

MENARD SITE: THE QUAPAW
VILLAGE OF OSOTOUY ON
THE ARKANSAS RIVER

JAMES A. FORD

VOLUME 48: PART 2
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
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FOREWORD

IN 1955 THE National Park Service initiated a program of investigation to determine the locations of the various forts which the French, Spaniards, and Americans had placed near the mouth of the Arkansas River at different times. The results of this work were intended to be used as the basis for the evaluation of the suitability for park purposes of a locality that had played an important part in the early history of North America.

This study was conducted in three phases. Utilizing the historical records and analyses of these records, the Park Service historian, Ray H. Mattison, prepared a comprehensive manuscript entitled "Report on the Historical Investigations of Arkansas Post, Arkansas." Concurrently, Preston Holder began archeological field-work. In 1956 and 1957 Holder worked principally in an area near the Arkansas Post State Park, a park that preserves the remains of the military establishment and town that existed there at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Here Holder found what seem to be the remains of a settlement established by the French soon after 1750. Though Holder was well aware of the probable significance of the Menard locality, his work there was limited to a few small pits because he failed to obtain permission to excavate. His field-work resulted in two manuscript reports: "Archaeological field research on the problem of the locations of Arkansas Post, 1686-1803" and "A preliminary report on work in progress at the Menard Site." Holder then turned his attention to other work, so at the request of J. C. Harrington, Director of Interpretation of the Park Service Region 1 office in Richmond, Virginia, the American Museum made my services available for an investigation of the Menard Site in the spring of 1958.

The historical interest in the Menard locality derives from the possibility that it is the site of the first European establishment in the Lower Mississippi Valley, a small trading post built for Henri de Tonti in 1686. This was the first move in the century-long struggle between France, England, and Spain for the control of the Mississippi River and, consequently, the

central portion of the North American continent. Archeologically the interest lies in the possibility that this is the site of "Osotouy," a Quapaw Indian village, and in the identification of the culture of these Indians as it existed in the late seventeenth century.

There is a certain historical justice in that it has fallen to my lot to dig and report upon the Menard Site. When Philip Phillips, James B. Griffin, and I were writing the report on our survey of the central portion of the alluvial valley of the Mississippi, my two co-authors were of the opinion that the ceramics from the upper levels of Menard and the nearby Wallace Site represented the complex of the Quapaw in early contact times.¹ This opinion had also been stated by Dickinson and Dellinger.² But for my stubborn doubts, we might have solved the problem decisively at that time. Now, as a result of the recent excavation and the discovery of the field notes of Clarence B. Moore's excavations in 1908, I must attempt to demonstrate the correctness of the conclusions of these fellow archeologists.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. Robert S. Neitzel, now of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, who ably assisted in the field-work and in the preparation of the manuscript report submitted to the National Park Service. Mrs. T. L. Hodges of Bismarck, Arkansas, the present owner of the Menard Site, very generously gave permission to excavate and encouraged the work by her constant interest. The late Dr. Hodges and Mrs. Hodges are well-known students of Arkansas history and archeology. In the 1930's, Dr. Hodges bought the Menard Site expressly to preserve it from the depredations of the pot-hunters who still range the Arkansas lowlands in search of marketable relics. I am also very much indebted to Dr. Philip Phillips who made the first stratigraphic excavations at Menard in 1940 and who has thoroughly analyzed the pertinent historical records. I have utilized extensively both his published and unpublished data. Had other

¹ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 229, 269.

² Dickinson and Dellinger, 1940.

commitments permitted, Phillips would have been joint author of this paper.

Thanks are also due Drs. E. K. Burnett and Frederick J. Dockstader of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, for their assistance in the study of C. B. Moore's notes

and collection, and to Dr. Waldo Wedel of the United States National Museum for permitting access to the collection made by Edward Palmer.

The line drawings in this paper are by Mr. Nicholas Amorosi.

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INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE REPORT OF THE commission that investigated the route of De Soto's army across South-eastern United States concluded that the Menard Site was the probable location of the town of Quiguate, where the army paused for several days in 1541.¹ The tantalizing problem posed in the attempt to correlate the geography and archeology of this region with the narratives of the De Soto expedition has been studied exhaustively by Fordyce, Swanton,² and Phillips.³ Excavation of the Menard Site has yielded no new evidence that would modify the tentative guesses of these students.

The French explorers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries left a number of accounts of their contacts with the handsome and friendly Quapaw (or "Arkansas," the Algonquian name for these people). These documents have not been neglected by historians and archeologists. The maps, journals, and letters of Marquette, Dablon, La Métairie, de Tonti, La Salle, Joutel, St. Cosme, and Gravier have been thoroughly studied and analyzed by the historians John Shea, Stanley Faye, Jean De Langlez, and others. Mattison has summarized this work in a manuscript report submitted to the National Park Service. Phillips thoroughly considered these historical data from an archeological point of view and carefully evaluated the possible locations of each of the four Quapaw villages.⁴

In view of the quantity of capable historical analysis available another complete review of the sources would be gratuitous. However, as a background for the present paper I summarize the available information briefly, relying primarily on Phillips.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century the Quapaw lived in four settlements near the mouth of the Arkansas River. Three villages, Kappa, Tongigua, and Tourima, were located on the banks of the Mississippi River. As there seems to be no immediate prospect of finding their sites, they will not be considered further. The village of Osotouy was located on the north

side of the Arkansas River, 5 or 6 leagues above its junction with the Mississippi.

Following the initial voyage of exploration down the Mississippi River by Joliet and Marquette in 1673, La Salle made a trip to the Gulf and returned to Canada after making friendly contact with the Arkansas Indians. As a result of this journey, La Salle conceived a scheme for establishing a French settlement near the mouth of the Mississippi and successfully urged the venture before the French court. Four ships with almost 400 colonists sailed from France in 1684, but the three vessels that arrived in the Gulf of Mexico missed the mouth of the Mississippi. The colonists landed on what is now the coast of Texas, where, in the course of several years, nearly all of them perished.

Henri de Tonti, engaged in establishing Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River, may have learned of La Salle's disaster; early in 1686, he led a relief party to the mouth of the Mississippi in an unsuccessful search for the expedition. On the return journey de Tonti left six of his men in charge of Jean Couture to establish a small trading post at Osotouy, the Quapaw village under discussion. The modest "warehouse" which they erected was the first European establishment on the Mississippi, the first step of France in the long struggle to control the middle of the continent.

In the summer of the following year, 1687, seven survivors of La Salle's expedition, after initial difficulty when La Salle was murdered by his own men, having passed through the Caddo Indian territory of northwestern Louisiana, arrived on the south bank of the Arkansas River within sight of this establishment. Joutel, the leader of the party, who is considered to have left a reliable account, states:

At last, after we went through these woods, we came to the bank of the mentioned river which is very beautiful, wide at least as the Seine before Rouen, but with a more rapid current. We perceived on the other side, on the bank of the river, a tall cross, erected like those which the missionaries put up in France and other places where they go. At the place of this cross was a house built in the manner of France, and below that was the village of the natives. When we saw the cross, we judged that this could not be of the English.

After we had spent a little time on the bank of the

¹ Swanton, 1939, 252-253.

² Swanton, 1939.

³ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 348-392.

⁴ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 392-421.

river gazing at the mentioned village and the canoes crossing back and forth, we saw that two men wearing clothes left the house and each of them discharged a gun to greet us, and one savage also fired a shot in the village; the last one who must have been the chief, fired the first shot. We answered their shots with some of our own, to the great delight of the savages who were with us, and who showed great joy and urged us to shoot, even while we were shooting. From one end to the other canoes came and went, loaded with people.¹

Joutel's account of what could be seen from the southern side of the river is the key to the argument that is advanced below for the identification of the Menard Site as the village of Osotouy.

He provides additional information about the village and dwellings of the Indians:

We learned also that four villages composed this nation of the Arkansas and had different names. Two of these villages are on the bank of the River Colbert and two others on the River named Arkansas.²

That one in which we stayed was on a little hill where the mentioned river does not flood. The house is placed half a pistol shot from the village, on a small rise; it is built of large pieces of wood, fitted one on another, and dovetailed. The whole is built to the height of the roof and is of a nice cedar wood, and covered with bark; the coverage is not bad. The village of the savages is built in another manner than what we had seen before, considering that the cabins were made long and in dome form; they were formed with long poles which they stuck into the ground, putting the large end of them into the ground, and they made them join like an arched arbor; but they are very large. They are covered with bark. Each cabin contains several families, who each make their own fire. These cabins are much cleaner than many we had seen.³

It is clear from this description that Jean Couture and his companions had built a typical European stacked log cabin of cypress logs, roofed with slabs of bark. The dwellings of the Indians conform in general to the style of the Mississippian culture as it is known from a number of excavations.

De Tonti in a letter dated 1687 gives more specific information as to the relative locations of de Tonti's post and the village of Osotouy.

¹ Margry, 1878, Vol. 3, 436-437.

² One was actually at the junction of the Arkansas and Mississippi.

³ Margry, 1878, Vol. 3, 442.

We grant . . . two arpents of [river] frontage and four in depth for a chapel and house, which we will have built for him [the missionary] 20 arpents to the east from our fort . . . and in addition we grant 42 arpents of frontage and 80 in depth on the other side of the river to the south with hunting and fishing rights. The said concession begins 15 arpents from the village of Akanzea going from east to west, i.e., to the east of the said village, for the greater convenience of the missionary, where we will in like manner build a chapel and house.⁴

Apparently this establishment was never constructed, for no further reference to it is known. However, as Phillips observes, a very simple subtraction shows the post to have been 5 arpents west of the village. This is approximately 300 yards.⁵

Stanley Faye and Philip Phillips, who have most thoroughly considered the problem of the location of the village of Osotouy and de Tonti's post, agree that they were located on the southeastern edge of Little Prairie. This seems to be an obvious conclusion, because this is the only extant stretch of land not subject to overflow within 5 or 6 leagues above any of the possible mouths of the eighteenth century Arkansas River. The low, 15-foot escarpment shows extensive aboriginal occupation (Fig. 1).

The edge of the ridge from its southern extremity, occupied by the famous Menard Site (17-K-1), for several miles northeastward along the bank of what is now Menard Bayou is practically a continuous village site, though catalogued by the Lower Mississippi Archaeological Survey as Wallace (17-K-3), Poor (17-L-3), Massey (17-L-1), and Ellerton (17-L-2). One of these sites is almost certainly the ancient village of Osotouy.⁶

In continuation, Phillips tentatively accepts an identification of the site of de Tonti's post made by Faye⁷ on what seems to be rather obscure evidence. Estimating from this locality, he selected the Wallace Site as the probable location for the historic Arkansas village, however without much conviction.⁸

The arguments of both authors are based on

⁴ Translated by Phillips from de Tonti's letters (1689). See Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 415.

⁵ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 415. Phillips follows Webster's International Dictionary to the effect that an arpent measured 11.5 rods or 189.75 feet.

⁶ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 414.

⁷ Faye, 1943, 634, Note 1.

⁸ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 415, 418.



FIG. 1. Map showing portions of the Mississippi, White, and Arkansas rivers. Menard and other nearby village sites are shown at the southern end of the elevated terrain called Little Prairie.

estimates of distances above the then mouth of the Arkansas River, and on the fact that this is the first uninundated land encountered in ascending this stream. Another passage in Joutel's journal tends to substantiate this identification. Treeless grasslands are not common in the Lower Mississippi, and it seems almost certain that Little and Grand Prairies are referred to in the following description:

They are established in a very good country, and, according to the report of two Frenchmen, behind the house there is the plain (*campagnes*) which is not far, and in which there are quantities of buffalo (*boeufs*), roe deer, bucks, and does. The woods (*Les Bois*) contain bears and other animals. As concerns game that flies, there were all kinds. They also had abundant fish in the river; they know well how to catch them, with the help of certain nets which they made. Also they prepare much better meat than many other peoples who don't have the opportunities. They go also on the two rivers, thanks to their canoes which are very useful for the transport of all that is necessary to them.¹

PHYSIOGRAPHY

We seem to be approaching the solution of the problem of the location of Osotouy by successive approximations and, as happens so often in the Mississippi Valley, the key bit of evidence seems to be physiographic. The aboriginal sites listed above lie along the southeastern edge of elevated, flat, and moderately dissected terrain known as Little Prairie (Fig. 1). Little Prairie is, in turn, merely a detached fragment of similar formation called Grand Prairie.² The dense impervious soils of these prairies are now extensively utilized for rice cultivation. As implied by the term "prairie," when first explored by Europeans, this was principally treeless grassland.³

The prairies, at the present time elevated some 15 to 20 feet above the present flood plains of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers, are remnants of a great outwash fan formed by the Mississippi River about 5000 years ago. At

that time, soon after the filling of the Late Wisconsin canyon of the Mississippi was completed, the river flowed in braided channels and lay on the western side of Crowley's Ridge, an upland fragment that divides the alluvial valley in northeastern Arkansas. The Ohio ran to the east of this ridge, and the two rivers joined in what is now the State of Louisiana.

Since the formation of this fan, the gradient of the Mississippi and its tributaries has decreased, and a meandering pattern characterizes the major streams that occupy the present valley floor. Meander progression of both the Mississippi and the Arkansas has trimmed the edges of this old outwash fan, leaving the sharply defined but low bluffs to mark the separation between the older and later formations. The bluffs in the vicinity of Menard and neighboring sites are 15 to 20 feet high, providing enough difference in elevation so that the prairie surface is never covered by flood waters from the river.⁴

In its lower course the Arkansas is now a typical meandering stream. The bends are constantly being eroded on the outside, so that they increase in diameter until bends meet and a cut-off is formed. Old channel sections abandoned by the river are left as oxbow lakes which are gradually filled by soil deposited by flood waters. The deepest part of the channel, or *talweg*, always lies at the outer edge of the bend and is the last section of the channel to be filled by deposits. Where they have not been erased by more recent meander progression, these old stream courses may be plainly seen on air photographs (Pl. 20). These old scars are readily identified as to the parent stream in three ways: by the type of soil deposited in the natural levees, by channel width, and by bend diameter. The sequence of abandoned channels may also frequently be determined from an inspection of air photographs. One basis for determining age is the degree to which the channel has been filled. This is not a reliable means for estimates, for the process depends on a number of uncertain variables. Positive evidence of sequence is provided by instances in which the later channel has erased a part of the earlier channel.

Three fragments of old Arkansas River courses lie against the southern edge of the prairie (Pl. 20). The earliest of these has been

¹ Joutel's journal in Margry, 1878, Vol. 3, 443.

² Fisk, 1944, 30.

³ Nuttall's description of this prairie in 1819 is quite vivid: "Here a vast prairie opens to view, like a shorn desert, but well covered with grass and herbaceous plants. Over this vast plain, which proceeds a little to the west of north, computed to be no less than 30 leagues in length, by 10 to 15 in breadth, passes the road to Cadron, and the settlements of Red River." Nuttall, 1905, 109-110.

⁴ This discussion is condensed from Fisk, 1944.

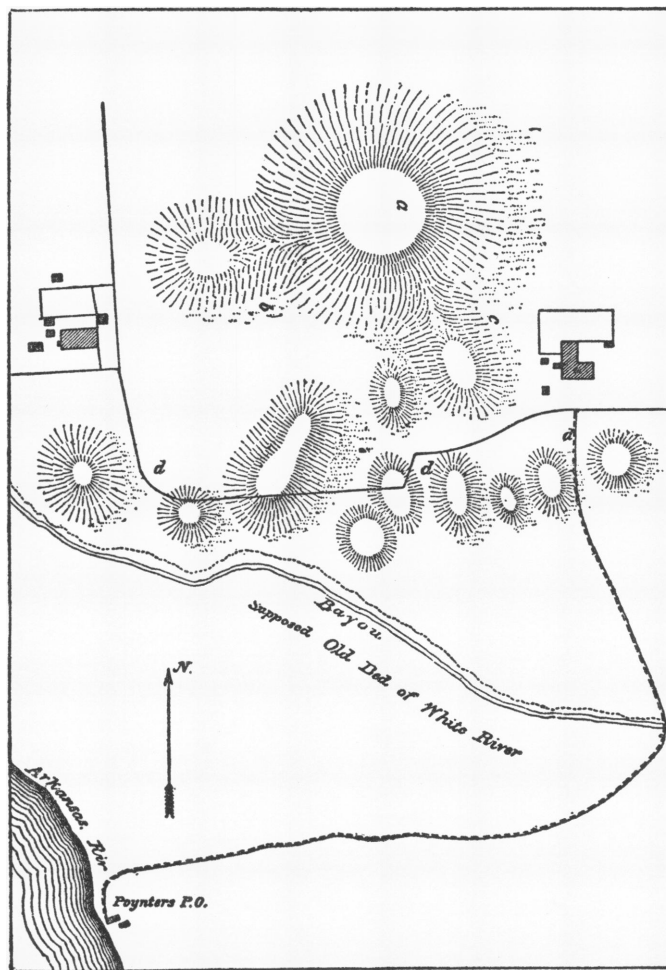


FIG. 2. Plan of Menard mounds, Arkansas County, Arkansas.
From Thomas (1894).

filled, and the *talweg* is occupied by the remnant stream, Deep Bayou. The Deep Bayou course is truncated by a later channel which is now occupied by Menard Bayou. The curvature of this bend is in turn cut by Lake Dumond, a bend occupied by the Arkansas in the nineteenth century. The Arkansas lay in the latter course when a sketch map of the site was made by Palmer about 1880 (Fig. 2).

Phillips, and later Holder, have demonstrated that almost every elevated knoll along the 3-mile extent of the southeastern edge of Little Prairie shows some evidence of Indian occupation, ranging in date from Early Baytown at the Massey Site down to the contact period.¹

¹ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951; Holder, 1957.

However, pottery and other material of recent date are concentrated at only two localities: the Wallace and Menard sites. It appears most probable that one of these is the site of the village of Osotouy.

The key to the proper site identification seems to hinge on what Joutel was able to see from across the river as his party arrived on the south bank of the Arkansas. The house and village were evidently in plain sight; he saw two men dressed in clothing come out of the cabin and fire guns in greeting. If the Wallace Site or another locality along the edge of the prairie in that vicinity was Osotouy, then the Arkansas must have been in the course marked by Deep Bayou (Pl. 20). The Menard locality would have been about three-quarters of a mile away, pro-

bably hidden by the tall trees that normally grow in the lowlands.

This interpretation might be perfectly acceptable except that the refuse at the Menard Site and the construction of the house mounds bordering the bayou extend over the slope that leads down to the edge of the water, which demonstrates that the Menard Bayou course had already been cut by the Arkansas during at least the latter phase of occupation of the Menard Site. The Menard course of the Arkansas is demonstrably later than the Deep Bayou course. If the river lay in the Deep Bayou course at the time of Joutel's visit (1687), then the Menard Bayou course and the late occupation of the Menard Site must postdate that event. As is shown below, the late occupation of Menard continued long enough for small frequency changes to occur in the refuse pottery. Also, it is possible that the Late Baytown ceramics found in the lower levels of the site indicate a continuous occupation of perhaps several hundred years.

When the extent of the Menard Site and the small quantity of European trade goods that accompanied the numerous burials uncovered are considered, it seems most improbable that the Quapaw occupation there was subsequent to 1687, during a period when the Indians were being decimated by smallpox and other introduced diseases and were subjected to increasing acculturation.

The more probable interpretation is that the Menard Site is the village of Osotouy and that, when first discovered, it had already been inhabited for a number of years. The Menard Bayou course has a rather sharp bend. If Joutel and his party walked out onto the high sand bar that is always found on the inside of such bends, they would have had an excellent view of the site and the house built by Jean Couture and his companions about 300 yards west of the site.

The Wallace Site would not have been in sight, but present conditions indicate that the banks of Deep Bayou continued to be a desirable locality for aboriginal occupation when the Arkansas was in the Menard course. Normally, the entrances to such earlier channels are closed by natural levee deposits laid down by the active channel. However, enough current evidently came through the Deep Bayou course

to maintain the still existing open channel into Menard Bayou. This water obviously came from White River through La Grues Lake, a diversionary course still open but now inactive except in high water. Evidently the inhabitants of Menard had convenient access to both the Arkansas and White River systems, which may clarify an otherwise obscure passage in Joutel's journal quoted above: "They go also on the two rivers, thanks to their canoes which are very useful for the transport of all that is necessary to them."

It does not seem possible to determine the date at which the village of Osotouy was abandoned. Very likely it occupied the same locality when La Harpe and his men ascended the Arkansas River in 1722. They found Second Lieutenant Laboulaye and an ensign living in the village of "Zautoouys," while the 17 soldiers under their command lived on the grounds of the recently established John Law concession two hours' journey from the village to the west-northwest. If the Menard Site is correctly identified as the Quapaw village, then the Law concession must have been about where the present State Park and former river town of Arkansas Post is located.¹

The Arkansas Post locality is now the first point reached in the ascent of the Arkansas, where the river lies adjacent to the prairie land which is never flooded. The Menard bend of the Arkansas was very sharp; ordinarily, meandering streams do not flow for a very long time in such bends, for cut-offs occur promptly. Menard is now a mile from the Arkansas; in the recent past, the channel has been even farther away. Perhaps the process by which the river abandoned the old channel, with easy access to dry land in the Menard vicinity, was already under way in 1722 and led the Law colonists to select a site farther up river. Further deterioration of the situation may have motivated the abandonment of the Indian village. The Arkansas or Quapaw Indians remained in the vicinity of the several forts built near the mouth of the Arkansas River during the succeeding century, but the village of Osotouy seems to have disappeared from the records. The possible locations of other villages of this period that are not mentioned in historic records are discussed below.

¹ Smith, 1951.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT MENARD

HISTORY OF THE SITE

IT IS AN INTERESTING FOOTNOTE to the history of the Menard family that La Harpe in 1721 lists a Mr. Menard as commandant of the 47 people who had recently established the concession of John Law's settlement scheme located two hours' distance from the Indian village in the prairie.¹ Very likely, this man is the ancestor of the Menards. Isolated regions like these Arkansas River swamps resemble the Tennessee and Kentucky mountains in that both population and customs have been slow to change since the first occupation by Europeans.

Compared to some of the really large mound groups of the Mississippi Valley, the Menard Site is rather modest. Nevertheless, it has received a surprising amount of attention from travelers and archeologists. It was first described by Thomas Nuttall in the course of his western journey in 1819:

In the afternoon I walked about a mile from the river [Arkansas] to the house of Monsieur Tenass, an honest and industrious farmer. . . . The land on which this gentleman and his neighbors resided in tolerable independence, is considerably elevated and open, bearing a resemblance to the lands about the Chicasaw Bluffs, and at first view, I thought I had discovered a considerable hill, but it was, in fact, an enormous mound, not less than 40 feet high, situated toward the center of a circle of other lesser mounds, and elevated platforms of earth. The usual vestiges of earthenware, and weapons of hornstone flint, are here also met with, scattered over the surrounding soil.²

Edward Palmer was the first to dig at Menard in the 1880's. For several years he was one of the field agents of the Bureau of American Ethnology engaged in an intensive program of mound exploration under the direction of Cyrus Thomas. A portion of Palmer's collection is described below.

Exactly 50 years prior to our 1958 field season, Clarence B. Moore anchored his steamboat, the "Gopher of Philadelphia," at Menard Landing. With the help of 11 to 13 laborers, he spent 12 working days searching for burials. He found 160 burials and 214 vessels in "the

vicinity of Menard Mound." His report contains the somewhat bitter statement:

Unfortunately for late comers, like ourselves, the constant wash of rain over soil loosened by cultivation had laid bare a majority of the burials, or so removed the soil above them that the plow had wrought sad havoc among bones and pottery; while desultory digging also had levied a considerable toll. In consequence, only gleanings remained for us from a former abundant harvest.³

Moore's work in the vicinity of Menard as well as his excavations at the related sites of Old River Landing and Douglas is discussed in more detail in a later section.

In 1941 Philip Phillips of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, made two 2-meter-square test cuts to the northeast and southwest of Mounds A and B to obtain the ceramic sequence of the refuse deposits (Fig. 3). These excavations were taken down in 10-cm. levels, and the refuse pottery, when it was classified, demonstrated that the area had been occupied from the Late Baytown Period to the Late Mississippian Period.⁴

Again, in 1956 and 1957, Preston Holder ran a line of exploratory pits, most of them about 5 feet square, along the southwestern edge of the site (Fig. 2). The results of this work are reported in the manuscript that Holder has submitted to the National Park Service.

To these recorded excavations must be added the untiring efforts of the commercial relic hunters who in the early decades of this century roamed the flood lands of eastern Arkansas with probes made from wagon-bed rods, pot-hunting for the collectors' market. According to local residents, one of the most colorful and persistent was an old Indian named "Crowfoot."

PLAN OF THE SITE

In arrangement, the Menard Site is a typical ceremonial center of Mississippian type (Fig. 3). The most striking deviation from this pattern is the shape of Mound A, a fairly symmetrical cone. Its flattened summit is much too small to have served as a substructure for a building. As is shown below, there is good

¹ Smith, 1951.

² Nuttall, 1905, 101-102.

³ Moore, 1908, 487.

⁴ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 265-270.

