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(WITH SIX PLATES)

BY

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## INTRODUCTION

One of the most important phases of current work in southern archeology consists of the location and excavation of sites that can be definitely proved to have been inhabited by known historic tribes. It is always possible that stratigraphic evidence of earlier occupations may be detected in definite relationship with such known sites. Until more is discovered concerning the nature of archeological remains that may be attributed to the Caddo, Natches, Tunica, Arkansas, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and the several Creek tribes, we shall be unable to draw conclusions as to the part their various ancestors played in the building of the mounds in the Lower Mississippi Valley known to be of pre-Columbian origin. New evidence recently brought to light may now perform this service for the Caddo of northwestern Louisiana.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his appreciation to the many persons who rendered assistance while this investigation was being carried on at the Natchitoches site. W. A. Casler, superintendent at the Fish Hatchery, generously granted permission to investigate the scene of the discovery even while the work of preparing the ground for a new hatchery was still in progress. To Prof. George Williamson and Edward Payne, of Natchitoches, thanks are due for the readiness with which they placed their collections at the writer's disposal for study, and acknowledgment is here made for the sketches and photographs furnished by them. Mrs. Cammie G. Henry kindly permitted the writer to examine her valuable library of Louisiana historical material at her home, Melrose Plantation. During the survey of archeological sites in that section of the state, headquarters was established at Briarwood, near Chestnut, the home of Miss Caroline Dormon and her sister, Mrs. Miller, and these women rendered valuable assistance in many ways. Miss Dormon contributed generously of her time, and

her knowledge of the country and her contacts with local collectors were especially helpful.

### THE FISH-HATCHERY SITE

During the summer of 1931, while the United States Bureau of Fisheries was engaged in preparing the land for a new fish hatchery at a place on Cane River Lake about a mile south of the town of Natchitoches, an ancient Indian burial ground was accidentally discovered. This body of water, formerly a bend of Red River, was cut

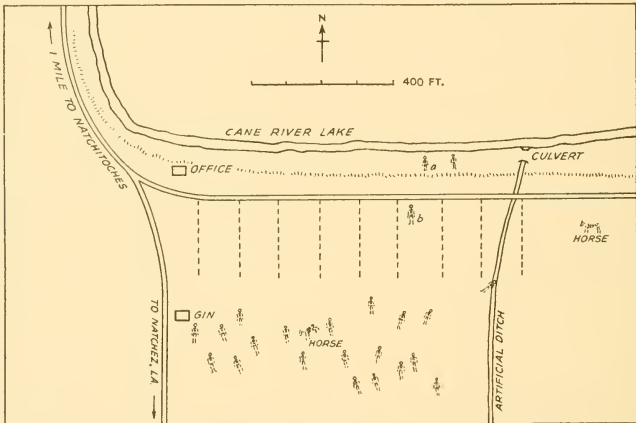


FIG. 1.—Sketch map of burial site on fish hatchery grounds.

off in 1832 and is now a crescent-shaped lake bending sharply toward the east. On the south side its banks rise rather steeply for about 25 feet and then form a flat level plain, which has been the scene of past overflows. The site chosen for the fish ponds of the new hatchery extends east from the highway for about half a mile along this bluff. (See sketch map, fig. 1.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Dunn (History of Natchitoches, Louisiana Hist. Quart., vol. 3, no. 1, 1920) explains the maze of rivers and bayous in this vicinity by stating that the Natchitoches island known to the early French explorers, about 50 miles long by 3 or 4 miles wide, was formed by Cane River on the west and Rigolette de Bon Dieu on the east. A smaller island was formed between the Ataho or Little River and Rigolette de Bon Dieu. Originally flowing through a channel now referred to as Old River, Red River cut through into Cane River about 1765 and then in 1832 broke into Rigolette de Bon Dieu, which it follows today as far as the town of Colfax.

According to the accounts of the oldest inhabitants interviewed, no mounds ever existed at this particular site, but about the year 1916 human bones were found protruding from the bank at this point, and two skeletons were dug out by Prof. George Williamson, of the Louisiana State Normal School at Natchitoches (fig. 1, *a*). With the burials were some pottery vessels and artifacts, which were sent to the Louisiana State Museum in the Cabildo at New Orleans. One skeleton lying at full length on the back was remarkable for its extremely flattened head. The pottery was found lying near the head. Robert Glenk, curator of the Louisiana Museum, has kindly furnished the photograph of this burial shown in plate 1, figure 2.

