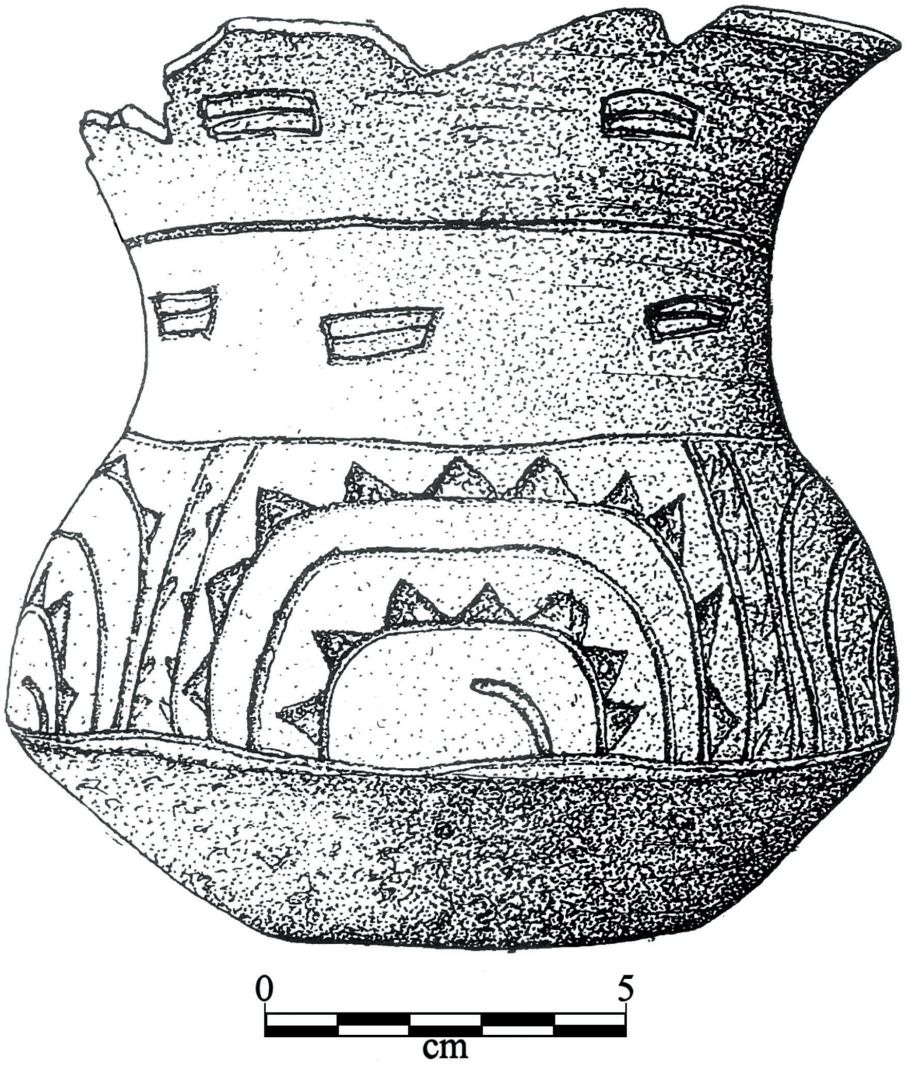
Caddo Archeology Journal



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Towards a Common Understanding: A Revision of Fourche Maline Chronology in Oklahoma

Luther J. Leith

Abstract

Answering the question of what Fourche Maline is has long been hampered by lack of consensus on the terminology and chronology within the ancestral Caddoan area of the four corners area of southeast Oklahoma, southwest Arkansas, northeast Texas and northwest Louisiana. To address this problem an evolution of the Oklahoma concept of Fourche Maline is presented, and developing a new chronology based on seriation of temporally sensitive artifact categories is discussed. It is concluded that Fourche Maline is a solely Woodland period culture, with a chronology that makes identifying changes over time possible. This conclusion will facilitate the understanding of Fourche Maline within the Caddoan homeland.

Introduction

One of the major factors inhibiting a regional understanding of ancestral Caddoan speaking people stems from incompatible conceptualizations of Fourche Maline due to terminology and chronology. For example the term Fourche Maline can mean many things with out a qualifier, such as: creek, drainage, culture, focus, phase etc. Also in Oklahoma there has long been the tendency to include cultures spanning the Late Archaic through emergent Mississippian periods as being Fourche Maline.

The majority of researchers in Oklahoma have seen Fourche Maline as essentially an Archaic/Woodland transitional culture (Bell and Baerreis 1951; Bell 1953, 1980; Galm 1981, 1984; Galm and Flynn 1978; Proctor 1957; Sharrock 1960). Schambach (2002) argues that Fourche Maline is a solely Woodland period culture. It is interesting to note that Orr (1952) held a similar view of Fourche Maline in Oklahoma. Orr considers Fourche Maline to be Early to Middle Woodland in age.

Another major problem with Oklahoma's concept of Fourche Maline is the roughly 1,000 year-long "phases." Schambach (1982; 1998; 2002) has been able to refine the chronology in Arkansas to more manageable phases (in line with Willey and Philips 1958). His concept and chronology has become the standard concept of Fourche Maline in the states neighboring southeast Oklahoma (Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana).

To better understand the problems with the concept of Fourche Maline, we begin with a review of the evolution of the concept of Fourche Maline in Oklahoma. In order to address the incompatibility of much of the Oklahoma concept of Fourche Maline, a seriation of temporally sensitive artifacts was conducted. This seriation was then used to refine Oklahoma's Fourche Maline chronology. The revised concept and chronology will make regional comparison and discussion of Fourche Maline easier.

Evolution of the Concept of Fourche Maline in Oklahoma

The history of the concept of Fourche Maline begins with Moore's 1912 and Harrington's 1917 expeditions up the Red River in Arkansas (Harrington 1920; Moore 2003). These early archaeologists were looking for beautiful, finely decorated, pottery and other material-culture. However, Moore and Harrington did excavate sites that fit Bell and Baerreis' (1951) definition of Fourche Maline traits (black-middens located near streams). Little attention was paid to this cultural manifestation during Moore and Harrington's earlier excavations, because these black-midden mounds had very few beautiful pots and other distinctive artifacts.

Major research in Oklahoma did not begin until the late 1930s and early 1940s as part of the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) excavations (Kreiger 1947; Newkumet 1940; Orr 1946). At this time, archaeologists were attempting to develop a cultural chronology for southeastern Oklahoma. Research continued off and on in Oklahoma up through the end of the 20th century (Bell 1953; Bell and Baerreis 1951; Davis 1961a, 1961b; Galm 1981, 1984; Galm and Flynn 1978; Guilinger 1971; Orr 1952; Picarella 1999; Proctor 1957; Sharrock 1960; Vehik 1982a, 1982b), although there was a significant research gap between the early 1980s and 2000. Most of the excavations conducted at Fourche Maline sites have focused on the midden mound with very little off-mound investigation. Research primarily continued to develop chronology, cultural-trait lists, and some early regional syntheses (e.g., Galm 1984; Orr 1952; Wyckoff 1980), but it is important to point out that there has been considerable bio-archeological research, such that we know more about the physical anthropology of the Fourche Maline people than their material culture (Burnett 1990a, 1990b; Burns 1994; Harmon and Rose 1989; Powell and Rogers 1980; Rose and Burnett 1990; Rose and Harmon 1989; Rose et al. 1999a, 1999b; Rowe 2009).

Galm (1984) following Bell's (1980) call for re-conceptualizing Fourche Maline attempted to clarify the terminology and bring the concept of Fourche Maline up to date. He redefined the Fourche Maline Focus as two phases: the Late Archaic (Wister phase) and the Woodland period (Fourche Maline phase) (Galm 1984). Schambach (2002) argues that Galm inappropriately named the Fourche Maline phase as he had defined Fourche Maline as a cultural unit (basically a tradition following Willey and Phillips 1958) two years earlier (Schambach 1982). The problem here is one of competing grey literature as Galm and Flynn (1978) had already published definitions of the Wister and Fourche Maline phases, which would be five years before Schambach's 1982 definition.

However, Schambach's conceptualization of Fourche Maline as a cultural tradition has gained acceptance and is currently used in Arkansas and Texas (Schambach 1982, 1998, 2002; Bruseth 1998). A second problem with Galm's (1984) definition of the Fourche Maline phase is its length. Galm has Fourche Maline spanning the period 300 B.C. to A.D. 800, which is over 1000 years. Willey and Phillips (1958) define a phase as an archaeological unit that is distinct from units similarly conceived and spanning a relatively brief period of time. Galm's phase fits better as a sub-period in its duration and needs to be refined into units that are more in line with Willey and Phillip's definition. Along with the need to refine the Fourche Maline phase in Oklahoma, we need to bring the Oklahoma concept of Fourche Maline into line with the Schambach (2002) concept of Fourche Maline. Researchers in Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana have defined Fourche Maline as a Woodland period society who were the ancestors of the modern Caddo people.

Many sources present information on the material culture of the Fourche Maline people (Bell 1953; Bell and Baerreis 1951; Davis 1961a, 1961b; Galm 1981, 1984; Galm and Flynn 1978; Guilinger 1971; Orr 1952; Picarella 1999; Proctor 1957; Sharrock 1960; Vehik 1982a, 1982b). Presently Galm (1984) tends to be considered the standard definition of Fourche Maline in Oklahoma. As mentioned earlier, Galm replaced the old Fourche Maline Focus with the Arkansas Valley Caddoan Formative, which is made up of Archaic (Wister phase) and Woodland (Fourche Maline phase) occupations (Galm 1984). A summary of Galm's phases follows.

The Wister Phase

Galm (1984: 210-213) defines the Wister phase as Late Archaic occupations in the Fourche Maline valley dating from roughly 300 B.C. to around A.D. 300. Pre-pottery assemblages identify this phase. Among the artifacts are contracting stem (*Gary*) projectile point/knives with some corner-notched, expanding stem points. This phase also contains ground stone objects (handstones, boat stones, pendants), bone tools (awls, pins, atlatl hooks, fish hooks) and shell beads, discs, and pendants (Galm 1984: 210-213). This assemblage conveys clues

that the subsistence strategy was hunting, gathering and fishing. Long distance trade is witnessed by occasional exotic raw materials such as copper and marine shell (Galm 1984:210-213).

The Fourche Maline Phase

Galm (1984:213-216) defines the Fourche Maline phase as Woodland period occupations generally dating to around A.D. 300 to 800. The important marker of this phase is a thick grog-tempered and mixed grog temper pottery of the *Williams Plain* and *LeFlore Plain* types. The artifact assemblage also contains contracting stem (*Gary*) points, fewer corner-notched dart points, and initial use of small corner-notched (*Scallorn*) arrow points, indicating a shift in hunting technology (Galm 1984:213-216). Also a variety of chipped-stone implements, such as hoes and double-bit axes, as well as continued use of ground stone and bone implements common during the Wister Phase (Galm 1984:213-216).

It is time to revise Galm's (1984) concept of Fourche Maline by refining the chronology. He alludes to material culture hallmarks that can and should be used to break what are essentially sub-periods into more manageable phases. An example is the adoption of the bow and arrow, which can and should represent a temporally diagnostic change in material culture. The refinement of the Fourche Maline chronology is a necessary first step in identifying what Fourche Maline is as it will avoid confusing temporal differences with spatial or social differences.

Several assumed temporally sensitive artifact types were chosen to refine the chronology. These were varieties of large contracting stem (*Gary*) points, arrow points, chipped-stone axe/hoes, and pottery (*Williams Plain, Williams Boneware,* and *LeFlore Plain*).

Methodology

In order to refine the Fourche Maline chronology I seriated select artifact classes from the J.W. Williams I site (34Lf24). This site's entire midden mound was excavated by the W.P.A. I recognize biases occur when using W.P.A. excavated sites because the methodology used was not as rigorous as modern field methods. But the Williams I site is the best excavated W.P.A. black-midden site in Oklahoma. It was excavated in arbitrary six-inch levels, and many of the artifacts have piece-plot references.

A total of three blocks of contiguous units were selected for the seriation. The primary seriation was conducted on a block of 13 contiguous 5x5 ft (1.5x1.5 m) units located near the center of the midden (Figure 1). These units were chosen to avoid burials because these intrusive features were hard to identify in the dark soil and cannot be controlled for using arbitrarily excavated levels. This sample also allows greater artifact counts and a greater diversity of artifact types that strengthen the seriation. The choice of contiguous units near the center of the midden mound was an attempt to alleviate problems associated with the contour of the mound. The units chosen should be comparable as they are near the apex of the mound and the difference in elevation is only around 0.07 in (0.2 cm) per horizontal foot (30.5 cm) between samples units.

Two other blocks of units; one near the eastern margin and one near the western margin, were selected to test the results of the initial seriation. Again, these were selected to avoid units containing burials (see Figure 1). The eastern sample consisted of 17 5x5 ft (1.5x1.5 m) units, and the western sample consisted of 19 5x5 ft (1.5x1.5 m) units. It should be noted that there is close to one foot (30.5 cm) of elevation change between some of the units in these groups, which could affect the depths/levels from which artifacts are coming. Percentages were calculated on each of the artifact types by level. This was important in the seriation of the pottery because it addresses issues of minimum number of vessels by giving single sherds more weight. However, the use of percentages does mask some of the differences because each category is dependent on the others. This can lead to over-inflating some of the categories due to low counts. In order to address this issue a separate seriation

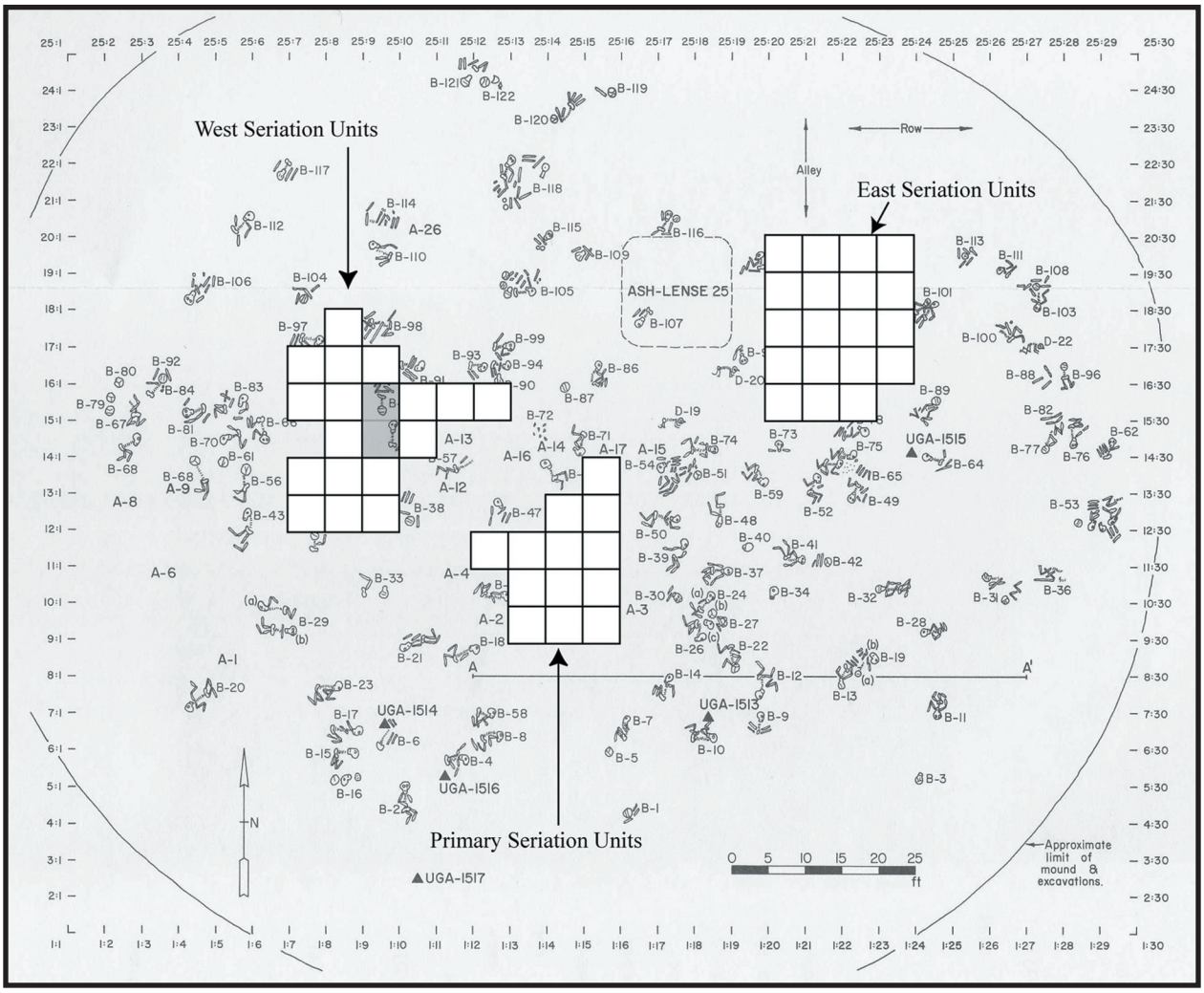

Figure 1. J.W. Williams I Map Showing the Location of Units used in the Seriation (grey units omitted).

Correspondence analysis was conducted using the JMP™ statistics program. Correspondence analysis is an exploratory data-analytic technique that is commonly used for seriation in archaeology (Baxter 2003:137). Basically correspondence analysis is a Principle Component Analysis for tables of counts that produces a graphical view of the structure of a table (basically a representation of the relationship between rows and columns allowing identification of the association between them) (Baxter 2003). The aim of a correspondence analysis is to suggest an ordering for the assemblage that has chronological interpretations (Baxter 2003:137-138).

Point Seriation

Schambach (1982) identified three varieties of *Gary* points that he considered temporally sensitive (Table 1). These are variants *gary, leflore,* and *camden* (Figure 2). The defining features of these variants are the shape of the base, thickness and width.

To test Schambach's model, base shape (U or V shaped), thickness, and variety designations were recorded for the 213 contracting stem points from the 34Lf24 sample units. In addition to testing Schambach's *Gary* variants temporal sensitivity, counts of Archaic dart points and arrow points (with thickness for the arrow points) were also recorded. A seriation using correspondence analysis was performed on the three varieties of *Gary*, the generalized Archaic bifaces (including notched and straight stem forms) and arrow points.

Table 1. Attributes and Variables of Schambach's (1982) *Gary* Point Varieties.

Types	Morphology	Thickness (mm)	Mean Thickness (mm)
Gary gary	Lobate stem, convex edges rounded base, U shaped base	7-13	10-11
Gary leflore	Stem narrower in proportion to blade, V-shaped base	4-14	7-8
Gary camden	Narrow point, weakly shouldered to no shoulder, blade only slightly wider than *leflore* stems, V-shaped base	4-14	7

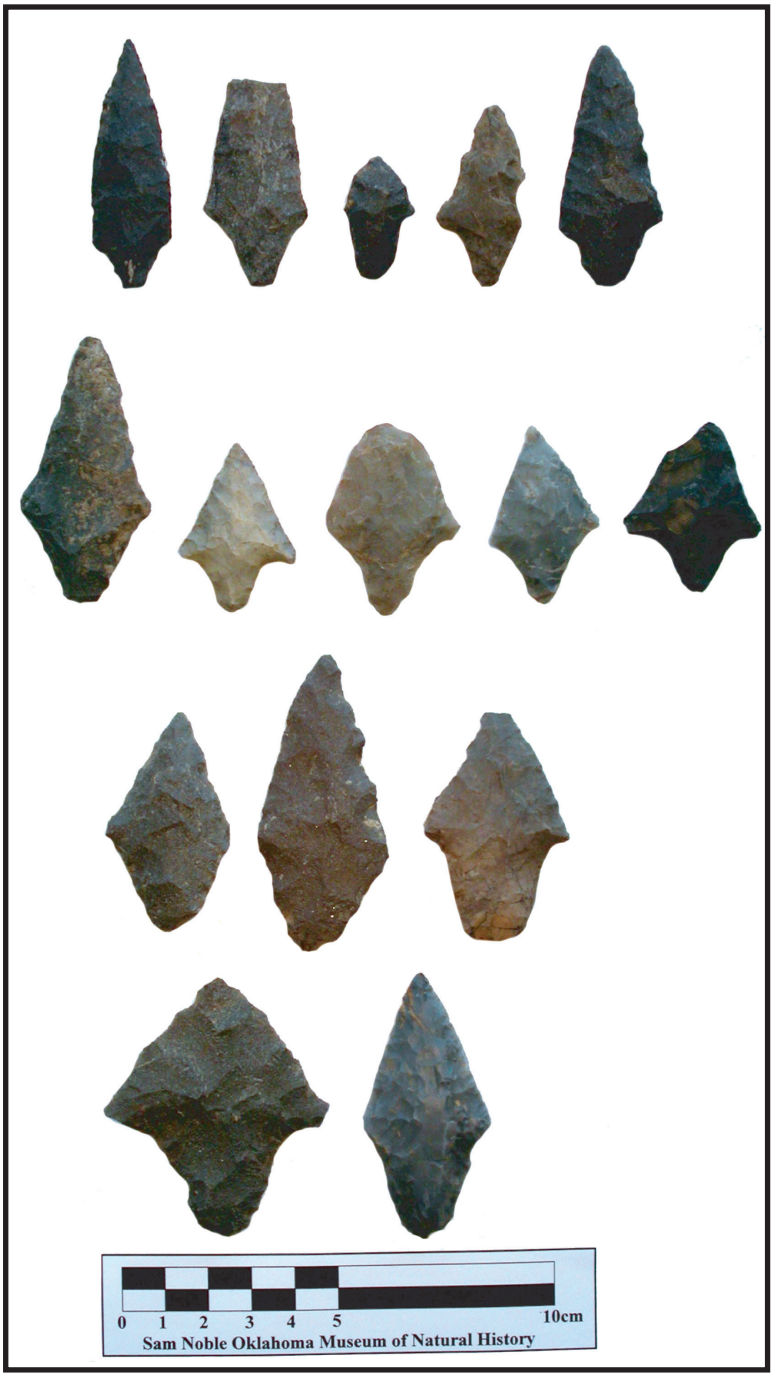

Figure 2. Gary Varieties from J.W. Williams I (top gary, middle leflore, bottom camden).

Axe/Hoe Seriation

Chipped-stone axe/hoes are common to the Wister and Fourche Maline phases. There were only 135 chipped-stone axe/hoes from the entire 34Lf24 midden. All the axe/hoes from the site were considered because the overall count was low. These tools were identified as stemmed, double-bitted, or indeterminate. The indeterminate, surface finds and burial units were omitted. Counts were recorded by level for both the stemmed and double-bit varieties, and a seriation was then performed.

Pottery Seriation

Galm (1984) states the diagnostic pottery wares associated with Fourche Maline people are *Williams Plain*, and *LeFlore Plain*. He also notes that the addition of bone to the temper of *Williams Plain* looks to be a later trait (Galm 1984). Again the Williams site was chosen for seriation as the pottery assemblage has had research conducted on it (Irvine 1980), which helped with initial identification of pottery types. The same units chosen for the point seriation were used for the pottery seriation. The attributes and variables recorded were temper, thickness, and presence/absence of burnishing. These were used to identify four specific wares or types and one general pottery category. These were: *Williams Plain, Williams Boneware, LeFlore Plain, Woodward Plain,* and Indeterminate Decorated (Table 2 and Figures 3 to 5). These types were then seriated using correspondence analysis.

Table 2. Fourche Maline Pottery Types.

Pottery Type	Temper	Thickness	Surface Treatment	Forms
Williams Plain (Brown 1971)	predominately grog, with some mixed temper	5.9 - 17.8 mm mean 7.7 mm generally >1cm	smoothing, wiping, some burnishing	simple bowl, globular bowl, cup, restricted jar, barrel shaped jar, with some miniature versions
Williams Boneware (Proctor 1957)	grog-bone	likely same as Williams Plain	smoothing, wiping, some burnishing	likely same as Williams Plain
Williams Incised (Proctor 1957, Brown 1971)	predominately grog, with some mixed temper	likely same as Williams Plain	smoothing, wiping, some burnishing	likely same as Williams Plain
LeFlore Plain (Brown 1971)	grog-grit	4.2 - 9.8 mm mean 6.19 mm generally <1mm	usually burnished	simple bowl, globular bowl, restricted orifice globular bowl, carinated bowl, gourd-section bowl, jars, narrow-mouthed bottle, wide mouthed bottles
Woodward Plain (Brown 1971)	shell	5 - 11.2 mm mean 7.48 mm	burnished	simple bowls, independent restricted jars, wide-mouthed bottle, seed jar

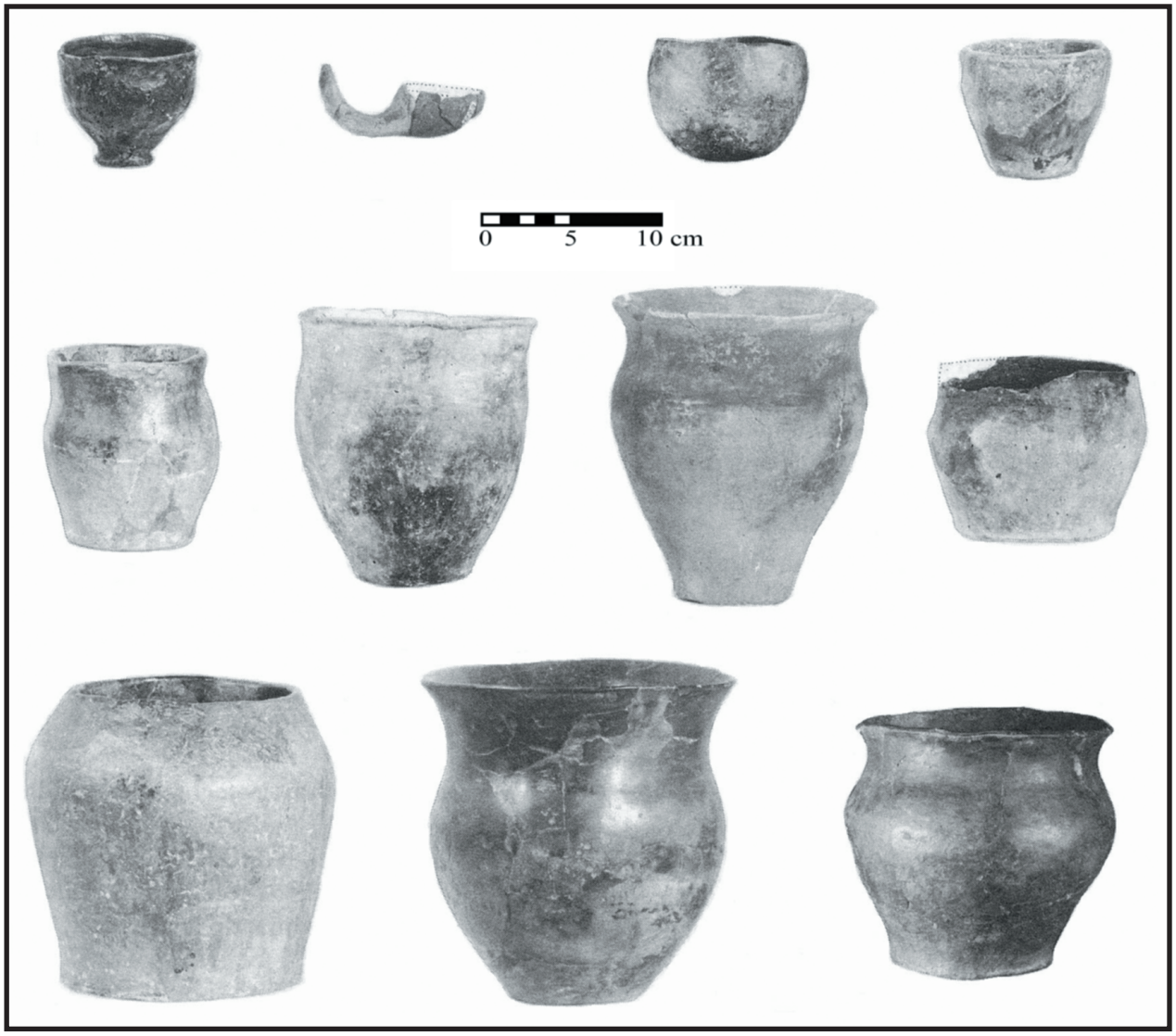

Figure 3. Williams Plain Vessel Forms from Spiro (adapted from Brown 1971).

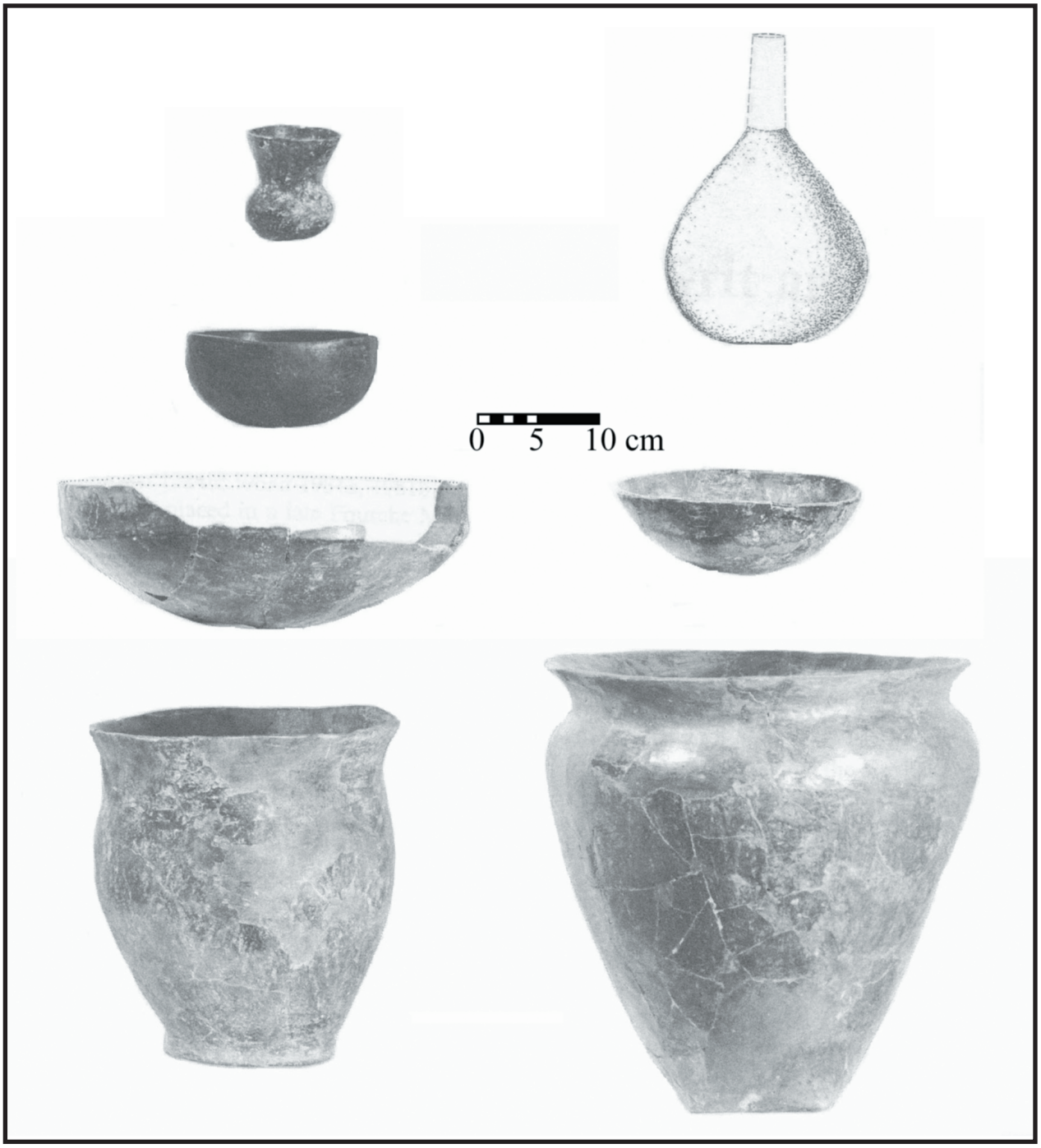

Figure 4. LeFlore Plain Vessel Forms from Spiro (adapted from Brown 1971).

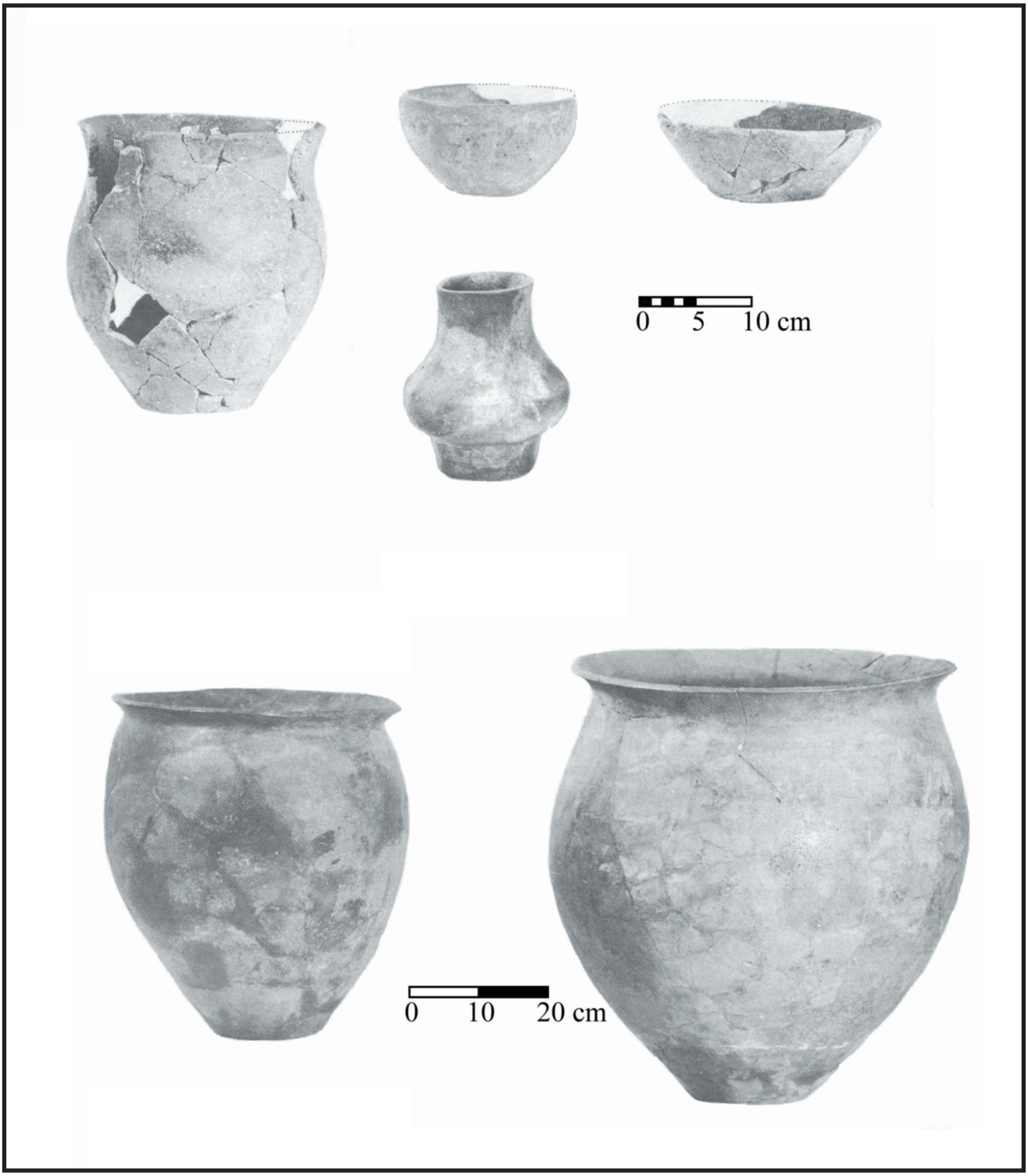

Figure 5. Woodward Plain Vessel Forms from Spiro (adapted from Brown 1971).

Building a Fourche Maline Chronology

To initiate building a chronology I began by testing Schambach's (1982) temporally sensitive varieties of *Gary* points. Figure 6 shows the results of the correspondence analysis based on percentage by level. Baxter (2003) states that 'horseshoe'-shaped plots in which the ordering can be read around the horseshoe are often considered a good seriation. The direction in which the plot is interpreted must come from outside information. In this case we know which way to read the findings because we know the order of the levels excavated.

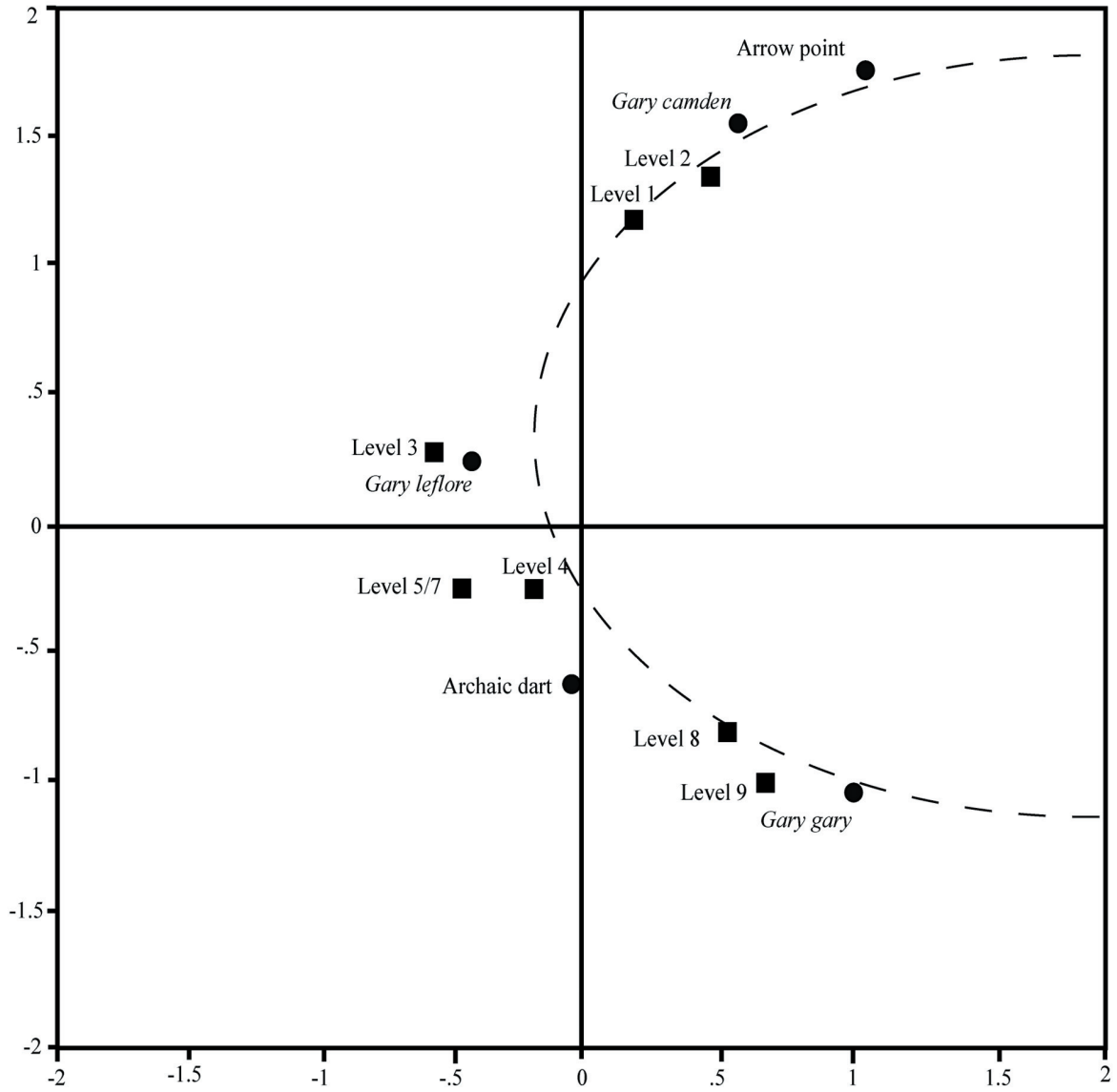

Figure 6. Results of the Williams I Point Type Correspondence Analysis (note the strong horseshoe-shaped curve).

The findings do indicate that Schambach's *Gary* varieties are temporally sensitive. The strong horseshoe shape, following Baxter (2003), indicated a good seriation. Reading the horseshoe from bottom right (oldest) to top right (youngest) support Schambach's temporal hypothesis (Figure 7). I have also presented Fordian battleship graphs to help with the interpretation of the correspondence analysis.

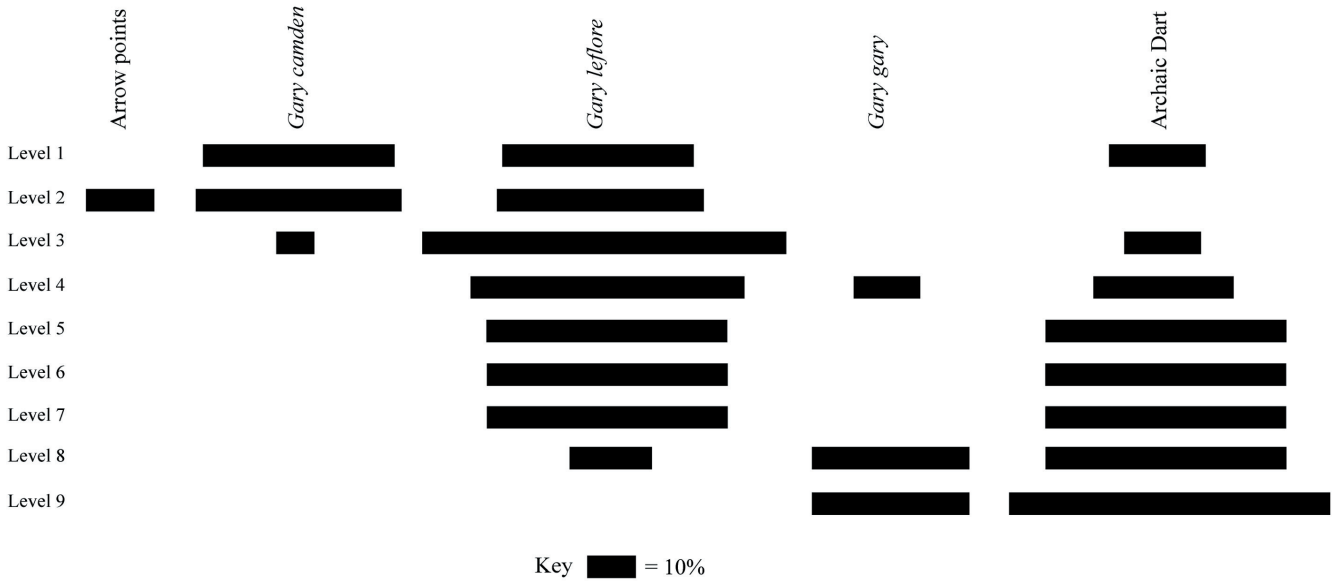

Figure 7. Battleship Graph of the Williams I Seriation of Point Percentages by Class.

The *Gary gary* variety appears to be an early variety which peters out around Level 6 (Figures 8). The *leflore* variety appears long-lived showing up at around Level 8 and continuing throughout the rest of the levels. The *camden* variety is the smallest (and thinnest) variety and appears late in the sequence (around Levels 2 and 3). *Gary camden* may be a transitional dart/arrow point type as Schambach (1998:128) has suggested. The raw counts for the points shows essentially the same results, but the Archaic dart points are not as over-inflated in relation to the other points due to the use of percentages.

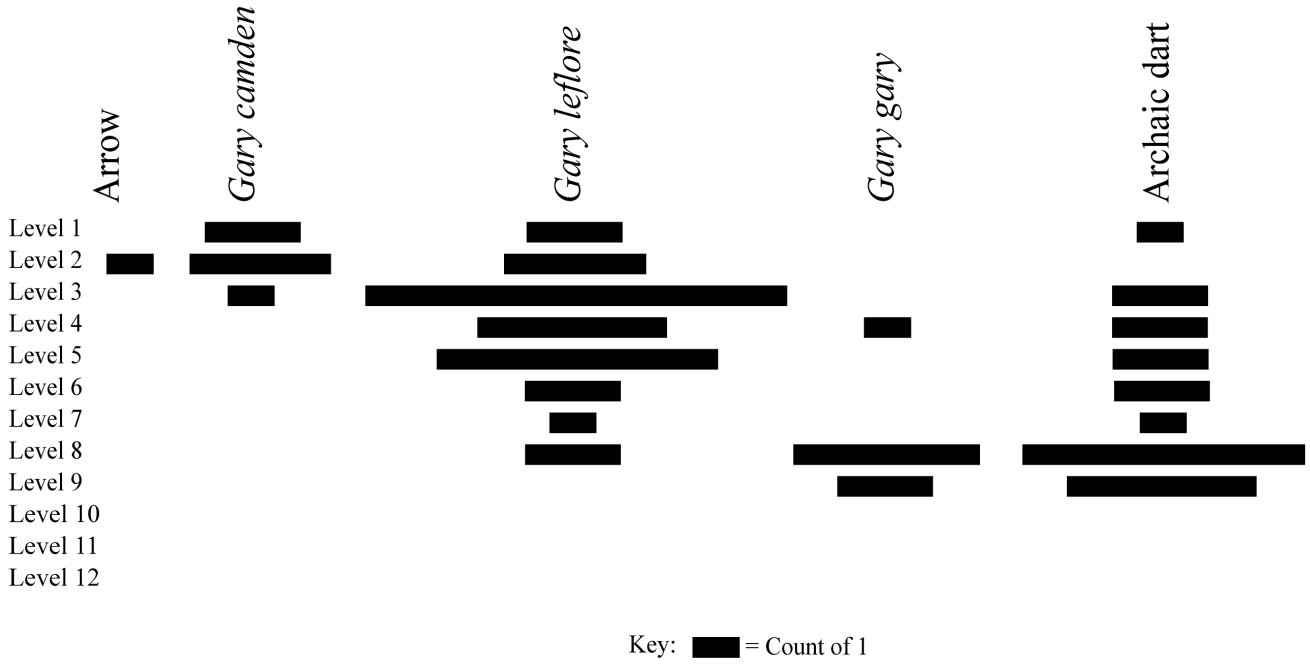

Figure 8. Battleship Graph of the Williams I Seriation of Point Frequency by Class.

The pottery types also proved to be temporally sensitive. In this research I separated the grog-bone temper sherds as a new type *Williams Boneware*, because Galm (1984) and others have suggested that the addition of bone to the temper of *Williams Plain* may have a temporal significance. Figure 9 presents the results of the correspondence analysis for the pottery types.

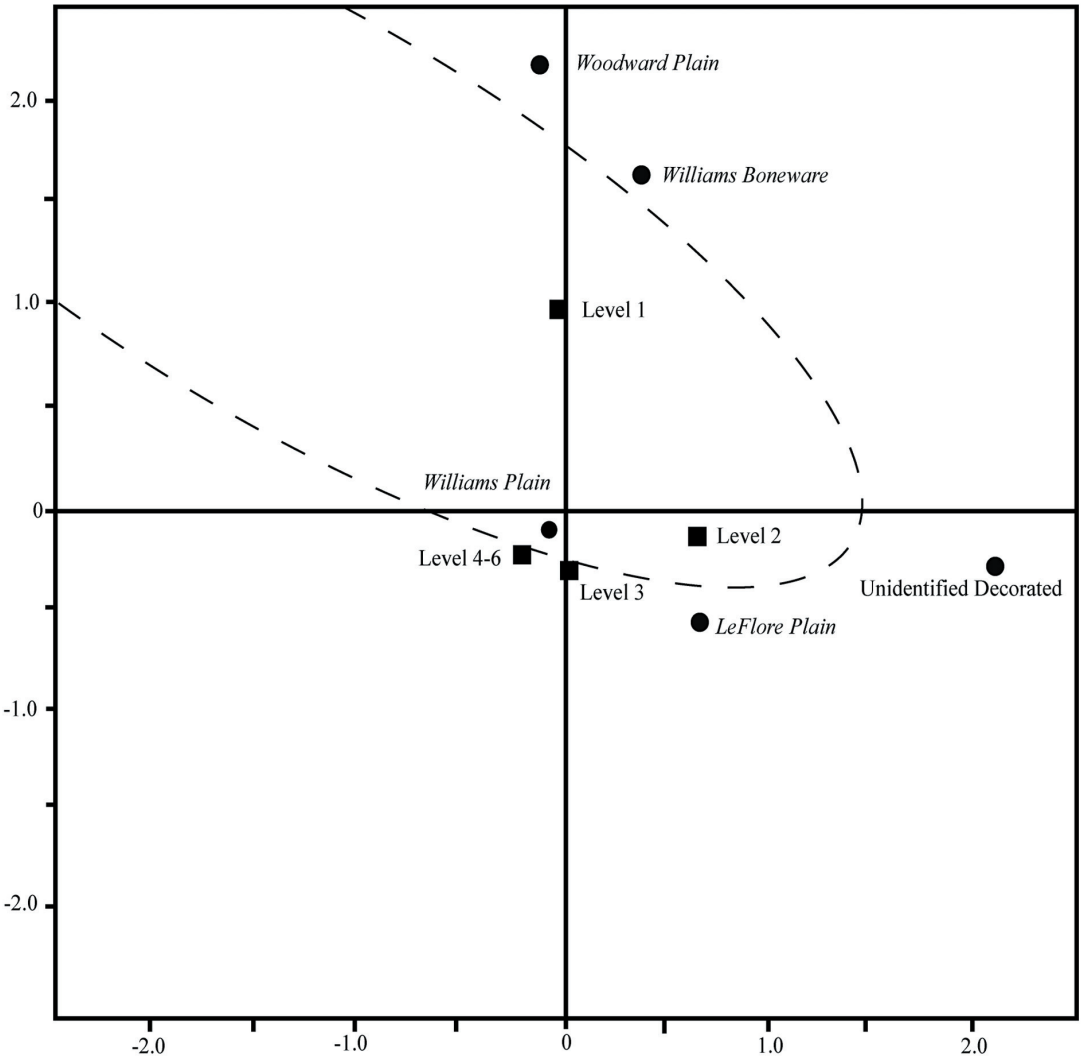

Figure 9. Results of the Williams I Pottery Type Correspondence Analysis (the horseshoe is read from bottom left, oldest, to top right, youngest).

Williams Plain dominates the assemblage in both percentage and frequency (Figures 10 to 11), but the frequency data removes the inflation seen in the initial adoption of pottery technology (the presence of only *Williams Plain* pottery). This can be seen especially well in levels 4 though 6 where *Williams Plain* represents 100% of the assemblage but is only represented by one, eight and one sherd respectively. It is interesting to note that *LeFlore Plain* appears to be earlier that *Williams Boneware*. The Indeterminate Decorated could represent the initial influence of Coles Creek (a hallmark of the Late Woodland cultural period, Evans phase as per Brown 1971) but the sherds were too small to definitively identify. The single sherd located in level five likely represents a disturbed context.

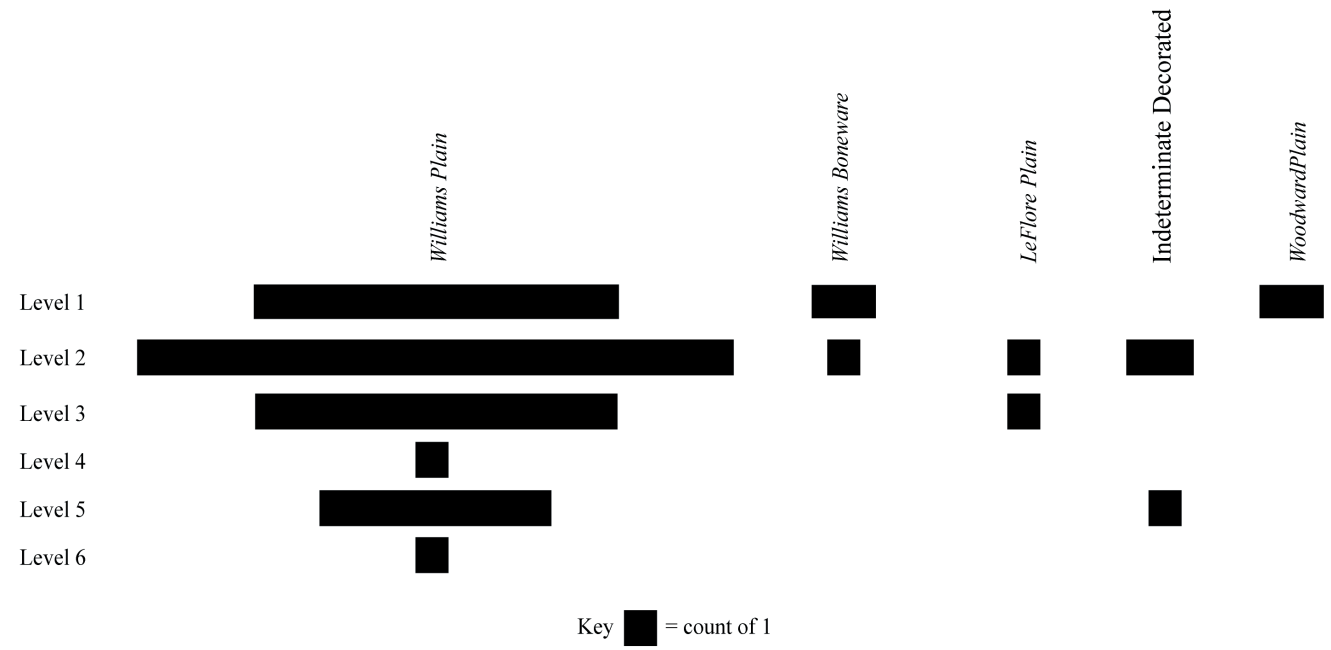

Figure 10. Battleship Graph of Williams I Pottery Percentages by Type.

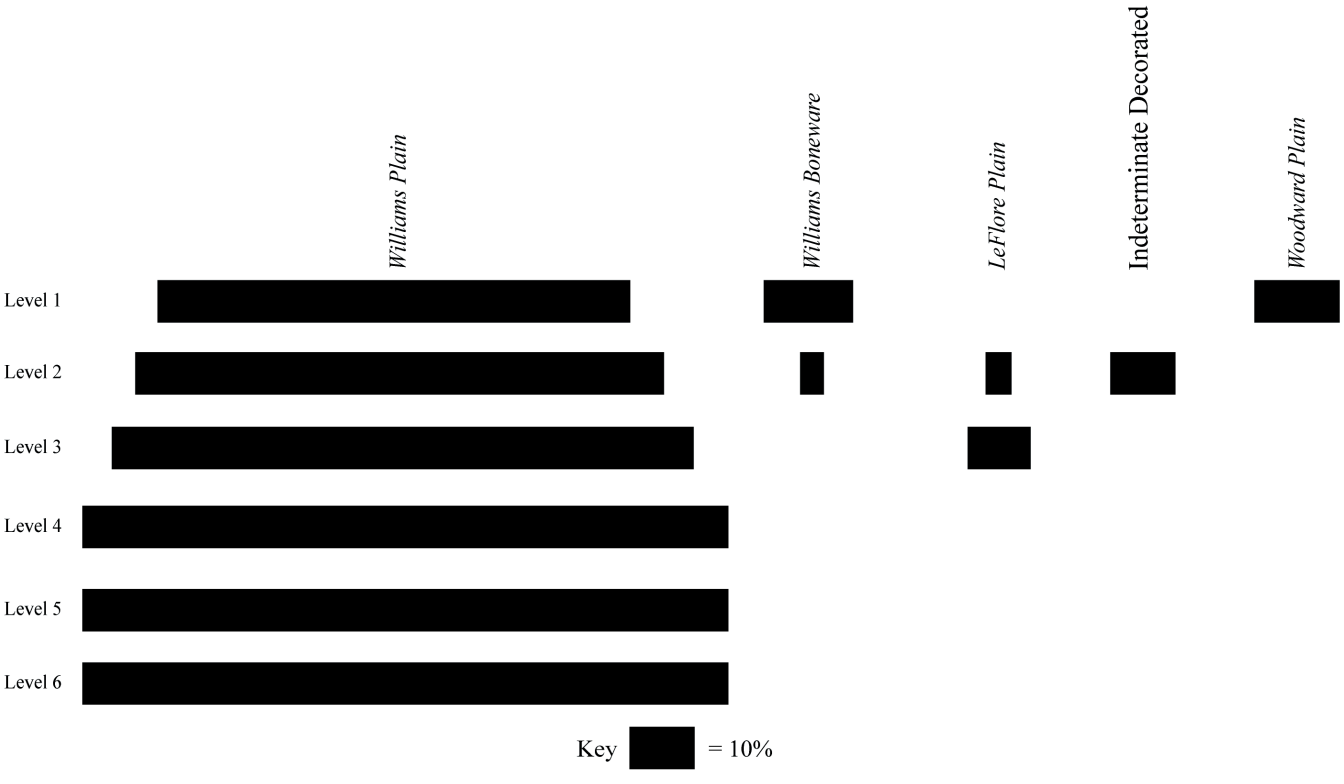

Figure 11. Battleship Graph of the Williams I Pottery Frequency by Type.

The pottery distributions suggest four temporal breaks. First, Level 6 represents the initial appearance of pottery technology, thus identifying an Early Woodland period. Second, *LeFlore Plain* pottery represents an addition of a new pottery technology at Level 3. *Williams Boneware* represents a second Middle Woodland division at Level 2, and finally the addition of *Woodward Plain* in level 1 identifies a technological change associated with the Late Woodland cultural period.

The chipped-stone axe/hoe category was also seriated but the results did not indicate a strong seriation. However, plotting of a Fordian battleship graph for the chipped-stone axe/hoes suggests some temporal significance. The potential problems with the seriation is likely tied to the fact that there are only two types, but the correspondence analysis does indicate two clusters with the stemmed hoes clustering with the deeper (older) levels and the double-bitted axe/hoes clustering with the upper (younger) levels (Figure 12).

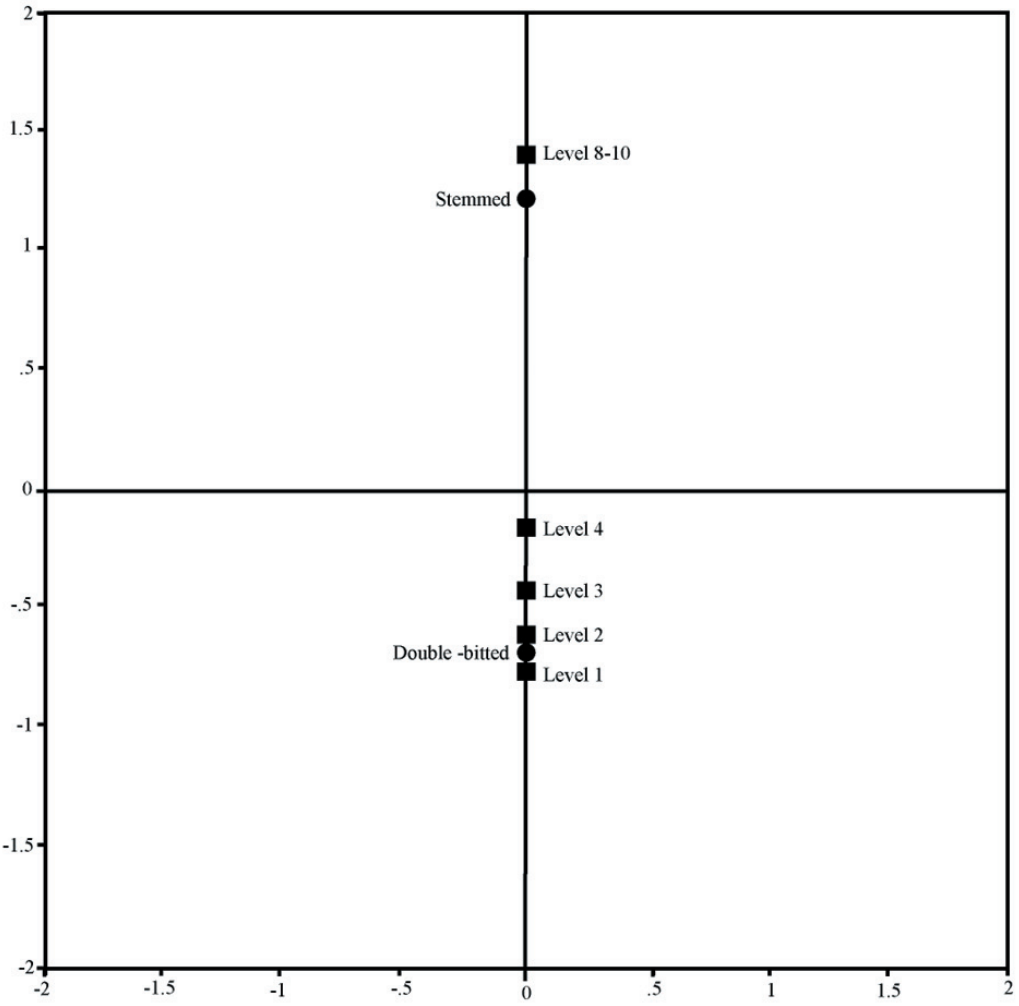

Figure 12. Williams I Axe/Hoe Correspondence Analysis Results Indicating Clustering.

The entire chipped-stone axe/hoe assemblage from the Williams I site (minus the surface and burial units) was analyzed. There appears to be a cultural preference for stemmed hoes during the Late Archaic cultural period. The appearance of double-bit axe/hoes corresponds to the Woodland period (beginning at Level 6) (Figure 13). The double-bitted axe/hoe in level 12 is likely due to mixing from intrusive burials.

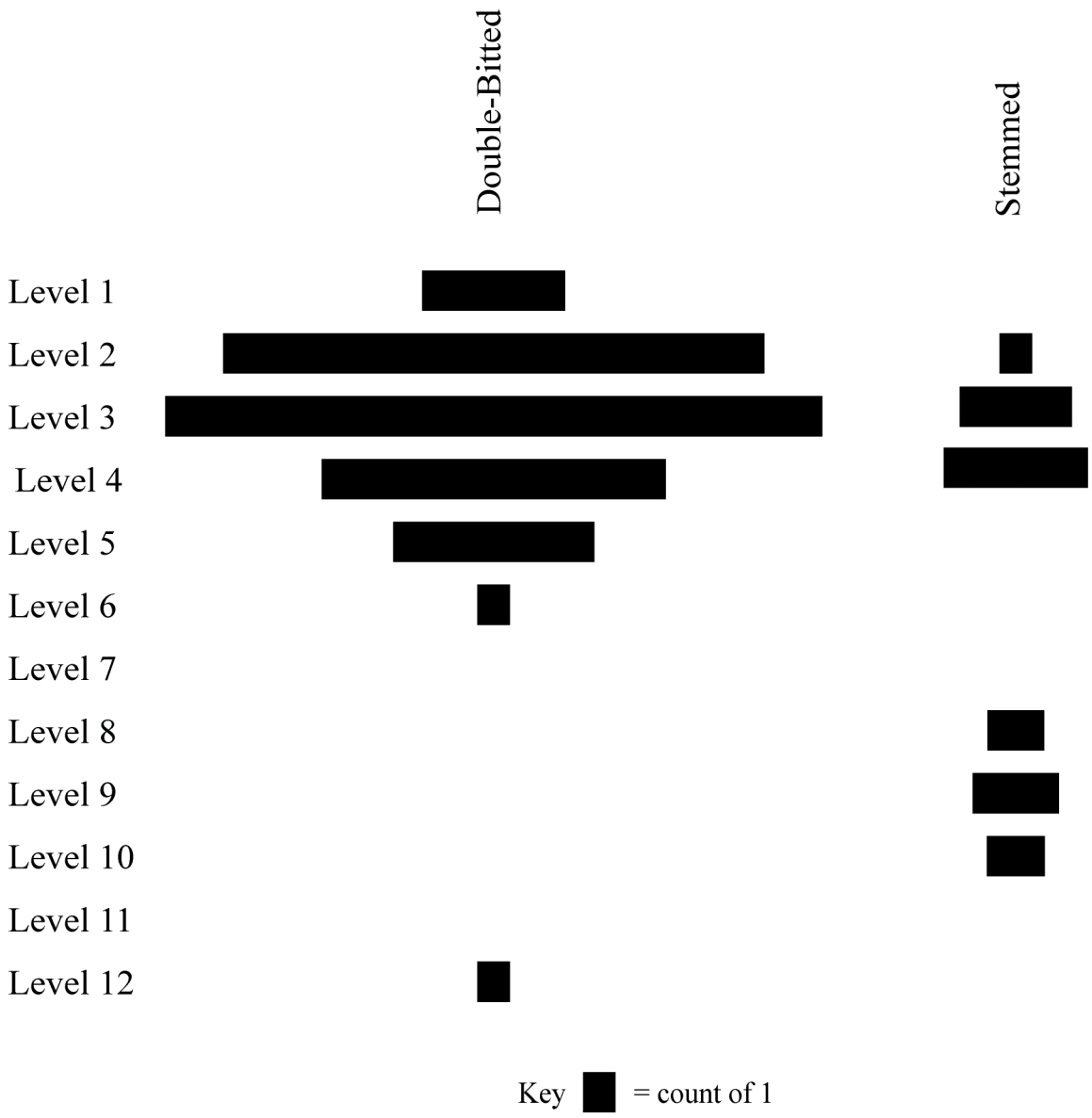

Figure 13. Battleship Graph of the Williams I Chipped-Stone Axe/Hoe Frequency by Class.