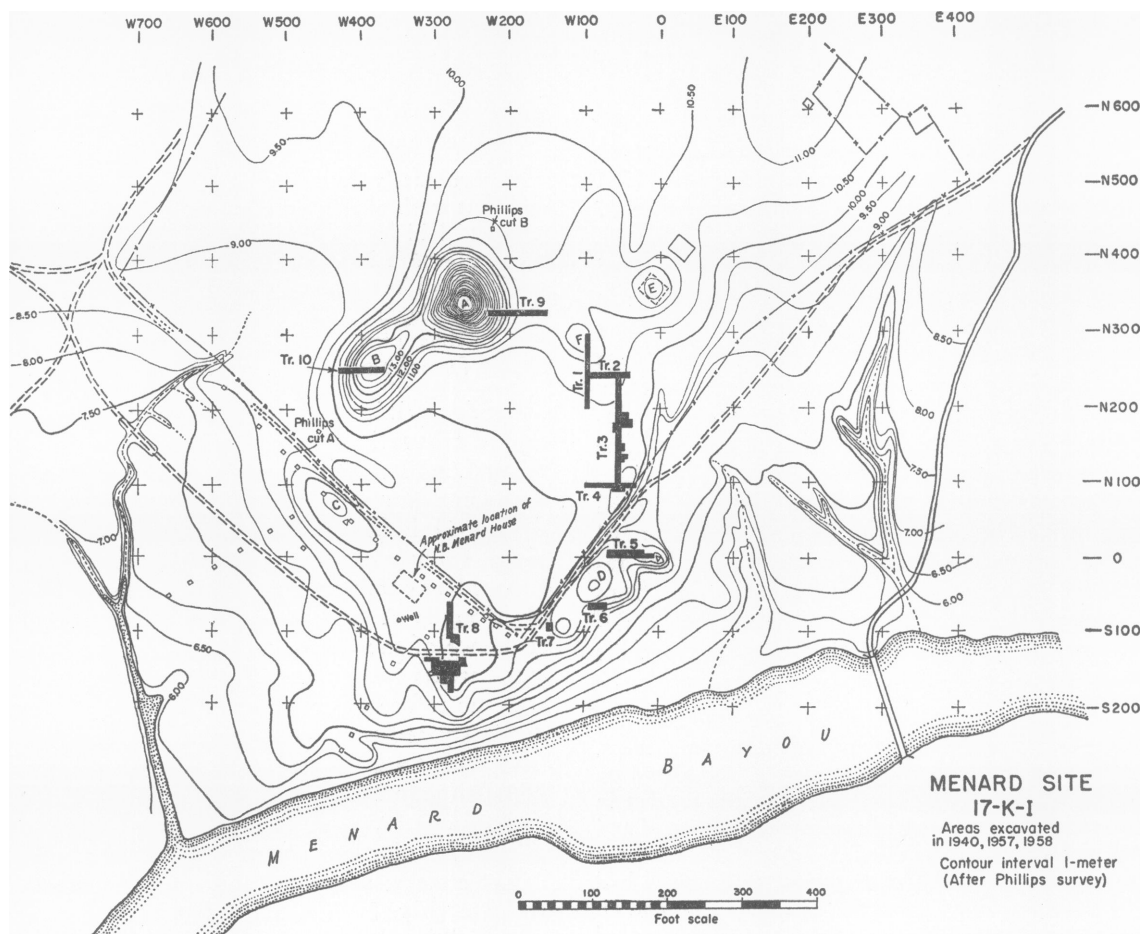


FIG. 3. Map of Menard Site after plane table map made by Phillips. Phillips' Cuts A and B are near Mounds A and B. Holder's test excavations are outside the property line fence that cuts through the southwestern side of the site. Excavations reported here are in black.

reason to conclude that this is the oldest mound of the site. Mound B placed against the side of Mound A is a substructure mound, as our excavation demonstrated. The principal ceremonial building of the town doubtless stood here. The small elevations marked on the map as C, D, F, as well as the lower rises arranged about the 400-foot-diameter court lying to the south of Mounds A and B, mark the locations of former houses. The small rise, E, may also have been an aboriginal dwelling, but its present height is due to the fact that the chimney of the Julius Menard house stood here. We did not dig here, but probably should have; the lost brass cross from Mound A may be buried in these ruins.

In planning the excavations, we decided to

work principally in the dwelling areas in order to obtain stratigraphy from the refuse deposits, if possible to work out the floor plans of the dwellings, and to recover the burials which in late Mississippian times often were placed under and around the floors of the houses.

METHOD OF EXCAVATION

When Phillips and Mott Davis worked at Menard in 1941, they made a contour map of the site which was used as a basis for the engineering control of the 1958 excavations (Figs. 3 and 6).¹ The reference point for this map is an

¹ Slight complexity results from the use of the metric system for both distances and elevations in the making of this map.

iron pipe with a brass cap marked "17-L-1, CMVAS, 4/16/41," located on the southern edge of the site on a high point of the bank of Menard Bayou. With a transit, stakes were set at 100-foot intervals, in true orientation, to form a grid over the site. As areas were selected for excavation intervening stakes were set at 5- and 10-foot intervals. Stakes were designated by distances from the bench mark along the directional coordinates, that is, Stake North 175, West 245 (feet). Thus, by measuring from nearby stakes, we conveniently located finds in relation to the reference point. (For example, a find may be described as located at N97.4-W67.7.) The reference point was assumed to have an elevation of 100 feet, and levels of all stakes and finds were determined with instruments.

As standard procedure, each excavation was started as a 5-foot wide trench, divided into segments 10 feet long; each segment was dug in 3-inch arbitrary levels. Finds from each level were saved, washed, and classified separately. Rains constantly hampered the work and the soil was too wet for sifting, so the "slicing" method of shoveling was used. As possible features were encountered, the trenches were widened as shown by the maps (Figs. 3 and 6).

TRENCHES IN AREA W95-100, N200-300

Our initial trenches were run through the low house mounds on the eastern edge of the site, an area now occupied by a pear orchard. Our foreman, Ross Morgan, who well remembers Clarence Moore's work in 1908, pointed this out as one of the localities where Moore excavated. Moore states that nearly all the skeletons were very close to the surface and many were being destroyed by the plow, which seems to be corroborated by the fact that we found very few holes in our trenches that had been dug from the ground surface. It seems safe to assume that, while Moore removed most of the interments and accompanying grave goods, the stratigraphy in the deeper parts of these deposits had not been disturbed.

Our trenches in this area showed that the original ground surface had been almost level and the low rises were, as assumed, artificial accumulations of broken pottery, flint chips, animal bones, ashes, and occasional layers of clean clay. These thin clay layers were rather extensive; they appear to consist of earth that had been brought in for the smoothing and

raising of house floors to the level of the accumulated garbage outside the structures. The depth of the refuse ranged from about 6 inches to as much as 4 feet in the higher mounds. The profile of Trench 2 (Fig. 4) is a typical section of the small mounds that encircle the Menard Site plaza.

A number of post holes were found. Several promising alignments unquestionably mark the walls of houses. The posts, about 6 inches in diameter, were spaced about 1 foot apart and ran in straight lines. The excavations were widened in an attempt to follow these lines, but no alignments were traceable more than a few feet.

About 20 large post holes were found in the Area N170-190, W35-62. These began at the surface and extended to an unusual depth, 3 to 4 feet. There are no clear alignments. It seems probable that the holes were made by Europeans and represent some structure related to the old Menard house that stood nearby.

TRENCHES ON THE BANK OF MENARD BAYOU

Two trenches and two test pits were excavated in the low rises that cap the top of the bank along Menard Bayou on the south side of the site (Fig. 3). The first of these, Trench 5, 10 feet wide for most of its length and 65 feet long (N0-10, W5-70), was cut through 3 feet of rich midden interspersed with occasional areas of clean clay. Near the middle of the length of Trench 5, flexed burials were found a short distance beneath the surface (Burials 11-13, 15-16). At the south end an alignment of post holes was traced for a distance of 16 feet. In tracing this building wall, we found two additional burials.

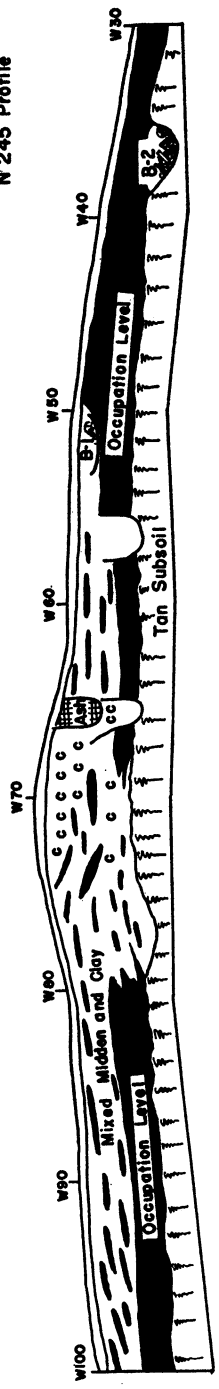
Two test pits (Trenches 6 and 7) were located on the edge of the bank of the bayou (Fig. 3). Trench 6, an 8 by 15-foot cut (S30-38, W70-85), revealed 4 feet of deposit, consisting of two superimposed strata of black midden soil separated by a 1-foot-thick layer of clay mixed with refuse.

Three flexed burials found less than a foot below the surface in this excavation are described below. The original ground surface at this point slopes markedly towards Menard Bayou, and it is clear that this deposit was placed inside the bank of the Menard Bayou-Arkansas River channel.

TRENCH 8: Trench 8 was started as a 5-foot, 100-foot-long test of a low rise on the south-

- 104 ft.
- 103.5 ft.
- 103 ft.
- 102 ft.
- 101 ft.
- 100 ft.

N 245 Profile



TRENCH 2

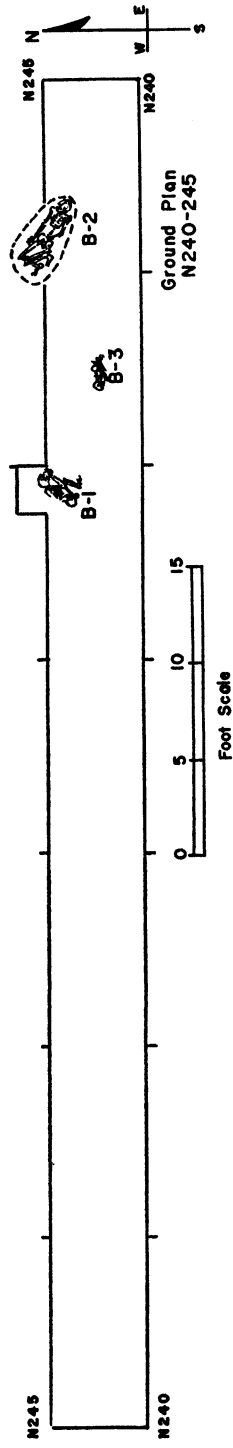


FIG. 4. Profile of Trench 2.

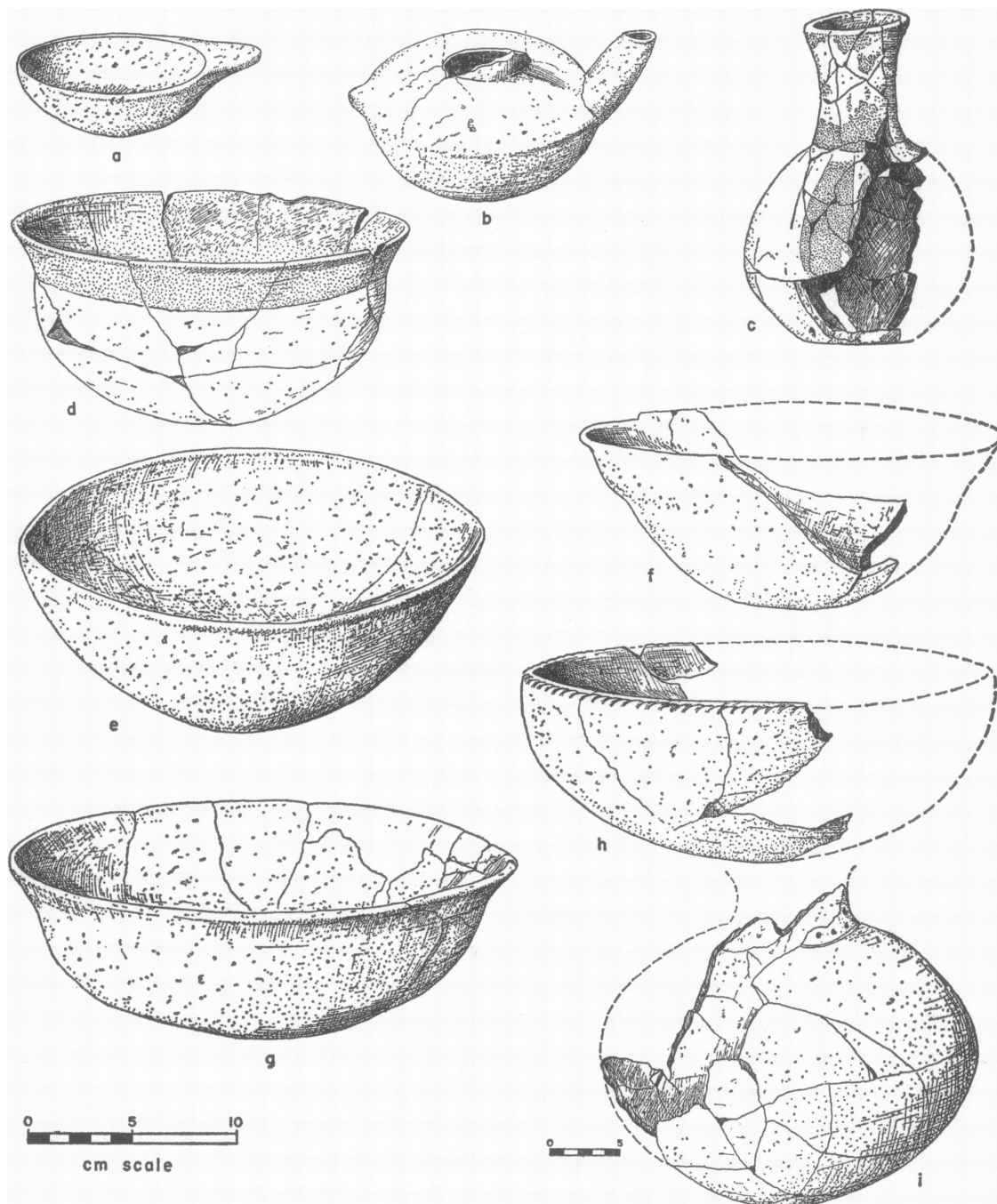


FIG. 5. Pottery found with burials in 1958 excavations.

western edge of the site on the bank of Menard Bayou (S80-180, W275-280). The plantation road crossed the center of this trench, and the squares occupied by the road were not dug. The northern segment of the trench (S80-110), cut through 3.5 feet of artificial deposit, stratified rather simply into three layers. These consisted of two layers of black midden soil separated by lensed yellow earth, obviously intentionally placed. The pottery from this segment of Trench 8 is analyzed as Unit III. A promising alignment of post holes was traced in the southern segment of this trench. The excavation was extended to a rectangular area about 35 feet long and 20 feet wide. The house so discovered is described in a later section (p. 152 ff.). In the course of this work, four flexed burials were found in shallow pits just outside the walls of the house and were apparently related to it. In one of these, Burial 21, four small glass beads lay near the pelvis.

TRENCH 9, MOUND A: Mound A, 35 feet high, now has a very small flattened area on its summit. There have been considerable doubt and discussion as to whether this is a conical mound, which inferentially would have been constructed solely for burial purposes, or a mutilated remnant of a temple mound. To investigate this doubt, a 5-foot trench 80 feet long was run into the eastern flank of the structure (N325-330, W140-220). East of the edge of the mound slope (east of Stake W180) the cut shows about 2.2 feet of black midden soil capped by plow-disturbed soil recently washed off the mound.

Westward, where the trench cut into the lower slopes of the mound, the stratum of midden soil thickened appreciably to a maximum depth of 5 feet and thinned again as it was traced up the slope of the mound. Obviously this layer of refuse originated on top of the mound. Westward from Stake W210 the midden was underlain by a steeply sloping stratum of earth in which the individual basket loads of different colored soil showed quite distinctly. This is the edge of the final construction stage of the mound.

Beneath this loaded soil in the western end of the trench, there is a narrow, sloping band of

water-sorted silt. This overlies the old ground surface and may be interpreted as wash from the surface of an early stage of mound construction.

This evidence leaves no doubt as to the purposes for which Mound A was constructed; it was a temple substructure mound built in at least two stages. Ceramics from Trench 9 are given as Analysis Unit IV.

CUT 10, MOUND B: Joutel's statement that de Tonti's building, occupied by Jean Couture and his companions, stood on a slightly elevated spot¹ led us to consider the possibility that this post might have been placed on top of Mound B. The fact that the large cross stood near the building also lent plausibility to this idea, because the French, like the Spanish explorers of Central and South America, probably took a certain satisfaction in erecting such symbols of Christianity on the pyramids which the pagan Indians, at the cost of so much labor, had raised to their gods.

A 5-foot trench, 60 feet long, was started across the top of Mound B (N250-255, W370-430). Extensive areas of burned clay were found immediately below the sod. The excavation was widened to trace these areas. It was determined that at least two levels of construction were represented in less than 2 feet of depth. Clearly these were clay floors of buildings that had been baked when the structures were burned. Periodic destruction of these buildings by fire and the erection of new temples are well-known features of Late Mississippian culture all over the Southeast.

Tree roots had badly disturbed the old surfaces, and the edges had been removed by erosion in all directions. A few post holes were found, but no alignments could be worked out. Only aboriginal refuse was found. Pottery from this locality was not recovered in sufficient quantity for analysis; however, all the sherds found are shell-tempered and belong to the late phase of occupation.

It is virtually certain that these are the burnt clay layers where Palmer found the cache of bowls that is described below.

¹ Margry, 1878, Vol. 3, 442.

ANALYSIS OF RECENT EXCAVATIONS

TYPOLOGY

POTSHERDS, BONES, and other artifacts were washed and marked with field numbers, and the pottery was classified. All the pottery conformed to types already defined in publications; consequently, detailed descriptions are not necessary. The types on which the classification of the Menard Site pottery are based have already been described, as follows:

Neeley's Ferry Plain: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 105 ff.

Baytown Plain: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 76 ff.

Bell Plain: Phillips, Ford and Griffin, 1951, 122 ff.

Parkin Punctated: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 110 ff.

Larto Red Filmed: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 102 ff.

Old Town Red Filmed: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 129 ff.

Wallace Incised: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 134 ff.

Manchac Incised: Quimby, 1951, 112 ff.

Arcola Incised: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 140 ff.

Barton Incised: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 114 ff.

Rhodes Incised: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 127 ff.

Leland Incised: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 137 ff.

Ranch Incised: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 119 ff.

Mound Place Incised: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 147 ff.

Owens Punctated: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 136 ff.

Greenhouse Incised: Ford, 1951, 77 ff.

Hardy Incised: Ford, 1951, 87 ff.

Caddoan types: Several unnamed types found in the Ouachita River Caddoan Area

Plaquemine Brushed: Quimby, 1951, 109.

Carson Red-on-Buff: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 132 ff.

Nodena Red and White: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 133 ff.

Dupree Incised: Ford, 1951, 89.

Fatherland Incised: Quimby, 1957, 123.

Mulberry Creek Cordmarked: Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 82 ff.

Cowhide Stamped: Webb, 1959, 128-131, Fig. 109.

ANALYSIS OF CERAMICS

After the classification of the pottery was completed, the profiles of the excavations were examined to determine in which trench sections stratification was similar. Then the pottery obtained from within each of the similar trench sections was combined to form what is referred to as an Analysis Unit. All the 0 to 3-inch levels were combined to form the uppermost level for the selected section of trench: the 3- to 6-inch levels to form the second level, and so on. The location of these analysis units is shown on the map (Fig. 6).

Units I, II, and III proved to be rather insensitive. The totals of sherds collected in Units I and II were inadequate to give reliable percentages, while the graph shows that the upper and lower parts of Unit III are rather badly mixed. The frequencies of each type in each level of Analysis Units IV to VIII are shown in Figs. 7-8.

LATER DEPOSITS AT THE MENARD SITE

When the 1951 report of the Mississippi Alluvial Valley Archaeological Survey was written, both Phillips and Griffin expressed the opinion that the most recent complex of ceramics from the lower Arkansas River Valley represented the ceramics of the Quapaw Indians who lived in the area when de Tonti's post was established in 1686. Ford, expecting to find a ceramic complex more similar to that of the neighboring Tunica and the Natchez, dissented and placed this complex in a late prehistoric position on the chronological graphs.¹ The recent work at the Menard Site and particularly the physiographic arguments given above indicate that Phillips and Griffin were correct; what may be called the Wallace complex of pottery types is the pottery made by the Quapaw or Arkansas Indians in 1680.

This late complex is found in most nearly unmixed form in Trenches 6 and 7, rectangular pits that were dug in refuse deposits that extend over inside the bank cut by the Arkansas River

¹ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 229-230, Fig. 18.

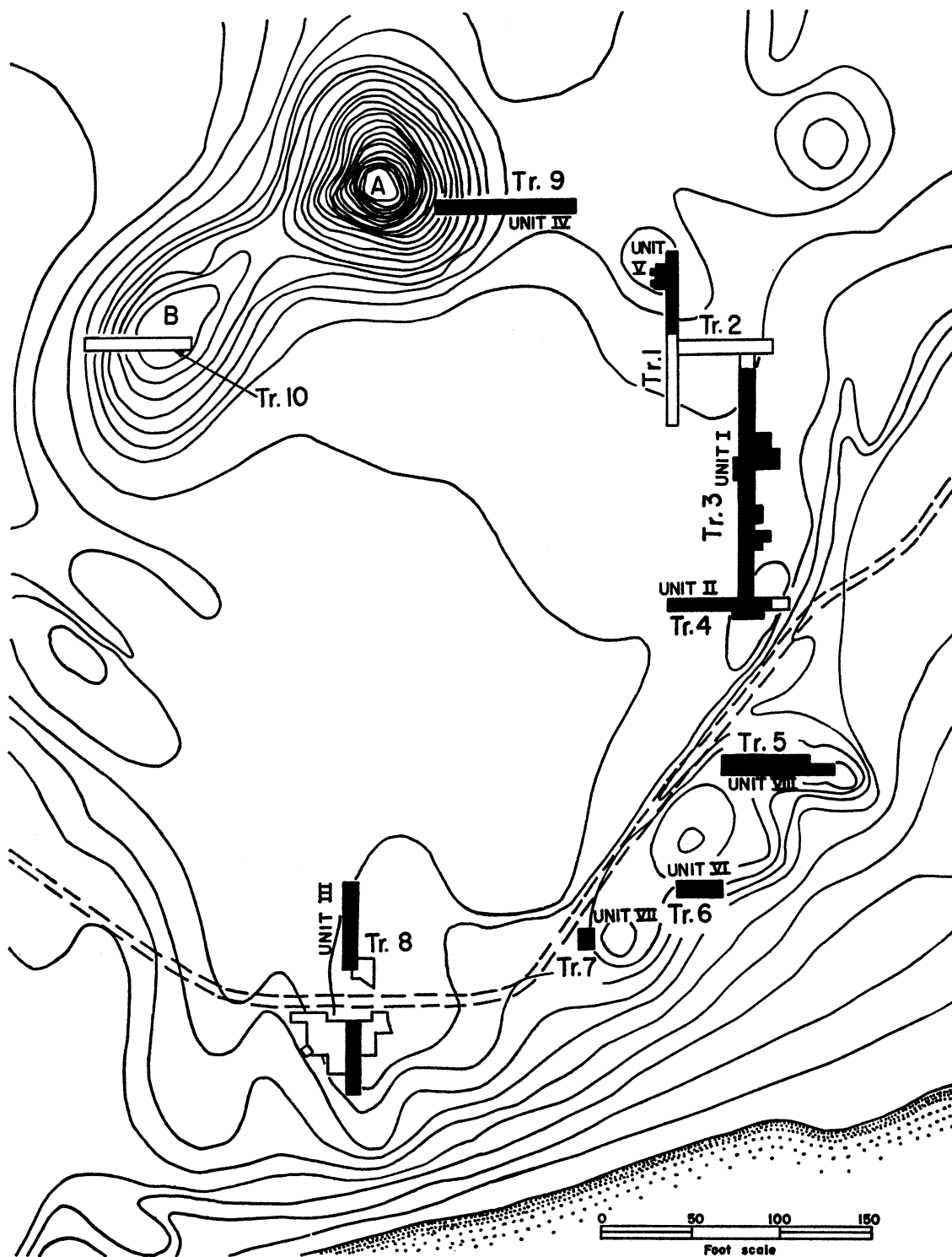


FIG. 6. Map of Menard Site, showing portions of excavated trenches which were formed into units for the analysis of ceramic stratigraphy.

