

**THE CLEMENTS SITE (41CS25):
A LATE 17TH- TO EARLY 18TH-CENTURY
NASONI CADDO SETTLEMENT AND CEMETERY**

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ABSTRACT

The Clements site (41CS25) is a late 17th- to early 18th-century Nasoni Caddo settlement and cemetery on Black Bayou in the northeastern Texas Pineywoods. The site was found and excavated in about 1898 by a local landowner, who sold the collection to the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in 1900. This long-forgotten collection was brought to the attention of the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma as part of consultation between the Caddo and the AMNH through a Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act grant, and then studied in detail in 2004 by the Caddo and Archeological & Environmental Consultants, LLC. This report, the product of collaboration between the Caddo Nation, professional archaeologists who work with the Caddo, the AMNH, and the National Park Service, discusses the character and archaeological significance of the diverse funerary objects placed with the dead in this Nasoni Caddo cemetery.

THE CLEMENTS SITE (41CS25): A LATE 17TH- TO EARLY 18TH-CENTURY NASONI CADDO SETTLEMENT AND CEMETERY

INTRODUCTION

The Clements site is a late 17th- to early 18th-century (ca. 1680–1720) Nasoni Caddo site in Cass County, Texas, in the northeastern part of the state, a few miles west of Atlanta, Texas, in the northeastern Texas Pineywoods (Diggs et al., 2006). The site is in the southern Caddo archaeological area of northwestern Louisiana, southwestern Arkansas, northeastern Texas, and southeastern Oklahoma (fig. 1).

We learned about the site as a result of a collaborative project with the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) done by the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma to document a collection of Caddo funerary offerings in the AMNH collections (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Cast et al., 2006). That collection was purchased by the AMNH in 1900 from a Mr. W.T. Scott, a Texan who chanced upon and excavated a Caddo cemetery at this place more than a century ago. The collection was pretty much forgotten until the Caddo Nation stumbled upon it in the course of a Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act visit to the AMNH about a Caddo cranium from a site in northwest Louisiana. This report tells the archaeological story of the long-forgotten Clements site, and what we have been able to learn about the heritage of the Nasoni Caddo during tumultuous times.

This Nasoni Caddo site is situated on a knoll near the headwaters of Black Bayou (fig. 2), a stream that flows in a southeasterly direction for approximately 20 miles (34 km) to its confluence with the Red River near the Belcher mound site (16CD13, see Webb, 1959).

The site is also not far from the headwaters of other streams flowing north into the Sulphur River, another major tributary to the Red River, and only a few miles west of the Caddo Trace (see Foster, 1998: 232) leading to an important portage across the Sulphur River. The Caddo Trace was an aboriginal trail that led from the Hasinai Caddo settlements in East Texas to the Kadohadacho settlements on the Red River in the general area of Texarkana, Texas, and its route is fairly well known because the historic 19th-century Trammel's Trace followed its route through northeastern Texas. Nevertheless, the degree of certainty about the locations of Caddo provinces, communities, and specific sites along the Caddo Trace must be viewed cautiously, particularly when considering Caddo tribal locations at the time of the de Soto entrada.

From Henri Joutel's 1687 description of the general route of the trace from the Hasinai villages along the Neches River to the upper Nasoni village (i.e., the Hatchel site [41BW3]) on the Red River west of Texarkana, a reasonable hypothesis is that the Clements site was likely situated near the Caddo Trace. According to Foster's (1998: 320) reconstruction of Joutel's route, on June 20, 1687, the group of Frenchmen with Joutel, and their Caddo guides, camped for the night "six to eight miles west of Atlanta." This is the approximate location of the Goode Hunt site (41CS23), another Nasoni Caddo site that is the same age as the Clements site.

Well before Joutel, in August 1542, the remnants of the de Soto entrada in the southeastern United States reached the Red River valley in southwestern Arkansas (Hudson, 1997: 359–

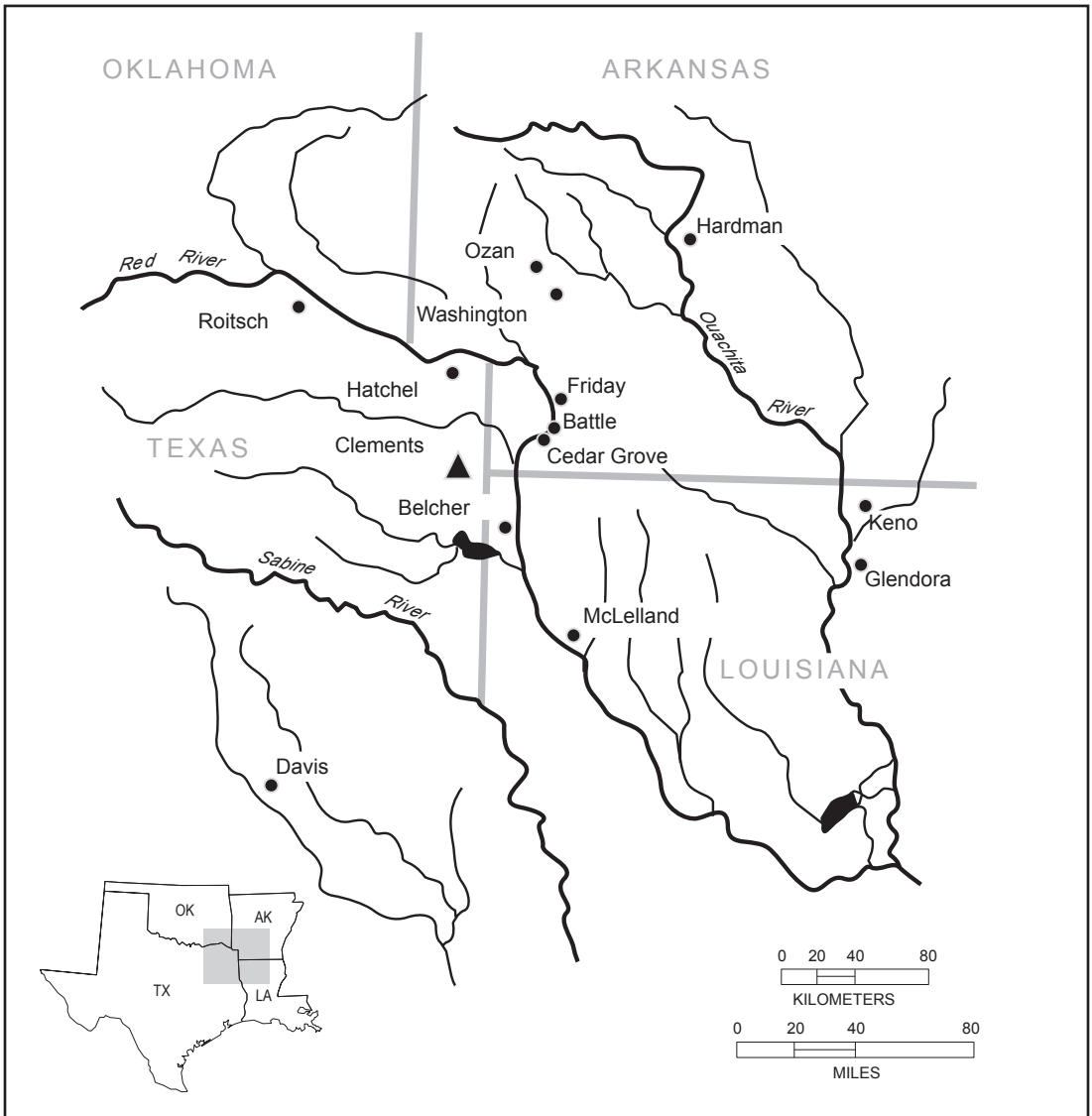


Fig. 1. Map of the southern part of the Caddoan archaeological area, showing the location of the Clements site and other Caddo sites mentioned in the text.

362). The Spanish soldiers and explorers on the entrada were now under the leadership of Luis de Moscoso, as Hernando de Soto had died in the spring of 1542 on the Mississippi River. Moscoso had "decided it was hopeless to seek the sea . . . in fact, the cavaliers were clearly reluctant to take to boats . . . and instead determined to march west in the direction of New Spain" (Brain, 1985: xlv).

The Amaye, Naguatex, and Hacanac Caddo

peoples attacked the Spanish prior to their reaching the Red River in the general area of the Spirit Lake locality, quite likely situated in present-day southwestern Arkansas, near the Battle mound site (Pertulla, 1992: fig. 2; Schambach, 1993: 90–96). The Caddo peoples were not able to stop the Spanish from crossing the Red River the next day into the Naguatex settlements. These settlements were abandoned, but the Spaniards

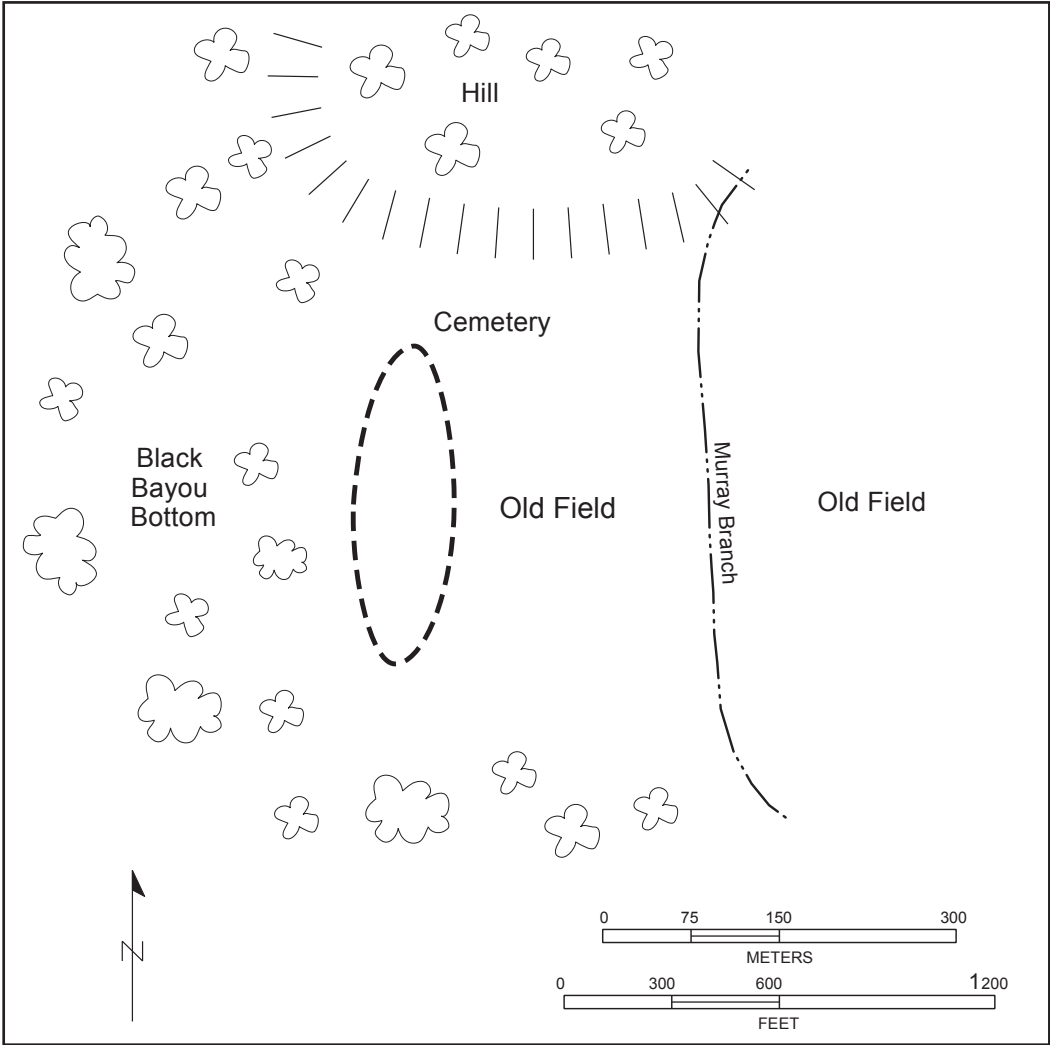


Fig. 2. Map of the Clements site area (after Jackson, 1932a).

saw evidence of much available food on hand. Swanton (1942: 32) has noted that the province of Naguatex “is represented as the most fertile and populous of all the provinces through which the army passed during their expedition, and though they plundered its granaries . . . on their way west, when they returned in October these were refilled.”

Three days after leaving the Naguatex, the Spanish entrada “reached a town of four or five houses, belonging to the cacique of that miserable province, called Nisohone. It was a poorly

populated region and had little maize” (Clayton et al., 1993, vol. 1: 145). The trek to the Nisohone from Naguatex was apparently along a well-established aboriginal road or trail, as previously mentioned, dubbed in modern times the Caddo Trace (and in the 19th-century Trammel’s Trace), that led southwest from the Red River to the Sulphur River valley and then south into the heart of Caddo territory in northeastern Texas (Kenmotsu et al., 1993: fig. 24). Schambach (1993: 96) and Kenmotsu et al. (1993: 115), as well as Hudson (1997: 363), are in basic

agreement that the Nisohone is a Caddo name, and that it is the equivalent of the word Nasoni in 18th-century usage among the Spanish and French in the province of Texas. Moreover, the Spanish and French seem to have placed the Nisohone or Nasoni Caddo province in the lower Sulphur River valley, not far from Lake Wright Patman on the Sulphur River in north-eastern Texas, also not far to the north of the Clements site. We agree with the suggestion made by Kenmotsu et al. (1993: 115) that the “area of the Hunt (41CS23), Clements (41CS25), and Atlanta State Park (41CS37) sites, located west of Atlanta, Texas, and situated some 50 miles southwest of Spirit Lake, Arkansas, represents a possible location of Nisone [Nisohone or Nasoni] in 1542.”

The Goode Hunt site (41CS23), about 5 miles (8 km) to the west of the Clements site, is a contemporaneous early historic Nasoni Caddo settlement (see Jackson, 1932b; Perttula, 1992) that most likely must have also been near the Caddo Trace (see Foster, 1998: 320). Two other probable Nasoni Caddo cemeteries of similar kind and age in the vicinity include the A.P. Fourche and R.A. Simpson farm sites on Black Bayou and Black Cypress Bayou. These cemeteries had Caddo burials accompanied by glass trade beads, large well-made chert bifaces or knives, and numerous aboriginal ceramic vessels (Perttula, 1993).

The trace’s route from the Red River up the Sulphur River valley from its mouth was “the customary route taken by the [Caddo] when they went to the settlements above the Great Bend, comparable to the trace that led north from the Hasinai Caddo of the Neches and Angelina rivers to the same region” (Wedel, 1978: 3). The Nasoni portage on the Sulphur River was in use until at least the 1720s (Harris et al., 1980: 235), and obviously so was the Caddo Trace north and south of the Nasoni portage.

THE CLEMENTS SITE AND THE W.T. SCOTT COLLECTION

We are fortunate to have a few letters written by Will T. Scott in 1900 concerning his work at what is now known as the Clements site (see Gonzalez et al., 2005: appendix 1), as well as 1941 correspondence between A.T. Jackson and Samuel D. Dickinson—archaeologists in Texas and Arkansas, respectively—about the site and its

collections. Other primary documents concerning the history of archaeological investigations at the Clements site include Jackson’s unpublished 1932 report on the University of Texas work there (Jackson, 1932a), and an article by Dickinson (1941) entitled “Certain Vessels from the Clements Place, an Historic Caddo Site” published in the *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological and Paleontological Society*.

Scott indicated in a March 20, 1900, letter to the AMNH that he discovered the site in about 1898 on his farm in Cass County, Texas. He mentioned that the site was one-half mile (0.8 km) from a small creek (although he did not happen to mention the name of the creek!), and was on a low knoll. He discovered 17 burials, about 3–6 ft (0.9–1.8 m) in depth, that contained pottery vessels, stone arrow points, large points, ground stone tools (i.e., Scott called them tomahawks), and shell necklaces. To interest the AMNH in the purchase of his collection, he suggested the burials and artifacts were left by the Aztec. In a June 20, 1900, letter, however, he asserted that they were in fact Caddo burials, since the “Cadow [sic] Indians at one time inhabited the vicinity.”

The burials were in rows, with the heads to the north and the feet of the deceased to the south. In Jackson’s (1932a) later investigations at the site, however, he discovered that almost all the burials were oriented with the head to the east and the feet to the west, although there were a few notable exceptions (see below). Scott also wrote that almost all of the skeletal material in the majority of the graves had disappeared, marked by a “chalky line . . . where the bones had decayed” (March 20, 1900, letter). The grave goods he found had the large ceramic vessels (jars?) and bowls placed near the feet, with the smaller vessels, including bottles, around the head. The “smallest bottles [were] just under the side of the head at the base of the skull.” In the only comments on the association of specific funerary objects in particular burials, Scott wrote to Frederic Ward Putnam¹ of the AMNH that he found blue glass beads in the same grave as two small “phial-shaped” bottles (fig. 3A–B); some of the larger vessels also came from the same grave. The large chipped stone knives were “all in one grave.”