Stemmed hoes are also present along side the double-bit variety into the Late Woodland period. These findings are interesting when compared to Galm's (1984) definition of the Wister and Fourche Maline phases. He does not describe the Wister phase people as using hoes and limits the double-bit variety to the Fourche Maline phase. The association of stemmed hoes with the Wister phase may indicate some degree of garden tending during the Late Archaic cultural period.

When all of the artifact types are viewed together several technological switches or changes are noted that may be good clues for dividing the traditional Fourche Maline phase (Figure 14). The results indicate five intervals of occupation at the site, four of these appear to be associated with the Woodland period, and one with the Late Archaic. The uppermost level (Level 1) appears to be associated with a Late Woodland (Evans phase) occupation as indicated by the presence of shell-tempered (*Woodward Plain*) vessels.

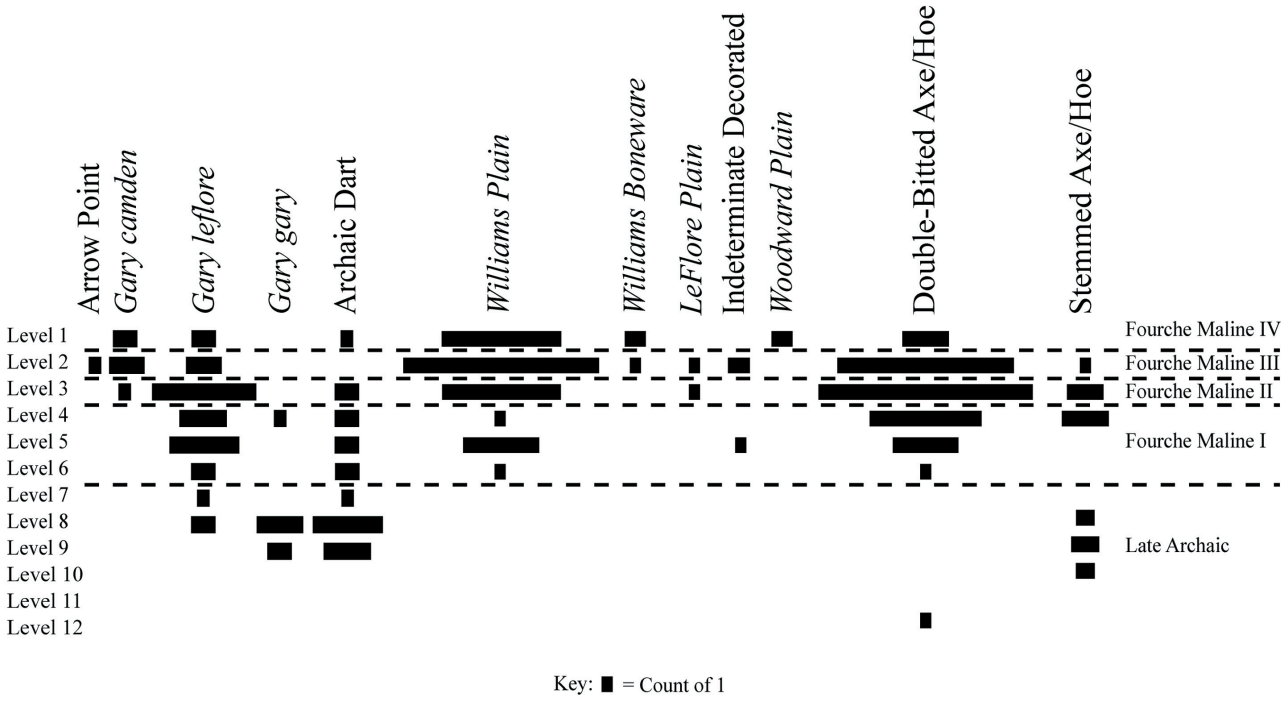

Figure 14. Battleship Graph of the Entire Williams I Seriation Assemblage Frequency by Class.

The presence of arrow points, the initial appearance of *Williams Boneware*, and the Indeterminate Decorated pottery identifies a second Woodland occupation (Level 2) associated with the later part of Galm's (1984) Fourche Maline phase. Basically there is a shift in hunting technology associated with the bow and arrow, and apparent influences from the Lower Mississippi Valley (Coles Creek) culture as witnessed by the decorated sherds.

A third Woodland occupation is identified at Level 3, where *Gary camden* points and the initial use of *LeFlore Plain* pottery appear. A fairly long Early Woodland occupation (Levels 4 through 6) is identified based on the adoption of *Williams Plain* pottery, an increase in the use of *Gary leflore* points, and the initial use of double-bitted axes/hoes. Finally, the earliest occupation at the Williams I site is non-ceramic Late Archaic (Wister phase). The artifacts associated with this occupation are *Gary gary* points, several varieties of notched and stemmed dart points, the use of stemmed hoes, and the lack of pottery.

In order to test the findings from the initial seriation, two other groups of units were selected, one from the east central portion of the Williams I midden mound and one from the western portion of the mound for supplemental seriations (see Figure 1). Again units without burials were selected to avoid possible mixing of artifacts. The findings from these units closely mirror the initial seriation (Figure 15).

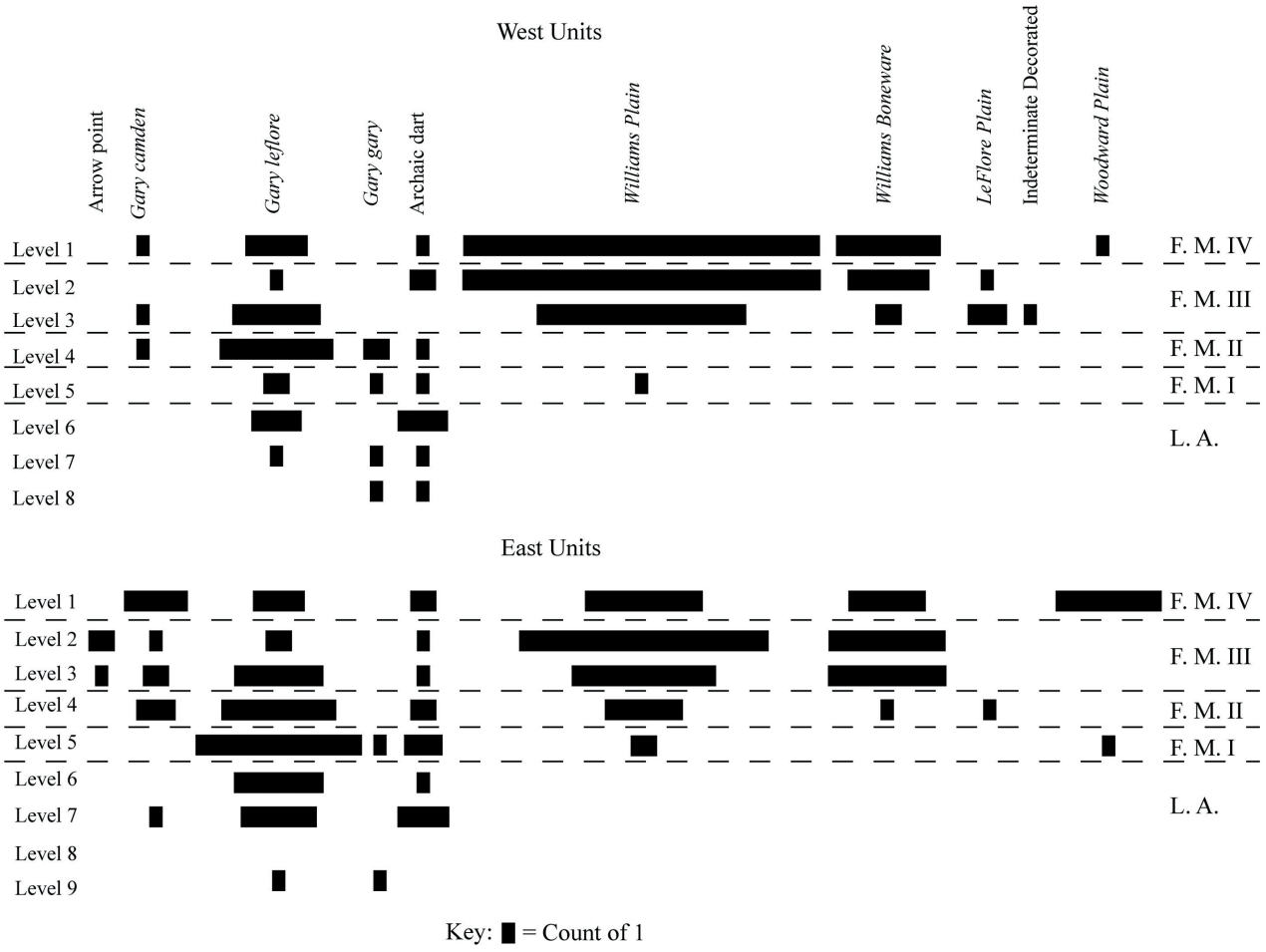

Figure 15. Battleship Graphs of the Alternate Seriations from the Williams I Site.

The difference in the thicknesses of the occupation levels in the second seriation is likely tied to the contour of the midden-mound as units near the center are close to one foot higher in elevation than units located closer to the edge of the mound. However, this being said the artifact distributions looked similar. The Late Woodland occupation was limited to the upper six inches. Below this was a second Woodland occupation was identified by the presence of arrow points, *Williams Boneware*, and the Indeterminate Decorated wares. This occupation appears to be six inches thicker than the initial seriation from the center of the midden mound, but again this is likely due to the contour of the mound.

Below this is a third, thin, Woodland occupation identified by the presence of *Gary camden* and *LeFlore Plain*. The Early Woodland/Late Archaic boundary identified with the initial use of pottery is between Levels 5 and 6, indicating that the Early Woodland occupation debris was concentrated more toward the center of the mound where it is close to 18 in (46 cm) thick. Finally the levels below this are Late Archaic (Wister phase).

A strong correlation appears between the seriations with the occupations thicknesses varying slightly as one progress from the center of the midden out to the edges. These findings are slightly at odds with Irvine's (1980) occupation horizons from the Williams I site. Based on her pottery analysis Levels 1 through 3 were Mississippian, Level 4 was Late Woodland (Evans phase), Levels 5 and 6 were Fourche Maline phase and below

Level 6 the cultural horizon was associated with the Wister phase. The problem with Irvine's (1980) chronology is that the decorated sherds from Williams I represents only 3% of the entire pottery assemblage at the site, and 79% of these decorated sherds are likely affiliated with Woodland cultural period variety (*Willaims Incised*). This indicates that Irvine's (1980) identification of a Mississippian occupation is not well supported and strengthens the argument for identifying the upper 18 in (46 cm) as Woodland rather than a Mississippian component. Redefining Irvine's (1980) Mississippian as Woodland corresponds well with the seriation conducted here.

Discussion

The seriation results indicate that changes in material culture can be used as temporal markers to divide the roughly 2,400 year Arkansas Valley Formative Caddoan into more manageable and reasonable phases than Galm's (1984) two phase (Wister and Fourche Maline) scheme. Galm (1984:215) noted that his phases were long lasting (~1,200 years each) and in the future could and should be refined into smaller units. I am interested in the dynamics of the Woodland period and will not focus on the Wister phase other than to say there are continuities between the Late Archaic and Woodland people and that stemmed hoes need to be added to the material culture list and finally, that *Gary gary* points are solely Late Archaic.

Following Galm (1984:215), the seriations indicate that there are adequate changes in material culture to break the Woodland period into four sub-periods (Fourche Maline I through IV) (Table 3).

Table 3. Revised Oklahoma Fourche Maline Chronology.

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>Oklahoma</th><th>Arkansas (Arkoma Basin)</th><th>Arkansas (Misissippi Alluvial Plain)</th><th>Texas (Gulf Coastal Plain)</th></tr>
<tr><th>Time Period</th><th>Period</th><th>Period</th><th>Period</th><th>Period</th></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.1700</td><td rowspan="7">Caddoan</td><td rowspan="7">Caddo</td><td rowspan="7">Mississippian</td><td rowspan="6">Caddoan</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.1600</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.1500</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.1400</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.1300</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.1200</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.1100</td><td rowspan="2">Formative Caddoan</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.1000</td><td rowspan="2">Fourche Maline IV</td><td rowspan="2">Caddo/Gober Complex</td><td>Coles Creek</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.900</td><td rowspan="3">Plumb Bayou/Coles Creek</td><td rowspan="3">Late Fourche Maline</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.800</td><td rowspan="3">Fourche Maline III</td><td rowspan="3">Late Fourche Maline/Gober complex</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.700</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.600</td><td rowspan="3">Plumb Bayou/Baytown</td><td rowspan="5">Middle Fourche Maline</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.500</td><td rowspan="3">Fourche Maline II</td><td rowspan="3">Middle Fourche Maline/Gober complex</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.400</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.300</td><td>Marksville</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D.1</td><td rowspan="3">Fourche Maline I</td><td rowspan="2">Middle Fourche Maline</td><td rowspan="3">Tchefuncte</td></tr>
<tr><td>100 B.C.</td></tr>
<tr><td>300 B.C.</td><td rowspan="2">Early Fourche Maline</td><td rowspan="2">Early Fourche Maline</td></tr>
<tr><td>B.C. 300+</td></tr>
</table>

The material culture identifying the Early Woodland (Fourche Maline I) is the adoption of pottery technology (mostly *Williams Plain,* with some *Williams Incised*), the presence of only *Gary leflore* for the large contracting stem biface type, and the shift to double-bitted axe/hoes. Fourche Maline II incorporates a development of a dart/arrow transitional point type (*Gary camden*), the continued use of *Gary leflore* (likely as knives and dart points), continued use of double-bitted axes/hoes, and the addition of the grog/grit tempered (*LeFlore Plain*) to the pottery assemblage. Fourche Maline III is associated with the adoption of bow and arrow technology (as seen in the presence of small corner-notched arrow points), the continued presence of *Williams Plain* and *LeFlore Plain* with the addition of *Williams Boneware* pottery, and again, the use of double-bitted axes/hoes. Finally, the Late Woodland (Fourche Maline IV) is identified by an increase in decorated pottery, the appearance of shell tempered (*Woodward Plain*) as well as an increase in various arrow point forms. It should also be noted that there are stemmed hoes present in some of the Woodland cultural horizons but at a much lower frequency than the double-bitted axe/hoes. Archaic (stemmed and notched) dart points are also present through all the Woodland occupations in very low frequencies (1 to 2). These may represent either some degree of mixing in the units examined, heirloom/interesting finds, or both.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper addresses the origin and problems with the traditional concept of Fourche Maline and whether there are changes in material culture that could allow us to refine the chronology. The answer to this question based on the examination of one thoroughly excavated site is yes. The identification of temporally sensitive material culture types allow a refinement of the chronology for the Fourche Maline drainage and will help in refining the chronology in other drainages. Also an understanding of the material culture changes over time will help to identify occupations from the many Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian surface collections in Oklahoma. The refinement of the chronology is crucial to testing the hypothesis that Fourche Maline represents transegalitarian, complex hunter-gatherer-horticulturalists, because it prevents mistaking temporal changes as cultural changes. This will allow better finer-grained resolution of cultural changes, such as subsistence, over time.

This research represents much needed rethinking about the Fourche Maline culture in Oklahoma. The results of this study bring Oklahoma's view of Fourche Maline into line with the surrounding states (Table 4). This is important, because it will facilitate transfer of information and ideas as it clarifies or removes problematic terminology and jargon.

Table 4. Revised Fourche Maline Chronology in Comparison to Surrounding States.

<table>
<tr><th>Time Period</th><th>Phase</th><th>Period</th><th>Culture</th></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 1700</td><td rowspan="3">Ft. Coffee phase</td><td rowspan="6">Mississippian</td><td rowspan="6">Caddoan Culture</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 1600</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 1500</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 1400</td><td rowspan="2">Spiro phase</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 1300</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 1200</td><td rowspan="2">Harlan phase</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 1100</td><td rowspan="11">Woodland</td><td rowspan="2">Fourche Maline IV</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 1000</td><td rowspan="2">Evans phase</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 900</td><td rowspan="4">Fourche Maline III</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 800</td><td rowspan="3">Akers phase</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 700</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 600</td><td rowspan="4">Fourche Maline II</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 500</td><td rowspan="3">Scott phase</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 400</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 300</td><td rowspan="3">Fourche Maline I</td></tr>
<tr><td>A.D. 1</td><td rowspan="2">Williams phase</td></tr>
<tr><td>300 B.C.</td></tr>
<tr><td>1,500-300 B.C.</td><td>Wister Phase</td><td>Late Archaic</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Fourche Maline in Oklahoma is now identified as a wholly Woodland period culture as it is in neighboring states. It elevates the term Fourche Maline in Oklahoma from a phase designator to a cultural or tradition level as it is used in neighboring states. The removal of Fourche Maline as a phase name allows future development of drainage specific designators as Willey and Phillips (1958) originally intended. The former Fourche Maline phase that was more a sub-period has been divided into three phases lasting more reasonable amounts of time. These divisions were based on chronologically sensitive material culture changes. Along with splitting Fourche Maline phase, I have proposed the revival of the Evans Phase as representing Late Woodland period occupations. I believe that the Evans phase has applicability and allows for a more smooth transition between the Fourche Maline and Caddoan Mississippian traditions.

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Burned Rock Mounds in North-Central and Northeastern Oklahoma

Robert L. Brooks

Abstract

Burned rock mounds have been identified in Oklahoma since the early twentieth century. The Oklahoma River Basin Survey pioneered the study of these features of the cultural landscape in the 1960s-1970s; however, little research has taken place since that time. This paper reports on the history of research pertaining to burned rock mound features, examines their distribution on the cultural landscape and their construction, analyzes the artifact content of the mounds, and presents some thoughts on the purpose of mound construction and use.

Introduction

Burned rock mounds are a distinctive feature for the prehistoric cultural landscapes of north-central and northeastern Oklahoma (Figure 1). Significant volumes of burned rock are present as slightly mounded circumscribed areas on the natural landscape. Typically, these features are oval to round in shape and cover an area that averages approximately 20 meters in diameter. The mounded effect from the loading of burned rock creates a slight rise on the natural landscape, generally less than a meter in height. Burned rock mounds present in wooded areas would be would prove difficult to identify. To the casual observer, the mound illustrated in Figure 2 might be perceived as naturally occurring and not receive further attention. But, these are constructed features of the cultural landscape.

Figure 1. D Bar D burned rock mound (34WN65) illustrating slight rise on natural landscape (main mound is to right of excavations.)

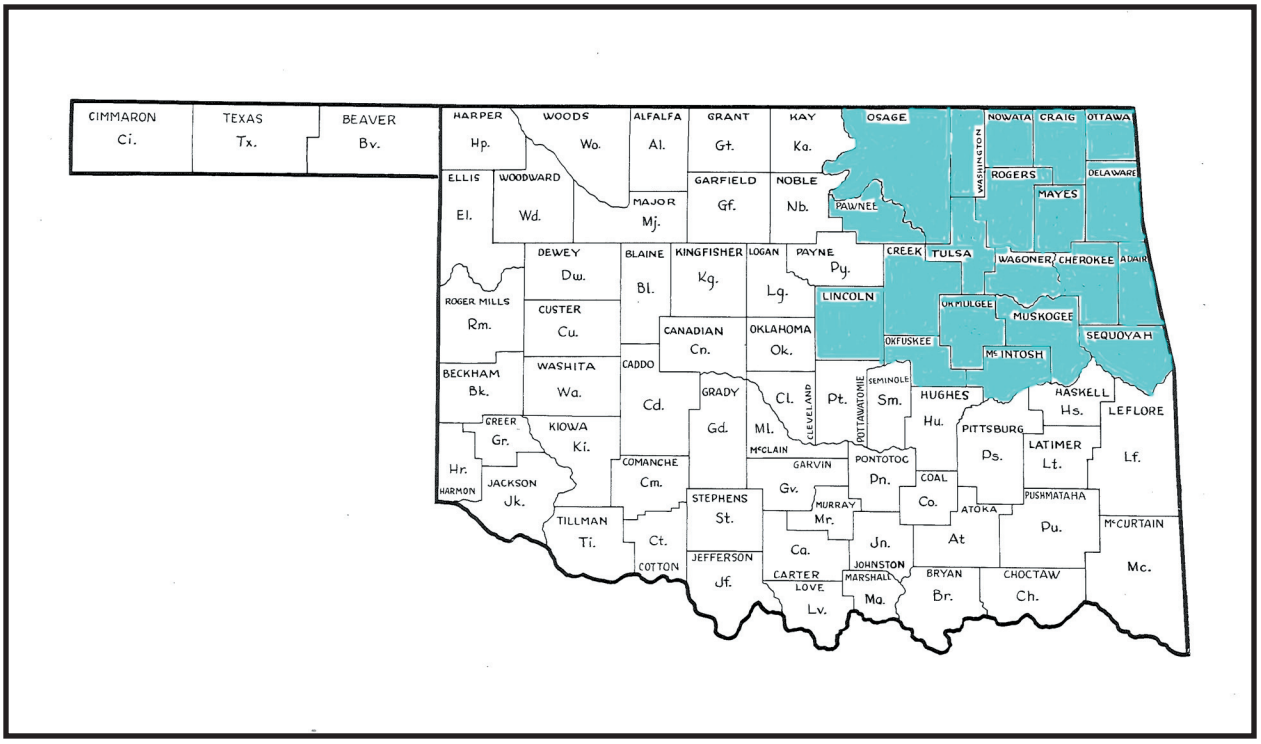

Figure 2. Occurrence of burned rock ounds in northicentral and northeastern Oklahoma.

These features of the built environment are also frequently confused with naturally occurring prairie or mima mounds that occur within the same geographic area (Allgood and Gray 1974; Branson 1966; Cain 1974). Prairie or mima mounds present a similar surface expression of a slightly mounded, circumscribed area. The principal difference is in the mound content. Prairie mounds exhibit a natural sequence of soil development with no evidence of culturally derived construction, especially the large volume of burned rock. However, prehistoric groups sometimes resided on prairie mounds, leaving behind debris that masks the natural origin of the mounded surface, complicate the identification of natural mounds. In other instances, hearths are prepared and used on naturally occurring mound surfaces. Prehistoric societies have further added to the confusion by constructing their rock mound features amid naturally occurring prairie mounds (which they also used). Thus, caution needs to be exercised in defining burned rock mound features and sites.

One other noteworthy introductory point should be made concerning the burned rock mounds of north-central and northeastern Oklahoma. They do not represent burial cairns or burial mounds. Burial cairns and burned rock mounds with burials are found in southeastern Kansas and southwestern Missouri (cf., Hawley 2003; Jones 1999; Williams 1988; Chapman 1980). These mounds are frequently constructed of stone slabs or irregularly shaped stone and hold burned/unburned human bone; they reflect a specialized mortuary practice for these areas. To date, none of the investigated burned rock mounds in Oklahoma have yielded human remains or evidence to suggest that they were part of a prepared burial ritual. There is one mound in Osage County that contains burned rock and also burials (34OS99; Howard 1970). However, there are significant differences in the construction of this mound compared to the burned rock mounds addressed in this analysis. The mound excavated by Howard also dates to the late prehistoric period whereas the burned rock mound features discussed here are somewhat earlier, dating to the Woodland period.

Following sections of this paper present the history of burned rock mound research; discuss the distribution and characteristics of burned rock mounds; the chronology and cultural affiliation of the mounds; and function of the mounds as derived from analysis of mound content. Final comments examine the purpose of burned rock mounds within the practices of prehistoric societies of north-central and northeastern Oklahoma.

History of Burnt Rock Mound Research

Joseph Thoburn appears to be the first researcher to mention rock mounds (Thoburn 1931). Thoburn also recognized that some of the slightly mounded expressions on the land were natural features rather than cultural ones. However, his work generated considerable confusion as he often failed to clarify in his writing whether he was detailing characteristics of earthen mounds (which he excavated in McIntosh, Delaware, and Le Flore counties), burned rock mounds, or the natural prairie mounds that prehistoric people had occupied. In many of his studies, he describes these mounds as "earth lodges", although as revealed in Thoburn's discussion of work at the Ward Mounds at Spiro (Thoburn 1931: 64), this term should be reserved for his discussion of built earthen mounds.

Despite Thoburn's earlier recognition of rock mounds and their own work at the black midden mounds of the Wister Valley, WPA-era archaeologists did not identify burned rock mounds during their investigations in eastern Oklahoma. This is also true of the early surveys conducted for proposed lakes in eastern Oklahoma (Keystone, Tenkiller, Eufaula, and Fort Gibson) sponsored by the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma (Brighton 1952; Wenner 1947a, 1947b, and 1948).

The first extensive documentation and study of burned rock mounds took place during Oklahoma River Basin Survey and later investigations throughout northeastern Oklahoma in the 1960s and 1970s. Survey of the Markham Ferry Reservoir in the early 1960s resulted in the identification of 10 burned rock mound sites (Wyckoff, Robison, and Barr 1963; Wyckoff and Barr 1964; Barr 1966). Multiple mounds at four of these sites were ultimately excavated: Packard Mound (34MY69), Bell (34MY78), Sparks Mound (34MY88), and Satterfield Mounds (34MY91).

A study of the Arkansas River Navigation System (Barr 1965) and Webbers Falls Lock and Dam (Schneider 1967) in Wagoner and Muskogee counties resulted in the documentation of nine sites exhibiting burned rock mound features. Schneider (1967) subsequently tested the Bogus Mounds (34WG18) and Wendtland Mounds. This work revealed the Wendtland Mounds to be natural features, thus providing archaeological evidence for the distinction between built and naturally occurring mounds. A few sites with burned rock mounds were also identified during surveys of Oologah Reservoir in Nowata and Rogers counties (Prewitt 1968; Nichols et al. 1980) and Skiatook Reservoir in Osage County (Perino 1972).

The most extensive study of burned rock mounds was carried out during the Copan Lake Project. Twenty-five sites containing multiple burned rock mounds were identified during the initial survey and subsequent investigations (Rohn and Smith 1972; Vaughn 1975; and Vehik and Pailes 1979). Multiple mounds at eight of the burned rock mound sites were subsequently investigated (34WN2, 34WN38, 34WN41, 34WN45, 34WN55, 34WN65, 34WN73, and 34WN82). As in the case of work at Markham Ferry Reservoir, human constructed mounds were frequently interspersed with naturally occurring prairie mounds and provided archaeologists further opportunities to distinguish between these cultural and natural landscape features. Data derived from work by Vaughn (1975) and Vehik and Pailes (1979) provided additional details on the construction of the burned rock features as well as mound content.

Since the 1970s there has been less attention devoted to burned rock mound features. The most substantial work took place at two burned rock mounds in Okfuskee County (34OF38 and 34OF39) initially recorded during a survey of Impoundment B-2 in the Okfuskee County Tributaries Watershed (Wallis 1979). Excavations at these two sites by Rain Vehik (1980) represent the most extensive investigations of burned rock mounds since those undertaken at the previously discussed Copan Reservoir. Three sites with burned rock mound features were also documented during a survey of the Bird Creek Basin in Rogers, Tulsa, and Osage counties (Drass 1985) and the Upper Pryor Creek watershed in Nowata County (Harden 1977). During the past 20 years, there have a been a few additional burned rock mounds recorded as a result of work associated with federally funded or permitted activities (c.f., Henry 2008a, 2008b).

Distribution and Presentation on the Landscape

There are approximately 100 sites scattered across 13 counties that contain some 264 burned rock mound features. However, these numbers represent approximations. As noted in the introduction, burned rock mounds are rather ephemeral expressions on the landscape and may go undetected even by archaeologists. Additionally, much of northeastern Oklahoma was cleared for cultivation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; this also contributed to the leveling of many burned rock mounds. These leveled mounds exist in the site files today as broadly disbursed scatters of burned rock. It is also difficult to accurately count the number of burned rock mound features at a given site due to their being constructed amid naturally occurring prairie mounds. For example, investigations at sites with multiple mound features in Copan Reservoir found some of the mounds to be constructed whereas others were natural occurring mounds (Vaughn 1975; Vehik and Pailes 1979). The Wendtland mounds excavated by Schneider (1967) in Wagoner County were also found to be prairie mounds. There are undoubtedly more burned rock mound features than currently recorded in the archaeological site files. But, it is also likely that at least some of the mounds thought to be constructed, are in fact, features of the natural landscape.

Burned rock mounds are also not randomly distributed on the natural landscape. They tend to be found along major streams and rivers (Figure 3). However, these features are not typically found on the stream terraces but on higher terraces or dissected uplands/bluffs that parallel the valley systems. A number of burned rock mounds were recorded by avocational archaeologists or by professionals who were working without detailed maps. This has impeded a full characterization of the placement of these sites within specific eco-regions or habitat types. However, it appears that many of the burned rock mound sites are found on the Cherokee Prairie or upland prairies of the Springfield and Ozark plateaus. This has led archaeologists studying the mounds to associate them with an upland prairie adaptation (e.g., Vehik and Pailes 1979).

There appears to be some clustering to the distribution of burned rock mounds as presented in the ARCGIS derived view (Figure 3). But, this may be a function of survey bias in earlier studies, particularly those of the Oklahoma River Basin, where comprehensive survey of the reservoirs could not be undertaken due to time and budget considerations.

As noted earlier, some sites contain multiple burned rock mound features. While some of the mounds at multiple mound sites may be naturally occurring features, previous research also documented the occurrence of multiple built mounds at numerous sites (c.f., Vaughn 1975 and Wyckoff and Barr 1964). The number of burned rock mound features per site was calculated, with the realization that the frequency would be disproportionally skewed in favor of multiple mound sites. Despite this skewing effect, 60 percent of the sites contain only a single burned rock mound feature. Twenty percent contain two to four mounds, roughly 12 percent hold five to nine mounds, and five percent have greater than 10 burned rock mound features (Figure 4). The sites containing greater than 10 burned rock mounds should be viewed with some skepticism although professional archaeologists reported most of these. It is unclear whether the presence of numerous burned rock mounds at a site reflects contemporaneous use of multiple features or that the mounds represent repeated sequences of use at the site locale.

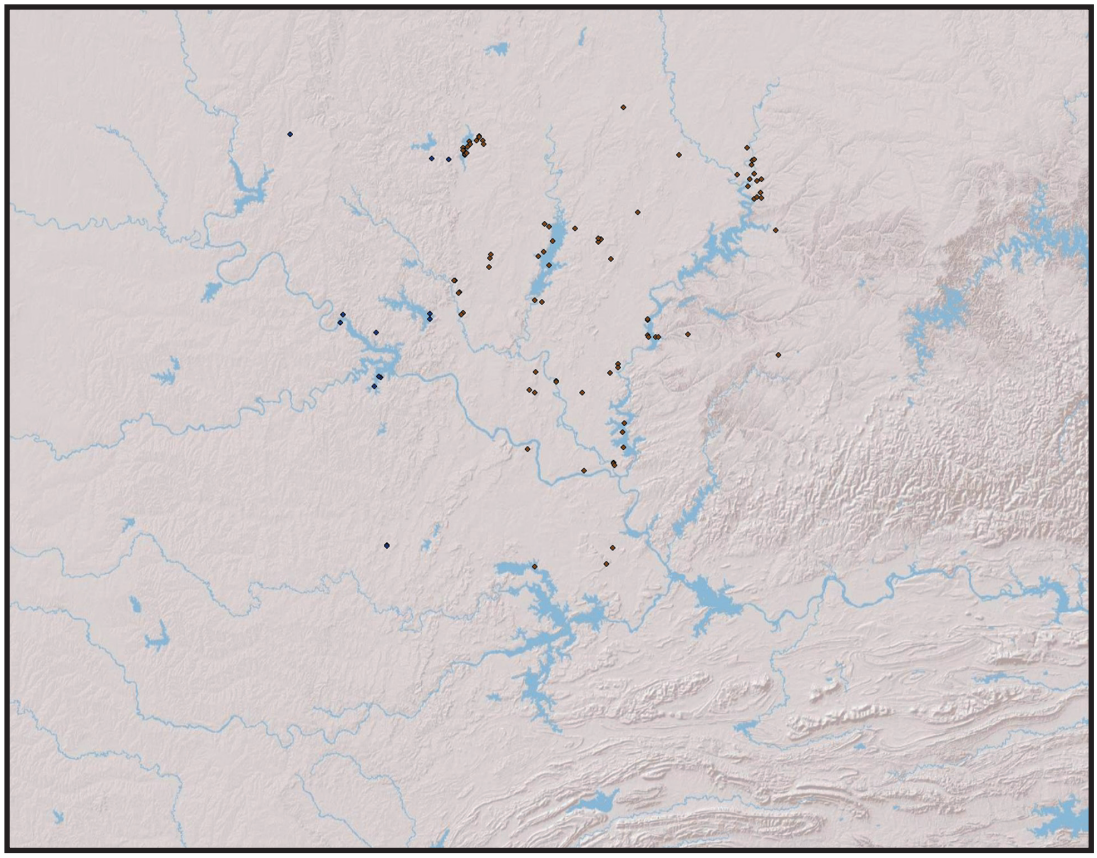

Figure 3. ARCGIS view of distrubution for burned rock mound sites in north-central and northestern Oklahaoma. Clusters may reflect aggreof burned rock mounds or simply reflect areas receiving greater research attention.

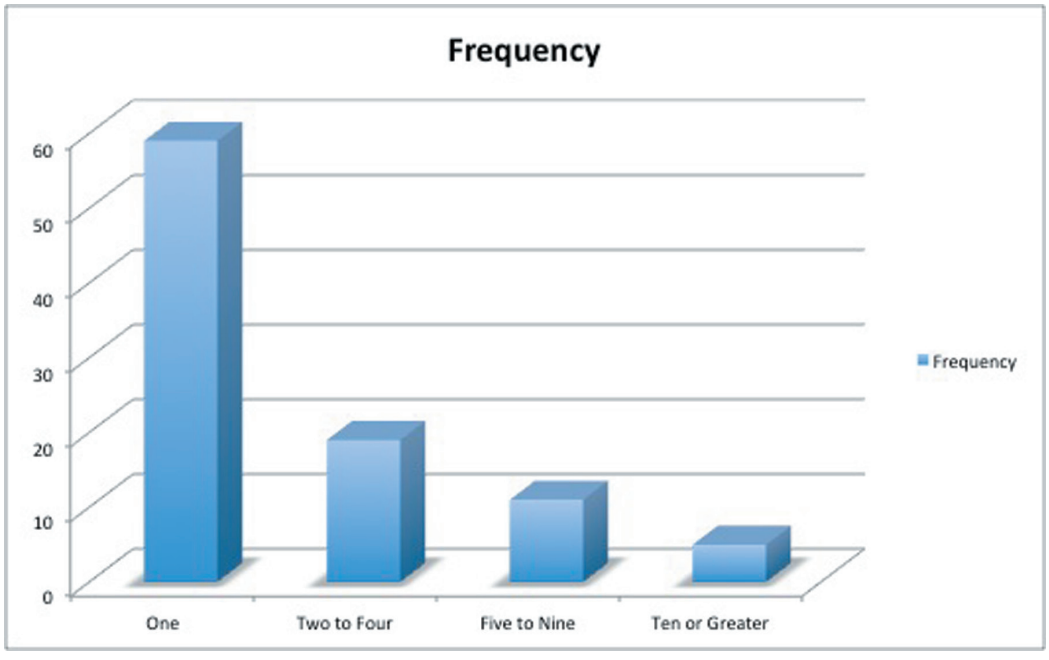

Figure 4. Histogram of number of burned rock mound features per site.

The dimensions of burned rock mounds in respect to diameter and height were also examined. It was initially assumed that a larger mound footprint might result in greater mound height. Alternatively, a larger circumscribed area might result in a less mantled surface (based on the assumption that mounds spread over a greater surface area might result in some deflation in height). Conversely, a smaller footprint could also result in a more elevated surface area. However, a regression analysis of height and diameter demonstrated no linear relationship (Figure 5). There are undoubtedly factors that influenced mound dimensions at the time of construction and also modern events that contributed to mound height and diameter (e.g., land clearing, cultivation, etc.). Or, a combination of prehistoric events and modern circumstances may be responsible for current dimensions of burned rock mounds.

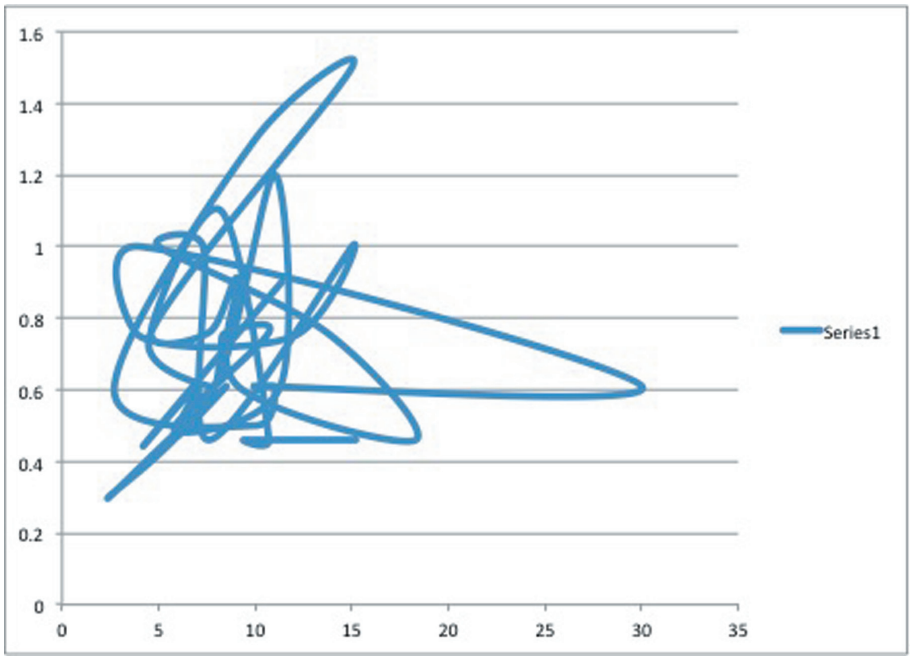

Figure 4. Histogram of number of burned rock mound features per site.

Construction of Burned Rock Mounds

Archaeologists have fairly good insights into the process of burned rock mound construction. This information comes from excavations at the Satterfield Mounds and Sparks Mounds (34MY91 and 34MY88; Wyckoff and Barr 1964), D Bar D Mounds (34WN65; Vaughn 1975), and Copperhead Mounds (34WN45; Vehik and Pailes 1979). Prehistoric inhabitants sometimes excavated the base of the mound to below ground surface. This is expressed not as a pit-like area but more as a shallow depression. Regardless of whether there is a sub-surface depression, the next phase involves the excavation of a hearth that is often centrally placed within the mound (Figures 6 and 7). In a few cases such as that at Mound 6 at the Copperhead Mounds and Mound A at the Satterfield Mounds, there are multiple hearths that may have been centrally located at the time of their use (or not!). The hearths are typically some two meters in diameter and range from 30 to 60 cm in depth. They may also extend below the depth of the shallow sub-surface of the mound. At the base/surface of the mound, there is sometimes a layer of gravel or chert clasts. It is unclear whether the hearth is dug through this layer or the gravels are distributed around the hearth (or perhaps both situations may exist). Archaeologists not familiar with the process of burned rock mound construction have argued that these gravel layers attest to the mounds' natural origin. However, Vaughn (1975) has convincingly demonstrated in the case of Mound D at the D Bar D mounds (34WN65) that stream gravels were transported to an upland bluff location where they were intentionally placed as the base layer in the mound. Following use and subsequent abandonment of the hearth, the

hearth and surrounding surface area is buried under large quantities of burned rock. Regrettably, none of the studies attempted to quantify the volume of burned rock present at most mounds. However, from photos of mound profiles, such as that from Mound 7, 34WN38, sizeable quantities of stone are involved (Figure 8). It is also clear from the mantling of the rock that this is a designed effort rather than the random discard of burned rock refuse. As Wyckoff and Barr (1964) and Vehik and Pailes (1979) have observed, large quantities of burned rock are usually associated with earth ovens. But, it is questionable whether the hearths found in the mounds are of sufficient size and duration of use to generate the impressive loads of burned sandstone and limestone present as mantling on the mounds. There has been only limited work in examining off-mound areas to determine whether there are earth oven/cooking pits present. At Mound 3 of the D Bar D Mounds, large bedrock slabs are present, creating a level surface that the hearth has penetrated. Burned rock is mantled over the slabs (Figure 9). The function of this floor-like area is unknown. However, it is intriguing that a similar stone slab surface is present on the earthen Mound D at the Harlan site, an early Caddoan ceremonial center. But, in the case of the Harlan site, the stone has been transported to the house mound and incorporated into mound construction rather than naturally occurring at the mound location.

Figure 6. Centrally located hearth at the Sparks Mound (34MY88).

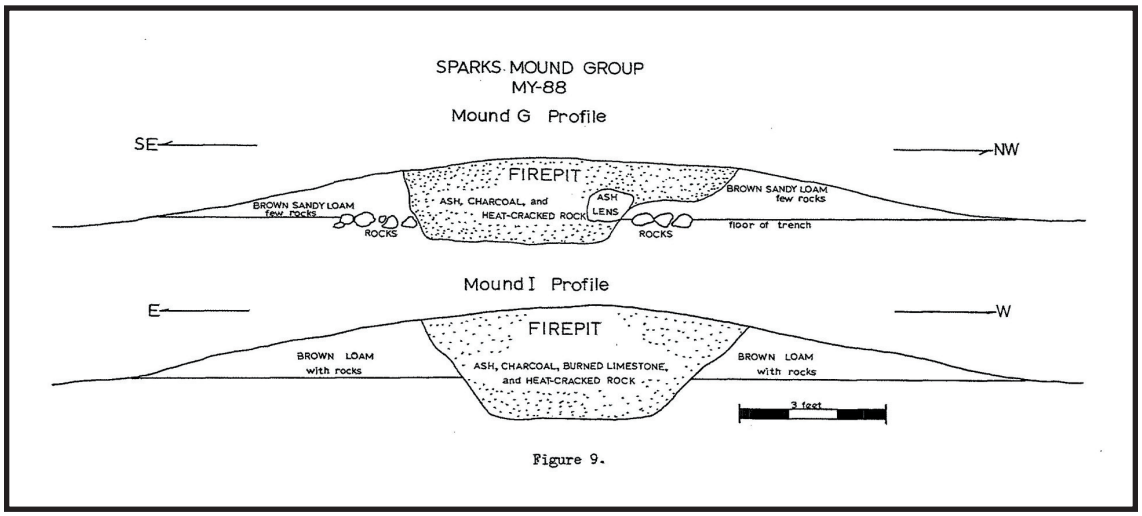

Figure 7. Profile of hearth, Sparks Mounds (34MY88).

Figure 8. Burned rock mantle at Mound 7, Quail Patch site (34WN38), Copan Reservoir.

Figure 9. Burned rock mantled over bedrock slab surface of Mound 3, D Bar D Mounds (34WN65), Copan Reservoir.

Age and Cultural Affiliation of Burned Rock Mounds

Despite the presence of hearths at a number of burned rock mounds, many of these do not contain sufficient quantities of charcoal for dating the time of mound use. This is true for other portions of the mounds as well. There are three valid radiocarbon dates from earlier work. Wyckoff's work (Wyckoff, Robinson, and Barr 1963) at the Packard Mounds (34MY69) yielded a date of 1475±125 B.P. (0-1925; Exploration Department and Geochemical Laboratory, Humble Oil and Refining) This presents an uncorrected date of A.D. 475. Wyckoff (1964) reports a date of 1440±170 B.P. (SM-765; Field Research Lab, Socony Mobil Oil Company) from the Satterfield Mounds (34MY88). This yielded an uncorrected age of A.D. 510. Vehik's somewhat later analysis of 34OF39 in Okfuskee County resulted in a radiocarbon date of 1266±60 B.P. (Beta-1403). A corrected date reported by Vehik (1980) on this sample was calculated at A.D. 690. All three dates point to an occupation during the middle of the Woodland period. The general age of the burned rock mound features is further collaborated by the recovery of spear point styles that can be comfortably associated with the Woodland period (Ellis, Edgewood, Yarborough, Williams, Marcos, and Lange).

Artifact Content

A striking characteristic of burned rock mounds is the relative paucity of artifact content. Some of the burned rock features and mound sites excavated by Wyckoff and Barr (1964), Wyckoff, Robinson, and Barr (1963), Schneider (1967), and Vaughn (1975) contain evidence of a hearth and substantial quantities of burned rock, but no culturally modified items. This is also true for Henry's (2008b) more recent work at 34RO351 in Rogers County. Other excavated or test burned rock mounds have yielded only flakes. It should be noted that there are a few exceptions. At least two of the mound sites at Copan Reservoir (34WN55 and 34WN65) studied by Vaughn (1975) have higher densities of spear points, bifaces, and unifaces than corresponding sites at Markham Ferry. Thirty-one sites have received some level of sub-surface investigation (shovel tests, test trenches, or more extensive excavations). This represent roughly a 30 percent sample of the recorded burned rock mound sites. It is unlikely that the paucity of artifact content is a function of sampling error/bias.

Because of the scarcity of artifacts, recovered cultural material from the burned rock features has been enumerated qualitatively rather than quantitatively. This is represented by the number of occurrences of various classes of artifacts present at investigated mound sites (Table 1). As noted above, flakes from tool manufacture and maintenance are the most frequently occurring artifact category found in burned rock mound features, being found at 93 percent (N-29) of the sites. Projectile points are found in 35 percent of the features and include side-notched, corner-notched, and stemmed styles. Grinding slabs/mutates, manos, and nutting stones are also found in 35 percent of the burned rock mounds. The ground stone at Copperhead Mounds appears to be cached or at least discarded in clusters within the mound (Vehik and Pailes 1979). Bedrock mortars occur adjacent to mounds at two sites in Rogers County and probably should be added to the number of sites with ground stone. Bifaces, including drills, double-bitted axes, and gravers are found at 10 sites (32%) and unifacial tools occur at eight of the 31 investigated sites. Faunal remains are relatively rare—found at only four (13%) of the burned rock mound sites. No plant remains were found during excavations at the studied sites, but this absence may be due, in part, to the absence of recovery techniques (e.g, flotation devices) that would have captured charred plant material. Non-utilitarian items such as ornaments or artifacts with social or religious association are limited to a single bone bead from 34OT14.

Table 1. Qualitative Presence of Artifacts Classes at Burned Rock Mound Site

Artifact Class/Category	Number of Sites Present	Percentage
Flakes	29	93
Projectile Points	11	35
Bifaces	10	32
Unifaces	8	26
Ground Stone	11	35
Faunal Remains	4	13
Other (Bone Bead)	1	3.2

The goods recovered during investigation of these sites appear to be unexceptional. None of the chipped or ground tool stone is of exotic origin. It should be noted that no ceramics were recovered from the burned rock mound features, although by the middle Woodland period, some ceramics would have been in use by native societies. There is also a noticeable absence of personal adornment items, the one occurrence being a bone bead found at a mound in Ottawa County.

Function of Burned Rock Mounds

As discussed earlier, the absence of human remains and goods that can be clearly identified as offerings do not support the mounds being used as markers for the dead. Thus, what was their function? Despite the considerable work on burned rock mounds during the 1960s and 1970s, there was not much deliberation on the purpose of the mounds. It was clearly recognized that the mounds involved food preparation as revealed by the presence of large, prepared, basin-shaped hearths and an abundance of burned rock (c.f., Wyckoff and Barr 1964; Vaughn 1975; and Vehik and Pailes 1979). However, the scarcity of plant and animal remains within the hearth areas and the mounds limited further interpretation.

There are some questions that merit attention in relation to the construction of the burned rock mound features. Why create these remarkably unpronounced mounds of burned rock? The large volumes of burned rock that are present could have been more broadly dispersed around the hearth areas, rather than concentrating the rock over the hearth area. It is also intriguing that at least some of the burned rock mounds were constructed on existing natural occurring prairie mounds. It seems as though there is a desire to build or use a mounded surface. Another issue is the selection of landscape settings for the construction of the burned rock mounds and their spatial separation from habitation areas. Most of the mounds are placed on higher terraces, dissected upland ridges, or bluffs overlooking valley systems. This suggests that elevation above the utilized landscape is a factor in placement of burned rock mounds. Perhaps this is to permit the fire from the hearth areas to be more visible to others? None of the research on burned rock mounds speaks of the mounds occurring within the existing boundaries of a habitation site (a camp or village). Why separate the feature from the normal use area of the residential community? Constructed features on the natural landscape, even those as subtle as burned rock mounds, are representative of shared group behavior likely tied to ritual and social identity (c.f. Bender 1993).

The chronological and economic context of burned rock mounds is instrumental to understanding the construction and use of burned rock mounds. In northeastern and north-central Oklahoma they occur during the middle Woodland period. The Woodland is a period of significant change for prehistoric societies. Innovations during the period include increasing sedentism, greater social complexity, widespread use of ceramics, the advent of the bow and arrow, and perhaps most importantly, domestication and harvesting of a suite of indigenous starchy seed plants (chenopodium/

amaranth, marsh elder, knotweed, sunflower, may grass, and others; (c.f., Brooks 2013). Cobb and Nassaney (2002) suggest that there was a transformation in human behavior that took place concurrently with plant domestication. This transformation affected perception of the natural world and action in the social world. Here, the landscape was no longer perceived as a natural world to be experienced but also as something that could be created, manipulated, and used. Transformation of the social world not only involved relationships with others (the beginnings of inequality) but also increasing practice of ritual that served to establish relationships with the supernatural, the otherworld.

Ritual feasting served as a mechanism to transmit meaning among the natural, social, and spiritual realms. To separate these ritual practices from the ordinary, daily life, they may have been segregated from the residential locus. This accounts for burned rock mounds' placement away from the village or camp. There may also have been intent to have these feasting locales serve as ritual markers on the landscape. This would explain the purposeful mantling of the burned rock to create mounded surface expressions. The burned rock mounds functioned not only to reinforce relationships with the supernatural but also to maintain a link with the natural landscape.

Feasting was also an important mechanism for defining social relationships and shared ritual practices (Dietler and Hayden 2001; Mills 2004). The absence of a more substantive material content at burned rock mounds hinders defining the nature of the feasting. But, the absence of status/prestige goods, and the presence of domestic items such as chipped and ground stone suggests that potential feasting at burned rock mounds was more tied to communal sharing tethered around group solidarity and perhaps ritual related to food production/acquisition than related to competitive feasting, which served to mark status differentiation.

Concluding Comments

Burned rock mounds represent an intriguing feature of the cultural landscape during Woodland times. This paper has served to summarize what is currently known about these features and to offer some possible explanations as to how they functioned in these societies. Regrettably, the absence of any extensive work on burned rock mounds since the 1970s seriously hinders interpretation. There remain significant questions to be addressed. Is the absence of plant remains from burned rock mounds a function of recovery bias (no use of flotation devices) or does it reflect that plants are not consumed at these locations? It would also be helpful to better understand the use of off-mound areas. Leith's (2011) study of off-mound areas surrounding Woodland age black midden mounds in southeastern Oklahoma has been highly informative. At black midden mound sites, residential structures are situated off-mound rather than being subsumed in mound construction. Perhaps a similar situation exists for burned rock mounds in northeastern Oklahoma. Clearly, burned rock mounds merit renewed attention to better define their role in Woodland period society.

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Predictive Modeling of a Caddo Structure in the Ouachita Mountains, Montgomery County, Arkansas

Vanessa N. Hanvey

Abstract

During the Arkansas Archeological Survey/Society Training Program in June, 2013, an arc of postmolds from a Caddo structure was uncovered at site 3MN298. The site is located in Montgomery County, Arkansas, within the Ouachita National Forest, on a bend of the Ouachita River. After reviewing the literature on Caddo architecture, an attempt was made to predict the size and shape of the building as well as the location of any associated features. In September, 2013, a small field crew effectively ground-truthed the model. This article explores the process of creating and using a predictive model to guide archeological excavations of a Caddo period structure and presents the results of this endeavor.

Introduction

Every June, a large excavation project is conducted by Arkansas Archeological Survey staff as part of the Arkansas Archeological Society Training Program. During this time, Society members take classes from and work alongside Arkansas archaeologists in field and laboratory settings. In 2013, excavations took place at a multicomponent site in Montgomery County, Arkansas, in collaboration with the USDA Forest Service (Figure 1). Site 3MN298 is located on a bend of the Ouachita River, within the Ouachita National Forest, and contains occupational areas dating from the Middle Archaic through Late Mississippian periods (6000 BC-AD 1600). During the Training Program, a Caddo structure was partially uncovered. The Caddo cultural area encompasses southwest Arkansas, northeast Louisiana, east Texas, and southeast Oklahoma, and dates from AD 900-1680.

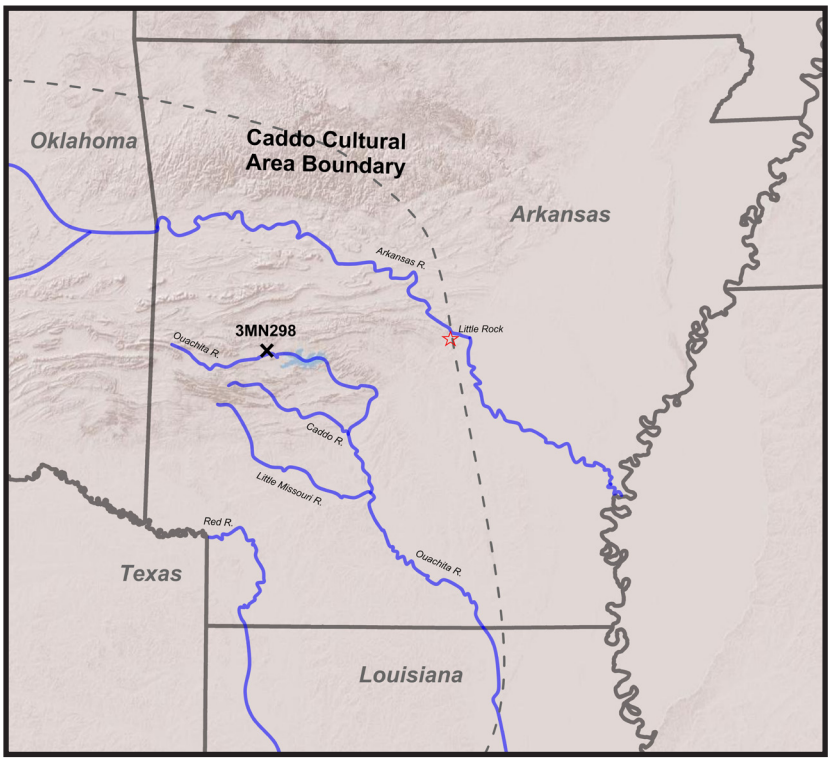

Figure 1. Location of site 3MN298 and Caddo Cultural Area boundary (Perttula 2012).

The Training Program site was recorded in 1982 after being rip-plowed and planted with pine trees, and limited archaeological testing was conducted in 1985. Timothy Perttula's analysis of over 300 sherds from these excavations dated the main occupation of the site to the Late Mississippian period post-AD 1450/1500 (Perttula 2009b). Shell-tempered sherds constituted 92% of the sample, and the remaining 8% was composed of shell/grog, grog, and grog/grit tempered sherds. Though only 13 sherds were decorated, Pertulla was able to type Hodges Engraved, Keno Trailed, Foster Trailed-Incised, or Braden Incised, and one sherd may be Ouachita Ironware dating to the Woodland period. Perttula (2009b:1) writes this is "the largest sherd assemblage from Ouachita National Forest lands in the Ouachita Mountains".

Additional shovel testing was conducted in 2009 and in the preparation for the Training Program in 2012 and 2013 by Meeks Etchieson (FS-ONF), Mary Beth Trubitt (AAS), and Arkansas Archeological Society volunteers. Six separate concentrations of artifacts were identified across the site, and each became an area of excavation during the Training Program. This article focuses on Area 5, located on a terrace approximately 185m west of the river and likely southeast of the 1985 excavations. Shovel tests in this location indicated a Caddo occupation and well-preserved faunal material. During the Training Program, over the course of two weeks, 8 excavation units were opened in Area 5 (Figure 2). Though a number of soil stains interpreted as post molds were uncovered, the only apparent pattern was of an arc of post molds likely associated with a Caddo structure.

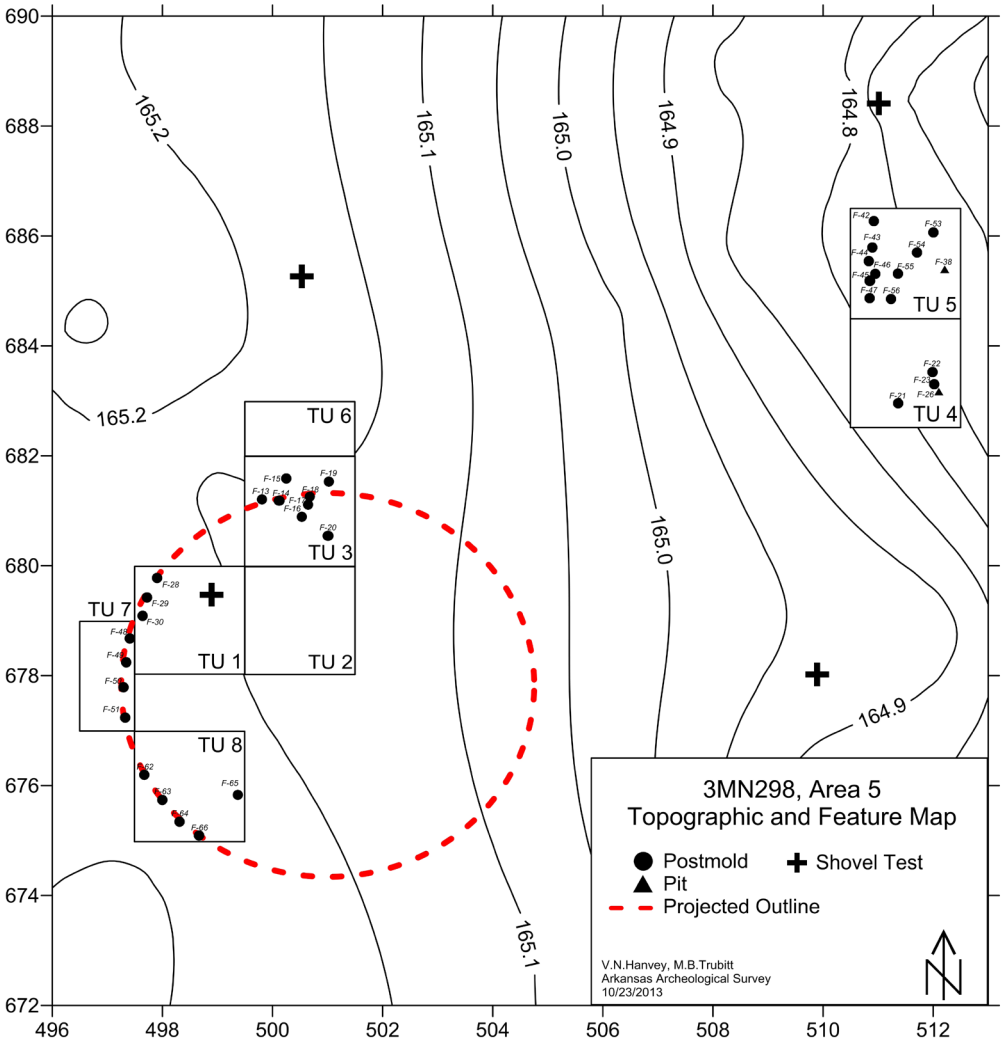

Figure 2. Planview of Area 5 with the features identified in June, 2013, and a projection of the likely structure outline.

One of the themes of the June excavations was to recover archeological evidence for Caddo Indian lifeways in the Ouachita Mountains. Though features were identified in other areas across the site, Area 5 contained the most intriguing evidence for a complete structure. When extended, the arc of post molds may represent a structure with a diameter of 7.5m.

Plans were quickly made by Arkansas Archeological Survey and Forest Service staff to return to the site in September to conduct further testing of the area. Our goals were to confirm that this arc was indeed part of a structure, uncover any features associated with the structure, and date the structure through artifact and radiocarbon samples. To aid in this process, a review of Caddo architecture literature, both in the Ouachita Mountains and Ouachita River valley as well as generally in the Caddo Cultural Area, was conducted.

Caddo Architecture

A domestic structure, or one used throughout the year for primarily residential purposes, would have a different set of architectural features compared with a special-use structure (Early 2000). Early (1988:160) writes these features would be reflective of activities such as "the preparation and storage of food, and a variety of cultural maintenance activities."

Examples of domestic structures not associated with mounds are sparse in the Ouachita Mountains, and none have been excavated on the upper Ouachita River. Interpreted as domestic, a circular structure dating to AD 1250-1350 was identified at the Norman site on the nearby Caddo River (Early and Trubitt 2003; Figure 3). Features associated with the structure included a hearth created from a large postmold or pit and an ash layer distinguishing the floor. At the Hardman site, a Caddo residential compound dating to the late 15th century was excavated containing at least one circular residential structure with a central post mold, other interior post molds, and pit features (Figure 3). The compound was demarcated by a fence, and within this parameter specific use areas were identified by pit features, midden deposits, post mold arcs likely belonging small storage or work facilities, large exterior hearths, and burials (Early 1993). Early (1993:226) writes "except for the fence and the external hearths, this array of features is clearly comparable to historic descriptions of Caddoan farmsteads and is similar to late prehistoric sites tested or excavated elsewhere in the Caddo area." Similar features have helped identify domestic structures at the Cedar Grove, McLelland, and Joe Clark sites in the Red River valley with occupations from 1400-1860 AD (Trubowitz 1984, Kelley 1997; Figure 3).

Rogers (1982:49, in Perttula 2009a) defines a special-use structure as "providing a physical context for the integration of social organization beyond that of the household unit. These may include temples, meeting halls, charnel house, and the residences of chiefs and other officials". Sabo (1998) writes that architectural features, such as controlled entrances, structure size, and central hearths, would reflect the symbolic differences of this type of structure and make it physically stand a part on the Caddo social landscape. Early (2000:160) notes, "activities known to have been carried out in some special structures mirrored domestic activity and are likely to have resulted in a pattern of physical remains that are similar to those expected for domestic dwellings."

Trubitt (2009) discusses the ritual significance of burning and burying buildings with clean fill at the end of their use in the Caddo area, and Early (2000) links this phenomenon with straight-walled structures associated with mounds in the Ouachita River basin. The Adair site is the largest mound site in the area and is situated downriver from the Training Program site (Figure 3). A sequence of 9 structural building, burning, and burying episodes created the principal mound. Two distinct Caddo occupations were identified at the site, the initial was marked with a series of circular buildings, one of which had an extended entranceway. In the

stratums of the latter occupation, smaller rectangular buildings were identified with some evidence of burning. Other mound sites in the area with similar structure shapes and burning and burying episodes include the Denham, Powell, Caddo Valley, and Hays sites (Trubitt 2009; Figure 3).

