

ABSTRACT

Caddo Artifacts in Central Texas: A Proposed Trade Connection

Bradie Dean

Director: Carol Macaulay-Jameson, MA

East Texas artifacts, including Caddo pottery, Bonham-Alba arrow points, and Gahagan knives dating to the Early Caddo Period (AD 1000-1300), have been recovered from central Texas archaeological sites in McLennan, Coryell, and Bell Counties. *In People of the Prairie, a Possible Connection to the Davis Site Caddo* (2006), Harry Shafer offers a potential explanation for this. The Caddo from the George C. Davis site, the most southwestern ceremonial mound site located on the edge of the Piney Woods in Cherokee County, established villages and campsites in central Texas to harvest prairie resources and to provide a defensive buffer to the vulnerable position of the Davis site (2006:1, 33). The only central Texas resource brought back to east Texas that Shafer discusses in this publication is Edwards Chert, a high-quality chert found in and along the margins of the Edwards Plateau. In this thesis, I propose that the Caddo of this period intensified trade connections with the Austin phase peoples of central Texas to gain access to materials such as venison, hides, and Edwards Chert.

APPROVED BY DIRECTOR OF HONORS THESIS:

Ms. Carol Macaulay-Jameson, Department of
Anthropology

APPROVED BY THE HONORS PROGRAM:

Dr. Andrew Wisely, Interim Director

DATE: _____

CADDO ARTIFACTS IN CENTRAL TEXAS: A PROPOSED TRADE CONNECTION

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By

Bradie Dean

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

East Texas artifacts including Caddo pottery, Bonham-Alba arrow points, and Gahagan knives dating to the Early Caddo Period (AD 1000-1300) have been recovered from central Texas archaeological sites, including sites in McLennan, Coryell, and Bell Counties. In *People of the Prairie, a Possible Connection to the Davis Site Caddo* (2006), Harry Shafer offers a potential explanation for this. According to Shafer, the Caddo from the George C. Davis site, the most southwestern ceremonial mound site located on the edge of the Piney Woods in Cherokee County, established villages and campsites in central Texas to harvest resources from the Blackland Prairie and the southern Cross Timbers, as well as, to provide a defensive buffer to the vulnerable position of the Davis site (2006:1, 33). Figure 1 is a map depicting the location of the central Texas sites and the George C. Davis site discussed in this thesis.

The only central Texas resource brought back to east Texas that Shafer discusses in this publication is Edwards Chert, a high-quality chert found in and along the margins of the Edwards Plateau. In this thesis, I propose that the Caddo of this time period also traveled to central Texas to acquire deerskins and venison. These commodities are invisible in the archaeological record; however, historical accounts describe the trade networks in which the Caddo participated. Therefore, a discussion of acquiring deerskins and venison is warranted for this time period.

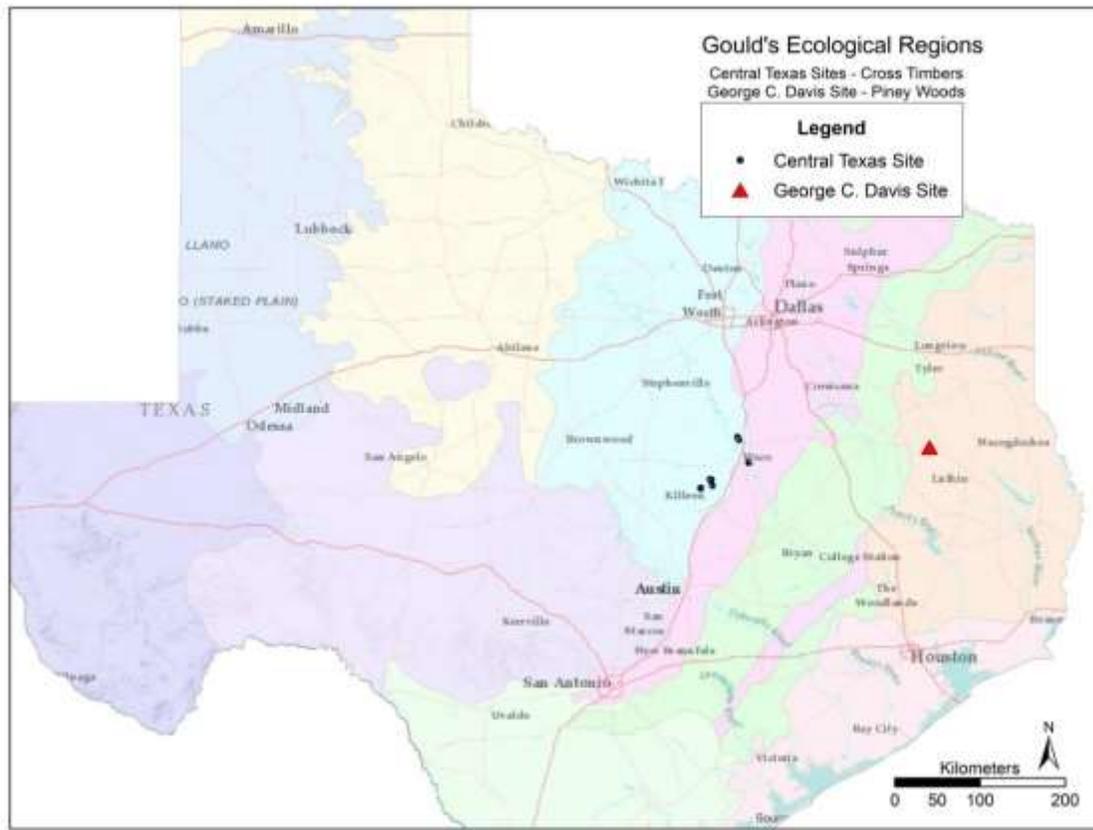


Figure 1. Gould's Ecological Regions of Texas map depicting the location of the sites discussed in this thesis. The central Texas sites fall within the southern Cross Timbers and the Blackland Prairie regions and the George C. Davis site is located in the Piney Woods region of east Texas.

In Chapter 2, I will discuss what is archaeologically known about the Texas Caddo culture during the Early Caddo Period with a focus on the George C. Davis site. I will also discuss how the Caddo traded with various hunter-gatherer groups in Texas and participated in wider interregional trade networks during the Proto-Historic and Historic Periods. In Chapter 3, I will describe the types of pottery, east Texas arrow points, and Gahagan knives that have been recovered in central Texas that date to this period. In the following chapter, I will present an overview of the sites in central Texas where Early Caddo artifacts were recovered and shall discuss the primary diagnostics of contemporary

Austin phase assemblages for comparison. In Chapter 5, I will describe the central-Texas habitat of white-tailed deer and use this information as a proxy to reveal how bountiful deer populations were during this time period. I will also propose that the Caddo utilized their connection to the Austin phase people of central Texas in order to meet their own venison and hide consumption needs. In the last chapter, I will argue that the Early Caddo Period people maintained a social or economic connection with the hunter-gatherers of central Texas, not only for the purpose of acquiring Edwards Chert, but also, to acquire deerskins and venison, and in the process, creating an archaeological assemblage defined by broken pottery, arrow points, and knives.

CHAPTER TWO

Caddo Culture Overview and the George C. Davis Site

The Caddo Culture

Today, the Caddo Nation is located near Binger, Oklahoma and has approximately 4,000 members on its official tribal roll. This final relocation was preceded by over a century of turmoil during which Caddo groups were forced to give up their home territories in northeast Texas, northwest Louisiana, southwest Arkansas, and southeast Oklahoma (Figure 2). Today's Caddo are the descendants of many distinct communities of people who shared much of a common culture. Beyond speaking the same basic language, these groups were linked by many shared customs, a similar way of life, and by intermarriage. They lived in tall, grass-covered houses in large settlements, raised maize, beans and squash, developed a distinctive pottery style, and had a highly structured social, religious and political system. In the 17th century, when Caddo travelers and traders met the Spaniards, they would hail them with "Taychas!" which meant "friend." The Spanish subsequently called the Caddos the "Tejas," and Spanish land east of the Trinity became known as the Province of Tejas, which later gave its name to all of Texas. (Texas Beyond History, Tejas Main, 2003).



Figure 2. Caddo Homeland. (Texas Beyond History)

The Caddo homeland consisted of two centers, one centered around the Red River, located in northeastern Texas, northwestern Louisiana, southwestern Arkansas, and southeastern Oklahoma (Perttula 2012:5). The name "Caddo" comes from Cadohadacho, the name of one of the largest and most powerful groups in early historic times. The other major Caddo group, the Hasinai, lived to the south in the Neches and Angelina rivers basins in what is today east Texas (Figure 3).

The Caddo were not a single united people until well after European contact when drastic population losses and the encroachment of their territory made unification worthwhile. The precontact Caddo, instead, were composed of related but independent social groups, in fact, in the late 17th century; Spanish and French chroniclers familiar with the Caddo homeland recorded the names of at least 25 separate groups who spoke dialects of the language known today as Caddo. These groups were very fluid. When

particularly if she outranked the father. However, if the father's family had higher status, elite sons would instead belong to their father's lineage. Additionally, the Caddo also differed from other Mississippians in that leadership positions were passed patrilineally rather than matrilineally, with the previous *xinesi* (spiritual leader) or *caddi*'s (principal headman of the community) son being next in line for their father's position. Of course, maintaining the power of these offices still required creating obligations of reciprocity through the redistribution of wealth, similar to the Mississippians (La Vere 1998:16-17). Nonelite kinship was still based around matrilineal clans as was more typical of Mississippians (La Vere 1998:19).

The two main positions of power in Caddo communities seem to be that of the *xinesi* and the *caddi*. The *xinesi* was the spiritual head of the community and was responsible for mediating with the Caddi Ayo (meaning the supreme god), conducting certain ceremonies and rites, and providing religious guidance both within the community and with its interactions with its allies. Meanwhile, the *caddi*, or the chief, had a more secular authority, though he also had an important role as the sponsor of ceremonies, including leading the peace pipe ceremony with visitors. He also was in charge of political decisions and leading war councils and would oversee the sub-chiefs and elders of villages under his community's control (Perttula 2012:9-10).

The Caddo placed their villages and ceremonial centers along the rivers and tributaries running through their homeland. Not only were the waterways a source of fresh water and an efficient travel routes, but they also brought alluvial sediments from as far upstream as the Great Plains. These sediments form dark and rich soils well suited for Caddo agriculture. In addition to agriculture, hunting was also an important part of the

Caddo economic system. Deer and bear were the main sources of meat, though they both also provided other resources like hides or bear fat. The Caddo also traveled westward into central Texas to hunt deer and bison (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:6, 14; Perttula, 2016:42).

A significant portion of Caddo scholarship has been dedicated to the Caddo mortuary practices and the culture's relationship to the Mississippian culture, or the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. The Caddo are typically cited as the westernmost extension of the Mississippian world due to their construction of earth mounds, their clan-based social hierarchy system, and their reliance on agricultural products like maize and pumpkins. Additionally, the Caddo had access to the Mississippian trade network which provided access to goods like bison hides, Great Lakes copper, turquoise, worked marine shell, and exotic chert bifaces.

Even when viewed as a Mississippian or southeastern culture, the Caddo were undeniably different from the other Mississippian chiefdoms in several interesting ways. For one, Caddo settlements were not fortified in response to frequent warfare and intense competition between neighbors the way that Mississippian mound centers were. The lower levels of violence and competition for limited resources amongst the Caddo may also explain why Caddo mound centers continued to thrive with dense populations well into the 1600s when most Mississippian cultures had fallen apart by the mid-fifteenth century (Perttula 2012:4-5).

Similarly, while maize production as the principle economic activity is one of the hallmarks of the Mississippian culture group and maize production had already begun in the Caddo homeland before the end of the Woodland period, it did not become the

dominant dietary staple of the Caddo until after the end of the Early Caddo period. Before this intensification, the Caddo economy was far more horticultural, with an emphasis on both native and tropical foodstuffs (Perttula 2012:7-8).

An important commodity in the Caddo economy was the wood of the *bois d'arc* tree, also known as Osage Orange (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:7). Osage Orange wood, or *Maclura pomifera*, was the most superior wood from which to make bows due to its strength, hardness, and durability (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:7). Bows made of Osage Orange wood were so valuable that in 1810 the Scottish traveler John Bradbury reported that a single bow was worth as much as a horse and a blanket (Smith and Perino 1981:28). By European contact, however, the trees natural range had shrunk from encompassing most of North America (including fossilized specimens found as far north as Ontario) so much that it was mostly restricted to the fertile floodplains of the Red River between Oklahoma and Texas, likely due to a combination of climatic changes and the extinction of the megafauna believed to have dispersed the seeds (Gardner et al. 2017:49-50, 56-57; Smith and Perino 1981:29). The wood could also be used to make a light brown dye (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:7). The presence of Osage Orange bows at archaeological sites found far outside this area demonstrates the Caddo's connections to existing trade networks and would have brought large amounts of wealth and social capital to Caddo leaders.

