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From the Editor

The articles in this year's journal cover a range of time periods, locations, and perspectives, and I hope you enjoy reading them. I am grateful to the peer reviewers who spent time and effort reading and commenting on the manuscripts for Volume 34. Thank you to Scott Hammerstedt, who compiled and edited the current research reports as Current Research Editor.

This journal cannot exist without submissions from our readers and members. I welcome papers presented at Caddo Conferences as well as other submissions. We need a diversity of voices and an interesting mix of articles, reports, book reviews, and comments to read, so I encourage you to submit a manuscript for consideration in the next year's volume.

Spring is here, and I look forward to seeing everyone at the Caddo Conference in Arkansas in April.

The *Caddo Archeology Journal*

The *Caddo Archeology Journal* is devoted to the anthropology, history, geography, and current activities of the Caddo Nation, an American Indian group with a historical range covering the four-state area of Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. The *Caddo Archeology Journal* began as the *Caddoan Archeology Newsletter* in 1989 and in 1996 the name changed to simply *Caddoan Archeology*. In 2003 the name of the journal was changed to *Caddoan Archeology Journal*, and in 2006 the name was changed again to *Caddo Archeology Journal*.

Timothy K. Perttula was founder and editor from 1989 until 1993 when Lois Albert became editor. Perttula resumed his editorial role in 2002 until George A. Avery became editor in 2010. Duncan P. McKinnon served as editor from 2016 to 2020. Mary Beth Trubitt began in 2020 as the current journal editor.

The *Caddo Archeology Journal* is published annually in the spring. Members of the Caddo Conference Organization receive a copy of the journal and access to digital copies on the Caddo Conference Organization website (http://www.caddoconference.org/).

The *Caddo Archeology Journal* publishes:

- Articles directly related to the interpretation and evaluation of Caddo archaeology and history that provide relevant consideration of an issue or theoretical position.
- Preliminary, review, and updated regional summaries of anthropological and historical work conducted within the Caddo region or has linkages to Caddo studies.
- Technical and methodological reports that are comprehensible to most readers and provide new insights into evaluating Caddo archaeology.
- Book reviews related to publications on Caddo history, geography, ethnography, anthropology, and current activities of Caddo Nation of Oklahoma.

Information for Authors

Articles should not exceed 10,000 words in length, including abstracts and references. Reports should not exceed 5,000 words including references. The journal follows the Society for American Archaeology's style guide (revised 2023).

Please submit the following to the editor at mtrubit@uark.edu:

- a PDF file of the complete submission OR a Word file containing the complete paper (including abstract, tables and figures) OR a Word file containing the text, references, table and figure captions, plus an individual file of each figure (600 dpi) and/or table (Excel format preferred for tables).

After submission, article manuscripts are sent out to a minimum of two reviewers. Reviewer comments are requested within 30 days.

Report manuscripts can be submitted directly to the Current Research editor at swh@ou.edu.

On the Cover: Nineteenth-century circular well remnant at Potter's Pond (16WE76), a salt production site in Louisiana (photograph courtesy of Jeffrey S. Girard); see Eubanks and Chen, "Caddo Salt Production at Potter's Pond," this issue.

Migration, Relocation, or Removal: The Natchitoches Indians, 1760s to 1859

Darryl Pleasant
Environmental Resources Management

The Natchitoches Indians were first encountered by the French in 1690. At the time, they were living along Cane River, which was then the main channel of the Red River. After they returned from a brief stay in South Louisiana in 1712, they seemed to have been stable in their settlement range along the river. Sometime in the middle eighteenth century this changed. A slow migration northward along the Red River began that lasted into the first quarter of the nineteenth century. After the Caddo Treaty of 1835 the Natchitoches Indians eventually moved to Texas, and in 1859, they were among the consolidated Caddo bands that permanently settled in Oklahoma.

The Natchitoches Indians were first encountered living along the Red River near what is today Natchitoches, Louisiana (Girard 2018; Webb and Gregory 1978). Though they were encountered living along the Red River, it is very likely that they migrated south along the Red River sometime in the seventeenth century (Girard 2018:93). Traditionally the Natchitoches were believed to be indigenous to the Lower Red River (Kelley 1997; Walker 1935; Webb 1959; Webb and Gregory 1978), but modern evidence does not fully support this claim. Regardless of their origins, at first contact with Europeans the Natchitoches were fully entrenched on the Red River (Cane River) near Natchitoches, Louisiana (Figure 1).

During the first half of the eighteenth century, they would develop a close relationship with the French at Fort St. Jean Baptiste, like that between the Spanish and the Adaes Indians as presented in Gregory (1973). After the transfer of Louisiana from France to Spain this relationship changed. Disease devastated the tribes in the Natchitoches region in the 1770s and a change to agriculture in Spanish Louisiana would deal a significant blow to the Indian trade (Bolton 1914:250 fn. 303; Burton and Smith 2008:112–113; ASP 1832:724). In the early Spanish period, their residence in Natchitoches, Louisiana, would come to an end.

In this paper I will discuss the movement of the Natchitoches Indians from their villages in Natchitoches Parish, and reasons for those movements. I will detail the slow migration northward along the Red River that began in the 1760s and ended with the signing of the 1835 Caddo Treaty. I will show how the change of sovereignty from the French to the Spanish, and later to the United States, had great impacts on the Natchitoches Indians. Spain introduced large scale tobacco production during the 1760s, while the devastating effect of the United States was the mass influx of people into Louisiana. Each of these events would effectively place the Natchitoches Indians in the way of economic development and American settlement.

I will also document the Natchitoches Indians as they move across the landscape of nineteenth century Louisiana and Texas. The principal method I employed was to examine the names of the Caddo mentioned in historical documentation. This examination shows that the Natchitoches were among the signers of the 1835 Caddo Treaty, and they did have a presence on the Brazos River in North Texas. Revealing the presence of the Natchitoches through their chiefs shows that they still had a distinct identity in the mid-nineteenth century though they may have been absorbed into the Caddo. There are gaps in the records pertaining to the Natchitoches, but we can bracket those gaps with known Natchitoches leaders.

After the signing of the treaty the history of the Natchitoches Indians became intertwined with that of the Caddo. To track the Natchitoches after 1835 we will have to explore historic documentation to extract

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Figure 1. The approximate locations of Caddo tribes in the mid-eighteenth century, prior to the beginning of the Natchitoches migration northward along the Red River.

evidence of their presence beyond the Red River valley. There are ample records of settlements documented by the French, Spanish, Americans, and Texans. Sifting through these records revealed that the Natchitoches may have been greatly reduced by disease, but they were still fighting for survival as an individual people.

Although the 1835 treaty land was small area in comparison to the larger late precontact Caddo area, the signing of the treaty was in essence signing away all rights to the vast region once inhabited by all ancestral Caddo people, without compensation for that land. This is a prime example of an "exchange of lands" based on Native title and European "discovery;" in essence, it was acquisition through treaty of the land under your feet and title to all land previously occupied.

For simplicity and clarity, to differentiate between the former Red River channels and the modern Red River, the abandoned channel that flows through Natchitoches will be referred to as Cane River regardless of date. If the Red River is specifically mentioned in documents pertaining to the Natchitoches region, "Cane River" will be placed in parentheses to designate that channel. In the Natchitoches region, the Red River avulsed at least twice during the postcontact period. The first avulsion was from the Old River channel to the Cane River channel in the eighteenth century. The second avulsion was from the Cane River channel to the Rigolet De Bon Dieu channel around 1835. The latter channel is the modern Red River. This can make documentation confusing at times for those not familiar with the region.

In this article I use the term "Caddo Lands" to describe the region that would be relinquished in the Caddo Treaty of 1835. This is a term used by Indian agents and American officials and is present throughout historical documentation involving the period pre-dating the signing of the treaty. These lands were presumed to be owned by the Caddo.

French and Spanish Land Grants, and French Longlots

A quick synopsis of the French and Spanish system of land grants and land patents will help to understand some of the documentation involved in the discussions of the Natchitoches Indians and their lands. As with all things involving land transactions, this was sometimes a complicated process. A single land transaction may have involved a Native American, a European colonist, and the French or Spanish administration in Louisiana.

Within this article land measurements often change between the Imperial system used in the United States and the French system of measurements used in eighteenth-century conveyances. The French system was occasionally used in the early American land claim descriptions in Louisiana. These conveyances and land grants used the linear French arpent, equal to 191.86 feet (Edwards and Bellay de Verton 2004:11).

French and Spanish Grants

The historic documentation suggests that prior to relinquishing control of Louisiana to the Spanish in 1762, the French government had only issued a limited number of land grants in the Red River valley near Natchitoches. After Spain officially took control of the Louisiana territory in 1766, new land policies were issued, and more grants would appear over the next few decades. In 1770 Governor Alejandro O'Reilly combined some aspects of the French grant system into the new Spanish system of land grants (Cummings 1995:20). O'Reilly issued a 12-part decree that detailed how land grants were to be issued because the "tranquility of the said inhabitants, and the progress of culture, required a new regulation" (ASP 1860a:729–730).[1]

One important article in the decree was that the grants do not exceed one league in front and one league in depth. While most of the grants issued during the Spanish regime were within these parameters, we see some land grants that far exceeded these parameters. However, all the larger land grants that were reported during the American land commission proceedings of the early nineteenth century were inside the region known as the Neutral Ground (Haggard 1945). The discrepancy in land grant size was probably a jurisdictional issue between the Spanish administration in the Louisiana colony and in Texas. There was debate over who had jurisdiction over certain border regions, especially the Bayou Pierre settlement within the Neutral Ground.

After the Spanish assumed control of Louisiana, and after the O'Reilly decree, there were

vast differences in the amount of land awarded to grantees by the Natchitoches and Nacogdoches Spanish administrations. In the Bayou Pierre settlement, Paul "Boüet" Lafitte was granted over 11,000 acres in 1784, while in 1795, Pierre Dolet was granted "San Pedro de Los Adaes" comprising one league each direction from his residence, making the claim over 25 square miles or over 16,000 acres. The 92,160-acre La Nana grant and the 211,570-acre Las Ormigas grant near the Sabine River were the largest grants in present northwestern Louisiana. Each of these grants were awarded by the Nacogdoches administration and far exceeded the one league maximum decreed by O'Reilly in 1770. A comparison of the size of land claims in the Natchitoches region along the Red River reveals the claims were more modest in size compared to many of the land grants in the Bayou Pierre region and western Louisiana.

A combination of land grants and land patents is seen in the various land claims of Louisiana. The process started with a *requete* (written as *requite* in many of the French documents). As presented in Darby (1818:299), this was a petition for the land, which was usually sent to the commandant and the governor of the territory. Once a grant was approved it would allow the claimant to then apply for a patent for the land. A land grant, in most cases, only gave a claimant the right of settlement, but not complete title, so in essence the land still belonged to the sovereign (White and Dart 1918:289). Land patents were the most sought-after land status, because receiving a land patent meant the land was officially one's property; it was a form of deed. In this paper the convention used to signify a claim of land will be the grant unless a patent was issued for the property claimed. A fuller description of the process noted by Darby (1818:299) was presented in Hall (1970:45–47).

The American land claims would make many of the large land grants obsolete. Section 2 of the 1807 Act of Congress limited the size of a land claim to 2,000 acres maximum (US Statutes 1807). Land grants that originally comprised many thousands of acres were reduced to a fraction of their former size. This facet of the act eventually led to many lawsuits that would last for much of the nineteenth century. While many of these lawsuits were successful, legal victories came long after many of the original claimants had been deceased for decades.

Longlots

Longlots are a hallmark of French colonial settlement. The longlots can be found situated along any waterbody where the French settled. In the United States the longlots were so common that the March 3, 1811, Act of Congress was passed to deal specifically with the survey of these tracts (US Statutes 1811). Section 2 of the act applied to lands "adjacent to any river, lake, creek, bayou, or water course." The act allowed surveyors to "vary the mode heretofore prescribed by law, so far as relates to the contents of the tracts, and to the angles and boundary lines." The "mode" that was varied was the Rectangular Survey System. The surveyors no longer had to be constrained solely by this survey system; they could now officially survey the irregular longlots.

Section 2 of the act described the longlots as 8 arpents wide and 40 arpents long. Most longlots did not meet these criteria of a 1:5 ratio width to length. Ekberg (2000:6) stated the typical longlot had a 1:10 ratio of width to length in arpents. Périn (2020:6) notes that longlots have a 1:3.5 to 1:6 ratio of width to length but in regions such as Quebec that ratio was 1:10. Across the former French landscape in the eastern half of the United States the longlots were quite variable in their dimensions.

A typical French longlot was usually located on a single side of the river with exceptions for smaller streams. This was not the situation along the Cane River (Red River) and other rivers along this stretch of the Red River valley from modern Natchitoches Parish into Rapides Parish. Something important occurred in the mid-eighteenth century in the Natchitoches region that differentiated it from the remainder of French North America. In the 1760s longlots on the *Terre des Habitants* side of Cane River were extended across the river to include land in *Terre des Deserts*. The longlots of Marin Grillet, Remi Poissot, and others would subsequently be situated on both sides of the river. The documentation suggests that after Spain acquired Louisiana many landowners in the Natchitoches region purchased land from the Natchitoches Indians, or were granted vacant land on the west side of the river. This extended their existing land grants across the river

forming atypical French longlots.

These "Cane River Longlots" exist in stark contrast to the typical French longlot. Within these Cane River longlots we see two patterns emerge. In the first pattern the longlots on the opposite sides of the river are considered two different tracts of land, though comprising a single longlot. This is evident in the American land claims where two patents were issued for the longlot, one for each side of the river. The second pattern is where the longlot simply extended across the river and comprised a single tract of land. A single patent would be issued for these longlots. In some land purchases the land is described as consisting of land on "each side of the river" (ASP 1834b:74 claim #6).

It is not known if the two patterns had any temporal significance, one pattern being earlier than the other. It is possible that these atypical longlots are due to *Terre des Habitants* already being inhabited and the landowners simply extended their lands to the opposite side. The idea of owning both sides of the river may have become the norm for the region because of the examples from *Terre des Deserts*. Subsequently, land purchasers in vacant areas may have outright purchased both sides of the river. Additional research would be needed before conclusions could be confidently proposed.

From the northernmost longlot along Red River near the modern Red River Parish boundary southward to Bayou Rapides in Rapides Parish most of the longlots extended to both sides of the river. Somewhere in this latter region a shift to the typical French longlot occurred. There are numerous atypical longlots along Bayou Teche and other waterbodies in South Louisiana, but the typical longlots are prevailing. In contrast, in the Red River valley north and south of Natchitoches, Louisiana, the Cane River longlots prevailed.

A simplified theory can be proposed on why this new pattern occurred. Prior to 1762 the west side of the Red River (Old River and later Cane River) was a Spanish possession while the east side was a French possession. This is partly verified by the later land claims such as the Rio Hondo land claims (ASP 1859a). *Terre des Deserts* was not just a geographical label; it was a political label. That French term described an area that lacked settlement by French colonists. Prior to 1762 French citizens were not allowed to live on the west side of the river except in specific cases. After 1762 the French inhabitants of Natchitoches were all Spanish citizens. From that time forward *Terre des Deserts* was no longer foreign soil. For the first time in the eighteenth century the region west of Red River was available for widespread settlement by the French colonists. The resulting land rush led to the formation of the Cane River Longlots.

The Natchitoches Indian Settlements

The general location of the Natchitoches has been known throughout the postcontact period, and now additional regions can be confidently determined, as seen in Figure 2. When first encountered by Europeans in 1690 they were living along the Red River (Cane River) (Girard 2018; Webb and Gregory 1978). They likely lived in dispersed settlements along the river at that time, a pattern that continued. There is also evidence of the Natchitoches at the Salines in northern Natchitoches and Winn parishes. Multiple archaeological sites in the immediate Natchitoches region have been found that signify their presence. The most prominent of these archaeological sites – 16NA09 (Fish Hatchery), 16NA13 (Lawton), 16NA14 (Southern Compress), and 16NA589 (Parkway Burial Site) – have been reported and presented in various publications (Girard 2002:63–68, 2004:18–21, 2018:81–93; Walker 1935; Webb 1945).

Though the Natchitoches were first encountered living along what is now Cane River, it is probable they immigrated to the Lower Red River valley sometime in the late seventeenth century. I presented evidence at the Caddo Conference (Pleasant 1996) that the Natchitoches Indians were probably not native to the Lower Red River region. The primary evidence was the lack of a Late Caddo period equivalent to the Belcher phase of the Great Bend region; that phase had no presence in the Natchitoches region. This presented a ceramic, and thus cultural, gap between the Middle to Late Caddo period Bossier phase and the Natchitoches of the Historic Caddo period. Simply put, they were not directly ancestral to one another. The Natchitoches Indian ceramic complex could not have developed in this region without a Belcher antecedent.

Excavations at the Fish Hatchery 2 site

Figure 2. The major regions where the Natchitoches Indians lived from 1714 to approximately 1810 are labeled in red. Known Natchitoches Indian archaeological sites along with sites that have possible evidence of their presence in the mid-eighteenth century are shown in blue: 16NA9, Fish Hatchery; 16NA13, Lawton; 16NA14, Southern Compress; 16NA21, Fredericks II; 16NA589, Parkway Burial Site; 16NA241, Whittington; 16NA544, Lambre Point; 16NA753, Metoyer.

(16NA70) uncovered archaeological evidence that the Natchitoches were possibly "relatively recent immigrants into the area [Lower Red River] when first encountered" (Girard 2004:88). Girard (2004:89) states: "There is a possibility of a cultural discontinuity from late prehistory to historic times in the Natchitoches area." The site raises the question of "whether the early inhabitants were a Caddo group directly ancestral to the historic Natchitoches or, alternatively, a culturally different people who had abandoned the area by the late seventeenth century" (Girard 2018:93). The conclusion is that the Late Caddo period inhabitants of the Fish Hatchery 2 site were not ancestral to the Historic Caddo period Fish Hatchery inhabitants. They were probably two different groups of people.

After European contact, the Natchitoches probably remained sedentary along the Red River, except for a brief time in south Louisiana. The archaeological sites that can be attributed to eighteenth-century Native American settlements are situated along the Cane River (Figure 2). It is probable that there are temporal differences within these sites, revealing a history of occupation along this stretch of what was then the Red River. Most of this occupation was during the French period, from ca.1690 to approximately the 1760s.

Once Spain took control of Louisiana, changes began to occur. Important changes were the 1770 Alexander O'Reilly regulations (ASP 1860a:729–730), and the introduction of intense tobacco production and larger cattle ranches appearing in the Natchitoches region in the late 1760s (Burton 2005; Burton and Smith 2008; Coutts 1986; La Vere 1998a). It is possible the easing of land grants and the subsequent increase in tobacco harvesting eventually led to the Natchitoches Indians abandoning the region. This new increase in agricultural and cattle production resulted in the continued encroachment of Europeans onto Native lands along the Cane River. This had the effect of pushing the Natchitoches Indians off their lands, resulting in migration northward along the Red River. European society was shifting, and it seems the Natives were not an integral part of that new society.

In 1776 Athanase Demezieres, Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana, recommended that the Natchitoches and Yatasi tribes no longer be given presents since they had disbanded and scattered (Bolton 1914:120 footnote 186). In 1777 an epidemic hit the region "desolating the rancherias of the Natchitoches, Adaes and Yasakes" (Bolton 1914:250 fn. 303). By 1779 presents were once again required for the Natchitoches and Yatasses (Bolton 1914:252); but a decade later Captain Pierre Rousseau and Natchitoches commandant Louis DeBlanc wrote: "The Yatasi and the Natchitoches are excluded and do not deserve to be included any longer among the recipients of presents" (Rousseau and DeBlanc 1787). Due to epidemics and overall diminishment of the tribe their newfound unimportant status was complete by the late 1780s.

After a half century of co-occupation of the Cane River, the relationship between the Natchitoches Indians and the French families that controlled trade, like that of the Adaes Indians and the Spanish (Gregory 1973), came to an end. This was primarily due to the Natchitoches no longer having a role in the economy of the region. It is probable they were now an obstacle to what Governor O'Reilly called "progress of culture" (ASP 1860a:729).

Several regions are important in the study of the migration of the Natchitoches. To trace the movements of the Natchitoches people we must have knowledge of the geographical regions in which they lived. The documentation relating to the Natchitoches and the French land transactions usually included a description of the geographical location or "situation" of the land. Knowing the locations of some of these regions is paramount, even if these can be narrowed down to just a general area.

Terre des Deserts and Terre des Habitants

Before discussing these regions, a correction must be made regarding the location of *Terre des Deserts*. In several highly regarded publications (Burton 2005:99; Burton and Smith 2008:149), *Terre des Deserts* was located several miles north of Natchitoches, Louisiana. Unfortunately, this was inaccurate. The region is on the south side of Natchitoches, partly within the modern city limits (Figure 2).

The *Terre des Deserts* region was located along the western bank of the Red River (Cane River). It probably began where the Red River divided into the Old River (Chaplin Lake) and Cane River channels. The

region continued southward for several miles toward Isle Brevelle. For much of the early eighteenth century this region was sparsely occupied by the French, thus the naming. In the mid-eighteenth century we begin to see land purchases in *Terre des Deserts* and by the late 1760s the entire region was settled by French and other Europeans. As a result, any claim mentioning the area provides geographical information relating to a small region along the Cane River.

The question of why this stretch of land was designated *Terre des Deserts* can be answered by examining Ignace-François Broutin's 1732 map *Carte particulière des Natchitoches* (Figure 3). The map shows a distinct separation of the French inhabitants and the Natchitoches Indians. The French are settled on both sides of Red River to the immediate north of Fort St. Jean Baptiste. To the south of the fort, the French inhabitants are primarily found along the eastern side of the river. There are nineteen European residences on the east side of the river, but on the west side of the river, south of the small island where the fort was located, only commandant St. Denis and two other Europeans (Henri Le Belle and Mdm. Heureaux) had property. These latter two seem to have been situated within the Natchitoches Indian settlement and possibly held a specialized position within the community.

From the two different settlement patterns shown on Broutin's (1732) map, it is likely that the river acted as the international boundary with the Spanish. During the Rio Hondo land claims of 1823, the Arroyo Hondo boundary between French and Spanish territories was described as running through Old River, the main Red River channel before it avulsed eastward to the Cane River channel (ASP 1859a:90–91). We can assume that this was probably the Spanish and French boundary in the eighteenth century. It is possible that the boundary had moved eastward, along with the Red River to the present Cane River channel. This international boundary would have precluded any French settlement on the Spanish side of Cane River.

After 1762, this boundary was moot because Spain gained possession of all Louisiana. Whatever the reason, *Terre des Deserts* was mostly unoccupied by the French settlers for much of the first half of the eighteenth century. It appears that Europeans only began mass encroachment into *Terre des Deserts* in the 1760s. This matches the timeframe of the Spanish acquisition of Louisiana. After 1762, the inhabitants of Natchitoches were all Spanish citizens and both sides of the river were Spanish dominion. Inhabitants were free to settle either side of the river.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the east side of Cane River was known as the *Terre des Habitants*, occasionally even known as *Grande Cote* or Grand Coast (Mills 2020:3). This is where the French settlers lived, in a geographical locale segregated from the Natchitoches Indians. As stated above, in the 1760s the west side of the river began to be settled by the French and other European inhabitants. Even with the increase in population and encroachment into the *Terre des Deserts* the two sides of the river kept their distinct labels. A 1794 map by Pierre Joseph Maes (Archivo General de Indias 1794), who lived in *Terre des Deserts,* is the best example of how these terms still applied at the end of the eighteenth century.

Bernard de La Harpe described the Natchitoches area as it appeared in 1720. The fort (Fort St. Jean Baptiste) was stated to be located at 32° 20' latitude. Unfortunately, this latitude would place the fort near Caddo Parish. La Harpe mentioned there were the nations of Natchitoches, Dulchiones, and Yatassés living on an island 30 feet from the fort (LaHarpe 1831:179). The precise location of the Native settlements on the island is not mentioned, so we do not know whether the island was 30 feet away or the Native groups were 30 feet away. The nations described by LaHarpe were probably close to the fort for mercantile reasons, but we do not know where they were located.

Broutin's 1732 map (Figure 3) is the earliest information detailing the location of the Natchitoches Indians, beyond the general descriptions of them living along the Red River. The map showed the Natchitoches village to the south of Fort St. Jean Baptiste, and on the west side of Cane River in *Terre des Deserts*. The Fish Hatchery archaeological site (Girard 2018:90–93; Walker 1935) occupies the same location where the Natchitoches Indian village is located on Broutin's map.

Another nearby structure is noted as *Cabane Sauvage*, indicating the residence of a Native American. Without specified ethnicity implied on the map we cannot be sure of the cultural identity of this Native American due to all the enslaved Indians present in

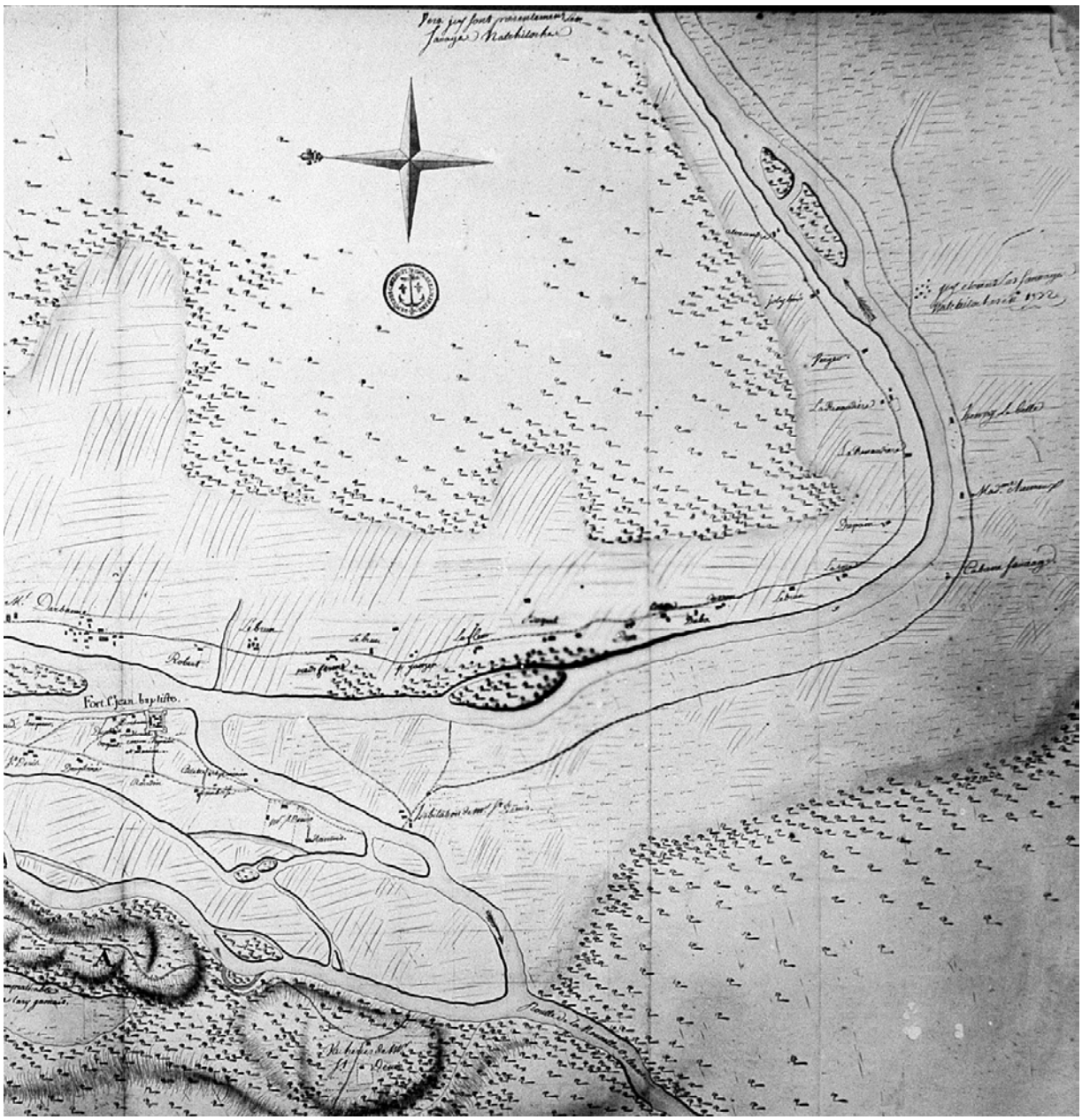

Figure 3. Section of Ignace Broutin's 1732 map of Natchitoches (north is oriented to the left). The Natchitoches village and the *Cabane Sauvage* can be seen on the right side of the map. Fort St. Jean Baptiste is to the lower left. A stark contrast can be seen in the number of settlements on the east bank (*Terre des Habitants*) and the west bank (*Terre des Deserts*). *Courtesy Harvard Map Collection.*

Natchitoches. At the top of the map there is an area labeled *vers jey sont presentement Les Sauvages Natchitoches* (the translation basically means the Natchitoches Indians are currently in this direction). This would place them in the region known as *Terre des Habitants*, and very close to the Parkway Burial Site (Girard 2002). On the Broutin map, the label for the main village can be translated as *jey eloient le Sauvage Natchitoches 1732* (the translation indicates the Natchitoches Indians were at this location in 1732).

As we will note in upcoming documents there are indications that the village on Broutin's map was possibly abandoned in the 1730s. This is the site where the Natchez Indians probably attacked the Natchitoches Indians in 1731(Seale 1997). This translation of Broutin's label may be describing the results of

the Natchez attack and subsequent abandonment of the Natchitoches village. There are many possible translations of the village label.

Another early map of the Natchitoches region is D'Anville's 1732 map (D'Anville 1732). It shows *la Grande Isle*, probably Natchitoches Island, and a *Village des Natchitoches*. Bridges and Deville (1967:243) suggest this village was the *La Piniere* village, a Natchitoches Indian village supposedly located in the piney uplands west of Natchitoches. Webb and Gregory (1978:24) list *La Piniere* as one of the Natchitoches Indian villages. I disagree with the Bridges and Deville assertion of the village location. I do not think the D'Anville map shows the village of *La Piniere*, instead, I think this is just another depiction of the same village shown on the Broutin (1732) map situated along the Cane River. On D'Anville's map the river is shown in abstract form, not exact detail. This can lead to confusion of the actual geographical features. On the D'Anville map the village location is clearly on a sharp 90° bend of Red River. Comparison of the bend of Red River where the Natchitoches Indian village is located on the Broutin map suggest it is the same river bend on D'Anville's map (Figure 3). The *Village des Natchitoches* on D'Anville's map is the same village that was recorded as the Fish Hatchery archaeological site (Walker 1935).

In 1766 two separate censuses were undertaken in Natchitoches. The first census was taken in January by the French (Bridges et al. 1963), and the second census was taken in May by the Spanish (MSA 1766a). There are differences in the location of the inhabitants between the two censuses. Mills (2011:68) described the census process as follows: "The census taker simply polled one side of the river to its limits before coming up the other side, thus arbitrarily separating cross-stream neighbors." I disagree. I think both 1766 censuses primarily included *Terre des Habitants*. On the west side of the river only the inhabitants adjacent to the post were counted. I do not believe either census included *Terre des Deserts* south of the Natchitoches Indian village at the Fish Hatchery site. The inhabitants' residences would only be located on one side of the river, which would preclude counting the inhabitants on both sides of the river. It probably took a while before the inhabitants started living on the *Terre des Deserts* side of the river in large numbers.

Comparing each 1766 census to the lots in Natchitoches suggest that many of the landowners were counted along the river at their residences opposite the post of Fort St. Jean Baptiste instead of their newly acquired land grants further downriver. Inhabitants such as Pierre Derbanne were possibly counted at their residence near or opposite the post, not at the land for which he received a patent in 1757, east of the Natchitoches Indian village in *Terre des Habitants*. I also have doubts that the entire May 1766 census was taken in order; again, not all the sequence makes geographical sense.

The January 1766 census was likely not taken in geographical order along the river because in the May 1766 census, many inhabitants are no longer listed in the same order. However, the same groupings of neighboring people are still associated, and the order of neighboring inhabitants matches the reconstructed order of land ownership along the river. The rearranged order of inhabitants between each census would entail the bulk of the Natchitoches population having to change residences between January and May, not a likely scenario.

In the May 1766 census (MSA 1766a), Pierre Derbanne was listed 30 houses from Marin Grillet and 32 from Remy Poissot. Historic documents reveal that Poissot's and Derbanne's land patents were only eight to ten tracts apart, while Grillet's patent, depending on subsequent dividing of larger tracts, was approximately the same distance from Derbanne's land. The number of houses separating Poissot and Derbanne in the census would have required each to reside at opposite ends of the settlement. They were in fact almost neighbors.

Based on the research of the land purchases in *Terre des Deserts,* I conclude that the 1766 censuses were not sequential along the river. Too much of the population is out of order with their known properties and there was too much movement of entire neighboring groups of peoples between the two censuses. There are segments where verified neighbors are listed sequentially, but often landowners of known tracts are out of sequence in the censuses.

In the two May 1766 censuses of Indian Nations, the Natchitoches Indians were still near the French post (MSA 1766b). In the first census the

Natchitoches were listed as "below the post" while in the second census they are listed as "after the fort" (MSA 1766c). We can only speculate whether these were two versions of descriptions of the same location or if the Natchitoches Indians moved around this time.

By the 1750s several families were already positioning themselves along the *Terre des Habitants*. Soon after the Spanish acquisition of Louisiana in 1762 they would start acquiring land in *Terre des Deserts*. During the 1760s it appears the longlots that were once restricted to the *Habitants* side of the river were extended to the opposite side of the river.

In 1751 there was a land sale near the Natchitoches Indian village on the Terre des Habitants side of the river (LOSL 1751:125–226). This land sale involved Jean Baptiste Brevelle and witnessed by Remy Poissot, two names that would be associated with the Natchitoches Indian lands over the next few decades. In 1761 Marin Grillet sold one arpent of land to Robert Dupre on *Terre des Habitants* (NPCR 1761:99). This is an important document because it again places two notable people in the region very early. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Grillet and Dupre families would be mainstays on either side of the Natchitoches Indian village shown on the 1732 Broutin map.

Some of the earliest and most important conveyances in this region were those involving Remy (Remi) Poissot. On April 20, 1763, he filed a *requete* for land in *Terre des Deserts* and was rather quickly granted a patent on May 5, 1763 (LOSL 1819:7 entry 9). Poissot stated that he wished to receive the land that the Natchitoches Indians had abandoned approximately 25–30 years prior to 1763, the date of his requete (LOSL 1763:127). According to Poissot, the village area should now be considered public land. This document insinuates that after the early 1730s the Natchitoches Indians no longer inhabited the village on Broutin's (1732) map.

If we decipher the Poissot document correctly, we can assume that by 1763, the Natchitoches Indians had long ago abandoned the Fish Hatchery archaeological site, or at least part of the site. If this timeframe of the 1730s is correct, we can speculate that this abandonment could have been in direct relation to the Natchez Indian attack on the Natchitoches Indians and the nearby French settlement in 1731. Dr. Hiram "Pete" Gregory (personal communication 2022) noted that he believed the large number of burials that Walker (1935) reported at the Fish Hatchery site could possibly be accounted for by the Natchez attack on the Natchitoches Indian village. Many Natchitoches Indians were killed in the attack, as well as many Natchez Indians (Seale 1997).

This one document reveals countless possibilities relating not just to the migration of the Natchitoches Indians after the 1760s, but also for the archaeology of the early eighteenth century in the region. This document could possibly give us a terminus date for occupation at the Fish Hatchery site. If the Natchitoches village that was recorded as the Fish Hatchery archaeological site was abandoned in the 1730s, this is both historically and archaeologically important. It suggests the Fish Hatchery site has an approximate terminal date for occupation, this has direct implications for the archaeological remains recovered and reported by Walker (1935).

Remy Poissot's land patent can easily be traced using the American land claim #A1673, filed by James Bloodworth in 1811 (ASP 1834a:712). Bloodworth purchased this land sometime in the early nineteenth century, but the patent and surveys contain definitive information on the exact location of Poissot's eighteenth-century claim. Bloodworth's claim notes that "Remy Possaie" was the original claimant of the land. A land patent numbered A1673 was issued in 1812, however the copy of the patent is dated 1849 (LOSL 1849:234).

The patent notes that the land is located "on the right bank of the Red River, commonly called the Desert Land" (LOSL 1849:234). Based on the Bloodworth land claims documents, we can conclude that Poissot's 1763 land patent, located in the "abandoned" Natchitoches Indian village, was approximately 800 feet east of the Fish Hatchery site (Figure 4, Table 1). By 1763 it is possible the Natchitoches Indians were not living at this location, and if the interpretation of Poissot's *requete* is reliable, they had not been living in their old village for several decades.

