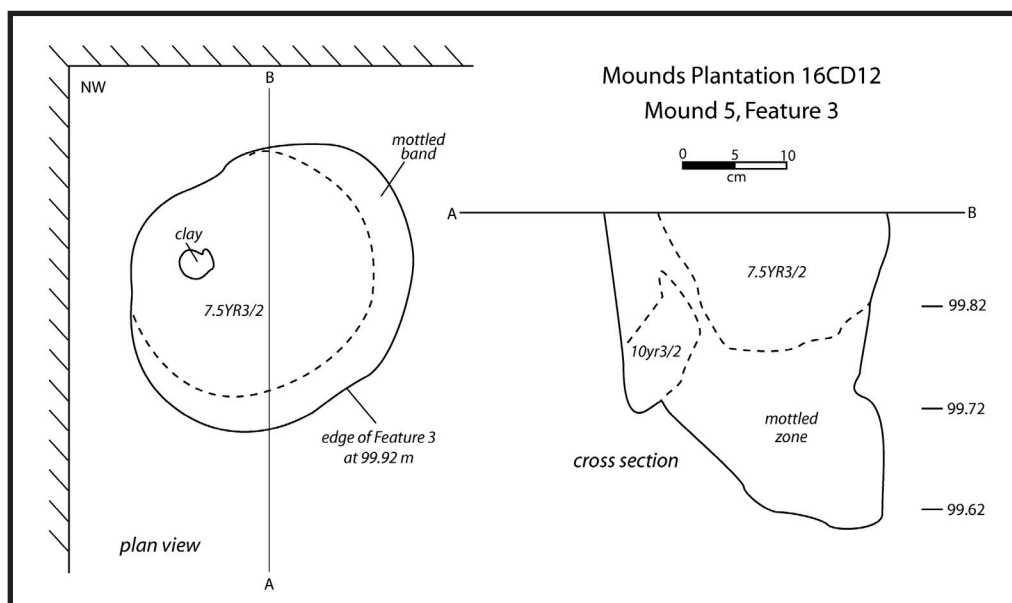


Figure 23. Plan view and cross section of Feature 3, Mound 5.

Discussion

Although the upper portion of Mound 5 has been removed, the test unit clearly shows that at least 50 cm of fill remains on the eastern side. The investigations also demonstrate that additional burial pits and other features are likely to be present in the submound deposits. Out of respect for the Caddo people, and in accordance with Louisiana state law, we did not continue excavation into Feature 2 and clearly demonstrate that it represents a burial pit. However, similarities to some of the burials pits described by Webb and McKinney (1975) leave little doubt that the feature relates to a burial that was interred prior to placement of the lowest mound deposit (Stratum 1), and thus might represent one of the earliest burial events in the Mound 5 area.

Unfortunately, no charcoal for radiometric dating, or artifacts diagnostic of a particular time period were recovered in the submound deposits. However, the potential for recovering such material appears to be good with more extensive excavations that do not impact human burials.

Investigation of Mound 6

Description of Mound 6

Mound 6 is large, about 80 m x 60 m, similar in size to Mound 1. However, it is only a little more than 50 cm high. When described by Webb, it was 60 cm tall and 45-50 m in diameter. Since that time, Mound 6 does not appear to have been cut down significantly, although it apparently has been spread out by plowing. Webb and McKinney (1975) reported that a barn, garden, and windmill were on the mound summit. According to the landowner, the barn sat on a concrete curb foundation. It was torn down in the 1980s, and large concrete slabs were pushed into the pond to the southeast. The windmill was adjacent to the barn, but blew down during a tornado in the late 1960s. A pump house was located next to the windmill, and an electric high wire crossed above the north side of the mound providing power for the pump. A gravel road ran southeast to northwest on the north side of the mound.

The gradiometer results from 2007 showed two large, intense anomalies, one on the eastern edge of the mound summit and one near the base of the mound on the southeastern slope (Figure 24). A probe excavated in 2007 indicated brick and concrete within a meter of the surface in the first of these, possibly from the base of the former windmill. The downslope anomaly probably is from displaced large concrete slabs that once formed the foundation for the barn. A linear anomaly in the southwestern portion of the gradiometer sample area might be an intact portion of the concrete foundation. At the north end of the mound summit was an area of numerous scattered anomalies. Although most of these were dipole signals likely from historic iron debris, we decided to excavate a shovel test in this area to determine this for certain.

Shovel Test and Test Unit

We began a 30-x-30-cm shovel test with the southeast corner located at N4823E5054.3. All fill was screened through ¼-inch mesh. The shovel test later was expanded into a 1-x-1-m unit designated by the southwest corner (N4823E5053) in accordance with our previous procedures. Deposits in the upper 10 to 15 cm were yellowish red (5YR4/6) very fine sandy loam with a gradual, irregular lower boundary suggesting that this represents the zone regularly disked for cultivation (Figure 25). Underlying the plowzone was reddish brown (5YR4/4) very fine sandy loam that was mottled with small redder and grayer patches easily seen in the unit profiles (Figure 26). This zone likely represents loaded moundfill that has been subject to deep plowing. The landowner noted that past plowing probably penetrated about 2 feet (60 cm) below surface. The upper moundfill contained chunks of mortar, brick fragments, bottle glass, and gravel, as well as a few Caddo sherds.

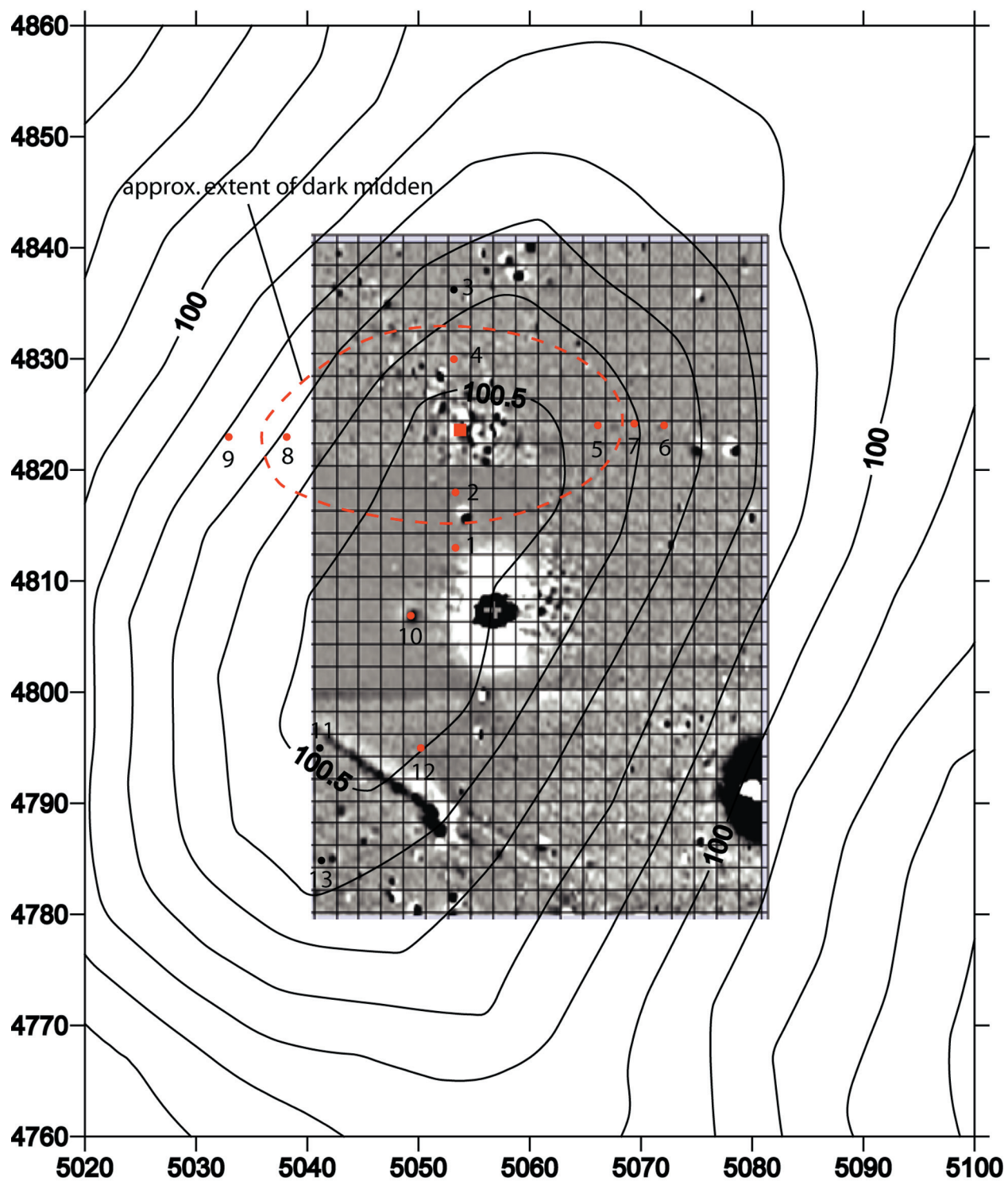


Figure 24. Contour map of Mound 6 with superimposed gradiometer data. Red dots indicate locations of soil probes; the red square is the location of the test unit.

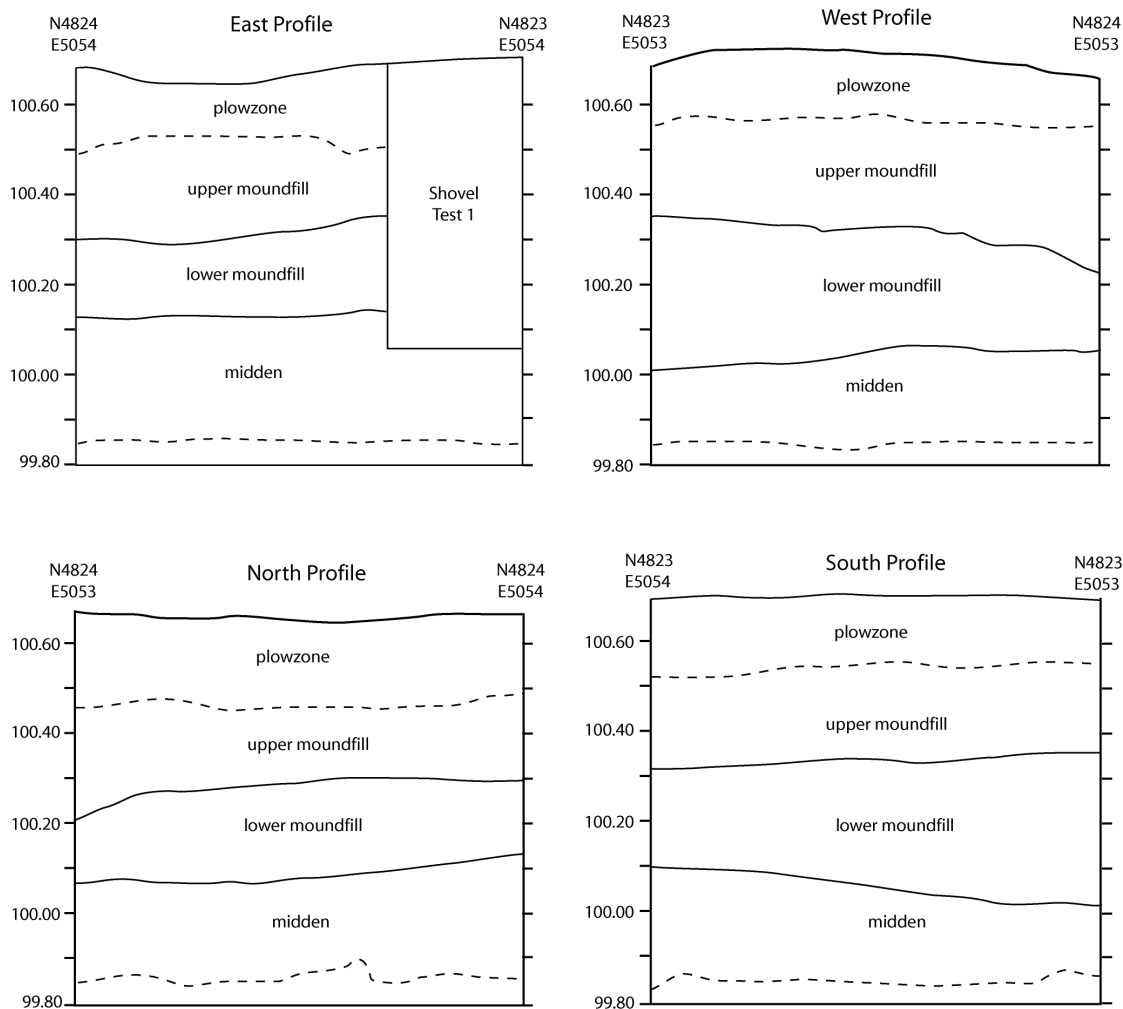


Figure 25. Profiles of the test unit, Mound 6.



Figure 26. Photograph of the north profile of the test unit, Mound 6.

Underlying the mottled zone was a layer of significantly more homogeneous reddish brown (5YR4/3) very fine sandy loam (lower moundfill). In places, particularly visible in the north and west profiles, an abrupt horizontal line separated these two zones; the change was more subtle on the west and south sides. The lower moundfill was between about 20 and 35 cm thick. Deposits were slightly grayer in the upper portion suggesting a possible weakly developed A horizon which might indicate that significant time elapsed between deposition of the lower and upper zones. No historic materials appeared to come from within the lower moundfill and it does not appear likely that plowing penetrated to this depth.

The surface beneath the mound was easily detected between the 100.12 and 100.02 m levels. This surface appeared to dip slightly from the northeast to the southwest. Deposits consisted of very dark gray (5YR3/1) very fine sandy loam with numerous worm casts. Many Caddo sherds and a moderate amount of stone chipping debris were recovered. There was a slight rise in the dark deposits in the northeast corner of the unit, perhaps an accumulation of sediment above the plane of the ground surface in this area. It is possible, however, that the rise simply represents a slightly undulating former ground surface.

A sample of scattered charcoal collected in the sub-mound deposits between 100.00 and 99.90 m was submitted for AMS radiocarbon analysis. The result [1010±25 B.P.; UGAM06468; wood charcoal; $\delta^{13}\text{C}=-27.0$] suggests that the area was occupied in the late 10th or early 11th century.

Soil Probes

We excavated 13 soil probes across the mound to delimit the extent of the sub-mound dark midden deposits, and to look for additional features. Probes 1 through 9 were placed on the northern portion of the mound to find the extent of the midden sampled by the test unit (see Figure 24). We were able to identify the sub-mound surface in all of the tests. The dark midden deposit ended between Probes 1 and 2 on the north, Probes 8 and 9 on the west, Probes 3 and 4 on the north, and Probes 5 and 7 on the east. Thus, the midden appears to cover an area roughly 30 m (east-west) by 20 m (north-south).

Four additional probes were placed in the southern portion of the mound. Probe 10 was placed near an anomaly in the gradiometer data, but did not encounter a distinct feature. The sub-mound surface was detected at 75 cm below surface and was a dark reddish brown (5YR3/3) fine sandy loam—not as dark as the midden. Similar results were found in Probe 11. Probe 12 had a distinct clay loam fill between 40 and 60 cm. Directly beneath this was the sub-mound surface. Fine sandy loam was encountered at 95 cm in Probe 13, but we were unsure whether this represented a buried surface. The upper deposits were mottled in this probe and it is possible that there is a Caddo feature within the moundfill or a historic disturbance in this area.

Pottery

Sherds were numerous in the pre-mound deposits, and a few specimens were present in the upper and lower moundfills (Table 5). A total of 198 sherds was recovered, 175 of which (88.4%) are undecorated. Thirteen rim sherds are undecorated. Four of these are polished on both surfaces and appear to represent bowls. It was possible to measure rim diameters of 26, 24, and 14 cm on three specimens. All are tapered with thin, flat lips. At least two jars appear to be represented—one with a rim diameter of 15 cm and another with a relatively wide 30 cm diameter suggesting a large vessel.

Table 5. Artifacts from the Mound 6 Test Unit						
	<i>shovel test</i>	<i>upper moundfill</i>	<i>mixed</i>	<i>lower moundfill</i>	<i>midden</i>	<i>total</i>
<i>Ceramics</i>						
undecorated	2	5	4	11	153	175
horizontal incised single line		1		2	6	9
Coles Creek Incised, <i>var. Greenhouse or Blakely</i>			1		6	7
Coles Creek Incised, <i>var. Hardy</i>	1				2	3
Coles Creek Incised, <i>var. Coles Creek</i>	1				0	1
engraved				1	2	3
clay lumps			4		1	5
<i>Lithics</i>						
flakes	1	5	5	6	47	64
pebble cores					5	5
angular fragments	1	2		2	14	19
sandstone/ironstone chunks					2	2
Burned bone fragments				3	9	12

Most decorations consist of horizontal incised lines, probably on the upper portions of vessels. Three specimens have multiple lines spaced at close (less than 1 cm) intervals (Figure 27 A-C). These are classified as Coles Creek Incised, *var. Hardy*. Two of these are rim sherds, probably from jars of unknown rim diameter. Eight specimens have only a single incised line (Figure 27 D-K). Some of these may be from vessels with multiple widely-spaced lines, but the specimens are too small to tell for certain. Two are rim sherds with relatively thick flat lips and may be from bowls. Seven specimens have widely-spaced horizontal incised lines (Figure 27 L-O). These sherds are similar to the *Greenhouse* and *Blakely* varieties of the type Coles Creek Incised (Phillips 1970). One small sherd has the distinctive triangular punctations of Coles Creek Incised, *var. Coles Creek* (Figure 27 R). The sherd is broken above the row of punctations and no incised lines are present. Three sherds are typed as engraved, although the distinction between fine incising and engraving is somewhat subjective. Two have only single lines (Figure 27 P-Q). The third (not illustrated) has very faint multiple parallel lines.

Although decorative characteristics of the recovered specimens resemble the type Coles Creek Incised, paste attributes are similar to other pottery from Mounds Plantation and other sites in northwest Louisiana. In contrast to much Lower Mississippi Valley Coles Creek pottery, there tends to be considerable amounts of fine sand in the fabric and four specimens also contain crushed bone.

Stone Artifacts

All recovered stone from the Mound 6 unit appears to represent chipping debris—no tools or tool fragments were found. Local chert specimens consist of 64 flakes, 19 angular fragments, and five pebble cores. We also recovered a chunk of ferruginous sandstone and a chunk of ironstone—neither appear modified. Of the 64 recovered flakes, 18 have cortical striking platforms, seven have single facet platforms, three have multiple facet platforms, 12 have crushed platforms, and 24 are distal flake fragments lacking platforms. Cortex is present on 42 (65.6%) of the 64 flakes. The chipping debris is similar to that recovered near Mound 2. It appears that the stone technology focused on splitting chert pebbles to produce useable flakes, rather than production of formally retouched tools.

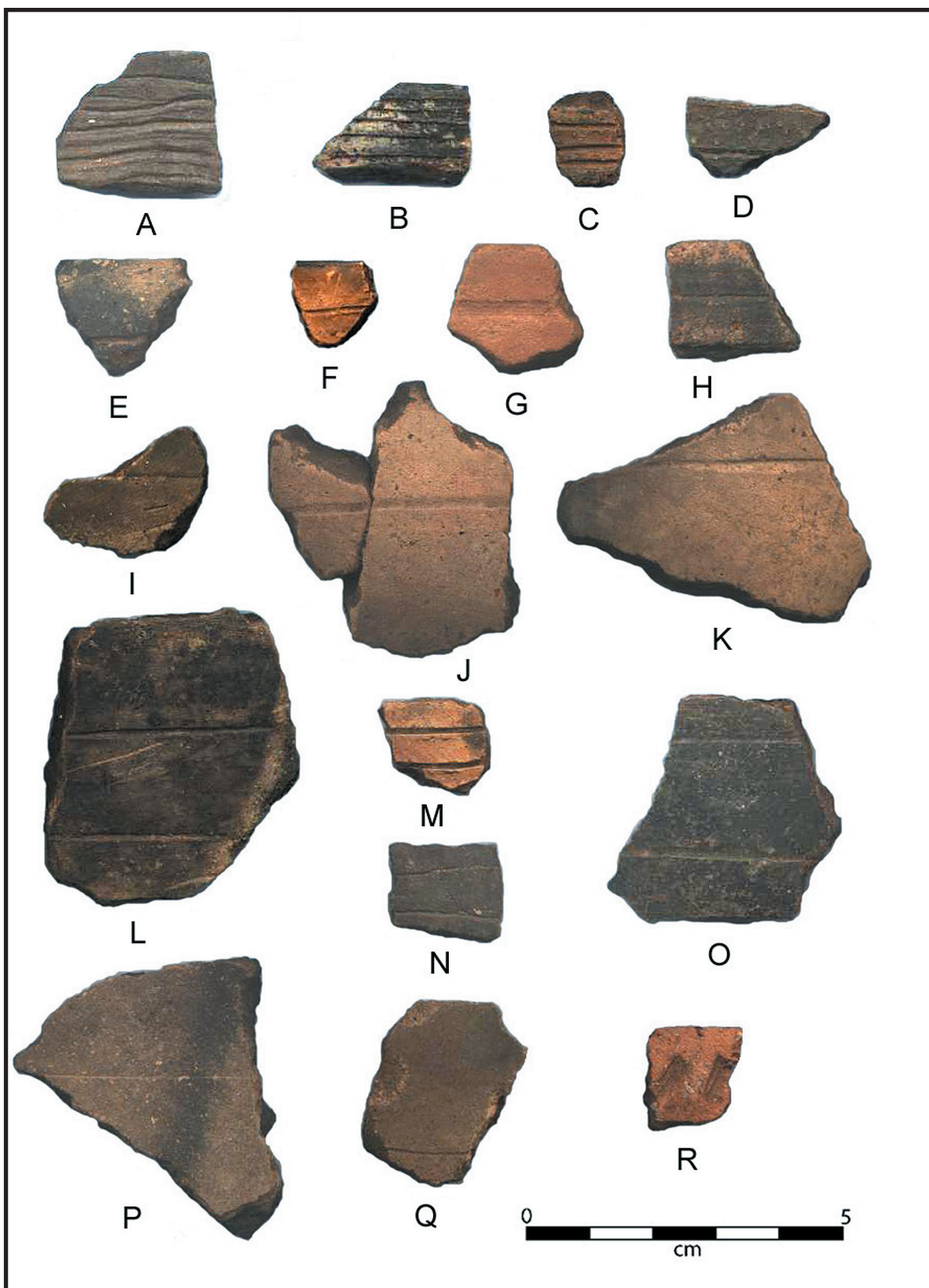


Figure 27. Decorated sherds from test unit, Mound 6.

Current Conditions of the Other Mounds

Mound 1

Veatch (1899) estimated that the top of “Treasure Mound” (probably Mound 1) was about 75 x 75 ft in extent. However, Moore, also apparently describing Mound 1, measured the summit-plateau at 145 x 90 ft. Our current estimate is close to this—in the 45 x 30 m (148 x 98 ft) range. Removal of upper portions of the mound between Veatch and Moore’s observations could account for the increase in size of the summit. Veatch (1899) estimated the mound to be 16 ft high and Moore regarded the height as a “trifle more than 15 ft”. Webb and McKinney (1975:43) stated that Mound 1 was cut down when the landowner’s house was constructed (about 1925), and the mound now is between 2.5 and 2.7 m high or about 8.5 ft tall—a little over half the height reported by Veatch and Moore. The present landowners, there since the early 1960s, have not altered Mound 1. The house remains on the top and the area is planted in grass with no substantial erosion evident (Figure 28). Barns and other outbuildings are situated on the north and west sides. The mound is roughly quadrilateral with a flat top, steep sides, and no trace of a ramp. Moore measured the base at 220 ft x 160 ft. Currently the base seems larger (approx. 81 x 63 m or 266 x 207 ft.), although the edges are not easily defined. Mound 1 has not been plowed and the difference could be due to broadening of the base from slopewash. It should be noted that Webb (Webb and McKinney 1975:40) thought that Moore described Mounds 2 and 5. I agree that Moore first describes Mound 2, but think it more likely that the second mound described (Moore 1912:438) was Mound 1 rather than Mound 5.

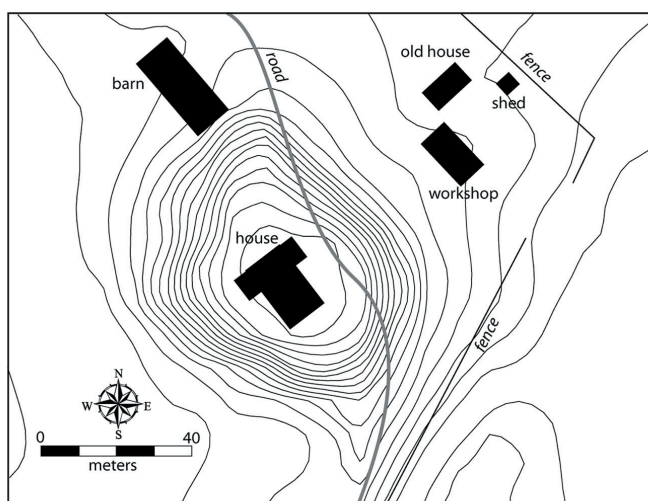


Figure 28. Contour map of Mound 1 (upper) and photo looking southwest at the mound (lower).

Mound 3

When visited by Webb and McKinney in the early 1960s, Mound 3 had a flat top that was about 3 m high, and 36 m in diameter. The mound now is only about 50 cm tall, but the diameter is similar to that reported by Webb—actually somewhat larger probably from dispersion by plowing. It is not possible to ascertain the edges of the mound based on the surface topography. Deposits at the mound summit are sandy, contrasting with the surrounding clay.

In 1959, the landowner removed the tenant house on the summit, and had begun to level the deposits when he encountered a human burial. Ralph McKinney, a local rancher with an interest in archaeology, was notified and allowed to excavate a 30-m-long, 3.35-m-wide, trench through the center. Webb visited the site when the trench was open and made a schematic cross section (Figure 29). Above a thick dark midden that underlay the mound were two small, mounded areas capped by thin, dark midden zones. One of the small mounds contained a layer of ash within it. Additional fill consisting of sand mixed with lumps of clay formed the bulk of the overlying mound, which was capped by a thin midden layer. Concentrations of pottery and animal bone were found in the middens and Webb suggested that food preparation for ritual feasts was carried out in the area. At least two human burials were later placed in the top of the mound. The contents of the first burial, encountered by the landowner, are not known. McKinney found a second burial that included ceramic vessels dating to the Late Caddo period.

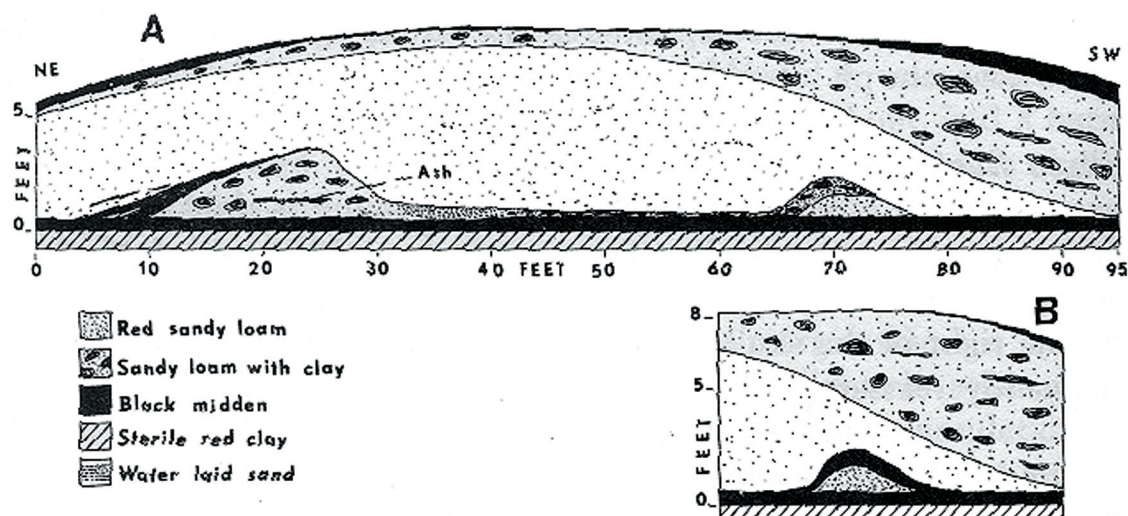


Figure 29. Cross sections of Mound 3 from Webb and McKinney (1975: Figure 2).

Webb suggested that Mound 3 was built over the remains of a structure and became an area where cooking and ceremonial feasting took place (Webb and McKinney 1975:47). Mound 3 now is only about 50 cm tall, but the diameter is similar to that reported by Webb—actually somewhat larger probably from dispersal by plowing. It is not possible to ascertain the edges of the mound based on the surface topography. Deposits at the mound summit are sandy contrasting with the surrounding clay. It is unfortunate that we no longer have the faunal remains recovered within Mound 3.

In November 2005, I excavated a 4-inch bucket auger test on the northeast edge of Mound 3, in clay surface deposits just beyond the sandy summit of the mound. The upper 30 cm were composed of dark reddish brown (5YR3/3) silty clay. The clay was underlain by reddish brown (5YR4/4) silt loam that graded to yellowish red (5YR4/6) by 80 cm. Although plowing has obscured the situation, it appears that the upper clay is recent alluvium overlying the older loamy natural levee deposits. No dark midden development was visible and no artifacts were recovered.

I later used a soil probe in an attempt to detect remnants of the sub-mound midden near the center, and on the western edge, of the mound. At the mound center, sandy loam sediments were present to a depth of at least 1.6 m without any distinct change indicative of a buried soil. It is possible that this probe sampled backfill from McKinney's 1959 trench. However, a similar situation also was encountered in the probe on the western edge of the mound. Despite these results, I feel that more extensive investigation of Mound 3 is warranted.

Mound 4

Mound 4 was described by Webb as a sandy area, 30-40 m in diameter and 30-50 cm high, located at the terrace edge. There has not been much change since then. The mound now is visible as a 30-40 cm rise with poorly defined margins. Due to plowing, it might be slightly larger than reported by Webb, particularly along the east-west axis. An auger test was placed in the remnant of Mound 4. The upper 30 cm of deposit was brown (7.5YR4/4) fine sandy loam with dark gray loamy patches at 25 cm. One sherd was recovered. A slightly coarser yellowish red (5YR4/6) sandy loam was present between 30 and 65 cm. A distinct change in the deposits was encountered at 65 cm where a dark reddish brown (5YR3/4) very fine sandy loam was identified. This horizon might represent the pre-mound surface deposits. Between 80 cm and 120 cm was a yellowish red (5YR5/8) fine sandy loam that became increasingly coarse and mottled to a depth of 1.8 m. No artifacts were recovered.

Mound 7

Webb designated a circular sandy area east of Mound 4 as Mound 7. The mound does not show up well topographically, although there is a slight rise between Mound 4 and the property line, farther east than plotted by Webb. In 2004, an auger test placed in the approximate area reported by Webb did not encounter a distinct buried soil horizon or a clay overburden leaving the status of Mound 7 as a cultural feature in doubt. Numerous artifacts are present on the plowed surface in the area, however, suggesting that habitation may have taken place there. We sampled the area with four 20-x-20-m grid units that also were used for the gradiometer study (Figure 30). Surface collections also were made from each of the grid units. The greatest number of artifacts was found in the northeastern unit, which is slightly higher in elevation.

Two large anomalies were present in the gradiometer data: one around N4866/E5240 and another around N4874/E5236. Both anomalies are similar to signatures that have proven to be prehistoric archeological features at other sites, however we have not yet tested this area with excavation units.

Mound 8

Mound 8, located adjacent to the old railroad tracks south of the plaza, was not described by Webb. No distinct mound is present in the area now. The most likely location is a low sandy rise south of Mound 6 (see Figure 7).

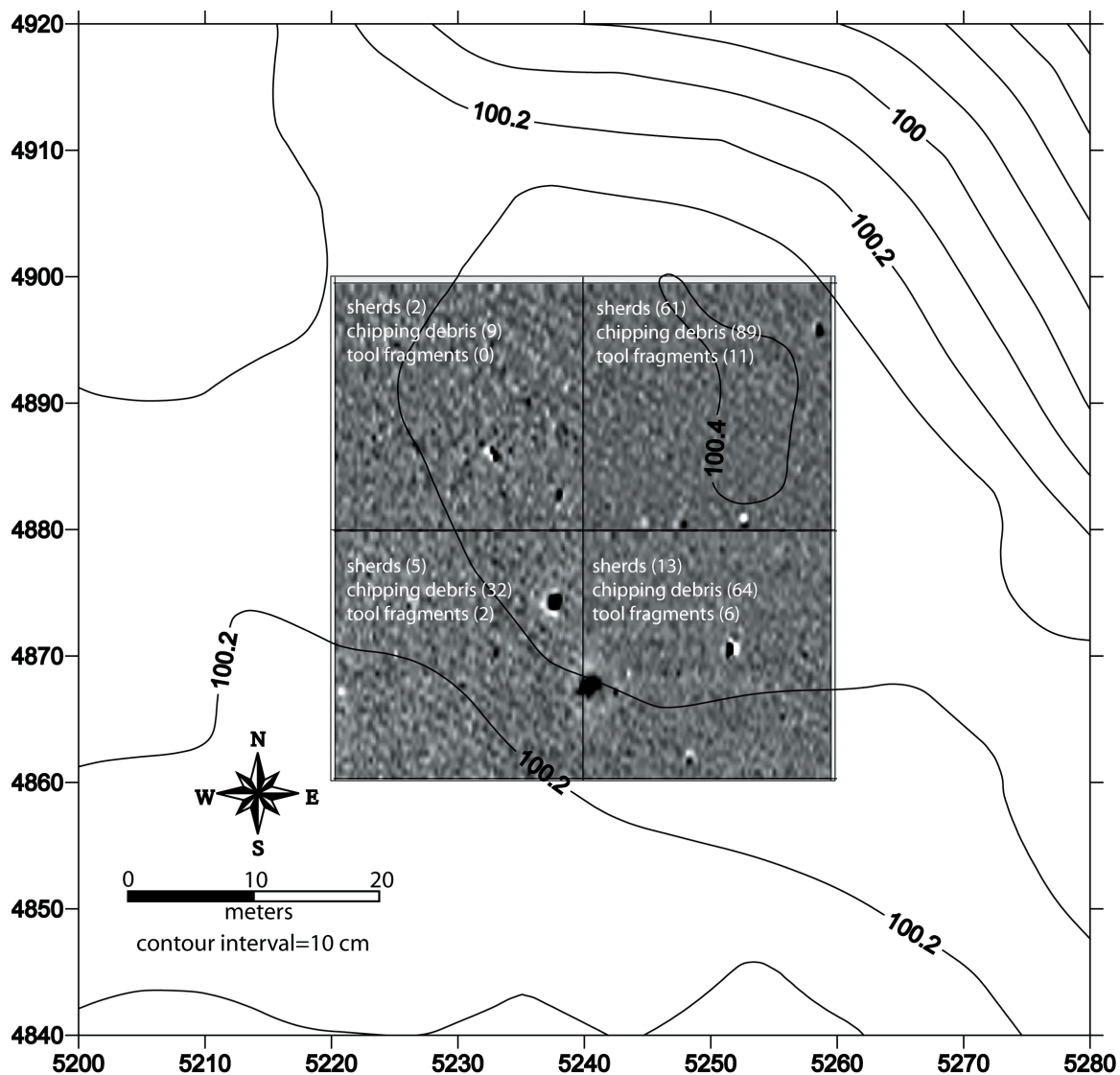


Figure 30. Sample grids in the Mound 7 area with gradiometer data.