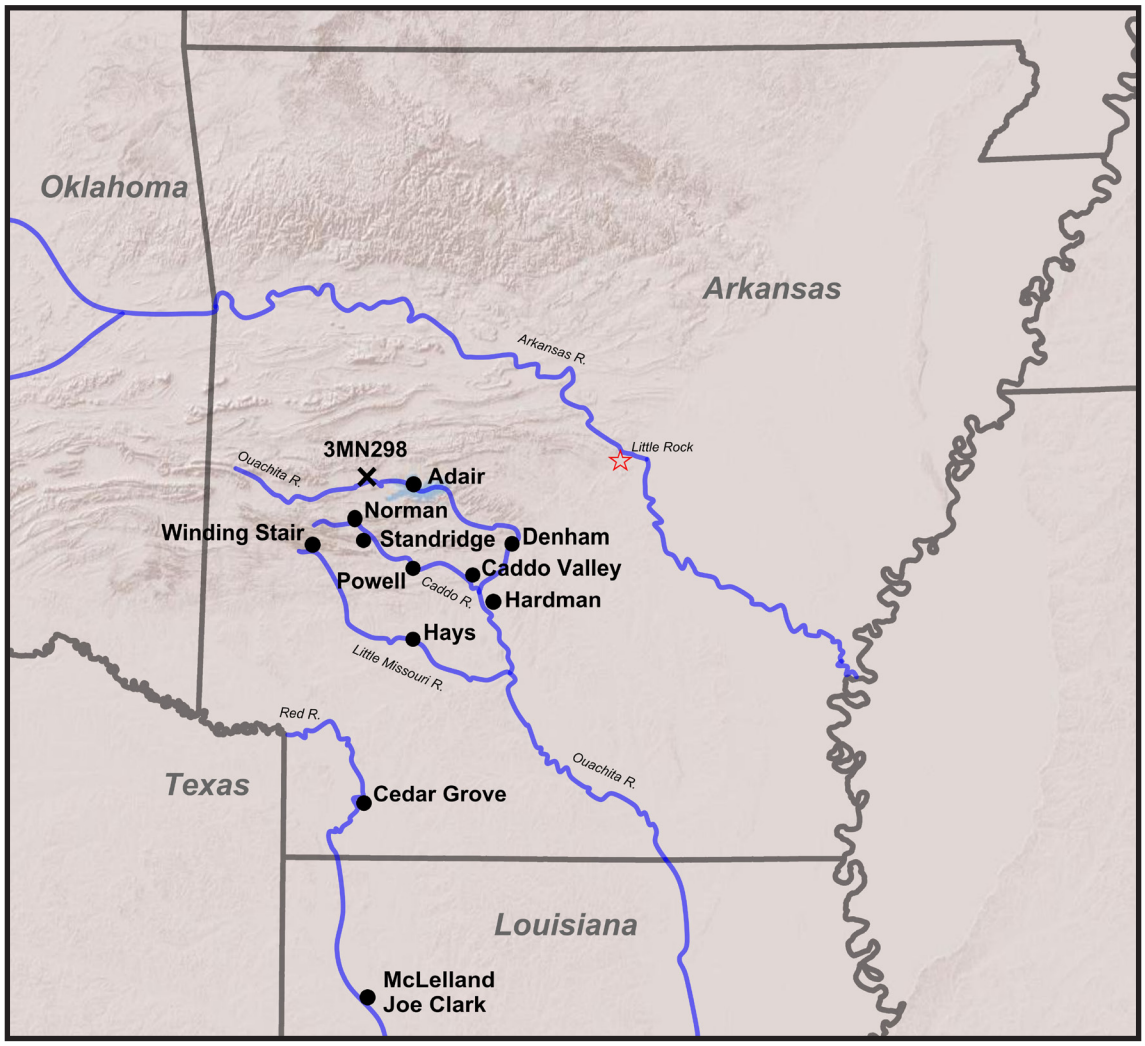

Figure 3. Location of sites mentioned in article.

There is evidence of both circular and rectangular Caddo structures in the Ouachita Mountains, but as Early (2000:70) writes "too few domestic sites have been studied to disclose any pattern of size, shape, and function through time." She goes on to say that at least some domestic structures in the Ouachita Mountains were circular by approximately AD 1350. An example of this would be the structure at the Norman site (Early and Trubitt 2003). In his study of Caddo architectural variability in Eastern Texas, Schultz (2010) examined 265 structures from 31 sites and found 86% (n=186) of nonmound structures were circular. Though both circular and square structures have been associated with special-use buildings in mound and non-mound context, Early (2000:129) finds trends within the Ouachita Mountain Caddo area of straight-walled structures being associated with "special" architecture.

An example of this is the square structure at the Winding Stair site, a nonmound site on the Little Missouri River (Figure 3). Early (2000) interprets the structure as-special use because it is similar to those at the nearby Standridge mound site, and it had the special decommissioning treatment of being burned and buried.

The circular shape compared with other sites in the area, lack of association with a mound, lack of special decommissioning treatment, and associated mundane features in the surrounding area, such as pits and post mold groupings, suggested that the Area 5 structure was a domestic building. The size of the Area 5 structure is on the smaller side for the Caddo area in general, but similar to the structure sizes at the Hardman site.

So, for a domestic structure, I would expect to find interior and exterior post molds marking the locations of raised platforms, interior partitions, exterior granaries, and possibly roof supports (Early and Trubitt 2003, Kelley 1997, and Schultz 2010). There may also be interior or exterior burials, trash and storage pit features, and a central hearth or large post mold.

Predictive Model

There was a limited field crew during the September project, so test units had to be placed judiciously and numbered based on importance (Figure 4). Test unit 9 was located on the eastern side of the structure in hopes of revealing the wall post mold outline. Test units 10, 11, and 13 were located in the center of the structure to uncover a hearth and any other internal features. North of the projected outline of the structure was a conglomeration of post molds. Test units 12 and 14 were located on the northern wall of the structure to uncover the post mold outline and more of the area. Finally, test units 15 and 16 were located on the south and southeast side to uncover the post mold outline and any additional features.

Over a period of 7 days, a total of 6 volunteers, 4 Forest Service employees, and 2 Arkansas Archeological Survey employees helped excavate the units. Area 5 was largely unchanged since June, and the backfilled units are very visible. Due to the rip-plowing, the terrain of the site constituted lines of berms with, in some places, half meter deep furrows. Excavations in June uncovered the depth of the original ground surface beneath the berms in each of the Areas. In September, to save time, the Forest Service used a small trail dozer to scrape the disturbed berm soil off the locations of the new test units.

Profiles of test units excavated in June identified the basic stratigraphy in Area 5, which corresponds to what we encountered in September (Figure 5). The site had been heavily farmed before being plant in pine. Fortunately, the planting process only disturbed the plowzone. Plowscars were in the upper portions of the undisturbed soil, at an approximate elevation of 165m. Cultural features were not discerned until about 10cm below this.

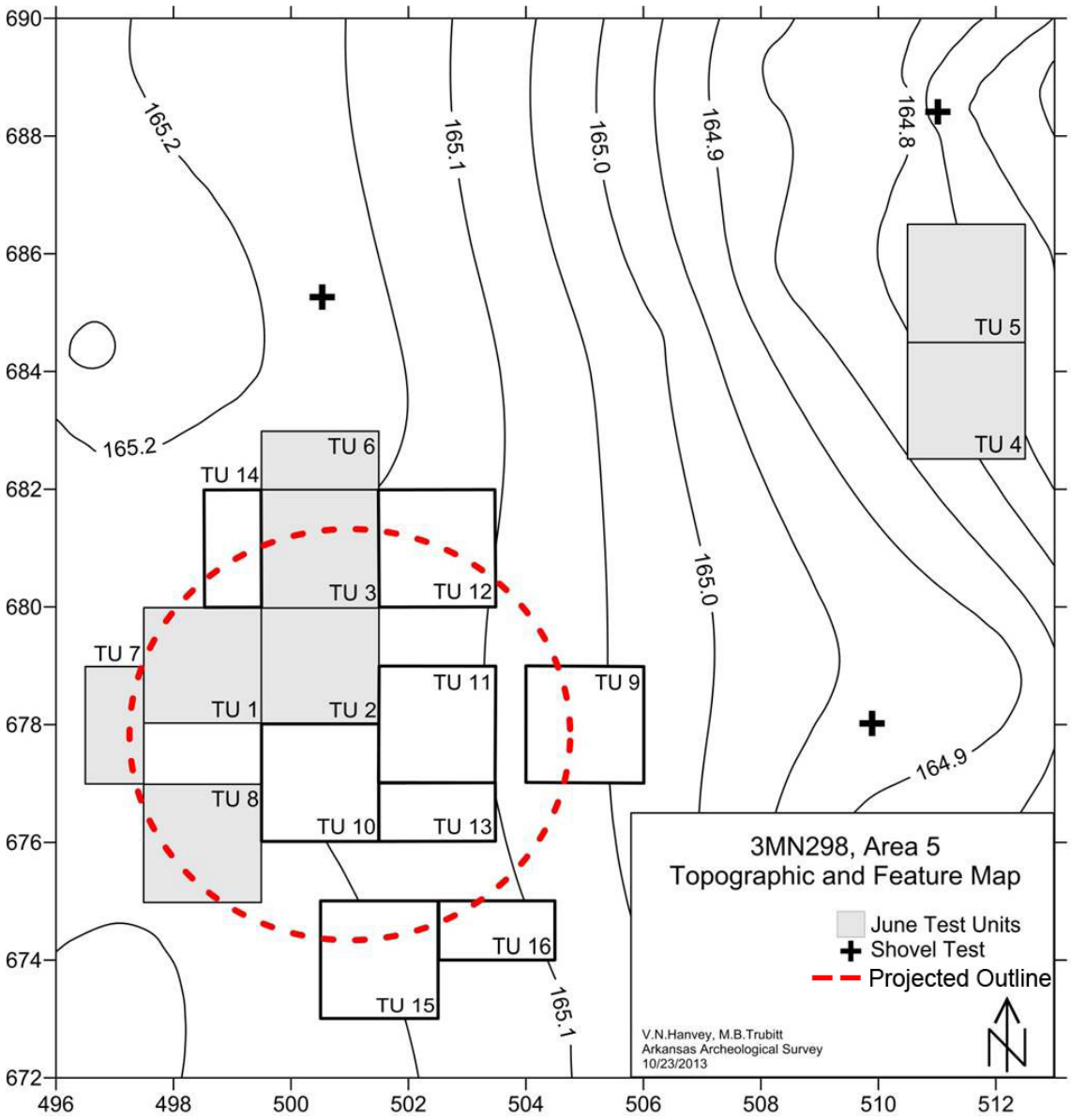

Figure 4. Test unit layout for the September, 2013, excavations and projected structure outline.

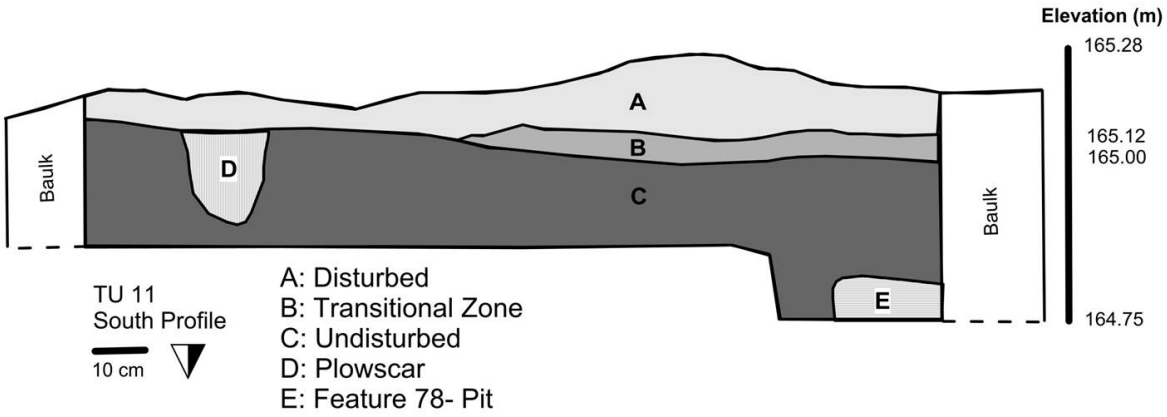

Figure 5. Test unit 11 South wall profile highlighting the basic stratigraphy of the site.

During excavations in September, the eastern outline of post molds as well as a central hearth confirmed the existence of a structure. A total of 18 distinct features were identified in September, including 8 post molds, 9 soil stains, and a hearth (Figure 6). Evidence of the eastern edge of the structure comes from confirmed post molds and soil stains in test units 9 and 12. A post mold in test unit 12 had a similar, deep depth as one in test unit 9 (164.67m and 164.64m; Features 88 and 71). This is contrast to four other post molds in test unit 9 that are much shallower (average 164.77m; Features 70, 72, 75, and 77). When redrawn, the projected outline of the structures intersects both of these confirmed post molds and two soil stains (Features 73 and 74) that are likely postmolds. The other, shallower post molds in test unit 9 may represent a separate structure. Interestingly, this shallow depth corresponds with two post molds in test unit 11 (Features 79 and 89).

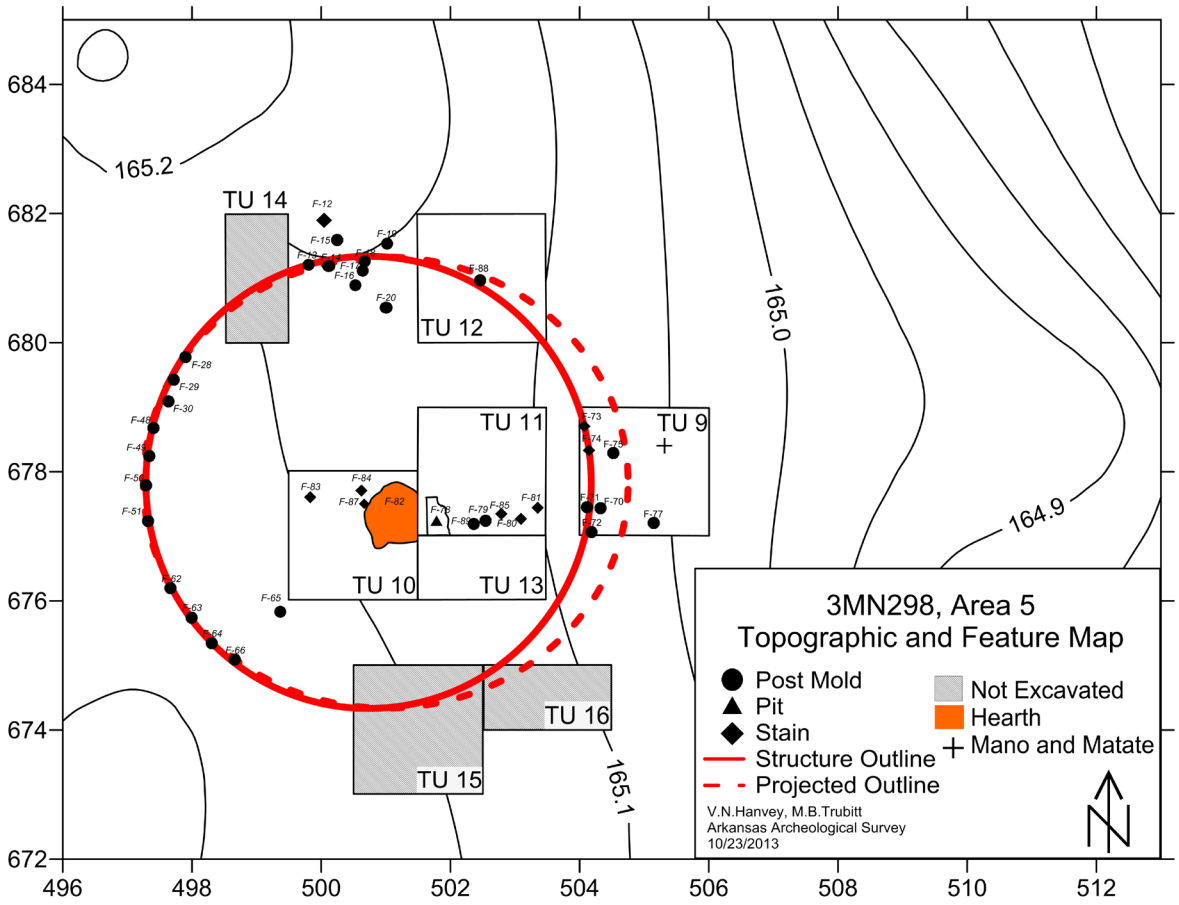

Figure 6. Feature map from the June and September, 2013, excavations and an outline of the confirmed structure.

A hearth was encountered in test unit 10, just southeast of the true center of the structure (Feature 82). Identified by a high density of charcoal flecks and a circular ring of daub at 164.91m, the hearth had a diameter of 85cm and a depth of approximately 30cm. Outlined by a layer of daub and burned dirt, the central portion of the hearth was filled with charcoal and ash. At the same elevation as the hearth and to the immediate east, a large, possible pit feature was encountered (Feature 78).

A distinct floor was not encountered in any of the units, though the ground surface of the structure is likely around an elevation of 164.91m, corresponding to the top of the hearth in test unit 10 and the possible pit feature in test unit 11 (Feature 82 and 78), the top of a sherd cluster and possible pit in test unit 3 (Feature 12), and the base of a mano and matate in test unit 9.

Discussion

Of the 8 planned test units, 4 were excavated over a period of 7 field days in September, 2013. Post molds corresponding to the projected structure outline were identified along with a hearth, and the structure was confirmed to be 7m diameter.

One of the initial problems during the project involved placement of test units between rows of pine trees. This became an issue since our grid was not aligned with the rows. Ultimately most of the units were placed with pine trees only encroaching along the sides.

Due to the limited amount of man-power, test units placed to explore the northern and southern portions of the structure were not excavated. Test units 14, 15, and 16 were all located to explore the projected outline of the structure, and since it appears test unit 9 barely uncovered the eastern boundary, excavating other sides of the structure would have offered more conclusive evidence concerning post mold size and depth. Also, excavating in the test unit 14 location may have shed more light onto the conglomeration of circular soil stains (likely post molds) on the northern edge of the structure.

Only 2 of the likely 18 post molds corresponding to the structure outline were bisected during the June and September excavations. Since the diameters of the stains vary between13-30cm, knowing depths would have helped to confirm that all were post molds and all belong to the structure. More data on the depths of post molds would also help clarify the number of structures present.

Artifact and flotation sample analysis are still ongoing from the June excavations. Once complete, this information will add to our interpretations. We are hoping to return to the site for the Training Program in 2014 and further explore Area 5.

Conclusion

Overall, the predictive model proved successful in locating structural features. Over a period of 7 days, the interior and eastern and northern outlines of the structure were uncovered. The identification of a central hearth provided conclusive proof of the buildings existence.

Further testing in Area 5 in the summer of 2014 might explore the southern and northern portions of the structure as well as to the northeast where a conglomeration of post molds and a pit feature were uncovered in June. The complete excavation of a nonmound Caddo structure and associated features in the Ouachita Mountains, specifically in the upper Ouachita River valley, will greatly benefit architectural literature for this area. Falling between the Arkansas and Red River valleys, investigations into the architecture of the Ouachita Mountains area offers insight into the common cultural heritage of the Caddo peoples.

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The Classification of Late Caddo Period Utility Ware Jars from Sites in the Big Cypress Creek Basin of East Texas

Timothy K. Perttula

Introduction

Much of the decorated utility wares found in Titus phase mortuary vessel assemblages in the Big Cypress Creek basin of East Texas has been typologically identified over the years as "Miscellaneous Fulton Aspect [Late Caddo] Utility Pottery" (Suhm and Jelks 1962:Plates 79 and 80; see also Thurmond 1990), which has hindered the full appreciation of the stylistic, temporal, and stylistic diversity that exists among these decorated utility wares; it has also hampered any consistent typological identifications or definitions between sites in the region, or to the extra-local region. The diversity apparent in the decorated utility wares from Titus phase sites has a considerable potential to shed light on the existence and spatial distribution of communities of Caddo potters sharing or not sharing utility ware decorative practices and traditions from both short-term and long-term temporal scales, if only more useful classification of the decorative elements found on these wares can be devised.

Classification System

In order to more systematically categorize the decorated utility wares in documented vessel assemblages from Titus phase sites, specifically the utility ware jars from Titus phase cemetery contexts, a rim and body coding system has been devised to sort the unique rim and body decorative elements and motifs found on these vessels.[1] Use of the rim/body codes can be used—in conjunction with available information on the temporal context and spatial distribution of the different rim/body code classes from individual vessel assemblages—to redefine the typological character of Titus phase utility ware jars. The purpose of developing this classification is to proceed with the idea of consistently and better characterizing the relative proportions (and locations of different decorative elements and motifs on the vessels themselves) of the different decorative elements and motifs in the utility ware vessel assemblages.

Rim codes on the utility ware jars begin with 01, for plain rims, and at present there are 66 different identified rim codes (Table 1), most of them from rims with punctated or incised decorative elements. Body codes also begin with 01, for utility ware vessels with plain bodies, and extend to 73 at present, with many including appliqued ridge and fillet decorative elements. Both rim and body codes can be expanded as needed to encapsulate new decorative elements beyond those identified at the present time. In this classification system, to categorize the decoration of utility ware vessels, it is necessary to list both rim and body codes, with the rim code listed first in the sequence. For example, the rim/body code of 02/01 is a jar with a row of tool punctates beneath the lip only (02) and a plain body (01). Other jars may have multiple rim and body codes because there are distinct decorative motifs and elements on each part of the vessel (Figure 1), as for example: 19-23/03-20 is a vessel with random tool punctates (19) and vertical appliqued fillets (23) on the rim and vertical brushing (03) and overlapping brushing (20) on the vessel body.

Table 1. Titus phase utility wares (jars), decorative elements and motifs, rim and body codes.

Rim Code	
01	Plain
02	row of tool punctates beneath the lip
04	2 rows of tool punctates
07	3 rows of tool punctates
08	1 row of tool punctates midway on rim
10	tool punctated row at rim-body juncture
15	5 rows of tool punctations
16	4 rows of tool punctations
19	random tool punctates
20	9 rows of small tool punctations
22	3-6 rows of linear punctations
30	vertical tool punctated columns
36	diagonal linear tool punctates
41	vertical linear tool punctate rows
42	8 rows of tool punctates
46	small circular tool punctated row below lip
48	horizontal linear punctations
51	6 rows of tool punctates
61	7 rows of tool punctates
63	10 rows of tool punctates
64	vertical tool punctated rows
47	vertical pinched rows
63	diagonal pinched rows
03	roughened
05	horizontal brushed
29	vertical brushed
55	diagonal brushed
43	horizontal brushed with tool punctated rows through brushing
45	vertical brushing with tool punctated rows through brushing
12	horizontal brushed-incised
49	vertical brushed-incised
09	vertical incised lines
14	opposed hachured incised lines

26 horizontal incised lines
28 horizontal incised line at rim-body juncture
31 opposed diagonal incised lines
32 closely-spaced horizontal incised lines
33 closely-spaced diagonal incised lines
34 closely-spaced vertical incised lines
35 broad horizontal incised line at rim-body juncture
37 incised triangles filled with diagonal incised lines
38 incised triangles filled with cross-hatched incised lines
39 diagonal incised panels
57 diagonal incised lines
58 incised triangle
60 cross-hatched incised lines

44 horizontal grooved area at rim-body juncture

06 opposed hachured incised lines and tool punctated rows at lip and rim-body juncture
17 incised scroll and tool punctated scroll fill zone
21 incised triangles filled with tool punctations
24 broad horizontal incised lines with tool punctates between them
25 diagonal incised panels filled with tool punctates
59 meandering incised scroll filled with tool punctates
66 vertical incised and vertical tool punctated panels filled with diagonal incised lines and horizontal tool punctated rows

11 appliqued nodes
18 vertical appliqued ridges
23 vertical appliqued fillet
27 horizontal appliqued fillet at rim-body juncture
40 vertical column of appliqued nodes
62 appliqued scroll

50 vertical appliqued fillet panels filled with diagonal incised lines

13 rows of neck banding

Body Code

01 Plain

02 vertical brushed-incised

03 vertical brushed
20 overlapping brushed

27 horizontal brushed
31 opposed brushing
40 diagonal brushed

28 horizontal combing

04 appliqued ridge chevrons and appliqued diamond ridge
06 vertical appliqued fillets and appliqued chevron fillets
09 vertical appliqued fillets
10 vertical appliqued ridges
12 appliqued fillet chevron
15 appliqued nodes
17 appliqued fillet diamond
18 appliqued fillet semi-circle
19 appliqued fillet triangle
22 panels of vertical appliqued ridges
23 appliqued fillet circles
24 appliqued nodes with tool punctates on the node
26 appliqued ridge chevron
29 vertical-curvilinear appliqued fillet
33 vertical column of appliqued nodes
37 oval-shaped appliqued zones
38 curvilinear appliqued ridges
39 appliqued circle with appliqued node within it
43 appliqued diamonds-circles-and scrolls
47 appliqued ridge triangles
50 panels of vertical and horizontal appliqued fillets filled with appliqued fillets
64 appliqued scroll and appliqued triangles
66 horizontal appliqued fillet
67 appliqued scroll and circle
68 appliqued scroll and diamond
69 semi-circle appliqued ridge

16 appliqued ridge scrolls and circles, nodes, and brushed fill
32 appliqued ridges with diagonal brushed fill
36 vertical appliqued fillets with vertical-diagonal-opposed brushed fill
49 vertical appliqued ridges with brushing between the ridges

35 panels of vertical appliqued fillet panels filled with vertical linear tool punctates
42 large appliqued triangle with rows of circular punctations on it
51 panels of vertical appliqued fillets filled with vertical incised lines

05 vertical incised lines
07 incised diamond motif
13 diagonal incised lines

21 opposed/hachured incised panels
30 cross-hatched incised lines
34 incised chevron
41 incised triangle
61 incised triangles filled with horizontal incised lines
63 vertical incised panels filled with diagonal incised lines
65 diagonal opposed incised lines
72 vertical and curvilinear incised lines

71 incised chevrons and tool punctated-filled triangles

08 random tool punctates
11 horizontal tool punctated rows
14 horizontal linear punctated rows
25 vertical tool punctated row
45 diagonal linear punctations
48 vertical linear punctations
53 punctation-filled triangles
58 X-shaped tool punctated rows
59 fingernail punctated chevron

52 vertical tool punctated panels filled with vertical incised lines
62 vertical tool punctated panels filled with diagonal incised lines

60 vertical tool punctated panels filled with vertical brushing

44 horizontal pinched rows
46 concentric pinched rows
54 vertical pinched rows
55 diagonal pinched rows

70 vertical pinched panels filled with diagonal brushed-incised lines and diagonal incised lines

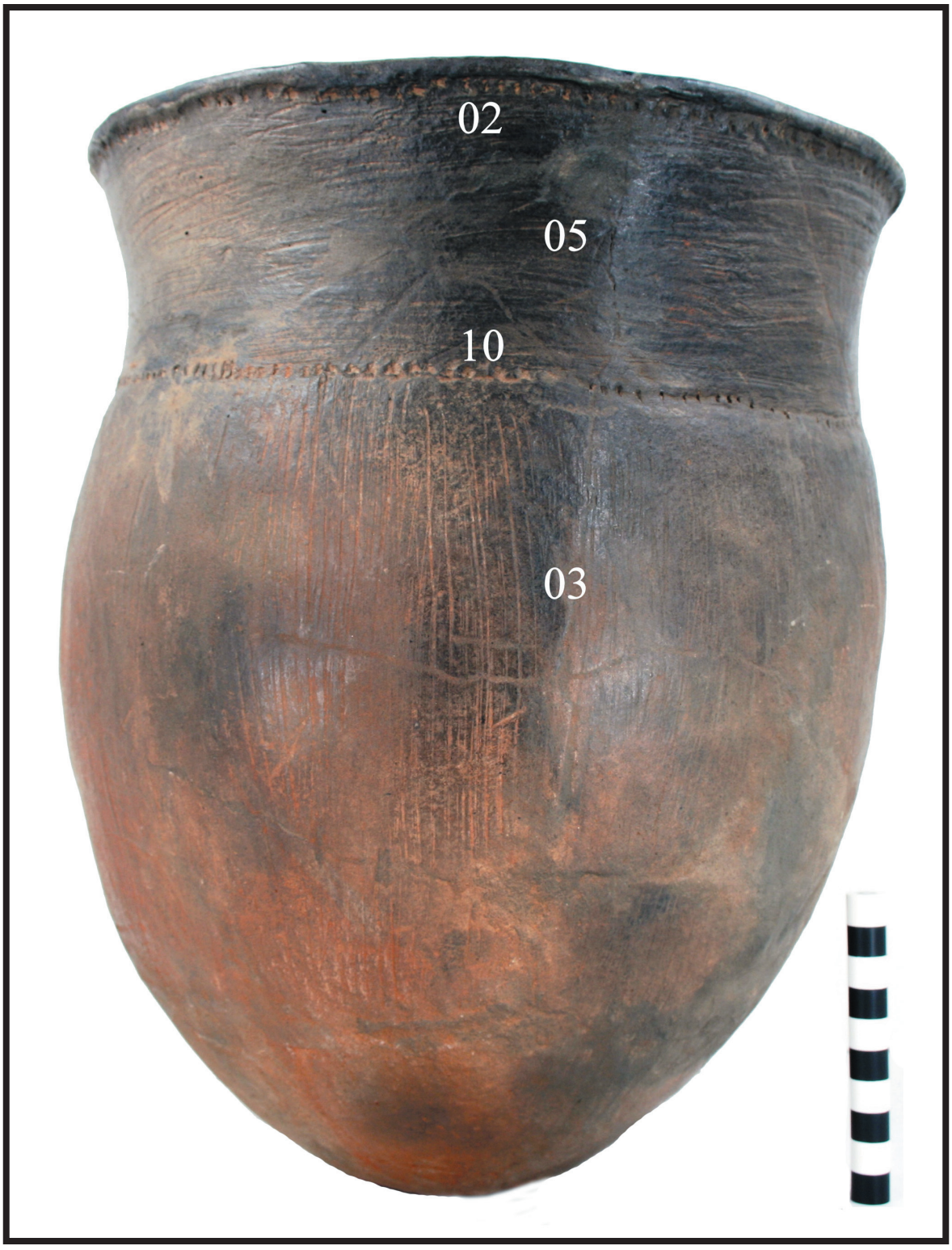

Figure 1. Brushed-punctated utility ware jar from the Shelby site (41CP71), with 02, 05, and 10 rim code elements and 03 body code element.

Assemblage Comparisons

Using the defined rim and body codes listed in Table 1, I have examined and classified a sample of 258 utility ware jars from a number of Titus phase mortuary assemblages in the Big Cypress and Little Cypress Creek basins in East Texas (Figure 2): Tuck Carpenter (41CP5, n=265 vessels), Johns (41CP12, n=283 vessels), and Shelby (41CP71, n=69 vessels) in the Big Cypress Creek basin, and Henry Spencer (41UR315, n=184 vessels), Enis Smith (41UR317, n=87 vessels) and Frank Smith (41UR326, n=70 vessels) (Perttula 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c). The total vessel assemblages for these sites—including both plain wares, utility wares, and fine wares—is 958 vessels; utility ware jars represent approximately 27% of the vessel sample.

As a pilot effort, I am particularly interested in defining the range of decorative variability in these utility wares, and in identifying important similarities and differences in the range of decorative motifs on their rim and the body. The results of this utility ware jar rim-body code classification are presented in Table 2. Samples of utility ware jars by assemblage range from 17-72 vessels.

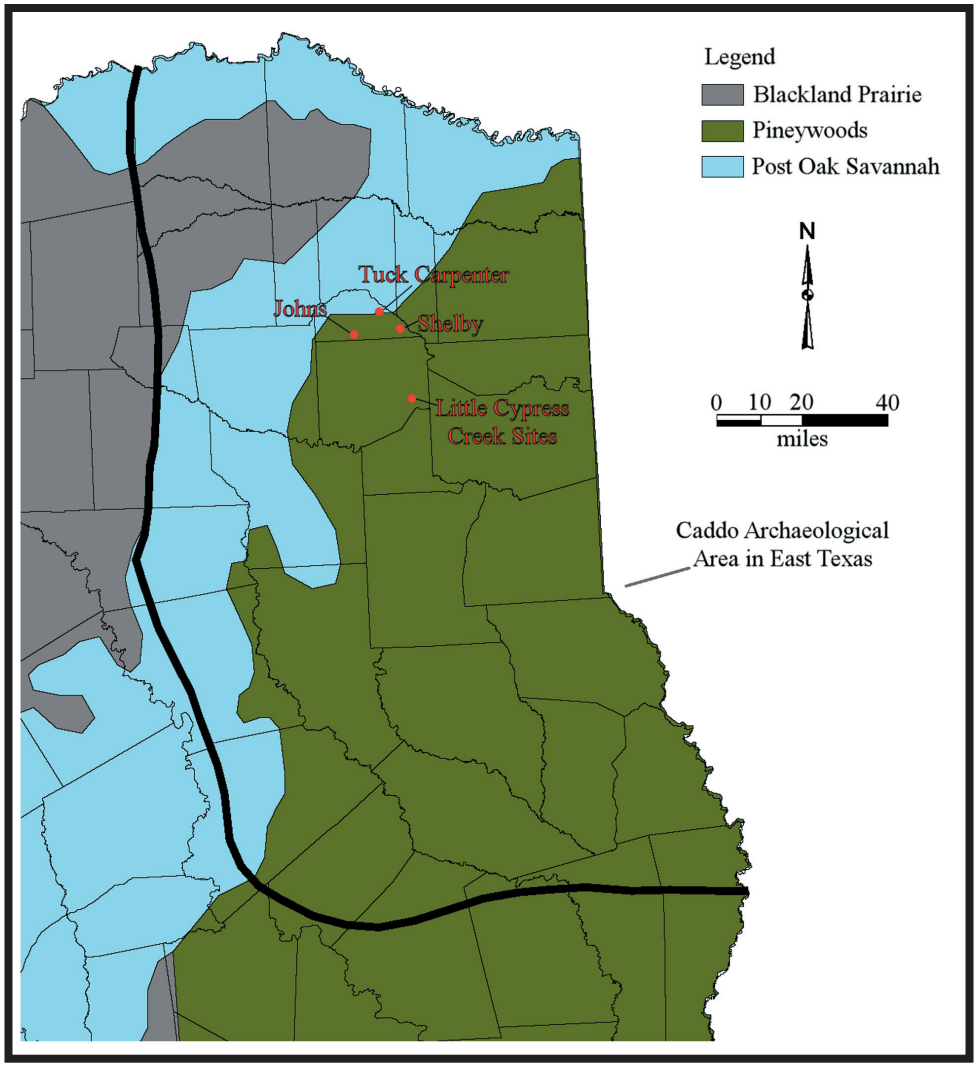

Figure 2. General locations of the Titus phase sites with samples of utility ware jars. Prepared by Lance Trask.

Table 2. Titus phase jar samples.

Rim/ body code	Tuck Carpenter	Johns	Henry Spencer	Enis Smith	Frank Smith	Shelby
Vessels with Plain rims and bodies						
Plain/Plain						
01/01	-	3	4	-	1	-
Vessels with Decorated rims and plain bodies						
Brushed						
05/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
Brushed-Incised						
12/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
Brushed-punctated						
05/02/10/01	-	-	1	-	-	-
Incised						
09-35/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
14/01	-	1	-	-	-	-
32/01	-	-	-	-	-	1
33/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
65/01	-	-	-	-	-	1
Incised/Punctated						
26-02-10/01	-	-	1	-	-	-
51-35-36/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
59/01	-	-	1	-	-	-
60-14-02-10/ 01	-	-	-	-	1	-
66-02-10/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
Neck Banded						
13/01	3	1	-	-	-	1
Neck Banded/ Appliqued						
13-18/01	-	-	-	-	-	1
13-40/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
Neck Banded/						

Appliqued/ Punctated						
13-46-11/01	-	1	-	-	-	-
Pinched						
47/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
Pinched/Incised/Punctated						
63-36-35/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
Punctated						
02-10/01	-	-	-	1	-	-
04-22/01	-	1	-	-	-	-
16/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
16-30/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
22/01	-	-	1	-	-	-
42/01	-	1	-	-	-	-
51/01	-	1	-	-	-	-
Punctated/ Appliqued						
07-11/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
07-23/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
15-11/01	-	-	-	-	-	1
Punctated/ Incised						
04-9/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
04-33/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
07-26/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
21/28/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
22-35/01	-	1	-	-	-	-
36-28/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
60-10/01	1	-	-	-	-	-
Roughened						
03/01	1	-	-	-	-	-

Vessels with Plain Rims and Decorated Bodies

Appliqued body						
01/10	2	-	-	-	-	-
01/10-26	2	1	-	-	-	-
01/10-47	1	-	-	-	-	-
01/39	1	-	-	-	-	-
01/42-10	-	1	-	-	-	-
01/69-39	-	-	-	-	1	-

Appliqued-incised body						
01/09-05	-	-	-	-	-	1
01/17-07	-	-	-	-	-	1
Brushed body						
01/03	-	1	-	-	-	-
Incised body						
01/09	-	-	-	1	-	-
Pinched body						
01/54	-	-	-	-	1	-
Punctated body						
01/08	-	-	1	-	-	-

Vessels with Decorated Rims and Bodies

Appliqued rim/appliqued body						
18/10	1	-	-	-	-	-
40/47-10	1	-	-	-	-	-
Appliqued rim/appliqued-brushed body						
23/36	-	-	-	1	-	-
Appliqued-incised-punctated rim/brushed body						
04-50/03	-	1	-	-	-	-
Appliqued-punctated rim/appliqued-incised body						
52/51	-	-	1	-	-	-
Brushed rim/appliqued body						
05/10	1	-	-	-	-	-
05/10-33	1	-	-	-	-	-
05/10-26	1	-	-	-	-	-
05/23-15	1	-	-	-	-	-
05/50	-	1	-	-	-	-
05/64	-	-	-	1	-	-
05/67	1	-	-	-	-	-
Brushed rim/brushed body						
05/03	2	5	1	-	-	-
05/03-20	-	-	1	-	-	-
05/03-31-40	-	1	-	-	-	-
05/20	1	1	-	-	-	-
05/27	-	1	-	-	-	-

05/27-40	-	1	-	-	-	-
05/27-40-20	-	-	-	-	1	-
05/40	-	-	1	-	-	-
05-55/03	-	-	1	-	-	-
29/27-31	1	-	-	-	-	-
Brushed rim/brushed-combed body						
29/27-28	1	-	-	-	-	-
Brushed rim/brushed-appliqued body						
05/36	-	-	1	-	-	-
05/49	-	1	-	-	-	-
Brushed rim/incised body						
05/34	-	1	-	-	-	-
Brushed rim/punctated body						
05/25	1	-	-	-	-	-
Brushed-appliqued rim/appliqued-incised body						
05-40/09-41	-	1	-	-	-	-
Brushed-appliqued rim/incised body						
05-23/07-41	-	1	-	-	-	-
Brushed-incised rim/brushed-incised body						
49/02	-	1	-	1	-	-
Brushed-incised rim/incised-punctated body						
12/71	-	-	-	-	-	1
Brushed-incised-punctated rim/brushed body						
12-02-10/03	-	-	1	-	-	-
Brushed-incised-punctated rim/incised-punctated body						
12-02-10/62	-	-	2	-	-	-
Brushed-punctated rim/appliqued body						
05-02-10/10	-	-	-	-	1	-
05-02-10/68-24	-	-	-	1	-	-
05-02-10/17	-	-	-	-	1	-
43/09	-	-	-	1	-	-
Brushed-punctated rim/appliqued-brushed body						
05-10/26-32	1	-	-	-	-	-
29-05-02-10/36	-	-	-	-	-	1
29-10/16	-	1	-	-	-	-
43/36	-	1	-	-	-	-
Brushed-punctated rim/appliqued-incised body						
05-10/09-34	-	-	1	-	-	-
Brushed-punctated rim/brushed body						

05-02-10/03	-	1	1	-	-	1
05-02-10/40-20	-	-	-	1	-	-
05/03-20	-	-	1	-	-	-
05-10/03	-	1	-	-	-	-
29-02-10/27	-	-	-	-	-	1
29-10/03	1	-	-	-	-	-
43/03	-	-	1	1	-	-
43/20-40	-	1	-	-	-	-
43/40	1	-	-	-	-	-
45/03	-	1	-	-	-	-
55-02-10/20	-	-	1	-	-	-
Brushed-punctated rim/brushed-incised body						
05-02-10/70	-	-	-	-	-	1
Brushed-punctated rim/brushed-pinched body						
05-02-10/54-03	-	-	1	-	-	-
Brushed-punctated rim/brushed-punctated body						
05-02-10/03-40	-	-	1	-	-	-
05-10/03-25	-	-	1	-	-	-
29-02-10/60	-	-	1	-	-	-
45/03-58	-	-	1	-	-	-
Brushed-punctated rim/incised body						
05-04/05	1	-	-	-	-	-
43/05	-	-	1	-	-	-
Brushed-punctated rim/incised-punctated body						
05-02-10/62	-	-	1	-	-	-
Brushed-punctated rim/punctated body						
43/25	-	-	1	-	-	-
Incised rim/appliqued body						
09/67-66	-	-	-	-	1	-
14/19	-	-	-	1	-	-
Incised rim/appliqued-brushed body						
09/36	-	-	1	-	-	-
26/12-32	-	-	1	-	-	-
Incised rim/appliqued-punctated body						
26-58/09-25	-	-	1	-	-	-
Incised rim/brushed body						
14/03	2	-	-	-	-	-
26/40	-	1	-	-	-	-
31/03	1	-	-	-	-	-
35/03	-	-	-	-	1	-
Incised rim/incised body						

09-28/05	-	1	-	-	-	-
37-38/34	1	-	-	-	-	-
39/05	1	-	-	-	-	-
57/05	-	-	1	-	-	-
57/13	-	-	1	-	-	-
60/13-65	-	-	-	1	-	-
Incised-appliqued rim/appliqued body						
09-18/64	-	-	-	1	-	-
Incised-appliqued rim/appliqued-punctated body						
62-58/15-48-66	-	-	-	1	-	-
Incised-grooved rim/brushed body						
31-44/03	-	1	-	-	-	-
Incised-punctated rim/appliqued body						
04-09/67	-	-	-	1	-	-
09-02/66-68-69	-	-	-	-	1	-
26-02-10/09	-	1	-	-	-	-
26-02/67-24	-	-	-	-	1	-
31-02/09	-	1	-	-	-	-
Incised-punctated rim/appliqued-brushed-incised body						
26-04-48/19-17-41-07-03	-	1	-	-	-	-
Incised-punctated rim/appliqued-brushed-punctated body						
14-10/36-25	-	-	1	-	-	-
Incised-punctated rim/brushed body						
07-57/03	-	-	-	-	1	-
09-02-10/03	-	-	-	-	1	-
09-02-10/27-20	-	-	-	-	1	-
58-02-10/03	-	-	1	-	-	-
Incised-punctated rim/brushed-incised body						
04-58/02	-	-	1	-	-	-
Incised-punctated rim/incised body						
21-02-10/63	-	-	1	-	-	-
54-02-10/13	-	-	1	-	-	-Incised-punctated rim/incised-punctated body
04-26/52-53	-	1	-	-	-	-
26-02-10/52	-	-	1	-	-	-
Incised-punctated rim/punctated body						
21/08	-	-	-	-	1	-

Neck banded rim/appliqued body						
13/10	-	1	-	-	-	-
Neck banded rim/appliqued-brushed body						
13/09-03	-	-	1	-	-	-
Neck banded rim/brushed body						
13/03	-	-	-	1	-	1
13/03-20	-	1	-	-	-	-
13/27-40	-	-	1	-	-	-
Neck banded rim/incised body						
13/05	-	1	-	-	-	-
Neck banded-appliqued rim/brushed-incised body						
13-40/02	1	-	-	-	-	-
Neck banded-grooved rim/brushed body						
13-44/03-40	-	1	-	-	-	-
Neck-banded-incised rim/brushed body						
13-35/03-20	-	1	-	-	-	-
Neck-banded-incised rim/incised-punctated body						
13-33/72-53	-	-	-	-	-	1
Neck-banded-punctated rim/brushed body						
13-10/20-40	-	-	1	-	-	-
Neck-banded-punctated rim/brushed-punctated body						
13-10/40-25	-	1	-	-	-	-
Pinched rim/appliqued body						
47/43	-	1	-	-	-	-
Pinched rim/brushed body						
56/03	-	-	1	-	-	-
63/03-40	-	-	-	-	-	1
Pinched rim/pinched body						
47/54	-	-	1	-	-	-
53/46	-	-	1	-	-	-
Punctated rim/appliqued body						
02-10/17-19	-	-	-	1	-	-
02-10/19	1	-	-	-	-	-
04/09	-	-	1	-	-	-
07/09	1	1	-	-	-	-
07/09-19	1	-	-	-	-	-
07/09-37	-	1	-	-	-	-
07/10	2	-	-	-	-	-

07/17	1	-	-	-	-	-
07/33	-	-	-	-	-	1
10/38-19-39	-	1	-	-	-	-
15/19-17	-	-	-	1	-	-
19/12	1	-	-	-	-	-
22/10	1	-	-	-	-	-
22/12-09	-	1	-	-	-	-
61/10	-	-	-	1	-	-
64/33	-	-	-	-	-	1
Punctated rim/appliqued-brushed body						
02/10-40-20	-	-	1	-	-	-
42/36	-	1	-	-	-	-
Punctated rim/appliqued-incised body						
07/29-05-30-13	1	-	-	-	-	-
07/41-07	-	1	-	-	-	-
19/17-07	-	-	-	-	-	1
Punctated rim/appliqued-punctated body						
08-10-41/35	-	1	-	-	-	-
16/09-48	-	1	-	-	-	-
22/09-48	-	1	-	-	-	-
22/35	-	1	-	-	-	-
Punctated rim/brushed body						
04/03	-	2	-	-	-	-
07/03	3	1	-	-	-	-
07/03-20	-	1	-	-	-	-
07/40	-	1	-	-	-	-
08/03	-	1	-	-	-	-
15/03	-	1	-	-	-	-
19/03	1	-	-	-	-	-
Punctated rim/brushed-incised body						
04/02	-	-	1	-	-	-
16/02	1					
Punctated rim/brushed-pinched body						
51/54-03	-	-	-	-	-	1
Punctated rim/incised body						
07/05	1	-	-	-	-	-
16/05	-	1	-	-	-	-
19/61	-	-	1	-	-	-
22/34	-	1	-	-	-	-
42/05	-	-	1	-	-	-
Punctated rim/incised-punctated body						
02/56-57	-	-	1	-	-	-
Punctated rim/pinched body						
02/54-44-55	-	-	1	-	-	-

Punctated rim/punctated body						
04/59	-	-	1	-	-	-
15/45	-	1	-	-	-	-
Punctated-appliqued rim/appliqued body						
07-11/09	-	-	-	-	-	1
07-11/10	-	-	1	-	-	-
15-11/09	-	-	-	-	-	1
Punctated-appliqued rim/appliqued-brushed body						
04-23/36	-	1	-	-	-	-
Punctated-appliqued rim/appliqued-incised body						
07-11/51	-	1	-	-	-	-
Punctated-appliqued rim/brushed body						
11-02-10/27	-	-	-	-	1	-
Punctated-appliqued rim/brushed-incised body						
30-11/40-13-30	-	-	1	-	-	-
Punctated–appliqued rim/incised body						
07-40/13	1	-	-	-	-	-
Punctated-grooved rim/appliqued-incised body						
15/41-47	-	1	-	-	-	-
Punctated-incised rim/brushed body						
15-28/03	1	-	-	-	-	-
15-35/03	1	-	-	-	-	-
Roughened rim/appliqued body						
03/67	-	-	-	-	1	-
Roughened-punctated rim/brushed-punctated body						
03-10/73	1	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	71	72	59	18	17	21

Sources: Perttula 2010a, 2010b, 2012a, 2012b, and 2012c.

Summary and Conclusions

The overwhelmingly number of utility ware jars from these Titus phase mortuary assemblages are decorated, as only 3.1% of the jars are plain on both the rim and the body (see Table 2). There is little difference between the sites in the proportions of plain jars (ranging from 0-6.8%), or between sites in the Big Cypress Creek basin (1.8%) and the Little Cypress basin (5.3%).

Not only are almost all the utility ware jars in these assemblages decorated (96.9%), but the diversity of, and the combinations used in, the decorative elements and motifs on the rims and bodies of these vessels is quite impressive, as was already apparent simply from an examination of the number of defined rim and body codes (see Table 1) for these vessels. One of the characteristics of East Texas Caddo utility ware pottery—and indeed, much of the pottery made in the Caddo area—is the fact that decorations on the rim are often different both in decorative method and element than the decorations on the body of vessels, and that is certainly the case here. Even more compelling from a stylistic perspective is the frequency with which multiple decorative elements and methods independently occur *on both the rim and the body of vessels* (see Table 2).

At the broadest level of comparison, there are geospatially distinct differences in the occurrence of rim and body codes on utility ware vessels from these Big Cypress Creek and Little Cypress Creek basin sites, and it is likely these differences in decorative style expressed on the utility ware jars by Late Caddo, Titus phase potters reflect social identities (and iconographic meaning) predicated on differences in ceramic practices and local traditions, just as do geospatial differences in the engraved fine wares found on the same sites. One clear difference between the two sets of utility ware jars is in the proportion of vessels with decorated rims and plain bodies: 21.3% of the Big Cypress Creek basin vessels, but only 6.4% of the Little Cypress Creek basin vessels. Related to this is a difference between the assemblages in the proportions of utility ware vessels decorated on both the rim and the body: 70% of the Big Cypress Creek basin vessels and 84% of the Little Cypress Creek basin vessels. Vessels with plain rims and decorated bodies are equally represented in assemblages in both basins: 4.3% in the Little Cypress Creek basins and 6.8% in the Big Cypress Creek basin sites.

Looking in more detail at Table 2 to illustrate the distinctiveness of the two vessel assemblages, there are only very few rim and/or body decorated combinations on the vessels that are represented by more than one or two vessels. These include vessels with horizontally brushed rims and vertically brushed bodies (05/03, n=8, 3.1% of the vessel assemblage); vessels with neck banded rims and plain bodies (13/01, n=5, 1.9%); vessels with three rows of tool punctations on the rim and vertically brushed bodies (07/03, n=4, 1.6%); vessels with a plain rim and vertical and chevron-shaped appliqued ridges on the body (01/10-26, n=3, 1.2%); and vessels with horizontal brushing on the rim, along with rows of tool punctations under the lip and at the rim-body juncture and vertical brushed bodies (05-02-10/03, n=3, 1.2%).

Of those utility ware jars decorated only on the rim, the majority of them in the Little Cypress Creek basin assemblages have incised-punctated decorative elements (50% of the six such vessels). Conversely, in the Big Cypress Creek basin, this category of utility ware jar has rim decorations that tend to emphasis rows of tool punctations (44%), neck bands and neck bands with appliqued nodes and ridges (24%), and simple geometric incised elements (15%) (see Table 2). There are also decorative differences between the vessel assemblages in the two basins for the utility ware jars decorated only on the body. Little Cypress Creek basin jars have incised, pinched, and punctated body decorations (75%), but none of the Big Cypress Creek basin utility ware jars do. Instead, the assemblages there are predominately decorated with appliqued (73%) or appliqued-incised (18%) elements on the vessel body, including vertical appliqued ridges, vertical appliqued fillets, appliqued chevrons, appliqued triangles, and appliqued circles, as well as sets of vertical incised lines, these most likely representing

examples of what have been included in the Harleton Appliqued type (Suhm and Jelks 1962:Plate 33c-d). One other utility ware jar in the Big Cypress Creek basin vessel sample with a plain rim has vertical brushing marks on the vessel body (see Table 2).

Big Cypress Creek and Little Cypress Creek basin assemblages of Titus phase utility ware jars that are decorated on both the rim and the body—the most common decorative combination—have both similar and different decorative combinations that are also distinctive. First, similarities between the two assemblages include: (1) the decoration of vessels with brushing on both the rim and the body; (2) decorating vessels with brushing and tool punctations on the rim and brushing on the body; (3) vessels with incised-punctated rims and appliqued bodies; (4) vessels with neck banded rims and brushed bodies; and (5) vessels with punctated-appliqued rims and appliqued bodies. Second, with respect to broad differences between the two vessel assemblages, there are several worth noting:

> (1) vessels with brushed-appliqued and brushed-incised rims and incised or appliqued-incised bodies; vessels with incised rims and brushed bodies; vessels with neck banded rims with brushed, incised, and punctated bodies; and vessels with punctated rims with appliqued, brushed, and incised bodies are more common in the Big Cypress Creek basin sites, and (2) vessels with brushed-incised-punctated rims and brushed or incised-punctated bodies; vessels with brushed-punctated rims and brushed, pinched, punctated, and incised bodies; vessels with incised rims and appliqued and appliqued-brushed bodies; and vessels with incised-punctated rims and brushed, incised, and punctated bodies are prevalent in the Little Cypress Creek basin sites.

The rim and body codes permit a more detailed examination of the similarities and differences between these rim-body decorated utility wares from the Big and Little Cypress Creek basins. In the case of rim decorations on vessels decorated on both the rim and body, vessels with brushed rims are twice as common in Big Cypress Creek basin assemblages (14%) than they are in the Little Cypress Creek basin (7.4%) even though horizontal brushing (05) is the principal decorative motif, while brushed-punctated rims are much more abundant (20.2%) in the latter sites than they are in the Big Cypress Creek basin sites (8.5%). Brushed-punctated rims on utility ware jars the Little Cypress Creek basin most commonly have horizontal brushing and two rows of punctations, one row under the vessel lip and the other at the rim-body juncture (05-02-10) or have horizontal brushing with rows of tool punctations pushed through the brushing (43 and 45).

Incised and incised-punctated decorations on the rims of utility ware jars comprise 22% of the Little Cypress Creek vessels, but only 6.7% of the Big Cypress Creek basin vessels, although there is little in the way of differences in the decorative elements between the two assemblages other than a preference for incised-punctated decorations on the Little Cypress Creek vessels to have two rows of punctations on the rim, one row under the lip and the other at the rim-body junction. In fact, regardless of whether the rim is brushed, incised, or appliqued on all of these utility ware vessels, more than 22% of the Little Cypress Creek basin vessels have this combination (02-10) of rim punctation, compared to only 4.3% of the Big Cypress Creek basin vessels. Opposed diagonal (31) and horizontal incised (26) elements are prevalent on the rim on the incised and incised-punctated Big Cypress Creek basin vessels compared to vertical, opposed hachured, triangles, and chevrons for the Little Cypress Creek basin vessels (see Table 2).

Neck banded vessels (La Rue Neck Banded, see Suhm and Jelks 1962:Plate 47) are equally represented in the two sets of assemblages: 5.5% in the Big Cypress Creek basin and 4.3% in the Little Cypress Creek basin. However, in the Big Cypress Creek basin vessels, many of these have multiple decorative elements on the rim (i.e., appliqued, grooved, and incised, rim codes 40, 44, 35, and 33) that the Little Cypress Creek basins do not.

Another difference between the rim decorations on the rim-body decorated utility ware jars is apparent in the rim punctated jars. First, 29% of the Big Cypress Creek basin jars are rim punctated, versus only 15% of the Little Cypress Creek basin vessels. Furthermore, Big Cypress Creek basin jars were most commonly decorated with three rows of tool punctates (07), three to six rows of linear tool punctates (22), or four rows of tool punctates (16). Little Cypress Creek basin jars more commonly have two rows of tool punctates (04) and a single row of tool punctates under the lip (02) (see Table 2).

The range of decorative elements on the bodies of rim-body decorated utility ware jars is considerable in both vessel assemblages, and the kinds of decorative elements are much more similar between the two assemblages than is the case with the rim decorations just discussed. In rank order, the four most common body decorations by decorative method on utility ware jars in both the Big and Little Cypress Creek basins are brushing (23.4-28.0% by basin), appliqué (17.1-18.1% by basin), incising (6.8-8.5%), and appliqued-brushed (3.7-5.3%). Other important decorative methods include appliqued-incised (3.7%) in the Big Cypress Creek basin and incised-punctated (5.3%) in the Little Cypress Creek basin assemblages.

With respect to body code differences between the Titus phase vessel assemblages, vertical brushed (03) bodies are much more common, regardless of the rim decoration, in the Big Cypress Creek jars, as are vertical appliqued fillets (09) and vertical appliqued ridges (10), vertical columns of appliqued nodes (33), panels of vertical appliqued fillets filled with vertical linear punctates (35), incised diamonds and triangles (07-41), and vertical incised lines (05). Little Cypress Creek basin vessels are more likely to have been decorated on the body of decorated rim-body vessels with overlapping and diagonal brushing (40-20), vertical brushed-incising (02), appliqued scrolls and appliqued triangles (64), appliqued fillet diamonds and triangles (17-19), and vertical punctated panels filled with diagonal incised lines (62) (see Table 2).

In conclusion, the definition of discrete rim and body codes for plain and decorated vessel surfaces in a pilot study of Late Caddo, Titus phase utility ware jars from six vessel assemblages in the Big and Little Cypress Creek basins in East Texas has (a) led to an appreciation of the considerable stylistic variability that exists in utility ware jars, and (b) has contributed to the recognition of both specific local and regional scale stylistic differences and similarities in these utility ware jars through element by element comparisons on rims and/or bodies that would not be possible were one to rely on the identification of known ceramic types in the region. The ceramics from these Late Caddo sites in the Big and Little Cypress Creek basins are quite distinctive in stylistic terms, namely in the choices made by various Caddo potters in the decorations of utility wares. As such, these stylistic differences and similarities across the Big and Little Cypress Creek basins (and presumably in other parts of the Titus phase homelands, see Perttula 2012:Figures 13-1 and 13-2) likely mark the social boundaries between different but related populations or cultural lineages that shared certain levels of cultural transmission. That is, the Caddo potters in the two basins had a diverse set of ideas about ceramic vessel decoration for utility wares (and fine wares), and these certain shared and/or distinctively different stylistic motifs and decorative patterns marked closely related but different communities and constituent groups in the two basins. These spatial differences in utility ware jar manufacture and use as recognized in vessel assemblage composition between contemporaneous sites is thought to represent the spatial extent of socially distinct Caddo populations who nevertheless had considerable interaction and cultural transmission.

As places on the landscape, these sites—along with the many other ancestral Caddo sites that have been investigated in the Big and Little Cypress Creek basin in East Texas—and the people that lived there (and buried their dead there) were part of a broader social world linked and cross-cut by networks of social groups tied together through regional interaction (cf. Joyce 2012; Mills et al. 2013). There were particular ways of doing things that have been identified at the local and regional scale of ceramic stylistic analysis in the archeological record at Caddo sites in the Big and Little Cypress Creek basins that can be interpreted as representing separate

constellation of practices (i.e., traditions) that continued and persisted over time. The social engagement of Caddo peoples that can be detected in such a manner in the East Texas archeological record provides a window to understand and appreciate the fact that social relationships were broad and pervasive over many generations.

Finally, I have not chosen to link the vessel rim and body codes with specific defined types and varieties in the current East Texas Caddo ceramic taxonomy (i.e., Suhm and Jelks 1962). However, this could certainly be done were one so inclined after more utility ware jars classifications from other generally contemporaneous Late Caddo period Titus phase assemblages across the region have been done, thus bolstering vessel assemblage sample sizes, particularly assemblages whose ages have been confidently established through numerous radiocarbon dates as well as thermoluminescence dating of ceramic sherds—so as to better establish both the temporal and spatial distributions of vessels with unique rim and body codes. However, whether this system of rim and body definitions for utility ware jars can be melded with what would need to be better defined Caddo ceramic types and varieties, or if the system presented herein can stand on its own as a ceramic classificatory endeavor that emphasizes the detailed analysis of stylistic diversity and variability—which I think it can—is ultimately less important than whether such approaches to ceramic typological analysis "help archeologists answer thoughtfully framed questions about the past" (Story and Jelks 2009:4). Meanwhile, rim and body code analyses of utility ware jars from Caddo sites in East Texas will continue.

End Notes

1. This classification system is reminiscent of Ford's (1936:19-23) in that it is numerically based and identifies specific motifs and decorative elements. In Ford's system, however, he made no distinction between whether the decoration was on the rim and body, and his numerical system was based on decoration motif, decoration elements, and the adaptation and arrangement of features, whereas the present system is decorative method-based.

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Instrumental Neutron Activation Analyses in the Ancestral Caddo Territory

Robert Z. Selden

Revisiting the Caddo INAA Dataset

In an attempt to better comprehend the geochemical composition of ceramic sherds across the traditional Caddo landscape, the INAA results for 1192 sherds from 164 sites are employed within this discussion (not included in this sample are sherds from sites recovered in central Texas). After assembling the dataset, two tables were used—one with geochemical data, one with site data—to catalog the sample. The shell and bone-tempered sherds were noted, but the calcium correction (see Steponaitis et al. 1996:559) was only applied to the 4% (n=47) of samples known to be shell-tempered (see Figure 1).

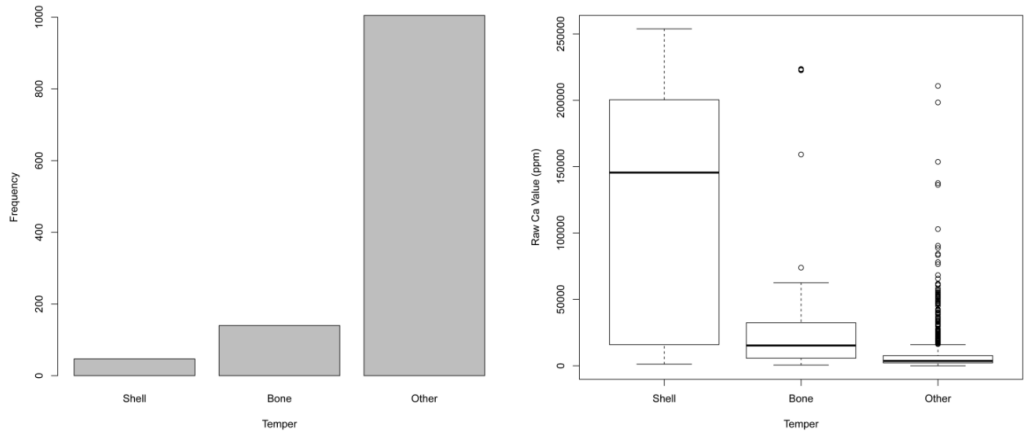

Figure 1. Frequency and uncorrected Ca values for shell, bone and other tempers in the Caddo INAA dataset.

The calcium correction was applied to these 47 sherds in version 2.15.2 of R, after which those sherds were recombined with the bone and other-tempered sherds, and the log-10 of each element was calculated, adding a value of one to each sherd/element in the database, effectively replacing all missing values with a zero. Subseqently, the Getis-Ord Gi* statistic in ArcGIS10 was employed to calculate a z-score for each log-10 value, illustrating the spatial distribution and z-score value for each element using the formula:

$$G_i^* = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{n} w_{i,j}\, x_j - \bar{X} \sum_{j=1}^{n} w_{i,j}}{s \sqrt{\frac{\left[n \sum_{j=1}^{n} w_{i,j}^2 - \left(\sum_{j=1}^{n} w_{i,j}\right)^2\right]}{n-1}}}$$

where x_j is the attribute value for feature j, $w_{i,j}$ is the spatial weight between feature i and j, n is equal to the total number of features and:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{n} x_j}{n}$$

$$S = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{j=1}^{n} x_j^2}{n} - (\bar{X})^2}$$

The G_i^* statistic is a z-score so no further calculations are required (ESRI 2012).

Following the calculation of log-10 values for each element, these data were then used to calculate the deterministic statistic of inverse distance weighted (IDW) in ArcGIS10 for each element to better illustrate whether discrete geochemical signatures exist close to one another, or in the same location (see Mitchell 2005; ESRI 2004). Pulling from these results, the geographic illustrations seem to clarify much, but can also be used to clarify and expand upon assertions made in previous analyses. For instance, the geographic distribution of chromium (Cr) appears to support Ferguson's (2010:16-17) assertion regarding an apparent gradient in the Sabine River drainage, an observation which might now be extended to all but the Red River drainage in East Texas. What follows are the geographic illustrations created through this process, which document the spatial diversity and variability for each of the reported elements (Figures 2-10).

Summary and Conclusion

INAA sample sizes must be increased within sites and from new sites to further current dialogues regarding possible ceramic provenance determinations within the ancestral Caddo territory. In order to achieve a confident level of statistical significance, a minimum of 30 sherds should be submitted for INAA from each site. This makes it possible to create a site-specific correspondence matrix from which an exploration of statistical similarities and differences can assist in the identification of clays found in the ceramics used at each site.

The chemical maps presented here represent an important new analysis of the Caddo INAA database. The results of this analysis illustrate that the chemical composition of ceramics associated with ancestral Caddo populations were diverse and highly variable across East Texas and surrounding states, hinting at the potential successes in ceramic provenance identifications for more robust (>30) samples of sherds from sites within this region.