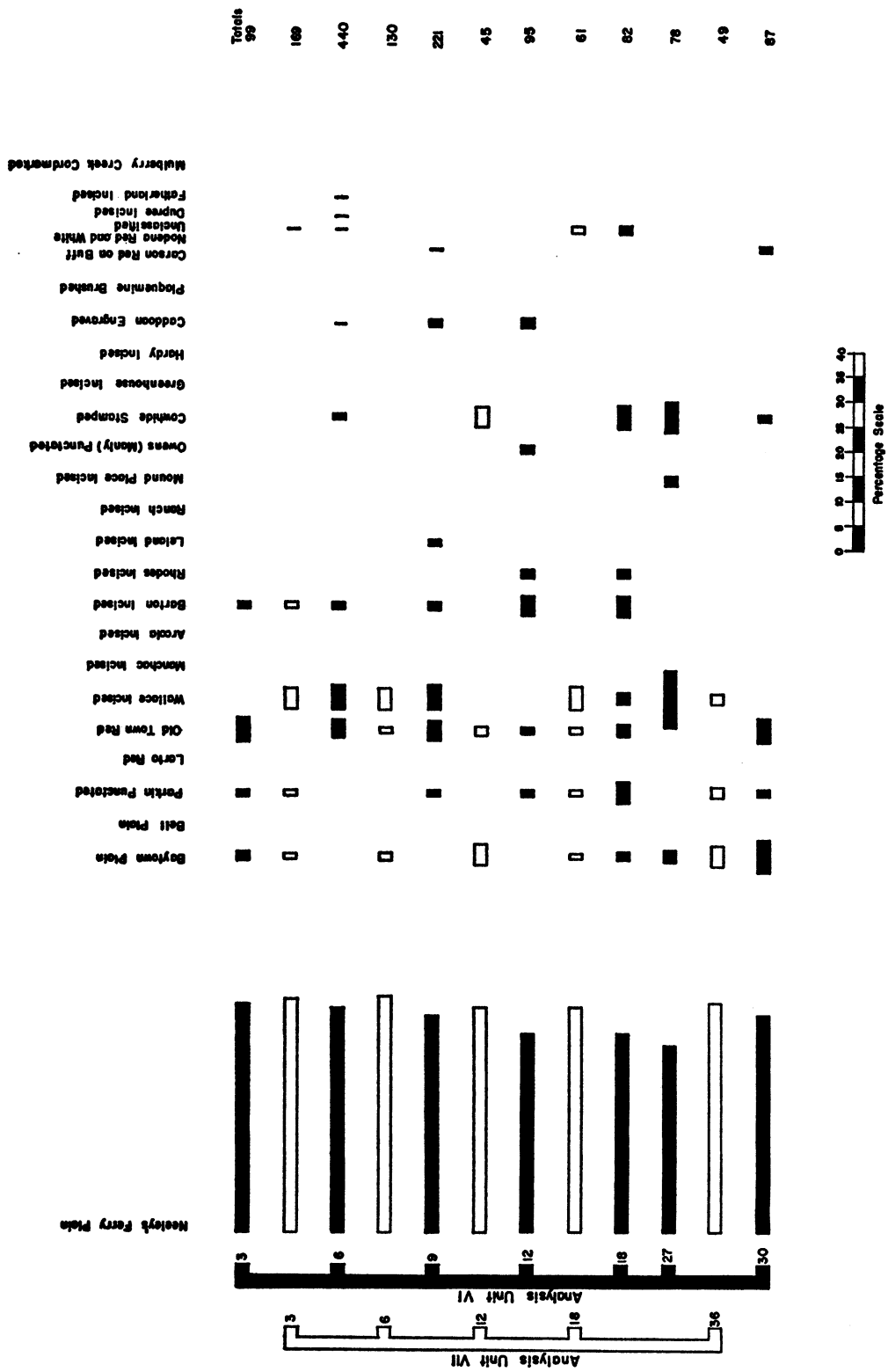


FIG. 7. Histogram of Analysis Units VI and VII.

when it was in the Menard Bayou course (Fig. 6). The classified pottery from these is graphed as Analysis Units VI and VII (Fig. 7). The majority plainware, Neeley's Ferry Plain, is accompanied by only small frequencies of the clay-tempered earlier type, Baytown Plain, and the distinctive, still earlier Mulberry Creek Cordmarked is not found at all. The relative proportions of the typical late types of the Arkansas River Area—Old Town Red Filmed, Wallace Incised, and Barton Incised—are exactly similar to the material from the upper part of Phillips' Strata Cut A.¹

EARLIER PARTS OF THE MENARD SITE

In the trenches that cut into the small dwelling-site mounds that lay back from the old river bank on the outwash fan surface, there was everywhere a capping layer of refuse and house remains showing very strong percentages of the Wallace complex pottery types (Analysis Units IV, V, and VIII, and Fig. 8). However, as the excavations were deepened, the proportion of the late shell-tempered wares decreased and the earlier clay-tempered types, principally the plainware Baytown Plain, increased markedly. There are also small percentages of types of Late Coles Creek and Plaquemine Period relationships. There are Greenhouse Incised, Hardy Incised, Manchac Incised, and Larto Red Filmed. Small percentages of the Middle and Early Baytown Period Type, Mulberry Creek Cordmarked, were found in the lower levels, only in Analysis Unit IV beside Mound B.

The relationship of the Late Baytown complex towards the base of these deposits and the capping refuse with the Wallace complex is very similar to the picture found by Phillips in his Cut B made at the northeastern toe of Mound A, near the site of our Trench 9, Analysis Unit IV.² Despite the consistent recurrence of this pattern, the relatively unmixed state of the Late Ceramic Complex in Analysis Units VI and VII suggests that these are examples of "telescoped" deposits in which the earlier cultural materials moved upward and later materials moved downward by the overturning of the soil, the digging of pits, post holes, and so

on, either in aboriginal times or later. Soil brought in for the preparation of new house floors doubtlessly contributed. This is not an uncommon phenomenon.³ Apparently the relative purity of Analysis Units VI and VII is partially explained by the fact that these excavations were located inside the bank of the Menard Bayou Arkansas course; the old surface of the prairie had been removed by river-bank cutting, and the Late Baytown potsherds deposited on that surface were not available for mixing with later materials.

DWELLINGS

Short stretches of aligned post moulds were found at several different localities in the Menard Site. These were formed by posts 4 to 6 inches in diameter spaced about 1 foot apart and staggered rather than carefully aligned. A number of baked-clay fireplaces and packed clay areas that probably were remnants of house floors were also found.

The only complete house plan was exposed in Trench 8 (Fig. 9; Pl. 27). Rather ragged lines of post moulds outline a rectangular building that measures about 30 feet east to west and 20 feet north to south. At least one partition can be traced across the eastern end of the structure. This building has two superimposed floors that demonstrate how these low house mounds were accumulated. The lower floor formed of packed clay is littered with refuse. However, black midden soil, ash, bones, and broken pottery evidently accumulated more rapidly about the walls of the building than inside on the floor. The floor was probably swept occasionally and the refuse thrown immediately outside the house. Consequently, the house floor became a depression in relation to the surrounding ground surface, and it must have been difficult to keep out rain water and maintain a dry floor. The Indians corrected this situation by bringing in clean yellow clay and covering the old floor to a depth of 10 inches. Additional refuse and three well-burned fireplaces rested on this new surface. One fireplace was at the west end of the building, one in the center towards the west end, and one about the middle of the length of the structure near the south wall.

Four burials were placed immediately out-

¹ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, Figs. 18, 38.

² Cf. Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, Fig. 38.

³ For discussion, see Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 232-233.

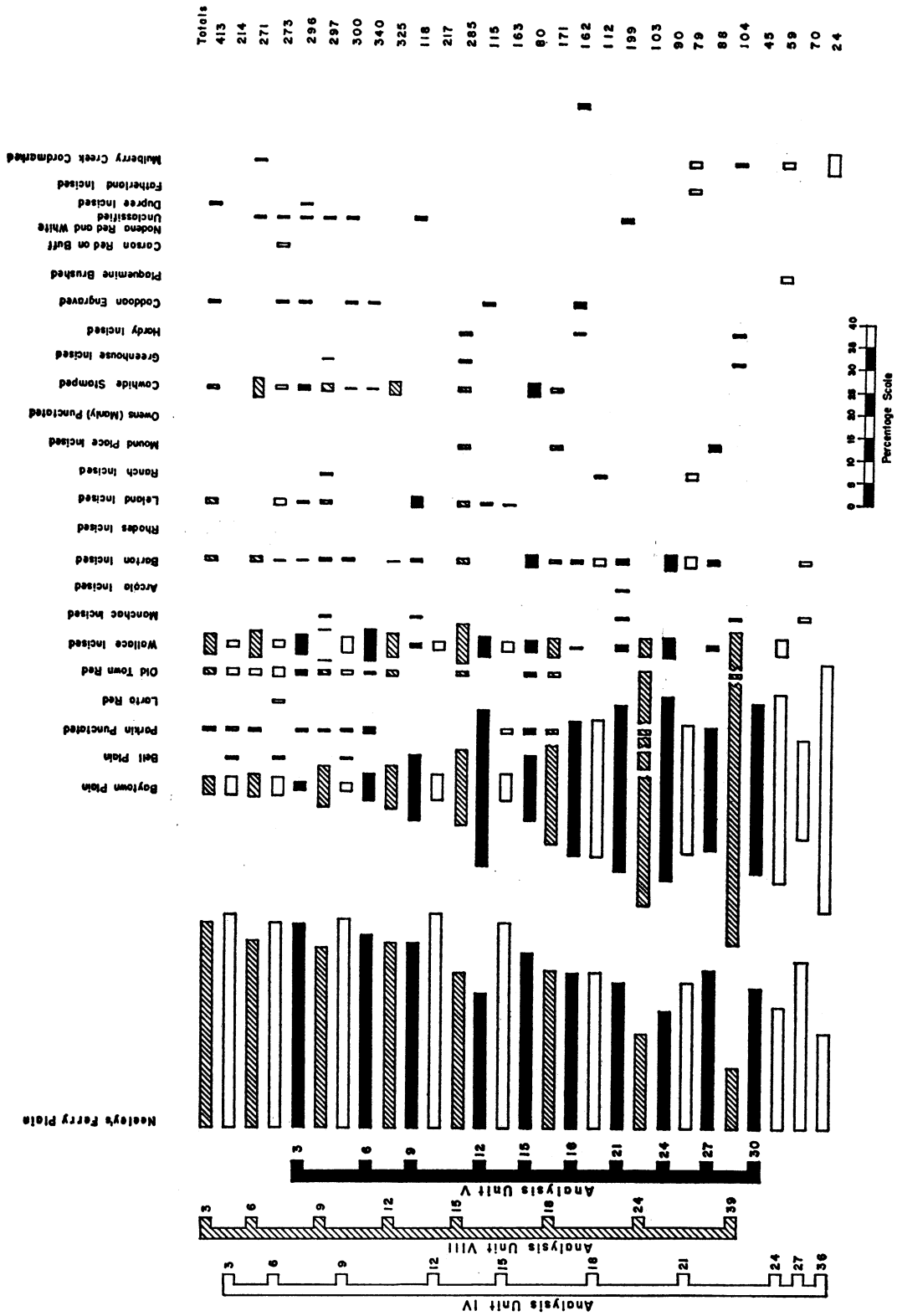


FIG. 8. Histogram of Analysis Units IV, V, and VIII.

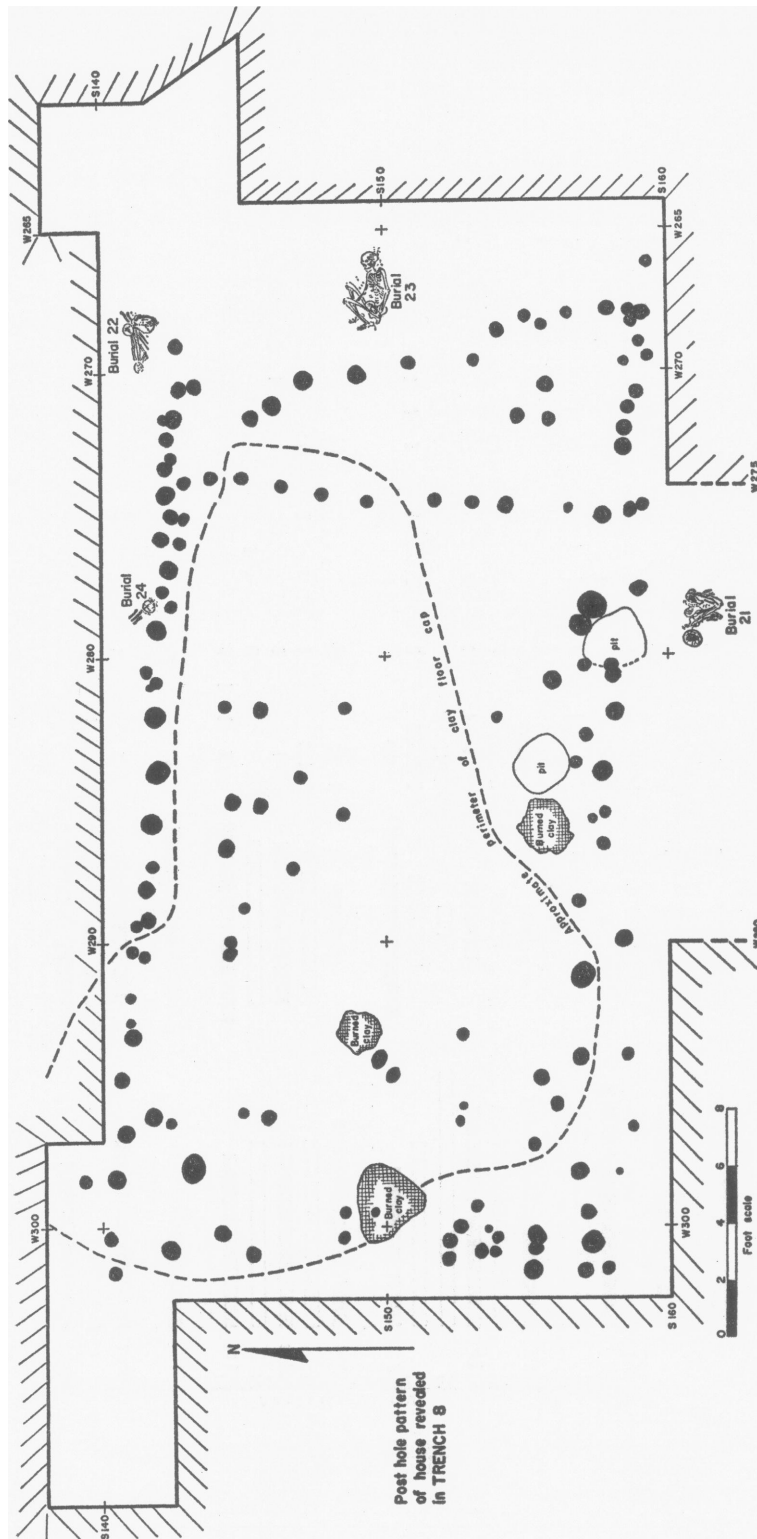


FIG. 9. Post hole pattern of house revealed in Trench 8.

side the walls of this structure, near enough to them to have been afforded some protection by overhanging eaves, if the building had such. One of the skeletons, Burial 21, was accom-

panied by glass beads as described below.

Large fragments of fired clay with impressions of split cane were rather abundant in all parts of the excavation. These demonstrate

TABLE 1
BURIALS

Burial No.	Position	Physical Association	Orientation	Sex	Age	Condition	Surface Depth in Feet	Grave Goods and Find No.
1	Fully flexed	Shallow pit	On left side, head NE.	F	Adult	Poor	0.4	Bowl, F37, Fig. 5e
2	Semi-flexed	Shallow pit	On back, head SE.	F	Mature	Fair	1.6	—
3	Fully flexed	Shallow pit	On right side, head W.	—	Child	Poor	1.1	—
4	Skull	Midden	—	—	—	Poor	1.0	—
5	Seated	Pit	Face and legs to N.	M	Mature	Poor	0.8	—
6	Seated	Midden	Face and legs to S.	?M	?Adult	Poor	0.5	—
7ab	Disturbed, multiple	Midden	—	—	?Adult	Fair	1.8	Misc. sherds, F67
8	Semi-flexed	Pit	On back, head W.	?F	?Adult	Poor	3.2	—
9	Skull	Pit	Head W.	—	—	Poor	2.6	—
10	Skull	Midden	—	—	—	Poor	1.0	—
11	Semi-flexed	Midden	On back, head WSW.	F	Adult	Poor	0.4	—
12	?Bundle	Midden	Head E.	M	Mature	Fair	0.2	—
13	Bundle, multiple	Midden	Axis, NW.-SE.	F	Mature	Poor	0.3	—
14	Semi-flexed	Midden	Head NE.	—	Child	Poor	0.3	Teapot, F85; ladle, F86, Fig. 5a-b
15	Semi-flexed	Shallow pit	Head ENE.	—	Child	Poor	1.1	—
16	Semi-flexed, disturbed	Lensed soil	Left side, head SW.	M	Adult	Poor	2.1	—
17	Fully flexed	Lensed soil	On back, head S.	M	Mature	Poor	1.4	—
18	Semi-flexed	Midden	Head W.	M	Adult	Poor	0.7	—
19	Semi-flexed, disturbed	Midden	On right side, head W.	M	Adult	Fair	1.1	—
20	Semi-flexed, intrusive to 19	Midden	On face, head W.	F	Mature	Fair	0.5	—
21	Semi-flexed, disturbed	Midden, near house, Feature 13	On face, head NNW.	?M	Adult	Poor	0.3	Bowl, F101, Fig. 5d Green glass beads, F102, blue glass beads, F103
22	Bundle, multiple	Midden, near house, Feature 13	Axis, E.-W.	—	Adult, child	Poor	0.4	Plastron turtle, F109
23	Semi-flexed	Midden, near house, Feature 13	On back, head E.	F	Adult	Good	0.5	—
24	Skull, ?bundle	Post hole of Feature 13	—	M	Adult	Fair	1.7	—

that the walls of the structure were made by the interweaving of a cane wattlework between the house posts and the plastering of it with clay. Also, the typical clinkers formed by burning concentrated piles of grass, such as haystacks, were found at a number of localities. This is interpreted as evidence that at least some of the structures had thatched roofs, in addition to the bark roofs mentioned by Joutel. Fired dirt dauber nests were also common.

This firing of building material may have been accidental. However, the evidence was so consistent that we are led to suspect that the late inhabitants of the Menard Site practised the intentional burning of their dwellings at intervals as acts of a "Renewing Ceremony."

BURIALS

The 24 burials recovered in the course of the 1958 field-work are described in tabular form in Table 1 and are illustrated in Fig. 10. The majority were placed in shallow holes within 1 foot of the surface, with arms and legs flexed; two burials were seated. The absence of burials in the lower levels of the deposit is particularly striking. Most of the skulls had been badly crushed or, in some cases, had been disturbed by plowing. None was well enough preserved to make it possible to save it for measurements.

In marked contrast to Clarence B. Moore's observations, 50 years ago, only three of the 24 burials were accompanied by grave goods. He uncovered 160 burials and found 214 vessels as grave goods. Moore comments on these associations as follows:

While some burials were without accompanying pottery, the majority of interment had a mortuary tribute of this kind, especially in the Menard Place in the vicinity of the mound and in Mr. Wallace's field.¹

Such a statement leads us to suspect that some of the burials that we uncovered were robbed of grave goods by the skillful professional pot-hunters who have been visiting the Menard Site for at least a century. Locating these shallow burials with a probe is a simple matter, and the Arkansas professionals take pride in their ability to determine the position of the

skeleton and then dig small holes at head and feet to recover the grave goods that are usually placed at these points.

On the several excavation ground plans it was noted that the burials that we found tended to be arranged in groups, and the location of these groups tended to coincide with the crests of the low house mounds. Evidently these burials were made in the floors of the houses or close to the walls. The relationship of the burials to the single house we were able to work out seems quite clear (Fig. 9). This method of burial is general in the Late Mississippian Period of the central part of the Mississippi Valley.

In 1698 de Tonti escorted a group of priests down the Mississippi River to the Quapaw, where they intended to establish missions. Father St. Cosme was much impressed by the decimation of the Indians caused by introduced European disease. Writing of the Quapaw village of Kappa, he says:

... We were deeply afflicted at finding this nation of the Acanseas, formerly so numerous, entirely destroyed by war and by disease. Not a month had elapsed since they had rid themselves of smallpox, which had carried off most of them. In the village there are now nothing but graves, in which they are buried two together, and we estimate that not a hundred men were left. All the children had died, and a great many women.²

It may be confidently assumed that the town of Osotouy did not escape these epidemics, and it is very tempting to attribute to the epidemics at least a part of the hundreds of graves that have been destroyed by plowing, pot-hunters, and archeologists.

STONE WORK

Compared with the numerous fragments of pottery, worked stone was not particularly abundant—a usual condition in the alluvial valley of the Mississippi where all this material must be brought some distance from deposits along the sides of the valley. Irregular flint cores and flakes from these cores were most numerous.

Thirty-three projectile points were found. These have been classified according to the

¹ Moore, 1908, 493.

² Kellog, 1917, 359-360.

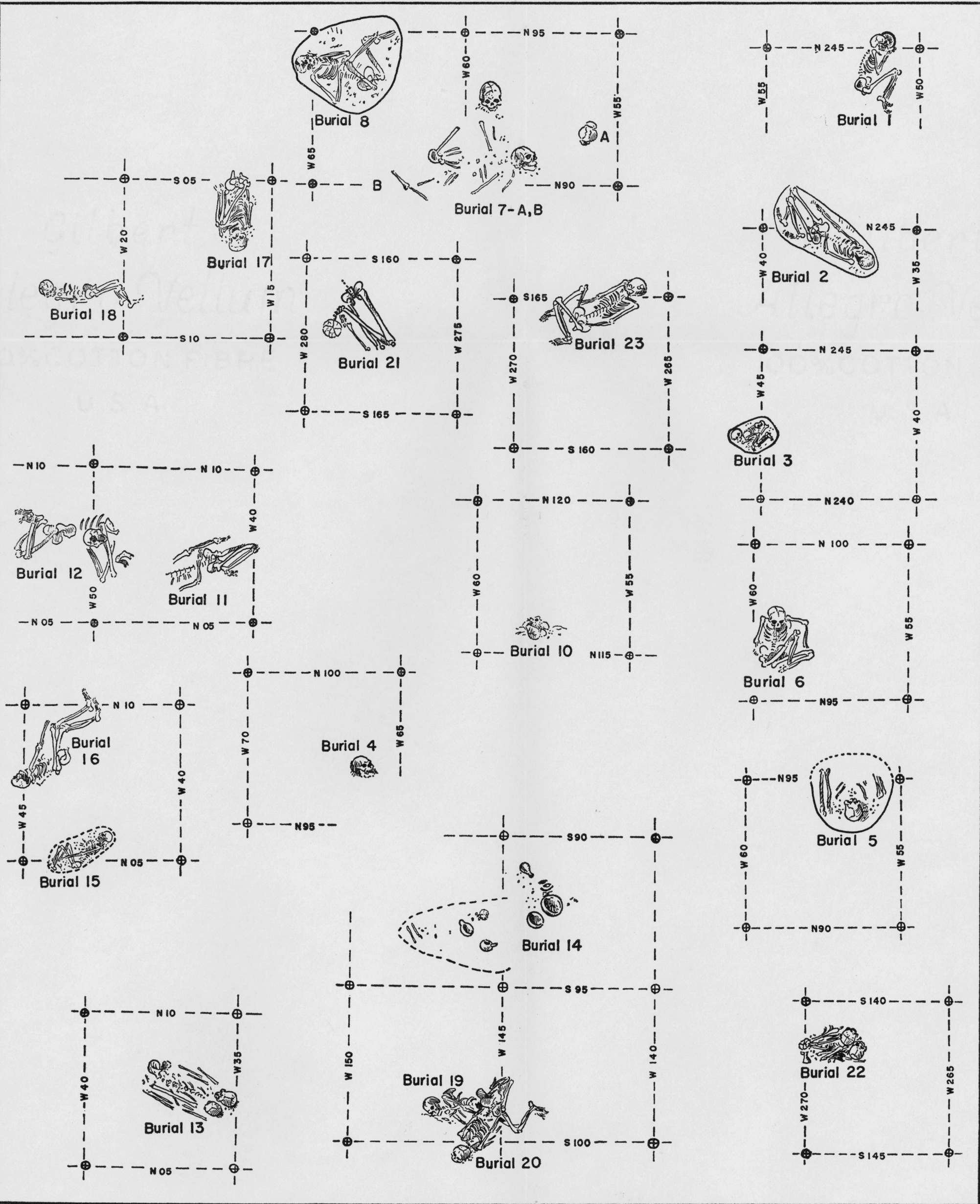


FIG. 10. Plans of burials.

types suggested by Suhm and Krieger,¹ so far as is possible.

Only one Gary point was found (Pl. 29a). This came from a depth of 30 inches, the base of the deposit in Trench 4, and thus is not necessarily associated with the latest pottery complex on the site.

One rather crudely chipped triangular point has rough side notches (Pl. 29b). This is probably a broken fragment that was re-used by the Indians.

Alba points are represented by four specimens, of which only one is complete (Pl. 29c). These were scattered through the midden deposit, with no apparent tendency towards upper or lower levels.

Eight Nodena points, thin, delicately fashioned, willow-leaf blades, were found (Pl. 29d-g). Three accompanied a burial and the other five were all within 6 inches of the surface (Table 2). These blades probably are late within the site.

Small triangular points with rounded bases constitute the most numerous category (Pl. 29h-m). These are not so thin as the leaf-shaped Nodena points just mentioned; some have median ridges. All except one were found within 6 inches of the surface; the exception was 9 inches deep. These undoubtedly are an element of the recent phase of occupation of the site.

It is doubtful if the large triangular blades are projectile points, but they do constitute a distinctive class (Pl. 29n). They range from 3 to 6 cm. in length and are roughly chipped. The four blades found came from within 6 inches of the surface.

Nineteen tools have been classified as "slender knives" (Pl. 29o-w). They are rather thick, long and narrow, with parallel sides. Some of these slender knives show retouching and have sharp edges. These occur in both the upper and lower levels of the deposits.