In 1764 Jean Baptiste Dupre purchased land from Natchitoches Chief Hyamoc and another Natchitoches Indian named Le Petit Keonan (NPCR

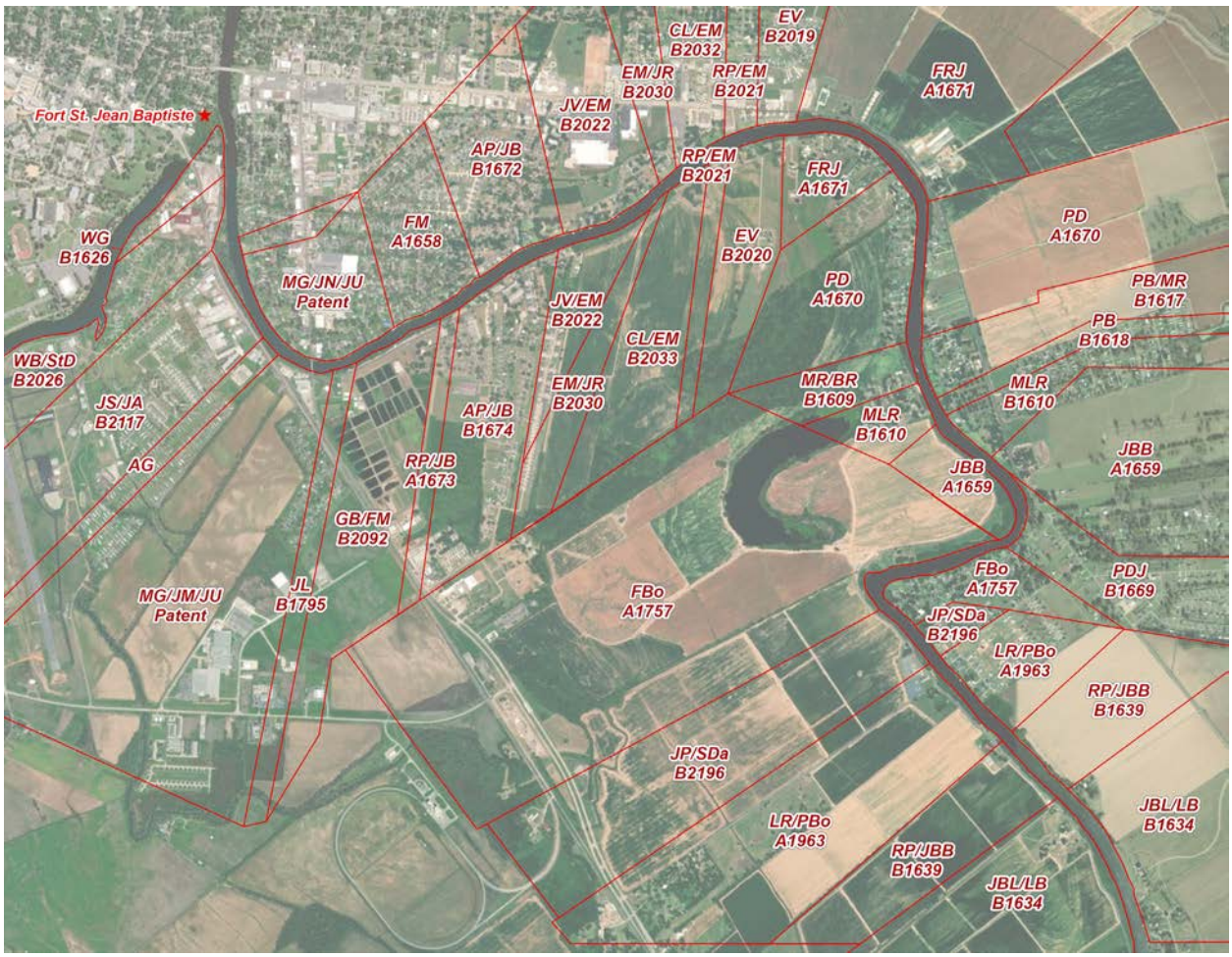

Figure 4. Aerial view of *Terre des Deserts* with American land claims and the probable eighteenth-century inhabitants of specific claim areas. The locations of the French and Spanish claims are estimated because the American land claims probably do not exactly match the earlier grants. Claimant's names are listed in Table 1.

1764b:205). This land was described as lying within their village and cultivated in the past by "*le grand chef du dit village nomme la tete platte* [Flat Head]," then by his son OCaihy (that name is shortened because the last few letters following the "y" are illegible). Unfortunately, in this short conveyance there is no information as to where this land was located.

We can only infer that this land was near or adjacent to Remi Poissot's land, east of the Fish Hatchery site. In 1737 Remi Poissot had married the widow Dupre (Anne Marie Schupp), who was the mother of Jean Baptiste, Joseph, Robert, and Elizabeth Dupre. Each of these children was younger than five years when Remi Poissot became their stepfather. In a common fashion, widows would often marry neighboring single men while the children of neighboring families would often marry each other. Later documents will show that the Dupre children were all situated in this same immediate stretch of the river on or near Remi Poissot's land. It is likely Jean Baptiste Dupre's purchase from Hyamoc was in the immediate area of Poissot's claims east of the Fish Hatchery site.

In 1757 Pierre Derbanne applied for, and was granted, a land patent that began approximately one mile east of the Fish Hatchery archaeological site. The grant eventually included both sides of the river (LOSL 1819:7 entry #2). A few years later in 1764, Derbanne purchased 12 arpents on *Terre des Habitants* and five arpents on the *l'isle (Terre) des Deserts* (NPCR 1764a:202). This seems to match the size of his land patent, with the larger area on the east side of the river. The land was noted as being above the land of the

Table 1. Early Nineteenth-Century Claimants Shown in Figure 4.

Name	Initials	Claim Number
Antoine Grillet	AG	LSLO
Athanase Poissot	AP	B1672, B1674
Charles Lemoine	CL	B2032, B2033
Edward Murphy	EM	B202, B2022, B2030, B2032, B2033
Etienne Verger	EV	B2019, B2020
François Bossier	FBo	A1757
François Monginot	FM	A1658, B2092
François Rocquier Junior	FRJ	B1671
Gabriele Buard	GB	B2092
James Bloodworth	JB	B1672, A1673, B1674
James Lattier	JL	B1795
Jean Baptiste Buard	JBB	B1639, A1659
Jean Baptiste Laberry	JBL	B1634
Jean Veranque	JV	B2022
Jeannot Mulon	JM	NPCR
John Adley	JA	B2117
John Pomier	JP	B2196
Juan Sobier	JS	B2117
Julian Rachal	JR	B2030
Julien	JU	NPCR
Louis Buard	LB	B1634
Louis Rachal	LR	A1963
Manuel Rachal	MR	B1618, B1619
Marie Lamelathie Rachal	MLR	B1610
Marin Grillet	MG	Patent, NPCR
Pierre Baillio	PB	B1618
Pierre Derbanne	PD	B1670
Pierre Derbanne Junior	PDJ	B1669
Placide Bossier	PBo	A1963
Remi Poissot	RP	B1639, A1673, B2021
Samuel Davenport	SDa	B2196
St. Denis Family	StD	B2026
Widow Buard	WB	B2026
Widow Gaspar	WG	B1626

Note: the A and B claims are found in the ASP (1834a).

Natchitoches Indians. The Fish Hatchery site is located above Derbanne's patent, so the implications are that this perhaps refers to a different Natchitoches Indian settlement.

The following year, in 1765, Pierre Derbanne entered into an agreement with Jacques Rachal to grow crops on Derbanne's land. The land was noted as being "near the Indian village of this post" (NPCR 1765b:349–350). Jacques Rachal owned land about a half mile east of the Fish Hatchery site. The idea that Derbanne's land was near the village is surprising considering that his land was one mile from the Fish Hatchery site. We can conclude once again that the Natchitoches Indians had a series of hamlets along the river. The wording of the land conveyances indicates there was possibly a hamlet located just south of Derbanne's land. The Parkway Burial Site (Girard 2002) is situated on the land possibly owned by Jacques Rachal. That site was part of the dispersed Natchitoches hamlets along Cane River.

In March 1765, Jean Baptiste Brevelle purchased land from the Natchitoches Indians (NPCR 1765a:295). Certain wording in this conveyance makes it seem like Brevelle had purchased the land several years earlier from the Natchitoches Indians and was wanting an official concession. Brevelle, whose mother was Kadohadacho, was the brother-in-law of Marin Grillet and the son-in-law of Remi Poissot. So again, we can assume that Brevelle was living adjacent to the Poissots, or perhaps he and his wife had moved into the existing Poissot family settlement. This probably

places the Brevelle purchase from the Natchitoches somewhere east of the Fish Hatchery site among the Poissot and Dupre lands. In the May 1766 Spanish census of the Natchitoches Post, Jean Baptiste Brevelle was listed within the neighbor grouping in a north to south geographical sequence consisting of Marin Grillet, Gabriel Buard, Remigio Poissot, Carlos Lemoine, Brevelle, Joseph Dupre, and Jean Baptiste Dupre (MSA 1766a). This list of names comprises almost all the people who purchased land from the Natchitoches Indians in *Terre des Deserts*.

We can further narrow the area down the Brevelle claim to a couple of tracts of land east of the Fish Hatchery site using American land claim information. An 1805 American land claim by James Bloodworth details a series of conveyances involving the history of the claim. In 1751 Jean Baptiste Brevelle sold land to Antoine Clermont which was sold several times during the late eighteenth century, with Bloodworth finally purchasing the land in 1805 and filing an American land claim (ASP 1834a). The series of conveyances gives details about where the land was located. The land was situated among the Poissot and Dupre claims within a half mile east of the Fish Hatchery site, but probably on the *Terre des Habitants* side of the river. This places Brevelle near the Natchitoches Indians very early. This is also another indicator that the Natchitoches Indians probably had hamlets on both sides of the river.

Another important land claim within Terre des Deserts was that of Marin Grillet, a retired French soldier. His land immediately abutted the Fish Hatchery site on the west side. As noted earlier, he was living in the immediate area around the Natchitoches Indian village from at least 1761 and he received a patent for his land in 1794. Considering how early he was in the region, this was a rather late patent compared to others. In the May 1766 census (MSA 1766a), Grillet was already listed among the same set of neighboring landowners (along with Jean Baptiste Brevelle) that are seen decades later plotted on survey plat maps, and within the American land claims.

From at least the 1760s into the early 1800s, the Grillet family owned the same land, situated immediately adjacent to the Fish Hatchery archaeological site. Considering that the Grillet lands are attached to a specific location for such a long period of time the property acts as an anchor or linchpin in the historical documents related to this region. His eighteenth-century claim along the Cane River was probably not too different than the nineteenth century land claim of his heirs. It is probable that the land extending away from the river changed but not the riverfront property. This is important due to a set of land purchases and sales from the 1760s and 1770s involving Marin Grillet and two formerly enslaved people named Julien and Jeannot (LeBrun).

In November 1766, Marin Grillet purchased two-and-a-half arpents frontage from Julien. The land was situated between the "Indian village of the post" and the "Coast of the Habitants" (NPCR 1766a:337). The land is bounded by the land of Julien on the upper and on the lower by the land of Gabriel Buard. This places this land sale within the immediate area of the Fish Hatchery site. The only question would be whether the land sold was on both sides of the river or just a single side. Reference to the "Coast of the Habitants" implies the land was on the east bank of the river.

In 1767, Julien sold another one-and-a-half arpents to Grillet. The land was noted as near the village of the Natchitoches Indians, bounded on one side by the coast (either the river or the beginning of the *Grand Cote*) and the other by Grillet's property (NPCR 1767:127). In 1768, Jeannot exchanged one arpent of land with Marin Grillet, the land fronted the river and the backside of the Natchitoches Indian village. It was bounded by Grillet's neighbors, on one side by Mathurin David and on the other by Joseph Lattier. Grillet in turn gave Jeannot an arpent of land fronting the river, the same land acquired from the freedman Julien. The land was bounded on one side by Grillet's land and the other side by Gabriel Buard's land (NPCR 1768:26). It appears Grillet was filling gaps within his land holdings.

It is probable that Gabriel Buard originally owned the land immediately to the south of Marin Grillet. Buard's land is often indicated as a boundary for other claims and acts as a slightly less definitive linchpin than the adjacent Grillet land. It is surprising that there are no known conveyances where Gabriel Buard purchased land from the Natchitoches, because the documentation suggests he is literally living on top of their village. In 1763, he purchased land from the

Widow St. Denis that was located along the east side of Chaplin Lake a short distance north of Marin Grillet's land. This is the same land noted on the 1732 Broutin map as Habitation de Monsieur St. Denis (Figure 3). Buard's land is not noted on early-nineteenth-century plat maps because he died in 1774, decades before the American land claims process and its associated surveys. In the American land claims the lands are claimed by Gabriel Buard's heirs. His grandson (the younger) François Monginot claimed the land at the Fish Hatchery site in 1811 (ASP 1834a:726 claim B2092), while a son-in-law, Jean Baptiste Ailhaud St. Ann, claimed the former St. Denis land.

Within the 1768 Grillet and Jeannot land exchange conveyance a certain phrase *au de Mons du vilage Sauvage* or "the mound of the Indian village" seems to appear in the description of the land (NPCR 1768:26). This has suggested to some researchers that the Fish Hatchery site contained an Indian mound (Mills 2005:19). I do not think this was an accurate interpretation. After careful examination of the word *Mons* and comparing it to other words and letters in the same document, I think the word has been misinterpreted and is instead the word *dessous*. The style of the small "e" and larger double "s" in *dessous* gave the appearance of an "M" (Figure 5); in the same document in words such as *maison* the "s" is written identical to each exaggerated "s" in *dessous*.[2] I think the correct French phrase is *au dessous du vilage Sauvage*, "below the Indian village".

In 1780, Hyamoc, Chief of the Natchitoches Indians, sold land to Jean Baptiste Laberry in *Terre des Deserts* (NPCR 1780:351–352). The late date of this land sale is surprising because it appeared the Natchitoches Indians had probably been pushed out of the region many years earlier. According to a 1780 list of medal chiefs, Yamok was living at "*Lisle a Vaches*" in 1780 (Holmes Collection 1780). The exact timing

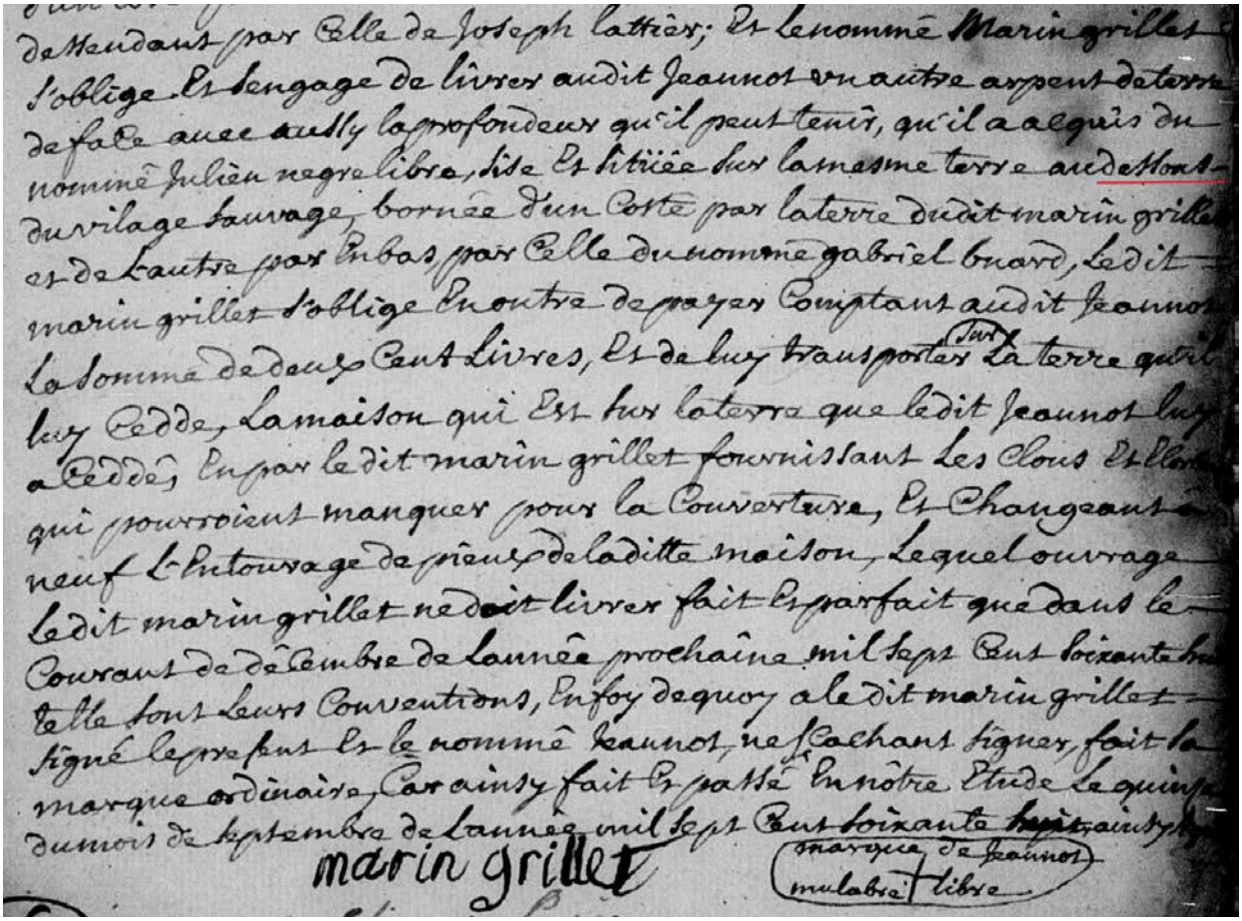

Figure 5. An excerpt from the Grillet-Jeannot conveyance. The word *dessous* that was mistaken for *Mons* is underlined in red on the right side of the document.

of the move by the Natchitoches Indians is unknown, or if they possibly moved in different groups. This could either have been the final sale by Hyamoc before moving to *Isle aux Vaches* or he sold Laberry land that had been previously abandoned.

The Laberry conveyance states that the land was two-and-a-half miles downriver from the post (NPCR 1780:351–352). This places the land near Lee Lake about a mile and a half downriver from Pierre Derbanne's land and two miles southeast by land from the Fish Hatchery site. Jean Baptiste Laberry died in 1794, and his widow Jeanne Guedon, or his estate, sold the land to Louis Buard during the succession that same year (LOSL 1806c:62–63). In witness testimony concerning Louis Buard's 1806 claim John Baptiste Latie (Lattier?) states Laberry had inhabited and cultivated the land 30 years prior to 1811, the date of the testimony (LOSL 1811:72). This corresponds precisely with the timing of the 1780 purchase from Hyamoc.

The location of Laberry's purchase from Hyamoc is the Old Board land claim B1634 filed by Louis Buard during the American land claims (ASP 1834a:711). At present, this is the only land claim that we know Jean Baptiste Laberry owned in this immediate area after 1780. The documentation suggests the land Hyamoc sold to Laberry may have been part of the previously mentioned village that was south of Pierre Derbanne's lands.

In 1782 and 1787 Charles Lemoine filed *requetes* for land in *Terre des Deserts*. The land requested by Lemoine along Red River had previously been owned by the Natchitoches Indians. The translation of the 1782 *requete* basically states that the land "belonged to the Natchitoches Indians and was sold by the chief of the village" (LOSL 1782:29). Lemoine's 1785 sale to Edward Murphy states the same (NPCR 1785:15). Unfortunately, the Natchitoches chief was not named in either document.

These two *requetes* were included within the sale from Charles Lemoine to Edward Murphy in 1785. The 1782 *requete* was for land in *Terre des Habitants*, or the left bank (descending) of the river (LOSL 1782:120). The 1787 *requete* was for land in *Terre des Deserts* or the right bank (LOSL 1787:30–31). The land on both sides of the river was situated between that of Jacques Rachal and Remy Poissot. The land is situated a half-mile east of the Fish Hatchery site. During the 1780s Edward Murphy was purchasing much of the land along this stretch of the river. It is unknown why Lemoine filed the second *requete* in 1787, two years after he sold the land to Murphy.

In 1754 Charles Lemoine had married Elizabeth Dupre, the stepdaughter of Remi Poissot. Elizabeth Dupre died in 1779, soon after her death Lemoine sold his land to Edward Murphy and moved south to Isle Brevelle. Dupre and her first husband had purchased a tract of land near the Fish Hatchery in 1753, that was later claimed by James Bloodworth in the American land claims (ASP 1834a:724). Bloodworth's land claim was located just a short distance east of the Fish Hatchery site. Elizabeth Dupre was already in the immediate region of the Natchitoches Indians as early as 1753, and Charles Lemoine was listed in the 1766 Census as an immediate neighbor of Remy Poissot. This suggest that the land may have been purchased from the Natchitoches Indians much earlier than 1782, possibly as early as the 1760s. This could even be part of the land purchased from Hyamoc by Jean Baptiste Dupre in 1764, but we cannot be completely confident in this assessment.

The legal representatives of Edward Murphy filed Old Board land claims B2032 and B2033 for the Lemoine land (ASP 1834a:724). In the two land claims, Charles Lemoine is listed as the person under whom the land was claimed, meaning he was the original owner, or at least a documented former owner of the land. Two land patents issued in 1812 confirm the location, and directly associate the Lemoine land with the Old Board land claims. Patent number B2032 (LDL 1812a) was for land on the left bank in *Terre des Habitants*, and patent number B2033 (LDL 1812b) was for land on the right bank or *Terre des Deserts*. The land claims and patents offer irreputable evidence of the location of the Lemoine land purchased from the Natchitoches Indians (Figure 4, Table 1).

Several conclusions can be deduced from the land sales in the *Terre des Deserts* region. First, the Natchitoches Indians had probably sold most or all their land in this region by 1782, supporting the idea that they were living at *Isle aux Vaches* by 1780. Secondly, there can be no question that the Natchitoches Indians were dispersed at various times along the Cane River, in

a typical riverine settlement pattern. This would mimic the dispersed settlement pattern of the Caddo seen on the 1691 Teran map (Sabo 2012:Figure 15-1; Wedel 1978:7). We can be confident that they were likely living in hamlets up and down the river, as far south as the Lawton and Lambre Point sites near Isle Brevelle.

With the possibility of several potential post-1760s village areas along the stretch of river from the Fish Hatchery site southward to the Lawton site there should be remains indicative of the Natchitoches Indians. Plain shell-tempered pottery would be one of the most prominent archaeological remains during the late eighteenth century. There are multiple references to Native pottery such as "*pots de terre Sauvage*" and "*cruches Sauvage*" in an indeterminate succession in 1756 (NPCR 1756:22), and "*cruches de terre Sauvages*" in the 1766 succession of Louis Lamalathie (NPCR 1766b:305). Since the pottery would be mixed with European ceramics, hopefully, they will not get classified as colonoware.

Early to mid-eighteenth-century Natchitoches Engraved pottery, recovered within view of the Lawton site, has already been classified as colonoware at the Whittington site, also known as the Coin-Coin Plantation (16NA241) (Morgan and McDonald 2011:Figure 8.4). In my opinion, this was an unfortunate mistake that may alter the archaeological interpretation of the region and make the eighteenth-century Natchitoches Indians archaeologically invisible by assigning their products to a completely different cultural group. It is probable that the fine ware Natchitoches Engraved was no longer a staple of the Natchitoches Indian ceramic assemblage in the later eighteenth century.

After a century of living along this stretch of Red River the Natchitoches Indians should have left a sizable footprint along its banks. Much of that footprint will be mixed within European, and possibly African, sites. All measures should be undertaken to correctly assign cultural artifacts to the correct cultural groups to which they belong.

Isle aux Vaches

The *Isle aux Vaches* or *Ile Vaches* was a region just east of modern-day Grande Ecore, Louisiana, and a few miles north of Natchitoches, Louisiana (Figure 6, Table 2). This is another region that saw dense settlement in the mid-eighteenth century, though later than *Terre des Deserts*. Starting in the 1770s and into the 1790s, Natchitoches Indians were selling land in this region as the French colonists once again encroached.

The island was demarcated to the west by the small Bayou Isle aux Vaches and to the north and east by the Red River. During the eighteenth century and into modern times this region was the location of several Red River avulsions. The Red River (now Cane River), the Rigolet de Bon Dieu, and False River channels were all in the immediate region.

The Natchitoches Indian settlement at *Isle aux Vaches* has a smaller document trail than the other regions noted along the migration. The precise date of their arrival needs to be determined, but we know that by 1780 the Natchitoches Indians were probably living at this location. A list of medal chiefs within the Spanish jurisdiction places the Natchitoches in the region in 1780 when Yamok is noted as the medal chief of "*La Nation Natchitoches*" and they were "*Située Sur Le Bayou de Lisle á Vaches*" (Holmes Collection 1780). Unfortunately, we cannot definitively place the Natchitoches Indians in this location any earlier than 1780. However, it is probable they were already living at *Isle aux Vaches* by that date.

The Natchitoches Indians did not arrive in a vacant area to settle after they left *Terre des Deserts*. The *Isle aux Vaches* region was settled by at least the 1760s by the French colonists. We know that Jean Baptiste Laberry filed a *requete* for land in 1762 at an "*Isle opposit Fausse Riviere*" (LOSL 1762:170), an area adjacent to *Isle aux Vaches*. This land would be claimed by Athanase Poissot in the Old Board land claims under B2038 (ASP 1834a:724). In 1765 Andre Rambin purchased a "small wasteland" on *Isle aux Vaches*. Rambin filed a claim for the land during the American land claims. He filed claim #67 for an unspecified amount of land (ASP 1834b:82). It is very probable the Natchitoches Indians arrived at *Isle aux Vaches* after the Laberry and Rambin purchases.

The most notable historic document concerning the *Ilse aux Vaches* region is the 1790 Andre Rambin purchase from an Indian named Cayacaille and his wife Camile (or Camite) (ASP, 1834b:82; LOSL 1806a:146). This land was located on Fausse River

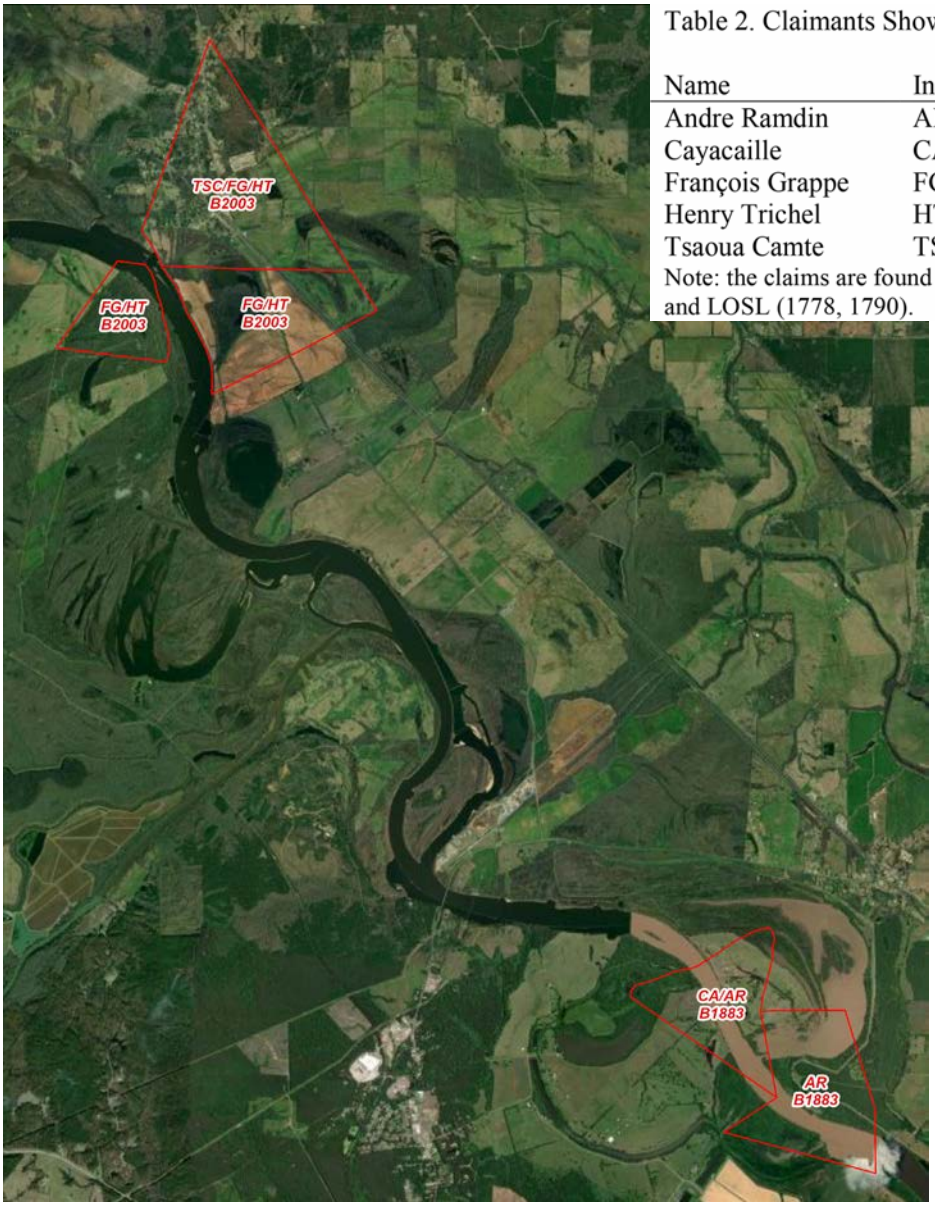

Table 2. Claimants Shown in Figure 6.

Name	Initials	Claim Number
Andre Ramdin	AR	B1883
Cayacaille	CA	B1883
François Grappe	FG	B2003
Henry Trichel	HT	B2003
Tsaoua Camte	TSC	B2003

Note: the claims are found in the ASP (1834a, 1834b) and LOSL (1778, 1790).

Figure 6. Natchitoches lands at *Isle aux Vaches* (lower right) and Campti (upper left).

(False River), which is one of the Red River branches northeast of Grande Ecore, Louisiana. This places Rambin's purchase squarely on *Isle aux Vaches*. There was no geographical information in the American land claim, so the location of the Rambin purchase was never known. Fortunately, in the original handwritten claim there was geographical information. This handwritten claim includes the name of Cayacaille's wife, as well as the location of the claim on Fausse River (LOSL 1806a:146).

Only by tracking the various information associated with Rambin's claim could we associate the land purchased from Cayacaille and the actual American land claim. In the handwritten documents at the Louisiana Office of State Lands, the Old Board number was written on the documents. Comparing these document numbers helped to verify that the Old Board claim in 1812, and the Register claim presumably in 1816, were for the same land purchased from Cayacaille (ASP 1834a:718, 1834b:82; LOSL 1806a:146 and 1806b:139–140). The land claimed in the latter reference was not purchased from Cayacaille, but it has evidence of that location. This entire region has been thoroughly scoured by the meandering of the Red River

over the last two centuries. All traces of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century habitation have possibly been washed away long ago unless the Natchitoches were living closer to the bluffs on the western side.

It was not known if Cayacaille was a Natchitoches Indian; he was usually just noted to be an Indian (ASP 1834b:82). However, a 1764 document mentions a Natchitoches Indian named Caya Caye (NPCR 1764c:241) in a contract with Joseph and Jean Baptiste Dupre, two brothers who lived within or adjacent to the Natchitoches Indian village at *Terre des Deserts*. The same name, Caya Caye, is written in the 1790 index entry for the land sale to Andre Rambin (NPCR 1790a:37); unfortunately, the document itself is missing from the NPCR archive microfilm. Therefore, Cayacaille and Caya Caye were the same person, and he was a Natchitoches Indian. We may also speculate with some confidence that Grand Chief La Tete Platte's son may also be the same person. The son's name in a 1764 document is spelled 'OCaihy***' (* indicates indeterminate letters) (NPCR 1764b:205). I am confident this may be another spelling of Caya Caye.

Another 1790 Index entry lists a sale of land from Le petit Queouan to Bernard Lafere or Lefevre (surname is slightly illegible) (NPCR 1790b:200). This is undoubtedly the same person as le petit Keonan noted in a 1764 land sale to Jean Baptiste Dupre (NPCR 1764b:205). I think we can conclude that "Le petit" is part of his name or a nickname and was not an indication that he was a young child as there is a 26-year span between the two land sales. As with the Caya Caye index entry, this document is also missing from the NPCR archives. While we do not have geographical details due to the missing document, based on the date, we can assume that this land sale was most likely situated at *Isle aux Vaches* like the Caya Caye sale to Andre Rambin.

The eventual abandonment of *Isle aux Vaches* possibly came at the hand of Louis Charles DeBlanc, Commandant of Natchitoches. On October 3rd, 1790, he granted land to the Natchitoches Indians at a place called *Lac Demeures* (LOSL 1808:174–175). An English translation of the grant was included in Hypolite Bordelon's American land claim:

> in consequence of the death of Yamoch chief of the Natchitoches nation of Indians, & finding that the said Indians are now inhabiting Land not belonging to them in the settled parts of this post, I grant to them subject to the will of the governor Don Estaban Miro twenty arpens of Land on each side of the Red River at a place called Lac Demeures about ten leagues above this post of Natchitoches, October 3rd 1790 [ASP 1834b:74 and Swanton 1942:83].

The fact that the Natchitoches Indians were inhabiting land "not belonging to them" once again implies that the Natchitoches Indians were being encroached upon by European settlers. They were running out of room in their old homeland. This was the beginning of their migration away from the immediate Natchitoches, Louisiana, region forever. The DeBlanc grant to the Natchitoches Indians was signed the same year as the Caya Caye and Le petit Queouan sales. This suggests they may have coincided, purposefully or by coincidence.

It is very plausible that Rambin simply purchased the land from Cayacaille since the Natchitoches Indians were moving to *Lac des Mures*. I also think it is safe to assume that the Le petit Queouan sale was for land at *Isle aux Vaches* due to the 1790 date. By this time, it seems the Natchitoches Indians were completely absent from the immediate Natchitoches region. It is possible that their lands were sold at *Isle aux Vaches* due to the 1790 Louis DeBlanc grant to the Natchitoches Indians (LOSL 1808:174-175). Unfortunately, with both documents missing it is impossible to discern the exact date of each land sale, so it remains unclear if the grant came before the land sales or vice versa.

Archaeologically, there is one site that possibly corresponds to Natchitoches Indian habitation of the region. Walker (1935: Figure 2a, 2b) illustrated several vessels from a plantation a few miles from Natchitoches, Louisiana. One was a shell-tempered pitcher with a handle and possibly a spout; the other was a tall shell-tempered tapering spout bottle. It is very probable these were used by the Natchitoches Indians during their time living in the region. These vessels probably represent the twilight of the Natchitoches Indian ceramic industry. They were found by Edward Payne after a plow unearthed them. The exact location of this plantation has never been identified, however, Jeffrey Girard, former Louisiana regional archaeologist,

believes they came from the Cunningham Plantation (personal communication 2023) located at the southern end of *Isle aux Vaches*. This is also the general area of the Payne family property in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[3]

Campti

Due to geography and the time frame, the Campti region can be viewed as an extension of the *Isle aux Vaches* settlement and could possibly have been included within the discussions of that region (Figure 6, Table 2). It is the location of perhaps the most well-known of the Indian claims in the entire region. In 1778 an Indian named Tsaoua Camte and his wife sold land to Manuel Trichel and Trichel's mother-in-law, the Widow Alexis Grappe (Marie Louise Guedon) (NPCR 1778:390-391). That land sits within and around the small town of Campti, Louisiana, several miles north of Natchitoches along the Red River. This was a very large tract and covered both sides of the Red River.

While this is an important Indian land sale there is no indication of Tsaoua Camte's tribal group. The only thing noted is that he is a *Sauvage libre*, or a free Indian. Campte's name is spelled several different ways, including Tsaoüa Camté, Travüa Camté, Esaoua Camté and Saynan Camté. This is almost certainly the same person since the surname "Camté" is consistent. It is likely a case of the notaries interpreting and writing the name in multiple ways.

In Pierre Eile's land claim #155 that also involved Pierre Gagnier and Julien Besson, an Indian named Saugnant is noted as selling the land, but the name on the signature is written as Sauynant (LOSL 1805:113). These three people had previously purchased land at *Lac des Mures*. Based on the date and the presence of these three people we can only assume that the land sold by Sauynant was also located at *Lac des Mures*. It is very likely that Saynan Camte and Sauynant were the same person.

In 1780, Emmanuel and Joseph Trichel filed for the same land purchased from Tsaoua Camte (LOSL 1780:120). These handwritten documents may be part of the early American Old Board claim B2003. François Grappe and Henry Trichel filed for an inventory of the property of Emmanuel Trichel and Madame Grappe in 1798 (LOSL 1798:119). The land purchased from Tsaoua Camte was part of this inventory. François Grappe and Henry Trichel filed an Old Board claim for the land (ASP 1834a:722 B2003). The land is noted to be bounded above by Louis Lamalathie who filed an Old Board claim for land immediately upriver from the Grappe and Trichel land at Campti (ASP 1834a:711 B1628).

Lac des Mures

This region has been an enigma for many years. The general region was known, but conclusive evidence of its location had been elusive. Land claims mentioning the region were found and their locations easily plotted, however, there were never any maps showing the lake or region. Red River survey maps from the 1890s (LSUSA 1890) finally provided geographical evidence that confirms what we already suspected from the land claims and court cases. *Lac des Mures* was situated somewhere near the boundary of Red River and Natchitoches Parishes. The lake was probably located within Natchitoches Parish. Figure 7 and Table 3 show the American land claims at *Lac des Mures* and the lands sold by the Natchitoches Indians between 1804 and 1808.

Court cases from 1953 and 1963 (Carlisle v. Graves 1953; Crain vs. Graves 1963), gave details on the *Lac des Mures* plantation and gave a plat map designation for the section, situated in Natchitoches Parish adjacent to the Red River Parish boundary. This location was north of the Red River floodplain where the land claims were all situated.

