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# *Another Look at an Eighteenth-Century Archaeological Site in Wood County, Texas*

TIMOTHY K. PERTTULA AND BOB D. SKILES\*

THE FRENCH PRESENCE IN EAST TEXAS DURING THE EIGHTEENTH century is less well known from an archaeological or archival standpoint than is the Spanish. Although it is known that the French maintained several trading establishments within this part of the state, concrete evidence of these places is presently lacking. Archaeological sites that are the material remains of these trading establishments offer the best, and perhaps the last, remaining opportunities to understand and assess the mutual effects of acculturation and adaptation on French entrepreneurs and native groups such as the Caddo and Wichita living in the area.

If the eighteenth-century site known as the Woldert site is the location of the French trading post called Le Dout, the site is especially important to future historical and scientific research dealing with European-Indian contact and interaction. If, on the other hand, the Woldert site represents an aboriginal encampment occupied after initial European settlement and exploration, study of the archaeological record provides an excellent opportunity to address how Caddoan or Wichita societies changed because of their dealings with the French and Spanish. Whichever is the case, the Woldert locality offers rich archaeological, ethnographic, and archival evidence from which to study processes of culture change and thereby gain a clearer and more detailed perspective on Indian-European interaction and adaptation in eighteenth-century Texas.

The Upper Sabine Basin of East Texas in the eighteenth century was part of the area between the Upper Angelina and the Red River de-

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scribed by Herbert E. Bolton as uninhabited territory.<sup>1</sup> The original inhabitants were probably Caddoan-speaking groups, agricultural peoples who had lived in the area for several thousand years before the Europeans arrived in Texas.<sup>2</sup> By the time French and Spanish settlers began to colonize the Red River Valley and parts of East Texas circa 1690,<sup>3</sup> these agricultural tribes were organized into entities known as confederacies.<sup>4</sup> The principal confederacies were the Kadohadacho and Hasinai.<sup>5</sup> They lived on the Red River and on the Neches and Angelina rivers, respectively, in East Texas and adjoining areas of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma.

Except for scattered archival and archaeological evidence, little is known about what happened to the Caddoan groups who had lived in the Upper Sabine Basin before 1690.<sup>6</sup> When Anglo-American pioneer settlers reached this part of the East Texas frontier about 1840, the only Indian groups living there were Shawnee, Delaware, Choctaw, Quapaw, and Cherokee groups who had originally resided east of the Mississippi River.<sup>7</sup> Southern Wichita-speaking groups such as the Tawakoni, Taovayas, and Yscani had moved into the Upper Sabine Basin from the Arkansas River Valley in the middle of the eighteenth cen-

<sup>1</sup>Herbert E. Bolton, "The Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XI (Apr., 1908), 249–276.

<sup>2</sup>W[illiam] W. Newcomb, *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961); John R. Swanton, *Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians*, Bulletin 132 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1942).

<sup>3</sup>Kathleen [K.] Gilmore, "Spanish Colonial Settlements in Texas," in *Texas Archeology: Essays Honoring R. King Harris*, ed. Kurt D. House (Dallas: SMU Press, 1978), 132–145.

<sup>4</sup>The term *confederacy* refers to two or more tribes or constituent groups joined together as equal and autonomous entities and sharing a common political organization. Archaeological and ethnohistorical data suggest that confederacies as political alliances of tribes are not particularly applicable before about 1700, and their formation may have been the result of both European and Osage depredations. See Hiram F. Gregory, "Eighteenth-Century Caddoan Archaeology: A Study in Models and Interpretation" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Methodist University, 1973); Dee Ann Story, "Some Comments on Anthropological Studies Concerning the Caddo," in *Texas Archeology*, 51–52; Garrick A. Bailey, *Changes in Osage Social Organization 1673–1906*, Anthropological Papers No. 5, University of Oregon (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1973), 40. According to Swanton (*Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians*, 8), "the tribes . . . did not live in groups which maintained the same constituent elements unchanged from generation to generation."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century: Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1915); selected articles by Thomas N. Campbell on Indians in Texas in Walter Prescott Webb, H. Bailey Carroll, and Eldon Stephen Branda (eds.), *The Handbook of Texas* (3 vols.; Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1976), III, 28, 132, 143, 374, 629; Buddy Calvin Jones, "The Kinsloe Focus: A Study of Seven Historic Caddoan Sites in Northeast Texas" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1968).

<sup>7</sup>W. A. Woldert, "East Texas," 5-vol. 1932 transcript, Woldert Papers (Tyler Public Library, Tyler, Tex.); Jean Louis Berlandier, *The Indians of Texas in 1830*, ed. John C. Ewers, trans. Patricia Reading Leclercq (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969).

tury,<sup>8</sup> but they too had shifted residence out of the general region long before the first permanent settlement of the area by Anglo-Americans.