Caddo archaeology is divided into the Early, Middle, and Late Caddo periods. This research is focused on the Early Caddo period, which spanned from AD 800-1200. Early Caddo culture is believed to have evolved out of the ancestral Woodland period cultures of the area. Although there is significant regional variation between Caddo

groups, the evidence still indicates the existence of an overarching, shared cultural history between the prehistoric occupants of the traditional Caddo homeland (Perttula 2012:1-2).

George C. Davis Site

The George C. Davis site (41CE19) is a Caddo ceremonial center located near Alto, Texas in Cherokee County. Over 130 radiocarbon assays, all which have been calibrated; have placed the occupation of the site to AD 850-1325, which falls within the Early Caddo period. Located in the Neches River Valley, the Davis site extends over approximately 60 acres of alluvial terrace above an old stream bed (Figure 4). The site has three large Mississippian-style mound structures. The first mound is a flat-topped, L-shaped structure with a length of 85 m and a maximum width of 45 m. The second mound is rectangular and about 45 m long by 28 m wide. Like the first, this feature is also a platform mound and is about 2 m tall. The final structure is a conical burial mound standing approximately 5.5 m tall with a 23 m by 30 m base. All three mounds are constructed of earth, ash, and clay and are similar to mounds found at other Mississippian cultural centers (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:38-39; Texas Beyond History, Tejas Main, 2003).

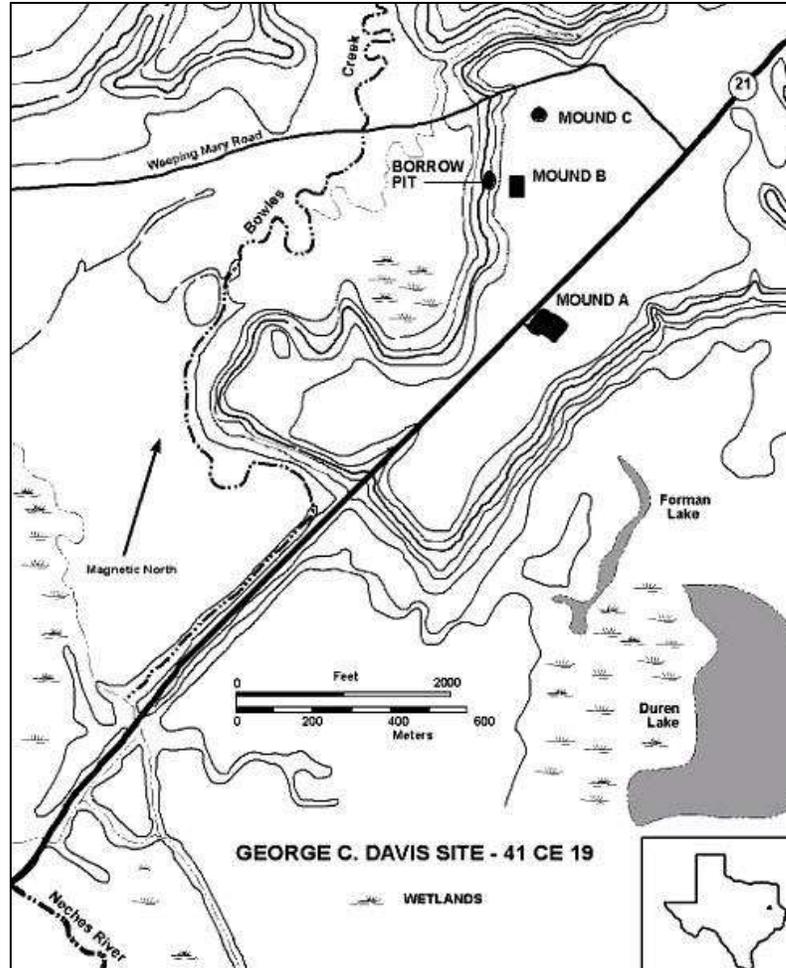


Figure 4. Map of the Davis site which overlooks the floodplain of the Neches River, with the three mounds represented. (Texas Beyond History)

Perry Newell and Alex Krieger of the University of Texas at Austin conducted the initial excavations of the Davis site as part of a Work Projects Administration (WPA) program in the 1930s and 1940s. These excavations found artifacts and what were believed to be remains of house structures concentrated around and between three mounds. WPA excavations of Mound A found that not only was it built in phases with structures built on top of the intermediary platform levels, but the mound was also built over the burned remains of formerly occupied house structures.

Work continued in the late 1960s and early 1970s when Dee Ann Story of the University of Texas took up where Newell and Krieger left off. Her team excavated major parts of the remaining two mounds at the site and investigated a number of other features. Mound C proved to be a burial mound that contained a series of large tombs placed in deep pits. Mound B, the site's smallest and lowest mound, was found to have been a capping mound build over the foundations of at least one large, dismantled, special-purpose building and a platform upon which additional special buildings may have been built (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:39).

Story continued working at the Davis site in the late 1970s and 1980s and was able to document the involvement of the Davis site's elite in long-distance trade networks in a manner congruent with other Caddo mound centers. The presence of exotic materials like copper and marine shell found buried in elite graves, demonstrating their value as indicators of power and prestige. Archaeological work has continued through the present and has included additional archaeological testing and magnetometer surveys (Walker and McKinnon 2012:183-185; Newell and Krieger 1949:233-234; Newkumet and Meredith 1988:39). Texas Beyond History, Tejas Main, 2003).

Magnetometer surveys conducted between 2002 and 2011 at the Davis site have revealed that most of the architectural structures at the site seem to be concentrated around Mounds A and B, though the absence of structures around Mound C may be due to the fact that it had been highly disturbed by feral hogs. Most of these structures were circular with diameters ranging from 5-20 m. At the Davis site, these structures appeared as anomalies with a less magnetic signature than the surrounding subsoil, though the opposite has been the case at other sites like the Hill Farm (41BW169) and Battle Mound

(3LA1) sites. These “circular houses” are among the most common Caddo structures (Walker and McKinnon 2012:180).

The Davis site is also famous for its “button houses,” which were circular houses with a central hearth and four interior roof supports arranged in a square formation (Walker and McKinnon 2012:180-183). While the “button houses” do have a distinctly different structure than the circular houses, the 2003 excavations associated with the magnetometry surveys were able to confirm from the recovery of domestic refuse that at least some of them were residences, though potentially for more elite residents than the circular houses (Perttula 2010:63, 65).

Ceramics and stone tools were the most common artifacts found at the site centers, with over 96,000 ceramic sherds recovered from the WPA excavations alone and even more recovered by later projects (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:38-39). The ceramics were identified as Caddoan, with a large variety of intricately decorated types. While at the time of the initial excavations the Caddo ceramics chronology was still being put together, the types recovered have since been assigned date ranges. Many types recovered in these initial excavations, including Holly Fine Engraved or Davis Incised, have been identified as part of the site’s sizeable Early Caddo component, and this was reaffirmed after the 2016 excavations around Mound A (Perttula et al. 2016:viii).

Also found at the Davis site were stone tools, including Gahagan bifaces and Bonham-Alba arrow points, made from Edwards chert. The ceramic types most commonly recovered in central Texas sites were most likely manufactured in or around the Davis site. These shall be discussed further in Chapter 3, while the aforementioned sites will be described in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER THREE

Early Caddo Period Artifacts

This chapter examines three artifact types that indicate a strong Early Caddoan connection between the George C. Davis site and central Texas sites in Bell, Coryell, and McLennan Counties. Early Caddoan ceramics, Bonham-Alba arrow points, and Gahagan bifaces are often found together at central Texas sites and at the George C. Davis site. The ceramic styles below are strongly connected to the Caddoan homeland, while the stone tools appear to be sourced from central Texas and brought to Caddoan sites like the Davis site.

Early Caddo Period Ceramics

More than half of the artifacts recovered from excavations at the George C. Davis site were plain and decorated sherds. The majority of these sherds were Early Caddo ceramics dating between AD 900-1200 (Perttula et al. 2016:23). More interesting, however, is the presence of the same Early Caddo ceramic types from the Davis site being found in central Texas sites. There is no evidence that these ceramics were manufactured at these prairie sites, and they stand out dramatically against the simple utilitarian ceramics, known as Leon Plain, we would typically expect from nomadic groups in the area. Early Caddo period ceramic types are quite distinctive and have been identified at multiple sites in Bell, Coryell, and McLennan Counties. Specific descriptions of the most relevant Early Caddo types and their distributions are discussed below.

Canton Incised

Canton Incised is a type of coiled pottery tempered with abundant clay-grit and sometimes the addition of pulverized sherds or bone. Most are cylindrical vessels that sometimes have two suspension holes in the rim. Other vessel shapes include carinated and hemispherical bowls with either vertical or sloping rims. Both the cylindrical vessels and carinated bowls can be quite large with diameters of over 38 and 30 cm, respectively. The brown vessels come in various shades ranging light to dark, with chocolate brown being the most common color. Canton Incised vessel walls range in thickness from about 4 to 9 mm with 6 mm being average. Although both interior and exterior sides have been smoothed, they are very rarely polished. The rims of this type are decorated with incised diagonal lines in rows, grids, and triangles interspaced with punctations and fingernail marks. The vessel bodies are left plain (Figure 5; Suhm and Jelks 2009:23).

This type dates to around AD 1000. Canton Incised can be found ranging from southern Choctaw County, Oklahoma in the north to the Sabine River in Van Zandt County, Texas to the south. The distribution stretches westward to Fannin County and east to Titus County (Suhm and Jelks 2009:23). In terms of the area under study in this paper, several sherds of intricately decorated Canton Incised pottery have been found at the Clark site (41ML39) and the Asa Warner site (41ML46) in McLennan County (Watt 1956:25-28, 1965:107).



Figure 5. Canton Incised pottery from the Sanders and Ford sites. (Suhm and Jelks 2009:Plate 12)

Davis Incised

Davis Incised is a type of coiled pottery tempered with an abundance of coarse clay-grit and carbonized material. Occasionally, pulverized bone is added to the temper. Davis Incised vessels have been found in shades of yellow-brown, red, reddish-brown,

gray-brown, and black. Although this type is usually smoothed, the surface is rarely polished. The majority of Davis Incised vessels are carinated and simple bowls with 15-45 cm diameters. Sherds have been found from bottles, but no complete bottles of this type have been found. Other less common vessel shapes are bowls with rim peaks, small jars, and cylindrical vessels. This type is decorated with rows of horizontal lines around the rim or neck (Figure 6; Suhm and Jelks 2009:35).

Davis Incised is very similar to Hickory Fine Engraved and similarly dates between AD 500-1000 (Suhm and Jelks 2009:35). This type is mostly found in east-central Texas and northwestern Louisiana. However, Davis Incised was also identified at the Urbankte site (41CV26) in Coryell County, as well as the Chupik (41ML44) and Asa Warner (41ML46) sites in McLennan County (Perttula 2016:50, 59; Shafer 2006:11; Suhm and Jelks 2009:35).



Figure 6. Davis Incised pottery from the George C. Davis site. (Suhm and Jelks 2009:Plate 18)

Dunkin Incised

Dunkin Incised is another type of coiled pottery with clay-grit temper, with bone, carbon or sand sometimes added. Common vessel shapes include cylinders and barrel-shaped vessels with flat bases and carinated, simple, or compound bowls with convex

bases. The colors are more variable than Canton Incised and include yellowish-brown and reddish-brown in addition to the medium brown and chocolate colored vessels. Dunkin Incised vessel walls range from 4 to 8 mm thick. The surface finishing varies significantly. Although the decorated areas are left unpolished, other parts might be left with anything from a quality polish to very poor smoothing. This type is decorated with incised straight lines in a variety of combinations, including triangles, diamonds, grids, or even just parallel lines around the rims. The bodies are either left blank or punctated or pinched by fingernails (Figure 7; Suhm and Jelks 2009:37).

Dunkin Incised dates to between AD 500 and 1000. This type is distributed through eastern Texas and southeastern Arkansas along the Red River or in Clark County (Suhm and Jelks 2009:37). In regards to central Texas, the Penny Winkle site (41BL23) in Bell County and both the Chupik site (41ML44) and the Asa Warner site (41ML46) of McLennan County have also reported the presence of Dunkin Incised pottery (Perttula et al. 2003:13, 16; Shafer 2006:11; Watt 1956:24, 26).