Oval blades are pressure flaked (Pl. 29z-ff). Seventeen whole and broken tools make up this group. They, too, tend to be thick in cross-section, the oval sides sometimes tending to merge into blunt points at one or both ends. The edges are generally sharp. They were found at various depths.

Oval scrapers are distinguished from the preceding type by their thickness and absence

of pressure flaking (Pl. 29gg-jj). They appear to have been roughed out by percussion. The nine specimens were all within 6 inches of the surface.

Twelve thumb-nail or snub-nosed scrapers (Pl. 29kk-pp) were found. On one face these scrapers show the unmodified flake surface, while the other is retouched to form the blunt scraper working edge. Several show polish resulting from use. While the snub-nosed scraper is a common element of the Oneota culture and of the historic Indian cultures to the northward in Missouri, it is an unusual artifact in the Lower Mississippi Valley Region.

Nine irregularly flaked blades were not classifiable. Some could well have been reworked broken specimens of more distinctive types (Fig. 29x-y).

Nineteen readily distinguishable fragments of sandstone grinding slabs were found (Pl. 29rr, ss). They are all approximately equal in

TABLE 2

RESUMÉ OF PROVENIENCE OF STONE ARTIFACTS

Stone tools found within 12 inches of surface; Levels A, B, C, and D:

- 2 Alba Barbed points
- 7 Willow Leaf points
- 15 small triangular points
- 4 large triangular blades
- 19 narrow blades
- 16 oval blades
- 9 oval scrapers
- 12 thumb-nail scrapers
- 8 miscellaneous blade forms
- 18 sandstone abraders
- 1 grooved abrader
- 1 claystone abrader
- 1 quartz crystal
- 1 piece of silica slag
- 2 hammerstones
- 5 celt fragments
- 1 polished pebble
- 1 polished stone pendant

Stone tools found from 12 to 36 inches below the surface:

- 1 Gary Stemmed point, 30 inches deep
 - 2 Alba Barbed points, 21 and 30 inches deep
 - 1 oval knife, 36 inches deep
 - 1 miscellaneous blade, 36 inches deep
 - 1 granite abrader 18 inches deep
 - 2 hammerstones, 27 inches deep
 - 1 celt fragment, 30 inches deep
-

¹ Suhm and Krieger, 1954.

thickness, averaging about 1 cm., and of various sizes from 3 to 5 cm. in diameter. The shapes are very irregular, suggesting that they are fragments from larger circular and rectangular forms. One or two edges usually show wear, as does one or both of the flat sides.

Only one sandstone shaft smoother was found (Pl. 29qq). The worn groove is distinct.

Among miscellaneous stone objects are a disc-shaped fragment of claystone and a thick block of granite with battered surfaces. One quartz crystal, a used piece of silica slag (probably from burning grass), a dully polished stream pebble, and four hammerstones were also included in the stone work. One of the hammerstones shows slight central pitting (Pl. 29tt).

Parts of six ground-stone celts were found (Pl. 29uu, ww). Five of these were large and oval in cross-section, so far as could be determined from the poll and bit fragments. The sixth celt was small, rather flat, and rectangular in section, a form usually very late in the Lower Mississippi Valley Region.

One perforated stone pendant was found (Pl. 29vv). This is a thin, oval-shaped pebble that is similar to the two illustrated by Moore as having come from the Menard Site.¹

HORIZONTAL PROVENIENCE OF STONE WORK

The great majority of all types of stone tools was found in the sections of trenches that cut into the flanks of the small mounds marked D and F on the map (Fig. 3). Trench 8, in which the house pattern was revealed, also shows significant numbers of artifacts in the squares on the north edge of this small rise. This distribution and shallow deposition suggest that most of these tools are related to the latest phase of occupation.

BONE TOOLS

Despite the large quantities of animal bone in the midden deposits, including numerous fragments of antler, only four pieces of bone were found showing evidence of workmanship.

A badly decayed section of the ventral plate of a turtle shell lay in Burial 22 over the elbow. Although no evidence of workmanship existed and the specimen could not even be saved, this

may be part of a turtle shell rattle.

Another small fragment of a ventral plate was sorted out of the level collections. A hole had been drilled near the edge.

A small antler tine from a collection 6 to 9 inches deep showed evidence of cutting.

Another antler tip has a socket at the base (Pl. 25y). This was in a cache, or bundle, which also contained a beaver incisor, three Willow Leaf blades, and an irregular flint fragment. These were near Burial 14, but not clearly associated with it.

EUROPEAN TRADE GOODS

Very small quantities of items of European manufacture have been described by each of the investigators who have worked at Menard Site. In a letter to the Bureau of American Ethnology, dated 1881, Edward Palmer described a metal cross discovered a short time before by a local citizen who was digging into the top of Mound A. This cross was remembered and described in some detail by a relative of the Menard family interviewed by Phillips in 1940.² Phillips' remarks are quoted below.

Of the 160 burials uncovered by Clarence Moore "Near Menard Mound," 10 were accompanied by trade goods. These are discussed in detail in a later section.

The 1958 field party found even scantier evidence of European contact than that recovered by Moore. A thoroughly charred boar's tusk was excavated from what appeared to be an undisturbed fireplace 1 foot below the surface in Trench 1.³

In Trench 3, a single blue seed bead made of glass was found in one of the large post holes described above.⁴ There was no associated burial. This bead may have been displaced by Moore's excavations or construction activity. However, there is no doubt but that the bead dates from the period of early French contact.

Burial 21, discovered in Trench 8, just outside the south wall of the house found in this area, was the flexed skeleton of an adult male only 0.3 feet beneath the sod. Three small seed beads made of green glass and one made of blue glass rested in the pelvic region, near the right femur. At the feet of this skeleton was a shell-

² Phillips, MS, 17.

³ This fired area is located N250-255, W95-100, El. 102.3.

⁴ Location N190, W56.6, El. 99.73.

¹ Moore, 1908, 492, Fig. 3.

tempered bowl, with a broad band of red slip around the rim, of the type Old Town Red Filmed (Fig. 5d).

The paucity of trade goods accompanying burials at Menard contrasts markedly with the relative abundance of items of European manufacture found at the Grand Village of the Natchez Indians near Natchez, Mississippi, and at the historic Tunica village near the mouth of Red River in Louisiana.¹ However, this difference in quantity is to be expected. The sites lower down the Mississippi represent the period from 1720 to 1730 when the French were firmly established in the Lower Mississippi Valley and were receiving goods directly from France by sea. All the trade goods for de Tonti's modest establishment at the Arkansas had to be brought from Canada by canoe. Jean Couture and his companions were so pressed for supplies that Joutel's party left them powder and other supplies as they passed through on their overland trip from the Texas coast. It is understandable that the meager list of trade goods from Menard consists of small light beads and

metal ornaments; heavier items, such as brass kettles, wooden chests with iron fittings, and firearms have not been found.

FAUNAL REMAINS

Animal bones were relatively abundant in the Menard Site refuse deposits. The collection was submitted to the Department of Mammalogy of the American Museum for identification. Mr. George G. Goodwin, who has examined the collection, gives the following list:

- Opossum
- Raccoon
- White-tailed deer (80 per cent)
- Domestic pig
- Horse tooth
- Clam shells
- Drumfish and other fish
- Turkey and other birds
- Soft shell turtle and others
- Bison (rare)

Moore states that on the nearby Wallace Site bison bones were abundant.²

¹ Ford, 1936, 61, 137; Quimby, 1942.

² Moore, 1908, 492.

EXPLORATIONS OF EDWARD PALMER

THE EXISTING RECORDS of Palmer's work at Menard for the Bureau of American Ethnology were reviewed by Phillips in the manuscript report which he prepared for the National Park Service in 1941. This excellent analysis has not been published elsewhere and is worth repeating in full.

The 12th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology contains a brief description of the Menard site, with a map [Fig. 3], based on information by Edward Palmer, one of the Bureau's investigators for that great compilation of early mound archaeology.^[1] We have also Palmer's field notes published by the Arkansas Historical Association, which give additional, if somewhat confusing details.^[2] In excavations, which took place prior to his association with the Bureau, Palmer secured a large amount of material, chiefly pottery, which is now in the National Museum. The character of some of his pottery is such that it becomes of the greatest interest to discover something about the conditions under which it was found. I shall, therefore, endeavor to lock horns with Palmer's remarkably confusing and contradictory reports.

There are three separate items of information to be considered: first, a letter to Major Powell, chief of the Bureau, dated 1881^[3]; second, a field journal entry dated 1883^[4]; third, the published description in the Bureau report.^[5] Details of description, particularly the dimensions given for the various mounds, are fantastically incongruent in these several reports, but this need not detain us here. Of more interest are two finds, one consisting of a metal cross, the other, the collection of pottery referred to above.

In his letter of 1881, Palmer states that sometime previous to his arrival on the scene, a metal cross had been taken from an 8-foot hole in the summit of the big mound. The cross is described as about 6-8 inches long, the nature of the metal not specified. In his 1883 information, Palmer mentions three cuts 10 feet deep into the sides of the mound, but says nothing about the hole in the top, and nothing about the cross. In the Bureau report, the cross is stated to have been found 4 feet below the surface of the big mound, the location not given. Our curiosity is

whetted, but little is done to satisfy it. Of the subsequent history of this important relic nothing of an official nature can be said. A Mrs. Wheeler, wife of the present caretaker on the site, and a niece of the first wife of Julius Menard, says that she remembers it well, that for many years it was kept over the fireplace in the Julius Menard house. According to her recollection, the cross was of bronze, about 8 inches long by 6 inches wide, and had a figure of the Savior upon it. She believes it was in the house at the time of the fire and may still be in the ruins [at "E" on the map, Fig. 2].^[6]

This cross might be of immense value if it could be found. The pottery secured by Palmer, though less spectacular, is at least in existence, in the collections of the National Museum at Washington. Its importance lies in the fact that it was markedly different from the pottery found with burials on the site. I shall have more to say about this pottery in a later section, but to clarify the subject at this point may say that the vessels in question are large shallow bowls of a coarse shell-tempered paste, light buff in color, and decorated by a very broad shallow type of incision, sometimes combined with punctation or light brushing. Our concern here is to ascertain, if possible, where and under what conditions these vessels were found. All three of Palmer's reports speak of two "extensions" of the big mound. His dimensions seldom agree, but no matter. The larger, or western extension (which we have elected to regard as a separate mound, Md. B.) still remains, apparently not much diminished in size. The smaller extension to the east, or as one report has it, to the south, the height of which is given as 10 feet in 1881, 7 feet in 1883, has since then almost disappeared, and the mound at its end (our Md. F.), described as 15 feet high in 1881, is now considerably less than a meter. Palmer's letter of 1881 describes in detail his finding a house site at approximately the center of the smaller eastern extension, in the debris of which he recovered "many broken pots differing in ornament and form from those found with the dead." In the 1883 report he transfers this find to the larger western wing. "It was in the center of this wing that so many broken flat dishes were found." There can be no question that the same find is meant, for the conditions repeat exactly those described in the 1881 letter. In the published report, the find remains in the larger appendage. Perhaps it is of no great importance just where the stuff was found, though one likes to have a measure of certainty in such matters. The principal thing is that the pots were found in a house

⁶ "Information by Dr. T. L. Hodges, present owner of the site."

¹ "Thomas, Cyrus, Report of the mound explorations of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 12th Ann. Rep. B.A.E., 1890-91, Washington, 1894."

² "Ark. Hist. Soc. Pub. vol. 4, pp. 431-2, 445-7, Little Rock, 1917."

³ "Ark. Hist. Assoc. Pub. vol. 4, pp. 445-7."

⁴ "ibid, pp. 431-2."

⁵ "B.A.E., 12th Ann. Rep. pp. 229-31."

site and that there were no burials present. All Palmer's reports mention other finds of pottery in the smaller house mounds on the southern part of the site, but these seem to have been associated with burials in this region. We have, then, an indication that there was on the site a special class of pottery, differing not only in type from the prevailing mortuary ware, but also differing in its manner of occurrence.

In addition to the sources cited by Phillips in the above quotation there is a list of Palmer's collection in which certain specimens are illustrated in the Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.¹ Here the distinction between the cache of bowls found on the large Mound (B) and the more "ordinary" artifacts found in the burials associated with house sites in the surrounding fields is made quite clear. The drawings illustrating this article do more than justice to the artifacts, as will be explained.

In 1938 Phillips studied and photographed the Palmer collection, now deposited in the United States National Museum. I brushed the dust off these specimens for the same purpose in 1960. At this latter date not all of the items listed by Holmes were located, doubtless owing to the illegibility of some catalogue numbers and insufficient time spent in the search. In his 1884 paper Holmes lists 36 bowls as having come from the excavations in Mound B and gives their catalogue numbers. These are described by categories as Plain, with exterior decoration, with interior decoration, and with flared rims. I have identified 27 of these vessels with a reasonable degree of certainty, but in at least seven instances the vessels do not conform to the category given; decorated bowls are listed as Plain, and so on. As a matter of fact, the classification in many instances must remain in some doubt, for the vessels have been reconstructed by the assembling of sherds from different vessels and fitting them by drastic trimming of the edges. Even where the fragments appear to have come from the same vessel, they have been misfitted so that the design is thoroughly scrambled (Fig. 12a-b). Also the surfaces on many bowls have been trimmed with a toothed sculpturing tool which has left a misleading combed effect.

Reading the several sources cited above

makes it probable that Palmer found this cache of bowls on top of Mound B associated with a 6-inch layer of burned clay found 6 inches beneath the surface. He was under the impression that this clay layer was the remains of a house roof and the vessels probably had been placed upon the roof before it collapsed. No burials were found. We re-excavated this area (Trench 10) and found the burned layer as described. Obviously, it represents the badly cut-up remains of house floor and walls. However, we found no additional fragments of pottery resembling that in Palmer's collection.

Representative samples of Palmer's collection are shown in Figs. 11 and 12. These bowls are yellowish tan in color and rather soft, evidently fired at a low temperature. The paste was originally tempered with shell fragments, but most of these have leached out, contributing further to the friableness of the ware. This pottery is rather thin, averaging slightly less than one quarter of an inch in thickness; as the bowls range from 11 to 15 inches in diameter they give the impression of being light in weight for their size.

There are only two basic shapes. Most popular is a simple round-bottomed bowl almost hemispherical in shape (Fig. 12a-d); the second group has the same body shape but also has a narrow, straight, or out-curving rim (Fig. 12e-g).

Thirteen undecorated bowls were examined. Their thinness and shape tend to separate them from the type Neeley's Ferry Plain,² the usual plainware of this part of the Mississippi Valley.

The 14 decorated bowls all fall within the range of the type Wallace Incised. The incised lines average about 5 mm. in width and are made with a cylindrical tool. They may be described under the following categories:

Three bowls (Fig. 11d) with indeterminate motifs have been reconstructed from fragments of a number of different vessels. Many of the sherds bear typical round-bottom incised lines, but none of the misplaced fragments is large enough for the designs to be determined.

One bowl has an incised rim decoration (Fig. 11e), consisting of slanting parallel lines.

Three bowls have looped lines on the exterior (Fig. 11f). Two of these have plain rims set off by an incised line and below that sets of con-

¹ Holmes, 1884, 476-485.

² Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 105-110.

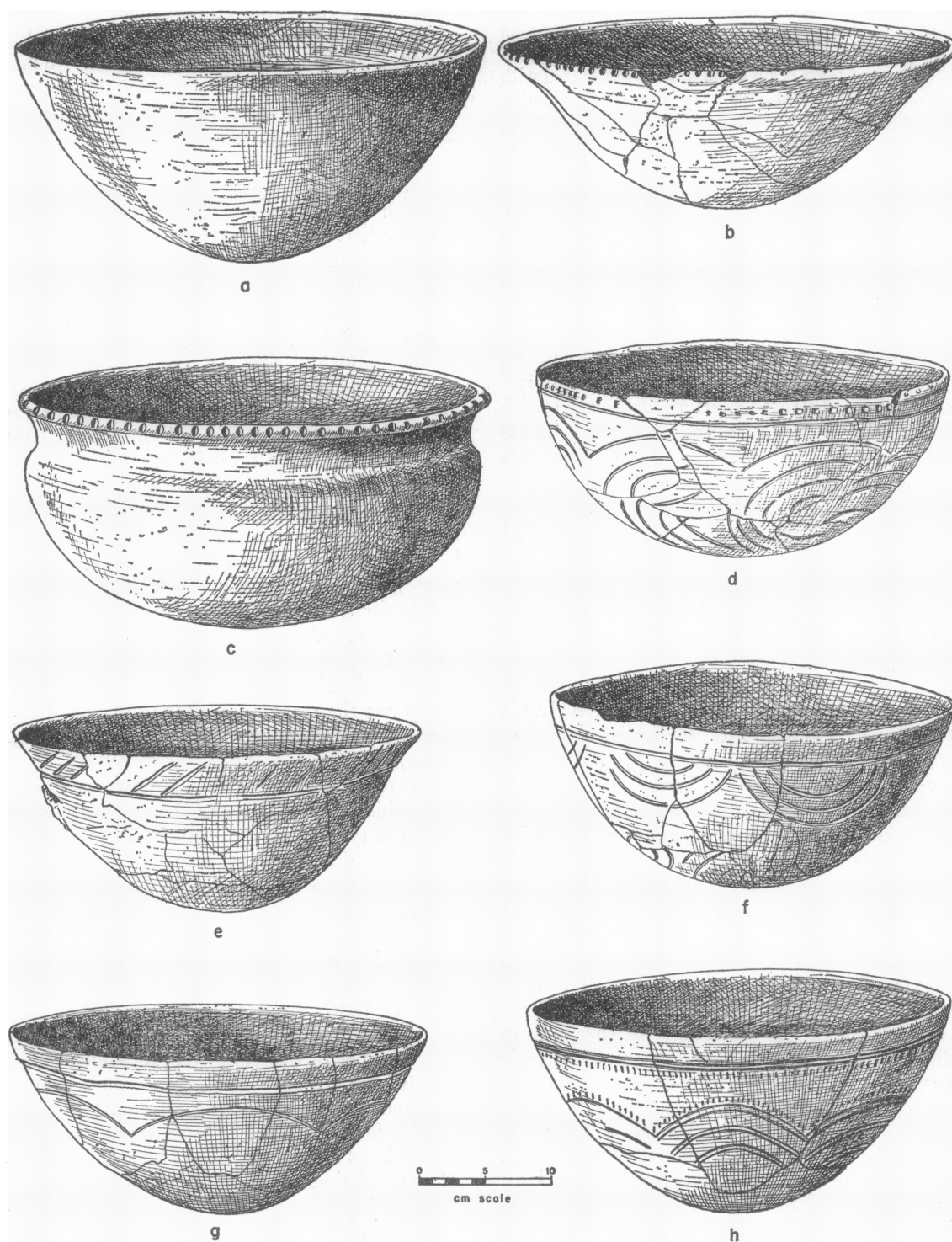


FIG. 11. Pottery collected by Edward Palmer from Mound B.

centric festooned lines arranged about the vessel. The third bowl (Fig. 12d) has a separate rim design formed of straight lines.

The three specimens with looped lines on the interior (Fig. 12e-g) are identical. Each has three lines arranged around the bowl interior, with other sets of lines arched over the inter-sections.

Two bowls have arched lines on the exterior (Fig. 11g, h). One has a single wide incised line forming arches; the second has three parallel lines, and the top line is bordered by a row of punctations.

The bowl shown in Fig. 12a is very poorly reconstructed. However, enough of the design can be seen towards the left side to determine that the motif is the guilloche.

The bowl illustrated in Fig. 12b is another example of a forced reconstruction. Below a rim decoration of rows of punctations there seem to be two or three parallel lines forming a loosely interlocking scroll.

Zoned brushing is a rare variant included in the type Wallace Incised. One example (Fig. 12c) has a punctated rim decoration, and on the body are two interlocked looped bands of brushing bordered by wide incised lines. This technique is also a feature of the type Cowhide Stamped.

Holmes comments on the difference between the vessels in this cache and the more ordinary vessels which Palmer secured from the graves found in the dwelling places that dot the fields about the Menard Mound. This impression arose from the fact that all the decorated vessels conform to one type, Wallace Incised. For some reason this type is missing from Palmer's, and Clarence B. Moore's, as well as our cemetery collections. However, it is found in fragments in the refuse and increases to a frequency of about 16 per cent in the upper levels, apparently one of the latest types. Almost certainly it was being manufactured in the period 1680-1700 A.D.

When Wallace Incised was found the first week of the Survey in the Menard area, Griffin, who was familiar with the Oneota pottery, was at once struck with the resemblance in technique to the incising found in some of the Orr Focus centers, at sites attributable to the Missouri Indians and to some of the Top Layer pottery from the Ozark Bluff shelters. The presence of small thumbnail scrapers on these same sites near Menard, also characteristic of

Oneota, added to the feeling of relationship. A more vague connection could be seen to the incising of Fort Ancient vessels.¹

Aside from vessel shapes, the Wallace Incised pottery differs from typical Oneota ceramics principally in the frequent use of looped line and arched motifs. It is the straight-line designs found near vessel rims that more closely resemble Oneota. The arched or festooned line motif shared with the contemporary type, Ranch Incised, is, in addition, found distributed from the Cahokia Site near St. Louis to the vicinity of Vicksburg, Mississippi, always on a very late time level. East of the Mississippi Valley the looped and arched line motifs are found only rarely at the fully developed Mississippian Period sites such as Moundville, Alabama, or Macon, Georgia, but become more common on the ceramics of later cultural phases of the northwest coast of Florida and of Georgia.

Looped and arched line motifs are also found in Caddoan pottery designs in the late Fulton Aspect types, Avery Engraved, Bailey Engraved, Belcher Engraved, and Friendship Engraved. These motifs are sometimes found on Earlier Gibson Aspect types such as East Incised, Spiro Engraved, and, to a lesser extent, Holly Fine Engraved.² In the last two types there is a tendency for the parallel curving lines to be used as fillers in the angles formed by bands of straight lines.

This motif seems to be oldest in the Caddoan region, suggesting that it is another of the design elements that has been introduced into the Mississippi Valley from Mexico. Unfortunately, I do not find it on illustrated pottery from the Huasteca, the most logical source.

However, the same motif is found at various sites in the Valley of Mexico, as is well illustrated in Boas and Gamio's "*Album de colecciones arqueológicas*." Most of the painted and incised examples seem to date in the Archaic, somewhat too early to have provided a direct source for the Mississippi Valley decorations.³ These are rather simple design elements, and the resemblance is only general. However, a

¹ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 136.

² Descriptions in Newell and Krieger, 1949, and Suhm and Krieger, 1954.

³ Boas and Gamio, 1921, Pls. 38, 48, 50, 57; Vaillant, 1930, Pls. 8, 9; 1931, Pl. 70.

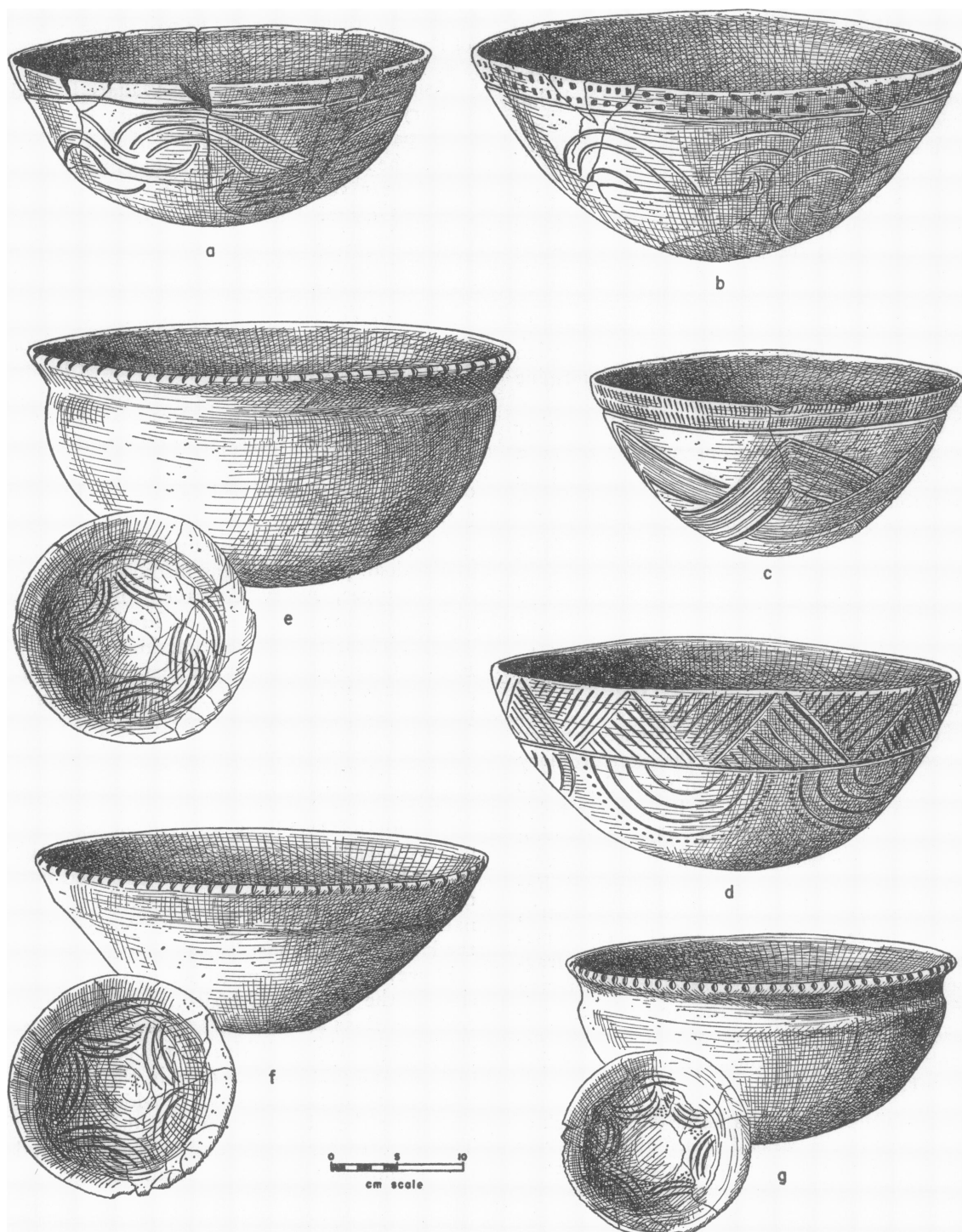


FIG. 12. Pottery collected by Edward Palmer from Mound B.