In March 1900, W.T. Scott wrote to the AMNH to see if they were interested in purchasing his collection, or what was left of it, from the site. We know from Dickinson’s account that Scott

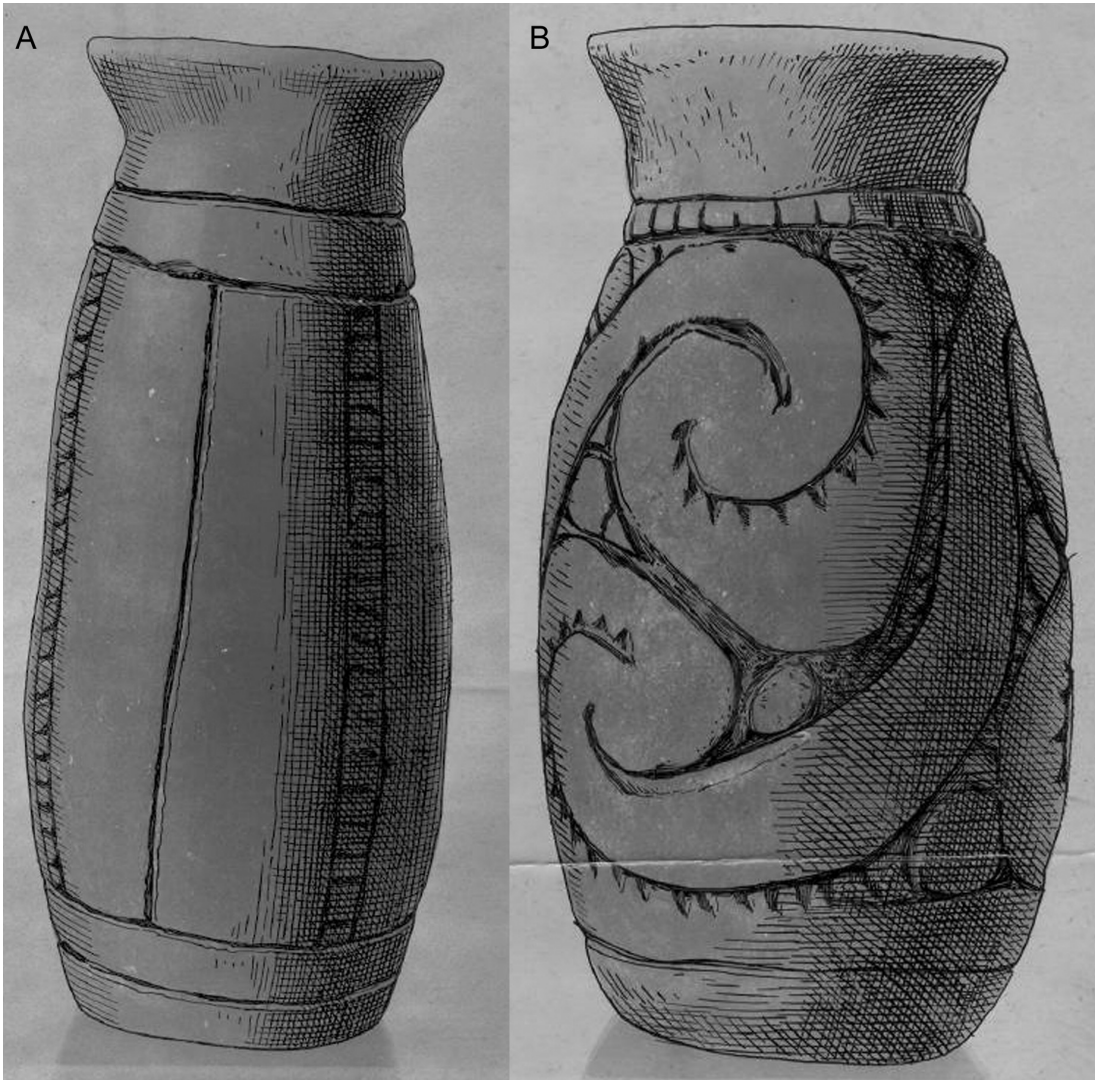


Fig. 3. 1900 drawings of two small ceramic bottles from the Clements site. Original drawings at the AMNH. **A**, 20-5174 in AMNH catalog system; **B**, 20-5175.

“obtained a large collection of artifacts [from the Clements site], which he sold and gave to various people” (Dickinson, 1941: 117). Sometime prior to 1900, Scott had left his farm in Cass County and moved to the town of Gypsum in Hardeman County, Texas, near the Texas Panhandle. In his April 19, 1900, letter, he indicated that he needed the money, and asked for the sum of \$200 for the collection from the AMNH.

Before the AMNH agreed to purchase the

collection from Will Scott, they asked for a catalog of the collections, along with pencil sketches of the pottery vessels and other artifacts (April 9, 1900, letter from F.W. Putnam to Will T. Scott). Scott provided a rudimentary list, along with a series of well-done vessel drawings (figs. 4–11) he had prepared by a Mr. Webber in July 1899, along with six photographs taken by Bonners in Quanah, Texas (fig. 12). Quanah is the county seat of Hardeman County. It is tempting to speculate

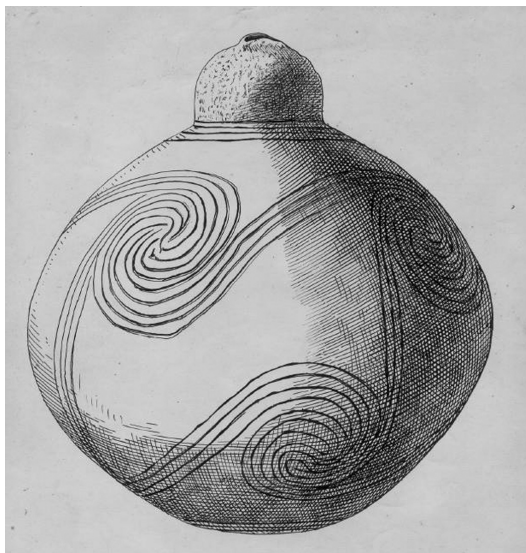


Fig. 4. Drawing of large bottle (20-5161).

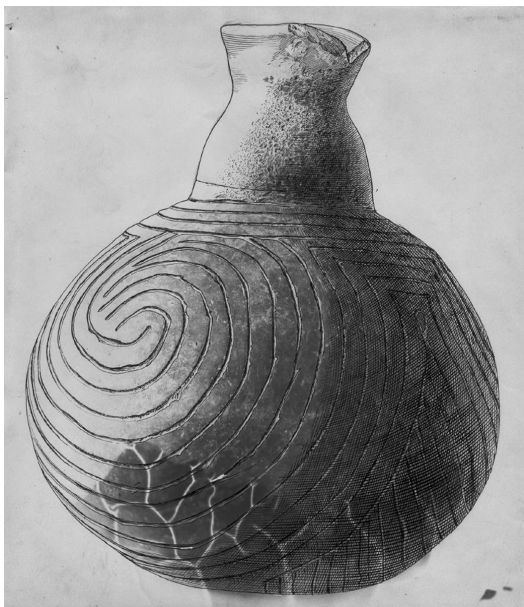


Fig. 5. Drawing of large bottle with spool neck (20-5162).

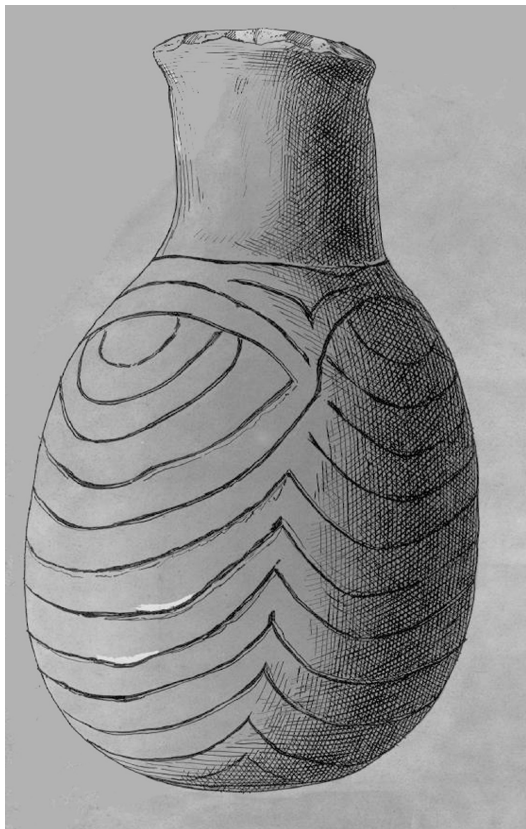


Fig. 6. Drawing of engraved bottle (20-5172).



Fig. 7. Trailed bottle (20-5163).

that the six photographs represent artifacts found together in separate graves, but Scott's letters are silent on what the photographs may represent in this respect.

Scott again asked for \$200 for his collection, and the AMNH agreed to that price on May 4, 1900, provided that Scott pack and ship his collection to the museum. Scott apparently shipped the collection on May 17, 1900.

Not included in this collection were seven ceramic vessels, a shell pendant, and a shell bead that Will Scott gave to his sister, Mrs. C.A. Smith (Dickinson, 1941: 117). The vessels eventually made their way to Samuel D. Dickinson. These vessels ("of the finest pieces of pottery" in the Scott collection) included two Hodges Engraved bottles (Dickinson, 1941: pl. 19, nos. 1 and 2), two Cass Appliqued jars (Dickinson, 1941: pl. 20, nos. 1 and 2), two diminutive engraved bottles (Dickinson, 1941: pl. 21, nos. 2 and 3) that are much like two bottles now in the AMNH collection (see fig. 3A–B), and a unique bilobed Hodges Engraved bottle (Dickinson, 1941: pl. 21, no. 1). The vessel shape of the latter is reminiscent of a four-lobed Keno Trailed bottle vessel illustrated by Moore (1909: fig. 81) from

the Glendora site in northern Louisiana, and another four-lobed Belcher Engraved bottle from the Foster site (Moore, 1912: pl. 44) along the Red River.

The Clements site was next excavated by the University of Texas in 1932 (Jackson, 1932a; Lewis, 1987). At that time, 22 Caddo burials were exposed over a 600 m² area adjacent to a small midden deposit near what eventually was labeled burials 14 and 15 (fig. 13). Twenty of the burials were apparently single, primary extended inhumations, but a possible semiflexed (or greatly disturbed) burial (burial 2) was also recorded, along with a multiple interment (burial 11) containing three individuals. According to Jackson (1932a), the three individuals were from three separate and superimposed primary extended burials rather than the product of one burial event. The superimposition of three primary extended burials is a very rare if not unique mortuary context for prehistoric or early historic Caddo burials in northeastern Texas.

There were apparently several different burial groupings at the Clements site. This is based on the size and orientation of the burial pits across the cemetery (table 1, see also fig. 13), but the kinds

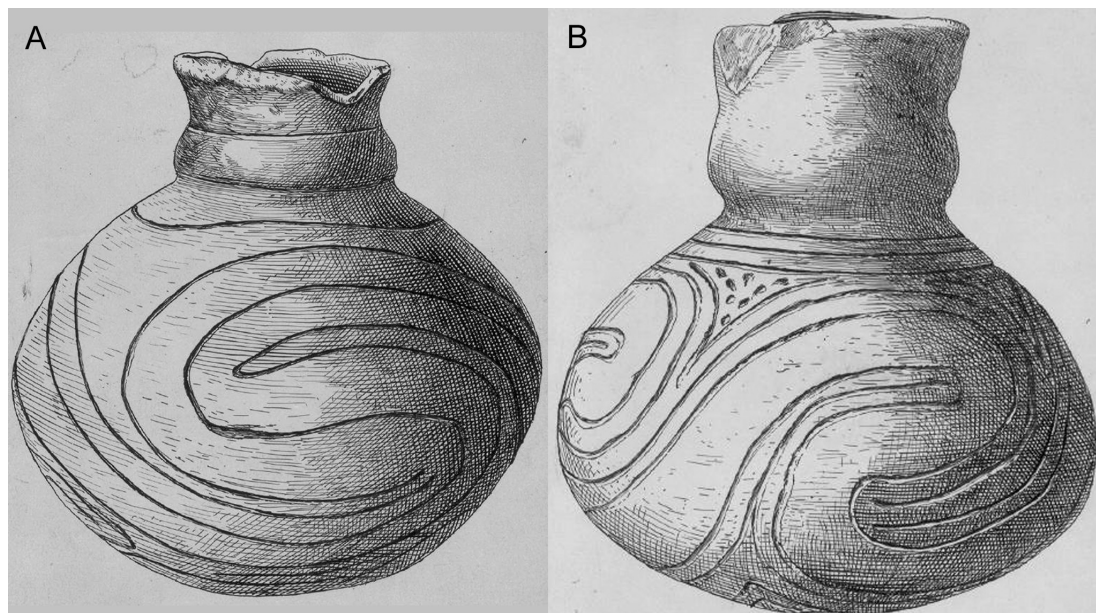


Fig. 8. Two small bottles: **A**, 20-5164; **B**, 20-5165.

of funerary objects placed with the individuals may help to differentiate the age and sex of the deceased as well as the status of their lineages. Jackson (1932a) believed that burial 11C was the earliest of the Clements interments because this individual was laid out so its head faced to the north. This was unlike all the other burials at

Clements but very similar to burial 1 at the Goode Hunt site (Jackson, 1932b) that was placed at the center of the cemetery there. Funerary objects in that burial were consistent with it being among the earliest burial groups at Goode Hunt. This does not appear to be the case at Clements, and the best candidate for the earliest Caddo burial at



Fig. 9. Two engraved bottles: A, 20-5167; B, 20-5173.

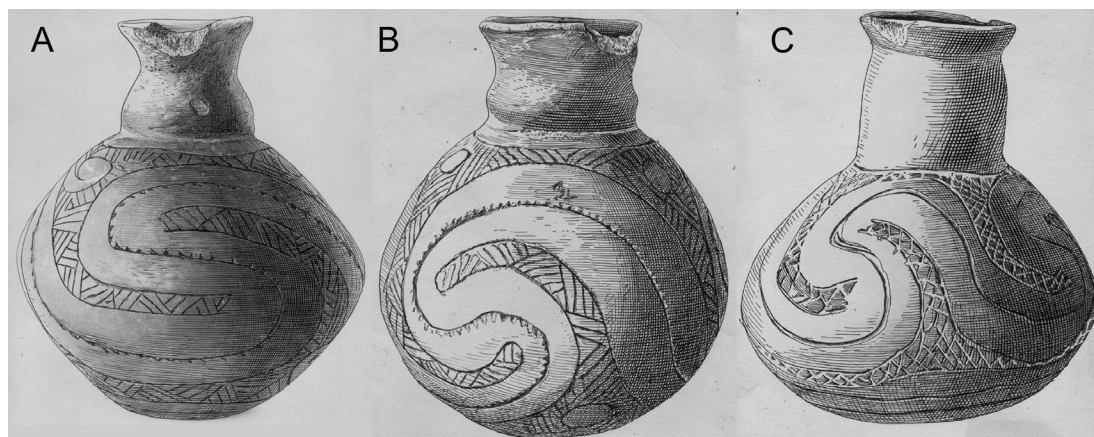


Fig. 10. Three engraved bottles: A, 20-5166; B, 20-5168; C, 20-5169.

the site—perhaps representing a senior member of the founding lineage—is burial 8, that of an adult female in the central part of the cemetery (see fig. 13).

The majority of the burials (79%) at the Clements site were placed in an extended supine (i.e., flat on their back) position in the graves, with their heads at the eastern end of the burial pit, facing west to southwest. The burial pits of three individuals were oriented southeast (100°–170°), while two others had burial pits that were oriented southwest (235°–250°). About 76% of the burials at the Goode Hunt site were also in an extended supine position with their heads facing to the west.

As best we can tell from the distribution of funerary objects in the 22 burials, the Clements site was used as a place for the Caddo to bury their dead during at least two different periods, or episodes, that may have lasted a generation or more. The earlier cemetery use includes burials in several north-south rows at the western end of the site, including burials 8–13, 16–20, and 21 (see fig. 13). Sometime around the beginning of the 18th century, the eastern half of the cemetery was used (burials 1–7, 14, and 15); these burials

had a few strands of glass beads traded to the Nasoni Caddo by Europeans among their various offerings. One of the western burials (burial 21) also was part of this later cemetery, as this individual had a Keno Trailed, *var. Phillips*, bowl among the funerary offerings, and this type is thought to be an excellent ceramic marker for the period between ca. 1700 and 1730 (cf. Schambach and Miller, 1984; Perino, 1981, 1983).

In addition to the burials that Jackson (1932a) exposed and documented at the Clements site, he encountered what he considered to be an unusual midden [or trash] deposit near two of the burials (burials 14 and 15) in the southern part of the cemetery (see fig. 13). According to Jackson (1932a):

Scattered throughout the midden deposit, and in association with animal bones, were found a few human bones, such as those of the fingers, and fragments of arm and leg bones and small pieces of skull. Some of the long bones were broken but not split. The presence of all of these bones could scarcely be attributed to the activities of rodents, and seem to have found their

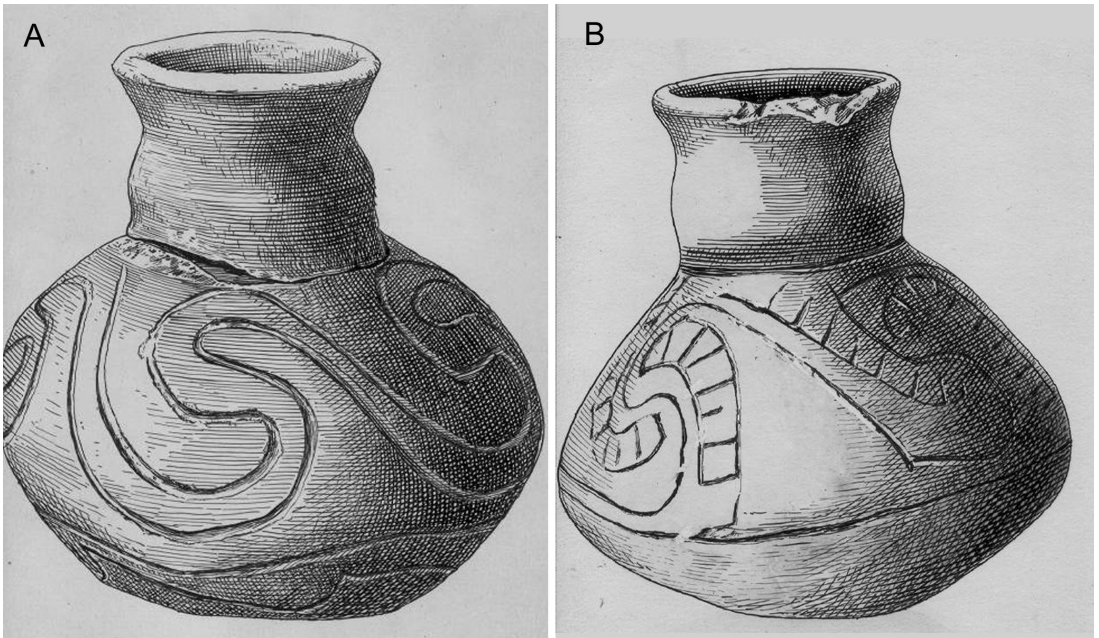


Fig. 11. Two small decorated bottles: A, 20-5170; B, 20-5171.

way into the midden deposit through the agency of man. Whether this fact signifies ceremonial cannibalism is problematical.