When the laborers working at the fish-hatchery site dug a trench leading south from the road at the top of the bank, they discovered another burial at a depth of about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet in the light-red sandy silt deposited by many overflows. As these bones were unfortunately crushed and thrown out of the trench before any thought was given to their importance, it is impossible to state anything about the original appearance of the burial. West of this trench, 450 to 500 feet south of the river bank, a greater number of burials were found—fully 100, according to the account given by W. A. Casler, the superintendent in charge of the work. He says they were all shallow interments, none deeper than 3 feet below the original ground surface, and all lying extended on their backs. Near the heads of many were pottery vessels in the form of bowls and pots, both decorated and plain, and in some cases glass and shell beads and metal objects as well. Mr. Casler noticed that many of the skeletons had curiously flattened skulls. Most surprising of all was the finding of two horse skeletons, each with a large earthen bowl placed near the head. The bowls were of plain ware about a foot and a half in diameter and half an inch thick. Very few stone or flint artifacts were found with any of the burials.

Through the cooperation of the superintendent and his assistants, it was possible to visit the scene of the discovery before all the preliminary work of scraping and plowing was completed, and thus to uncover one burial virtually untouched. This skeleton (fig. 1, *b*) was found 100 feet south of the river bank, just beyond the road and 175 feet west of the central trench mentioned above. Covered by red sandy silt it lay 2 feet below the surface on white sand in which a few fragments of charcoal were present. The skeleton was that of a woman, lying on the back, head northeast, and arms and hands at the sides. The only objects associated with the burial were two vessels of plain

ware, heavily tempered with shell and poorly fired—a small pot inside of a conical bowl. These had been placed at the right side of the head. The head itself was a remarkable example of extreme fronto-occipital deformation. Measurements taken on the skeleton as it lay gave a length of 5 feet 7 inches, and it was then photographed in situ before any of the bones were removed (pl. 1, fig. 1).

Subsequently the skull and some of the long bones were sent for study to Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, of the U. S. National Museum. The report on them, kindly furnished by Dr. T. Dale Stewart, is as follows:

U. S. N. M. NO. 362447. FEMALE OF ADVANCED AGE. NATCHITOCHEs, LA.

*Skull*.—Complete. Excessive fronto-occipital flattening. Generalized obliteration of the sutures. Whole face broadened to conform with the deformation (pls. 2 and 3). Upper left first premolar lost post mortem; upper second premolars and first and second molars lost ante mortem; remaining teeth show extreme wear; alveolar resorption is advanced.

*Skeleton*.—Only right humerus, left tibia, first 5 cervical vertebrae, and hyoid. Apparently the suture was medium.

Nothing can be said of the physical type of no. 362447 because of the extreme degree of flattening. Such a type of deformity was probably produced by pressure boards and was not uncommon among the Indians of the Gulf States.

In the Luxembourg Memoire, written evidently before 1718, a description of this process of artificial head flattening is given:

They have \* \* \* the head pointed and almost of the shape of a miter. They are not born so; it is a charm which is given them in early years. What a mother does to the head of her infant in order to force its tender bones to assume this shape is almost beyond belief. She lays the infant on a cradle which is nothing more than the end of a board on which is spread a piece of the skin of an animal; one extremity of this board has a hole where the head is placed and it is lower than the rest. The infant being laid down entirely naked she pushes back its head into this hole and applies to it on the forehead and under the head a mass of clay which she binds with all her strength between two little boards. The infant cries, turns completely black, and the strain which it is made to suffer is such that a white, slimy fluid is seen to come out of its nose and ears at the time when the mother presses on its forehead. It sleeps thus every night until its skull has taken on the shape which custom wishes it to receive.<sup>2</sup>

This particular description was probably based on observations among the Natchez, but it undoubtedly applies to all the southern tribes who practiced head deformation.