Archaeological and ethnohistoric research has been widely carried out in East Texas, notably by scholars such as Lathel F. Duffield, Edward B. Jelks, Leroy Johnson, Jr., Kathleen Gilmore, Dee Ann Story, R. King Harris and associates, Don G. Wyckoff, Elizabeth John, and Mildred Mott Wedel. The aim of this research has been to understand the heritage and patterns of culture change in aboriginal Caddoan and Wichita groups during the historic period 1685–1821.<sup>9</sup> This work has sought to identify specific Indian archaeological sites that were occupied after 1685, then to link the site and its archaeological record with aboriginal groups described in Spanish, French, and American archival and documentary sources.<sup>10</sup> This linkage between the historic

<sup>8</sup>Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540–1795* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975); Mildred M. Wedel, "The Wichita Indians in the Arkansas River Basin," in *Plains Indian Studies: A Collection of Essays in Honor of John C. Ewers and Waldo R. Wedel*, Smithsonian Contributions in Anthropology No. 30, ed. Doug H. Ubelaker and Herman J. Viola (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 118–133.

<sup>9</sup>Lathel F. Duffield and Edward B. Jelks, *The Pearson Site: A Historic Indian Site in Iron Bridge Reservoir, Rains County, Texas*, Archaeology Series, No. 4 (Austin: University of Texas, Dept. of Anthropology, 1961); Daniel E. Fox, *Traces of Texas History: Archeological Evidence of the Past 450 Years* (San Antonio: Corona Publishing Co., 1983); Kathleen K. Gilmore, *Caddoan Interaction in the Neches Valley, Texas* (Lincoln, Neb.: J & L Reprint Co., 1983); Kathleen K. Gilmore, *French-Indian Interaction at an Eighteenth-Century Frontier Post: The Roseborough Lake Site, Bowie County, Texas*, Contributions in Archaeology No. 3 (Denton: North Texas State University, Institute of Applied Sciences, 1986); R. K[ing] Harris, Inus Marie Harris, Jay C. Blaine, and Jerry Lee Blaine, "A Preliminary Archeological and Documentary Study of the Womack Site, Lamar County, Texas," *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society*, XXXVI (1965), 287–363; Edward B. Jelks (ed.), "The Gilbert Site: A Norteno Focus Site in Northeastern Texas," *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society*, XXXVII (1967); Leroy Johnson, Jr., and Edward B. Jelks, "The Tawakoni-Yscani Village, 1760: A Study in Archeological Site Identification," *Texas Journal of Science*, X (Dec. 1958), 405–422; M. P. Miroir, R. King Harris, Jay C. Blaine, and Janson McVay, "Bénard de la Harpe and the Nassonite Post," *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society*, XLIV (1973), 113–167; Timothy K. Perttula and Ann F. Ramenofsky, "An Archaeological Model of Caddoan Culture Change: The Historic Period," *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Bulletin*, XXIV (1981), 13–15; Dee Ann Story (ed.), *The Deshazo Site, Nacogdoches County, Texas*, Permit Series No. 7 (Austin: Texas Antiquities Committee, 1982); Don G. Wyckoff and Timothy G. Baugh, "Early Historic Hasinai Elites: A Model for the Material Culture of Governing Elites," *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology*, V (1980), 225–283.

<sup>10</sup>The main archival and documentary sources are Spanish and French archival sources for the colonies of Spanish Texas (1717–1836), Spanish Louisiana (1763–1803), and French Louisiana (1699–1763). The main sources of French archival records are the Archives des Colonies Series C 13a, C 13b, and C 13c, letters written to the ministry in France from the colony in Louisiana, and memoirs and projects from the Louisiana posts. See D. Rowland, A. G. Sanders, and P. K. Galloway (trans. and eds.), *Mississippi Provincial Archives: French Dominion*, IV, 1729–1748, and V, 1749–1763 (5 vols.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984). The two main Spanish archival sources are the Archivo General de Indias and the Archivo General y Publico de la Nacion. The Barker Texas History Center of the University of Texas at Austin has extensive transcriptions of documents preserved in these archives as well as other archival materials in the Béxar Archives. See Chester V. Kielman, *The University of Texas Archives: A Guide to the Historical Manuscripts Collections in the University of Texas Library* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967). Other archival sources of concern to ethnohistoric research in

and archaeological records<sup>11</sup> is explored here with a reexamination of the eighteenth-century site now named the Woldert site.<sup>12</sup> Known since the 1870s, and described in this journal in 1952,<sup>13</sup> the site has generally been overlooked since it was first discovered.

The Woldert site is intriguing for several reasons. First, it is located north of the Sabine River and near to known historic eighteenth-century Caddoan and Wichita settlements. Second, the large quantity of European manufactured goods found there suggests the existence of a sizable encampment. Finally, available archival information describes one or two eighteenth-century French "factories" or trading posts that were located in the vicinity.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the site could conceivably represent an important aboriginal settlement as well as a French trading establishment set up to deal in the deer and peltry trade.<sup>15</sup>