Mound 9

The rise designated Mound 9 by Webb is readily visible as a sandy patch 35 m (north-south) by 25 m (east-west) in size located about 400 m northwest of Mound 2 (see Figure 4). It is less than 50 cm high. Webb described Mound 9 as 15 to 18 m in diameter. Although edges are not easily defined, it is likely that it has been spread by plowing since Webb's description.

I placed an auger test in the approximate center of the rise. The upper 20 cm were reddish brown (5YR4/4) very fine sandy loam. Between 20 cm and 30 cm below surface was a layer of dark reddish brown (5YR3/3) silt loam, followed by an abrupt change to yellowish red (5YR5/6) fine sandy loam. This deposit continued to 1.2 m below the surface at which point there was another abrupt change to dark reddish brown (5YR3/2) silt loam containing charcoal flecks. This deposit continued to at least 1.5 m when the deposits became saturated. The dark deposits at 1.2 m appear to represent a buried soil; probably the pre-mound surface. However, no artifacts were recovered in the auger test or were visible on the surface in the Mound 9 area.

Mound 10

Webb noted that another possible mound was located immediately northwest of the plaza. This was a low rise that still had a tenant farm house on its summit in the early 1960s. When visited in 1985, the house had been removed and the presence of prehistoric artifacts led McCrocklin (1985:15) to conclude that it was another mound (Mound 10). The rise remains quite distinct and appears well defined on the topographic map (see Figure 7). An auger test was placed on the top of the rise. Much historic debris (brick fragments, bottle glass, whiteware sherds) was present on the surface. The upper 40 cm were the typical yellowish red (5YR4/6) very fine sandy loam. A dark reddish brown (5YR3/3) horizon that might represent a buried surface was present between 40 and 55 cm. Slightly coarser yellowish red (5YR5/6) fine sandy loam was present beneath to a depth of at least 1.9 m. If a mound is represented here, remaining mound deposits appear to be only about 40 cm thick. In 2008, a small surface collection was made from the mound surface.

Summary and Conclusions

Although Mounds Plantation has undergone substantial changes from the time when Dickeson visited in the early 19th century, recent investigations demonstrate that additional research there is crucial for understanding the beginnings and early development of the Caddo cultural tradition. Three test pits were excavated on the southeastern flank of Mound 2 in 2007 and 2008 in order to explore anomalies detected by geophysical techniques during the 2007 Arkansas Archeological Survey project (Lockhart and Girard 2007). The test units did not reveal features that clearly relate to the anomalies detected in the geophysical data. Although it is possible that a dark area (high resistance) visible in the Test Pit 1 area relates to Feature 1, a burned posthole discovered in the southeast corner of unit N5012E4865 (units are 1-x-1-m squares designated by their southwest corner grid point), it seems equally plausible that historic debris encountered in the upper deposits is responsible for the high resistance signals. Although ambiguous with regard to the geophysical data, the information provided by excavation of the test units is of considerable interest. It was evident in all of the units that a stratum of clay has been deposited over the old natural levee surface upon which the Caddo occupation took place. Deposits that overlay the clay in Test Pits 1 and 3 were displaced from the top or slopes of Mound 2, perhaps as a result of an attempt by a former landowner to cut down the mound in the early 1960s. These deposits contained historic materials dating to the early 20th century. In Test Pit 2, located farther from the mound, the clay deposit is exposed on the surface.

The area sampled near Mound 2 at Mounds Plantation appears to relate to the early and middle 11th century (Table 6) when distinctively Caddo ceramic assemblages were just beginning to develop. Of particular interest is that the recovered ceramics do not reflect late 11th or 12th century occupation of the Mound 2 area. Use of space in this portion of the site changed around the middle 11th century. I suspect that this was a time of extensive mound construction, perhaps transforming Mounds Plantation from a residential site to a ceremonial center. Residential use of the area east of Mound 2 might have stopped, resulting in deposition of few or no artifacts and other debris. Ceramic data reported by Webb and McKinney (1975) from contexts underlying Mound 3, and that from beneath Mound 6 reported here support this notion. These contexts contain substantial amounts of Coles Creek Incised sherds. A far more diverse assemblage is present on the second habitation level of Mound 3, overlying the early mound deposits. Webb observed that—"It appears that heavy occupation of the submound and surrounding area occurred during Coles Creek times, that construction of the mound occurred during the Coles Creek-Alto transition, and that the mound was used only for burial placements during the later Bossier and Belcher periods" (Webb and McKinney 1975:47). Webb's "Coles Creek-Alto transition" appears to date to the middle 11th century. It is possible that the appearance of a distinctly Early Caddo period ceramic assemblage and construction of the mound-plaza complex were contemporary, and perhaps related, events.

Deposits relating to Mound 5 remain on the site, despite attempts to level the area and the excavations of the early 1960s. The 2006 test unit encountered a probable large burial pit beneath 40 to 50 cm of moundfill. The pit did not appear to cut through the mound deposits suggesting it represents one of the earliest burials in the Mound 5 area. This area might constitute a “sacred precinct” established prior to construction of Mound 5, similar to that identified by Story (1997) at the Davis Site (41CE19) in East Texas.

The test unit in Mound 6 showed that, as was the case at Mound 3 (Webb and McKinney 1975), two construction stages are present and a well-developed midden underlies at least a portion of the earthwork. The midden contains a high density of pottery with few decorated specimens. Decorations primarily consist of simple incised bands around vessel rims resembling the *Greenhouse* and *Blakely* varieties of the type Coles Creek Incised. A radiocarbon date on scattered charcoal recovered in the midden indicates a late 10th or early 11th century time of occupation (Table 6). No features were encountered within the midden and we can say little about the nature of the represented occupation except that it resulted in deposition of a large amount of broken pottery, a moderate amount of stone chipping debris, and a few fragments of burned bone. In contrast, Webb and McKinney (1975) reported considerable faunal remains beneath Mound 3 and speculated that it might have served as an area for food preparation during feasts.

Concentrations of artifacts along the margin of an abandoned channel segment on the northern edge of the site (McCrocklin 1985) suggest that substantial habitation occurred throughout the Early Caddo period, or until the 13th century. More detailed information about the sequence of occupation at the site should be acquired following analysis of the extensive 1985 surface collections now in the Arkansas Archeological Survey collections.

The degree to which Mounds Plantation served as a “regional” center is not clear. Population appears to have been aggregated in the site area—very few Early Caddo period sites have been identified elsewhere in this portion of the Red River floodplain, although a few upland sites are known (e.g., Lintz et al. 2007). Mortuary data clearly indicate the presence of a social elite (Webb and McKinney 1975), but influence may have been limited to the site and a sparse outlying population.

The paucity of debris relating to the Middle Caddo period (ca. AD 1200-1500) indicates that the role of Mounds Plantation in Caddo society changed, perhaps transforming from a place of feasting, elite residence, and mortuary ceremonialism, to a sacred place where few activities were carried out that resulted in artifact deposition. However, substantial Middle Caddo period habitation debris is present along Irish Bayou approximately 1 km to the northwest (Girard 2007) and it is unlikely that Mounds Plantation had no significance to Middle Caddo period populations. During the 12th century occupation began in the Willow Chute Bayou locality east of the river, forming an extensive floodplain community that lasted into the early 15th century (Girard 2010). This community included at least three mounds, but these were widely dispersed across the landscape and no Middle or Late Caddo period multiple mound/plaza sites are present in northwest Louisiana that may have functioned as ceremonial centers to integrate multiple communities.

No burials relating to the Middle Caddo period have been found, but Late Caddo period (ca. AD 1500-1700) burials were placed in the upper portions of Mounds 3 and 5 at Mounds Plantation. Although the burials included several ceramic vessels, they were not obviously of social elites. Contemporary burials, some with greater amounts of burials goods, were present 10 km to the north at the Belcher Site (16CD13) (Webb 1959) suggesting that social ranking within communities may have continued into the Late Caddo period.

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M.R. HARRINGTON AND THE LOST MOUND IN HEMPSTEAD COUNTY, ARKANSAS

Duncan P. McKinnon

Abstract

In the early months of 1916, Mark R. Harrington, under the auspices of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, visited a mound site at the Battle Farm in Hempstead County, Arkansas. Harrington describes the location of the Hempstead County mound being three miles west of Fulton “on the brink of a low terrace of the Red river bottoms, perhaps half a mile north of that stream and a quarter of a mile east of Little River, which empties into the Red at this point.” Using historical maps and archaeological site reports, this paper explores the area around the confluence of the Red and Little Rivers in search of the Lost Mound at the Battle Farm in Hempstead County. Results demonstrate that while the actual mound at the Hempstead County Battle Farm likely no longer exists on the landscape, the archaeological site 3HE413 is a likely candidate for the location of the mound site based on topographic location and the artifact assemblage recorded from the site.

Introduction

The term “Battle Place” or “Battle Mound” is typically associated with the familiar and often-mentioned Middle and Late Caddo (ca. A.D. 1200–1600) mound site located in the Great Bend region of the Red River basin in Lafayette County, Arkansas. The site was first visited and described by Clarence B. Moore in 1911 as part of his Red River explorations in Louisiana and Arkansas (Moore 1912) (Figure 1). Moore and his crew spent a few days investigating the large platform mound and the cultivated field east of the mound concentrating on “four low humps and rises of the ground that long cultivation evidently had considerably spread” (Moore 1912:566–567).

In 1916, Mark R. Harrington, at that time an archaeologist with the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, also visited a site that he calls both the Mound on Battle Place and the Battle Farm west of Fulton, Arkansas, in Hempstead County (Harrington 1920:Plate 1) (Figure 2). He originally came to southwest Arkansas to continue exploring the Red River north and west of Fulton and pick-up where Clarence B. Moore had ended his Red River explorations five years earlier. Harrington describes the site he visited as being “on the brink of a low terrace of the Red river bottoms, perhaps half a mile north of that stream and a quarter of a mile east of Little river, which empties into the Red at this point” (Harrington 1920:19).

The purpose of this article is to clarify and explore. Clarification is fairly straightforward in that there are *two* Battle Mound sites in southwest Arkansas—one in Lafayette County and one in Hempstead County (Figure 3). The Battle Mound site in Lafayette County is recorded in the Arkansas Archeological Survey site files as 3LA1. The location of the Battle Mound site in Hempstead County is currently unknown. Based on Harrington’s descriptions, the Hempstead County site he visited was located at the confluence of the Little and Red Rivers “some three miles west [of Fulton]” (Harrington 1920:19).

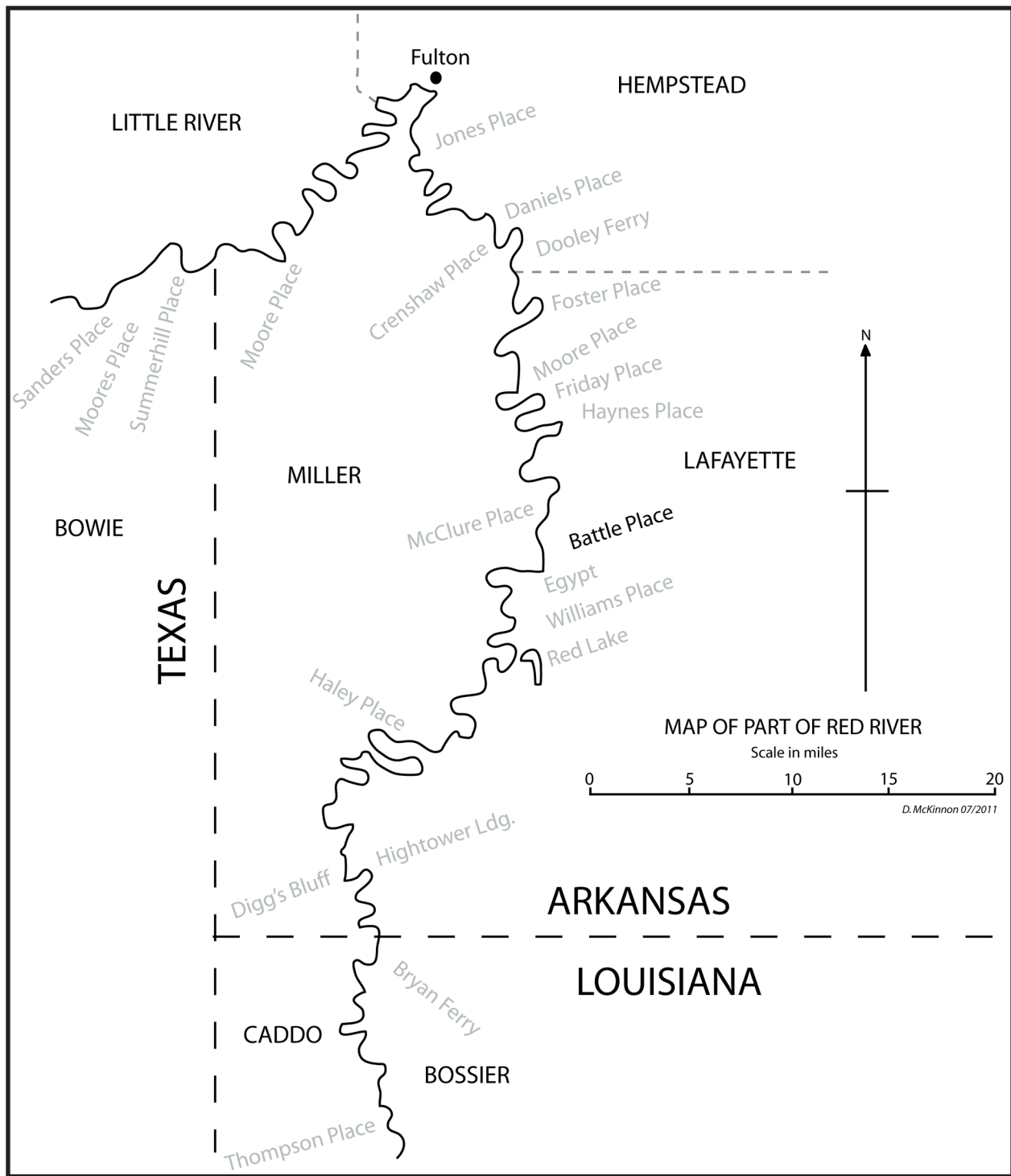


Figure 1. The location of the Lafayette County Battle Mound (3LA1) site and nearby sites (after Moore 1912:482).

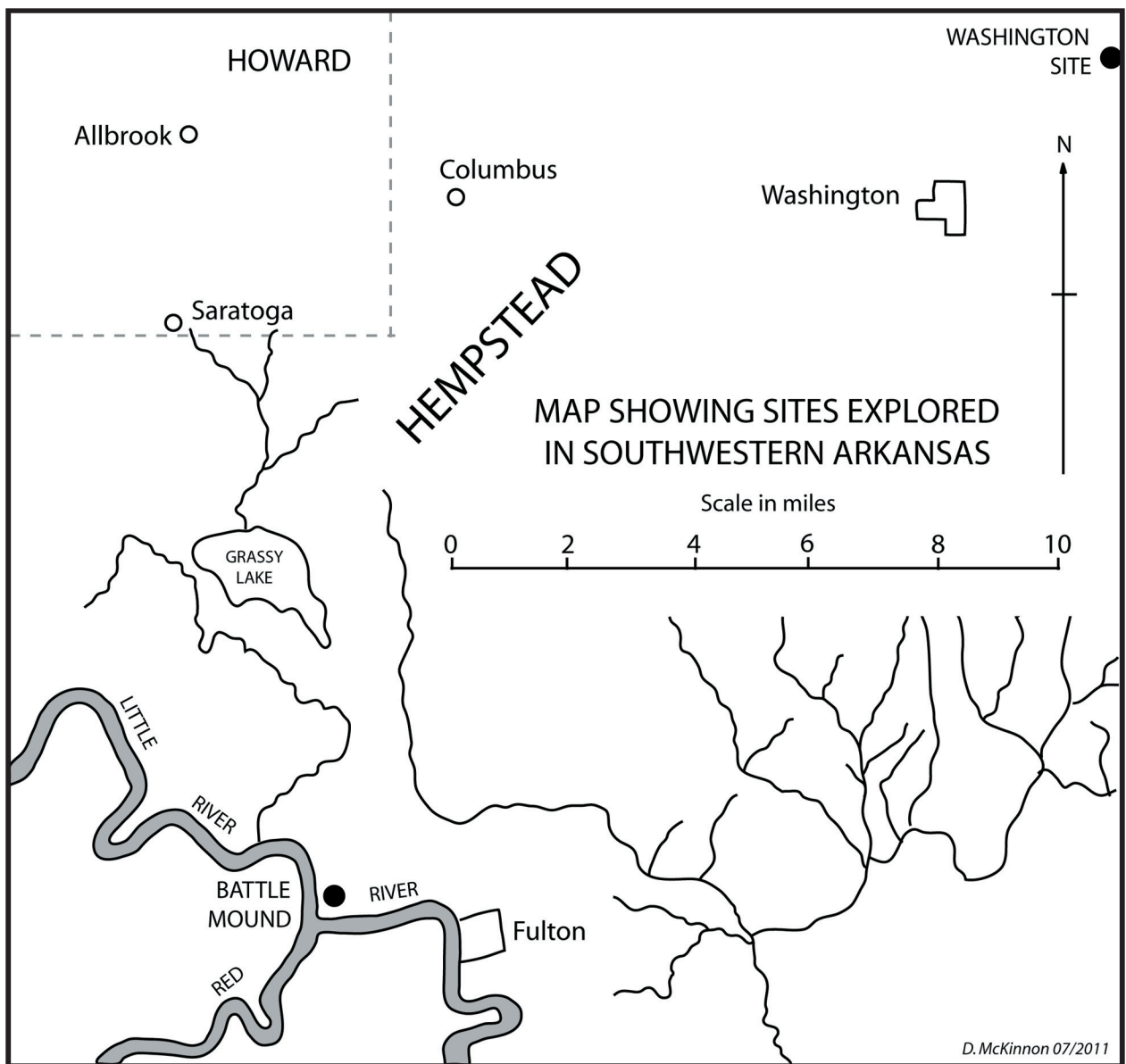


Figure 2. Hempstead County mound on the Battle Farm west of Fulton, Arkansas (after Harrington 1920:Plate 1).

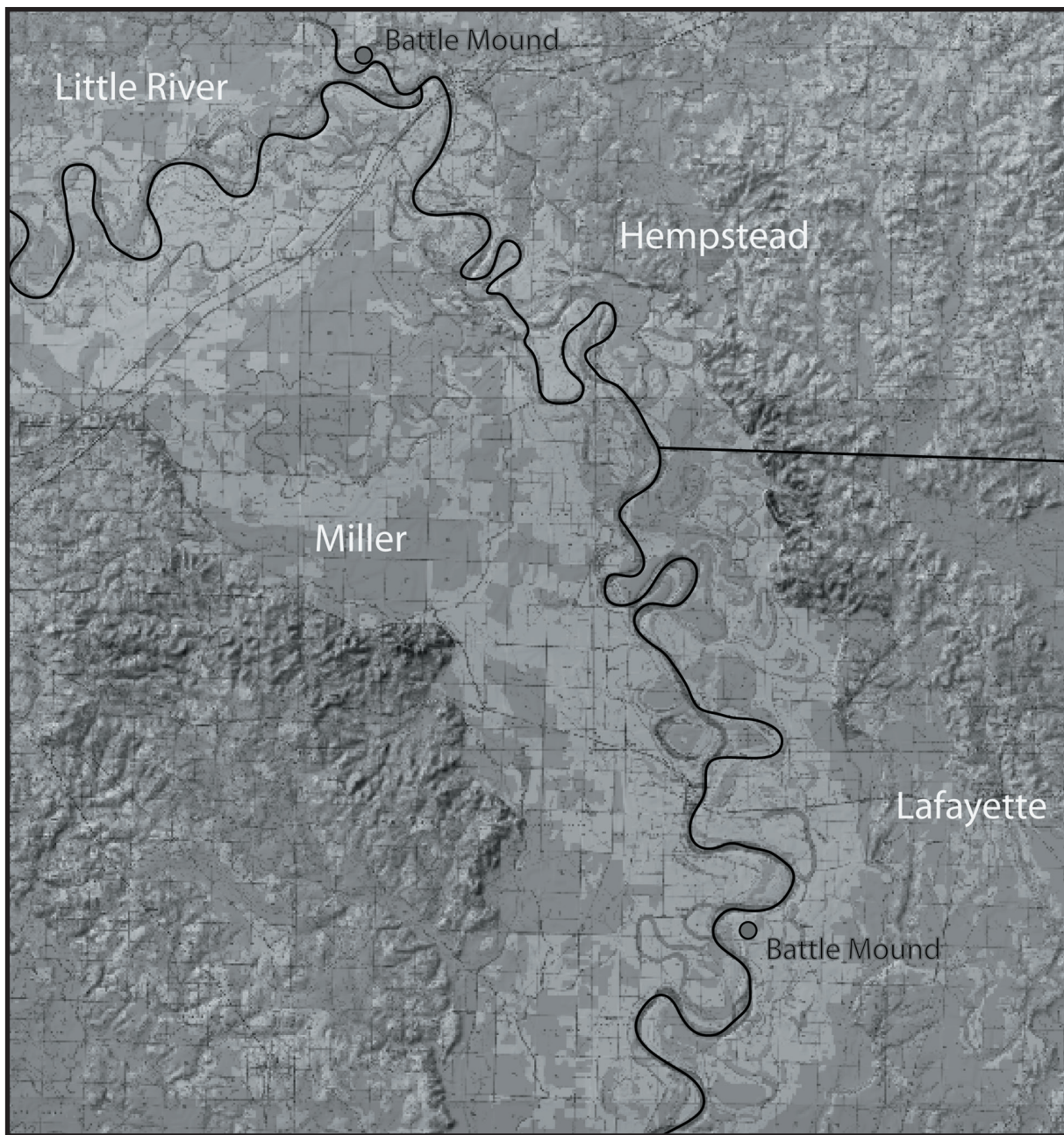


Figure 3. The relationship of Lafayette and Hempstead County Battle Mounds.

The exploration portion of this article seeks to identify possible locations of the Hempstead County Battle Mound and how those locations might relate to known archaeological sites in the area that Harrington documented. In essence, since the Hempstead County Battle Mound is not the well-known Battle Mound site in Lafayette County, what archaeological site might it represent? Using historical maps and documents, the area Harrington visited is explored to determine if the Hempstead County Battle Mound site possibly exists today, despite the destructive nature of meandering rivers and the already “dilapidated condition” that Harrington describes.

It is worthwhile to note, as Moore mentions about the Lafayette County Battle Mound (Moore 1912:566), that the names assigned to these two sites do not represent the locations of some conflict or conflagration, but are rather named after the Battle family, early owners of the properties that Moore and Harrington visited. Given the distance between the two sites, some 37 kilometers as the crow flies or about 75 kilometers following the current meandering channel of the Red River, it is appropriate (and rather interesting) to first summarize why these two sites share the same name.

The Battle Family

The Battle Family first arrived in the Americas in 1654 and secured land in both Virginia and North Carolina. The family has a long history as landowners and farmers in southeast Virginia and northeast North Carolina (Southwest Arkansas Regional Archives, Washington, Arkansas [SARA], Descendants of John and Elizabeth Battle, Vertical File [VF] 1378). James J. Battle, born on July 12, 1811 in Wake County, North Carolina, married Nancy Strickland in 1836, and the two of them slowly moved westward through Mississippi finally settling in Lafayette County, Arkansas in 1844 (Figure 4). By the 1850s, James Battle is listed on the tax rolls as the owner of land in Township 17S, Range 25W in Lafayette County—the location of the large mound associated with the Battle Mound (3LA1) site and the reason Clarence Moore refers to the site as “The Battle Place, Lafayette County, Ark.” Moore adds, “the plantation does not border the river but lies about one mile back from it, near Battle Lake, a former course of [the] Red River, no doubt, which was itself the river when the aborigines occupied the site” (Moore 1912:566).

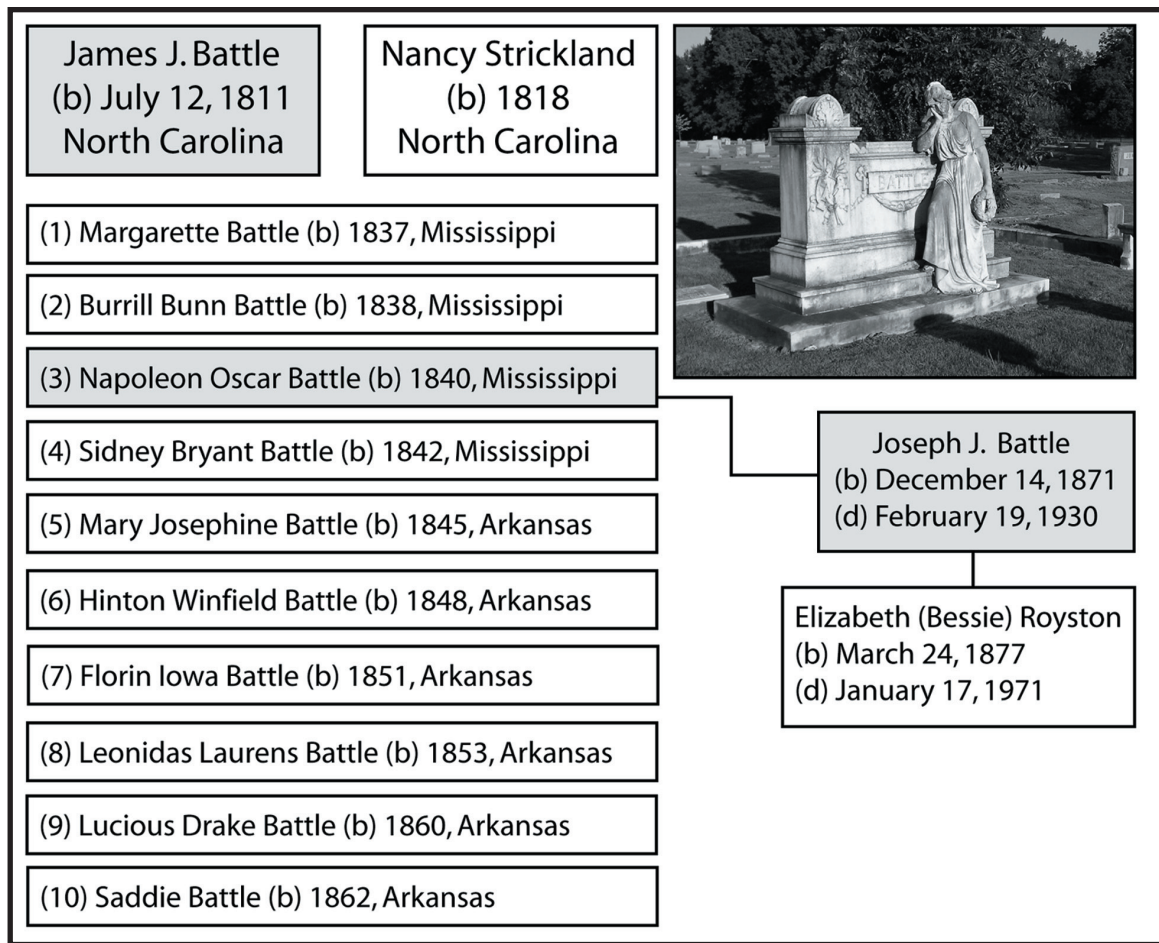


Figure 4. The Battle Family in Southwest Arkansas [SARA VF: 1378].

Interestingly, James Battle was not the owner of the property when Clarence Moore visited the site in 1911. Instead, Mr. Henry Moore, Jr., of Texarkana, Arkansas owned the property. Nonetheless, Moore references the (presumably well-known and respected) Battle family name to the site (in perpetuity) rather than the actual landowner at the time of his visit.

The Hempstead County Battle Mound that Mark Harrington visited five years later is named after James J. Battle's grandson, Mr. Joseph J. Battle of Fulton, Arkansas (see Figure 4). In 1907 Joseph Battle married Elizabeth (Bessie) Royston of Washington, Arkansas, granddaughter of Grandison Royston, original owner of the Royston House in Historic Washington State Park and a well-known politician in the mid-eighteenth century (see Applegate and Markus 2011). By 1914, Joseph J. Battle, a merchant and landowner, owned several plots of land west of Fulton—the "Battle Farm" that Harrington visited in 1916.

Joseph Battle did not own the tracts of land west of Fulton for very long. By 1920, the ownership had changed to the Johnson Family. It is interesting to note that Harrington visited the Battle Farm shortly after Joseph Battle purchased the land. By the time of Harrington's discussion of his explorations in his 1920 monograph, "Certain Caddo Sites in Arkansas" (Harrington 1920), the majority of land ownership at the confluence of the Little and Red Rivers in Hempstead County was no longer in the Battle Family.

The Two Battle Mounds

Both Battle Mounds are located along the Red River in southwest Arkansas. One is the familiar large mound site located in Lafayette County and the second is located in Hempstead County. The known descriptions of the structure and composition of the mounds contain some architectural similarities, although early documentation provides only cursory descriptions about the two mound sites—most notably the Hempstead County mound.

Lafayette County

Clarence B. Moore, in his 1912 monograph, "Some Aboriginal Sites on the Red River" (Moore 1912), describes a large multiplatform mound site situated along the broad alluvial floodplain of the Red River where he excavated at least five burials and thirty-five Caddo vessels. The site is located in Lafayette County, Arkansas and named after the original owner of the land, a Mr. James J. Battle (see Figure 1).

The site (3LA1) contains a large multilevel platform mound that dominates the current landscape. The large mound is composed of at least three platform levels oriented south to north and a large slope on the eastern side of the mound. It is considered the largest extant mound in the entire Caddo area and one of the largest in the southeastern United States (Perttula 1992:118; Schambach 1982a:7). Current dimensions of the mound are 200 m (656 feet) in length by 90 m (295 feet) in width, with a maximum height of 9.6 m (31 feet) (McKinnon 2010a:250). Directly east of the mound are two very low rises, only 0.5–1 m in height. These probably represent two of the "four low humps and rises of the ground that long cultivation evidently had considerably spread" (Moore 1912:566-567). The occupational span of the site is generally considered to be circa AD 1200 to AD 1600 (Hoffman 1970:163-164; McKinnon 2010b:13; Perttula 1992:118; Schambach 1982a:4).

Recent geophysical research reveals several off-mound anomalies attributed to prehistoric occupation, including rectangular and circular structures and associated pits and hearths, a possible large community cemetery, a possible compound fence delineating a Caddo farmstead, the remains of a borrow pit, and several midden areas (McKinnon 2009, 2010a).

Hempstead County

Mark R. Harrington, in his 1920 monograph, briefly describes a mound at the Battle Place in Hempstead County—a short two-paragraph summary (Harrington 1920:19-20). The “Mound on Battle Place” is the first location he and his crew visited in February 1916 (see Figure 2). Harrington makes no mention of the Lafayette County Battle Mound in his monograph (Harrington 1920).

Harrington describes the Hempstead County site as located “on the brink of a low terrace of the Red river bottoms, perhaps half a mile north of that stream and a quarter of a mile east of Little river, which empties into the Red at this point” (Harrington 1920:19). The mound that Harrington recorded is a platform mound, like the large mound at the Battle Mound site in Lafayette County. However, the mound at the Hempstead County Battle Place is much smaller. The dimensions that Harrington records are 25 m (80 ft) by 14 m (45 ft) and only a few feet in height (Harrington 1920:19-20). He states, “The middle portion was only three or four feet high, but there seems to have been a small mound at each end of the platform, for at these points the structure, even in its present dilapidated condition, is two or three feet higher” (Harrington 1920:20).

Harrington and his crew spent several days working at and around the mound at the Battle Place with little success beyond “village refuse, and one specimen from the general digging that was really unusual—[a] lizard-shaped bone awl or pin” (Harrington 1920:20) which “appears to be a lizard effigy” (Harrington 1920:227).

It’s surprising that Harrington even attempted to visit this Hempstead County mound site, what he calls both the Mound on Battle Place and the Battle Farm, noting that upon arrival in Fulton his group of explorers found “that the Red river was at high flood stage, in fact, breaking through the levees into the village of Fulton as we arrived, and that the lowland, where lay many of the mounds we had hoped to explore, were completely under water and inaccessible” (Harrington 1920:15).

He and his group ultimately decided to make a change of plans and move their explorations northward away from the flooding toward sites in the Ozan Creek drainages, around Hot Springs, and the Mineral Springs and Washington sites—areas where much of the work he conducted is frequently referenced in Caddo research (see Bohannon 1962, 1966, 1973; Harrington 1920; Hoffman 1971). But before he and his crew headed north, they “learned that there was a mound on the Battle Farm, some three miles west, which remained out of water and could be worked without trouble, a mound that had yielded a pottery vessel to the desultory scratching of local collectors” (Harrington 1920:19).

Exploring the Hempstead County Battle Mound

Currently, the location of the Hempstead County Battle Mound is unknown. However, Harrington provides some descriptions that can be used, along with historical documents, to facilitate the exploration of an area of interest that can be compared with known archaeological sites to determine possible site associations.

Historical Documents

The most useful historical document utilized in this exploration is the U.S. Department of Agriculture 1916 soil survey map (Taylor and Cobb 1917). The map contains township, range and section boundaries that allow for a scanned copy to be imported into a geographic information system (GIS), properly georeferenced, and compared to current spatial datasets. Based on Harrington’s description of the location of the Battle Farm, the area of interest is east of Fulton situated where the Red River turns to the south, also known as the Great Bend. In the 1916 soil survey map, the confluence of the Little and Red Rivers in is the NE corner of Section 23 (Figure 5).