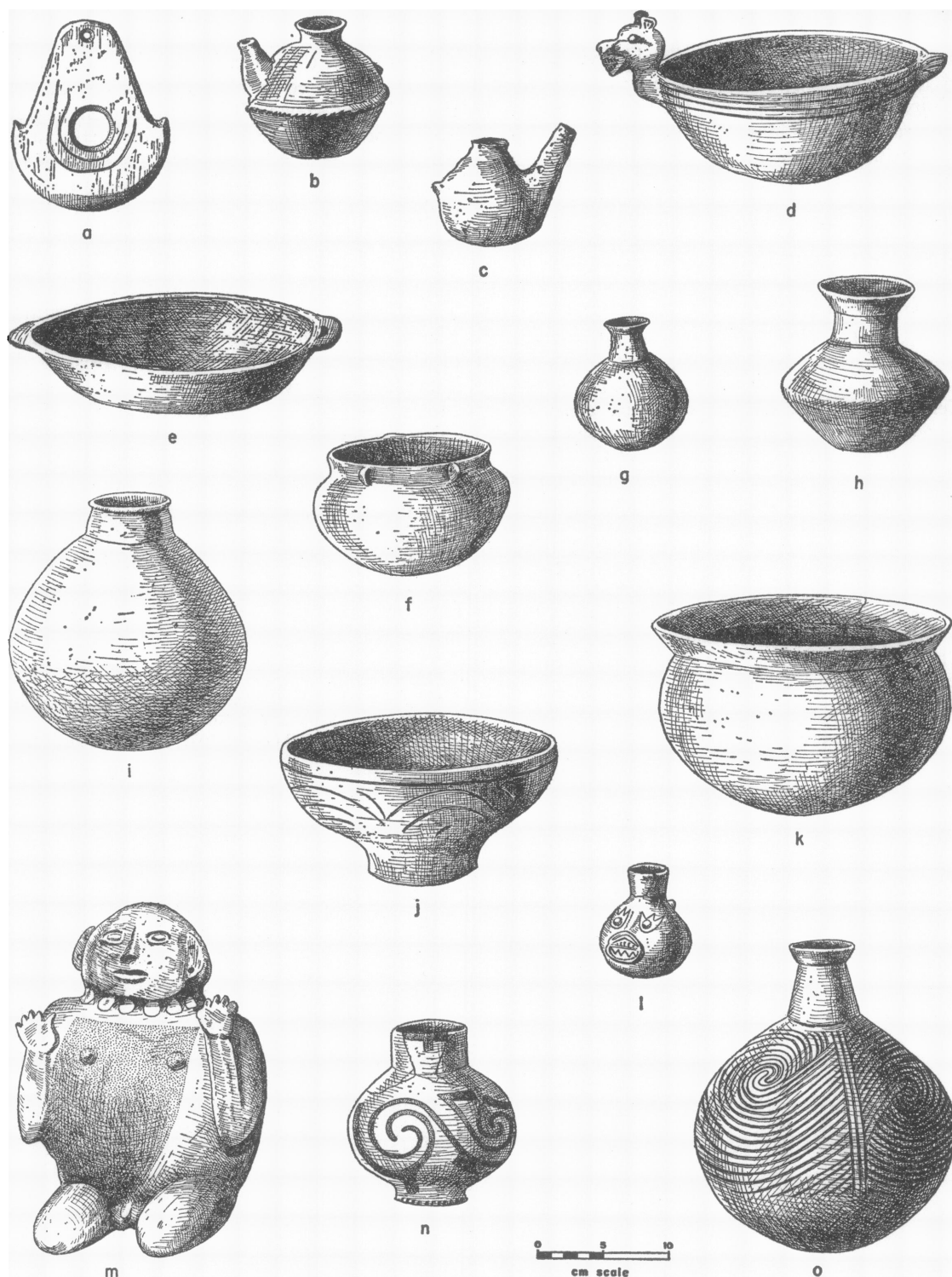


FIG. 13. Artifacts collected by Edward Palmer from dwelling sites about Menard Mound. Redrawn from Holmes (1884).

more complex design that resembles variations of the older Caddoan types mentioned above (Spiro Fine Engraved and Holly Engraved) is illustrated in this album. Curving parallel lines used as fillers in the angles formed by intersecting bands of straight lines are common on a class of pottery which Boas and Gamio illustrate from Culhuacán.¹

At my request Dr. Eduardo Noguera has supplied the following information about Boas and Gamio's Pl. 32:

This type of ceramics associated with other types is found in deposits located in the modern town of the same name [Culhuacán], about 500 meters west of Cerro de la Estralla. That particular ceramic is found in the lowest levels which correspond to the Toltec complex (the earliest period of the Historic Horizon) roughly 850 to 1200 A.D. The most typical type of ceramics of that particular period and the most abundant is known as Aztec I, Culhuacán. Above in upper levels you have Aztec II (Type Tenayuca) and on the top levels, Aztec III-IV (Tenochtitlan-Tlaltelolco 1325-1521). This complex of ceramics has a limited distribution in the Valley of Mexico, but types quite similar are found in the Cholula area, around the big pyramid, and, of course, are of the same period.²

¹ Boas and Gamio, 1921, Pl. 32.

² Noguera, letter of July 5, 1960.

It appears, then, that a potential source for this motif existed at about the proper date in the Valley of Mexico. That similar designs were made about 1100 or 1200 A.D. in northeastern Mexico seems highly probable, for most of the Meso-American elements that entered into the early Caddoan culture phase seem to have been transmitted by way of the Huasteca.

Only a few of the objects collected by Palmer from the field about Menard were examined. These are listed in some detail by Holmes. Figure 13 is copied from Holmes's illustrations of these artifacts—Figs. 152-166.³ Most of the items are similar to specimens collected by Moore and also found in our excavations. The effigy bottle (Fig. 13m), representing a seated hunchback, is a type widely distributed in southeastern Missouri and eastern Arkansas.⁴ The vessel with an animal effigy head on the rim differs from the more carelessly made effigy bowls usually found at Menard. In style it resembles the bowls, usually polished and conforming to the type Bell Plain, that are common in northeastern Arkansas.⁵

³ Holmes, 1884.

⁴ For detailed discussion, see Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 163-165, Table 2, Fig. 107.

⁵ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 160-163, Fig. 101.

CLARENCE B. MOORE'S EXCAVATIONS ON THE LOWER ARKANSAS RIVER

AS MENTIONED ABOVE, Clarence B. Moore spent February to March, 1908, touring the lower Arkansas River in the famous paddle-wheeled steamer "Gopher," assisted by a staff of 13 men to dig and four supervisors. He visited and worked primarily in the "vicinity of Menard Mound," at "Old River Landing," and in a "mound near Douglas." He also made a good haul at Greer and several other sites, but these need not concern us here.¹ Moore was well aware that the cemeteries he was excavating post-dated Indian contact with Europeans: "At nearly every site investigated by us were found beads of glass and objects of brass—sure signs, as the reader is aware, of contact between the aborigines and white men." The Old River Landing and Douglas cemeteries are so similar to those of Menard, both in method of burial and accompanying grave goods, that it seems certain they were made by the same group of Indians.

For many years students of Moore's monumental reports have been tantalized by his consistent reference to burials and vessels by number; he must have kept field notes, or at least a field catalogue. Descriptions of selected burials and illustrated vessels are not related in the published reports, and, as the field-notes were not available, only limited use could be made of his work. Now, however, the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, has acquired and made available what seems to be at least a substantial part of Moore's original notes. The notebook (Number 32) containing the data for the excavations made at sites along the lower Arkansas River in 1908 is a cloth-backed, pocket-sized notebook similar to those used by surveyors.

Reading and copying these notes give one a very good idea of Moore's field techniques, which were surprisingly good for the time. First, he appears to have maintained constant supervision over his workmen. Finds are recorded in

¹ The published report gives the impression that Moore's work at these sites was a continuous operation. However, the notebook shows that excavations at both "vicinity of Menard" and "Old River Landing" were initiated on the up-river trip and resumed several weeks later when he descended the Arkansas.

his own handwriting. Also on the fly leaves of the notebook there is a list of the number of "big" or "small" pots discovered by each man, evidently so that extra payment could be made to the finders. The areas excavated are clearly indicated for the "vicinity of Menard Mound," as "Dwelling Site near Elm in Field S. of Menard House," "Wallace Field," and so on. These are quite clear to one who knows the area, because the ruins of Menard's house are still visible, and the Wallaces still own the field referred to. The notes are abbreviated but easily interpreted. Burial number is usually followed by the depth, the position of the skeleton, and the location of grave goods. Then, finds are listed by number and briefly described; that the description sometimes reads "rotten smashed bowl" merely records Moore's frustration. Perhaps the adequacy of the notes will be sufficiently illustrated if I reproduce here only the notes on those burials that were accompanied by European trade goods.

The burials Moore has included under the heading "vicinity of Menard Mound" are separated into "Menard Site" and "Wallace Site," following the lead of Phillips. The distinction is clearly made in Moore's notes in which the "Wallace Field" is stated to be one half of a mile northeast by east from the Menard Mound. The "Plant Field," which appears to lie adjacent to Wallace, is included with that locality.

MENARD SITE

- B-22 9 inches in depth. Disturbed bones. Several glass beads in area.

WALLACE SITE

- B-46⁽²⁾ Partly flexed on right. Near skull V-50, a water bottle, red and white paint, scroll decoration.
V-51 Gourd vessel, white decoration and red inside, upside down over white material.
B-47 18 inches down. Glass beads at neck. Closely flexed on right. Near back: V-57 small undecorated water bottle.

² In Moore, 1908, 490, Burials 46 and 47 are treated as the same interment. Vessel 50 is illustrated in Moore, 1908, Pl. 14; in the present paper, in Fig. 16i.

- B-55. 8 inches down. Closely flexed on left. V-62, 63 are broken and red paint spout vessel¹ 64 punched with holes by our rod [see Fig. 14h]. Brass or copper beads at chin; glass beads at wrist.
- B-59 Child. 2 feet down.
V-68 shallow bowl near skull, rotten ware.
V-69 broken in bits—water bottle red and white paint.
A discoidal stone.
V-70 Bowl, rotten.
Copper or brass in pasty condition.
- B-65 18 inches down. Abor. disarrangement at time of burial.
One on each side of head:
V-86 Inverted bowl, red paint decoration inside.
V-87 Bottle. Top plowed off.
Two tubes of brass—one broken (give dimensions) under this burial.
- B-71 Child. Brass beads and glass beads.
V-99 Small water bottle, red and white paint, hit by plow.
- B-72 2 feet down. Child. Copper or brass beads and a lump of rusted iron at neck.
V-100 Small red paint water bottle.
V-101 Undecorated pot.
- B-117 2 feet. Bunch. 5 skulls—2 of children.
Brass tubular bead $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. long at neck. Sheet brass overlapping edge and part of shell bead.

OLD RIVER LANDING

- B-6 6 inches deep. Bunch. 2 skulls (blue beads avec)
V-6 broken bowl.
V-7 broken vessel. Red paint decoration. Inverted.
Three small handles.
V-8 Red paint small water bottle.
V-9 Red paint bowl.
V-10 Bowl inverted, red paint.
- B-17 Copper or brass beads avec. Glass beads and large shell beads, V-26, 27. near skull of infant or very young child—what is left of skull thro decay.
V-26, 27. Water bottle, double row of knobs around its body [Moore, 1908, Fig. 31; this paper, Fig. 19c], also red painted bowl inverted, 4 loop handles [probably this paper, Fig. 19d].

DOUGLAS SITE

- B-9 Child, 19 inches deep. V-16, 17 at skull. Beads at neck.
Brass beads tubular, and with these small shell beads.
V-16 Water bottle, red and white paint, broken.
V-17 Red paint, bars inside [illustrated in Moore,

- 1908, Fig. 44; this paper, Fig. 20i].
- B-17 Bunch. 16 down—2 skulls side by side. On the other side of Burial V-33, 34. Shell beads and brass tubular beads.
V-29 Inverted bowl, red paint, turned over No. 30.
V-30 Lipped vessel, inverted, with 29 over it [Fig. 20e].
V-31 Below 30 is 31, also inverted, red paint bands.
V-32 Back of these small spout pot [teapot vessel] on its side [Fig. 20d]. Water bottle red paint inverted.
- A child's skull with the above bunch. With it a small bracelet of cu. [copper] made of 2 CC lashed together, the fastening matter still remaining, and a necklace of sheet brass beads, the stringing matter still in place, also one glass bead. With 29-32 group:
V-33 small water bottle, red paint.
V-34 Two compartment vessels. Near the 2 skulls of the burial were a child's skull and bones. Along and at another part of the bunch B-17 were V-35, 36.
V-35 Water bottle, red paint, inverted.
V-36 Spout, inverted, red paint [teapot vessel].
- B-22 14 inches down. Infant's bones. Some small shell beads, also V-38, 39, 40 avec. 9 beads, shell and brass tubular. On other side of skull V-40.
V-38 Inverted bowl, red and white inverted and covering V-39.
V-39 Water bottle, diminutive, red paint.
V-39A Animal vessel in fragments.
V-40 Red paint.
V-41. Inverted bowl. Under a fragment of a vessel were 5 pebbles, 2 of which were much polished on one side and doubtless served as smoothing stones.
V-42 Inverted bowl in fragments.

MOORE'S OBSERVATIONS OF BURIALS AND BURIAL POTTERY

The 24 burials we found are illustrated in Fig. 10. Several are obviously disturbed. It would not be at all surprising if Clarence B. Moore or one of his competitors had not previously uncovered some of these skeletons, removed the grave goods, and re-interred the bones. Moore's lament about the havoc wrought by plowing is fully justified; most of the skeletons are barely beneath the surface. In his notebook Moore rather consistently gives depths. At Menard, Wallace, Old River Landing, and Douglas sites the average depth is about 1 foot; the deepest burial is 3 feet. Depths of over 2 feet are, however, rare.

Moore was quite aware that the burials in

¹ "Spout vessel" is Moore's term for the shape here called "teapot."

TABLE 3
POSITIONS OF BURIALS FOUND BY CLARENCE B. MOORE

	Menard	Wallace Field	Wallace Mound	Old River Landing	Douglas
Extended on back	8	25	3	6	0
Semi-flexed on back	2	1	0	2	0
Flexed on side	3	28	0	14	0
Bundle	7	36	8	27	32
Plow disturbance	4	6	0	6	0
Not specified	0	26	2	9	0

this series of sites were usually associated with low mounds that were house sites. This is clear in the notes and is mentioned in the published report "Our investigations . . . were carried on for a number of days in the dwelling sites of Mr. Wallace's fields and wood. . . ."¹ At the Old River Landing Site:

In the twelve-acre field which is higher than the surrounding land and is not subject to overflow, and in the adjacent barnyard . . . are a number of circular rises of the ground, all dwelling sites from which, with the exception of those in the barnyard, which had not been under cultivation, the plow has turned out much clay, hard and red from ancient fires.

Two of these dwelling sites (those nearest the mound) were each about 40 feet in diameter, the others somewhat less.

The sites, nine in all, were carefully dug by us and nearly all found to contain burials and artifacts, but to a very different extent.²

The burials at the Douglas Site had been placed intrusively into the top of a flat-topped circular mound, 6.5 feet high, and 70 feet in diameter at the base. No burial was deeper than 31 inches. All of the 32 burials that could be successfully cleaned were bundles of bones. Burials in the Wallace Mound were also intrusive. It seems probable that these mounds were the sites of charnel houses and that the cleaned bones were buried beneath the floors of the structures.

In his published report Moore lists the several types of burials found "in the vicinity of Menard mound" and at the other two sites. However, in his notebook it is possible to separate the burials that actually came from Menard

from those in Wallace Field and those excavated from the Mound on the Wallace Place. The burials from these two localities as well as the two sites farther up the river are reclassified as shown in Table 3.

With few exceptions the grave goods consisted solely of pottery vessels. These ranged from none to five or six with a single burial, apparently without reference to burial type. It cannot be said that grave goods were abundant: in the Menard-Wallace cemeteries pots averaged 1.3 per burial; at Old River Landing, also 1.3; and at Douglas, 1.7 pots, per burial. The vessels were usually placed near the head and shoulders or less often near the feet of the articulated skeletons. At all four sites that he investigated, Moore noted that the majority of the bowls were inverted.

Unfortunately, all of Moore's collections from these three sites are not to be found in the Museum of the American Indian. The vessels in the collection seem to be the decorated and otherwise noteworthy pieces. The record for these sites stands as follows:

SITE	NUMBER OF VESSELS FOUND	AVAILABILITY FOR STUDY
Menard vicinity	211	53
Old River Landing	82	26
Douglas	53	16

In its present condition this collection has another defect that must be mentioned. Moore's vessel numbers were attached to each by means of small paper labels. At present these are to be found only inside some of the bottles with narrow necks. The Museum of the American Indian catalogue carries site name, but does not give vessel number. Some of the vessel numbers are given for the specimens illustrated in Figs.

¹ Moore, 1908, 487.

² Moore, 1908, 512.

14 to 20 and, except for the few with original labels, these have been determined from Moore's published illustrations, or from the verbal descriptions given in either field notes or published report.

The loss of the original numbers also makes it impossible to separate the vessels discovered at the real Menard Site from those found in Wallace's Field and mound. That most of the collection from the "vicinity of Menard Mound" actually came from the Wallace Site is shown by the following figures compiled from Moore's notes:

From Menard Site: 24 burials and 32 vessels

From Wallace's Field: 122 burials and 149 vessels

From mound in Wallace's Field: 13 burials and 30 vessels

However, a sufficient number of the original vessel numbers has been determined to demonstrate that, at one or another of the four sites, a specimen representing each of the variations in the rather limited range of decoration and shape was found accompanying a burial which had brass or glass beads. This gives assurance that the pottery from these sites is contemporaneous and was in use in contact times.

THE QUAPAW BURIAL CERAMICS

OBVIOUSLY, THE POTTERY VESSELS of Moore's collections from Menard and Wallace (vicinity of Menard Mound), Old River Landing, and Douglas sites are a selected lot. First, they were selected by the Indians to serve as grave goods. Second, a selection in some undetermined fashion has been made of Moore's collection, for only about 25 per cent of the vessels listed in Moore's field notes are now available for study.

Without exception, the vessels in these collections are tempered with flakes of fairly coarse ground shell. Owing, apparently, to acid conditions of the soil, the shell has leached out, leaving a light, porous, tan-colored fabric which when buried under damp conditions would fully justify Moore's often-repeated plaint of "rotten pottery."

The full range of pottery types represented in the upper levels of the Menard refuse deposits is not represented in the burial collections. Notably absent is the type Wallace Incised. This lack may be the result of selection by the Indians of certain classes of pottery for burial with the dead.

What remains of Moore's collection from Menard and Wallace is shown in Figs. 14 to 17; from Old River Landing, in Figs. 18 and 19; and from Douglas, in Fig. 20. In these illustrations the vessels have been grouped by shape. The same sequence has been followed for the three sites, a procedure that will facilitate comparison and emphasize the striking degree of resemblance in these collections.

TEAPOT VESSELS

Griffin very thoroughly discussed the distribution of the teapot form, showing that its center of popularity lies in eastern Arkansas. He also demonstrates that at least some of these vessels were made after contact with the French, about 1700 A.D.¹ Griffin's arguments are rather conclusive in suggesting that the teapot vessel is virtually a marker for the late seventeenth century period of European contact in the Lower Mississippi.

Two of the teapots illustrated here accompanied burials that also contained trade goods. An unslipped example from Menard (Fig. 14h)

accompanied Burial 55. The Polychrome teapot from Douglas (Fig. 20d) was with Burial 17.

The single teapot found by us at Menard is shown in Fig. 5b; two from Palmer's collection are illustrated in Fig. 13b-c; those collected by Moore from "Menard vicinity" (Menard and Wallace), in Fig. 14; from Old River Landing, Fig. 18a-c, and from Douglas, Fig. 20a-d. The high degree of similarity in the teapots from these localities is obvious. They range in size from what seem to be toy vessels 2 inches in diameter to large pots 8 inches in diameter. All are basically globular, but about half have a slight shoulder. A short neck is characteristic; the spout on one side of the body is usually balanced by a small rounded knob on the opposite side. A teapot from Old River Landing (Fig. 18f) represents an animal in a fairly realistic fashion; a similar teapot-effigy from Menard is somewhat more sketchy (Fig. 14o). About half of the teapots are partially or entirely covered with brick-red slip, so may be classified as Old Town Red Filmed. One teapot from Old River Landing (Fig. 18e) and one from Douglas (Fig. 20d) is painted in three colors and conforms to the type Avenue Polychrome.

There is no earlier vessel form in this region from which the teapot may have been derived. Quimby has suggested the possibility that Du Pratz may have introduced the form by having the Natchez Indians make copies of European tableware early in the eighteenth century² and Moore, Vaillant, Phillips, and Griffin have called attention to resemblances to the "spouted vessels of Mesoamerica."³ Phillips points out that most of the Middle American examples are too early in time.⁴ In the Panuco Region of the Huasteca spouted vessels similar to the teapot form are found in Period V (estimated dates about 900 A.D. to 1200 A.D.),⁵ and a somewhat more squat form is found in Period VI (1200 to 1530 A.D.).⁶ The Huasteca seems to provide the most likely source for this vessel form, both geographically and chronologically, always pro-

¹ Quimby, 1942, 263.

² Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 172-173.

³ Phillips, 1940, 363.

⁴ Ekholm, 1944, Figs. 24h, 25p.

⁵ Meade, 1942, 138.

¹ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 172-173, Table 9, 207-209.

vided that Quimby's Du Pratz theory is not correct.

EFFIGY BOWLS

The second prominent category of vessels in these collections contains the round-bottomed

bowls with effigy heads projecting above the rims and a projection representing a tail on the opposite side. In Moore's collection at the Museum of the American Indian there are 11 of these vessels from Menard (Fig. 15a-k), five from Old River Landing (Fig. 18g-k), and none

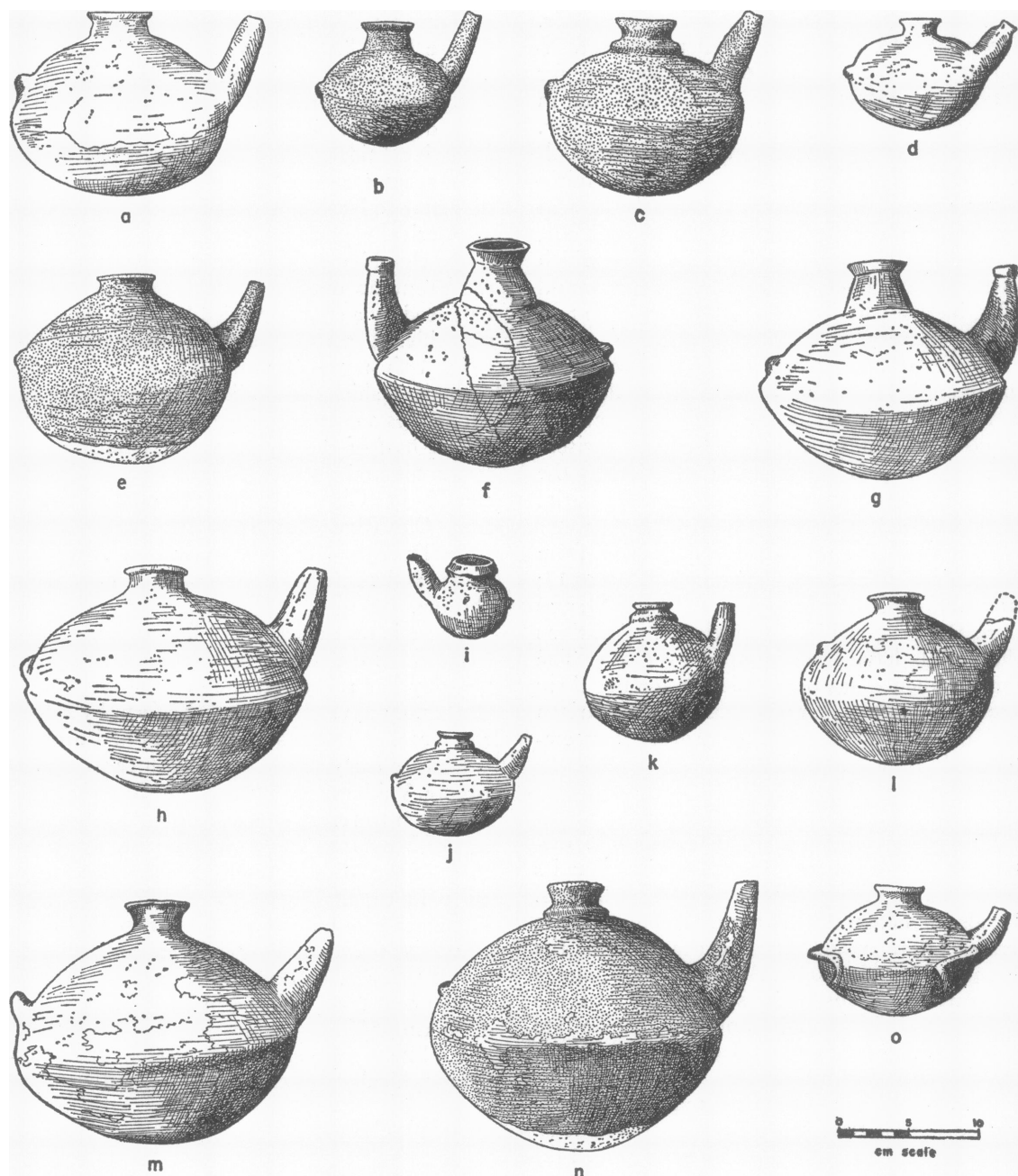


FIG. 14. Moore's Menard pottery.