Figure 7. Dunkin Incised ceramics from the George C. Davis site. (Suhm and Jelks 2009:Plate 19)

Hickory Fine Engraved

Hickory Fine Engraved is a coiled type of clay-grit tempered pottery that sometimes includes a small amount of sand in the temper. Vessels come in shades of gray, brown, and black with reddish-brown vessels being less common but also present.

The walls are on average 4 mm thick, but range from about 3 to 7 mm. Most vessels are bottles with cylindrical or tapered necks. However, this type also includes bowls with swollen midsections, carinated bowls, and simple bowls. The bottle interiors are left unsmoothed, but the exterior surfaces of all vessel shapes exhibit a fair to good polish. The engraved designs are mostly horizontal lines encircling the neck, body, or rim. Carinated bowls of this type have also been found with a grid of crisscrossed lines around the rim. The engravings commonly contain red pigment (Figure 8; Suhm and Jelks 2009:71).

This type has been found throughout almost the entirety of the typically accepted Caddo area in Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. It dates from approximately AD 500-1000 (Suhm and Jelks 2009:71). Additionally, this Early Caddoan type has been found at sites in the Brazos River valley, such as at the Chupik site (41ML44) in McLennan County (Perttula et al. 2003:13; Shafer 2006:11).



Figure 8. Hickory Fine Engraved vessels from the Jagers, Crenshaw, and Mustang Creek sites. (Suhm and Jelks 2009:Plate 36)

Holly Fine Engraved

Holly Fine Engraved is a clay-grit, coiled pottery that sometimes has no visible temper and other times has small amounts of sand, carbonized material, or bone added in.

The colors for this type include reddish-browns, gray-browns, rich browns and black as well as the occasional pale gray or cream-colored vessel. The thickness of the walls usually falls between 4 to 5 mm, though the thickness on extreme specimens has been as little as 3 mm and as high as 9 mm. Most of the vessels are carinated or simple bowls with a band of engraved lines around the rim. These alternating parallel sets of diagonal or vertical lines frame excised triangle shapes, though some vessels feature concentric sets of curved lines in place of the diagonals. The bottles are engraved with horizontal lines around the top of the neck and top of the body, similar to those of the Hickory Fine Engraved type. The rest of the body, however, is covered in engraved concentric circles or spirals with sets of parallel straight lines filling in the gaps between them. Although the interiors of the bottles are not smoothed, other surfaces are well-smoothed at the least and well-polished at the best. Red pigment has been found in the lines and excisions (Figures 9 and 10; Suhm and Jelks 2009:77-79).

The distribution of Holly Fine Engraved is concentrated in eastern Texas but stretches northward to the Red River valley in Arkansas. This type has been dated to the AD 500-1000 range (Suhm and Jelks 2009:77-79). At the Davis site, this was one of the more commonly found types (Newell et al. 1949:81). Holly Fine Engraved was found and identified at the Urbankte site (41CV26), the Grimes-Houy Midden site (41CV32), and the Johnson Hole site in Coryell County (Miller and Jelks 1952:189-197; Shafer 2006:11). It also appeared at the Chupik site (41ML44) and the Asa Warner site (41ML46) in McLennan county (Perttula et al. 2003:13-16; Shafer 2006:11; Watt 1956:27).

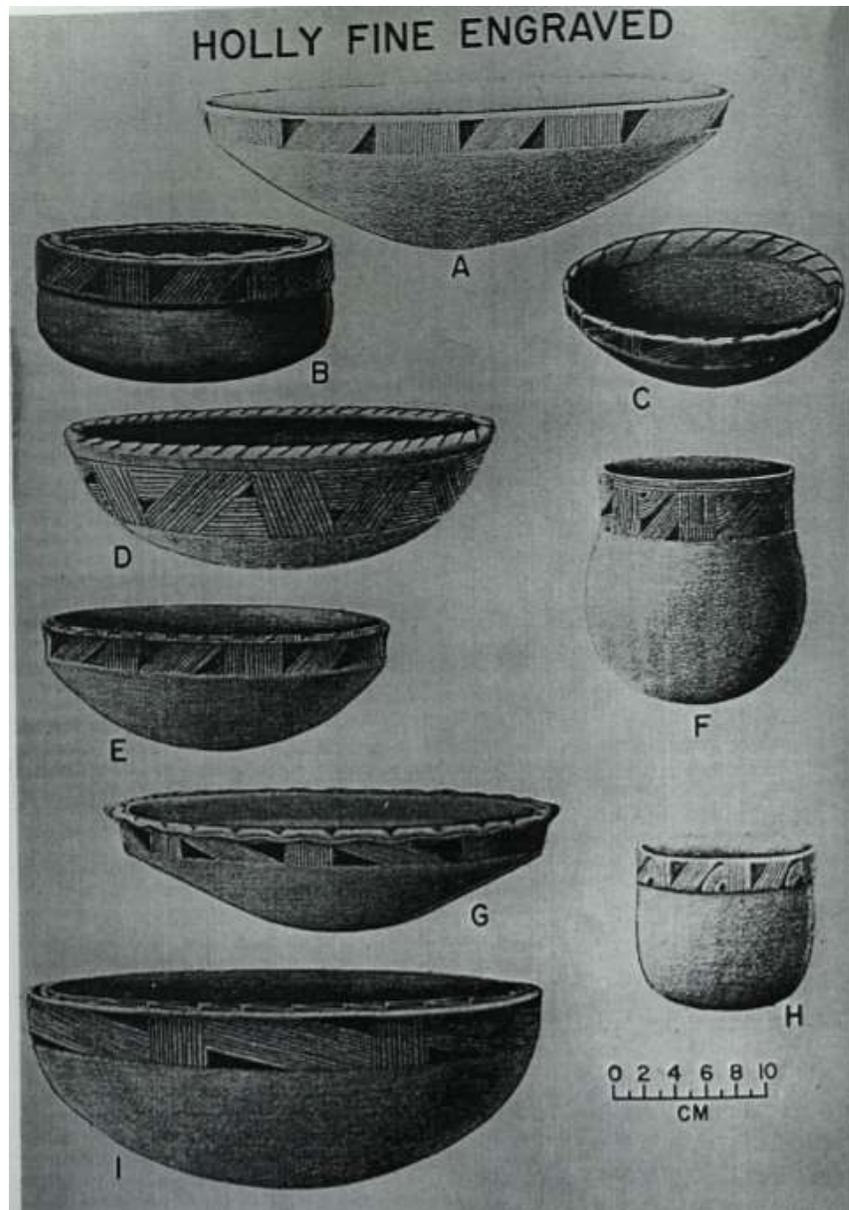


Figure 9. Holly Fine Engraved from the George C. Davis site. (Suhm and Jelks 2009:Plate 39)

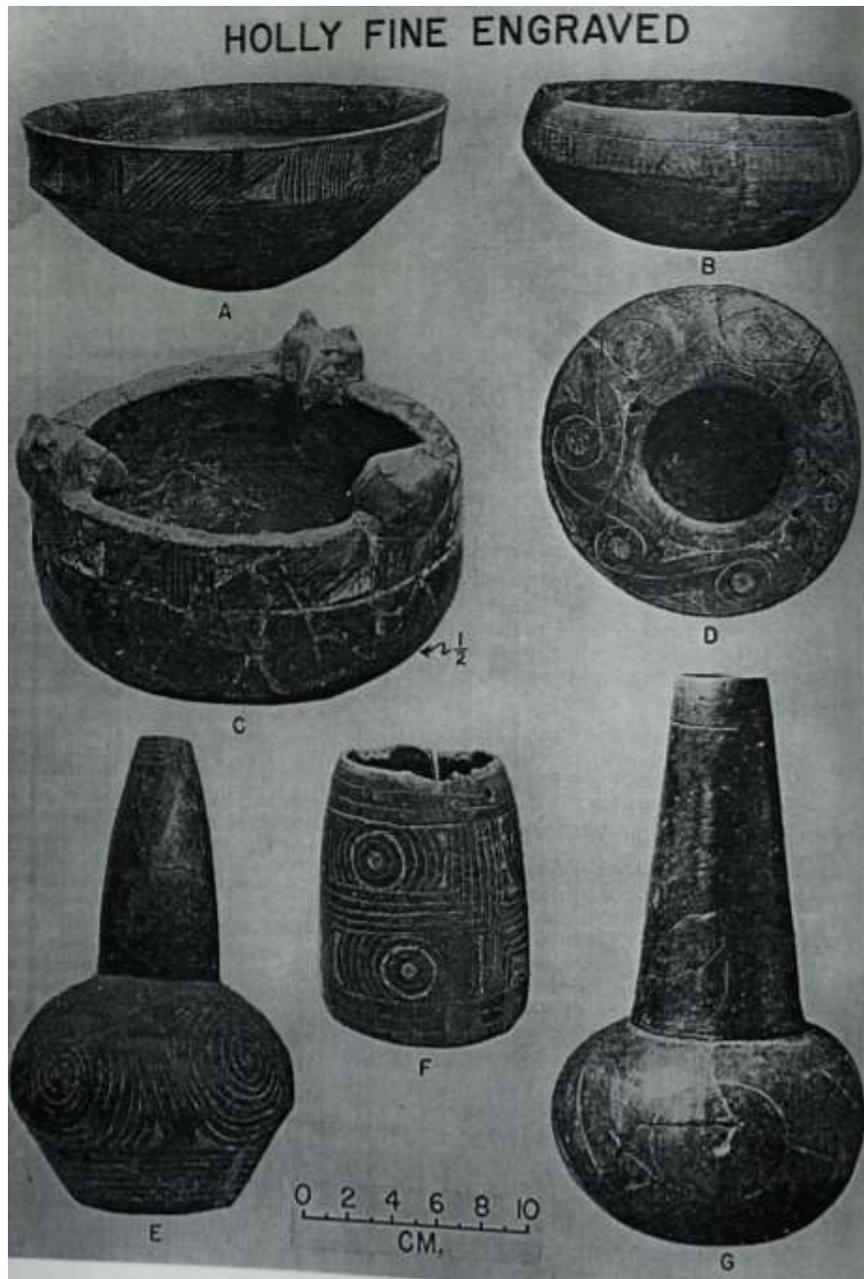


Figure 10. Holly Fine Engraved from the George C. Davis site.
(Suhm and Jelks 2009:Plate 40)

Kiam Incised

Kiam Incised is a coiled clay-grit pottery type that sometimes has bone, carbon, or sand added as temper. The colors of this type include yellowish- and reddish-browns as

well as medium and chocolate browns. The majority of vessels are jars with vertical or everted rims and range in height from about 10 cm tall to 50 cm or more. The walls of Kiam Incised type pottery average at 6 to 7 mm thick, though wall thickness can range anywhere from 4 to 10 mm and still be consistent with this type. Some vessels are poorly smoothed while others are well polished everywhere without decorative designs. The rims are encircled by crude, horizontal lines. The bodies are either plain, or, more commonly, are decorated with incised vertical lines or horizontal rows of fingernail or stick punctations (Figure 11; Suhm and Jelks 2009:89).

The Kiam Incised type dates towards the end of the AD 500-1000 span and possibly as late as AD 1200. This type is found in the central and northeastern parts of east Texas, as well as in southwestern Arkansas at the Crenshaw and East Mound sites (Suhm and Jelks 2009:89). In terms of central Texas, Kiam Incised pottery was identified at the Urbankte site (41CV26) in Coryell County and the Asa Warner site (41ML46) in McLennan County (Perttula 2015:59; Shafer 2006:11).