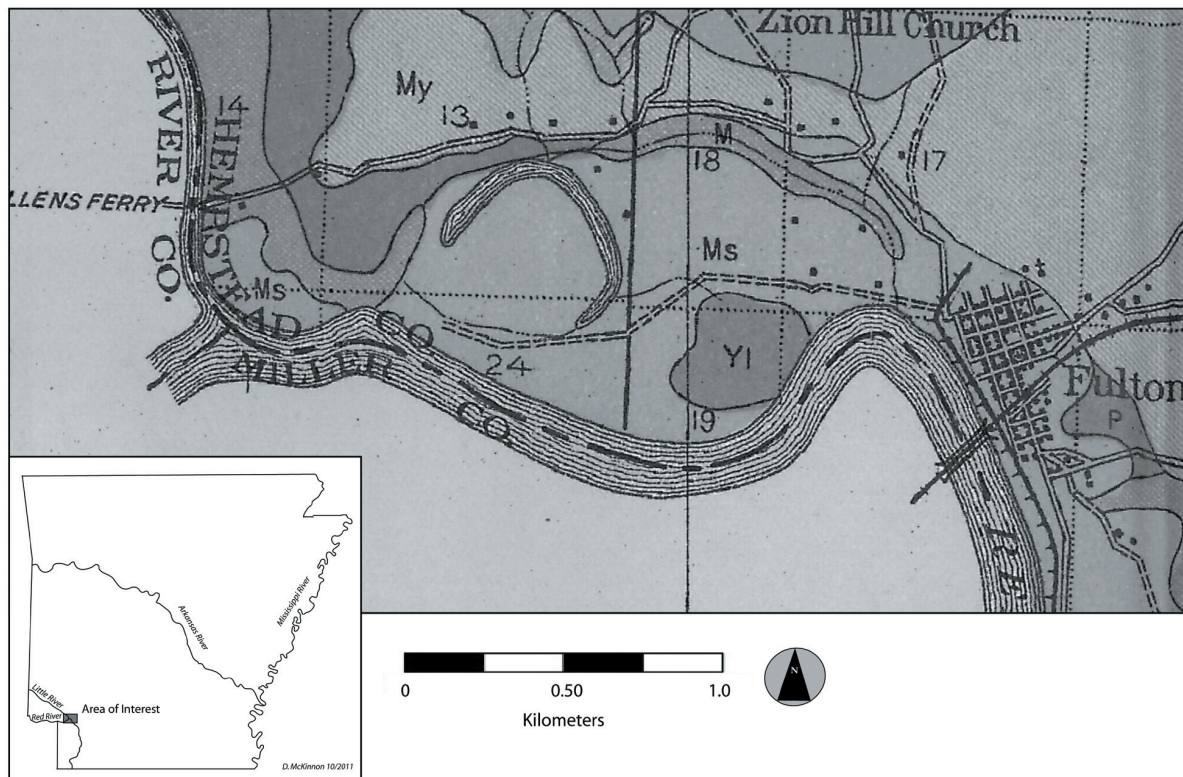


Figure 5. The 1916 soil survey map near the confluence of the Little and Red Rivers (after Taylor and Cobb 1917).

When the 1916 soil survey map is compared to a contemporary 1975 USGS photo revised USGS Quadrangle map, significant changes in the course of the rivers and the location of the confluences can be easily identified (Figure 6). In 1916, the confluence was in the northeast corner of Section 23, west of the town of Fulton. In 1975 the confluence had moved almost 2.5 kilometers east toward Fulton. Since Harrington mentions the confluence of the Little and Red in his description, understanding the location of the two rivers at the time of his visit is necessary in hopes of identifying the location of the mound he explored.

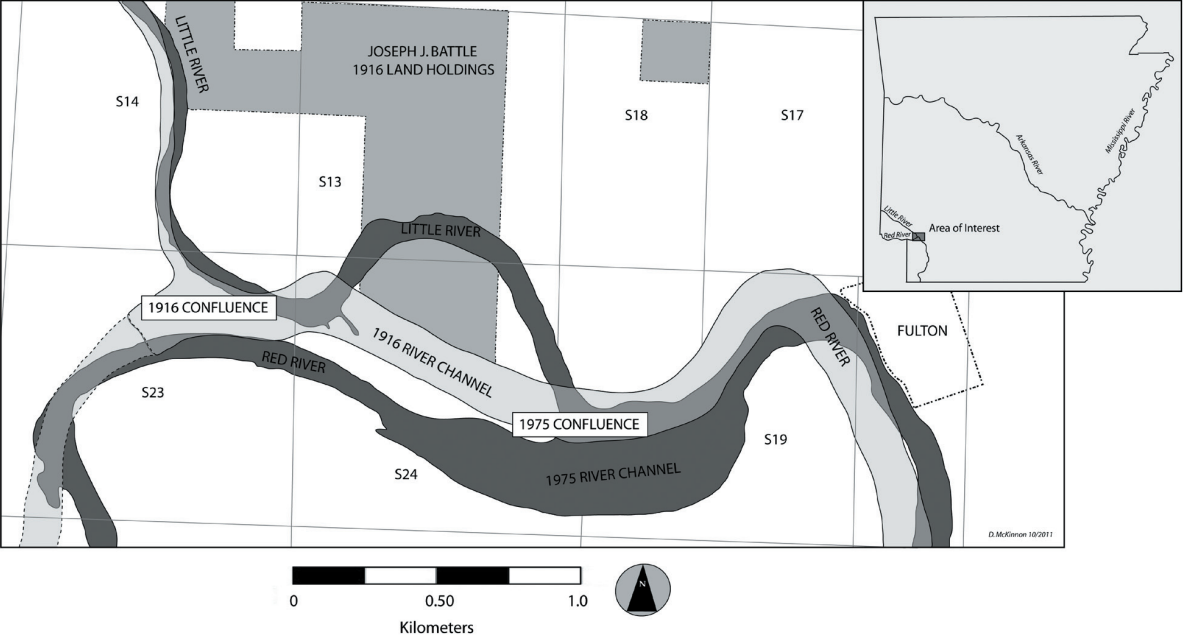


Figure 6. Comparison of 1916 river channels with 1975 river channels showing significant changes in the course of the rivers and the location of the 1916 Joseph J. Battle land holdings.

Also necessary, in order to narrow down the broad area of interest, is an understanding of where the Battle Farm existed at this time. According to the 1914 Hempstead County Tax Rolls (Hempstead County Courthouse, Hope Arkansas [HCC] 1914: Tax Roll), Joseph J. Battle acquired tracks of land in Sections 13, 14, and 24 of Township 13 South, Range 27 West and Section 18 in Township 13 South, Range 26 West. In Section 24, his holdings are listed as the “Fractional all 79.61 acres”, since the southern portion of his holdings bordered the northern bank of the Red River at that time (see Figure 6).

Archaeological Sites

Using the combined 1916 soil survey map and Battle family land ownership as the spatial framework to the current river and landscape orientations, known archaeological sites were identified that are within those boundaries. There are five recorded sites (Hempstead County=3; Little River County=2) listed in the Arkansas Archeological Survey site database that fall within the Battle Farm property. None of them are recorded as having a mound but this is not unexpected considering that Harrington recorded the mound site as being in a “dilapidated condition” in 1916, in addition to the site likely being victim to mechanized agricultural plowing over the subsequent many years.

Each of these sites is described in turn. A succeeding section then examines each as possible candidates for Harrington’s Battle Mound.

3HE240

The site 3HE240 was recorded in 1981 and is located on the upland terrace on a ridge extension or “nose” that overlooks the low flat river floodplain valley to the south and west. The site is composed of a fairly dense lithic scatter approximately 70 meters by 140 meters in size and buried just beneath the surface (Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville, Arkansas [AAS] Site File [SF] 3HE0240; New World Research 1981). A single Morhiss point (Bell 1958:58-59; Suhm et al. 1954:454) was found in the lithic assemblage, suggesting that the site dates to at least the middle to late Archaic Period (ca. 2000 B.C. – 1000 A.D.)(New World Research 1981; see also Suhm et al. 1954:454; Schambach 1982a:4). Based on the predominance of sharpening and thinning flakes and an absence of cores, the site is interpreted as a place where secondary knapping or other activities occurred, such as hide preparation or tool maintenance (AAS SF:3HE0240; New World Research 1981).

3HE418

The site 3HE418 was recorded in 2010 and is also located on an upland terrace overlooking the river floodplain. The site is defined as a light lithic scatter approximately 100 square meters in size (AAS SF:3HE0418). The artifact assemblage from this site consists of only one biface and two broken flakes, which are speculated as having been washed down slope from another area (AAS SF:3HE0418)—possibly from 3HE240 located 200 meters to the west and approximately 10 meters up slope.

3HE413

The site 3HE413 was recorded in 2009 and is situated at the base of the upland terrace on a relict natural levee formation. Site dimensions are recorded as an area 140 meters by 70 meters in size, but likely continue south beyond the original survey area (AAS SF:3HE0413). Artifact assemblage from the site totals 104 prehistoric artifacts, including 73 lithic debris that are primarily jasper and novaculite (see Scarr 2008; Trubitt 2007 for discussions on Arkansas novaculite) with a small number of rhyolite and quartz flakes, 25 ceramic sherds of varying size, and 8 fire-cracked rocks (FCRs) (AAS SF:3HE0413). Some of the ceramic sherds are shell tempered, but the majority are smoothed varieties with an unidentified temper (AAS SF:3HE0413). Shovel test work indicated that the site is likely a buried site with subplowzone deposits confined to the well-drained and slightly higher terrain natural levee landform (AAS SF:3HE0413).

3LR58

The site 3LR58 was recorded in 1982 where a Caddo burial and buried midden were eroding out of the bank of the Little River after a high water event forced the Red River to shift channels and flow into a portion of the Little River. The prehistoric component of the site contained a single burial, seven grog or bone tempered Caddo II or III (ca. AD 1200-1500) (see Perttula 1992:59; Schambach 1982a:4) vessels, and several large thick basal sherds possibly representing a Fourche Maline occupation (AAS SF:3LR0058; see Schambach 1982b, 2001, 2002 for discussion on Fourche Maline). The historic component contained a large assemblage of gun flints, window glass, a brass fish hook, several square nails of various sizes, part of an iron kettle, an olive green wine bottle fragment, some burned clay and bone and fragments of hand painted pearl ware cups—all situated directly above the prehistoric component and likely dating to the 1830s/1840s (AAS SF:3LR0058).

3LR97

The site 3LR97 was recorded in 2000 during a survey along the river beach along the west bank of the Little River during low water. (AAS SF:3LR0097). A portion of a hip socket and a skull fragment were found on the surface and no other information exists. At that time the site was recorded as being periodically inundated. It is likely that the bone fragments were secondarily deposited at this location after eroding out of a riverbank upstream, possibly from the vicinity of 3LR58.

Site Evaluations and Conclusions

It's difficult to determine with certainty at this preliminary stage which, if any, of the known sites correspond to the Battle Mound site Harrington visited in 1916. However, using the historical documents and information gathered about the archaeological sites situated within the Battle Farm, some assumptions and possibilities can be presented.

Although little is known about the two sites 3HE240 and 3HE418, what is known is that they are located *on* an upland terrace rather than “on the *brink* of a low terrace of the Red river bottoms” [*emphasis added*] (Harrington 1920:19) as Harrington describes. Furthermore, artifacts found on these two sites suggest that they represent lithic processing sites (although they actually may be the same site) with no ceramic sherds identified.

The two sites 3LR97 and 3LR58 are possible candidates for Harrington's Battle Mound, simply in that they both contain burial remains—although the human remains found at 3LR97 are likely from an upriver context. However, both of these sites are situated in the floodplain in a lowland area “where lay many of the mounds [he] had hoped to explore, [that] were completely under water and inaccessible” (Harrington 1920:15). Presumably, these would have been inundated by flooding and unable to be visited by Harrington and his crew.

Of the known recorded sites currently identified within the Battle Farm property, the site 3HE413 is the most promising candidate given a few simple observations. First, 3HE413 is situated on a well-drained and slightly higher terrain natural levee landform some distance from the actual channel with a maximum elevation about 40 feet higher than the river bottom elevation. Harrington specifically states that the site was located “on the brink of a low terrace of the Red river bottoms” (Harrington 1920:19), which is exactly where 3HE413 is located. Second, the artifact assemblage from the site contains numerous material items that suggest a Caddo occupational area, including the presence of ceramic sherds and several fire-cracked rocks.

Either way, numerous Caddo ceramics and two Caddo burials have been identified on what was Joseph J. Battle's property at the confluence of the Little and Red Rivers. The mound is most likely gone or indiscernible today since a mound has not been recorded in that area and given that Harrington describes the mound as being in a "dilapidated condition" almost 100 years ago. However, based on recent surveys in the area (the foremost being the survey at 3HE413) it is very likely that a buried subplowzone site, possibly relating to the Battle Mound site that Harrington visited, is buried under meters of river deposition.

In conclusion, this article has provided clarification: Harrington's Battle Mound is not Moore's Battle Mound. This article has also explored a potential fact—the mound that Harrington visited likely no longer exists on the landscape. But the explorations do not end with this fact. Using historical maps to reconstruct the 1916 landscape and associating that landscape with the location and artifact assemblage of known archaeological sites, it is safe to state that there clearly was a Caddo settlement with an associated low multi-platform mound in the area where the Little and Red Rivers come together, discovered and recorded by Mark R. Harrington in 1916 in Hempstead County, Arkansas.

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THE PICKETT SWITCH SITE (34PN1) AND THE PRESENCE OF ARKANSAS RIVER BASIN CADDOANS IN EAST CENTRAL OKLAHOMA

Robert L. Brooks

Abstract

The expansion of Arkansas River Basin Caddoans westward along the Canadian River remains an intriguing subject of study. This paper examines the presence of Caddoans living in the Ada vicinity, Pontotoc County, Oklahoma. The focus is on the Pickett Switch site excavated by Herbert Antle from 1930-1934. This paper examines the work of Herbert Antle, the history of his excavations as well as others at the Pickett Switch site, and describes a collection from the Pickett Switch site at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History. Concluding comments continue to seek refinement in our understanding of the settlement practices of Arkansas River Basin Caddoans living on the western frontier.

Introduction

Brooks and Cox (2010) recently reported on the presence of Arkansas River Basin Caddoans living at the Allcorn Site (34ML1), a village on the Canadian River in central Oklahoma. Data on the Allcorn site were derived from materials excavated and collected in the 1920s and limited investigations conducted by the University of Oklahoma in 1947. Of particular note was a cemetery excavated by James Durham and others in 1927 that contained the remains of elites marked by the presence of earspools, high quality ceramics (Maxey Noded wares), and conch shell beads. An individual excavated by Virigina Watson during the 1947 University of Oklahoma fieldwork exhibited fronto-occipital cranial deformation such as that observed on individuals from Spiro and other Arkansas River Caddoan sites (Owsley 1989). Domestic goods excavated and collected at Allcorn included Woodward Plain ceramics, a variety of arrowpoints (Washitas, Haskells, Fresnos, Haskells, and Reeds among others) many of which were made from Florence A chert, and sandstone pipes with faceted surfaces more similar to those from eastern Oklahoma than the common elbow pipes of the Southern Plains (Brooks 2002). In discussing why these Arkansas River Caddoans were living so far from their homeland, an obvious question that arose was whether there were additional Caddoan settlements on the Canadian River between the Allcorn Site and Eufaula Mound in McIntosh County, some 170 km downstream on the Canadian River. An examination of the archaeological site files found no evidence Arkansas River Basin Caddoans living along the Canadian River between the Allcorn site in McClain County and the Eufaula Mound in McIntosh County. This was further collaboration for an earlier analysis of the Arkansas River basin Caddoan cultural landscape where the extreme distance of separation of the Nagle site in Oklahoma County and the Allcorn site in McClain County from the heartland was discussed (Brooks 2010).

Renewed examination of the intervening area of the Canadian River drainage between Allcorn and Eufaula Mound revealed hints of possible Caddoan sites in the Ada vicinity. The first item noted was an earspool reportedly found northwest of Ada on Springbrook Creek (Brooks 2011). Earspools are typically status markers for elites and their presence should be markers for a residential or ceremonial site occupied by Arkansas River Basin Caddoans. New information on this earspool suggests that the initial location was incorrect; a revised

locale places it on Canadian Sandy Creek about 6.4 km south of the Canadian Sandy's juncture with the Canadian River and about 3.2 km north of Ada in Pontotoc County. The second item of interest is the work of H.R Antle in the 1930s on what he referred to as a "Caddoan Earth Lodge" site southwest of Ada on Canadian Sandy Creek. This location is thought to be that of the Pickett Switch site (34PN1) currently considered by archaeologists to represent a Plains Village settlement. Some of the material from Antle's investigations at Pickett Switch were recently found at Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History and reexamined. Results of this analysis lend greater credibility to Antle's original interpretation of the site as a Caddoan settlement. There were also subsequent investigations at Pickett Switch by individuals from East Central College (now university) in the 1950s.

This paper presents a discussion of H. R. Antle and his work in east-central Oklahoma, a history of investigations at the Pickett Switch site by Antle and East Central College faculty, the results of an analysis of the Pickett Switch material in the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History collections, and offers some comments on occupation of the Ada area by Arkansas River Basin Caddoans.

Herbert R. Antle

Herbert R. Antle was a teacher in the Sulphur public schools where he taught High School math and science from the 1930s until World War II. It was during this period that he became interested in the local cultural and natural history. Antle collected aquatic samples from south-central Oklahoma eventually leading to a new species of clam shrimp being identified (*Eulimnadia antlei*; Mackin 1940). He also worked as a seasonal guide at Platt National Park in 1939-1940. Antle is best known for his anthropological analysis of southeastern removal tribes and archaeological investigations in east-central Oklahoma from 1930 to approximately 1942. In 1930 Antle started work at the Blay site (34PN1, Pickett Switch) southwest of Ada and worked there intermittently with the Boy Scouts until 1932 (Antle 1933). He cites lack of funds and proper equipment as reasons for abandoning the work. He corresponded with Joseph Thoburn of the Oklahoma Historical Society about Caddoan earthlodges and spent some time in 1933 studying archaeological techniques at the University of Oklahoma. There is no record of this year but it must have involved some association with Forrest Clements, Chair of the Department of Anthropology at the university. Following this educational experience, he returned to the Blay site where in September 1934 he renewed his excavations, excavating one structure (Antle 1934a-b). In March 1935, Antle salvaged materials from a sand quarry operation south of Ada. He excavated numerous refuse pits and portions of a structure (Antle 1935a). This site is thought to be a Plains Village settlement, although not documented in the archaeological site files. Later in 1935, Antle excavated at a rock shelter east of the Ada City Lake where he encountered Archaic and Woodland materials, including a copper ornament (Antle 1935b, 1942a). Sometime during the mid 1930s Antle turned his attention to the culture history of the Creek and Seminole tribes, publishing on the Tuskegee in Florida (Davis and Antle 1936), Seminole clan terminology (Antle 1936), and oral history (Antle 1942b). However, he continued to report on archaeological sites in the Pontotoc County area including a pictograph (Antle 1940) as well as presenting an overview of the prehistoric cultures of Oklahoma (Antle 1937, 1938). While serving as a guide at Platt National Park, he conducted investigations at a Plains Village site near Antelope Springs (Antle 1942c). This was the last documented archaeological study undertaken by Antle.

In 1942 he left his teaching position to enter military service. Following the war, Antle apparently found employment with Phillips Petroleum where he developed a process for the drying of ammonium nitrate in 1957. There is little information concerning Herbert Antle following his work at Phillips.

History of the Pickett Switch Site

Pickett Switch (34PN1) was initially known as the Blay site, named after F. W. Blay, one of the original landowners. The subsequent label of Pickett Switch did not come about until sometime after Herbert R. Antle excavated the site in 1934 and perhaps after later work by East Central College in the 1950s. Pickett Switch refers to this being the switching stop for the Atchinson, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad.

The first investigation of Pickett Switch occurred in 1904 when Ike Gilmore, one of the initial landowners of the site dug into areas exposed by an Oklahoma Central Railroad line (later A, T&SF). His brother, W. H. Meeks, and an Ada physician assisted him. They found piles of human bones and charcoal and at least one complete ceramic vessel (Antle n.d.). The Ada physician apparently dug the remains of nine individuals from one of the mounded areas during the same year.

According to James Shaeffer's original site form in 1956, B. G. Anderson of Ada found a number of small points in a cotton field on the site in 1921. Based on Antle's (1934a) article in the *Tulsa World* there were numerous "house mounds" present at Pickett Switch and that the site extended for close to a mile along Canadian Sandy Creek. In an earlier article in *El Palacio* he states that 10 mounds were present (Antle 1933). Antle undertook excavations at the site in December 1930 assisted by the Boy Scouts and continued these efforts until 1932. It is unclear how many of the 10 house mounds he excavated but the number certainly exceeds the two mounds he later claims to have opened (Antle 1934b:444). Antle encountered pottery, pipes, grinding stones, corn and acorns, and numerous human bones. He eventually abandoned the work for logistical reasons (Antle 1933). After a year of study and working with University of Oklahoma archaeologists that ended in 1933, Antle returned to the site in September 1934, excavating one structure. It is unknown whether this was one of the 10 house mounds described in his prior article in *El Palacio* or another mound. This structure was characterized as a mounded-over earthlodge with a hard packed floor that had been burned. No dimensions were given for the structure. The entrance to the structure was thought to be in the southwestern portion. In his article in the *Tulsa World*, Antle states that the houses were 30 feet in diameter.

He describes "caches" around the extremities of the mound that included charred acorns, pots of ear corn, mussel shell, stone and clay pipes, numerous vessels (some containing corn and acorns), celts, spearpoints, and flint objects (Antle 1934b). Antle characterized the ceramics as crude and heavy with little decoration. He contradicts this description in a later article when discussing a nearby Plains Village site as he states the ceramics from this site were considerably less well made than those from the Caddoan site five miles to the west. Antle notes that some of the ceramics from the Blay site were gourd-like jugs while others were open vessels. The one vessel illustrated in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* article closely resembles that of a large water bottle (Figure 1). A distinguishing feature of the structure excavated by Antle was the presence of a large number of charred human remains, representing adults and children. The burned nature of the remains prompted Antle (1934a and 1934b) to suggest that they were the victims of a raid.

There is no further reference to Pickett Switch until November 1947 when David Wenner responds to a letter from Robert Bell concerning "the site over by Ada". David Wenner had previously been a student at the University of Oklahoma and in 1947 was a graduate student at the University of Chicago. Wenner's letter states that he had only visited the site once (in 1937) and made a surface collection. He confirms the location as being 100 yards northeast of Pickett Switch on the Santa Fe Railroad. Wenner mentions that there were some ten houses roughly 30 feet in diameter with burnt corn and logs found in the structures and further corroborates Antle's working there in the 1930s. There is a curious sentence in the letter about sending the ceramics to

OU although it is unclear whether this sentence pertains to Pickett Switch or another site. Perhaps the most interesting item included with Wenner's letter is a series of artifact sketches on 3 x 5 note cards. These include a water bottle that appears to be same one Antle illustrated in his *Chronicles of Oklahoma* article with a caption that reads "somewhere at OU"; a large jar-shaped vessel, two bowls, one with a notation that it is red-slipped; and one card with a sketch of a willow-like pattern of incised designs (Figure 2). There are two additional note cards with sketches of stone or clay pipes. There is no reference in the letter to these sketches or any further information on how Wenner gained access to the material. But, all the sketches refer to the items as being from Pickett Switch.



Figure 1. Water bottle from the Blay/Pickett Switch site depicted in Antle's 1934 report in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

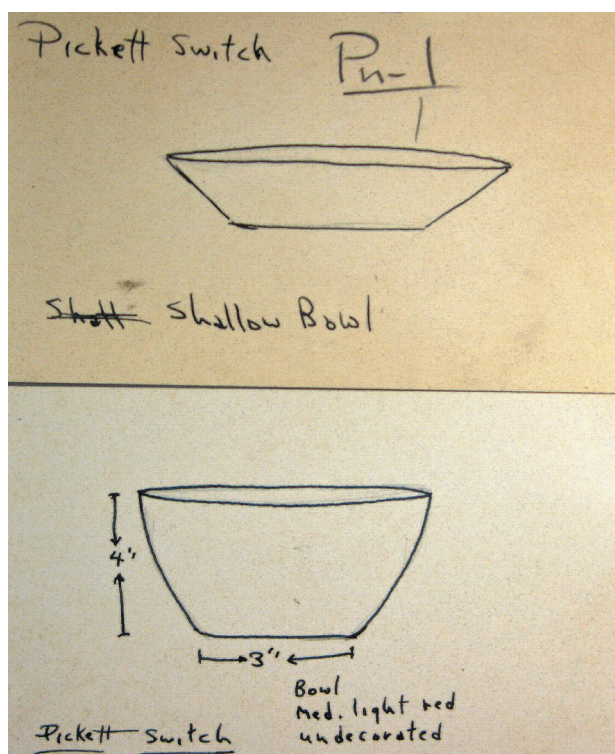


Figure 2. One of David Wenner's notecards with sketches of two bowls from Pickett Switch, probably from Antle's 1934 excavation.

Despite Bell's interest, Pickett Switch was not studied again until the 1950s. From November 1956 until February 1957, O. C. Walz of the Sociology Department and Kenneth Campbell, Curator of the Art Museum at East Central College conducted excavations at the site (Schaeffer 1956, 1957a). Robert Bell, Oren Evans, and some of the graduate students at the University of Oklahoma visited the site during East Central's work and also provided assistance. Regrettably, there is no report or documentation on the results of this work. But, we can gain some knowledge of their investigations from Schaeffer's reports. Schaeffer (1957a:4) noted that the structures being studied by Walz and Campbell contained the remains of at least nine partially burned skeletons in one house. These remains were apparently scattered within the house but above the house floor. The house floor may be as much as 30 cm below the level where the human remains are present, suggesting two different events. There were few artifacts recovered during the East Central College excavations as Schaeffer notes only a bone digging tool, grinding basin, some pottery sherds, and few points, knives, and scrapers. In Schaeffer's 1957a report, he considers the sherds to have a gritty temper with distinctive sandpaper feel. In his earlier article, he states that the ceramics from the site do not resemble those from the Washita River groups

(Schaeffer 1956). Schaeffer (1957a) mentions that he and Robert Bell have started going through the material from Antle's work, which had been donated to the University of Oklahoma. There is a large plan map of the Pickett Switch site in the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History collections. It is unclear whether this map of two structures and external features dates from Walz and Campbell's excavations or Antle's earlier work. Because two structures are depicted, it is thought that this plan view is from the later Walz and Campbell activity (Antle specifically mentions working on only one structure.). The plan view map illustrates two structures. Structure one is rectangular, 8 meters north-south by 6 meters east-west (Figure 3). The west wall of the structure exhibits a double post wall, perhaps reflecting a wall trench. There were four center posts noted and intra-mural bell-shaped pits. The second structure was roughly 28 meters in diameter and exhibited no evidence of support posts or internal features.

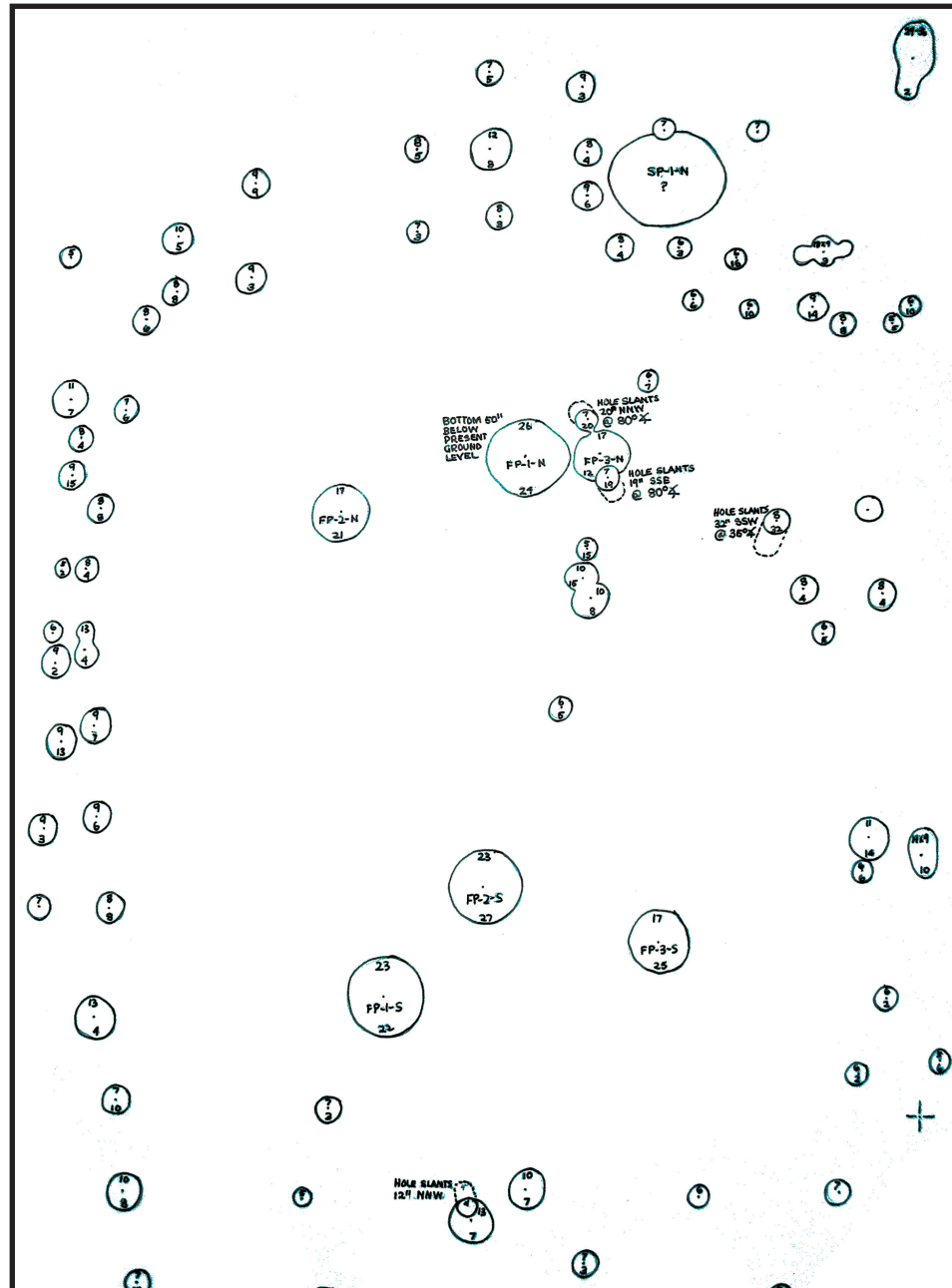


Figure 3. Plan map of the rectangular structure at Pickett Switch, probably from the 1956-1957 East Central College excavations.

The Pickett Switch site occurs in the Eastern Sandstone Cuesta Plains region (Johnson 2006). This area, southwest of Ada consists of some 30 meters of conglomerate, limestone, coarse sandstone, and light-colored sandstone of the late Pennsylvanian Ada Formation (Miser 1934; Cederstrand 1996). Pickett Switch is also within the Cross Timbers eco-system (Woods et al. 2005). This is a mix of savanna, woodlands, and prairie that separates the eastern forests from the western grasslands. Wooded areas are principally dominated by post oak and blackjack oak in the uplands with oaks, hickories, walnut, pecan, and cottonwood occupying the alluvial valleys. Grasses in the Cross Timbers consist primarily of big and little bluestem and Indian grass. These forest and prairie flora are interspersed in the savanna areas. Fauna in the area prehistorically would have included bison, white-tailed deer, antelope, elk, black bear, gray wolf, bobcat, beaver, raccoon, opossum, cotton-tail and jackrabbit, and fox squirrel. Dominant bird species included wild turkey, quail, waterfowl, and raptors (hawks and owls). Streams in the region range from shallow with a gravel or cobble substrate to larger streams and rivers that have wide floodplains and are frequently sand-choked. Major fish species are smallmouth buffalo, river carpsucker, redhorse, channel and flathead catfish, bass, and sunfish. Soils in the vicinity of Pickett-Switch are comprised of the Talpa series of shallow, well-drained soils in the uplands and the Port series of deep, well-drained soils in the valley of the Canadian Sandy.

Artifacts from Pickett Switch

There was some confusion regarding materials from Antle's investigations at the Pickett Switch site curated at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History. There were a number of boxes labeled as PN/0 and designated as either the Blay site or as the Antle collection. There is also an inventory list of Antle's material from Blay or Pickett Switch. However, Antle's materials were not directly donated to the museum. Antle's collection was originally given to Platt National Park (now the Chickasaw National Recreation Area). Dr. E. Holland of the National Park Service subsequently donated these materials to what was then Stovall Museum of Natural History in the summer of 1956. It is unclear if this is all of Antle's material from his 1930/1934 excavations or only a partial inventory. There was also no documentation on the materials from Antle. As Antle collected or dug at a number of sites, whether the items designated as being from the Blay/Pickett Switch site are actually from this location remains questionable. There is no foolproof means of determining the provenance of Antle's PN/0 artifacts. Here, a rather tenuous thread of inference was used to determine which of these items originated with his work at Blay/Pickett Switch. It is well documented that Antle as well as Walz and Campbell encountered burned structures in their work at the site. Thus, artifacts expressing some degree of burning or exposure to high heat were considered to be from Antle's work at the site. This includes numerous ceramics artifacts, ground stone, some chipped stone items, burned bone, and charred plant remains (corn kernels and cupules). There were additional items in the PN/0 collection accessioned as being from the Blay/Pickett Switch that are not included here, principally because they are unburned and they also do not fit with the collection that is burned.

Some 343 ceramics are thought to be from Antle's excavations at Pickett Switch, many of which exhibit some evidence of burning (Figure 5). The high-heat, comparable to re-firing, created surface cracking and many sherds exhibit a bright orange color. Some sherds also have silica froth on their surfaces. There are 255 body sherds that are plain-surfaced, shell-tempered wares (Figure 6), with a smaller number that are limestone-tempered (1), or grit-tempered (22). Seventeen body sherds that are cord-impressed with 10 that are limestone-tempered and seven that are shell-tempered. An additional 15 body sherds could not be identified due to extreme exposure to high temperatures. Vessel bases are flat, small, and round. They are very similar to those documented on a large jar-like vessel from the Allcorn site (Figure 7). Of the 14 basal sherds, 13 are plain-surfaced and one is cord-impressed. Seven of the plain-surfaced bases are shell-tempered, five are grit-

tempered, and one is limestone-tempered. The one cord-impressed basal sherd is limestone-tempered. There are 21 rim undecorated rims sherds. Nineteen of these are plain-surfaced with 15 being shell-tempered, three limestone-tempered, and one grit-tempered. One additional rim is cord-impressed and shell-tempered. There is also one rim sherd/pipe fragment of shell-temper. Most of the rims exhibit strait walls (two are everted) with flat lips. There are eight decorated/modified sherds. One is a grit-tempered rim sherd with a dendritic pattern of incising on the wall below the rim (Figure 8). There is one shell-tempered sherd with two nodes on the neck of the vessel area and one with a strap-handle. There is also one shell-tempered sherd with a red slip (Figure 8) although it is suspected that others may have been slipped but masked by the high temperatures in the structure (Figure 9). There are also four sherds that appear to be of southwestern origin. While these sherds would normally be excluded, they are included here because at least one them exhibits evidence of burning. The four southwestern sherds are a black-on-white ware, a corrugated gray ware, a plain-surfaced gray ware, and a plain-surfaced gray ware rim sherd (Figure 10). It remains questionable whether these four sherds are from Antle's work at Pickett Switch. If so, they are some of the first examples of southwestern material found at an Arkansas River Basin Caddoan site.



Figure 5. Ceramics from Pickett Switch illustrating surface cracking from burning as well as color change.