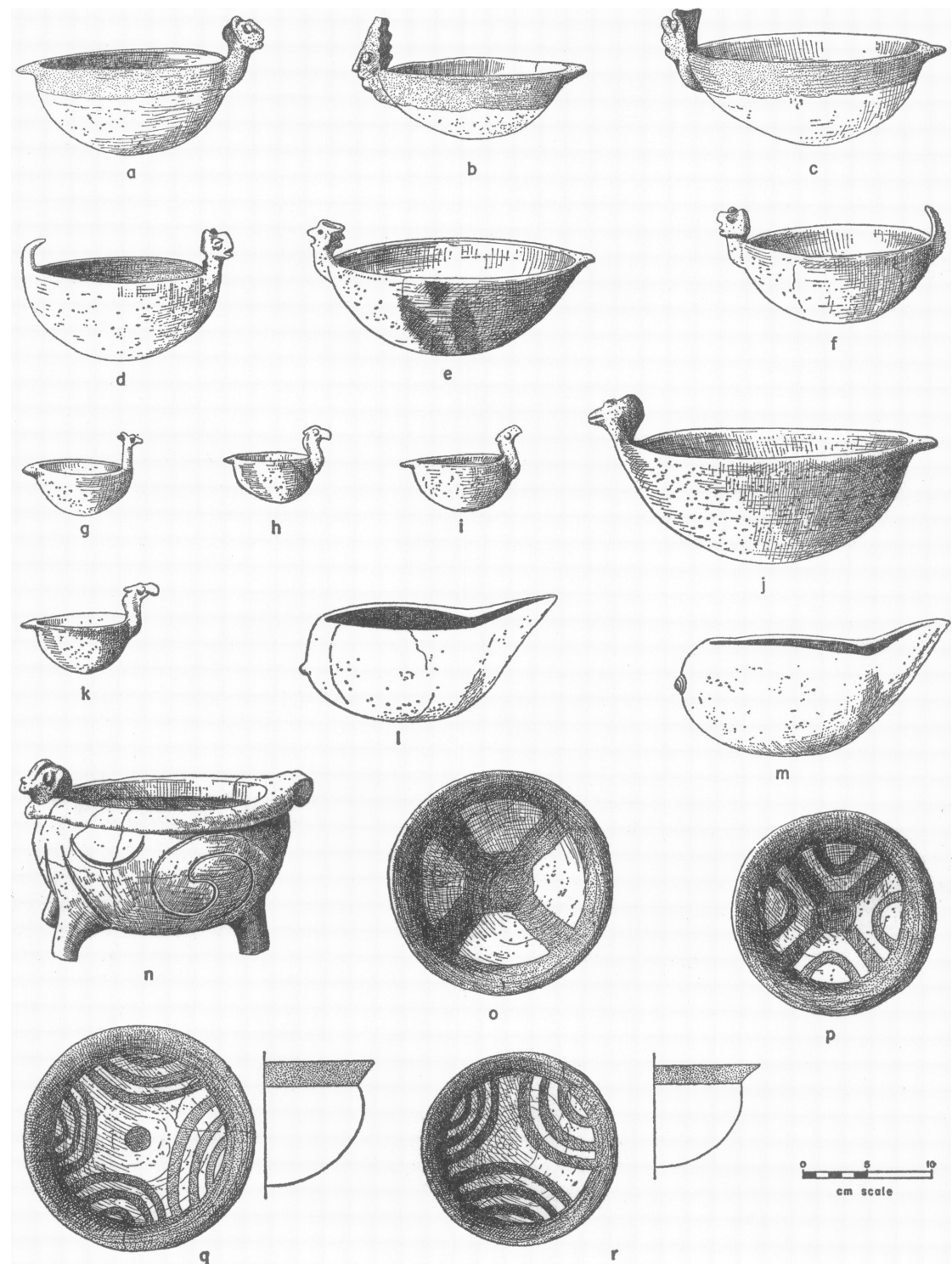


FIG. 15. Moore's Menard pottery.

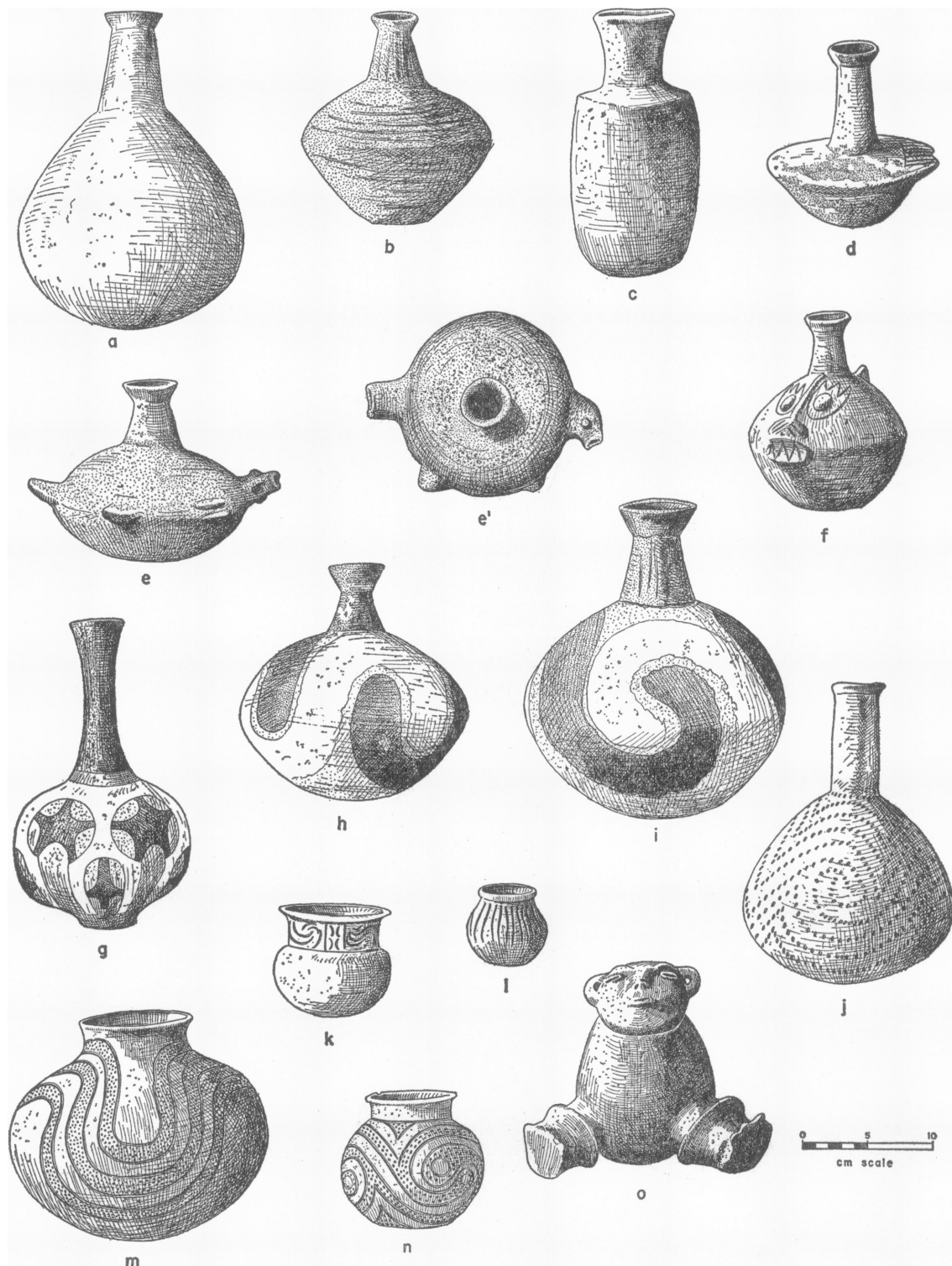


FIG. 16. Moore's Menard pottery.

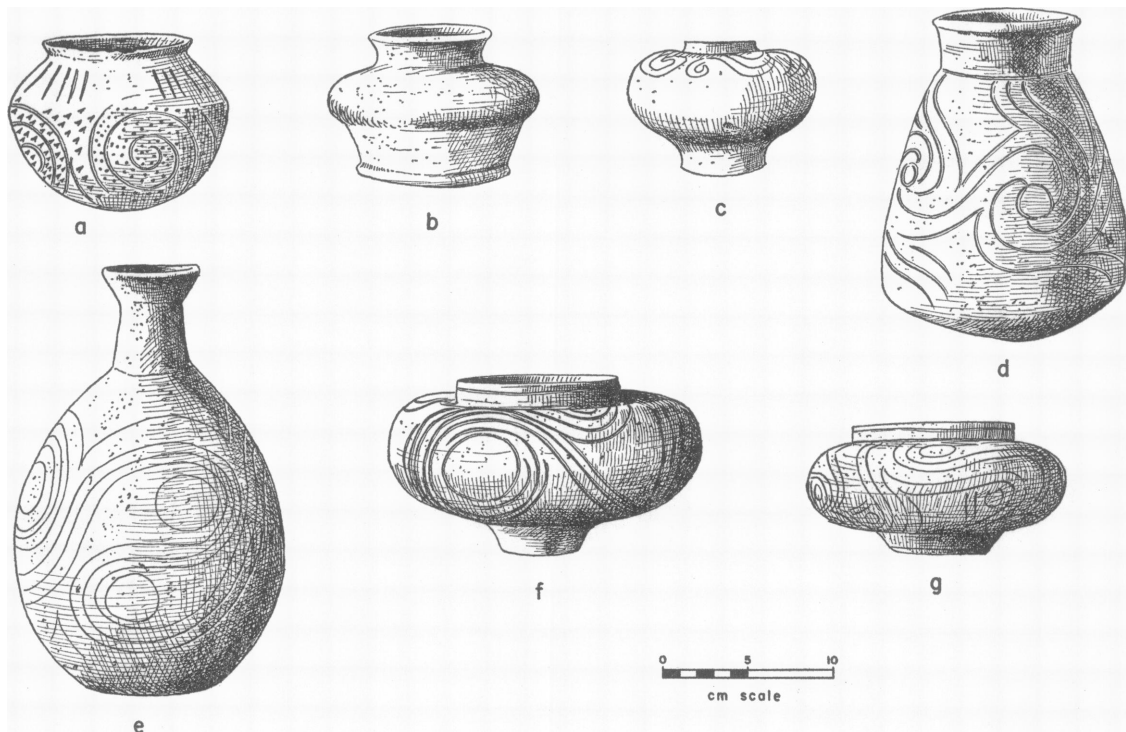


FIG. 17. Moore's Menard pottery.

from Douglas. A band of red slip extends about an inch below the rim on some of these bowls (Figs. 15a-c, 18h-j); one has red slip on the inside (Fig. 15d). Effigy heads broken from the rims of similar bowls were found in our excavations at the Menard Site (Pl. 29a-h). Most of these heads are of animals; fewer, of birds; human heads are the least common. Griffin has discussed this rather widespread Mississippian trait.¹ The relationships of this form clearly lie to the northward in northeastern Arkansas and southeastern Missouri and farther to the north in the St. Louis region.

Moore found one deep animal effigy bowl with four feet and the head and tail projecting from the vessel rim. This bears an incised decoration which conforms to the type Leland Incised (Fig. 15m).

HEAD VESSELS AND HUMAN EFFIGIES

Griffin has discussed in considerable detail the pottery head vessels in the Mississippi Valley and their possible relationships in other

regions.² Two very similar examples of what he calls the "Conway type" were found at Menard, one by Palmer (Fig. 13l) and the other by Moore (Fig. 16f). Moore's specimen actually came from the Wallace Site. The three-pronged "weeping eye" symbol is incised around the eyes on both of these fish-faced effigies. This symbol also appeared on a small effigy head from the historic Natchez burial mound near Natchez, Mississippi.³ The third head vessel, which came from Old River Landing (Fig. 19g), is more similar to what Griffin has defined as the "Garland type."

Two human effigy vessels came from the vicinity of Menard. A kneeling male figure collected by Palmer (Fig. 13m) is painted with red and white slip on a yellowish base color. A row of white dots around the neck probably represents a necklace. The second effigy figure (Fig. 16o) accompanied the skeleton of a child in the Wallace Site. Griffin included the latter of these figurines in his study of the distribution of these

¹ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 160-162.

² Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 165-167.

³ Ford, 1936, Fig. 11.

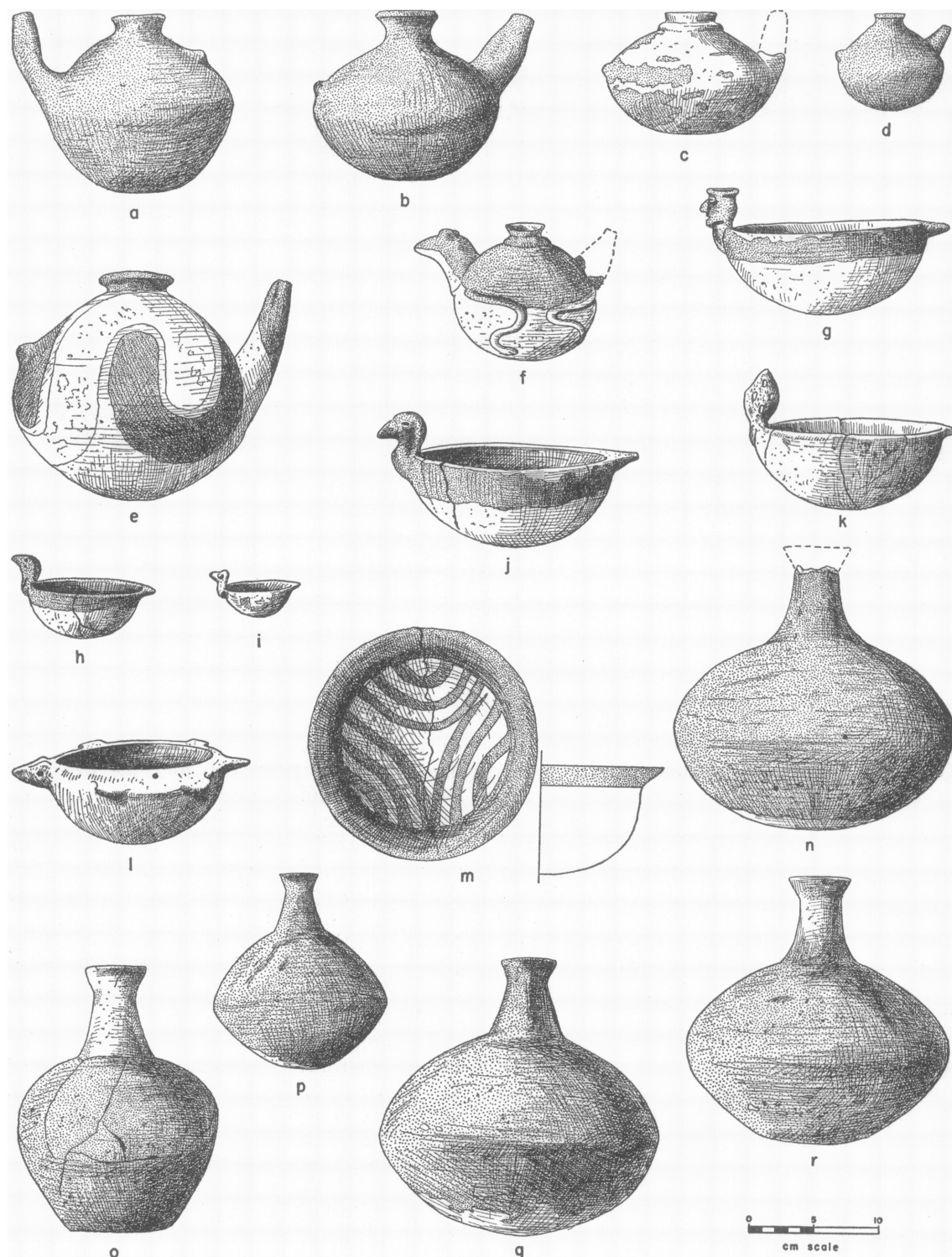


FIG. 18. Old River Landing pottery.

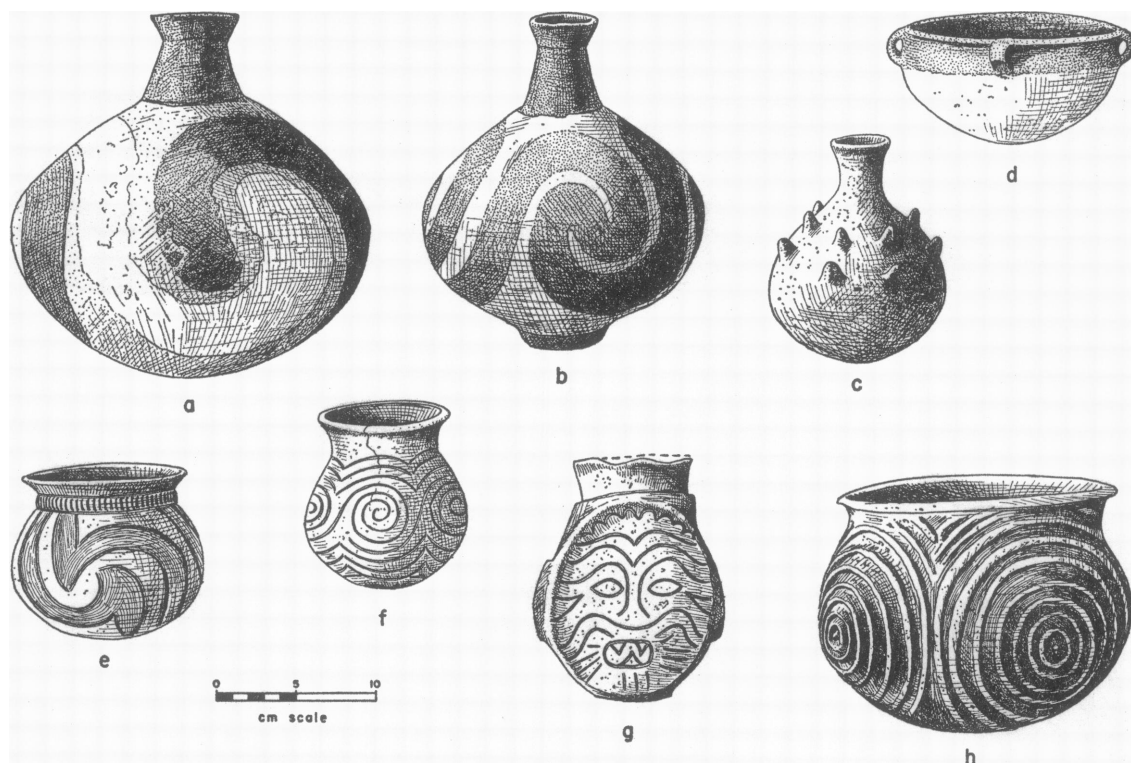


FIG. 19. Old River Landing pottery.

forms.¹ Except that it lacks decoration, it is almost identical to an effigy with Hodges Engraved decoration from the Mid-Oachita Caddoan Focus.²

FISH EFFIGIES

Two bottles with bodies crudely formed to represent fish were obtained by Moore from the Wallace Site (Fig. 16d, e, e'). A bowl that might represent a fish, but more probably was intended to represent a turtle, was found at Old River Landing (Fig. 18l). Griffin's study of effigy vessels in the Mississippi Valley region concludes that the fish is the most popular form.³

IMITATION CONCH SHELL BOWLS

Two vessels which Moore found at Menard (Fig. 15l-m) and one from Douglas (Fig. 20e) appear to have been made to imitate the dippers

or ladles made from the large conch shells. The shell dippers are generally thought to have been used to serve the "Black Drink," the purgative tea made from the *Cassina* plant. It is very likely that these pottery containers had the same purpose. The three dippers are quite similar; all have shell-tempered paste with a bright red slip on the interior and a thin white wash on the exterior.

PAINTED VESSELS

A number of bowls and bottles in Moore's three collections have painted designs. These decorations have been classified under three type names. The first, Carson Red-on-Buff, is always placed on the interior of bowls as bands of brick-red wash applied on the buff-colored surface of the vessel (Menard Site, Fig. 15o-r; Old River Landing, Fig. 18m; Douglas, Fig. 20i-l). Crossed panels and arrangements of looped painted bands are the prominent motifs. That these painted bowls were made in contact times cannot be doubted, for Moore found at least one at Douglas (Fig. 20i) accompanying the burial of a child that had brass beads at the

¹ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 163-165, Table 2, 183-193.

² Suhm and Krieger, 1954, Pl. 23b.

³ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 162-163.



FIG. 20. Douglas Site pottery.

neck (p. 168, Burial 9). The examples of this type found in the refuse deposits were inadequate to suggest its chronological position (Figs. 7, 8). The probable relationships of Carson have been discussed by Griffin.¹

The single specimen of Nodena Red and White in Moore's collection came from Old River Landing (Fig. 19b). It is a bottle with a red-painted band forming a meander against a white-slipped background. A fair number of sherds of this type came from the lower levels of the refuse deposits (Figs. 7, 8). If the presumption is correct that most of the burials were deposited during the latter part of the occupation of the site, then it would appear that possibly the red and white type Nodena was in the process of replacement by Carson Red-on-Buff.

Moore's collections include five examples of Avenue Polychrome.² There are three bottles from Menard, one with a "star" design and two with interlocking painted bands (Fig. 16g-i). A single bottle from Old River Landing is similar to the last-mentioned examples from Menard (Fig. 19a). The vessel of this type from Douglas is a "teapot" with red circles painted on it (Fig. 20d). This specimen accompanied Burial 17, described above, one of the burials in the Douglas Site that has brass beads with it.

Avenue Polychrome is a shell-tempered ware, and the red and white slips are identical with the pigments of Nodena Red and White. The dark stain that separates the contrasting painted bands is rather fugitive and has almost disappeared on most of the specimens. It is possible that this black pigment is carbonized animal or vegetable matter applied in a fashion similar to that employed in "negative painting."

INCISED POTTERY TYPES

Parkin Punctated is consistently found in small and decreasing percentages in the refuse deposits. However, only one vessel in Moore's collection can be assigned to this type (Fig. 17a). This small, shell-tempered jar has an atypical decoration in that an incised line forming a scroll is superimposed over the field of punctations.

Six vessels found by Moore at the Menard and Wallace sites can be safely identified as historic Natchez types, although, by chance, none was accompanied by trade goods. Two vessels (Fig. 17e, f) can be classified as Fatherland Incised, and two as the accompanying type Natchez Incised (Fig. 17d, g).³ The small vessel shown as Fig. 17c belongs in one of these classes, but the incising is so amateurish that it is difficult to decide which. The shape of the small unslipped jar (Fig. 17b) is uniquely characteristic of the Natchez ceramic complex. According to Quimby, this is Fatherland Plain.

This small group of pottery vessels clearly originated with the Natchez Indians who lived farther down the Mississippi River. This pottery is rare along the Lower Arkansas, and these examples may have been trade pieces or the work of captive women. It is of interest that these distinctive historic Natchez pottery styles do not seem to have originated very long before 1700 A.D.⁴

A second small group of vessels found at these sites may be identified as the work of the Caddoan people who lived to the west and south. Figure 20m from Douglas is an excellent example of Natchitoches Engraved,⁵ the pottery made in early contact times by the Caddoan groups living along the Red River in northwestern Louisiana.⁶ The two vessels (Fig. 19e, h) accompanied Burial 14 at Old River Landing. The first of these is of the type Cowhide Stamped,⁷ a shell-tempered type that is fairly common in southwestern Arkansas and northwestern Louisiana. This example of the conservation of Hopewell ceramic features has been remarked several times, but there is no doubt that this pottery was made late in Caddoan prehistory. The second vessel may possibly be classified as Foster Trilled-Incised,⁸ although the design is really formed by pinched ridges rather than incised lines. In this respect

¹ For type descriptions, see Quimby, 1942, 263, 265 ff.

² Note these types as graphed in Ford, 1952, Fig. 2. Radiocarbon dates for this chronology are given in Ford and Webb, 1956, 113-122.

³ For type description, see Suhm and Krieger, 1954, 334, Pl. 51.

⁴ Walker, 1935; Webb, 1945.

⁵ For type description, see Suhm and Krieger, 1954, 260; and Webb, 1959, 128-131.

⁶ For type description, see Suhm and Krieger, 1954, 272; and Webb, 1959, 131-133.

¹ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 132-133.