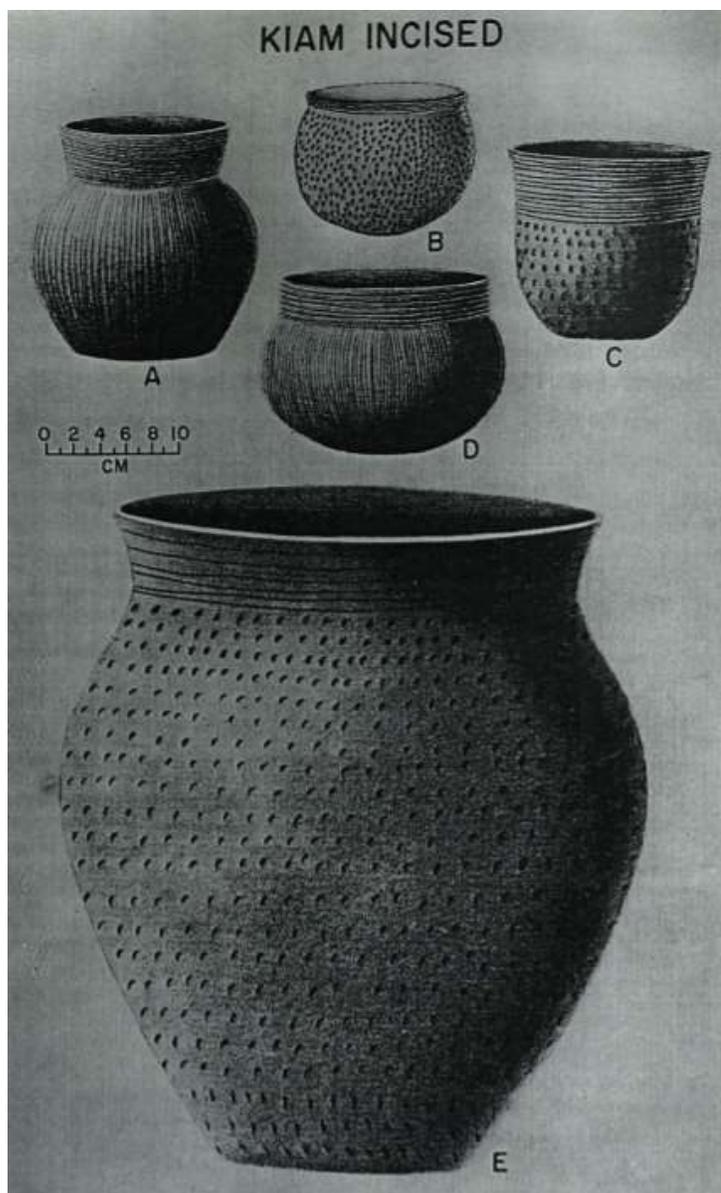


Figure 11.. Kiam Incised pottery from the George C. Davis site. (Suhm and Jelks 2009:Plate 45)

Pennington Punctated-Incised

Pennington Punctated-Incised is a coiled clay-grit type that occasionally includes bone temper. This type comes in colors ranging from light to dark brown or in reddish- and gray-browns. Vessels of this type are rarely black. Most vessels are large carinated

bowls whose diameters reach over 40 cm and whose heights reach 12 cm or more. The carinated bowls of this type have convex bases and either vertical or convex rims. The cylindrical vessels of this type reach over 20 cm tall. Small and shallow bowls with high concave rims of this type are rare but do exist.

The average thickness of the walls for all vessel shapes is between 6 and 7 mm, but they also range from 4 to 9 mm. The rims of carinated bowls and the bodies of other small bowls and cylindrical vessels are decorated with incised slanting bands, triangles, and diamonds. Sometimes several of the same shape are inscribed within each other. The spaces between bands are either filled with punctations and short lines or by alternating between plain spaces and punctated areas. Both the lines and the punctations have been found with white pigment, and less often, red ocher, within them (Figure 12; Suhm and Jelks 2009:121).

Pennington Punctated-Incised pottery was collected and identified at the Urbankte site (41CV26) and the Chupik site (41ML44) of Coryell and McLennan Counties (Perttula et al. 2003:13-14; Shafer 2006:11). It dates within the AD 500-1000 range, placing it well within the Early Caddo period (Suhm and Jelks 2009:121).

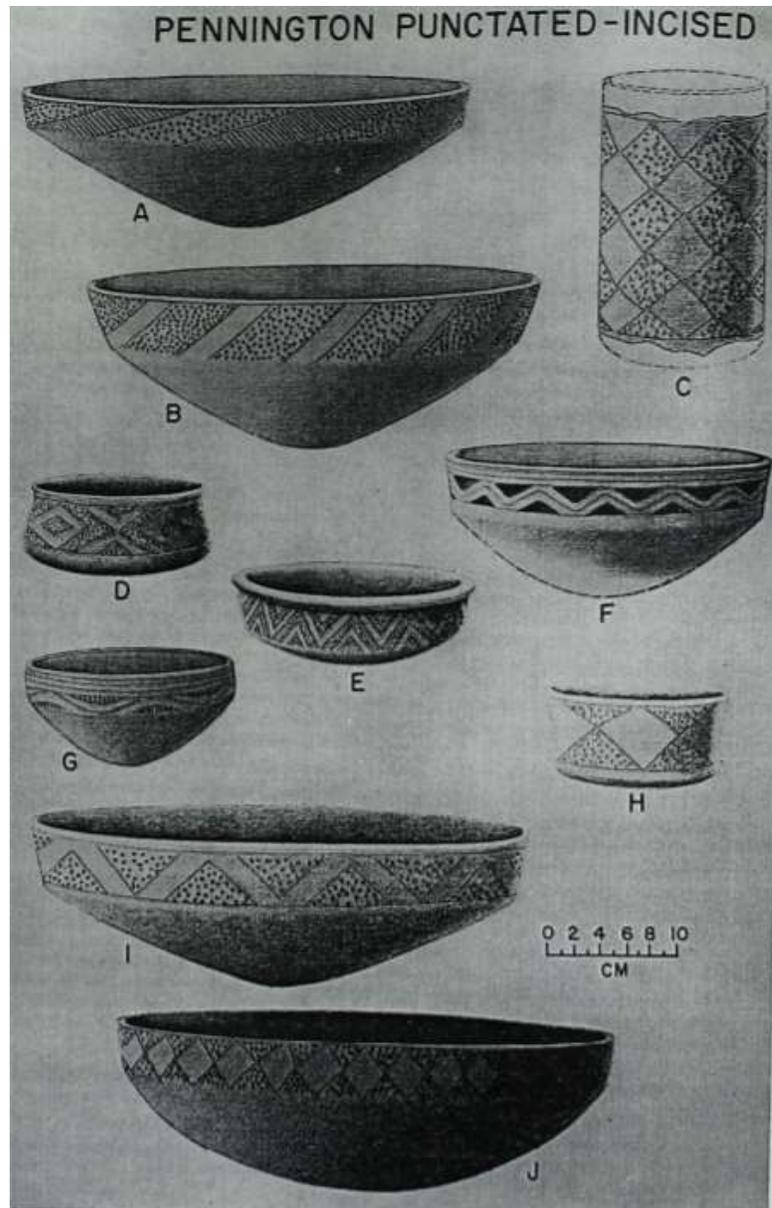


Figure 12. Pennington Punctated-Incised pottery from the George C. Davis site. (Suhm and Jelks 2009:Plate 45)

Weches Fingernail Impressed

Weches Fingernail Impressed is a coiled clay-grit type, with bone on rare occasions added as additional temper. Vessel colors for this type include yellowish-brown, reddish-brown to brick red, and darker, almost black, shades of brown. Most

Weches Fingernail Impressed vessels are globular, short-rimmed jars followed by carinated, cylindrical, and compound bowls. The rims are decorated with rows of arched impressions made by thumbnail or reed punctations, with the rows sometimes separated by horizontal lines. The bodies are either left plain or have additional rows of arched punctations, straight vertical lines, grids of horizontal or diagonal lines, or spirals made of overlapping fingernail impressions (Figure 13; Suhm and Jelks 2009:153).

Weches Fingernail Impressed type pottery is typically found in eastern Texas and northwestern Louisiana but has also been collected at the Baylor (41ML35) and the Chupik (41ML44) sites in McLennan County (Perttula et al. 2003:13-14; Shafer 2006:11). This type dates somewhere between AD 500-1000 (Suhm and Jelks 2009:153).

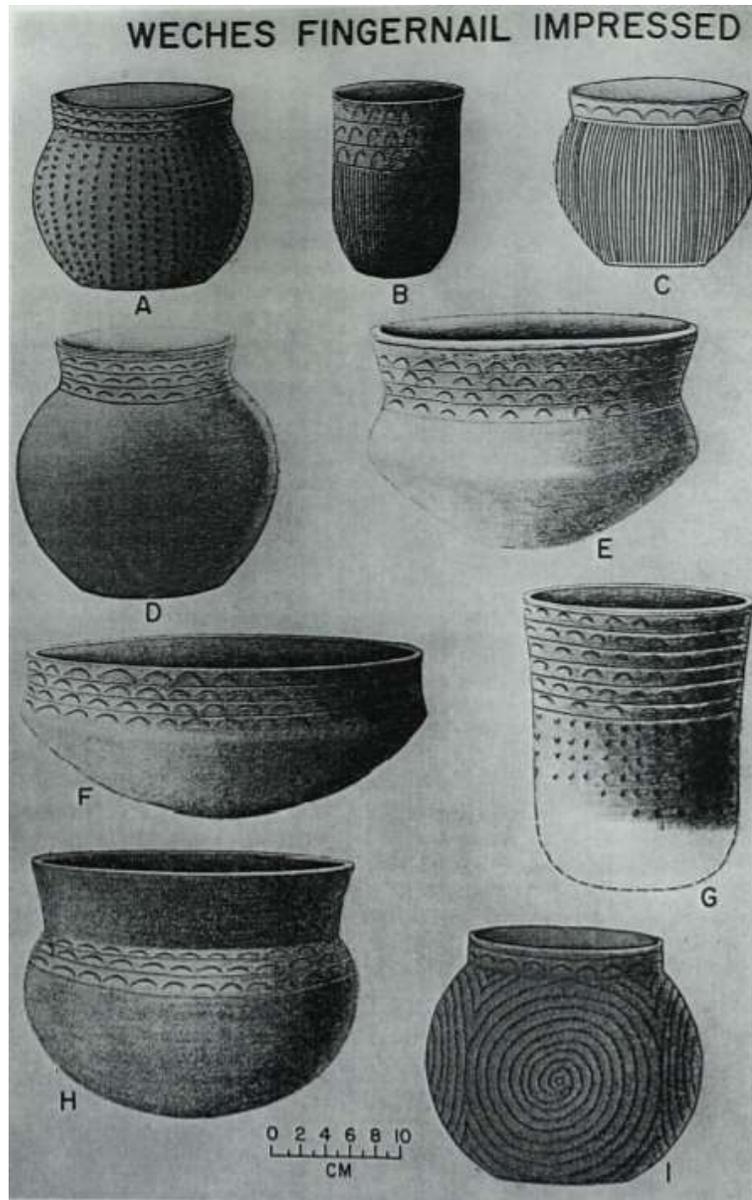


Figure 13. Weches Fingernail Impressed vessels from the George C. Davis site. (Suhm and Jelks 2009:Plate 77)

Bonham-Alba Arrow Points

The George C. Davis site in Cherokee County has produced a large quantity of Bonham-Alba points. Bonham-Alba points, as defined by Harry Shafer, are a type of arrow point that gets its name from its similarity to Bonham and Alba points. However,

they also appear very similar to Perdiz points and might be mistaken for them, particularly when identification is mostly done based on the stem shape. The main distinguishing characteristic between Perdiz and Bonham-Alba points is the recurve shape of Bonham-Alba blades. Unfortunately, the distinctiveness of the recurve shape is made less clear when significant resharpening has occurred.

Bonham-Alba points date to the Late Prehistoric period and are typically distributed through central Texas, along the Balcones Edge region. The parallel-stemmed points have convex or straight bases, while others have slightly contracting stems and rounded bases. It is the blades that distinguish points as Bonham-Albas. The blades are usually long, barbed, and sometimes serrated. When viewed in cross section, they appear recurved and lenticular. The long and recurved blades give Bonham-Alba points a distinctive Caddoan style. More work needs to be done to refine the dating of Bonham-Alba points, but we can estimate a date range starting around AD 1100 ± 100 based on the ceramics assemblages they appear with (Figure 14; Shafer 2006:15-22).

Bonham-Alba points have been found at multiple sites within the counties under examination. Fort Hood sites and the Spicewood Creek site in Bell County as well as excavations at other Fort Hood sites within Coryell County reported the presence of Bonham-Alba points (Shafer 2006:19). Additionally, the 1949 Coryell County excavations associated with the construction of the Belton Reservoir also produced at least one arrow point that I would identify as a Bonham-Alba point, though it was called a Perdiz point at the time (Miller and Jelks 1952:Plate 24). McLennan County sites that have recovered Bonham-Alba points include the Baylor site (41ML35), the Asa Warner site (41ML46), and the Clark site (41ML39). Most sites where they are found are

clustered together in these adjacent counties. Because the Bonham-Alba type definition is not universally distinguished as a separate type from the Bonham and Alba types, it is likely that this type has been found at other sites within this region and simply not identified as such (Shafer 2006:17-19).