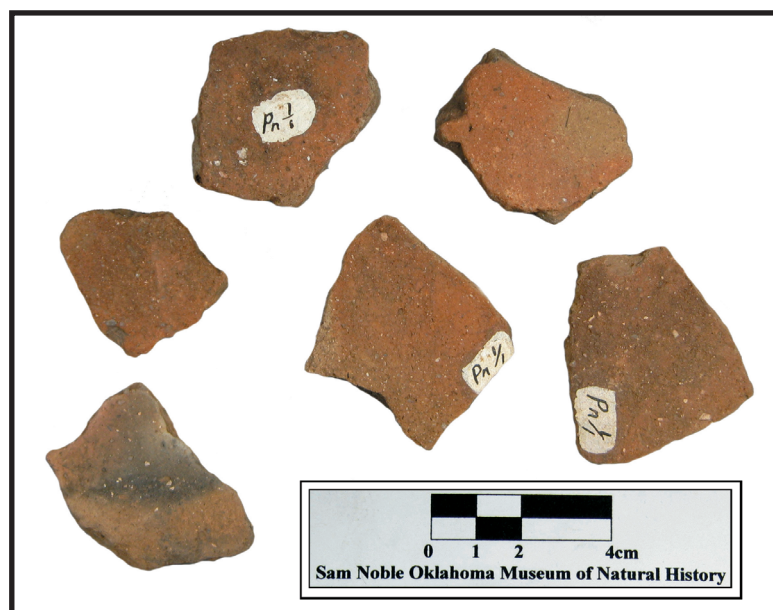


Figure 6. Woodward Plain specimens from the Antle collection.



Figure 7. Complete Woodward Plain vessel from the Allcorn site, 34ML1 illustrating small, round, and flat base.



Figure 8. Incised dendritic pattern on rim sherd from Pickett Switch.



Figure 9. Badly burned red-slipped sherd from Pickett Switch.



Figure 10. Gray wares possibly from Pickett Switch. Dark clouding on the sherds is from burning.

Ten pieces of ground stone are thought to be from Antle's work at Blay/Pickett-Switch due to the presence of burning. These include three celts: one fragmentary specimen of quartzite, one of diorite, and one made of hematite. The latter specimen might also be a gorget due to its flat, rather thin cross-section (Figure 11). There is a gorget made of hematite as well (Figure 11). Two manos are thought to be from the excavated structure. One is oval and similar to those found at Arkansas River Basin Caddoan as well as Plains Village sites whereas the other specimen is circular in shape and distinguished by an area of hematite staining on one grinding surface (Figure 12). This mano is probably associated with a flat segment of shale with a comparable area of hematite staining (Figure 13). Antle's excavation of the structure also recovered one highly burned hammerstone. The remaining two ground stone items are a small sandstone abrader and what may be a fragment of an earspool manufactured from sandstone.



Figure 11. Gorgets from Antle's excavations at Pickett Switch.



Figure 12. Mano with hematite staining.



Figure 13. Associated grinding slab with hematite staining (also highly burned).

There are 124 items of chipped stone in the Antle collection accessioned as being from the Blay/Pickett Switch site. But, it is questionable that all of these items are from Antle's excavations. Some of the specimens have evidence of exposure to fire or have charcoal staining. Others though, are less convincing. There are seven Gary points that are very likely from Pickett Switch. This is somewhat confirmed by Schaeffer's (1956) note that a Gary point was excavated from a structure at Pickett-Switch during Walz and Campbell's work in 1956-1957. The five square-stemmed and four corner-notched dart points are questionable as to their provenance. But, one stemmed point and one corner-notched fragment are burned and lends some credibility to their being from Antle's excavations. This provenance issue also holds true of one side-notched dart point, one with a concave base, and a fragment of a Dalton point (unless a curated item). One Reed-like and one Bonham style arrowpoint would fit with what we know of an Arkansas River Basin Caddoan occupation of the site. But, the two Fresno arrowpoints that are included with the Pickett-Switch material are somewhat suspect. Most of the bifaces could be from Pickett-Switch as they exhibit some degree of heat exposure. This includes 39 bifaces and biface fragments, many manufactured of the nearby Frisco chert (although there is one fragment of Boone chert). Of particular note are 10 bifaces of Alibates agatized dolomite. Six of these are fragmentary but represent large, thin bifaces that are comparable in size to some of the ceremonial blades found at Spiro (Figure 14; Brown 1996). There are also six bifaces of Frisco chert that appear to represent a cache due to their similarity in size and shape (Figure 15). There is one additional category of chipped stone worthy of note: two double bitted axes made of Alibates agatized dolomite (Figure 16). These represent one of the very few cases of double-bitted axes of non-eastern Oklahoma tool stone. The remaining specimens include eight unifacial scrapers and 53 flakes, chunks, and cobble fragments of Frisco chert, quartzite, and unidentified cherts.

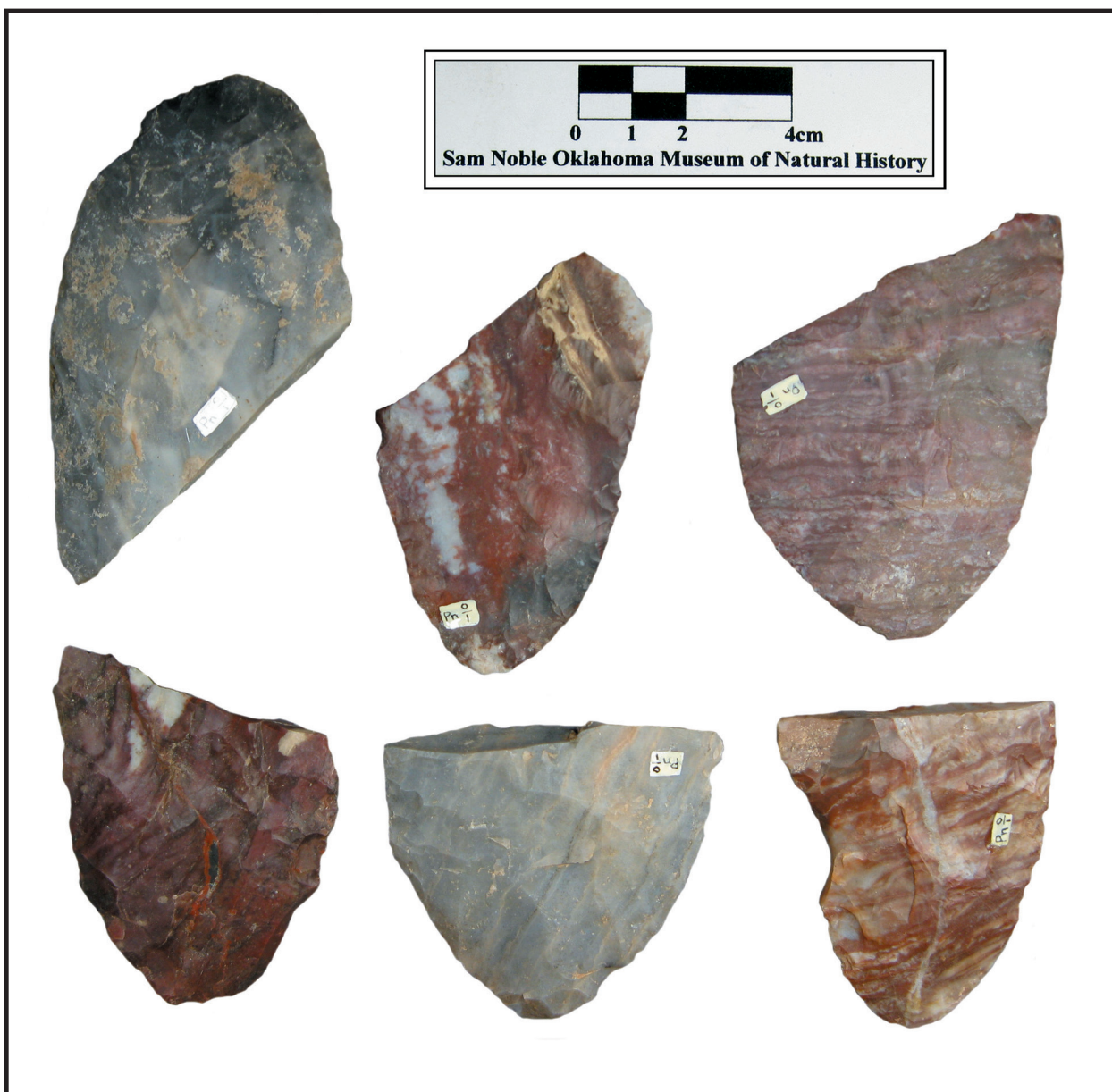


Figure 14. Large Alibates agatized dolomite bifaces from the Antle collection.

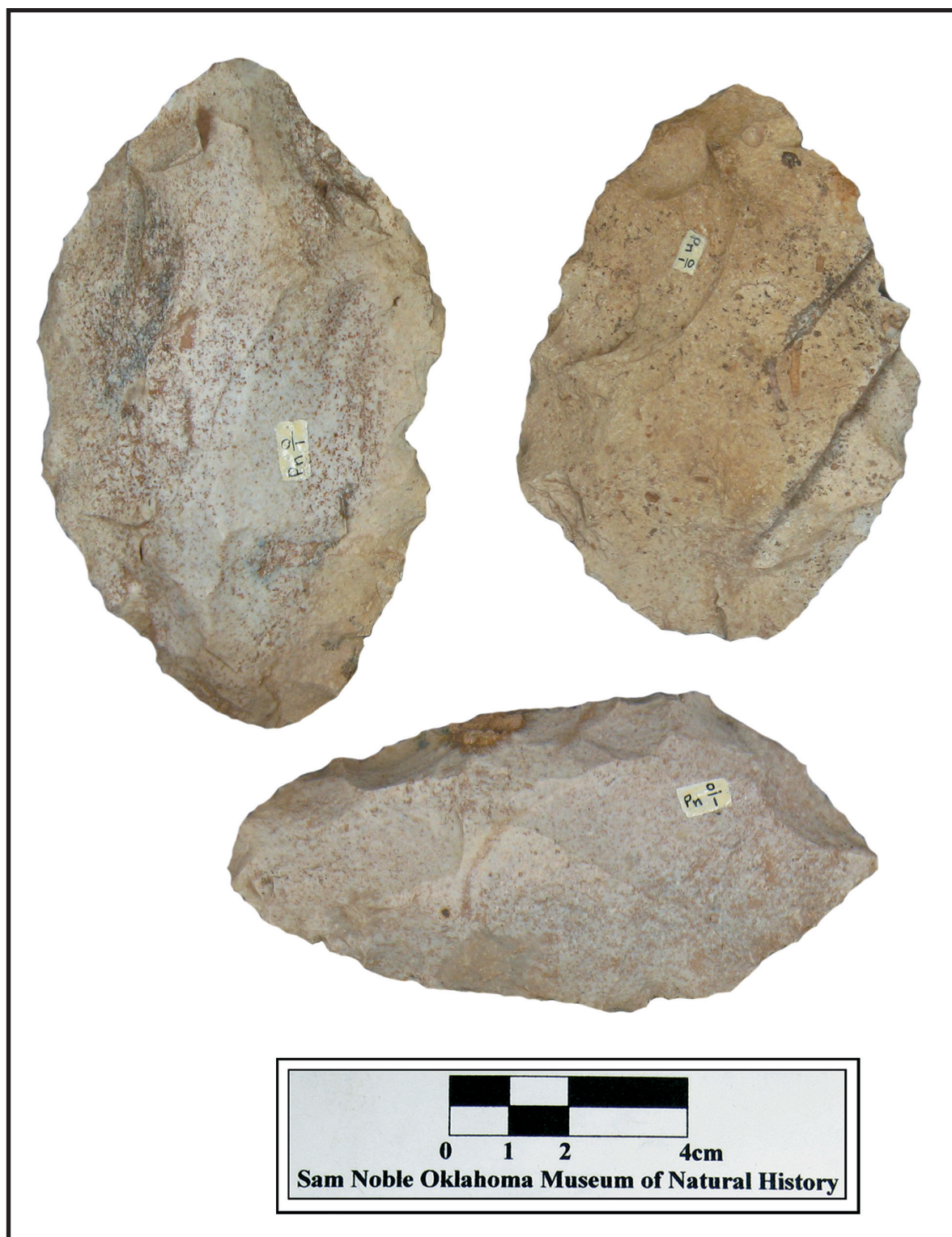


Figure 15. Frisco chert bifaces thought to represent a cache from Pickett Switch.

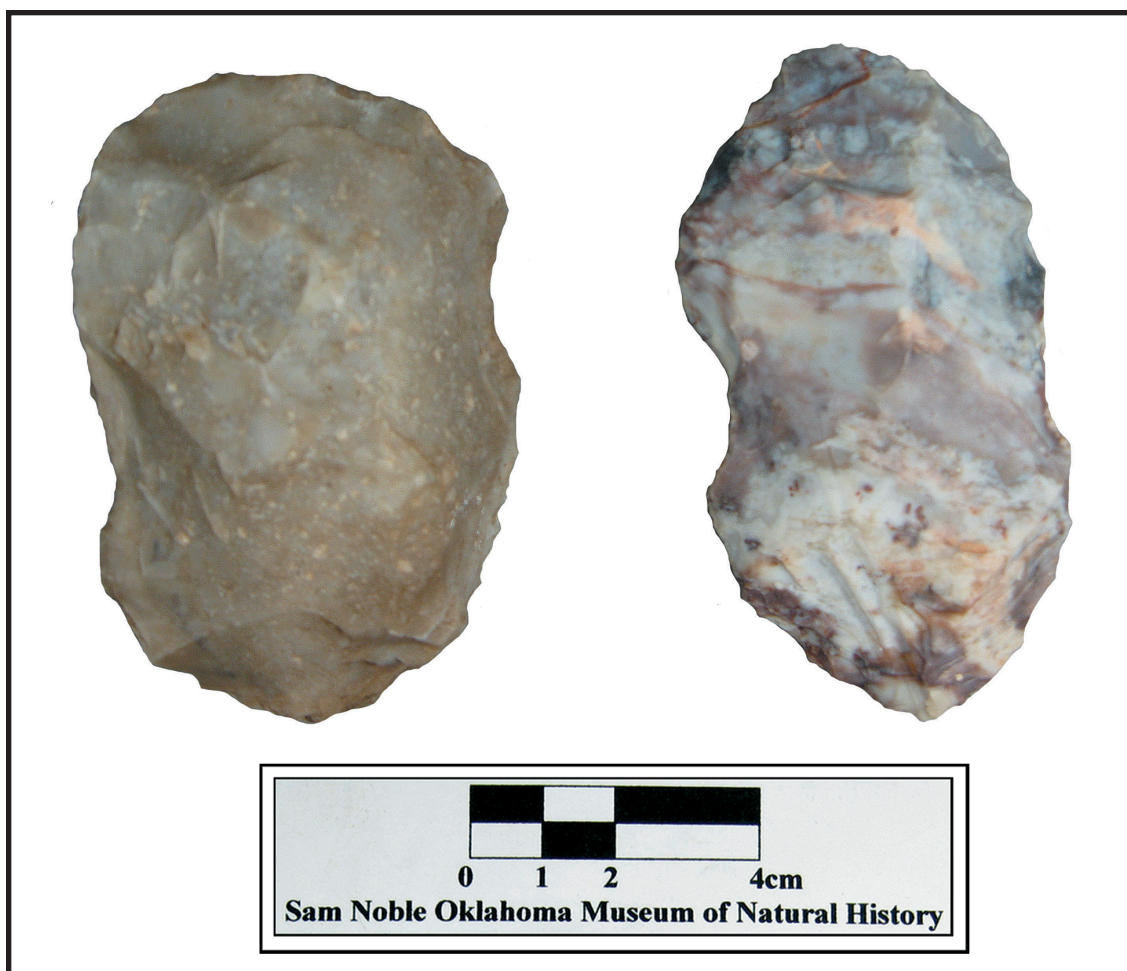


Figure 16. Double-bitted axes from Pickett Switch. Specimen on right is made of Alibates agatized dolomite.

Faunal remains (13) are very infrequent at Pickett-Switch. Eleven of the bone fragments represent the remains of white-tailed deer including a highly burned antler segment and two specimens that are too calcined to identify. Charred plant materials are restricted to corn cupules and kernels. There are 15 fragments of burned clay (daub) in the museum collection. Three mineral specimens are believed to be from the structure Antle excavated. One is a green crystalline substance residing on a granite base material from the Arbuckle Mountains (Figure 17). Neil Sunneson of the Oklahoma Geological Survey identified this substance as epidote. Epidote could be ground/pulverized to create a green pigment. There is also a moderate-sized piece of hematite present. The remaining specimen is burned but could be a tabular segment of mica. Another possibility might be a marble-like material. Both the mica and the marble-like material are non-local, probably originating in the Ouachita or Appalachian mountain regions.



Figure 17. Specimen of epidote thought to be from Antle's excavation at 34PN1.

Chronology of Pickett Switch

A sample of the charred corn kernels from Antle's excavations at the Pickett Switch site was submitted to Beta Analytic for ams dating. Two runs were accomplished from this sample. The first run (Beta-299722) yielded a measured radiocarbon age of 400 ± 30 BP with a $^{13}\text{C}/^{12}\text{C}$ ratio of -9.2 o/oo. The two-sigma calibration on this run was A.D. 1280 to A.D. 1320. The second run (Beta-299723) yielded a measured radiocarbon age of 390 ± 30 BP with a $^{13}\text{C}/^{12}\text{C}$ ratio of -8.5 o/oo. The two-sigma calibration for this run was A.D. 1280-A.D. 1320. These dates are consistent with the artifact assemblage recovered— especially if the vessel forms that Wenner illustrated are from the site. This places Pickett Switch in the same relative time frame as the Nagle and Allcorn sites (circa A.D. 1200 or slightly later).

The Ada Earspool

As reported previously, the Ada earspool was thought to originate on Springbrook Creek northwest of Ada (Brooks 2011). While the location was vetted by oral history, further scrutiny found this location to be in error. Additional questioning of the son of the collector revealed that the earspool was actually found on Canadian Sandy Creek about 3.2 km north of Ada. The earspool is on the same drainage as the Pickett Switch site but closer to the Canadian Sandy's confluence with the Canadian River. This area has undergone extensive commercial and residential development and the site where the earspool was found has undoubtedly been destroyed. One interesting aspect of Antle's work at Pickett Switch is that despite finding numerous individuals and ceramic vessels that appear to be of Arkansas River Basin Caddoan origin, he found no exotic materials such as earspools or shell such as that encountered at the Nagle (34OK4; Shaeffer 1957b) or Allcorn (34ML1; Brooks and Cox 2010) sites. Perhaps there were no elites in residence at Pickett Switch but the Ada earspool demonstrates that were Caddoan elites living somewhere on the Canadian Sandy, assuming that our most recent information is correct.

Concluding Comments

Material recovered during H. R. Antle's work at the Pickett Switch site provides some support for the argument that Arkansas River Basin Caddoans were living in the Ada vicinity on Canadian Sandy Creek. Foremost among these items is the image of what appears to be large water bottle in Antle's (1934b) *Chronicles of Oklahoma* article. The vessel could easily be found among ceramic assemblages at Harlan, Norman, or Spiro. Other ceramics from the site, although distorted by intense heat, can be identified as Woodward Plain, a shell-tempered ware common in eastern Oklahoma during Caddoan times. There are also red slipped ceramics that are too fragmentary and burned to allow identification of the type variety. One sherd with an incised, dendritic pattern is thought to originate from the Red River Valley Caddo although it is not a recognized variety. The hematite gorget, large blades/bifaces, and double-bitted axes also point to an eastern Oklahoma origin. If the epidote, hematite, and mica/marble found in the Pickett Switch collection are truly from the site, these would be logical items for Arkansas River Basin Caddoans to have in their possession.

The sketches of a ceramic water bottle, jar and two bowls included in David Wenner's letter are labeled as being from Pickett Switch. These sketches appear to represent Caddoan wares. The "willow pattern" sketched on one notecard is similar to the specimen in the Antle collection although it also holds some differences. This may be the same sherd or perhaps a second specimen from the same vessel. The obvious problem is that these objects are not in the Antle collection and cannot be verified except perhaps for the water bottle that is illustrated in the *Chronicles* article.

Despite this evidence, questions remain as to whether this is an Arkansas River Basin Caddoan site. None of the human remains excavated by Antle or Walz and Campbell have been rediscovered; the characteristics of these people are unknown. If any of them exhibited fronto-occipital cranial deformation, this would represent compelling evidence for the presence of Arkansas River Basin Caddoan elites. The presence of status markers such as earspools or conch shell would be equally convincing. But, since these data are not available, conclusive evidence as to the origins of the people living at Pickett Switch remains unresolved. But, it can be substantiated that Pickett Switch bears few similarities to Plains Village sites such as those found in the Washita River phase (Brooks 1987).

If Pickett Switch is an Arkansas River Basin Caddoan residential site, it is different from the Allcorn site in that it is not located on the Canadian River proper. The nature and function of the structures at Pickett Switch also remains unclear. Antle reports them as being 30 feet (9 m) in diameter with an apparent waddle and daub construction (described as earthlodges). But, the undated plan map thought to originate with the work by Eastern State College portrays a rectangular structure as well as one that is possibly circular. The structures appear to function as domestic residences with the deceased individuals present representing an intrusive event. But, there are a couple of cryptic comments by Antle that make the structures appear to look much like charnel houses. Regrettably, without a modern examination of a structure from Pickett Switch, this dilemma will not be resolved.

The previously discussed earspool is now thought to originate north of Ada on the Canadian Sandy. This item also comes from the tributary stream rather than the Canadian River proper. No studies have been conducted of the Canadian River in the Ada vicinity, especially where the Canadian Sandy Creek joins with the Canadian River. Such survey efforts might reveal the presence of prominent residential sites of Arkansas River Basin Caddoan origin.

What were Arkansas River Basin Caddoans doing in the Ada vicinity? It has been argued that the expansion of Caddoans beyond their eastern Oklahoma homeland represented an attempt to spread a political/religious message (Brooks and Cox 2010). The Allcorn site on the Canadian River and the Nagle site on the North Canadian River represent what is apparently the western extent of this attempt to spread their belief system. In this type of expansionism, there are frequently intervening outposts or stations from which groups depart to the frontier. Pickett Switch, on a major tributary of the Canadian River, may represent one of these residential outposts. That evidence at Pickett Switch that suggests violence is also not surprising. One of the elite elders of the Nagle site population had arrowpoints in his thoracic cavity and was scalped (Brues 1957). There are additional questions concerning the Allcorn residents and whether Plains Villagers replaced them in a violent or non-violent fashion (Brooks and Cox 2010). Basically, we are left with more questions to answer than those we have resolved. It is evident that more work is merited in the Ada area to examine the potential for Arkansas River Basin Caddoans.

Acknowledgements

I want to express my gratitude to Liz Leith of the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History in helping me track down the Pickett Switch materials at the museum, especially the large plan map and David Wenner's letter and note cards to Robert Bell. The museum also graciously permitted a sample of corn from the site to be radiocarbon dated.

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WATERSHED TIMES FOR THE CADDO PEOPLES OF THE FAR SOUTHEAST

Timothy K. Perttula

Introduction

A.D. 1450 was a watershed year in the native history of the Caddo Indian peoples of the Far Southeast (southwest Arkansas, northwest Louisiana, eastern Oklahoma, and eastern Texas). For the first time, recognizable and relatively geographically coherent socio-political polities in several areas can be identified that arose out of the distinctive archaeological traditions of the Caddo area that first are recognizable about A.D. 900. These new Caddo polities that came into existence at ca. A.D. 1450 apparently lasted until at least A.D. 1680, if not later, but did not survive sustained European contact with the same socio-political organization intact that they started with in those watershed times.

This dynamic development among Caddo peoples occurred in tandem with a more uniform intensification of maize agriculture in prime Far Southeast habitats after ca. A.D. 1300, extensive intra-areal movements of Caddo groups in combination with the abandonment of agriculturally marginal regions, possible new religious developments heralded by indirect archaeological evidence for the use of peyote and other psychotropic drugs among some East Texas Caddo peoples after ca. A.D. 1430, and widespread trade and exchange with indigenous Southern Plains and Southeastern cultures. The introduction of epidemic diseases by the early 1690s, along with slave raiding from tribes east of the Mississippi River (see Ethridge 2009), took a terrible toll on the Caddo peoples in the years to come, but the dissolution of several pre-contact Caddo socio-political polities, and the transformation of them into new Caddo cultural identities, did not occur until well into the 18th century, about 1730.

Looking past the period of protohistory—the time between prehistory and history when few written records are available, and for which most evidence about Caddo peoples must be derived from archaeology (cf. Perttula 2002)—to the time when there are detailed written records regularly compiled by Europeans about the Caddo people, beginning ca. 1686 and after (and thus not including the De Soto chronicles from the early 1540s), what was the Caddo landscape like? For Europeans, the Caddo were the center piece in the Far Southeast (Figure 1). They were the preeminent tribe in the Far Southeast, and all roads, trails, and trade led through the Caddo, particularly the trade in horses and guns.

Archaeologists working in what Krieger (2009) termed the “so-called Caddo area,” recognized early on the unique geographic position of the Caddo betwixt the Southwest and the Southeast (Figure 2). It was clear that the Caddo were the most socially and politically complex aboriginal population on the far reaches of the Southeast, a position that they maintained for hundreds of years, and likely would have maintained for hundreds of years more if Europeans had not embarked on the conquest and conversion of Native peoples.

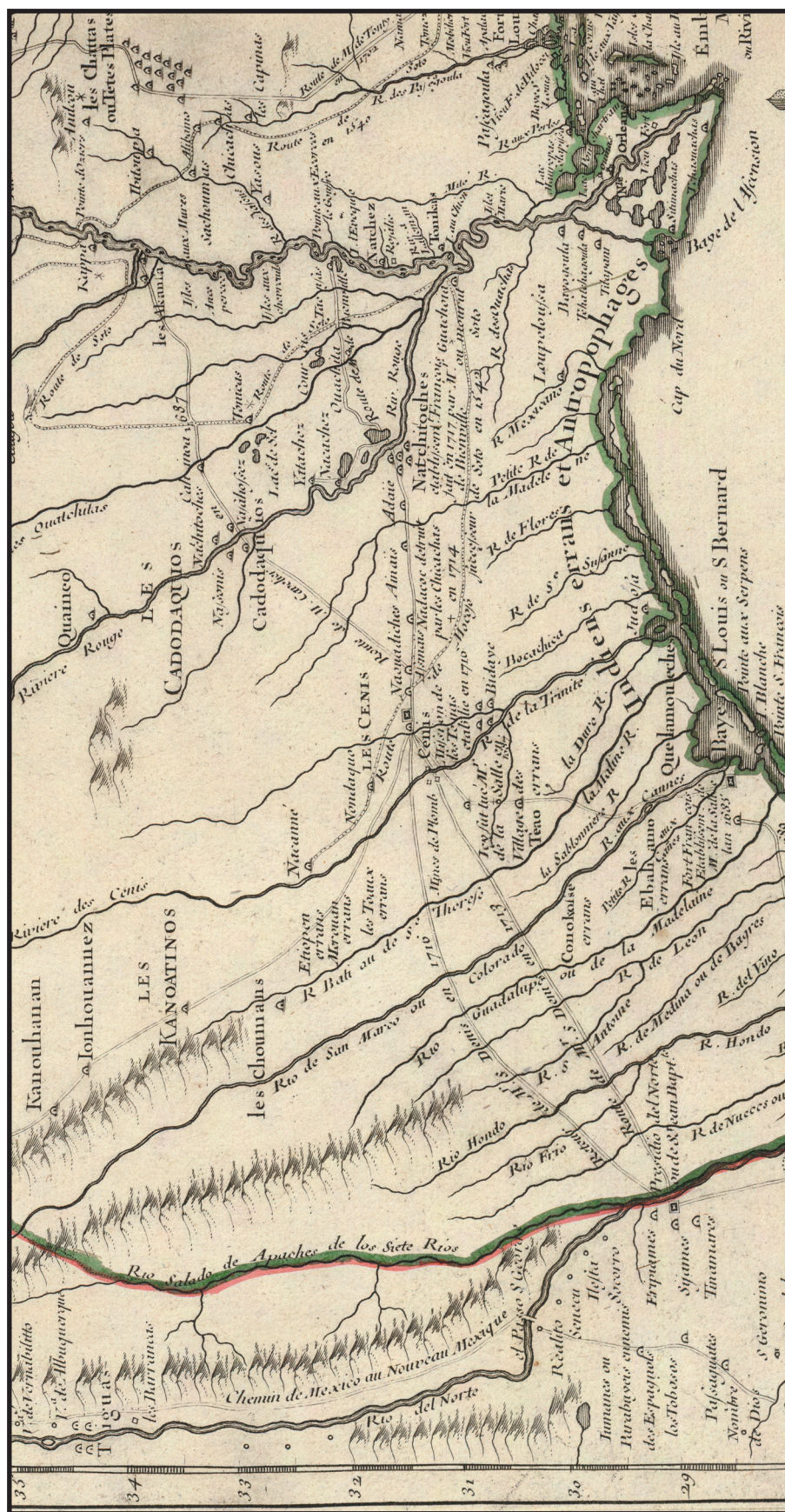


Figure 1. Delisle's 1718 map of Louisiana and Texas. All roads and trails lead through the Cenis—the Hasinai Caddo groups in East Texas—or the Caddoquios, the Kadohadacho groups on the Red River in the Great Bend area (David Rumsey Historical Map Collection).

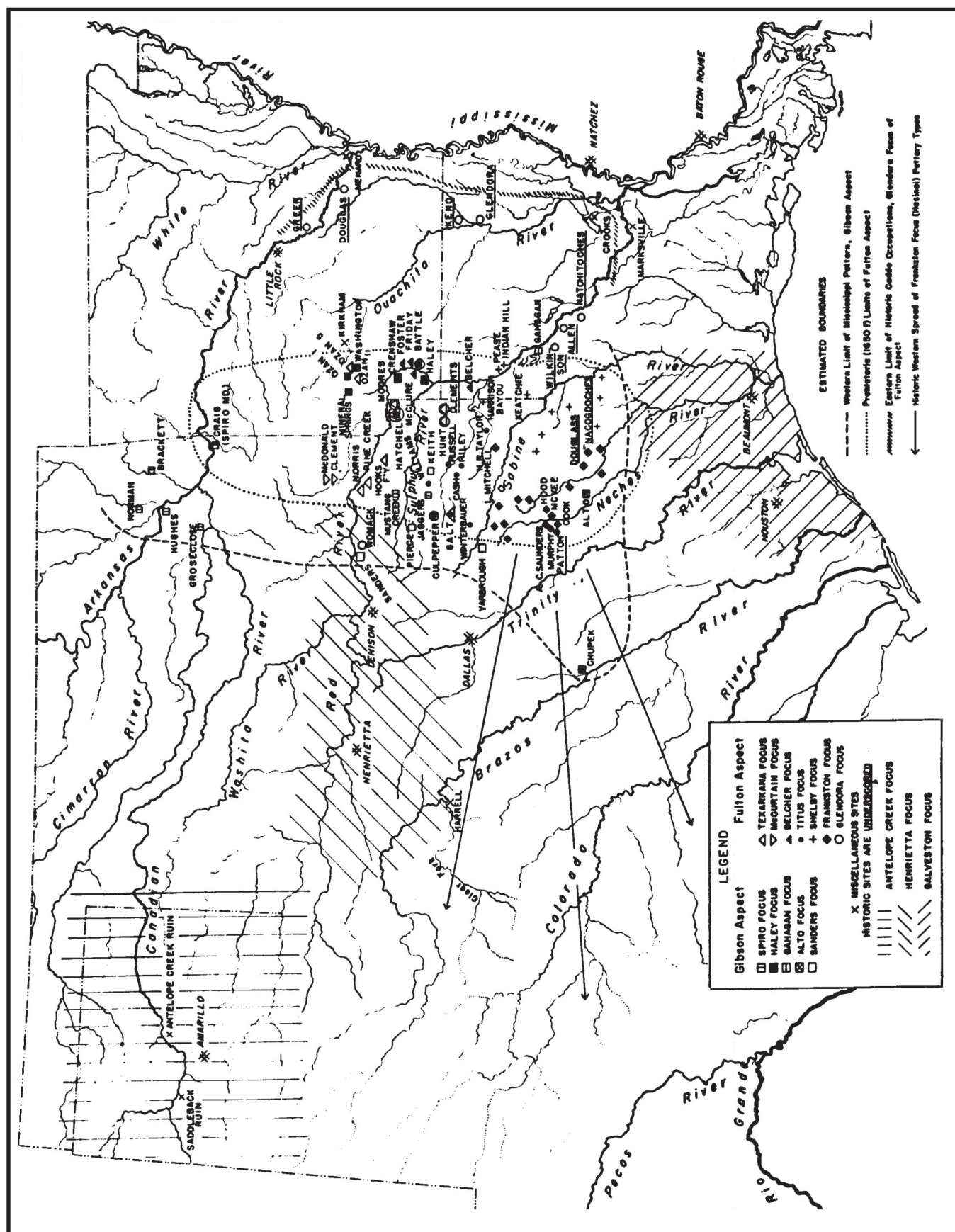


Figure 2. The Caddo archaeological world, an early [1944] archaeological view by Krieger (2009:Figure 1).

The Caddo were virtually unchallenged in their world. They had no fortified settlements, and little evidence for warfare or conflict (notwithstanding the skull and mandible caches at the Crenshaw site, Schambach 1996) is apparent in the archaeological record. This likely speaks to the fact that the Caddo had little to fear from their neighbors (primarily hunter-gatherer foragers) and little need for strong defenses (cf. Dye 2009:12).

Ethnographic information on the location of Caddo groups show that much of the Caddo world was emptied by the early 18th century, perhaps as early as the 1690s (Figure 3). By this time, the Caddo were no longer unchallenged.

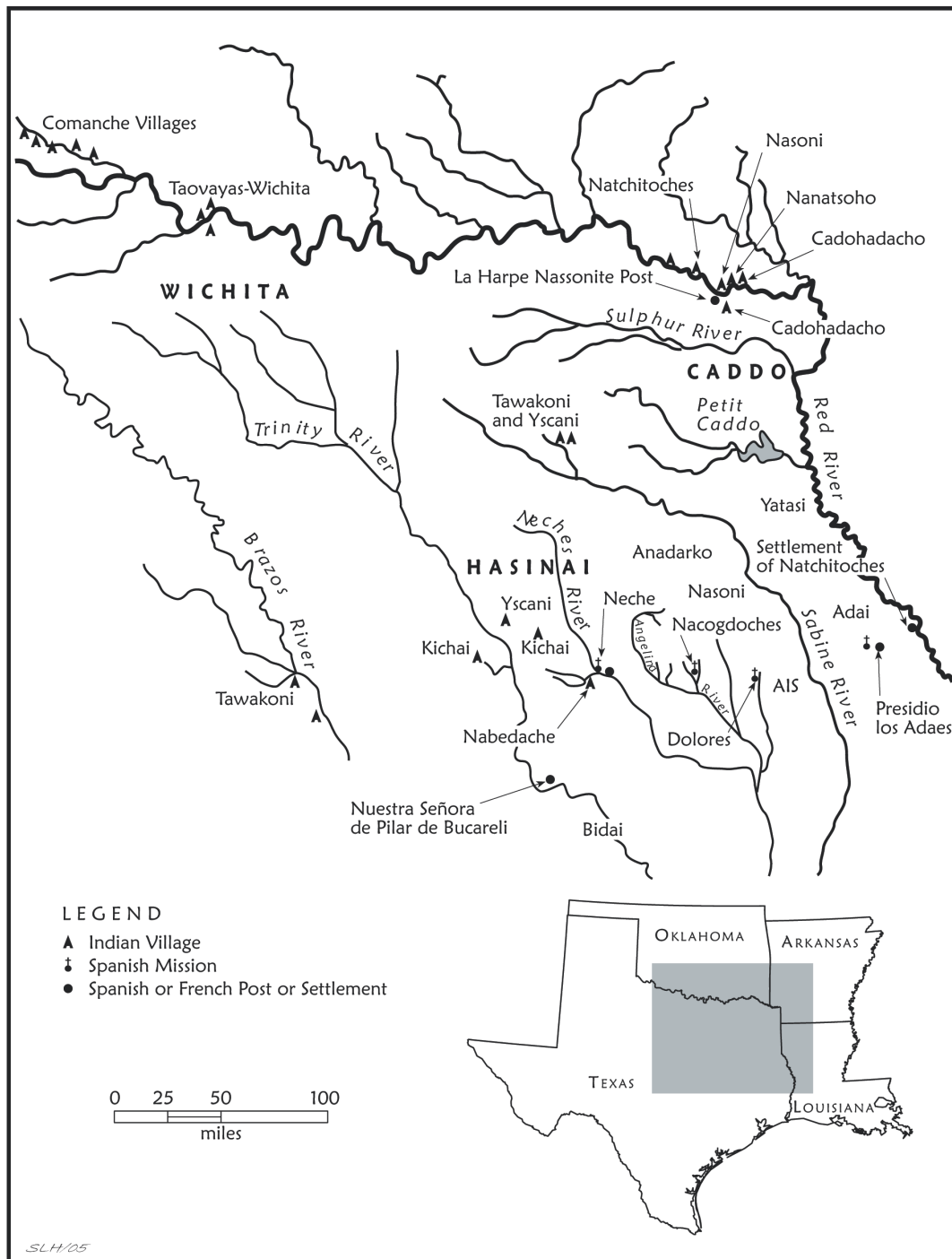


Figure 3. Ethnographically recorded locations of Caddo groups, ca. early 18th to mid-18th century.