In Jackson's summary of the findings, he concludes that "it is doubtful as to whether this [the presence of human remains in the midden de-

posits] indicates ceremonial cannibalism." Nevertheless, in the Texas Archeological Research Laboratory's (TARL) 2000 Notice of Inventory Completion for human remains and associated funerary objects in their facility, TARL suggests that a series of human remains (accession #428, 431, 439, 897, 898A, 898B, and 3402) from the

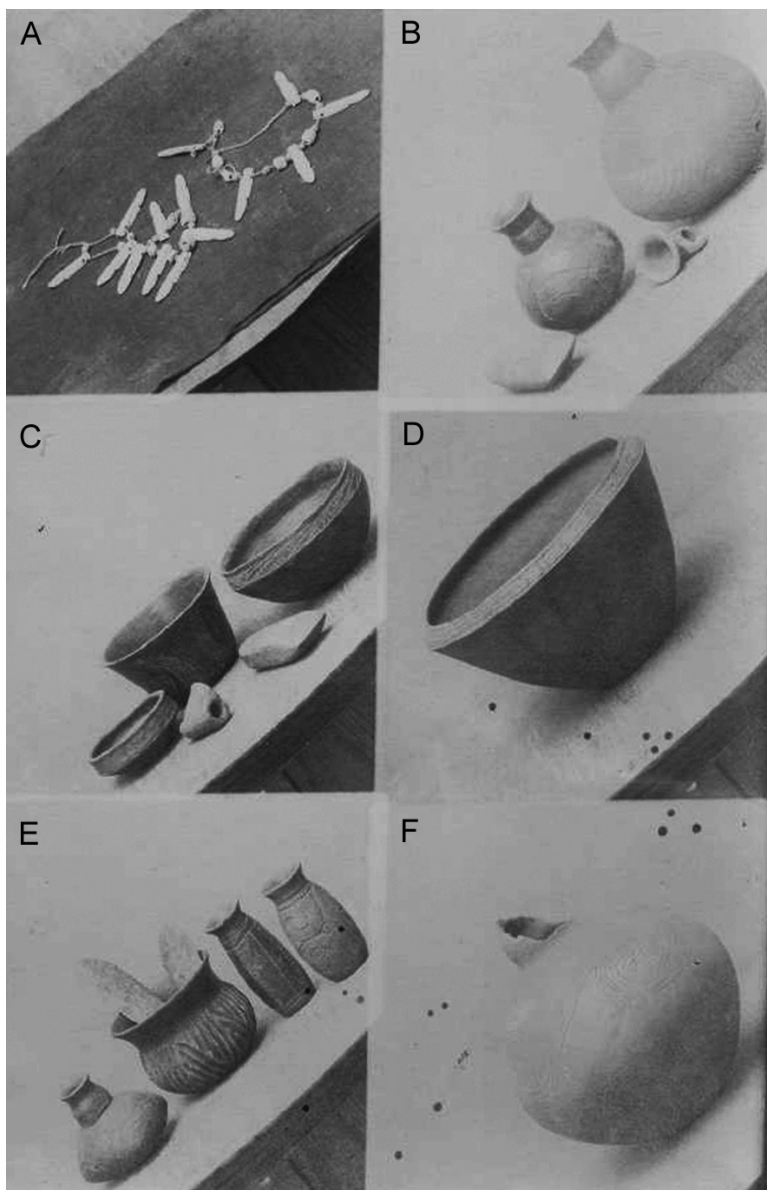


Fig. 12. A series of photographs taken in 1900 by a photographer in Quanah, Texas. **A**, shell pendants; **B**, bottles, a celt, and a clay pipe; **C**, three bowls, a clay pipe, and a celt; **D**, large bowl; **E**, small "phial-shaped" bottles, another bottle, a jar, and large chipped stone knives; **F**, large bottle or olla.

TABLE 1
**Size, Depth, and Orientation of the Clements Site Burials
as Reported by Jackson (1932a)**

Burial number	Length (ft)	Width (ft)	Depth (ft)	Orientation (degrees)	Head position; age, sex
1	8.5	3.0	2.1	50	west; adult, IND
2	6.1	3.0	1.5	250	east; adolescent, female
3	6.2	2.1	1.8	235	IND; child, IND
4	8.7	3.4	2.3	50	east, adult, IND
5	6.8	2.8	1.9	80	east; IND
6	4.5	1.9	1.1	85	west; IND
7	5.9	3.1	2.0	60	east; IND
8	6.5	3.3	2.5	105	east; adult, female and adolescent, male
9	4.7	2.7	2.4	100	east; adult, IND
10	4.8	2.3	1.6	55	east; IND
11	9.7	5.4	1.3	75	A, south; adult, IND
			2.4	80	B, east, adult, IND
			3.0	170	C, east, adult, IND
12	7.3	3.1	1.4	NE	east; adult, IND
13	5.7	1.8	0.9	55	west, adult, IND
14	9.0	3.5	2.9	50	east; adult, IND
15	6.0	2.8	2.4	65	IND; adult, IND
16	6.8	2.8	1.8	60	IND; adult, IND
17	4.5	2.0	1.5	85	east; adult, IND
18	8.1	3.0	1.0	35	IND; adult, female
19	7.7	2.9	1.3	55	IND; IND
20	6.0	2.8	1.5	NE	IND; IND
21	7.8	3.3	1.8	45	west; IND
22	5.2	1.8	1.5	80	IND; IND

IND = indeterminate.

Clements site may “represent ritually eaten non-Caddo individuals.” This unbelievable speculation was reached by TARL despite the fact that (1) Jackson, the original excavator, discounted it; (2) these remains have never been fully studied by the University of Texas at Austin in the 70+ years since they were recovered to actually determine their bioarchaeological character and cultural affiliation; and (3) TARL’s inventory suggests only that these remains may have come from the midden deposit itself (not knowing their

exact provenience), rather than from nearby burials 14 and 15, or from burials 5, 6, 7, 10, 19, 20, 21, or 22. These last few excavated burials are not included in the TARL 2000 inventory from the Clements site.

Rather than relying on a cannibalism argument to account for the human remains in a midden deposit adjacent to burials 14 and 15, it makes much more sense to take into account the extensive previous digging at the Clements site by W.T. Scott and others more than 30 years

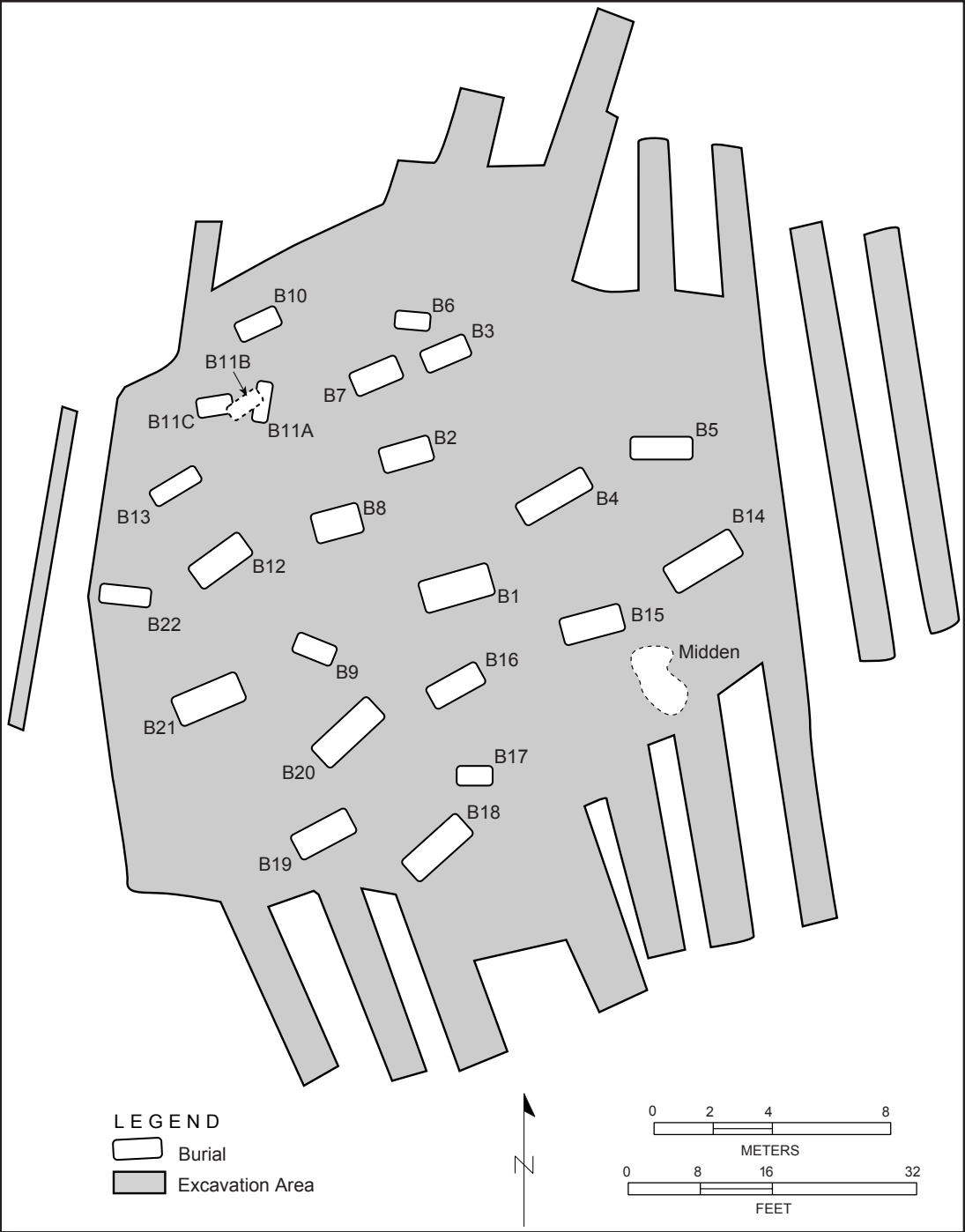


Fig. 13. Map of the excavation area showing the arrangement of the Clements site burials.

before the University of Texas began their work at the site. The crude earlier digging that Jackson (1932a) described, with a considerable scattering and broadcasting of human remains and artifacts, is a much more likely scenario to account for broken and unbroken pieces of human skeletal material ending up in midden dirt and back dirt near a few of the burials. Lewis (1987: table 3) noted that the midden area had human remains from two adults of indeterminate age and sex; it would not surprise us to discover that these remains represent scattered pieces from the adults in burials 14 and 15 (see fig. 13).

Jackson (1932a) had noted that the site had been disturbed prior to the University of Texas excavations. Many of the skeletal remains had been moved and rearranged, and many artifacts had been removed from the graves, or broken and tossed back into the burial pits. Of the 52 vessels found by Jackson (1932a), for instance, only 19.2% were complete! As we know now, this disturbance to the Clements site burials was the result of extensive digging by W.T. Scott and others, who dug at least 17 burials here, but did not remove any of the skeletal remains. Consequently, we completely reject the cannibalism scenario.

Jackson (1932a) had indicated that the site had been discovered about 1900, when we know from Scott's letters that it must have been a few years before that, since his collection from the Clements site was sold to the AMNH in 1900. Jackson was unaware that any of Scott's collection had been sold to the AMNH, although he had been told that "about a dozen vessels from this site were sent to the Smithsonian Institution at that time [1900]." Since there are no materials from the Clements site at the Smithsonian Institution, we suspect that this inaccurate information actually was referring to the materials sold by Scott to the AMNH. Jackson was aware of Scott's considerable digging at the site, and he also knew about a small collection of ceramic vessels from the Clements site that were in the hands of Samuel D. Dickinson of Prescott, Arkansas (Jackson, 1932a). Dickinson, a well-known archaeologist at the time in Arkansas (cf. Dickinson, 1936; Dickinson and Lemley, 1939; see also Lemley, 1936), received these vessels from the daughter of Will Scott's sister, a Mrs. J.B. Hesterly of Prescott, Arkansas (Dickinson, 1941: 118).

Nevertheless, a relatively diverse assemblage of funerary objects was recovered from the site during Jackson's work at the Clements site (table

2). Conch shell ornaments made from Gulf Coast marine shells were the most common item placed with the deceased, including probable bead necklaces from at least three burials (burials 2, 8, and 15), bracelets (burial 15), ear discs, and portions of pendant necklaces. The zoomorphic style of the conch shell pendants from the associated midden at the Clements site is similar to the style of ornaments recovered at both the Belcher (Webb, 1959: 172–173) and Cedar Grove (Kay, 1984: figs. 13–22) sites, as well as from Belcher phase components at the Foster, Friday, and Battle sites along the Red River in southwestern Arkansas.

Half of the Clements burials contained conch shell ornaments, which certainly seems indicative of a ready access to these materials of exotic origin (i.e., the conch shell would have been found along the Gulf Coast of Texas); a similar relationship was noted in the Chakanina phase burials at the Cedar Grove site (Trubowitz, 1984; Pertulla, 1992: table 16). Along with the shell ornaments were European glass beads (1–26 beads per burial) from five separate interments at Clements. In two instances, shell beads or other shell ornaments were found together in the same burial with the European glass beads (see table 2).

Pottery vessels were also commonly placed as funerary objects in the burials, with as many as nine vessels placed with burial 11. Others had between 1 and 6 vessels per burial (see table 2). Fifteen of the burials at the Clements site had clay pigment (green, brown, red, and gray colors) and/or mussel shell offerings. Four of the five burials with European trade goods had pigments, particularly a green pigment from a local glauconitic clay.

THE W.T. SCOTT COLLECTION AT THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

The AMNH obtained the W.T. Scott collection in 1900, purchasing it from Mr. Scott for \$200. As we discussed earlier, the W.T. Scott collection is from 17 Caddo burials he dug at the Clements site (41CS25) on Black Bayou, just outside Atlanta, Texas. The only locality information Scott provided to the AMNH was that the site was one-half mile from a small creek (June 20, 1900, letter from W.T. Scott to Frederic Ward Putnam) (see fig. 2).

TABLE 2
Funerary Objects at the Clements Site, Cass County, Texas

Burial number	Ceramic vessels	Ceramic pipes	Shell beads	Shell Disc	Shell pendants	Stone tools	Bone/shell tools	Glass beads	Other
1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	P/MS/DM
2	1	—	2	—	—	1	1	—	MS
3	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	P/MS
4	5	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	P
5	2	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—
6	3	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
7	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	P/MS
8	2	—	12	—	—	4	2		TS
9	No artifacts remained								P
10	No artifacts remained								
11	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	P
12	3	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	MS/DM
13	No artifacts remained								
14	5	—	—	—	1	—	—	6	P
15	6	—	36	—	—	—	—	26	P
16	—	1	5	—	—	—	—	—	DT
17	No artifacts remained								P
18	3	—	5	—	2	—	1	—	MS
19	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	MS
20	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	MS
21	3	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	P
22	2	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	MS/P
Total	52	2	64	2	3	16	4	45	18/22

P = pigment; MS = mussel shell; TS = turtle shell; DM = deer mandible; DT = dog tooth.

In the course of his digging at the site, Scott uncovered ceramic vessels, ceramic pipes, large chipped stone knives, polished celts, marine shell ornaments, mussel shells (including a mussel shell hoe), and clay pigments. His digging techniques were rudimentary, because when A.T. Jackson (1932a) returned to the Clements site in 1932, many of the previously dug graves still contained an abundance of artifacts (many now broken) that had apparently been overlooked by Scott in his hasty excavations. The A.T. Jackson collections from the site are at TARL,

the University of Texas at Austin.

There are many ethnographic and archaeological reasons to presume that the funerary objects placed in the graves of Caddo individuals at the Clements site—or indeed in the grave of any Caddo individuals—principally represent in a symbolic and material sense the items used by those individuals in life, as well as the range of special goods needed to accompany the deceased on their journey to the other world (e.g., Parsons, 1941; Swanton, 1942: 205; Rogers and Sabo, 2004). One only need consider Fray Casanas' (1927: 294) comments in 1691 that the Caddo buried "their dead with all their arms and utensils which each possesses." The kinds of items placed in Caddo burials, especially the ceramic vessels (since they are by far the most common burial objects) may provide unique insights into how different Caddo groups treated the dead, and what such differences may mean regarding diverse views on life and death among contemporaneous Caddo groups.

In historic times, Caddo ceramic vessels, primarily bowls of various forms, jars, and bottles, held liquids and foods. They were also used for cooking and serving foods, such as corn, atole, a corn gruel pounded into a flour and mixed with water or milk (Chapa, 1997: 149, fn. 6), and tamales (see Swanton, 1942: 157–158; Chapa, 1997: 149). In 1690, Alonso de Leon noted the use of "pots and casserole dishes," filled with beans, corn, and pinole, made of powdered corn and sugar (Chapa, 1997: 150, fn. 1). Other vessels were reported in historic times to have held incense, body paints/pigments, and cornmeal offerings.

We begin our discussion of the W.T. Scott collection artifacts with the ceramic vessels, many of which are exquisitely formed and decorated by Caddo potters, followed by ceramic pipes, clay pigment, chipped stone knives, ground stone celts, mussel shell tools and unmodified shell valves, the many marine shell ornaments (pendants, ear pins, ear discs, and conch shell beads), and European glass trade beads. We were able to study the W.T. Scott collection because the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma received a 2004 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) grant from the National Park Service to document the collection (Cast et al., 2006).