While the location of the *Lac des Mures* Plantation does not give us precise location information regarding land claims, it does give evidence ensuring that we can be confident of the region itself. L*ac des Mures*, or Blackberry Pond as it is called in the American State Papers (ASP 1834a:713), was the general area north of Powhatan, Louisiana. Land claims plotted in the region use *Lac des Mures* as the location of the claims. Adjacent claims describe Lake Poule D'eau as their location suggesting that Lake Poule D'eau, a former Red River channel, was perhaps the same waterbody known as *Lac des Mures*. We do know that Lake Poule D'eau increased and decreased in size according to the water levels in the Red River. As in most circumstances, a single geographical entity such as

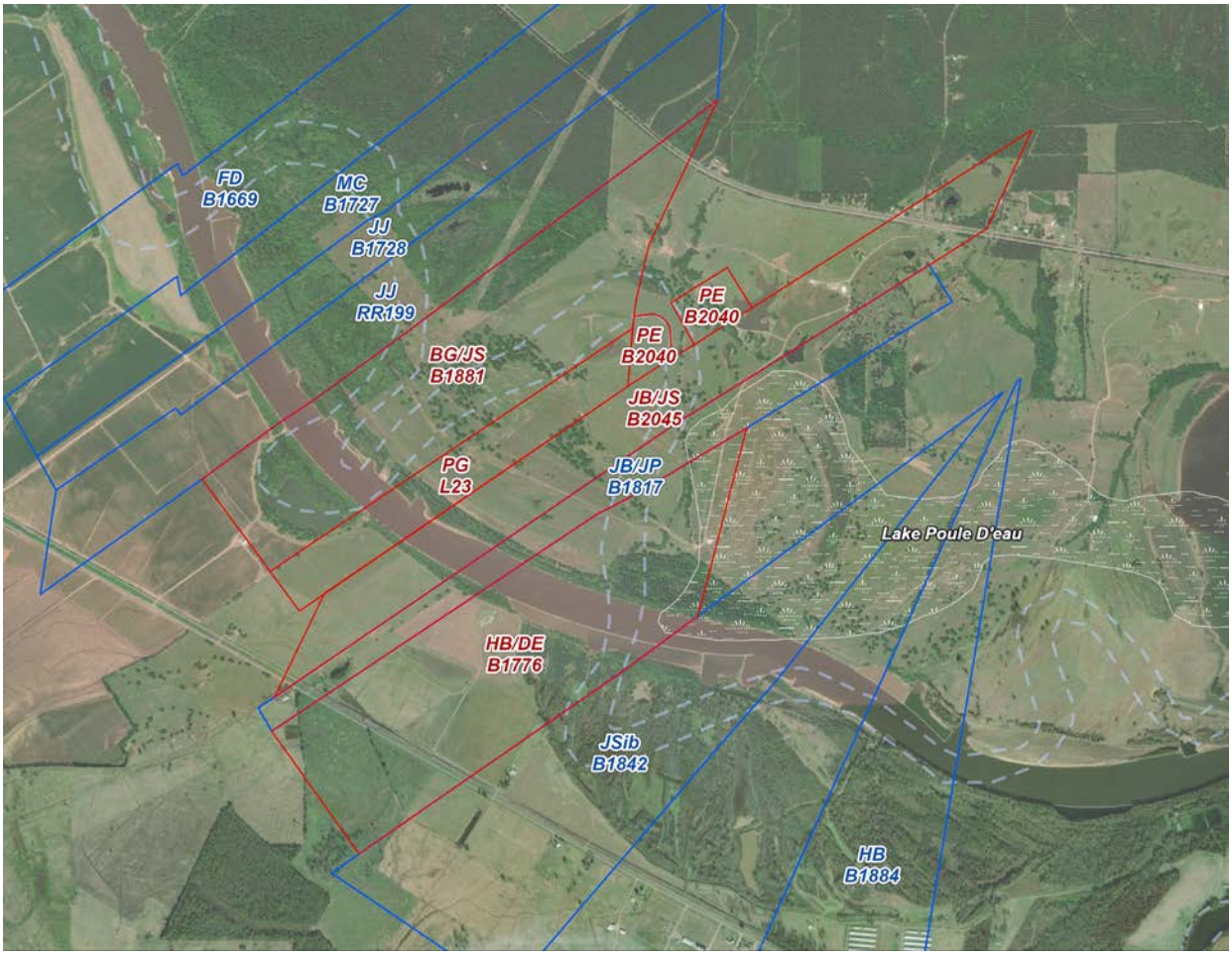

Figure 7. *Lac des Mures*, near the current Red River Parish and Natchitoches Parish boundary. The claims outlined in red are lands sold by the Natchitoches tribe. The dashed line is the channel of the Red River in the early nineteenth century. Lake Poule D'eau is outlined based on nineteenth-century plat maps.

Table 3. Claimants Shown in Figure 7.

Name	Initials	Claim Number
Baptiste Grappe	BG	B1881
Dehuste (Dahatse)	DE	
François DuBois	FD	B1669
Hypolite Bordelon	HB	B1776, B1884
John Sibley	JSib	B1842
John Sohano	JS	
Joseph Jeanriz (Jeanrise)	JJ	B1728, RR199
Juan (Jean) Palvado	JP	B2045
Julien Besson	JB	B1817, B2045
Michael Chagneau	MC	B1727
Pierre Ely	PE	B2040, L155
Pierre Gagnier	PGJ	B1791, L23

Note: the claims are found in the ASP (1834a) and LOSL (1804a, 1804b).

a lake can come to identify a region over time. I believe this is the case with *Lac de Mures*.

The earliest published mention of the location of *Lac des Mures* was in 1805 by John Sibley, Indian agent at Natchitoches, who stated: "There are now remaining of the Natchitoches, but twelve men and nineteen women, who live in a village, about twenty-five miles, by land, above the town which bears their name, near a lake called by the French, *Lac de Muire*" (ASP 1832:724). This was the location of the Natchitoches Indian settlement from 1790 to at least 1808. It is currently unknown whether they were settled there after that date.

The 1811 the Old Board land claim B1727 of Joseph Jeanriz (Jeanris, Jeanrise) and B1728 of Michael Chagneau (Chagnon) were situated at Blackberry Pond

(ASP 1834a:713). That same translation is mentioned in another Joseph Jeanrise land claim #199 that was adjacent to B1727 (ASP 1834c:167). In Michael Chagneau's 1795 handwritten land claim the region where the land was situated was written in Spanish *La Laguna de las Moras*, or Blackberries Lake (LOSL 1795:118). With the various Spanish period and later American land claims there is ample evidence of the general region of *Lac des Mures*.

Perhaps the earliest land transaction at *Lac des Mures* that mention the Natchitoches Indians occurred in 1794. In that year Juan Palvado (Jean Palvadore) requested vacant land along Red River below the village of the Natchitoches Indians. Palvado received the land grant in 1795 (LOSL 1804b:10–11). Julien Besson purchased the Palvado land in 1804. The heirs of Julian Besson filed American land claim B2045 in 1811 for the same tract of land (ASP 1834a:716 claim B1817) (Figure 7, Table 3).

Something significant must have occurred around 1804 because a large quantity of Natchitoches Indian land was sold from that time forward. In early September of that year John Sohano sold land to Jean Baptiste Grappe and Julien Besson. Later in September John Shonah sold land to Pierre Gagnier. Though the names are spelled slightly differently, John Sohano and John Shonah are clearly the same person. It is evident that this land was part of the village that was located to the north of Juan Palvado's land purchase.

On September 7, 1804, Jean Baptiste Grappe purchased land from John Shonah at Lake Demures (NPCR 1804a:567–568). This land was north of the Besson land purchased from Juan Palvado.[4] The Grappe purchase covered both sides of the river and was bounded to the north on both sides by John Reese, more commonly known as Joseph Jeanris (Jeanriz). The conveyance also notes that the land was bound on the left-hand descending side of the river by the sister of John Sahohana, and on the right-hand side of the river the land was bounded below by John Shonah himself, for a total of about ten acres (NPCR 1804a:567–568).

Julian Besson purchased land from John Sohano "of the nation of Indians called Natchitoches" on the same date September 7, 1804 (NPCR 1804b:569–570 and LOSL 1804b:10–11). This tract of land is immediately adjacent and north of the tract Besson purchased from Palavado and immediately south of the Jean Baptiste Grappe purchase. The land is noted to be located at Lake Pouledo (Poule D'eau), a lake created by old oxbow meanders of the Red River. It may also be *Lac des Mures*, but we cannot be completely confident they are the same lake. Regardless, the land is within the Natchitoches Indian settlement at *Lac des Mures*.

On September 26, 1804, John Shonah (Sohonah) sold land to Pierre Gagnier at Lake Demure (LOSL 1804a:18–19 and NPCR 1804c). The land is bounded to be north by John Shonah's land and to the south by Julien Besson's land. Plat maps do not show Gagnier's land, but they do reveal that Jean Baptiste Grappe's land is almost twice the width of Julien Besson's land. It is apparent that the Grappe land probably includes the land purchased by Gagnier. The land was stated to be "part of a tract granted to the said John Shonah by the Spanish Government" (NPCR 1804c). This was part of the land granted to the Natchitoches Indians by Louis DeBlanc in 1790.

Another purchase of Indian land was possibly situated at *Lac des Mures*, but there is no direct location information or tribal information given within the document. In an 1805 land claim of Pierre Elie an agreement between Pierre Gagnier, Julien Besson, and an Indian named Sauynant is described (LOSL 1805:113 Claim #155). The agreement involved land within the district of Campti, in the dependency of Natchitoches. It is unclear exactly where this claim is located, however the time frame of 1805, and the fact that Pierre Elie filed land claims at Lac des Mures suggests this claim was in the Natchitoches Indian settlement. During the American land claims, Pierre Elie (Ely) filed claim B2040 that he had purchased from Pierre Gagnier at Lac des Mures (ASP 1834a:724). The land was immediately adjacent to, and to the north of, the land Julian Besson purchased from the Natchitoches Indians.

In 1808 Hypolite Bordelon purchased a tract of land at *Lac des Mures* from the Natchitoches Chief Dehutse (ASP 1834b:74 claim 6) for $90. In the published land claim the name of the chief is listed as Dehutse, but a copy of the original claim, states "Dahatse Chief of the Natchitoches Village, an Indian" (LOSL 1808:175). The original conveyance is missing,

but the conveyance index lists the name as Dahatse (NPCR 1808:68). The documentation only notes the land was situated on the Red River, although the section can be gleaned from plat maps.

The land purchased by Bordelon was part of the grant given to the Natchitoches Indians by Louis DeBlanc in 1790. Bordelon's handwritten claim states that the land was "the rest and remainder of a concession accorded to the father of said Dahatse then chief of the Natchitoches Village aforesaid" (LOSL 1808:175). François Grappe's testimony stated: "That he (said Grappe) was called about seven years ago, by the Indian tribe Natchitoches, to be interpreter for them in making a sale of a portion of the land granted to them by the Spanish Government, on Lake de Mure, Above Campty, to erect their village" (ASP 1834b:74 claim 6).

The Louis DeBlanc grant did not name a chief other than the deceased Tomoch. Documents suggests that it was possibly John Sohano who was granted the land in "consequence" of Tomach's death. John Shanah's 1804 land sale to Jean Baptiste Grappe states that the land is "part of a tract granted to the said John Shanah by Charles DeBlanc" (NPCR 1804a:567–568) and in Pierre Gagnier's 1804 purchase, the land was "part of a tract granted to the said John Shonah by the Spanish Government" (NPCR 1804c). These adjacent tracts of land sold by John Shonah and Dahaste are the core of the Louis DeBlanc grant issued to the Natchitoches Indians as they were vacating *Isle aux Vaches* in 1790. The Bordelon purchase seems to have been the last remaining land from the grant.

The question is where do John Sohano and Dahaste fit into the lineage of the Natchitoches chiefs? Smith (2005:63) states that Datze was the son of Hyamoc. This creates a slightly confusing dilemma. Why is John Sohano noted being awarded the grant of land from Louis DeBlanc in 1790 if the father of Dahaste received the grant from DeBlanc (LOSL 1808:175)? If Smith (2005:63) is correct that Datze is Hyamoc's son, then it would be impossible for Hyamoc to have received the grant of land since he was already deceased. Multiple documents mention that John Sohano had received the grant from DeBlanc. These statements make it seem as if there is a lineage from Yomoch [pre-1790] to John Sohano [1790–pre-1808] to Dahaste [post-1808]. The only contradiction to this lineage is Smith's (2005:63) statement that Datze was Hyamoc's son. We can only conclude that either John Sohano and Datze [Dahatze] were father-son, or they were both sons of Hyamoc. They both have some kinship connection to the individual who received the grant from DeBlanc.

While the Natchitoches supposedly sold the last of their grant lands in 1808, they were still in the area in 1810, but were being encroached upon by American settlers. In a March 20, 1810, letter John Sibley wrote: "About thirty miles above this town (Natchitoches) and Sixty or Seventy by water or by Course of the River is the Village or Town of the Natchitoches Indians, their corn fields extend up & down the River for some leagues." In the same letter Sibley also wrote: "Lately, a Number of Americans have been taking up places and Commencing Settlements about them; the Chief Came to me a few days ago with a Complaint" (Garrett 1944:390). Sibley's letter verifies that the Natchitoches were living along the river for several miles, likely mimicking their settlement along the Cane River.

The Natchitoches Indian settlements at *Lac des Mures* probably consisted of the same settlement pattern during their time living in that region. While land claim documentation place the Natchitoches Indians in Natchitoches Parish, other historic sources place a village in modern Red River Parish. Freeman and Custis visited a village of Pascagoula and Natchitoches Indians on June 8, 1805 at a latitude calculated to be 31° 56' 31" (Flores 1977:65, 1984:132 fn. 15). No longitude was given but we do know the village was situated along the Red River so we can narrow the area to either side of the former channel of the river. This places the village in present Red River Parish just east of the small community of Hanna.

Multiple maps from the early nineteenth century show the Natchitoches Indian village along the Red River north of the *Lac des Mures* region. The Tanner map of Louisiana (Figure 8) shows the Natchitoches Indian village just south of the 32nd parallel on the west side of the Red River. This matches where Freeman and Custis calculated the latitude of the Pascagoula and Natchitoches village, east of Hanna. We can conclude that the village on the Tanner map and the village noted by Freeman and Custis are either the

Figure 8. The Tanner 1825 map showing the Natchitoches village in the location given by the Freeman and Custis Expedition in 1806. It is unknown whether the village was still in existence at the time the map was produced. The location was probably plotted according to the coordinates supplied by the expedition. *Courtesy David Rumsey map collection, List No. 2593.032.*

same village, or part of that same settlement along that immediate stretch of Red River.

Explorer John Maley visited this same area between 1810 and 1813 (Flores 1971). At that time, only Pascagoula Indians were present in the village. We do not know whether this was the same village visited by Freeman and Custis, or if Maley visited a different village. There is a geographical reference to the Pascagoula Indians in the region. On some nineteenth-century maps, modern Bayou Nicholas, which runs parallel to the Red River on the east side and northward from Lake End to Coushatta, was named Bayou Pascagoula. In the Red River valley there is a Pascagoula Bayou just south of Shreveport and a Bayou Pascagoula near Lake End.

During the settlement at *Lac des Mures* the Red River was probably a continual flood hazard. Lake Poule D'eau, which may be the same waterbody as *Lac des Mures*, fluctuated in size depending on the date of survey plat maps. This indicates the river was at various stages during the surveys, at times possibly inundating a larger proportion of the area surrounding the lake. We can assume that the Natchitoches Indians would have lived in the adjacent uplands, a settlement pattern like the Coushatta Indian sites north of Shreveport (McCrocklin 1985), and the Apalachee and Biloxi

settlements north of Alexandria (Hunter 1985). Sites such as Colfax Ferry (16NA15) are located on the bluffs overlooking the Red River with associated sites on the opposite side of the river (Hiram "Pete" Gregory, personal communication 2023).

The settlement at *Lac des Mures* can be viewed as another of the kinship clusters in the Natchitoches to Bayou Pierre regions (La Vere 1998b). It became clear when researching the *Lac des Mures* claims that the extended family of François Grappe was intertwined in some manner with almost every purchase of the Natchitoches land in that region. Purchasers were either Grappe family members, had married into the Grappe family, or were members of the Grappe related Trichel family. For example, the 1804 purchases from the Natchitoches were by François Grappe's brother Jean Baptiste Grappe and his older half-brother Julien Besson. The 1808 purchase was by Hypolite Bordelon who was married to François Grappe's niece.

The neighboring landowners who have no known record of purchasing Natchitoches Indian land were also extended François Grappe family members. For example, Michael Chagneau, who owned land north of the village, was François Grappe's son-in-law. Joseph Jeanris, who owned the land north of and adjacent to the Natchitoches villages, was Chagneau's nephew, and his sister married François Grappe's nephew. François Dubois, the furthest north of the Lac de Mures inhabitants, was Joseph Jeanris's brother-in-law (Family Search 2023).

Pierre Gagnier (Gagnon) was a descendant of Henri Trichel. This makes him a cousin to the Trichels and Grappes living at Campti and *Lac des Mures*. Gagnier's daughter married the son of François Dubois. Gagnier and Julien Besson seemed to be settled near each other at Campti and later at *Lac des Mures*. They were also involved in various land deals with each other. Gagnier was close kin to the Bayou Pierre inhabitants. He was brother-in-law to Andre Valentin who had purchased land in the 1780s from Cocay, Chief of the Yatasi. Gagnier was brother-in-law to Pierre Dolet who owned the large grant "San Pedro de Los Adaes" that was situated among the Adaes Indian settlements near Evelyn, Louisiana (Pleasant 2013). Gagnier, like many of his relatives, settled adjacent to or within Indian villages.

What is interesting, and perhaps significant, about the mid-nineteenth-century court cases involving the *Lac des Mures* plantation is that some of the people involved were Grappe descendants. B. B. Grappe was listed as an ancestor of the litigants in the *Lac de Mures* Plantation court cases (Carlisle v. Graves:1953 and Crain v. Graves:1963), and Ben Grappe, likely the same individual, is shown on the map of the *Lac des Mures* Plantation (LSUSA 1890:Sheet 31). The land was situated just east of the Red River Parish line. Plat maps show Baptiste Grappe's land at *Lac des Mures* was situated approximately a half-mile to the east of Ben Grappe's land. More than a century after the death of François Grappe and Baptiste Grappe, their descendants were still involved in *Lac des Mures* affairs.

Tapalcat and Tacuachil

There is evidence for Natchitoches individuals living in regions beyond *Lac des Mures* in the early nineteenth century. While the core group of Natchitoches Indians were settled at *Lac des Mures*, it seems possible that some individuals may have intermingled with Europeans in the Spanish Lake community and at the Bayou Pierre settlement. Both regions were only four or five miles from the *Lac des Mures* settlement.

At least one Natchitoches Indian lived within the community of Europeans at Spanish Lake. A Natchitoches man named Luis Tihoua was domestic partner of Magdalena Christie, the daughter of Jacques Christie and Dorothy Pereau of Natchitoches. Tihoua, Luis Tihoua's father, was possibly born in 1745, and his mother Nahuet was born in 1750. If the dates are correct, each was born while the tribe was living at *Terre des Deserts*. Luis Tihoua was born around 1775 at a place called "*atalpacal*." This could be a scrambled version of Tapalcat Bayou, or it could be a corrupted version of Attakapa. If this is Tapalcat Bayou, this would place his parents, Tihoua and Nahuet, near the present-day Spanish Lake community, implying there was a separate group of Natchitoches Indians living along the northern Spanish Lake shores during the same time the Natchitoches Indians were living at *Isle aux Vaches* and *Lac des Mures*.

Jacques Christi lived in Natchitoches in the 1760s. In 1769 Christi married Robert Dupre's niece, Dorothee Perault dite Vildec. He worked on Remy

Poissot and Robert Dupre's (Poissot's stepson) cattle ranch that was situated just east of the Fish Hatchery site at *Terre des Deserts* (Figure 4). During this time Jacques Christi was living and working near the Natchitoches Indian village. We can only assume that he was quite familiar with the Natchitoches Indians and possibly interacted with them. The Christi family eventually settled on the northwestern shore of Spanish Lake after being granted the land in 1803. In the American land claims, Dorothy Pereau filed land claim 777 in 1813 (ASP 1834c:190) for land at *Terre Blanc*, a stream that flows into the western end of Spanish Lake. In 1823, their daughter Denise Dios filed Rio Hondo land claim 176 for the same land (ASP 1859a:122; LSLO 1823:154–160).

Burton and Smith (2008:156) note that Luis Tihoua and Magdalena Christie lived near *Rancho Tacuachil,* located along Dolet Bayou and Chemard Brake near Evelyn in southern Desoto Parish (Pleasant 2013:124–126). Chief Quincy of the Adaes Indians sold the land called *Tacuachilla* to Athanase Poissot in 1789 (NPRC 1789). By 1795 the land was in the possession of François Prudhomme. In 1810 the rancho was listed on a census of ranches in the jurisdiction of Nacogdoches (Haggard 1945:Appendix D). In that list, Maria Rambere (Rambin), the widow of François Prudhomme was listed as owner.

Luis Tihoua lived near Spanish Lake but moved to the Tacuachil region in the Bayou Pierre settlement. In 1805 he is listed as "Luis, Indian of the Caudacho nation" in a Spanish census of houses east of the Sabine (Haggard 1945:Appendix B entry 24). At that time he was most likely still living along Bayou Terre Blanc, a few miles north of Los Adaes, because he was listed immediately after his father-in-law Santiago Cristin (Jacques Christi) who in 1810 is noted living at the "place known as the White Land" (Haggard 1945:Appendix D), the drainage known as *Terre Blanc*. It is currently unknown whether other Natchitoches Indians lived in either location.

Nineteenth-Century Changes

1806 to 1835

Glover (1935:898) continued a trend that began in the early nineteenth century of writing the Natchitoches Indians a premature obituary. He stated: "In 1805 the Natchitoches numbered fifty. Shortly afterwards, they ceased to exist as a distinct tribe, having been completely amalgamated with the other tribes of the Caddo Confederacy." In the nineteenth century others would issue similar declarations on the demise of the Natchitoches, but they remained an identifiable group, well beyond the 1835 Caddo treaty.

Lee (1998:221) stated that "although no longer a separate entity, the Natchitoches chief still held a place of authority among the associated bands." There may have been only a few Natchitoches remaining during the nineteenth century, but they maintained a distinct identity separate from the Caddo. An identity does not have a minimum numerical qualifier to exist; while they may have begun to integrate with the Caddo, they did not cease to exist.

In 1806 the Natchitoches Indians were noted living with the Pascagoula Indians near the present Red River Parish boundary (Flores 1977, 1984). They were mentioned in a report from August 1807 when they arrived back at Natchitoches, Louisiana, along with a large party of Caddo and other northern tribes (Sibley 1922:50). The following year Dahaste sold Hypolite Bordelon the remaining portion of the *Lac des Mures* grant (LOSL 1808:175–176). After the sale of the remainder of their lands in 1808 there is little information on the Natchitoches. John Sibley did note they were still near *Lac des Mures* in 1810 (Garret 1944:390). From that time, the Natchitoches are almost, as the saying goes, "lost to history" as they continued their northward trek along the Red River toward the Caddo Lands.

In 1807 John Sibley noted that the Anadauquas, Nacadochetes, St. Pedros, Nabadachoes, and Texas Indians were all under the "uncontrolled influence of the Caddo chief" Dehahuit (Sibley 1922:95). A few years later in 1817, Dehahuit stated that he was Chief of the Kadohadacho, Yatasi, Adaes, Nadaco, Nacogdoches, Hainai, Kichai, Taovayas, and Towakani (Lee 1998:185–186). It seems that the Caddo and other affiliated tribes were consolidating into a single political, if not social, body as each individually got weaker. It is interesting that the Natchitoches Indians are not on the Dehahuit's 1817 list. We can only speculate that perhaps they were still living farther

south than these other tribes mentioned by Dehahuit or were just not yet politically and socially affiliated with the other Caddo tribes in the region. La Vere (1998:138) states that by 1820 Dehahuit's "Kadohadacho chiefdom comprised the Cadodacho, Petit Caddo, Yatasi, and Natchitoches communities." The exact nature of this chiefdom is unknown.

The situation for the Natchitoches Indians may have been more desperate than social and political affiliations. In 1817 John Sibley stated that the Natchitoches Indians, along with the Adaes and Yatasi Indians, were "extinct as nations; a few straggling individuals only remaining" (Sibley 1817:40). In the 1824 census their living condition was described as "Scattering." (NARA 1824a:472). In a letter dated February 25, 1831, Jehiel Brooks wrote "by the tacit permission of the government: Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muscogy, Natchitoches, Yattessi, Adaie, Eyisse, Tunica, Fougla, Anadaco, Ienie, and Houwanee, who lead a wandering unsettled life, but attached to this region of country and apply to this agency for various assistance" (NARA 1831a:560). In the interval between the 1824 census and Brook's letter the condition of the Natchitoches does not seem to have improved.

In the 1824 Sulphur Fork census the Natchitoches Indians were living 30 miles southeast of the Sulphur Fork Agency. If the census location is accurate, this places them a few miles south of the Coushatta Indian villages (McCrocklin 1985), and a few miles north of Shreveport in the Caddo Prairie region. We can only assume they were living in the same region in 1831.

The Caddo Lands would be a centralized area during the 1820s into the 1830s. In 1825, the Indian agent at Sulphur Fork, George Gray, wrote a letter to the Secretary of War stating:

> The Caddou Chief requests me to inform you that he would be thankful to have his lands designated by some natural or other boundary line. I have directed the Caddou Chief to consider his boundary line from Sulphur Fork to a large creek called Cypress Creek and is now generally known as the Caddou's boundary line [NARA 1825:438].

Though the actual treaty lands would also include all the land in Arkansas between the Sulphur River and the Red River, the Caddo Lands designated by Gray would be at the heart of the 1835 Caddo Treaty (US Statutes 1835a). The southern end of the Caddo Lands would include the disputed Grappe claim.

In this same letter Gray recommends that all the small bands of Indians in Louisiana move to the Caddo Lands to "remove them from amongst the whites." It seems that from the perspective of the Indian agent, the Caddo Lands would be envisioned as an Indian Reserve, and not one just for the Caddo. The Natchitoches and Quapaw were some of the first outside groups to move to the de facto reserve with the Caddo already living there.

Other tribal groups like the Yatasi and Adaes remained in their homelands in the Bayou Pierre settlement at the time of the 1824 census. As we have noted previously, the Caddo Chief Dehahuit considered himself chief of these two tribes possibly because of the deteriorating condition of each. They too would eventually be caught up in the treaty. The signing of the 1835 Caddo Treaty (US Statutes 1835a) marked the finale of the Natchitoches, Adaes and Yatasi presence in Louisiana and the Lower Red River valley.

From this point onward the history of the Natchitoches, Yatasi, and Adaes would be subsumed under the larger body of the Caddo. There are indications the Natchitoches may have lived separately at times, but they have been somewhat invisible in the historical record while the Yatasi and Adaes at the present time are completely invisible in the historical record post-1835. While the Natchitoches were moving up the Red River after they sold their lands at *Lac des Mures*, notable events happening away from them would eventually envelop them and every other Caddo tribal group in the region (see La Vere [1998] and Smith [1991, 1995, 2005] for a detailed review of the Kadohadacho and other Caddo tribes during the period 1800–1835).

1835 to 1859

Evidence of the Natchitoches is found within the 1835 Caddo Treaty, as they are represented among the signers of the treaty and other documents. A probable Natchitoches Chief named Chowabah was present at the Caddo councils prior to the signing of the 1835 treaty (US Serials 1842:118). The second to last name on the list of chiefs and elders who signed the treaty is a

man named Sohone (NARA 1835b:12 and US Statutes 1835a). In 1838 several chiefs and other head men of the Caddo signed a letter to the President discussing the agent to act as representative for their annuities. One of the names was written as "So ha na;" in a subsequent letter it is written as Sohonin (NARA 1838a:196, 1838b). All these names are very suggestive of John Sohano.

There is a long time between the land sales at *Lac des Mures* and the treaty signing, but we have no idea how old John Sohano was at the time he sold his lands. Apparently, longevity was not out of the ordinary for some Caddo. Sibley (1817:41) noted that when Yatasi Chief Antione died in 1812 he was over 100 years old. Another Caddo who died in 1813 stated that the first Frenchman he had met was Bernard de la Harpe, leading Sibley to estimate he would have been 110 years old.

If there are references to the Natchitoches in the middle to late nineteenth century, we have failed to recognize their presence. In 1843 Cho-wee (the Bow), Principal Chief of the Natchitoches, was painted by J. M. Stanley (1852:51), but the painting was unfortunately destroyed in a fire (Swanton 1942:96). It is possible that Cho-wee is the same person as the Caddo Chief Chowa or Cho Wa who signed his name at the 1843 Council and the 1844 treaty (Winfrey and Day 1995a:155, 1995b:118). These names are reminiscent of the name Chowabah, one of the signers of the 1835 Caddo Treaty (NARA 1835b; US Statutes 1835a). Possibly these are just corrupted names of the same chief who was probably Natchitoches if Stanley (1852:51) is correct in his assessment.

Guadaloupe (Warloupe), Caddo Chief following the Civil War, was born near Natchitoches in 1825 (Swanton 1942:Plate 4-1). He could have been a Natchitoches Indian, but we do not have definitive evidence other than birthplace. As late as 1873 he was present at a council with the Governor of Texas and listed under the name Warloupie (Winfrey and Day 1995c:358). Caddo Jake, Caddo Chief between 1890 and 1902, was Natchitoches (Swanton 1931:205, 1942:26).

The existence of the Natchitoches identity after the probable merger into the greater Caddo tribe is suggested by the fact that at least one, if not two, Natchitoches managed to become Caddo chiefs in the last half of the nineteenth century. If the chiefs listed as Chowabah and Chowa were the same person as Cho-wee, then this provides a lineage of Natchitoches chiefs from the 1835 Caddo Treaty to at least 1902, beginning with Chowa then Warloupe and finally ending with Caddo Jake at the start of the twentieth century. It would be crucial to know the relationship between the Natchitoches Chief Cho-Wee (Chowa, Chowabah) and the last known chief in the Natchitoches region, Dahaste. Were they direct descendants such as father-son or was there someone who led between the two chiefs? Was there a direct line of succession to chief within the small remnant social group?

Reference to an 1853 census listing Natchitoches is cited in some publications (Schoolcraft 1853:Table F), however, it is a copy of the previously described 1824 Sulphur Fork census. The source for the data is noted as an "informant" of Schoolcraft's, but he simply used available resources, in this case a congressional address by US President James Monroe. Document F was a speech Monroe gave before the Senate in January 1825, a little over a month before his term ended (Schoolcraft 1853:573–586). This speech was a precursor for the later Indian removals from the eastern United States. Table F, the census of Indians within the existing states and territories, was included at the end of the speech. Most telling, and obvious is the fact the speech and table are dated to the year 1825.[5]

Schoolcraft (1853) compiled a collection of previous Office of Indian Trade (1806–1823) and Bureau of Indian Affairs (post-1824) documents relating to the Indian tribes of the United States. There was no 1853 census listing the Natchitoches Indians, or the Yatasi and Adaes Indians, only a publishing of the 1824 Sulphur Fork census. After the census, and after the possible 1835 signature of John Sohano, the Natchitoches were not listed again in a formal census or government documents pertaining to the Red River.

After the 1835 treaty, the Natchitoches may have stayed a distinct group for a while, but they are only briefly mentioned during the 1835 to 1859 period. We can speculate that the Natchitoches remained close to the Caddo along their pathway from the 1835 Caddo Treaty to their final settlement in Indian Territory. This was the same for other smaller groups such as the

Yatasi and Adaes that do not seem to be documented after the treaty. At some point during the 1835 to 1859 period, the smaller groups must have merged into the greater Caddo tribe. The Natchitoches were not well documented beyond the 1852 Stanley painting of Chowee. Going forward we will have to infer the presence of the Natchitoches based on the movements of the Caddo.

It may be possible that some Natchitoches ended up in Mexico, but we cannot be confident in this assumption. There is no direct evidence whether there were Natchitoches among the group that went to Mexico as they are only ever mentioned as being Caddo. In 1929, Caddo elder Mary Inkanish (1935) remembered the time of the 1835 Caddo Treaty and the Caddo breaking into different groups, with some going into Texas and others going to Mexico. She also noted that those groups did not break up by tribe but rather each group was comprised of different tribal members.

The leadership of the group that went to Mexico is of great interest and may be relevant to the subject of this paper. Mary Inkanish (1935) related that the leader of the Mexico group was a man named Mon-Won or Mon-Well. This is probably the infamous Spaniard Manuel Flores who was actively recruiting Indians – including Caddo, Cherokee, Kickapoo, and Delaware – to fight with Mexico against the Texans during the 1830s (Nance 1970:115, 117, 140; US Serial 1838).

At a symposium during the 1996 Northwestern State University Folk Festival, Cecile Carter inquired about the identity of Chief Mon-Well. Carter (1995:278–279, 281) had previously mentioned Chief Mon-Well and briefly discussed Manuel Flores. Those of us at that symposium who had studied the Spanish of western Louisiana knew that Manuel Flores had overseen a group of Caddo and other Indians in the late 1830s, but we did not suspect the Caddo remembered Flores as a chief. There is no primary documentation that he was Native American; it is more likely he was Spanish, and even possibly a native of Bexar.

Sometime after 1813 Manuel Flores settled in the Neutral Ground in northwestern Natchitoches Parish. In 1823, he filed a Rio Hondo land claim for the land that was situated a few miles north of the former Los Adaes Presidio (ASP 1859a:131–132) and approximately four miles from the author's childhood home in Spanish Lake. His name and legacy were well known to most people in the Spanish Lake community.

Flores had originally settled in that region as part of the refugee population associated with Gutierrez-Magee Expedition of 1812–1813. He remained active in parts of Texas during the years after the Gutierrez-Magee Expedition collapsed and was defeated at the Battle of Medina in 1813. This entails a three-decade fight against the Spanish and eventually the Texans, ending with his death in 1839. It is worth noting that Texas Rangers spotted Flores along the border several years after his supposed 1839 death (Cox 2008:384 fn. 8).

In 1824 Flores was included on the Sulphur Fork agency list of licensed Indian traders (NARA 1824b:465). This would have worked to his advantage recruiting Caddo and other Indians to fight for Mexico. Living in Natchitoches Parish and being a licensed Indian trader, it is possible he was acquainted with Natchitoches while they lived and moved up the Red River. His land claim was only eight miles southwest of *Lac des Mures*. He was one of three men who were driven away from the 1835 Caddo Treaty signing. It is also noted that the Caddo covered Flores with blankets to hide him so he would not be arrested (US Serial 1842:21, 28).

The daily journal of Pedro Julian Miracle, an associate of Flores, notes the presence of the Caddo in Mexico and mentions the village of the Caddo once they crossed back into Texas (US Serial 1853:14–17). It is very likely that as a child, Mary Inkanish was part of the group of Caddo who were with Flores and Miracle in Matamoros, Mexico, and later near the Nueces River (Nance 1970:140, 275). In her testimony, Mary Inkanish remembered crossing a river named the "No-Aces," which can only be the Nueces River.

Though Mary Inkanish was a young child in the 1830s, her interview is a firsthand account of the Cordova-Flores rebellions of the late 1830s and early 1840s (Nance 1970:113–141). This evidence should dispel the belief that this group of Caddo were simply living in Mexico. They were there as part of the Cordova-Flores rebellion and were fighting alongside the Mexicans against the Texans.

By 1844 the Caddo that had gone to Mexico

were back in Texas at various Caddo villages (Winfrey and Day 1995b:81–82). Manuel Flores was reportedly killed in 1939 and Vicente Cordova was killed in 1842 (Mann 1951; Nance 1970). The Mexican leadership involved with the Caddo and other tribes was effectively gone by 1844. This probably helped to ensure the Caddo participated with other tribal groups in the 1843 Council at Tehuacana Creek and signing of the 1844 treaty with the Republic of Texas at Tehuacana Creek (Winfrey and Day 1995a:155, 1995b:118).

In the 1840s, the Caddo were living on the Brazos River. The Tehuacana Creek councils were held on that tributary of the Brazos that flows southwestward from Hill County into McClennan County, where it joins the Brazos River just south of Waco. Jose Maria and the Nadaco were living near Comanche Peak at that time (Smith 2005), a landmark northwest of Tehuacana Creek. The Natchitoches must have been in the Brazos area since Stanley (1852:51) painted "Principal Natchitoches Chief" Chow-Wee.

In his painting of Se-hia-ah-di-you, the wife of the Caddo Ah-de-bah, Stanley (1852:49) notes that that there was a "view of Tiwocanny Creek, Texas" used as a backdrop for the painting. In 1844 and 1845, the Caddo participated in several talks at the Tehuacana Creek councils (Winfrey and Day 1995b). In 1846 the Caddo and several other tribes from the region signed a treaty with the United States (US Statutes 1846). Curiously, the Caddo, Ioni, or Nadaco were not listed among the tribes signing the treaty. The names of Caddo chiefs were mistakenly included within the list of the Tonkaways.