<sup>2</sup> Swanton, J. R., Indian tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and adjacent coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 43, p. 54, 1911.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In all probability this burial ground occupies the site or very nearly the site of the ancient Natchitoches village visited first by Henri de Tonti in 1690. This was the southern village of a tribe of the same name mentioned possibly under the form *Nacacahoz* in the Elvas narrative of De Soto's expedition,<sup>3</sup> and found farther up Red River west of the great bend. On February 17, 1690, Tonti arrived after a 5 days' trip, principally overland from the Taensa villages on Lake St. Joseph. He says: "They made us stay at the place, which is in the midst of the three villages called Nachitoches, Ouasita, and Capiche. The chiefs of the three nations assembled, and before they began to speak, the 30 Taencas who were with me got up, and leaving their arms went to the temple, to show how sincerely they wished to make a solid peace \* \* \* I made them some presents in the name of the Taencas."<sup>4</sup>

Further on he speaks of the "Cadadoquis \* \* \* united with two other villages called Natchitoches and Nasoui, situated on the Red River. All the nations of this tribe speak the same language." The Natchitoches village here referred to is this time the upper one, but it serves to show the close relationship existing between this and the other tribes allied with the Caddo.

The next mention of Natchitoches is by Bienville, who, with St. Denis, in April 1700 ascended Red River Valley as far as the Yatasi village. He did not actually visit Natchitoches but stopped at the village of the Souchitionys about a league distant. The Natchitoches, who were settled in cabins along Red River, came with their chief to the French camp to "sing the calumet", and Bienville gave him a peace pipe and a small present.<sup>5</sup>

A few years later, according to Pénicaut, this tribe came to St. Denis, then commandant of the first French fort on the Mississippi, and asked to be allowed to settle elsewhere, as their corn had been ruined by frequent overflows of Red River. They were permitted to locate near the Acolapissa, at that time living on the north side of Lake Pontchartrain, and remained with them until about 1712. St. Denis had received an order from Lamothe de Cadillac to make a trip over into Mexico to open up trade relations with the Spaniards, and the Natchitoches conceived the desire of returning to their old

<sup>3</sup> French, B. F., *Historical collections of Louisiana*, vol. 2, p. 199, 1850.

<sup>4</sup> French, B. F., *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 72, 1846.

<sup>5</sup> Margry, P., *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, pt. 4, p. 437, Paris, 1880.

lands on Red River. But they reckoned without the assent of their hosts, the Acolapissa. These Indians were loath to see them go, especially as the Natchitoches wished to take with them their women-folk, many of whom had intermarried with the Acolapissa, and a massacre took place in which a great many of the Natchitoches were killed or captured. The survivors, however, escaped into the woods, and later joined St. Denis' party.<sup>6</sup>

Red River at that time formed many large swampy lakes, no longer in existence; and St. Denis and his party, after traversing some of these lakes, came to high land, which he calls "the Bluff of the Cross." This must have been in the neighborhood of the present town of Colfax, since a league higher up the river they came to a branch coming in from the left, which corresponds to the location of the lower end of Cane River. At this point they were met by a party of the Natchitoches, who had traveled overland and with whom was a friendly tribe called by Pénicaut the Doustiany. This tribe had formerly lived near the Natchitoches, but instead of moving with them to the Acolapissa, had remained in the same region, wandering up and down first one side of the river, then the other, living on the products of the chase, fruit, and potatoes.<sup>7</sup>

St. Denis describes the old village of the Natchitoches as being on an island, formed by the separation of the river into two branches, which reunited farther downstream. He assembled the chiefs of the two tribes and distributed grain to them in order that they might replant their devastated fields. He also gave them axes and mattocks, which they used to cut the timber to build two houses for the French in the midst of the Indian village. This was the beginning of Natchitoches Post in 1714, to which in 1717 a fort and garrison were added, under command of M. de Tissenet, and thus the foundations were laid for the oldest permanent settlement in Louisiana, the present town of Natchitoches.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Margry, P., *Ibid.*, pt. 5, pp. 459, 496, 1883.

<sup>7</sup> Margry, P., *Ibid.*, p. 498, 1883.