Figure 14. Bonham-Alba Arrow Points. (Perttula and Shafer 2016:Figure 3)

Gahagan Bifaces

Gahagan bifaces, also known as Gahagan or Copena knives, are thin, recurved bifaces typically associated with Caddo sites in east Texas and western Louisiana. They have either straight or only slightly concave bases. There is a contraction near the base that then recurves back out to what is usually their maximum width about midway up the blade. This recurve is particularly clear on bifaces that exhibit very little wear and resharpening, such as those removed from burial contexts. Thinning strikes don't carry all the way across the surface of the blade, indicating that their creation required a relatively high degree of skill (Figure 15; Shafer 2006:21-23).

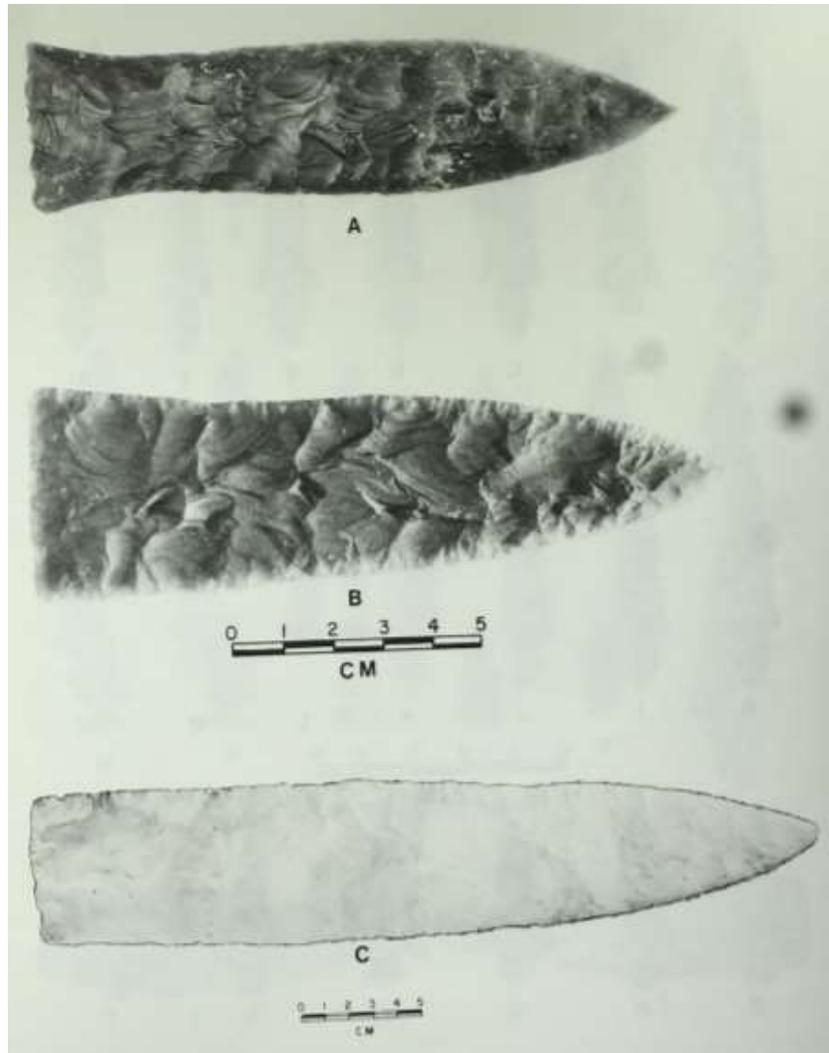


Figure 15. Gahagan Bifaces from the Bentsen-Clark site. (Banks and Winters 1975:Figure 13)

Gahagan bifaces are found both showing intense wear and reworking and hardly any at all. This suggests that, although they were definitely used as utilitarian knives to be later found in sites like villages, they still had a greater, more prestigious significance in other contexts, such as burials. Since Gahagan knives are found as prestigious grave goods at the Davis site and evidence of their manufacture is not, it is likely that these were acquired through trade, gifting, or some other social exchange mechanism. This is

supported by the scarcity of quality chert resources near the Davis site (Shafer 2006:21-23).

Gahagan knives have been found at multiple sites in Bell, Coryell, and McLennan Counties. Bell County sites with Gahagan knives include the Garth Site (41BL22), the Penny Winkle site (41BL23), the Iron Bridge site (41BL47), the Simmonds site (41BL58), the Domino site (41BL65), and Fort Hood (41BL991-B)(Shafer 2006:21). For Coryell County, Gahagan knives have been found at the Urbankte site (41CV26), the Grimes-Houy Shelter site (41CV17), the Grimes-Houy Midden site (41CV32), the Ament Shelter site (41CV33), Fort Hood, and the Johnson Hole site (Miller and Jelks 1952:189-201; Shafer 2006:21). Gahagan knives were also recovered from the Clark site (41ML39) in McLennan County (Shafer 2006:21).

CHAPTER FOUR

Central Texas Sites Dating to the Early Caddo Period and the Late Prehistoric Period

Austin Phase

Central Texas archaeology in the Late Prehistoric period is typically divided into two distinct cultural periods. The first period, spanning from approximately AD 700-1300, was dubbed the Austin Phase or the Austin interval (Texas Beyond History (TBH) 2001). The second period, known as the Toyah Phase, replaced the Austin phase around AD 1300 and lasted until approximately AD 1600 (Figueroa et al. 2011:14). Since the Early Caddo period dates to AD 800-1300, we should expect our Prairie Caddo sites to be contemporary with the Austin Phase rather than the Toyah (Crane 1982:81). This chapter will briefly describe the Austin Phase and what can normally be expected of central Texas sites dating to this period. This will be followed by descriptions of sites in Bell, Coryell, and McLennan Counties whose assemblages contain Caddo artifacts, including ceramics, Bonham-Alba arrow points, and Gahagan bifaces.

The Austin Phase

Austin Phase peoples in central Texas were mobile hunter-gatherers. Campsites, some used more often than others, are frequently found on or near the banks of rivers and creeks where indigenous groups would have access to a wide variety of natural plant and animal resources (Gadus et al. 2006:9-10). The common presence of large burned rock middens at Austin Phase sites supports the belief that earth oven cooking was an

important subsistence technology at this time, which makes sense from a culture with a high reliance on foraging (Figueroa et al. 2011:14; Gadus et al. 2006:12).

The beginning of the Austin Phase in central Texas is marked by the introduction of the bow and arrow into the region (Figueroa et al. 2011:14). Early Austin Phase sites sometimes have a mix of atlatl dart points with arrow points in places where there is a continuation in a site's occupation throughout this transition (TBH 2001). There are a few types of arrow points found during this period, but the diagnostic arrow point type for the Austin Phase is the Scallorn type (Figueroa et al. 2011:14).

Scallorn type arrow points were used throughout the Austin Phase (Figure 16). Scallorn points have strongly expanding stems that are close to or sometimes even as wide as the blades (Gadus et al. 2006:100). Scallorn points are considered a type of corner-notched arrow point because they have notches flaked into the corners of the bases of the points for hafting (TBH Web Team 2001). This creates short, squared, or sharp barbs pointing horizontally or, less often, downwards (Suhm and Jelks 2009:285). The bases of the stems may be concave, convex, or straight. The blades are triangular with straight, usually serrated edges. The sides of the blade are occasionally recurved or convex, but straight is the predominant edge shape (Figure 16; Gadus et al. 2006:100-103). Although they have been found elsewhere, Scallorn points are most commonly found in a band of territory running from the Red River Valley south to the Gulf Coast (Suhm and Jelks 2009:285).



Figure 16. Scallorn Arrow Points from the J. B. White Site (41MM341) in Milam County, Texas. (Gadus et al. 2006:Figure 7-5)

Replacing the Scallorn arrow point type in the Toyah Phase is the Perdiz type. Like Scallorn points, Perdiz points have serrated triangular blades. However, Perdiz stems are contracting or straight. The shoulders can project out horizontally but most

Perdiz points have obviously barbed shoulders (Suhm and Jelks 2009:283). The stem bases are sometimes rounded but usually taper to a point (Gadus et al. 2006:100). Perdiz points are distributed throughout the whole of Texas (Figure 2; Suhm and Jelks 2009:283).



Figure 17. Perdiz Arrow Points from the J. B. White Site (41MM341) in Milam County, Texas. (Gadus et al. 2006:Figure 7-3)

Scallorn and Perdiz arrow points do have many characteristics in common with each other and with the Bonham-Alba points discussed in Chapter 3. All three, after all, are triangular, barbed, and serrated (Shafer 2006:17). Although all three can have recurved blades, the recurved blade is a critical part of classifying Bonham-Alba points (Suhm and Jelks 2009: 265-267, 283-285). The diamond-shaped preform bifaces that

Bonham-Albas are made from are different than Scallorn preforms, which are more triangular. Perdiz preforms have a similar shape to Bonham-Albas, but the points are made solely by pressure flaking compared to the combination of pressure flaking and percussion used to shape Bonham-Alba points (Shafer 2006:17).

Ceramics, or the lack thereof, can also be used as a diagnostic of the Austin Phase. Central Texas peoples did not start producing their own ceramics until AD 1250-1300. This ceramic type is called Leon Plain. Any ceramic vessels recovered at Austin phase sites were acquired from other cultures, such as the Caddo of east Texas. These acquired ceramics in Austin Phase sites can be distinguished from Leon Plain by the width of the walls, with Caddo wares having thinner walls and grog or bone temper. Leon Plain wares were typically thick-walled, low fired, bone-tempered bowls (Figueroa et al. 2011:15).

Central Texas Sites with Caddo Artifacts

The Penny Winkle Site

Located in Bell County on the southeastern bank of Stampede Creek, two miles northwest of the Whitehall community, the Penny Winkle site (41BL23) is a small, but archaeologically rich, occupation site. The site was mostly undisturbed despite some erosion by the creek and by digging by looters. Most of the artifacts found at the site were typical for central Texas assemblages (Shafer et al. 1964:78-85). However, the 1962 test excavations did recover a rim sherd from either a Canton Incised or Dunkin Incised Caddoan vessel (Figure 18; Shafer et al. 1964:Figure 15).

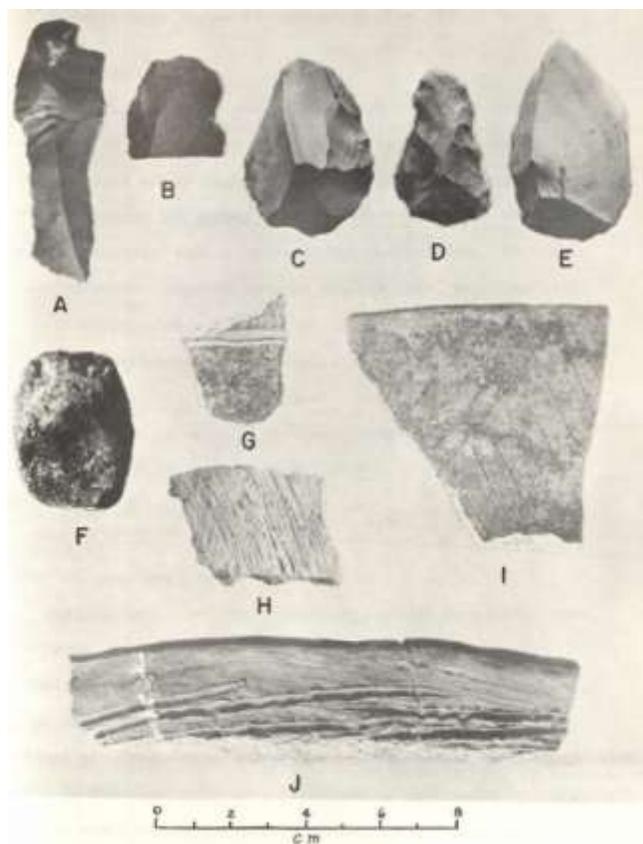


Figure 18. Artifacts from the 1962 excavations of the Penny Winkle site (41BL23). Artifact I was identified as either a Canton Incised or Dunkin Incised sherd. (Shafer et al. 1964:Figure 15)

Fort Hood Site 41BL142-A

Fort Hood site 41BL142-A is a rockshelter and adjacent lithic scatter on an unnamed tributary of Owl Creek in Bell County. The site was originally recorded in 1972 and was tested in 1992 and again in 2000. It was dated based on the arrow point assemblage, placing it in the Late Prehistoric period (Mehalchick et al. 2003:38-42). One of the arrow points collected during these test excavations was a Bonham-Alba point (Mehalchick et al. 2003:38-42, 169).