CERAMIC VESSELS

There are 34 ceramic vessels in the collection, including bottles, an olla, jars, bowls, compound

bowls, and carinated bowls. Bottles are the most common vessel form, with 15 examples (including two unique small and narrow forms), followed by carinated bowls ($N = 10$), jars ($N = 5$), simple or conical bowls ($N = 2$), and compound bowls ($N = 2$). The lion's share of the vessels in the W.T. Scott collection from the Clements site are fine wares (i.e., decorated with engraved motifs or red-slipped), as only four vessels (11.8%) are utility ware jars (i.e., vessels with a relatively coarse paste, decorated with wet-paste designs, and probably used as cooking jars).

In terms of the ceramic types represented in the funerary vessels, the principal types are Hodges Engraved, Taylor Engraved, and Simms Engraved. These three ceramic types together constitute 53% of all the vessels in the W.T. Scott collection, and about 40% of the vessels in the TARL collections from the Clements site. Other known types among the fine wares include Keno Trilled, Bailey Engraved, and Fatherland Incised. In the utility wares, there are single vessels of Clements Brushed, Pease Brushed-Incised, Cass Appliqued, and Mockingbird Punctated. Clements Brushed and Cass Appliqued jars are also abundant in the TARL collections from the Clements site, and the rim punctated Mockingbird Punctated jars are the second most common ceramic type in the TARL collections.

Overall, the range of decorated ceramic vessels in the W.T. Scott collection from the Clements site compare favorably with the decorated fine wares and utility wares recovered from Texarkana, Belcher, and Chakanina phase Caddo sites on the Red River, including such well-known sites as Hatchel (41BW3), Battle (3LA1), Cedar Grove (3LA97), and Belcher (16CD13) (see fig. 1), as well as contemporaneous Indian sites in the Ouachita River basin of northern Louisiana.

Based on the kinds of decorated ceramic vessels in contemporaneous Caddo sites on the Red River in the Great Bend area, the Sulphur River, and in the Big Cypress Creek basin, those found in the W.T. Scott collection, and in the TARL collections, from the Clements site most closely share stylistic relationships with both the 17th-century Nasoni Caddo groups living due west of Texarkana, Texas (see Hamilton, 1972; Perttula, 2005a; Perttula and Nelson, 2003) and other Caddo peoples in the lower Big Cypress Creek basin (see Thurmond, 1990). It is in these areas where Simms Engraved, Taylor Engraved, and Hodges Engraved are either pottery types

made by the residents of local villages or were frequently traded items between neighboring Caddo groups. We look to the upper Nasoni Caddo villages on the Red River for the direction of the strongest bonds of kinship, interaction, and lineal relationships with the Nasoni Caddo living in the vicinity of the Clements site.

BOTTLES: The 15 bottles in the W.T. Scott collection occur in three different sizes: large (0.83 liter volume), medium (0.65 liter volume), and small (0.15–0.31 liter). The small bottles comprise 80% of these particular vessels. Most of the bottles have a bulbous spool neck with a globular body (figs. 14A–C and 15A–C), but one Bailey Engraved bottle (figs. 14D and 15D) has a straight neck. Many of the bottles have had a red clay pigment rubbed in the engraved lines. Certainly the most unique bottles are the two small and narrow engraved vessels (fig. 15E) that W.T. Scott mentioned had been found in association with a necklace of blue glass beads.

The main engraved types include Hodges Engraved ($N = 6$ vessels), with negative scrolls defined by crosshatched or hatched scroll dividers; the scroll dividers contain a series of large negative ovals or circles (see figs. 14A–B and 15A–B). The TARL collections include one Hodges Engraved bottle from the Clements site, along with a large Hodges Engraved olla and a red-slipped deep bowl.

Two other bottles, probably a previously unrecognized variety of Hodges Engraved, have the same meandering scroll motif, but they are executed instead with incised lines. One of these also has four small triangular zones on the vessel body that are filled with small circular tool punctations.

The one Taylor Engraved bottle has a series of engraved scrolls repeated three times around the vessel body, divided by loop elements (see fig. 14C). The Bailey Engraved bottle has four sets of engraved concentric arcs on the vessel body. In the TARL collections from the Clements site, there are four Taylor Engraved vessels, but none are bottle forms; rather, they include three large compound bowls and a red-slipped deep bowl. There were no other Bailey Engraved vessels in the TARL collections from the Clements site.

The one Keno Trailed bottle (fig. 16A) has a curvilinear and interlocking scroll motif repeated four times on the body, as well as sets of horizontal trailed lines below the bottle neck and above the vessel base. There is an additional Keno Trailed bottle in the TARL collections from the Clements site.

Also in the AMNH collection is a probable Fatherland Incised, *var. Pine Ridge*, bottle (Brain, 1988; Brown, 1998: 54) with trailed to engraved spiral whorls repeated four times at the top and bottom of the vessel (fig. 16B). Fatherland Incised vessels are found in historic (ca. A.D. 1650–1750) Natchez and Tunica sites in the Natchez and Tunica Hills region of Mississippi. Their presence at the Clements site is evidence of trade and interaction between the Nasoni Caddo, the Natchez Indians, and/or Tunica Indian groups in the early historic period. Similar vessels have been recovered at the McLelland site along the Red River in northwestern Louisiana (Kelley, 1997: 50) and in other Caddo sites in the Natchitoches, Louisiana area (Jeffrey S. Girard, August 2008, personal commun.). Because the paste, temper, and surface treatment of this vessel are much

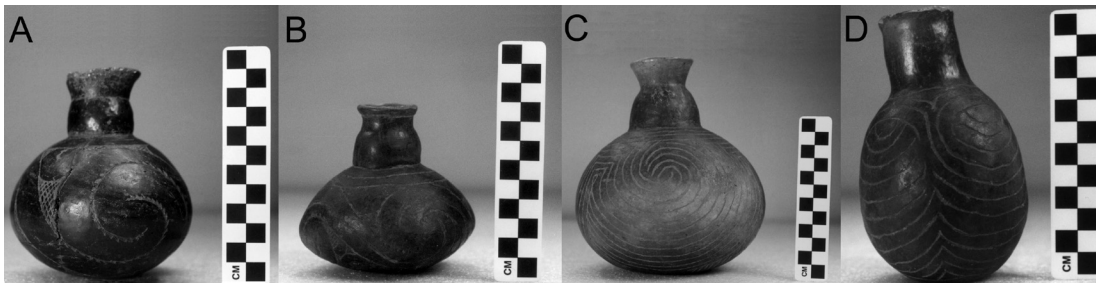


Fig. 14. Hodges Engraved, Taylor Engraved, and Bailey Engraved bottles: **A**, Hodges Engraved (20-5167); **B**, Hodges Engraved (20-5173); **C**, Taylor Engraved (20-5162); **D**, Bailey Engraved (20-5172).

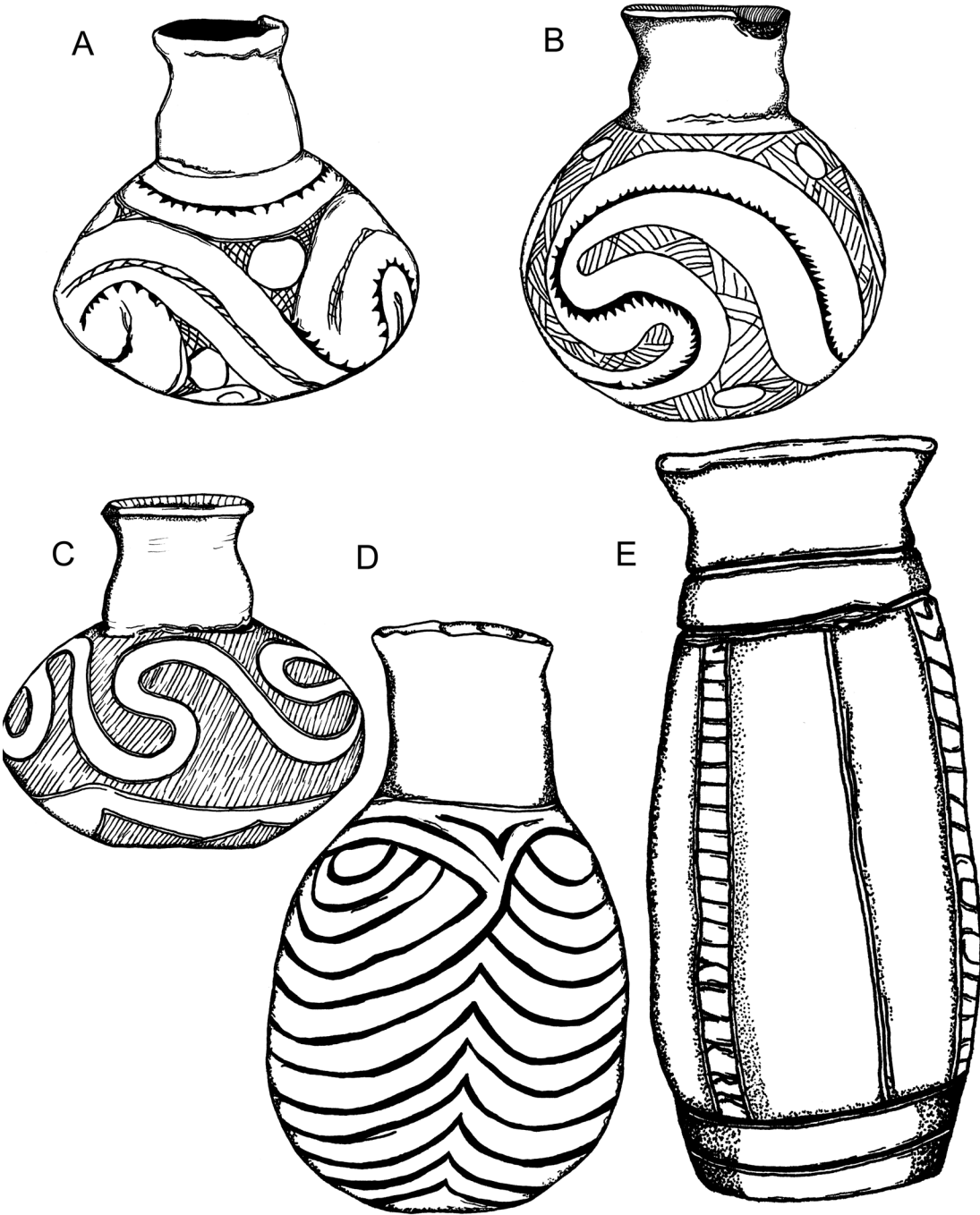


Fig. 15. Drawings of principal kinds of engraved bottles in the W.T. Scott collection. **A**, Hodges Engraved (20-5173); **B**, Hodges Engraved (20-5168); **C**, Hatinu Engraved (20-5170); **D**, Bailey Engraved (20-5172); **E**, narrow engraved bottle (20-5174). Drawings by Bobby Gonzalez.

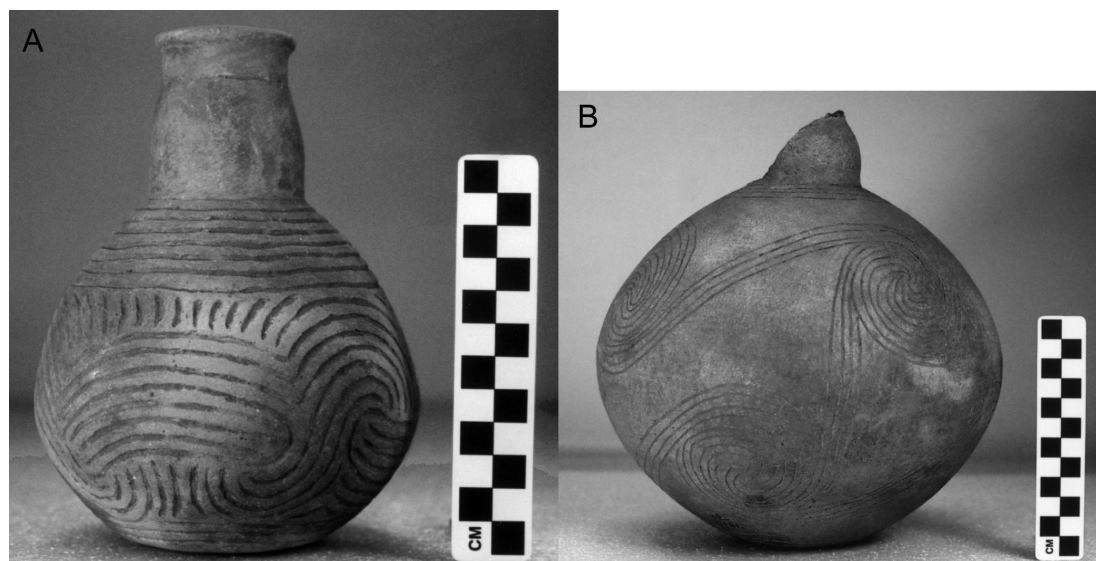


Fig. 16. Keno Trailed and Fatherland Incised bottles: **A**, Keno Trailed (20-5163); **B**, Fatherland Incised (20-5161).

the same for the other vessels in the Clements mortuary collection—suggesting that it may have been made locally rather than by Tunican and Natchezan peoples in Mississippi—it is possible that this vessel may be identified as a Keno Trailed, *var. Glendora*, bottle that has the foundational engraved spiral whorls but lacks the flanking design elements that would have covered the entire bottle body (Ann Early, October 2008, personal commun.). C.B. Moore (1909: fig. 10) illustrates a Keno Trailed, *var. Glendora*, bottle from the Glendora site in northeastern Louisiana (see fig. 1) that has the same central engraved spiral whorls, although the area between the whorls has been filled in with other engraved elements.

The two small and narrow engraved bottles (fig. 17A–B, see also figs. 3A and 15E as well as Dickinson, 1941: pl. 21, nos. 2 and 3) in the W.T. Scott collection stand between 11.0 and 11.62 cm in height, with orifice diameters ranging from 4.7 to 5.6 cm on the vessel body. One has a series of four vertical engraved and hatched zones on its body (fig. 17B), while the other has an engraved scroll motif (fig. 17A) that spirals around a semi-circular element, very similar to the engraved motif on the Hodges Engraved spool-necked bottles in the collection. The hatched scroll dividers, like the Hodges Engraved bottles, have

small negative circles or ovals within them. This unique bottle form is not represented in any of the vessels in the TARL collection from the Clements site, and in our recent examination of the large vessel collections (several thousand) from northeastern Texas Caddo sites at TARL, we saw no other vessels like these in the W.T. Scott collection. It has been suggested that these small, narrow engraved bottles may be good examples of Poynor Engraved (Ann Early, October 2008, personal commun.), a 14th- to mid-17th-century fine ware type made in the Angelina-Neches river basins in East Texas. Recent studies of a large assemblage of Poynor Engraved vessels from East Texas (Pertulla, 2009; see also Suhm and Jelks, 1962: pl. 63a–g) indicate that the decorative elements on these Poynor vessels (including larger cylindrical bottles), age estimates, and geographic distribution of the type are not consistent with the small and narrow engraved bottles from the late 17th- and early 18th-century Clements site. The vertical and hatched engraved panels on one of the small and narrow engraved bottles (see figs. 3A, 15E, and 17B) are decorative elements seen occasionally on late 17th- and early 18th-century Hume Engraved bottles (see Suhm and Jelks, 1962: pl. 42e), however, this type of bottle is found on sites in the Angelina-Neches river basins.

Another unique bottle form is a spool-necked and red-slipped engraved bottle (see fig. 17C). There are red-slipped scrolls and triangular areas in relief across the body and at the base of the vessel, and red-slipped areas around the scrolls; triangular areas have been scraped away (showing the original color of the vessel before

it was slipped) to emphasize the distinctive red scrolls. We have named this form of decorated bottle Hatinu Engraved, because of the red, raised scrolls.

Other examples of Hatinu Engraved have been noted in collections at the Hatchel site, the Foster site (3LA27) along the Red River in

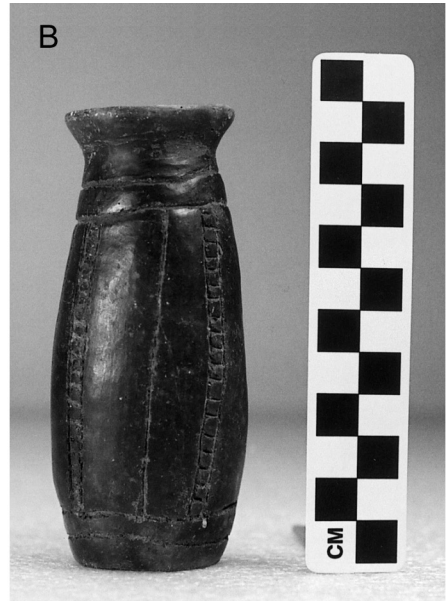


Fig. 17. Unique bottle forms: **A**, narrow engraved (20-5175); **B**, narrow engraved (20-5174); **C**, Hatinu Engraved (20-5170).

southwestern Arkansas (Moore, 1912: figs. 106 and 107; Perttula et al., 2009: fig. A4-4), in the Battle site (John E. Miller, 2005, personal communication.), in a private collection from another site in Arkansas (Townsend and Walker, 2004: fig. 19), examples from sites in Clark County, Arkansas, the Carden Bottoms along the upper Arkansas River in western Arkansas, and in a very late Titus phase site (the Shelby site, 41CP71) in the Big Cypress Creek basin in northeastern Texas.² Bonds (2006: figs. 2, 83, 160, 432, 491, 523, 536, 541, 556, 585, 628, and 632) illustrates a number of Hatinu Engraved bottles with no provenience from southwestern Arkansas in the hands of private collectors. It appears that Hatinu Engraved is a late 17th- and early 18th-century Caddo pottery type that was probably made in the Great Bend area along the Red River, and traded or exchanged with other contemporaneous Caddo and non-Caddo groups.

OLLA: The one olla (fig. 18) is a well-made and well-fired Clements Brushed vessel. It would have held approximately 1.4 liters of liquids or foodstuffs. There are four other Clements Brushed ollas in the TARL collections from the Clements site, and it is apparently one of the more common

resident Nasoni Caddo utility wares at the site.