² For type description, see Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 134.

it resembles other late Caddoan types. Both of these Caddoan types are found along the Ouachita River in southern Arkansas, so they need not have been traded from a great distance.

The handsome bottle (Fig. 16j) from the Wallace Place is clearly Fulton Aspect Caddoan, but does not conform precisely to any of the defined types. The body design is formed by rows of punctations, and the neck is brushed. This most nearly resembles the type Means Engraved¹ which occurs along the Ouachita River in southern Arkansas.

An incised bottle (Fig. 13o) collected from the field around the Menard Mound by Palmer is of the type Keno Trilled.² This type occurs in Caddoan sites, a short distance farther up the Arkansas River³ and in the European contact Glendora Focus along the Ouachita River in northern Louisiana. Webb has also found

vessels of this type with trade goods at Natchitoches, Louisiana.

Moore found two examples of Owens Punctated⁴ at Menard (Fig. 16m, n). That this type has a late time position lasting until 1700 A.D. has already been suggested by Webb⁵ and in the type description cited above.

Red-slipped, shell-tempered ware, Old Town Red Filmed, takes a late position in the stratigraphic studies of both Phillips⁶ and ourselves (Figs. 7, 8).

Red-slipped teapot vessels have already been mentioned. In addition, several bottles belong to this class. At Menard, Palmer found at least one small bottle (Fig. 13g), and Moore a shouldered bottle (Fig. 16b). At Old River Landing Moore found five of these bottles (Fig. 18n-r), and three similar ones came from Douglas (Fig. 20n-p).

¹ For type description, see Suhm and Krieger, 1954, 326.

² For type description, see Suhm and Krieger, 1954, 310; and Webb, 1959, 133-136.

³ See Moore, 1908, Greer Site, Figs. 62-68.

⁴ For type description, see Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 136-137.

⁵ Webb, 1945, 69, 80.

⁶ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, Figs. 38, 40.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE cited in the foregoing pages as well as the small quantities of trade goods found by both Clarence B. Moore and ourselves seems to identify the Menard Site as the Quapaw village of Osotouy where de Tonti's trading post was erected in 1686 by Jean Couture and his companions. Conclusive evidence would, of course, be the discovery of remains of this post. That, however, promises to be a difficult if not hopeless task. If the palisade mentioned by de Tonti were ever erected, it might be possible to locate the holes in which the posts were placed, by excavation on a more extensive scale. Joutel, in his rather detailed description of the post, does not mention a palisade, and it seems very dubious that this part of the plan was carried out. To find the site of a cabin made of horizontal logs with archeological techniques seems very difficult, for it is not necessary to disturb the soil to erect this type of building. It can hardly be expected that any concentration of refuse of European-manufactured objects will mark the spot, for both the excavations and the records suggest that Jean Couture and his companions were very poorly supplied with trade goods.

The small quantities of the earlier pottery type Mulberry Creek Cordmarked and the accompanying proportions of Baytown Plain found in the lower levels of Analysis Unit IV, the trench into the flank of Mound A, suggest that part of this site was occupied in the later phase of the Baytown Period. This information is not new but is rather a corroboration of the information obtained by Phillips in the two pits that he made in 1941.¹ The question raised by Phillips as to whether there is a time gap between the Late Baytown occupation and the later Mississippian cannot be answered conclusively.² It is interesting to note that the Baytown occupation is largely confined to the vicinity of the connected mounds, A and B. Phillips found the deepest deposit in his Cut A

located about 30 feet southeast of the edge of Mound B. The only place in which we found cordmarked pottery in significant quantity was in the trench run into the western side of Mound A, which offers the possibility that Mound A might have been an earlier structure that was re-used by the Mississippian people when they laid out the plaza for this village.

The major occupation of the village, as shown by the shell-tempered pottery complex, was long enough for change to occur in type frequencies. It was during this time that buildings were erected around the plaza, and the refuse from this occupation extends over into the Menard Bayou channel of the Arkansas River.

Although we succeeded in working out the outline of only one house, it is quite clear that the small rises arranged about the plaza are the sites of superimposed rectangular houses. Post holes were not placed in wall trenches, so it appears that this typical Middle Mississippian method of construction was not practised. The single structure we examined seems to have had partitions and perhaps three fires, and, in general, conforms to Joutel's description quoted above (p. 138).

Both primary and secondary burials were made in shallow pits—in some instances, at least, beneath the house floor. Primary burials were usually flexed, and from none to three pottery vessels were usually placed near the head. Other objects were rarely found as grave furniture. If our assumption that this is Osotouy is correct, then some of these people undoubtedly died of the smallpox that was already decimating the Quapaw at the end of the seventeenth century.

Although the records of the French explorers mention only the village of Osotouy on the Arkansas River, it seems quite evident that several localities were occupied by the Quapaw in early contact times. The Wallace Site is near enough to Menard for the settlement there to have been considered part of the same village. The Old River Landing and Douglas sites excavated by C. B. Moore have burial pottery identical to that from Menard and Wallace. They could have been occupied early in the eighteenth century, after Osotouy was aban-

¹ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 265 ff.

² Griffin visited the American Museum one day during my absence—when I was snowbound at home—and penciled into the manuscript at this point "... because I still stubbornly maintain there should not be a gap, even though the ancestors of the Quapaw Complex are not in the Baytown Complex."

done, but, when the small quantity and kind of trade items that were found are considered, it seems unlikely that these sites date after 1721 when John Law's 200 German immigrants arrived in this vicinity with 30 boatloads of goods and equipment. By the time of La Harpe's visit in 1722, only about 47 persons remained at the site of the unsuccessful project, so the Indians must have fallen heir to considerable wealth at about this date.

The considerable degree of resemblance between most of the types that form the late complex of pottery at Menard and the pottery that has been collected in such quantity from the sites in the St. Francis and Memphis areas to the north has been cited several times.¹ By definition, the shared pottery types should be identical, but the areal variation that exists has been pointed out in the original type descriptions. Ceramic and other trait resemblances are so numerous that approximate contemporaneity of the cultures seems almost certain and is generally accepted by those who have worked in this portion of the Mississippi Valley. If I terminated the Arkansas River chronological column too early in our 1951 paper, as now certainly seems to be the case, then the St. Francis and probably the Yazoo columns also end too early.²

Two elements found at Menard are not shared with the neighboring late cultures. These are the pottery type Wallace Incised and the flint snub-nosed scrapers. Both of these items, which seem to be out of place in this part of the Mississippi Valley, suggest a relationship to the Oneota and Oneota-like complexes that have been described to the northward and that have

been identified with historic tribes such as the Missouri³ and other Chiwere Siouan groups to the northward and the culture of the Osage Indians of the Ozark Mountains.⁴ The last-named were bitter enemies of the Quapaw.

While fragments of vessels of Wallace Incised are scattered through the later refuse deposits in substantial numbers (about 6%), no vessels of this type have been found as grave goods. The bowls recovered by Palmer from the top levels of Mound B were associated with a house, and apparently there was no burial.

It would seem to be a fair question to ask, Did these Mississippian, Siouan-speaking people come into the Lower Arkansas region from the north or northwest bringing with them these Oneota-like traits and later adopt the ceramic complex of their neighbors? It seems most unlikely, for the culture is basically of the local Mississippian pattern; the Oneota-like elements appear to be the superficial additions.

Traditionally the Quapaw place their original home on the Ohio River. There undoubtedly has been a southward movement of the Mississippian cultural pattern in the Lower Mississippi, and this implies a movement of people. Still, when the degree of resemblance to the cultures of the Memphis and St. Francis areas is considered, the southward movement recorded in the Quapaw legends may stem only from those regions.

Can the location of the village of Osotouy where Jean Couture and his companions built the log cabin which served as the first bid of France for mid-continental dominion be considered as solved? The archeological and historical jury must decide, but this advocate pleads in the affirmative.

¹ Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 228, 448; Griffin, 1952, 237.

² Phillips and Griffin knew it all along. See Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 229, footnote.

³ Berry and Chapman, 1942, 290-305.

⁴ Chapman, 1952, 145-147.

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CATALOGUE DATA FOR CERTAIN ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrated specimens have been selected from the following collections preserved at the institutions named. In the lists that follow, collections are identified by these symbols:

COLLECTION	SYMBOL
The American Museum of Natural History	20.2
United States National Museum	USNM
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation	MAI

PLATES

22. Sherds of Neeley's Ferry Plain, Bell Plain, Old Town Red Filmed, Parkin Punctated, and Wallace Incised types
 - a. Field No. 81D (20.2-6594)
 - b. Field No. 99 (20.2-6594)
 - c. Field No. 99 (20.2-6594)
 - d. Field No. 75C (20.2-6594)
 - e. Field No. 20D (20.2-6595)
 - f. Field No. 110 (20.2-6595)
 - g. Field No. 23C (20.2-6595)
 - h. Field No. 5E (20.2-6597)
 - i. Field No. 5C (20.2-6597)
 - j. Field No. 77C (20.2-6597)
 - k. Field No. 80F (20.2-6597)
 - l. Field No. 98C-I (20.2-6596)
 - m. Field No. 80A (20.2-6596)
 - n. Field No. 76A (20.2-6596)
 - o. Field No. 75A (20.2-6596)
 - p. Field No. —C (20.2-6596)
 - q. Field No. 74B (20.2-6598)
 - r. Field No. 58 (20.2-6598)
 - s. Field No. 16 (20.2-6598)
 - t. Field No. 75B (20.2-6598)
 - u. Field No. 110 (20.2-6598)
 - v. Field No. 77A (20.2-6598)
 - w. Field No. 110 (20.2-6598)
 - x. Field No. 3B (20.2-6598)
23. Sherds of Barton Incised, Rhodes Incised, Leland Incised, Ranch Incised, and Mound Place Incised types
 - a. Field No. 71D (20.2-6579)
 - b. Field No. 79F (20.2-6579)
 - c. Field No. 2H (20.2-6579)
 - d. Field No. 80E (20.2-6579)
 - e. Field No. 64D (20.2-6579)
 - f. Field No. 16 (20.2-6579)
 - g. Field No. 2I (20.2-6579)
 - h. Field No. 24D (20.2-6579)
 - i. Field No. 99 (20.2-6580)
 - j. Field No. 104 (20.2-6580)
 - k. Field No. 80C (20.2-6580)
 - l. Field No. 42C (20.2-6581)
 - m. Field No. 14 (20.2-6581)
 - n. Field No. 95C (20.2-6581)
 - o. Field No. 54B (20.2-6581)
 - p. Field No. 54C (20.2-6581)
 - q. Field No. 118 (20.2-6582)
 - r. Field No. 95C (20.2-6582)
 - s. Field No. 30F (20.2-6582)
 - t. Field No. 79C (20.2-6582)
 - u. Field No. 118 (20.2-6582)
 - v. Field No. 4H (20.2-6583)
 - w. Field No. 79E (20.2-6583)
 - x. Field No. 80I (20.2-6583)
 - y. Field No. 41 (20.2-6583)
24. Sherds of Owens Punctated, Cowhide Stamped, Dupree Incised, Carson Red on Buff, Nodena Red and White, Fatherland Incised types; various Caddoan types, and unclassified
 - a. Field No. 108 (20.2-6586)
 - b. Field No. 80C (20.2-6586)
 - c. Field No. 108 (20.2-6586)
 - d. Field No. 80I (20.2-6587)
 - e. Field No. 72 (20.2-6587)
 - f. Field No. 80I (20.2-6587)
 - g. Field No. 77B (20.2-6587)
 - h. Field No. 95C (20.2-6587)
 - i. Field No. 73D (20.2-6587)
 - j. Field No. 81D (20.2-6587)
 - k. Field No. 117 (20.2-6587)
 - l. Field No. 80B (20.2-6588)
 - m. Field No. 77A (20.2-6588)
 - n. Field No. 3B (20.2-6589)
 - o. Field No. 36B (20.2-6589)
 - p. Field No. 80C (20.2-6590)
 - q. Field No. 29G (20.2-6591)
 - r. Field No. 80B (20.2-6591)
 - s. Field No. 46B (20.2-6592)
 - t. Field No. 5F (20.2-6592)
 - u. Field No. 81A (20.2-6592)
 - v. Field No. 68B (20.2-6592)
 - w. Field No. 44A (20.2-6592)
 - x. Field No. 4A (20.2-6592)
 - y. Field No. 26 (20.2-6593)
 - z. Field No. 106A (20.2-6593)
 - aa. Field Nos. 50 and 10 (20.2-6593)
 - bb. Field No. 36B (20.2-6593)
 - cc. Field No. 2B (20.2-6593)
 - dd. Field No. 80B (20.2-6593)
 - ee. Field No. 36B (20.2-6593)
 - ff. Field No. 30G (20.2-6593)
 - gg. Field No. 80C (20.2-6593)
25. Effigy heads and handles from vessels, discs cut from sherds, pottery ear plug; tools found near Burial 14
 - a. Field No. 96B (20.2-6605)
 - b. Field No. 19B (20.2-6605)
 - c. Field No. 77D (20.2-6605)

- d. Field No. 118 (20.2-6605)
 - e. Field No. 30C (20.2-6605)
 - f. Field No. 20D (20.2-6605)
 - g. Field No. 80E (20.2-6605)
 - h. Field No. 79D (20.2-6605)
 - i. Field No. 26 (20.2-6605)
 - j. Field No. 20A (20.2-6605)
 - k. Field No. 40B (20.2-6605)
 - l. Field No. 96A (20.2-6605)
 - m. Field No. 3E (20.2-6605)
 - n. Field No. 360 (20.2-6605)
 - o. Field No. 32F (20.2-6605)
 - p. Field No. 80C (20.2-6606)
 - q. Field No. 96C (20.2-6606)
 - r. Field No. 17N-1 surface (20.2-6606)
 - s. Field No. 98B (20.2-6606)
 - t. Field No. 80C (20.2-6606)
 - u. Field No. 96C (20.2-6606)
 - v. Field No. 80C (20.2-6585)
 - w. Field No. 90 (20.2-6584)
 - x. Field No. 79C (20.2-6584)
 - y. Field No. 90 (20.2-6584)
 - z. Field No. 90 (20.2-6584)
 - aa. Field No. 90 (20.2-6584)
 - bb. Field No. 90 (20.2-6584)
 - cc. Field No. 90 (20.2-6584)
 - 26. Sherds of Baytown Plain, Manchac Incised, Greenhouse Incised, Beldeau Incised, Hardy Incised, and Mulberry Creek Cordmarked types
 - a. Field No. 10 (20.2-6599)
 - b. Field No. 10 (20.2-6599)
 - c. Field No. 23C (20.2-6599)
 - d. Field No. 5G (20.2-6599)
 - e. Field No. 76E (20.2-6599)
 - f. Field No. 76E (20.2-6599)
 - g. Field No. 20G (20.2-6599)
 - h. Field No. 45E (20.2-6600)
 - i. Field No. 5C (20.2-6600)
 - j. Field No. 76I (20.2-6600)
 - k. Field No. 5C (20.2-6600)
 - l. Field No. 48F (20.2-6600)
 - m. Field No. 76E (20.2-6601)
 - n. Field No. 48B (20.2-6601)
 - o. Field No. 76E (20.2-6601)
 - p. Field No. 77C (20.2-6601)
 - q. Field No. 50D (20.2-6601)
 - r. Field No. 40C (20.2-6601)
 - s. Field No. 46G (20.2-6602)
 - t. Field No. 40L (20.2-6603)
 - u. Field No. 77E (20.2-6603)
 - v. Field No. 78K (20.2-6603)
 - w. Field No. 64D (20.2-6603)
 - x. Field No. 33H (20.2-6604)
 - y. Field No. 1F (20.2-6604)
 - z. Field No. 64E (20.2-6604)
 - 29. Stone work
 - a. Field No. 39J (20.2-6607)
 - b. Field No. 29B (20.2-6607)
 - c. Field No. 46O (20.2-6609)
 - d. Field No. 66A (20.2-6610)
 - e. Field No. 28A (20.2-6610)
 - f. Field No. 79B (20.2-6610)
 - g. Field No. 96B (20.2-6611)
 - h. Field No. 52A (20.2-6611)
 - i. Field No. 27A (20.2-6611)
 - j. Field No. 5A (20.2-6611)
 - k. Field No. 27A (20.2-6611)
 - l. Field No. 60B (20.2-6611)
 - m. Field No. 95B (20.2-6611)
 - n. Field No. 80B (20.2-6611)
 - o. Field No. 30A (20.2-6612)
 - p. Field No. 96B (20.2-6612)
 - q. Field No. 96D (20.2-6612)
 - r. Field No. 71A (20.2-6612)
 - s. Field No. 74A (20.2-6612)
 - t. Field No. 17-K-1 surface (20.2-6612)
 - u. Field No. 96A (20.2-6612)
 - v. Field No. 48A (20.2-6612)
 - w. Field No. 80B (20.2-6612)
 - x. Field No. 71A (20.2-6613)
 - y. Field No. 4B (20.2-6613)
 - z. Field No. 79L (20.2-6614)
 - aa. Field No. 72 (20.2-6614)
 - bb. Field No. 108 (20.2-6614)
 - cc. Field No. 79C (20.2-6614)
 - dd. Field No. 32B (20.2-6614)
 - ee. Field No. 63E (20.2-6614)
 - ff. Field No. 79B (20.2-6614)
 - gg. Field No. 4B (20.2-6615)
 - hh. Field No. 96B (20.2-6615)
 - ii. Field No. 96B (20.2-6615)
 - jj. Field No. 32B (20.2-6615)
 - kk. Field No. 97A (20.2-6621)
 - ll. Field No. 80B (20.2-6621)
 - mm. Field No. 82B (20.2-6621)
 - nn. Field No. 27A (20.2-6621)
 - oo. Field No. 99 (20.2-6621)
 - pp. Field No. 100 (20.2-6621)
 - qq. Field No. 113A (20.2-6616)
 - rr. Field No. 72 (20.2-6617)
 - ss. Field No. 51B (20.2-6617)
 - tt. Field No. 3D (20.2-6619)
 - uu. Field No. 3C (20.2-6620)
 - vv. Field No. 105 (20.2-6618)
 - ww. Field No. 49A (20.2-6620)
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- 5. Pottery found with burials in 1958 excavations
 - a. Shell-tempered ladle, Field No. 86 (20.2-6575)
 - b. Unslipped teapot vessel, Field No. 85 (20.2-6574)
 - c. Bottle, red slip, vertical bands, Field No. 87 (20.2-6571)
 - d. Bowl, red slip interior, Field No. 101 (20.2-6568)

- e. Bowl, red slip inside, Field No. 37 (20.2-6572)
 - f. Bowl, Field No. 16 (20.2-6573)
 - g. Bowl, no slip, Field No. 88 (20.2-6569)
 - h. Shell-tempered bowl, no slip, Field No. 81B (20.2-6570)
 - i. Bottle, no slip, Field No. 89 (20.2-6567)
11. Pottery collected by Edward Palmer from Mound B
- a. USNM 65469
 - b. USNM 65431?
 - c. USNM 63035
 - d. USNM 65417
 - e. USNM 63043
 - f. USNM 65408
 - g. USNM 65405
 - h. USNM 63041
12. Pottery collected by Edward Palmer from Mound B
- a. USNM 65487
 - b. USNM 54640?
 - c. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 150 (USNM 63083)
 - d. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 151 (USNM 63039)
 - e. USNM 65410
 - f. USNM 65038
 - g. USNM 63037
13. Artifacts collected by Edward Palmer from dwelling sites about Menard Mound
- a. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 152 (USNM 63121)
 - b. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 160 (USNM 63117)
 - c. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 159 (USNM 63114)
 - d. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 164 (USNM 63109)
 - e. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 161 (USNM 63115)
 - f. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 153 (USNM 63113)
 - g. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 154 (USNM 63111)
 - h. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 155 (USNM 63108)
 - i. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 156 (USNM 63098)
 - j. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 163 (USNM 63096)
 - k. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 162 (USNM ?)
 - l. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 158 (USNM 63112)
 - m. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 166 (USNM 63107)
 - n. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 165 (USNM 63028 and/or 63046)
 - o. Holmes, 1884, Fig. 157 (USNM 63120)
14. Moore's Menard pottery
- a. MAI 17-4587
 - b. MAI 17-4172
 - c. MAI 17-4755
 - d. MAI 17-4175
 - e. MAI 17-4171
 - f. Field Nos.: Burial 138, Vessel 194; Moore, 1908, Fig. 4 (MAI, no number)
 - g. MAI 17-4757
 - h. Field Nos.: Burial 55, Vessel 64 (MAI 17-4168)
 - i. Field No.: Vessel 78; Moore, 1908, Fig. 6 (MAI, no number)
 - j. MAI 17-4173
 - k. MAI 17-4586
 - l. MAI 17-4756
 - m. MAI 17-3307
 - n. MAI 17-4170
 - o. Field Nos.: Burial 64, Vessel 82 (MAI 17-4174)
15. Moore's Menard pottery
- a. MAI 17-4593
 - b. Moore, 1908, Fig. 22 (MAI 17-4592)
 - c. Moore, 1908, Fig. 23 (MAI 17-4763)
 - d. MAI 17-1413
 - e. MAI 17-1414
 - f. MAI 17-4187
 - g. MAI 17-3296
 - h. MAI 17-3295
 - i. MAI 17-3297
 - j. Field Nos.: Burial 114, Vessel 174; Moore, 1908, Fig. 24 (MAI 17-3309)
 - k. MAI 17-3298
 - l. MAI 17-4591
 - m. MAI 17-4762
 - n. Field Nos.: Burial 66, Vessel 91; Moore, 1908, Fig. 7 (MAI, no number)
 - o. Field Nos.: Burial 112, Vessel 171; Moore, 1908, Fig. 25 (MAI, no number)
 - p. Field Nos.: Burial 93, Vessel 137; Moore, 1908, Fig. 26 (MAI, no number)
 - q. MAI 17-3299
 - r. MAI 17-3300
16. Moore's Menard pottery
- a. MAI 17-4765
 - b. MAI 17-4178
 - c. Field Nos.: Burial 54, Vessel 62; Moore, 1908, Fig. 13 (MAI, no number)
 - d. Field Nos.: Burial 130, Vessel 185 (MAI no number)
 - e. Field Nos.: Burial 83, Vessel 133; Moore, 1908, Pl. 15 (MAI 17-4769)
 - e'. Field Nos.: Burial 83, Vessel 133; Moore, 1908, Pl. 15 (MAI 17-4769)
 - f. Field Nos.: Burial 58, Vessel 65; Moore, 1908, Fig. 9 (MAI, no number)
 - g. Field Nos.: Burial 32, Vessel 34; Moore, 1908, Pl. 13 (MAI, no number)
 - h. MAI 17-4584
 - i. Field Nos.: Burial 46, Vessel 50; Moore, 1908, Pl. 14 (MAI, no number)
 - i. Field Nos.: Burial 43, Vessel 36; Moore, 1908, Fig. 12 (MAI, no number)
 - k. MAI 17-4184
 - l. MAI 17-4185
 - m. Field Nos.: Burial. 29, Vessel 31; Moore, 1908, Fig. 14 (MAI, no number)
 - n. Field Nos.: Burial 66, Vessel 88; Moore, 1908, Fig. 18 (MAI, no number)
 - o. Field Nos.: Burial 73, Vessel 102; Moore, 1908, Fig. 16 (MAI, no number)

17. Moore's Menard pottery
 - a. MAI 17-4181
 - b. Moore, 1908, Fig. 21 (MAI 17-4182)
 - c. Field Nos.: Burial 9, Vessel 11 (MAI 17-4180)
 - d. Field Nos.: Burial 28, Vessel 30; Moore, 1908, Fig. 11 (MAI, no number)
 - e. Field Nos.: Burial 52, Vessel 61; Moore, 1908, Fig. 10 (MAI, no number)
 - f. Field No.: Vessel 38; Moore, 1908, Fig. 8 (MAI, no number)
 - g. Field Nos.: Burial 158, Vessel 208; Moore, 1908, Fig. 19 (MAI 17-4179)
18. Old River Landing pottery
 - a. MAI 17-4189
 - b. MAI 17-4582
 - c. MAI 17-4188
 - d. Field No.: Vessel 2 (MAI 17-4771)
 - e. Field Nos.: Burial 27, Vessel 45; Moore, 1908, Pl. 17 (MAI 17-4190)
 - f. Field Nos.: Burial 13, Vessel 19; Moore, 1908, Pl. 16 (MAI, no number)
 - g. Field Nos.: Burial 27, Vessel 46; Moore, 1908, Fig. 38 (MAI, no number)
 - h. MAI 17-3299
 - i. MAI 17-1499
 - j. Field Nos.: Burial 41, Vessel 54; Moore, 1908, Fig. 39 (MAI, no number)
 - k. Field Nos.: Burial 9, Vessel 14; Moore, 1908, Fig. 40 (MAI, no number)
 - l. Field Nos.: Burial 64, Vessel 78; Moore, 1908, Fig. 35 (MAI 17-4198)
 - m. MAI 17-3290
 - n. MAI 17-4772
 - o. MAI 17-4581
 - p. MAI 17-4192
 - q. MAI 17-4773
 - r. MAI 17-3294
19. Old River Landing pottery
 - a. MAI 17-4191
- b. Field Nos.: Burial 2, Vessel 1; Moore, 1908, Fig. 29 (MAI, no number)
- c. Field Nos.: Burial 27, Vessel 26; Moore, 1908, Fig. 31 (MAI, no number)
- d. Field Nos.: Burial 17, Vessel 27 (MAI 17-3291)
- e. Field Nos.: Burial 14, Vessel 21a; Moore, 1908, Fig. 37 (MAI, no number)
- f. Field No.: Vessel 28 (MAI 17-8195)
- g. Field Nos.: Burial 36, Vessel 52; Moore, 1908, Fig. 32 (MAI, no number)
- h. Field Nos.: Burial 14, Vessel 21; Moore, 1908, Fig. 36 (MAI, no number)
20. Douglas Site pottery
 - a. Field Nos.: Burial 11, Vessel 21 (MAI 17-4775)
 - b. MAI 17-4316
 - c. Field Nos.: Burial 29, Vessel 51 (MAI 17-4774)
 - d. Field Nos.: Burial 17, Vessel 32; Moore, 1908, Pl. 20 (MAI, no number)
 - e. Field Nos.: Burial 17, Vessel 30 (MAI, no number)
 - f. Field Nos.: Burial 29, Vessel 50; Moore, 1908, Fig. 45 (MAI, no number)
 - g. Field Nos.: Burial 1, Vessel 3 (MAI 17-3316)
 - h. MAI 17-3314
 - i. Field Nos.: Burial 9, Vessel 17; Moore, 1908, Fig. 44 (MAI, no number)
 - j. MAI 17-3310
 - k. Field Nos.: Burial 11, Vessel 22; Moore, 1908, Pl. 18 (MAI, no number)
 - l. Field Nos.: Burial 3, Vessel 7; Moore, 1908, Fig. 43 (MAI, no number)
 - m. Field Nos.: Burial 8, Vessel 15; Moore, 1908, Fig. 40 (MAI, no number)
 - n. Field Nos.: Burial 27, Vessel 45 (MAI 17-3319)
 - o. Field Nos.: Burial 1, Vessel 1 (MAI 17-3318)
 - p. MAI 17-3317