The Urbankte Site.

The Urbankte site (41CV26) was one of the sites whose ceramic assemblages first prompted Shafer to develop his Prairie Caddo hypothesis (Shafer 2006:2). Located on the left bank of the Leon River in the southeastern portion of Coryell County, the site is part of the Brazos River basin (Miller and Jelks 1952:189; Perttula and Shafer 2016:48). Test-pit excavations and a surface collection were initially conducted in 1951 as part of the salvage efforts associated with the construction of the Belton Dam (Miller and Jelks 1952:189-190). According to Shafer, this terrace site is one of the larger Prairie Caddo sites and may have been a village. Although direct evidence for structures in central Texas is lacking, structural daub was reported at Urbankte (Shafer 2006:39), which would suggest a wattle and daub structure.

There were at least two cultural components of the Urbankte site. The older component found in Horse Creek's north bank was from an Early Caddo period occupation between AD 900-1200. The later component, found north of the mouth of Horse Creek, dates after AD 1200-1300, which conforms to the Austin-Toyah phase transition of the central Texas Late Prehistoric period and Middle- Late Caddo period (Perttula and Shafer 2016:48).

This site's ceramic assemblage was relatively large compared to the others discussed in this chapter with 118 sherds from the site currently in the TARL collections. Of these sherds, a majority at 88% are bone-tempered with 12% from grog-tempered vessels (Perttula 2015:43). Early Caddo ceramics identified at the Urbankte site include Pennington Punctuated-Incised, Dunkin Incised, Davis, and Kiam Incised (Figure 19). Additionally, at least four Gahagan bifaces and several Bonham-Alba points have been

identified at Urbankte (Perttula and Shafer 2016:48; Shafer 2006:11, 21). Both types of stone tools were made of local central Texas chert (Perttula and Shafer 2016:48). Interestingly, the Urbankte site also had a combination of Perdiz and Scallorn points that when combined with the ceramics assemblage likely put the beginning of the site's occupation after AD 1200-1300 (Perttula 2015:44).



Figure 19. Incised sherds from the Urbankte site. (Miller and Jelks 1952:Plate 29)

The Grimes-Houy Shelter

Excavated in 1951 due to the construction of the Belton Reservoir in Coryell County, the Grimes-Houy Shelter site (41CV17) was 60 ft. long and mainly used for burials. A Caddo connection was identified based on the presence of Ellis and Yarbrough Stemmed arrow points and an untyped Caddo pottery vessel, all of which had been found at the George C Davis site (41CE19). The site also contained multiple Gahagan knives, supporting the link between the Davis site and the prairie sites (Miller and Jelks 1952:190-192).

The Grimes-Houy Midden

Located on top of the canyon above the Grimes-Houy Shelter about 200 ft. to the northeast, the Grimes-Houy Midden (41CV32) was also tested with the opening of several excavation units. At least one of the sherds recovered came from a Holly Fine Engraved vessel. Like the rockshelter below, multiple arrow points were recovered along with Gahagan bifaces made of central Texas chert (Figure 20; Miller and Jelks 1952:192-195).

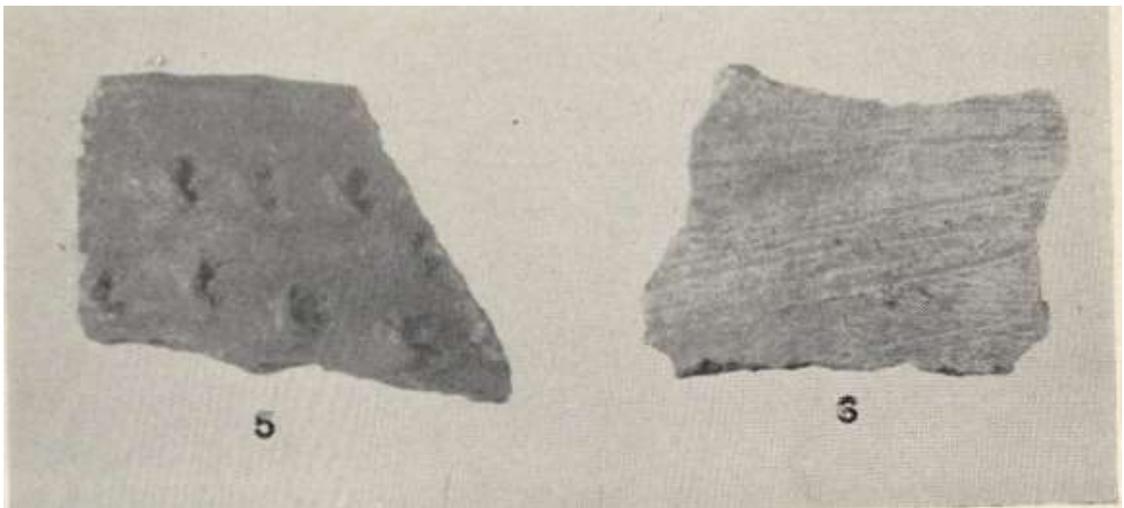


Figure 20. Sherds from the Grimes-Houy Shelter and the Grimes-Houy Midden, respectively. (Miller and Jelks 1952:Plate 28)

The Johnson's Hole Site

Gaining its name for its proximity to a popular local swimming place by the same name, the Johnson's Hole site was located along the banks of Stockton Branch in Coryell County. The test excavations of November 1951 found both Holly Fine Engraved sherds and two Gahagan bifaces (Miller and Jelks 1952:195-197).

The Chupik Site

The Chupik site (41ML44) is located north of Waco at the confluence of Aquilla Creek and the Brazos River. The oldest prehistoric components have been assigned an estimated date of AD 1153 based on the median of several radiocarbon dates (Perttula et al. 2003:13). The 1972 University of Texas Field School conducted excavations of the site and found nine separate clusters of ceramic sherds. The clusters formed a circle and may represent different structures or activity areas, demonstrating a residential component of the site.

Most of the sherds at 83% of the assemblage were grog-tempered but bone-tempered sherds also made up approximately 17% of the collection, particularly as the remains of fine ware vessels. Identified ceramic types present at Chupik include Davis Incised, Dunkin Incised, Hickory Engraved, and Holly Fine Engraved. There were also 205 punctated sherds, approximately 95% of which were decorated with fingernail punctations, and these are most likely Pennington Punctuated-Incised, Kiam Incised, or Weches Fingernail Impressed vessel sherds (Figures 21 and 22). Overall, the sherds have been dated to AD 1000-1200, and an X-ray diffraction analysis of a sample of Chupik sherds and clay sources from the area support the belief that the vessels were not produced locally. Additionally, the excavations also collected a Bonham-Alba arrow point in addition to the Alba, Bonham, and Perdiz points recovered from the site (Perttula 2015:45-55).

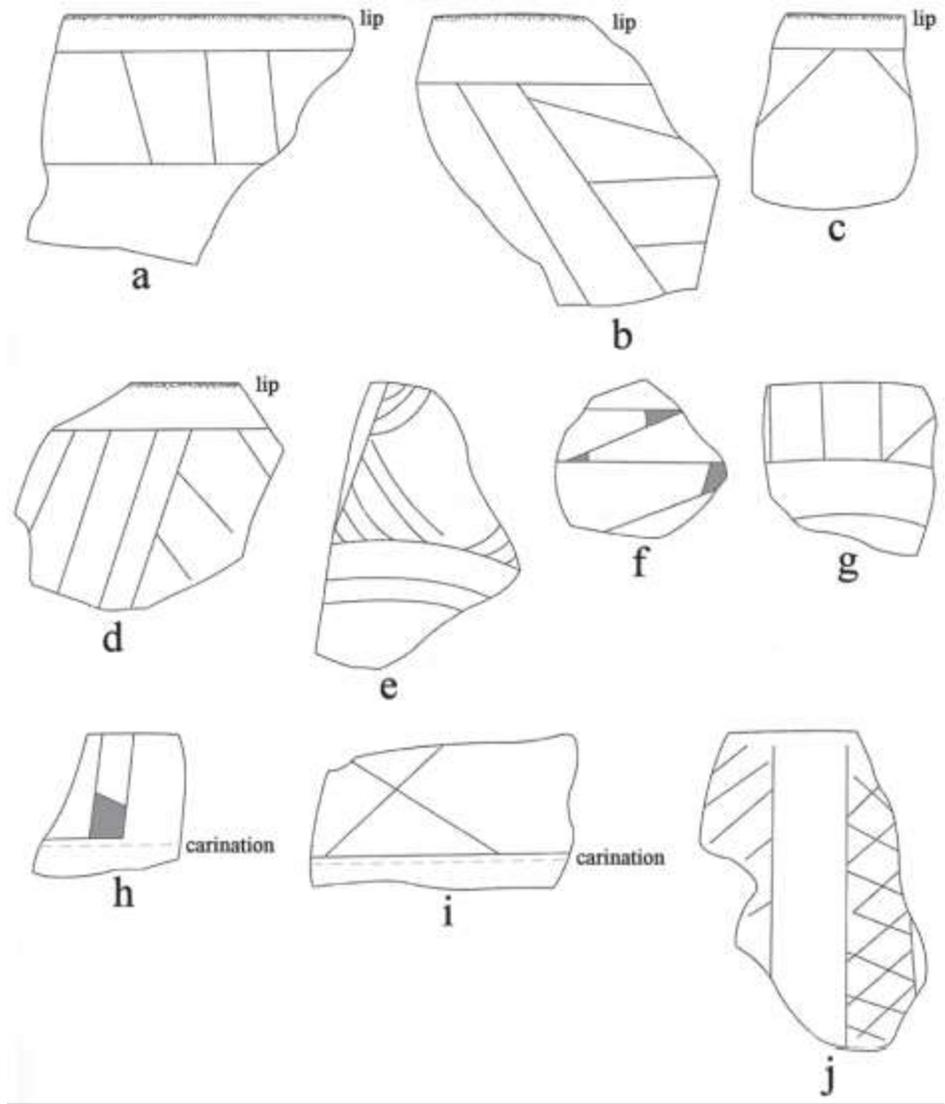


Figure 21. Engraved fine ware sherds from the Chupik site. (Perttula 2015:Figure 9)

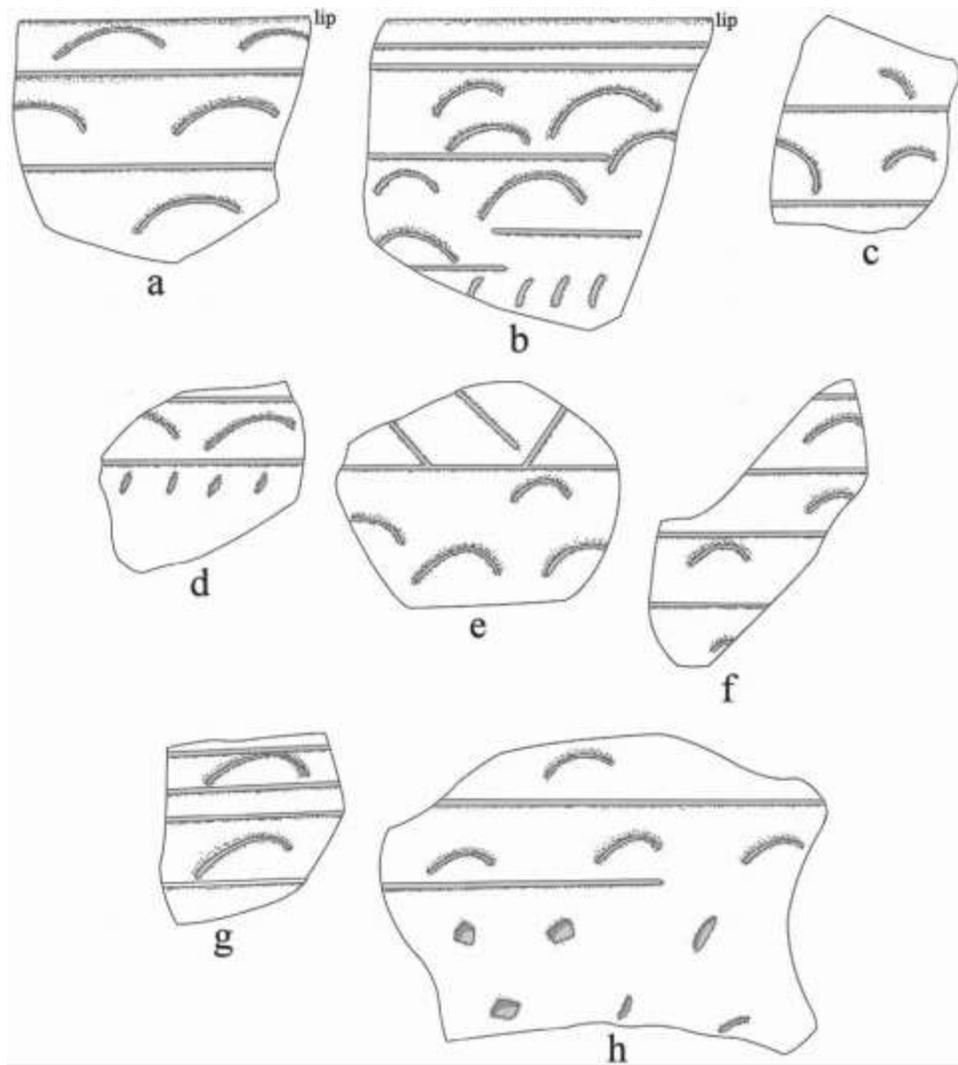


Figure 22. Punctated ceramic sherds from the Chupik site. (Perttula 2015:Figure 7)

The Asa Warner Site.