We must assume that in the 1850s the Natchitoches were still probably living near or among the Caddo in northern Texas. According to an 1851 letter written by Colonel Samuel Cooper, Assistant Adjutant General of the United States, the tribes along the Brazos River were "united in two separate bands, and each band is governed by a head chief, each tribe having its own particular chief who is subordinate to the head chief of the band" (Ritchie 1939:330). It is obvious that the Caddo were slowly consolidating with fewer distinct groups. It is unclear where and how the Natchitoches and their chief fit into this framework.

In 1859, the Caddo left the Brazos Reserve and moved to Indian Territory (Perttula and Cast 2016; Smith 2005). We must assume the Natchitoches were among the Caddo who moved to Indian Territory, a final home after a century on the move.

Corrupted Natchitoches and Caddo Names

During the research for this article, we were able to ascertain the tribal affiliations of certain people listed in historical documents. We also were able to associate varying names within the documents. This helped to identify Natchitoches leaders on the Red River and in Texas. There are major issues with varying Indian names in historic documents and the Europeanization of Indian names during the French and Spanish periods. Later, during the American period, the translation issues seemed to increase dramatically. For lack of a better term, these varying names can only be labelled as corrupted names; a dictionary definition of "corrupted" is "to alter from the original or correct form or version." While we cannot know the actual spelling/pronunciation of most names, we can track how they were constantly altered and sometimes completely butchered in translation.

A prime example of how names were changed in documentation is found in the American land claims with the Americanization of Spanish and French names. In the past this has altered geographical regions and masked the inhabitants due to the erroneous spelling of names and places. An example would be Bayou DeCey (Bayou DeKey, Bayou de la Deesa) in DeSoto Parish being mistaken for Bayou Scie in Sabine Parish. Bayou Scie itself is probably an Americanized name of the Spanish *Rancho Vallecillo* (Pleasant 2014). Another eighteenth-century Spanish rancho was named *Rancho Belmudes* or *Velmudes*, but in the American land claims it was named Bermuda. In the land claims and in historic documents, surnames such as the Spanish name Arocha was often changed to Durohas (and on a more personal level, the French name Plaisance was changed to Pleasant).

Some changes were drastic enough to cloak people within the historic records. This leads to mistakes in the interpretation of documents and the people involved. The translation from Natchitoches, French, and Spanish languages into English was surely a complex process. Considering that just in

the Natchitoches region there were French, Spanish, German, Swiss, Irish, English, Italians, and American Indians involved in the American land claims, translation errors could only be expected. Illiteracy, along with the language barriers, was also a major issue throughout the French and Spanish periods.

In such multinational conditions, the corruption of European names and Native American names would naturally be a common occurrence. Hyamoc, longtime Chief of the Natchitoches, was involved in two land sales where his name was spelled the same in each document. In other cases, his name was routinely spelled several different ways (Yamok in a 1780 list of medal chiefs, Yamoch in the 1790 *Lac des Mures* land grant to the Natchitoches, and Tomoc in Hypolite Bordelon's published land claim at *Lac des Mures* [ASP 1834b:74]). Even in a recent index of the French Archives housed in the Natchitoches Parish Clerk of Courts office, the chief's name was written as Hyamoe.

In 1764, the name of a Natchitoches Indian was written as le petit Keonan (NPCR 1764b:205); 26 years later it was written as Le petit Queouan (NPCR 1790b:200). In Hypolite Bordelon's handwritten land claim, the name of the Natchitoches Chief was spelled Dahatse (LOSL 1808:175, 1812:78) but in published version of that same land claim the name is written as Dehuste (ASP 1834b:74). The name was also written as Datze (Smith 2005:63).

In 1790 Andre Rambin purchased land from an Indian named Cayacaille (ASP 1834b:82). The name in the conveyance index entry for the land sale to Andre Rambin in 1790 was written as Caya Caye (NPCR 1790) (the index ledger is not part of the actual French conveyance archive and is possibly dated to 1819, but I assume the individual documents would have been used to make the index itself). A 1764 contract lists a Natchitoches Indian named Caya Caye (NPCR 1764c:241). We can safely conclude that the name of the Indian who sold land to Andre Rambin in 1790 was a Natchitoches Indian named Caya Caye, not Cayacaille.[6] He may also be the same person named OCaihy, the son of the Grand Chief La Tete Platte (NPCR 1764b:205), but at this point we cannot be completely confident in that assessment due to the inability to decipher the last few letters of the name in that document.

A name most researchers encounter when studying the eighteenth-century French colonial history of the Natchitoches region is that of Tsaoua Camte (Tsaoüa Camté, Travüa Camté). Local stories and histories swirl about this person, but little fact is involved in most accounts. In 1778, Tsaoua Camte sold land along the Red River to Emmanuel Trichel and the widow Alexis (Louise Marguerite Guedon, widow of Alexis Grappe) (NPCR 1778:390–391). In another conveyance document that also encompassed modern Campti, Louisiana, and was associated with the same French family, the name is written as Esaoua Camte (LOSL 1778:87–88). In 1798 the name is written as Slaoua Camte or Shaoua Camte in a succession for the land (LOSL 1798:119). Unfortunately, these conveyances were copies of the originals made over two decades later, so the name in each original document could be slightly different.

Perhaps the most prominent example in our study is the complete corruption of the name John Sohano. As John Sohano was noted to be a "Civilized and Christian Indian," there is little wonder that the Christian name John was prefixed to his Indian name. Confusion associated with his name is first encountered in a document dated after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Within the documents associated with the land claim of Pierre Gagnier, the name of the Natchitoches Indian is spelled three different ways: John Sohano; John Sohanno; and Jean Sohana (LOSL 1804a:18–19, 1812:78). In the neighboring 1804 land claim of Julien Besson the name is written in multiple places as John Sahoua (LOSL 1804b:10–12).

The original Natchitoches Parish Conveyance Records show a similar series of spellings of the name. In the September 7, 1804, sale to Jean Baptiste Grappe the name is spelled Sho nah several times and spelled Saha hana once within the document, the name for the *signature marque ordinaire* is written as John Sho nah (NPCR 1804a:567–568). In the sale to Julien Besson the name is written as John Sahona four times and as John Sho nah twice (NPCR 1804b:569–570). Edward Turner of Natchitoches functioned as Notary in both sales on the same day and offered a myriad of ways to spell the name.

Considering the French "h" would be silent

in Sahona and Sho nah, the name would probably be spoken perhaps as "Sa ona" or "So na", depending on whether you are speaking French, Spanish, or English. It is very likely that the Americans would have pronounced the "h" in Sohano. As late as 1804 the name was still being written as Sahona (LOSL 1804b:11–12). In 1812, during the American land claims, the name was written as Sohano. This is the name that would make it into the published record (ASP 1834b:77).

In a 1780 conveyance for a house and land near Grande Ecore, an Indian name appears to be written as Saynan Camte (LOSL 1780:120). In 1805, Pierre Gagnier and Julien Besson signed a conveyance with an another Indian named Saugnant in the text and Sauynant in the *signature marque ordinaire* (LOSL 1805:113). Within the text of the conveyance and the signature for the *marque ordinaire* the name is spelled two different ways. The use of Camte suggests this could be the same person as Tsaoua Camte. This also has implications to the name Sho nah and Saha nan found in the 1804 conveyances.

The first time the name is encountered in 1778 the name is written as Tsaoua Camte. As late as 1798 the name was still written as Tsaoua or Esaoua Camte (LOSL 1798:119). In 1798 the name Saynan Camte is used. Later in 1805 the name Sauynant is used. The Caddo use of Tsa as a prefix (Parsons 1941:25–27) was probably written as Sa by various French and Spanish notaries, and later by the Americans.

The relationship between Tsaoua Camte and John Sahona is intriguing. Are they the same person? Did Tsaoua Camte become the Christian Indian known as John Sahona? The evidence suggests there is a high probability they are the same person. The documentation suggests that names such as Sohano and Saha nan are probably corruptions of the name Saynan Camte (LOSL 1798). The addition of the name Camte in this conveyance adds more question of the relationship to Tsaoua Camte. We must consider whether this series of documents refers to a single individual whose name is corrupted within the documents or if these are different people. Once again this is a series of documents written by Americans from French conveyances, the names have been corrupted through translation or trying to interpret decades old French handwriting.[7]

I think we can conclude that between the 1790s and 1804 Tsaoua Camte or Saynan Camte became a Christian and added the Christian name John to his Indian name. Afterwards we get variants of Saynan such as "Sho nah" and Saha nah", until we finally end with Sohano being published in the American State Papers. If this is an accurate analysis, then for over two centuries this corruption of Indian names created the illusion that Tsaoua Camte and John Sohano were two different people. Tsaoua Camte, the mysterious "Chief Campti", who was never heard from again after that single land sale to Manuel Trichel and widow Grappe in 1778 (NPCR 1778:390–391), may have been right in front of us under the name John Sohano.

It is possible that John Sohano signed the 1835 Caddo Treaty (NARA 1835b). The name Sohane appears twice on the treaty. The name also appears in later documents that were signed by the Caddo. In 1838 the name So ha na appears in a letter to the President (NARA 1838a:196) and a week later the name is written as Sohanin in another letter to Charles Seawall (NARA 1838b:143). This is a coincidence that can only be explained if these letters referred to John Sohano. If so, then we have a series of land sales and official documents from 1778 to 1838 in which John Sohano appeared. This would imply he lived to be quite elderly.

The notarial record has great fault in the corruption of names, both European and Indian. The probable notarial mistake of interpreting the "n" in Sahona as an "u" led to a change of the name Sahona to Sohauo in some land claims. I think it is without much doubt that the various French notaries such as Cesar Borme and Daniel Pain were very loose in their interpretations of Native American names. Later in the American period John C. Carr and Edward Turner were also very loose in their interpretation of Native names. The one person we cannot forget within the translation is the translator. We know from the Hypolite Bordelon conveyance that François Grappe functioned as interpreter for the tribe in that instance. We must speculate that the individuals who translated a language would have idiosyncrasies of how they would say a Caddo name based on how they understood the name, and this is what was written into the conveyance records.

The corruption of Indian names did not cease

in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century along the Red River; it continued within the documentation of the Caddo in Texas in the post-1835 treaty era. We can speculate that some of the similar names in different treaties and councils are probably names that have been corrupted. This can be seen in the names of several prominent Caddo of the 1840s and 1850s, including Natchitoches. Due to the issues of name corruption, in the post-1835 period, Natchitoches are virtually invisible in the historical record except for a brief mention by Stanley (1852:51).

In trying to decipher Caddo names in the Texas treaties, one important fact is that in some publications of the May 15, 1846, treaty at Council Springs, the Caddo were not listed as one of the tribes that signed the treaty. They are mistakenly listed under the Tonkaways (Winfrey and Day 1995c:50). On the original treaty document the Tonkaways chiefs are grouped at the top of the page with the tribal name next to their marks, while the Caddo signatures are at the bottom of the page but without their tribal name listed (NARA 1846:5). It appears the published versions of the treaty have inadvertently grouped together all the people who signed on that page into the Tonkaways, based on the single tribal name at the top of the page.

Natchitoches were among the tribal groups present in this region of north central Texas in the 1840s because Stanley (1852:51) painted the Natchitoches Chief Cho-Wee, a name that was noted as meaning "The Bow." It seemed that after this one mention the Natchitoches are absent from the historical record until the Caddo Jake era of the 1890s. However, they may have been in the documentation for the entire time, but due to name corruption they were hidden within the Caddo. This perhaps started as early as 1835 and continued for almost 15 years.

Among the signers of the 1835 Caddo Treaty is a man named Chowabah, likely the same person as Cho-Wee. Chowabah was also present at the June 26 and June 27, 1835, council meeting where the Caddo discussed whether to sign the treaty (US serials 1842:117–118). In 1837, 1843 and 1844 chiefs or headmen named Chowaabah, Chowa and Cho wa were listed among those that signed treaties with the Republic of Texas or attended the Tehuacana Creek councils (NARA 1837b:230; Winfrey and Day 1995a, 1995b). I think it is likely that these names are corrupted, possibly even including the name Cho-Wee. Smith (1995:196 fn. 60) previously suggested the possibility that these are the same person. In reference to Cho-wee, Smith states: "Most likely this is the Chowabah from 1835." Lee (1998:221) also stated that Chowabah was possibly the same person as Chow-wee.

It seems unlikely that the Natchitoches Chief Cho-wee would appear only once in 1843 (Stanley 1852:51), and not show up in the various treaties and councils in the same immediate region of Texas during the 1840s and 1850s. We cannot even be certain that Stanley correctly ascertained the name of the Natchitoches chief he painted due to the common issue of translation error. According to da Cruz (1957:11–12) the Caddo word for a bow is *cahwey* and the name for arrow was *ba*, leading to the conclusion that this name Chowabah literally meant "bow and arrow" (Lee 1998:221). The translation errors are classic examples of language corruption based on either interpretation of how a person heard a name or how the name was translated.

We can conclude that the diverse spellings of Chowabah, Chowaabah, Chowa, Cho wa, and Cho-wee are probably references to a single individual. If Stanley (1952:51) was correct in his tribal designation, this individual was the "Principal Chief of the Natchitoches." An individual and a tribal group have probably been in front of us for over a century and a half, hidden under a mirage of names. If we are correct in our assertion of these names, then we have a connection between the pre-1835 Natchitoches leaders and those of the 1840s and onward to Guadalupe and Caddo Jake, with only minor gaps (Table 4).

On the 1835 Caddo Treaty it appears that the Nadaco Chief Jose Maria probably signed under the name Aach (NARA 1835b:12), the same spelling was included in the published treaty (US Statutes 1835a:473). On the original copy of the 1846 treaty there is a chief named "Hose Maria or Aish" listed under the Tonkaways (NARA 1846:5). In the publication *Texas Indian Papers*, it is "Jose Maria (or Aish)" (Winfrey and Day 1995c:50). This spelling is also on an 1837 letter that was signed by some Caddo leaders (NARA 1837b:230). Jose Maria's name was also spelled Iesh.

Table 4. Natchitoches Leadership from the Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries.

Chief/Tribal Member	Alternate Names	Dates	Vendee/Source	Known Location
Caddo Jake	Jake Hendrix	1890 to 1902	Swanton (1931:205 and 1942:26)	Oklahoma
Guadalupe? (born near Natchitoches)	Walupi Warloupie War-loop-ie	1872 to 1887	Miller 1996 Winfrey and Day (1995c:358)	Oklahoma
	Chowaabah	1837	Stanley (1852)	
	Chowa	1843	Winfrey and Day	Tehuacana Creek
Cho-Wee	Cho Wa	1844	Winfrey and Day	Brazos region
Chowabah	Same person as Cho-Wee	1835	1835 Caddo Treaty	Red River
Dahatse	Datze Dehuste	1808	Smith (2005:63) Hypolite Bordelon (ASP1834b)	Lac des Mures
	Saha nah			
	Sohano	1804	Gagnier, Besson, and	Lac des Mures
	Sho nah	1804	Grappe	Lac des Mures
	Sauynant	1805	Elie	Campti or Grande
Sahona	Saynan Camte	1797	Grappe and Trichel	Ecore
Caya Caye	Cayacaille	1790	Andre Rambin 1790	Isle aux Vaches
		1764	Jean Baptiste Dupre	Terre des Deserts
Le Petit Queouan	le petit Keonan	1790	Bernard Lefere??	Isle aux Vaches?
Tsaoua Camte	Same person as Saynan and Sohano?	1778	Trichel and widow Grappe	Campti
	Yamoc	1764	Jean Baptiste Dupre	Terre des Desert
	Yomach	1780	Jean Baptiste Laberry	Terre des Desert
	Yamok	1780	Medal Chiefs	L'isle aux Vaches
Hyamoc	Tomoc	1815	Hypolite Bordelon	Mention in land claim
La Tete Platte		1755 (Death)	Mills (1977:97)	Terre des Deserts
Chief Blanc		1714?	St. Denis	Terre des Deserts

Note: a few gaps are apparent due to a lack of historical records. Importantly, the table shows alternate names for each leader. Most names are discussed in text.

Another signer of the 1835 treaty was a Caddo named Ossinse. This name appears a few more times in historical documentation. Lee (1998:218) speculated that this could be Cissany mentioned by Webb and Gregory (1978). I concur with this evaluation. I think these names refer to the same person.

Another Caddo name that appears in the 1835 Caddo Treaty and in other documentation is Chowawanow. Lee (1998:214) stated that Chowawanow did not sign the actual 1835 treaty document, but this may not be entirely correct. One of the Caddo names on the treaty was Tehowawanow, or more likely Tchowawanow. The first two letters of the name appear to be "Tc" and not "Te"; if so, then this is another version of Chowawanow. Two sets of signatures occurred on July 1, 1835, and in both sets the name Tchowawanow appears (NARA 1835b:12, 15). In the third set of signatures from July 3, 1835, only seven Caddo signed the document. In this set the name Chowawanow appears for the first time (NARA 1835b:10). John Edwards was the interpreter during the treaty signing, but significantly during this third set of

signatures, his father Larkin Edwards was a witness to the signing. This may have influenced how the name was translated and spelled.

The name Tchowananow appeared in a July 9, 1835, document that made Jehiel Brooks the attorney for the Caddo (NARA 1835c:203). On January 9, 1837, two identical letters were written that dealt with the Caddo annuities, both with the same Caddo head men making their marks. In one letter the name Tchawaninon appeared, while in the other the name Tchowaninow appeared (NARA 1837a:255, 1837b:230). In the ratified treaty (NARA 1835b:4) the name was spelled Tehowawinow. This latter spelling is one more example where a name is altered from an original document to the published version of the document.

In Civil War records at the National Archives there is a 2nd Lieutenant Caw-wee-wah-now serving among Chief George Washington's Squadron of Indians, CSA Reserve Squadron Cavalry (NARA 1927:1–2). Even within this National Archive entry, the name is spelled two different ways. On the actual military service card, the name is spelled Caw-wee wah-now while on the NARA website the name is spelled Caw Wee, Wah Mon. It is probable that this mistake in spelling occurred because on the first page of the card the last three letters of the name have the appearance of "mon" instead of "now." Anyone unfamiliar with this name would probably make the same spelling mistake.

Caddo Chief Bintah's name seems to have been spelled more consistently than most Caddo names, possibly owing to the simplicity of the syllables. However, this name was slightly corrupted occasionally. The name was spelled Binchah in the original treaty document and the published version of the1846 Treaty at Council Springs (NARA 1846:5; US Statutes 1846:847). Winfrey and Day (1995c:50) spelled the name Bintah, suggesting they changed it to what they thought was the correct spelling. In 1843, Stanley (1852:48) painted Principal Caddo Chief Bin-tah, which he translated to "Wounded Man."

Caddo Chief (or Captain) Hahdebah's name is spelled Highahidoch in the published version of the 1835 Caddo Treaty (US Statutes 1835a:471), but was possibly written as Hiahhidoch on the actual document (NARA 1835b:12). It was spelled Hidebah on the letter to the President in which the Caddo formally agreed to sell their lands (NARA 1835a:296). Later it is written Had-dah-bah at the 1844 Council at Tehuacana Creek (Winfrey and Day 1995b:19). Caddo Chief Ah-De-Bah was painted by Stanley (1852:49), who translated the name as "The Tall Man." In an 1851 letter describing a visit to the tribes along the Brazos River, Colonel Samuel Cooper spelled the name as Haddebar (Ritchie 1939:330).

The name of Guadeloupe, Caddo Chief after the Civil War, was sometimes spelled Warloupe (Swanton 1942:Plate 4-1). His name is spelled War-Loop-ie on the Wichita Agency Rolls for 1869 (Texas Beyond History 2023). As late as 1873 he is present at a council with the Governor of Texas and listed under the name Warloupie (Winfrey and Day 1995c:358). He is also referred to as Walupi (Miller 1996:245).

This discussion of Caddo names gives the reader an idea of how the names were corrupted in the historical documentation. Hopefully, more individuals will be tracked that show the existence of "lost peoples." Some corrupted names are easily recognizable while others require some analysis to determine the individual being referenced. We do not know which names would be correct because we were not present to hear the person say their name and we must rely on the translations of others in attendance at the treaties and the councils of the period.

From a historical vantage point, the correct name for any individual is less important than knowing the collective range of the spellings to track individuals in documentation. In this paper the most important aspect of this discussion concerned the corrupted names the Natchitoches Indians. We can conclude that it is very probable that Cho-Wee, Cho wa and Chowabah are the same person. This brings to light the Natchitoches presence at the Tehuacana Creek councils and along the Brazos River. Deciphering the names provided crucial evidence linking those people who once lived in the Red River valley with those that later settled along the Brazos River.

Natchitoches Indian Migration vs. Removal

Numerous researchers have discussed the removal of the Caddo Indians and their time between the 1835

Caddo Treaty and their eventual move to Indian Territory (Carter 1995:344–349; Glover 1935; Smith 2005; Swanton 1942). I see no point in another in-depth discussion on the removal, rehashing the story and quoting the same sources. I will only give a brief discussion of the Caddo removal to tie in with the Natchitoches removal. I am solely concerned with how colonial removal affected the Natchitoches from the time they were still in the Natchitoches region and began moving northward along the Red River. Eventually the Natchitoches were caught up within the Caddo endeavors in Texas and Indian Territory and became part of the larger story discussed in the sources cited above.

As the United States expanded westward, changes of sovereignty occurred throughout each newly acquired territory. The government changed, but the "foreign" people settled in those regions remained. European land rights were especially sacred and protected in the change of sovereigns (Sayre 1918). The European land rights would be the reason that American land claims focused on "Foreign Title," a grant of land given to an inhabitant by a previous sovereign. Later, due to a mass influx of refugees associated with the defeat of the Gutierrez-Magee Expedition in 1813, the Rio Hondo land claims in Louisiana would be focused on occupation, habitation, and cultivation of a claim on February 22, 1819, the date of the signing of the Adams-Onis treaty. Again, land rights were given to European inhabitants even as refugees and former citizens of a foreign country. This would not be the case for the Native Americans as their land rights were not protected. This had direct effects on the Natchitoches and other tribal groups.

We have been taught that the Indian Removal Act of 1830 (US Statutes 1830) was the beginning of the officially legislated removal period that lasted until 1850. However, this was something that began well before then. We can look at James Monroe's presidency, especially his 1825 speech before the Senate (ASP 1834d), and earlier to 1814 (Stephens 2013). Removal and assimilation of Native Americans is also a prominent legacy of Thomas Jefferson dating to the late eighteenth century (Bragaw 2006). However, I think we can also conclude, without much debate, that Indian removal in general occurred from the earliest contact period. Banner (2005:200) stated "removal looks more like a *continuation* [his emphasis] of earlier land policy than a departure from it."

The Natchitoches Removal

The Natchitoches leaving their eighteenth-century homeland can be viewed many ways, most of them not in a positive light. This was a colonial enactment of a scenario that would become all too familiar in the United States in the next century. The nineteenth century would be a period of government-sanctioned Indian removals. By the time the Natchitoches were caught up in the Indian removal policy of the United States, they had been on the move for almost eight decades and undergone several de facto removals.

In regions like Natchitoches, we can view Indian policy during the colonial period from the standpoint of different colonial powers. We can speculate that after the 1750s, when the settlers started moving southward into the *Terre des Deserts* region, this was a change to established French Indian policy. The same can be applied to the 1760s migration of the Natchitoches from *Terre des Deserts* during the Spanish Period. The 1790 grant from the Natchitoches Commandant Louis DeBlanc to the Natchitoches Indians was official Spanish removal policy. This grant removed the Natchitoches from *Isle aux Vaches*, a removal initiated by European encroachment.

Europeans wanted and needed Indian lands, indicated by individuals submitting numerous *requetes* (*requites*) to officials for these lands. In the 1760s and the following decades, land acquisition became a "gold rush" in the Red River valley (modern Cane River). Removal was always about land and the various aspects of what that land provided, new lands to settle, and the potential for pastoral, agricultural, or mineral wealth.

The acquisition of Native American lands, in most instances, required only minimal purchase price, often to settle debts accrued by the Indians. Traders frequently acted as the company store where the Indians could never get out of debt, with the ultimate cost being their land. Dubious land purchases would function as unofficial Indian policy. Examples include Jean Baptiste Laberry purchasing a sizable amount of land from Hyamoc for forty *piastres* of trade merchandise (La Vere 1998a:88) or Paul "Bouet" Lafitte acquiring over

11,000 acres from the Yatasi for a small sum of supplies (Henry Collection 1787). A single dubious transaction is a private matter, while a complete series of similar transactions is social policy, whether initiated by private individuals or enacted by government administrators.

This was a policy supported by Thomas Jefferson. In an 1803 letter to William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory, Jefferson wrote:

> to promote this disposition to exchange lands which they [Indians] have to spare & we want, for necessaries, which we have to spare & they want, we shall push our trading houses, and be glad to see the good & influential individuals among them run in debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands [Thomas Jefferson to William Henry Harrison , letter, February 27, 1803, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress].

This was likely a working policy many decades prior to Jefferson's letter to Harrison. The debt policy was probably common in colonial North America land transactions with Native Americans. In the case of the Natchitoches this contributed to a century of migration.

In historical and archaeological literature, we often use what can only be referred to as euphemisms to explain the movement of the Natchitoches and Caddo Indians. Glover (1935:897) referred to the movement of the Caddo from their homes in the Great Bend to the Caddo Lake region as a migration that was initiated by the hostile actions of the Osage. In this setting tribal groups were displaced by other tribal groups, events that may have been common occurrences in the precontact past.

Others have noted that the Natchitoches Indians simply "abandoned their village" (Burton and Smith 2008:17). We describe the immigrant tribes that came to Louisiana in the mid-eighteenth century as "reestablishing themselves", while at the same time mentioning European expansion (Hunter 1985:8). The fact they were called "immigrant" tribes denotes they are no longer in their homeland. The modern fashionable word in anthropology that relates to movements of peoples is "diaspora," which seeks to explain movements of people or groups from their homelands. The diaspora of the Natchitoches across the landscape is directly related to American Indian removal policy. The frequent use of these non-committal terms implies one thing. We sometimes do not want to state the obvious: the Indian tribes did not simply abandon and reestablish their villages, they experienced the process of Indian removal. For what purpose would any tribal group freely leave their homeland? There were always underlying reasons, and most involved European encroachment.

Perttula and Cast (2016:86) use the term "removal" when discussing the period from 1836 up to 1859 when the Caddo were finally removed from Texas and forced to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. They later state the Caddo experienced a "forced removal from their ancestral homelands" (Perttula and Cast 2016:88). This is the proper terminology. The term "removal" needs to be emphasized, with less use of other euphemisms and professional niceties within archaeological, anthropological, and historical literature. Niceties are for friendly greetings, not for being thrown out of your homes and homeland at gunpoint, or by other authoritative and economic means.

In the title of this article, I describe the Natchitoches leaving their homeland as a "Migration, Relocation, or Removal." Migration is just a description of the movement up the Red River, not an explanation. The root cause behind the migration was Indian removal. The mechanism employed was European encroachment. The Natchitoches did not simply relocate; they were forcefully removed and there was no return possible.

No matter how we classify the Natchitoches or any other groups leaving their lands, the subtext is dispossession, and Indian removal. Any phrasing that justifies the movement of the Indians from their homelands must be seen in its proper reality of those terms. Phrasing is all important, especially true since the 1830 Indian Removal act was partly titled "an exchange of lands" (US Statutes 1830). The Indians would "exchange" their current lands for lands in Indian Territory, but this exchange would not be voluntary. Using this terminology, the Natchez being told by French authorities to leave their Grand Village and relocate to nearby lands so the French could grow more tobacco (Milne 2015:162) would also be considered a

similar "land exchange."

The term "exchange of lands" was identical to language used by Thomas Jefferson in his letter discussing driving the Indians into debt (Thomas Jefferson to William Henry Harrison, letter, February 27, 1803, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress). The term was frequently used within the American parlance of Indian removal. The results were the same, regardless of the terminology.

Economic, encroachment, or military displacement all led to the same outcome, removal of the Indians from their homelands. There was, as Howe (2007:421) stated, "a determination to expand geographically and economically, imposing an alien will upon subject peoples and commandeering their resources." This statement applies to the British, Spanish, French, and especially to the newly minted Americans.

Economics would play a major role in removals. When the Indians were no longer lucrative economic partners, they were no longer needed within European society. That was the situation in Natchitoches, with the decline of the Indian trade economy and the increase in the Spanish-promoted agricultural/pastoral economy (Burton and Smith 2008; La Vere 1998a). This ensured the Natchitoches had no role in the new economy and thus were no longer needed and were in the way of European progress. But what they did have throughout the 1750s to 1830s period was prime Red River real estate, land that the Europeans continually encroached upon.

Tobacco would not be successful on the same scale as cotton would be in the following century, but it was the crop promoted by Spanish authorities and agricultural land was needed. Tobacco in the Natchitoches region would play a similar role in Indian removal that cotton would play in the greater southeastern United States. The cash crop agriculture that developed during the mid-eighteenth century did not just affect Native populations; there were also negative impacts on the European populations. Burton and Smith (2008:141) state: "The rise in the importance of cash-crop agriculture in Natchitoches during the Spanish era led to a fundamental change—the development of social stratification in the post." Alexander O'Reilly's "progress of culture" was perhaps not beneficial for all involved.

In 1799, Juan Ventura Morales issued a set of regulations for conceding lands in Louisiana. In Article 31 of the regulations, he stipulated that "Indians who possess lands within the limits of the government shall not in any manner be disturbed" (ASP 1860a:734). It is unclear what effect those regulations would have had on the Native Americans in Louisiana. Unfortunately, these regulations came far too late to help the Natchitoches Indians. Spain would soon hand Louisiana back to France and only a few years later most of Louisiana would be an American possession.

Clearly, the opinions of the Spanish government regarding Indian "land rights" fluctuated according to the situation. In testimony in an Opelousas land claim, Louis DeBlanc, former Commandant at Natchitoches, stated that "even the villages abandoned by the Indians were afterwards regarded as their property, and subject to their disposal" (ASP 1860b:738). This suggested that the Indians had rights to land they did not currently occupy, contrary to the definition of "Indian Title." This is possibly why the Natchitoches village would be referred to in the historic documents as the "Indian village of the post,"even though it was possibly abandoned decades earlier.

DeBlanc further noted in that same testimony that "the country was conquered from the Indians." In 1826, in what is known as the "Opelousas Report," the board of land commissioners at Opelousas questioned how it could be both ways, i.e., the Indians had rights even to abandoned villages, but were conquered, which insinuates loss of title to their land. Those same land commissioners stated that "the evidence is to be found in the various acts of Spanish government in relation to the Indians, evincing that the government recognized no title in them independently of that derived from the crown – a mere right of occupancy at the will of the government" (ASP 1860b:738). The board of commissioners further stated:

> The force and effect of prescription, in abolishing Indian title to lands in Louisiana, is further established by the Indians permitting themselves to be removed from place to place by government authority: by their condescending in some cases to ask permission of the government to sell their lands, and, when that permission was not solicited,

> assenting to the insertion of a clause in the deeds of sale expressly admitting that their sales could be of no validity without ratification of the government [ASP 1860b:728].

The commissioners decided that people buying land in which Indians currently occupied had rights to those lands; those buying Indian lands in which the Indians did not occupy had no rights because the Indians did not have title to that land.

The Opelousas board of commissioners also determined that the Non-Intercourse Act did not apply to Spanish and French claims. However, it did apply to United States land claims. This makes the time frame between 1803 and at least 1810 quite interesting. This is the period when the Natchitoches were living at *Lac des Mures*. Beginning in 1803, Natchitoches would be living within the United States and no longer under Spanish or French sovereigns. What status did they have after 1803, and since private individuals could not buy Indian land, were any of their land sales valid?

These land sales should have been subject to the Non-Intercourse Act. Only the United States itself could have purchased those lands. The act, passed on March 30, 1802, read:

> No purchase, grant, lease, or other conveyance of lands, or of any title or claim thereto, from any Indian, or nation, or tribe of Indians, within the bounds of the United States, shall be of any validity, in law or equity, unless the same be made by treaty or convention, entered into pursuant to the constitution [US Statutes 1802]

At an 1805 council in Natchitoches, John Sibley stated this principle directly to the Caddo in a speech he gave on the behalf of the American government. He had received basic instructions for the speech in a letter (US Serials 1842:115). In 1833 Jehiel Brooks recounted Sibley's speech:

> It is the intention of your father the President that all lands belonging to you within the territory of the United States shall be and remain your property unless you should voluntarily sell or relinquish the same to the government, but that all sales of your land that you make to individuals are unlawful and not binding on you, and all persons whatever citizens of the United States are strictly forbidden from interrupting or disturbing you in the quiet and peaceable possession of your said lands [NARA 1833:329].

Sibley's speech was a direct outline of the 1802 Non-Intercourse Act (US Statutes 1802); he simply repeated language within the act. In an 1835 letter, the Caddo stated they were informed at the first American council thirty years earlier that "we could not sell our lands to any body but our Great Father the President" (NARA 1835a:296). They were probably recounting Sibley's 1805 speech at the first council.

The 1808 Hypolite Bordelon land claim at *Lac des Mures* was initially not confirmed because there was discussion of whether the law at the time allowed the Indians to sell their land. The land commissioners determined the Indians only had a provisional grant from the Commandant. It was also stated "the occupancy of the Indians could vest no right in a person to whom they could not legally sell" (ASP 1834b:74 claim 6). This was the subject matter of Sibley's speech to the Caddo in 1805 (NARA 1833:329). The commissioners in this case were referring to the Non-Intercourse Act and its applicability to this claim.

This poses several questions. If they could not legally sell the land then how was that land legally transferred from Indian ownership to others without the signing of a treaty? Is Indian title to that land extinguished? This would apply to Jean Baptiste Grappe's, Julien Besson's, and Pierre Gagnier's purchases from John Sohano in 1804. Those purchases by these private individuals occurred after the United States had jurisdiction, hence these transactions violated the Non-Intercourse Act. If no treaty was signed that involved the Bordelon, Besson, and Gagnier lands then only an Act of Congress could have extinguished the Indian title. The "convention" of Indian title extinguishment for those lands would probably have been land claim confirmation since Congress had the ultimate say in confirmation of claims.

The bulk of these purchases of Indian lands held up in American land claims confirmations cases, or in legal cases, and there would be few exceptions. Land claim commissioners did express that the Spanish land regulations detailed that only Christian Indians could own land within Louisiana instead of just occupy the land. In 1797, Governor Gayosa had directly stipulated that "the children of those who enjoy it [liberty

of conscience] must positively be Catholic" (ASP 1860a:730). He also noted that in the Illinois Country "none shall be admitted but Catholics." This Catholic or "Christian" aspect in Louisiana was detailed by Valentine King, register at Natchitoches:

> Spanish functionaries seem to have made a distinction between Indians who had partaken of the rites of baptism and the ordinary tribes or nations of Indians within the limits of Louisiana. The former were denominated 'Christian Indians', a term usually, if not invariably, incorporated in the body of the instrument by which their titles to lands were transferred to others. These Indians seem to have been considered capable of holding and enjoying lands in as full and ample a manner as any other subject of the crown of Spain [ASP 1860b:736].

The "incorporated" term is found in the 1804 Pierre Gagnier purchase of land at *Lac des Mures* from John Sohano, a Natchitoches Indian (ASP 1834b:77 claim 30; LOSL 1804a:18–19). The witness in Gagnier's land claim mentions that Sohano was a "civilized or Christian Indian" (ASP 1834b:77 claim 30). The term "Christian Indian" was mentioned in various claims including François Grappe's claim on Lake Bistineau that he purchased from a Caddo Indian (ASP 1834b:77 claim 29).While a Christian Indian clearly had more rights than a non-Christian Indian, Gagnier's land claim was not confirmed because it was stated that "no evidence has been offered to establish that John Sohano was of that class of Indians denominated Christian under the Spanish" (ASP 1834b:77 claim 30).

The idea of the "civilized" Indian would be a policy from the early American land claims period through the Dawes Act period (Poindexter 1994). Religion and education were often the starting point for assimilation into American society, with a sedentary agrarian lifestyle seen as an acceptance of a civilized way of life (Poindexter 1994; Smith 2005:248). Chief Justice John Marshall even expressed this in the famous Johnson v. M'Intosh Supreme Court case in 1823 (Singer 2017:18–19). A Christian John Sohano living an agrarian lifestyle at *Lac des Mures* should have met the American criteria of a "civilized" Indian, yet there was still doubt on the validity of his status as a Christian and his status as a civilized Indian.

A sedentary "civilized" agrarian lifestyle assimilating into American society would be a fable. After the sale of all their *Lac des Mures* lands in 1808 the Natchitoches continued moving up the Red River. According to the location provided in the 1824 Sulphur Fork census, it is probable that the Natchitoches were living north of Shreveport. Afterward their fate becomes intertwined with the Caddo during the period preceding and succeeding the signing of the 1835 Caddo Treaty.

While the Natchitoches leader Chowabah signed the 1835 treaty, the Caddo Treaty lands did not encompass the former Natchitoches settlements at *Lac des Mures* and did not include the Yatasi and Adaes settlements in the Bayou Pierre settlement to the north of *Lac des Mures*. The treaty area did encompass the Natchitoches village north of Shreveport listed in the Sulphur Fork census (NARA 1824a:472).