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PLATES 20-29



Air photograph of the Menard Site and vicinity. Note the sequence of Arkansas River channels

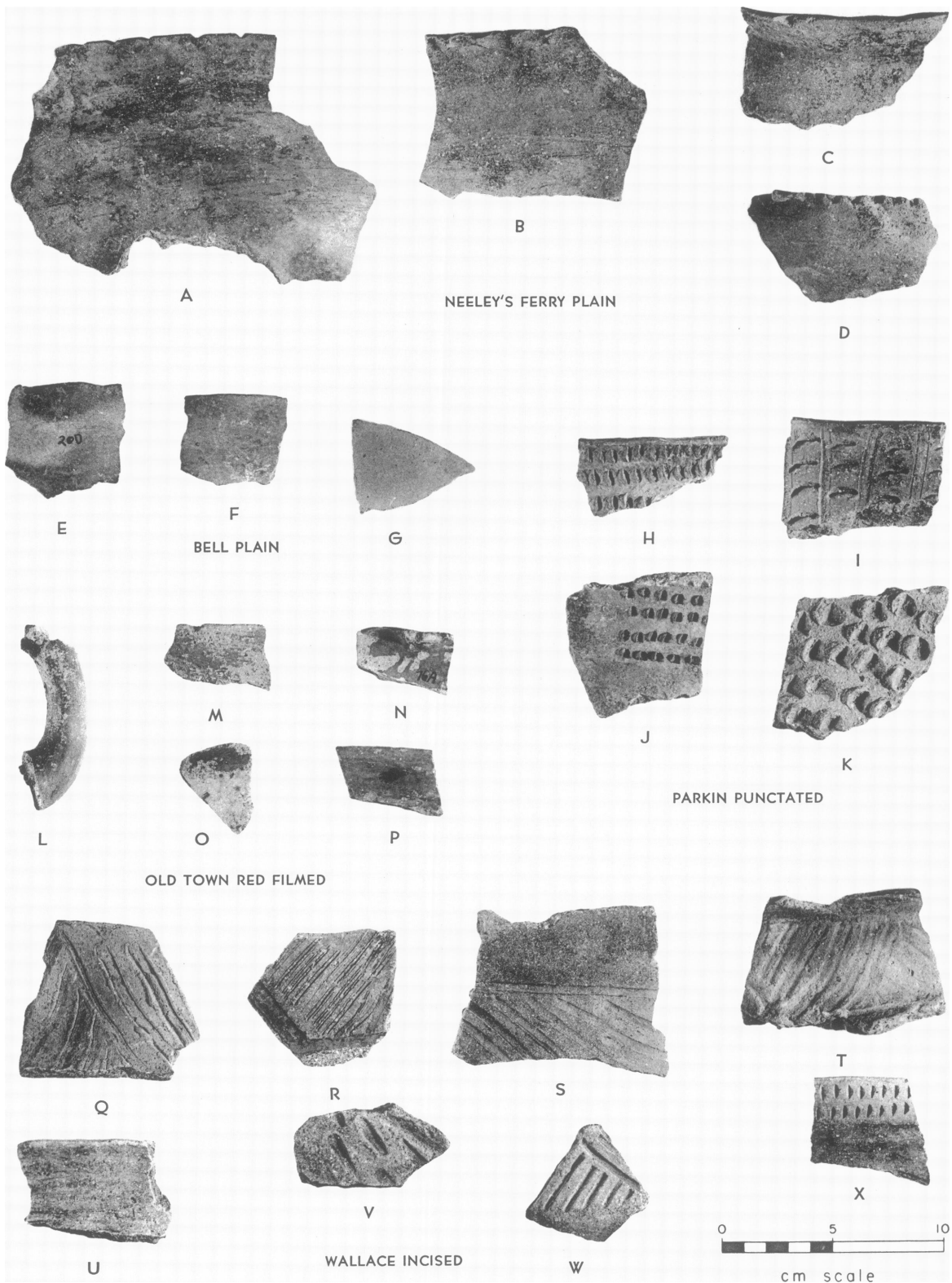


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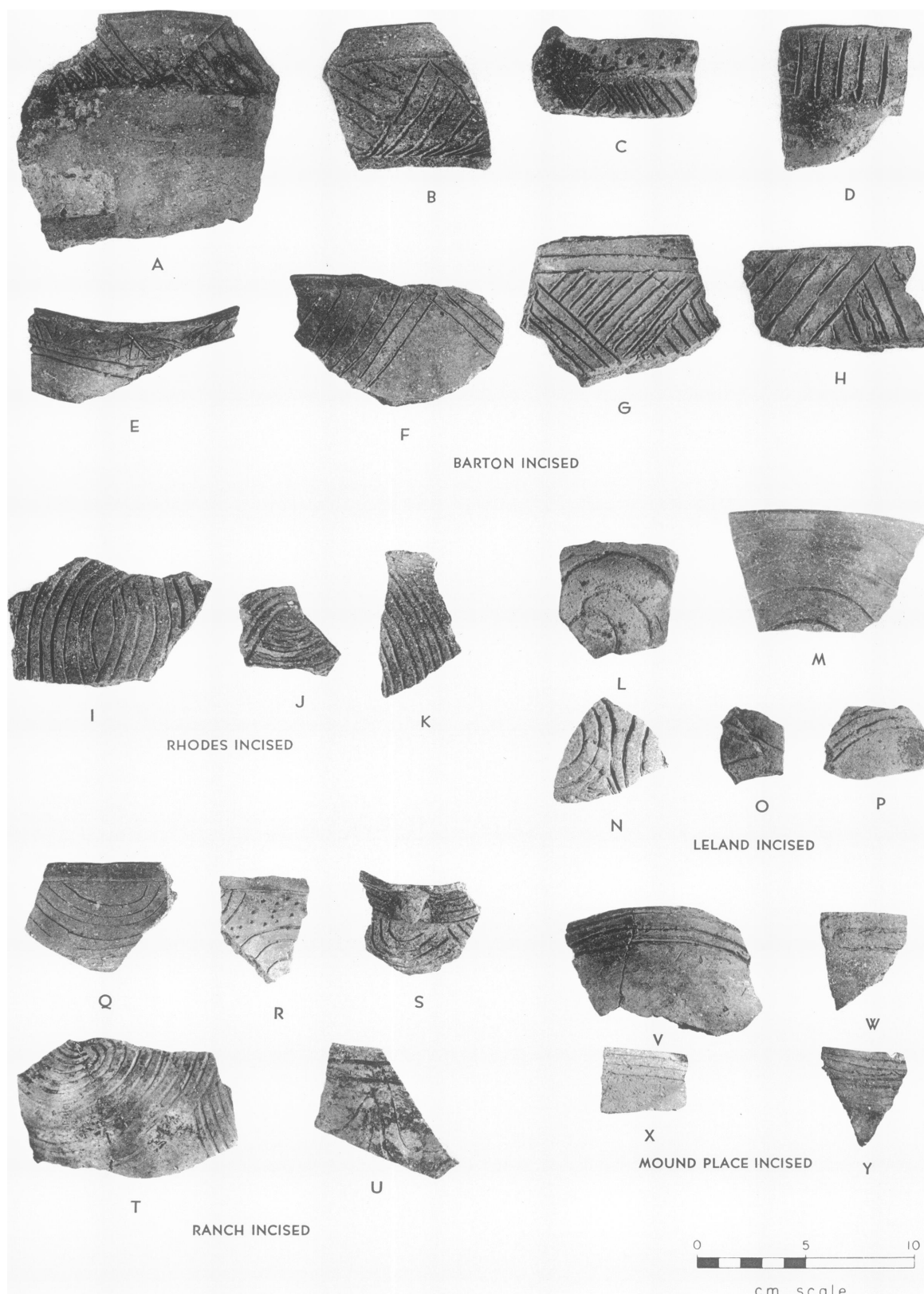


B

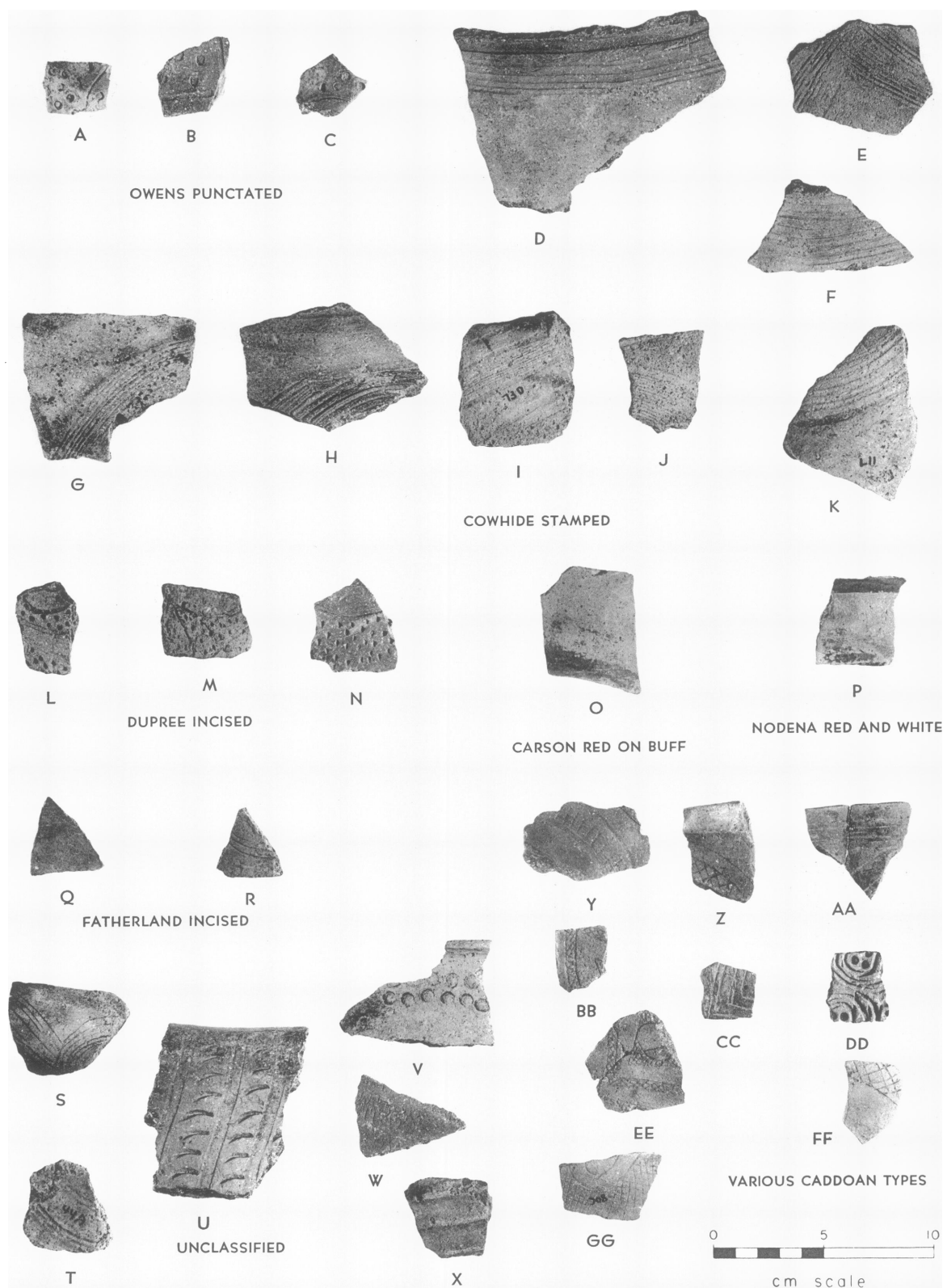
Excavations. a. Trench 3 in Menard Site, cut through low house mounds on west side of site (see Fig. 2). b. The 10-foot square cut listed as Trench 7, located on the bank of Menard Bayou



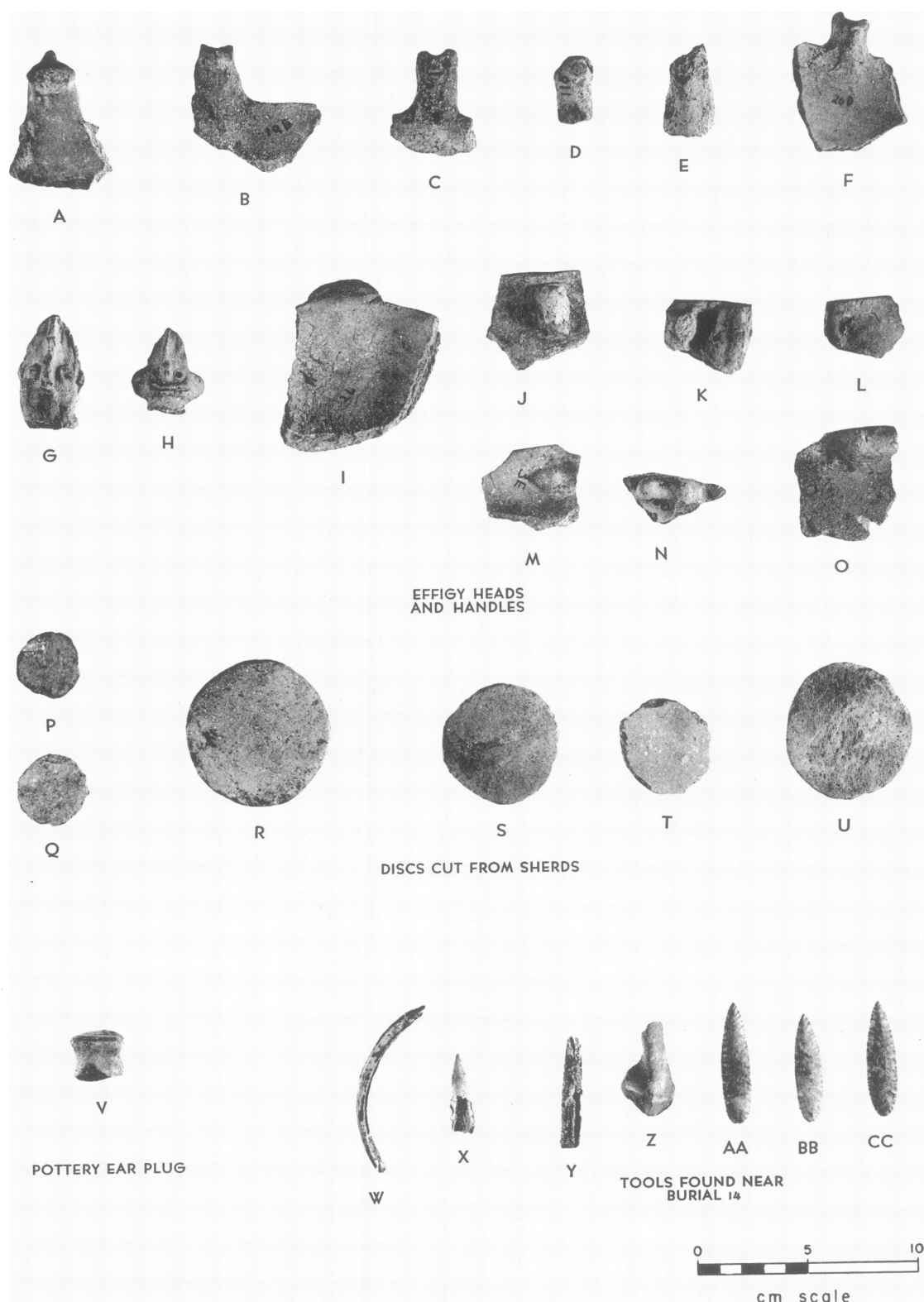
Sherds of Neeley's Ferry Plain, Bell Plain, Old Town Red Filmed, Parkin Punctated, and Wallace Incised types



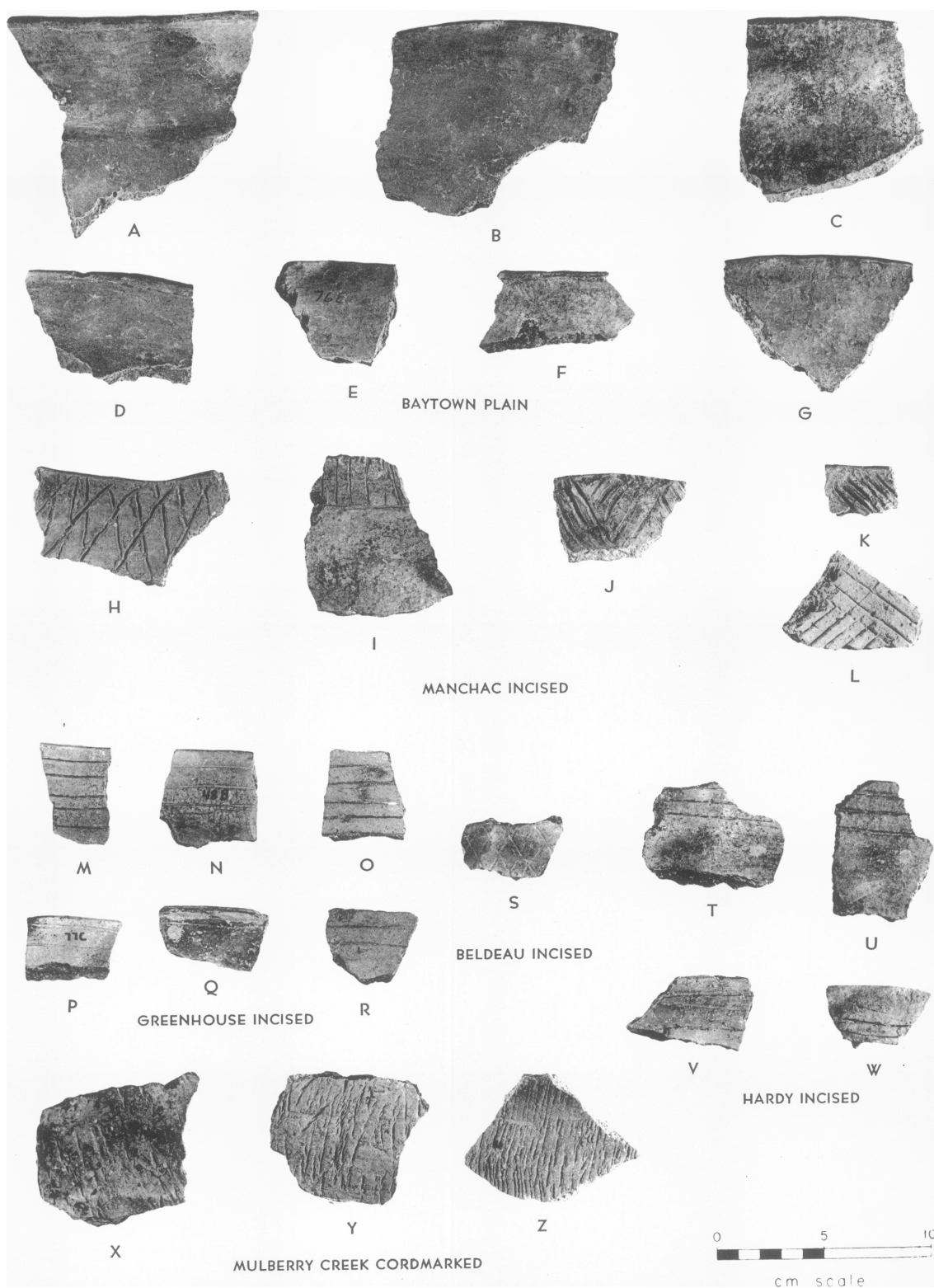
Sherds of Barton Incised, Rhodes Incised, Leland Incised, Ranch Incised, and Mound Place Incised types



Sherds of Owens Punctated, Cowhide Stamped, Dupree Incised, Carson Red on Buff, Nodena Red and White, Fatherland Incised types; various Caddoan types, and unclassified



a-o. Effigy heads and handles from vessels. p-u. Discs cut from sherds. v. Pottery ear plug. w-cc. Tools found near Burial 14



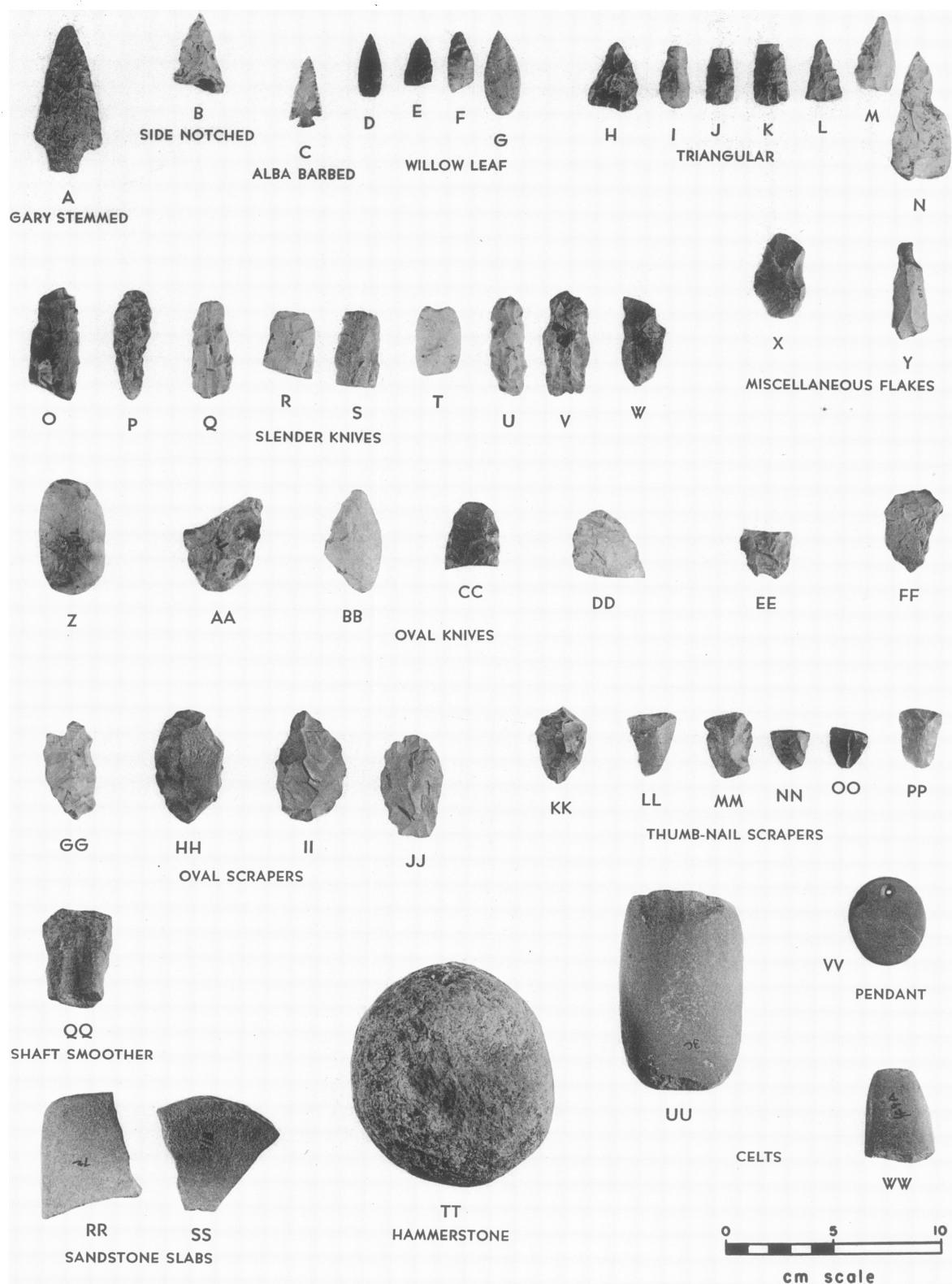
Sherds of Baytown Plain, Manchac Incised, Greenhouse Incised, Beldeau Incised, Hardy Incised, and Mulberry Creek Cordmarked types



House pattern found in Trench 8



Burials



Stonework