The Asa Warner site (41ML46) is located about 12 km southeast of modern Waco, Texas on an alluvial terrace of the Brazos River (Perttula 2015:55) in McLennan County. The site was originally excavated by the Central Texas Archeological Society (CTAS) starting in late 1941 and continuing through most of 1942 before being interrupted by WWII and the eventual dissolution of the CTAS. At that point, the site had

long been used for agriculture, eventually leading to the site's discovery when sherds started to be found in the fields (Watt 1956:7-8). The Texas Archeological Society conducted further excavations as part of their 1973 Field School, with the collected assemblages now part of the TARK collections in Austin (Perttula 2015:55).

Altogether, the assemblage of over 300 sherds found at the Asa Warner site contained both utilitarian and fine ware ceramics, including Canton Incised, Davis Incised, Dunkin Incised, Holly Fine Engraved, and Kiam Incised (Figure 23; Perttula 2015:59; Watt 1956:25-28). Additionally, at least five Bonham-Alba points were identified amongst the arrow points found at the site. The higher proportion of decorated Early Caddoan sherds at Asa Warner suggests that the site may have been a residential village or at least repeatedly occupied (Perttula 2015:55-64).

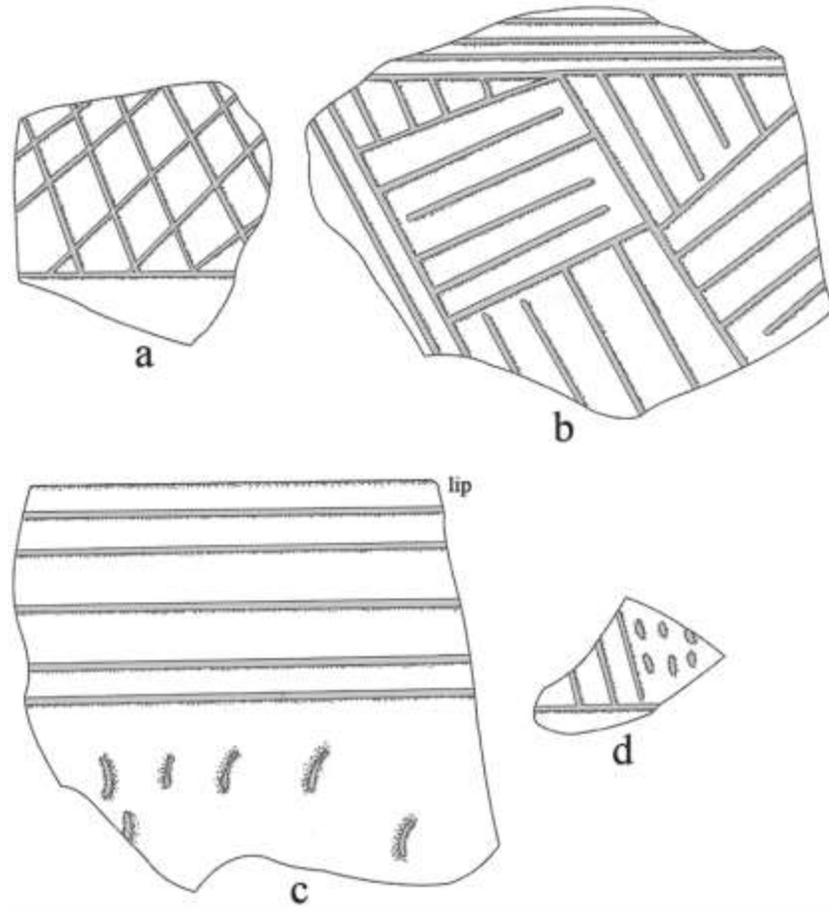


Figure 23. Decorated sherds from the Asa Warner site, including a Dunkin Incised sherd and a Kiam Incised sherd marked "b" and "c" respectively. (Pertulla 2015:Figure 12)

The Clark Site

Found six miles upriver from Waco on a remnant of a Brazos River terrace, the Clark site (41ML39) was originally excavated in 1955 by the Central Texas Archeological Society. The CTAS found both a small hearth feature and a layer of midden debris (Watt 1965:101-103). The ceramics assemblage included Canton Incised and Dunkin Incised type sherds. Additionally, the excavations recovered 11 Bonham-Alba arrow points and a Gahagan biface (Shafer 2006:19, 21; Watt 1965:104-107). Like

the Asa Warner (41ML46) and Urbankte (41CV26) sites, the Clark site is considered to be one of the larger Prairie Caddo sites and may have been a village (Shafer 2006:39).

In Summary

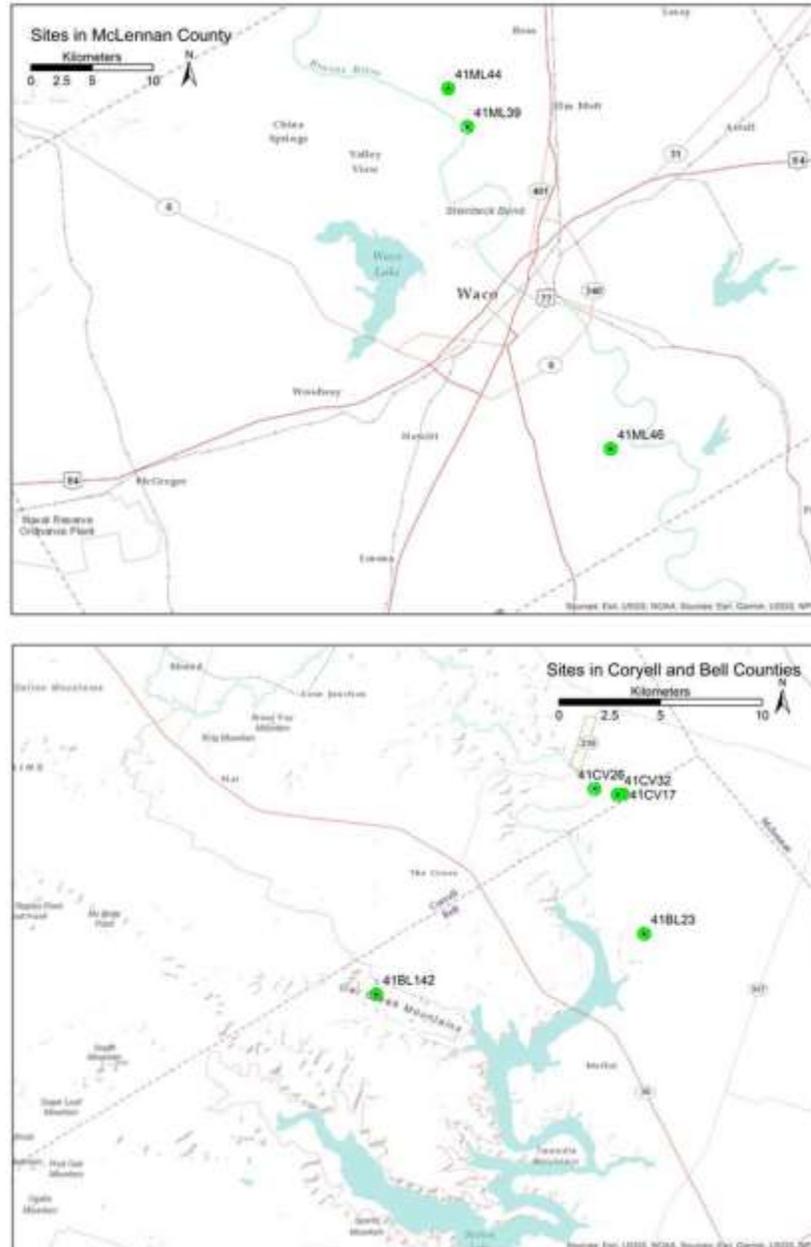


Figure 24. Maps of central Texas sites discussed in this chapter and the George C. Davis site created by Carol Macaulay-Jameson.

When excavating central Texas sites dating to the Austin phase, archaeologists expect to find earth ovens and the diagnostic Scallorn arrow point. But when these sites produce both Scallorn and Bonham-Albas arrow points, Gahagan bifaces, as well as, Early Caddo period pottery, questions concerning the intermingling of two distinct cultural traditions come to mind. However, sometimes cultural affiliation is more difficult to determine.

For example, Caddo pottery is known to have been widely distributed through extensive trade networks but is more common in sites occupied by the Caddo themselves. Is the pottery found at central Texas sites trade items, or was the site occupied by the Caddo themselves? Additionally, Bonham-Alba arrow points, manufactured from Edwards chert, are found in central Texas sites, but appear as exotic prestige goods at the Davis site. Gahagan bifaces are rare in central Texas sites, but are prevalent in east Texas and Louisiana. What is clear, however, is that central Texas was linked to the Davis site and exotic commodities traveled in both directions. The sites first described in this chapter may be located in central Texas, but their assemblages indicate a strong cultural connection, whatever that might be, with the Caddo to the east.

CHAPTER FIVE

A Proposition: White-tailed Deer – A Critical Resource of the Early Caddo

Introduction

In this chapter, my intention is to propose four arguments as to why white-tailed deer were a critical resource to the Early Caddo peoples of east Texas. The first, deer provided an important source of protein in their diet. Second, deer hides were used for everyday clothing, ceremonial garments, bedding, matting, and other utilitarian household needs. Third, since the Early Caddo homeland was within the Mississippian interaction sphere, leaders may have used meat and deer hides to enhance their elite status through activities such as feasting and ceremonial gift-giving. And fourth, dried venison and hides were valuable trade commodities and potential sources of wealth. With this in mind, it is likely that the procurement of venison and hides was a motivating force behind the relationship between the Davis site Caddo and the hunting and gathering groups of central Texas.

Venison

Deer prefer woodland or riparian environments, such as those found in east Texas and the Edwards Plateau, because they contain their preferred food sources and also, they provide sufficient cover from predators. While there were white-tailed deer in eastern Texas, deer populations can only sustain so much culling before the herds natural reproduction rates are no longer enough to maintain a steady population size. Since we are discussing the possibility that Early Caddo groups visited central Texas to obtain deer

products through hunting or trade, a discussion of the deer population in this region is necessary.

In their article “Hunter-Gatherer Resource Acquisition and Use in the Lower Bosque River Basin During the Late Archaic,” Kibler and Mehalchick address whether the availability of white-tailed deer was enough to meet the area occupants’ need for protein and for hides. This study examines the Lower Bosque River Basin, located in western McLennan County, northern Coryell County and eastern Bosque County. It is estimated that the Lower Bosque River Basin had a carrying capacity of one deer per 10 acres, or 5,800 deer for the region and that up to 30% of the herd could be culled every year while still keeping the population at carrying capacity (Kibler and Mehalchick 2010:112). The abundance of deer in this region even into the historic period apparent in trade records, such as those that show that the Trading House Creek post alone shipped out 75,000 deer skins between 1844 to 1853 (Strecker 1927:108-109). This supports the idea that the region could host a large deer population far larger than would be needed to sustain just the hunting and gathering groups living in the region.

This disparity may have made it possible to support groups elsewhere, such as the Caddo, whose local populations could not meet their own needs. It is historically known that hunting expeditions were a significant part of Caddo life. Either men or sometimes entire Caddo groups would travel on post-harvest hunting expeditions to central Texas (La Vere 1998:66; Smith 2005:5). It would stand to reason that even male-only hunting camps would produce similar assemblages as multi-gendered camps because men would still have to perform all of the tasks needed to keep the camp running, as well as processing deer for venison and hides (La Vere 1998:66).