Caddo Communities and Complexity: The 15th Century A.D. to the Time of more Continuous Contact with Europeans in the Late 17th Century A.D.

The archaeological view of the ca. A.D. 1400-1680 period indicates that Caddo groups of varying sizes, complexity, and local history were widely distributed across both major and minor streams in the area (Figure 4). Subtle population and territorial readjustments, coupled with continued mound building in some major valleys, trade activities (salt and bow wood), and other pursuits suggests these were prosperous farmers with sustainable social and political structures.

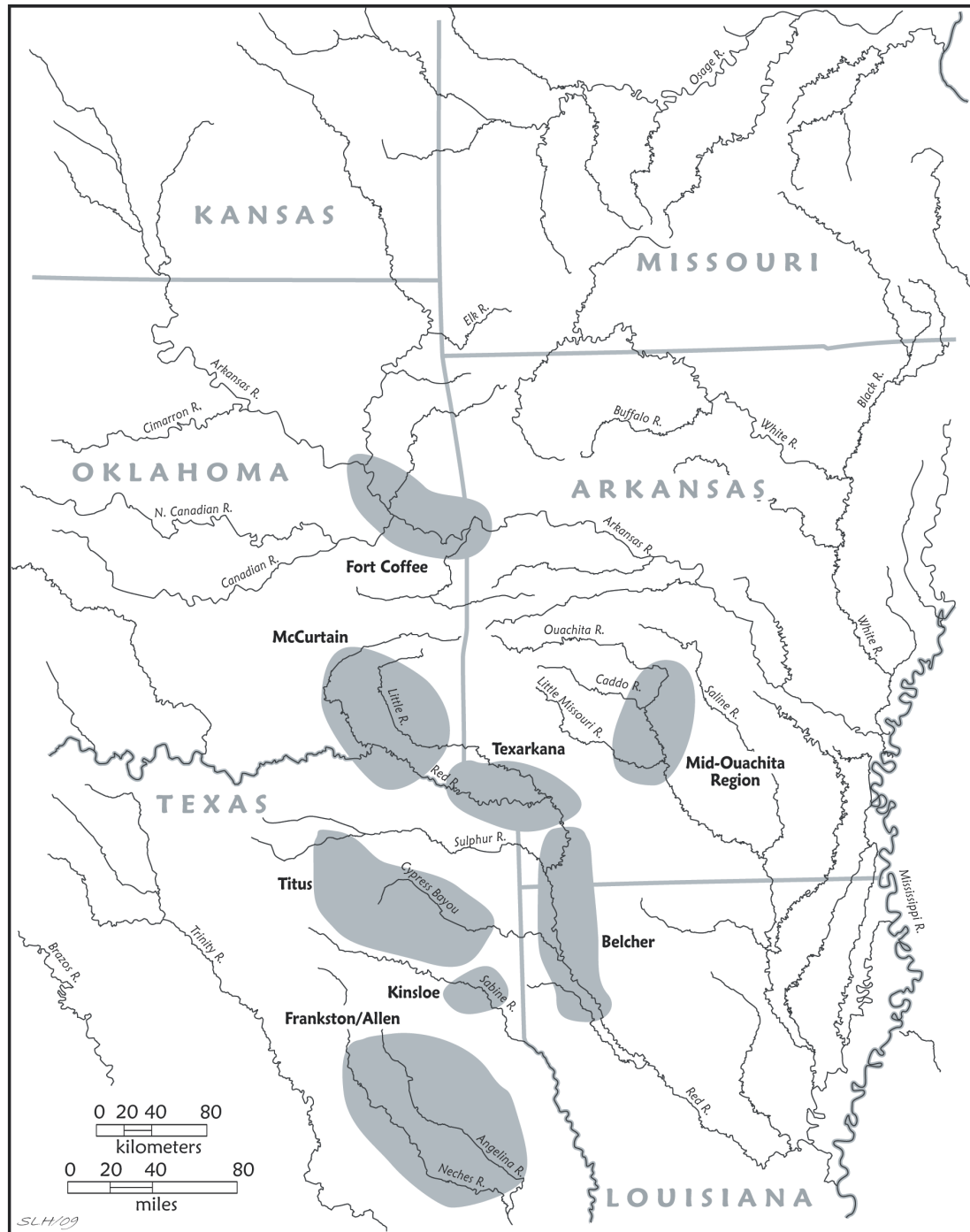


Figure 4. The distribution of Late Caddo (ca. A.D. 1400-1680) phases in the Caddo area. In the Mid-Ouachita region, this would include the temporally Mid-Ouachita, Social Hill, and Deceiper phases (Early 1993).

As already mentioned above, A.D. 1450 was a watershed year for the Caddo peoples, as indeed it was in parts of the Southwest (Lekson 2009:249), the Vacant quarter area (Cobb and Butler 2002) in the Mississippi-Ohio rivers area, and the southern Plains (see Perkins and Baugh 2008). This time is one of those “hinge points” discussed by Lekson, a “time of change.” Paleoclimatic evidence may hold part of the key to understanding this time of change and I think that droughts helped shape Caddo history. Paleoclimatic data from tree rings indicate that very dry years were quite rare between A.D. 1000-1400, but after that time dry years were more common (Figure 5). The driest and coolest years during the Caddo occupation of East Texas and surrounding states occurred in the major drought years of ca. A.D. 1430-1470 (especially A.D. 1444-1447 and 1455-1460).

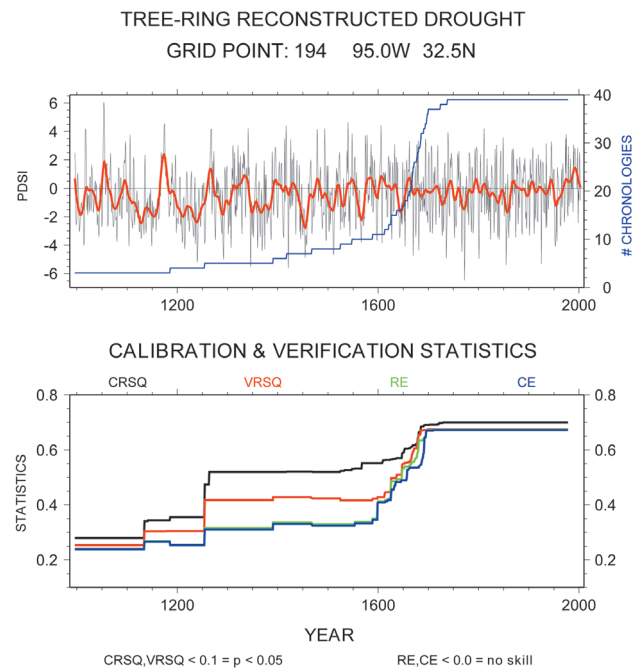


Figure 5. Tree-ring reconstructed droughts in the Texarkana area, Red River, A.D. 1000-2000. From North American Drought Atlas: A History of Meteorological Drought Reconstructed from 835 Tree-Ring Chronologies for the past 2005 years. Lamont-Doherty Earth Observatory and Tree-Ring Lab.

The period from ca. A.D. 1430-1470 was apparently the coolest (Figure 6) and driest in the last 1000 years in the general region. For farmers with agricultural economies, this was more than some Caddo polities could survive. Is it a coincidence that these climatically challenging years occurred at the same time as some fundamental changes in Caddo society along with evidence of abandonment and population movements? I do not happen to think that is the case.

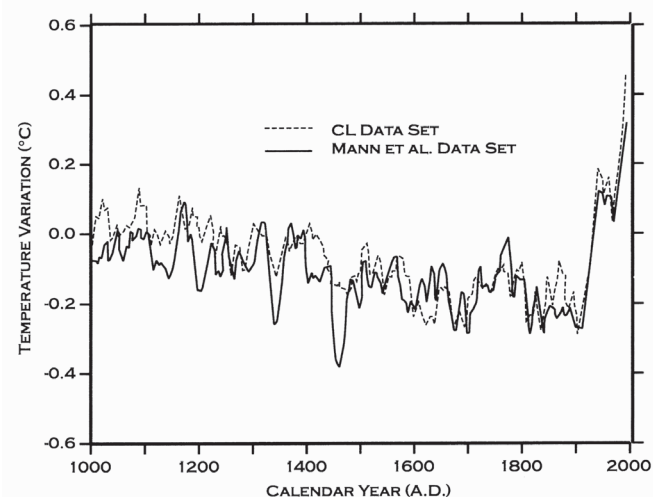


Figure 6. Temperature variation, A.D. 1000-2000. Note significant cooling ca. A.D. 1450-1470 (Perttula 2008:Figure 2).

Archaeological data on the density and distribution of settlements after ca. A.D. 1450 (Figure 7) point to the regional abandonment of several parts of the Caddo area at and around that time, including much of the Ouachita Mountains and Caddo settlements in particularly drought-prone areas along the western margins of Caddo territory (upper Sabine, upper Neches, and upper Sulphur in East Texas, certainly; Blackland Prairie areas in southwestern Arkansas, Lockhart 2007). These areas may have been marginally suitable for the successful cultivation of maize. One related product of this regional abandonment may have been the consolidation of Caddo societies into areas or habitats that were perceived by their political leaders as most suitable to maintain economies dependent upon agricultural crops for subsistence.

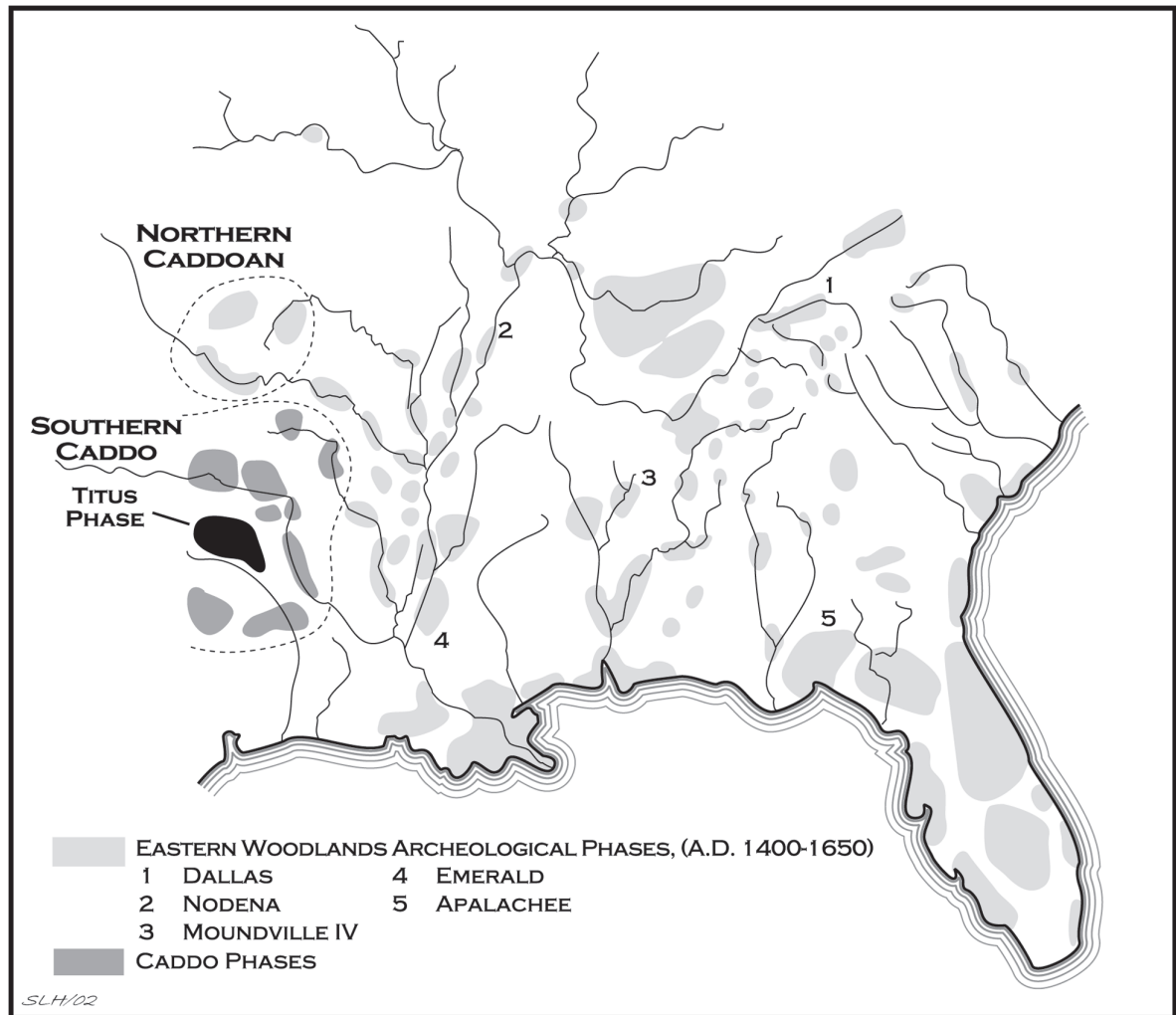
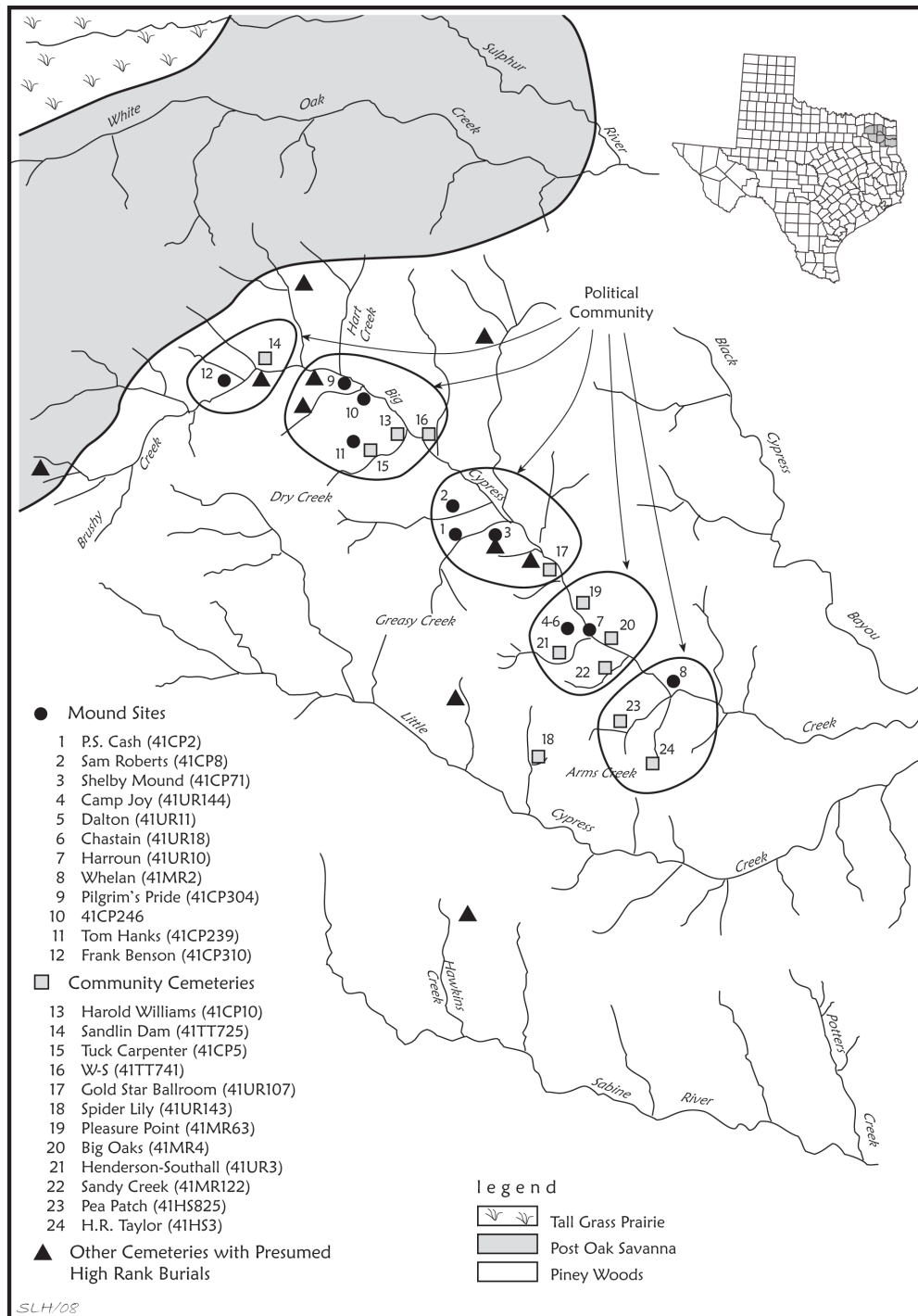


Figure 7. Caddo groups and phases at the Far Southeast, post-15th century A.D.

Once this consolidation took place, these Caddo polities remained anchored to these lands until at least ca. the 1680s along the Red River and East Texas, as well as parts of the mid-Ouachita region. To the north, Rogers (2006) suggests Fort Coffee phase Northern “Caddoan” groups remained in the Arkansas River basin until ca. 1660.

What were these 15th-17th century Caddo polities like? A few examples from East Texas and southwest Arkansas should suffice to illustrate their social and political complexity prior to sustained European contact. Other examples from northwest Louisiana (Webb 1959) and the mid-Ouachita River basin (Early 1993) also come readily to mind.

First, the preponderance of archaeological evidence from the political communities recognized in the Titus phase area of East Texas (Figure 8) clearly demonstrate that powerful and populous Caddo groups lived in this area through much of the 17th century. Seriation analysis of ceramic vessels and arrow point styles from Titus phase burials and cemetery sites suggests that the large and well-planned community cemeteries (with 50-200+ individuals in each, and used for multiple generations) date after the early 16th century and were in use until at least the early to mid-17th century (Pertulla 2005:387-388). Dates from constructed mounds, either platform or substructural, indicate the same temporal range for their use.



The Shelby Mound site (41CP71) on Greasy Creek in the Big Cypress Creek basin is one of the more important Titus phase sites because of its large and well-preserved settlement with abundant habitation features, evidence of mound building activities, and a large community cemetery with at least 119 burial pits (Figure 9) and perhaps as many as 200.

One Caddo individual buried there (Burial 117), probably an adult male, appears to have been a socially important person, since he was buried resting on a cedar pole litter. This person appears to have then been buried in a tomb (accompanied by many decorated pottery vessels as well as caches of expertly knapped Talco arrow points) placed below the floor of a structure, after which the structure was burned, capping the tomb (Perttula 2005:382), and leaving a large deposit of daub overlying the burial.

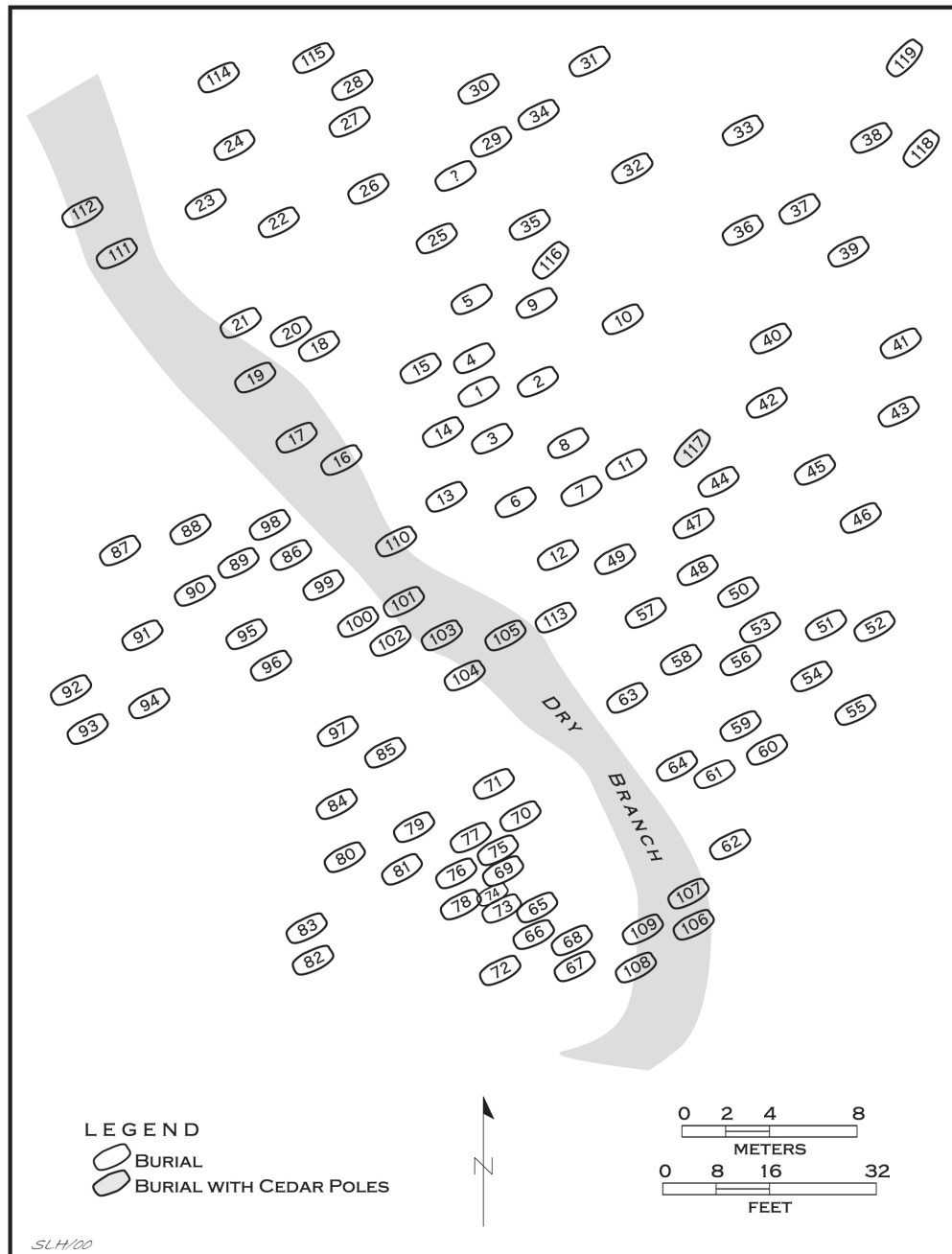


Figure 9. Late Caddo community cemetery at the Shelby site (41CP71).

No other Caddo litter burials are known from East Texas mortuary contexts in post-A.D. 1430 times, which certainly points to the social significance of this Caddo individual. At a certain level, it compares with a number of cedar pole litter burials from individuals with a “superior social standing” (accompanied by a truly unique assortment of grave goods) that have been documented in 14th century A.D. burials in the Special Mortuary of the Craig Mound at the Spiro site in the Arkansas River valley in eastern Oklahoma (Brown 1996:85-103).

I obtained a radiocarbon date on one of the cedar poles from the Shelby site: at 2 sigma, the calibrated age range is AD 1430-1640, with a calibrated intercept of AD 1470. Considered in context with the radiocarbon dates from mound and habitation features, the burial litter at the Shelby site may well have been interred in the large community cemetery in the latter part of the 15th and the first part of the 16th century A.D. To reiterate, the 2 sigma calibrated radiocarbon age range from the litter burial points to the burial of a socially superior Caddo individual in a ranked Titus phase political community sometime after the early part of the 16th century A.D. There clearly is no diminution in social complexity at the cusp of European contact.

Further evidence of Caddo social complexity in the protohistoric period is the archaeological evidence from the Hatchel site (41BW3) on the Red River in the northeastern corner of what is now Texas. The Hatchel site (Figure 10) is one of the most significant prehistoric and early historic Caddo Indian sites in the state. The modern Caddo people, although they have not lived at the site in more than 300 years, still feel a connection to this place (Pertulla et al. 2008:102).



Figure 10. 1938-1939 WPA excavations in Late Caddo mound at the Hatchel site on Red River.

The Hatchel site contains at least five mounds, including one primary platform mound that stood 30 ft. high, along with extensive village and cemetery areas covering several hundred acres. The site was one of the premier Caddo civic and ceremonial centers along the Red River from as early as ca. A.D. 1100 until the early 18th century. Works Progress Administration excavations of the platform mound in the late 1930s disclosed that it had a ca. A.D. 1200-1400 core overlain by a massive 15th through 17th century platform with seven stages of construction and use; there are at least 16 important circular Caddo structures (many deliberately burned) on these stages. When the Don Domingo Teran de los Rios expedition visited the site in 1691, the *templo* or temple mound at the Hatchel site was still in use (Wedel 1978:Figure 2). There clearly was no vacuum in Caddo social and political power at this time and place.

Lastly, the Battle Mound (3LA1) is the largest known Caddo mound—205 m in length, 98 m in width, and 10.4 m high (Figure 11)—and one of the largest platform mounds in the southeastern United States (Muller 1978:321). It was built primarily in post-A.D. 1500 Belcher phase times over a low (1.8 m) Haley phase mound platform (see McKinnon 2010a, 2010b). During the Belcher phase, it was here in the Great Bend region that the Caddo cultural tradition reached its peak in population and socio-political complexity (Perttula 1992:24; Schambach 1989:20). By the early 18th century, however, there were only dispersed Caddo farmstead compounds on Chicaniina Prairie.



Figure 11. Battle site on the Red River in the Great Bend area. This is the largest, and primarily Late Caddo constructed, mound site on Red River.

By the early 18th century, the distribution of Historic Caddo sites points to the fact that there certainly had been demographic changes, and a regional winnowing of Caddo populations and occupied archaeological sites (Figure 12). Much, if not all, of southwestern Arkansas and southeastern Oklahoma was bereft of people, and some Caddo tribes had already moved to amalgamate with others, as in the case of the Cahinnio who had moved from the Ouachita to the Red River. Caddo polities remained in East Texas, especially in the Hasinai Caddo homelands in the Neches-Angelina river basins.

As attested to by the De Soto chronicles, just 150 years before, the Battle site was the likely the central site of the Naguatex province (Figure 13), almost certainly the most important and populous Caddo province in the mid-16th century (Hudson 1997). By the early 18th century, the area was home to scattered villages (see Figure 12).

La Salle's expeditions into the Caddo area of East Texas in 1686-1687 effectively bring the protohistoric period to an end in the Far Southeast homelands of the Caddo peoples. At that time, the Spanish already referred to the East Texas Caddo as the "Great Kingdom of the Tejas," and they were still a populous nation. One Spanish chronicler in 1690 noted that their principal settlement "encompasses fourteen to fifteen leagues [35-40 miles], but we were unable to see all of it . . . In the part we did see there were more than four thousand people" (Perttula 2002:262).

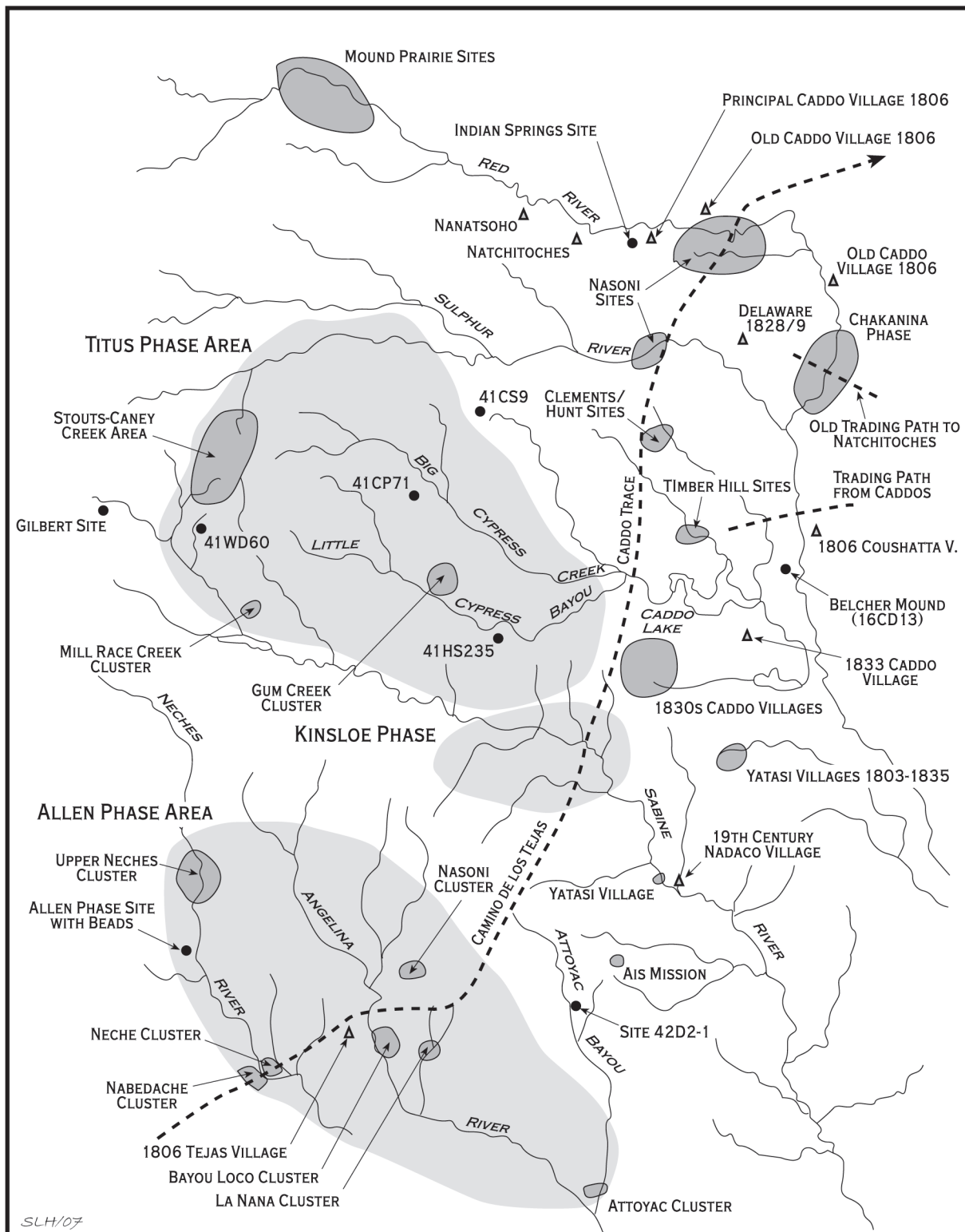


Figure 12. The dissolution of the Caddo? Historic Caddo sites and phases.

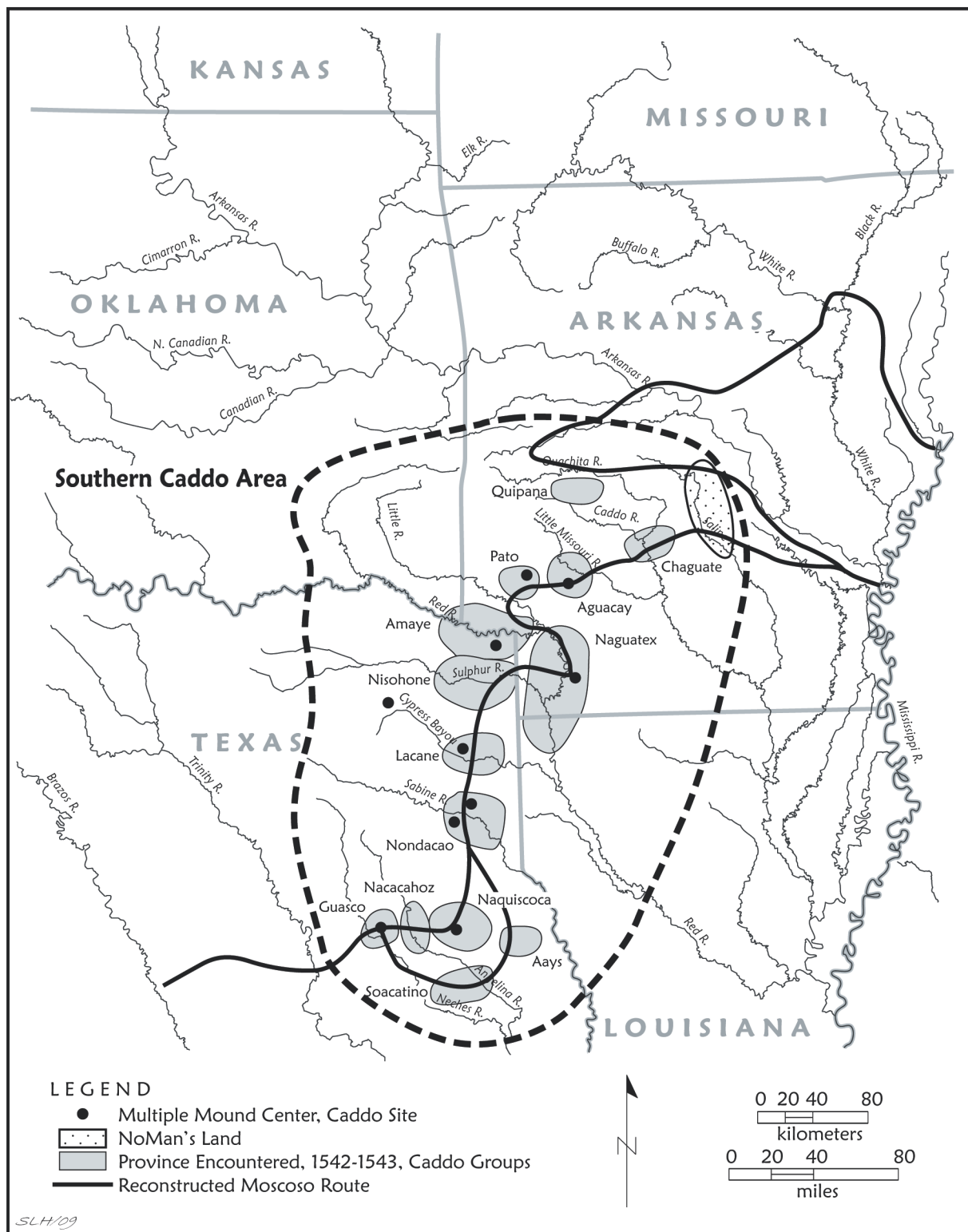


Figure 13. De Soto's 1542 entrada: probable path through Caddo country.