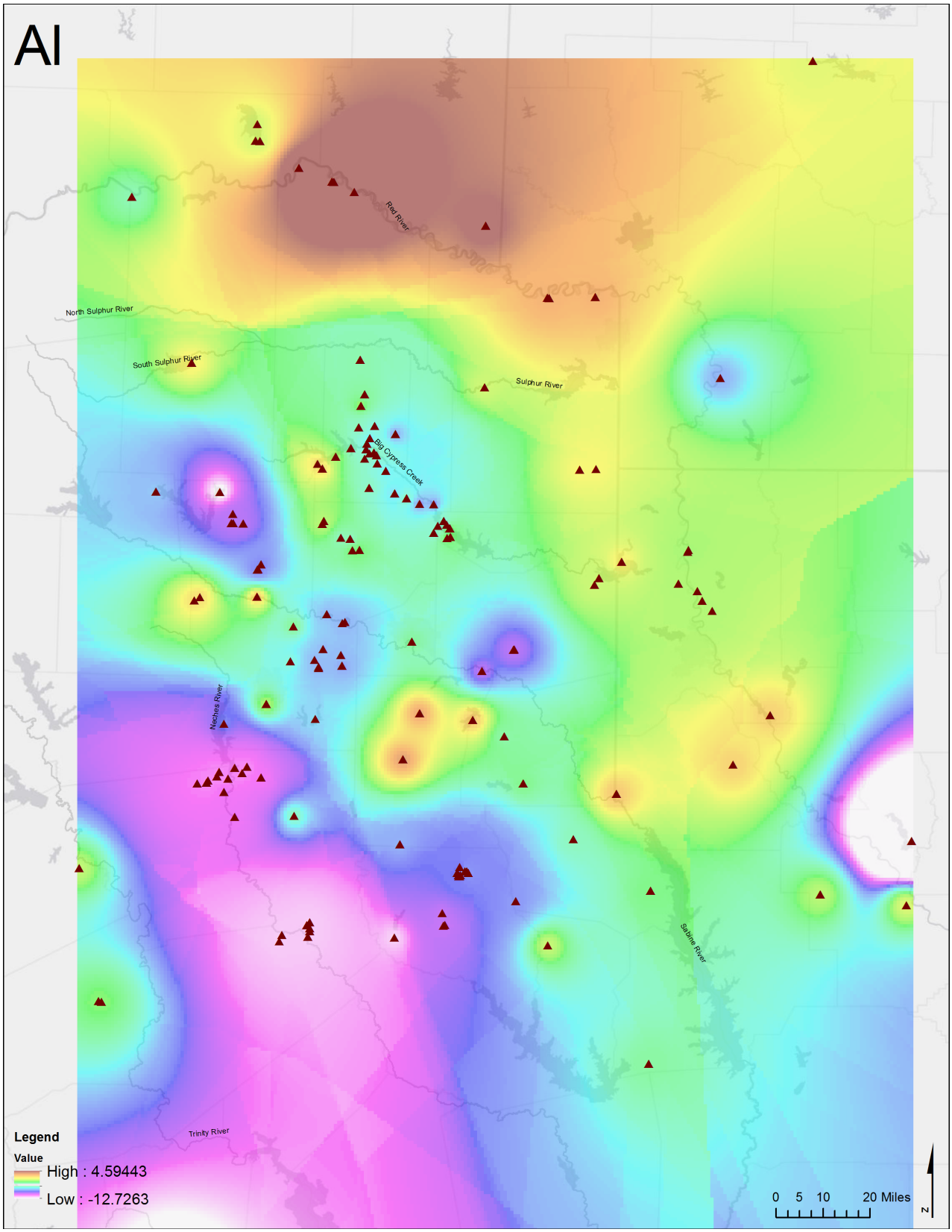

Figure 2. *Al* presence in data set.

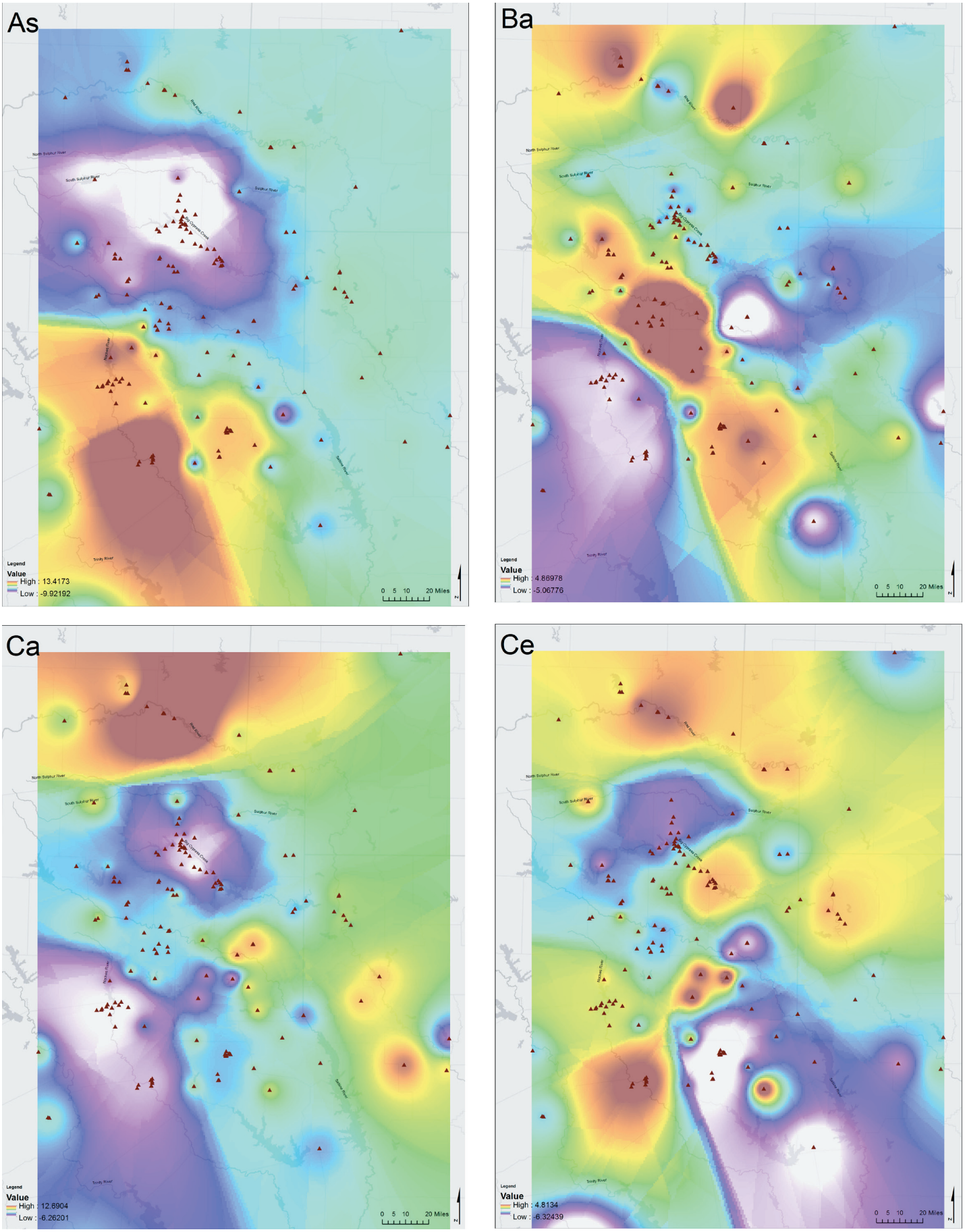

Figure 3. *As, Ba, Ca, and Ce* presence in data set.

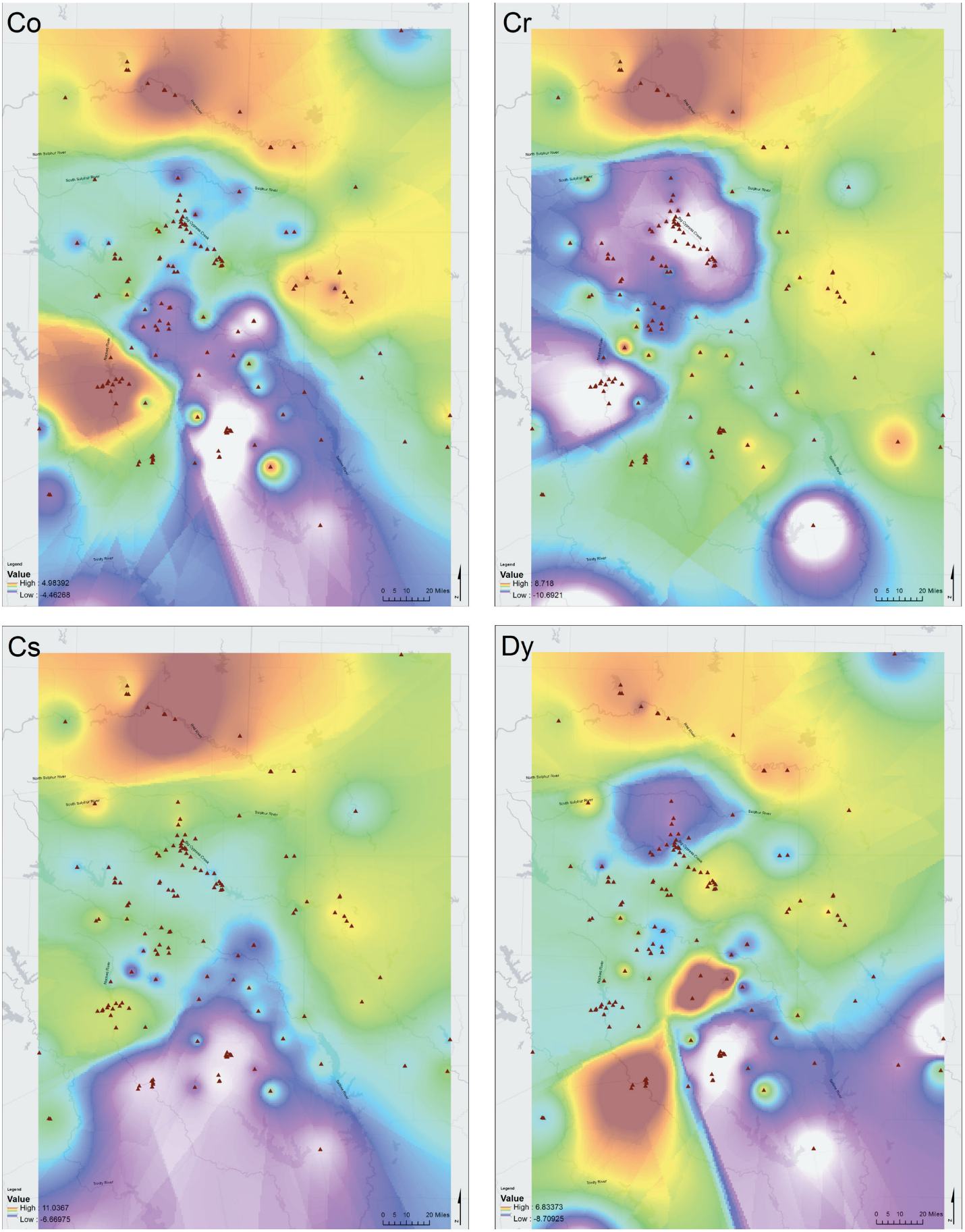

Figure 4. *Co, Cr, Cs, and Dy* presence in data set.

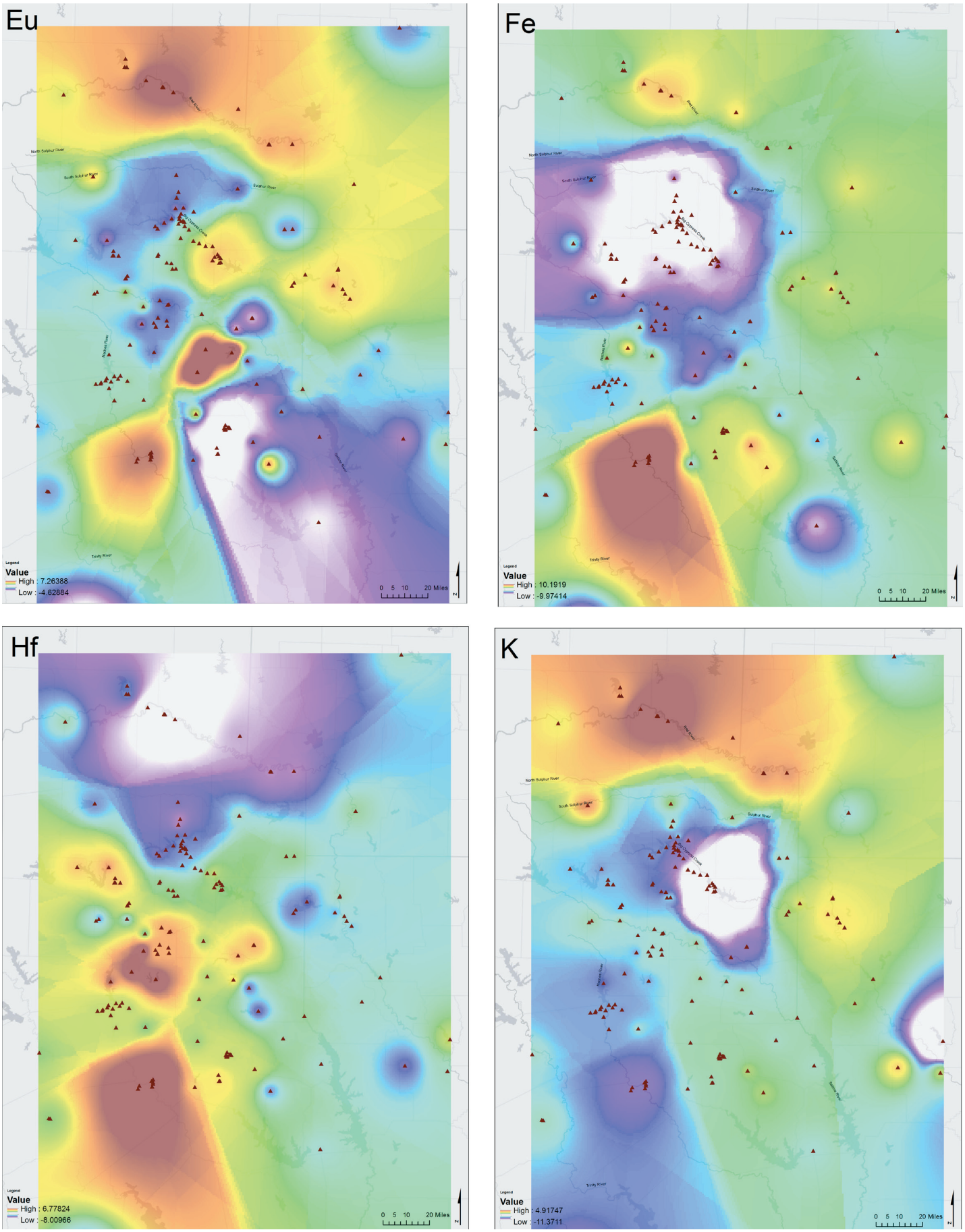

Figure 5. *Eu, Fe, Hf, and K* presence in data set.

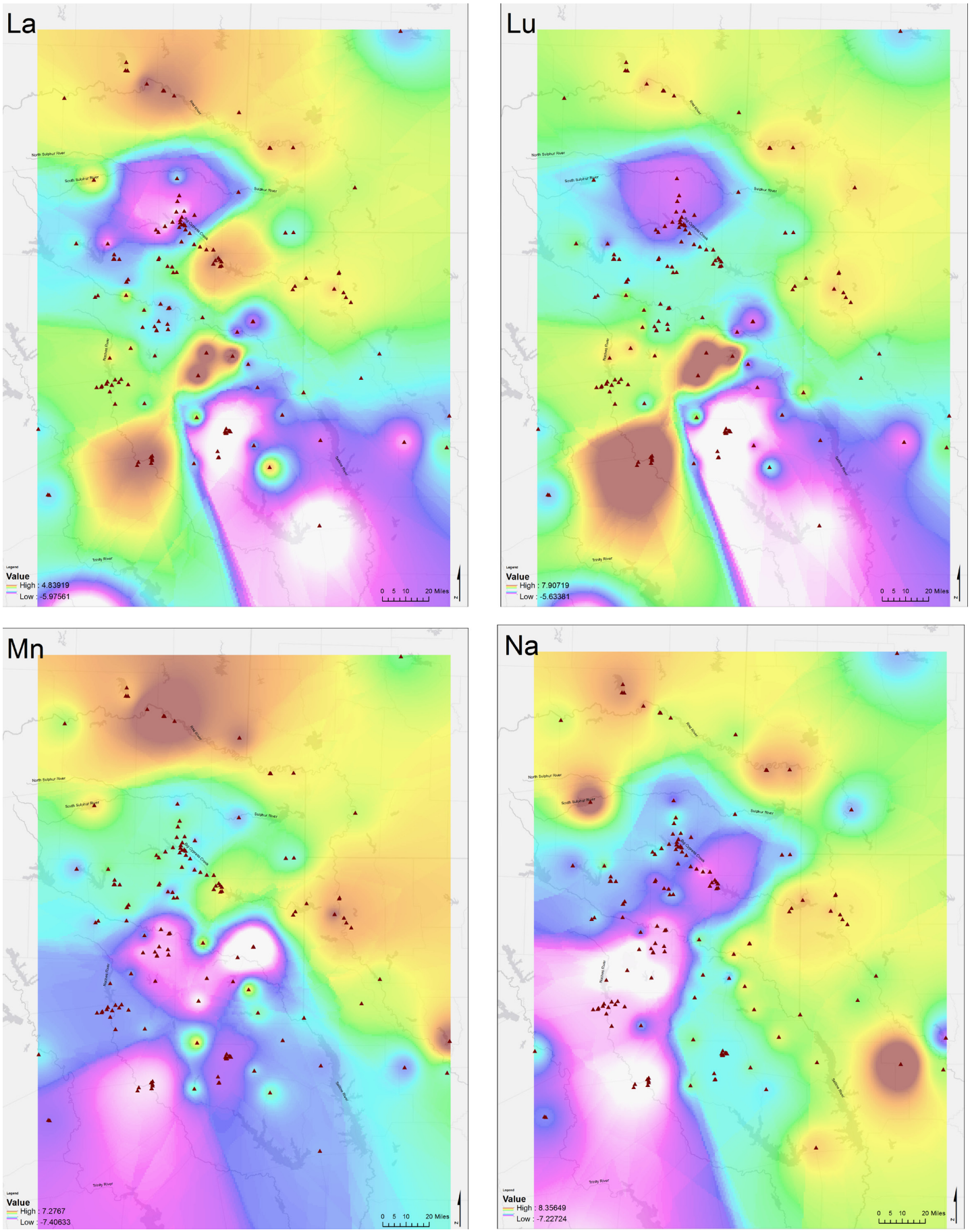

Figure 6. *La, Lu, Mn, and Na* presence in data set.

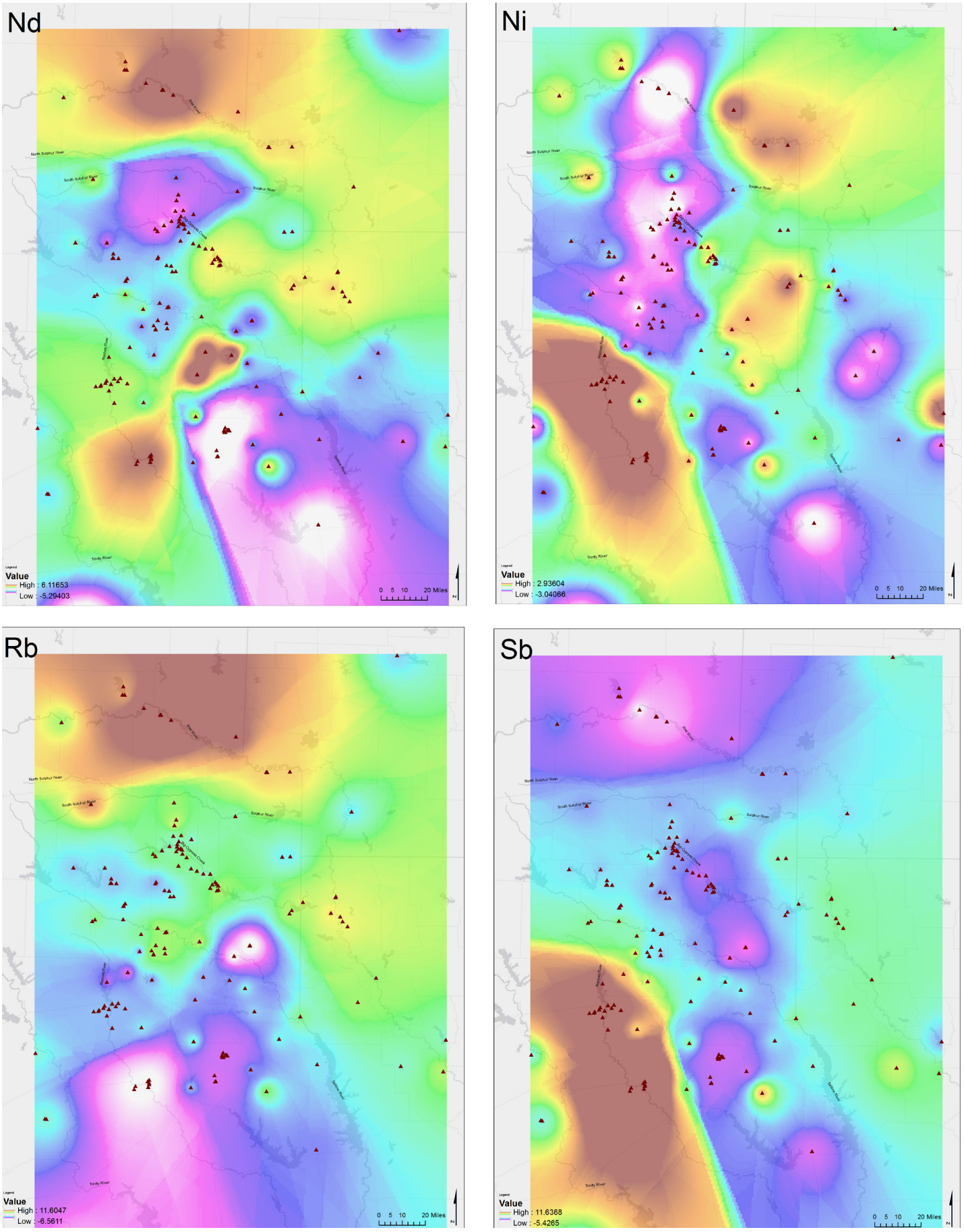

Figure 7. *Nd, Ni, Rb, and Sb* presence in data set.

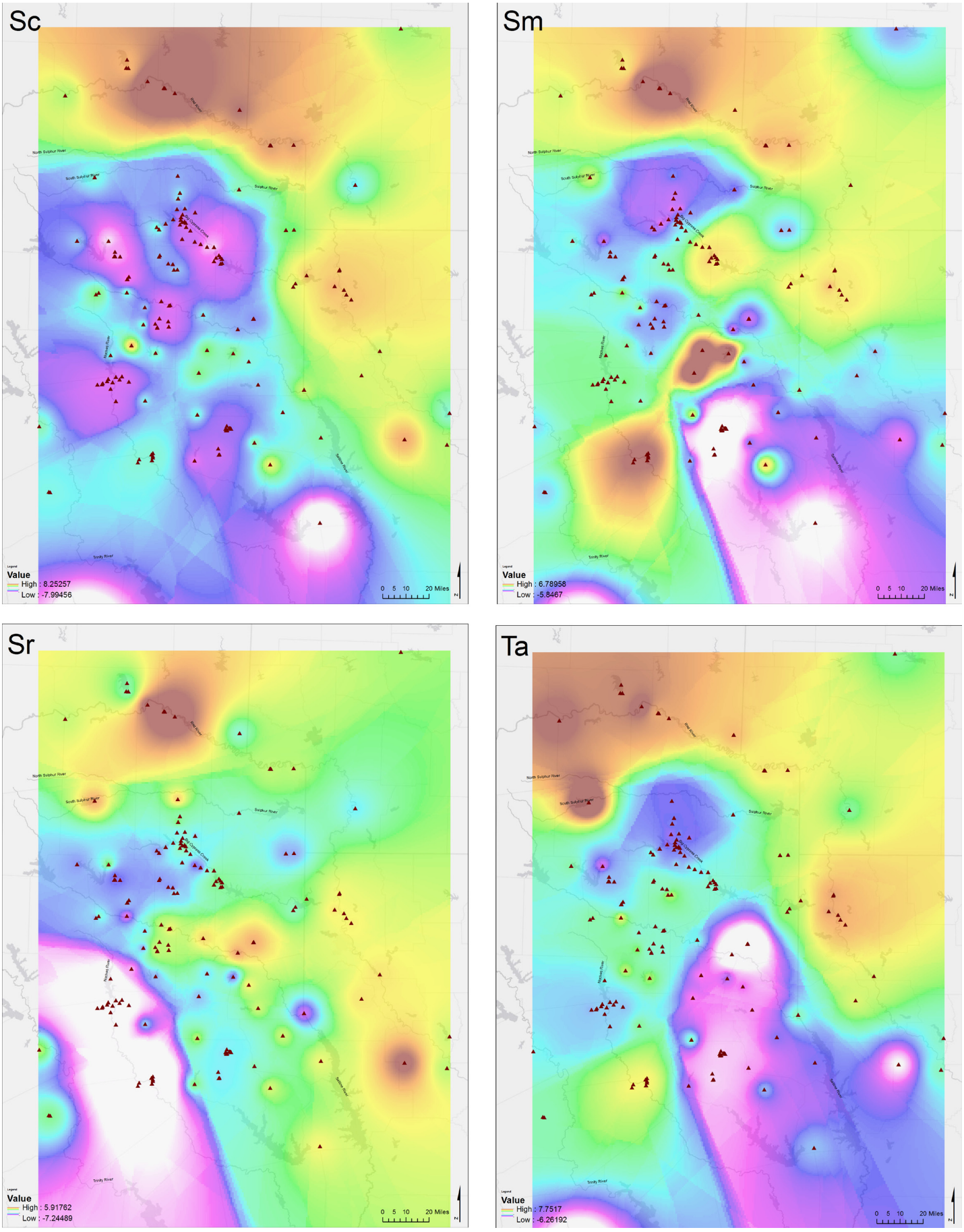

Figure 8. *Sc, Sm, Sr, and Ta* presence in data set.

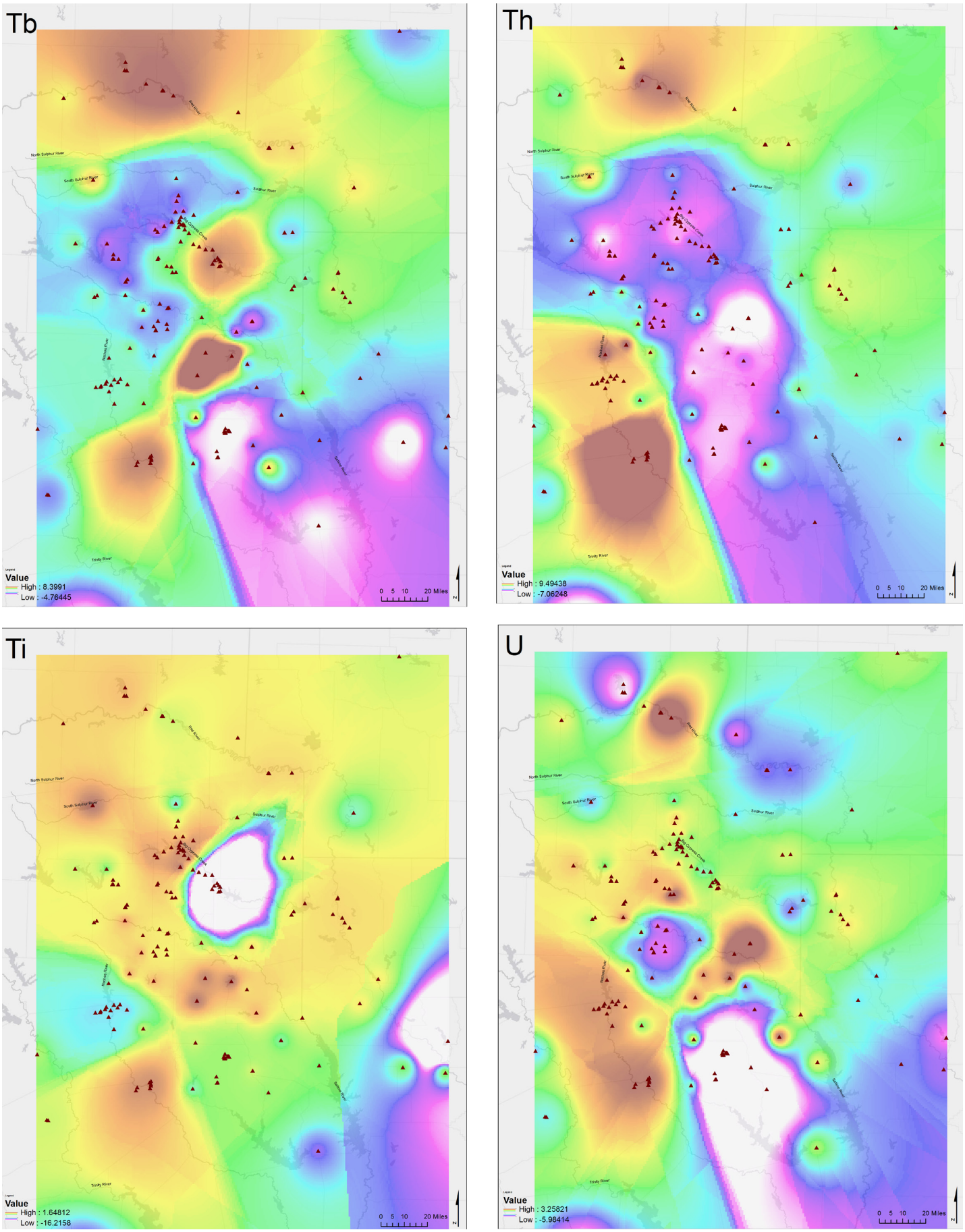

Figure 9. *Tb, Th, Ti, and U* presence in data set.

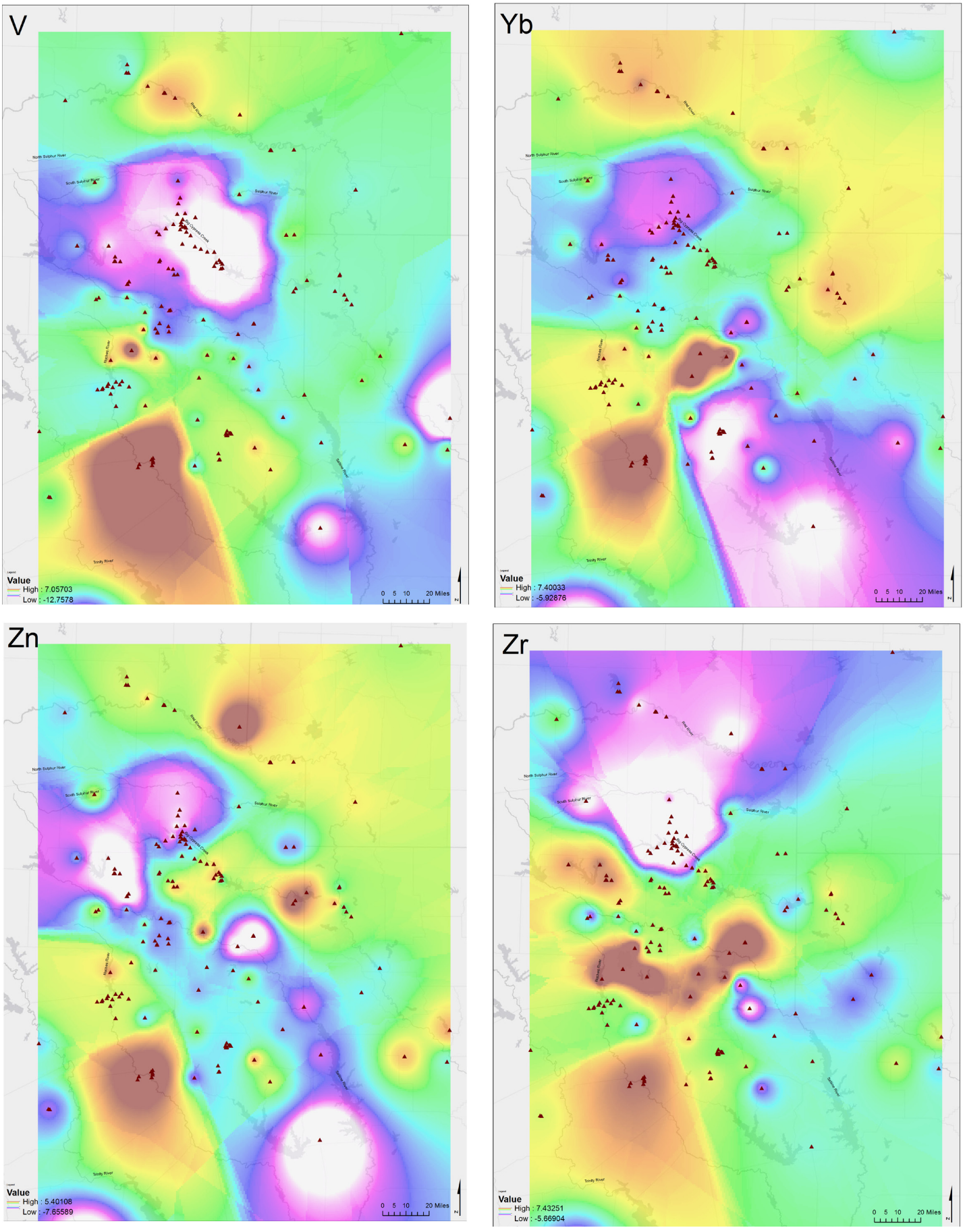

Figure 10. *V, Yb, Zn, and Zr* presence in data set.

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The Ear Spool site (41TT653): A mid-15th to early 17th Century A.D. Caddo site in the Sulphur River Basin, Titus County, Texas

Timothy K. Perttula

Introduction

The Ear Spool site (41TT653) is a rather unique ancestral Caddo settlement in the East Texas Pineywoods. More specifically, it is situated along a small tributary to East Piney Creek, itself a northward-flowing tributary to White Oak Creek in the Sulphur River basin (Figure 1).

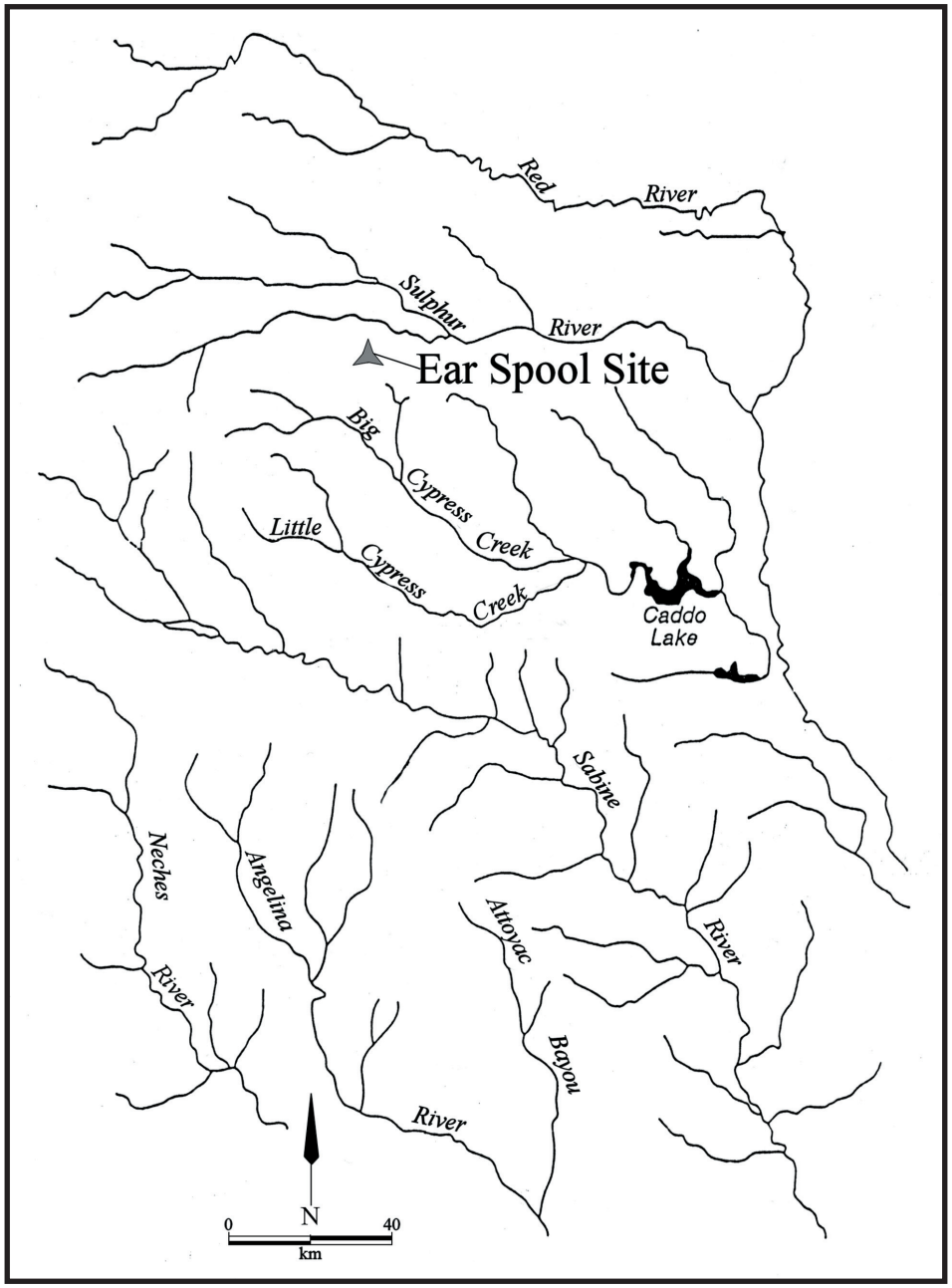

Figure 1. Location of the Ear Spool Site in East Texas.

What makes the site unique is its diverse architectural character as seen in the archeological evidence of four buildings in two different Late Caddo period, Titus phase occupations, separated by as much as 2-3 generations, from the mid-15th century to the early 17th century A.D. In particular, it is the construction of two specialized structures in the earlier Caddo occupation in shallow pits that is most notable, along with evidence of marker posts in two different intra-site contexts. Both of these structures had prepared clay floors, one also had a southwest-facing extended entranceway, and then both of these structures were deliberately destroyed by burning and burial with sediments. The later structures were larger circular residential structures, one of which was deliberately burned down, but not covered with any sediments. Galan (1998) and Perttula and Sherman (2009) has discussed the archeological investigations of the Ear Spool site in detail, characterizing the site's archeological features and findings. However, these publications are very limited in distribution, basically being limited to Cultural Resource Management archeologists working in Texas, but I believe that the findings from the Ear Spool site warrant broader consideration because of its distinctive and dual sacred and secular nature.

Excavations

Extensive excavations, both hand and machine-based, were completed at the Ear Spool site. The site covers a ca. 80 x 45 m area of a sandy ridge, then in an improved pasture. The excavations uncovered evidence for four Caddo structures, an open area or courtyard between the structures, and a series of ancillary features (Figures 2 and 3).

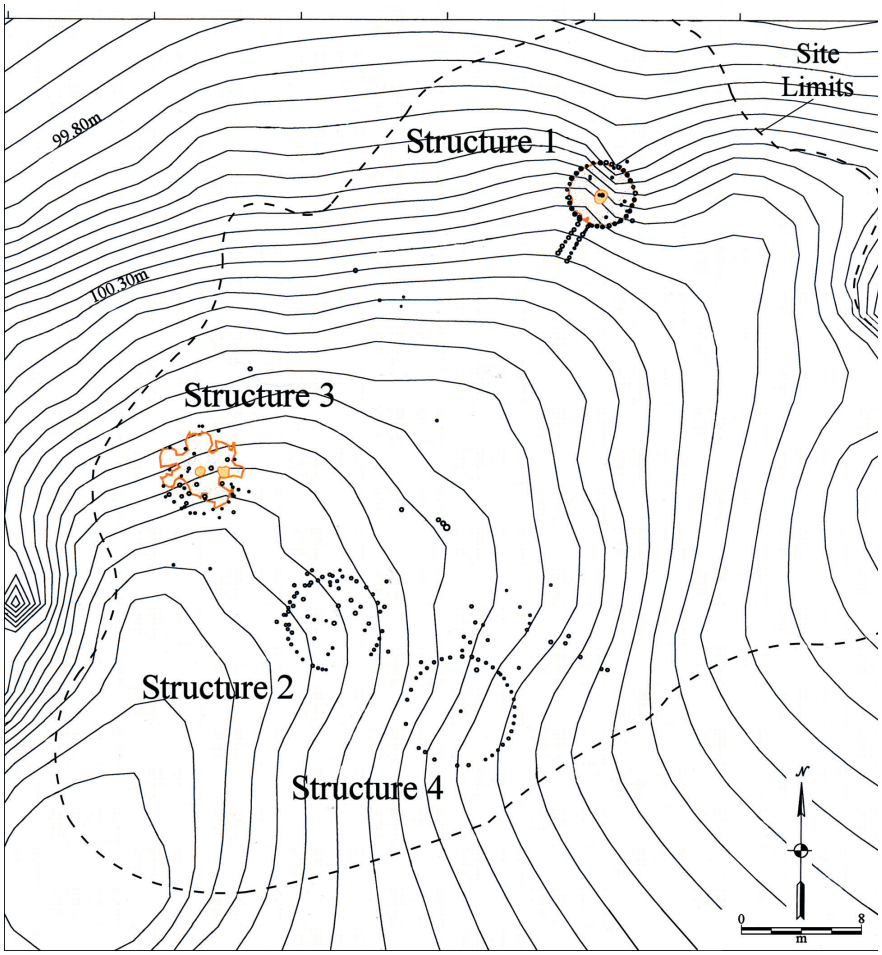

Figure 2. Site topography, locations of structures and other post holes.

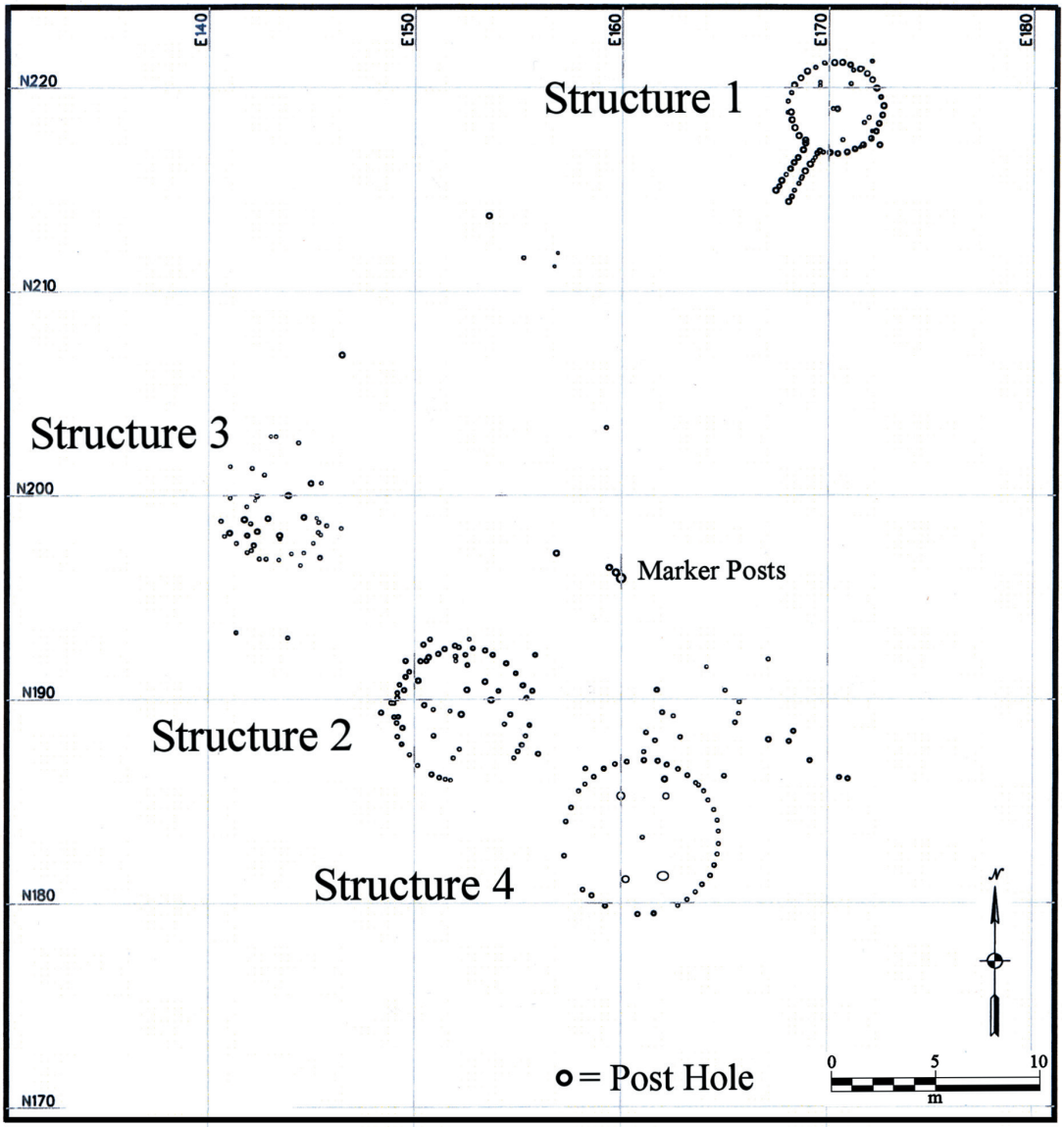

Figure 3. Structures 1-4, marker posts, and other post holes.

Following the excavation of 77 50 x 50 cm units across the site to obtain information on the distribution of different categories of artifacts (Figure 4), a number of backhoe trenches were excavated in areas where buried archeological deposits and/or artifact concentrations (especially daub and bone) had been identified to search for concentrations of cultural features. Several of the trenches encountered buried features that turned out to be associated with Structures 1, 2, and 3. Artifacts were generally concentrated in these three structures, and in outdoor work areas between Structure 1 and Structures 2 and 3.

Block excavations (117 m^2) were then placed over Structures 1, 2, and 3 to expose and define their archeological and architectural content, and another 24 m^2 were excavated in outdoor work areas between the structures. The final work effort consisted of large-scale bulldozer stripping areas between the block excavations. At that time, Structure 4 and a burial (Burial 3) were exposed, along with additional pits, post holes, and a small midden deposit.

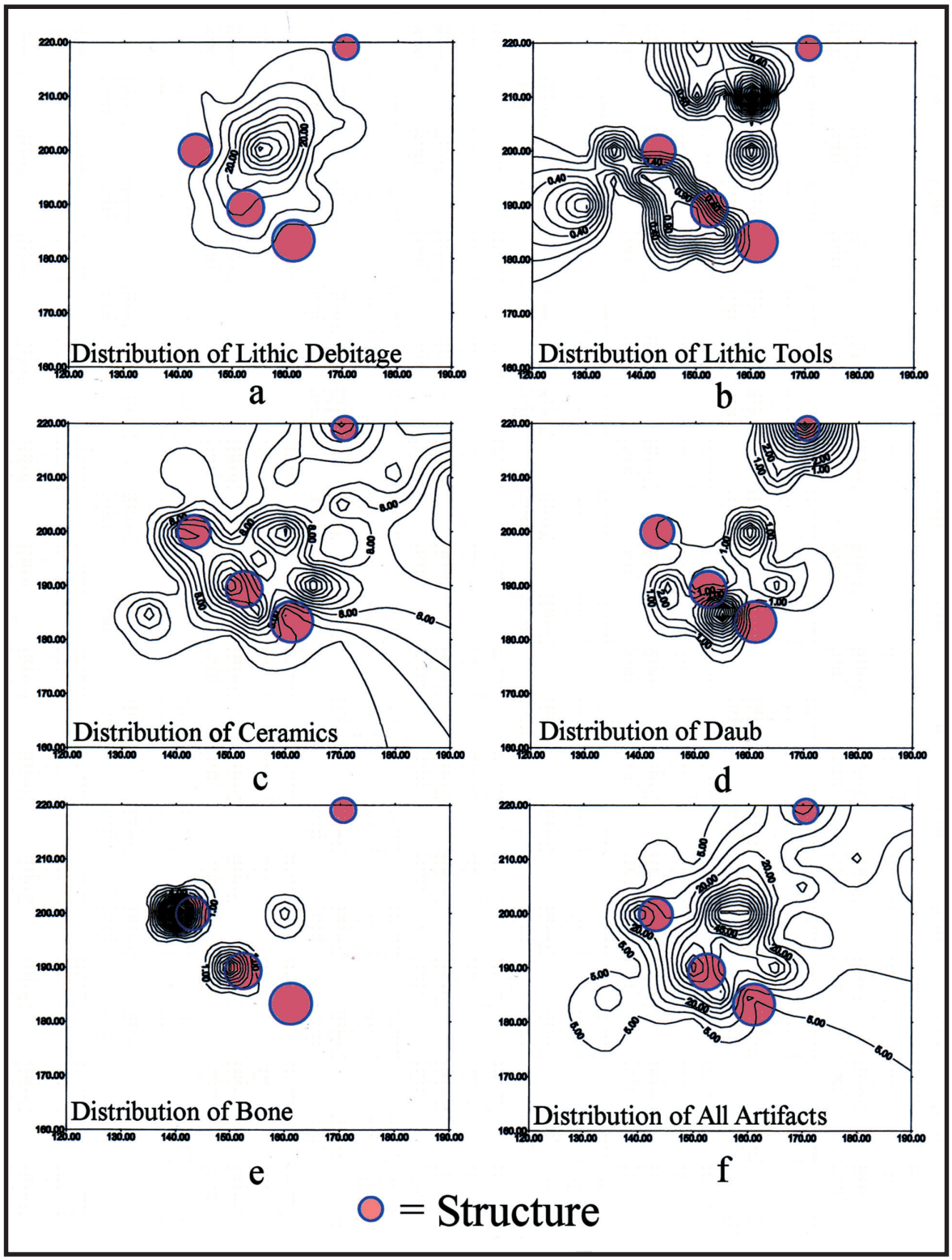

Figure 4. Intra-site distribution of recovered artifacts superimposed over the locations of Structures 1-4: a, lithic debris; b, lithic tools; c, ceramic sherds; d, daub; e, animal bone; f, all artifacts.

The two components at the Ear Spool were defined primarily on the basis of radiocarbon dates from structures and features (see below) as well as similarities and differences in the kinds and proportions of decorated rim and body sherds from fine ware and utility ware vessels. This is based on 606 decorated rim and body sherds from Component I and 1025 decorated rim and body sherds from Component II. Principal ceramic types in Component I, which is estimated to date from the mid-15th century A.D. to the early 16th century, include Ripley Engraved, Wilder Engraved, Maydelle Incised, Bullard Brushed, Pease Brushed-Incised, Harleton Appliqued, and La Rue Neck Banded. The Component II principal types include Ripley Engraved, Wilder Engraved, Taylor Engraved, Simms Engraved, Avery Engraved, Mockingbird Punctated, Maydelle Incised, Bullard Brushed, Karnack Brushed-Incised, La Rue Neck Banded, and McKinney Plain, and this component is estimated to date from the late 16th century to the early 17th century. The stylistic differences between the two components are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary of ceramic stylistic differences between Components I and II.

Component I	Component II
moderate number of brushed sherds (31%)	higher amounts of brushed sherds (52%)
brushed-appliqued decorations	more overlapping brushed sherds
predominance of cross-hatched incised	equal portions of cross-hatched and diagonal incised rims
punctated-incised sherds with diagonal incised elements	opposed or hachured incised rims
neck-banded-appliqued-diagonal incised decorative element	tool and fingernail punctated decorations on vessel body
punctated-incised-appliqued rim and body decorations	punctated-incised-brushed sherds
scroll, scroll and semi-circle, and circle Ripley Engraved motifs	pendant triangle Ripley Engraved motif
2 times higher proportions of slipped sherds (mainly interior-exterior surfaces)	few slipped sherds, mainly exterior slipping only
engraved sherds with red and white pigments	no engraved sherds with pigments
shell-tempered sherds (1.5%) in Structure 1	presence of Taylor Engraved and Simms Engraved
smaller vessels (mean orifice diameter of 19.8 $\pm$ 6.2 cm	larger vessels (mean orifice diameter of 24.1 $\pm$ 5.9 cm

More than 300 cultural features were identified in the Ear Spool site excavations. Component I includes two clay floor-lined structures (Structures 1 and 3) and pits and post holes in an outdoor work area (Area 3) (Figure 5). The two structures were about 20 m apart, with an open area between them. Three of the posts in Area 3 are marker posts, about 17 m east of Structure 3, and these were not intended for use in structures but to mark certain special areas or features in an open courtyard at the Ear Spool site community. These marker posts are larger (24-41 cm in diameter) than typical wall posts, which average 17-18 cm in diameter.

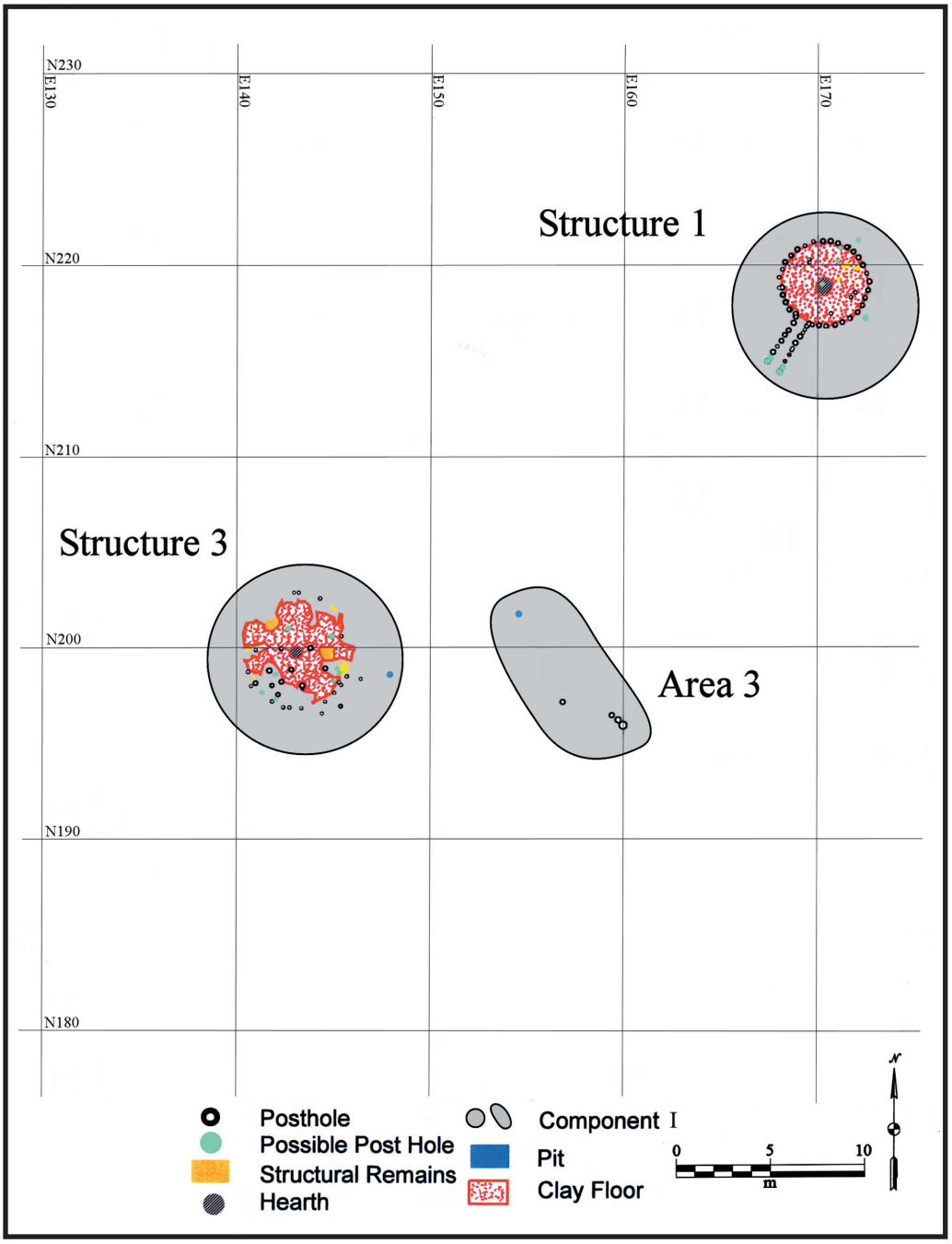

Figure 5. Component I features and areas.

Marker posts are common in open courtyards in certain Mississippian sites (see Pauketat and Alt 2005), but have not been previously documented in Titus phase contexts. Such poles may have been painted, hung with scalps and feathers, and probably embodied "supernatural forces, legends, social memories, and identities" (Pauketat and Alt 2005:228). Carter (1995:90-93, 96-99) has discussed Historic Caddo rituals concerning the use of singular tall poles. According to a Spanish priest writing in 1691, the Nabedache Caddo (who lived along the Neches River in East Texas) erected a pole in their village, and:

> *on it hangs a portion of everything they are offering to God. In front of the pole a fire is burning. Near by is a person who looks like a demon. He is the person who offers the incense to God, throwing tobacco and buffalo fat into the fire. The men collect themselves around the blaze; each*

one takes a handful of smoke and rubs his whole body with it. Each believes that, because of this ceremony, God will grant whatever he may ask—whether it be the death of his enemy or swiftness to run. On other occasions, the incense is not offered by burning in this way. In this case a kind of burned pole is taken and set up by the fire. This pole, and the fat for the incense—which has already been burned—they offer to God.

The later Component II covers a ca. 35 x 35 m area of the landform, and had two structures (Structures 2 and 4), several burials, and a number of outdoor work areas with pits (including a large outdoor storage pit north of Structure 4 and several smudge pits) and post holes, including a midden deposit in Area I (Figure 6). The distribution of post holes in outdoor work areas may represent the locations of drying racks, arbors, and ramadas (Figure 7).

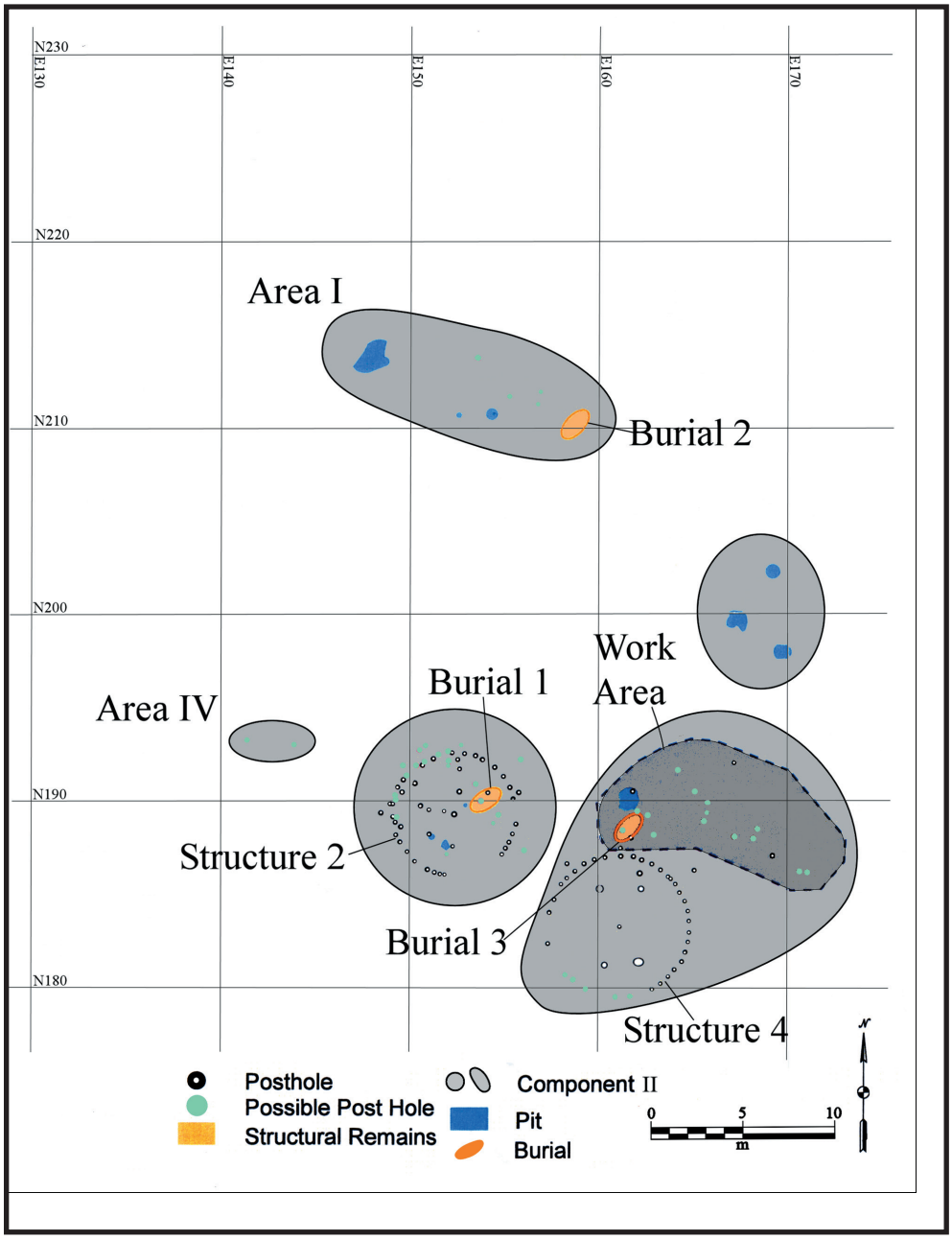

Figure 6. Component II features and areas.

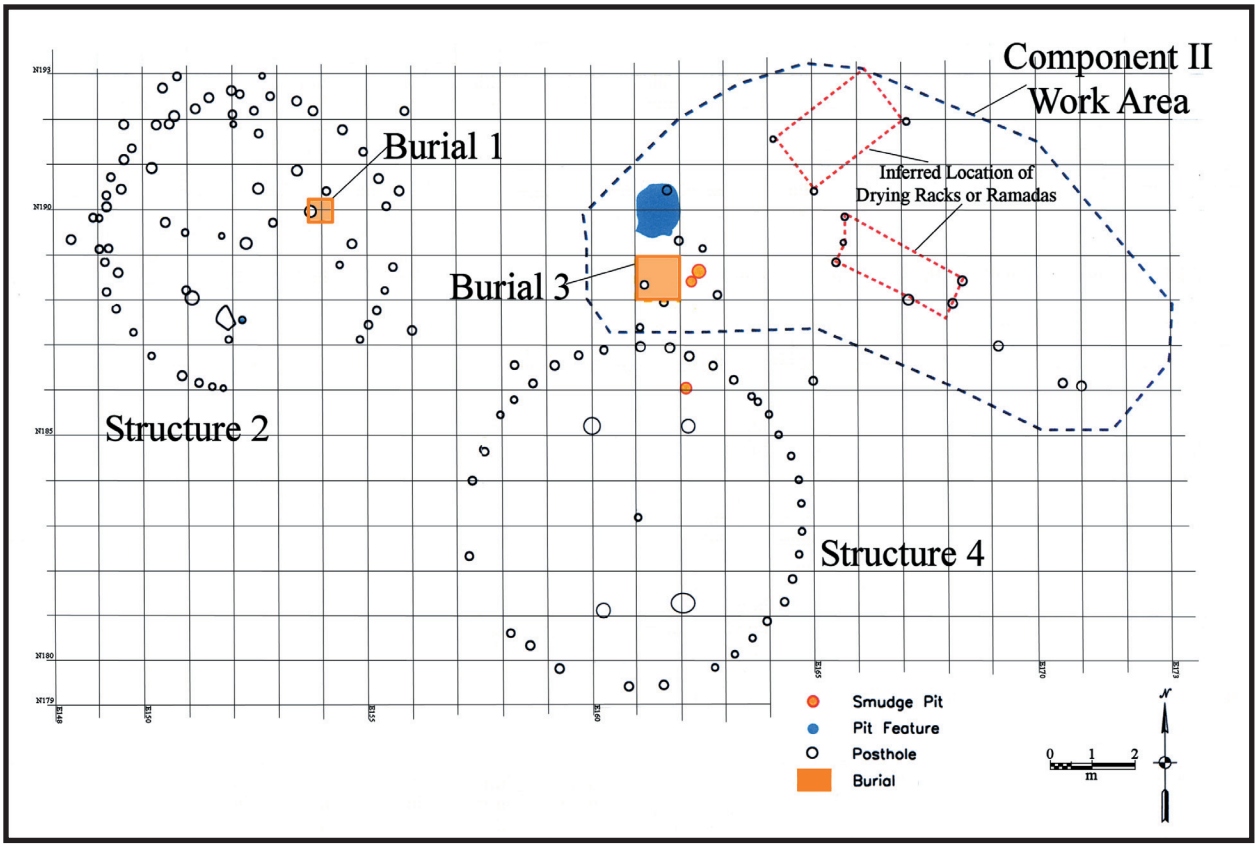

Figure 7. Component II structures and work area.