<sup>8</sup> Swanton considers Pénicaut's narratives as given by Margry and French to be inaccurate in regard to the chronological order of events, being 2 years too early in the description of St. Denis' trip which resulted in the founding of Natchitoches. The dates here given are those of the historian La Harpe (*Établissement des Français à Louisiane*, pp. 116, 129, 131, edited by A. L. Boimare; New Orleans and Paris, 1831). According to this account St. Denis left Mobile with a party of 30 Canadians on August 23, 1714, for the trip to the Spanish settlements. After stopping long enough to rehabilitate the Indians in their old location on the island of the Natchitoches, as has been recounted, he pushed on into Texas, visited the Hasinai tribes, was carried to Mexico City to appear



The post was visited by Benard de La Harpe on his trip up Red River in 1719; he found there the Yatasi also living with the Natchitoches and Oulchionis (Doustiony). The Yatasi had been induced by St. Denis on his return from Mexico to settle with the Natchitoches about 1716, and yet the three tribes together only numbered about 150 persons. They were all, however, very friendly to St. Denis, a circumstance much in his favor in the course of subsequent events.

The next event of major importance in the history of this site occurred in 1731, when a band of Natchez under the Flour Chief, driven from their stronghold on the headwaters of Black River by Perier, came to attack St. Denis in his fort. That officer was still able to get word out for reinforcements, but before they could arrive from New Orleans, he sallied out with his Indian allies and a few Spaniards from the neighboring presidio of Los Adaes and fought a battle with the Natchez, which resulted in the defeat and almost total annihilation of the latter at a lake a few miles to the south. Charlevoix gives the account of this fight, as told by Sieur Fontaine to De Loubois, the leader of the party sent to succor St. Denis, in the following words:

\* \* \* that the Natchez had been defeated; that the Natchitoches had at the outset wished to attack them, but being only 40 against 200, they had been compelled to retire, and even abandon their village after losing 4 of their men; that the Natchez had seized the village, and intrenched themselves there; that then De St. Denys, having received a reinforcement of Assinai and Attacapas, who were joined by some Spaniards, had attacked the enemy's intrenchments and killed 82, including all their chiefs; that all the survivors had taken flight, and that the Natchitoches were in close pursuit.<sup>9</sup>

Their pursuers caught up with the Natchez at the lake about 3 miles west of Cloutierville, and the sanguinary conflict that took place there is said by Dr. Dunn to have been the origin of the name Sang-pour-Sang (Blood-for-Blood), by which it is locally known. A hill in this vicinity is called by the same name, corrupted in writing to "Sampusanc Hill", and this may be the source of Sibley's information that

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before the viceroy in June 1715, returned to the Spanish settlements north of the Rio Grande, where he acquired a wife in 1716, pushed on to the Hasinai village in June of that year, and on August 25, 1716, found himself back at Mobile. The following January the Governor, Cadillac, sent a sergeant and six men to take possession of the island of Natchitoches and establish a fort there in order to keep out the Spaniards, who had already set up a presidio at Los Adaes, some 9 leagues to the west, near the modern town of Robeline, La., and were suspected of having cast greedy eyes on the Red River site. The prompt move of the French forestalled the Spaniards in this attempt.

<sup>9</sup> Swanton, *Op. cit.*, p. 250.

the Natchez erected a mound by the side of the lake.<sup>30</sup> The hill is, however, entirely a natural formation, an eastern outcrop of the region of western Louisiana known as the "Kisatchie Wold." But the memory of this event still survives in the name of Natchez Lake and the town of Natchez, just south of Natchitoches.

During the period of Spanish occupation from 1763 to 1803, the village of the Natchitoches continued to increase in importance as a frontier trading post for the Caddo and Hasinai tribes to the northwest. Dr. John Sibley, making the first trip of exploration for the United States up Red River in 1805, reports finding the remnant of the Natchitoches still at its ancient village near the modern town named for them.<sup>31</sup> Soon after this, however, increased pressure by American settlers induced the Indians to move over into Texas, where they joined their kindred of the Caddo confederacy and thus ceased to exist as a distinct tribe.

#### POTTERY

The pottery from the Cane River Lake burials shows a range of forms including simple conical bowls, cuplike bowls with flaring collars, small jugs, and subglobular bottles with short necks. The bowl of a clay pipe was found with an opening in one side for a stem probably of hollow cane. Unfortunately, very few of these specimens were saved intact, so that it is impossible to state the number that may originally have been present, or the ratio of bowls, pots, and bottles.