Summary

- What was the nature of Caddo culture prior to European contact with respect to demographic, economic, socio-political, and religious developments during the period from ca. A.D. 1450-1650?

The culture of the Caddo peoples between ca. A.D. 1450-1650 was diverse with respect to demography, economy, as well as socio-political and religious developments. There were distinctions between rural and town communities, the latter concentrated in the major river valleys, and having higher population densities than those communities away from the major rivers. The Caddo by this time were agriculturists, in the midst of an intensification in agriculture that led to abandonment of some areas and a concentration of peoples in other areas. These population clusters had centers where the social and political elite lived, and these centers had platform mounds or mounds that covered the burned structures of the elites. Religious ceremonies and rituals were likely concentrated at the centers, a number of which were still occupied well into the 17th century. Representation of peyote buttons on post-A.D. 1430 Titus phase ceramic vessels suggest the development or elaboration of powerful rituals and ceremonies designed to allow the elites and the people to better communicate with the spirits and the *Caddi Ayo*.

- Is there evidence in the archaeological record for either indirect and direct responses by the Caddo in protohistoric times to the European presence in the Far Southeast?

This question is more difficult to answer because of the meager archaeological record relevant to Caddo-European contact. Bioarchaeological investigations recently completed in the upper Neches River basin in East Texas have shown that (a) there is a significant decrease (about 20%) in the average age of death from Late Caddo to Historic Caddo times, after ca. 1680; (b) there are significant increases in evidence for enamel hypoplasias and childhood iron deficient anemia (cribra orbitalia). This is the only incidence of cribra orbitalia in the entire ca. A.D. 900-1700+ Upper Neches population. The incidence of enamel hypoplasia and cribra orbitalia suggest a high incidence of childhood stress among the Caddo in historic times; and (c) other pathological signs of nutritional stress (porotic hyperostosis) are common only in the historic Caddo remains (Wilson 2011a, 2011b).

It does appear to be the case that Caddo living in the late 17th-early 18th century in the upper Neches were in poor health, and this was probably associated with cultural stress, an increased population density (but not necessarily a larger number of people, as assumed from number of burials), and malnutrition. At this time maize intake was at its highest. Infection rates in the upper Neches show a steady increase up to the late 17th century, when there is a dramatic decrease. It is possible that epidemic diseases were causing death prior to local endemic infections (Wilson 2011a, 2011b).

It has been seemingly well established that epidemics introduced by Europeans greatly reduced Caddo populations as much as 75-90% between 1691-1816; the same demographic catastrophe took place then in the Southeast (Ethridge 2009; Kelton 2007). I once thought that population losses among the Caddo were likely also significant in the period between ca. 1530-1691 (Perttula 2002:255), but with continued archaeological investigations (accompanied by the better dating of sites), and further consideration, I am now far from convinced that there were protohistoric population declines of much consequence. If there were significant responses of the Caddo groups to a European presence prior to ca. 1691, however slight it might have been (at least with respect to direct contact), I would look to the adoption of the horse and the gun, and the consequent remaking of Caddo trade, economic, and war-peace relationships with groups from the Southwest to the lower Mississippi River and beyond.

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JULY 1, 1835: WHAT DID THE CADDO BELIEVE THEY WERE SELLING, AND WAS THE PRICE PAID FAIR?

Jim Tiller and Gang Gong

Abstract

Most Caddo scholars interested in the tribe's last years in Louisiana would probably agree that the above questions are largely settled business. The authors, both geographers, would tend to concur that a consensus has probably been reached on these questions; however, those with a desire to get at the truth of the matter might want to at least consider the array of archival documentation that paints a somewhat different picture of this aspect of the land cession. In the pages that follow, a case will be presented that, *from the Caddo perspective of the mid-1830s*, the tribe knew *exactly* what they *intended* to sell the United States, and that ultimately the *per-acre* price paid to them was *greater* than they proposed to the treaty negotiator. Certainly in hindsight the Caddo got the short end of the stick, but in terms of conditions on the ground at the time, period materials suggest that the deal made was fair, reasonable and clearly desired by both sides.

Introduction¹

From the time the Caddo first migrated into the Sodo Lakes area in the late 1700s until their final removal in early 1840, their experience was, in a general sense, little different from that of most native American groups whose lands lay in advance of the relentlessly expanding American frontier. The literature suggests that the Caddo arrived in the region from their former home higher up on Red River just prior to 1800, greatly weakened from disease and war with their neighbors. Sibley tells us that while they apparently found a degree of peace in their new home, their numbers continued to decline in the first few years as smallpox and measles took many more of the already weakened tribe.

Throughout the early decades of the 1800s, a number of factors were at work which would ultimately lead to the decision of the Caddo to leave the region. Government sponsored factories and Indian agents, as well as the ever-present whiskey traders, offered a variety of highly desirable and otherwise unobtainable goods and services. In order to acquire these items, the tribe overhunted and thus depleted the surrounding environment, and, as the years passed, they were forced to move their seasonal hunts farther and farther from their Sodo Lakes homeland. Somewhat surprisingly, considering an already declining resource base, the Caddo willingly (to the extent they had a say in the matter), and sometimes even eagerly, permitted other tribes forced from their homes east of the Mississippi to settle among them—their chief asking in return for only a small annuity from the government. Early on the Caddo came to depend upon the work performed by Agency gunsmiths and blacksmiths. By the time these services were withdrawn in the mid-1830s, the tribe had grown so dependent upon them they were in danger of being unable to feed themselves.

By the end of 1833, it was clear that time was running out for the Caddo in northwestern Louisiana and adjacent eastern Texas. In that year, long-time *caddi* Dehahuit died; the first steamboat made its way up Bayou Pierre to the Caddo Agency at Peach Orchard Bluff; and Henry Shreve cleared the Great Raft from the Red River up to Coates Bluff (near modern-day Shreveport). In adjacent Texas, where virtually all of the tribal villages were located, squatters were beginning to settle eastern Harrison County even as Mexican surveyors were staking claims as far east as the Red River. By late 1834, the Caddo appear to have had enough. In December of that year, Chief Tarshar and a number of his headmen sent a memorial to the President of the United States which stated in part

We have held a great Council and finally come to the sorrowful resolution of offering all our lands to you which lie within the boundary of the United States for sale at such price as we can agree on in Council, one with the other.²

On January 28, 1835, President Jackson referred the memorial to the Secretary of War for consideration. Jackson suggested that a commissioner be appointed to negotiate the treaty; that care be taken to not include any reservations in the treaty proper so that should the reservation(s) be rejected such would not void the treaty; and finally, he suggested that an appropriation be requested to cover the purchase of the tribal lands.³

The Deal: An Introduction

Much has been written about the land cession with authors describing and interpreting related events and often casting the government of the United States and its negotiating agent (and former Caddo Indian Agent) Jehiel Brooks as villains by suggesting they took advantage of the poor, weak Caddo, offering them a pittance in return for approximately 1,000,000 acres of land. Some, based on a selective reading of a number of period documents, have been quick to note that Brooks used his position to not only cheat the tribe of their “rightful due” in the negotiations, but also to defraud the United States of just over 18,000 acres on Rush Island, an area situated between the Red River and Bayou Pierre south of Shreveport boasting some of the most fertile agricultural land on Red River.⁴

The questions we will address in this article are two: (1) Just exactly what land did the Caddo *intend* to sell the United States (based on today’s geography); and (2) Did, at \$80,000, the tribe receive a fair price for that land? Considering the circumstances on the ground in mid-1835, did the United States take advantage of the Indians, or could it have been the other way around? Is it possible that the tribe believed they were selling the United States a relatively small parcel of land, much of it low-lying, swampy, relatively useless and of little value to them, and that it was not until the United States began to push their surveys west toward Texas that the Caddo understood the magnitude of the error they had made?

What Did the United States Believe it Was Purchasing?

There can be little question the United States had a *reasonably good* idea of the boundaries (although not necessarily the total area) of the lands they were purchasing. In May 1825, at the request of George Gray, Indian Agent on Red River during much of the 1820s, the United States established the boundaries of the Caddo Nation as follows

The line commencing at the mouth of Sulphur Fork thence meandering the old channel of Red River to its junction with the Cypress Bayou on the east and the Cypress Bayou on the southeast, Sulphur Fork on the west and the Spanish line on the southwest. Those lines are natural ones and generally understood as the boundary of the Caddo lands by both Indians and Whites.⁵

While the lines on the east (Red River), south (Cypress Bayou) and (actually) north (Sulphur Fork River) were natural and thus easily definable, the location of the as yet-to-be-established Mexican line was open to interpretation. In the mid-1830s, the United States was of the view that (William) Darby's Corner on the Sabine River (and the meridian/line northward from that point to the Red River) would serve as the basis for the establishment of the final boundary. The Mexican government believed the final boundary would fall in close proximity to (Gen. Manuel de Mier y) Terán's Corner on the Sabine and the meridian/line that extended north from that point to the Red River (Figure 1).⁶

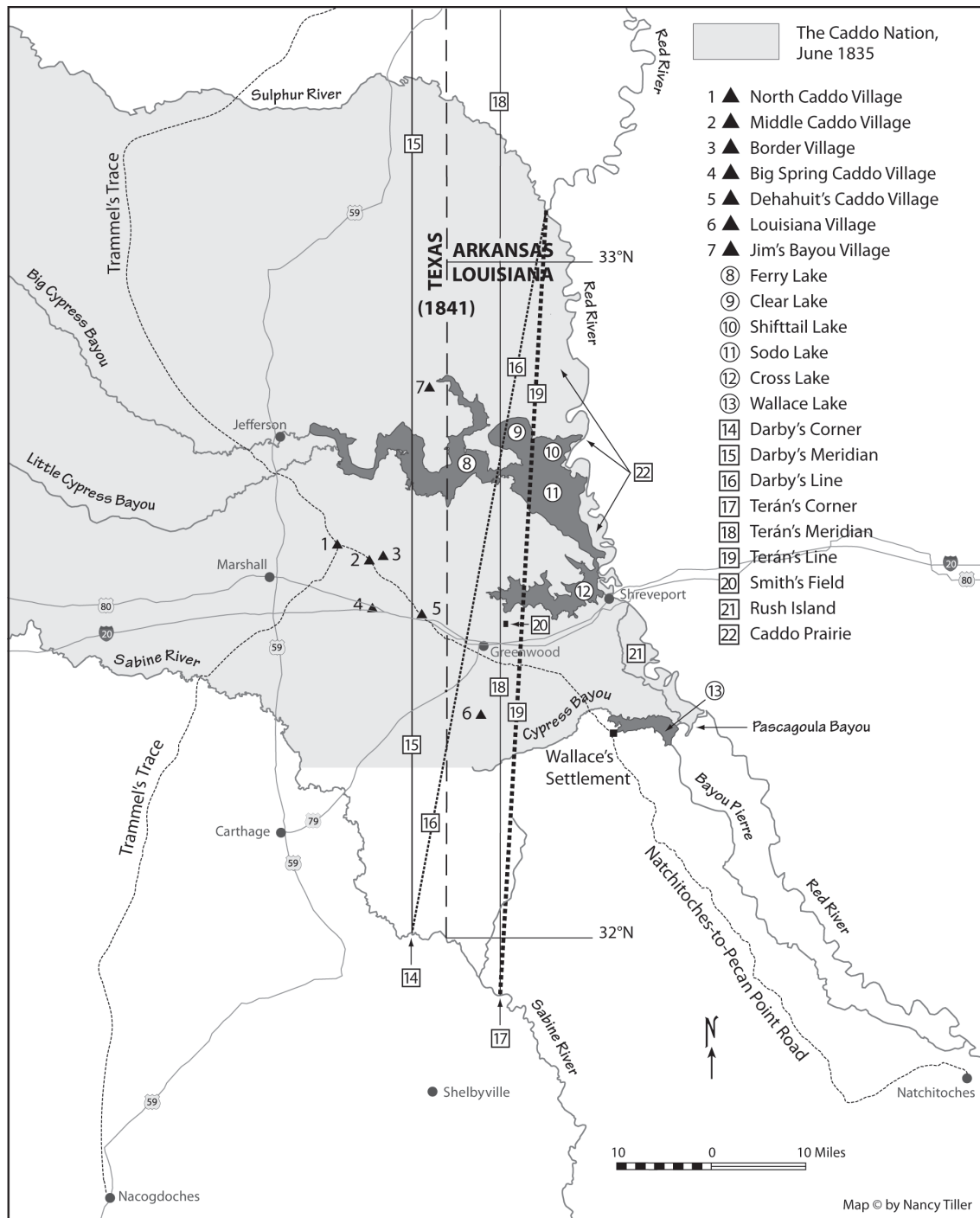


Figure 1. The Study Area.

The fact an officially surveyed border with Mexico had yet to be determined by no means deterred President Jackson from authorizing the appointment of a commissioner to negotiate with the Caddo for their lands. Doubtless his concern was less the precise quantity of land to be acquired, and more the removal of the tribe from northwestern Louisiana in order that the area might be opened for settlement.

What Did the Caddo Believe They Were Selling?

Like the United States, the Caddo accepted the 1825 boundaries as suggested by Gray and agreed to by the United States. In the 1834 memorial, they defined the lands they wished to sell as

bounded on one side by the Red River; on another side by Bayou Pascagoula, Bayou and Lake Wallace and the Bayou Cypress; and the other side by Texas.⁷

Unlike the Americans, who put their faith in Darby's Corner (and Line), the Caddo believed the final boundary would fall near the Line defined by Gen. Terán in 1828 (Terán's Line).⁸

The Darby and Terán Lines

Before we begin, let us take a moment to consider the nature of the two meridians associated with the Darby and Terán's Corners respectively. Meridians are a part of the earth's geographic grid and as such they run due north and south (and measure angles of longitude east or west of the Prime Meridian). Clearly the "meridians" associated with both the Darby and Terán Lines angle off to the northeast from points on the Sabine. What is this all about?

Both Darby and Terán devoted considerable effort in their attempts to locate their Corners on the Sabine. Once accomplished, all that would be necessary to establish the international border between the United States and Spain (and in time Mexico and later Texas) would be to extend by survey a meridian due north from that point to the Red River as called for in the Adams-Onís Treaty. In 1835, this would not have been as easy to do as it may sound. Few Whites had traversed the region other than by way of the meandering, raft-filled Red River or along the Natchitoches-to-Pecan Point Road. Because the area had not been systematically surveyed, true direction was very difficult if not impossible to establish over great distances. In addition to lack of survey, annual spring floods and more semi-permanent inundations associated with the relentless advance of the Great Raft upstream created an ever-shifting landscape in the lower-lying areas and especially along and adjacent to the region's larger streams and lakes. What one year was an open prairie might the next year have morphed into a vast lake. For instance, for the first time in living memory there were significant floods in the Caddo Prairie region north of present-day Shreveport in 1826, 1828 and 1830—the result of the advance of the Great Raft to points north of Shreveport. These floodwaters, which covered the Prairies to a depth of four feet, were the primary cause of the abandonment of the Caddo Agency in the late 1820s.⁹

Because of the nature of the terrain and a general lack of knowledge concerning direction between important landmarks in the Sodo Lakes region, those on both sides of the international boundary-to-be appear to have referenced the well-known mouth of the Sulphur Fork River as the approximate location where they believed their respective Lines would terminate on Red River. The result, we can readily see today, was a pair of "meridians" (the Darby and Terán Lines) whose course was slightly to the east of due north (see again Figure 1).

The Caddo View of the International Boundary

There can be no question the Caddo believed Terán's Line to have been the western boundary of the lands they were prepared to sell the United States. In his summation to the New Orleans District Court jury in *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, Brooks described the location of the Line as understood by area residents, both White and Indian alike. He noted that in the fall of 1828 he

met a small detachment of Mexican troops, with an officer, who represented himself as General Terán, of the Mexican Army. In reply to an inquiry of mine he said that he had been ascertaining, as near as practicable, where the line ran from the Sabine to the Red river, dividing Mexico from the United States. That he had done this by direction of his government, and was then on his return to Texas: That there was nothing official intended in the act, nor was he well assured of the accuracy of his instruments, and calculations; but he thought they might approximate near enough to form something like a general guide to all the purposes of a wilderness, etc. I ascertained from the Indians afterwards where this line ran. It passed close to the head of Cross lake, leaving all the major Indian villages on the Texas side of it,¹⁰ and struck Red river some distance *below* [authors' emphasis] the Caddo prairies. I also learned that the General had determined the intersecting point on the Sabine of the 32° n. Latt. some distance east and south of Darby's calculation; and that he did not attempt to run by his compass connecting from sight tree to sight tree. And it was generally known [at least by Whites] that his line was too far east of a due north course from Darby's corner as it was called, to be thought correct.¹¹

It is significant that in the well-known Grappe land dispute,¹² which pitted Brooks against a number of pioneer Rush Island settlers, Brooks, along with Joseph Valentin, Sylvestre Poissot and Manuel Laffitte (all of whom provided testimony *against* Brooks), associated Terán's Line with the lands sold by the Caddo.¹³ While the tribe believed that upon final survey the United States-Mexican (Texas) border would be found to lie in close proximity to what was generally known as Terán's Line, Brooks (and the United States) could not be expected to conclude a treaty based upon what one side *thought*. Although Brooks initially believed the Caddo understood Terán's Line was only an approximation, he noted in his summation that he

had supposed that the Indians also were satisfied of its inaccuracy until at the treaty, when they adverted to that line as bounding the United States west. I then told them that, whether Terán's line should prove correct or not, the United States did not recognize it, and therefore, a new line would have to be run, before the extent of their cession could be ascertained.¹⁴

Despite the fact the Caddo believed Terán's Line to have been the western boundary of Louisiana and thus the western boundary of the lands they were willing to convey to the United States, by the time they arrived on the treaty grounds and were made aware of the goods that would be given to them upon the successful conclusion of negotiations,¹⁵ it appears they, in their impoverished condition, decided to take the goods and make the best deal they could and, like the Americans (whose information regarding the western boundary was actually little better than that of the Caddo), await the running of the final boundary to determine what would be the eastern border of their lands in Texas.

Some Things to Think About

In the twenty-first century, it is easy in hindsight to make the case that the United States took advantage of the Caddo in the purchase of their northwestern Louisiana homeland for a mere \$80,000. Today, one good Haynesville shale gas well, a little timber and a few cows can easily produce as much in a single year—and one can only guess at what the newly discovered oil formation below the shale will yield area landowners in the years ahead.

However, if one is to truly understand the nature of the Caddo land cession, it is necessary to examine conditions on the ground *at the time of the sale* which possibly could have influenced the nature of the deal struck. If we suppose for the moment the Caddo ceded the United States 1,000,000 acres as some have suggested,¹⁶ the average cost per acre would have been approximately \$.08, a paltry sum in today's market surely—but would it have been in mid-1830s frontier Louisiana? The reader will recall that President Jefferson acquired the Louisiana Purchase for approximately \$.03 an acre. We know the United States under Jackson, taking the long view, was inclined to move Indian populations ever-westward in order to make room for White settlement, and this doubtless was a significant factor in the decision by the United States to purchase the Caddo lands. Certainly by the late 1830s when the General Land Office opened the Caddo purchase for sale, the going rate for government land was \$1.25 per acre¹⁷—but the treaty was signed in 1835. At that time there were virtually no White settlers to be found within the Caddo cession. When Henry Shreve cleared the Red River of the Great Raft to near Shreveport in late 1833, there was no Shreveport (1836). And one should not forget that Shreve's work notwithstanding, the Raft was reclaiming sections of the river even as the ink was drying on the treaty. In fact, it would be 1839 before Shreve was able to completely clear the Raft from the Red River for the first time.

Too, do those with an interest in this topic completely ignore previous efforts to place a mid-1830s market value on the Caddo purchase lands? While the ceded territory possessed virtually no history of land transactions prior to 1835, we know that at the time a bushel of corn could bring \$1.25, and it took 100 acres to purchase a good horse. In adjacent eastern Harrison (then Shelby) County, a person who immigrated to Texas prior to independence could secure at no cost a league and a labor of land (approximately 4428 acres); the immigrant was only required to pay government fees of \$101.40 to close the process, a per acre cost of approximately \$.02.¹⁸ In 1835, land in northwestern Louisiana and adjacent Texas was plentiful and it was cheap.

In the 1830s, the land on either side of present-day US Highway 1 between Shreveport and Wallace Lake was a part of what was known as Rush Island. Today this area boasts some of the finest farmland in Louisiana outside that found on the Mississippi River floodplain; yet as late as 1884, almost a full 50 years after the Caddo treaty, over half of Rush Island proper was heavily timbered backswamp.¹⁹ How does one put a price on lands up and down the Red River floodplain which for many, many decades prior to (and after) the cession were little more than swamplands? And if the rich alluvial soils of Rush Island, which certainly would have attracted prosperous planters with their legions of slaves, were slow to develop, how much could the inherently less productive lands in the western portions of the Caddo cession (the uplands) have been worth to small farmers in 1835?

Finally, is there any evidence regarding the value the Caddo themselves placed on the lands they intended to sell the United States? Most of the literature deals with the White side of the price equation, yet it seems unreasonable to believe that the Caddo would have taken anything on the order of \$.08 an acre for their land had they placed any significant value on it.

In the following paragraphs, we will address the boundaries described and understood by each side of the negotiation. In the mid-1830s, the Red River, the mouth of the Sulphur Fork, and the Caddo south border (Cypress Bayou) were largely natural boundaries whose general locations were understood by all. Today, these locations can be very precisely located. Of course the streams have shifted slightly over the intervening 175 years, but for the purposes of our discussion, such changes will be deemed minor. Other boundaries such as the Darby and Terán Lines and those of various Public Land Survey townships, while man-made, were known in a general sense to most in the region. By using the various boundaries discussed by the negotiating parties, it is possible to derive closely approximated land areas/acreages. These calculated acreages will form the basis for much of the discussion to follow.

What Was the Approximate Acreage the Caddo Thought They Were Selling to the United States?

As we have noted, is difficult to understand the basis for the 1,000,000 acre figure so often associated with the Caddo cession. If one takes Brooks, Valentin, Poissot and Laffitte at their word that Terán's Line was understood by the Caddo to have been the boundary of the land they intended to sell; that this line passed near the Smith (Smyth) improvement in Sections 7 and 8, T17N, R15W near the head of Cross Lake; and that the Line struck the Red River at the mouth of Sulphur Fork, then the land the Caddo believed they had sold the United States totaled some 238,500 acres (Figure 2).

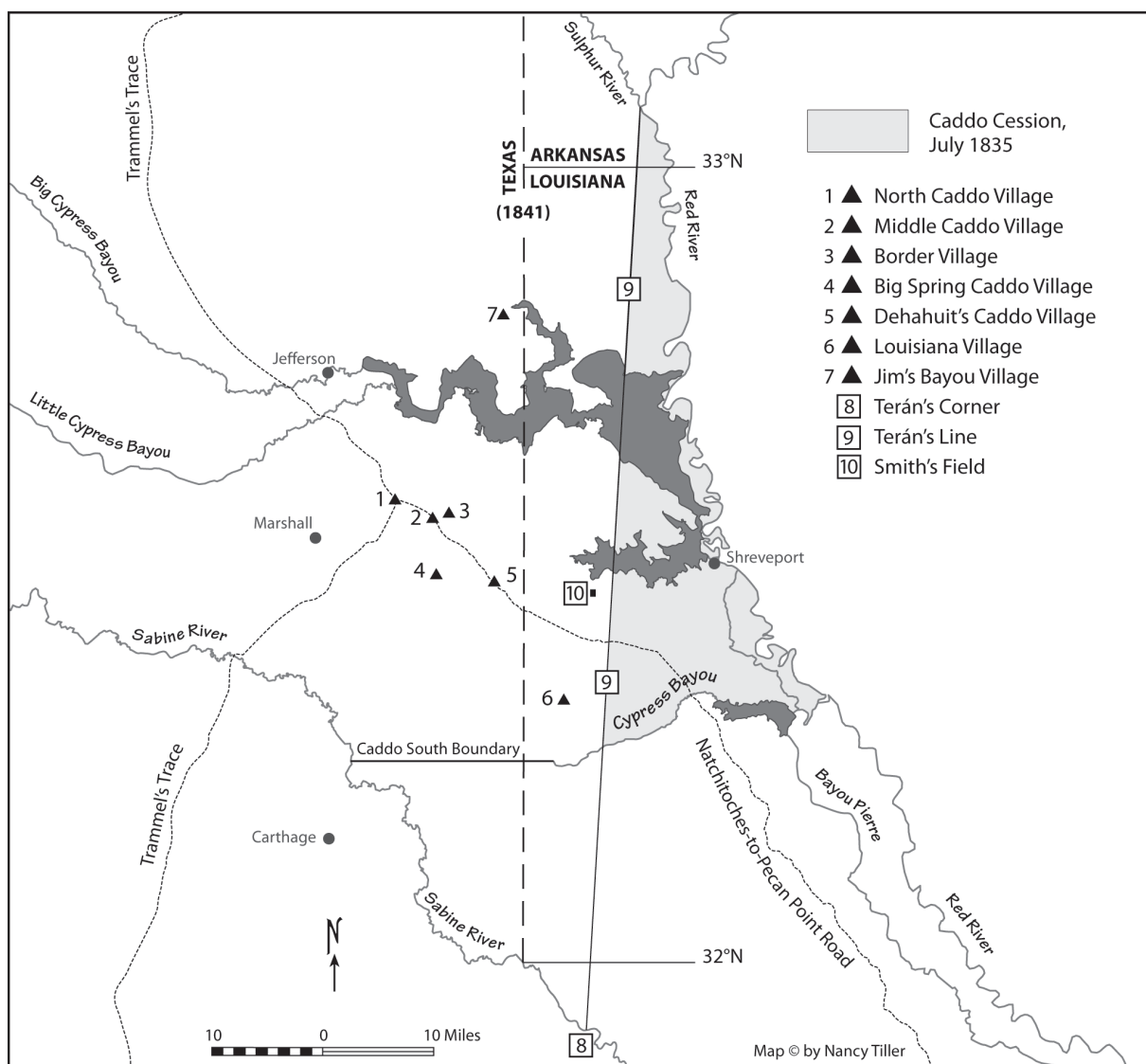


Figure 2. The Caddo Land Cession, 1835.

Of course, it is important to remember that the Caddo, although well aware they would have to await an official survey to determine the actual Louisiana-Texas boundary and thus the western border of their land cession, almost surely *did not believe* they were selling land westward to anywhere near what is today's Texas-Louisiana border. While believing Terán's Line to have been the international boundary, they signed the treaty with the full knowledge that the true extent of the land they were selling could not, as Brooks told them, finally be determined

till the Mexican line was run and the lands measured; that [he, Brooks] wished to fix on a round sum for their whole country on this side of the Mexican line, let the quantity of land be small or great²⁰

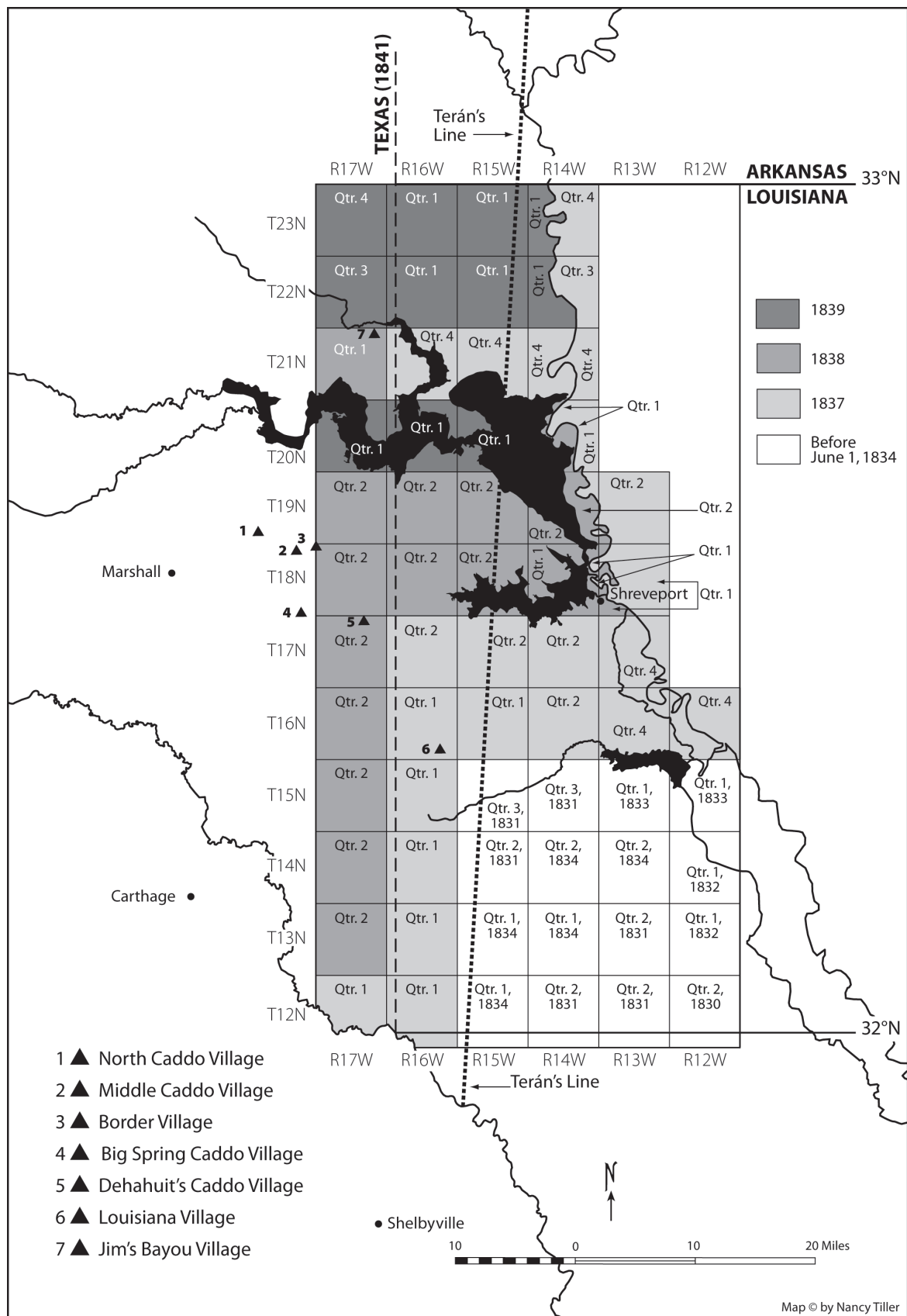
It was a gamble on the part of the Caddo; but was one they probably understood, based on their considerable knowledge of the Sodo Lakes region, would be settled in their favor.

What Was the Approximate Acreage the Caddo in Fact Sold to the United States?

The acceptance of Terán's Line as the international boundary by all concerned could have been the end of it; however, the signing of the treaty did not resolve the boundary issue as regards the United States. In January 1837, with the Caddo continuing to occupy their villages just west of Terán's Line, the United States began surveying out R16W.²¹ Beginning on the Sabine, American surveyors reached the Louisiana Caddo village in March.²² As required by the 1835 treaty, the tribe had abandoned the village, and there is evidence that by late 1836 or early 1837 they had removed all their villages east of the western boundary of R16W to Texas.²³ By late May 1837, the Americans had completed work in the townships south of Cross Lake as well as those in R14W east of the Red River (Figure 3). The reader will note that the western boundary of T17N, R16W²⁴ lay barely two miles east of Dehahuit's village. The Caddo, who at the time still resided in their villages west of R16W, as well as area Whites, knew that once the anticipated surveys in R17W began Dehahuit's village would fall within the bounds of the United States and, as required by the 1835 treaty, the village would have to be abandoned. In December 1837, the United States completed its survey of T21N, R16W—the first survey in R16W to be finished north of the Sodo Lakes complex.

At this point it was clear that neither the Darby nor Terán Line terminated at the confluence of the Sulphur Fork and Red Rivers, and that the international boundary, once formally surveyed, would pass a considerable distance west of the confluence of the two rivers.

But the United States was not done yet. In April 1837, Washington authorized the survey of an additional 6-mile wide range (R17W) in what they believed to be northwestern Louisiana.²⁵ By the time the surveys in R16W and R17W were nearing completion in late spring 1838,²⁶ the Caddo had been forced from their eastern Harrison County villages to the western prairies of Texas. Although these surveys had no direct impact on the tribe, it is interesting to note that their completion resulted in Caddo "losing" to the United States an *additional* 656,000 acres in southern Arkansas, northwestern Louisiana and eastern Texas south of the Sulphur Fork.²⁷ Terán's Line of 1835 (keep in mind that it angled slightly southwest to northeast), which the tribe had placed so much faith in, was situated approximately 9 miles due west of Shreveport. By the summer of 1838, the new American border (at least for administrative purposes) lay 6.5 miles west of the current Texas-Louisiana boundary, or some 24 miles west of Shreveport.²⁸



The reader is again reminded that our concern in this paper is *not* what the United States ultimately *gained* as a result of the Caddo cession. After all, in July 1835, neither side could have guessed the final boundary would have taken the path that it did, and of course neither side had any firm knowledge of the area/acreage involved. Our focus in this paper is on what the Caddo *thought* they were selling the United States based upon the acreage contained within the bounding lines alone. Clearly the tribe *never* intended to sell the United States 1,000,000 acres—they simply did not possess such an area within the bounds of what was then understood to be Louisiana. Nor did they intend to cede the Americans the approximately 600,000 acres east of the present-day Texas-Louisiana border south of the Sulphur Fork. Such a line did not exist in 1835.

Based on the Caddo perception of Terán's Line as the *approximate* location of the United States-Mexican border, there is a case to be made that at the time of the treaty, the tribe *believed*, based on today's geography, they were only selling the United States some 238,500 acres, all land far to the east of their villages. However, just as Brooks had predicted, once the Americans completed their surveys of R16W and R17W (and in so they created a "temporary" international border), the United States had absorbed a total of almost 895,000 acres in northwestern Louisiana, southern Arkansas and eastern Texas south of the Sulphur Fork, including at least three of the larger Caddo villages in the region.

Was a Fair Price Paid for the Land Sold?

It is difficult to judge whether \$80,000 was a fair price for the Caddo cession east of Terán's Line without some knowledge of the situation the tribe found itself in as well as other conditions at the time which may have influenced the value both the Indians and the United States placed on the land. At the very least one should ask (1) What was the condition of the tribe in the period leading up to the sale; (2) Is there any evidence regarding a value the Caddo themselves placed upon the land; (3) Of what value might the lands have been to the United States; and (4) Is there any evidence in the record that the Caddo felt they had been cheated by the terms of the treaty?