Structure 1 was built in a shallow circular pit and had a well preserved reddish-brown clay floor, with sand floors just underneath and above it, and a central hearth. It also had an extended entranceway that faced to the southwest, in the direction of Structure 3 (Figure 8a-b). It is approximately 4.5 m in diameter, with an estimated 16.27 m^2 of floor space. The extended entranceway, marked by a series of posts and evidence of an entranceway trench, is 2.5 m in length and oriented to the southwest.

Structure 1 is not a residential structure, but is suspected to have been used primarily for the conduct of rituals and ceremonies on special occasions. This is suggested because of its unique architectural (i.e., extended entranceway and the building of the structure in a pit), construction/destruction details (i.e., prepared clay floor, intentional structure destruction, and capping with sediments), and commemorative (i.e., placement of a marker post [Feature 49) through the central hearth, Figure 8c) elements.

Structure 1 was deliberately burned down, generating considerable quantities of daub and other burned structural debris across much of the structure floor (see Figure 8a). The high frequencies of daub from all three structures (Table 2), more than several thousand pieces, indicate that all of them were burned, but the very substantial amounts of daub in Structures 1 and 2 suggest these two had the thickest covering of daub on structure walls.

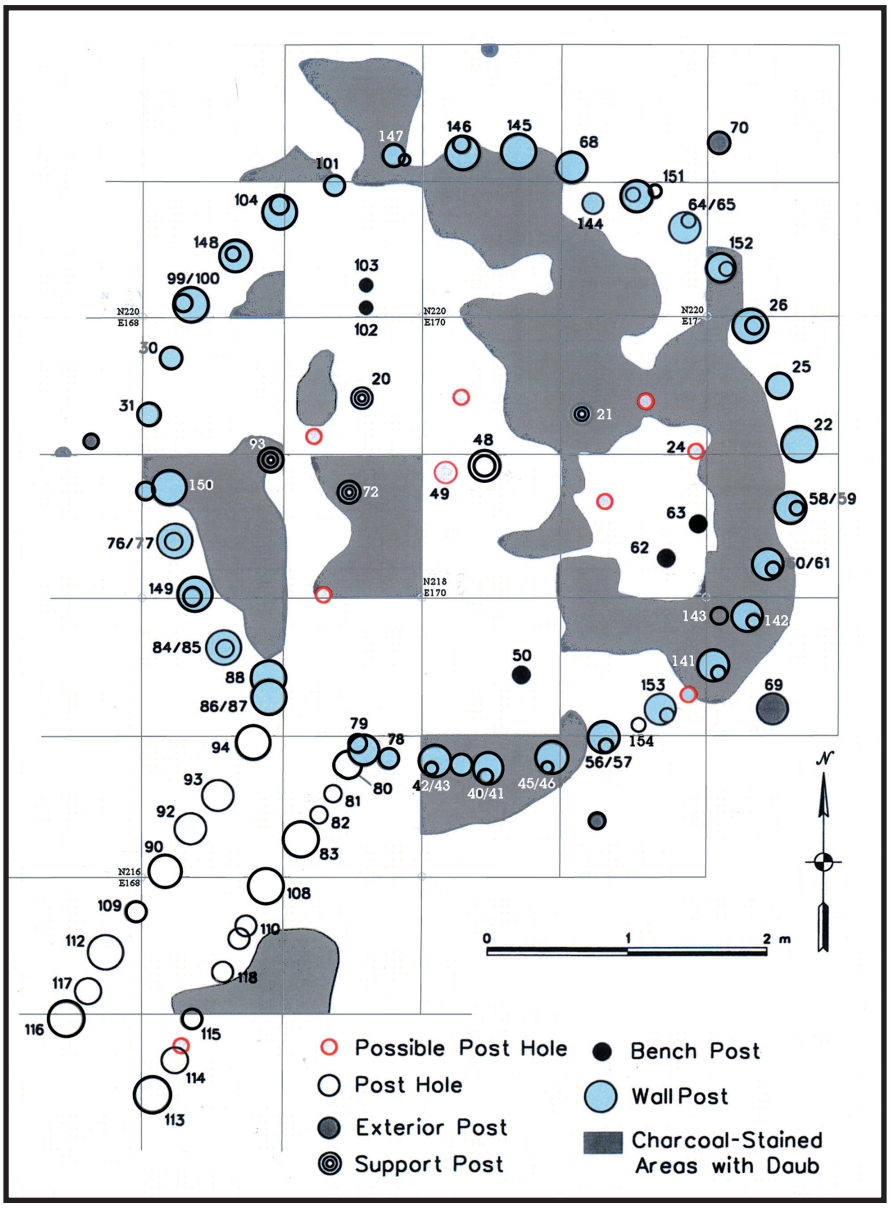

Figure 8a. Structure 1: Plan map of Structure 1 and charcoal-stained areas with daub.

Table 2. Densities of daub pieces in Structures 1-3.

Structures	Mean Density per m^3	Range by level in Density per m^3
Structure 1	90.5	6.7-145.4
Structure 2	46.3	6.7-89.8
Structure 3	13.5	1.0-61.0

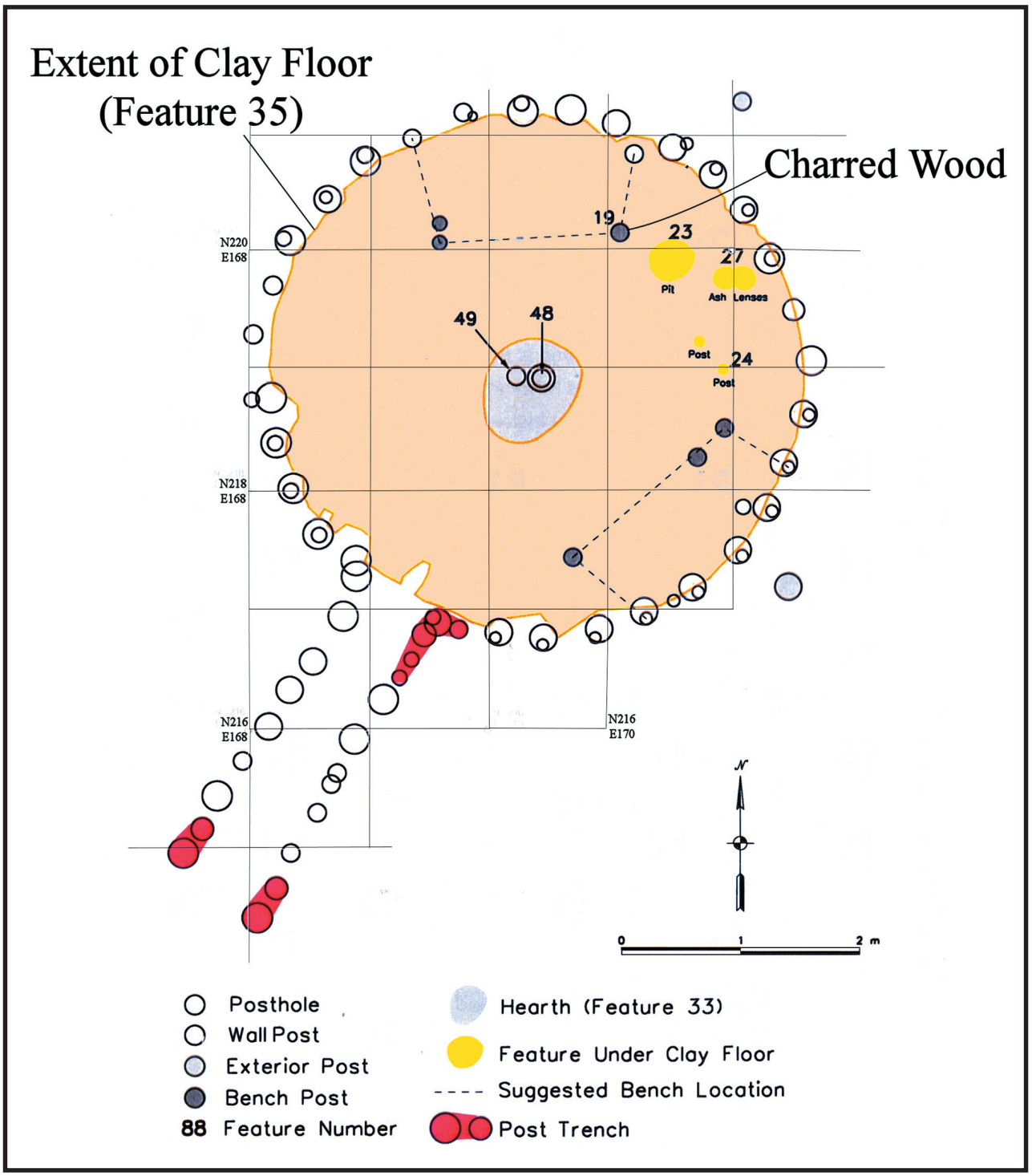

Figure 8b. Clay floor and other internal details; c, upper and lower posts inside Structure 1.

Structure 1 was covered with relatively clean sediments shortly after it was consumed by fire, and these sediments were probably dumped on the burning structural materials at a certain point, thus smothering the fire, and creating much of the blackened daub and burned clay. The covering sediments created a small mound over Structure 1. The 17 cm in diameter marker post (Feature 49) in Structure 1 is situated above the center of the central hearth and central post, and intruded into the central hearth (Feature 33, see Figure 8c) from the small mound deposits, suggesting it was placed shortly after the structure was abandoned and burned; the fill of Feature 49 consists primarily of burned daub. A similar marker post excavated through a mound deposit and the hearth of a buried and burned house has been documented at the Pilgrim's Pride site in Titus phase times (Perttula 2005:312 and Figure 8-9). In this case, however, the marker pole was almost 80 cm in diameter and extended well below the hearth, reaching the original ground surface at 170 cm bs.

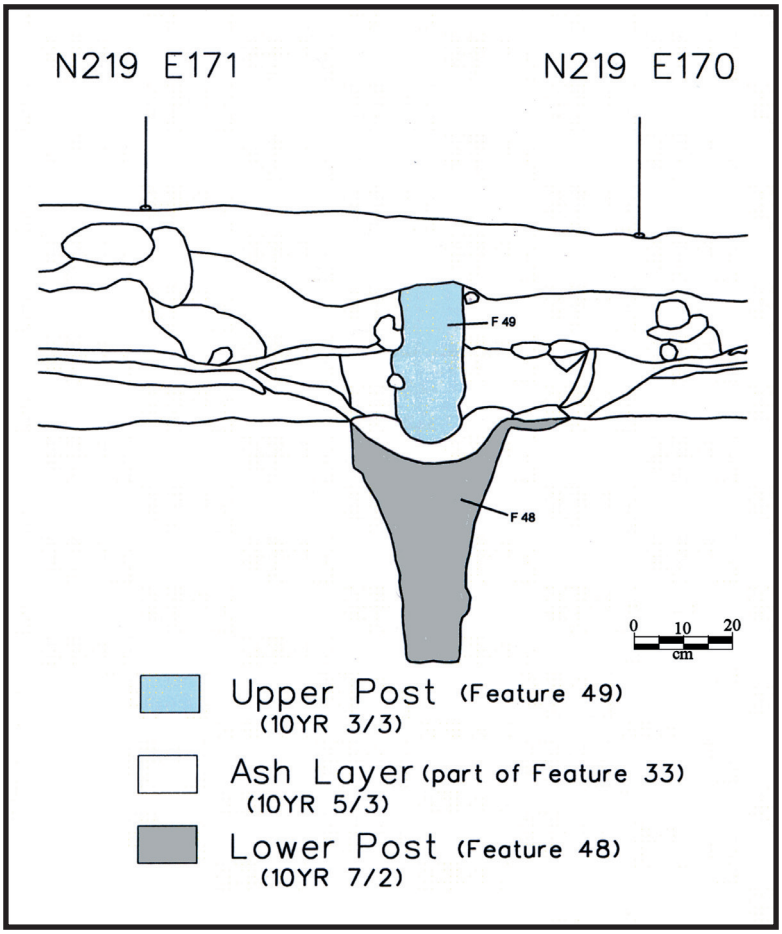

Figure 8c. Upper and lower posts inside Structure 1.

Structure 2 is a circular building approximately 6.75 m in diameter, marked by an arc of wood posts, support posts, and a center post (Figure 9a-b). Its estimated floor space is 33.83 m^2, and it is considered a residential structure for a family of Caddo people. The quantity of daub in the Structure 2 archeological deposits (see Figure 4d) indicate that it was a wattle and daub-covered structure that was burned down upon its abandonment. Burial 1, that of a child (see below), is under the floor in the northeastern part of the structure. The placement of the burial of children inside of residential structures is a well-documented Caddo mortuary practice in ancestral times, and it is likely that Burial 1 was part of a deliberate action by the Caddo residents at Ear Spool to create a social memory within the community, as a way to anchor this feature to an evolving social landscape (e.g., Chesson 2001).

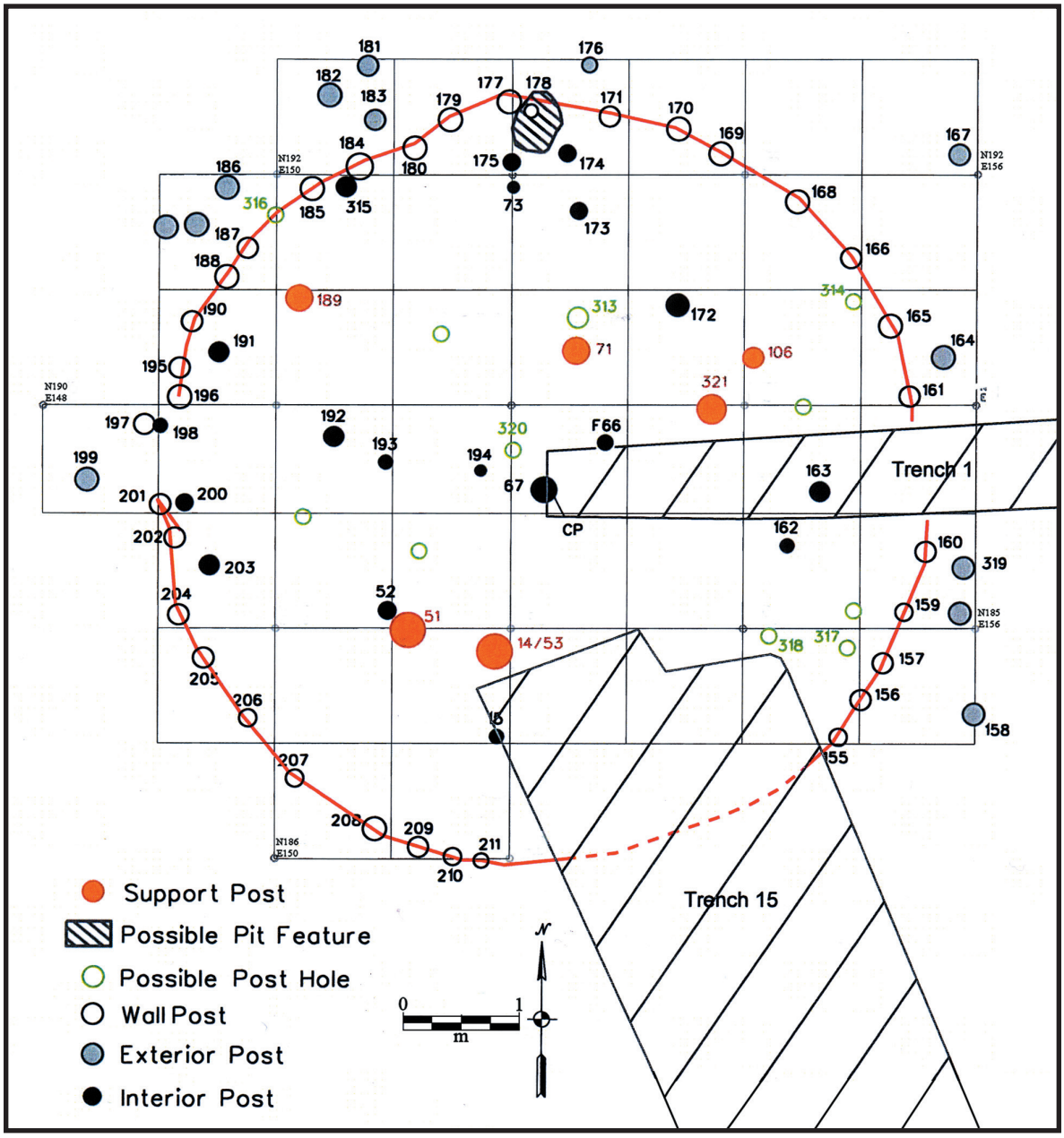

Figure 9a. Structure 2: plan map of post holes and features.

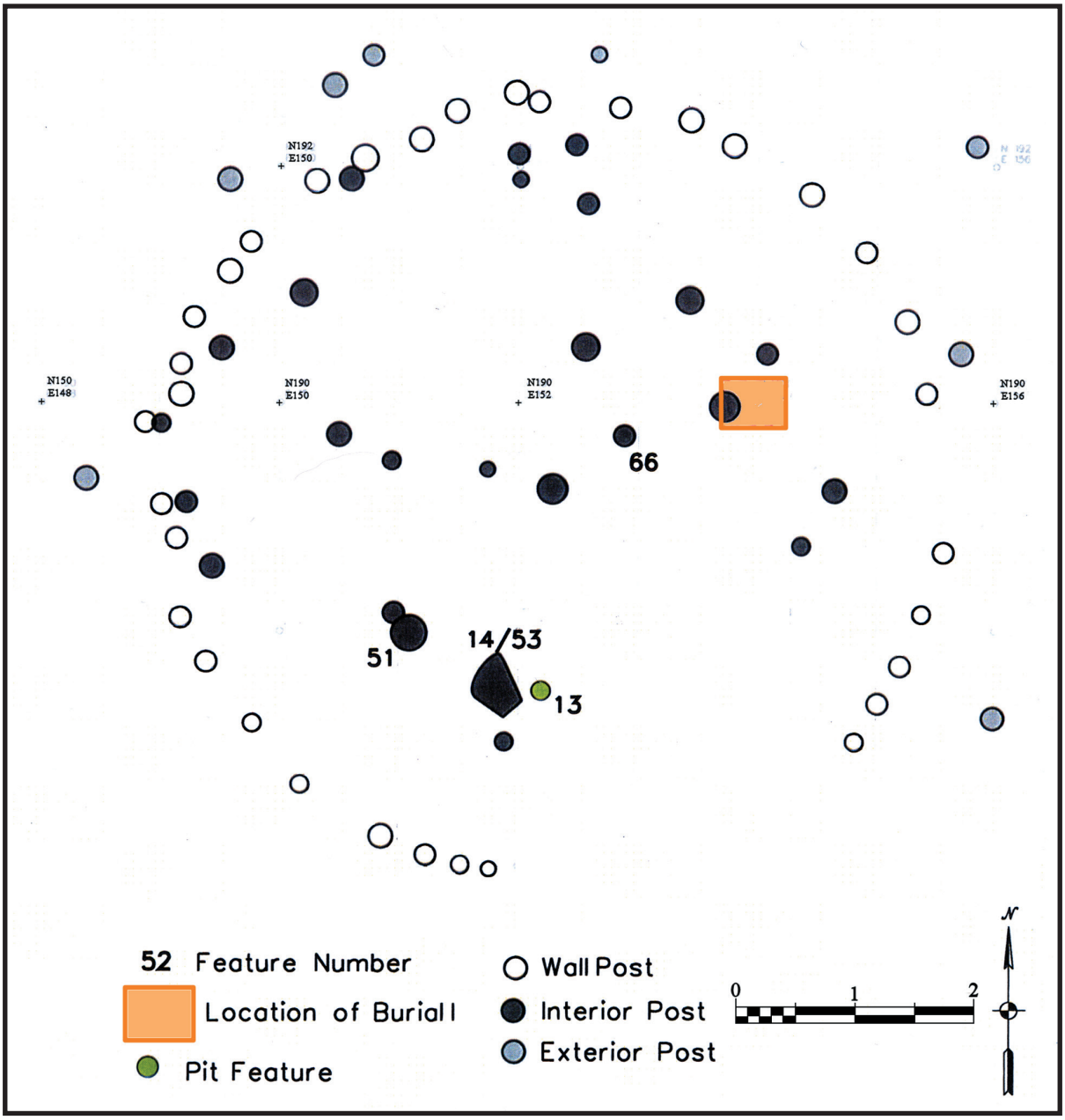

Figure 9b. Sturcture 2: Wall posts and interior and exterior posts.

Structure 3 is a second special purpose structure in Component I. The circular structure was built in a shallow pit about 5.5 m in diameter, had a clay-lined floor, interior support posts, and a central hearth (Figure 10a-b); there was no clear entrance. There was a sand floor underneath the clay-lined floor. The structure was burned down, and there were substantial charcoal-stained structural debris and daub above the clay-lined floor and throughout the pit. The structure pit was also used as a dumping area for trash following its abandonment, based on the densities of animal bone in its fill (see Figure 4e), probably over a protracted basis in the Component I and II occupations, and sediments were also used to fill the pit. No sediments were piled up over the burned structural remains and pit, unlike Structure 1.

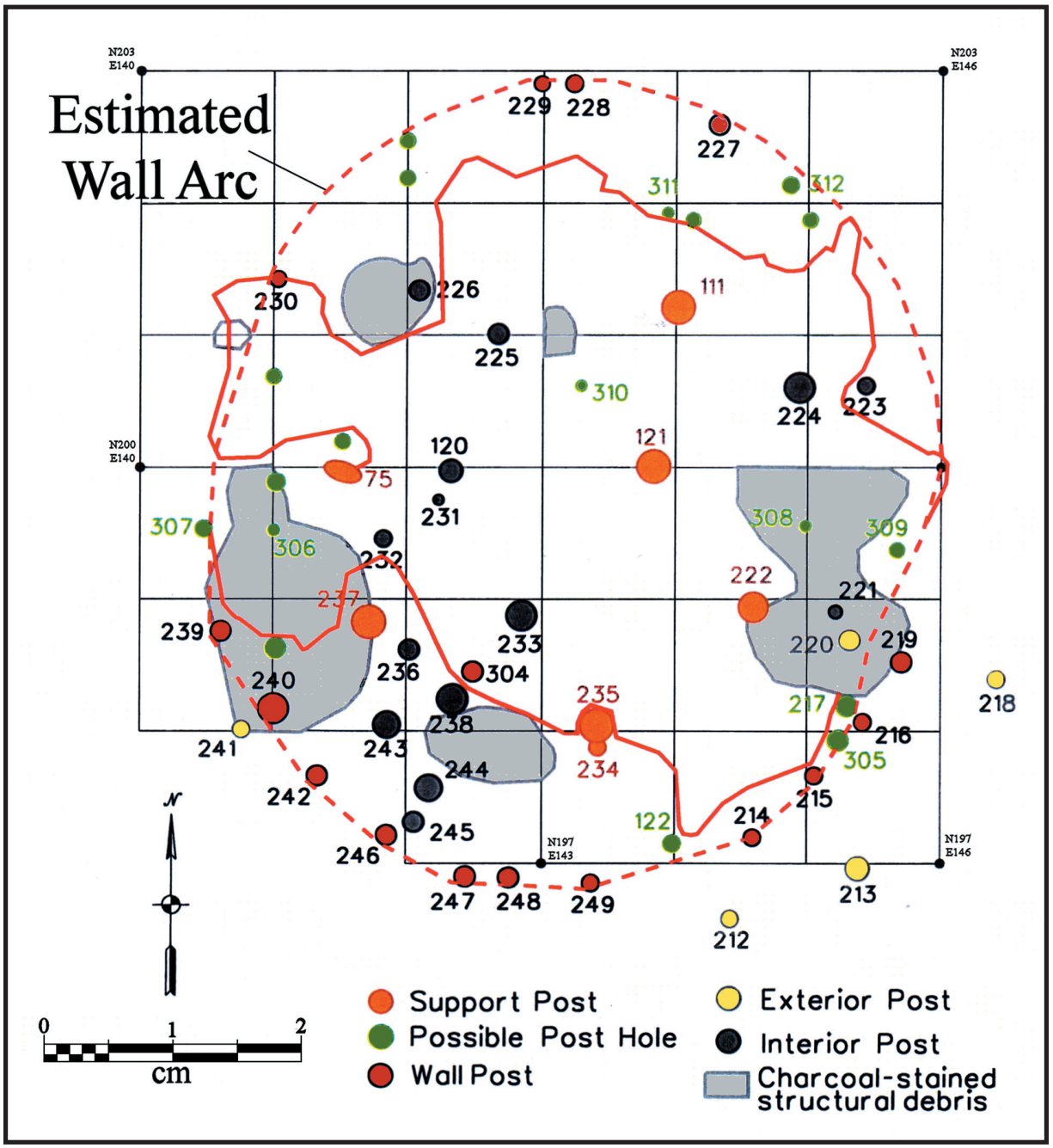

Figure 10a. Structure 3: extent of clay floor, structural debris, and post holes.

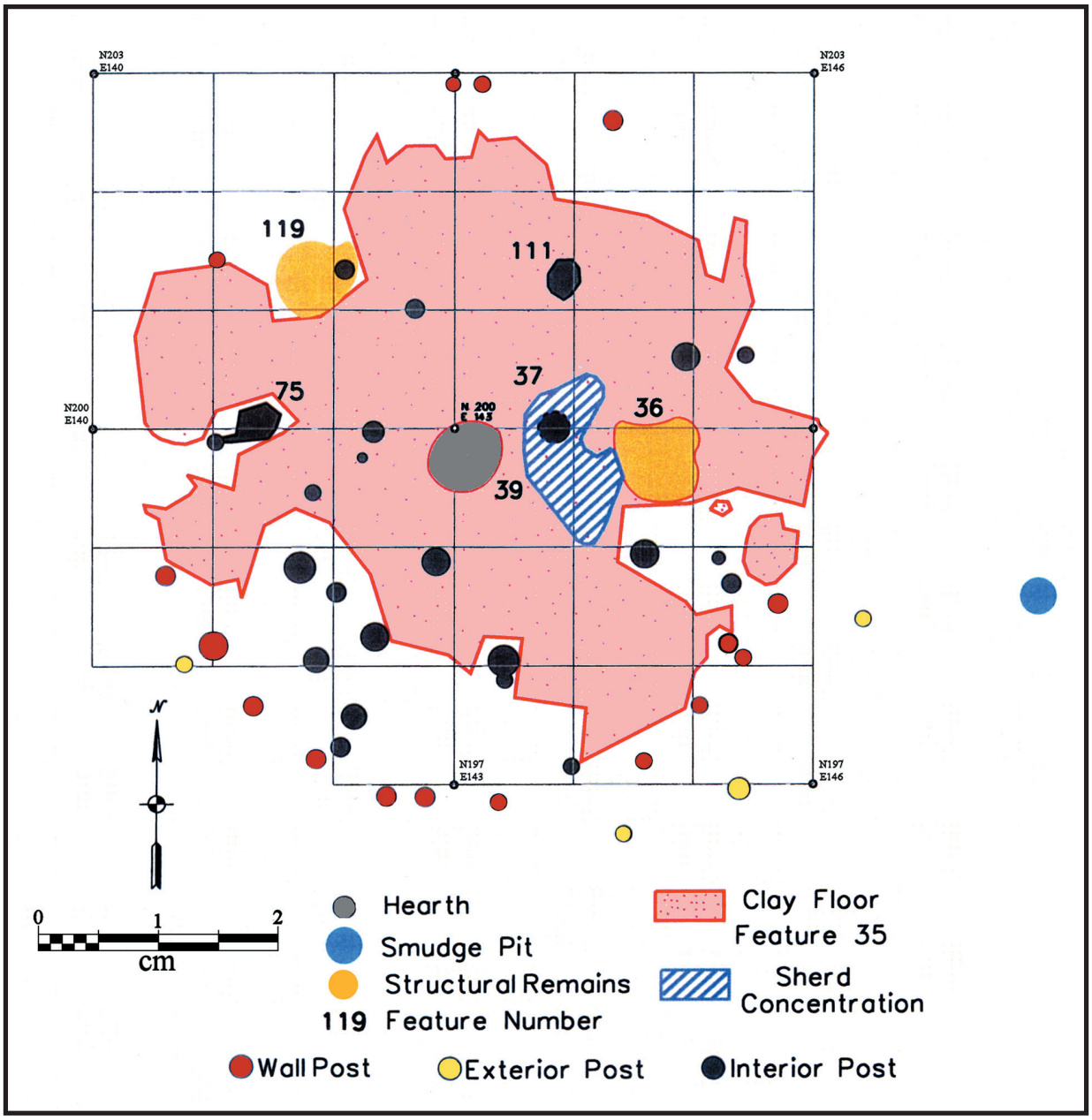

Figure 10b. Structure 3: clay floor and other features.

Structure 4, in Component II, is a large (7.5 m in diameter) circular structure with four support posts and a central post (Figure 11). Its estimated floor space is 44.4 m^2, large enough to house an extended family of Caddo people. Spacing of the wall posts suggest the entrance to Structure 4 was on its western side, facing Structure .

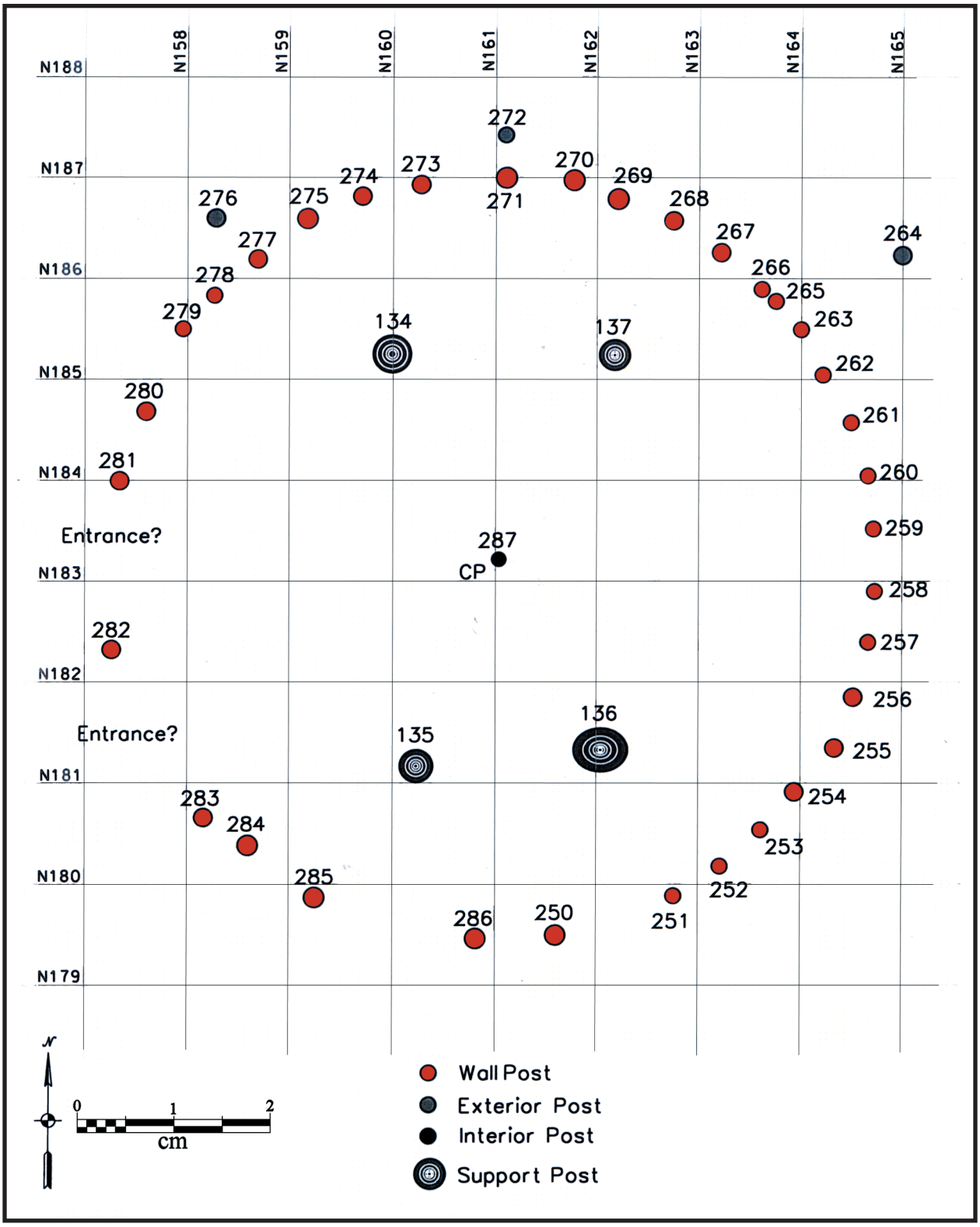

Figure 11. Structure 4 post hole pattern.

Structure 4 was not associated with an especially high artifact density, as were Structures 1-3 (see Figure 4), and it was not identified during the initial phases of the data recovery work at Ear Spool, but was only identified during the final machine-stripping of the archeological deposits. It is possible that Structure 4 was occupied for a shorter duration than the site's other structures, or was used differently than the other structures, such that cultural materials were more often discarded outside it rather than inside. Structure 4 was also not burned down upon its abandonment, unlike Structures 1-3.

Radiocarbon Dates

A number of radiocarbon dates have been obtained from the four structures at the site as well as from several outdoor work area features. Using OxCal v4.1.7, the summed probability distributions of the calibrated dates indicate two peaks in the distribution that correspond to the two different components: A.D. 1450-1520 (Component I) and A.D. 1590-1620 (Component II) (Figure 12).

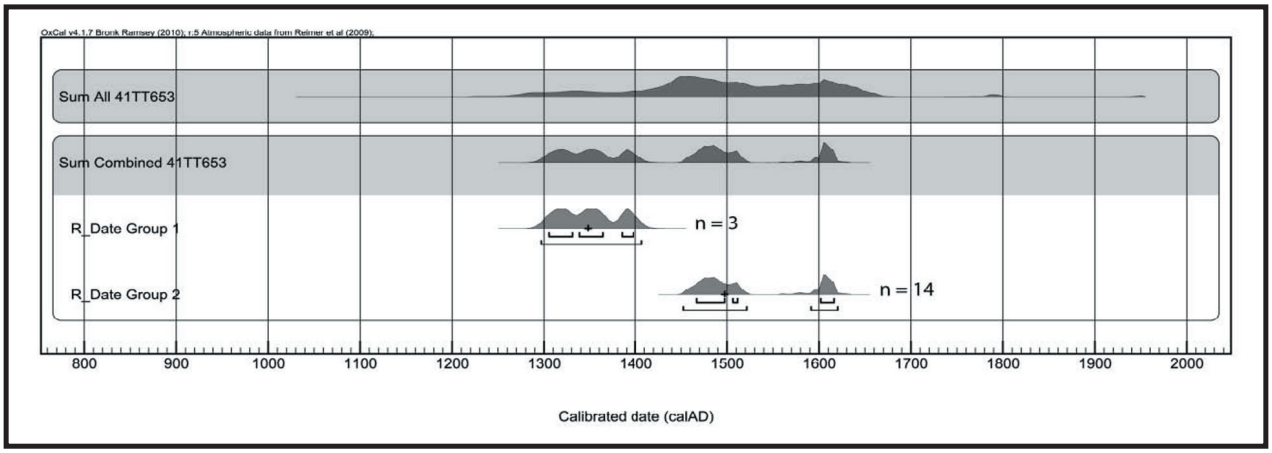

Figure 12. Summed probability distribution of radiocarbon dates from the Ear Spool site.

Several Oxidizable Carbon Ratio (OCR) dates (n=5) have also been obtained from features and structures (Perttula and Sherman 2009:172-173). Those that correspond well to the summed probability distribution age ranges are A.D. 1593 ± 10 from Feature 1 in the Component II work area and A.D. 1620 ± 9 from Feature 34 in Structure 3 (Component II). The other three OCR dates are too young given the results of the radiocarbon dating and the range of associated decorated ceramics from structures and features.

Burials and Funerary Offerings

The three Caddo burials found at the Ear Spool site are part of the Component II Caddo occupation (see Figure 6). Burial 1 is inside Structure 2, Burial 3 is just outside Structure 4, and Burial 2 is about 20 m to the north in Area I. Funerary offerings with the burials include 12 ceramic vessels.

Burial 1 is that of a child, likely less than 1 month of age, placed in a 50 x 40 cm pit (Perttula and Sherman 2009:Figure 6-19) that is oriented roughly north-south, with the head of the child at the north end of the grave. A single ceramic vessel was placed in the grave as a funerary offering. This vessel is a medium-sized shell and grog-tempered compound bowl of the Avery Engraved type (Figure 13 and Table 3).

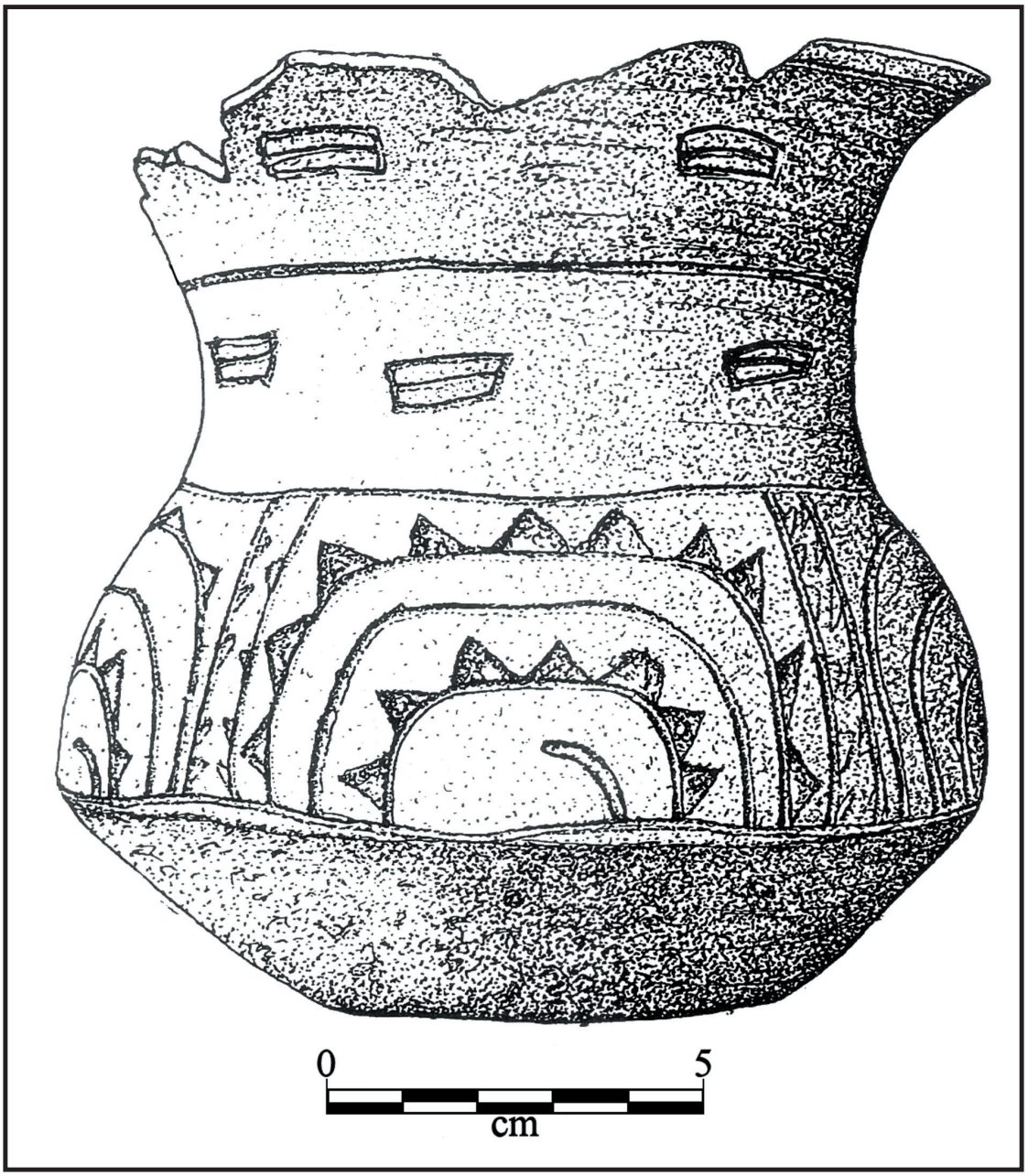

Figure 13. Burial 1 vessel

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Table 3. Ceramic Vessels from Burials 1-3.

Burial No.	Vessel No.	Temper	Orifice Diameter	Volume (liters) (cm)	Type
1	1	shell-grog	13.5	1.0	Avery Engraved
2	1	grog-bone-hematite	UID	0.5	Wilder Engraved
2	2	grog-bone	17.6	1.0	Ripley Engraved
2	3	grog-hematite	9.5	0.47	possible Moore Noded
2	4	grog-bone-hematite	10.2	0.65	Wilder Engraved
2	5	grog-bone-hematite	13.5	0.33	Ripley Engraved
3	1	grog-bone-hematite	13.5	0.75	Maydelle Incised
3	2	grog-bone-hematite	5.0	0.8	Ripley Engraved
3	3	grog-bone-hematite	11.4	0.38	UID
3	4	grog-bone-hematite	11.9	0.5	Mockingbird Punctated
3	5	grog-bone-hematite	10.7	0.2	Ripley Engraved
3	6	grog-bone-hematite	9.3	0.4	UID

UID=unidentified

The shell-tempered Avery Engraved vessel is from a Red River McCurtain phase Caddo group, as they are the only East Texas Caddo group that made shell-tempered pottery before ca. A.D. 1700 (Perttula et al. 2012). The other vessels from Burials 2 and 3, all grog-bone-hematite-tempered, are likely to have been manufactured locally by Titus phase Caddo potters. The vessels are small to medium-sized in volume and orifice diameter (see Table 3).

Burial 2 is that of an adolescent, based on the size of the burial pit (117 x 47 cm in length and width) and the funerary offerings; there were no preserved human remains. The grave is oriented northeast by southwest, and it is suspected that the individual was laid out in an extended supine position with their head

at the southern end of the grave, near where a ceramic bottle had been placed. It is a common feature of Titus phase burials for a ceramic bottle to be placed in the immediate proximity of an individual's head. Funerary offerings with this individual include five ceramic vessels near what would have been the head and along both sides of the body. Four of the five vessels are engraved fine wares of the Wilder Engraved and Ripley Engraved types (Figure 14a-b, d-e), while the other is a distinctive noded carinated bowl. Lankford (2012) suggests such vessels are effigies of *Datura* (Jimson weed) seed pods, and a marker for the practice of Datura shamanism.

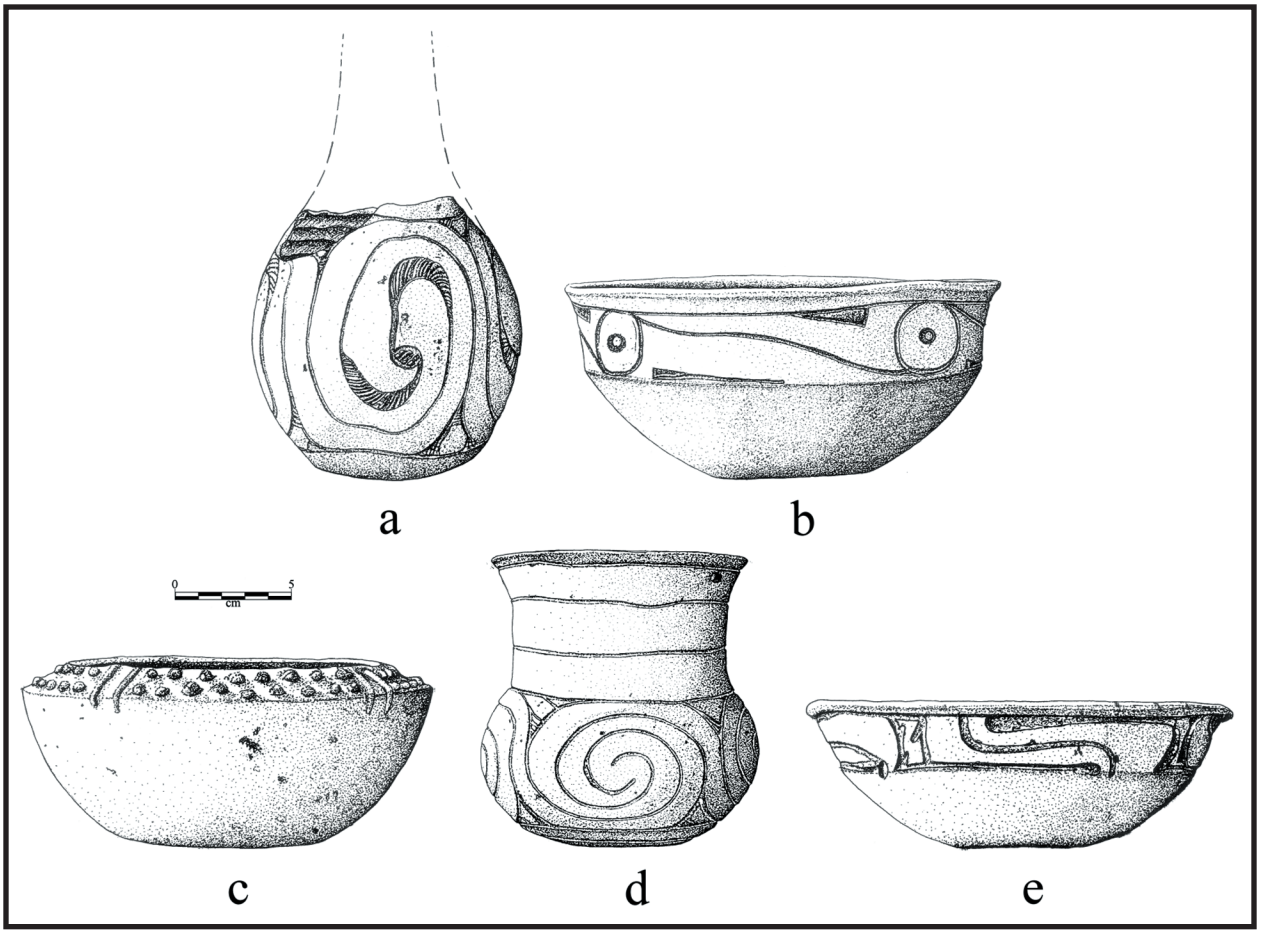

Figure 14. Burial 2 vessels: a, Wilder Engraved, var. Wilder bottle; b, Ripley Engraved, var. Galt carinated bowl; c, noded carinated bowl; d, Wilder Engraved, var. unspecified compound bowl; e, Ripley Engraved, var. Gandy carinated bowl.

Burial 3 may also have been that of an adolescent, as the burial pit is only 117 x 78 cm in length and width; the pit is oriented northeast-southwest. As with Burial 2, there were no preserved human remains in the grave. Six ceramic vessels were placed in the grave as funerary offerings (see Table 3), clustered in the central and southern part of the grave (Perttula and Sherman 2009:Figure 6-21). Two of the vessels are plain (a jar and a cup or jar, Figure 15c, g), two are incised, punctated, and appliqued utility ware jars (Figure 15a, d), and the other two are fine wares. One of these is a large Ripley Engraved, *var. Ripley* bottle (Figure 15b) with circle and diamond elements and the other is a Ripley Engraved, *var. Carpenter* carinated bowl with a continuous scroll motif (Figure 15f).

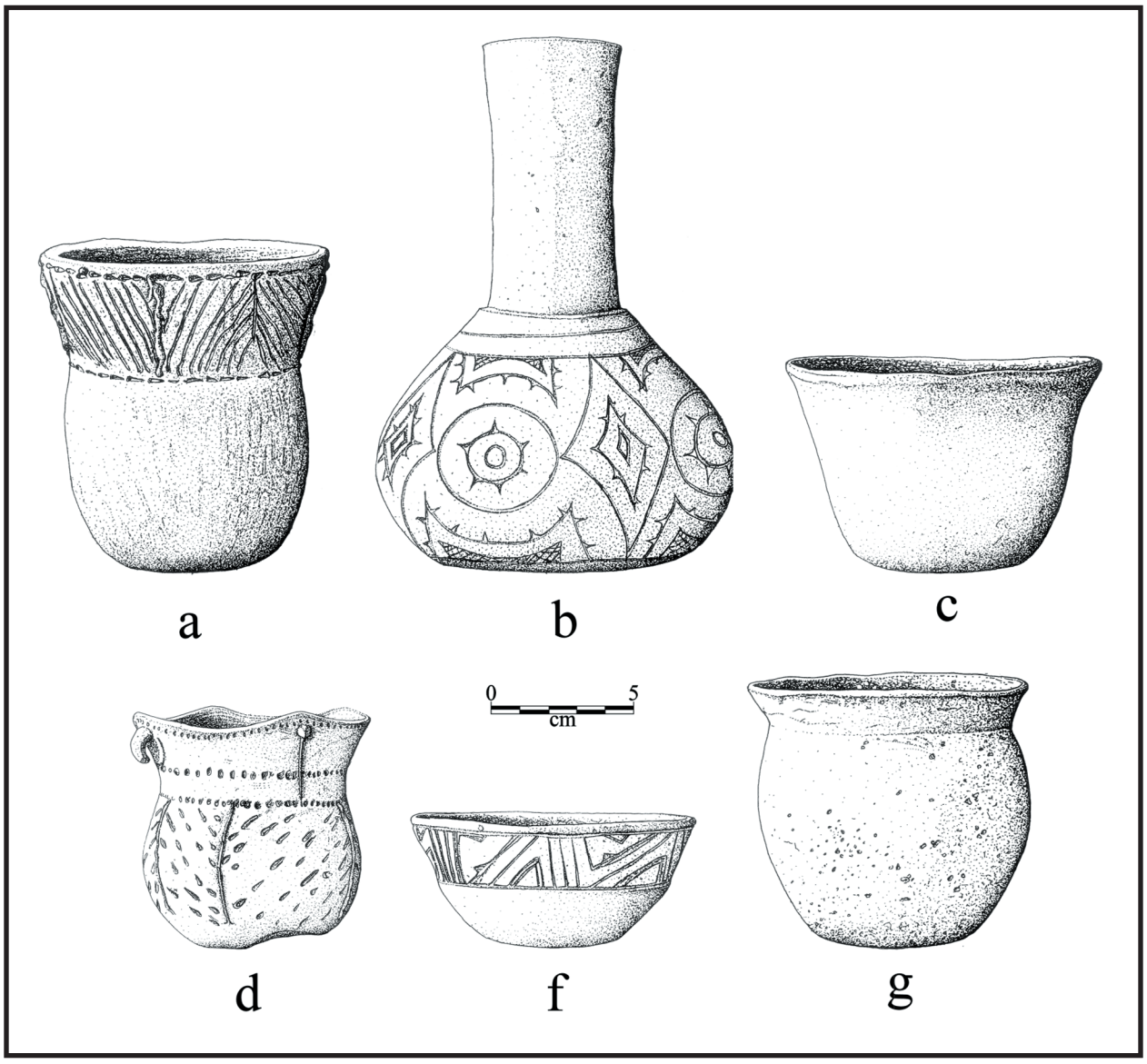

Figure 15. Burial 3 vessels: a, Maydelle Incised jar; b, Ripley Engraved, var. Ripley bottle; c, plain miniature cup or jar; d, Mockingbird Punctated jar; e, Ripley Engraved, var. Carpenter carinated bowl; f, plain jar.

Summary and Conclusions

Archeological investigations at the Ear Spool site has uncovered important information about a prehistoric Caddo Indian settlement occupied during the Late Caddo period Titus phase. The occupation appears to have taken place at two different times, an earlier component (Component I) dating from ca. the mid-15th to early 16th century A.D. and a later component (Component II) that may have lasted from ca. the mid-16th century to the early seventeenth century. Both occupations by Caddo peoples took place during lengthy periods of regional drought, especially that of the Component I occupation. Each component had a distinctive assemblage of decorated ceramic fine ware and utility ware vessels, and lithic assemblages from both components appear geared to the production and use of Maud arrow points.

Four circular structures were identified at the Ear Spool site, two in the earlier component (Structure 1 and 3) and two in the later component (Structures 2 and 4). There was a broad, open area between the houses that may have been maintained as a small plaza or courtyard, as there are marker poles at its center, and there were clusters of pits along its margins. Three burials were present at the site, one child burial inside Structure 2 and adults in two widely separated areas; there apparently was no large family cemetery (i.e., 10-20 burials) at the Ear Spool site.

Component I is represented by Structures 1 and 3 and a handful of features outside of the structures in Area III. Both structures were erected in shallow circular pits, and Structure 1 had a long entranceway that faced southwest towards Structure 3. Prior to the beginning of the excavations at the Ear Spool site, no evidence was observed on the ground surface that indicated the presence of substructure mounds. Nevertheless, the structure pits for Structures 1 and 3 both contained multiple and apparently intentional cultural fill deposits as well as burned structural remains, possibly evidence of activity analogous to mound building or at least consecration of the place of the burned and buried structures. Such apparently symbolic treatment of Structures 1 and 3 suggests that these structures held a cultural significance beyond that of purely domestic concerns. The presence of a dense concentration of trash (including high densities of animal remains) in the fill for Structure 3 that was presumably deposited during the occupation of the slightly later Structure 1 suggests that these structures may have held dual roles, existing in both spiritual and secular worlds.

Whether Component II structures had symbolic import is uncertain. Neither of these structures showed evidence of mound-building activities or the burial of the houses with sediments, although Structure 2 was burned down, probably deliberately. However, both Component II structures were much larger than the Component I structures and had more-closely spaced posts, characteristics that may have held some architectural or cultural significance to the builders of the later structures at Ear Spool.

Based on ceramic and radiometric evidence, Structure 3 appears to represent the earliest structure built and used by the Caddo at the Ear Spool site, but Structure 1 followed shortly thereafter. Although these structures were architecturally similar, they differed profoundly in how they were abandoned. At the end of its use-life, Structure 1 was intentionally burned and carefully covered with sediments, almost certainly sediments that made a small mound that was eventually marked with a large pole that was embedded in the central portion of the Structure 1 hearth. In contrast, Structure 3 appears to have been dismantled and its pit subsequently used as a trash disposal area presumably for refuse from the inhabitants of Structure 1, and was eventually filled with sediment. The fact that few post features were preserved in Structure 3 when compared with Structure 1 suggests strongly that Structure 3 posts were not left to decay in place but were rather pulled, and possibly reused to construct Structure 1. The conspicuous incomplete clay floor in Structure 3 compared with the virtually pristine floor in Structure 1 supports the notion that the Structure 3 floor was dismantled and possibly recycled during abandonment for use in Structure 1, or that the actions of pulling posts led to disturbance of the clay floor.

Component II is represented by Structures 2 and 4 and Burials 1-3, as well as a number of cooking and pit features located outside of the structures. The specific chronological relationship between the Component II structures remains uncertain. The results of the ceramic analysis suggest Structure 2 represents the final Titus phase occupation at Ear Spool, but this conclusion is probably affected by the small and almost certainly biased decorated sherd collection from Structure 4. The calibrated radiocarbon dates from the structures suggest the two structures are generally contemporaneous with each other, and with Feature 1, the large storage/trash pit situated just outside of Structure 4. Component II structures were larger than the earlier Component I structures, had more-closely spaced posts, and were built on the living surface rather than in a pit.

That Structure 4 is different in some respects from the three other structures is evident, first, because it was not spatially aligned with any of the other structures at Ear Spool. Structure 4 was associated with an outdoor work area (with presumed drying racks, elevated work platforms or ramadas, and cooking features) located just outside of and to the north and east of the structure. These observations suggest that Structure 4 may not have been occupied as long as the other structures identified on-site and/or may not have been used in the same ways. Together, these observations hint that Structure 4 may actually represent the final occupational and constructional episode at the site.

The layout of the Ear Spool site indicates a level of planning that transcended individual occupational episodes. This can be seen in a near-complete lack of overprinting of features and archeological remains, which suggests that, generally speaking, different parts of the site were used during successive occupations. The fact that Structures 1 and 2, from two distinct occupations, are precisely aligned, also supports this idea. A line drawn from the central hearth of Structure 1 to the central hearth of Structure 2 evenly bisects the extended entranceway of Structure 1. It is unlikely that this is a fortuitous arrangement. It is a more reasonable conclusion that the individuals who built Structure 2 had prior knowledge of the location and layout of Structure 1. This inference is further supported by the fact that a post was placed in the center of the central hearth of Structure 1 following its abandonment and destruction, conceivably to mark the location. Three other marker poles, each one placed immediately next to the other, are found in the central open area between the four structures.

That evidence of long-term planning exists at the Ear Spool site is to be expected because the long-term spatial planning of settlements and features is apparent at other Caddo sites, particularly in the placement and arrangement of mortuary features and important structures probably used by the political and religious elite in restricted parts of sites, or in certain locations around plazas or courtyard areas. For example, the Tuck Carpenter site (41CP5) was a Titus phase cemetery that contained more than 70 graves in rows that did not overlap (Turner 1978, 1992), and the cemetery was used over a period at least as long as 50 years; other large Titus phase community cemeteries in the Big Cypress Creek basin evidenced the same level of planning (2012). The burial mound at the George C. Davis site (41CE19, Story 1998), although dating well before the Ear Spool occupation, showed multiple episodes of use, interment, and reuse by the Caddo, with very little intrusion of earlier interments into older ones. The placement and marking (with different colored clays) of each large burial pit was apparently long remembered by members of the local Caddo community.

Ancestral Caddo groups also had a tradition of burning, capping, and rebuilding important structures in and under mounds (see Trubitt 2009). Story (1998:34) refers to this as a continuing cycle of "destruction and renewal." Furthermore, Early (1988:161) has noted that this tradition can be:

> *used as an indicator of building function because it is so often associated with structures found on flat topped mounds, the context where most buildings have been studied. Because so few non-mound structures have been studied in detail in Arkansas, however, it is not clear that this treatment was designated for a class of buildings, a set of social circumstances, or particular places in the Caddoan [sic] community. Moreover, there is undoubtedly temporal and geographical variation in the kind, location and treatment of special purpose buildings among the various groups that inhabited the Caddo area.*

Thus, the apparently intentional destruction by fire and capping of Structure 1 at the Ear Spool site is a treatment that is not uncommon for certain important Caddo structures (see Trubitt 2009). For example, most of the eight structures identified at the Belcher site (16CD13) were burned and buried (Webb 1959) in a mound, and although they appeared no different architecturally from domestic structures, their deliberate burial in a mound suggests they were used by the political and religious elite.

The Titus phase house below Mound D at the Harroun site (41UR10, Jelks and Tunnell 1959) was strikingly similar to Structure 1 at the Ear Spool site. Both structures were semisubterranean circular structures with central hearths and extended entranceways. The other structures identified at Harroun, built on the surface, had sand banked around their perimeters. This practice is functionally or symbolically analogous to construction in a pit. At the Dalton site (41UR11, Davis and Gipson 1960), the structures had prepared clay floors. At some period of use—shown by the accumulation of midden deposits on the floors—these structures were deliberately set on fire by the Caddo, and burned structural debris (including much daub) collapsed onto the structure floors and filled up the pits. Then these burned structures were covered by sediments, as with Structure 1 at Ear Spool, to create a series of small earthen mounds.

It does appear to be the case that only a small number of Late Caddo period Titus phase mound sites are known in the region, perhaps as many as 12 different sites in the Big Cypress Creek basin, ranging from one to four mounds per site, with the largest mound complex (with platform mounds) at the Pine Tree Mound site (Fields and Gadus 2012; Perttula 2012: Figure 13-2). The Big Cypress Creek basin mounds are unlike the types of mound complexes typically constructed in the major river valleys in the southern Caddo area at this time. They were, as was the likely mound covering Structure 1 at Ear Spool, sub-structural mounds; no pyramidal platform or burial mounds are known for this time period. Sub-structural mounds are restricted to mounds that cap a burned circular structure that was constructed on the ground surface or in a small, shallow pit. In at least two instances, Big Cypress Creek mounds contained sequent structures, but the "structures originated at higher levels in the mound[s] due to occupational accumulations of soil and ash, and not the result of any deliberate capping" (Thurmond 1990:168). At the Camp Joy Mound (41UR144), the 2.3 m high mound apparently had two tiers or platforms, with the latest platform having a burned structure (marked by a 7 cm thick charcoal lens) dated to cal A.D. 1495-1605 (see Perttula and Nelson 2001).

The structures that were capped by the mound, or built at higher levels in the mound itself (as at Harroun), were circular, with extended entranceways facing west (or southwest, in the case of Structure 1 at Ear Spool), and with central hearths. These distinctive extended entranceway circular structures (Perttula 2009)—found primarily in the Red and Big Cypress basins after ca. A.D. 1400 (Figure 16)—were partially dismantled and burned, then capped with sediments. Again at the Harroun site, the structures were built inside large circular pits, and there were obvious soil berms around the enclosing pit and the structure. A standing structures with berms around would look like the structure was literally buried (or partially buried) in the mound itself (cf. Schambach 1996). At the Dalton site, two temporally sequent circular structures (with clay-lined floors) of slightly different sizes were both built and used within the same shallow pit; when the second one was burned and destroyed, it and the surrounding pit were buried by a sandy mound fill to a depth of 80 cm (Davis and Gipson 1960:17-19; Thurmond 1990:210). At the Whelan site, one of the mounds had four temporally sequent structures that ranged from 5.2-6.4 m in diameter (Thurmond 1990:168).

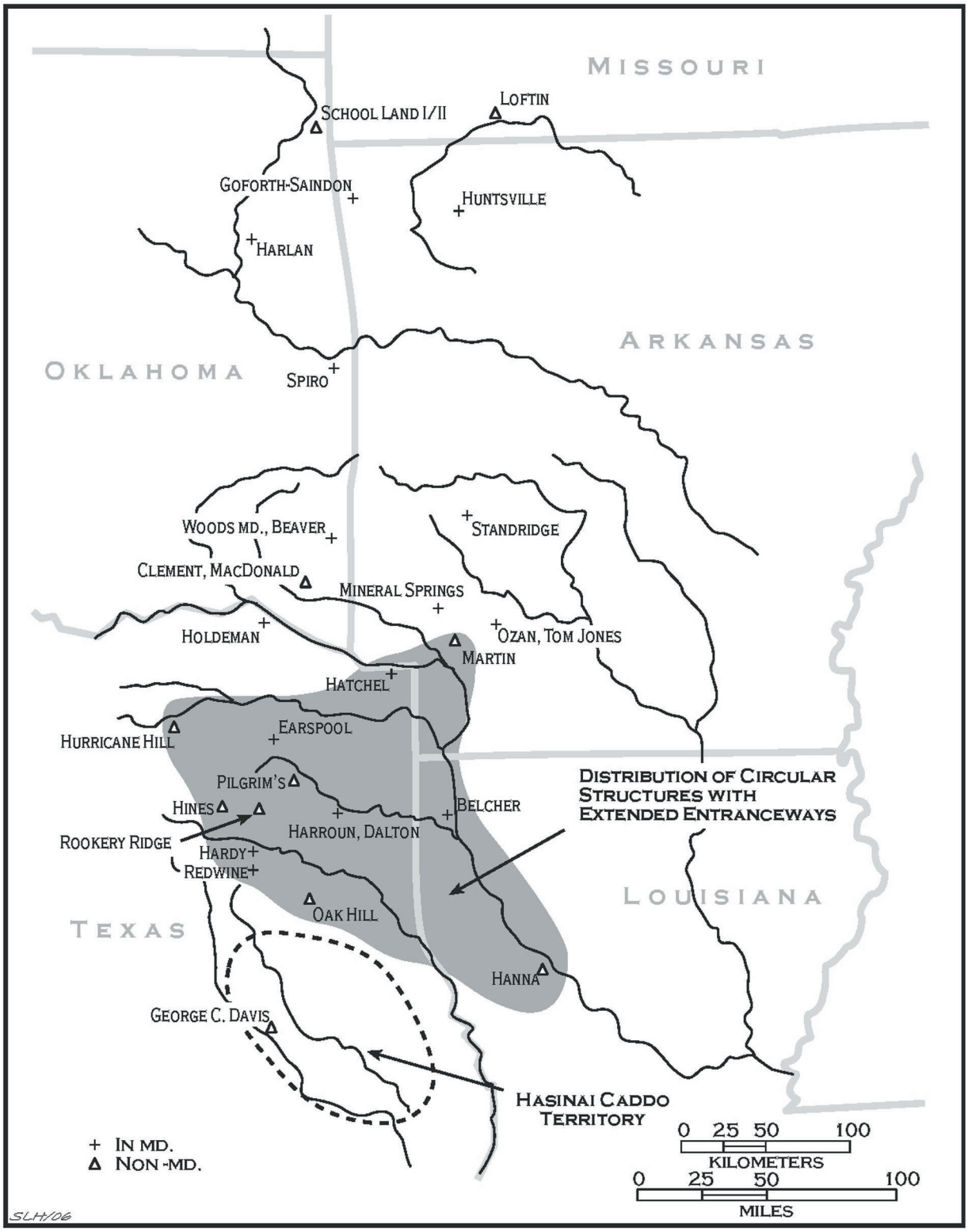

Figure 16. Distribution of circular extended entranceway structures in the Caddo area, including the Ear Spool site.