The ware is very homogeneous, consisting of a grayish paste, which has a reddish tint on firing and is heavily shell-tempered. No sand or grit has been found in the tempering of any of the pottery. Crude, poorly surfaced, undecorated vessels as well as those showing a high degree of polishing and incised or engraved design are present, the two types often occurring in the same burial. A pebble seems to have been used for the purpose of smoothing the surface, as slight ridges and scratches can be detected, indicating the use of some such agent. This smoothing or burnishing has been carried to various degrees of perfection on different vessels; an example of the high, shining polish achieved on both the interior and exterior of a bowl is shown in plate 5, *a*.

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<sup>30</sup> Sibley, John, Report of exploration of Red River, included with account of Lewis and Clarke's expedition. Indian Affairs, American State Papers, vol. 1, p. 724, 1832.

<sup>31</sup> Sibley, *Op. cit.*

One method of producing the shiny-black appearance was to dip the vessel in bear oil after firing. Bushnell observed this process among the Choctaw and describes it thus :

When thoroughly burned it [the pottery] turns rather dark in color, whereupon it is removed from the fire and immediately immersed in a bowl of grease, which is absorbed by the clay and carbonized by the intense heat. This process causes the pottery to turn black and also adds a certain luster to the surface.<sup>12</sup>

The Chickasaw had a slightly different method of achieving the same result. They placed the pottery over a large fire of smoky pitch pine, which imparted a smooth, black, firm surface to the vessels. They were then rubbed to produce the desired luster. The smoke from burning corn-meal bran was employed by the Cherokee for a similar purpose.<sup>13</sup>

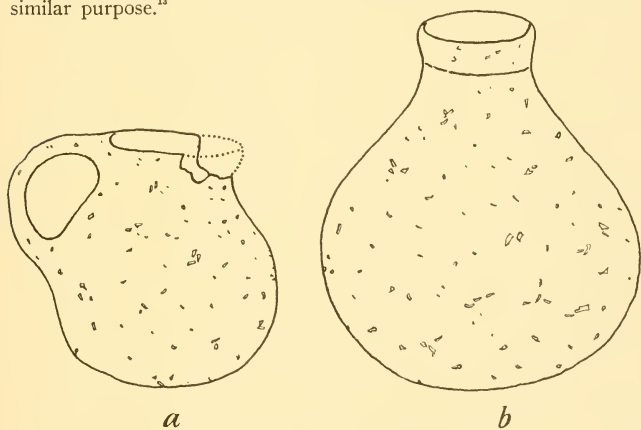


FIG. 2.—Undecorated shell-tempered vessels.

In the undecorated ware the shell particles are large and give a noticeably speckled appearance to the vessels (pl. 4, *b*, *d*). Furthermore, the light and dark areas, which give such a pleasing effect, are probably not intentional, but are due to unevenness of firing. This ware is often poorly fired, with the result that when first exposed to the air, it becomes very crumbly. Edward Payne, of Natchitoches, has in his collection two such vessels, a bottle and a small jug or pitcher, the identification of the latter being uncertain because a portion of the rim is missing at the point where a spout would occur if it had formed a part of the vessel (fig. 2). It is 6 inches in height, the

<sup>12</sup> Bushnell, D. I., Jr., *The Choctaw of Bayou Lacomb*, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana. *Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull.* 48, pp. 12-13, 1909.

<sup>13</sup> Williams, S. C., *Adair's history of the American Indians*, p. 456, 1930.

bottle 10 inches. Neither vessel bears any kind of decoration, except for the shell speckling in the tempering. They were found on a plantation 5 miles east of Natchitoches, when the plow turned them up from a few inches below the surface. Mr. Williamson also has in his collection a few similar pots from the same vicinity.