A sum of $80,000 was paid for the Caddo Lands, but the conveyance documentation suggests only a small sum of money, livestock, and goods were paid for the all the Natchitoches lands to the south. The total price paid in 1804 for the three tracts John Sohano sold at Lac des Mures was $30, three horses, and 13 "horned cattle" (NPCR 1804a, 1804b, 1804c). In 1808, the price for Dehuste's land was 90 *piastres*, or $90. This was a rather sweeter deal for the United States than is commonly advanced in the literature of the Caddo Treaty.

Figure 9 shows the extent of lands lost by the Natchitoches, Yatasi, and Adaes, an area well beyond the 1835 treaty boundary and only slightly smaller. With a little help supplied by the encroachment of the French and later the Spanish who pushed the Natchitoches farther north, the land purchases after 1803 gained the United States an area almost the same size of the land that would later be covered by the treaty. This included all the land from Natchitoches, Louisiana, to the southern boundary of the treaty lands.

Comparison of Native settlement in the Caddo Lands in the nineteenth century with that of the mid-eighteenth century (Figure 1) shows the clustering of Caddo and non-Caddo tribes in northwest Louisiana and northeast Texas. Too many Native peoples and too few resources would lead to hardships for all. White settlers encroaching upon these lands exacerbated the problems.

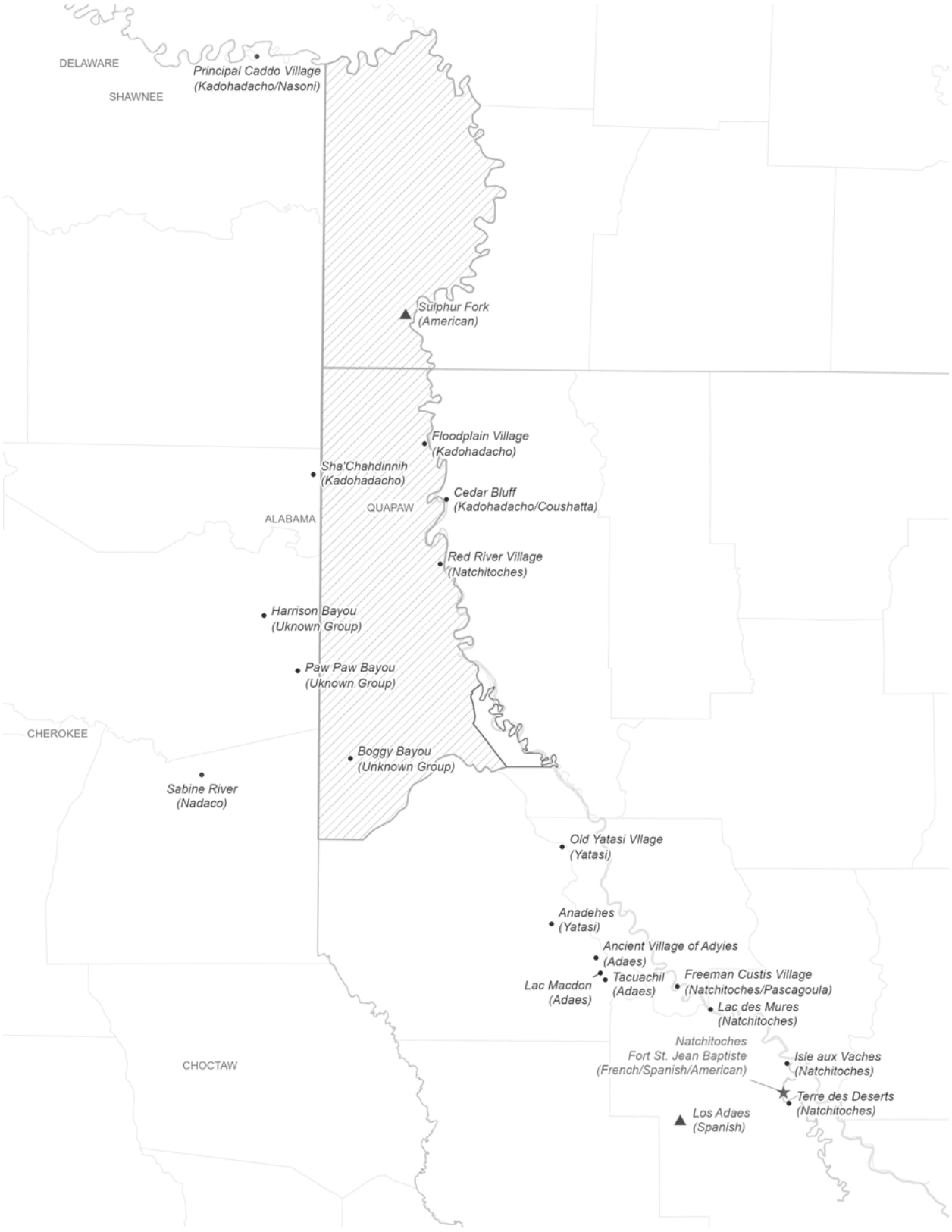

Figure 9. The locations of Indian settlements on the Red River and tributaries in the 1760 to 1835 period. The hatched area is the Caddo Treaty Lands, Schedule 202 (Royce 1899). European sites are included for reference. Locations of non-Caddo tribes partially adapted from Perttula (2020:Figure 2, 3) and Smith (2005:71).

The Caddo Removal

The initial migration of the Natchitoches up the Red River started out as typical colonial removal through European encroachment and ended with the American policy of Indian removal through treaty. The various incarnations of Indian removal had been policy since the eighteenth century; in Louisiana this policy culminated in 1825 when Indian Agent George Grey recommended all the small bands of Indians in Louisiana be moved to the Caddo Lands to "remove them from amongst the whites" (NARA 1825:437-438). Though under the rubric of a voluntary removal, this was an attempt to create an Indian reserve. Whether this was enacted in principle is not known but attempts continued throughout the 1820s (NARA 1828b:83).

Prior to Gray's suggestion of removing the small bands, the Natchitoches were living within the Caddo Lands by 1824. It is not known if their move was associated with the upcoming removals to the Caddo Lands, but they seem to have stayed in the region from 1824 to 1835. In 1835, the Natchitoches Chief Chowabah was present as one of the 23 councilors in discussions of whether to sign the treaty (US Serials 1842:118). The fate of the Natchitoches was now tethered to other Native groups living on the Caddo Lands.

During the 1820s and 1830s Euroamerican population growth was substantial in the region (Smith 2005:122, 147). The Caddo Lands were being encroached upon by white settlers who had to be forcibly removed (ASP 1859b:461-464). This added to the problems faced by the tribes. During this same period numerous tribal groups settled on Caddo Lands including Delaware, Kickapoos, Shawnee, and Choctaws, along with the "Spanish Indians the Towockanies" (NARA 1827:189). The groups on Caddo Lands also included Natchitoches, Coushatta, Quapaw, and Pascagoula.

The tribal groups that were living on the Caddo Lands were experiencing hardships. The hardships included failed crops, lack of game and troubles between the groups (NARA 1826a). In 1826 Quapaw Chief Hekaton stated they were in a "state of starvation" (NARA 1826b:356). Later, in 1828, the Chief stated they were "entirely destitute of provisions" due to Red River flooding (NARA 1828a:70). In 1831 the Anadarko and Ioni had settled within the Caddo lands and had diminished the supplies of the Caddo and were stealing livestock from white ranches on Bayou Pierre (NARA 1831b:570–571). It seems all tribal groups in or near the Caddo Lands were in dire situations. The lack of gunsmiths and blacksmiths probably aided the deteriorating conditions of the Caddo (NARA 1835a:296).

The speech of Caddo Chief Tarsher expressed the dire situation (Smith 2005:152; US Serials 1842:118), a situation where the Caddo, Nadaco, Natchitoches, and other groups had no options other than to sign the treaty. The lack of options was especially true since the Natchitoches, Yatasi, Adaes, and Caddo, along with most tribal groups living on Caddo Lands, were on James Monroe's list of Indian tribes in the states and territories (ASP 1834d; Schoolcraft 1853:585 Table F). This list had a single purpose, and that was to indicate those tribes that would be required to remove to Indian Territory. Numerous tribal groups west of the Mississippi River had already signed treaties and moved westward. The writing was on the wall for the groups settled in the Caddo Lands.

In 1804 Thomas Jefferson had received an estimate on the number of Indian warriors in the Louisiana Purchase (M. Lewis to Thomas Jefferson, letter, 1804, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress). This list included populations for the Caddoques (100), Yattasses (40), Adaize (20), and Natchitoches (12). The documentation suggests that this estimate, along with John Sibley's 1805 *Historical Sketches* (ASP 1832) were early efforts to ascertain specific information on tribes for the same reason as the later 1825 list: Indian removal. This conclusion is supported by Jefferson's 1803 letter to William Henry Harrison, where he states: "they [the Indian] will in time either incorporate with us as citizens of the United States or remove beyond the Missisipi" (Thomas Jefferson to William Henry Harrison, letter, February 27, 1803, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress). While assimilation (incorporate) through civilization was a long-time goal of Jeffersons, Indian removal would be as much a Jeffersonian policy as it was a later Jacksonian policy (Bragaw 2006).

In hindsight, it seems an anomaly that the Cherokee and other southeastern tribes managed

to hang on to their lands as long as they did. Geographically, they were well behind the westward moving boundary of the United States, remaining mostly sedentary until the 1830s. As the US border moved westward, it was common for tribal groups to be uprooted with the moving border. In the case of the Caddo, when the 1835 Caddo Treaty was signed, most were living in Texas, at that time was part of Mexico.

The Caddo Treaty of 1835 was signed on July 1, while the Cherokee Treaty of 1835, or the Treaty of New Echota, was signed on December 29 (US Statutes 1835b). That is only a five-month difference between the treaties, and both treaties are results of the same political doctrine active in the United States at that time: Indian removal.

Some researchers have suggested the Caddo received a favorable outcome from the treaty. Regardless of a favorable land transaction, to be completely uprooted from their ancestral homeland post-1835 was not a fate they wished upon their people. Tiller and Gong (2012) concluded the Caddo were paid a fair price for their land in the 1835 treaty. It seemed that the subtext of the article suggests that since the Caddo received a few cents more per acre than they were asking, it made losing their homes and homeland less traumatic. After the treaty the Caddo had lost title not just to the Caddo Lands but were essentially giving up any claims to an area that once extended from the Neches River to the Arkansas River and beyond, an area that was vastly larger than the treaty land (Figure 1).

While the 1835 treaties clearly involved a much greater human scale, the favorable economic transactions can be compared to the modern policy of eminent domain and the effects it has on individuals' lives. Many people lose their homes and lands when subjected to eminent domain legal actions. Most of these landholders are paid a fair market price, but in the end, they are uprooted from their homes and their lives, often from the homes they were born and reared in. The same has occurred countless times in the building of reservoirs in populated areas. People are uprooted and given adequate sums to rebuild lives and homes elsewhere, but their previous lives and homes are gone, inundated beneath the waters. Fair payment hardly makes up for the personal and social loss.

Gregg and Wishart (2012) evaluated the total price of the Cherokee removal effort from an economics point of view, concentrating on the social cost, along with Cherokee and US taxpayer cost. This was not a simple transfer of land for a fair price. There were greater costs for the Cherokee, including loss of revenue, human capital losses (loss of life), and lost agricultural output. The impact was immense. Lee (2017) notes that the United States paid an equivalent of $2.7 billion for the land purchased from Indian tribes within the Louisiana Purchase. Again, this is a massive dollar total but small in comparison to the land and freedom lost.

Perhaps the population scale of the removals is to blame, but for some reason it almost appears we often do not want to place the Caddo Treaty of 1835 in the same category as the Cherokee Treaty of 1835 and its aftereffects. According to the list of tribes included in James Monroe's speech to Congress, the Cherokee had a population of 9000, while the Caddo had a population of 450, the Natchitoches 25, the Yatasi 36 and the Adaes Indians 27, for a combined population of 538 (ASP 1834d:546). The scale of the tragedy from an outsider's perspective may appear larger with the Cherokee, but I doubt the Indian tribes, regardless of population, saw any internal differences between their removals. The discussion of the 1835 to 1859 period by Smith (2005) details the immense conflicts and domestic struggles experienced by all the Caddo groups after the treaty. We have determined that along with the Caddo were the few remaining Natchitoches Indians.

Summary

We have traced Natchitoches movements from their historic homelands of *Terre des Deserts* along Cane River in Natchitoches, Louisiana, to their second settlement at *Isle aux Vaches* north of Natchitoches, and to their final settlement near their homeland at *Lac des Mures* on the Red River Parish boundary. By approximately 1810 they had lost all three settlements. From there the picture is murky for several years until they appear in the 1824 Sulphur Fork census. The distances listed on the census locates Natchitoches as living somewhere north of modern-day Shreveport. This places them on the southern end of Caddo Prairie, and possibly not too distant from the 1830s Caddo villages

to the west (Perttula and Cast 2016:Figure 11; Tiller and Gong 2012:Figure 1).

Analyzing the names of Caddo who signed various historical documents we also were able to trace the Natchitoches into the Brazos River region in the 1840s and afterward until they were finally removed to Indian Territory with the rest of the Caddo people. This gives us a framework of their path from their homeland in Natchitoches, Louisiana, to their current home in Oklahoma. The picture is incomplete, but at least we do have this framework that can be filled and built upon in the future.

It is probable that the primary reasons for the Natchitoches leaving the *Terre des Deserts* region was the continual encroachment amid the growing need for agricultural and pastoral lands by Europeans. This was not a voluntary move by the Natchitoches, but was a case of being pushed out by the tobacco and cattle industries that had been recently promoted by the new Spanish government of Louisiana. Land was needed and the best land was that which the Indians had already cleared and had ready for planting.

The entire process of moving from *Terre des Deserts* and their subsequent movements can be attributed to colonial Indian removal, a process signified by encroachment onto Indian lands by European settlers. Ultimately, with the signing of the 1835 Caddo Treaty, they were caught within the United States Indian removals of the 1830s. There is evidence to suggest the Natchitoches were among the Caddo when they signed treaties with Texas and were present at the Tehuacana Creek councils, it is likely they were somewhere on or near the Brazos River. In 1859 the Natchitoches followed the Caddo to Indian Territory in modern Oklahoma.

As a distinct tribal group, the Natchitoches are no longer extant. Webb and Gregory (1978:26) note the Natchitoches had possibly been absorbed by the Kadohadacho and Hasinai. They also note that as late as the 1960s some Caddo could still sing Natchitoches songs and one woman was recorded speaking the language. Afterward, only a few words were remembered by later Caddo peoples. In recent years some Caddo including a recent chairperson have traced descent from Caddo Jake. The tribe may not be extant, but the Natchitoches lineage is still alive and well within the modern federally recognized Caddo Nation of Oklahoma.

Figure 10 shows the scale of the migration from the Natchitoches, Louisiana, region to Indian Territory in modern day Oklahoma. This involuntary journey that began in the 1760s ended in 1859 when the Caddo finally moved to Indian Territory. The remnants of the Natchitoches were among these Caddo.

One aspect of this research has been surprising. In the *Terre des Deserts* and *Lac des Mures* regions the primary purchasers of the Natchitoches lands often were métis of Native and European descent. We can only conclude that they identified with the European society, not Indian society. The eighteenth-century population of Natchitoches was a mixture of French, German, Swiss, and other European ancestry. The Native ancestry at *Terre des Deserts* would include Chitimacha and Kadohadacho, along with possibly Hasinai.

The Natchitoches ancestry of those that purchased land at *Terre des Deserts* and *Lac des Mures* depends largely on the lineage of the Native woman Angelique Dumont. In countless genealogies (e.g., Family Search 2023) Angelique Dumont is usually considered to be a Hasinai woman and possibly the daughter of an early eighteenth-century Hasinai chief. No proof has ever been published; most of these genealogies were compiled by amateur genealogists. Mills (1985:51) identifies Angelique Dumont as an Indian but could not determine a tribal affiliation; Smith (2005:13) stated Angelique Dumont was a Natchitoches woman. If this is accurate, the Natchitoches lineage is well represented in several regions.

The lack of definitive Natchitoches ancestry within historical documents associated with the purchases of the Natchitoches lands was puzzling. Chitimacha, Kadohadacho, and even Hasinai ancestry is prominent within the genealogies of those people purchasing the Natchitoches lands, but not Natchitoches ancestry (dependant on Angelique Dumont's lineage; if she was Natchitoches, most or all the Hasinai lineage noted in genealogies should be considered Natchitoches).

In *Terre des Deserts* families such as the Vergers, Lattiers, and Dupres purchased lands from the Natchitoches or lived among the tribe. Each of these families had members of the household who were

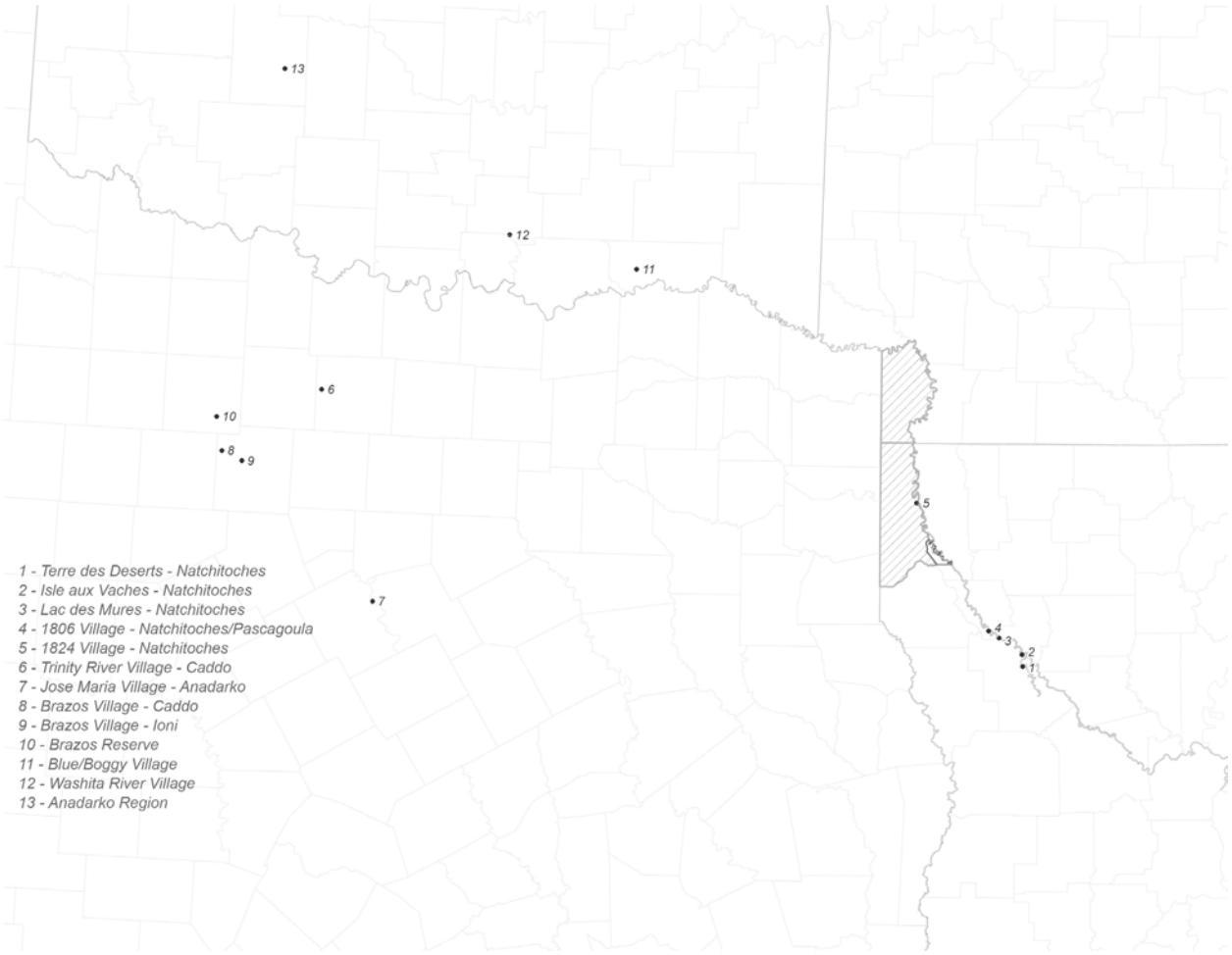

Figure 10. The locations of Natchitoches villages and known Caddo sites during the long migration from *Terre des Deserts* to Indian Territory. For a more in-depth maps of villages in Texas see Smith (2005:181, 216).

descended from Angelique. If she was Natchitoches, then these French métis families may have identified as European, but they stayed very close to their Natchitoches relatives. The idea of "kinship capitalism" may have relied on the relationship to the St. Denis family (La Vere:1998b), but the métis lineage is another facet that can be added to the kinship groupings and interactions.

The purchasers of Natchitoches lands in the *Lac des Mures* region were almost exclusively relatives of the Grappe and Trichel families. François Grappe and his siblings had Chitimacha lineage, while their Trichel half-siblings possibly had Natchitoches heritage. In their concession letter to the President in 1835 the Caddo stated that François Grappe was a "half blood Caddo" (NARA 1835a:295). It is probable that his mother was part Chitimacha, not Caddo. Pierre Gagnier, through his mother, had Natchitoches ancestry from Angelique Dumont. Hypolite Bordelon's wife Marie Therese Catherine Trichel was descended from Angelique Dumont as well.

Other residents of *Terre des Deserts* were married to Native women, including Jean Baptiste Brevelle. He was married to "Anne des Cadeaux," a Kadohadacho woman. This Kadohadacho ancestry is still present in the Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana region (the author is one of those with Kadohadacho descendancy from the Brevelle lineage). By the end of the eighteenth century some families through marriage had Kadohadacho, Natchitoches and Chitimacha lineage at *Terre des Deserts.*

The Natchitoches man Luis Tihoua had

children with the French woman Marguerite Christi in the early nineteenth century. By 1805 they were living at Spanish Lake and later near the Adaes Indians at the rancho named Tacuachil (Smith 2008:156). This Adaes rancho was in southern Desoto Parish (Pleasant 2014). The documentation for Luis Tihoua and his family is sparse, they seem to fade away in Desoto Parish. There is no indication he joined the Natchitoches on their migration from *Lac des Mures* to the Caddo Lands. With the Brevelle and Angelique Dumont lineages present in Natchitoches and surrounding communities, Caddo and Natchitoches ancestry seems widespread. In Natchitoches, if a family can be traced back to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, they may have some connection to Angelique Dumont or the Brevelle family. There is now a state-recognized Natchitoches descendant population in Natchitoches Parish who are heavily mixed with European ancestry. It will be interesting to see the genealogy of these people to determine if their ancestors were involved in the purchases from the Natchitoches who left the region. We also need to know how their ancestors fit into the cultural scheme of the Natchitoches who left the Natchitoches region.

There are now foundations for future in-depth studies on the Natchitoches. Archaeologically, we have the prospect of additional hamlets at *Terre des Deserts*, *Isle aux Vaches*, and *Lac des Mures*. We now have an idea about the lineage of Natchitoches chiefs from the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries with only a few gaps (Table 4). It would be critical to our understanding of the Natchitoches to determine what each of these people selling land and signing various documents represented in the social structure of the tribe. We have a good start on that topic.

We know the Natchitoches were among the Caddo living on the Brazos River. While their histories became intertwined after the 1835 Caddo Treaty, Cho-Wee was described as the "Principal Chief" of the Natchitoches in 1843. This indicates some distinctiveness remained; they have a history that did not cease with the signing of the 1835 Caddo Treaty. The Natchitoches Indians are not as invisible as we have long thought.

End Notes

1. The land claim documents found in the Louisiana Office of State Lands (LOSL) were cited according to the date of a specific document within a collection, not the date of the actual collection. Many of the document collections do not have a specified date or other means of differentiation from similar collections. Some collections also contain many decades of material so citing a collection to a single year would not be appropriate.

The page numbers used in LOSL citations are the image numbers, not the page number written on the documents. The document numbering was often missing or obscured and occasionally there were gaps in the documents. The citation should look like (LOSL 1806a:127), this is the year of the claim and the 127th image in that document collection, again this is not the page number written on the document itself. This format makes it much easier to find a specific document in a collection.

The Natchitoches Parish Conveyance Records (NPCR) were cited in the same manner as the LOSL. Only the document number is written on the first page of a conveyance, so image numbers within the collections are used. For example, (NPCR 1780:351) simply indicates the year of the claim and the image number within the specified book. These books are digitized microfilm collections of the conveyances in the Colonial Archives housed in the Natchitoches Parish Clerk of Court's office. The digitized books were accessed at a Family Search Center. The book and document numbers correspond in both collections.

Published government documents are translated from their native Bluebook citation to a Society for American Archaeology format to make them more readable. United States Statutes have the date and name of the act, and the citation ends with something like '2 Stat 139', that simply indicates the act is found in Volume 2 and begins on page 139. The American State Papers have the name of the report and the report volume. The citation 'Public Lands III' or "Indian Affairs II" indicates the volume number in a class/series within the American State Papers. This hybrid citation format will match the citation guidelines and will also match the document collections on the Library of Congress website.

Unpublished documents such as Indian Affairs/BIA documents are cited by collection and image number within a collection. The Indian Affairs documents at the National Archives (NARA) are backwards. Image one in each of the

online collections is the last page of that document set. To read a document you must start at the end and scroll backward to read in the correct page order. Images numbers once again worked better than page numbers, for the same reasons as the LOSL and NARA collections.

2. Daniel Pain, the Natchitoches notary who wrote the conveyance document between Grillet and Jeannot, was consistent in his writing of the letter "M" and the mid-word letters "ess." In other conveyance documents where he acted as notary there are multiple examples of words that contain "ess," such as *dessous* (NPCR 1764c:241) and *Negresse* (NPCR 1765c:356), each "ess" had the appearance of an "M." Daniel Pain's actual "M" consistently began the stroke from the top which gives the letter three downstrokes, this includes both his capitalized and lower case "M." The morphology of that letter is very unlike the presumed "M" seen in the word mistaken for *Mons*. Examples of Pain's exaggerated left-leaning ascender stroke of the lowercase letter d in dessous is also evident throughout the document, often associated with the mid-word "ess." I can only conclude from this analysis that the word *Mons* does not appear within the Marin Grillet and Jeannot document, and that there was never a mound mentioned within the historic documents associated with the Natchitoches Indians.

3. Some evidence of the possible location can be gathered from court records. A 1904 lawsuit lists the Payne family owning land on the southern end of *Isle aux Vaches* (Messi et al. v. Frechede 1904). The land involved in the suit was located on the west side, or the right bank descending of Cane River. This land was originally part of the Bertrand Plaisance Old Board land claim B1774 (ASP 1834a).

4. This Grappe conveyance was a surprise find because this purchase from the Natchitoches Indians was not found in the literature search. Pierre Gagnier, Julien Besson, and Pierre Elie can be found in general searches of Natchitoches land sales from Swanton (1942) to the modern online searches. Jean Baptiste Grappe is never mentioned with the others even though he purchased the neighboring land from John Sohano on the same day as Julien Besson.

5. John Swanton may be the source for much of this citation regarding Schoolcraft's "informant." Swanton (1942:22) stated: "In 1825 an informant of Schoolcraft (1853, vol.3 p. 585) gives the total Adai population as 27, and they are now entirely merged with the other Caddo." Subsequently, confusion seems to have ensued over the date of the census and the source. In Table F, within the "Remarks" section that applied to Louisiana, it is noted that the information was "taken from the report of the agent, on file in this office" (Schoolcraft 1853:585). This "report" was the Sulphur Fork census from 1824. The ultimate source of the information was George Gray, Indian Agent at the Sulphur Fork factory.

6. The name was written as Cayacaille in the handwritten land claim documents (LOSL 1806a:146) and this spelling eventually made it into he published land claims (ASP 1834b:82). The paraph on Andre Rambin's signature on the handwritten land claim is not the same one he used for his signature in the NPCR conveyances. In the eighteenth-century conveyances Andre Rambin's paraph is consistently several vertical or diagonal loops that dangle down from the end of his name, however in the nineteenth-century handwritten land claims the paraph of Andre Rambin is a horizontal line under his name with several loops along the line. This confirms that an American land commissioner or a related land agent wrote the land claim documents or that the claims in the LOSL are copies made by the notaries or land commissioners. I think it is easy to narrow down who wrote and signed many of these documents. John C. Carr of Natchitoches, a clerk and later a judge signed many of the nineteenth-century copies of the French conveyances. Carr's personal signature paraph was the same paraph used for many of the signatures within the copied documents. John Carr's exact signature paraph is found attached to the Andre Rambin signature on his land claim (LOSL 1806a:146), verifying that the land claim where Caya Caye's name is spelled Cayacaille was signed and written by John C. Carr. The name was written by the Americans according to the pronunciation of a Frenchman, thus the name Cayacaille. This spelling on the handwritten claims documents made its way into the published claims in the ASP (1834b:82 claim #67). This was a process that involved detailing the land claim in Natchitoches, filing it in Louisiana, and several decades later an original or copy being transported to Gales and Seaton or Duff Green publishers in Washington DC, when the ASP Public Lands were published.

7. During this research on name corruption, I initially concentrated on the John Sohano variations. At first, I did not consider if Tsaoua Camte was the corrupted name because it is so entrenched in local lore. There is only the single conveyance where the name is definitively written as Tsaoua Camte. This led me to start with John Sohano and work backwards from there. This analysis revealed that it is very probable that the Saynan, Sauynant, and Shonah are the correct variants of the name, using an "n" instead of a "u" in

the name. We cannot be sure if Tsaoua Camte was the correct spelling of the name or if the original appearance of the name was corrupted. The documented evolution of the name ranges from Tsaoua Camte to Saynan Camte to Sauynant and ultimately to Sho nah, Saha nah and Sahono. Again, it is possible the "h" sound was not pronounced until the American use of Sohano. This represents a series of corruption of the same name over several decades. It must be remembered that the notaries that were writing these names were French and that they interpreted the name from a French translator who spoke the Natchitoches language, or a Natchitoches Indian speaking French.

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I began this paper in the early 1990s. Unforeseen circumstances prevented completion of that research until now. Over the years I have worked in archaeology in many regions of the country, always staying on the fringes of the Caddo area. Coming back into the Caddo area and resuming research has been made much easier by interacting with several people. I sincerely wish to thank each of them for their help.

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The Implications of an Unfired Lead Ball "Cache" at the Longest Site, Oklahoma

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The Longest site (34JF1) is located on a bluff overlooking the Red River at or near the western limits of the French traders who were based in the Caddo heartland at Natchitoches, Louisiana, in the 1700s. The Spanish reportedly attacked the Wichita fortress at Longest in 1759 but were rebuffed by the armed and horse-equipped residents. Analysis of a dispersed scatter of unfired lead balls recovered by metal detecting led us to the conclusion that the Spanish reports of the battle were exaggerated, and that their flintlock musket and cannon balls could not have even reached the fortress from the west side of the riverbank where they had been stopped. We conclude that the lead balls were not from Spanish soldiers but were probably from a cache or in a container left in an abandoned Wichita house that were dispersed by farming during the past century. We are left to ponder how traders dispersed their goods at Red River valley Caddo sites yet still left thousands of metal and other trade goods for use by the Native American residents or visitors to Longest.

The Longest site (34JF1) is a widely known southern Plains site that was occupied by Wichita-speaking groups between the early mid-1700s and 1811 during what has been defined as the "post-horse post-gun frontier period" (Baugh and Blaine 2017:111–118; Secoy 1953:79–81). The Wichita groups had moved out of the Arkansas River valley in the early eighteenth century and settled in the Red River valley by about 1730 (Smith 2000:25). The site is located on the east bank of the Red River in Jefferson County, Oklahoma (Figure 1), although previous scholars were unsure about whether the site was in Texas or Oklahoma (Duffield 1965). The site is situated on Courtney Flats, an Illinoian-age river terrace, which is situated about 18 m (60 ft) above the normal river channel level. An east-west tributary known as Spring Branch divides the site into north and south portions and flows from a perennial spring to the east. The terrace surface is generally level and is well above river flooding; it has been continuously farmed since at least 1892 based on land survey records (Bell and Bastian 1967:56). Plowing has exposed a variety of Native American, Spanish, French, and a few English artifacts on the surface of the fields and also uncovered the outline of an apparent log-walled fortress created and used by the Wichita for protection from the Spanish and possibly the Osage.

In the early 1960s, R. King Harris and his wife Inus began surface collecting sites in the Spanish Fort, Texas, area (Harris and Harris 1961) and soon thereafter Harris and Jay C. Blaine, both members of the Dallas Archeological Society, visited and began surface collecting at the Longest site on the opposite side of the river. The Longest family agreed to these sporadic visits and both avocational researchers shared the results of their investigations with others interested in Wichita archaeology at meetings such as the Caddo Conference and annual meetings of the Texas Archeological Society.

Surface artifacts have been collected at the site since the beginning of the twentieth century (John 1992:197; Krieger 1946:161–164; Steen 1953; Witte 1938). These ultimately attracted the interest of Oklahoma and Texas researchers who conducted excavations there in 1965–1967. Their report (Bell et al. 1967) is titled *A Pilot Study of Wichita Indian Archeology and Ethnohistory* (hereafter referred to as the *Wichita Report*). This investigation uncovered house floors, storage pits, low refuse midden mounds, and Native American burials, and collected a wide variety

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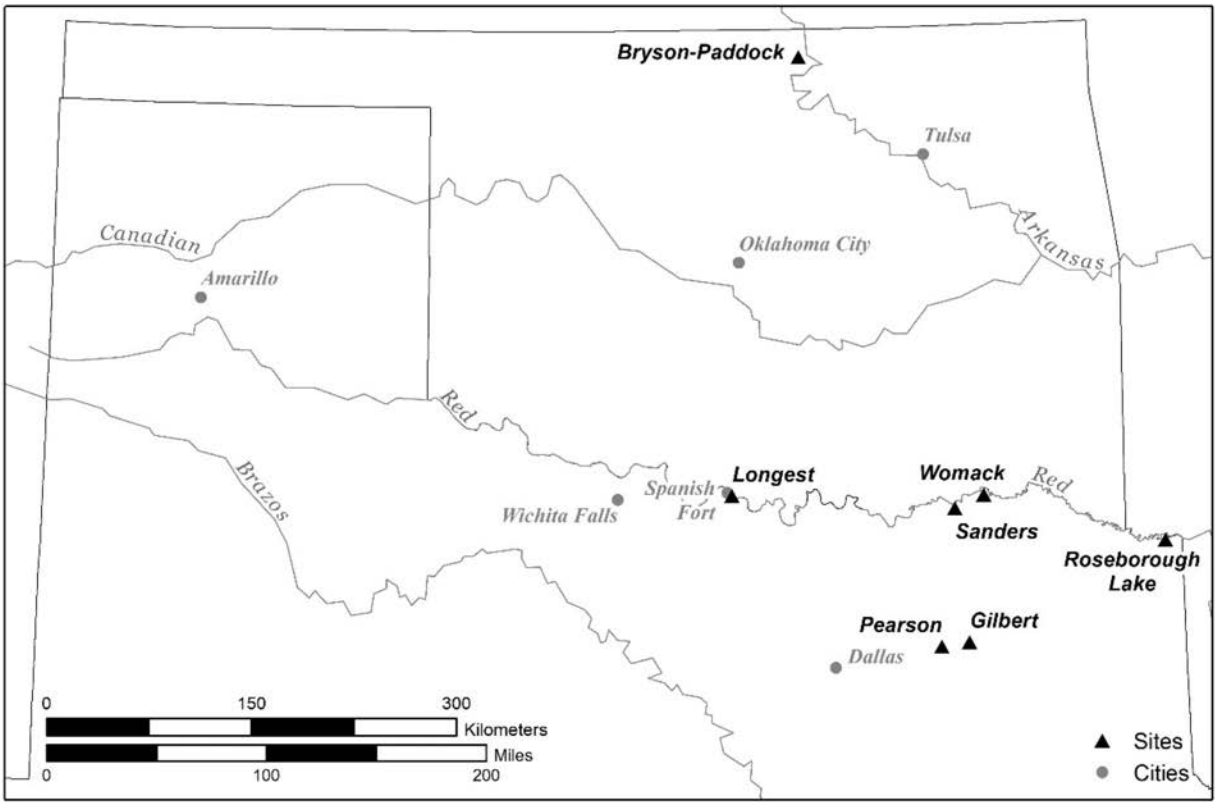

Figure 1. The Longest site is across the Red River from Spanish Fort, Texas. Contemporary Native American sites are in bold.

of European trade artifacts. Gun parts described from the site (Blaine 1967) are considered to be from French trade guns such as those described by T. M. Hamilton (1968). The estimated extent of the site deposit is shown as a dashed line on Figure 24 of the *Wichita Report* and for convenience, excavation was conducted in four separate portions. In 1967, an interesting oval-shaped stain measuring 80 x 120 m in area was recognized in the north-central portion of the site after the field had been deep plowed; buried buffalo bone had been exposed by the plowing and served to define the limits of the football-field-sized oval. The buffalo bone stain showed clearly on subsequent aerial photographs. The researchers predicted that the stain marked the location of the reported historic fortification. A test trench was dug across a point in the bison bone alignment and a 3.8 m wide by 1.2 m deep ditch was exposed, mapped, and photographed in the trench wall (Bell and Bastian 1967:Figure 30). The upper fill of the ditch contained numerous bison bones, but no postholes or posts were exposed in or adjacent to the ditch.