It is not clear what triggered the dismantling and burning of the structures, or their capping with mound sediments at the Titus phase community centers, but given the generally close association between the mound places and the community cemeteries (many of which held the burials of members of the social elite, including lineage heads), it seems plausible that the house destruction and mound building episodes occurred after the death and burial of a leader or a member of the social elite. However, these elite individuals were buried with their peers and kin-affiliated relations in the community cemetery, not in the mound itself, and thus in essence the mound-building rituals of the Titus phase Caddo consisted of "public building-oriented ceremonialism" (Schambach 1996:41), such that the mounds "contain the remains of important buildings rather than important people." Such appears to be the case at the Ear Spool site.

This dichotomy between mound and habitation associations on Titus phase mounds, with the main multi-mound centers at the Harroun and Whelan sites having little if no associated habitation debris, while most of the other mounds did, leads to the suspicion that there were fundamental and measurable differences in the complexity (if not wealth and prestige) of the different political communities in the Big Cypress Creek basin. For most of the communities, including the community of which Ear Spool was a part, the ritual, power, and authority of the elite leaders had not been divorced from the populations living in the communities, especially those living in and near the largest villages. This intimate relationship—as seen by the placement of mounds across the landscape—between the community and its leaders was not duplicated in Titus phase Caddo communities living along the lower Big Cypress Creek basin and near the eastern margins of the settlement distribution of the Titus phase. Here, the community mound centers were basically kept separate from domestic affairs and were focused more exclusively on ritual activities and the control of ritual knowledge. Those leaders that lived at the Harroun and Whelan sites may have gained their prestige and authority through their control of community-wide ritual affairs.

Recent excavations at the Ear Spool, Pilgrim's Pride (41CP304), and Rookery Ridge (41UR133) sites have provided solid archeological evidence of how Titus phase domestic settlements in the Big Cypress and Sulphur River basins were organized and laid out spatially, as do the very extensive excavations in village areas at the Pine Tree Mound site (41HS15) in the Sabine River basin (Perttula 2005; Parsons 1998, 2011; Fields and Gadus 2012). The settlements and village areas at each site appear to have been composed of one to several family units with house midden/daub concentrations and trash midden deposits; many activities occurred outside the house areas, resulting in trash-filled pits, hearths, and posts in these areas. At Pilgrim's Pride, there were several circular structures in the habitation area, set away from a single earthen mound at one end of the settlement, and with a large cemetery at the other end. Numerous pits were present outside of the structures, indicating, like at Ear Spool, that many activities (i.e., cooking, food processing, tool manufacture, etc.) took place in open outdoor work areas. The Rookery Ridge site excavations exposed two circular structures and extensive midden deposits. The middens were about 15 m south of the one structure with an extended entranceway; the entranceway faced to the north, suggesting that other habitation features besides those excavated by Parsons (1998, 2011) were present on the northern part of the alluvial landform along Kelsey Creek. Child and adult burials were present either inside a structure or immediately outside, along the structure walls, but again as at Ear Spool, there was no larger family cemetery at the site. There were family cemeteries at both Pilgrim's Pride and Pine Tree Mound.

Animal faunal and mussel shell subsistence remains were recovered in far greater numbers from Structure 3 than any other context across the site (Perttula and Sherman 2009:Table 15-2, pointing to its trash disposal use following its burning and abandonment. Although the volume of faunal materials recovered from Component I and II contexts varied widely across the site, the relative proportion of species identified did not

significantly differ. This suggests that during both components similar ranges of subsistence resources were utilized (or at least returned to the site for processing), primarily focused on deer and an assortment of smaller mammals. It is likely that small herds of bison roamed the tall-grass prairie in Late Holocene times, although it would have been a considerable trek to the tall-grass prairies in the upper Sulphur River basin for Titus phase hunters who did not yet have any horses. The high density of arrow points (primarily Maud) and scraping tools, as well as signs of intensive arrow point manufacture (in Structure 2 and outdoor work area 3, both in Component II), at the Ear Spool site (and Sherman 2009:Table 12-1), however, suggest that this particular Caddo population was intensively exploiting large game animals, including deer and bison. The meat from any bison kills was likely processed at the kill site, with bones discarded there, to lighten the transport load on the trek back from the tall-grass prairie to the site.

Maize was cultivated during both Component I and II occupations, and squash and maygrass were recovered from a Component I context (Perttula and Sherman 2009:346-348). The ubiquity of maize (24%) is somewhat lower than has been documented at other Titus phase sites, all in the Big Cypress Creek or Sabine River basins, suggesting that the Ear Spool Caddo living in the Post Oak Savanna relied less on cultivated plants in their diet than did their neighbors to the south who lived in the Pineywoods. Nevertheless, the Late Caddo agricultural lifeway probably was flourishing in parts of northeastern Texas (likely those areas with the highest agricultural potential) at least in part due to quite adequate growing season rainfall from the late 14th century through the first quarter of the 15th century, and in the late 15th to early 16th century (A.D. 1477-1524), and from A.D. 1539-1572. However, there were extensive periods of drought between A.D. 1430-1476, A.D. 1525-1538, and A.D. 1573-1602 (Perttula 2013:Table 3.2). Both Caddo occupations at the Ear Spool site lasted apparently through these droughts. During droughty periods that sometimes lasted for several years, the effects of the droughts must have been localized, because there is a general continuity of Titus phase settlement across many parts of the Sabine and Big Cypress Creek basins that suggests crops were successfully grown and harvested even in these droughty periods. The long-term storage of plant foods and seed stock—perhaps in above-ground granaries as well as below-ground storage pits—also would have helped to offset losses from poor or failed harvests.

Hardwood mast, especially hickory and acorn nuts, were conversely an important aspect of the subsistence regime, and these tree resources were no doubt spatially abundant in the surrounding forest. There was an extensive ground stone tool assemblage that was employed to pound and grind plant these plant remains, probably primarily for the production of corn hominy and hickory nut oils.

A number of arrow points (n=53), arrow point preforms (n=20), bifacial and unifacial tools (n=144), cores, and lithic debris were recovered from both components at Ear Spool, indicating that the production of hunting, scraping, and cutting tools was important to the Caddo residents, particularly during Component II times. It is possible that a stone tool knapper lived in Structure 2, based on the density of recovered arrow points there (Perttula and Sherman 2009:Table 12-4). The abundance of stone tools and the debris from stone tool manufacture suggests that the hunting of large game—perhaps focused on animal resources that ranged in the nearby tall grass prairie, including bison—was a particular focus of the adult men and women living at Ear Spool.

The habitation areas at Ear Spool are small, covering less than 1 acre. They are closely associated with the structures themselves as well as with outdoor work areas. The Ear Spool burials may be part of a small family cemetery associated with the use of Structures 2 and 4 during Component II times. The family cemeteries are generally found in the immediate proximity to a farmstead or hamlet, and they contain few interments by

comparison to the much larger community cemeteries. Grave good associations and burial treatment of Caddo peoples in Titus phase family cemeteries do not show much evidence among these individuals for differential status or social rank. Artifact associations in family cemeteries differed only by age and sex: Adolescents were buried with more offerings than children or infants, and with fewer offerings than adults; at Ear Spool, the one child burial had only a single vessel placed with it, while the two adolescent burials had 5 or 6 vessels placed with them as funerary offerings.

Acknowledgements

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The *Ranchos* of Los Adaes: Spanish Geography and American land Claims in Western Louisiana

Darryl Pleasant

Abstract

Discovering the ranchos *associated with the Presidio and Mission of Los Adaes has been a research goal for many years. Unfortunately research into the Spanish presence in western Louisiana never revealed documentary evidence suggesting possible locations for the ranchos. Only generalized information was recovered in regards to a couple of the ranchos but definitely not solid data on their location. Recently it has come to our attention that perhaps our search had the wrong temporal parameters, we apparently should have been focused on the period after Los Adaes was closed. The research presented within the following pages has hopefully resolved this issue.*

As the title of this paper suggest geography will be the key in the discovery of the *rancho* locations. The eighteenth century Spanish landscape is detailed within the naming conventions used for the *ranchos*. The nineteenth century landscape associated with the American land claims was detailed in various congressional reports. Though separated by nearly a half century these two landscapes converged into literal road signs to possible locations for the *ranchos*.

It seems very likely that all of the *ranchos* associated with Los Adaes shared their name with a nearby creek. Names such as *Tres Llanos* and *Llano Hondo* describe the principle drainage upon which the *rancho* is located. The two *rancho* names that appear to be distinctly religious in context *La Gloria* and *San Joseph* in fact seem to once again represent drainage names. The only exception is *petit ecor* which is actually a French name for a region to the immediate west of Natchitoches.

It is very fortuitous that many of the drainages in the Adaes region retained their original names from the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century. An excellent example would be the *Arroyo de Chacon* shown in the lower center of the 1767 map of Los Adaes (Urrutia 1767). This *arroyo* apparently retained its name well into the nineteenth century as it appears within two Río Hondo land claims in 1823. The first was Río Hondo claim #37 filed by James Kirkham in 1823. Kirkham states his claim is "situated on the Chacon bayou" (American State Papers 1859:97 [hereafter ASP]). The second was Río Hondo claim #123 filed by John Sibley. In his claim he states his land is situated "up the Bayous Adaise and Chacta" (ASP 1859:113). The handwritten Río Hondo documents show the latter bayou possibly written as "Chacton" (LSLO 1823b:34). Both Río Hondo claims clearly refer to the modern drainage known as Stokers Branch located to the immediate east of Robeline, Louisiana. It is quite evident the Spanish geography was still relevant well into the American period over a half century after Los Adaes was abandoned.

The bulk of our geographic evidence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries comes from a series of land claims filed during the American period. The first relevant land claims appeared in various reports after 1813 approximately four decades after the abandonment of Los Adaes. It is however the Río Hondo land claims filed in 1823 that are the absolute essential documents in the search for the *ranchos*. They are some of the most important historic documents ever produced which relate to western Louisiana. It takes detailed deciphering of the various claim documents but in doing so we can reveal geographical information on *rancho* locations.

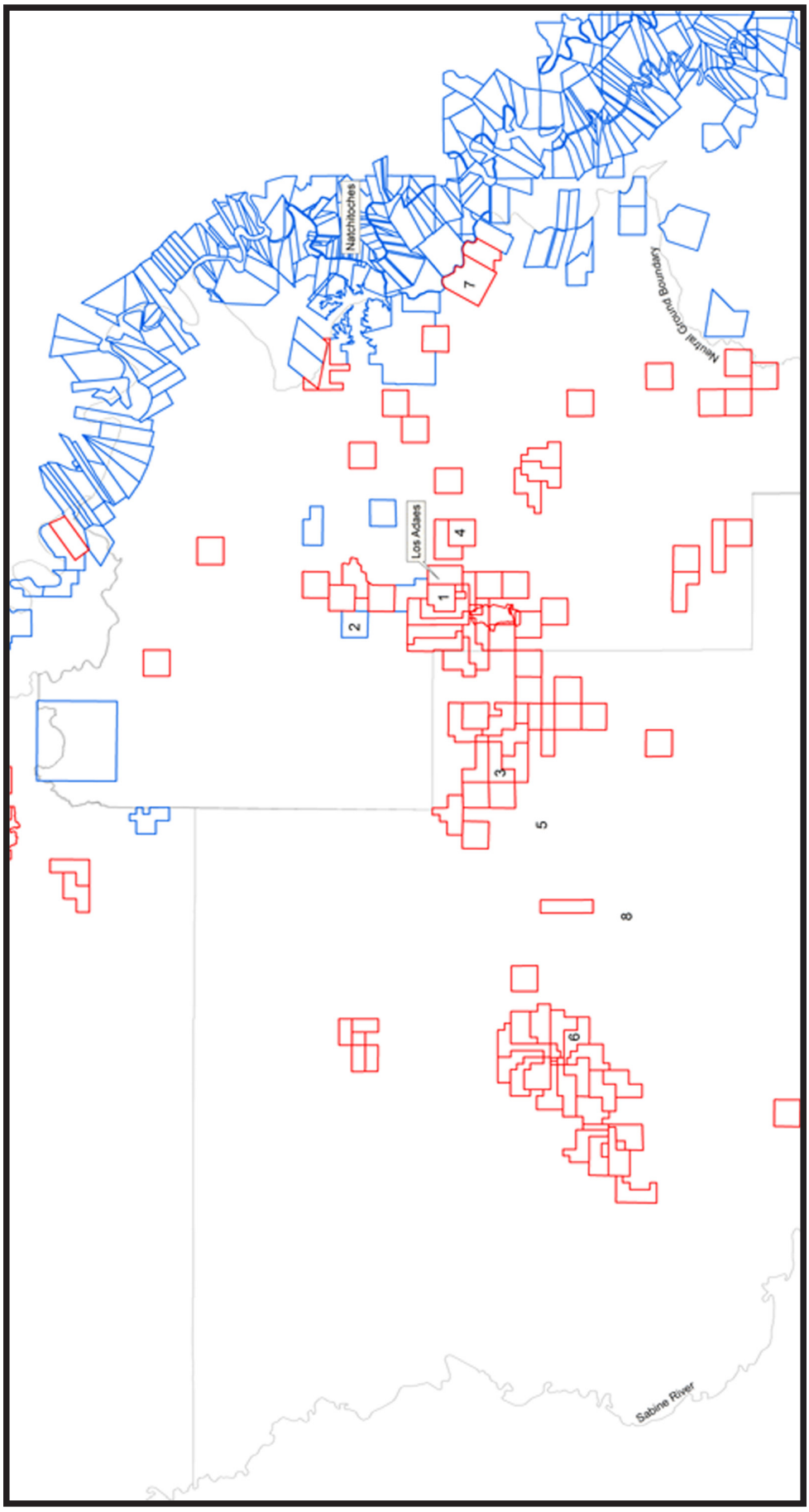

Figure 1. *Río Hondo* (red) and Old Board-Register (blue) claims with the approximate locations of (1) *Llano Hondo*, (2) *Belmudes*, (3) *Tres Llanos*, (4) *El Baño*, (5) *La Gloria*, (6) *Vallecio*, (7) *Petit Ecor*, and (8) *San Joseph*.

It seems information concerning the *ranchos* have been right in front of us for some time but was very well hidden in American land claim documents that on the surface were completely unrelated with Los Adaes or the eighteenth century. The new information was discovered literally by chance during the creation of a geodatabase of Louisiana land claims which emphasized the Río Hondo claims in the western part of the state. It was during the research associated with that project that the locations of the ranchos came to light. [To gain a better understanding of the land claims see Pleasant (2013:115-119).]

Avery (2011:234) recently stated "Once the trail [*El Camino Real*] and its offshoots are identified on the ground, it would simply be a matter of following the road cuts to find nearby archaeological sites". This seems to be a great idea that may come to be true. Several ranchos discussed below are situated along roads including the *El Camino Real* and the "Road from Natchitoches to Bayou Pierre and Pecan Point". The only variance from Avery's original statement is that now perhaps we may also be able to trace the roads back from the *ranchos* to Los Adaes. Shaded relief maps show road cuts near several of the proposed *rancho* locations. These match well with roads plotted on nineteenth century plat maps and they may well be part of older eighteenth century roads.

If the research is accurate then perhaps the *ranchos* could act as cornerstones in revealing the entire landscape of Los Adaes during the eighteenth century. The historic roads could connect back to Los Adaes in a manner that would seemingly complete Joseph Urrutia's map of 1767. The *El Camino Real* and its many branches has been a hot topic in Texas in recent years (Williams 2007; NPS 2011) and now additional branches on the Louisiana side may be close at hand.

The Los Adaes *Ranchos*

The documented Spanish *ranchos* mentioned in association with Los Adaes include *Belmudes* [*Velmudes]*, *Pan Y Agua*, *Vallecillo*, *Llano Hondo* [*Ondo], El Lobanillo*, *El Baño [Vaño], Tres Llanos and San Joseph*. The *Rancho El Lobanillo* is in Texas and is not discussed further as the vital American land claims did not apply to that region. At present the whereabouts of *Rancho Pan Y Agua* is an absolute mystery as no additional references were located.

Ranchos La Gloria and *Petit Ecor* have recently come to our attention during this research and they each have a document trail available. There are other *ranchos* mentioned in the documents in which no additional information could be found in the course of the research. For example the deposition of Manuel de Aranbula (Béxar 1754a:46) mentions a ranch belonging to *Alferez* Don Pedro de Sierra [the same *Alferez* Sierra involved in the aftermath of the San Saba massacre and various dealings with the Taovayas]. Unfortunately there is no indication of the whereabouts or any additional information concerning Sierra's ranch.

There are also two rather curious places which also lack a paper trail. The first is the "*Rancherias de la Plazuela*" or just "*De La Plazuela*" a *rancho* to the immediate west of Los Adaes which appears on mid to late eighteenth century maps of the region (Urrutia 1769). This "fortified" *rancho* could perhaps just be a general reference to a *rancho* in close proximity to the presidio of Los Adaes. The second is a place called the "kings *milpa"* mentioned in 1754 by the governor of Los Adaes (Béxar 1754:108). A *milpa* is defined as an area of forest cleared and planted for several growing seasons before being abandoned for new areas. What either of these two places actually represents is not known at this time.

The primary information concerning the *ranchos* in the mid-eighteenth century is found is a series of depositions in the 1750s, 1760s and 1770s (Béxar 1754a, 1755, 1774). Perhaps the most important of these documents was a petition against the governor at Los Adaes in 1754. The petition was aimed at whether the *vecinos* were getting fair price for "the produce of their sweat and work". The depositions within the document are the primary source on the *ranchos*. It is very fortunate for us that in 1754 these soldiers were unhappy with their conditions at Los Adaes or else there would be little information any of these *ranchos* ever existed. Afterwards there are other documents that briefly mention individual *ranchos* but this is the only one to have multiple mentions of the *ranchos*.

It would be two soldiers from Los Adaes who were stated to be *rancho* owners themselves that would lead the petition. They were Manuel Antonio de Losoya who owned *Rancho Pan Y Agua* and Salvador de Esparza who owned *Rancho San Joseph*. In later documents it is revealed that the petition against the governor was actually the work of Manuel Antonio De Soto Bermuda. He along with Manuel Antonio de Loyosa would eventually defect to Natchitoches to avoid prosecution over this incident (Béxar 1754b).

As previously stated Spanish geography was still relevant well into the American period and thus was surely known by many of the eighteenth century French inhabitants at Natchitoches. This suggests that the French who moved into the Adaes region [indicates the region around the Los Adaes presidio in contrast to the Los Adaes polity which would include Nacogdoches and east Texas] soon after it was abandoned were without doubt familiar with the region and the *ranchos* themselves. We can assume that the improvements associated with the old *ranchos* such as cleared fields and buildings were still visible after only a few years. This would seemingly make the abandoned Spanish *ranchos* prime real estate for the French.

The transition from a Spanish *rancho* to a French *vacherie* was possibly an easy undertaking that was perhaps simple as inhabiting an already existing *rancho* with its old improvements and asking the appropriate authorities for permission to settle. There were however Spanish officials who did not want the French to settle beyond their old territory. Fortunately some officials such as Philipe de Neve believed as long as French settlers obeyed Spanish laws and obtained permission they should be allowed to settle in any Spanish jurisdiction (Béxar 1784). This allowed many settlers to obtain grants within the Adaes and Bayou Pierre regions.

The owners of the land grants in the Adaes region such as Emmanuel Prudhomme and Pierre Sorel dit Marly probably did not live on those grants as they were inhabitants of Natchitoches. The actual grants were occupied by hired hands and slaves left to operate the farm or ranch. This was probably the pattern until Anglo settlers arrived at the close of the eighteenth century.

The *ranchos* were originally Spanish but truly took on an international flavor as they were resettled by peoples with divergent nativities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These nationalities include French, English, Italian and Irish. This resettlement is detailed within the many volumes of American land claims. This was fortuitous as this left a legacy of historic documents which provide information on the location of the *ranchos* that had been abandoned by the Spanish many decades earlier.

Each of the *ranchos* will be discussed individually to best present the data associated with each. Certain ones have much more evidence than others but it is important that those with less data are discussed so as to inform future researchers of the absolute possibility of their presence in the greater Adaes region.

Llano Hondo

The only definitive mention of this *rancho* name was in several depositions given at Los Adaes (Béxar 1754a). Unfortunately no information was given in regard to the location of the *rancho*. However the geographic location can be deciphered from the few references and from subsequent additional sources.

The key in this search for *Rancho Llano Hondo* will be the creek named *Arroyo Hondo* and the adjacent plain simply called the *Llano.* The two terms seem interchangeable in the manner in which they are used. In essence the plain and the drainage cannot be discussed exclusive of one another as they are obviously geographically interconnected. It must be emphasized that the creek mentioned above is definitely not the same *Arroyo Hondo* that served as the eastern boundary of the Neutral Ground in the early nineteenth century. That particular creek is located approximately twelve miles further east and is actually within the present city limits of Natchitoches, Louisiana.

The first known descriptions of *Llano Hondo* occurred in 1754. Within the deposition of Domingo de la Cruz it was stated that he was "farming on the lands of the Llano Hondo" (Béxar 1754a:57). It is obvious from the statement that the *rancho* name is a geographic term. This is seemingly verified in a statement by Miguel Ramos who was Domingo de la Cruz' brother in law. Ramos states "[Cruz] was not charged anything for the license for settling in the Llano" (Béxar 1754a:54). Marcos Martin the father in law of both Cruz and Ramos states "His Lordship had given license to settle in El Llano Ondo to his, the deponents, son in law, Domingo Cruz . . ." (Béxar 1754a:81). These statements all indicate the descriptive nature of the name *Llano Hondo* which is essentially a reference to a flat plain along a creek named Hondo. The statements above all relate to *Hondo* or *Ondo* being a name of a drainage near Los Adaes.

The next mention of the region was by the Marques de Rubi in 1767. This reference seems to indicate a classic case of mistaken identity where the creek has obviously been confused with the *Arroyo Hondo* boundary near Natchitoches, Louisiana. All who are familiar with Spanish history are fully aware of their fondness for the name *Arroyo Hondo* from California to Florida. This is primarily due once again to the fact it is a descriptive term.

After crossing the Sabine River on September 11, 1767 the Marques de Rubi traveled through *Las Cabezas* near present day Zwolle, Louisiana before continuing onto Los Adaes. He arrived later that day at Los Adaes after passing several small farms. Before arriving at Los Adaes the expedition crossed a creek called *Arroyo Hondo* (Jackson and Foster 1995:129; Chipman and Joseph 1999:184). The fact the expedition was traveling eastward from the Sabine to Los Adaes obviously places the creek to the west of the presidio. This can only refer to the same creek mentioned in the 1754 depositions previously discussed.

The following year Fray Gaspar Jose De Solís made an inspection of the missions of Texas which included a visit to the mission at Los Adaes. On May 8, 1768 the day after crossing the Sabine River he briefly stops and eats at the three plains which is six miles to the west of Los Adaes before continuing his travels east that afternoon. He then states

> *We came to Arroyo Hondo, a deep creek, where the Reverend Father Amillano came out with many people from the presidio and we reached the mission of Adays about five o'clock in the afternoon [Kress 1931:63-64]*

Fray Solís had just left the three plains [*Tres Llanos*] area and continued toward Los Adaes when he encountered this creek. This assures us that the creek was also to the west of Los Adaes and is the same creek mentioned by the Marques De Rubi in 1767.

The next reference to the region would be three decades later. In a 1797 inventory of ranches within the jurisdiction of Nacogdoches a French farmer from Natchitoches named Emmanuel Prudhomme was listed as owning a ranch on the "*Arroyo Ondo de Los Adaes*" (Béxar 1797). This is a direct link to the Marque de Rubi and Fray Solís statements from 1767 and 1768. This is once again a geographical description as was also true for the original name for the *rancho*. In the 1754 depositions the name of the ranch is usually written as *Llano Ondo* (Béxar 1754a:32, 68, 81). This is truly too close to deny the similarities in name and location.

In 1813 the valley west of Los Adaes would once again be referred to as "Hondo". This reference is actually located within the American land claims and the particular claim was one of several that were eventually determined to be forgeries and the actual claimants probably fictitious. These claims were not fully transcribed within the official publication of the American State Papers (ASP 1834:210 [these land claims were filed in 1813, the report presented to the House of Representatives in 1816 and the report published in the ASP in 1834]). Each fraudulent claim was only generically labeled as situated along Red River. Fortunately the handwritten documents from this land claim report were located in the Louisiana State Land Office and they were fully transcribed.

Register claim #903 (Cat. 1205) was supposedly filed by a settler named Julien Florien, however the claimant was probably fictitious. The handwritten claim states the land is situated "on the west side of the *reach Hondo*, lying on both sides of the Bayou Adays" (LSLO 1813:74 [emphasis mine]). A "reach" in this case is a geographical term for a particular extent of land or water. Bayou Adays [Adaes] is one of the many tributaries of Bayou Dupont. In essence the term "reach Hondo" mimics the name *Llano Hondo*. This claim while fraudulent does show that once again the original Spanish name *Hondo* was still applied to the area as late as 1813.

While this claim was eventually negated due to it being fraudulent the information within is still relevant. The supposed perpetrator of the fraud [Richard K. McLaughlin] or co-conspirators were obviously familiar with the geography of the Adaes region. Several known creeks in the area along with Spanish Lake were mentioned in various claims. Also mentioned in one of the fraudulent land claims was "the old vachery of Manuel Prudhomme" lending even more evidence to the credibility of the geographical information within the claims.

Through the years the one consistency in these descriptions is the location of this creek or valley to the immediate west of Los Adaes. This suggests the creek is probably modern Bayou Dupont which flows though the wide flat valley to the west of Los Adaes. The geographic evidence presented supports the region being *Rancho Llano Hondo*.

In the eighteenth century Jean Pierre Emmanuel Prudhomme from Natchitoches established a ranch at or near the former *Rancho Llano Hondo* a few years after Los Adaes was abandoned. According to Burton and Smith (2008:153) Emmanuel Prudhomme acquired a square league of land in 1778 at the Adaes Village. This however probably implies he acquired land in the Los Adaes region as there was no "Adaes Village" at that point in time Native or European. The 1778 date is only five years after the abandonment of Los Adaes itself so it is probable the various improvements made by the Spanish were still visible.

During the American land claims in the nineteenth century Prudhomme filed two claims for the land at the Adaes. Prudhomme filed Register claim #928 (Cat. 1135) for 640 acres which was situated on Bayou Dupont (ASP 1834:209). This would seem to verify the earlier presumption that *Arroyo Ondo* and *Llano Hondo* were in fact Bayou Dupont. Prudhomme would later file Río Hondo claim #110 in 1823 (ASP 1859:110 [these land claims were filed in 1823, the report presented to the Senate in 1825 and the report published in the ASP in 1859]). This time the claim would be filed for one league square. Plat maps show indisputable evidence of the Río Hondo claim in Township 8 North Range 9 West.

Jean Pierre Emmanuel Prudhomme was a very successful farmer and prominent citizen of Natchitoches, Louisiana who had large land holdings along the Red River which is now Cane River. Oakland Plantation his nineteenth century home is currently the headquarters for the Cane River Heritage National Park along Cane River in Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana. Most of his known history is associated with Natchitoches and the Cane River region. Prudhomme however is also well known in the historical record concerning the Adaes region for the fact that it was he who gave permission to Spanish refugees to settle upon his claim in 1813 (ASP 1859:110). These refugees established the "Village of Adaes" on his property in 1813 (Pleasant and Pleasant 1990). The refugees were fleeing the aftermath of the defeat of the Gutierrez-Magee expedition at the Battle of Medina in 1813. These refugees primarily from Nacogdoches and San Antonio De Béxar were escaping the retaliation by Spanish forces who were arresting and executing many supporters of the expedition. Prudhomme granted permission to the refugees as detailed in Río Hondo claim #110 (ASP 1859:110).

In his 1823 Río Hondo land claim Prudhomme states his land is "at the Adaise and around the village of Adaise" (ASP 1859:110) but this does not give a definite boundary. As with many of the earlier French and Spanish claims the exact eighteenth century boundaries are unknown. The nineteenth century boundaries of his land claim are well known due to plat maps. In survey documents from 1836 included within the handwritten Río Hondo claim papers Prudhomme states that he would accept sections 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16 and 17 in Township 8 North Range 9 West (LSLO 1823a:228). This is the claim as we see it on nineteenth century plat maps. This suggests the original boundaries of his grant were somewhat different and were negotiated for the named sections above. The claim totaled nine square miles and fit well into the Rectangular Survey System employed by the Americans and was relatively equal in size to his original square league. What is likely is that the original boundaries were based on a distance from a central area with improvements and the boundaries of the grant were adjusted by the Americans to fit into the Rectangular Survey System grid. The surveyed claim still obviously encompassed the majority of his original claim in order to include his own improvements on the claim. Samuel Davenport acting as witness for the claimant stated that Prudhomme had "white men, Negroes, horses, &c., and had houses, pens, &c., thereon" (ASP 1859:110). So we can assume the boundaries from the plat maps equate closely to the original claim in order to encompass Prudhomme's improvements.

It is probable that Emmanuel Prudhomme claimed an already existing ranch, in particular *Rancho Llano Hondo*. While there was no location evidence within the Béxar documents the geographical similarities of the name of the *rancho* and the nearby creek gives us cause to suspect that Prudhommes' claim was the former *Rancho Llano Hondo*.

Archaeological investigations in 1988 at the Village of Adaes (16NAxx) situated within the bounds of Prudhomme's claim recovered a few sherds of French Faience. One of the types recovered was *Provence Blue on White* (Waselkov and Walthall 2002; Emery 2004) which has a terminal date of 1765. This suggests that there was some form of occupation in the immediate area of the village during the middle eighteenth century. We can only speculate at this time if these remains are associated with *Rancho Llano Hondo*. There were also eighteenth century remains found in other areas within the known bounds of Prudhomme's claim which could be indicative of activities at *Rancho Llano Hondo*.

Belmudes (Velmudes)

This *rancho* was mentioned in two documents from the middle eighteenth century. They do not reveal any information on the location but do provide some minimal information on the owners and activities. The name is spelled differently in the two translations, but a closer inspection of the original documents seems to indicate that *"belmudes"* was perhaps the actual name used by the Spanish in the 1750s.

The first document is the previously mentioned 1754 depositions by various soldiers in the case against the governor. Don Juan Antonio de Amodin states in his deposition that "Don Pedro del Bario . . . had charged Juan Sanches Tovar two or three mules for the title to the Rancho de Velmudes" (Béxar 1754a:69). Juan Sanchez Tovar apparently received the title in 1750. In another reference it was stated that Tovar along with his son-in-laws [one of these was Gil Flores] "had to attend to their cows and mares, [and] the cultivation of chile" (Béxar 1754a:67). The second document from 1755 also consisted of depositions but these were associated with charges against Andres Cherinos for various offenses. The document also decided the ownership of a "skewbald" cow that Chirino was accused of stealing. Within the depositions Miguel de Cordoba mentions "stock brought from Belmudes" (Béxar 1755:20). Unfortunately there is only this single mention of the *rancho* in the document.

We can possible associate *Rancho Belmudes* with a Spanish grant mentioned in the American land claims of the nineteenth century. In 1813 the "Widow and Heirs of Martin" filed claim #499 (Cat. 351) for 1736 arpents of land (ASP 1834:177). This claim was for a Spanish grant signed by Gil Ybarbo on October 18, 1791. The name of the grant was noted to be "Bermudas". The widow and heirs also filed individual claims in 1813 for this tract of land. Luke Martin filed claim #692 (Cat. 1103), Dominique Martin filed claim #693 (Cat. 1104) and Theresa Martin [widow] filed claim #694 (Cat. 1105) (ASP 1834:205). In each of these individual claims the name of the grant is once again stated to be "Bermudas".

A much later land claim from 1840 was filed for this same Spanish grant. A major discrepancy was the Spanish grant in this claim was stated to be 1736 acres instead of arpents. Claim #127 was filed by the "legal representatives of Joseph Irwin". The land was claimed by "right of settlement of Luke Martin" and the grant was named "Bermudez" (US Serial, 1842:61 [these land claims were filed after 1835, the report presented to the House of Representatives in 1842 and the report was published the same year in the United States Congressional Serial Set]).

The name of the grant within the these land claims is very intriguing and indicates that the Spanish grant of Martin is possibly the former *Rancho Belmudes* [or *Velmudes*]. One of the most favorable aspects beyond the name of the grant is the association of Gil Y Barbo, former soldier of Los Adaes and later the commandant of Nacogdoches. It seems apparent that Gil Y Barbo would have been familiar with the *ranchos* associated with Los Adaes as he was owner of *Rancho Lobanillo* in East Texas. As such we can assume the use of the grant name "Bermudas" was not a coincidence. This implies direct association between with the former *Rancho Belmudes* and the Spanish grant "Bermudas".

The deceased Martin noted in the first claim was possibly Pierre Sorel dit Marly of Natchitoches. This can be confirmed to a certain degree by the fact that two of his three documented heirs have the same names as the Sorel family in Natchitoches. Dominique Sorel dit Marly and Luc (Luke) Sorel dit Marly are listed in the 1793 tax rolls of Natchitoches. These two are the sons of Martin while the widow was not mentioned on the tax roll. The case for these being the heirs [sons] and widow of Martin can be seen on a plat map of Township 9 North Range 9 West in which the claimants are more precisely listed as "Widow and Sons of Martin".

This is obviously the same Pierre Sorel dit Marly mentioned by Burton and Smith (2008:164) as having a ranch near modern Bermuda, Texas. It is quite clear based on all the available evidence such as plat maps and land claims that the Spanish grant of Martin (Marly) was not in east Texas but located just to the northwest of Los Adaes. The relevant historical information attributed to the Marly claim in Texas can now be attributed to the specific geographical locality in northwestern Natchitoches Parish.

The date of the original grant was stated to be October 18th 1791 and testimony by Michel DuRoy in 1814 states that the ranch was occupied in approximately 1792 (ASP 1834:177). Burton and Smith (2008:164) state the claim was acquired in 1785. It is probable that the *rancho* area was not yet resettled before that date as there was no mention of the *rancho* by Francois Grappe in 1783 in his travel between Los Adaes and the southern region of Bayou Pierre (La Vere 1994). The road from Los Adaes to the Bayou Pierre settlement passed directly adjacent to the improvements (including a house) of the claim of Martin and presumably the settlement would have been noted by the Grappe expedition.

The original grant was for a square league but only a claim for 640 acres was confirmed to the Widow and Heirs of Martin (Marly). Each heir filed for a 640 acre claim but these were never surveyed and do not appear on plat maps. The claim was stated to be for only 640 acres since there was no information on how much land Spanish officials would normally grant (US Serials 1842:61). It is very likely that the entirety of the claim was for the 640 acres as seen on plat maps.

Numerous plat maps of the township show the 640 acre claim of the widow and heirs of Martin. The improvements and a structure probably a house were situated along present day Mayous (Maillieuxs) Bayou in section 38 Township 9 North Range 9 West, about three miles north of Robeline, Louisiana and about one mile to the west of Spanish Lake. The immediate area is currently occupied by a domicile with several houses and structures on the slight rise near where the improvements of Martin are presumed to have been situated. The fact that these noted improvements are in a location that does not seem to have had great disturbances makes this a high priority area to search for mid-eighteenth century archaeological remains.

Tres Llanos

This seems to be possibly the most well documented of the Los Adaes *ranchos* with the possible exception of *Rancho Lobanillo* in east Texas. *Tres Llanos* is mentioned briefly in early documents (Béxar, 1754a, 1755, 1774) as well as within various land claims in the early nineteenth century.

The *rancho* was purchased in 1820 by Charles Pavie and Charles Noyrit who subsequently filed Río Hondo land claim #240 in 1823 and Register claim #64 (ASP 1859:136, 508-510 [written as A No. 64]) in 1826. After Pavie and Noyrit purchased the land they also filed a lawsuit against a settler named Louis Latham in 1820 apparently because he was occupying the land without permission. A simplified chronology can be worked out for the *rancho* based on the information provided by this lawsuit and the land claim.

According to Marian Sanchez *Rancho Tres Llanos* was granted to his father Jose Sanchez in the mid-18th century but was abandoned when the Los Adaes population was forced to relocate to San Antonio in 1773. Jose Sanchez left a man named Mansola in charge of the *rancho* who was still on there in 1774, but soon died on the land. This man left at *Tres Llanos* is also noted as being named Mendoza in another document concerning illegal activities in the eighteenth century (Béxar 1774:6). This document lists him as the owner of Tres Llanos but apparently he was only left in charge of the *rancho* due to the evacuation of all Spanish inhabitants of Los Adaes the previous year. Unfortunately beyond this little information there is not much known about the *rancho* activities in the intervening period from 1774 to 1800.

In 1800 an Anglo settler named Louis Latham settled on the claim. Latham was obviously one of the many Anglo settlers that began to arrive in the "Adaes" region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. According to witness testimony Marian Sanchez had confronted Latham in 1803 and informed him that the land still belonged to him [Sanchez]. It is apparent that Latham did not abandon the property at that point.

Many years later in 1818 Marian Sanchez donated the land to Jose Antonio Sepulveda an inhabitant of the Village of Adaes and fellow Nacogdoches refugee. Sepulveda subsequently sold the land to Pavie and Noyrit in 1820. They immediately initiated the lawsuit in 1820 to remove Louis Latham from the property. The outcome of that suit is unknown but as of 1823 Latham was still on the claim. Latham would later file Río Hondo claim #2 (ASP 1859:91) in 1823 for the land on the Bayou Three Prairies [*Tres Llanos*] indicating he still considered the *rancho* as his property.

Within the testimony in the land claim documents it is stated above that Jose Sanchez was granted *Rancho Tres Llanos* in the mid-eighteenth century. However in the 1754 depositions it is stated that a soldier named [Christobal] Marques was given license to farm *Rancho Tres Llanos* (Béxar, 1754a:62). It is unclear at this time if he simply owned the *rancho* before Jose Sanchez or if perhaps these licenses were given to multiple people to farm the *ranchos*. This could be the pattern as the testimony of Pedro Procella states, "the inhabitants of the Adizes were settled there [Tres Llanos], raised cattle and made corn" (ASP 1859:509). This indicates that many people potentially occupied *Rancho Tres Llanos*. Perhaps other *ranchos* were similar to *El Lobanillo* and were in fact small "pueblos".

One question that will linger in regard to *Rancho Tres Llanos* is exactly why Father Solís used the term *Rancho de Raso* when he was traveling across the Three Plains area just before he reached Los Adaes (Kress 1931:63). Was this another name for *Tres Llanos*, just a part of the *rancho* or another *rancho* in the immediate area? Perhaps this was just a reference to the level plains of the *Llano*? Father Solís mentioned several known settlements and geographical locations along his journey on the east side of the Sabine River but this one cannot be expanded upon at this time. Regardless of the construct of *Rancho de Rasos* Father Solís left us a brief description of the orchards at the *rancho*. He states the orchards contained peaches, figs, berries and of course Castillian roses.

As stated above many of the Los Adaes inhabitants probably lived at the ranch before they were forced to abandon Los Adaes. So there could possibly be a sizable area of mid-18th century remains in the immediate area. Witness testimony in Register claim #64 (ASP 1859:508-510) states that Louis Latham actually settled on or near the original spot where the house of [Jose] Sanchez was located. The Río Hondo documents and Plat maps of Township 8 North Range 10 West record where Latham's improvements were located which gives us a detailed area to search for remains of *Tres Llanos* or at least the remains of Jose Sanchez' habitation.

The *rancho* has a terminus date of 1773 with the exception of the short occupation by Mansola (Mendoza). Several decades would presumably pass before the *rancho* would be occupied again around 1800. Thus the archaeological remains from the mid-eighteenth century should be easily discernible from the later nineteenth century remains associated with Louis Latham's occupation.

El Baño (Vaño)

This *rancho* was owned by the missionaries at Los Adaes and was mentioned in several documents from the mid eighteenth century (Béxar 1754a, 1755; Kress 1931). The general location of the *rancho* was

known to be located a short distance to the south of the mission. This was primarily due to the Joseph Urrutia map (Urrutia, 1767) which showed a road leading south from the mission to *El Baño*. This was confirmed during the visit of *Fray* Solís in the 1760s as he states *El Baño* is a half league distant from the mission (Kress 1931:64).

The general area may have been known but not the particular creek where it was situated. A group of nineteenth century land claims south of Los Adaes revealed a more precise location of the *rancho* and the creek it was located upon. The most definitive evidence involves a creek named Bayou Bain just to the south of the mission area. Apparently *Bain* is an old French word for bath which indicates a direct connection to *El Baño*. It is plausible that as the Adaes region was occupied by French inhabitants from Natchitoches the Spanish word *Baño* was simply replaced by the French word *Bain.* The succeeding Anglo settlers presumably continued the use of the French name for the bayou.

Fortunately several people filed Río Hondo land claims along Bayou Bain. The claimants include John Sibley who filed Río Hondo claim #122 for a square league as assignee of Littlepage Robinson (ASP 1859:113). According to the Río Hondo land claim records Littlepage Robinson was the earliest documented inhabitant of Bayou Bain. Robinson reportedly received a grant for a square league from the commandant in Nacogdoches in approximately 1789. It seems he occupied the area until 1800. The land then lay unoccupied until John L. Petit occupied it from 1809 until 1812 when the Spanish and American forces once again ran people out of the Neutral Ground. The claim was once again occupied by Michael Quinn and Henry Quirk in 1814 and subsequently claimed by Sibley. Unfortunately Sibley's claim was not confirmed and probably never surveyed.

John Sibley also filed Río Hondo claim #123 as assignee of John L. Petit for land along Bayou Bain, whether this was for the same tract of land as Robinsons claim or whether it was a neighboring claim is unknown. It was confirmed and surveyed and is quite evident on various plat maps and includes the site of the Los Adaes presidio and mission.

Sarah Sheridan filed claim #183 for 640 acres on Bayou Le Bain (ASP, 1859:125). Her land was immediate to the east of John Sibley's claim #123 and extended down into the open creek valley where Bayou Chacon [Stokers Branch] and Bayou Bain confluence south of Highway 6.

The most important of these claims was that of Michael Quinn simply because of its location. He filed Río Hondo claim #119 for land at the headwaters of Bayou Bain (ASP 1859:112-113). The original date of occupation is not known but it is obvious that he claimed occupation and cultivation on February 22, 1819. It is quite obviously Quinn was already in the Adaes area around 1813. Quinn's claim is the definitive evidence for the location of Bayou Bain due it being situated on the headwaters of the bayou.

Michael Quinn and Henry Quirk had been tried along with several others in 1810 and 1811 for illegal trade and sedition by the Spanish in Trinidad and then San Antonio de Béxar. Quinn apparently escaped but Quirk and the others were taken to San Antonio and imprisoned for several months. Apparently they were citizens of Nacogdoches at the time. Quinn and Quirk are believed to have joined the Gutierrez-Magee expedition in 1812/1813 and by 1814 they were both refugees living in the Adaes region.

Bayou Bain is not named on modern topographic maps but it is clear from the documentation where it is located. The drainage is relatively short but it is in the right area for "*El Baño*". The direction in relation to the mission of Los Adaes as mapped by Urrutia as well as the distance described by Fray Solís support the region being *Rancho El Baño*. The name of the creek is another that seems to have endured after the ranch and Los Adaes were both abandoned. This is another instance in which the Spanish geography was still relevant a half century after Los Adaes was abandoned.

The valley is wide and flat and probably suited for ranching and agricultural purposes. Plat maps of Township 8 North Range 9 West from the year 1885 reveals Bayou Bain had the largest agricultural fields within the entire township as nearly the entire length of the valley was cultivated. One can presume that this was perhaps a similar case for the eighteenth century if agriculture was part of the *Rancho El Baño* activities.

This is an area that should be further explored for remains of the *rancho*. The mapped improvements including the house sites of Michael Quinn and Sarah Sheridan should also be explored for remains of much earlier historic components. Much of the mapped improvements now lie within pine plantations which hopefully have not greatly disturbed potential remains.

La Gloria

This was an area mentioned only briefly in a document from 1754 (Béxar 1754a). It was just a reference into whether the Los Adaes *ranchos* could sell enough crops to pay for a church. The whereabouts of the *rancho* is not mentioned nor was there any usable information within the document.

It was noted that the area was in cultivation in 1754 and as such should be considered another Los Adaes *rancho*. Juan Sanchez Tovar briefly mentioned the *rancho* in his testimony regarding the governor of Los Adaes. Tovar states:

> *When asked whether it was true that for the definite purpose of building the said church the senor governor had proposed to him that the entire community could cultivate the place called La Gloria, which was now being cultivated by the company [Béxar 1754a:101]*

Unfortunately at this time there have been no additional eighteenth century references located regarding this place. What we do have is a references within the American land claims that could possibly indicate the location of the *rancho*.

Seven decades later during the Río Hondo land claims a ranch named La Gloria is mentioned. The "Heirs of Gaspar Fiolle [Fiol] and Theresa Lama Bathey [Lamalathe]" filed Río Hondo claim #204 in 1823. The claim states:

> *Situated at a place called "Bayou la Gloria", nine or ten leagues to the westward of the town of Nacogdoches [Natchitoches], containing two leagues square, claimed in virtue of a concession given by Antonio Gil y Barvo, commandant of Nacogdoches, dated in 1790, in favor of the ancestor of the claimants for the land claimed [ASP 1859:129]*

The above statement refers to the claim being west of Nacogdoches however within the handwritten Río Hondo documents the claim is definitely written as being nine or ten leagues west of Natchitoches (LSLO 1823c:74). The Río Hondo land claims only applied to lands east of the Sabine River and west of the Arroyo Hondo creek [the one near Natchitoches, Louisiana]. So lands anywhere near Nacogdoches would be well outside the Neutral Strip.

Gaspar Fiolle [Fiol] was an Indian trader as early as 1774. He is mentioned in a document from that year as leading a mule train full of deer hides from the Texas Indians. The Diaz' brothers described under *Rancho Vallecillo* joined Fiolle and accompanied him to Natchitoches. They obviously traveled through *Rancho Vallecillo* and several others on their way from Texas to Natchitoches. As described earlier the French from Natchitoches were undoubtedly familiar with the Adaes region and the travel of Gaspar Fiolle provides supporting evidence.

Figuring out the location of this claim has been rather unfruitful. The claim was placed within the "First Class" which was the class for confirmed claims that were grants and for which title was received by claimants. The title to the claim as with all others was taken by Governor Salcedo in 1812 when he abandoned Nacogdoches, Texas in advance of the Gutierrez-Magee expedition. It is very likely that La Gloria was located in the region near *Rancho Tres Llanos* to the west of Los Adaes. In Río Hondo claim #204 Marian Sanchez acts as a witness for the validity of the claim (ASP 1859:129). It is apparent that Sanchez was a neighbor of Fiolles which makes it highly likely that La Gloria was located somewhere to the west of present day Robeline, Louisiana.

There is a map in a Louis Nardini (1961) book which shows a "*La Gloria*" in the Bayou Pierre settlements. It is situated in the region just north of Bayou Pierre Lake in southern Desoto Parish in a claim attributed to Pierre Baillio. This is obviously completely off base as it is clearly the wrong land owner. That particular claim has a known history of ownership based on the land claim records. Francois Bossier filed claim #442 (Cat. 45) around 1812 for this particular Bayou Pierre claim. According to the claim record he purchased the land in 1789 from Jacob Hoopock who had only recently purchased it from Pierre "Bouet" Lafitte. Lafitte had been granted the land the previous year. It also is not in the general direction or the correct distance noted in the Gaspar Fiolle claim for *La Gloria*. Also all the witnesses for Fiolle's claim such as Marian Sanchez are residents of the Adaes region of Natchitoches Parish. Pierre Baillio's land claims are in the general region of Bayou Pierre but are situated to the east along the Red River in section 23 Township 13 North Range 11 West about six miles southeast of Francois Bossier's claim.

Vallecillo

This place is mentioned in various historical documents from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Most importantly it was mentioned as a *rancho* in a document from 1774 (Béxar 1774). No geographical description was ever presented but based on the American land claims we can determine a core area that is perhaps the original location of the *Rancho Vallecillo.* If the popular theory is correct that *Vallecillo* became corrupted into "Bayou Scie" then we have a very good idea of the location for the *rancho*.

It must be noted that there was a settlement named *Vallecillo* in Nuevo Leon, Mexico as well. This small village is located about halfway between Monterey, Mexico and Laredo, Texas. The Béxar documents have many entries which refer to this settlement and not to the *rancho* in western Louisiana. These documents concern regions such as Monterey and Béxar. The few references for *Rancho Vallecillo* in Louisiana are readily recognizable within the subject of the documents with references to either Nacogdoches or Natchitoches.

After Los Adaes was abandoned it appears that *Rancho Vallecillo* was probably sparsely populated but still a quite active place. In 1774 the *rancho* figured in two official cases that concerned smuggling and illicit trade with the Indians. The two documents mention *Rancho Vallecillo* several times and as will be shown are actually related as the events in both were happening at approximately the same time. As will be evident, the events of the first document end up intertwining with those of the second. The first document is dated later than the second but the events described within actually began slightly earlier.

The first document dated October 3, 1774 concerns the travels of Joseph Manuel Diaz and his brother Jose Antonio Diaz (Béxar 1774b). It seems the Diaz brothers travels possibly originated at *Vallecillo* in Mexico and they would eventually end up at *Rancho* V*allecillo* in Louisiana. As a result we must be careful in determining which *Vallecillo* is referenced in this document. The brothers ultimately became lost on the Brazos River but would eventually make it to a Bidai village in east Texas. An Indian boy from San Antonio named Jose Antonio Cuevas was given to them to work as apprentice to Jose Antonio Diaz who was a shoemaker. At the Indian village they met the Frenchman Gaspar Fiolas (Fiol) from Natchitoches and were employed to help with his mule train of hides.

As employees of Gaspar Fiolas the two brothers wound up in Natchitoches while the Indian boy remained in Texas at the Indian villages. The brothers were delayed for several days by the commandant of the Natchitoches but finally managed to leave (or escape) and return to *Rancho Vallecillo* where they expected to find their lost horses. Afterwards they traveled into Texas where they met Gil Ybarbo and the Adaeseños traveling to where they were establishing Bucareli. It was at this point they were arrested and sent to San Antonio de Béxar where they would give their depositions.

The second document from August 1, 1774 contains the depositions of Joaquin Benites, Nepomuzeno Travieso and Juan Antonio Cuevas (Béxar 1774a). Benites and Travieso were members of a large party on a mule train from the Río Grande region to Natchitoches. They were guaranteed safe passage to Natchitoches however at *Rancho Tres Llanos* they were overtaken by French militiamen and arrested. Only two men avoided being arrested.

Benites testified that he evaded capture by the French militia by hiding in a nearby arroyo. He would eventually make his way to *Rancho Vallecillo* where he would join another member of the party. This was a man named Mathias Guzman who had been ill and stayed behind to rest at the *rancho* while the remainder went on to *Tres Llanos*. Benites and Guzman captured some horses at *Vallecillo* and made their way back into central Texas.

Nepomuzeno Travieso was captured at *Tres Llanos* and taken to Natchitoches. He remained in captivity for a while before escaping on foot. He walked to *Rancho Tres Llanos* where he was able to obtain a mule from the *rancho* caretaker Mendoza [Mansola]. Once he reached Nacogdoches he was entrusted with an Indian boy from San Antonio named Juan Antonio Cuevas. This is the same Indian boy associated with the Diaz brothers described in the first document. He had been apprenticed to Juan Antonio Diaz the shoemaker. They all would end up turning themselves in to Spanish authorities in Texas.

Travieso stated in his deposition that the residents of *Vallecillo* were "the Indian [Cuevas], Joseph Manuel [Diaz], his wife who is an Adaeseño, and Marcos Losoya [also an Adaeseño]" (Béxar 1774a:16). It is not clear why Travieso listed these four as living at the *rancho*. Obviously the Diaz party were only staying for a short time as they would eventually head back to Texas and be captured. Perhaps since Travieso was from the San Antonio region he was unfamiliar with the *rancho* and considered the Diaz group to be residents of *Vallecillo*.

The one consistency in both documents is the location of *Rancho Vallecillo* between the Texas Indians and Natchitoches. The only relevant geographic information within the two documents was offered by Travieso. He stated that *Rancho Vallecillo* was four leagues beyond the river Sabinas (Béxar 1774:16). This supports the *rancho* possibly being located along Bayou Scie or in the immediate area.

In the nineteenth century several reports briefly mention the *rancho* however these are very important due to the late dates. In the first report from 1809 a man named "Querque" was mentioned as "keeping horses at *Arroyo de Vallecillo*" (Béxar Rolls 1809:290). This is undoubtedly one of the Quirk brothers Edmund or Henry Quirk who were Anglo settlers from Virginia. The Quirk brothers name is usually written as Reymundo Querque and Enrique Querque in Spanish documents. The second report from 1810 list *Vallecillo* among several places where Americans were settling in the Neutral Ground in western Louisiana (Béxar Rolls 1810:23). The last relevant report was by Ignacio Perez in 1819 regarding the James Long Expedition. Apparently Perez pardoned over thirty former residents of Nacogdoches who were living in horrible conditions at Bayou Pierre, Los Adaes,

Vallecillo and Tres Llanos (Casteñada 1938:167). The most important aspect of these reports is that even as late as 1809, 1810 and up to at least 1819 the area was still known to Spanish officials in Texas as *Vallecillo* and not Bayou Scie.

The name Bayou Scie does not appear at any point in our search for *Rancho Vallecillo* before the Río Hondo land claims. It is unfortunate that the name *Vallecillo* was not mentioned within the American land claims in the nineteenth century which would have narrowed our search to particular tracts of land. Eighteenth century Spanish place names in the immediate region such as *Cabezas* were mentioned in the Río Hondo claims so it is very surprising that *Vallecillo* was not. Considering once again the amount of translation that must have taken place during the American land claims the name *Vallecillo* could have been mentioned and just written as Bayou Scie by various American translators. It is apparent that in the short time period from 1819 to the start of the Río Hondo claims in 1823 there was a transition in nomenclature from *Vallecillo* to Bayou Scie. We must always be reminded that while the Río Hondo land claims were an American enterprise a majority of the actual claimants were Spanish and French. Most of the claimants of Bayou Scie had been residents of the region for many years ever since the Gutierrez-Magee expedition of 1812/1813. In the 1823 Río Hondo claims every single claim in the immediate area was mentioned as being along Bayou Scie. The absence of a single mention of *Vallecillo* in the Río Hondo claims suggest the name Bayou Scie may very well come to be an American construct during the early land claim process.

We do have a excellent idea of where the settlement of Bayou Scie was located but at this time we cannot say if that location and *Vallecillo* are one and the same. The overall settlement was spread out over a large area but there was a definitive core village. The core area had numerous houses in a relatively small area and streets going through the village. It was the end of the eighteenth century or perhaps the beginning of the nineteenth century when the settlement began to attract residents. It is very likely however that the settlement did not attain the dense population seen within the Río Hondo land claims until after the 1813 immigration of refugees fleeing the Spanish after the Battle of Medina. Within the Neutral Ground the populations of Bayou Scie, Village of Adaes, Tres Llanos, and Bayou Pierre all increased dramatically in size due to refugees from Nacogdoches and San Antonio De Béxar. It was Bayou Scie however that had the most densely packed population center.

In the Río Hondo claims there were multiple claimants filing for land in the same exact location, which revealed the rather dense settlement that was probably the village core of the Bayou Scie settlement. Many claims were filed for the same section of land as noted by Deputy Surveyors. In the handwritten Río Hondo claim #149 of Jean Laurent Burden (LSLO 1823b:254) a Register and Receiver document from 1837 states "now many confirmed claims on the aforesaid quarter of section 28". This is due to there being many people filing for the same 640 acre section earlier in 1823. Approximately twenty five house sites were plotted by surveyors in the small area paralleling Bayou Scie. At least fourteen of these house sites are adjacent to an old road cut which may have been one of the "streets" of the village. The multiple filings seem to once again be a probable result of the fact that before the American land claims people were settling and farming only a few acres and living in close proximity to one another in a village type setting. Once the land claims process began in 1823 village inhabitants filed for 640 acres claims which was the maximum allowed by the Acts of Congress. Many times these claims were for the same tract of land. The claimants filing for the land in section 28 as stated before were living in a village setting. As a result the surveyors plotted their individual houses which revealed a very dense population for the small area.

We do have a map of the nineteenth century Bayou Scie settlement as a result of the search for *Rancho Vallecillo.* The survey documents among many of the handwritten Río Hondo claims at Bayou Scie often gave

precise measurements to individual house locations. Several people state within their Río Hondo land claims that they were bound to one side by a street of the village. Shaded relief maps of the region reveal many old road cuts, several of which are possibly these same streets of the village.

Whether the Bayou Scie settlement represents the old *Rancho Vallecillo* is simply not known but this village area would be a logical starting point for field investigations. Perhaps the refugee population seen in the Río Hondo claims settled on an old *rancho* much like those farther east near Los Adaes. The area around *Tres Llanos* was possibly never completely abandoned in the eighteenth century and this could also be true of other *ranchos* such as *Vallecillo*.

Petit Ecor

There is evidence that perhaps some of the Spanish cattle ranching was moved closer to Natchitoches after Spain gained control of Louisiana. It is debatable to whether to include this *rancho* as a Los Adaes *rancho*. However as it is mentioned within several documents as both a *baquira* and a *Hacienda* we must at least briefly discuss the area.

In 1767 there was a reference in the Béxar Archives to a place named *Petit Ecor* which is on the outskirts of Natchitoches. This is a name occasionally observed in historic documents relating to Natchitoches, Louisiana and its general location is approximately known. This particular French vacherie named was owned by Luis Menard while Los Adaes was still occupied. It was located on the outskirts of Natchitoches and is only discussed due to the owner Luis Menard being a resident and soldier at Los Adaes.

Luis Menard was also a merchant in Natchitoches and he was obviously a soldier at Los Adaes as he was noted as receiving goods given to the former soldiers of Los Adaes in 1780 while living in Béxar (Béxar 1780a:7; 1780b:2). It is probable that he left the region when the other Adaes residents were marched off to San Antonio in 1773. Documents show him to be a resident of the villa San Fernando (San Antonio) in 1782.

In 1767 depositions there were references by several Spaniards to a *"baqueira* named *the petit ecor"* owned by Luis de Menard (Béxar 1767:15). Apparently he was stationing cattle to take to *puento cupe* (Point Coupee) which was a French settlement north of modern day Baton Rouge, Louisiana. It is not known if this *baqueira* represented a full *rancho* type settlement or if this was simply a holding area for livestock waiting to be shipped southward.

In 1769 Luis Menard's ranch is referred to as a *"*hacienda*"* (Béxar 1769). This is quite unusual for a Spanish ranch outside the northern areas of Mexico and south Texas to be labeled a *hacienda.* The ranches on the frontier were simply too small to meet that definition. The two opposing descriptions of the ranch are confusing as a *baqueira* is essentially a holding pen for livestock while a *hacienda* is a defacto pueblo associated with a ranch.

In 1823 "The heirs of Francois Rouquier" filed Río Hondo claim #234 which was stated to be at a place called "La Petit Ecor". It was situated on the west bank of Old River, an old Red River course, immediately west of Natchitoches, Louisiana (ASP 1859:135). The land was purchased from his bother in law Dominique Prudhomme in December 1786 which is almost twenty years after Luis Menard is noted as having a *baqueira* located there. Francois Rouquire's son Jean Marie Francois Rouquier filed Río Hondo claim #235 (ASP 1859:135). This claim was issued on October 4, 1786 and was stated to be just below the place called *Petit Ecor* and located adjacent to Old River.

The Rouquier claims are situated along the west bank of Old River which was the eastern boundary of the Neutral Ground and as such their claims were Río Hondo claims. Several of the Rouquier claims on the west side of Old River were previously filed during the "Old Board" land claims. The Old Board claim is situated on the uplands overlooking Natchitoches where US Hwy 6 heads westward. The probable location of the Río Hondo claim is a little farther south but still at the base of the uplands. Since the exact locations of their claims are known this could narrow the location of Luis Menards "baqueira named petit ecor" to a general area.

The ability to locate a site such as that of Luis Menard and the ability to distinguish it from an comparable French site would be nearly impossible. We have to presume that at some point the documented Spanish *ranchos* or *baqueiras* in the immediate Natchitoches region may never be able to be associated with on the ground remains.

San Joseph

This was a *rancho* established by Salbador de Esparza sometime before 1754. There is very limited information at present and this consists of a single mention in a document from 1754 (Béxar 1754a:62). At this time no other reference to the *rancho* has been located. Regardless, we must include it in our discussions since the *rancho* was mentioned in the historic document in the same respect as the better known *ranchos* such as *El Baño* and *Tres Llanos*.

While there was no geographic information presented in the 1754 document we can narrow the search area for this *rancho*. We must once again rely on the Spanish geographical landscape and the apparent unchanging nature of that landscape. The probability that there would be a geographical marker was small but there is a creek named St. Joseph on the Lafon map of 1806 (Lafon 1806) which is located in Sabine Parish near Many, Louisiana. It also seems very unlikely that the creek name would have changed as the region was still primarily Spanish even though ownership of the Neutral Ground was disputed between Spain and the United States. Plat maps from the early nineteenth century reveal the same creek is named St. Hose creek and on modern topographic maps it is named St. Jose. Both are obviously Spanish versions of St. Joseph.

While this can hardly be regarded as evidence of the presence of a former Spanish *rancho* we can speculate the area is worth field investigations. The El Camino Real crossed this creek as it passed through the Many, Louisiana area. This is also in line with some of the other *ranchos* in that they are situated along branches of *El Camino* from Los Adaes toward Nacogdoches, Texas. Also important is the fact that most of the *ranchos* were named after drainages in the region and some of these names have survived into the present.

In the future it is hoped that mention of St Joseph (Jose/Hose) will be recognized as possibly pertaining to the *rancho*. Unfortunately the area surrounding St. Jose creek was within the La Nana grant and the Ft. Jesup lands in the early nineteenth century. So limited nineteenth century settlement occurred in the immediate area. This potentially prevented the same type of settlement information in the land claims gained in regard to the other *ranchos* of Los Adaes.

Summary

One fact is clear during the discussions of the various *ranchos*. The *rancho* names are essentially nothing more than a reference to the primary drainage in the area. Even though we do not have maps of the *ranchos* from the eighteenth century we can assert with confidence that each ranch was situated on a creek of the same name. I would go as far as to suggest that *Rancho Belmudes* for example was located on a creek named *Bermuda or Belmudes*. This is clearly evident on the *ranchos El Baño, Tres Llanos* and *Llano Hondo* etc. The only real deviant is *Petit Ecore* which is actually a French name.

During the period from the abandonment of Los Adaes to the Río Hondo land claims of the 1820s it seems that the landscape of the eighteenth century changed very little over that half century. This allowed the deciphering of Spanish colonial geography based on data from American land claims.

In the near future hopefully historians will possibly be able to delve deeper into individual histories of each *rancho* based on the knowledge of their locations and the method in which they were discovered especially those with a possible adequate paper trail such as *Rancho Belmudes*.