Decoration on the Natchitoches pottery consists of incised and engraved designs. The simplest technique seems to have been that of merely scratching or incising parallel straight and curved lines in various combinations of the scroll. In some instances this was done after the vessel had dried but had not been fired; in others, after firing had taken place, and in the finest pottery of all, after even the polishing had been completed. These scratches were then gone over with more care, and elaborate designs, through the use of double

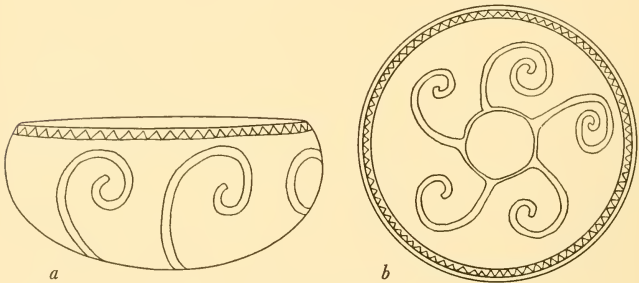


FIG. 3.—Small bowl polished and engraved with scroll-like designs.

and reversed scrolls, spots, and reticulated spaces between them, were produced. The final touch was given by rubbing bright red pigment over the engraved designs, particularly those occurring on a band about the neck, as in the small bowl illustrated in plate 4, *a*.

Four elements are commonly worked into the pattern of the design, as for example four spiral arms radiating from a disk on the bottom of many of the bowls. On the highly polished bowl shown, these spiral elements extend over the body up to the neck, where a different motif of a zigzag line and large spots is found. But in the less finely finished bottle, shown on the same plate, the area of decoration extends from the neck downward only to slightly below the shoulder. A bowl having five radiating spiral arms in its design is shown in figure 3. Here the rim ornamentation is limited to a narrow band of saw-toothed elements. This bowl is owned by Mr. Casler and came from a shallow grave where there was a flat-headed skeleton.

Merely as a record of negative characteristics, the fact may be mentioned that no pottery was found with any of the following types of ornamentation: Cord markings; punctate, stamped, or rouletted patterns; or painted designs other than the color-filled lines noted.

The only other ceramic object reported from this site was the pipe bowl shown in plate 4, c. It measures  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches in height and is made of the same kind of shell-tempered clay except that the particles of shell are more minute than in the pots. In the illustration some scratchings appear on the side of the bowl that might be mistaken for a design, but they appear on closer inspection to be only accidental.

As has been mentioned the ware from Natchitoches is very homogeneous, and no suggestion of stratification has been found at the Cane River site that would indicate an earlier occupation by people of a different culture, but the presence of European objects in the same graves leads to the conclusion that the pottery is seemingly of late origin and probably represents the climax in ceramic art reached by the potters of that particular tribe.

#### ASSOCIATED OBJECTS

A few stone axes and flint points were found by the workmen, but nothing definite could be learned about them. Undoubtedly, however, they differed but little from those in the collections of Mr. Williamson and Mr. Payne, as the specimens there exhibited came mostly from the immediate vicinity of Natchitoches. The axes are grooved near the butt and show various gradations of ground and polished surfaces. The celts are of both the long, pestlelike type and the flat, broad type. Notched and stemmed forms predominate among the chipped flint arrow and spearpoints. They are made of several kinds of colored flint, including novaculite from southwestern Arkansas, although much of the flint could have come from the small boulders and pebbles carried down by the river. In shape these artifacts range from tiny, serrated, sharp points to large, broad, leaf-shaped blades or spearpoints with short stems. Some rather unusual types also occur, such as notched and stemmed points with a second pair of notches on the blade, and a few small delicate forms with only a single barb, or with distinctly recurved barbs. Some of these have a slight resemblance to certain fish scales, particularly to those of the gar-pike. A number of writers have spoken of the Louisiana Indians using fish scales for arrowpoints,<sup>14</sup> and it is just possible that they may have

<sup>14</sup> Swanton, *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

tried to imitate these scales in flint. What the specific use may have been of such points remains a matter of conjecture. Some of these unusual forms are illustrated in plate 6.

Beads were plentiful in the graves. Some of them were made of shell, evidently from the columella of a marine gastropod, cut in a round or cylindrical shape. Others were of glass or porcelain consisting of a kind of white paste, apparently in imitation of the shell beads. Blue glass beads were also found, these last being, of course, European in origin and probably given or traded to the Indians by the French.