A follow-up pedestrian survey of the site and the surrounding area was conducted by the Oklahoma Archeological Survey (OAS) from the University of Oklahoma in 2008 (Drass and Clanahan 2008). The surveyed area covered 2,624 acres (1,062 ha) in southeastern Jefferson County and adjacent parts of Love County with the purpose of recording archaeological sites that might be related to the Longest site. Although surveyors revisited seven known sites and recorded 32 previously unknown sites, no sites were directly comparable to Longest. The Longest site area was better defined to include almost 50 acres (20 ha) (Drass and Clanahan 2008:Table 3). Historic residential sites, primarily farmsteads, were recorded in settings like those of the earlier Native American occupations, but none dated to the period between 1811 (the last known Wichita occupation at Longest) and the mid- to late 1800s (Drass and Clanahan 2008:iii). The OAS survey confirmed the presence of hundreds of metal, glass, and ceramic trade goods recovered from the surface of the Longest site by numerous artifact

collectors (Drass and Clanahan 2008:Appendix B), and this agrees with the thousands of artifacts described from the Wichita Project site excavations (Bell and Bastian 1967:57).

In 2013, an OAS team conducted further exploratory excavations across the oval ring pattern as well as magnetic analysis of the fortress area (Drass et al. 2018). They refined the configuration of the fortress, including mapping an outer ditch/moat and recognizing a quarry ditch where soil had apparently been obtained for the ramparts. The western edge of the ditch is situated about 80 m from the bluff edge (Richard R. Drass, personal communication 2023). They further defined the outer edge of subterranean structures such as those historically described inside the fort by Diego Ortiz Parrilla and subsequent Spanish explorers (Weddle 2007).

The senior author and his wife, Jerrylee, spent considerable time with metal detectors at the Longest site over a period of more than 45 years between 1961 and 2006 exploring the plow zone for metal artifacts. To document artifact concentrations, Blaine designated five fields as L-1 through L-5 using fence lines, tree lines, and an electric co-op distribution line as field boundary reference points. A total of 14 artifact concentrations were recorded at the site. A wide variety of metal artifacts were recovered and have been stabilized and are to be curated at the Sam Noble Museum of Science and History at the University of Oklahoma. One of the most interesting discoveries the Blaines made was an artifact scatter that included fifty unfired lead balls. The balls showed no evidence of having impacted soft or hard materials as described by Sivilich (2016:Chapter 3). The balls were recovered from an L-shaped area designated by Blaine as L-2D that was roughly 10 x 40 m in area and covered an estimated 538.1 m². The scatter was oriented north-south with the foot of the L at the north end as shown on Figure 2. This orientation corresponds to the direction of field plowing shown on Figure 25 of the *Wichita Report* (Bell and Bastian 1967). The scatter extended north from the center of the southern edge of the plowed field. Due to the artifact density and the repeated field plowing, individual artifacts, including the lead balls, were not mapped at Longest as Blaine had done previously at the Acton site in central Texas (41HD24; Blaine et al. 1968:46–47) and at the Winkler-1 site (Blaine et al. 2017:52) in southeastern New Mexico.

During metal detecting in L-2D, the Blaines also collected two Native American pottery sherds and nine pieces of lithic debris. At the same time in the lead ball scatter area, they also gathered nine pieces of French kettle brass, three of which are conical tinklers (Figure 3*i*) (Skinner and Hall 2018:34–35). Nine examples of probable Native American-made crudely cut arrowheads of wrought iron were recovered (Figure 3*a–f*), as were two flattened gun barrel segments, four iron sheet scraps, a conical tinkler of iron, six pieces of wire, and an iron finger ring (Figure 3*h*). No commercially made metal arrowheads (Gelo 2013) were recovered. The associated assemblage also included a complete two-ended awl of iron with no handle along with two awl fragments, all of which are English in origin based on the zigzag in the middle of the iron shaft (Figure 3*g*). The tripod leg of a French-made Type A probably Variety 1 cast-iron cooking kettle (Brain 1979:135–137) was recovered (Figure 3*l*); the

Figure 2. The approximate locations of the oval ring of bison bones (the fortress) and L-2D (the lead ball scatter) plotted on a 2019 aerial of the Longest site, east of the Red River.

kettle size is uncertain. Also found was a fragment of a thin Spanish-made broad bladed utility knife that had been used as a hide scraper after the blade had been broken (Figure 3*k*). The face of the knife blade has a cross-shaped star (or a bird) set above a pair of roughly parallel scimitars, all of which were stamped into the metal presumably when the knife was manufactured. Each scimitar decoration consists of two parallel lines that are 1.2 cm long (Figure 4). This decoration is identical to one found on a more complete spike knife fragment recovered at Presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Los Adaes, Louisiana (Gregory 1984:Figure 27). The

Figure 3. Iron artifacts from the scatter: *a-f,* crude metal arrowheads; *g,* English two-ended awl; *h,* finger ring; *i,* conical tinkler; *j,* tripod leg from a French cooking kettle; *k,* stamped knife blade fragment (see Figure 4 for stamp detail); *l,* flattened gun barrel segment.

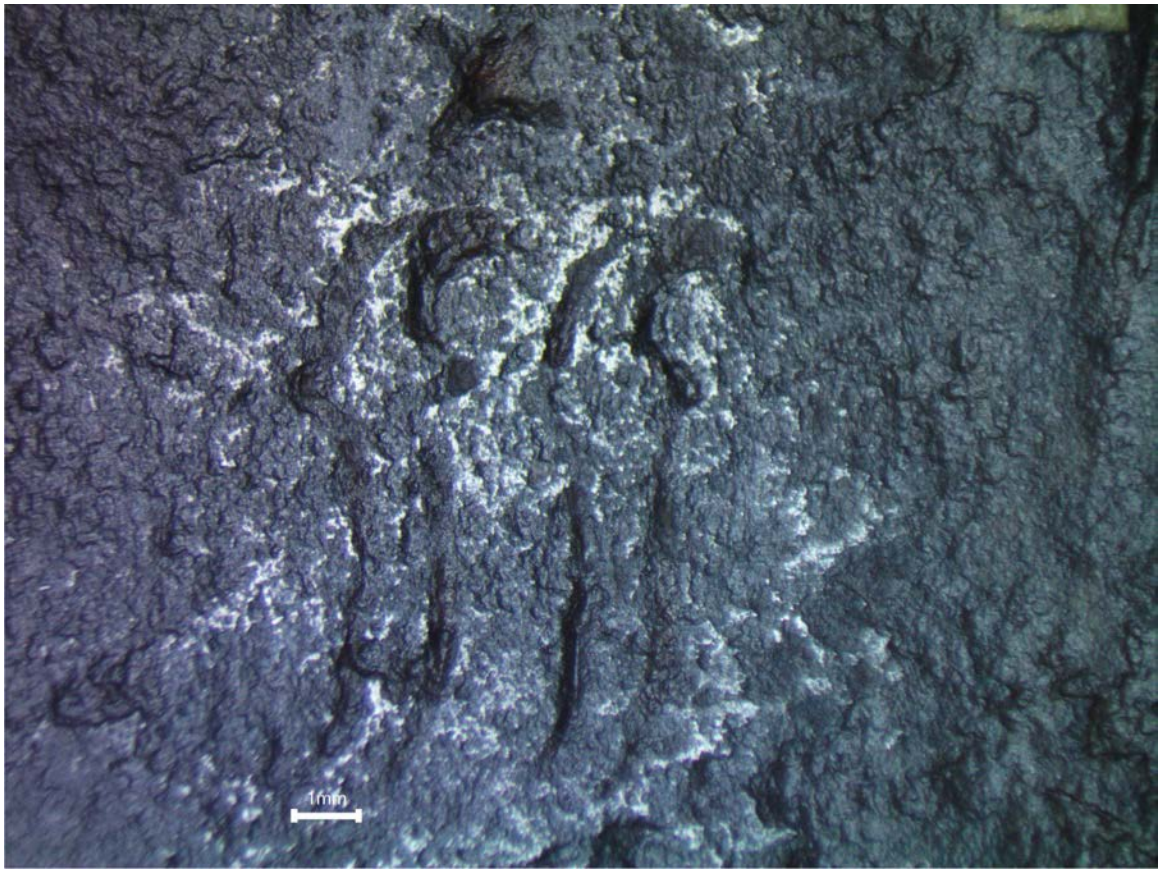

Figure 4. Enlarged photograph of the stamped star above a pair of stamped scimitars. The designs may have been more pronounced before the knife was used for its primary purpose or subsequently as a hide scraper.

star and scimitar on this Louisiana specimen were inlaid with gold or brass but not so on the knife blade fragment from Longest.

The Blaines repeatedly investigated this small area and yet only a limited assemblage was found. These few artifacts probably indicate a Native American residential location rather than a trash accumulation, which could have included a shot pouch or other container filled with unfired balls that could have been used in flintlock muskets. This seemed like a large number of lead balls for such a small area, so other iron artifact descriptions from the Longest site were consulted. Despite the significant amount of excavation and associated fill screening that went on in the 1960s excavations and the 2013 testing, it was apparent that very few lead balls had been recovered. In fact, the *Wichita Report* only reported four lead balls, one un-shot, one shot, and two drilled and used for beads (Blaine 1967:176; Woodall 1967:182). No balls are reported from the 2013 investigations (Drass et al. 2018), but Richard R. Drass reports (personal communication 2023) that two were recovered, one fired and the other unfired, and that he has seen lead balls in private collections from the site, some of which are shown in Appendix B of the 2008 survey report. The short gun barrel segments had not been recycled for use as breech-barrel hammers that were recovered from the site (Skinner and Hall 2018:25–26). The presence of these artifacts indicates that the Wichita inhabitants were aware of muskets, but the concentration of unfired lead balls in the scatter can be taken as an indication that they were of little value.

Each ball was washed, and most were found to be covered with a thin rind or remnants of calcium carbonate (Table 1, Figure 5). This surface covering was removed from two of the balls and this reduced the weight of Ball 47 from 15.8 g to 15.3 g and Ball 48 from 15.9 g to 15.35 g as measured on an Ohaus Scout model SPX222 digital scale. Many of the balls retained evidence of lead sprue where molten lead

Table 1. Individual ball descriptions.

No.	Locus	Wt (g)	Caliber	Notes	Figure
1	L-2D-1	17.03	0.594	Short sprue ridge, knife cut	
2	L-2D-1	17.3	0.579		
3	L-2D-1	16.03	0.579	Short sprue ridge	
4	L-2D-1	16.03	0.579	Partial sprue cup ridge	
5	L-2D-1	17.6	0.565		
6	L-2D-1	18.06	0.594	Knife cut half round	
7	L-2D-1	17.4	0.579	Knife cut	
8	L-2D-1	14.8	0.551	Circular faceted surface	
9	L-2D-1	15.6	0.565	Knife cut	
10	L-2D-1	15.74	0.579	Knife cut	
11	L-2D-1	15	0.565	3 faceted surfaces, 2 knife cuts	
12	L-2D-1	15.88	0.579	Short sprue nib, 2 knife cuts	
13	L-2D-1	16.25	0.579	Knife cut	5*a*
14	L-2D-1	16.5	0.579	Sprue nib	
15	L-2D-1	15	0.565	2 knife cuts	
16	L-2D-1	16.35	0.579	Partial sprue cup ridge	
17	L-2D-1	15.73	0.579	Partial sprue cup ridge	
18	L-2D-1	14.9	0.565	3 short knife cuts, plow nick	
19	L-2D-1	17.85	0.579	Sprue nib, 2 knife cuts	
20	L-2D-1	16.3	0.579	Short sprue ridge	
21	L-2D-1	16.8	0.594	Knife cut	
22	L-2D-1	14.85	0.579	Sprue nib, plow nick	
23	L-2D-1	16.15	0.565	Short sprue ridge	
24	L-2D-1	15	0.565	Short sprue ridge	
25	L-2D-1	15.95	0.565	Sprue ridge, knife cut	
26	L-2D-1	15.4	0.579	Sprue ridge	
27	L-2D-1	15.05	0.551	Sprue nib, knife cuts	5*b*
28	L-2D-1	17.45	0.579	Sprue nib, 3 knife cuts	5*c*
29	L-2D-1	17.55	0.594	Sprue, 2 knife cuts	
30	L-2D-1	17.75	0.594	Sprue nib, knife cut	5*d*
31	L-2D-1	16.75	0.579	Sprue nib on depressed surface	5*e*
32	L-2D-1	15.35	0.565	Sprue encircling ridge, knife cut	
33	L-2D-1	13.2	0.551	Sprue nib adjacent to a casting void	5*f*
34	L-2D-1	15.6	0.579	Sprue nib, knife cut	
35	L-2D-3	17.33	0.594		
36	L-2D-3	16.73	0.579	2 knife cuts	5*g*
37	L-2D-3	15.9	0.579	Sprue nib	
38	L-2D-3	17	0.579	Encircling knife cut and other knife cuts	5*h*
39	L-2D-3	16.32	0.579	Sprue nib	
40	L-2D-3	14	0.551	Sprue nib	
41	L-2D-3	13.3	0.565	Sprue nib on mold ridge, 2 short knife cuts, plow scar	5*i*
42	L-2D-3	15.95	0.579	Partial sprue cup line	
43	L-2D-3	15.55	0.579	Sprue nib, knife cut	
44	L-2D-3	14.8	0.565	Faceted surface, knife cut	
45	L-2D-1	16	0.579	Sprue nib, knife cut	
46	L-2D-3	13.6	0.565	Sprue ridge, faceted surface	
47	L-2D-1	15.8	0.565	15.3 g conserved, sprue nib	
48	L-2D-1	15.9	0.565	15.35 g conserved, knife cut	
49	L-2D-3	16	0.594	Sprue nib/ridge	
50	L-2D-1	12.8	0.535	Sprue ridge, faceted circle, knife cut	5*j*

Figure 5. Select lead balls from Area L-2D at the Longest site showing the calcium carbonate rind, sprue cup lines, sprue nibs/ridges (*a-d*), a casting void (*f*), a plow strike (*i*), a facet, and cut lines on several ball surfaces.

had been poured into the ball molds (Figure 6) during manufacture. Also, barely visible encircling lead rings or nibs thereof are present where the two cups of the mold butted up against each other (Sivilich 2016:17). Several balls have flat or barely indented facets, which are attributed to having been packed in containers for transport (Sivilich 1996:103). None of the balls exhibit tooth marks left by "bite the bullet" pain easement (Peterson 1968:170) nor was any flattening found that had been caused by having been fired (Sivilich

Figure 6. Lead ball mold (from Blair 1968:185*o*).

1996:104). The balls range in weight from 12.8 g to 18.06 g (the reported numbers can be converted to grains by multiplying by 15.4324 but most recent sources report volume by measuring grams using a digital scale [Keith and Smith 2017; Middlebrook n.d.; Schooler 2009]). A PICKETT SMALL CIRCLES No. 1203 plastic key sheet was used to record caliber. The caliber range of the L-2D lead balls is from 0.535 to 0.594 (Figure 7). The lead source is unknown but lead balls from the Womack site downstream (41LR1; Harris et al. 1965:343–344) consisted of French, Spanish, and German leads (Schooler 2009:294–296). Schooler's thorough analysis of lead balls from eight southern Plains and Caddo sites showed that balls were generally made of lead from both European and American (Missouri) sources. Similar results were found at the Mayhew site in East Texas (Middlebrook n.d.)

The Longest balls from L-2D were obviously made in molds for specific calibers but with the use of cloth patches, these different caliber balls could have been fired from the same smooth bore weapon depending upon the caliber and patching used (Fadala 1979). No evidence was noted that an attempt was made to remove sprue remnants from the spherical surface of the balls so presumably the sprue nibs or cup match remnant was not seen by the maker or potential user as a hindrance to firing. In a goodly number of the balls, apparent metal knife blade cuts are present on the ball surface but in no recognizable patterns. In one case (Ball 38), a knife blade cut encircles the ball along the mold match point but not obviously for the purpose of removing the sprue ring or prying open the mold halves. In Ball 33, there is a casting void into the body and there is sprue nib on the surface adjacent to the cavity. The balls were apparently not made at L-2D as no lead casting slag was encountered or collected from L-2D.

Based on the various calibers present and the absence of casting slag, it is our position that the balls were made commercially and had not been cast by the Wichita at Longest. Furthermore, it seems likely based on the widespread distribution that the balls had been in a container located somewhere in what was defined as the L-2D oval and that they were dispersed over the 40-m-long area over at least 50 years of twentieth-century field plowing, or more simply were intentionally scattered by the Wichita. The latter seems unlikely if we can rely on Parilla's description that there had been "withering fire from the numerous Wichitas and Comanches, all well-armed with French weapons" (Smith 2000:32). According to John (1996:351) the battle lasted four hours and Parrilla's force never managed to approach the stockade. Furthermore, the cannons were a laughing matter and were left behind when the battle ceased. The L-2D oval is not suggestive of the remains of a location that was attacked by musket-toting Spaniards in the mid-1700s or by contemporaneous Native Americans such as the Osages. Thus, it is our conclusion that the lead ball concentration was created by close to a century of plowing and subsequent dispersal of the contents of a container, possibly a pouch, that may have been in a Wichita house at the Longest site.

An interesting reflection about the historic documents relates to the various reports of the Parrilla troops facing the Wichita on both banks of the Red River at Longest. Parrilla was accompanied by 637 men including soldiers armed with muskets and swords, and the Apache warriors had bows and arrows (Weddle 2007:12–13). They fought a running battle with the Wichita and the battlers ultimately arrived on the west bank of the Red River. At the time of this battle, the Spanish scouts reported the presence of a fortification redoubt consisting of a wood palisade, parapet, and encircling ditch (Baugh and Blaine 2017:115). According to Captain Juan Ángel de Oyarźun who was there: "Thus was seen clearly, at the short distance

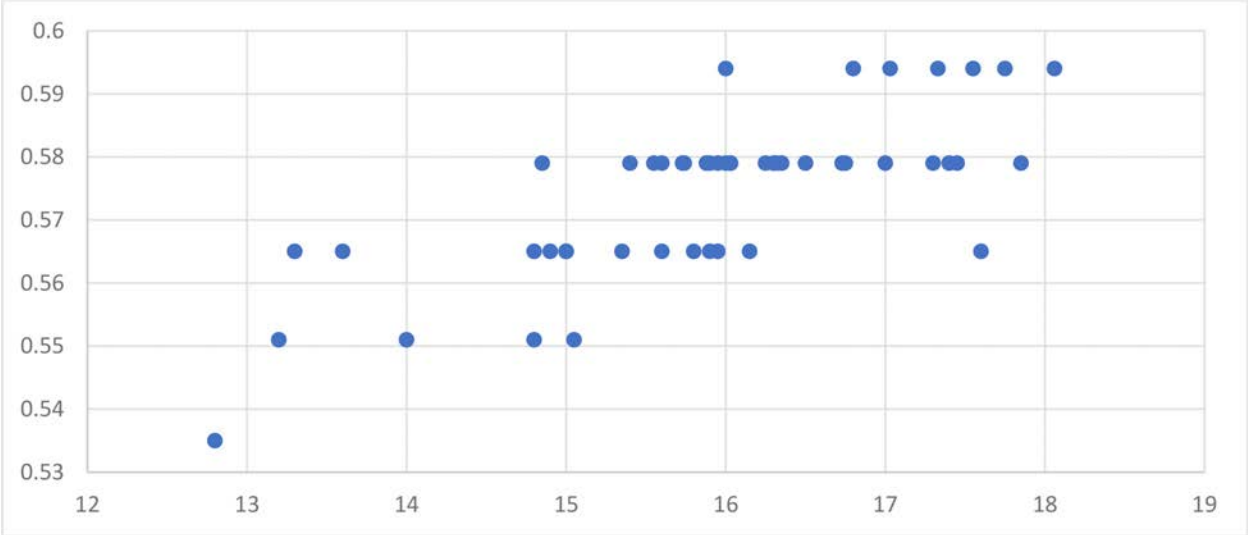

Figure 7. Ball caliber (Y axis) in relation to weight in grams (X axis).

of a gunshot, a village consisting of tall oval-shaped huts enclosed by a stockade and moat, and that its entrance road is enclosed in the same manner" (Weddle 2007:124). Antonio Treviño who reportedly lived at the Longest site for six months, further described the fortification as "made of split logs, which the Indians had placed separate one from the other in order to make use of muskets, the weapons they use, through them" (Newcomb and Field 1967:270).

From this description, muskets (no doubt flintlocks) were being used by both the Spanish and the Wichita but there is no indication that the Spanish invaders ever crossed the river to attack the stockade. This being the case and the land topography being what it is (Figure 8), we do not believe that the Spanish attackers could have seen the details of the fortress once they descended from the terrace where Spanish Fort is located more than 2.5 km to the west, particularly since

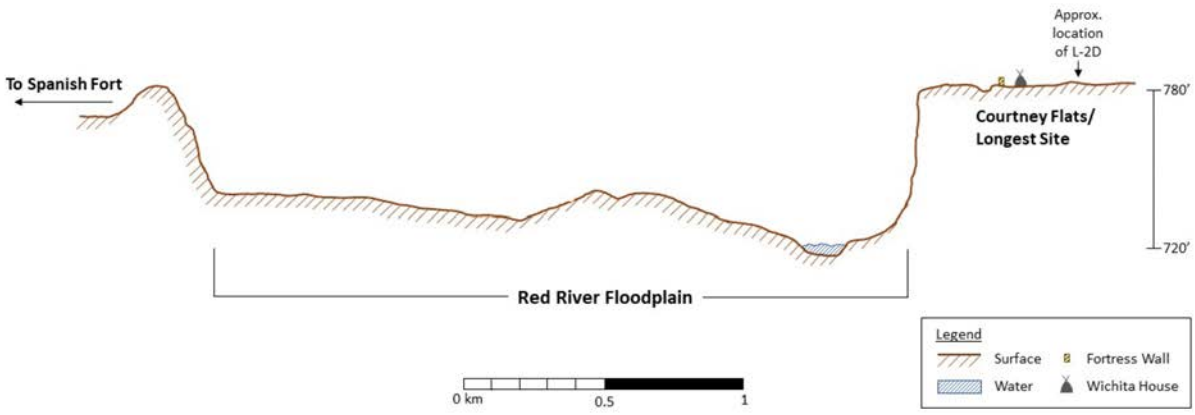

Figure 8. Scaled schematic profile of the Red River valley at the Longest site drawn using the Spanish Fort, Texas 7.5' USGS topographic map. As illustrated, fortification visibility from the river floodplain would seem to have been impossible as would have hitting the fortress with musket balls or cannon balls that had a range of about 100 m.

the floodplain expanse west of the river was covered in dense brush and trees, which would have obscured visibility even on horseback. Furthermore, upon getting close to the riverbank, the terrace bank on the east side of the river was 18 m (60 ft.) high, as it is today, and the edge was probably anchored by trees and brush. Thus, seeing the detail of the fortress features would seem to have been impossible, despite what the records say.

Technically, the Spanish were firing flintlock muskets, which had a generally accepted shooting range of little more than 100 m, and the distance from the west side of the river today, or even as mapped in 1964 and shown on Figure 24 of the *Wichita Report*, is about 0.5 km or 500 m, well beyond the range of a musket shot if fired from the west bank. If soldiers were shooting and observing even from the east bank or the narrow eastern floodplain, their shots would have to have been taken at an angle of better than 60° to reach the terrace edge and would have gone off into the air. These same shooters would certainly not have been able to see the fortress. Likewise, shooting flintlock muskets from the west side of the fortress would have not reached the soldiers on either the east or west sides of the river. As an aside, the Apache or other Native American soldiers with the Spanish team or the Wichita themselves, would not have delivered arrows even as far as the muskets (Miller 2009:43–46). In summary, it would appear that the historic descriptions of the Parrilla battle with the Wichita at the Longest site were embellished or exaggerated when they were written. The unused lead balls found at L-2D certainly were not attributable to Parrilla's attack at the Longest site.

Area L-2D at the Longest site is clearly a deposit created by Native Americans, presumably Wichitas, who were interacting with French traders who probably arrived at the site from Natchitoches, Louisiana, via the Red River (Gregory et al. 2008) or from Arkansas Post overland from the Arkansas River (John 1996:317). These same traders presumably supplied muskets, lead balls, kettles (brass and iron), beads, and other trade goods to Caddo villagers who lived within the Red River watershed at sites like Roseborough Lake (41BW5; Gilmore 1986; Miroir et al. 1973), Womack (41LR1; Harris et al. 1965), Sanders (41LR2; Perttula et al. 2015), Eli Moores (41BW2; Perttula 2014), Clements (41CS25; Perttula et al. 2010), and other known and unknown Historic period Caddo sites in the four corners area. Longest was reportedly a mid-eighteenth-century trading center that was at the western end of the Natchitoches French traders' territory. The residents of Area L-2D certainly used flintlock muskets for protection and hunting but the archaeological remains are flattened barrel hammers found during previous investigations. They apparently had no use for unfired lead balls. Based on the crude iron arrowheads, they were recycling small pieces of sheet metal, but they left behind no commercially made metal arrowheads, and the rare knappable glass that may have been present was not used for fashioning projectile points or other chipped tools. Likewise, there are no horse trappings in the L-2D area and very few elsewhere at Longest or at the Spanish Fort sites (Blaine and Skinner 2023). It is also possible that the L-2D deposit may have predated Parrilla's attack at the Longest site and that these earlier Wichita were living a more "rural" way of life, but this has yet to be determined.

Acknowledgments

For those who have not heard, Jay Blaine died on June 22, 2023, and he and Jerrylee are buried in the DFW National Cemetery in Dallas, Texas. Thanks go to Richard Drass of the Oklahoma Archeological Survey for sharing unpublished information about the Longest site and to Tim Baugh for sharing his perspective on the site as well. Tom Middlebrook of Nacogdoches shared his unpublished chapter on his intensive investigation of lead balls from the historic Mayhew site with the junior author after visiting about the Longest study at the Caddo Conference. C. Britt Bousman of Texas State University confirmed the significance of Steven Schooler's master's thesis. At AR Consultants, Inc., Dawn M. Crawford and Jacob A. Harris created the artifact photos used herein while Joy Tatem, Nicolette Edwards, and Dawson Foster provided maps and profiles. Tom Sequenzia and Molly A. Hall assisted with tabular analyses.

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Caddo Salt Production at Potter's Pond (16WE76): Some Observations from the Louisiana Archaeological Society's 1983–1984 Excavations

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In the winter of 1983–1984, the Louisiana Archaeological Society (LAS) surveyed and conducted limited test excavations at the Potter's Pond saline (16WE76) in northwest Louisiana. A short summary of this work was written by Claude McCrocklin in 1985 for the Arkansas Archeological Society's Field Notes newsletter. Later, in the fall of 2005 and again in the fall of 2010, Jeffrey Girard visited this site and re-examined the LAS artifacts in preparation for writing two regional archaeology program reports for northwest Louisiana. Aside from McCrocklin's initial report and Girard's later re-examination, little to no work has been done with the LAS materials from Potter's Pond – an issue that we attempt to rectify here. Although the examination to follow does not constitute a final report of the LAS investigations, some tentative observations regarding the timing of salt production and the production process itself can be made. In particular, we argue that salt was made at Potter's Pond sometime between AD 1600 and 1750 on a seasonal or opportunistic basis by producers using standardized, shell-tempered salt bowls.

Potter's Pond (16WE76) is a Caddo salt processing site located in the southeastern Caddo Homelands (i.e., northwest Louisiana) in the northern section of Lake Bistineau. This site, along with the Upper Lick (16WN30) and the Little Lick (16NA11) at Drake's Salt Works roughly 70 km to the southeast, is one of the region's most important salines. Although the Upper and Little licks have received some archaeological attention in recent years, our understanding of Caddo salt production in the southeastern Caddo Homelands remains incomplete given that Potter's Pond has not been thoroughly investigated due to its location beneath modern-day Lake Bistineau. However, the site has been the subject of some scholarly attention, including one formal survey conducted before the 1930s construction of the Lake Bistineau dam, which created the lake as it exists today. This survey was completed by Arthur C. Veatch (1902:81–89), who in addition to mapping the site (Figure 1) and discussing its geology and role during the Civil War, noted the presence of an Indigenous salt making operation.[1]

Over half of a century later, when the water levels were sufficiently low, Clarence Webb of Shreveport, Louisiana, visited the site and excavated a small test unit with Pete Gregory. Their excavations recovered one burned heron bone and an assortment of shell-tempered pottery sherds (Pete Gregory, personal communication 2023).[2] These materials are not described in print, but most, if not all, of the recovered pottery was examined by the primary author in 2011 during a visit to Northwestern State University where the collection is housed (Eubanks 2011).

In the early 1980s, the Louisiana Department of Wildlife and Fisheries (LDWF) initiated a 7-ft (2.1 m) drawdown of Lake Bistineau, and during the winter of 1983–1984 the lower water levels made it possible for Claude McCrocklin and volunteers from the Louisiana Archaeological Society (LAS) to access the site. McCrocklin (1985:3-4) published a brief description of this work in the Arkansas Archeological Society's *Field Notes* newsletter. The materials collected from this project were washed and sorted, but a formal analysis was never published. In preparation for a regional archaeology program report, Jeffrey Girard (2006:54–63) re-examined the LAS materials at Southern Arkansas University (SAU) in Magnolia. He was also able to revisit the site and the adjoining parts of Lake Bistineau in the fall of 2005 and again in the fall

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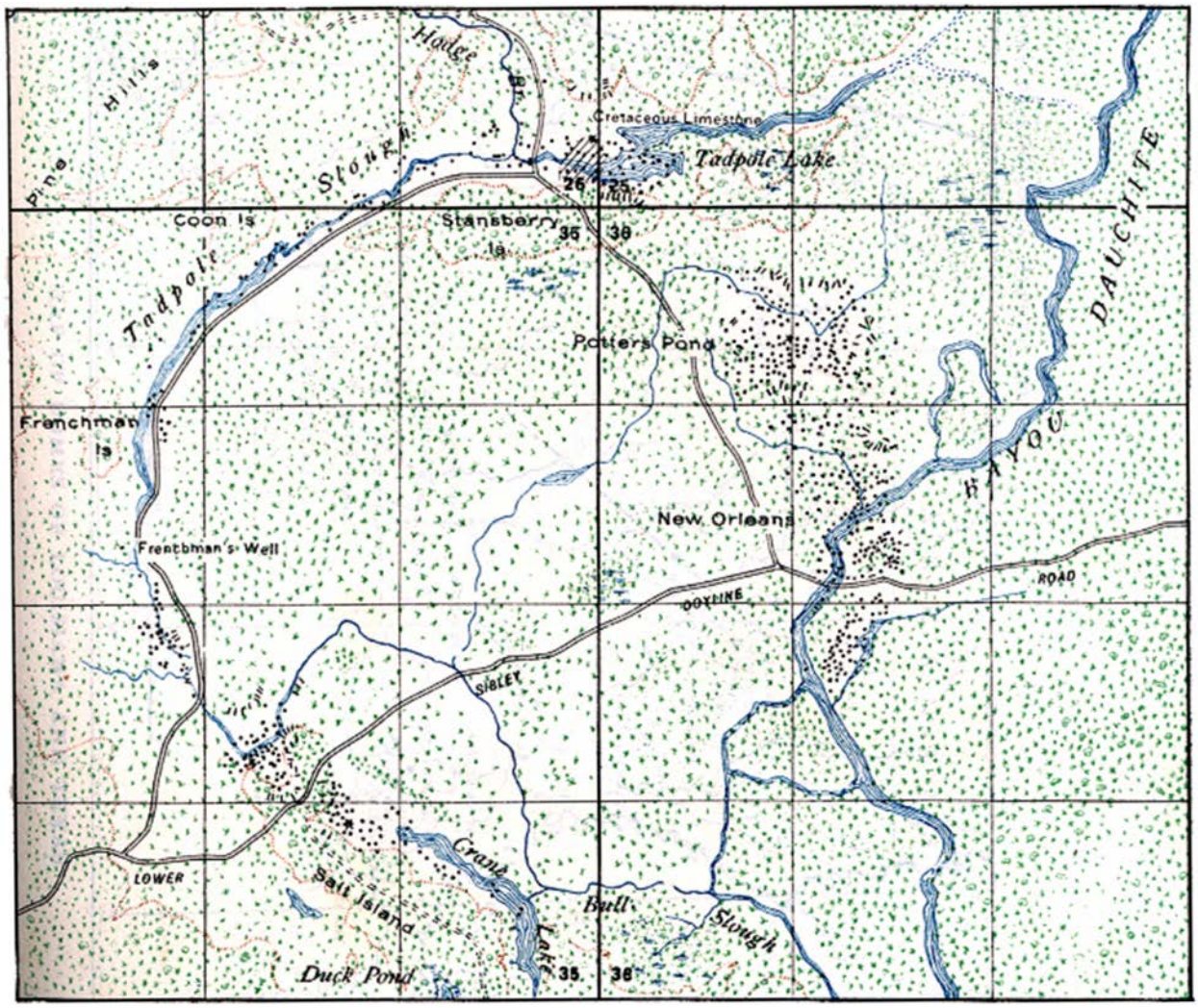

Figure 1. Veatch's (1902:Plate XXII) map of the Lake Bistineau salt works including Potter's Pond.

of 2010 as the lake had once again been drawn down by the LDWF (Girard 2006:54–63, 2011:24-32). Aside from McCrocklin's initial report and Girard's later re-examination, little to no work has been done involving the 1983–1984 LAS materials from Potter's Pond. Thus, our goal here is to summarize the LAS's work while discussing the timing of salt production, production intensity, vessel technology, and vessel standardization.

Setting

Potter's Pond can refer to both an archaeological site and a geographic feature – a pond, presently visible only when the water levels of Lake Bistineau are low enough. The pond is fed by a small creek and is located to the east of Goat Island and to the west of Bayou Dorcheat (Figure 2). The archaeological site is situated adjacent to and underneath the pond with most of the materials concentrated on a low rise along the pond's eastern shoreline (Figure 3). As originally noted by Veatch (1902:83), the site contains surface deposits of pottery (hence the site's name) along with over a hundred low depressions representing the remains of mid-nineteenth-century salt wells (Girard 2006:57, 2011:24–25) (Figure 4). Most of these depressions are found just to the west and south of the pond, but some are also visible on its eastern side (Girard 2006:Figure 26, 2011:Figure 3). During a drawdown in 2004, a handful of wells to the south of the pond along with several brick features became exposed and were given

Figure 2. Aerial view of Potter's Pond (*Google Earth image, accessed November 2023*).

Figure 3. Eastern shoreline of Potter's Pond, view north from the low rise (*photograph courtesy of Jeffrey S. Girard, fall 2005*).

Figure 4. Nineteenth-century circular well remnant on west side of Potter's Pond (*photograph courtesy of Jeffrey S. Girard, fall 2005*).

the site name and designation "Salt Works No. 1 (16WE357)," however, a follow-up survey by Girard in 2010 revealed no clear boundary between the wells at this site and those at Potter's Pond (Girard 2011:24–27). At the time of the LAS's excavations, only a few wells were visible, and the Caddo salt-making debris was spread out over an area roughly 173 m north-south by at least 34 m east-west with some deposits buried as deep as 1 m. It is likely that additional salt-making materials were present farther to the west, but the LAS was unable to conduct any substantial testing beyond the shoreline. Although the site was used during the nineteenth century, especially during the Civil War, many of its original deposits appear to be undisturbed, which is somewhat of a rarity compared to other salt processing sites in the southeastern US (e.g., Brown 2015; Drexler 2022; Dumas 2007; Eubanks 2016a; Guidry and McKee 2014).

According to McCrocklin's entry for Potter's Pond in the Louisiana State Site Files, a survey, presumably of the ground surface only, was conducted approximately 1 mile (1.6 km) in every direction from Potter's Pond. This survey failed to yield any evidence of a substantial satellite site, but there are a handful of other archaeological sites found in the northern end of Lake Bistineau. These date back to as early as the Archaic period, but none contain evidence for substantial or long-term use (Girard 2006:54). This is likely a result of topography, as even before the construction of the 1930s dam, this area would have been prone to flooding, and thus ill-suited for long term habitation (McCrocklin 1985:4).

The 1983–1984 LAS Excavations

The LAS's work at Potter's Pond was centered on the low rise near the eastern shoreline (Figure 5). This area contained a concentration of burned earth on the ground surface measuring roughly 30–40 m north-south by at least 10–15 m east-west. Underneath this burned feature

was a midden between 15 and 20 cm thick. A series of test probes extending 40 m to the north, east, and south of the rise revealed few archaeological materials. This suggests that the site's boundaries did not extend well beyond what was already visible on the ground surface, except possibly to the west where higher water levels prevented testing. In addition to the test probes, the LAS made a surface collection and excavated several test squares in and near the concentration of burned soil. The site-level artifact counts from these efforts are presented in Table 1. Also included in this table are some materials no longer with the collection, including the artifacts pictured in Figure 6.[3]

Despite the 7-ft drawdown of the lake, heavy rains, rising water levels, and freezing temperatures made typical dry land excavation techniques difficult, and as a result, at least some of LAS's excavations had to be completed by "feeling out for the artifacts" (McCrocklin 1985:4). During the course of their work, the LAS discovered and excavated two pit features (see Figure 5). The first of these was identified around 15 cm below the ground surface near the northern edge of the burned earth feature. This pit was approximately 1.2 m wide with a depth of 1.06 m. It contained 7 stacked pots, 2 of which were complete vessels (Figure 7), while the other 5 were broken into fragments large enough to be reassembled into whole or partial pots (McCrocklin 1985). All 7 were hemispherical bowls tempered with shell and were similar to those seen at the roughly contemporaneous Upper and Little licks in Winn and Natchitoches parishes respectively.