If there were multiple people farming and living at individual *ranchos* then there could be greater potential for archaeological remains in those areas. For example in the case of *Rancho Tres Llanos* there was testimony by Pedro Procla (Procello) indicating multiple people were farming the area around *Tres Llanos.*

An important research topic will also involve searching for definitive evidence of Native Americans at these sites and if there is an identifiable presence that can it be attributed to a particular native group. So far the only mention of natives in relation to the *ranchos* was a single Native American from San Antonio working at *El Baño* and an another Indian from San Antonio who was living at *Vallecillo*. At present there is no documentation indicating that there were additional Native Americans at other *ranchos*.

The foremost issue is now field verification to determine if there are eighteenth century archaeological remains in the proposed *rancho* locations. Based on evidence there are several particular areas which appear to have high potential for discovery of those archaeological remains. The research presented within this article is sound but only after relevant archaeological remains are recovered in the proposed locations of the *ranchos* can we be confident we have discovered the actual whereabouts of the *ranchos*.

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St. Denis, the Caddo and Others: Letters from Patty Lemée

Patty Lemée

There we were, sailing south along the California coastline at the very top of the Princess Line's Love Boat after climbing stairs we probably shouldn't have been climbing. But there were no warning signs, and we were just young enough and foolish enough that we didn't think twice about climbing them. The winds were dangerously strong so we kept a tight grip on the railing and, altogether and simultaneously, we looked up. Awestruck. We were awestruck. No moonlight. Just that gloriously brilliant Milky Way against a pitch black midnight sky.

On a bitterly cold, clear winter night in Wilbarger County, Texas, where I grew up, the Milky Way was no casual thing to see, but it was a different Milky Way that mesmerized us that night, or so it seemed. You'd have thought Tom Sawyer himself had loaded his brush and, in one seismically forceful stroke, slathered the sky with whitewash--so thick and so near you'd swear you could smell it. It felt as if we were *in* the Milky Way.

I'm unprepared to say the event was a religious experience, but most certainly it was a life changing experience. I knew it instantly. I didn't know WHAT had changed, or how. As Pogo would say, those answers would require a full box of pencils and a whole lot of figuring.

Our little group of six silently descended the stairs. We didn't even say good-night to each other . . . we just quietly walked to our rooms. I wondered what else about this glorious universe might I better appreciate if only I were to do so simple a thing as change my perspective. Over the years, I recognized an increased interest in other perspectives. It was those perspectives that helped me understand all sorts of things. Sometimes we need zoom lenses and other times we need wide angled ones. That was years ago and since then I've been busy considering, actually seeking new perspectives.

Just a reminder, I'm a researcher not formally trained in any "ology" typically associated with studies of "things historical and colonial." What interested me was Daddy, and he was interested in people who lived centuries ago in the area we lived, a bit south of the Red and Pease Rivers—Comanche and Wichita Indian country. I'll write more later this about those interests.

Take care,

Patty

At the outset of this letter, let me share some additional "Milky Way" thoughts. Over the years I've related that story to several people who, it turns out, had similar experiences. In most all cases, the outcomes were similar: a realization that, in ways large and small and forever beyond our grasp or understanding, we were linked to centuries of people on Earth before us, as we would be linked to those who would be here after us. Turns out the world *really* wasn't about our individual selves and, turns out #2, vantage points were as critical to understanding than were wide angle and zoom lenses.

So, wow – that put a whole different spin on things!

Fast forward with my research. I had just enough experience in business development to recognize there was some kind of recurring business activity between the French and Spanish. Bear in mind, I didn't know squat about the internet when my research began, and it's just as well because (a) I didn't know how to use a computer and (b) there wasn't anything much to find that interested me. Somebody suggested I check out the old Barker library at UT Austin. There was a "bigger picture" that included Caddo who were waltzing across Texas and other areas of the country for centuries before Europeans showed up, and when the Caddo weren't waltzing, they were trading or hunting or fishing or planting. Trading and diplomacy—Pete Gregory told me his studies revealed the Caddo had used diplomacy and trade to maintain control since at least 900 A.D. At least that's how I remember what he said. If that's wrong, it's "my bad." I was beginning to have nano glimpses understanding about how the Caddo became dominant traders across a huge chunk of real estate.

A few centuries later, along comes St. Denis from Natchitoches via French Canada. The Caddo played nice with him and vice versa. Tattoo or no tattoo, the Caddo soon recognized St. Denis as one of their own. French and Spanish colonial authorities included mention about that in various of their documents**.**

For now, think of the St. Denis/Ramon/Caddo and allies trade as a sport—let's say football. St. Denis is the quarterback—the play caller, the decision maker, the guy who hits his target while his eyes continuously scan the entire field. The guy who keeps the owners happy. Ramon? He is the offensive receiver so he knows in advance what's expected of him when he receives the ball. His eyes, too, scan the field, always ready with one hand waiting to receive whatever St. Denis sends downfield and ready to mix it up if something unexpected happens.

Say what?! How can this analogy work? It works only when it's recognized the game is played solely for commercial purposes, and is accomplished by members of what I once defined as "a familial trade cartel." The primary players got themselves related when St. Denis married Manuela Sanchez Navarro, Diego Ramon's step-granddaughter. So where do the Caddos come into play (no pun intended)? They and their allies control most everything except the Apaches. The Caddo are the official team owners. They have some investors who would and could assemble Jack be Nimble quick if somebody attempted to interrupt this non-spectator game.

Remember, the Caddos, recognized St. Denis as theirs. More than that, it seems . . . they seem to have adopted him. How much Ramon understood is unclear; in time, and a pretty brief time, it was clear he understood enough. Ramon was a smart man, had his own reasons for wanting to "play ball" and was happy to be in the game. The French were happy he was, too. It was a business deal. Everybody benefitted 'til some of them what weren't in the game started squawking. Imagine my surprise to conclude it was the Caddo groups, aided by their allies who controlled movement of colonial trade. The Caddo didn't rule by might; it was that diplomacy and trade thing Pete told me.

St. Denis understood and played by the Caddo's rules plus he gave them trade items they needed and wanted. In return, St. Denis was regarded as an ally who got what he requested, and that included at least safe passage for Frenchmen and Spaniards of the St. Denis and Ramon families and their pals between Mexico and Louisiana.

Ramon or St. Denis— which of the two could jump higher, run farther . . . which was the bigger, badder man? Ya' get right down to it, that's not the point. Possibly I've told you my daddy hammered away that it was more important to know less and understand more than the reverse. There are aspects—most aspects of the Ramon/St. Denis/Caddo arrangement we don't know, and probably never will. Regardless, I keep chipping away at it.
I've come to some understanding of the relationship between these men, both Europeans, each from different operating systems.

The historic record makes clear neither Ramon nor St. Denis had sons who quite measured up to their fathers' successes. One of St. Denis's sons had pretty good success as a trader, and, again, that in large measure because he was St. Denis's son and he honored the old agreements with the Caddo who, with their allies, deferred to the presence of St. Denis through his sons, grandsons and sons-in-law. Several documents make that patently clear.

Domingo Ramon officially commanded the 1716 expedition to east Texas. St. Denis was with that expedition, leaving with his Caddo guide somewhere around Cibolo Creek, reaching the Caddo to announce approach of the Spaniards. It's difficult to imagine the Caddo didn't already know who was coming and when they would show up—remember those smoke signals? I'll write more about that later. For now I'll mention only that sometimes what's NOT written in a document is equally or more important that what IS written.

Under Aguayo's orders, Domingo Ramon later did occupy Lasalle's old post on Garcitas Creek on the Texas coast, but it was Aquayo as governor who had authority to establish the site formally which is another way for the king to get credit, and kings do so like getting credit . Other Spaniards had been there before Ramon. Francisco Martinez (formerly stationed at San Juan Bautista and, later, Pensacola) twice had gone to the site – argh . . . I cannot remember which expedition leader mentioned that. Maybe Salinas Varona. Yes, it was Salinas Varona! Regardless, a storehouse had been built at the old site for goods being shipped there for delivery to Caddo groups in east Texas.

Okay, that's it for now. I've gotta' get some sleep and tomorrow tell you some things I learned about the effects of the War of the Quadruple Alliance. I make no claim that my understandings are the 5th gospel**.** I claim only I haven't poached anybody else's work. If you benefit from something here, and can use it to move the wagon even a "smidgen" down the road—excuse me, down the *camino*, well, that's a good thing.

Happy trails,

Patty

Just a bit more about this trade business. If you've not read Iberville's Gulf Journal, get a copy, sit back, read and prepare to be amazed. Iberville, while on his first voyage, wrote about five Spaniards who had deserted Pensacola. Those five encountered some Mobile Indians who brought them to Iberville. One of the five advised Iberville (1) there was at Pensacola a Spanish soldier and maker of edge-tools who previously had been among those who went to drive out Lasalle on the gulf and to seize the rest of his people and (2) that same Spaniard had chosen to live in a fort in an Indian nation for three years. Seems they didn't get along with the Indians and were forced to abandon the area, leaving two cannons at the site. The five claimed that from that place to Mexico there is a good trail, over which they intended to follow on the return to Mexico. Reportedly two of Lasalle's Frenchmen had married among these Indians. Iberville believed the Indians were the Senys (variant of Hasinai.) Bingo!

It was in that conversation that Iberville first realized how to reach the Hasinai where he could find and hire Caddo guides to lead Frenchmen to the Spaniards in Mexico and to the wealth of their silver mines. I have no clue what the French colonial equivalent of the Happy Dance is, or a high five for that matter, but ya' gotta' believe Iberville was doing some high stepping! All Iberville knew before that encounter was contained in his copy of Joutel's journal of Lasalle's gulf expedition, the contents of which predated establishment of Spanish missions in east Texas. How I would like to have seen Iberville's face when he realized that! I read the passage several times over several years before I snapped to about that entry. From time to time we all "read over" things and then suddenly there's that "Milky Way moment" and zhazam! In short order, Iberville left Mobile and was underway to Louis XIV's court in France with information Iberville believed surely would persuade the Sun King to recognize formally and to provide well for Louisiana as a French colony. Iberville's beliefs became reality. Soon after, sails were unfurled; Iberville and Co. were Louisiana bound, a second time.

In his journal for the second voyage, Iberville wrote that he "had no need to take naval cadets into the woods or a good many of the others, who are not at all suited for such; I brought them along only to go to the Nadches." In other words, Iberville wanted only French Canadians experienced in Indian relations to do the "heavy lifting," among them his cousin and his uncle by marriage, Louis Juchereau de St. Denis.

Now, how cool is THAT?! It could be argued successfully and easily so, that Iberville brought St. Denis to Louisiana specifically to make the overland trip into Spanish territory. The trip was delayed by some 13 or 14 years because of the deaths of Iberville and Louis XIV, but it finally happened in 1714, when St. Denis first waltzed across what eventually became Texas.

Be well,

Patty

The holidays seem to come around faster this year. I won't say I'm old, but the future surely is a lot closer than it usta' be. ☺

For the life of me, I don't know how it happened but at some point I found myself knee-deep in Europe's War of the Quadruple Alliance and how that played out with French/Spanish/English relations in this part of creation. And there are "pirates a'plenty" as well. Honestly, it's another in a list of things that found me and wouldn't let me go, thankfully. What triggered my interest in the matter was Pena's *diario* of the 1721 Aguayo *entrada* into Texas—not the whole thing, but a few inclusions I didn't understand. Things like Aguayo's instructions to leave some sign for the Apaches . . . say WHAT? The Apaches already were consistently raiding San Antonio. Why in the world would you leave them signs about anything for the Apaches?! (Yes, I did figure out that one and will tell you later in the Holy Moses, hang on to your hat section!)

December 24, 1718, Mr. Secretary Craggs at Whitehall (England,) prepared a circular letter to Governors of Plantations, notifying them that on Tuesday, December 16 of that year, a Council was held at St. James (Palace). At that Council, His Royal Majesty had signed a Declaration of War against Spain. The Regent agreed the same Declaration of War should be made in the name of the French King at Paris.

Also on December 24, 1718, at Nassau on Providence, Bahama Islands, Governor Woods Rogers, former sea captain and privateer, prepared a letter for Mr. Secretary Craggs, informing him word of Sir George Byng's success in the Mediterranean had reached Nassau. That news persuaded Rogers the war either was proclaimed or "on foot." The pace quickened, some places and some paces quicker than others.

For considerable time, authorities in Charlesfort and the Bahamas had petitioned for immediate aid. Rumors of Spanish assault at both locations intensified. As it happened, news of the war first reached Bienville at Mobile. That precipitated the French attack and capture of Pensacola. Afterward, Spanish prisoners of war were gathered up, packed on vessels and sailed to Havana. At exactly that time, a rag-tag Spanish mosquito fleet was outbound, headed to assault first Charlesfort (Charleston) and then to the Bahamas, when the vessel from Pensacola was spotted entering Havana harbor. Almost immediately, things were topsy turvy and voila, the French were imprisoned!

Gotta' tell you, the info about Charlesfort and the Bahamas was a real surprise for me. I knew only about activities in Pensacola and the so-called Chicken War at Los Adaes. I think I remember asking around for information about any other hostilities in what's now the United States resulting from the war in Europe. Either I asked the wrong people, or folks I asked didn't know, either. Best sources I've found are Barcia's History of Florida and a dandy series of books I stumbled over titled Series of State Papers, in particular the books noted "America and West Indies." Barcia's history was sent in CD format from a friend in Florida, and, concerning the book series, my "stumbling" this time was done at UT's PCL. I was giddy as a schoolgirl for weeks! In those books I found answers to questions I previously had not known to ask!

Authorities in Havana knew the English had declared war against Spain, but they had no knowledge the French had, too, at least not until the Spaniards got the news at Havana from which place word of the French Declaration of War was taken to Vera Cruz. Before I get ahead of myself, would you believe it was Mobile Frenchmen who hand delivered news of the war when they hand-delivered to Havana prisoners from the captured Pensacola? Well, seems the folks at Havana did not take the news well so they did some "prison-taking" of their own.

Admiral Byng's assault had far-reaching effects which resulted in there being fewer than the usual number of vessels in Vera Cruz. Thus, the response from Mexico was slower than otherwise it might have been to attack the French then

holding Pensacola. Spaniards did attack and reclaim Pensacola, and kept it just long enough to get things around there somewhat tidy when darned if the French didn't show up to return the favor. France retained Pensacola and kept it until after the war's conclusion and treaties signed. France really, really wanted to keep it, and Spain really, really wanted it for themselves. These letters I'm writing are, for me, a super way for my telling this story – it gives me the wiggle room I need to jump from the Atlantic Coast to the Pacific Coast of our United States, and to sail back and forth across oceans and gulfs**.** And, truth be told, I'm having a second go at all the fun over the years when I'd find a tidbit here, another there.

Let's look now at St. Denis who, in 1719, has escaped prison, reportedly in Mexico City, made his way up and across the Rio Grande and is traveling northeastward toward the Louisiana colony. Talk about good timing! I think it's more than amusing to recognize that about the same time St. Denis had gotten through what we know today as San Antonio, Coahuila governor Martin de Alarcon was traveling the same direction but couldn't get much beyond there; seems the Indians of Rancheria Grande stopped him. Alarcon's men inquired of a group of Rancheria Grande, I think it was the Sana, whether St. Denis had been spotted in the area. Well, yes he had, they said, but he didn't have anything to trade so they let him go through. At least the Ervipiame and some other groups of Rancheria Grande by that time were allies of the Tejas, and, by extension, allies of the French, but definitely not allies of the Spaniards.

Leaving Mexico, Rancheria Grande had left their Rio Grande/northern Mexico haunts by 1716, eventually ranging between the Colorado and a bit eastward of the Brazos. Even found them once or twice near the Trinity and that was Caddo country. Viceprefect Miguel Sevillano Paredes' 1727 description of the Sana, a group within Rancheria Grande, places them at Navisi. Pretty fun stuff, huh? Probably Alarcon didn't think it was a bit funny and I'm guessing authorities in Mexico didn't think so either. St. Denis made it back to Mobile via Natchitoches in time to participate in the French recapture of Pensacola. And Alarcon got back to Mexico in time to get his pink slip. Aguayo replaced Alarcon**.**

This is as good a place as any, I suppose, to mention I disagree with Newcomb about the Ervipiame being Tonkawa originally. I don't dispute the groups may have coalesced at some point later in the 18th-century, but there's zero in the record that I've found to support the Ervipiame originally were Tonkawa. Over the years I've collected a big binderful of copied documents about the Ervipiame and Rancheria Grande; not one mention of the Tonkawa in any of them. Father Paredes, after relocating from northern Mexico to the San Antonio mission Valero where he served also as President of the Missions described the Ervipiame in the mid to late 17th century as being among the *corsarios naciones* who continually raided the roads from the Rio Grande to Zacatecas, killing Spaniards, mission priests, mission livestock. Scant as the record is, it's clear the Ervipiame were old enemies of the Apache, and no friends of the Spaniards. By the time of Domingo Ramon's 1716 expedition, the Ervipiame were allied with the Tejas and were armed with French weapons.

Ramon 1716 *diario* into Texas states he recognized one Ervipiame in particular, describing him as "someone who has done us harm in the past." By the late 17th century, there are Ervipiame who were *Rancheria Grande*, allies of the Caddo long before relocating north of the Rio Grande, later were referenced in various documents as *encadenado*. Indeed, the groups were linked, and sometimes impenetrable, as Alarcon had learned. Later, when Aguayo's expedition traveled through Rancheria Grande territory, Pena, the diarist, specifically mentioned Aguayo issued orders their fields be crossed carefully so crops would not be damaged. Aguayo wasn't stupid.

I'll write again soon.

Peace.

Patty

How many times I read Pena's account of Aguayo's 1721 expedition, I can't be sure, but each time for a different reason. Between readings, I'd read other things which explains why with each reading of Pena, I'd find something that had not registered with me previously. This particular time, which happened to be after I'd turned off the lights for the night, I thought of something he had written that I realized I didn't understand so I just HAD to get out of my toasty warm bed, grab my copy of Pena and read that passage again . . . right that red hot minute. Well, I found multiple "something's." I spent the next few years researching the Aquayo expedition and the War of the Quadruple Alliance.

Oh, gotta' side-step here . . . there are a couple of really interesting things I failed to mention. I'm as much a critic of Pichardo as the next person when it comes to his opinions; however, the man did gather and publish some really esoteric documents that are worth reading. The first, as I recall, is reported in each of the four volumes. Governor Barrios, in a letter to the viceroy, wrote that the Caddo all say the Spaniards give them fair words but the French give them fair words and presents. That's one of my favorite quotes ever. I've passed it along to only a couple of people over the years, but saved it for use in something I might write, and this is it.

I don't remember what order this all unraveled. Sorry. Don't even remember all the sources; my books and papers now are in the archives in Natchitoches. A good many things I still have here in Austin.

I truly appreciate what might read like a ride on a roller coaster—full of ups and downs and zig zags. But that how life unfolds, isn't it? Once I got into my research, I had to go where it took me, and that's how I write it—zoom lens for a minute and then a wide angle and, sometimes, for me, it's like watching an I-Max movie. So, thanks again for allowing me the twists and turns—it's how I came to my understanding about Frenchmen and Spaniards and Caddo and other groups that go bump in the night.

Pichardo's four volumes include quotation of multiple documents, several referencing the Marques de Aguayo's knowledge that Spaniards had captured a French vessel in the Gulf. By other sources I figured out that vessel was the *Aurore,* formerly a slaver that had been outfitted with armament at St. Domingue (formerly French-held side of modern Haiti.) The most important thing aboard that vessel was a set of French plans of invasion of Mexico.

The Pichardo documents state the viceroy and auditor in Mexico knew about the impending French invasion; there is mention that notification was sent to the king and to Aguayo as he prepared for his 1721 expedition to invade and eliminate the French. Other sources made clear the alarm had been sounded to Spanish authorities far and wide. I'll tell you about that later.

Back to the plan which specified St. Denis as leader of the ground forces. He was to march south to Lasalle's old post to meet naval forces commanded by Iberville's brother. From there, they were to proceed to the mouth of the Rio Grande and then see how far it could be navigated, hopefully to the far as *Minas de San Gregorio* at modern Candela. Derbanne from Natchitoches had visited those mines a couple of years prior and the location was known to St. Denis.

So it's little wonder that Aguayo, still south of the Rio Grande when he learned from Sana Indian guides that St. Denis was gathered with Indian allies near or on the Brazos River, above the road to the Tejas, gave orders that Domingo Ramon immediately leave a fledging San Antonio de Béxar to occupy the former site of Lasalle's old post. Was there a duplicate set of plans sent to the colony from the French court? Can't say for sure, but this most recent news about St. Denis surely made Aguayo wonder as well. As if that weren't enough stress for the *marques*, how about all those "yes," "no," "do," "don't" orders from the viceroy to Aguayo about attacking the French?

Matters on the frontier suddenly became more like bumper cars at the state fair midway than like the slower paced but continuously in motion lava lamp globs—you couldn't go very far before some other car rammed into you, stopping your forward movement altogether or turning your car in the reverse direction. Everybody's crashing into everybody else.

Whether St. Denis had met Aguayo in Mexico is unknown, but certainly each knew about the other. In this circumstance, Aguayo surely believed he had the advantage with foreknowledge of French intentions. Oh, did I mention after Ramon left the east Texas missions, he was ordered to the Mexican interior where he spent several months enlisting recruits? If he didn't know before, Ramon would learn he and those he recruited would be unwelcome neighbors at La Bahia. What a surprise when Aguayo later showed up with his recruits who signed on with better benefits packages than Ramon's recruits. Now there's an "opps moment" for you!

Patty

Back to Pena's account. He referenced a Monsiuer Rerenor at the Los Adaes site. He also identified St. Denis as commander of the forces on that entire frontier. Interesting. Rerenor actually was Renault d'Hauterive who had arrived Louisiana in 1720. He quickly was commissioned captain in command at Natchitoches, replacing the deceased Blondel.

Benard de La Harpe notes Bienville received from Renault word of Aguayo's arrival at Los Adaes. La Harpe wrote that the news raised Bienville's concern the French at Natchitoches might be overpowered. Bienville was afraid if that occurred, he personally would be blamed for not having given the command to St. Denis who had great influence over the Indian nations. La Harpe records that Bienville thus decided, ***against his will***, to have St. Denis relieve Renault. There was nothing obscure about Bienville's animosity toward St. Denis.

With knowledge that Renault and not St. Denis commanded for a year and a half after Blondel's death, a new question pops up: where was St. Denis during all that time? Two documents written, in Paris, offer clues. The first document, dated July 1, 1720, gives command of the *haute Rivière aux Cannes* to St. Denis. The location of the command is puzzling because it's unclear what modern river the French authorities in Paris in 1720 recognized as *Riviere aux Cannes.* Modern Cane River in Louisiana, a channel of Red River in lower Natchitoches Parish, is a mid18th century river name which *first* appears in the historic record *after* St. Denis's death. So, the 1720 reference suggests it was some river other than the Red.

Turns out there's another "vantage point" or reference to *Rivière aux Cannes* that does appear in the journal of Henri Joutel who recorded La Salle's 1684 Gulf Coast expedition. Joutel used the name when referring to the combined Lavaca and Navidad rivers in Texas. Delisle's 1718 map of the region identified *Rivière aux Cannes* as the lower portion of a river he designated upriver as the *Río San Marcos* or *Colorado,* today recognized as the Colorado River in Texas. Considering French interest in occupying La Salle's bay and the Crown's plans to penetrate the Spanish mining country, coupled with St. Denis's other known activities, it is reasonable to suggest St. Denis was assigned command of a region in Texas.

The second document, dated September 27, 1721, mentions St. Denis as post commander *without a company* at an annual salary of 1,800 livres. Hmmmm . . . was he truly "commander of forces on the entire frontier," as Pena had written, including, from the French perspective, all the known area of Texas? There is evidence St. Denis's "forces" were Indian groups allied to him through trade—Indian groups he had convened to attack the Spaniards, that is before Aguayo showed up. How fun! How cool!

A third document describes the site was a trading post or what was to have been a trading post. It's unclear whether it ever were built. How interesting—a French trading post deep in the heart of modern Texas! He was to have had a partner, Jean-Francois Willart d'Auvilliers, but colonial authorities in France squashed that idea. Seems Dauvilliers previously had been to Louisiana with the Mezieres concession. His duties completed on that first expedition, the guy sails back to France and receives his commission as St. Denis's partner at the trading post. These documents were issued within a couple of days of LaHarpe's receiving his commission as commander of LaSalle's old post on the coast. Dauvilliers, or "Gabby" as we can call him, ended up in a Parisian pokey after telling people the John Law Company was a scam, that he personally had been to Louisiana and it was NOT the land of milk and honey, as described by Law's agents. Thus, Dauvilliers's return to Louisiana was a no-go. Later, in 1744, members of his family sued for what they contended were lost wages per the contract with their ancestor. Tip o' the hat to Francois Lagarde, Ph.D., UT Austin, who located the document for me in Paris, and did an Evelyn Woods "speed translation" for me. I'm indebted to him.

Turns out that crafting the peace treaty concluding the War of the Quadruple Alliance took almost longer than the war itself! Negotiants met in Madrid, at Cambrai, in London . . . meeting after meeting in which nothing was accomplished beyond a lot of 18th-century posturing. The bone of contention turned out to be Pensacola. The French didn't want to give it up. They'd twice captured her and they intended to keep her! But Spain wouldn't agree to it. It made no sense, really . . . in multiple ways the French were better positioned than Spain to defend it. Mostly, the French just wanted the Spaniards gone. They wanted especially control of the harbor, the coast, and the mouth of the Mississippi River. But Pez wouldn't budge on Pensacola nor would Philip V budge on Gibraltar.

Over the years, I've done a little crafting and negotiating on a vastly smaller scale, but sufficient to know negotiations concluding most things are accomplished quietly and the main points held sub-rosa. Took a while, but I found them—at least enough to address questions I had about the 1721 expedition and about how the War of the Quadruple Alliance played out elsewhere.

This whole project was such fun. I'd read passages and laugh aloud all by myself. It's known Aguayo made numerous "tweakings" of Pena's *diario*, sort of "colonial airbrushing" to present the governorship in the best possible light.

As for that airbrushing, it reminds me of the painting supposedly depicting the Villasur massacre a bit west of Tejas country, but linked to it. Killed in the Villasur massacre was Jean or, by then, Juan L'Archeveque who formerly was with the Lasalle expedition. The artist, in an attempt to defend the defeated commander, covered the canvas with tiny French soldiers declaring, in effect, "See, Mr. Viceroy, it wasn't our fault. Really. We were outnumbered and outgunned."

Patty

So let's rejoin the "negotiations," and I use the term loosely to describe what occurred at Cambrai, France**.** Gotta' tell you, diplomacy hasn't changed much through the years. If you can tolerate it, tune in to any television news program to see what I mean. One negotiant there was called "Goatface." To his face the man was called Goatface! Since then and now, we have managed to get ourselves to the moon and safely home again, but we have made zero progress in playing well together! It isn't lost on me, or others, that the Caddo groups were superb "getter along-ers." We might do well to follow their example.

Among the Cambrai negotiants for the English were Robert Walpole, Stanhope, and Jean-Francois Langeron de Maulevrier for the French. One of the negotiants personally knew Andres de Pez. Maulevrier requested that person to have a little chat with Pez. Didn't go well. Story went like this, and the story came to me in a book that was a chronology of communications between the various negotiants. Can I recall the title? No, I can't. But I found it in a book, a very old book and very tiny old book at PCL. It'll pop up sooner or later and I'll send to you. It's in PCL which puts you WAY ahead of where I was when I found it. Seems Philip V wanted Gibraltar, which he got, sorta' kinda' but not really. Actually, not at all, but he thought he did. The king didn't care about much else, and "much else" included Pensacola but by that point he was hiding his own Easter eggs if you get my drift so it didn't really matter. But it did matter to Andres de Pez? Remember him? Turns out the man had become his Majesty Philip V's top advisor, the same man whose father and brother had been slain by the French in a naval battle, the man who was court-martialed because French privateers captured the Talon children (they had been with Lasalle's gulf expedition, captured by Alonso de Leon for delivery to the viceroy who ordered, eventually, they be transported to Spain's Philip V.) Pez commanded the Windward Fleet and the children were aboard one of those vessels when the French showed up, recaptured the children and whisked them back to France just in time to hop on another Louisiana-bound vessel commanded by Iberville. Just three centuries and change shy of the first "travel rewards program." Bummer. Pez—the man denied the right to establish a settlement at Pensacola, a site he had selected? THAT Andres de Pez! Records make pretty clear the man despised the French, and he still clug to the rebuff at being denied command at Pensacola. Pez would not be denied Pensacola again, and this time he was positioned to ensure that outcome.

It's been generally reported that "Cinco" already was losing his mental grip at a time when Pez was the king's confidant and chief advisor and at the top of his game. Whatever else Pez wanted, and he wanted Pensacola, Philip would approve. Maulevier was told Pez wanted Pensacola as much as Philip wanted Gibraltar, and that's what was required to conclude the Cambrai effort to end the war. Maulevrier had no choice but to return Pensacola to Spain.

Before continuing, let's talk about Pez some more.

Eventually exonerated of the "Talon Incident" as I call it, Pez was promoted and served two years as captain-general of the Indies fleet. In 1715, the commander was received as a member of Spain's Supreme War Council. Two years later he was governor of the Council of the Indies and in 1721, was secretary of state and navy. Pez was considered to be His Majesty Philip V's most trusted advisor. THAT explains how Pez had serious clout at court when negotiating a treaty to conclude the War of the Quadruple Alliance.

Oh, yes, another part of the deal was that Spain got to keep all her positions established west of the Sabine River; Spanish Texas emerged from Pez's demands at the Congress of Cambrai. Period. And THAT explains how exactly Spain kept Pensacola and how Spanish Texas emerged. It wasn't Spanish superiority under Aguayo's leadership nor French ineptitude under St. Denis that determined the future of what became Texas. That's a departure from what we too long have been taught about the emergence of Spanish Texas. I knew Spain kept Pensacola—shoot, we all knew that. I just didn't know how exactly. It's those little details that keep all these documents interesting after reading each of them bajillions of times until we attain some modicum of understanding. Reading and rereading, and changing lenses and vantage points, looking upriver instead of down, and back again.

Pensacola wasn't quickly returned to Spanish authorities. Maulevrier arranged continued French control as long as possible and, when the site was returned, it was in ashes, just because Maulevrier was in a position to arrange that special *adios* to Pez. Within days, Andres de Pez died in Spain.

My research had begun by trying to unravel Manuela Sanchez Navarro's genealogical trotline. She was St. Denis's wife, remember? 'Twas a long way 'round the mulberry bush to complete the work, but I kept at it because I believed, and correctly so, that her exact identity and extended genealogy had direct bearing the trade relationship between her husband and her own relatives, and they with the Caddo. I'm glad I stayed with it.

From time to time, I'd wondered about when and how exactly she and their two children arrived at Natchitoches where her husband was in command. Lo and behold, it was more dumb luck than logic or skill on my part that revealed the answer. There's a document dated 05 November 1757 in the Béxar Archives. Therein is discussed information supporting the Spanish view that the homesite of Monsieur de St. Denis' son belongs to the jurisdiction of Spain. The text includes, per my notes, "In support of the belief that this territory belongs to the jurisdiction of our sovereign, Lt. Joseph Gonzales and *alferez don* Pedro Sierra agree in saying that when Dona Manuela Sanchez Navarro came to go to her husband, Monsieur de St. Denis, an order arrived instructing that she be taken to meet him at the place where the jurisdiction of Spain terminated and that they went with the said woman and Fernando Perez de Almasan to the banks of the Colorado (modern Red) River where the transfer was made and they turned back from this point." For anybody new to the subject, Almasan succeeded Aguayo as governor of Texas.

These "things historical" usually turn out to be exceedingly more complex than they seem when first read. Certainly more complex than I could have imagined. Sometimes, often times, the complexity arises from what is NOT mentioned in a document. There's just one thing more I want to discuss, and I'll do that in the next letter.

Take care,
Patty

Soon after starting my research long ago, I taped blank newsprint to my walls. (I didn't yet own a computer.) As I learned new bits and pieces, I scribbled them on those pages, things like who was where when, and why. Eventually, with other information, the scribblings found themselves in my computer.

I undertook an examination of how that war in Europe played out in regions far removed from there. Boy oh boy, so many Milky Way moments. I mentioned earlier a bit of what I discovered about Charlesfort (modern Charleston) and the Bahamas.

It a good thing these are simple letters and that I can, metaphorically speaking, stop the train when needed to plug in information where needed. Like right now! Think previously I'd written the Minas de San Gregorio were near Candela. Well, no they weren't—they were at Cerralvo, Nuevo Leon. It's where Derbanne visited on his 1717 trip—mentioned in his journal. He'd traveled there with St. Denis from Natchitoches. Derbanne's son later married Victoria, a daughter of Commandant Gonzales from Los Adaes.

The couple moved to San Antonio where probably a priest miswrote their name and voila! Abracadabra! Berban. Berban descendants remain in San Antonio; sadly, none surnamed Berban. Sad, too, the commandant died en route to San Antonio. Near Nacogdoches, I think.

How best to demonstrate visually what was occurring between the empirical powers in the years before, during and after the War of the Quadruple Alliance? Until 6 or 7 years ago, what I knew about that war was limited to the various invasions of Pensacola and the "war that wasn't," the so-called Chicken War at Los Adaes. You've seen those lava lamps, right? Well, if you don't have one, get one, plug 'er in and just wait. Soon you'll see globs of goop in motion, colorful, continuous slow motion, bubbling upward. The "globs" form at the bottom of the lamp, near the heat. As those move up, they quietly collide with other globs, thus changing shapes of the original globs, creating new ones in the process. And just when that's done, here come more globs, etc., etc., etc. Everything's in motion that precipitates continuing collisions. Pink. Did I mention my globs are pink? Bright pink. Almost a neon pink. The lava lamp imagery works for me.

What next I discovered also works with the lava lamp analogy, but it's better to say it's like a lava lamp on steroids. So much, so fast. Some simultaneously, some not. And it's not one or two things simultaneously—it's multiple things simultaneously. The governor of Santa Fe is in Parral (Chihuahua, Mexico) when he receives word from the viceroy in Mexico City to spread the word *muy pronto* that French and English ships are en route there from the Downs (England). Consult *After Coronado* for this information.

This is where the bazillion comes in—about seven or eight sites scattered inland with others on the Pacific side of the Sierra Madres. It occurred to me to question how exactly did Spaniards in Parral quickly notify people in Mazatlan ASAP about anything? You don't do anything ASAP if crossing the *sierras* is involved, which seemed to me to be the case. One direction you would not travel is south 'cause things are soggy/muddy that time of year—it's the rainy season—and, no, I don't remember what month but I verified my hunch with some of UT Austin's best. And you probably wouldn't head north to loop around the Sierra Madres and march down the coast. (Remember, the Spaniards had just made a fast trip south—something about some really ticked off Casas Grande Indians in New Mexico. Ticked off Indian groups—a recurring theme through time, it seems ☺.)

I looked on every map I could find. No route no where across the sierras. Not that I could find. That's not to suggest the resources did not exist; it is to say I had no knowledge of them. A last ditch effort, I plugged in what turned out to be the right combination of descriptors (whatever words those were) and Holy Document, Batman—there it was—Topia Road. Now it was me doing the Happy Dance! I just stumbled on to it. Didn't know about Topia. Why would I? Had nothing to do with trade between Spanish Mexico and French Louisiana.

I actually got teary-eyed when I realized Frenchmen and Spaniards and Englishmen and pirates and various American Indian groups on the "right and left coasts" of the present United States, north/south and east/west routes, across the Gulf of Mexico plus the Bahamas, Cuba, Mexico and other places I cannot bring to mind right now—everybody at pretty much the same time had received messages from "faraway places about pretty much the same thing. And no cell phones! Imagine that?! No cell phones, no digital nothing. Everything, everywhere was upside down. The MOST anxious people were the Spaniards. For lots of reasons. They had reports of a French invasion across the Rio Grande, (St. Denis, remember?) rumors of thousands of invading Frenchmen associated with the Villasur Expedition, and rumors about French and English ships that would attack somewhere on the Pacific Coast or the Gulf of Mexico, with remembrances of Pensacola and Los Adaes still vivid. And let's not forget when the viceroy orders Santa Cruz to be on the watch for those ships, he ordered all unlicensed French merchants in Chihuahua to be rounded up and thrown in the calaboose. No, wait, let's not do that. Oh, well, maybe we should, just to be sure.

To top things off, somebody followed up on Santa Cruz's suggestion that Aguayo be advised to do what Santa Cruz had done . . . cozy up to some Apaches who might be willing to help Spaniards wipe out the French which didn't work out so well for the Spanairds under Villasur. Aguayo's reference to the Apache could be somehow connected to Santa Cruz's suggestion. If so, either the Apache didn't show or they were deterred by a show of French arms.

Wait—what French merchants in Chihuahua in 1720?! Reportedly some were Basque, which always diced things up a bit. Some were licensed, others were not. Basques pay zero attention to whether somebody is French or Spanish. As long as you're Basque, you've got the hottest ticket in town. Only a Basque could understand another Basque.

In the early months of my research, when I had no idea I'd find all this so fascinating and spend so many years at it, I didn't take thorough notes. ARGH!! For example, somewhere in the Barker at UT there is a magic document, I think it was written in Mobile, in which Bienville himself wrote that what the French needed to find out what really was cooking in Vera Cruz or Mexico City was to send a Basque down there. He said Basques can speak openly and publicly to each other about anything without the possibility of being understood except by another Basque.

Forgive me. I've been away from all this so long that it's really a kick in the britches to be up to my chin in the research I worked so long and hard to find and even longer to understand snippets of it. I never imagined I'd be able to write this, and wouldn't/couldn't were it not for your generosity. I'm grateful to you.

When first I located "Topia Road" online 7 or 8 years ago, there were precious few entries. Google it now and watch 'em pop up. Drs. R.C. West and Bob Parsons. Dr. West left California for Louisiana to make LSU his academic home. What fun to call Pete Gregory with news of my find, and to learn he had studied under the gentleman!

Well, I fibbed—there's actually one additional letter to follow.

Best,
Patty

Oh, gotta' interrupt myself to mention it was Massanet's 1691 *diario* that included numerous Caddo names on the Rio Guadalupe in Texas. Aside from the *diario*, there's a really super piece about that very topic in *Caminos Reales*: A Tricentennial History published by Texas Department of Transportation (TXDOT). Leroy Johnson and Al McGraw prepared the article. Check out p. 127 it's noted bataconiquiyoqui is Caddo. Massanet's guide was Hasinai. It's best to read the section in the TXDOT publication. There are multiple references to other stream names which seem to be Caddo.

So the "boat" arrives with notice for the viceroy in Mexico City, requesting reimbursement for the French be returned with supplies for Pensacola's soldiers. That got an immediate response from a viceroy who was not at all inclined to incur such an expense. He was perfectly inclined to give that pleasure to Salinas Varona. In fact, he insisted on it. Oh, did I mention he sent a duplicate copy to his king? Why waste an opportunity to suck up? It was made clear to Salinas Varona his job and maybe his neck was on the line . . . he would NOT pull another such stunt. Period. From that day forward, the man did some major high stepping to appease the viceroy. My favorite appeasement example is what Paul Harvey would describe as "the rest of the story." It was a couple of "tell all" letters about St. Denis sent to the viceroy, penned by none other than Salinas Varona.

Farther west from Pensacola to the San Gabriel River in Texas, and a little more than two centuries later, Drs. Kathleen Gilmore and Jim Corbin were busy excavating the San Xavier missions, where the Ervipiame had lived in the 1700's. Kathleen told me this story, but I cannot recall whether she or Jim were the guilty prankster. ☺ Much work needed to be finished that day and the number of visiting students was heavier than usual. Finally, with calm voice and straight face, one of the two announced, matter of factly, a smallpox epidemic in the area had killed many mission Indians. The

children were urged to move back because there was some concern about the possibility of lingering live traces of the virus. Kathleen howled and said those kids skedaddled in record time! Great memory of our late friends.

Thanksgiving is nipping at our heels, so we need me to wrap up these letters. I'll do so by telling you about some loose ends in my research, some tied and others not. Generally they concern Rancheria Grande de los Ervipiame and, specifically, the Ervipiame, both previously mentioned elsewhere in this series.

It was early when I read something about the Ervipiame. 'Twaz a long and winding road, but FINALLY, I landed a copy of the document Bolton referenced. It was SUPPOSED to have been at Our Lady of the Lake, San Antonio, but wasn't. Seems things had been changed there . . . recatalogued I was told, but the original numbering system wasn't preserved. ARGH!!! Eventually, I found it. In California. Bolton Collection.

First point: there are numerous *rancherias grande*; they are altogether different from what French and Spanish colonial officials recognized as Rancheria Grande de los Ervipiame which, oh by the way, has at least a zillion variant spellings. Maybe two. Fray Paredes described them (the entire *rancheria*) as the remains of the cosarias nation that fought from Presidio of Coahuila to Zacatecas. Other authors describe them as raiding on the roads to Parral and to Zacatecas. When they ride in one large group, they are known, Paredes wrote, as Rancheria Grande de los Ervipiame. Spanish documents referring to this *rancheria* write it with capitals R and G. And then there's the pesky business of some writers not using capitals R and G. And then again, there are those various *rancherias grande*.

The earliest references I found about the Ervipiame, and the Sierras Yacatsol and Dacate were in 1675 *diarios* of the Larios and Bosque expedition across the Rio Grande from the Spanish presidio San Juan Bautista to what is believed to be the Anacacho Mountains located west of the Nueces and extending nearly to the area of Del Rio.

Remember I'm not an "ologist" but that wasn't required to recognize there was too long in the Handbook of Texas an erroneous explanation that the Anacacho Mountains in Uvalde County, Texas so named to honor Ana, the wife of an area rancher, Sr. Cacho. Seriously. That's been corrected in the Handbook.

There are two 1688 documents that have been useful to me . . . the first I found in the MUNICIPAL archives of Saltillo (since relocated to Ramos Arispe) and the second document is here in Austin. Seems much of northern Mexico was in rebellion in 1688. Come to think about it, indigenous groups throughout Nueva Vizcaya were kicking up dust. Indians pretty much everywhere had at least two enemies: Spaniards and Apaches. Now and again, sufficient numbers of groups got up enough steam to give Spaniards the boot, i.e. the 17th century rebellions. The Tepehuane Revolt and the Pueblo Revolt come to mind. Oh, not to forget Caddo groups in east Texas had done their share of booting, forcing Spaniards to abandon their recently established missions.

Back to the Rio Grande . . . Presidial soldiers from Nuevo Leon and Coahuila were headed out to find and eliminate the rebels marauding the roads from the Rio Grande, just north of Nueva Leon and west to Parral , Monclova**,** and Zacatecas. That's a lot of territory. Those problems coincide with turmoil created when word reaches Spaniards about a Frenchman living across the Rio Grande in a large *rancheria.* Seems these groups accommodating the Frenchman caught everybody's attention. Ervipiame were among them. That was 1688.

Second document, also 1688. Spaniards offer, "Oh, please, let us build a mission for you here on the Rio Grande where you can have our protection against the Apaches." "Thank you very much but no, thanks. We are leaving now to visit our friends the Tejas and we'll come back when the weather gets cold," the Ervipiame reply. FYI, in 1700 there was established for the Ervipiame Mision de San Xavier in the Valle de San Xristobal.

Holy cow! Whoever these Ervipiame are, they are buds with the Jumano and the Tejas and they both despise the Apaches. The document makes clear the Ervipiame know how to reach the Tejas, they have made the trip previously, and are welcome to return. In other words, by at least 1688 the Ervipiame are acquainted with the Caddo. The lava lamp is heating up again! Can't wait for you to read the document and give me your opinion.

The 1688 map associated with Alonso de Leon's "*captura* of Juan Jari" is attributed to Diego Ramon who later commanded at San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande. Leon's *diario* does not make clear whether Ramon accompanied the expedition, and it doesn't make sense he would go. Thus, I think that makes questionable Ramon's having drawn the map attributed to him. On the top left side of the map are listed a number of Indian groups and the distance between each group and either Monclova or the Rio Grande. It's really a keen map; copy to you in time. Penned under that list are the words, "*dicho* Diego Ramon." That I believe. If anybody knew Indian groups, it was Diego Ramon.

It was "Old Reliable" Andre Penicault who mentioned St. Denis had been instrumental in quelling some 500 or so rebelling natives near Ramon's part of creation. It was reportedly in 1713 or 1714. I couldn't quite get my head around that one. Then I remembered St. Denis had some Caddo guides for his first expedition to Mexico, and, remember, the Caddo and the Ervipiame had interactions since at least 1688. And remember, too, the Tejas and their allies had made their power known when they kicked Spaniards out of that part of creation in 1694. Cool, huh?

Buckle up. It's about to get bumpy. So when St. Denis shows up on the Rio Grande, accompanied by four Caddo guides . . . well, authorities there paid particular attention. In 1717, St. Denis makes his "declaration," and there's no better word. In effect—not literally—he said, "Hello. I'm St. Denis and these are my friends that include the Caddo." But you already know that. I believe some of you might remember the Caddo. You have spent time in Caddo country and their representatives have visited you. Oh, and let me tell you about other of my friends, some you know and some you don't know." That's when St. Denis rattles off a lengthy list of allies. It would not go well for you to tinker with me, or with my friends. St. Denis's friends by then had French weapons. And bullets. Oh yes, and horses, too. They also had each other's backs.

This is just the best fun. It's like growing pecan trees. You hope every year the trees will produce a bountiful yield. When that happens, there are all those dern pecans to shell. But that accomplished, just think about the pecan pies and banana nut bread. Yum!!

All these documents . . . when first you begin. It's like Alice in Wonderland when the Chesire Cat inquires, "Where do you want to go?" You don't know. Certainly I didn't know, so it really didn't matter which road I took.

Earlier, by at least 1716, when the Ramon expedition crossed the Colorado River, there they are—the Ervipiame, nestled between the Colorado and the Brazos, ranging north and south as resources dictated. They were westerm neighbors to the Tejas, got along most of the time with most of the Norteno groups, and the coastal groups as well. That was yesterday's news when Domingo Ramon's expedition reached the Colorado.

St. Denis waltzed east across Texas in 1719, probably more of a quick-step considering (1) he was hightailing it out of Mexico and (2) that the War of the Quadruple Alliance was in its infancy. His route took him smack-dab through Rancheria Grande (Ervipiame, Inc.) Governor Alarcon's diario reports that nifty piece of information. The *diario* makes patently clear Alarcon could not penetrate Rancheria Grande. Sometimes it takes some serious restraint not to speculate, but I do wonder whether members of Rancheria Grande might have escorted St. Denis on that escape. More succinctly, members of the Tejas. I'll address that in the next letter.

Tick tock, tick tock. There's so much information to share, but the clock's winding down. Before that happens, I must mention that while Rancheria Grande de los Ervipiame ceased to exist by that name, it continued to be recognized for several decades . The term to describe it was "*encadenado*." Rolls off the tongue easier than Rancheria Grande de los Ervipiame. Spot on. The chained; the linked. Indeed those groups were chained, linked together. Their linkages expanded.

Before they crossed the Colorado, where were the Ervipiame and other groups of Rancheria Grande? I can't say for sure but I've found some nifty stuff. Took only a quarter century and a whole of Pogo's "figuring" and the kindness of friends and more than one stranger. Remember Ana Cacho, the rancher's wife? Well, I'll be darned if "she" doesn't show up on an 1822 Steven F. Austin map as "Ayacatcho," a point on a "ridge of high mountains." I'd found no other mention of Austin's reference. I bought a copy of that map for a couple of dollars at my church's resale shop. It got curiouser and curiousier. I could find also no mention of Austin's personally traveling across the Ayacatcho previously which meant somebody told him about the site and that it was important enough to Austin that he note it on his map. Austin's Ayacatcho is what today we recognize as the Anacacho Mountains west of the Nueces River. East of Ayacatcho and a bit south was the Villa de Jaen, thank you Stephen F. Austin for your 1822 map which pinpoints Ayacatcho and Villa de Jaen. The villa name also was included in Jean Louis Berlandier's Journey into Mexico, 1833, I think . . . maybe 1834. If you are interested and don't have those two volumes, my copies are in the Natchitoches archives. Berlandier's spelling varies from Austin's. Austin's map preceeded Berlandier's arrival in Mexico by some four years. Wikipedia (now there's a reliable resource, for ya'!) tells us Jaen derives its name from the Arabic word khayyan meaning "crossroads of caravans." That's something to chew on. Turns out Stephen F. Austin's Jaen actually was Governor Antonio Cordero's Jaen, established in 1806.

And chew on this, too . . . just a little to the southeast of Nueva Jaen is Cambalache Creek in Zavala County, Texas, sorta' kinda' between Uvalde and Carrizo Springs. I found another definition of the Spanish word *cumbalachi*. Means something like "flea market." Well, get out the hot sauce and let's have supper! I do believe we can say with some accuracy this was a trade route or the site of trade fairs or that one could expect to find traders in the area. The word shows up variously throughout the record . . . saw it once describing a site near Grace Ecore, north of Natchitoches. The earliest reference I found was 1723 Apaches who raided the San Antonio horse herds (managed to steal 80 horses.) They traded (*tienen cambalache*) with Spaniards to the north. As late as 1780, the Lipan received in *cambalache* with Cocos and Mayeyes guns and powder.

Interesting what just one word will tell you. The facts are important, but understanding them is an altogether different matter.

Back to the Anacacho Mountains. I've been there. Didn't get out of the truck—it was summertime and the place might as well have had "rattlesnakes" painted in huge neon green capital letters. Ya' don't forget something like that. I still ask "Why?" or "How come?" In the absence of a "Mrs. Cacho," there had to be another explanation. I was pretty sure the word had something to do with rattlesnakes. It just made sense. I played around with a couple of word/sound associations but kept going back to that rattlesnake thing.

It's possible (tho' I doubt it) I'm one of the last people to figure this out. If somebody did figure it out, they didn't write about it—at least not that I could find. Here's where I thank Galen Greaser, now retired from Texas' General Land Office in Austin. He knew those Spanish colonial documents, front to back, and he shared freely what he knew. I asked him the word for rattlesnake or for something that would make the sound of rattlesnakes.

Another happy dance, another Milky Way moment. Turns out the Aztecs indeed had a percussion instrument fashioned from a dried gourd. Seems they called it, "*ayacachtl*." Oh my stars, I was just beside myself. And who else would

appreciate that? It felt like a one person marching band. I was so very happy and probably nobody else would care. Argh! I certainly had fun figuring it out the right question to ask. Again, many thanks to Galen.

Occurred to me folks in Louisiana wouldn't care because they never heard of *Rancheria Grande* or the capture of Juan Jari from the *rancheria* or the Ayacatcho. And we in Texas are clueless about anything east of the Sabine River which means we are taught nothing about the Natchez War. That's just pitiful.

I'll always be thankful I stumbled on some points in the Aguayo diario. Tracking those inconsistencies was my version of attaching the wide angle lens to my camera . . . it took me across a whole lot of real estate and introduced me to a few folks who influenced the history of their own and other regions of the world.

There were other references to Ayacatcho. Ayacatcho and Loma Pintada. Seems there are documents a'plenty about possible relocation of Sacramento Presidio in the Valley of Santa Rosa to Loma Pintada and to Ayacatcho. This was mid 1750s. Didn't take long to find a lovely lady in the Uvalde area who sent me copies of some topo maps of Uvalde County and, yes, there's Pinto Mountain, and Pinto Creek and its multiple "prongs." And, yes #2, those "pinto" and references were west of the Nueces along a ridge of mountains. And, yes, I had found a document stating one of the trade items from that area was "red earth." Vermillion perhaps? I'll send you the citation when I find it.

I so hope somebody else will pick this up and pursue it. Rattlesnakes aside, there's so much more to all these stories than we know. How many Milky Way moments are there just waiting to be seen?

Merry Christmas,

Patty

I've made multiple attempts to write this letter; obviously, each found its way into the trash. I'm sending this one, regardless. I 'spect I'll never be completely finished researching. I've been at it almost a quarter century (think how long that is in dog years!) I have focused on colonial Frenchmen, Spaniards, American Indians and how and where they got along, or didn't, and why. I've had great fun, learned much, come to understand some things, and made a bunch of friends along the way. I'm hopeful my thoughts in these letters will benefit you and maybe some other researchers who follow.

Other of my letters—in fact, most of my letters to you contained facts, lots and lots of facts. Those facts-filled letters were heavy as fruitcakes. I make no claim what I write is a fifth gospel, so to speak. I do claim my conclusions are just that . . . my conclusions, my interpretations of my research. I've written no fiction and acknowledge there are questions I cannot answer either because there are big gaps in the historic record and definitely in my understanding of it. My fondest hope is that my work might offer clues that will help you or somebody else. So I write this letter with a keen sense of responsibility.

I remember on St. Denis's second trip to Mexico his group was attacked. "They must have been Apaches," the diarist wrote. That's an example of things I read that stuck with me, for no apparent reason. How did the diarist know they were Apaches? He didn't tell us, so we're left to wonder or to figure it out if possible.

Another question I've never found addressed to my satisfaction . . . actually, it's a series of questions. Here goes. Please stick with me. Who/what exactly are the Tejas, why did the Hasinai so willingly welcome new neighbors, the Ervipiame and other Indians of Rancheria Grande? For decades, documents tell us, Rancheria Grande groups showed up at Hasinai trade fairs. And trade fairs of the Texas coastal groups. Before 1716, these groups were encountered south of the Rio Grande and across the river in *rancherias* near the Anacacho Mountains. By 1716, Domingo Ramon's expedition encountered them. They had planted crops, seemed settled west of Caddo country, ranging north and south between the Colorado and the Brazos, south toward the coast, north to the Red River and the Nortenos there, and east beyond the Trinity among the Caddo. Ramon writes that he recognized an Ervipiame who had done them harm in the past. You bet he recognized the Ervipiame. The Ervipiame now had French firearms, and Ramon no doubt recognized those, too, tho' he didn't mention it. That's another one of those things that stand out because they are not mentioned.

How did that relocation occur and who brokered the deal and why? And what's the deal with the Ervipiame and the Sana and Rancheria Grande and their relationship with the Caddo groups? I encountered the Ervipiame early in my research. Rancheria Grande, too. They were oh, so elusive and I wanted to know about them . . . they had the earmarks of being something really important.

Word reached me that someone had said, "If it were that easy to figure out, somebody smarter than she is already would have done it." That person did me a huge favor! I don't pretend to understand fully Rancheria Grande or the Ervipiame, but I've moved that wagon a bit farther down the road, at least to my satisfaction, and had great fun. Later, I wrote an article that examined Aguayo, St. Denis and Juan Rodriquez, the latter Aguayo's guide and a chief of the Sana, one of the groups within Rancheria Grande at different times and in different places. Here we are all these years later, and Rancheria Grande still holds my attention. So do other puzzles, like what was the glue between St. Denis and the Caddo? Beyond the known facts, what was the truth of that relationship that endured into the 1780s between Indian groups and St. Denis's descendants?

And what was the deal between Diego Ramon and St. Denis?

Finally, what's up with all the variant names associated with Sierras Yacatsol y Dacate?

Possibly it's occurred to you I'm a systems person. How things work—that's what interests me. For the French, it was about commerce. Not so for the Spanish. They came to occupy and control everything and everybody. And that's how there came to be a whole lot of rebellious Indians. Have you read Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and Approaches Thereto, to 1773? If not, do so when you can. Did it open my eyes to new perspectives about the Caddo and their interactions with other groups? You bet it did! There's lots of info about interactions of a whole bunch of folks along an east/west corridor along the Texas gulf coast to Parral, Chihuahua. Look at your map—that's one humongous stretch of land.

The book includes transcriptions of documents about La Salle & Co., the capture of Jean Jari, believed to have been with La Salle, from a large rancheria in the Sierra Yacatsol y Dacate (today's Anacacho, a corruption of Ayacatcho.) I'm thinking at least one or two of the names associated with the sierras actually are names of individual peaks, such as they were. From those documents we learn that groups make their rounds to annual "fairs" on the Texas gulf coast and fairs among the Tejas. Mentioned are the Jumano, the Ervipiame, the Cibolo, and some other groups that later show up in Rancheria Grande. It's easy to misunderstand the documents—ya' almost have to diagram them sort of like we diagrammed sentences in high school English. The documents report the fairs are annual events. Documents in the book don't make clear which groups attended which fairs nor do they make clear how frequently groups attended.

Some really thought-provoking stuff in those documents. More questions staring you in the face than ever can be answered, I'm guessing. Jim often talked about remembering to consider the north/south routes. How about routes that are both north/south and east/west as in the case of the Jumano, Ervipiame, and the travels to various fairs?

To say Mexico was in turmoil in the 17th century is a gross understatement. Indian groups were in rebellion. Pressure from Indian groups on all sides, in Old and New Mexico.

Fr. Paredes writes about Rancheria Grande de los Ervipiames, making clear the Ervipiame were fearsome warriors. Diego Ramon had written about them as did the Rio Grande missionaries who reported a violent attack on the presidio of Coahuila (Monclova) and the Rio Grande missions. No sooner had Cortez showed up than the "thrust northward" began. That's how their actions often are described in by historians.

Think of it this way, some people we don't know show up . . . it's as if the Mother Ship lands. Suddenly our grocery stores are looted and burned, they kick us off our farms and ranch lands, our hospitals are destroyed. Our cars and computers disappear and don't expect us to function without them! Oh, and there will be no church services anymore. No gumbo, no fish fries, no crayfish boils. Nothing digital. Everything we have, everything that identifies us is obliterated. We are displaced and we rebel against the "displacers".

That's a woeful attempt to explain what it might have been like in the 17th century when native groups were forced to interact with Spaniards and other native groups they neither knew nor trusted. Nobody seemed too keen on the Apache and, later, the Comanche. That's a general statement. Spaniards feared the Apache; the Ervipiame despised the Apache, and the Spaniards. Nobody much liked anybody, really.

Spaniards continuously were on guard for Indian raids, from all directions. Oh, let's not forget Frenchmen who had a bad habit of showing up from time to time (La Salle and Jean Jari and St. Denis) and rumors of war, etc. Everywhere, everybody was on edge. The world as people knew it was changing, already had changed. All was in continuous motion, like globs in that lava lamp, but now on steroids. By the second decade of the 18th century, hostilities were even more widespread and intense. Apaches were making their presence known more frequently, in greater force, and across a larger region. The presence of horses and French firearms was too great a temptation for the Apache. What I'll describe simply as the "western flank of Caddo country" was open to Apache invasion as were Nortenos on the Red River and groups on the Texas gulf coast.

Probably 15 years ago I found a couple of references that got my attention. They were about Caddo trade fairs and treaties, and coastal group treaties. Fr. Juan Domingo Arricivita wrote two volumes generally known as the "Apostolic Chronicle." The first four or five pages of Volume I describe the foundation of the San Xavier missons in Texas at a site between the rivers Animas and San Xavier, today recognized as the San Gabriel, at a place where the rivers joined near present Rockdale, Texas. Troops from Bejar, la Bahia and Los Adaes were sent there. Construction of the first mission began about 1745. Within a decade, the missions were abandoned. Since 1688, Spaniards had tried to missionize the Ervipiame. Each mission established included the name San Xavier; each attempt failed, of course, some sooner than others.

Arricivita wrote that the natural setting offered some protection for the Indians of Rancheria Grande and some other groups plus their families and stock against Apache raids. What I couldn't forget is that in addition to natural resources, he mentioned the site was a converging point for all the paths leading to the places where their relatives and neighbors lived. For some activities, they separated into groups, but if they needed to unite quickly for Apache wars or for some

social reason, they would notify the others by means of smoke signals, and quickly assemble. It made me wonder whether all villages, be they Caddo, coastal, Norteno and/or the San Xavier groups, possibly were converging points for north/south and east/west routes. I'm inclined to think so 'cept for some of the coastal groups when "south" would put them into the gulf.

The other reference haunted me. Couldn't find it. Finally, I put my hands on it. Was stashed in a pocket folder. It's Descriptions of Tejas or Asinai Indians, 1691 – 1722, pp. 178 and 179, Southwestern Historical Quarterly. Easy enough, huh? I remembered what the document said, but I couldn't remember who wrote it or where it was published. ARGH!!! Finding it again was like being five years old on Christmas morning. No, it was better than that!
Discussed are the purposes of fairs. Just as the cold weather is being felt, groups gather at a place which seems to be between near the Neches and Hasinai villages. There's a feast and an exchange of goods unavailable in their own villages. It's my perspective the most important thing they exchanged is fidelity. It's at the fairs treaties are made or renewed to defend each other against their enemies. Thus sayeth the article. The Caddo will be polite and welcome the Spaniards as long as they behave, but they (the Tejas groups) are most favorably inclined toward the French.

That's all well and good but how are those treaties enforced, and who does the enforcing? Are they all sizzle and no steak? No sirreee! There is mention the Tejas are "so strict in the observance of their pledges that they do not fail, even a day, in gathering together in search of the enemy."

The Texas Indians, says the document, maintain an inviolable peace with the surrounding nations. That's followed by a detailed description of a peaceful, diplomatic resolution to any problem. I was reminded of something from DeMezieres, when Jean Baptiste Brevel, Jr. was sent to the Arkansas Post to give notice about someone from that place stealing horses from the upper Caddo villages. Hmmm . . . it was a perfect example of what was described in the SHQ article. I'd paid particular attention because Brevel was my ancestor.

So I'm back to Pete's comments about Caddo trade and diplomacy. But what if things don't go as planned? Well, then, and this is my interpretation of what I've studied, there would follow something akin to excommunication. Excommunication is a brutal thing, a slow death. Nobody can give you food or shelter or protection of any sort. Nada, zip. That's the direct opposite of what you could anticipate receiving were you a neighbor in good standing as attested in the treaty you signed. Maybe an ousted group's survival means they get cozy with a former enemy. Maybe say, if a group had been to the fair and had made a treaty of alliance with the Caddo, but didn't show up for a call to make war against the Apache, for example, what happened to that group? Maybe that's when the excommunication began which might explain how some groups just disappear . . . poof. Certainly it's how groups show up this year as a friend and the following year they are enemies of the Caddo. And, yes, I know about groups coalescing . . . I'm talking about a whole other thing. There came a time when there had to be some pretty serious consequences for treaty violation, and that takes us back to the Ervipiame and Rancheria Grande and Ramon and St. Denis.

St. Denis's first trip to Mexico. Caddo guides. That wasn't lost on Ramon who survived longer on the front lines than any Spanish military leader I know. He was physically strong, adaptable and had his wits about him and probably brutally mean when it was necessary. Did he recognize when the odds were against him, did he know when to cut his losses, did he know how to bargain, was he willing to take risks? The evidence supports that he did.

These are my thoughts . . . St. Denis's Caddo guides and the Ervipiame knew one another. For considerable time . . . since at least 1688. And they knew the Spaniards which, at the time, pretty much meant they knew Diego Ramon. Conversely, if you claimed to know the French, it meant you were talking about St. Denis.

This is one of those times, when you cannot look to the documents for all the answers. What ya' do is look at the rest of the story. That categorically does not mean you fill in the gaps with fiction. Shame on anybody who does that. It means looking at the historic record and the evidence and considering those from every angle available to you. I did that and two things persuade me that Ramon and St. Denis cut a deal on the Rio Grande. St. Denis couldn't protect Ramon from the Apaches, but maybe he could divert some of them which would minimize Ramon's risk, and certainly he could take the Ervipiame and the other groups of Rancheria Grande off Ramon's hands which made the missionaries happy. That's all assuming that first the Caddo agreed to new neighbors, and, second, the Ervipiame agreed. St. Denis's guides were Hasinai so the relocation provided another layer of protection from Apaches who might show up. With no pomp and circumstance, the relocation to Caddo country occurs, without a whisper. Rancheria Grande moved. Period. Paragraph. Their "welcome to the neighborhood" gifts were French firearms. Always handy when an enemy gets rowdy.

Everybody got their needs met. When St. Denis and his guides left the Ramon expedition, I'm betting the Frenchman headed for Rancheria Grande to inform those groups and then on east for more announcements. It was the Caddo way of doing things. As for the Tejas, it's a term variously applied. Typically, it's thought to refer to the Hasinai, and sometimes it definitely does. There seems to be an expanded application referring to those groups allied to the Caddo by treaties. So, whoever wrote, "they must have been Apaches," knew what they were talking about. Nobody but an Apache would attack a Caddo, nor would anyone except an enemy of the Caddo attack a Tejas, in the larger sense.