The Condition of the Caddo at the Time of the Sale

The Caddo doubtless had good reason to want to sell a portion of their lands. We know from the 1834 memorial to the President the tribe no longer had access to the services of the gunsmith or blacksmith previously provided by the United States,²⁹ and, with the removal of their agent,³⁰ there was concern that White settlers no longer subject to the authority of the Indian agent would soon begin occupying their tribal lands.³¹ Too, it is clear that the tribe hoped to sell their land to the United States in order that they might "obtain some relief from our pressing necessities."³²

Col. James B. Many, in his January 1835 report to the Office of Indian Affairs, observed that the Caddo were

a poor and indolent people who will not work and, as the game is becoming very scarce, they plunder the inhabitants of their cattle and hogs to a great extent of which the citizens complain much.³³

Col. Many correctly believed the Caddo settlements would, once the final boundary was determined, be found to lie on the Mexican side of the line;³⁴ that many Caddo had already crossed the line to settle in Mexico (actually they had simply returned to their traditional villages in eastern Harrison County); that they at the time of his report possessed a Mexican grant of land in that country; and that they

are more attached to the Spanish than to the Americans and that the only thing that has kept them from going over to the Spaniards for some time past was the few presents they have received and the work that has been done for them by the gunsmith furnished by the United States.³⁵

Tsauninot, one of the under-chiefs, noted in a June 26 speech prior to the signing of the July 1, 1835 treaty that the Caddo were

in great want ... [that the President in treating for their lands] would supply us with things of much more value to us than these lands, which yield no game. [that Tarshar, the head chief, was out on a hunting party but had told Tsauninot that] if you [Commissioner Brooks] came before his return, to say for him that he gave his consent to whatever we might agree to, and would never hereafter make any objection to its fulfillment. [That the Caddo believed the President would] deal justly with us.³⁶

In his June 27 treaty ground speech, Tsauninot noted that Brooks

had brought a great many rifles, and powder and lead in abundance, axes, tomahawks, knives, and flints, blankets, cloths, and calicoes, and beads and shawls, and, indeed every thing we are so much in want of; all of which you would give to us, at once, if we would deliver up this country to the White people. They hung down their heads and were sorrowful. Then our head chief, Tarshar, rose and said:

My Children: For what do you mourn? Are you not starving in the midst of this land? And do you not travel far from it in quest of food? The game we live on is going further off, and the White man is coming near to us; and is not our condition getting worse daily? Then why lament for the loss of that which yields us nothing but misery? Let us be wise, then, and get all we can for it, and not wait till the White man steals it away, little by little, and then gives us nothing. This is my advice; if you think it good, rise up and dance the corn dance, but if bad, let not the drum be beaten to-night, and we will depart for our homes to-morrow.³⁷

The minutes of this meeting noted that after a short pause, the Caddo "all sprang to their feet with cries of satisfaction, and proceeded to perform the [corn] dance with unusual animation."³⁸ Brooks, in summing up events as they had transpired at the treaty ground, wrote in his final treaty journal entry that the

Indians, generally, expressed great satisfaction with everything they received, and with the whole proceeding, from the beginning to the ending. None went away dissatisfied.³⁹

Caddo Comments Regarding the Value of the Lands Sold

At the same June 27 meeting noted above, Brooks asked the tribe for the price they wished for their land. Tsauninot replied

that the Caddoes had been advised to ask two hundred dollars a mile; one hundred in money, and the other in goods.⁴⁰

As far as can be determined from the record, this is the only evidence we have of what the tribe believed their lands were worth at the time of the treaty. Based on a price of \$200 per mile (\$.31 per acre) and the now-known extent of their lands east of Terán's Line (238,500 acres), the Caddo initially proposed to sell Brooks their land for a total of approximately \$74,500.

Between 1835 when the treaty was signed and 1840 when the last of the tribe left the region for Indian Territory, Caddo officials had many opportunities to address the Indian Office/War Department and other government officials regarding the payment of their annual annuity. There is *not a single instance* in these records in which the Caddo expressed the least dissatisfaction with the actual *dollar amount* paid them for their lands.⁴¹ In addition to these various memorials and petitions, there are a number of letters from merchants, Army officers and government agents referencing direct contact they had with the Caddo. Once again, there is not a single instance in any of the documents that suggest the Caddo had any reservations as regards the *dollar amount* paid them for their lands. Based on these materials, it is difficult to make a case (other than in hindsight) that the Caddo did not believe they had received a fair price for their lands in the 1835 treaty.⁴²

In fact, just the opposite appears to be the case. The lack of documentary evidence to the contrary suggests that *at the time the treaty was signed*, the Caddo believed they had been fairly treated with respect to the price paid for their land. Considering their impoverished condition, the loss of the Indian agency and its services; the prospect of ever-encroaching White settlers onto their lands; the fact the area ceded yielded little in the way of game and thus was of little value to them; the perception on their part that their villages all lay in Texas and thus would not be impacted by the sale; the much-needed goods offered in trade for the land; and the willingness in 1835 of the Mexican government to continue to provide them a home—the question that more readily comes to mind is, “Exactly what would have been the advantages to the Caddo, *in that time and place*, of holding on to their Louisiana homeland?”

The Nature of the Land Sold: Was the Price Fair?

Any land transaction such as that which took place between the Caddo Nation and the United States surely involved some degree of negotiation. As noted above, the Caddo, when asked by Brooks for the price they would take for the land they believed they were selling (238,500 acres), responded with a figure of \$200 per mile (the equivalent of \$.31 cents per acre) or a total asking price of approximately \$74,500, a figure very close to the final price of \$80,000. The reader is again reminded that neither the Caddo nor Brooks had knowledge of the actual acreage being conveyed—the negotiations and final agreement were based solely on the boundaries of the land ceded as understood by both parties at the time. Interestingly, this price was considerably above what the Indians seemingly had been prepared to sell their Louisiana lands for in the months leading up to the treaty. The much-referenced *House Report 1035* offers testimony suggesting the Caddo ascribed relatively little value to their Louisiana lands. In his December 1840 deposition in the Grappe matter, Joseph Valentin, swore that

these [Caddo] lands could have been purchased for twelve hundred dollars [\$.005 per acre]; [he, Valentin] knows that the head chief offered to his father, Andre Valentin, to relinquish all the Indian land to him for his stock of goods, which was then worth from a thousand to twelve hundred dollars. This chief was Tarshar, and the offer was made about five or six months before the treaty, which was then in contemplation.⁴³

Cesair Laffitte swore in the same Grappe controversy that

the Indians would have sold their territory for the sum of two or three-thousand dollars at the most [\$.008 to \$.01 per acre]; perhaps for less than either named sum.⁴⁴

Brooks well understood that the area ceded contained a great deal of land that the United States would probably find very difficult to dispose of through their public sales. As the long-time Caddo Agent, he may even have been aware of comments similar to those ascribed to the Caddo by Valentin and Laffitte.

Before we can judge whether or not the price finally agreed upon was reasonably fair to the Caddo, we need to examine factors that Brooks almost surely took into account before responding with the offer of the United States. In considering the paragraphs that follow, the reader is once again reminded that our discussion is focused on conditions in 1835 at the time of the land cession.

To begin, in 1835 there were virtually no economically viable resources to be had within the Caddo purchase aside from those associated with first wave agriculture colonization. While almost totally covered by vast forests of both hard and soft woods, the closest market for such products was New Orleans, and the Red River had not yet been reliably opened for navigation. As noted by the Indian Claims Commission in 1960

The evidence points substantially to the fact that there was no market in 1836 or in the near future for the timber within the subject area [the Caddo purchase], and a hypothetical purchaser well acquainted with all the facts would give little or no value for timber in buying lands with[in] the subject area.⁴⁵

While potentially very fertile lands were to be found adjacent to the Red River, much of the floodplain acreage was subject to extended periods of flooding thus diminishing their value. Conditions were such in the uplands that as late as 1907 an agricultural report presented to the Indian Claims Commission estimated that

out of a total of 528,000 acres of land in Caddo Parish, only 180,000 are improved farm lands. This leaves about 66% of the parish in uncleared lands as of this late date.⁴⁶

In summing up the agricultural prospects of the region in the mid-1830s, the same 1907 report noted that

Considering the topographical, soil and climatic conditions relative to the ceded area, the highest and best use for these lands in 1836 [was] for agricultural purposes incident to subsistence homesteading. When the inadequate transportation facilities both overland and by water are coupled with the lack of adequate means of flood control, there is no immediate prospect of any extended commercial use of the Caddo lands as of the date of valuation either by the cultivation of cotton or the cutting of timber. Any prospect of such a use would be projected too far into the future to be an important factor in influencing the then 1836 market value of this area.⁴⁷

Finally, it should be pointed out that a substantial portion of the Caddo purchase was actually comprised of permanent waterbodies (lakes, streams, swamps, cane breaks, and the like). Within the Caddo cession some 47,500 acres were covered by the Sodo Lakes complex and Wallace Lake as depicted on the late 1830s United States survey plats. If we add to this the swamp and overflowed lands (which probably totaled at least 38,000 acres at the time of purchase) (Figure 4),⁴⁸ the quantity of land that could have been cultivated in 1835 east of Terán's Line was approximately 153,000 acres. In other words, of the 238,500 acres purchased in 1835, only two-thirds were suitable for the relatively primitive agriculture practiced at the time.

While there were doubtless a number of other factors that went into Brooks' decision as regards the dollar figure he developed to respond to the Caddo offer, if we just consider those examined above, and assume for the purposes of discussion that Brooks used Terán's Line as it was then understood as the western boundary of the lands to be purchased, then the \$80,000 purchase price bought either

- a total area of 238,500 acres (average per-acre price paid of \$.33)
- or
- 153,000 acres of *arable* (ca. 1835) land (average per-acre price paid of \$.52)

Either way, the average cost per acre was far more generous than later writers have been willing to attribute to Brooks and the United States.⁴⁹

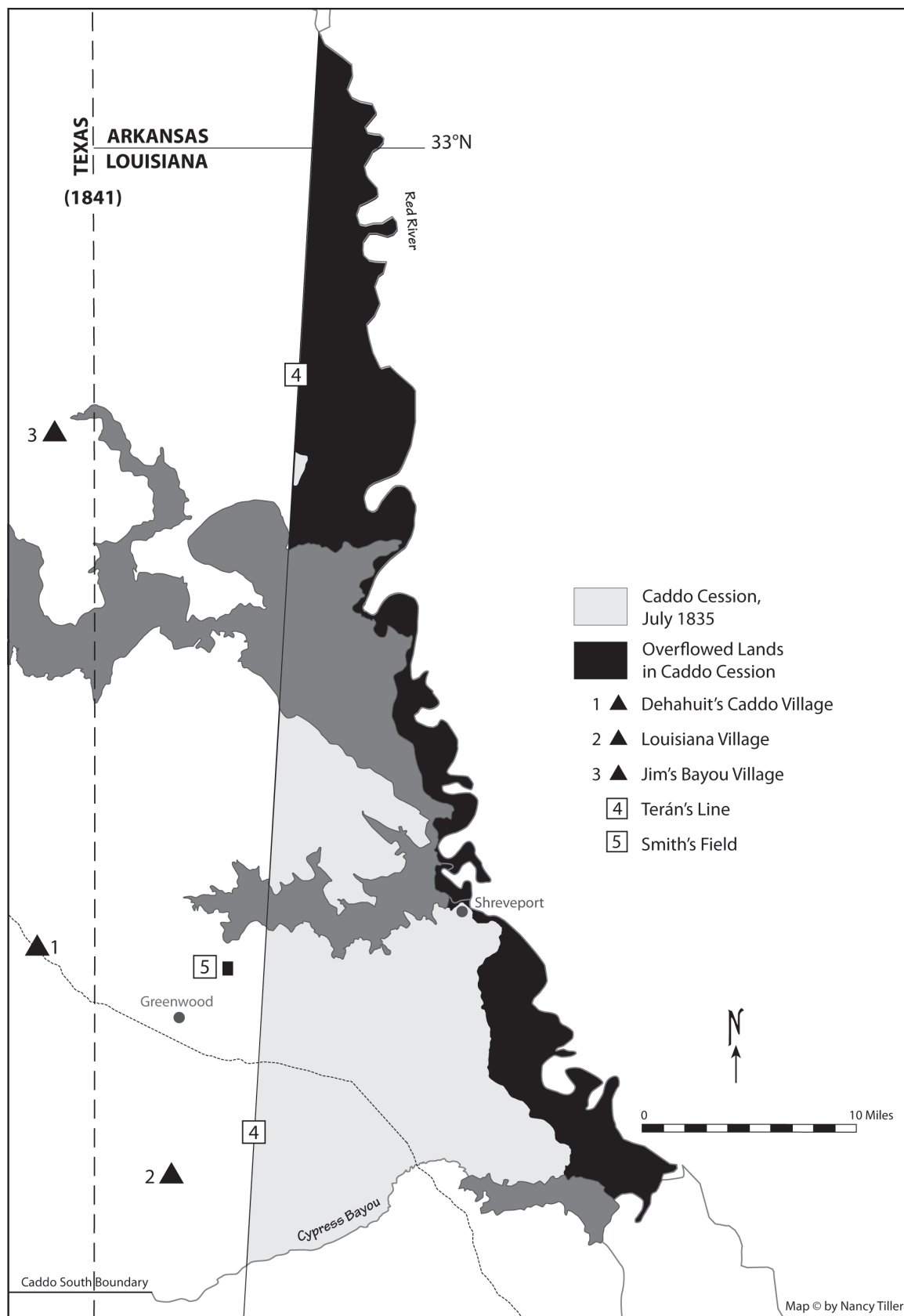


Figure 4. Overflowed Lands within the Caddo Cession.

Summary Comments

Based on the evidence found in period materials and presented above, it is difficult to see how one can argue that the Caddo were cheated out of their northwestern Louisiana lands. To begin, writers who insist upon identifying the Caddo lands sold as lying east of the modern Texas-Louisiana boundary, or worse, that the lands sold extended for great distances into surrounding states (the segment of Arkansas south of the Sulphur Fork confluence excepted) are doing a great disservice to the discussion considering the fact that both the United States and the Caddo agreed on the boundaries of the lands being purchased/sold. The evidence is clear; the Caddo *believed* Terán's Line served as the western boundary of the lands they *intended* to sell. Contrary to what secondary sources have to say on the matter of the location of period Caddo villages, all of the larger 1830s-era settlements lay to the west of this line. There is no question the 238,500-acre region east of Terán's Line the Caddo proposed to sell was largely devoid of game and consequently of little value to the tribe. Valentin and Laffitte both indicated that these lands could have been purchased for less than \$3000—and Valentin swore this figure had been advanced by none other than Tarshar, the head chief of the Caddo.

By the time they arrived on the treaty grounds, the Caddo had been advised to take no less than \$200 per mile. Brooks refused this figure, not because it was deemed too high, but because there was at the time no means to determine how many square miles the lands to be ceded actually contained—the range and township surveys would not take place across much of the region for another three to four years. In fact, if the United States had taken the tribe up on the \$200 per mile figure (and the land area the Caddo thought they were selling east of Terán's Line), we know today the Caddo would have realized some \$5500 *less* than they actually received as a result of the treaty negotiations!

To those who denigrate the actions of Brooks in the treaty matter regarding the price offered, would it not have been reasonable to have expected our 1835 treaty negotiator to strike the best bargain possible for the United States (while at the same time not taking too great advantage of the situation the hapless Caddo found themselves in)? Clearly the lands purchased did not at the time hold a great deal of immediate value to the United States, and, as the record shows, this situation did not materially change for a number of decades.

Based on the totality of the evidence presented, it seems more than fair to suggest that the Caddo initially had a relatively clear idea of the *boundaries* of the land they wished to sell; that once it became clear the means were not available to strike a bargain based upon area/acreage alone (the \$200 per mile offer), they settled for the desperately needed goods and placed their hopes on their belief that Terán's Line and the yet-to-be-finalized United States-Mexican border lay in close proximity to each other—a huge mistake on their part, although in 1835 it is not at all clear the information the United States possessed on this matter was any more accurate. The literature contains many comments regarding the supposed location of the boundary between the United States and Mexico (later Texas), and, even as late as 1837, some placed the north boundary between the two on the Red River in the Caddo Prairies just north of Shreveport.

It is the contention of the authors that the Caddo believed they were selling the United States a very small part of their Sodo Lakes homeland, and that in fact much of what they intended to sell was low-lying, swampy, relatively useless and of little value to them. They doubtless received more at the time of the signing than they expected, and all indications suggest they were pleased with the dollar amount negotiated. As noted at the beginning of this article, it was not until the United States began to push their surveys west toward Texas that the Caddo understood the magnitude of the error they had made.

Endnotes

1. This section adapted from Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. III, Caddo Indians: The Final Years. Working manuscript.
2. Chiefs and Headmen of the Caddo Nation. Memorial to the President of the United States. No date. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Item 566); 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 99.
3. Jackson, Andrew. Letter to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War. January 28, 1835. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Items 565/567); 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 100. In the instructions provided to Brooks by the government, he was not permitted to offer more than \$100,000 to the Caddo for their lands.^{3.1}
 - 3.1. Cass, Lewis. Letter to Jehiel Brooks. March 25, 1835. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Sent by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Reel 15. Letter of Instructions for negotiating a treaty of land cession with the Caddo Indians.
4. These views doubtless had their origins in a number of 1840s-era government documents (most notably 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*) that ultimately led to the "Joint Resolution to Institute Proceedings to Ascertain Title to Rush Island Ceded in the Caddo Treaty" found in *House Report 1035*. These documents set in motion legal efforts on the part of the United States to attempt to reclaim the 18,000-acre Grappe reservation from Brooks. Tried in the 5th Circuit Court, District of Louisiana, the jury reached a decision in favor of Brooks in just 10 minutes.^{4.1} Appealed by the government to the United States Supreme Court, Brooks again prevailed.^{4.2}

It should be noted that Brooks was involved in a number of lawsuits related to the Grappe reservation, two of which ultimately reached the United States Supreme Court. While *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.* was settled in Brooks' favor, the second case, *Jehiel Brooks, Plaintiff in Error vs. Samuel Norris*, was not. The decision of the Louisiana Supreme Court in *Brooks vs. Norris* in favor of Norris prompted Brooks to appeal that case to the United States Supreme Court.^{4.3} The appeal was rejected by the Court, not on the merits of the case, but rather due to the fact that the writ of error was filed too late to meet the five year requirement for such filings.

- 4.1. *The United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana. Case 1459 (entry ELA121, General Cases, 1837-1911). National Archives and Records Administration, Southwest Region. Fort Worth, Texas; Lewis, Thomas H. Letter to Jehiel Brooks. May 5, 1848. Box 2, Folder 2, Item 1, The Brooks-Queen Family Collection. The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives. The Catholic University of America. Washington, D.C. p. 1 (see URL, <http://www.aladin0.wrlc.org/gsd/collect/brooks/brooks.shtml>). In his letter, Lewis observed that "the question of fraud has met a glorious negative by the jury."
- 4.2. *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, 51 U. S. 442 (1850).

Endnotes (cont.)

- 4.3. *Jehiel Brooks, Plaintiff in Error vs. Samuel Norris*, 52 U.S. 204 (1850).
5. Gray, George. Letters to James Barbour, Secretary of War: May 26, 1825 and September 30, 1825. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 727, Red River Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Items 313, 320); 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 107.
6. In 1811 the United States unofficially and arbitrarily defined the northwestern boundary of Louisiana as beginning at the point on the Sabine River where that river was crossed by the 32nd parallel and then by meridian north to 33°N. While the precise location of the corner on the Sabine was not officially determined until 1841, William Darby in 1812 sited the point (known in the early nineteenth century as Darby's Corner)^{6.1} to his satisfaction, and for much of the period leading up to the running of the final boundary this un-surveyed location (and the un-surveyed meridian associated with it) served as the border reference point for the United States.^{6.2}

The Sabine River-32nd parallel intersection took on official international status as the southern terminus of the border between the United States and Spain (later Mexico, and then Texas) north of the Sabine with the signing of the Adams-Onís Treaty in 1819. In this treaty it was agreed that the Louisiana-Texas border would be defined as beginning at the

River Sabine, in the Sea, continuing North, along the Western Bank of that River, to the 32d degree of Latitude; thence, by a Line due North, to the degree of Latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River.^{6.3}

- 6.1. In our discussion of the work of William Darby (and Gen. Terán), we will make use of three terms: Corner, Meridian and Line. The term "Corner" refers to that specific point where the 32nd parallel intersected the Sabine River. The term "Meridian" will be used to reference a due north-south line extending from the "Corner" northward. The term "Line" will be used to refer to the line extending from the "Corner" to the mouth of the Sulphur Fork River. The locations of the Darby and Terán Corners and Meridians were never formally confirmed. The error between the two Lines, their corresponding meridians and the final United States-Republic of Texas border may be seen in Figure 1.
- 6.2. Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. I, An Annotated Atlas of International Boundaries and Republic of Texas Administrative Units Along the Sabine River-Caddo Lake Borderland, 1803-1841. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2010. pp. 7-16; Tiller, Jim. "Darby's Line," *Handbook of Texas Online*. (see URL, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/nbd01>). Published by the Texas State Historical Association. Darby's Meridian was located approximately 5.5 miles west of the present Louisiana-Texas border.
- 6.3. Bevans, Charles I. (editor). *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949*. Vol. XI. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968-1976. p. 529.

Endnotes (cont.)

7. Chiefs and Headmen of the Caddo Nation. Memorial to the President of the United States. No date. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Item 566); 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 99.
8. Terán's Corner or intersecting point on the Sabine was located in Section 30, T10N, R15W, some 6 miles southeast of modern-day downtown Logansport, Louisiana. This point was approximately 7 miles southeast of the site officially determined in 1841 by the Joint Boundary Commission. For a discussion of Terán's Corner and Line, see Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. I, An Annotated Atlas of International Boundaries and Republic of Texas Administrative Units Along the Sabine River-Caddo Lake Borderland, 1803-1841. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2010. pp. 7-20; Tiller, Jim. "Terán's Line," *Handbook of Texas Online* (see URL, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ngt01>). Published by the Texas State Historical Association.
9. Edwards, Larkin, James Schenick, John W. Edwards and Jacob Irwin. Certificate related to flooding on the Caddo Prairies. January 31, 1831. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Item 484).
10. For a discussion of the location of major Caddo villages in the region, see Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. III, Caddo Indians: The Final Years. Working manuscript.
11. Brooks, Jehiel. *Summation to the Jury*, ca. May 5, 1848 in the case of the *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, 5th Circuit Court, District of Louisiana. Box 2, Folder 2, Item 1, The Brooks-Queen Family Collection. The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives. The Catholic University of America. Washington, D.C. pp. 13-14
(see URL, <http://www.aladin0.wrlc.org/gsdl/collect/brooks/brooks.shtml>).
12. *The United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana. Case 1459 (entry ELA121, General Cases, 1837-1911). National Archives and Records Administration, Southwest Region. Fort Worth, Texas; *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks*, 51 U. S. 442 (1850).
13. The general location of Terán's Line was confirmed by Brooks in his summation to the New Orleans District Court jury when he made note of an 1837 meeting held by a number of Rush Islanders whose purpose was to get the Caddo to protest the inclusion of the Island in the 1835 treaty (a part of the basis of the claim of fraud by Brooks against the United States). Brooks observed that this meeting

took place some sixteen miles west of Shreveport, which cannot be far from the Texas line: Terán's must have been near to, or a little east of Smyth's.^{13.1}

In fact, the 1837 American survey plat map of T17N, R15W clearly shows "Smith's Field" straddling the line between Sections 7 and 8.^{13.2}

Endnotes (cont.)

In addition to Brooks, three individuals testifying in the matter of the Grappe claim indicated that Terán's Line served as the boundary of Caddo lands in Louisiana. Joseph Valentin swore that the

Indians told him they had sold from the River Sabine along Terán's line to where it intercepts the first red water, and thence up.^{13.3}

Sylvestre Poissot swore that

the Indians have told him frequently, and particularly at the meeting at Colonel Smyth's, that the country sold by them to Mr. Brooks was bounded by the line made by General Terán, and lay from where that line struck the first red water to Cypress Bayou, and thence west motioning with their hands in that direction.^{13.4}

Manuel Laffitte indicated in testimony that

The Indians have told him what lands they sold by treaty in 1835, but not the quantity; they sold from Terán's line, where it touched Red River, out towards sunset.^{13.5}

While Brooks, Valentin, Poissot and Laffitte were in agreement that Terán's Line served as the boundary between the Caddo lands ceded and Mexico (Texas), a close reading of the statements of Valentin, Poissot and Laffitte indicates all were in error as regards what the Caddo actually sold. Each indicated that the Caddo sold their lands from Terán's Line *west*. In fact, the Caddo believed they were selling all their lands to the *east* of the Line. One can only guess at the reason for such an error, although it very likely was related to a concerted effort on their part to establish the fact that the Caddo had never intended to cede Rush Island (in the view of the Rush Islanders, the Caddo had no claim to the Island). Brooks, in his own defense, summed up his views on this matter nicely when he noted that

some of the witnesses assert that the Caddos only intended to sell west of Terán's line, which, if that line was correct, would have been selling nothing, as all west of it would have been in Mexico.^{13.6}

Finally, it is worth noting that even as late as 1837, pioneer settlers in the region south of Cross Lake in adjacent eastern Texas believed Terán's Line would pass near Smyth's improvement and strike the Red River somewhere south of the Sulphur Fork River.^{13.7}

13.1. Brooks, Jehiel. *Summation to the Jury*, ca. May 5, 1848 in the case of the *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, 5th Circuit Court, District of Louisiana. Box 2, Folder 2, Item 1, The Brooks-Queen Family Collection. The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives. The Catholic University of America. Washington, D.C. pp. 12-13 (see URL, <http://www.aladin0.wrlc.org/gsd/collect/brooks/brooks.shtml>).

13.2. United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management. Louisiana, Northwestern District. Springfield, Virginia (see also Louisiana. State Land Office, Division of Administration [Historical Documents]). See field notes and plat map for T17N, R15W.

13.3. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 28.

13.4. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 29.

Endnotes (cont.)

- 13.5. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 34.
- 13.6. Brooks, Jehiel. *Summation to the Jury*, ca. May 5, 1848 in the case of the *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, 5th Circuit Court, District of Louisiana. Box 2, Folder 2, Item 1, The Brooks-Queen Family Collection. The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives. The Catholic University of America. Washington, D.C. p. 14 (see URL, <http://www.aladin0.wrlc.org/gsd/collect/brooks/brooks.shtml>).
- 13.7. *Petition from Citizens of Red River County to the Congress of the Republic of Texas, March 11, 1837*. Memorials and Petitions. Manuscript Collections, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, Austin, Texas; Tiller, James Weeks. "The March 11, 1837 Petition to the Congress of the Republic of Texas for the Creation of a New County Called Green." *Stirpes, the Quarterly Journal of the Texas State Genealogical Society*. Vol. 47, No. 4 (December 2007). pp. 5-17.
14. Brooks, Jehiel. *Summation to the Jury*, ca. May 5, 1848 in the case of the *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, 5th Circuit Court, District of Louisiana. Box 2, Folder 2, Item 1, The Brooks-Queen Family Collection. The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives. The Catholic University of America. Washington, D.C. p. 14 (see URL, <http://www.aladin0.wrlc.org/gsd/collect/brooks/brooks.shtml>).
15. *Invoice of Goods and Property Delivered to the Caddo Indians, July 3-5, 1835*. Box 1, Folder 4, Item 2, The Brooks-Queen Family Collection. The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives. The Catholic University of America. Washington, D.C. (see URL, <http://www.aladin0.wrlc.org/gsd/collect/brooks/brooks.shtml>).
16. The 1,000,000-acre figure, while grossly in error, does have an interesting history. In a January 1835 letter to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, President Andrew Jackson authorized the appointment of a commissioner to negotiate with the Caddo and indicated that the cession "will be about half millions of acres, it is supposed."^{16.1} In the March 25, 1835 instructions provided Brooks to negotiate with the Caddo for their lands, it was suggested that the

district of country occupied by these Indians may contain from six hundred thousand (600,000) to one million (1,000,000) of acres.^{16.2}

In September 1835, just three months after the signing of the treaty, H.T. Williams, the Surveyor General of Louisiana, estimated that

If the Treaty with the Caddo Indians should be concluded and ratified there should be added [\$9000] for surveying 2,250 miles [1,440,000 acres], at \$4 per mile.^{16.3}

By February 1836, the government estimate of the land to be surveyed had been reduced to 1,000,000 acres.^{16.4} As late as May 1848, long after the final boundary had been run between the United States and Texas and the area formally surveyed, Brooks (granted he had been out of the region for over a decade) indicated that, excluding the Edwards and Grappe reservations (a total of approximately 18,350 acres), the land ceded "amounts to more than a million of acres."^{16.5} Clearly, even in the late 1840s, there was still a great deal of misunderstanding on the part of the treaty negotiator regarding precisely what the United States had purchased.

Endnotes (cont.)

In more recent years, Cecile Carter (1995) placed the land ceded to the United States at approximately 1,000,000 acres.^{16.6} Probably as a result of her widely read work, the 1,000,000-acre figure has now found its way onto a number of Caddo-related websites.^{16.7} Finally, noted Caddo scholar F. Todd Smith (1995) placed the cession figure at 590,503 acres.^{16.8}

- 16.1. Jackson, Andrew. Letter to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War. January 28, 1835. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Items 565/567); 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 100.
- 16.2. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 95.^{16.2.1}
 - 16.2.1. The full text of the "report of Colonel Many" referred to in the foregoing may be found on pages 95 and 96 of *House Report 1035*. The original text may be found in National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Item 569).
- 16.3. 24th Cong., 1st sess. *Senate Document 3*. p. 31.
- 16.4. 24th Cong., 2nd sess. *Senate Document 3*. p. 3.
- 16.5. Brooks, Jehiel. *Summation to the Jury*, ca. May 5, 1848 in the case of the *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, 5th Circuit Court, District of Louisiana. Box 2, Folder 2, Item 1, The Brooks-Queen Family Collection. The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives. The Catholic University of America. Washington, D.C. p. 9
(see URL, <http://www.aladin0.wrlc.org/gsd/collect/brooks/brooks.shtml>).
- 16.6. Carter, Cecile Elkins. *Caddo Indians: Where We Come From*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. p. 274.
- 16.7. See for instance, http://www.caddohistory.com/caddo_indians.html
- 16.8. Smith, F. Todd. *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M Press, 1995. p. 122. Smith's estimate is taken from the work of historian G.W. McGinty.^{16.8.1}
 - 16.8.1. McGinty, G.W. "Valuating the Caddo Land Cession of 1835." *Louisiana Studies*. Vol. II, No. 2 (Summer 1963). pp. 59-73.
17. While the typical price paid for lands at initial public sale was \$1.25 per acre or \$800 per section, it should be noted that not all of the sale price could be considered profit to the government. In addition to the initial cost of the land and promotional and administrative expenses associated with the sales, surveyors

Endnotes (cont.)

were typically paid \$4 per mile for their work. For open land where the work included all of the lines in a township (the 4 exterior lines as well as the interior section lines) the cost (based on 84 miles) averaged \$336—a little less if one or more of the exterior lines had already been run as a result of an adjacent survey. Survey costs jumped sharply when the Red River and larger area lakes were involved as the surveyor had to run his lines along the banks of those waterbodies.^{17.1}

17.1. See for instance the plat map for T16N, R12 and T16N, R13W which fronted the Red River. In surveying portions of approximately 22 of the township's 36 sections which lay on the east side of the river, the surveyor charged the government for some 101 miles (\$404).

18. Ward, William R.D. Original Land Grant Collection, *Shelby County, Class 1, File 000158*. Archives and Records Division. Texas General Land Office. Austin, Texas.
19. 49th Cong., 1st sess. *House Executive Document 1*, Vol. 2, Part 2. *Survey of Bayou Pierre, Louisiana. Map Showing Work Accomplished in 1884* [Plate II]. The Caddo Parish levee system along the Red River was not completed until 1892. Prior to this date, lower portions of the floodplain were typically under water for a period of time each spring.
20. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 119. The reader is again reminded that Brooks, like most of those in the area at the time interested in such matters, believed that Darby's Line, not that of Terán, would more closely follow the final boundary, and that both would terminate on the Red River in the general vicinity of the Sulphur Fork. Compare the description of the boundary as understood by the United States (see again Gray's boundary) and the Caddo (as stated in their petition to President Jackson) with the actual text of the land cession below. Article I of the 1835 treaty defined the boundaries of the land to be sold as follows

The chiefs, head men, and warriors of the said nation, agree to cede and relinquish to the United States all their land contained in the following boundaries, to wit:

Bounded on the west by the north and south line which separates the said United States from the republic of Mexico between the Sabine and Red Rivers, wheresoever the same shall be defined and acknowledged to be by the two Governments. On the north and east by the Red River, from the point where the said north and south boundary line shall intersect the Red River, whether it be in the Territory of Arkansas or the State of Louisiana, following the meanders of the said river down to its junction with the Pascagoula Bayou. On the south by the said Pascagoula Bayou to its junction with the Bayou Pierre, by said bayou to its junction with Bayou Wallace, by said bayou and Lake Wallace to the mouth of the Cypress Bayou, thence up said bayou to the point of its intersection with the first mentioned north and south line, following the meanders of the said water-courses; but if the said Cypress Bayou be not clearly definable, so far then from a point which shall be definable by a line due west, till it intersects the said first-mentioned north and south boundary line, be the content of land within said boundaries more or less.^{20.1}

Ultimately, the problem for the Caddo was not the point-of-intersection on the Sabine (they were in relatively close proximity to each other), but rather the point at which the final line struck the Red River.

20.1. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. pp. 73-74.

21. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management. Williams and Boyd, *Articles of Agreement for Surveying R16W* (Northwestern Louisiana). January 1, 1837. Springfield, Virginia.

Endnotes (cont.)

22. United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management. Louisiana, Northwestern District. Springfield, Virginia (see also Louisiana. State Land Office, Division of Administration [Historical Documents]). See field notes and plat map for T16N, R16W.
23. For a discussion of the re-location of Caddo villages from modern-day Louisiana to Texas, see Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. III, Caddo Indians: The Final Years. Working manuscript.
24. United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management. Louisiana, Northwestern District. Springfield, Virginia (see also Louisiana. State Land Office, Division of Administration [Historical Documents]). See field notes and plat map for T17N, R16W.
25. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management. Williams and Terrell, *Articles of Agreement for Surveying R17W* (Northwestern Louisiana). April 1, 1837. Springfield, Virginia.
26. United States Department of the Interior. Bureau of Land Management. Louisiana, Northwestern District. Springfield, Virginia (see also Louisiana. State Land Office, Division of Administration [Historical Documents]). See field notes and plat maps for T12N through T23N, all in R17W.
27. In 1841, the final boundary between the United States and the Republic of Texas was run. As a result of this survey, the United States returned all of R17W and the western half of the western-most tier of sections in R16W to Texas.
28. For a discussion of R17W, see Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. I, An Annotated Atlas of International Boundaries and Republic of Texas Administrative Units Along the Sabine River-Caddo Lake Borderland, 1803-1841. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2010. pp. 26-31. The distances presented here are measured due west from downtown Shreveport.
29. Chiefs and Headmen of the Caddo Nation. Memorial to the President of the United States. No date. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Item 566); 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. pp. 98-100.
30. Brooks, Jehiel. Letter to Judge Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. October 15, 1834. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Item 557).
31. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. pp. 117-118.
32. Chiefs and Headmen of the Caddo Nation. Memorial to the President of the United States. No date. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Item 566); 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. pp. 98-100.