CARINATED BOWLS: The 10 carinated bowls in the W.T. Scott collection include five Taylor Engraved vessels (fig. 19A–B and fig. 20A–B), three Simms Engraved vessels (fig. 20C and fig. 21A–B), a small Simms Plain vessel (cf. Hamilton, 1972) with its distinctive inverted rim, and an unidentified small carinated bowl with a rectilinear engraved design. This latter vessel had poorly executed hatched and crosshatched panels repeated five times around the vessel rim.

The Taylor Engraved carinated bowls range from 0.25 to 1.1 liters in volume. The broad rim area of each of the vessels is decorated with gracefully sweeping and interlocking engraved scrolls; one of the Taylor Engraved vessels was also red-slipped (see fig. 19B). The Simms Engraved carinated bowls, on the other hand, have compressed or short inverted-flat rims with horizontal scrolls divided by sets of short vertical to curvilinear lines. The scrolls have both upward- and downward-pointing tick marks and a red clay pigment was smeared in the engraved lines of one of the Simms Engraved carinated bowls (see fig. 21B).



Fig. 18. Clements Brushed olla (20-5160).

In the TARL collections from the Clements site, there are 12 Simms Engraved carinated bowls with the same distinctive rim forms; in fact, they are the only carinated bowls in the TARL collections from the site. Simms Engraved is also the most abundant decorated ceramic type in the Clements site vessel collection. There are four Taylor Engraved vessels in the TARL collections, but three are large compound bowls and the other is a shell-tempered and red-slipped deep bowl. This latter vessel is probably an import from Caddo groups living in the vicinity of the Roitsch site (41RR16) on the upper Red River (see fig. 1).

COMPOUND BOWLS: The compound bowls in the W.T. Scott collection both belong to the Simms Engraved type (fig. 22A–B). These particular vessels occur in two sizes, small (0.6 liter) and large (2.0 liters).

Both compound bowls have notched lips and discontinuous engraved scrolls with downward-pointing tick marks; a red clay pigment has been smeared or rubbed in the engraved lines and tick marks. The first Simms Engraved compound bowl has a scroll motif repeated six times around the lower rim panel (see fig. 22A), while the other has four repeating sets of curvilinear to semicircular engraved lines (see fig. 22B–C). The TARL collections have two more Simms Engraved compound bowls, and others identical to those in the W.T. Scott collection are in private collections from the Hatchel site in the Texarkana Museum Systems.

These vessels are here identified as Simms Engraved, *var. Darco* (Perttula and Nelson, 2007: fig. 2), because examples of this type from another locality were first identified by Jones (1968) as the Darco Engraved type from historic Kinsloe phase sites in the Sabine River basin. Other early historic Caddo sites with *var. Darco* vessels include the Susie Slade site (41HS13) (Perttula, 2006: fig. 188), Hatchel, and Sam Kaufman (Skinner et al., 1969: fig. 21C).

BOWLS: Both bowls are moderate in size, with estimated 0.9–1.3 liter volumes. The first is a very distinctive Keno Trailed, *var. Phillips*, bowl with a notched lip, and the second is a bird effigy bowl with a single horizontal engraved line around the rim (fig. 23A–B, see also fig. 20D–E). Schambach and Miller (1984: 123) note that the Keno Trailed, *var. Phillips*, form is found “on sites that seem to have just a few European trade goods, we consider it a marker for the first few decades of the Caddo V period, let us say 1700 to 1730.”

The TARL collections have a second Keno Trailed, *var. Phillips*, bowl from the Clements site (burial 21). Two others are in the collections from the Goode Hunt site, and we have documented similar trailed bowls in private collections from the Hatchel site in Bowie County, Texas. There is one horizontal engraved bowl in the TARL collections, but it lacks the appended effigy figure.

JARS: The W.T. Scott collection had only four jars (11.4%), while there are 26 jars (41.9%) in the

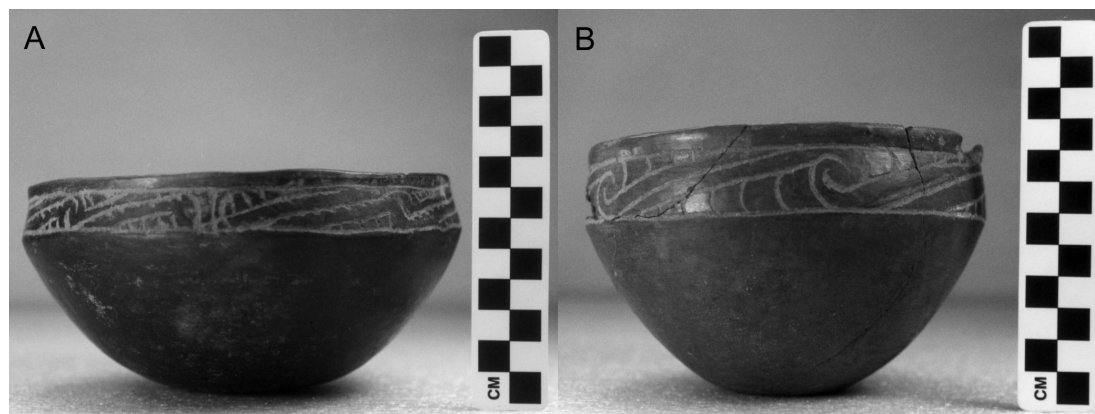


Fig. 19. Taylor Engraved carinated bowls: A, 20-5183; B, 20-5182.

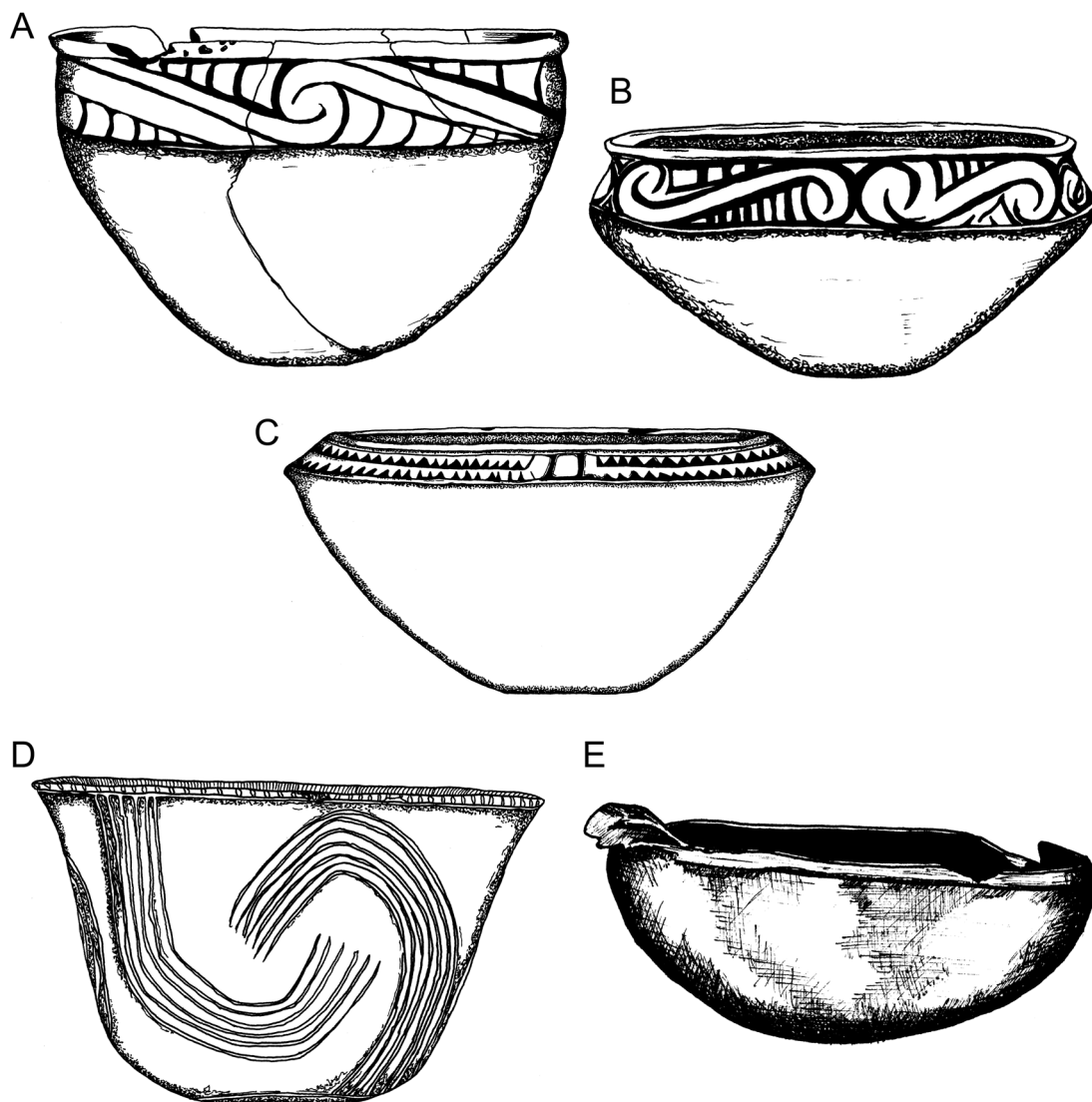


Fig. 20. Drawings of selected carinated bowls and bowls in the W.T. Scott collection. A, Taylor Engraved (20-5182); B, Taylor Engraved (20-5189); C, Simms Engraved (20-5184); D, Keno Trailed, var. *Phillips* (20-5181); E, bird effigy bowl (20-5193). Drawings by Bobby Gonzalez.

TARL collections from the same site, a number of which had to be reconstructed. It seems likely that Scott made little effort to collect sherds from broken vessels, or sherds from vessels that he broke during his digging, and he left most of them behind to be found in later investigations by A.T. Jackson (1932a).

All of the jars have everted rims, and are

medium to large in size, and would have been able to hold substantial amounts of foodstuffs or liquids. One of the jars in the W.T. Scott collection is a large (2.1 liter) red-slipped jar (fig. 24A). The others include (1) a Cass Applied jar (fig. 24B); (2) a late form of Pease Brushed-Incised, with a rectilinear diamond-incised decoration on the rim and body, with the incised patterns on the body

divided into panels by vertical applied fillets, and overall a relatively short height relative to diameter (fig. 24C); and (3) a rim-punctated (i.e., 3–5 rows of tool punctations encircling the rim) Mockingbird Punctated jar (1.2 liters, fig. 24D). There are eight rim-punctated jars in the TARL collections along with three Cass Applied vessels. Other utility wares from the Clements site in the TARL collections include Karnack Brushed-Incised (two vessels), Foster Trilled-Incised, *var.* *Shaw* (one vessel), and two neck banded jars (La Rue Neck Banded).

REGIONAL COMPARISONS OF CADDO MORTUARY VESSEL ASSEMBLAGES

How do the Clements site and Goode Hunt mortuary vessel assemblages compare in vessel form with broadly contemporaneous Caddo sites in northeastern Texas, southwestern Arkansas, and northwestern Louisiana (see fig. 1)? Kelley et al. (1996: 92–93) and Kelley (1997) have noted that Caddo mortuary assemblages of vessels along the Red River in Late Caddo contexts are quite similar to one another, but that they “differ markedly from the domestic assemblage.” Late Caddo and early Historic Caddo-period Belcher ($N = 149$ vessels) and Cedar Grove ($N = 63$ vessels) site mortuary assemblages (Webb, 1959; Schambach and Miller, 1984), from northwestern Louisiana and southwestern Arkansas contained comparable percentages of bottles (20%–24%), simple bowls (3%–11%), carinated bowls (31%–37%), and jars (32%–39%) (Kelley et al.,

1996: fig. 10). By contrast, the domestic ceramic assemblage from the Joe McLelland site, on the Red River in northwestern Louisiana, and dating ca. A.D. 1650–1710, is dominated by jars (55%) and simple bowls (27%), with much lower proportions of carinated bowls and bottles.

The ceramic mortuary assemblages from the Clements and Goode Hunt sites are quite similar to that seen in the Red River Late Caddo and early Historic Caddo cemeteries in the following respects: (1) a comparable representation of bottles, at 18.5%, with most of the graves having a single bottle; (2) high frequencies of fine ware carinated bowls and compound bowls (32.9%); and (3) comparable proportions of jars (32.4%) and simple or conical bowls (12.1%). Where they differ is the relative frequency of ollas, with almost 7% of the Clements vessels having this form, compared to only 1.1% for the Belcher and Cedar Grove vessel assemblages (Webb, 1959; Schambach and Miller, 1984). Ollas are not generally well represented in the vessel assemblages from other Late Caddo cemeteries, other than from Titus phase sites in northeastern Texas. At cemeteries that have ollas, they occur only in the Big Cypress subcluster in the Lake O’ the Pines areas (cf. Thurmond, 1990).

Fundamental differences in morphology, shape, decorative style, and sometimes even vessel size, between different classes of ceramic vessels have been recognized for many years in Caddo archaeological research, and these differences seem to have functional, symbolic,

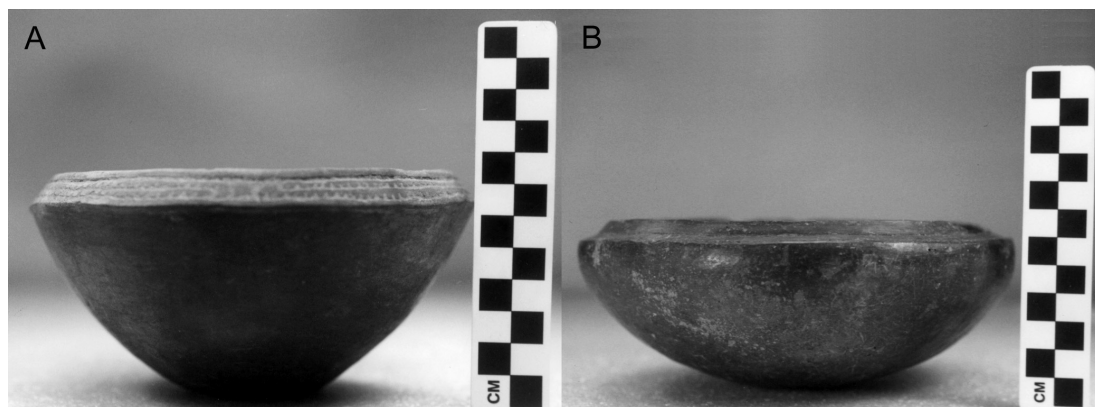


Fig. 21. Simms Engraved carinated bowls: A, 20-5184; B, 20-5185.

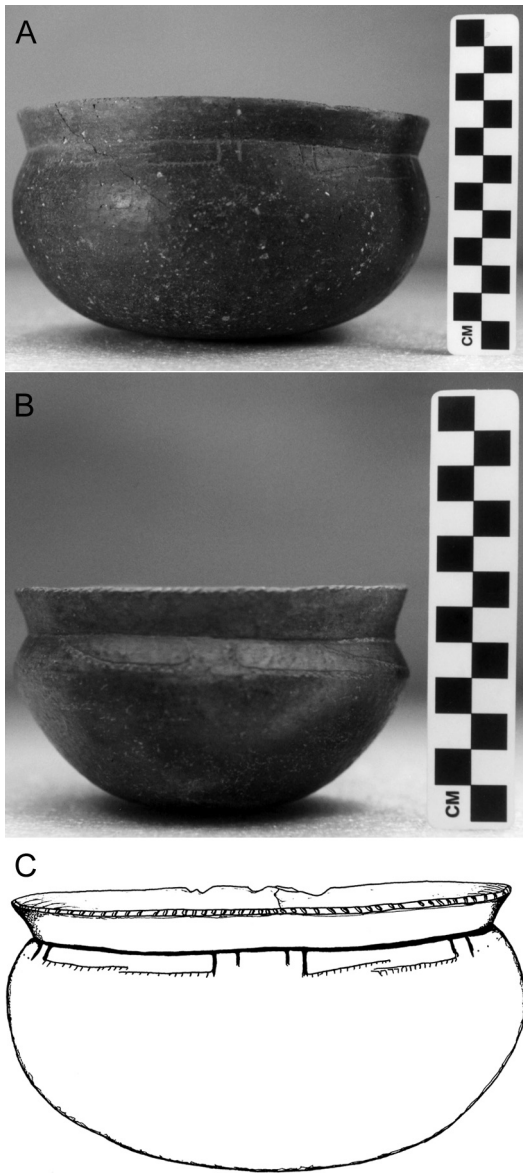


Fig. 22. Simms Engraved compound bowls: A, 20-5186; B, 20-5187; C, drawing of 20-5186.

and social connotations that dictated the kinds and proportions of ceramic vessels placed in Caddo graves (see Early, 1995; Pertulla, 2000). With respect to vessel form (i.e., a proxy for the varying food or liquid contents of each vessel form), Late Caddo period ceramic mortuary assemblages differ considerably from region to

region within the southern Caddo archaeological area in the comparative number of jars, bottles, bowls, and carinated bowls. In particular, an examination of Late Caddo and early Historic Caddo mortuary vessel assemblages from some 40–50 cemetery sites (and about 3760 vessels, including 173 from the Clements and Goode Hunt sites³) discloses consistent differences among contemporaneous Late Caddo and early Historic Caddo groups (table 3) in the following areas: Great Bend and Mound Prairie areas on the Red River, the Little River area and Ouachita River area in southwestern Arkansas, the lower Sulphur River, the middle Sabine region, the upper Neches/Angelina river area, and the Pineywoods and Post Oak Savanna Titus phase region.

As already noted, there is not much difference between the Clements and Goode Hunt sites and contemporaneous Belcher phase and Chakanina phase cemeteries on the Great Bend of the Red River in the character of mortuary ceramic vessel assemblages. This probably indicates strong shared social, religious, and philosophical beliefs that existed among many Nasoni Caddo and Red River Caddo peoples in the kinds of ceramic vessels important for use in life, and also of need in the afterlife, as well as the existence of widespread personal and social contacts (including clan membership or lineage ties) between different Caddo peoples. The mortuary vessel assemblages from the Clements and Goode Hunt sites are distinctive from those of other prehistoric and early historic Caddo groups, however, in that they are uniformly dominated by carinated bowls and compound bowls of various sizes and jars, with a consistent representation of both bottles and Clements Brushed ollas (see table 3).