Metal objects found included a pair of scissors, a few hawkbells of brass, some bracelets of the same material, and a double-pointed iron spike  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches long. The presence of these articles suggests a reason for not finding more cutting and piercing instruments of flint and bone—their place had probably already been taken by the more efficient metal products of the white man.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY TYPES

The most interesting thing about the Natchitoches pottery is its striking resemblance to the beautiful vessels found by Moore at Glendora Plantation and Keno Place on Ouachita River. Comparison of the elaborately decorated bowl shown in plate 5 with some of those illustrated by Moore from the Glendora site brings out this unmistakable similarity. The design on the body of this bowl is almost duplicated in several of the Glendora specimens, but the motif employed on the neck of the vessel shows slight variations. A bowl in the possession of Mr. Casler is very nearly identical with the one shown by Moore.<sup>15</sup> Likewise, the bottles from Natchitoches are similar in shape to those from the Ouachita region, and the same type of incised scroll design occurs.

Professor Beyer, of Tulane University, found in a mound on Red River near the town of Campti an earthenware bottle of this same Glendora type. He states that the mound formed part of an old levee, which had been partly eaten away by the river until fully two-thirds of the original mound had been engulfed. It was estimated to have had a diameter of 50 feet and was 6 feet high at the time Beyer investigated it. Before his visit the site had been dug into by a party of young men who had seen some bones and potsherds protruding from the side of the bank. Beyer's description of the structure of the mound

<sup>15</sup> Moore, C. B., *Antiquities of the Ouachita Valley*. Journ. Acad. Nat. Sci. Philadelphia, vol. 14, no. 1, fig. 47, 1909.

states that the bottom consists of a layer of hard dark brown clay 4 feet thick. Resting on this stratum and embedded in red sandy clay were several skeletons, near the heads of which were some pottery vessels. Most of these burials had been disturbed by the previous diggers, and in consequence much of the associated pottery had been destroyed. Only one additional burial was found by Beyer, from which came, presumably, the bottle figured by him in his report.<sup>16</sup> The layer of red clay enclosing the bodies was 18 inches thick, and above it was an ash bed, in which some of the wood had been reduced only to charcoal. Over this was another 10 inches of red clay overlain by still another ash bed. There was very little charcoal in this upper bed. The topmost layer was again red sandy clay, which covered the entire mound, clearly outlined by a black line formed by the decaying vegetation which had been growing on the surface when it had been enclosed in the levee.

The finding of a vessel of this type in a mound is interesting because neither the specimens from Natchitoches nor those from the Ouachita were found in mounds, yet Campti is only a few miles up Red River from the first-mentioned site. It would appear, from the description given of the mound at Campti, that none of the burials in it were intrusive, but positive evidence on this point is lacking because of the previous disturbance of its contents and because of the fact that fully two-thirds of it had caved into the river.

Another instance of the same kind of pottery from Red River Valley is furnished by Jones, who figures two bottles of the Glendora type from a reported burial ground near Shreveport. One of them is a bottle with the characteristic short, bulging neck and squat, sub-globular body decorated with scroll designs; the other looks from the illustration as if the bulge on the neck had been present but had been broken off, probably at the time of its discovery.<sup>17</sup>

Moore has found it again farther up Red River at the Battle Place in Arkansas. Here many of the bowls and bottles found bear the typical engraved scroll and spot design, and the bottles likewise have the characteristic Glendora shape, which Moore says represents a conventionalized cup placed on the neck of a bottle.<sup>18</sup>

The northernmost distribution of this type of pottery seems to be along the Arkansas River in the vicinity of Pine Bluff, Ark. Moore

<sup>16</sup> Beyer, G. E., *The mounds of Louisiana, II.* Louisiana Hist. Soc. Publ., vol. 2, no. 1, pl. 10, 1897.

<sup>17</sup> Jones, C. C., *Antiquities of the southern Indians*, pl. 28, figs. 3, 4, 1873.