Venison contains approximately 23 g of protein per 100 g of meat. Since an adult white-tailed deer killed in the fall, contains about 18 kg of lean meat, it has been estimated that a single deer fulfills an individual's protein needs for 83 person-days (Kibler and Mehalchick 2010:112). White-tail deer are an incredible source of protein, in addition the fat that can be obtained through marrow extraction and bone-grease processing. The faunal assemblages from many of the sites discussed in Chapter 3, consist of large quantities of fractured and broken bone of medium-sized mammals, the bi-product of rendering fat from bones.

Clothing

There is some disagreement in the historic sources as to how much clothing the Caddo actually wore. Sources like Joutel and Casañas state that the women wore only a skirt from waist to knee, and that the men wore very little. Espinosa claimed that in the summer, men wore a loincloth, but the women always wore clothing that covered both their upper and lower body. Both sources agree that what clothing they did wear was made of tanned deer hides (Bolton 1987:128-129). Buckskin moccasins sewn from a single piece of leather were worn by both sexes and continued to be worn into the twentieth century (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:41).

Historic sources tell us that the Caddo were adept at preparing deer hides. It was a skill both men and women had, since women did not always accompany men on their hunting trips (Bolton 1987:128). Hides fashioned into clothing might be left unmodified or dyed different colors, particularly when it came to ceremonial clothing. Outfits for these occasions were made of soft, carefully cared for deerskins of different colors with fringe and elaborate ornamentation. Special pieces of jewelry only worn for special

occasions added to the spectacle. The Hasinai Caddo developed a special technique for dyeing hides a black color that looked like expensive fabric. The Caddo liked ornamentation on their garb and added fringe and natural noisemakers such as shells, seeds, deer hooves, and snake rattles that would jangle around as they moved (Bolton 1987:131-134).

Kibler and Mehalchick (2010:112) conservatively estimate that it would take about two skins a year to clothe a single individual, based on descriptions of the Tonkawa, an historic hunter-gatherer population that resided in central Texas. Based on the assumption that contact-era Caddo dress is reflective of the prehistoric Caddo, we can estimate that an Early Caddo adult would require at least two hides a year for clothing and likely more for ceremonial garments and for utilitarian objects.

Feasting and Prestige

The Caddo homeland was on the frontier of the Mississippian cultural area and the Davis site is recognized as a ceremonial and administrative center, similar to other Mississippian mound centers that arose during this time period. Like the Mississippians, the pre-contact Caddo elites controlled a network of various regional centers (Perttula 2002:152). While Mississippian chiefdoms typically practiced hereditary descent through the matrilineage, members of any elite lineage could and did challenge chiefs and heirs.

This made it critically important for chiefs to take action that would help them build and maintain their prestige and solidify the loyalty of their allies if they wanted to stay in power (Bowne 2013:44-46). Feasting was an important tool in a Mississippian chief's efforts to build coalitions, secure alliances, and legitimize his authority (Rees 1997:118, 124). Not only did it allow him to demonstrate his power and prestige through

a massive redistribution and destruction of wealth, but it also created a sense of obligation from the guests towards the host in accordance with the principle of reciprocity (La Vere 1998:25).

The Davis site has produced evidence of feasting through its ceramic assemblage. Feasting requires large serving vessels in order to serve large numbers of people. Vessels used in feasting are usually much finer than the typical utilitarian cooking and serving vessels. These vessels are also large-mouthed, including the types discussed in Chapter 3. Unfortunately, faunal bone preservation at the Davis site was relatively poor but from that which was recovered, the majority of the bone was identified as deer or medium-sized mammal (Newell 1949:181-182). Holding feasting events at the Davis site would intensify the demand for venison and provide an incentive for maintaining a connection with central Texas.

Since faunal preservation was relatively poor at the Davis site, it is worth examining evidence of feasting at the Crenshaw site (3MI6) in its place. The Crenshaw site was occupied by the Fourche Maline culture before the site transitioned to Early Caddo occupation (Jackson et al. 2012:50). Located in Arkansas in the Red River Valley, the site contains both a village and multiple burial mounds with the Caddo components spread throughout the site (Samuelson 2009:49, 52). It was occupied from the seventh century into the tenth before the community seems to have largely dispersed to only a small residential population, though the site continued to be used for burials for several more centuries (Jackson et al. 2012:51). The similarity of the village and mound complexes makes the Crenshaw site a useful comparative analogy for what might have occurred at the Davis site.

One of the unique features of the Crenshaw site is the two features that were radiocarbon dated between AD 1161-1254, placing them in the midst of the Early Caddo period (Jackson et al. 2012:53). The priest's house was the name given to the structure because of the presence of both typical domestic debris indicating it was a residence combined with evidence of skull handling, in the form of 73 teeth and pieces of human mandibles. Additionally, small exotic artifacts like marine shell and pearl beads, bone pins, and copper bangles were found, indicating that the high prestige associated with the activities and users of the structure (Samuelson 2009:50-51).

This structure was located directly next to a deposit of over 2000 white-tail deer antlers, representing at least 1021 males, that was covered with a mound of mostly sterile sand (Jackson et al. 2012:54-55). This close association of the antler deposit and the elite structure reveal that the Caddo, at least at some sites and occasions, would conduct ritual or ceremonial activities that required large amounts of deer to be procured in a relatively short amount of time. It is possible that if the Davis site hosted similar activities that they might have to draw from outside sources to meet an unusually high demand.

Trade and Prestige

Another potential motivating factor for the Davis site Caddo to maintain connections with central Texas was the value of white-tailed deer in the long-distance trade market. As stated previously, the Caddo were a Mississippian culture. Maintaining chiefly power in Mississippian societies usually required the constant acquisition of wealth to demonstrate divine favor and to keep allies loyal through gift-giving (La Vere 1998:25-26). As such, the Mississippians participated in long-distance trade networks to acquire goods from all over North America. Burials from the Mississippian cities of

Cahokia, Spiro, Dickson, Emerald Mound, and Etowah, had access to exotic resources like Great Lakes copper, Osage Orange wood from Caddo territory, Great Plains bison and raptors, and Atlantic and Gulf Coast marine shell, just to name a few (Bowne 2013:63-66; La Vere 1998:42-43).

The Caddo were no exception to these trade and burial patterns and took advantage of their location at the intersection of the Great Plains and the Eastern Woodlands. In fact, the Caddo controlled the intersection of four major trade networks (Smith 2005:5). The first was a major east-west trade route running from near St. Augustine, Florida through the Casas Grandes pueblo trading center and then turning south farther into Mexico, hereafter called the St. Augustine-Casas Grandes trade route. This route not only ran through San Antonio in central Texas but also, through the Natchitoches Caddo territory. Smaller trails connected to this east-west route allowed access to the Hasinai Caddo homeland and to regions to the north. The second major route ran from the Natchitoches Caddo communities along the Red River and west to the pueblos near modern-day Santa Fe. The major Mississippian chiefdom of Cahokia and the wealthy Spiro site were also connected to both the Natchitoches and Kadohadacho Caddo areas by a third major trail running northeast. The fourth major trail connected the third route in the Kadohadacho territory through the Hasinai area to meet up with the St. Augustine-Casas Grandes trade route (La Vere 1998:23). All these trade routes, and the minor routes linking off of them, connected the Caddo homeland to other major trading centers.

This would have allowed for Caddo-made goods to spread far and would have brought large amounts of material wealth into Caddo society. While nonperishable

materials are much more represented in assemblages, there is also evidence that these trade networks included perishable subsistence goods as well, such as maize, bison and deer meat, cactus fruit, or even bison “wool” like that found at the Spiro site (La Vere 1998:). It is not unreasonable to conclude that deer hides, tools made from deer bone, dried venison, and other products made from deer would have been significant commodities within these trade networks. This is particularly true for goods made from monopolized techniques, such as the Hasinai dyed hides, whose relative scarcity would have made them even more valuable (Perttula 2002:24-25).

As noted during the historic period, the Europeans provided a high demand for tanned hides in exchange for exotic European goods. On one occasion, a French traveler traded four brass sewing needles for a single tanned hide (Foster 1998:184). Later, deer hides would become one of the goods traded to Europeans by the Caddo in exchange for horses and guns. Rather than be unable to meet this demand once it had grown beyond what local white-tail populations could support, the Caddo expanded their hunting grounds into central Texas (Perttula 2002:254, 258-259).

In Summary

White-tail deer were an important resource during both the Early Caddo and Historic periods. Archaeological evidence indicates that during the Early Caddo period, the Caddo traveled to central Texas to acquire venison and deer hides not only for their own needs, but also, to maintain chiefly power and prestige through gift-giving and feasting. Mound centers like Davis were tied into an interregional trade network spanning thousands of miles that included resources from central Texas.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusions

The Caddo were a strong and well-connected society who used their location along critical trade routes to their advantage. This allowed them to gain access to resources not found in their own homeland, which they transformed into prestige, as well as, utilitarian goods. The Caddo also made a name for themselves with their production of high-quality goods obtained from monopolized resources and techniques, such as Osage Orange wood bows, decorated ceramics and specially-dyed deer skins.

The artifact assemblages recovered from the central Texas sites discussed in Chapter 3 are significantly different from the contemporary Austin phase sites. The most notable difference is the presence of Caddoan ceramics. Petrographic analysis of the sherds recovered at the Chupik and Asa Warner sites indicate that the vessels from which these sherds were derived, were not made from central Texas clays, but from clays sourced to east Texas, suggesting that they were made by the Caddo in east Texas, and not produced by the Caddo while they were in residence in central Texas. Furthermore, locally-made ceramics were not produced until the Toyah phase, AD 1300-1600, and they were distinctively different from Caddo wares.

Also unique to these central Texas sites is the presence of Bonham-Alba arrow points and Gahagan knives made of central Texas chert. Bonham-Alba points are similar in size to the Scallorn points that define the Austin phase, but their stems are completely different. The Scallorn arrow point has a large expanding stem and the Bonham-Alba

arrow points have a contracting stem. Gahagan bifaces or knives, recovered from the Davis site excavations as well as from central Texas sites were made from Edwards chert sourced in central Texas. Gahagan knives are commonly found in east Texas and Louisiana, not central Texas. This suggests a connection between east Texas and central Texas during this time period. I propose that this was due to Caddoan traders from the George C. Davis site acquiring Edwards chert from central Texas and then manufacturing these bifaces according to Caddoan techniques. These bifaces would then make their way through the Caddoan trade network.

Deer skins and venison were important commodities to all prehistoric peoples of Texas. If Caddo populations, particularly those in densely populated communities like the George C. Davis site, overtaxed or outgrew their deer populations, the deficit would need to be addressed elsewhere. The carrying capacity of white-tailed deer populations in the Bosque River valley, located in the Cross Timbers region, where many of these sites are located, is more than enough to meet the needs of the hunter-gatherers in the area. Therefore, it is possible that these groups were involved in trading deer products and chert for bow wood, other perishables, ceramics, and even maize with the Caddo. It is also possible that the Caddo could have simply expanded their hunting grounds into central Texas, just as they did to meet European demands for deer skins in the historic era.

The artifact assemblages recovered from these sites attest to the fact that interactions between the Caddo and the central Texas hunter-gatherers did exist, but to what extent? Shafer proposes that the central Texas sites that have produced Early Caddo ceramics and stone tools were Caddo settlements, occupied by residents of the George C.

Davis site, whom he refers to as the Prairie Caddo. However, the petrographic analysis suggests otherwise. I proposed in Chapter 1 that the Caddo of this time period did indeed travel to central Texas, as Shafer suggested, not only to acquire Edward chert, but also, to acquire deerskins and venison from the local Austin phase inhabitants. The question is: were these sites locales for trade or were they Caddo campsites? With the possible exception of the Chupik site (based on its large size and extensive ceramic assemblage), I believe that all of the other sites discussed in Chapter 4 were occupied by local hunters and gatherers who obtained ceramics and stone tools from the Caddo. This assumption is based on the artifact assemblages found at these sites. These assemblages have Caddo related artifacts, but they are limited to a few types mixed in with other local artifacts rather than dominating the assemblages.

It is my conclusion that the Davis site Caddo formed an economic partnership with the hunter-gatherer groups of Bell, Coryell, and McLennan Counties. These central Texas counties would have provided plentiful access not only to high-quality chert resources as Shafer proposed but also to a strong deer population. Caddo cultural practices such as their style of dress and their sociopolitical structure would have created a high demand for white-tail deer that I believe functioned as the primary draw for the Caddo traders to this area. It is already known that the Caddo had trade routes that passed through Texas, and I believe that this was just another extension of the strong trading network the Caddo established.

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