No other contemporaneous Caddo mortuary vessel assemblage from other Caddo groups across the southern Caddo archaeological area resembles that from the Clements and Goode Hunt sites. This can only mean that there was considerable diversity among Caddo groups in their cultural practices, beliefs, and worldviews about what males and females—and adults and children—needed in life, and “needed in the other life” (Swanton, 1942: 205), and that there were cultural, social, and personal boundaries between Caddo groups that were not regularly crossed.

The Caddo groups that used the Clements and Goode Hunt sites for burials obviously had a basic need (whether that need was a symbolic

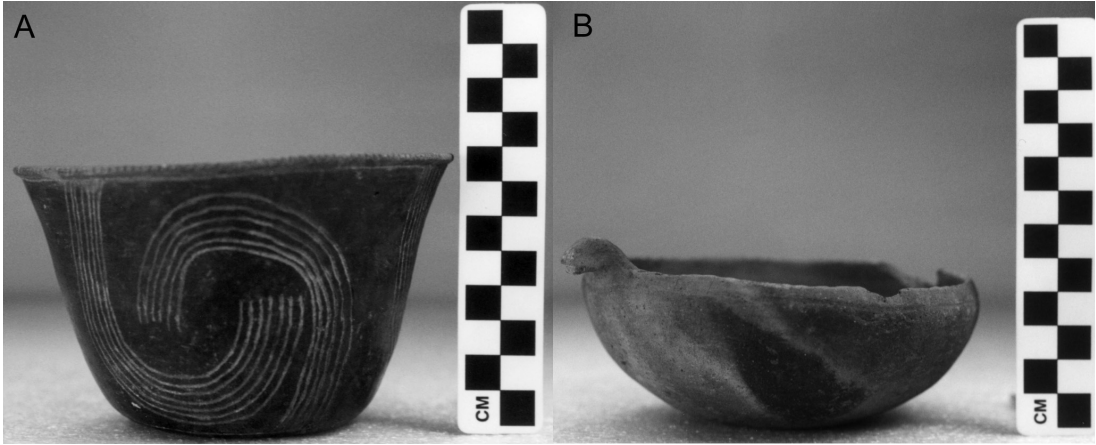


Fig. 23. Bowls in the W.T. Scott collection: **A**, Keno Trailed, *var. Phillips* (20-5181); **B**, bird effigy bowl (20-5193).

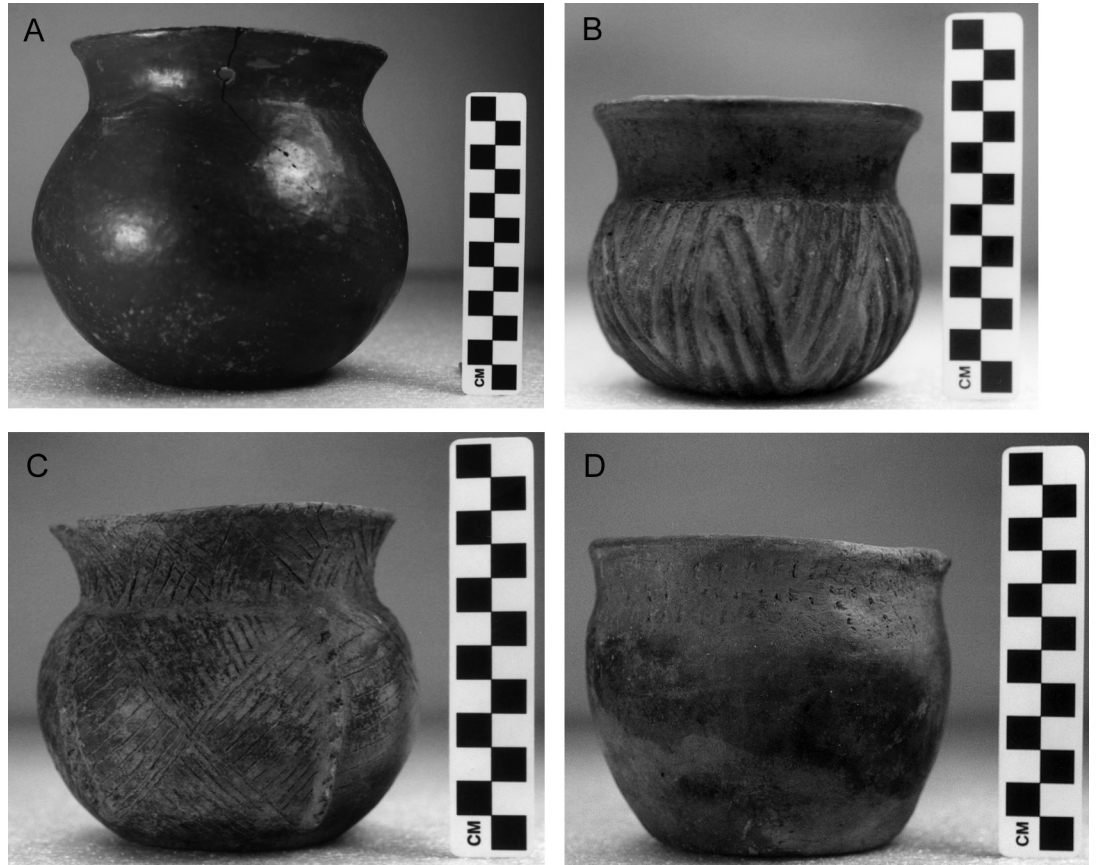


Fig. 24. Selected jars in the W.T. Scott collection: **A**, red-slipped (20-5176); **B**, Cass Appliqued (20-5178); **C**, Pease Brushed-Incised (20-5177); **D**, Mockingbird Punctated (20-5179).

TABLE 3
Late Caddo and Early Historic Caddo Period Mortuary Vessel Assemblages

Sites, phases, and localities	Vessel forms (%)						References
	<i>N</i>	Bottle	Simple bowl	Carinated bowl	Seed jar	Cooking jar	
Clements and Goode-Hunt	173	19	12	33	0	36	This report; Jackson, 1932a, b; Dickinson, 1941
Red River, Great Bend sites	212	23	5	36	0	36	Webb, 1959; Schambach and Miller, 1984
Mineral Springs ^a	91	24	10	37	1	27	Bohannon, 1973
Red River, Mound Prairie sites	690	15	44	13	0	28	Perino, 1981, 1983, 1994, 1995 Skinner et al., 1969
Mill Creek ^b	14	14	36	14	0	36	Webb, 1983
Hardman/Helm	63	33	14	30	2	21	Early, 1993; Lafferty et al., 2000
Standridge	22	41	9	18	0	32	Early, 1988
Wright Patman sites	36	42	9	6	0	42	Jelks, 1961 ^c
Titus phase sites	1816	10	10	50	0	30	Thurmond, 1990; Turner, 1978; Perttula et al., 1998; Perttula, 2005c; TARL ^d
Frankston- Allen phase sites	447	13	55	16	+ ^e	16	Shafer, 1981; Kleinschmidt, 1982; Fields, 1995; Kelley et al., 2006
Toledo Bend sites	112	27	19	30	0	24	McClurkan et al., 1966; Woodall, 1969
Kinsloe Focus sites	88	20	44	1	0	34	Jones, 1968

^a Burials from the Saratoga phase (see also Hoffman, 1983).
^b Bossier phase.
^c Includes vessels from the Knight’s Bluff and Sherwin sites.
^d Includes vessels from the Mockingbird (*N* = 89), Tuck Carpenter (*N* = 383), Mattie Gandy (*N* = 79), H. R. Taylor (*N* = 413), Ben McKinney (*N* = 86), A. P. Williams (*N* = 78), Thomas Caldwell (*N* = 88), J. M. Riley (*N* = 131), and W-S (*N* = 317) sites.
^e + = trace.

one or represented the use of such vessels for food-serving in life) for food-serving vessels (particularly medium-sized and large carinated bowls), as did their Caddo neighbors in the Neches-Angelina river basins well to the south (although the latter preferred carinated, globular, and shouldered engraved bowls of the Poynor and Patton Engraved types), the Caddo living on the Mound Prairie area along the Red River to the northwest, and the Titus phase Caddo groups in the Big Cypress Creek basin. At the Clement and Goode Hunt sites, the vessels do not appear to have been downsized for mortuary use. Perhaps the importance of carinated bowls was a legacy of feasting behavior, or other cultural activities centered around the consumption of food, that was not shared among other Caddo peoples. Among the aforementioned Caddo groups, simple bowls and carinated bowls comprised between 57% and 70% of the vessels placed in the graves as burial offerings.

At Clements and Goode Hunt, simple bowls, carinated bowls, and compound bowls comprise 45% of all the vessels from these two sites. This is generally more than was the case along the lower Sulphur River, the Great Bend area of the Red River, and in the Ouachita River drainage in southwestern Arkansas, where the proportions of bowls and carinated bowls ranged from 15% to 47% of the vessel assemblages. In the latter areas, the Caddo assemblages with the highest proportions of serving bowls in mortuary contexts include the Mineral Springs site (47%) and the Great Bend of the Red River (41%) (see table 3).

Cooking and storage jars are ubiquitous in all Late Caddo and early Historic Caddo mortuary contexts, including that of the Clements and Goode Hunt sites, where they amount to 17%–42% of the mortuary vessel assemblages (see table 3). This consistent use of jars highlights the importance of cooking and storage vessels for sustaining Caddo agricultural lifeways; it insured that the individuals in the graves had enough foodstuffs (placed in the jars) to sustain themselves on their journey (cf. Swanton, 1942: 204, 210).

Bottles, probably used for holding liquids, corn meal, and offerings, were especially important burial accompaniments for Late Caddo and early historic Caddo populations living in the Ouachita River basin in southwestern Arkansas (see Early, 1988, 1993; Lafferty et al., 2000), the Little River basin (Mineral Springs site, Bohannon, 1973),

the lower Sulphur River in northeastern Texas (Wright Patman sites, Jelks, 1961), and along the Great Bend of the Red River (Webb, 1959; Schambach and Miller, 1984). Bottles comprised between 23% and 42% of the ceramic mortuary offerings for these Caddo groups (see table 3). At the Clements and Goode Hunt sites, bottles comprise 18.5% of the ceramic mortuary vessels. Significantly, this was not the case among the Titus phase Caddo in the Pineywoods and Post Oak Savanna of northeastern Texas, the Frankston-Allen phase Caddo in East Texas, or the Caddo groups living in the Mound Prairie area of the Red River in northeastern Texas. Among these westernmost Caddo groups, the percentage of bottles among the ceramic mortuary assemblages ranged from only 10% to 15%, two to three times less than Late Caddo and early historic Caddo groups living farther to the east and northeast in parts of the Red River basin, the Little River, and the Ouachita River (see fig. 1).

In fact, there is a clear inverse relationship in the relative proportions of bottles to bowls in the mortuary vessel assemblages in these 40–50 cemeteries when the eastern is compared to the western parts of the Caddo area; the proportion of jars remains relatively consistent from one assemblage to another. The Clements and Goode Hunt sites fall between these eastern and western Caddo groups in these respects. This inverse relationship may be an expression of a basic dichotomy in belief and cultural practices between eastern and western Caddo groups and in the archaeological sites associated with them. This is a dichotomy that further points to the likely existence of well-defined social boundaries in Late Caddo and early Historic Caddo times (and perhaps even during earlier Middle Caddo times), and provides insights into the complexity of the Caddo cultural landscape around and shortly after their contact with Europeans.

CERAMIC PIPES

There are two complete ceramic elbow pipes and a third elbow pipe bowl in the W.T. Scott collection. One is tempered with grog, but no temper was apparent on the other two pipes, and they are each smoothed and burnished on the bowl and stem.

The first elbow pipe has a short bowl with a stem that projects horizontally from the bowl, and has been called a loop pipe. The back end of the stem has been turned up vertically against

the back end of the bowl itself (figs. 25 and 26A), with indentations where the bowl and wrapped-around stem meet. Identical elbow pipe forms have been reported from the McClure and Foster sites in the Great Bend region of the Red River (Moore, 1912: 638 and fig. 136b–d) and in the Little Missouri area in southwestern Arkansas (see Harrington, 1920: pl. 54a); they are also common in the Ouachita River basin in southwestern Arkansas (Ann Early, October 2008, personal commun.). This particular style of elbow pipe form may be one of the most recent kinds manufactured by the Caddo peoples in this general locale.

The bowl on this pipe is 18.2 mm in height, and its orifice diameter is 42.2 mm. The interior has charred organic residues from use of the pipe for smoking. Overall, the pipe is 59.8 mm in length, with a total height of 40.0 mm. The broad stem has an exterior diameter of 25.0 mm, and the diameter of the stem hole itself is 13.8 mm.

The other complete pipe has a rounded elbow shape, with no wrapped around stem projection (fig. 27 and see fig. 26B). The bowl is slightly flaring, with a flat lip. The pipe is a bit smaller (55.5 mm in length) than the first elbow pipe, but stands higher (49.7 mm), with a taller bowl (31.5 mm). The orifice diameter is only 35.0 mm, however, somewhat smaller than the first complete elbow pipe. It also has a broad stem (26.5 mm in diameter), but a smaller stem hole (10.1 mm). A similar rounded elbow pipe came from burial 1 at the Goode Hunt site, except that there was an obvious indentation where the bowl met the pipe stem (Jackson, 1932b), and from burial 16 at the Clements site (Jackson, 1932a). A tubular-shaped pipe, decorated with hatched engraved lines, was among the funerary objects in burial 18 at Clements (Jackson, 1932a; Lewis, 1987).

The third elbow pipe is the broken bowl. It also has a tall bowl (29.9+ mm) with a flat lip, but with a small orifice diameter (30.2 mm) (fig. 28), like the second complete elbow pipe.

PIGMENT

The Caddo that lived at the Clements site regularly used clay pigments in daily life, primarily as body paint and for decorating their pottery vessels. Almost half of the burials excavated by Jackson (1932a) at the site had lumps of either red, green, brown, or gray clay pigment placed in the graves to accompany the deceased. At the

contemporaneous Goode Hunt site, gray, red, and green pigments were recovered in 30% of the 17 burials excavated there by Jackson (1932b).

There is a small piece (24 × 20 × 8.1 mm in length, width, and thickness) of green clay pigment (20-5159) in the W.T. Scott collection. We suspect that this piece of clay pigment is the “specimen of some stuff found in several graves” that Scott referred to in his June 20, 1900, letter to F.W. Putnam at the AMNH (see Gonzalez et al., 2005: appendix 1). The clay pigment is the only item not otherwise specifically mentioned in the letters and inventory lists for the collection.

CHIPPED STONE KNIVES

Three large chipped stone knives (20-5146 and 20-5147) were apparently all from one grave (June 20, 1900, letter from W.T. Scott to F.W. Putnam; see Gonzalez et al., 2005: appendix 1). Scott identified them as “big black spear-points,” but they are actually large hafted and masterfully chipped stone knives. Large chipped stone knives are common funerary items in Late Caddo period and early Historic Caddo graves of high-status Caddo adult males in parts of northeastern Texas, including the Big Cypress Creek valley, and portions of the Red River valley (see Moore, 1912: figs. 92 and 93). It has been suggested that such knives were symbol-laden items of social prestige, possibly “badges of office” (Thurmond, 1990: 35).

The first knife is made from a lustrous light gray chert, and has a rounded base and oval-shaped blade (fig. 29A). The source of the lithic



Fig. 25. Elbow pipe (20-5150) with a vertically projecting stem wrapped around the bowl.

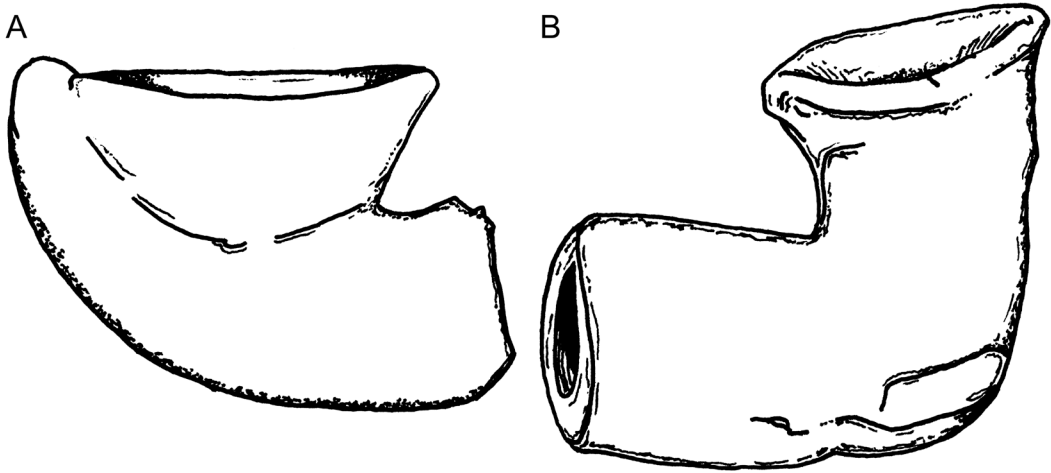


Fig. 26. Drawings of the elbow pipes: **A**, the first complete elbow pipe in the W.T. Scott collection from the Clements site (20-5150); **B**, the second complete elbow pipe (20-5150). Pipes drawn by Bobby Gonzalez.



Fig. 27. The rounded elbow pipe in the W.T. Scott collection (20-5150).



Fig. 28. Elbow pipe bowl sherd (20-5150) in the W.T. Scott collection.

raw material is not known, but since the other two knives are made from Central Texas Edwards chert, it is likely that this particular knife was made from similar source materials. It was shaped from a large flake by hard hammer flakes that extended almost halfway across the blade. The final shaping of the tool was done by thin pressure flaking along all its margins, especially along the rounded base. The knife is 119.3 mm in length, 50.8 mm wide, and only 7.5 mm thick.

The second oval-shaped knife is an even larger chipped bifacial tool (see fig. 29B). The tool

measures 138.7 mm in length, 51.2 mm wide, and 8.7 mm thick. It is made from a grayish-brown Edwards chert; there are remnants of cortex (the original surface of the raw material source) on one face. The knife was shaped the same way as the first, with large hard hammer flakes, and small pressure flakes along the margins of the tool.