<sup>18</sup> Moore, C. B., *Some aboriginal sites on Red River.* Journ. Acad. Nat. Sci. Philadelphia, vol. 14, no. 4, p. 569, 1912.

found, at sites near Greer and Douglas, Ark., vessels that show the same unmistakable design elements and technique as the Ouachita specimens. The Douglas vessels came from a mound, but Moore makes it quite plain that the mound was originally built for domiciliary purposes and later used as a cemetery—hence the presence of supposedly Caddo burials, which were probably intrusive at a later date. Most of the pottery from these two sites was of the brightly painted kind found more commonly in the lower Arkansas Valley and the eastern part of the state. This type may have been the work of the historic Arkansas (Quapaw) tribes, as is suggested by the finding of European objects in burials where the painted ware is also present.<sup>19</sup>

The pottery found by Harrington in the southwestern corner of Arkansas and believed by him to be Caddo in origin shows only slight resemblance to that found at the Natchitoches site. The technique of decoration in the use of engraved figures on the "Red River ware" is the same, but there are differences of detail in the shape of the vessels and in certain elements of design, the scroll, for instance, being less frequently employed. But there is a much greater range of variation in the Arkansas vessels in both shape and ornamentation and a greater elaboration of design, which is just what might be expected if we are here dealing with the Grand Caddo tribe, the leader of the confederation of which the Natchitoches and Ouachita were more outlying members.<sup>20</sup>

When the sites farther to the west on Red River have been examined, as is being done by Prof. J. E. Pearce, of the University of Texas, and also those somewhat more to the south of the river, we may expect to find further similarities to the general Caddo ceramic pattern, inasmuch as the Hasinai were known to have been closely affiliated with the Caddo in historic times. Likewise, when more material is available from known sites of the other Caddo tribes, such as the Adai, Yatasi, and Petit Caddo, we may be able to discover other subtypes of this ware here identified as Caddoan.

### CONCLUSIONS

The most significant result of the Natchitoches discovery seems to be that we have here a site known from documentary sources to have been occupied by the Natchitoches tribe as early as the end of the

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<sup>19</sup> Moore, C. B., Certain mounds of Arkansas and Mississippi. *Journ. Acad. Nat. Sci. Philadelphia*, vol. 13, no. 4, p. 543, 1908.

<sup>20</sup> Harrington, M. R., Certain Caddo sites in Arkansas. *Indian Notes and Monogr.*, Mus. Amer. Indian, Heye Foundation, illus., 1920.



seventeenth century, where pottery of a high degree of excellence in manufacture is found associated with objects of unmistakable European origin. This would indicate for the burials a period probably in the early half of the eighteenth century, at the epoch when French influence was at its height in Louisiana. By the time of the Spanish occupation after 1763, it is unlikely that the Indians who had been long in contact with European traders would still have pursued their ancient potter's art with the same skill and craftsmanship that produced the beautiful specimens of pottery found at the Cane River site. Furthermore, none of the vessels from this or the sites at Glendora and Keno Place was found in mounds, and in cases where this type of pottery has been reported from mounds, it has been proved almost without exception that such burials were intrusive in nature. Apparently, therefore, the tribes that had reached this height of ceramic perfection were no longer builders of mounds, if indeed they had ever been such. The close similarity in type between the Red River and Ouachita specimens is explained historically by Tonti's account of finding the "Ouasita" and "Nachitoches" together at the latter's village, and also by LaFon's map of the Territory of Orleans in 1806, on which the old trading path from Natchitoches to the villages on the Ouachita is plainly shown.

These significant chronological data offer a clue that should assist considerably in the interpretation of many of the archeological remains in northwestern Louisiana, southern Arkansas, and northeastern Texas.





1. Burial discovered in 1931.



2. Burial discovered in 1916.

**TWO BURIALS AT THE CANE RIVER SITE**



ARTIFICIALLY DEFORMED SKULL OF SKELETON SHOWN IN PLATE 1.  
FIGURE 1. FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS



TOP AND BOTTOM VIEWS OF DEFORMED SKULL SHOWN IN PLATE 2

*a**b**c**d*

UNDECORATED AND CRUDELY INCISED WARE, HEAVILY  
SHELL-TEMPERED

*a*, Bowl with red-filled lines on collar; *b*, small undecorated pot found inside bowl;  
*c*, pottery pipe bowl; *d*, undecorated bowl.



POLISHED AND ENGRAVED VESSELS OF OUACHITA TYPE



UNUSUAL TYPES OF SMALL FLINT POINTS FROM THE WILLIAMSON COLLECTION

Note two gar-pike scales against cards in lower corners.