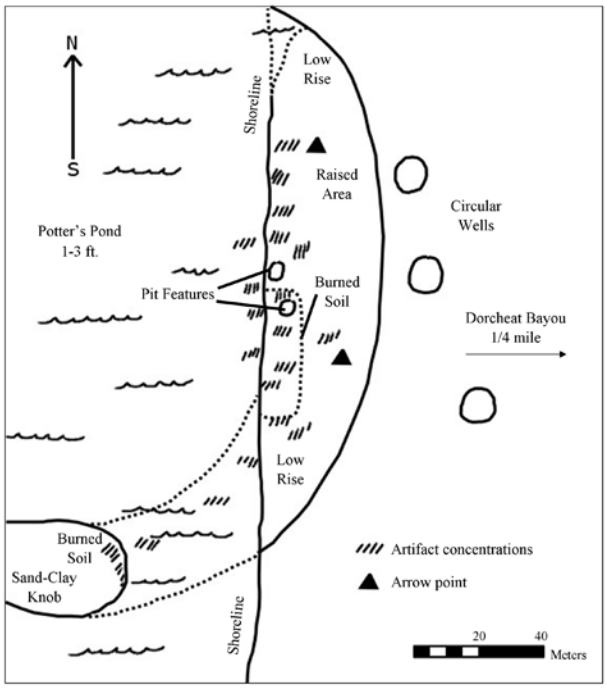

Figure 5. Map of Potter's Pond, adapted from Claude McCrocklin's 1984 sketch map (*courtesy of the Arkansas Archeological Survey and Louisiana Division of Archaeology*).

Table 1. Artifacts Recovered from the 1983–1984 LAS Excavations at Potter's Pond.

Artifact Class	Count
Shell-Tempered Ceramics	
Shell-tempered plain sherd	1,337
Cowhide Stamped	1
Fatherland Incised partial vessel	1
Foster/Emory Punctated-Incised sherd	1
Foster/Keno Trailed-Incised partial vessel	1
Glassell Engraved sherd	3
Karnack Brushed-Incised sherd	4
UID Engraved (possible Natchitoches Engraved) sherd	1
UID Engraved sherd	2
UID Incised sherd	4
Decorated UID sherd	11
Other Ceramics	
Grog-tempered plain sherd	58
Grog- and shell-tempered plain sherd	1
UID Incised sherd with grog and shell temper	1
Lithics	
Alba point	4
Biface/uniface	16
Bonham point	3
Core and tested pebble	3
Flake	34
Ground stone	5
Partial/complete arrow points	3
Quartzite crystal	1
Unmodified stone	37
Postcontact	
Brick	3
Metal tool/tool fragment	12
Pipe stem fragment	1
Porcelain	20
Other	
Burned earth	22
Fauna	9
Shell	2

Figure 6. LAS artifacts from Potter's Pond absent from the SAU collection (*photograph by Claude McCrocklin, courtesy of the Arkansas Archeological Survey*).

Figure 7. Nested bowls from Potter's Pond (*photograph by Claude McCrocklin, courtesy of the Arkansas Archeological Survey*).

Several meters to the southeast, a second pit feature was uncovered. The dimensions of this pit do not appear to have been recorded – likely due to the fact that wet conditions made defining the shape of the feature difficult. However, a 1.5 m test square excavated around the pit failed to yield any additional materials, so it would seem that it probably had a diameter less than that of the test square (McCrocklin 1985:4). The area between the first and second pits was also excavated and determined to be devoid of additional features. Unlike its counterpart to the north, the second pit contained two partial, decorated vessels (Figure 8). The presence of these vessels is somewhat unique, as decorated pottery, especially from partial vessels, is often rare at sites used exclusively or primarily for salt processing (Eubanks 2016b).

The Timing of Production

There are currently no absolute dates from Potter's Pond, but the recovered chronologically diagnostic artifacts would not be out of place in an assemblage dating to sometime between AD 1600 and 1750. The decorated wares, in particular, are consistent with a Late Caddo or perhaps early Historic Caddo component (see Girard et al. 2021:31–37). Included among these are examples of Cowhide Stamped, Fatherland Incised, Foster/Emory Punctated-Incised, Foster/Keno Trailed-Incised, Glassell Engraved, and Karnack Brushed-Incised. Though not present in the LAS collection, examples of Belcher Ridged and Mound Tract Incised/Brushed have been reported (Girard 2006:60, 2011:27), with an additional two Belcher Ridged sherds present in Clarence Webb's collection (Eubanks 2011) (Figure 9).

Ninety-six percent of the pottery recovered by the LAS was tempered with shell. The prevalence of shell as a tempering agent is also suggestive of a later date, as this temper is rarely seen in northwest Louisiana prior to the 1500s, and only a minority of vessels were tempered with shell until later in the 1600s (Perttula et al. 2011:8–12). The abundance of shell-tempered pottery at Potter's Pond, therefore, would seem to suggest the existence of a post-1600 salt-making operation. However, assuming there is a connection between shell tempering and salt production (Weinstein and Dumas 2008), then salt producers at sites like Potter's Pond

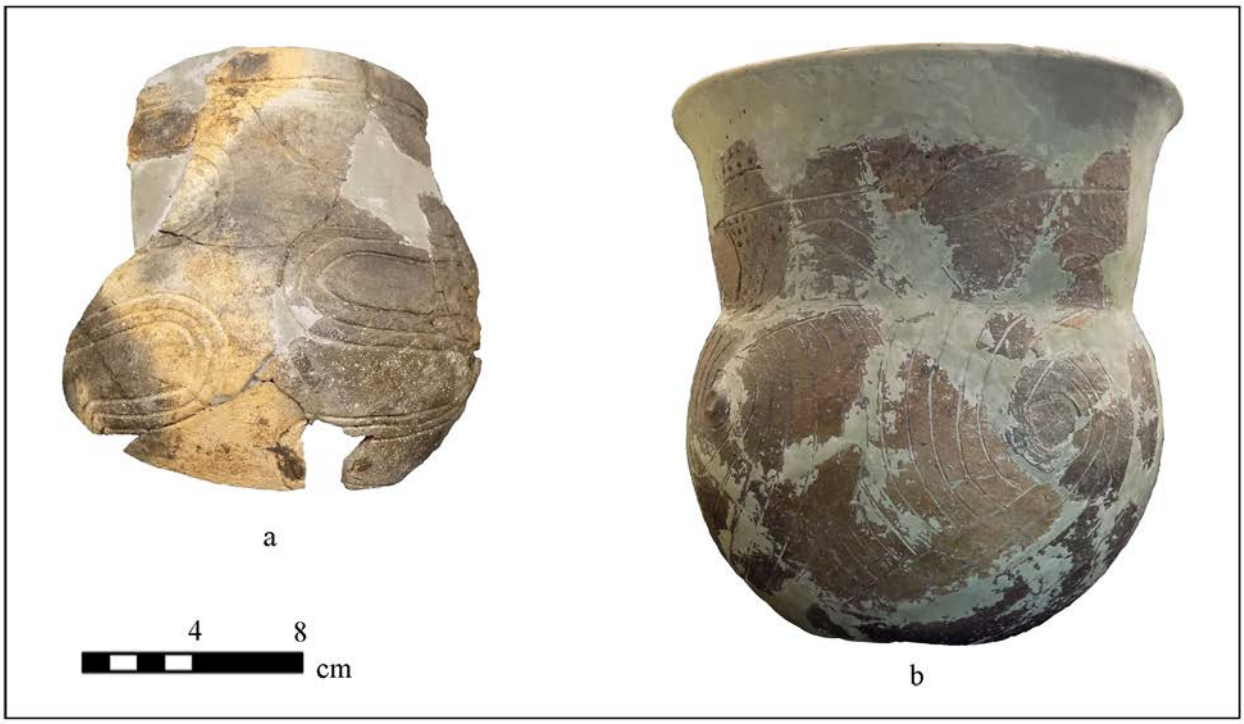

Figure 8. Fatherland Incised (*a*) and Foster/Keno Trailed-Incised (*b*) vessels recovered from the second pit feature at Potter's Pond.

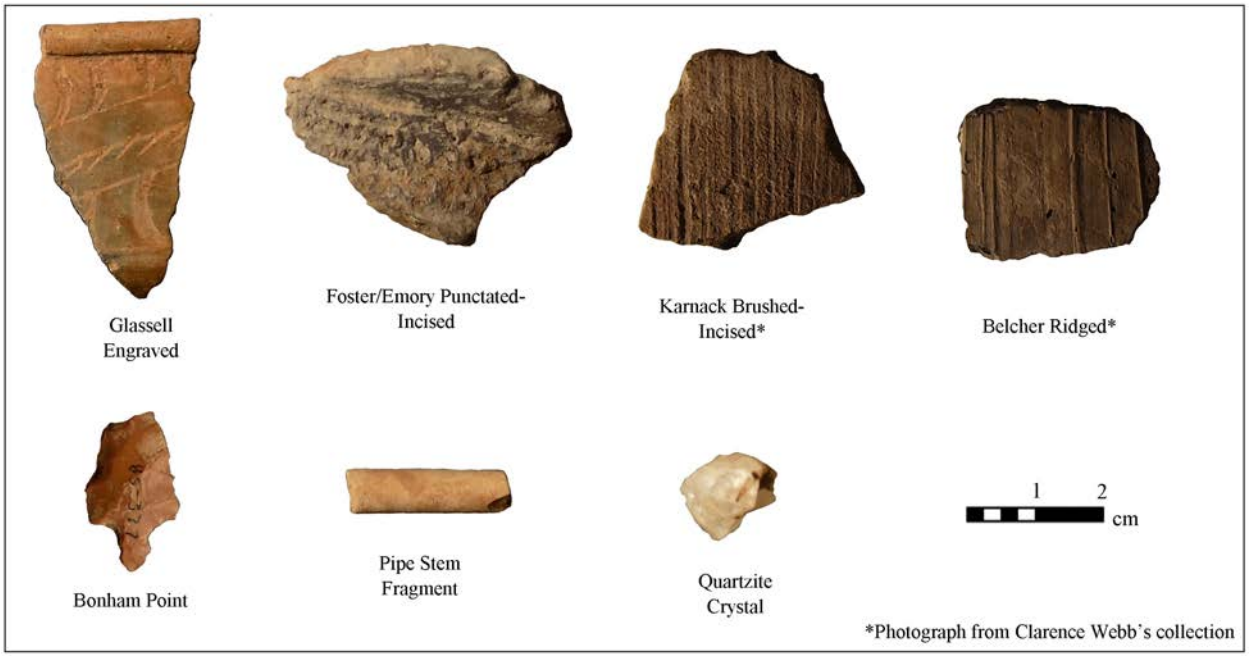

Figure 9. A selection of artifacts from Potter's Pond.

may have been among the first people in northwest Louisiana to adopt the use of this temper.

Although most of the pottery was tempered with shell, there were 58 sherds that were tempered primarily with grog and an additional two that were tempered with a heterogeneous mix of grog and shell (see Table 1). These sherds could be a product of an earlier salt-making operation dating to sometime before the widespread adoption of shell temper in the late 1600s. However, additional data, especially in the form of radiocarbon dates are required before this hypothesis can be tested.

Arrow points including examples of the types Alba and Bonham were also recovered (see Figures 6 and 9). While these were used for centuries prior to the adoption of shell tempering in northwest Louisiana, they might not be too out of place in a late precontact assemblage. Alongside these were several definitive postcontact artifacts, including a kaolin pipe stem fragment. In larger numbers, pipe stems can be dated using the diameter of their stem bore, but with a current sample size of one, ascertaining a date for this artifact is not possible. Overall, the general lack of eighteenth-century materials could suggest that direct interaction with Europeans was limited, but more work at the site is needed before the presence or extent of Caddo-European interaction can be assessed.

Production Intensity

In the southeastern US, it was common for Indigenous salt production sites to be used on a seasonal or opportunistic basis (Brown 1999; Dumas 2007; Eubanks 2016a; Muller 1984). This seems to be the case for Potter's Pond as well, as there is currently no architectural evidence for a prolonged occupation. Further, most of the artifacts recovered from this site are parts of plain salt bowls. There are some materials that may or may not have been associated with salt, including shell and lithic tools, though it is worth mentioning that some of these could have theoretically been involved in the salt-making process (e.g., to scrape hardened salt out of a bowl). Even if such artifacts were not used to produce salt, such a low frequency of these remains would not be expected at a site that was occupied year-round or nearly year-round. In addition, a similar lack of domestic debris was seen at the Upper and Little licks (Table 2), where more extensive excavations also revealed no architectural evidence for long-term occupation.

If Potter's Pond was occupied on a permanent or semi-permanent basis, then fine or decorated wares should be well-represented in the pottery assemblage. At the Hardman saline (3CL418), for instance, where there was a prolonged Caddo occupation (by non-full-time specialists), decorated pottery accounts for roughly 8% of the total ceramic assemblage. However, at Potter's Pond, decorated pottery is rare constituting only 1.8% of the total ceramic assemblage. This figure is not too dissimilar from other salines in the southeastern US without substantial occupation (Brown 1999:122, 2015:Table 29; Dumas 2007:530–540; Early 1993:63–118; Eubanks 2013, 2016b:Table 1; Kenmotsu 2005:Table 3; Muller 1992:288, Table 10.11, Table 10.12) (Table 3). Further, living at the site more permanently may not have even been possible given its low-lying, flood-prone topography. Thus, based on the site's topography and its lack of decorated pottery, domestic architecture, lithic debris, and faunal remains, it would appear the salt producers visited Potter's Pond for relatively brief periods of time on a seasonal or opportunistic basis.

Production Technology

The hemispherical bowl was the preferred container for brine evaporation in northwest Louisiana, but elsewhere in the Caddo Homelands, other vessel forms were favored (Eubanks 2021). In southwest-central Arkansas at sites like Hardman and Bayou Sel (3CL27), pans or platters were more common (Early 1993, 2021). Farther to the west near the Arkansas-Oklahoma border at Nakuukuwidish (Holman Springs, 3SV29) tall plain or neck-banded jars were used (Drexler and Taylor 2019;

Table 2. Counts of Shell-Tempered Ceramics, Lithics, and Faunal Remains from Potter's Pond, the Upper Lick, and the Little Lick.

Site	Plain Shell-Tempered Pottery	Decorated and Brushed Pottery	All Modified Stone	Faunal Remains*
Potter's Pond	1,338**	30***	68	9
Upper Lick	22,777	305	1,075	31
Little Lick	10,775	61	91	182

*Does not include shell.
**Includes one sherd tempered with shell and grog.
***Includes one decorated sherd tempered with grog and shell and two partial shell-tempered vessels.

Table 3. Counts and Frequencies of Shell- and Grog-tempered Decorated and Undecorated Pottery from Select Salt Production Sites in the US Southeast.

Site	Undecorated Frequency*	Undecorated Count*	Decorated Frequency	Decorated Count	Sherd Total
Great Salt Spring, IL	99.9%	185,422	0.1%	235	185,657
Little Lick, LA	99.6%	10,799	0.4%	47	10,846
Upper Lick, LA	99.0%	22,865	1.0%	226	23,091
Salt Mine Valley- Locale 5, LA	98.6%	76,276	1.4%	1,074	77,350
Potter's Pond, LA	**98.2%**	**1,400**	**1.8%**	**26**	**1,426**
Hardman, AR	92.0%	26,565	8.0%	2,299	28,864
Stimpson, AL**	91.5%	2,561	8.5%	237	2,798
Salt Well Slough, TX	90.5%	19,484	9.5%	2,051	21,535

* Includes fabric-impressed, cane-impressed, and brushed sherds as these are often non-decorative surface treatments.
** Sample includes only rim sherds.

Greene and Trubitt 2023) – a pattern that is also seen in east Texas at the Salt Well Slough site (41RR204) (Kenmotsu 2005; Kenmotsu and Perttula 2021). However, using these containers to evaporate brine would have only been one step in the salt production process. At many salt licks in northwest Louisiana, probably including Potter's Pond before the construction of the Lake Bistineau dam, potent concentrations of brine rarely pooled on the ground surface. Instead, after successive episodes of weak brine surfacing and evaporating, visible salt deposits would begin to accumulate on the ground surface. This salt could be gathered up directly with a scoop or scraper, an act that would leave behind very little, if any, material remains. Notably however, such a method can only access salt from the surface and will invariably result in potentially unwanted soil impurities. Thus, in order to produce larger quantities of salt with fewer impurities, salty soil from the saline could be collected, placed in a basket, and filled with water (or brine). This mixture would steep and eventually filtered brine would percolate out through the bottom of the basket into an empty ceramic vessel (Figure 10). An example of this process was recorded during the 1540s by the Gentleman from Elvas as the Soto expedition was passing through modern-day Arkansas:

> They gather it [salt] along the river, which leaves it on top of the sand when the water falls. And since they cannot gather it without more sand being mixed with it, they put it into certain baskets which they have for this purpose, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom. They hang the baskets to a pole in the air and put water in them, and they place a basin underneath into which the water falls. After being strained and set on the fire to boil, as the water becomes less, the salt is left on the bottom of the pot [Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:I:124–125].

Once the brine had been filtered into a ceramic vessel, it could then be placed over a fire and heated until only a hard salt cake or salt slurry remained. In the case of the former, the salt bowls could be broken open to retrieve the salt, an act which might explain the large quantities of broken pottery sherds found at the site. Alternatively, if the bowls were emptied prior to the salt hardening, then the resulting salt slurry could be placed out in the sun, perhaps on a basket or mat, and left to

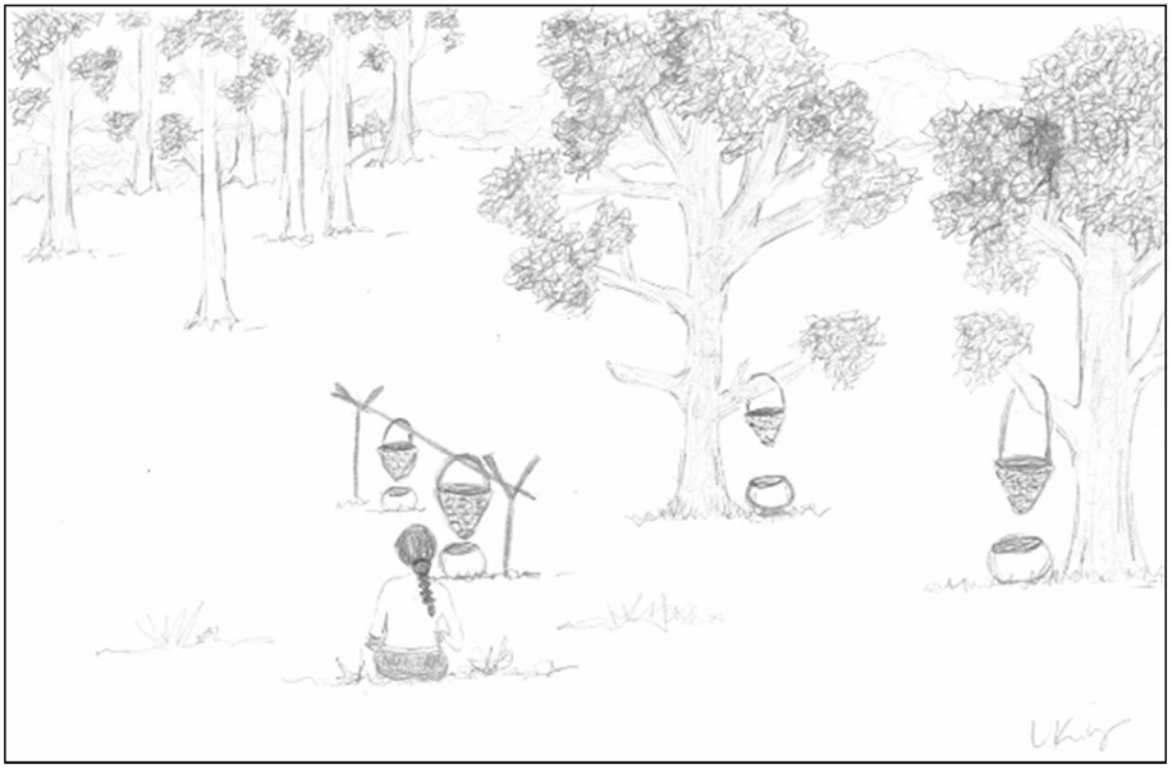

Figure 10. Filtering brine (*sketch courtesy of Lauren Kirby*).

Table 4. Standardization of Rim Diameters from Salt Production Sites in the US Southeast.

Site	Vessel Form	No. of Rim Samples	Mean Rim Diameter (cm)	Stnd. Dev.	Coeff. of Var. (%)
Stimpson, AL	Bowl	661	24.1	2.29	9.5
Little Lick, LA	Bowl	236	20.7	2.02	9.8
Potter's Pond, LA	**Bowl**	**26**	**21.2**	**2.28**	**10.8**
Upper Lick, LA	Bowl	144	23.8	4.94	20.8
Salt Mine Valley, LA	Bowl	661	31.3	6.73	21.5
Great Salt Spring, IL	Pan	199	62.9	39.9	63.4

dry. If the bowls were not intentionally broken open, then there is a possibility that they could have been re-used, but their relatively thin walls ($\mu = 5.18$ mm, $\sigma = 1.02$ mm), especially compared to thicker pan forms, likely meant that multiple reuses would have resulted in the vessels breaking apart during the evaporation process.

At present, it is not clear where the salt bowls used at Potter's Pond were made. Based on his recovery of several possible burnishing stones, McCrocklin (1985:3) suggested that the bowls were made on-site, a position supported by Le Page du Pratz, who in reference to a saline near the Caddo Homelands observed that the salt makers "made earthen pots on the spot" for their salt-making operation (Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz in Swanton 1911:78). Conversely, the salt bowls at Potter's Pond are stackable and lightweight, making them capable of being easily transported to the site, especially via watercraft. In addition, firing them off-site would have helped to conserve firewood at the saline, and doing so would have saved the producers time, as they would not have to wait until after their bowls were fired to begin making salt. However, if extra bowls were fired on-site and stored in pits for subsequent use, then this issue could be avoided to some extent. This might also explain why the LAS encountered two pits filled with complete or nearly complete pottery vessels (McCrocklin 1985:4).

Rim Diameter Standardization

The salt bowl fragments from Potter's Pond exhibit a narrow range of variability. To quantify this lack of variability, the diameters from rim sherds representing at least 10% of the vessel's opening were measured using a metric rim board and compared to vessels from other salt production sites where similar data had been collected (Eubanks 2013, 2016b; Muller 1992:Table 10.13; Muller and Renken 1989:156–158). The results of this comparison are presented in Table 4 in order of most standardized (top) to least standardized (bottom). Vessel assemblages with lower standard deviations and coefficients of variation (standard deviation/mean x 100) are more standardized (i.e., less variable) than those with higher scores. While standard deviation is a direct measure of variability, the coefficient of variation may be more reliable as it takes into account the fact that larger vessels have more room for variability by virtue of their size.

The salt-making assemblage from Potter's Pond, while not the most standardized in the southeastern US, nevertheless displays a notable lack of variability not significantly different from that of the Little Lick (Levene's Test for Equality of Variances, $p = .969$) and significantly less variable than that of the Upper Lick ($p < .001$). Such a high degree of standardization could be the result of skill or experience, consumer preference for a standard-sized salt cake, or the use of a mold. At the nearby Upper and Little licks, it seems likely that all three of these factors were at play. At both of these sites, the producers were skilled and known regionally for their involvement in the salt trade, and their use of standardized bowls raises the possibility that they coiled their vessels with the aid of molds (e.g., inverted salt bowls). Further, both sites were used after the French established a permanent presence in the

region in the 1710s at Natchitoches. It was around this time and shortly before that there would have been an increased European demand for salt and salt-treated commodities including salted meats and animal skins/hides (Eubanks 2016a). Thus, making salt in containers of a similar size would have allowed the producers to exploit this increased demand by making known and standard quantities of salt that could be easily traded. Given the similarities between Potter's Pond and the Upper and Little licks, it could be the case that Potter's Pond was also involved in the contact-era salt trade, but it is difficult to say for certain until the site's chronology is better understood.

Summary and Conclusions

In the winter of 1983–1984, the Louisiana Archaeological Society conducted a surface collection at Potter's Pond, partially defined its boundaries via a series of test probes, and excavated the remains of two pit features containing intact and partially intact ceramic vessels. The hemispherical bowls used to evaporate brine at this site exhibit little variability and are almost indistinguishable from those found at the Upper and Little licks at Drake's Salt Works roughly 70 km to the southeast. Materials unrelated to the salt production process are rare, suggesting that salt producers did not live on-site for an extended period of time. Although McCrocklin (1985:3) raises the possibility that there could have been a structure on a raised area on top of the low rise adjacent to the pond, no architectural remains were encountered by the LAS.

Most of the LAS pottery from Potter's Pond was tempered with shell. However, 58 grog and 2 shell/grog-tempered sherds were also recovered. These sherds could suggest the existence of a salt-making operation that predates any other in northwest Louisiana, as this is the only saline in the region where grog-tempered pottery has been found. Decorated pottery and other chronologically diagnostic materials are rare, but those that are present are consistent with a Late Caddo period or early Historic Caddo period component, dating to perhaps sometime between AD 1600 and 1750. For the Upper and Little licks, it has been argued that an increase in the demand for salt and salt-treated commodities following European contact resulted in the use of efficient, standardized salt production technology capable of yielding a salt cake of a known and standard size. This could account for the high degree of standardization seen at Potter's Pond, but additional data, especially regarding the timing of production are needed before this hypothesis can be tested.

As Potter's Pond is usually submerged beneath Lake Bistineau, any additional excavations would likely need to be timed with a planned drawdown of the lake. Depending on the extent of the drawdown and weather conditions, the site may still be partially inundated. Given that it is usually under water, the 1983–1984 LAS investigations represent a rare opportunity to examine the material remains found at the site. This report is not intended to serve as a final or definitive analysis of the LAS's work; rather, our goal has been to use the LAS materials to begin to provide a better understanding of the role of Potter's Pond within the broader history of the Caddo salt making industry.

End Notes

1. The black dots on Veatch's map represent nineteenth-century circular wells while the "New Orleans" designation below Potter's Pond denotes a concentration of wells that falls within the boundaries of the modern-day Potter's Pond site.

2. There is at least one additional collection of which Pete Gregory is aware. It was originally held by Ms. Caroline Dormon and included several large sherds gathered from the site's surface.

3. Not included in this photograph but represented in Table 1 are examples of porcelain (20), brick (3), and metal tools/tool fragments (11).

Acknowledgments

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allowing us to re-examine the LAS's materials and Jeffrey Girard for reviewing an initial draft of this manuscript.

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Current Research:
Dolores Red, A Red-Slipped Ceramic Ware at Mission Nuestra Dolores de Ais (41SA25)

Timothy K. Perttula
Archeological & Environmental Consultants, LLC

Mission Nuestra Senora Dolores de Ais was first established between 1716 and 1719 by the Spanish crown in the New World to bring Christianity to the Ais (or Aays); this was first set up by the Spanish in 1717, but it was abandoned in 1719. The Ais were living in what is now East Texas at that time and were neighbors of the Hasinai Caddo groups. The later and more permanent mission was re-established and in use between 1721 and 1773 (Figure 1) (Benavides 1998). The Ais had been living in East Texas since at least the time of the De Soto-Moscoso entrada in 1542, but their precontact archaeology is basically unknown.

The mission was located some years ago in the area of Mission Hill in San Augustine County, Texas, and excavations have been carried out at the site of the second mission location since the early 1960s (see Avery 2016; Carlson and Corbin 1999; Carlson and Quinn 1996; Corbin et al. 1980, 1990; Jelks 1962), mainly by archaeologists at Stephen F. Austin State University in Nacogdoches, Texas. A large assemblage of hand-made earthenware ceramic vessel sherds was recovered in that work (*n*=4,127), and Perttula (2022) recently provided detailed technological and stylistic assessments and evaluations of that assemblage, particularly the 1,602 fine ware rim and body sherds.

There are five fine ware types identified in the Mission Dolores collection: Patton Engraved (*n*=103), Natchitoches Engraved (*n*=323), Ebarb Engraved (*n*=137), Dolores Red (*n*=153, 15.0% of the fine ware sherd assemblage), and Keno Trailed (*n*=6). They have distinctive engraved, slipped, and trailed elements on the rim and/or body.

Dolores Red is a newly defined bone-tempered and hematite-tempered type (Perttula 2022); the highest proportion of bone temper in the fine ware sherds occurs in the Dolores Red sherds (79.0%). Bone and hematite tempered sherds comprise 3.3–10.3% of the assemblage, with the highest frequencies in the engraved wares and Dolores Red vessel sherds.; hematite may well have helped in the manufacture of engraved vessels and the ability of the vessel walls to withstand heat shock. Dolores Red is a fine ware at Mission Dolores that is defined on the application of a hematite-rich clay slurry applied either after the vessel was leather hard or after it had been fired (Figure 2*a*-*e*). The slip was applied to interior, exterior, and/or interior-exterior surfaces, mostly on the exterior surface. The sherds are from bowls, bone-tempered, with smoothed or burnished surfaces. The Dolores Red assemblage includes two rim sherds and 151 body sherds.

All of the Dolores Red sherds are from vessels fired in a reducing environment and cooled in the open air. These sherds are from vessels smoothed and burnished, mainly on the interior and exterior surfaces Sherds with both interior and exterior smoothing (bowls) are most common on the Dolores Red vessels. Dolores Red and fine ware rim sherds are much thinner than either the plain ware or the utility ware, with a mean thickness of the Dolores Red of 6.1 mm and 6.25 mm for the fine ware, compared to the mean thickness of the plain ware and utility ware rims: 6.45–6.73 mm.

No red-slipped sherds were identified in the previous analyses of the Mission Dolores ceramics by Corbin and colleagues (1980, 1990). The present sample of Dolores Red vessel sherds comprises 15% of the fine wares in the assemblage, a substantial difference

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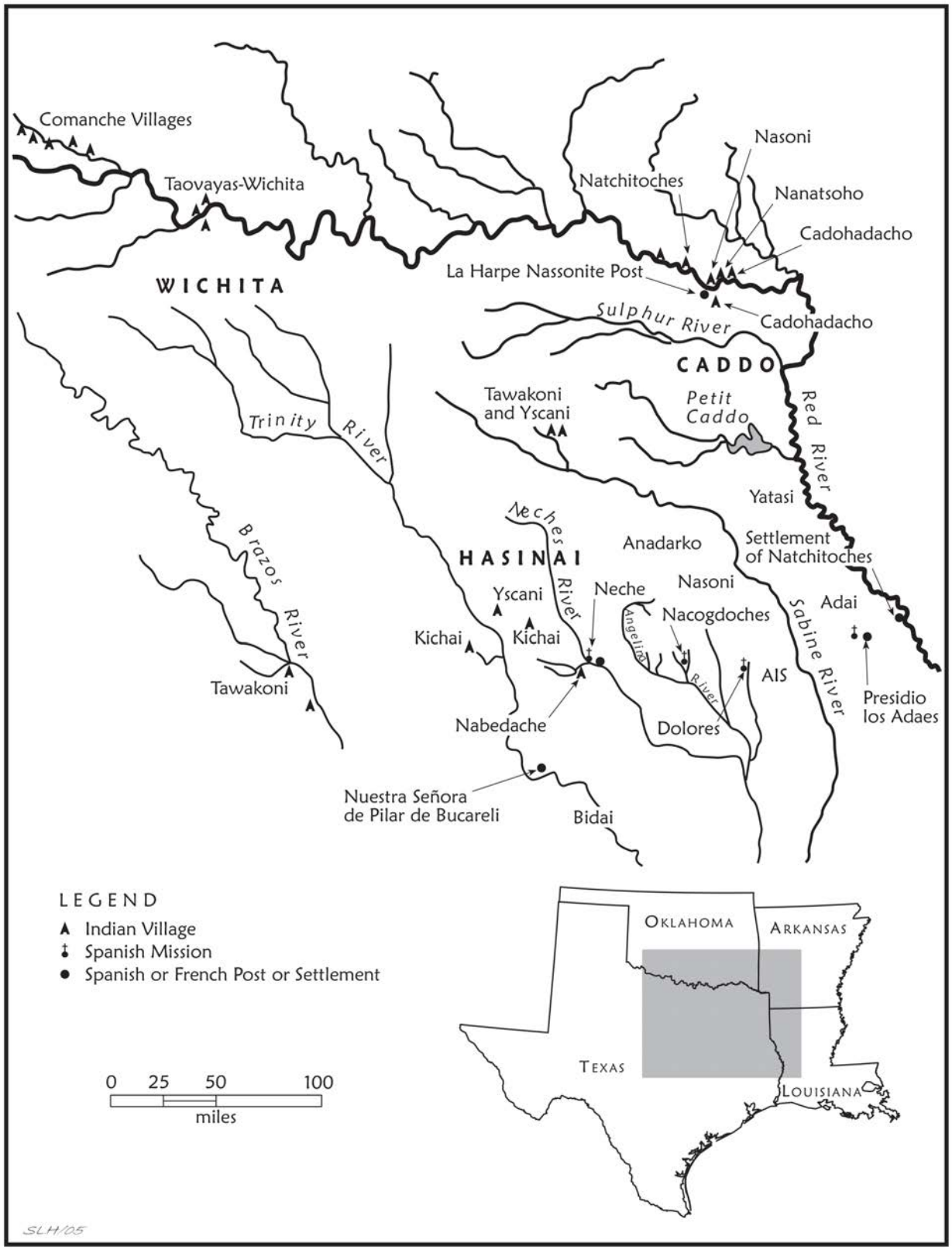

Figure 1. Caddo settlement areas and sites in the southern Caddo area at ca. AD 1690.

between the earlier analyses and the Perttula (2022) report. At Los Adaes (16NA16) in Northwest Louisiana, Gregory (2007) noted that red painted/red-slipped sherds are present in the decorated sherd assemblage, but provided no quantification or frequency data to compare to Mission Dolores. However, Gregory (personal communication, 2022) indicates that red-painted/red-slipped sherds are very rare at Los Adaes.

The sherds decorated only with a red slip (on one or both surfaces) have been defined as Dolores Red, and the frequency of red-slipped sherds in the assemblage seems unique at this time to Mission Dolores; red-slipped vessels are rare at both Los Adaes and in eighteenth-century East Texas Caddo assemblages (Tim Middlebrook, personal communication, 2022). Engraved sherds are also commonly red-slipped on one or both vessel surfaces, and red and white pigment has been rubbed in the engraved lines, but this was uncommon in the Mission Dolores fine wares.

At this time, it is not known if the Dolores Red vessels were made locally, or were the product of trade/exchange. Hopefully, instrumental neutron activation analysis of a sample of these fine ware sherds can determine the local vs. non-local provenance of the broken ceramics at the Mission. In making stylistic and technological comparisons between the Mission Dolores ceramic assemblage, Los Adaes, and Hasinai Caddo sites in East Texas, Corbin (2007) concluded that Mission Dolores and Presidio Los Adaes were most similar to each other. He defined both Ais and Adai ceramic sub-clusters within a Many cluster. Even though the assemblages are significantly different in the choice of temper (Los Adaes, 60% shell; Mission Dolores, 80% bone), the types present at both sites include: Natchitoches Engraved, Emory Punctated-Incised, Ebarb Incised and Ebarb Engraved, Patton Engraved, and

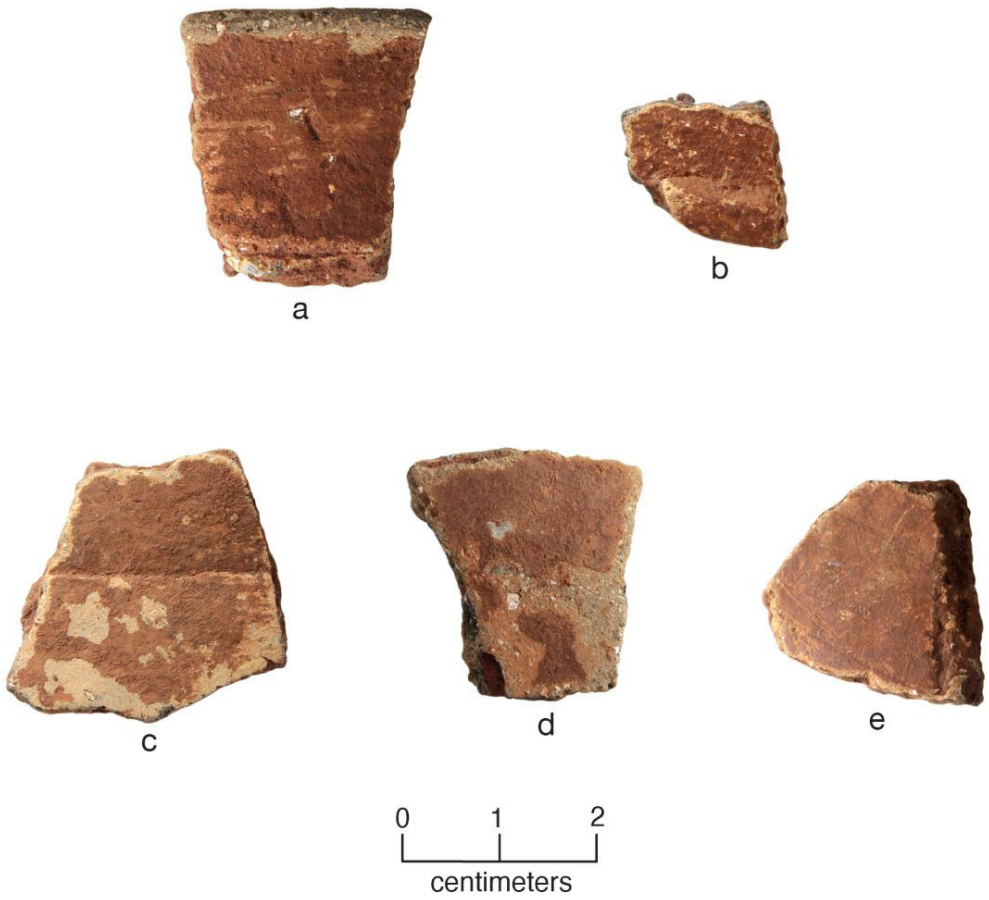

Figure 2. Dolores Red rim and body sherds: *a*, bag 2.589; *b*, bag 2.679; *c*, bag 2.763; *d*, bag 2.631; *e*, bag 2.763.