The third knife is the largest, at 164.6 mm in length (see fig. 29C). It also happens to be the narrowest (38.5 mm) and thinnest (5.67 mm) of the three knives. This particular knife has been carefully chipped by large hard hammer and pressure



Fig. 29. Chipped stone knives (20-5146 and 20-5147): A, 20-5146A; B, 20-5146B; C, 20-5147.

flaking, and alternately beveled on both sides of the blade; the base and tip are gently rounded. The knife was made from a grayish-black Edwards chert, probably from the Georgetown area of Central Texas.

GROUND STONE TOOLS

W.T. Scott's collection has three ground stone celts (20-5148 and 20-5149) made from a green siliceous shale found in the Ouachita Mountains of southeastern Oklahoma and south-

western Arkansas. It is commonly referred to as green stone. The material is very fine-grained and durable, and is well suited for use in cutting, pounding, and shredding of timber and larger pieces of wood.

Two of the three celts are similar in shape, with broad convex blades, a bifacially polished bit, and a flat poll end (fig. 30A–B). The raw material was shaped by chipping, and then further abraded and pecked to shape and thin the tool—as well as to assist its being hafted (see Harrington, 1920: fig. 21)—and finally certain parts of the celt were finely polished for use. The poll end has marks showing abrading and crushing, probably from this end of the celt being pounded on to drive the sharpened and polished bit into a piece of wood or a tree, or simply to shape the celt to better fit into the haft. These two celts have bit widths that range from 44.2 to 45.0 mm, and are about the same length (109–132.5 mm), width (43.1–45.8 mm), and thickness (28.3–38.6 mm).

The third celt is a very narrow and thin polished piece of siliceous shale, with a small bit width (fig. 31). The tool is 137.3 mm long, 24.9 mm wide, and 16.77 mm thick. Similar tools at the Bentsen-Clark site (41RR41) have been identified as pebble tools, possibly used as chisels or gouges (Banks and Winters, 1975: 27 and fig. 15s–t). The small celt or pebble tool at the Clements site is made from a small pebble and has polishing on tool faces and edges, with a flat to rounded poll end; there are no abraded or pecked marks on the tool, and it may not have needed much working for it to be ready for use. The polished bifacial bit is only 26.0 mm in width. There are two or three small flake scars on the bit (see fig. 31), probably the result of use of the tool, with some breakage along its working edge.

FRESHWATER MUSSEL SHELLS

A complete freshwater mussel shell (*Amblema plicata*) valve has been modified for use as a hoe (fig. 32). It has a large circular hole perforated or drilled through it at one end, through which a sturdy wooden stick would have been placed to haft the shell to it, creating a wood-handled hoe. The end of the shell valve opposite the drilled hole has edge rounding and crushing, and these signs are evidence that this would have been the working edge of the hoe. The shell hoe is 119.7 mm in length and 77.4 mm in width.

A single mussel shell hoe was among the offerings placed with the deceased in burial 8 at

the Clements site (Jackson, 1932a). At Goode Hunt, five different burials had shell hoes placed in the graves, all set along the right side of the body (Jackson, 1932b). A total of 12 shell hoes were found in domestic and mortuary contexts at the Belcher site (Webb, 1959: 175 and fig. 136).
There are five unmodified freshwater mussel

shell valves (20-5151) in the collection (fig. 33). They must have been collected from Black Bayou, and were likely deliberately placed in one or more of the graves at the Clements site. They may have held clay pigments or were used as spoons (cf. Webb, 1959: 175). More than 36% of the 22 burials excavated by A.T. Jackson

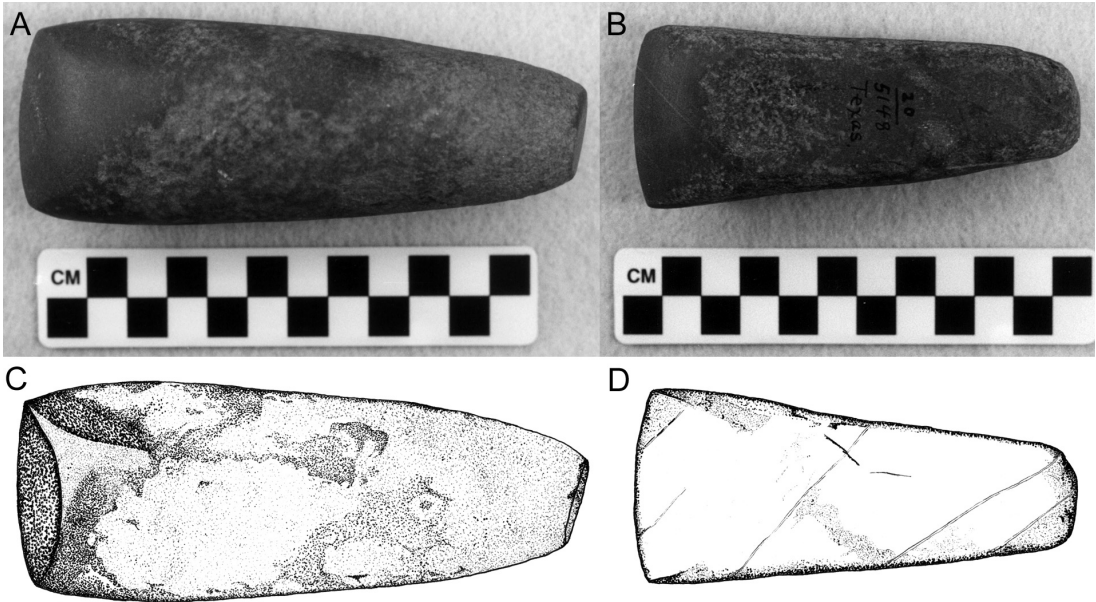


Fig. 30. Large celts: A, 20-5148a; B, 20-5148b; C, drawing of 20-5148a; D, drawing of 20-5148b.



Fig. 31. Small celt or pebble tool (20-5149).

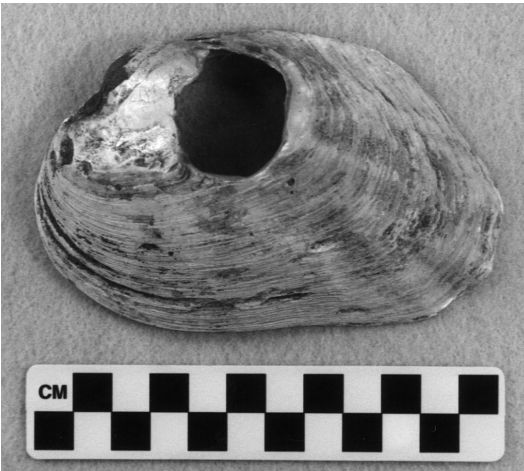


Fig. 32. Mussel shell hoe (20-5153).

(1932a) at the site had mussel shell offerings, sometimes found in association with red and green clay pigments (Perttula, 1992: 192) or with deer mandibles. Unmodified mussel shells were among the funerary objects in burials 9, 10, and 14 at the Goode Hunt site. In two cases, the mussel shells were placed inside ceramic vessels (Jackson, 1932b). There are also three unmodified and fragmentary mussel shell umbos (20-5152) in the W.T. Scott collection.

MARINE SHELL ORNAMENTS

The most interesting marine shell ornaments are the 15 zoomorphic pendants in the W.T. Scott collection (figs. 34A–B and 35). They are probably part of necklaces. There is no information available on the kinds of materials that may have been recovered in association with these unique ornaments. A.T. Jackson's (1932a) excavations found no evidence that suggests these marine shell ornaments were manufactured by the Caddo people actually living at the Clements site, and so they must have been obtained in trade with other aboriginal groups, especially those that had ready access to marine shells from the Gulf Coast.

How were these marine shell ornaments made? Jeff Brain (1979: 252) provides pertinent information based on 18th-century accounts of European explorers in the southeastern United States. To make earrings, the ends of the conch columella were "roughened out with flint knives, ground down on stones, and then polished until

the surface took on an ivory-like sheen." To fashion beads, the polished columella core was cut into segments, and then drilled longitudinally for suspension on bracelets or necklaces.

These pendants are made from the curving walls of conch shells, and they have engraved decorations on the outer shell surface and a rounded but blunt tail end. The pendants range from 47 to 57.5 mm in length, 12 to 12.7 mm in width, and are 5.4–6.6 mm in thickness. They are perforated laterally, below what appears to be the head of the zoomorph, like most of those from the Belcher site (Webb, 1959: 173).

The engraved decorations on the Clements marine shell pendants include two indentations on the head area that appear to be eyes, with a single horizontal engraved line separating the head from the body (see figs. 34A and 35). On the body itself are "double parallelograms or diamonds carved on the outer surface, enclosing a central drilled hole" (Webb, 1959: 170). Webb (1959: 171) goes on to note that the Belcher zoomorphic pendants have "double notches in the edges above and below the carving to represent legs," but the marine shell zoomorphic pendants from Clements lack this decorative feature; the marine shell ornaments are eroded to a limited extent on their outer surface, and perhaps any notches that were present have now become eroded away.

Webb (1959: 170) has pointed out that the pendants resemble "a slender, tailed animal, with head, neck, long body, and blunt tail," and may be lizard effigies. Jackson (1932a) suggests they may be representations of locusts or grasshoppers, and Kay (1984: 197) opines that they may be insects, perhaps a spider. Regardless of their possible representational meaning, their general rarity in Caddo burials suggests that they were powerful symbols worn by the social elite that had access to exotic marine shell raw materials or goods.⁴

Shell zoomorphic pendants virtually identical to those in the Scott collection from the Clements site have been reported from Caddo sites on the Red River in southwestern Arkansas, including the Battle, Cedar Grove, Foster, and Friday sites in the Great Bend region (Kay, 1984: 197 and fig. 13-22), the Belcher and McLelland sites in northwestern Louisiana (Webb, 1959: figs. 64b, 102, 131, and 134; Hunter, 1997: fig. 61a), the Sam Kaufman site on the Red River in northeastern Texas (Harris, 1953: pl. 3, no. 2), and two Titus phase sites in the Big Cypress and upper Sabine River basin: Winterbauer (41WD6)



Fig. 33. Unmodified mussel shells (20-5151).



Fig. 34. Photograph of the shell zoomorphic pendants: **A**, close-up of four pendants; **B**, all 15 shell pendants.

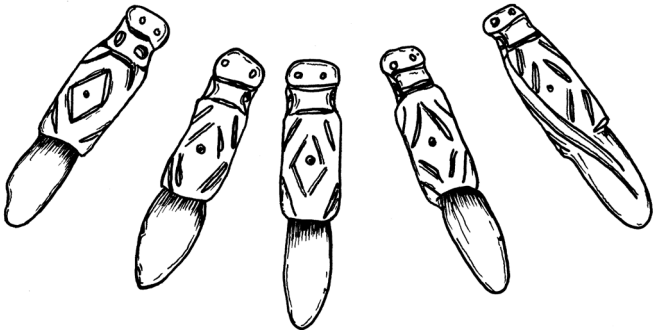


Fig. 35. Marine shell zoomorphic pendants (20-5156). Drawn by Bobby Gonzalez.

and C.T. Coley (41TT17) (Jackson, 1932a, 1935; Thurmond, 1990: 189). Jackson (1932a) also recovered four marine shell zoomorphic pendants from a small midden deposit adjacent to burials 14 and 15 at the Clements site.

At the Belcher site, the zoomorphic pendants were funerary objects (necklaces) in five different burials, with between 1 and 37 pendants per burial. The most spectacular was a necklace of 37 zoomorphic pendants with an adult male in burial 25 (Webb, 1959: figs. 102 and 134). The pendants on the necklace were kept separate by 23 small conch beads. The conch shell beads from Belcher (Webb, 1959: fig. 136b) are like those from the W.T. Scott collection (see below). The one burial at Cedar Grove with these marine shell pendants had five of them. W.T. Scott (Gonzalez et al., 2005: appendix 1, March 20, 1900, letter) apparently recovered two or three shell necklaces or bracelets, but did not specifically mention these pendants, or how they may have been arranged in the burials. At the McLelland site, however, the one pendant came from a midden area, as did the four zoomorphic pendants reported by Jackson (1932a) from the Clements excavations.

There are two large and four small shell ear disks of the Clements style (Pertulla and Green, 2006) made from marine conch shell. These would have been worn singly on each ear, being attached to the ear through a single small central perforation (2–3 mm in diameter) on the disk (figs. 36 and 37). Perino (1983: 67) suggests that the shell ear disks were part of a compound ear ornament, based on the *in situ* recovery of ear disks alongside several skulls at the Bob Williams site on the Red River:

The ear ornament in its entirety is composed of a shell disk having one concave surface and one convex surface. It also has a central perforation. The ornaments . . . had low, limestone cones, dimpled on the apex . . . the cones were smaller than the shell disks, leaving about 1.3 cm all around the periphery of the shell exposed. They had been carved to fit into the concave side of the shells and each had a recess in the center of the base where it fit to the shell to allow for a knot in the cord that was to hold the ear spool to the ear or to a headdress. Each cone must have been cemented to the shell disk in the assembly process.

On the larger ear disks, the perforation had not gone completely through the shell, and either they were not finished, or they were not meant for actual attachment through the perforation. All four of the smaller ear disks have the central perforation. They also have a polished and smoothed interior surface, and occasionally the outer surface has also been polished. Two of the burials excavated by Jackson (1932a) at the Clements site had shell ear disks, and there are identical ear disks at the Cedar Grove site (Kay, 1984: fig. 13-20a–b), Hardman (Early, 1993: fig. 83a–b), Belcher (Webb, 1959), and two protohistoric Caddo sites in the White Oak Creek basin (Pertulla and Green, 2006) in northeastern Texas. One ear disk from the Clements site was found near the head, and Jackson (1932a) suggested it may have been used as a hair ornament. These two ranged from 25 to 38 mm in diameter, and fall in the small ear disk range (see below).

The ear disks come in two sizes, a larger disk about 50 mm in diameter, and a slightly smaller size that is about 34–40 mm in diameter (table 4). They have a single engraved circle on the outer surface of the shell. The placement of the engraved concentric circle on the shell ear disks also varies by size, with diameters between 21.4 and 24.6 mm for the larger disks and 15.5 and 19.5 mm for the smaller examples; the ear disks from the Cedar Grove site are the larger size (Kay, 1984: 197).

There is a single ear pendant (fig. 38) in the W.T. Scott collection. It is made from a conch columella, and is bi-pointed, with small perforations (0.2 mm) at both ends for attachment. It is 53.0 mm long, 5.4 mm wide, and 4.9 mm thick. Similar marine shell ear pendants have been recovered from the contemporaneous Chakanina phase Caddo occupation at the Cedar Grove site (Kay, 1984: fig. 13-23a–d) and with burial 5 at the McLelland site (Hunter, 1997: fig. 61i). A more rectangular-shaped ear pendant was found in burial 18 at the Clements site (Jackson, 1932a), and 143 more tubular pendants were in a number of burials at the Belcher site (Webb, 1959: fig. 136a).

There are six barrel-shaped conch shell beads in the W.T. Scott collection. They are rectangular to cylindrical in shape, with cut-and-ground ends, and smoothed to polished bodies (fig. 39). They may have been worn in a bracelet on the wrist, as has been documented on Caddo burials at the Cedar Grove site

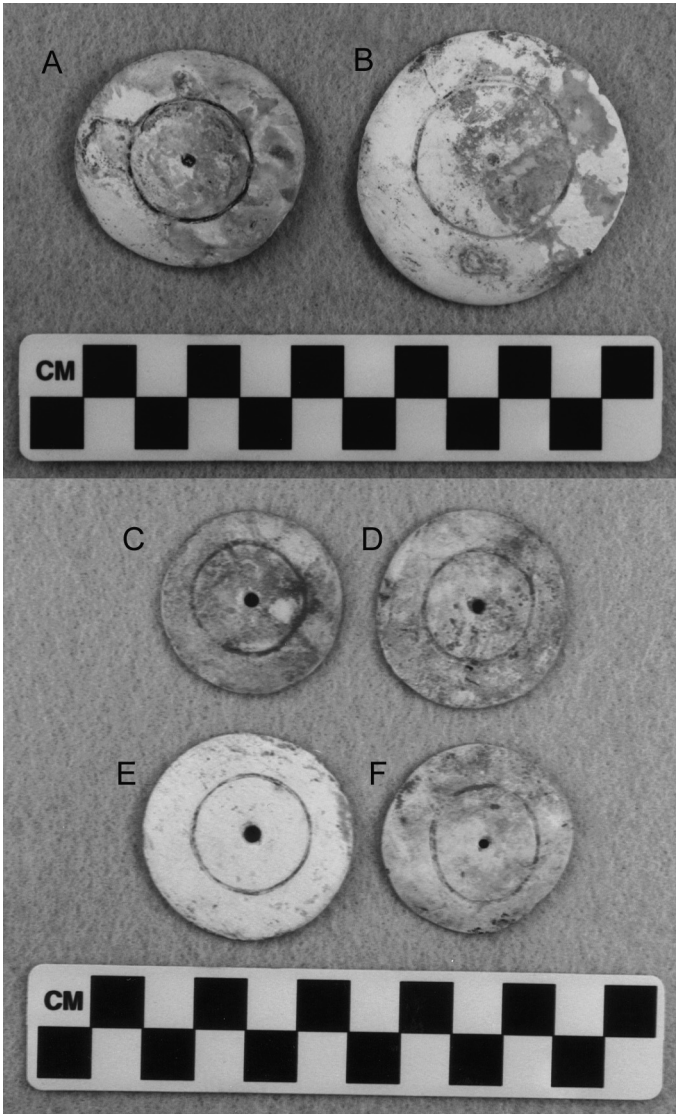


Fig. 36. Large and small marine shell ear disks (20-5154 and 20-5155): A–B, large ear disks; C–F, small ear disks.