Endnotes (cont.)

33. Many, Col. James B. Letter to D. Kurtz, Acting Commissioner, Indian Affairs. January 6, 1835. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Item 569).
34. The border described by Col. Many in his report would have been Terán's Line.
35. Many, Col. James B. Letter to D. Kurtz, Acting Commissioner, Indian Affairs. January 6, 1835. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Item 569).
36. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 117.
37. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 118.
38. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 118.
39. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 120.
40. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 119. An explanation of the \$200 per mile figure is provided by Brooks in his summation to the District Court jury. He noted that the

Caddo cession, exclusive of reservations, amounts to more than a million of acres, which makes this only proposition of the Caddos (the 100 dollars a mile) amount to upwards of 150,000 dollars.^{40.1}

Although erroneously based on a land sale of 1,000,000 acres and a price referred to here as \$100 per mile (and not the \$200 per mile stated in the Treaty Journal),^{40.2} the phrase "one hundred dollars a mile" surely referred to a price of \$100 per section (640 acres, or one square mile) of land.^{40.3} In indicating that the proposition of the Caddo would have resulted in an amount of \$150,000, it is clear that this figure was arrived at by dividing the 1,000,000 acres by 640 acres (a "mile" as defined by Brooks). This resulted in an estimated 1562.5 sections in the Caddo cession. At \$100 per section, the cost to the government would have been \$156,250 (or \$150,000 as rounded off by Brooks).

40.1. Brooks, Jehiel. *Summation to the Jury*, ca. May 5, 1848 in the case of the *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, 5th Circuit Court, District of Louisiana. Box 2, Folder 2, Item 1, The Brooks-Queen Family Collection. The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives. The Catholic University of America. Washington, D.C. p. 9
(see URL, <http://www.aladin0.wrlc.org/gSDL/collect/brooks/brooks.shtml>).

40.2. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. pp. 118-119.

40.3. In the Caddo Treaty Journal, note is made that "we have given to Larkin Edwards, our best friend since the death of Grappe, one mile of land, to be taken wherever he may choose." By the terms of the treaty, Edwards was given 640 acres which he later sold to a syndicate which in turn used this land to establish the settlement of Shreveport. See 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 118.

Endnotes (cont.)

41. See for example the following, all found in National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012 (see specific Item): Caddo Chiefs and Headmen. Memorial to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War. January 9, 1837 (Items 580/589); Caddo Chiefs and Headmen. Statement of July 9, 1835 appointing Jehiel Brooks their attorney for annuity purposes (Item 599); Caddo Chiefs. Memorandum of Agreement with Jehiel Brooks. July 10, 1835 (Item 600); Caddo Chiefs. Letter to Martin Van Buren, President. February 4, 1838 (Item 601); Caddo Nation of Indians. Letter to Charles A. Sewall. October 11, 1838 (Items 620/625); Caddo Chief, Headmen and Warriors. Statement Repealing 4th Article of the 1835 Treaty. January 23, 1840 (Item 629); Caddo Chief, Headmen and Warriors. Statement Regarding the Power of Attorney to Charles A. Sewall. January 23, 1840 (Item 630); Principal Caddo Chiefs. Portion of a statement, most likely related to the T.G.H. Scott power of attorney. Undated, but probably February 4, 1838 (Item 641).
42. See for example the following, all found in National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012 (see specific Item): Green, John G. Letter to Gen. E.W. Ripley, Member, United States House of Representatives. December 10, 1836 (Item 586); Green, John G. Letter to Gen. E.W. Ripley, Member, United States House of Representatives. December 24, 1836 (Item 588); Green, John G. Letter to Gen. E.W. Ripley, Member, United States House of Representatives. January 20, 1837 (Item 590); Scott, Tyree G.H. Letter to Martin Van Buren, President. May 3, 1838 (Item 602); Scott, Tyree G.H. Letter to Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of War. August 29, 1838 (Item 603); Scott, Tyree G.H. Letter to Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of War. December 25, 1838 (Item 604); Many, Col. James B. Letter to Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of War. April 19, 1839 (Item 621); Scott, Tyree G.H. Statement regarding the Council of Caddo Indians with H.G. Rind. January 23, 1840 (Items 631/637); Williamson, Thomas T. Letter to Ambrose H. Sevier. February 24, 1840 (Item 650).

With regard to Endnote 41 and 42, the reader is reminded of Tsauninot's June 26 speech in which he stated that Chief Tarshar

gave his consent to whatever we might agree to, and would never hereafter make any objection to its fulfillment. [That the Caddo believed the President would] deal justly with us.^{42.1}

The Caddo, be it because they were satisfied with the dollar amount offered or they were just people of their word, do not appear to have ever raised a complaint about the price received for their lands.^{42.2}

42.1. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 117.

42.2. Readers may be familiar with the September 19, 1837 memorial sent by the Caddo to the Senate of the United States in which they complained that Brooks included in the treaty land they did not claim (Rush Island).^{42.2.1} This memorial would have offered a prime opportunity for the Caddo to have outlined their grievances regarding the western boundary of the land sold and/or the price paid. Certainly the tribe would appear to have had a lot to complain about in September 1837. At that point, the Caddo had definitely been cheated out of most of their \$10,000 annuity due in September 1836.^{42.2.2} While the record is not entirely clear, it appears John G. Green was in the process of taking for his own benefit much of their 1837 annuity.^{42.2.3} In

Endnotes (cont.)

March, the tribe had been forced to abandon the Louisiana village in R16W; in April contracts had been let to survey out R17W which the Caddo well understood would result in the loss of Dehahuit's village; in May the United States completed the surveys in R16W south of Cross Lake thereby taking in tribal lands lying over 6 miles to the west of Terán's Line. By any measure, based on their understanding of the treaty, the United States appeared to be taking advantage of them. Yet there is not a single word in the 1837 memorial regarding any of these events. The memorial is instead focused entirely on adding their voice to those of the Rush Islanders who at the time were attempting to persuade the government to open an investigation into their contention that the tribe had no claim to Rush Island and that Brooks, in including it as a part of the Caddo cession, had caused a fraud to be committed against the United States.

The meeting at which the memorial was drafted was held at the house of John Smyth (see again Endnote 13). Samuel Norris (Brooks' chief Rush Island accuser and the individual whose memorial finally succeeded in initiating a Congressional investigation of the Grappe matter)^{42.2.4} organized the event, and two of the four memorial interpreters (Charles Rembin and Cesair Laffitte) offered testimony against Brooks in the Grappe matter (as did Rembin's brother Lewis Naville Rembin). Interpreter Andre Valentin was a notorious whiskey trader and father of Joseph Valentin (who also provided testimony against Brooks).^{42.2.5} The identity of P. Poissot (the fourth interpreter) is unknown, although a Sylvestre Poissot testified against Brooks in the Grappe matter and it is likely that either the two were blood relatives or, more likely, the "S" of Sylvestre's name was transcribed in error—upper case "S" and "P" letters often look similar in handwritten original texts).

For those with an interest in the Grappe matter, the September 1837 memorial holds some value. Those who seek to use it to support a case against Brooks in his dealings with the Caddo should probably consider the names and motives of those in attendance, but, perhaps more importantly, the name and motives of one individual who was not present at Smyth's—Larkin Edwards, the trusted advisor and Caddo counselor.

42.2.1. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. pp. 103-105.

42.2.2. For an analysis of the 1836 Caddo annuity payment, see Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. III, Caddo Indians: The Final Years. Working manuscript.

42.2.3. For an analysis of the 1837 Caddo annuity payment, see Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. III, Caddo Indians: The Final Years. Working manuscript.

42.2.4. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 1.

42.2.5. For the testimony of (and Brooks' thoughts regarding) Samuel Norris, Charles Rembin (and his brother Lewis Naville Rembin), Cesair Laffitte, Andre and Joseph Valentin, see 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035* and Brooks, Jehiel. *Summation to the Jury*, ca. May 5, 1848 in the case of the *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, 5th Circuit Court, District of Louisiana. Box 2, Folder 2, Item 1, The Brooks-Queen Family Collection. The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives. The Catholic

Endnotes (cont.)

University of America. Washington, D.C. (see URL, <http://www.aladin0.wrlc.org/gsdll/collect/brooks/brooks.shtml>). Additional material may be found in *United States vs. Jehiel Brooks, et al.*, United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana. Case 1459 (entry ELA121, General Cases, 1837-1911). National Archives and Records Administration, Southwest Region. Fort Worth, Texas.

43. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 28.
44. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. p. 30.
45. *Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma vs. the United States*. Docket 226. *Indian Claims Commission Decisions*. Vol. 8. p. 361 (see URL, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/icc/index.html>).
46. *Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma vs. the United States*. Docket 226. *Indian Claims Commission Decisions*. Vol. 8. p. 362 (see URL, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/icc/index.html>).
47. *Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma vs. the United States*. Docket 226. *Indian Claims Commission Decisions*. Vol. 8. p. 362-363 (see URL, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/icc/index.html>). Interestingly, on January 22, 1960, the Indian Claims Commission issued its "Opinion on Value" in *Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma vs. the United States*. As might be expected, the two sides held very different views of the value of the lands ceded. The plaintiffs in support of their position argued that an "1835 fair market value of the Caddo tract was \$2.50 per acre."^{47.1} The defendant presented testimony in which the lands purchased were valued as follows: (1) lands not subject to overflow, \$.40 per acre; (2) those lands subject to overflow, \$.10 per acre; and (3) watered areas, \$.05 per acre—all of which the Commission believed to have been too conservative.^{47.2} Based on a Commission-determined total land purchase of 617,967.4 acres, the land cession was concluded to have been worth \$463,475.55 or \$.75 per acre.^{47.3}
- 47.1. *Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma vs. the United States*. Docket 226. *Indian Claims Commission Decisions*. Vol. 8. p. 387 (see URL, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/icc/index.html>).
- 47.2. *Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma vs. the United States*. Docket 226. *Indian Claims Commission Decisions*. Vol. 8. p. 389 (see URL, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/icc/index.html>).
- 47.3. *Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma vs. the United States*. Docket 226. *Indian Claims Commission Decisions*. Vol. 8. pp. 390-391 (see URL, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/icc/index.html>).
48. The 38,000 acre figure suggested here was determined by calculating the acreage comprising the Red River floodplain within the Caddo cession, *excluding* those areas likely to have been inundated west of the line of uplands that marks the western boundary of the floodplain (cane breaks, tributary stream valleys and the like), but *including* the natural levees of the Red River which were probably only rarely, if ever, inundated (a total of approximately 76,000 acres), and then *reducing* that figure by 50%. This is believed to be a relative conservative figure based on conditions in the region in 1835.

Endnotes (cont.)

49. Between March 4, 1829 and March 29, 1836, the United States was involved in 46 separate transactions in which it was a recipient of lands ceded by various Indian tribes.^{49.1} In return for the 93,401,637 acres acquired, the government paid a total of \$67,458,318—a per-acre cost of \$.72. In those 34 instances where no land was provided on the part of the United States, the government paid \$15,919,920 for a total of 70,027,960 acres—a per-acre cost of \$.23. These period materials indicate the Caddo sold the United States 1,000,000 acres^{49.2} at a cost of \$86,800 (\$.08 per acre). No explanation is provided as to what accounted for the extra \$6,800, although transportation costs to and from the treaty grounds and various administrative costs (i.e., military presence) associated with the treaty probably made up the bulk of the \$6,800.

The question comes, “Why did the United States not include land for a new home as a part of the land settlement with the Caddo?” The materials provided in *House Document 3* clearly suggest that for the government to have done so during the 1829-1836 period would have been out of the ordinary. Of the 46 Indian land transactions during this period, in only 12 did the United States provide the ceding party *both* money and land in another location as part of the treaty agreement. In the other 34 instances, the tribes were only paid a specified dollar amount. It simply is not true that in paying the Caddo in cash and not providing them some quantity of land elsewhere for a new home the United States somehow treated them differently from most of tribes that ceded land to the government in the early 1830s.

Too, the reader is reminded that in 1835 the Caddo only ceded their lands lying within the bounds of the United States. At the time, it was generally known by those most familiar with the region that the Caddo villages and a significant quantity of the tribe’s land actually lay within the bounds of adjacent Texas.^{49.3} In addition, it appears the Mexican government had offered the tribe a “grant of lands and that a number of them have gone into that country to settle.”^{49.4} What would have been the point of providing the Caddo land in the United States when the Mexican government was clearly not opposed to their remaining in Texas?

49.1. 25th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Document 3*. p. 643.

49.2. The reader will note that while inflated acreage figures such as those related to the Caddo, if typical, would grossly distort the per-acre cost figures suggested, such errors were most likely associated with more recent acquisitions which had yet to be officially surveyed.

49.3. Many, Col. James B. Letter to D. Kurtz, Acting Commissioner, Indian Affairs. January 6, 1835. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Item 569); 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. pp. 95-96; see again Endnote 13, comments of Joseph Valentin, Sylvestre Poissot and Manuel Laffitte.

49.4. 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. pp. 33-35; Many, Col. James B. Letter to D. Kurtz, Acting Commissioner, Indian Affairs. January 6, 1835. National Archives and Records Administration. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 31, Caddo Agency (same as Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, TX: The START Group, 2012. Item 569); 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*. pp. 95-96.

REPORT ON THE 53RD ANNUAL CADDO CONFERENCE

Mary Beth Trubitt

President, Caddo Conference Organization

The 53rd Annual Caddo Conference was held March 25-26, 2011, at the University of Arkansas—Fort Smith in Fort Smith, Arkansas. The co-sponsors of the event were the Arkansas Archeological Survey and the University of Arkansas—Fort Smith. The conference program included 18 presented papers (one in the form of a DVD short film), as well as a panel presentation on Caddo ceramics organized by Jeri Redcorn. The Caddo Conference Organization (see <http://www.caddoconference.org>) was officially launched at the business meeting. Over 80 people registered for this year's conference. Ann Early was the overall organizer for the conference, and she was assisted by Mary Beth Trubitt (program chair), George Sabo III (announcer, audio-visual technician, and grant-writer), Tim Mulvihill (local arrangements coordinator), Duncan McKinnon (registration), Deb Sabo (program editing/layout), and Rachel Fauchier (silent auction). Beta Analytic, Inc. provided additional support for the Caddo Conference 2011.



Figure 1. Phil Cross, Caddo Culture Club, thanking organizers of the Caddo Conference. left to right, Tim Mulvihill, Mary Beth Trubitt, George Sabo III, Phil Cross, Ann Early.

The Caddo Culture Club Dance, organized and announced by Phil Cross, was held in the late afternoon on Saturday, March 26th. About 35 members of the Caddo Culture Club performed eight traditional dances for an audience of approximately 120 people (see http://arkarcheology.uark.edu/indiansofarkansas/index.html?pageName=Caddo_Dance). A grant from the Arkansas Humanities Council (Department of Arkansas Heritage), matched by the Arkansas Archeological Survey, supported travel by members of the Caddo Culture Club. All photos in this report were provided by George Sabo III.



Figure 2. Caddo Culture Club.



Figure 3. Caddo women performing the Turkey Dance.



Figure 4. Honor Dance performed for Dr. Don G. Wyckoff.



Figure 5. Caddo Culture Club drummers.



Figure 6. Princess Honor Dance.



Figure 7. Cherokee Dance.

Following the conference, there were two field trips offered on Sunday morning, March 27th. About 15 people went on the tours. George Sabo III and Tim Mulvihill led the field trip to Cavanaugh Mound and the Drennen-Scott House, and Scott Hammerstedt and Amanda Regnier led the field trip to Spiro, Lee Creek, and Ewing Chapel.

Abstracts

Timothy G. Baugh (Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Office), "Changing Patterns of Wichita Warfare."

Between A.D. 1200 and 1400, the Kirikir'i-s (known today as the Wichita) lived in small hamlets and villages scattered across the central and southern Plains and within the most western Mississippian centers in the Arkansas River Basin. This relatively peaceful life changed ca. A.D. 1400 with changing environmental conditions, the decline of Mississippian culture, and the advent of European explorers and settlers that led to a reorganization of Plains communities with people aggregating into larger towns and participating in a continent-wide exchange system. In those areas where documentation is available, there is an increase in inter-group conflict. Using Secoy's (1953) three patterns of warfare on the Plains, insights into the evolving offensive and defensive strategies of the Kirikir'i-s during the 1500s through the 1700s become apparent. By the eighteenth century, yet new patterns in Kirikir'i-s conflict develop as population loss leads to new strategies of demographic replacement.

Robert L. Brooks (Oklahoma Archeological Survey, University of Oklahoma), "Arkansas River Basin Caddoans in East-Central Oklahoma?"

For many years, rumors persisted about the presence of Caddoan "earthlodges" near Ada, Pontotoc County in east-central Oklahoma. These rumors were the result of early investigations by H. R. Antle in 1934. During the 1970s and 1980s, reexamination of sites in Pontotoc County led to the conclusion that the site Antle investigated, Pickett-Switch (34PN1) was a Plains Village settlement. This paper retraces the path of Antle's studies, further work at the site by faculty at East-Central University in Ada, and examines collections from Antle's work at Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History. These data hint that Antle's conclusions, while poorly presented may indeed be of a Caddoan settlement rather than one of Plains Village affiliation. Other thoughts are presented concerning sites in the Ada area and plans for further study.

C. Andrew Buchner (Panamerican Consultants, Inc.), "The Howe Kiln: A Late Nineteenth Century Stoneware Manufacturing Site in Benton, Arkansas."

During the late nineteenth-century stoneware potteries formed the backbone of Benton's economy. Excavations at the recently discovered Howe Kiln site (3SA340) on Military Road in Benton provided a unique opportunity to investigate this former industry. The investigations at this site produced significant information regarding a number of topics, including local stoneware manufacturing techniques and products, and kiln design, as well as the rise and decline of Benton's pottery industry. For some time it has been widely believed that archaeology will likely tell "the final story of pottery" making in Arkansas, and the Howe Kiln site investigation is part of that story.

Jessie Buck (Harvard College and Caddo Nation), "The Turkey Dance: The Surviving Oral History of the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma."

The Turkey Dance is one of the most important Caddo dances as the song tells the story of our history. It is comprised of many different songs and each song tells a story of a historical battle or event. While the songs are filled with stories, we are losing the meaning behind the songs as we lose our Caddo language. In my movie, I describe the Turkey Dance itself, before discussing its place in our Caddo community today and exploring the following questions: As an oral tradition, how have the songs survived over the years? What do the songs mean to our generation as we were not raised under the Caddo language?

[Note: Jessie Buck's movie "Nuh Ka oa shan: The Turkey Dance" has been published on YouTube (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OQdcnhTVIQM>).]

Pritam Chowdhury (University of Arkansas and Ozark National Forest) and *J. Eric Gilliland*, "Excavations at the Copperhead Site (3CW951), a Middle Woodland occupation in Frog Bayou Valley, Crawford County, Arkansas"

Data recovery at the Copperhead Site (3CW951) was conducted during 2003, 2004 and 2005 as part of the expansion of Lake Fort Smith. Mitigation efforts included hand excavation, special sample collection and analysis, geomorphological description, and artifact analysis. Data recovery at the Copperhead Site identified Middle Woodland, Late Woodland, and Mississippian period components. The Middle Woodland occupation appears to be related to the Gober complex, while the later occupations appear to represent the Late Woodland Evans phase, and the Mississippian period Harlan, Norman and Spiro phases. Excavations have revealed that the site was multifunctional and contained at least one possible structure, distinct activity areas, and one human burial.

Peggy Coalgate (University of Oklahoma), *Michael Taylor*, and *Don Wyckoff*, "Geoarchaeology at Opossum Creek, Nowata County, Oklahoma."

Heavy flooding along Opossum Creek, a tributary to the Verdigris River, exposed a deeply buried soil containing a burned rock feature. A cache of 10 preliminarily flaked bifaces was subsequently found eroding from this feature. Over a meter in thickness, the buried soil appears to be a cumulic horizon. Accelerator dating of a soil sample above the burned rock feature yielded a result of 4480 ± 40 rcybp (Beta-246819), whereas a soil sample below the feature was dated at 5220 ± 40 rcybp (Beta-246820). A charcoal from from among the burned rocks was accelerator dated at 4320 ± 40 rcybp (Beta-246821). Profiles upstream from the feature revealed the buried soil developed in a cut-and-fill setting. The bifaces are of heat-treated Florence flint, a Permian chert for which many prehistoric quarries are known some 70 km to the west. From the creek bed several expanding stem spear points of heated Florence flint are believed to be likely end products of the knappers responsible for the burned rock feature.

Elsbeth Linn Dowd (University of Oklahoma), "Excavations at Ramos Creek, a Caddo Site along the Mountain Fork"

Ramos Creek is located in the Ouachita Mountains along the Mountain Fork, a tributary of the Little River. It is the northernmost known site with a Caddo component along this stream. Investigations at Ramos Creek are part of a broader research program examining the social dynamics of communities living along the Mountain Fork, with particular attention to the ceremonial and political role of Woods Mound Group. This paper addresses the excavations at Ramos Creek this past summer.

Ann M. Early, "Design and Meaning in Caddo Ceramics: A Case Study with Protohistoric Fineware."

At the 2010 Caddo Conference, Eloise Gadus presented a study of Ripley Engraved ceramics that included comparisons between design elements and meaning laden designs found on engraved shell from Spiro and other objects showing Mississippian Iconography. Inspired by her findings, and by questions regarding Protohistoric religious revitalization in the Southeast, I looked closely at one familiar Protohistoric fineware type. Evidence indicates that these design elements and motifs are linked to Caddo beliefs regarding death, the afterlife, and the upper world.

Jeffrey S. Girard (Northwestern State University of Louisiana), *LeeAnna Schniebs*, and *Leslie Bush*, "Late Prehistory on the Caddo Border: Examination of a Pit Feature at the Longlois Site, Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana."

Excavation of a pit feature at the Longlois Site (16NA657) in the Red River floodplain yielded a large sample of potsherds, animal bone, and botanical remains. The feature was partially exposed approximately 1.6 m below surface in a cutbank near the mouth of an old river course known as Bayou Pierre. Radiocarbon dates (960+/-25 BP and 710+/-25 BP) were obtained on charcoal from the feature. The recovered pottery has characteristics similar to contemporary Early to Middle Caddo period sites to the northwest, but differs in many respects as well, most notably by the absence of fine engraved specimens. Analyses of the plant and animal remains provide significant new information about late prehistoric subsistence practices for the Natchitoches region.

Elizabeth T. Horton (Arkansas Archeological Survey) and *George Sabo III*, "The Craig Mound Perishable Project: Preliminary Results."

The Craig Mound Perishable Project is intended to incorporate the rich record of fabrics, from basketry to cloth and more, into current research on the "Great Mortuary" at Spiro. Interpreted as a 15th century "cosmogram" by James Brown, these deposits contain an extensive assemblage of late pre-Columbian perishables. However, these materials have never been systematically analyzed. In collaboration with the Caddo Nation, the authors have undertaken a thorough inventory, documentation, and analyses of all the perishable materials and associated artifacts curated at the University of Arkansas Museum. This paper covers preliminary results from the analysis of copper plate bundles, double woven lidded baskets, and their contents. These materials represent a major category of sacred objects interred in Craig Mound. We have determined that the UAM collection contains a minimum of 12 double woven lidded baskets, each uniquely patterned and potentially of non-local origin. In addition, analysis of fiber and fiber pseudomorphs has allowed us to understand how rivercane, hide, and other perishable materials are used to bundle embossed copper plates associated with the double woven lidded baskets. These data now compromise the first detailed account of the materiality of "sacred bundles" from the "Great Mortuary" at Spiro.

William J. Hunt, Jr. (National Park Service-Midwest Archeological Center), "The 2009-2011 Parkwide Archeological Inventory at Hot Springs National Park."

In 2011, the National Park Service's Midwest Archeological Center will complete the final year of a parkwide inventory under the Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program (SAIP) at Hot Springs National Park (HOSP). The objectives of the parkwide inventory are to: 1) determine the nature and extent of archeological resources in the park; 2) record and evaluate those resources in the Archeological Sites Management Information System (ASMIS) database; 3) nominate eligible properties for listing in the National Register of Historic Places; and 4) recommend appropriate strategies for conserving, protecting, preserving in situ, managing, and interpreting those resources. This paper provides highlights of the inventory accomplishments to date.

David Jeane (Arkansas Archeological Survey), "Processing Data from the Tom Jones Mounds Site (3HE40) Hempstead County, Arkansas: Ceramic Vessels from the Area 7 Structure."

In 2001, 2002, and 2003 the Arkansas Archeological Survey and the Arkansas Archeological Society conducted test excavations at the Tom Jones Mound Site (3HE40) in Hempstead County, Arkansas. One of the locations tested, Area 7, revealed the presence of a square structure with an extended doorway that had been purposely burned and covered with earth while still burning. Over the three-year time frame we were able to completely expose the structure floor and recover 26 ceramic vessels which had been placed around the interior walls and in the center of the structure. The careful excavation and data recording have allowed us to reconstruct all these vessels in the lab and determine exactly where they were placed within the structure, which we believe was a food preparation structure or cookhouse in use at the ceremonial center ca. A.D. 1400.

Timothy K. Perttula (Archeological & Environmental Consultants, LLC), "Is It Time for a Caddo Conference Organization?"

There was discussion at the 2010 Caddo Conference about whether the Caddo Conference would benefit from the establishment of a formal organization, and it was agreed that we should look into it. Over the last three 3 months, a group of about 50 of us have looked into the matter, decided that a formal organization would be beneficial for the conference and the people that attend each year's conference, and have been working on the establishment of the Caddo Conference Organization. The purpose of the Caddo Conference Organization is to develop, promote, and enhance interest in the archaeology, history, and ethnology of the Caddo people and Caddo Area of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas. The organization will facilitate communication among people interested in and working to advance Caddo studies, convey knowledge to the general public, and advocate preservation of resources relating to the Caddo Area or of a nature sacred to the Caddo people. Information will be disseminated through publication of the Caddo Archeology Journal, on the organization's website, and at the annual Caddo Conference. Our Board of Officers have been established, key organizational documents drafted (and available in your conference packet), and membership forms prepared. We look for your support.

Jeri Redcorn (Caddo Nation), George Sabo III, Phil Cross, and Chase Earles, "Caddo Ceramics: Historical and Traditional Perspectives," (panel presentation).

Since 900 A.D., Caddo artists have excelled in crafting extraordinary pottery vessels in a variety of sizes and shapes, designed and decorated for utilitarian as well as ceremonial uses. Caddo ceramic arts were held in high regard by pre-Columbian Indian communities across the Southeast, many of whom applied exquisite Caddo designs to their own ceramic wares. Modern archaeologists studying Caddo pottery have developed elaborate typologies and classifications designed to organize the variety of vessel shapes and decorations into discrete geographical and temporal patterns. These analytic exercises help us understand the evolution of Caddo ceramic technologies and the sharing of ideas among separate communities; thus, they provide a valuable framework for answering larger questions concerning the cultural ties connecting modern Caddos with their ancient ancestors. This panel will explore questions including: What historical connections link the Caddo people today with the ancestors who made the pottery found at archeological sites throughout the Caddo area? What artistic traditions most prominently reflect Caddo ceramic arts in pre-Columbian times? What broader cultural themes are reflected in the artistic motifs adorning ancient Caddo ceramics? What effects did 19th century removal have on Caddo ties to ancestral homelands? How did removal affect the continuity of ceramic traditions; specifically, did the disruption of pottery-making traditions result in a loss in cultural identity?

James A. Rees, Jr. (Arkansas Archeological Society), "A Survey of Prehistoric Musical Instruments from Ozark Bluff Shelters."

A recent inventory of bluff shelter collections at The University of Arkansas Museum has revealed the presence of a variety of musical instruments. To date, an ongoing study has identified nine different musical instruments representing two major classifications of musical artifacts, ranging from rasps to three different types of flutes. This sample includes what may be the oldest two-chambered, external duct flute known to exist. This presentation will describe some of these instruments and how they worked, what they sounded like, and what they may reveal about the people who made and played them.

Simone Rowe (University of Oklahoma), "Inferring Peri-mortem Trauma and Conflict Based on Archaeological Context from WPA Documentation at Wister Valley Fourche Maline Sites."

Preliminary data from Wister Valley Fourche Maline sites of southeastern Oklahoma suggests that violence was a part of everyday life. For many reasons, this region lacks the traditional data used to assess violence in the archaeological record (e.g. detailed skeletal analyses, iconographic analyses, and site layout/fortification analyses). However many detailed excavation photographs and notes exist for hundreds of burials excavated between 1936-1942 by the WPA. These notes and photographs were analyzed in order to determine if the magnitude and quality of violence could be quantified. Specifically, multiple burials (i.e. burials of more than one individual) are examined in an attempt to infer peri-mortem trauma and conflict based on archaeological context. Additionally, evidence for trophy taking (in the form of trophy heads) is examined. High rates of inferred conflict and trauma, asymmetrical male:female burial ratios, and high rates of subadult nutritional stress suggest that violence, in the form of feuding, took a heavy toll on people living the Wister Valley during Fourche Maline times.

George Sabo III (Arkansas Archeological Survey), *Jami Lockhart*, *Jerry Hilliard*, *Jared Pebworth*, *Michael Evans*, *Leslie Walker*, *Larry Porter*, *Aden Jenkins*, *Duncan McKinnon*, and *John Samuelsen*, "Protohistoric House Architecture in the Carden Bottoms, Arkansas."

The Arkansas Archeological Survey's investigation of sites in the Central Arkansas River Valley is designed to expand our understanding of the Carden Bottoms phase, a protohistoric (ca. A.D. 1500 – 1700) community known largely through study of whole pottery vessels looted from cemeteries during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Accordingly, we are conducting intensive archaeogeophysical surveys on lands adjacent to cemetery areas, in an effort to locate and then excavate domestic structures and associated refuse middens. This presentation examines our overall strategy, and summarizes data collected in October and December, 2010, from a square, four-center post dwelling and its associated trash deposits.

Mary Beth Trubitt (Arkansas Archeological Survey), "Two-Stage Caddo Mounds in Southwest Arkansas."

Rediscovery and recording of a new mound site near the Ouachita River has brought attention to the number of two-stage mound constructions in the Caddo area in southwestern Arkansas. This presentation focuses on the distribution of this mound form from the Saline to Ouachita to Little Missouri River drainages, the results of recent archeological work at two mound sites, and hypotheses concerning mound function and community patterning.

Don G. Wyckoff (Oklahoma Museum of Natural History, University of Oklahoma), "The McKellips Site: Is This What CRM Is All About?"

For 25 years, site 34Mi136 on the north shore of Lake Eufaula has been allowed to erode by wave and wind action. Although briefly tested, high lake level hindered any real assessment of the site's stratigraphy and contextual situations. Yet, for 25 years the site has continued to yield the largest collection of late Pleistocene and early and middle Holocene artifacts known for any site in the eastern half of Oklahoma. To stop investigations of the site, 12 historic Creek burials were placed in the sandy deposits, thus making the site a historic burial ground. Recently the Corps has undertaken to stabilize the eroding bank, but only in the location fronting where the burials placed. Professional archaeologists concerned about the prehistory of the Caddoan area need to know the story of cultural resource (mis)management of this important archaeological site.

2011 CADDO CULTURE CLUB ACTIVITIES

Michael Meeks
Secretary, Caddo Culture Club

The Caddo Culture Club is devoted to the preservation of Caddo Tribal songs and dances. Members of the club find that it's very humbling being able to perform the very songs that their ancestors once performed. Over the course of a year, the Caddo Culture Club travels to different parts of Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas (the original homelands of the Caddo) to perform for the general public. In today's technological times, the Caddo Culture Club can be found on the internet at www.caddocultureclub.com and even on Facebook. Some of the club's major and minor appearances are described below.

53rd Annual Caddo Conference

The Caddo Culture Club had the honor of performing at the 53rd Annual Caddo Conference which was held on March 25-26 at the University of Arkansas—Ft. Smith Campus. The club performed a total of eight songs/dances, many of which were used to honor different individuals such as Dr. Don Wyckoff, former Caddo Princesses, and even the young men of the Caddo Culture Club who have devoted their time to learning the songs and dances of the Caddo Indian tribe.



19th Annual Caddo Culture Club Dance



On June 17-18, the Caddo Culture Club held its annual two-day powwow at the Caddo Nation dance grounds near Binger, OK. This year's theme was "Honoring the Past, Embracing the Future." On Friday, the Caddo Culture Club performed many of the Caddo tribe's social dances such as the Fish Dance, Swing Dance, and the Bear Dance. Saturday's portion of the dance began in the early morning with the Caddo Culture Club raising the flag of the Late Thurman "Sonny" Parton. The dance then began in the late afternoon with the Caddo Culture Club performing the Turkey Dance, a sacred and traditional song of the Caddo tribe. The club then paused the dance for a supper break. Next was the Drum Dance. Several Honor dances and social dances were then sung.

Invited guests at this year's dance were John Procter and family of the Muskokee from Tah-Le-Hpse dance ceremonial grounds and Jennifer Price, former Site Manager of the Caddo Mounds State Historic Site in Alto, TX. The invited drum group was Max Watan and Red Moon Drum. Events included a Bow Shoot in honor of Thurman Parton and the club's first ever Winner-Take-All Straight Dance contest. This year's dance was one of the biggest dances in the club's history.



Murrow's Annual Dance

The Caddo Culture Club had the opportunity to co-host this annual event. The club performed several social and traditional dances while the O-Ho-Mah Lodge performed war dances.



NSU Folk Festival

The Caddo Culture Club was invited to perform at this annual event since its theme involved southern culture. The club was also asked to hold its own style show, which allowed the club to showcase the traditional dance regalia of Caddo Indians.



Caddo/Adai Powwow

Once a year, the Caddo tribe is invited to travel to Robeline, LA to come together with the band of Caddo known as the Adai. This year's event was used to honor the Late Buntin Williams and the Late Randlett Edmonds, both of whom made many contributions to the Caddo Nation in their lifetimes.

Caddo Culture Day

Every year, the Caddo Mounds State Historic Site in Alto, TX holds a "Caddo Culture Day" to honor the traditions and archeology of the Caddo Indians. The Caddo Culture Club was asked to perform many of the songs that are usually performed at a regular Caddo dance such as the Fish Dance, Drum Dance, and Stirrup Dance.



Honor Dance for Billie Ruth Hoff



The Caddo Culture Club was asked to co-host this event in which members of the Caddo tribe wanted to honor Ms. Billie Ruth Hoff for her many contributions to the Caddo Nation.

Toy & Blanket Drive

In the midst of the holiday season, the Caddo Culture Club decided to give back to the community by holding a Toy & Blanket Drive. Over the course of one week, with the help of the Caddo Nation, the club collected over 20 games for the children of the OU Children's Hospital, and several blankets for the local community Nursing Home.



Practice Sessions

From time to time, the members of the Caddo Culture Club decide to hold practice sessions to refresh their memory of traditional Caddo songs and dances. While most practice sessions are held at the Caddo Nation Headquarters, some are held at the local library in Norman, OK for members of the club who often cannot make the journey to the Caddo Nation Headquarters.



Official Caddo Culture Club Emblem

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