Constricted Neck Punctated. Red-slipped and brushed sherds were reported to be rare at Los Adaes and absent from Mission Dolores. Thus, the Ais and Adaes groups stand apart culturally from the Hasinai groups, and the cultural affiliations between each of them may have not been strong, but nevertheless, it seems to be the case that there was certainly interaction and trade between the two groups during the mission era, as well as between these two groups and the East Texas Caddo groups.

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Current Research:
Naming Nakuukuwidish

Alaina Tahlate[1] and Carl Drexler[2]
[1]Caddo Nation; [2]Arkansas Archeological Survey

Caddo place names tell the story of our people and our interdependence with the land's ecology. For instance, salt was an extraordinarily valuable mineral that was used in medicine, food, or trade. The Caddo word for salt, *widish*, can also be used in a figure of speech to describe something that is pretty, fancy, or something that is a source of pride. Unfortunately, the US government's forced removal of Caddo people from our homelands ensured that the vast majority of Caddo people do not have a relationship with the powerful ecology that helped shape our culture, history, and language. The forces of colonization also overwrote Indigenous place names with those of the Anglo settler colonists.

In March 2023, Dr. Drexler reached out to the Caddo Nation's Language Program with a proposition: Could the Caddo Nation help rename a Caddo archaeological site? I (Alaina Tahlate) visited one of the youngest fluent speakers of Caddo language at 94 years young, Edmond Johnson. He chose a Caddo name to describe a site that our ancestors used for salt production in southwestern Arkansas: *Nakuukuwidish*, or the place of salt water. I was very grateful that Dr. Drexler saw an opportunity to collaborate with the Caddo Nation's language program. It is a promising first step for the Caddo archaeology community to promote and normalize the visibility and presence of Hasinai in Caddo ancestral homelands. I was also grateful that Mr. Johnson could be involved in this Caddo language reclamation effort. His contribution to the continuity of our language cannot be measured.

Anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, Caddo tribal researchers, cultural representatives and political leaders have come together for the annual Caddo Conference since 1973. It can be said that the lengthy relationship between Caddo people and the academics who study our ancestors stands out among many other archaeological communities. The academic world and Caddo people's joint contributions to a greater understanding of Hasinai lifeways, both past and present, may have a bright and enduring future as long as we take action to protect our relationship with one another and *ina wadut*—our mother earth.

There is little that I (Carl Drexler) can add to what Ms. Tahlate has written without detracting significantly from it. The little context that I would add would be to note that Nakuukuwidish is the site that has been known heretofore only as the Holman Springs site (3SV29), and this research note documents the addition of the new name and the reasons behind it. The Arkansas Archeological Survey will retain the earlier name as a secondary identifier for the site for continuity with past publications on the site and in memory of Jean Holman, for whom it was originally named and who permitted archaeologists to document the site in the 1960s.

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Current Research:
The 2023 Arkansas Archeological Society Training Program at Nakuukuwidish/Holman Springs (3SV29), Sevier County, Arkansas

Carl Drexler
Arkansas Archeological Survey

This past summer's Arkansas Archeological Society (AAS) Training Program focused on the site of Nakuukuwidish/Holman Springs (3SV29), a multi-component salt-making site in the western portion of Sevier County, Arkansas. It was a joint effort between the AAS and the Arkansas Archeological Survey (ARAS), who developed and directed the event. Representatives of the Caddo Nation reviewed all research plans prior to the excavations, made recommendations about how to proceed, and were able to send a representative to visit the project and give an evening talk to the assembled Society volunteers and Survey staff. I served as director of the project. This research note is a brief recounting of the progress of the excavation and a preliminary interpretation of the results.

Previous Research at Nakuukuwidish

This past summer was the fourth Society training program to focus on the site. Though briefly tested and mapped during the 1984 Training Program, which focused on Historic Washington State Park (3HE236) and the Martin site (3HE92), it was not until the following year that the program shifted entirely to the site (Wagner 1984). The Society held the training program at the site in 1985 and 1986 (Arkansas Archeological Society 1985; Davis 1986). Frank Schambach served as the dig director as he was the research station archeologist over Sevier County at the time. For various reasons, those digs were never written up, and investigations at the site remained incomplete for over three decades.

In the 2010s, Carol Colaninno undertook a project to re-box and further study small elements of the 1980s field material. This initiated a renewal of interest in the site. This grew in a few years to a move to complete the 1980s excavations through new excavations done by the Society and Survey. In the first training program back in the field after the isolation period of the Pandemic, we held the 2022 Training Program at the site (Drexler 2022a, 2022b).

The field component of that Training Program succeeded in relocating the 1980s excavation grids and expanding our understanding of the Caddo component of the site. The lab portion worked on analyzing the massive collection of pottery from the site collected in the 1980s. In a surprising turn of events, our excavators also uncovered a previously unrecorded nineteenth-century salt furnace built in the middle of the Caddo saltworks.

These programs make Nakuukuwidish one of the most extensively excavated of the Training Program sites, as only Historic Washington and Plum Bayou Mounds (3LN42) have been the subject of the same number of programs. Even major projects like those at Grandview Prairie (primarily 3HE40) and Ferguson Mounds (3HE63) had fewer.

The 2023 Training Program

The plan for this past summer's training program emphasized three main goals. First, we planned to excavate a few units in the footprint of the mound that once stood on the site. This was a midden mound, not a burial, platform, or house mound. We hoped to find the

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base of it and collect a radiocarbon sample that would tell us about when the accretion of the mound began. We also wanted to further excavate the salt furnace and learn more about its construction. Finally, we hoped to extend excavations across the precontact Caddo component, adding to our distribution map of features and better interpret the structure of the habitation and salt-making area there.

Prior to going into the field with the Society, we received assistance from the Survey's Computer Services Program, namely Dr. Jami Lockhart, and conducted a joint ground-penetrating radar and electrical resistivity survey in the portion of the mound footprint within the fenced area of the site that we were given access to by the landowner. This would be the area where we were to accomplish the first task mentioned above. That survey identified twelve anomalies that were sufficiently consistent with the signature of an unmarked burial. In consultation with representatives of the Caddo Nation, we decided to cancel this portion of the research and go ahead with the other two.

Once in the field, we expanded our previous summer's excavations in the salt-making portion of the site by holding our Basic Excavation class in Area 1, as we called it. This involved opening four 2 x 2 m test units. These were located to further the checkerboard of excavation units in this portion of the site, balancing the interpretive benefits of wider areal coverage with the limited field time we had.

We also went further with the salt furnace, located in what we referred to as Area 2. We reopened two units containing the main portion of the furnace to help guide the excavations. We then opened more units, some 2 x 2 m and others 1 x 2 m to delineate the feature further and to add architectural details. In all, this permitted us to learn more about the architecture of the

Figure 1. Feature 2, the greatest density of in situ sherds (ARAS Photo SAU20230544). .

furnace and delineate the fire pit and other associated elements of the nineteenth-century component of the site.

Results

In Area 1, we encountered more thick sherd clustering, a continuation of the pattern we noted the previous years in the four units we excavated to the immediate north of where we were working this year. These we interpret as further evidence of the remains of salt production at the site.

Despite the sheer volume of sherds in the general fill of these units, we encountered an area where sherd concentrations were noticeably thicker and several large pieces of mussel shell, likely to be used as tempering in vessel manufacture, than in the surrounding context. This was dubbed Feature 2 (Figure 1) and became important in context in that, on the side of the feature away from the salt marsh the thick inclusions of potsherds dropped off precipitously, leaving behind only features, including several post molds that were excavated in full.

With the salt furnace, two items were of note. First, the fire pit that sat before the furnace was several feet deep and consisted of a stratum of brick fill overlying a thick, black deposit of ash and soot. Below that lay a gray layer of hard-burned earth, under which was another layer of black soot, and under that was another hard-burned earth stratum.

In the furnace, itself, we excavated a portion of the flue that lies between the two brick supporting walls delineated in 2023. The flue turned out to be some 40-50 cm deep below the brick layers previously identified (Figure 2). Rather than the bulk of the facility being above-grade, as in many cases, the flue was semi-

Figure 2. The nineteenth-century salt furnace with its semi-subterranean flue exposed (ARAS Photo SAU20230592).

subterranean. The dense brick rubble was likely from the chimney and maybe short walls for supporting or stabilizing iron kettles.

Conclusions

We learned several important things about the site. First, we now have in Area 1 what I believe to be the edge of the salt-making area, bordered by Feature 2, outside of which we have the features stemming from the adjacent residential area. This gives us a separation between the productive area and the living space. This is an important development in our understanding of the site's structure, and it also opens the possibility of comparing the layout of this saltworks with those at the Hardman site (3CL418; Early 1993) and Salt Well Slough (41RR204; Kenmotsu 2005).

Second, the salt furnace was not built on-grade, as I previously thought. Rather, it was semi-subterranean meaning the surrounding earth could be used as an insulator to help conserve heat and lower the requirements for fuel necessary to keep the kettles at a boiling-hot temperature. This is not the only time we see this, as Skinner's (1971) work at the Neches Saline (X41SM1) featured rammed earth backing stone walls, that earth serving as both a buttress and an insulator. Also, the two distinct layers of burned earth, each with an overlying layer of blackened, burned ash. This tells us that there were two distinct burning periods in that pit, separated by a period of inactivity where aeolian deposits eddied into the fire pit. When the latter operating period began, that blown-in dirt cooked into the upper burned area. We have historical records of the site being in use in the 1830s and 1860s, but nothing in between. It would not be surprising if it had been used, but no records were kept, as record keeping in antebellum southwest Arkansas sometimes lapsed. However, this sequence would suggest that the site did go out of use for a period, then went back into use.

We are currently planning on returning to the site in the summer of 2024. It will afford us the opportunity to complete our understanding of the footprint of the homes and work areas of the Caddo people who left the place we now call Nakuukuwidish behind. I am continually thankful for all those from the AAS, ARAS, and Caddo Nation who have worked together to bring this research back into progress after decades on idle. Look for more updates after next summer's project.

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Current Research:
Raw Material Variability at the Troy Adams Site

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Raw material variability between debitage and stone tools has received minimum attention in Fourche Maline studies of eastern Oklahoma (Leader 1996; Leith 2006, 2009, 2011). This is due to most lithic assemblages coming from excavations conducted by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The lack of comparative data from debitage and stone tools limits our understanding of lithic procurement, reduction strategies, and exchange amongst the Fourche Maline archaeological culture in eastern Oklahoma. Our current research at the University of Oklahoma continues to investigate raw material variability between stone tools and debitage at the lithic assemblage from the Troy Adams (34LF33) site. This growing dataset was compared to other Fourche Maline sites in eastern Oklahoma to determine similarities and differences in raw material acquisition strategies.

Fourche Maline

The cultural characteristics of the Fourche Maline archaeological culture of eastern Oklahoma have continued to change since its original classification in the 1950s (Bell and Baerreis 1951). Robert Bell (1980) identified Fourche Maline assemblages as containing components of both Archaic and pottery producing people from over a dozen sites primarily excavated by Phil Newkumet between 1939 and 1942. The creation of dark-earth midden mounds, double-bitted axes, Gary hafted bifaces, and bone hairpins became the fundamental diagnostic characteristics of the Fourche Maline archaeological culture during this time. Bell notes several additional attributes associated with the Fourche Maline people, including human and dog burials within midden areas that consisted of single individuals in flexed positions or multi-burials, referred to as bundle burials (Bell 1980).

As aspects that defined the Fourche Maline archaeological culture began to differ with increased excavations of sites and examinations of assemblages in Arkansas and Texas, the work of Luther Leith (2006, 2009, 2011) became a pivotal piece in our understanding of the archaeological culture in Oklahoma. Leith (2011) conceptualized the Fourche Maline people as transegalitarian horticulturalists who transformed with the adoption of pottery in the Early Woodland period (2300– 2000 BP) following the Wister phase associated with the Late Archaic period (3500–2300 BP). The other diagnostic artifacts and features, such as the double-bitted axes, midden mounds, and Gary hafted bifaces, all remained within his cultural characteristics for Fourche Maline.

As we expand investigations into Late Archaic and Woodland people who lived in eastern Oklahoma during these periods, the attributes that we use to identify the Fourche Maline archaeological culture are likely to change. Still, the work of Bell (1980) and Leith (2011) continue to create a foundation to examine the past lifeways of precontact Indigenous people of Wister Valley and the surrounding areas.

Troy Adams (34LF33)

The Troy Adams site is a significant archaeological site excavated by the Works Progress Administration

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during the summers of 1939 and 1940. Located around 1 mi (1.6 km) south of the Fourche Maline Creek, which is now submerged under Lake Wister, this site is recognized for its dark-earth midden mound. The excavations, detailed in the WPA quarterly reports, uncovered a wealth of materials, including various pottery styles, chipped stone tools, ground stone artifacts, boat stones, bone tools, and decorative items, along with diverse faunal remains.

The WPA excavation process at the Troy Adams site involved organized efforts within a grid system, employing 5 x 5 ft (1.5 x 1.5 m) squares to explore the mound's contents. Despite the systematic approach, specific details about the excavation methodology, such as the exact depths of units and the extent of the mound excavated, remain unclear. As the WPA excavators did not use screens, the recovery strategy only targeted visually identifiable materials. This limitation has posed challenges in understanding the entirety of the site's artifacts and features. However, despite some uncertainties, the Troy Adams site has remained a pivotal focus of archaeological study, shedding light on the inhabitants of the Wister Valley in Oklahoma near the Atoka Formation. Candace Parker (2020) examined the stone tools and pottery from the WPA excavations at the site.

In addition to the WPA excavations, further investigations were conducted by Jerry Galm in the 1970s. Significantly, Galm's excavations did not encounter intact stratigraphy but instead intercepted WPA backfill containing previously uncollected objects. The excavated materials from the site offer a unique opportunity to explore the contents of a midden mound. While the WPA at the Troy Adams site concentrated on stone tools, the excavations during the 1970s still recovered an abundance of stone tools as well. The lithic collection resulting from these excavations serves as a significant basis for ongoing research, shedding light on the Fourche Maline people and their practices at the Troy Adams site.

Raw Material

The identification of lithic material from the Troy Adams site was determined through macro- and microscopic examination. Comparative collections housed at the Sam Noble Museum, Oklahoma Archaeological Survey, and Laboratory of Landscape Archaeology at the University of Oklahoma were used in the identification process. The majority of lithic raw materials are gathered from the Boone, Atoka, and Potato Hills geological formations in eastern Oklahoma (Table 1). Initial examination of debitage at the Troy Adams site suggested a lithic acquisition strategy that relied on local stone resources (Lewis 2023). Johns Valley Silicified Sandstone, Quartzite, and Chert were the highest represented raw materials of stone debris found at the site (Figure 1). Identification of the raw material of stone tools recovered from Galm's 1970s excavations found similar representation (Figure 2).

Comparison to 34LT11

Luther Leith (2006) examined the stone tools and debitage from the McCutchan-McLaughlin site (34LT11). His analysis identified nine different raw material types among the lithic assemblage (Figure 3). When combining the debitage and stone tools from the Troy Adams site, there are similarities between it and the McCutchan-McLaughlin site (Figure 4). At both

Table 1. Raw Material Types in Eastern Oklahoma.

Boone Formation	Atoka Formation	Potato Hills
Boone Chert	Johns Valley Chert	Potato Green Chert
Keokuk Chert	Woodford Chert	Arkansas Novaculite
Burlington Chert	Big Fork Chert	
Reed Springs Chert	Jackfork Chert	
Ozark Flint	Johns Valley Quartzite	
Florence (A, B, C, and D types) Chert	Johns Valley Silicified Sandstone	

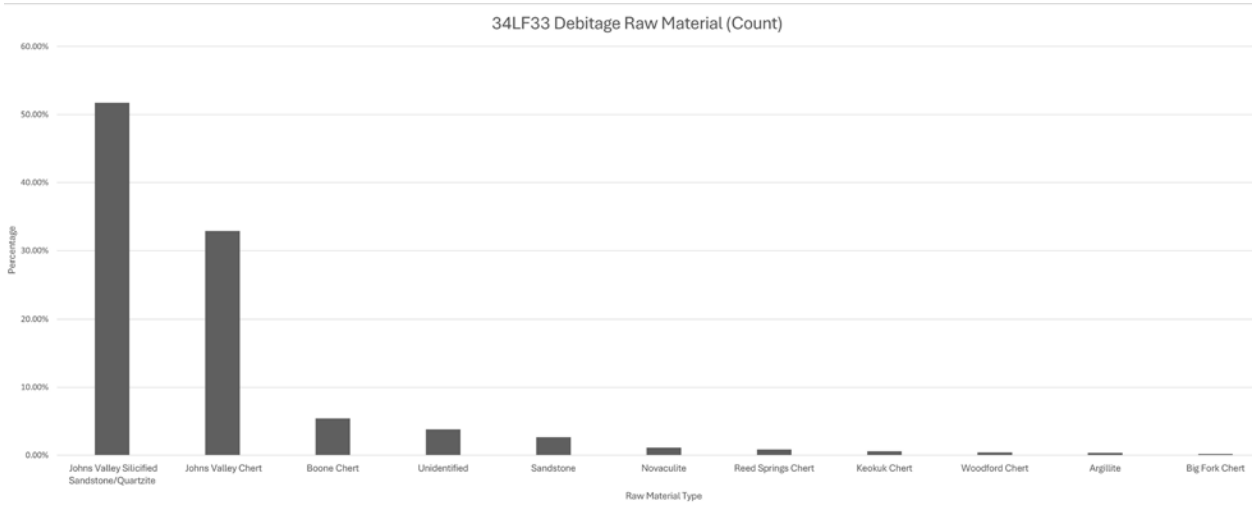

Figure 1. Raw material variability of lithic debitage at the Troy Adams site (34LF33). Raw materials below 0.2% not shown.

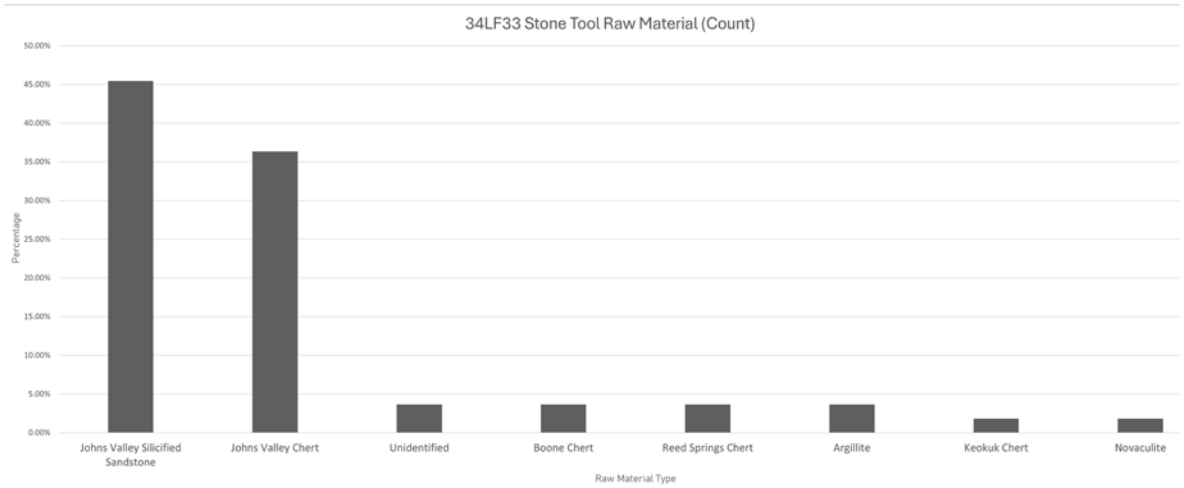

Figure 2. Raw material variability of stone tools at the Troy Adams site.

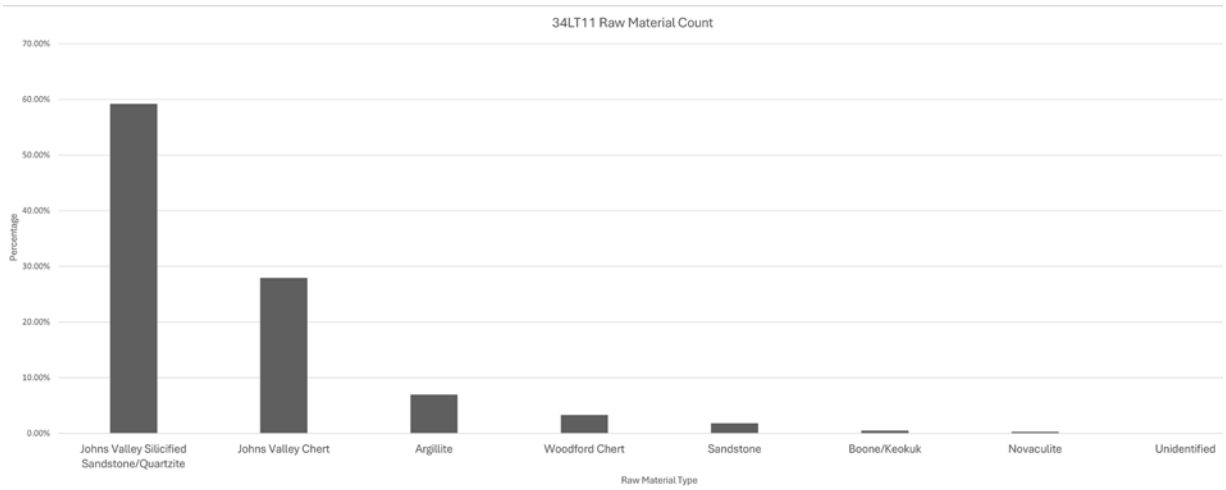

Figure 3. Raw material variability of stone tools and debitage at the McCutchan-McLaughlin site (34LT11). Raw materials below 0.01% not shown.

sites, Johns Valley Silicified Sandstone/Quartzite has the highest representation among raw materials. This is followed by Johns Valley Chert. The remaining raw material types make up less than 15% of the overall raw material variability examined. Of the geological formations listed in Table 1, the Atoka Formation outcrops are within 15 km of both sites, making Johns Valley Silicified Sandstone/Quartzite and Johns Valley Chert the most locally available raw materials.

Conclusion/Future Research

Investigations of raw material types at the Troy Adams and McCutchan-McLaughlin sites suggest an importance on procuring local lithic resources. As mentioned, Johns Valley Silicified Sandstone/Quartzite and Chert have the highest representation at both sites. As there is a significant difference in the quality of stone between these raw material types, it suggests that the quality of stone resources was not an important attribute. While the debitage and stone tools from the Troy Adams site lack more than site-level temporal or spatial controls, these assemblages still have the potential to offer insight into the raw material acquisition strategies of the Late Archaic and Woodland period people of eastern Oklahoma.

As our research continues into the Fourche Maline lifeways, lithic assemblages provide valuable information. The identification of raw material types at the Troy Adams site can be combined with previous examinations of Fourche Maline sites to understand lithic procurement strategies (Leader 1996; Leith 2006, 2009). Soon portable X-Ray Fluorescence (pXRF) instruments will be used to provide geo-chemical foundational data to enhance the raw material identification. The hope is that this geo-chemical data can be utilized to more accurately determine the raw material types that have similar visual characteristics from the same geological formation. This research then can be applied to better understand lithic acquisition amongst Fourche Maline people.

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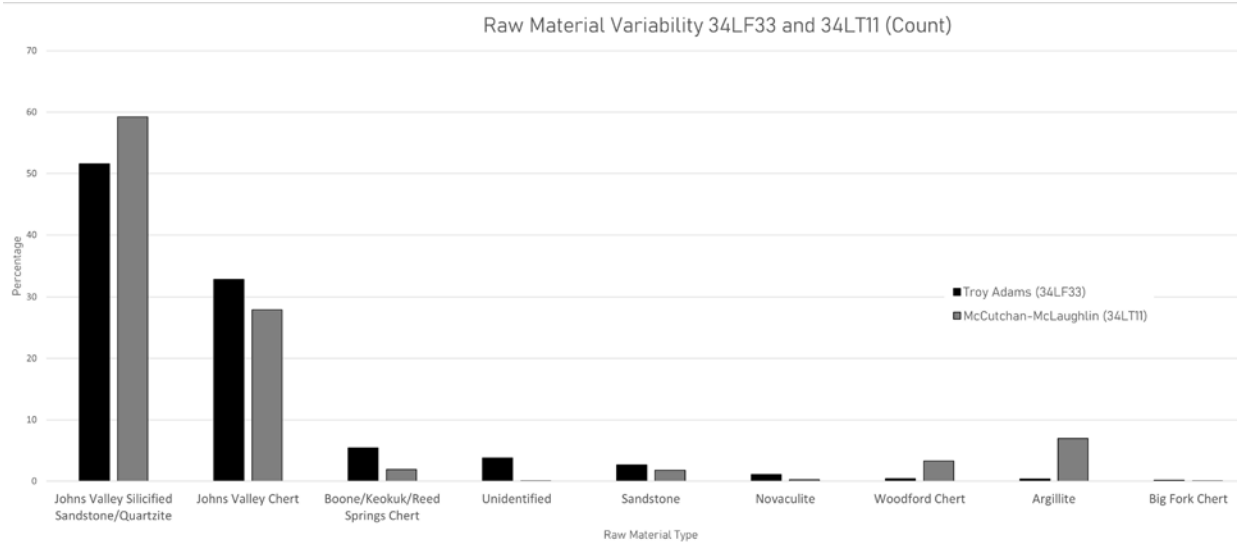

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Current Research:
Current Projects at the Arkansas Archeological Survey's HSU Research Station

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Arkansas Archeological Survey

It has been an active year at the Arkansas Archeological Survey's Henderson State University research station (ARAS-HSU). Our projects centered around interpreting ancient Caddo lifeways in west-central Arkansas and investigating the acquisition of novaculite as toolstone from Ouachita Mountains quarries.

Mary Beth Trubitt finished the artifact analysis from the 2013–2014 excavations at the Dragover site (3MN298). Research at this multi-component site in the upper Ouachita River valley had been a collaboration between ARAS-HSU, the Ouachita National Forest, and the Arkansas Archeological Society (AAS). Trubitt is writing a final monograph on the results of the project. A web page highlighting analysis of a large Late Caddo period refuse-filled pit (Figure 1) excavated at Dragover in 2014 was featured on the ARAS website (Trubitt

Figure 1. Pit Feature 97 during excavations at 3MN298 in 2014 (ARASUAMD_Basic0138).

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2023). This pit provides a key context for the definition of a new post-Buckville phase (ca. AD 1500–1650) for the Ouachita Mountains region in west-central Arkansas; a poster presentation on this phase definition is being prepared for the 2024 Society for American Archaeology annual meeting in April.

Jason Wilhelmi started work as ARAS-HSU station assistant in May 2023. After assisting with the AAS Training Program excavations at Nakuukuwidish and Holman Springs (3SV29) in June, he has been inventorying and rehabilitating the station's curated artifact collections during weekly Archeology Lab Days, occasionally with AAS volunteers. In addition, he is synthesizing information on site testing at the Bridges Estate (3CL244) in preparation for writing an article summarizing the project results. The test excavations at Bridges were a collaborative project between the AAS Ouachita Chapter, the Clark County Historical Association, and ARAS-HSU in the spring and fall of 2017 with Meeks Etchieson as the lead investigator (Figure 2). The site includes both precontact and postcontact (mid-nineteenth through twentieth century) components. Wilhelmi checked information on the artifact analysis sheets against the physical artifacts in boxes at the ARAS-HSU research station, adding any missing weights and correcting any discrepancies. In November 2023, he began entering information about the precontact artifacts into ARAS FileMakerPro inventory database. He is now categorizing the postcontact artifacts into groups based on material and function.

With grant funding from the AAS's Archeological Research Fund, Aswa Khan worked as a temporary lab technician at the ARAS-HSU station in the fall of 2023 (Figure 3). Trubitt and Khan completed sorting and inventorying quarry debris from a novaculite quarry site (3PL349) tested during the 1993 AAS Training Program at Shady Lake (Coleman et al. 1999).

Figure 2. George Gatliff and Meeks Etchieson at 3CL244 in 2017 (ARASHSUD_C0094).

Figure 3. Aswa Khan examining novaculite quarry debris from 3PL349 (ARASHSUD_C3216).

In 1993, the field crew excavated two 10-cm levels in each of two test units (TU A and TU B) and collected all artifacts and rock. After sorting out novaculite pieces with natural breaks (weathered on all surfaces) in the lab, we examined waste fragments with some relatively fresh breaks left by quarrying in the past. In all, 8,976 artifacts (108 kg) were inventoried from the 3PL349 excavations. The novaculite from TU A was coarser with more cracks and flaws as compared to TU B. Both units had large amounts of shatter, but TU B had more identifiable flakes and cores, as well as several utilized flakes and bifacially worked fragments. No diagnostic tools were identified, but one nineteenth-century whiteware ceramic sherd and one Caddo period grog-tempered plain sherd show that people visited the quarry during the last millennium at least. Project results will be included in the updated "Arkansas Novaculite: A Virtual Comparative Collection" website (Arkansas Archeological Survey 2016) and in an upcoming *Field Notes* article.

Grant funding from the Caddo Archaeology Research Fund and the ARAS Hester A. Davis Fund will support development of an electronic publication on Hays Mound (3CL6) excavations. In 1971, Cynthia Weber led an ARAS-HSU team in salvage excavations at Hays Mound as it was being leveled by the landowner in the Little Missouri River valley. Her excavations revealed a series of burned structures in a two-stage mound dating to the Early to Middle Caddo period East phase (ca. AD 1100–1350; Early and Trubitt 2021:82–84). Weber (1971, 1973) interpreted different functions for these, postulating that the leader's residences stood on the lower western platform while public/ritual structures were placed on the higher platform to the east. As ARAS has prioritized efforts to digitize records and inventory artifact collections curated at its research stations, past projects such as this have been brought to light. In 2018–2019, Ann Early inventoried and analyzed artifacts from Hays Mound at the Survey's Coordinating Office in Fayetteville. In December 2023, Aswa Khan began inputting field and artifact data into the ARAS FileMakerPro database. New AMS dates on charred botanical material from structure floors will generate new information for interpretation. We plan to make project results more accessible to a wide audience through an interactive web page on the ARAS website.

ARAS-HSU staff curate the Joint Educational Consortium's (JEC) Hodges Collection of Native American Artifacts at the Caddo Center on campus. The building houses the Admissions Office and is open to the public. Over the past several years, we have developed interpretation for the collection that includes wall text and banners, brochures, and a website (Arkansas Archeological Survey 2023). During the fall of 2023, Jason Wilhelmi created content for the final three web pages to complete the website as planned. The Caddo Nation has received a NAGPRA grant and we anticipate consultation trips to Arkadelphia in 2024 to discuss unassociated funerary objects in the JEC Hodges Collection.

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Book Review:

An Archeology of Hollywood Plantation, Drew County, Arkansas, by Jodi A. Barnes. Research Series No. 71, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville, 2023. ISBN 978-1-56349-113-9.

C. Andrew Buchner
Chronicle Heritage

This monograph describes with exquisite detail, and in an engaging readable style, the history of archaeology studies at the Taylor House site and their interpretative significance, as well as the archaeology of the surrounding 10,000-ac. Hollywood Plantation that includes the Taylor Mounds. The Taylor House had fallen into disrepair after being abandoned in the 1940s, and was donated to the University of Arkansas Monticello in 2012 prior to being the subject of a multi-disciplinary research program that forms much of the core of this volume. Chapter 1 provides a succinct overview of the sequence of investigations at Hollywood Plantation that began with a visit to the Taylor Mounds by the antiquarian archaeologist Edward Palmer in 1882 (Jeter 1990), and continues today (Rooney 2023).

The setting is the Bayou Bartholomew-Macon region of southeast Arkansas. Chapter 2 reconstructs the local environment and characterizes the area as habitable year-round after the Archaic period. Reportedly the longest bayou in the world, Bayou Bartholomew was an important transportation route in the interior of the Delta prior to the coming of railroads, and the old Arkansas River meander belt it occupies provided fertile soils for agriculture, as well as habitat for wild game and forest resources.

The Native American sequence at Hollywood Plantation is presented in Chapter 3. A review of local past investigations and the Tillar complex (Jeter 1982; Scott 2018) is followed by a period by period discussion of the local precontact site types and settlement patterns. The period discussions are supported by tabular data and site distribution maps that will be of general utility to future researchers in southeast Arkansas.

The local postcontact sequence is presented in Chapter 4, and is rightfully subdivided into antebellum and postbellum eras. The Hollywood Plantation was established during the antebellum period, when what is now Drew County was part of the cotton frontier and enslaved persons provided labor for cotton plantations. Barnes narrates an antebellum history of Hollywood Plantation masterfully through a series of detailed biographies and agricultural statistics, and provides settlement distribution maps based on archaeological data. The postbellum history of the plantation is equally well researched and developed, and integrated into broader social trends, such as the Great Migration.

Chapter 5 describes the impressive sequence of multi-disciplinary studies conducted since 1991 at the Taylor House by a wide array of participants, and is a model success story for publicly engaged archaeology. Initiated by the now retired Arkansas Archeological Survey (ARAS) Pine Bluff Station and Monticello Station Archeologists “Skip” Stewart- Abernathy and Marvin Jeter, the investigations at Hollywood Plantation ultimately involved a host of individuals and groups (listed in Acknowledgments), ranging from Spring Break Digs and 4-H Club Day of Archeology events to MLK Days of Service, and included students, volunteers, various professionals and academics, Boy Scouts, local informants and descendants, the Tunica Chapter of the Arkansas Archeological Society, and the Drew County Historical Society. My apologies to anyone omitted herein.

Surprisingly, the 1991–1992 excavations at

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the Taylor House were the "first time archeological test excavations were carried out at an antebellum plantation headquarters complex in Arkansas" (p. 97) and these findings, coupled with dendrochronology (see Table 5.1), led to the conclusion that the house was built ca. 1846 and moved to its current location in 1880; this locus is where the archaeological excavations were focused. This early research resulted in the structure being placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1995 under Criterion C (it is the best intact two-story log dogtrot in the Delta) and Criterion D (information potential), although today this nomination (presented as Appendix A) is considered deficient because it fails to address the significance of enslaved persons to the history of the house and the associated plantation.

Beginning with geophysical work in 2012 (presented as Appendix B), and supported by funding from Arkansas Natural and Cultural Resources Council (and other sources) after 2013, the ARAS Monticello Station conducted several seasons of excavations and scholarly research. This problem-oriented fieldwork resulted in the identification of features or elements of the kitchen, smokehouse, cellar, porch piers, and a cistern that were critical to an accurate architectural restoration of the house. Additionally, intensive archival research and an oral history program were also conducted that contributed to developing a deeper narrative framework for interpreting the archaeological findings.

Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 are essentially artifact analysis methods and results sections, organized by functional groups. All are well illustrated not only with artifact plates, but also with historic newspaper ads and other archival media, and are supported by a robust set of data tables. The longest of these chapters is "Foodways," where it is shown that the Taylors were largely self-sufficient following the Upland South Tradition. The relatively low frequency of store-bought foods in glass containers reveals they purchased few mass-produced foods. However, in "Health and Medicine" (Chapter 7), the Taylors are demonstrated to have frequently purchased patent medicines, in addition to other mass-produced products such as grooming items and tobacco products. In "Small Finds" (Chapter 8) personal items are discussed including toys, buttons, safety pins, and jewelry items. "Infrastructure" (Chapter 9) deals with Architectural Group artifacts.

The Hollywood Plantation results are discussed in comparison to three sites in Arkansas (the Block House, Brownlee House and Lakeport Plantation) in Chapter 10, and a set of recommendations for future research is offered. The volume concludes with six technical appendices by other contributing authors, Barnes's biography, and references.

While some of the figures would benefit from color rather than black-and-white reproduction, overall this well edited monograph is a welcome addition to the ARAS Research Series, and is a significant contribution to the archaeology of the Lower Mississippi Valley. More generally, it has material of interest to both laymen and professionals, ranging from precontact archaeologists to historians, data geeks, and lab/artifact enthusiasts. Restoration work on the Taylor House was completed in 2022, so plan a visit after you enlighten yourself by reading this book.

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