When that Rio Grande deal was crafted, neither Ramon nor St. Denis was concerned about being "king of the mountain." They cut a deal that needed "cutting". About this "king of the mountain business," that's a European thing. My conclusions surprised me . . . my research showed the kings of the mountain were the Caddo. Imagine that?! There were other kings of the mountain . . . Rancheria Grande had its own time on the mountaintop, and the Nortenos. All the Tejas groups needed help. Time came when Diego Ramon needed help, St. Denis needed help, Caddo, the Nortenos, Rancheria Grande—they all needed help. They needed each other's help.

I'm not suggesting Ervipiame raids on the Rio Grande Spanish ceased altogether. I just haven't read anything about them if they did occur, and I've been looking for a long, long time. The Hasinai and the Neches had new neighbors to the west which was really helpful when Comanches started showing up. French firearms and ammunition made available to all the Tejas groups for hunting two or four legged creatures, and St. Denis brought Spaniards to his doorstep to trade. Oh, Ramon and St. Denis weren't the only parties to that "Rio Grande deal." The Caddo participated as did Rancheria Grande—it couldn't work any other way. Caddo approval was the first order of business. Without their consent to Rancheria Grande's relocation to the territory immediately west of Hasinai country, there would be no deal. The Caddo and other Tejas groups didn't forget nor did Rancheria Grande forget St. Denis's demonstrations of fidelity. Those demonstrations were the "outward and visable sign" of his loyalty to the Rio Grande deal and the parties involved.

St. Denis made a second trip to Mexico, a trip complicated by Europe's War of the Quadruple Alliance and St. Denis's fortuitous escape from a Mexican prison. Also, in Mexico, there was an order to remove Ramon from his Rio Grande command. The man had his enemies, mostly people who envied him. Ramon died in 1719 before he was removed from command.

Every now and again somebody will ask, "who are the historical figures you most would like to meet"? For me, hands down, it's St. Denis's two 1714 Hasinai guides to the Rio Grande, an Ervipiame chief of Rancheria Grande, St. Denis himself and the elder Diego Ramon.

I've written a bit about St. Denis and researched several bits more. Much of what I found written about him flat didn't happen or the facts were woefully embellished. I've done the research to support that perspective. The same is true regarding Diego Ramon. Who knows, when you least expect it, you might receive another letter or two.

Again, Happy New Year.

Patty

Looped and Perforated Elbow Pipes in Northeast Texas

Jesse Todd

Todd (2010) presented a general chronology for the presence of aboriginal-manufactured clay elbow pipes in Northeast Texas Caddo sites. Most of the pipe types have an extensive range in time; however, this may be true for thong elbow pipes. This paper looks further at the time range for, and the variety, of thong pipes.

Jackson (1933:72-73) refers to elbow pipes that have a hole between the keel and the bowl as "thong pipes". A string appears to have been run through the holes. He refers to the two types of pipes as "handled" and "holed," but "I use the terms "looped" and "perforated."" Perino (1983:70) mentions that the perforation in the pipe's keel may have been so that a cord could be fastened to the stem, similar to some French and Native American micmac pipes.

Looped

The looped thong pipe has a large gap between the bowl and the strap (Figure 1) and have been found in Anderson (Gilmore 1973), Bowie (Jackson 1932), Upshur (Jackson 1933) and Wood (Jackson 1933). Gilmore (1974:Figure 82g) illustrates a loop from a thong pipe from the Ferguson site (41AN67). The Ferguson site dates to ca. A.D. 1480-1560 (Timothy K. Perttula, 2010, personal communication). Jackson (1932:12) discovered a looped thong pipe in midden deposit at the E. H. Moore's Plantation site (41BW2) in Bowie County. Jackson (1932:54) believes the site to have been occupied post A.D. 1541 based upon the discovery of an adult burial that contained two musket balls. According to Timothy K. Perttula (2011, personal communication), the E. H. Moores Plantation site probably was occupied from ca. A.D. 1500 into the late 17th century.

Looped Pipes Outside of Texas

Loop pipes have been found in Arkansas. Moore (1909 :98) portrays a loop pipe from the Kent site in Ouachita County, Arkansas. Jackson (1933:85) states that the loop pipe from the Kent site is identical to one from the E. H. Moores site in Bowie County, Texas. According to Morse and Morse (1998), the Kent site dates to the Middle and Late Mississippian periods, which range from ca. A.D. 1350 to 1650. However, historic material was recovered from the Kent site (Morse and Morse 1998:298), suggesting it may date to the latter part of the time frame. Hodges and Hodges (1945:109) mention that loop pipes appear to be associated with the Mid-Ouachita phase Caddoaboriginal inhabitants of Arkansas. At one point, they mention that the loop pipe appeared to be an exclusive product of the Mid-Ouachita aboriginal inhabitants.

Excavations at the Poole site (3GA3) in Garland County, Arkansas recovered loop pipes (Wood 1981). One half of a Friendship Engraved bowl was associated with a burial containing the loop pipe. Early (2002:12) places Friendship Engraved pottery within the Mid-Ouachita phase, dating from A.D. 1400 to 1500.

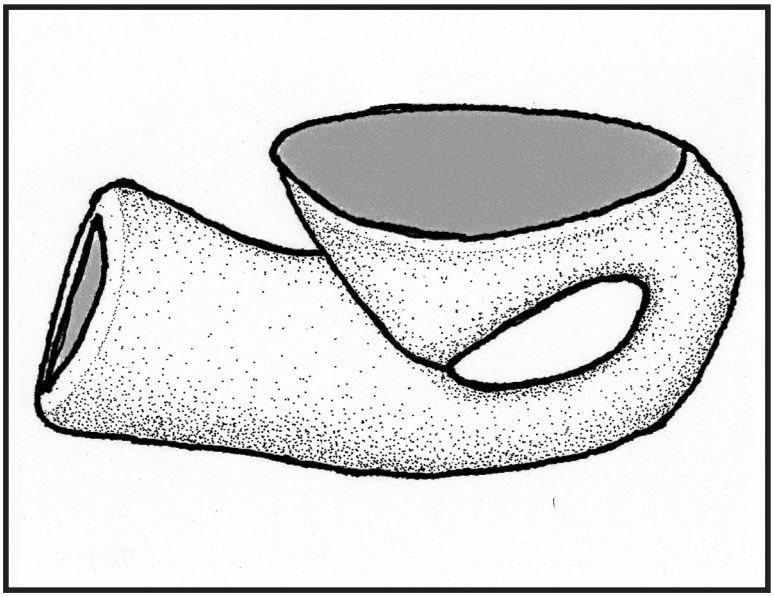

Figure 1. Loop pipe from Wood County (Jackson 1933:Plate 16). Redrawn by Lance K. Trask and reproduced with the permission of the Texas Archeological Society.

Perforated

The perforated thong pipe has a small perforation near its base (Figure 2). Examples have been discovered in Bowie (Gilmore 1986), Fannin (Harris 1953), Franklin (Jackson 1933), Lamar (Harris 1953; Wilson 1948) and Red River (Perino 1983). Gilmore (1986:168) illustrates two pipe fragments with perforations from the Rosebrough site (41BW5) in Bowie County. One pipe has a flat base. Miroir et al. (1973:163) date the Roseborough site between 1719 and 1778, but Gilmore (1986:33) states the site was occupied after the 1740s. A thong pipe was recovered from a burial from the Bob Williams site (41RR16) which contained an iron strike-a-lite, indicating that the pipe was used at a time of Caddo trade with Europeans. (Perino 1983:35, 70). Interestingly, the pipe from the Sanders site in Lamar County illustrated by Wilson (1948) is very similar to the one illustrated by Jackson (1933) from Franklin County shown in Figure 2.

Perttula (1993:153) mentions that burials containing European trade beads are present along Bois d'Arc Creek south of the major Middle Caddo period mound center at the Sanders site (41LR2) in Lamar County. Harris (1953:20) discovered an unusual perforated pipe shown in Figure 3 in this area. Instead of the perforation running perpendicular to the pipe as shown in Figure 2, the perforation runs through the center of the pipe bowl. Several trade beads, including blue and white beads, were found in the vicinity of the pipe and trade beads were found in two burials south of the mound and above the location where the pipe was found.

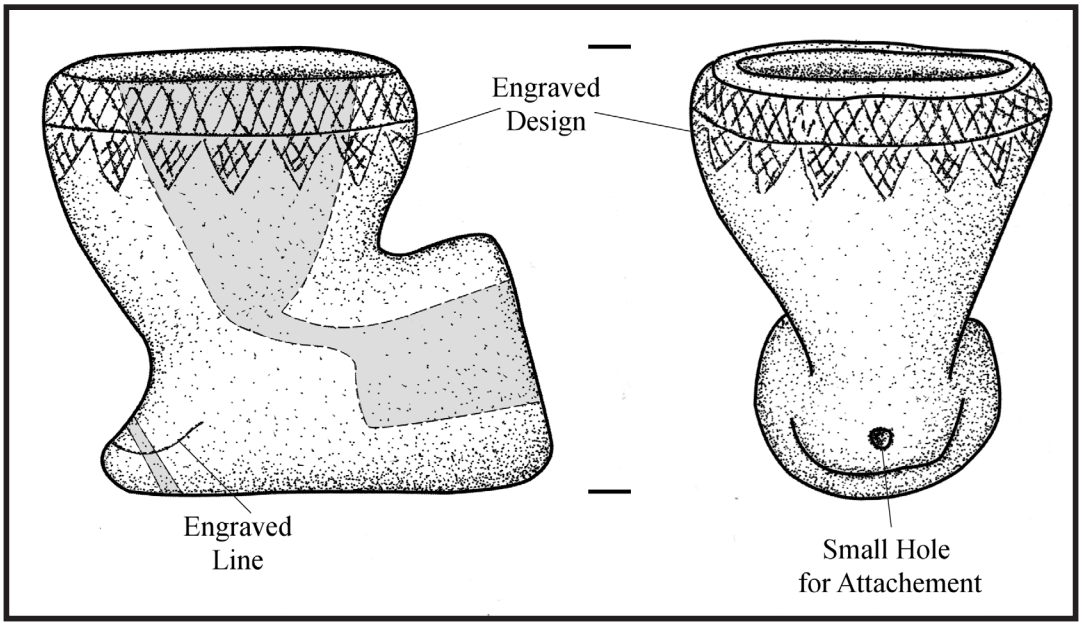

Figure 2. Perforated pipe from Franklin County (Jackson 1933:Plate 17). Redrawn by Lance K. Trask and reproduced with the permission of the Texas Archeological Society.

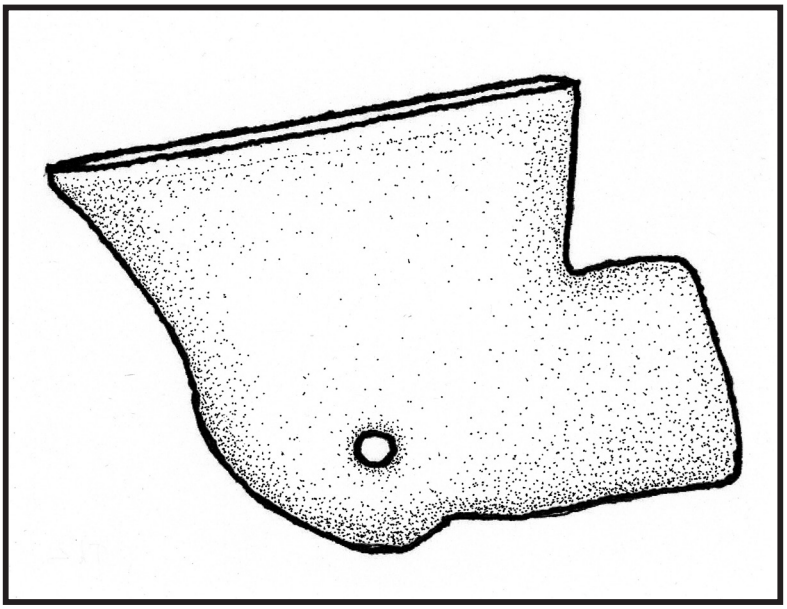

Figure 3. Perforated pipe from the Sanders site. Redrawn by Lance K. Trask and reproduced with the permission of the Dallas Archeological Society.

Conclusions

Although only a few thong pipes have been found in Northeast Texas, the pipes seem to be present during Late Caddo to Historic Caddo times (ca. A.D. 1500 to the late 1700s) which may indicate that Perino was correct in his supposition that perforated pipes were copies of European and Indian micmac pipes.

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Peyoteism and the Origins of Caddo Religious Thought

Robert Cast

Peyote, or *Lophophora williamsii,* has long been a sacred medicinal plant to a number of tribes across the United States. The Caddo Indians have a distinguished and long history of using this important plant. John Swanton (l996:121) noted:

> I*t is interesting to remember that peyote was used by medicine men among the Hasinai at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and recalling the elaborate ritualism of the Caddo, as well as their various contacts with Christian missionaries, including the presence among them of established missions for three decades, one wonders whether such a background does not constitute part of the explanation of John Wilson. It may put the ancient fire cult of the Natchez and Caddo, Franciscan teachings, the Ghost dance religion, the peyote cult, and the North American churches founded on the last mentioned in one line of descent.*

The Caddo Indians practiced a vibrant peyote religion long before John Wilson (Moonhead) or Quanah Parker re-ignited the Native American Church. Moreover, research has shown the importance of the peyote plant to the Caddo long before any European contact. The peyote religion at the time of the Spanish missions in Texas was full of songs and dances in honor of one known today as (*A?ah? hi-u kuu-i´-ha*) or Father Above, translated to mean *home where God lives*. Although Swanton proposes that the Hasinai medicine men used peyote "at the beginning of the eighteenth century" (a reference to Friar Hidalgo's Spanish account) how long had they been using this plant before any written records?

In Swanton's analysis of the Caddo Indians, he recognized that during the contact period with the Spanish and the establishment of Spanish missions in east Texas that the Caddo did not convert to Catholicism as hoped, because they had a long standing tradition of worshiping their God in their own way. Although the Caddo have long been referred to as being a part of a perpetual or eternal "fire" cult "*e´but ni-kuu*", (literally grandfather fire) the fire was only a small part of the ritualism, the Peyote or "*sik'uh-ho*" (from the literal meaning "rock") has long been the central foundation for the religion.

Historian Mariah F. Wade (n.d.:10) in her translation of a November 4, 1716 letter from Fray Hidalgo to the Viceroy of New Spain recognizes this as well and emphasizes several important points in her "Introduction" to the translation: 1) The Caddo refused the religion of the Friars and the Catholic Church and, 2) That "researchers have not completely understood the essence of this refusal nor the strength of Caddo religious practices and convictions." Her translation goes on to describe Friar Hidalgo's biased but pertinent viewpoints regarding the Hasinai Caddo:

> *As far as we have determined all this Nation is Idolater, they have houses of Adoration and they have the perpetual fire, which they do not let be extinguished. They are very superstitious, and they will believe the visions related to them by the Indian male and female who gets drunk on the peyote, or the small bean, during the Dances that they hold. They prepare this drink specifically for the celebrations . . .*

One interesting note is Swanton refers to the use of peyote by "medicine men" when clearly by the earliest written accounts; both men and women used peyote.

If this is the case, then where did the Caddo Indians of east Texas gather peyote?

Recently, the Caddo Nation has had a number of consultation meetings with representatives of the El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trails to discuss information related to the interpretation of the trail from a Native American perspective. At one meeting hosted at the Comanche Nation Museum in Lawton, Oklahoma, several tribes were represented including the Comanche, Kiowa, and Wichita. During the meeting, each tribe voiced concerns with the trail as the National Historic Trails representatives showed them a large map of the trail explaining that the trail extended from Mexico to Nacogdoches, Texas. The Caddo voiced concerns that the route actually extended in the other direction, from Nacogdoches extending southward with branches of the trail ending up in Mexico. Several of the tribal representatives stated that they continued to use parts of this trail today to drive south to get peyote from the authorized dealers in Mexico. The irony is that the Caddo created the trail to gather their sacred plant hundreds of years earlier, with the Spanish later using the trail as a route from Mexico to explore and set-up missions in Spanish Texas.

Researchers such as Weston LaBarre, Elsie Clews Parsons, and John R. Swanton have only scantily referenced the Caddo's ancient use of peyote. More recently however, researcher Jay Miller (1996) has described the connections with the Caddo use of peyote with some the ancient stories and names within the Caddo language such as, "*xinesi*" also known by the Spanish as "Mr. Moon" or "*Tsah Neeshi*" an important cultural figure in Caddo oral history. Cecile Carter also recognized this name as most likely a mishearing of the word by the Spanish for the name of the high priest of the fire temple mound (Carter 1995).

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Book Review

Timothy K. Perttula

Jim Tiller, *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*, xii + 123 pp. The START Group, Huntsville, Texas, 2010.

Jim Tiller, *Before the Line*. *Vol. II, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842*, xx + 353 pp. The START Group, Huntsville, Texas, 2012.

Jim Tiller, *Before the Line*. *Vol. III, Caddo Indians: The Final Years*, xii + 189 pp. The START Group, Huntsville, Texas, 2013.

This three volume set written and compiled by Dr. Jim Tiller of Sam Houston State University (Huntsville, Texas) represents a significant body of work concerning the history of East Texas-Northwest Louisiana between 1803-1842. His study area includes what is now Caddo Parish in Louisiana and Harrison and Panola counties in Texas. Tiller's interest in the history of the Caddo Indian peoples in this area is also shown by a series of articles he has written about them in recent years (Tiller 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2013; Tiller and Gong 2012).

In Volume I of the set, Tiller looks at the Sabine River-Caddo Lake Area from 1803-1841 as an aspect of the early boundary history between Spain, Mexico, the Republic of Texas, and the United States/Louisiana. His goal is "to present and analyze from a geographical perspective the very considerable, but relatively little known, records that exist with regard to boundaries and administrative units" (Vol. I, p. x) of the Sabine River-Caddo Lake borderland. In Part I of the volume, the many international boundaries in this region are reviewed and discussed, along with many excellent maps illustrating the shifting and conflicting boundaries. Tiller makes clear that there were a number of Caddo villages in this borderland area (Vol. I, pp. 4-5). His discussion of boundary history begins with the 1806 survey of the northern portion of the Neutral Ground, followed by the 1812 Pichardo d'Anville line, the William Darby Line of 1812, William Darby's map of 1816, Teran's Line of 1828, mid-1830s Mexican surveys, American survey activities between 1837-1838, and the Joint Boundary Commission survey of 1840-1841 that set the final boundary between Texas and the United States. Amidst these various efforts of boundary delineation, the Caddo Indian peoples found their traditional homelands increasingly coveted and claimed by American settlers, and on July 1, 1835, the Caddo Nation signed a treaty with the United States to cede their lands along the Red River and Caddo Lake (in what is now Northwest Louisiana and a small part of Southwest Arkansas, see Figure 1.32 in this volume; Vol. II of this compilation has many letters and pieces of correspondence concerning the treaty and its aftermath for the Caddo peoples).

Part II of Volume I takes up the administrative records that are part of the early (late 1830s and early 1840s) history of Harrison County in the Republic of Texas. Here, Tiller examines the establishment of land offices and districts as well as the evolution of county boundaries, as Harrison County was created in 1839 (Vol. I, p. 81); its boundaries were redefined in 1841. Tiller also notes that the Caddo remained in their villages (many of which were in what became Harrison County) along the unsettled boundary between the United States and Texas until March 1838, "continuing violence and related difficulties with area Whites, and the

movement of American surveyors . . . all combined to force the removal of the Caddo from their Sabine River-Cross Lake borderland villages west to the Cross Timbers and prairies of frontier Texas. In every instance, American surveyors noted in their early spring survey field notes that Caddo village sites in the area were either abandoned, deserted or in ruins" (Vol. I, p. 80).

Volume II will be of considerable interest to any historian or archeologist concerned with the study of the period from 1809-1842 in the northwestern Louisiana and northeastern Texas regions. In addition to a series of ca. 1804 to 1838 maps of the region, including an 1838 Township and Range map that shows the location of Dehahuit's Caddo village, Tiller has provided an invaluable service by including transcripts of letters in the National Archives and Records Administration, National Archives Microfilm Publications from the Letterbook of the Natchitoches-Sulphur Fork Factory, 1809-1821, and Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881. In the case of the latter, the letters provided here concern the Red River Agency, 1824-1830 and the Caddo Agency, 1824-1842. These letters are packed with information (i.e., specific goods, costs, and tribal preferences and needs) about the Indian trade, more specifically the trade carried out between American factories and agencies and the Caddo peoples, as well as letters concerning relationships between the Americans and the Caddo tribes, especially regarding the difficulties faced by the Caddo because of illegal American settlement, whiskey traders, Texan depredations, and the deceit of their duly appointed U.S. Indian agents, especially Jehiel Brooks.

As examples of the contents of the letters, there are yearly lists of the wide range of trade goods to be made available at the U.S. trading factories in return for animal hides and furs (i.e., deer, beaver, otter, raccoon, foxes, and bear) bear oil, and other commodities provided by the Caddo peoples and other tribes that had moved into traditional Caddo homelands. These included clothing and linens, guns, gun locks, rifles, gun flints, and powder, as well as kettles, axes, knives, pairs of ear lobes (i.e., silver ear rings), and vermillion (Vol. II, pp. 13-14, pp. 67-68, p. 95). There are also testimonials and letters from the Caddo leaders proclaiming their loyalties to the Americans, or else protestations of poor treatments at the hands of various Americans and Texans (among them a May 28, 1831 letter from Dehahuit, Chief of the Caddo Nation to Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, Vol. II, p. 213): "That though his tribe had never shed the blood of a White many, yet his heart [the Caddo chief's) and hand had always been with us since he had first known us and that he was ready and willing to make common cause with us and that our enemies should be his enemies" (Letter from Thomas M. Linnard, Factor at the Natchitoches Trading House, September 6, 1813, Vol. II, p. 33), or "I had a good deal of conversation with the chiefs. They complained with too much truth of the Whites bringing whiskey among them and hunting on their grounds, etc." (Letter from John Fowler, Factor at the Natchitoches Trading House, May 9, 1817, Vol. II, pp. 60). One of the more interesting letters is an October 1, 1824 letter by George Gray, Indian agent at the Red River Indian Agency on the Sulphur Fork) that lists the 13 different Indian tribes living near the Red River Indian Agency, and their populations, including the Caddo (200 men and 250 women), Coushatta (80 men and 100 women), Choctaw (84 men and 94 women), and the Pascagoula (50 men and 71 women) (Vol. II, p. 110).

Also in these letters are statements by Americans conveying their respect for the Caddo Nation, even as they are dismayed at the lawlessness of the Americans increasingly in their midst. John Fowler, the Factor at the Natchitoches Trading House, had this to say about the Caddo peoples: "The Caddo in the neighborhood of this place are the oldest tribe in this country and are looked up to with a degree of reverence by all the Indians on Red River. They claim the land on both sides of Red River and on the right bank for 70 miles above me" (Letter of August 10, 1818, Vol. II, pp. 79). Tarshar, the Chief of the Caddo Nation, noted in an 1835 testimonial to President Andrew Jackson that "our traditions inform us that our villages have been established where they now stand ever since the first Caddo was created" (Vol. II, p. 246).

In the last and most ambitious volume in the compilation, Tiller has two main concerns from a geographic perspective: (1) to consider the early 19th century settlements of the Caddo (i.e., the Kadohadacho) in the Sodo Lakes region of Northwest Louisiana and East Texas; the East Texas Hasinai tribes are not the subject of this compendium, and (2) to review the 1835 Caddo land cession and its immediate aftermath (ca. 1835-1840), and the history of the Caddo peoples that returned and remained the region (most notably the Shreveport band) after 1838 under very difficult circumstances.

Part I of Vol. III concerns the early 19th century Caddo settlements in the Sodo Lake region. Here, Tiller successfully employs the available historical and geographic records to identify and locate in space a number of long-forgotten and overlooked Caddo villages; the maps accompanying the text are excellent. He notes that these sites have been lost to history (p. 5), but fortunately, they may well yet be found in the archeological record. These sites include several north of the Sodo Lakes complex: a Caddo-Coushatta village at Cedar Bluff on the Red River, Sewell's Floodplain village, and the Jim's Bayou village (Ch. 3 in Vol. III reviews in great detail the question of whether this village was Timber Hill or the last Caddo settlement in the region). Tiller also identifies a number of early 19th century Caddo settlements south of the Sodo Lakes complex, and suggests that this area was the principal focus of Caddo settlements after ca. 1800 in the East Texas-Northwest Louisiana borderlands. These villages include Dehahuit's village, the North Caddo village, the Middle Caddo village, the Big Spring Caddo village, Charles Sewell's Caddo village, and Col. Many's Caddo village. The latter two villages date to the latter part of 1838, and are associated with the Shreveport band of the Caddo. The other Caddo villages were abandoned and destroyed early in 1838. There are several other probable or possible early 19th century Caddo settlements that Tiller has gleaned information about in the historical record, namely what he terms the Border village, the Louisiana village, an April 1838 Small village, and the Moooringsport Prairie village.

Chapters 2 and 3 in Vol. III provide more details on the interpretations offered by Tiller concerning the location of Dehahuit's village and the Caddo site on Jim's Bayou that he believes is not Timber Hill or the last Caddo settlement in East Texas. In the case of Dehahuit's village, in Chapter 2, using a variety of sources, he makes an effective argument that this site, likely occupied by the Caddo between ca. 1800 and early 1838, and their principal village at that time, is on Paw Paw Bayou on the old Natchitoches-Pecan Point (on the Red River) road, a few miles west of the Cross Lake part of the Sodo Lakes complex. Particularly effective is a scaled map overlay (Vol. III, Figure 2.9) of an 1807 map by Father Jose Puelles onto a modern map of the border area that nicely places both Caddo (Dehahuit's village) and Nadaco Caddo villages in accurate relationship to one another. Tiller then goes on to consider a Caddo village shown on William Darby's 1816 map of Louisiana, and concludes that this village is not the site on Jim's Bayou, nor is it the site of Dehahuit's village, but is instead a yet to be discovered early 19th century Caddo settlement near the western end of Caddo Lake (Vol. III, p. 45).

The case of Timber Hill and the Jim's Bayou village is laid out in Chapter 3 of Vol. III. Tiller emphatically disputes the conclusions offered by Parsons et al. (2002a, 2002b) that site 41MR211 on James Bayou, north and west of the Sodo Lakes complex, "was Timber Hill; that it was the home of Dehahuit; and that it was the last Caddo village in their traditional East Texas-northwestern Louisiana homeland" (Vol. III, p. 47). In fact, he thoroughly castigates the archival research offered in Parsons et al. (2002a, 2002b), and suggests that it "was seriously lacking in terms of its thoroughness and analysis" and that "much of the readily available archival evidence related to the existence of such villages [Caddo villages south of the Sodo Lakes complex] seems to have been overlooked, misrepresented, or worse, ignored" (Vol. III, p. 55). Harsh words, indeed. Tiller's own sound geographical analysis leads him to the conclusion that the Jim's Bayou village known as 41MR211 was abandoned by 1830, and was not Timber Hill or Dehahuit's village.

Tiller even goes so far as to suggest that 41MR211 is not a Caddo site: " . . . while the record may suggest the Jim's Bayou settlement was a Caddo site, there is absolutely nothing in the record I am aware of that *categorically* [emphasis in original] defines the site as such" (Vol. III, p. 55). While there may be nothing in the *historical record* that indicates that 41MR211 is a Caddo site, there is no question from the material culture record, in particular the almost 400 sherds of Caddo ceramic vessels, recovered in the excavations (not survey, as Tiller describes it, Vol. III, p. 53) of 41MR211 that it is a Caddo site, and one occupied in the early 19th century. Was the site abandoned by 1830, as this is one tenet of Tiller's position that the site is not Timber Hill or Dehahuit's village? There are several lines of evidence in the artifacts recovered from the 41MR211 archeological deposits that suggest it was occupied after 1830:

- the presence of a refined earthenware sherd with a backmark dated from 1834-1836 (Parsons et al. 2002b:44);
- the presence of transfer-printed refined earthenware sherds with certain colors that only began to be used after the late 1820s (Parsons et al. 2002b:43);
- there are Redware sherds in the assemblage, which are found in East Texas sites that date as late as ca. 1850;
- the blue and green shell-edged vessel sherds at 41MR211 are of a style that was produced between ca. 1800 and 1840; green edging on vessels became rare after 1840;
- one of the green shell-edged sherds at 41MR211 has floral motifs (Parsons et al. 2002b:Figure 25d), and this embossed edge rim treatment was developed around 1825, and "remained popular well into the 1830s" (Hunter and Miller 2009:13);
- (f) sherds from "Lacy" pattern glass, in production from only as early as 1829 through the 1840s (Parsons et al. 2002b:59);
- (g) a U.S. Military button with a stamped backmark that dates from 1827-1839 (Parsons et al. 2002b:66); and
- (h) gun parts (a flintlock gun cock and tumblers) from guns in use through the 1830s (Parsons et al. 2002b:71).

I think the reviewed archeological evidence is fairly unequivocal in indicating that 41MR211was occupied well into the 1830s. But, that being said, it does not change the main geographic arguments made by Tiller that this Jim's Bayou village is not Timber Hill or the last Caddo village in East Texas. The archeological evidence simply indicates that there were Caddos living north of the Sodo Lakes complex after 1830. There are other known archeological sites along James Bayou besides 41MR211 that hint at use of the locale by Caddo peoples as late as ca. 1835 (Perttula and Nelson 2010).

Tiller notes that the 1838-1839 land surveys suggest that the Jim's Bayou village was ca. 600 m in length, and that "this village, in terms of its physical size, is without parallel—likely a testament to its great age and historic importance" (Vol. III, p. 49). This is dubious. It is more likely to be the case that this "village" is comparable to many other ancestral Caddo settlements in that "villages" were comprised of a number of widely dispersed farmstead compounds—sometimes spread across many miles—rather than a nucleated settlement with a concentrated cluster of households. Under this scenario, the size of the Jim's Bayou village as estimated by the 19th century land surveys is not of great note. As a final note on Ch. 3, it is interesting that 41MR211 by

itself covers nowhere near ca. 600 m in length. Furthermore, its topographic location (see Perttula and Nelson 2010:Figure 3) falls well west (more than 0.5 miles) of the village plotting on the United States 1838 Plat Map as well as Tiller's general location plotting (Vol. III, Figure 1.4). This suggests there are other archeological components of the Jim's Bayou village that have yet to be discovered.

Part II in Vol. III concerns the history of the aftermath of the land cession on the Caddo Indian peoples. Tiller argues that there were a number of contributing factors that led to the July 1835 land cession, among them the U.S. government factory system and agencies, including the removal of services they had once provided to the native peoples who traded with the factories; the removal of Indian tribes from east of the Mississippi River to western lands; whiskey traders; removal of the Great Raft on the Red River; the encroachments of American and Mexican land squatters; and the difficulties of the Caddo Nation itself. These included the death of their *caddi* Dehahuit in March 1833, their increasing participation in the hide and fur trade, and their inability to support themselves through traditional agricultural practices. Once the United States and then Texas began expropriations of Caddo lands in East Texas and Northwest Louisiana, the Caddo peoples were harried and eventfully forcefully removed from their homelands within just the matter of a few years (1835-1838), and within a generation, the Caddo were gone from all of Texas.

Tiller continues the historical account with a consideration of the early post-land cession years (1835-1838), in particular the increasing pace of American land surveys, and the various movements and activities of the Caddo peoples, either in the borderlands or farther west in the Trinity and Brazos River prairies and cross-timbers. Texans did not trust the Caddo peoples, nor was there any reason for the Caddo to trust the intentions of Texans, who desired nothing more than the removal, however that could be accomplished, of all American Indians from the lands of the Republic of Texas. Tiller recounts the considerable difficulties the Caddo had in receiving their 1836-1838 annuities, and the fraudulent activities of their appointed annuity agents. In the end, the Caddo left their Harrison County villages in early 1838.

Chapter 6 in Vol. III details the little known history and travails of the Shreveport band of the Caddo, who came to the Shreveport area in the fall of 1838 to collect the 1838 annuity, where they remained (with little choice) until the spring of 1840, when they were removed to Choctaw Nation lands in Indian Territory in what is now the Fort Towson area of southeastern Oklahoma (Vol. III, p. 136). Then, along the Washita River in the Chickasaw District they were reunited in 1841 with some portion of the Caddo who had been living in the wilds of Texas, although other Caddo peoples chose to remain in Texas, until they too were removed to Indian Territory in 1859.

This third volume also contains 15 separate appendices and more than 35 pages of detailed endnotes. The appendices are various original source materials (correspondence and accounts, as well as a few ca. 1845-1852 maps) dating from 1834-1852 that Tiller drew upon in the body of Vol. III.

Tiller makes one unusual, but interesting comment in the Preface to Vol. III (p. x). In attending archeological conferences, he noted that he was struck "by the number of times in a *single presentation* [emphasis in the original] such qualifiers as "don't know for sure," "maybe," "perhaps" or "possibly" were used." This suggests that Tiller, as a geographer, may not have a full appreciation of the complexities of archeological science, or of the difficulties involved for archeologists in establishing beyond any reasonable doubt or with absolute certainty any specific set of archeological findings. Archeological findings are far from representing truths—either in measured time or geographic space—but rely on building a case for conclusions based on the preponderance of evidence from a diverse set of resources. And in fact, Tiller builds a similar set of conclusions using the historical record when it comes to making the case for the locations of early 19th century Caddo villages in Northwest Louisiana and East Texas (Vol. III, pp. 10, 46, and 55). Hopefully, a concerted and well-

planned archeological investigation of these villages can be developed and carried out in the years ahead—perhaps as a collaborative effort with the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma—and archeological findings can also be brought to bear on Caddo native history during the early 19th century in this part of the Caddo's ancestral lands.

In addition to a limited number of bound sets of *Before the Lines*, electronic versions of the three volumes are available from: The Director, Newton Gresham Library, Sam Houston State University, P.O. Box 2281 (1830 Bobby K Marks Drive), Huntsville, Texas, 77341 (936-294-1613). This three volume set contains a wealth of information about the early 19th century Caddo settlement of East Texas and Northwest Louisiana, along with well-reasoned arguments about the place of these settlements, and I cannot recommend these books strongly enough to anyone interested in the history of the Caddo Indian peoples.

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Book Review

Robert Z. Selden Jr.

Evolutionary and Interpretive Archaeologies: A Dialogue. Edited by ETHAN E. COCHRANE AND ANDREW GARDNER. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California, 2011. Preface, 361 pp., 28 figs., 7 tables, index. $36.95, (paperback), ISBN 978-1-59874-427-9.

Originating as a seminar series at the Institute of Archaeology at University College, London organized by the editors in 2007, and refined at the annual meeting of the Theoretical Archaeology Group in York in December of that same year, this volume represents the printed culmination of a continuation of that dialogue.

Evolutionary and Interpretive Archaeologies: A Dialogue, covers a substantial scope of topics, and offers practical examples of successful applications from evolutionary and interpretive thinkers alike. In exploring the tenets of each theoretical paradigm, Cochrane and Gardner's goal for this volume was "not necessarily agreement, but at the least better-informed disagreement" between these competing theoretical viewpoints. Citing the rapid shifts of theoretical paradigms within archaeology as the basis for "half-baked . . . borrowed ideas," Cochrane and Gardner urge a protracted dialogue where the chasms between these approaches—where issues of import may lie—might be explored further. Noting substantive contributions of previous theoretical discourses, the editors successfully illustrate the canons that provide both evolutionary and interpretive tactics with unique advantages. As an explanation for the divide between these approaches, Gardner and Cochrane cite issues in terminology, differing explanations from "hallowed texts," and the possibility that "genuine disagreement" might temper our comprehension of the archaeological record and what it can contribute to our understanding of human society. In their coverage of the dialogue, this volume covers four general themes that contrast evolutionary and interpretive approaches; (1) what is it that archaeologists study, (2) what of the differing emphasis placed upon methods by each approach, (3) what of the generalizing versus particularizing natures of evolutionary and interpretive research, and (4) how do different views on the nature of existence affect the characteristics of evolutionary and interpretive archaeology?

In his discussion of units of transmission in evolutionary archaeology, Cochrane is quick to point out that the archaeological record "is not a living behavioural system, it is a record of some of the results of behaviour." Noting the connection in evolutionary archaeology between Americanist culture history, population biology and mathematical models of transmission, Cochrane illustrates the links between culture-historical descriptive methods and the stochastic transmission processes often employed by paleobiologists within cladistic explanations. Pulling from two case studies, he notes the import of understanding that replicators—or artifact classes—are units defined by the investigator (not revealed in nature), and that these replicators can be gainfully employed within empirical models derived via evolutionary theory.

Approaching a meaningful dialogue, and a more thorough analysis and comprehension of current and previous works aimed at addressing issues of agency—and furthering the debate by working through a number of foundational ideas that remain problematic—is the theme of Gardner's contribution. Pointing to the advent of the post-processual paradigm as a "revolutionary moment in archaeological thought," he suggests that the increase in social theorists has contributed to the fragmentation of the discipline and further impoverished the agency debate. Among those disputes are a range of questions like how do we locate agency, what of

the matter of intentionality, how do we identify agency within differing forms of power, and what methodology could be most useful in exploring these fundamental tenets? Gardner makes note of the need for the incorporation of structuration and situated practice within discussions of agency. He further observes that many of the differences between evolutionary and interpretive approaches are often due to choices of language and metaphor, and that the interpretive approach to archaeological problems is "far from being analytically powerless or methodologically flimsy," but needs to be pushed farther to fully explore the limits of its' theoretical power.

Both the evolutionary and interpretive contributions in this volume provide examples of how each of the theoretical perspectives have been, and are being, applied. The contribution of the volume is significant in that it pulls both schools of thought together to engage in a legitimate dialogue concerning the tenets of both approaches. To the credit of the editors, the papers are well-selected and thorough, and provide a suitable platform from which this discussion might continue. Within the archaeological literature, there is certainly no shortage of debate when it comes to which approach might be considered more suitable; however, in assembling this volume, Cochrane and Gardner illustrate what might occur if those persons engaged in these debates are afforded the opportunity to partake in a legitimate discussion, as opposed to arguing past one another on the basis of semantics.

In sum, this volume provides ample coverage of the principal issues of concern from both the evolutionary and interpretive theoretical camps. I believe it to be a worthwhile read for anyone pondering the application of either evolutionary or interpretive theoretical approaches, as it supplies ample material to strengthen these arguments. While neither of these approaches are currently being employed within the Caddo region—we are a largely atheoretical bunch—either of these approaches would be a welcome addition to Caddo archaeology. In fact, Perttula (this volume), has provided a practical foundation to approach the evolutionary perspective in his paradigmatic classification of utility-ware vessels. In either case, this volume could prove useful to theoretical practitioners on both sides of the aisle, and it is an important piece of scholarship linking these oft-opposing viewpoints on the archaeological record.

Report on the 55th Caddo Conference

Amanda L. Regnier

The 55th Caddo Conference was held in the Vista Room of the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma on February 22 and 23. The conference was organized by Amanda Regnier and Scott Hammerstedt of the Oklahoma Archeological Survey and Eric Singleton of the Gilcrease Museum. Kathy Thompson from the Gilcrease Museum and Thomas Foster from the University of Tulsa Anthropology Department assisted with local arrangements. Donations from AMEC, the Bureau of Land Management – Tulsa Office, Cojeen Archaeological Services, Prewitt and Associates, and the Cleveland County Chapter of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society provided travel funds for the Caddo Culture Club.

A total of 100 people registered for the conference. The 18 presentations and 3 posters focused on recent research at specific Caddo sites and earlier Archaic sites in northeast Oklahoma, Caddo literature, history, and material culture. The business meeting was held on Thursday afternoon, where the officers of the Caddo Conference Organization discussed various issues, and election results were announced. The Caddo Culture Club held their dance on Friday evening at the end of the paper presentation in the Vista Room. Photos are below, courtesy of Elsbeth Dowd, taken by Eric Singleton, Gilcrease Museum.


Caddo
Nana Pooh

55th Annual Caddo Conference
February 22-23, 2013 - Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Program

Friday, February 22: Vista Room and Gallery 18, Gilcrease Museum

8:30-9:00 am **Registration and Welcome**

9:00-9:20 **Vanessa N**. **Hanvey** – A Fresh Look at a Mound Site on the Saline River

9:20-9:40 **Joanne Demaio** – The Adair Site: Ouachita River Valley Relations through Ceramic Analysis

9:40-10:00 **John Samuelsen** – Geophysical Evidence of Caddo Ceremonialism and Spatial Delineation at the Crenshaw Site (3MI6)

10:00-10:20 **Break** (Posters will be up)

10:20-10:40 **Don G. Wyckoff and Paul Benefield** – The Primrose Site (34MR65) as a Calf Creek Staging Area

10:40-11:00 **Robert L. Brooks** – Markers on the Landscape: Burned Rock Mounds in North Central and Northeastern Oklahoma

11:00-11:20 **Amanda Regnier** – The Relationship between the Caddo and the Mississippian Emergences: A View from Southeast Oklahoma

11:20-11:30 **Elsbeth Dowd and Emily Turriff** – News from SNOMNH

11:30- 1:30 PM **Lunch** (on your own)

1:30-1:50 **Luther J. Leith -** Re-Conceptualizing Fourche Maline: A Summary of Recent Findings

1:50-2:10 **Timothy G. Baugh, Rebecca A. Hawkins, and David H. Snow** – People, Places, and Pots: Examining Mid-Twentieth Century Concept in a New Millennium

2:10-2:30 **George Sabo III and Tracy Newkumet Burrows** – Phil Newkumet's Drums

2:30-3:00 **Break**

3:00-4:00 **Chase Earles and Timothy K. Perttula** – Caddo Ceramic Forum

4:15-5:00 **Caddo Conference Board Meeting**

Saturday, February 22: Vista Room and Gallery 18, Gilcrease Museum

9:00-9:20 **James A. Rees, Jr**. – Drums along the Arkansas: The Possible Depiction of Membranophones in the Shell Art of Spiro

9:20-9:40 **Elizabeth T. Horton** – The Craig Mound Perishable Project and the Identification of the *Petaca* of the Southeast.

9:40-10:00 **Scott W. Hammerstedt, Jami J. Lockhart, Patrick C. Livingood, Tim Mulvihill, Amanda Regnier, George Sabo III, and John Samuelsen** – Rediscovering Spiro: Understanding Intrasite Organization Through Archaeological Remote Sensing

10:00-10:20 **Break**

10:20-10:40 **Zach Rice** – Pawnee Language Revitalization: Skiri and South Band Dialects

10:40-11:00 **Bettye J. Williams –** The Oral Narrative: Reading Themes and Symbols in Caddo Literature

11:00-11:20 **Susan Vehik** – Caddoan Ethnography, Symbolism, and the Little River Focus Council Circles of Central Kansas

11:20-1:30 **Lunch** (on your own)

1:30-1:50 **Donna Williams** – Presentation by the Caddo Language Class, 2012-2013

1:50-2:10 **Phil Cross** – Allotment of Land to Caddo Indians Circa 1901

2:10-2:30 **Break**

2:30-3:30 **Business Meeting, News, Announcements**

4:00-7:00 **Caddo Culture Club Dance**

Posters

Chowdhury, Pritam – Revisiting the Ancient Caddos of Ferguson: New Analyses of the Mound B Architecture, Mortuary Complex, and Material Culture from the Ferguson Site, Southwest Arkansas

Lambert, Shawn - Discovered WPA Illustrations from the Spiro Mound: Attributing the Forgotten Artists

Tooman, Rachel Fauchier – Multi-Component Woodland Sites: A View of the Fourche Maline in Arkansas

Abstracts

Timothy G. Baugh (Algonquin Consultants, Inc.), **Rebecca A. Hawkins,** and **David H. Snow**
People, Places, and Pots: Examining Mid-Twentieth Century Concepts in a New Millennium

In 1946, Alex Krieger suggested that the carinated bowl form of Rio Grande glazewares C and D might have originated in the Caddo area. In a 1953 publication, Fred Wendorf suggested that the northern Rio Grande type, Potsuwi'i Incised, might reflect a Caddo design style. One of the major stumbling blocks to these suggestions of Krieger and Wendorf was the failure to identify intermediate Plains pottery types, or the presence of an established and visible trade network. This paper will examine these issues in light of agency and practice theory to argue for the movements both of people and pots.

Robert L. Brooks (Oklahoma Archeological Survey)
Markers on the Landscape: Burned Rock Mounds in North Central and Northeastern Oklahoma

Burned rock mounds have been recognized as a distinctive feature of the cultural landscape since the 1920s. The Oklahoma River Basin Survey studied a number of these features in the 1960s; however, little research has taken place since that time. This paper examines the spatial distribution of burned rock mounds, analyzes the content and context of the mounds, and presents some thoughts on practices that resulted in mound construction.

Pritam Chowdhury (University of Arkansas and Ozark National Forest)
Revisiting the Ancient Caddos of Ferguson: New Analyses of the Mound B Architecture, Mortuary Complex, and Material Culture from the Ferguson Site, Southwest Arkansas

The Ferguson Site (3HE63) was a multi-component Caddo mound site in Hempstead County, Arkansas. This site was recorded by the Arkansas Archaeological Survey in 1971, and was the focus of salvage excavations lead by Dr. Frank Schambach during the Arkansas Archaeological Society's annual digs in 1972-1974. In the course of the fieldwork conducted, two Caddo mounds, a Fourche Maline midden, a small cemetery area, and an underlying early Archaic and Dalton component, were meticulously excavated. However, no final report has yet been produced. This poster presents recent research based on these old collections. Presented here, are the data from recent analyses of Mound B, a dome shaped burial mound that capped a square Caddo house (Feature 6), that included a number of intrusive elite Haley Phase 'shaft graves' dating from the A.D. 1200-1400.

Phil Cross (Caddo Nation of Oklahoma)
Allotment of Land to Caddo Indians Circa 1901

Information about the number of allotments to Caddo Indians that took place in 1901 along with allotments to Wichita and Delaware allotments is presented in this paper. The provisions and process of the allotment of lands to pursuant to the Dawes Act of 1887 and the subsequent Act of March 2, 1895 to Indians in the Wichita and Affiliated Bands of Indians reservation is discussed. Opening of the remainder of the reservation area by lottery is also discussed along with those allotments still held in trust by the US government.

Joanne Demaio (Arkansas Archeological Survey)
The Adair Site: Ouachita River Valley Relations Through Ceramic Analysis

The Adair site (3GA1) is a Northern Caddo site located in the Upper Ouachita River Valley, 25 miles north of Hot Springs, Arkansas and three miles northwest of the now inundated town of Buckville, Arkansas. The large site, located on a terrace overlooking the northern fork of the Ouachita River, was composed of one 3 meter high triangular pyramidal mound and at least two other low mounds, as well as two borrow pits, structure floors, middens, and cemeteries. Although it has long been considered an important elite site, due to that it is the only mound complex in the area, little is known about the people who once lived there. The site was excavated by the University of Arkansas Museum in 1929-1932 and again from 1938-1939, but little information from the excavations still exist. This study looks at the whole vessels that were excavated from the Adair site. The vessels from Adair were analyzed and compared to sites in surrounding areas, the Standridge site (3MN53), the Poole Site (3GA3), and the Hardman site (3CL418). By looking at all the collections concurrently, a hypothesis about the people who once lived at Adair, and how they interacted with the people around them, can be formulated. It is the hope of this study to better understand the settlement systems, social influences, and general social hierarchy that was apparent in the Upper Ouachita River Valley.

Elsbeth Dowd (Sam Noble Museum of Oklahoma Natural History) and **Emily Turriff**
News from SNOMNH

The archaeology department is having an exciting start to the new year at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History. Not only do we have a new curator, but also were recently awarded a major grant from the Institute for Museum and Library Services to inventory and repackage all of our Spiro collections. This presentation will review our recent work and describe available resources at the Museum.

Chase Earles (Caddo Nation of Oklahoma) and **Timothy K. Perttula** (Archaeological and Environmental Consultants, LLC)

Caddo Ceramic Forum

In order to define what is generally established and what is not concerning ancient Caddo ceramic practices, and help distribute this information to current Caddo ceramic artists,future generations of artists, and archaeologists with an interest in Caddo ceramics, we would like to have an informal discussion forum at the 2013 Caddo Conference. We then propose to continue the discussion online (for example using www.CaddoPottery.com/forum,or the Caddo Conference website).

TOPICS

•*Fine Art meets Archaeology***.** There might be more than one avenue or path or purpose or possibility for a Caddo wanting to produce Caddo pottery. For example, one might want to make explicit replications to further Caddo archaeology and the understanding of the Caddo ceramic legacy. Or, one might want to participate in the world of Fine Arts, specifically Native American Fine Art, as it pertains to Caddo specific pottery traditions. Without an understanding of the ancient Caddo pottery and its history, any creation of pottery by a modern Caddo would simply be "Modern Art" or "Contemporary Caddo Pottery" which has no connection to the old Caddo legacy of traditional pottery making. So this connection and understanding is vital to the continuance of the Caddo culture of pottery making. This connection and understanding is made possible by the interaction and information made available by Caddo Elders and Caddo Archaeologists so that the interaction and cooperation between the two and a mutual understanding are very important. We should seek ways to grow this mutual understanding. How might this be done?

•*Questions of Caddo Archaeology*. It is very hard for a layperson or a Caddo tribal member to find out what is considered factual or generally accepted by the scientific community about their cultural heritage and legacy. In order to provide open knowledge to the Caddos, as well as to others interested in Caddo culture, I would like to propose a one-stop central forum someplace where questions could be posed to Caddo archaeologists about the state of investigations, knowledge, and findings about Caddo sites, culture, pottery, and archaeology in general. This could be the start to an accessible FAQ for Caddo archaeology. To start, I have compiled a list of questions below.

Scott W. Hammerstedt (Oklahoma Archeological Survey), **Jami J. Lockhart, Patrick C. Livingood, Tim Mulvihill, Amanda L. Regnier, George Sabo III,** and **John Samuelsen**

Rediscovering Spiro: Understanding Intrasite Organization Through Archaeological Remote Sensing

Regionally preeminent during the 13th and 14th centuries, Spiroans amassed diverse symbols of wealth and power from surrounding cultures. Examinations of the Great Mortuary continue to yield insights into Southeastern ceremonialism and cosmology, but excavations during the past century leave many questions concerning intrasite organization. Recent remote sensing fieldwork is now providing compelling evidence of population density, structure size and type, activity areas, internal boundaries, site extents, and historic disturbances. To date, geophysical survey and mapping covers more than 22 hectares of Oklahoma's only archaeological state park.

Vanessa N. Hanvey (Arkansas Archeological Survey)

A Fresh Look at a Mound Site on the Saline River

The eastern boundary of the Caddo cultural region has yet to be fully defined, though it roughly corresponds to the Saline River valley of central and southeast Arkansas. Recent interest in this area has spurred the development of the Borderlands Project by neighboring Arkansas Archeological Survey research stations. The Borderlands Project is an ongoing effort to gain more information on the sites in this region, with the future goal of better understanding the transition zone between Caddo and Mississippian cultural regions. In 1999, a burned structure in the Saline River valley was partially excavated during a salvage project at the Horse Farm site, 3SA295. The diagnostic artifacts recovered indicate that the structure is Caddo. The site is believed to be associated with a mound site, 3SA19. Limited excavations at 3SA19 in 2012 produced few diagnostic artifacts, dating the site to the Caddo period. A recent grant from the Arkansas Archeological Society Archeological Research Fund has funded AMS dating of a piece of cane from the structure at 3SA295. This date increases our knowledge of both sites, in a location with few other AMS dates. In this paper, I will review the known aspects of both sites and report the newly discovered AMS date. I will discuss the impact of this date on knowledge of the area and plans for future work.

Elizabeth T. Horton (Arkansas Archeological Survey)

The Craig Mound Perishable Project and the Identification of the Petaca of the Southeast

Previous findings from the Craig Mound Perishable Project have revealed the presence of a unique style of double-woven, lidded basket associated with copper plate bundles and sacred regalia. Interpreted as "sacred

bundles," these are believed to be a poorly understood, but critical aspect of the 15th cen. cosmological display in the Great Mortuary at Craig Mound. This paper further identifies these baskets as part of a broader southeastern tradition of the *Petaca* and explores the potential role of these baskets as explicitly sacred items. In addition, this paper discusses ongoing comparative research into questions of intentionality in design motifs and the grammar of design in the Spiroan *Petaca* and other basket forms from Pre-Contact Southeastern assemblages.

Shawn P. Lambert (University of Oklahoma)
Discovered WPA Illustrations from the Spiro Mounds: Attributing the Forgotten Artists

The Spiro site, occupied from A.D. 850 – 1450, is one of the most important archaeological sites in North America. However, archaeologists' research has focused principally on the site's mounds and its associated artifacts. I show here that archaeologists can also locate valuable Spiro research in museums' archival collections. At the Sam Noble Museum in Norman, Oklahoma, there are hundreds of unstudied Work Projects Administration (WPA) illustrations depicting artifacts from Craig Mound, the largest mound at Spiro. The study of the WPA drawings has revealed that several of them reflect artifacts that have not been seen for more than 70. I suggest that examining the research value of the illustrations will help us expand on our knowledge of Spiro's deep prehistory. In particular, the illustrations are significant because they are very detailed depictions that may yield new inferences into the peoples of Spiro, and provide more comparative resources that will expand on continuing regional analyses across the southeast.

Luther J. Leith (Museum Archaeology Program: Wisconsin Historical Society)
Re-Conceptualizing Fourche Maline: A Summary of Recent Findings

An understanding of what Fourche Maline is has long been inhibited by inter-regional differences in conceptualization. Recent research has revised Oklahoma's concept of Fourche Maline to a wholly Woodland culture to bring this state into line with the rest of the Caddoan heartland. Briefly discussed are the revised concept of Fourche Maline and suggestions of the social organization and subsistence of these people. Recent research indicated that the Fourche Maline people were transegalitarian hunter-gatherer-horticulturalists.

James A. Rees, Jr. (Arkansas Archeological Society)
Drums along the Arkansas: The Possible Depiction of Membranophones in the Shell Art of Spiro

In attempting to reconstruct the ceremonial and ritual lives of ancient peoples, archeologists often ignore the role and importance of sound–making instruments. This omission is understandable because of the extreme rarity of sound-maker artifacts. However, by supplementing the study of such artifacts with ethnographic and historical information, and through careful scrutiny and analysis of iconographic images, it is possible to gain some access to past soundscapes. This presentation argues that the shell art of Spiro contains overlooked images of two types of membranophones, ceramic kettle drums and hand–held frame drums; and that the presence of these instruments leads to new insights into the belief systems and ritual lives of the Mississippian world.

Amanda L. Regnier (Oklahoma Archeological Survey)
The Relationship between the Caddo and the Mississippian Emergences: A View from Southeast Oklahoma

In the middle Red River Valley of southeast Oklahoma, the handful of excavated sites dating between AD 1000 and 1200 have been assigned the designation Formative Caddo. Although several components dating to this time have been excavated, very little is known about mound ceremonialism or domestic occupations. To better understand the relationship between the Early Caddo, their Woodland ancestors, and the larger Mississippian world, collections from several sites in Oklahoma and Texas, Holdeman, Clement, Mahaffey, and Bud Wright, were reanalyzed. The analyses demonstrate that the processes of becoming Caddo and adopting Mississippian practices were not one and the same along the Red River.

Zachary Rice (University of Oklahoma)
Pawnee Language Revitalization: Skiri and South Band Dialects

The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between the two Pawnee dialects, Skiri and South Band, by looking at the variation between the dialects, dialect use, and finally the views that the Pawnee tribal members have towards dialects and language revitalization efforts. I also discussed some of the reasons for language shift. In order to examine the variation in the dialects and dialect use, I used *A Dictionary of Skiri Pawnee* by Douglas Parks and Nora Pratt, the American Indian Studies Research Institute's online dictionary database, Gene Weltfish's *Caddoan Texts: Pawnee, South Band Dialect* and *The Vision Story of Fox-Boy, a South Band Pawnee Text (With Translation and Grammatical Analysis)*, *Caddoan Languages* by Douglas R. Parks, Parks' *The Northern Caddoan Languages: Their Subgrouping and Time Depths*, and *Preserving Dialects of an Endangered Language* by Shelley Tulloch to explain the differences in the Pawnee dialects. Furthermore, I have interviewed Pawnee tribal members of various age categories. The participants were from categories that included elder, middle-aged, and young adult age groups from both the Skiri and South Bands. These interviews helped to provide some insight about the different perspectives and attitudes that Pawnee tribal members have about the dialects.

George Sabo III (Arkansas Archeological Survey) and **Tracy Newkumet Burrows** (Caddo Nation of Oklahoma)
Phil Newkumet's Drums

Phil Newkumet is remembered for his many contributions to Oklahoma archaeology, including supervision of WPA excavations at Spiro. Married to Vynola Beaver, a Hasinai (Caddo) tradition bearer, Phil was deeply involved in the Oklahoma Caddo community and was formally adopted as a tribal member in the 1980s. Phil made the hand-held drums discussed in this paper in the 1970s, decorating them with symbolic imagery based on Spiroan as well as modern Caddo motifs. Our discussion centers on the iconological links between durable cultural traditions and evolving artistic representations.

John Samuelsen (Arkansas Archeological Survey)
Geophysical Evidence of Caddo Ceremonialism and Spatial Delineation at the Crenshaw Site (3MI6)

Recent geophysical surveys of the Crenshaw Site (3MI6), Miller County, Arkansas, expand the area covered by gradiometry to over 18 hectares. The project seeks to determine if the site was inhabited by the Caddo, testing the time depth of the Terán-Soule model for Caddo settlement patterns in the Great Bend Region of the Red River. Anomalies arranged in linear patterns near topographically low areas suggest the presence of numerous possible structures with spatial delineation. The new results give large support to the hypothesis that significant activity occurred at the site during Caddo times, suggesting an occupation of the site beyond "nearly vacant." The presence of numerous possible structures resembling ceremonial structures from other Caddo sites near the center of the site suggest that settlement patterning studies should include the concept of the "inner precinct," as described by Dee Ann Story. Similarities between possible structures and known Caddo structures are used to create structure types, useful for interpretations.

Rachel Fauchier Tooman (University of Arkansas)
Multi-Component Woodland Sites: A View of the Fourche Maline in Arkansas

Most definitions of Woodland Fourche Maline are based on descriptions from sites in Oklahoma, many of which are multi-component and extremely mixed. While many sites in Arkansas contain Fourche Maline components and are not as mixed, they are largely neglected due to the presence of later Caddo occupations which generally contain spectacular pottery and easily recognizable architecture. This poster will provide an over view of selected sites in Arkansas that contain Fourche Maline components. It will also summarize current views of Fourche Maline and current research topics.

Susan Vehik (University of Oklahoma)
Caddoan Ethnography, Symbolism, and the Little River Focus Council Circles of Central Kansas

Caddoan ethnographies, particularly of the Skiri Pawnee, are often used to interpret symbolism behind archaeological remains, particularly in those settings that can be associated with ancestral Caddoan groups. This paper reviews one such attempt involving an ancestral Wichita group in central Kansas. The main point of the paper is to address both the problems and potential in using Caddoan ethnographic data for symbolic studies.

Don G. Wyckoff (University of Oklahoma) and **Paul Benefield** (Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History)

The Primrose Site (34MR65) as a Calf Creek Staging Area

Long known for its notable finds of Frisco flint processing by Calf Creek hunter-gatherers, the Primrose site in Murray County can now be put into a broader context of hunter-gatherer activities thanks to recent finds by avocational archaeologists. In particular, heat treated Frisco artifacts from the Washita River near Primrose attest to streamside processing of game, and finds along Wildhorse Creek demonstrate this stream valley as an important course west to camps in dissected uplands. Calf Creek diagnostics of heated Frisco flint are also known from far-flung sites northwest, north, northeast, and south of Primrose. The few such artifacts at these sites may bear witness to exchange with Calf Creek bands who focused tool making on cherts abundant at or near these distant locations.

Bettye J. Williams (University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff/Oak and Ivy: African American Museum and Cultural Center)

The Oral Narrative: Reading Themes and Symbols in Caddo Literature

Since they had no written language to document tribal history and culture, Native Americans passed tribal history, traditions, and information from generation to generation using poems (more properly called "songs"), oral narratives, legends, initiation rites, healing ceremonies, and planting/hunting rituals. Suffice it to say, Native American views of the world as represented in the literature contrast strongly with Euro-American perspectives. Questions of land, social organization, and religion are embedded in Native storytelling where literary criticism or literary theory is barely two centuries old. The major theme of Caddo literature–and all of Native American writing–is the identity of Nature, referred to metaphorically as Mother Earth who is the single source and nourisher of all creatures. The goals of this discourse are two-fold: (1) to identify themes in indigenous Caddo narratives and (2) to highlight culturally important truths embedded in symbolism.

Williams, Donna (Caddo Nation of Oklahoma)

Presentation by the Caddo Language Class, 2012-2013

The Caddo language is deeply endangered. This past fall, to encourage residents in the OKC metro area to learn Caddo, members of the Edmonds family started holding weekly language classes. The classes have been led by Donna Williams and Margie Edmonds. Today we present some of our group's accomplishments and hopes for the future. We particularly hope that members of the class will share what they learn with children and grandchildren to bring the Caddo language back into the home. Please join us – we currently meet every Monday night at 6:30 at the Norman First American United Methodist Church. All are welcome.

"

2013 Caddo Culture Club Activities Report

Michael Meeks II, Caddo Culture Club Vice-Chairman

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

Annual Caddo Conference

Every year, the Caddo Culture Club is invited to perform at the annual Caddo Conference event. The Conference location always changes year-to-year is held at designated locations in Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, or Louisiana. This event focuses on Caddo Archeology and Caddo Culture. The Caddo Culture Club often performs for the general public who come to the conference to learn about the Caddo Tribe. This past year, the Caddo Culture Club was honored to perform at the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The Club performed Caddo social dances such as the Bell Dance, Fish Dance, and various honor songs.

Cultural Exchange Benefit Dance

On June 1, 2013, the Caddo Culture Club was invited to perform the Kickapoo Tribe's Benefit Dance for their Unity Youth Council. The funds raised from this dance would help send them to a Leadership Conference in Los Angeles, CA. the Club performed the Turkey Dance and several social dances. Members of the Kickapoo tribe also performed some of their ceremonial and social dances.

Caddo Culture Club Dance

Every year on the third weekend of June, the Caddo Culture Club holds its annual dance at the Caddo Nation dance grounds. This past year, the dance was held on June 14-15, 2013. On the first night, the club performed many Caddo tribal social dances such as the Fish Dance, Duck Dance, Swing Dance, and Bear Dance. The second day's portion of the dance began in the early morning with a flag raising ceremony. The Caddo Culture Club sang the traditional Caddo Flag Song while the American Flag is being raised. The dance then began in the late afternoon with the Caddo Culture Club performing the Turkey Dance, a sacred dance of the Caddo people. After the Turkey Dance, there was a short supper break in which those who attend can try different, traditional Caddo food. The Club then performs many social dances followed by stomp dancing.

Murrow's Annual Dance

The Caddo Culture Club is always honored to have the opportunity to co-host this annual event. The Caddo Culture Club sings many traditional and social dances throughout the dance, while fellow co-hosts, the O-Ha-Ma Lodge perform traditional war dancing. *(The Murrow's Annual Dance has its own page on Facebook)*

Family Fun Day

On July 6, 2013, the Caddo Culture Club was invited to perform at the Family Fun Day event at Drake Salt Works in Winnfield, LA. The Club performed different social dances throughout the day. A local band was also present to perform for the public.

American Indian Exposition

The Caddo Culture Club is always honored to take part in the Indian Expo's annual opening and closing parades. The Caddo Culture Club performs different social dances throughout the parade and was able to place 3rd in the parade's "performance" category.

Caddo-Adai Powwow

Once a year, the Caddo tribe is invited to travel to the Adai Indian Cultural Center in Robeline, LA to come together with a band of Caddoes known as the Adai to perform different traditional and social dances. This year, the dance was held on October 19, 2013 and many different dances were performed such as the Fish Dance, Bear Dance, and Round Dance. Also sung were different tribal and honor dances to honor different individuals.

Caddo Culture Club Benefit Dance

In April 2013, the Caddo Culture Club held a benefit dance to try to raise funds for their annual dance. The Club performed the Turkey Dance and different social dances throughout the event. At this dance, the Club also welcomed the family of the Late Sharon Silago back into the Caddo Arena. In keeping with Caddo tradition, they chose to sit out from singing and dancing for a whole year to honor their late mother and grandmother. Ms. Silago was an avid member of the Club and always tried her best to teach the songs, dances, and traditions of the Caddo to her kids and grandkids, which they now proudly carry on.

Aside from performing, the Caddo Culture Club tries to hold different activities that aim to bring people together. These different events include mostly fundraisers, and drumming/singing practice sessions.

Fundraisers & Practice Sessions

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

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

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