(Trubowitz, 1984: fig. 10-4; Kay, 1984: 197 and fig. 13-20d–e). Another possibility is that they were used as spacers between the zoomorphic shell pendants, in a necklace (cf. Webb, 1959: fig. 131). Jackson (1932a) reported that conch shell beads of various sizes and forms from nine burials at the Clements site were found at the wrist and at the neck, indicating that the Caddo people wore them as bracelets and necklaces.

The beads in the W.T. Scott collection range from 8.2 to 13.8 mm in length and 8.2 to 10.2 mm in width. The drilled hole on the beads is 3.2–3.3 mm in diameter.

One kind of marine shell ornament not represented in the W.T. Scott collection is the shell gorget. Jackson (1932a) did recover a single engraved shell gorget in burial 14 at the Clements site.

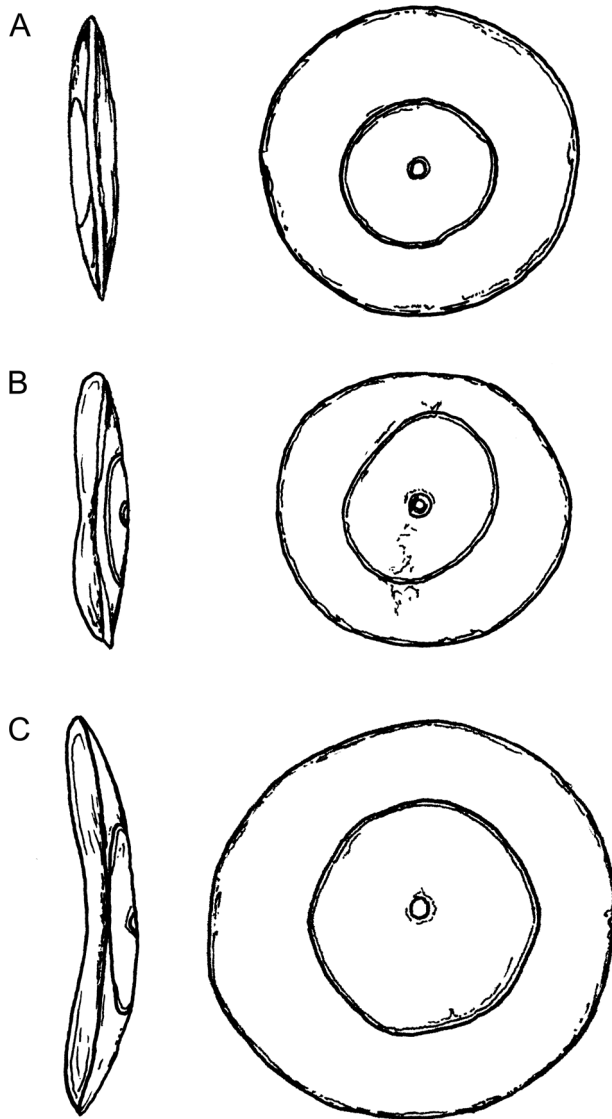


Fig. 37. Marine shell ear disks, front and cross sections (20-5154, 20-5154, and 20-5155). Ear disks drawn by Bobby Gonzalez.

GLASS BEADS

There is a single strand of 25 blue glass beads in the W.T. Scott collection from the Clements site. During A.T. Jackson's (1932a) investigations at the site, five of the 22 Caddo burials had glass beads as funerary objects, with a total of 45 beads being recovered. Although no information was provided by Scott about

the provenience of the beads, it is likely that they were worn by the deceased individual as a necklace. Scott did note that the "blue beads were found in same grave with the phial-shaped bottles, also some larger vessels were found in the same grave" (see Gonzalez et al., 2005: appendix 1, June 20, 1900, letter from W.T. Scott to F.W. Putnam). The "phial-shaped bottles" are

TABLE 4
Measurements of the Ear Disks (in mm)
in the W.T. Scott Collection

Catalog number	Length	Width	Thickness	Engraved circle diameter
20-5155	43.3	43.1	3.06	21.4
20-5155	51.0	50.8	1.90	24.6
20-5154	40.0	38.7	3.10	19.5
20-5154	33.5	33.3	2.32	15.5
20-5154	36.3	33.9	2.85	16.8
20-5154	35.9	35.3	2.80	17.6

the very distinctive small and narrow engraved bottles illustrated in figure 3; Dickinson (1941: pl. 21, nos. 2 and 3) illustrates two other such bottles in his collection from the Clements site.

The beads are simple drawn beads with a Robin’s Egg Blue color (fig. 40). In the Kidd and Kidd (1970) bead classification system, they are identified as Type IIa40. This simply means that the beads are drawn beads of a Robin’s Egg Blue color made with a single layer of glass, then rounded through reheating. The beads are also opaque (i.e., light does not penetrate the bead). The 25 beads are medium (4–6 mm in length, $N = 20$) and large (6–10 mm in length, $N = 5$) in size.

Glass beads were mentioned by Joutel on numerous occasions in his 1684–1687 journal of travels in Texas, and these “trinkets” were apparently traded frequently to the Caddo by the La Salle expedition members, including Joutel (Foster, 1998: 197, 204, 205, 208–209, 213, 220). The LaSalle members traveled along the Caddo Trace on their way back to Canada in 1687, and would have passed within a few miles of the Clements site on their journey (see Foster, 1998: 320); the beads at the Clements site may have come from these Frenchmen.

The Caddo apparently preferred the color blue (see Bolton, 1987: 133–134) for fabrics, and apparently also for the beads they used for ornamentation of their clothes and in necklaces. Glass beads are rare on Caddo sites before the first quarter of the 18th century, and when found on earlier sites, generally include only a

few large blue beads (see Cole, 1975: table 19; Perttula, 1992: 190–191). There are exceptions, however, as the Nabadache Caddo village visited by the La Salle expedition on San Pedro Creek had many thousands of large blue beads found at two sites in Houston County, Texas (41HO64/65, see Perttula, 2005b: 87–94).

Are the sources of the beads from the Clements site the late 17th-century French and Spanish traders and soldiers, or are the beads from a different period of settlement? One way to look at the chronological distinctiveness of the beads at the site and in the region is to examine the general sequence of bead types on late 17th-century to early 19th-century sites in Texas and northwestern Louisiana. This sequence is based on comparative data on sites with large bead assemblages that are classified using the Harris and Harris (1967) classification system (table 5), and as such provides a way to determine how the Clements site bead assemblage compares with trends in bead use on Native American sites in the region, and how old the beads are. For this purpose, we have grouped the more than 180 bead types in the Harris and Harris (1967: 139–155) scheme into eight broad groups based primarily on bead size, decoration, and method of manufacture (i.e., drawn or wire-wound beads). In the case of bead groups VII and VIII (see table 5), these represent a number of bead types that Harris and Harris (1967: 157) suggest appeared in the bead trade during two specific temporal intervals (1767–1780 and 1780–1820); none of them are present at the Clements site.



Fig. 38. Marine shell ear pendant from Clements.



Fig. 39. Marine shell beads (20-5157).



Fig. 40. Glass beads (20-5158) in the W.T. Scott collection.

The sites can be readily separated into three different and chronologically distinctive bead assemblages: those that date at or slightly before 1700; a second group that dates from ca. 1700–1767; and a third that dates from ca. 1760–1850 (see table 5). The first group, which

includes the Clements site and the Atlanta State Park site on the Sulphur River (Harris et al., 1980), is dominated by medium-sized to large blue, white, and black beads of simple construction, with less than 30% of the beads being small drawn beads of the same colors. Only 1.4% of the Clements beads are small drawn beads.

The 1700–1760 beads have more small drawn beads than do the pre-1700 sites, ranging from 56% to 72%, along with significant numbers of medium to large drawn beads (group I) and drawn and tubular-shaped Cornaline d'Aleppo beads (group V). Cornaline d'Aleppo beads in particular seem characteristic of many 18th-century Texas Caddo and Wichita sites, more so than many other historic Native American sites in the southeastern U.S. Large striped and wound beads make their first appearance in the 1700–1760 sites—as is generally the case for colonial French Louisiana sites in the Southeast (Smith, 2002)—with the exception of earlier 17th-century striped beads from a few sites that appear to be of Spanish origin (see Smith, 1983, 1987, 1990; Ricklis, 1994).

There is a clear temporal trend in the bead assemblage data of the small drawn “garment” or “embroidery” beads (group IV) replacing the larger and heavier “necklace” beads (groups I–III) by ca. 1750. This shift in bead size has been previously noted by Gregory (1973) and Hunter (1990) in Texas and Louisiana 18th-century aboriginal sites, and the overall trend appears to culminate in the mid-19th century in Texas and northwestern Louisiana sites, along with the appearance after 1800 of large faceted beads (see table 5). By the early 19th century, small drawn beads comprised more than 90%–95% of the beads from this group of sites, and the larger beads were primarily faceted (see table 5).

The Clements glass beads include approximately 99% that are medium- to large-sized drawn beads (bead group I), with only a trace of group IV small drawn beads (see table 5). In the table 5 bead seriation, the Clements bead assemblage falls readily at the beginning of the sequence, dating earlier than the Deshazo (Creel, 1982) and Womack (Harris et al., 1965) site beads; those two sites were occupied by different Caddo groups between ca. 1700 and 1730, and a pre-1700 age may be a reasonable approximation of either when Caddo groups were living in the vicinity of the Clements site, or the

TABLE 5
**Chronological Sequence of Bead Types from Texas and Northwest Louisiana Sites,
Using the Harris and Harris (1967) Bead-Classification System**

Sites	Bead groups (%)								Totals
	I ^a	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Clements, pre-1700	98.6	—	—	1.4	—	—	—	—	70
Atlanta State Park, pre-1700	72	—	—	28	+	—	—	—	1841
Womack, 1700–1730	40	3	0.6	56	0.5	—	—	—	2123
41HO64/65, 1680–1730	32	+ ^b	—	63	4.6	—	—	—	7646
Deshazo, 1686–1714	25	+	—	66	8.4	—	—	—	4646
Roseborough Lake, 1720–1780	8	0.7	0.1	72	4.5	2.2	4	—	2958
Gilbert, 1740–1767	7	+	0.1	71	11.3	3.6	—	—	3453
Vinson, 1760–1790	1.2	—	0.1	66	19	9.2	0.6	1.2	2785
Walton, ?–1820	0.1	—	—	82	6.2	0.2	10.8	—	2392
Stansbury, ?–1840	+	—	—	91	+	—	—	—	2499
Canyon Creek, 1800–1850	0.8	—	2.7	92.5	4.0	—	—	—	2499

^aGroup I = large-medium-sized (no. 1–18); group II = large-striped, no. 20–39; group III = large wound and faceted, no. 40–43, 52–54; group IV = small seed/drawn, no. 44–50; group V = Cornaline d'Aleppo, no. 51, 55, 57, 59, 67–68, 86, 99; group VI = small drawn beads, no. 79–84; group VII = 1767–1780 varieties, no. 64–65, 98, 101–104, 106–108, 115, 118, 128, 137–138, 155; group VIII = 1780–1820 varieties, no. 95, 100, 109, 111–114, 116–117, 119–120, 122, 124, 129, 132.

^b + = trace.

Sources: Creel, 1982; Harris and Harris, 1967; Harris et al., 1965, 1980; Jelks, 1967; Lewis, 1987; Miroir et al., 1973; Perttula, 2005b; Perttula et al., 2005; Shafer et al., 1994; Smith et al., 1993; Stephenson, 1970; Story, 1985.

period of principal trading activities between the Caddo and French traders. The Clements site is near to the Nasoni portage on the Sulphur River that was used by early 18th-century French explorers and traders such as Louis Juchereau de St. Denis and Benard de la Harpe (Wedel, 1974, 1978). This portage was used instead of navigation through the Great Raft on the Red River to reach Kadohadacho groups living on the Red River above its Great Bend.

The character of the beads at the Clements site was likely shaped by European views of what sorts of glass beads would be suitable for trading purposes to Native Americans, as well as what sorts of beads may have been available

for trade. The most notable characteristic of the glass beads from Clements is how they are dominated by medium to large opaque blue drawn beads. Smith (1983, 1987) has noted the same prevalence of monochrome beads, primarily blue in color, in 1630–1670 sites in the southeastern United States, with very few polychrome beads or red beads. Blue, white, and black beads of either simple or compound construction are the principal bead types at a wide range of late 17th- to mid-18th-century sites from as far afield as Pennsylvania and New York; Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin; Louisiana, Mississippi, and Georgia; as well as Texas (see Smith, 2002; Wray, 1983).

SUMMARY OF THE COLLECTIONS FROM THE CLEMENTS SITE

With the identification and documentation of the W.T. Scott collection in the AMNH, combined with the findings from Jackson's (1932a) investigations and Dickinson's (1941) information, for the first time we have a more or less complete view of the assemblage of funerary objects included with the deceased Nasoni Caddo buried at the Clements site cemetery on Black Bayou. Ceramic vessels were one of the more important burial offerings, with a total of 103 vessels of a wide range of shapes and decorations, along with at least four complete ceramic elbow pipes. A possible clay ball or figurine fragment was among the funerary offerings in burial 8.

Lithic tools placed with the dead included three large chipped stone knives, a bifacial drill bit (burial 18), three arrow points (burial 8), and three ground stone celts. There was also an ochre pigment stone in burial 8. Also, a few bone tools or ornaments in the collections include a perforated animal rib from burial 18 and bone awl fragments in burials 2 and 18. There was a modified and scraped terrapin shell fragment among the funerary offerings in burial 8.

Freshwater mussel shells were common funerary objects, including at least two mussel shell hoes (i.e., perforated mussel shells) and a number of unmodified mussel shell valves. Marine shell (Gulf Coast) ornaments were among the most prevalent funerary objects in the Clements site burials, with 19 zoomorphic pendants, eight large and small ear disks, one shell ear pendant, a shell gorget, and 62 marine shell beads of different sizes and shapes. Finally, a number of the deceased Caddo were wearing blue glass bead necklaces or bracelets that they probably obtained from French traders; there are a total of 70 beads (from at least five burials) in the various collections from the Clements site.

CONCLUSIONS

The archaeological findings presented here about the Clements site (41CS25), a late 17th- to early 18th-century Nasoni Caddo settlement and cemetery in northeastern Texas, represent the culmination of a unique partnership between the National Park Service, the AMNH, the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma Historic Preservation Program, and archaeologists interested in Caddo

native history. That partnership led to the comprehensive archaeological documentation of Caddo funerary offerings that were recovered in 1900, and then virtually forgotten, until an opportunity created by the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)—and funding for documentation studies prior to repatriation claims—led us to the Scott collection. In return, the study of the Scott collection at the AMNH led to a rediscovery of Caddo heritage.

The collaboration between the Caddo Nation, Caddo archaeologists who work with the Nation, the AMNH, and the National Park Service, however, is only one example of the many that are possible when archaeologists, Native Americans, and others pool their expertise from a number of diverse disciplines and perspectives, and bring unique resources to bear upon problems concerning native history (see Atalay, 2006; Kerber, 2006; Silliman, 2008; Smith, 2007; Thomas, 2006). As archaeologists, we must continue to be aware that there is always the chance that more collections like those from the Clements site are housed (and to some degree, hidden) in numerous museums and repositories across the country. Building trusting relationships and partnerships with tribal governments to assist their offices in historic preservation and NAGPRA-related efforts are ways for archaeologists, and the tribal government they may work with, to obtain important historical and archaeological information. Moreover, these partnerships are also the means to gain access to, and significant knowledge about, important collections—in the case of the Clements site collection at the AMNH, one that sat unnoticed and undocumented, for over a century. The Caddo Nation of Oklahoma is committed to developing these productive relationships and partnerships (Perttula et al., 2008; Cast et al., in press.).

In documenting the Clements site collections, we have been able to further our understanding of the Nasoni Caddo living in northeastern Texas in the 17th and early 18th centuries, while at the same time learning a little more about the present-day Caddo people and their current mortuary practices (Gonzalez, 2005: 55–59). A number of the prehistoric and early historic mortuary practices of the Nasoni Caddo have been carried on today through the traditional religious practitioners of the present-day Caddo Nation of Oklahoma.

The partnerships and trust formed during the

research on this project will continue into the future. We look forward to working with other archaeologists and other institutions on a number of future projects that will be of great benefit not only to the Caddo Nation's tribal government and Caddo people, but to the archaeological community overall.

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NOTES

1. Frederic Ward Putnam (1839–1915) had a long and distinguished archaeological career, as thoroughly discussed by Browman (2002: 209–241). After spending a number of years at Harvard University, and much of his time between 1891 and 1894 in developing exhibits for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Putnam came to work at the AMNH. He worked in the Department of Anthropology at the AMNH until 1903.

2. John E. Miller (2005, personal commun.) has told us about examples of Hatinu Engraved illustrated in Westbrook (1982) and Hathcock (1983: pl. 182). These unique vessels are said to be found on Late Caddo sites in Clark County, Arkansas, and in sites of the same age in the Carden Bottoms. The examples illustrated are long-necked bottles with scroll designs.

3. The number of vessels from the Clements and Goode Hunt sites is the product of excavations by W.T. Scott in 1898 and later excavations by the University of Texas at Austin (Jackson, 1932a, 1932b). While a few vessels from

the Clements site were given away by Scott before he sold the remainder of his collection, the excavations by Scott and Jackson in the same areas (and in the same burial features) strongly suggests that few vessels were missed or overlooked between the two periods of excavations; a number of vessels recovered by Jackson from the Clements site had to be reconstructed, indicating that some kinds of vessels were not left behind or overlooked. For the Goode Hunt site, there is no evidence that the site was disturbed prior to Jackson's (1932b) work, and thus little likelihood that vessels were left behind or overlooked during the excavations. All in all, therefore, the number and kind of vessels from these two sites comprise an accurate sample of the ceramic vessels placed in the graves at these two Caddo sites.

4. Todd (2001: 25–28) suggests that the shell zoomorphic pendants represent both the locust and cicada, but favors the idea that they are representations of the locust. He further suggests that the zoomorphic pendants are associated with agriculture, particularly playing "an important part in announcing the ripening of the corn" (Todd 2001: 26).

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