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East Texas include the Natchitoches Archives, the Records of the Cabildo (the Spanish administrative bureaucracy in Louisiana) available at the New Orleans Public Library in New Orleans and the Spanish Governor Dispatches in the Howard-Tilton Memorial Library at Tulane University in New Orleans. See A. O. Hebert, "Resources in Louisiana Depositories for the Study of Spanish Activities in Louisiana," in *The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762-1804*, ed. J. McDermott (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 26-37. The Spanish documents deal with aspects of military and economic policy involving Indian, American, and French groups under Spanish Louisiana administration (1763-1803). The Natchitoches Archives are available at the Natchitoches Parish Courthouse in Natchitoches, Louisiana, but have not been systematically indexed or catalogued at this time. This is a potentially very important source of information because the Natchitoches Post (Fort St. Jean Baptiste aux Natchitoches) was the first trade post maintained among the Caddoan groups and Spanish occupants of the East Texas missions until about 1780. French merchants and traders working among the different Caddoan groups during Spanish administration in Natchitoches were required to have a license or permit with the authorities prior to conducting trading ventures. Information contained in these permits or contracts may prove to be important in tracing the history and use of Le Dout or other French trading posts in the Upper Sabine Basin.

<sup>11</sup>This is usually referred to as the Direct Historical Approach. See Julian H. Steward, "The Direct Historical Approach to Archaeology," *American Antiquity*, VII (Apr., 1942), 337-343. The implementation of this approach has been attempted on the basis of archaeological data on aboriginal material culture, the presence of European trade goods in the archaeological assemblages, and the identification of settlement locations from archaeological and historical information that coincide in space and time.

<sup>12</sup>Timothy K. Perttula, Bob D. Skiles, Michael B. Collins, Margaret C. Trachte, and Fred Valdez, Jr., "This Everlasting Sand Bed": *Cultural Resources Investigations at the Texas Big Sandy Project, Wood and Upshur Counties, Texas*, Reports of Investigations No. 52 (Austin: Prewitt and Associates, Inc., 1986), 60.

<sup>13</sup>Albert E. Woldert, "Relics of Possible Indian Battle in Wood County, Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LV (Apr., 1952), 484-489.

<sup>14</sup>American State Papers: Indian Affairs, in *Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States (1780-1815)*, Vol. I, Class II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1832), 721-725; American State Papers: Foreign Relations, in *Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States (1780-1815)*, Vol. II, Class I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1832), 693-694 (quotation); Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, 91-92; Herbert E. Bolton (ed.), *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780 . . .* (2 vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1913-1914).

<sup>15</sup>Daniel H. Usner, Jr., "The Deerskin Trade in French Louisiana," in *Proceedings of the Tenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society, April 12-14, 1984*, ed. Philip P. Boucher (Boston: University Press of America, Inc., 1985), 75-93.

In 1952 the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* published a short article by Albert Woldert on a possible Indian battle in Wood County, Texas.<sup>16</sup> Found at the Woldert site (41WD333) were copper and brass fragments, iron knives, iron hatchets, glass trade beads, lead balls, broken and smashed French flintlock musket barrels (estimated to date about 1770), an undated silver coin, and a copper cross inscribed with "Holy Mother" in Spanish. "Tomahawks" and stone arrowheads were also reported to have been found in association with these European-manufactured goods.<sup>17</sup>

These artifacts were found near a large artesian spring<sup>18</sup> on Mill Race Creek about two miles south of Hainesville, Texas (fig. 1), and about ten miles east of Mineola, Texas. Because of the large number of battered and broken old gun barrels found around the spring, Woldert concluded that late in the eighteenth century "Indians living near the large spring may have been surprised by armed soldiers rushing down the high hill and may have retreated eastward up Mill [Race] Creek valley, or perhaps a battle could have begun toward the east and ended at or near the spring where most of the relics were found."<sup>19</sup>

To unravel circumstances in which the historic materials were found, it is necessary to evaluate the site's local legend and lore, which may help to determine its archaeological context and research potential.<sup>20</sup> The collection of artifacts described by Woldert has been recently studied and photographed by the authors. Woldert was able to examine the gun barrels and some gun parts in the collection of Frank Haines, the son of Christian Haines, on whose property they were discovered, but he did not describe the artifacts in any detail. The collection belonging to Frank Haines was handed down to his daughter, Ruth Haines Davis.<sup>21</sup> Our aim in restudying the collection was to determine the age and context of the artifacts, including those apparently not mentioned by Woldert, as well as their origin and use. Specifically we hoped to determine whether the site's artifacts of European manufacture had been modified or employed in a manner consistent with either Indian or Eu-

<sup>16</sup> Woldert, "Relics of Possible Indian Battle in Wood County, Texas," 484–489.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 484 (quotations), 485–489.

<sup>18</sup> The artesian spring is situated along the edge of the uplift caused by the formation of the Hainesville Salt Dome. See W[illiam] L. Fisher, *Rock and Mineral Resources of East Texas*, Report of Investigations No. 54 (Austin: Bureau of Economic Geology, University of Texas, 1965).

<sup>19</sup> Woldert, "Relics of Possible Indian Battle in Wood County, Texas," 489.

<sup>20</sup> See Kay L. Killen, Helen Simons, and Virginia Wulffkuhle, "Northeast Texas Late Prehistoric Study Unit," in *Resource Protection Planning Process for Texas*, ed. Theodore M. Brown, Kay L. Killen, Helen Simons, and Virginia Wulffkuhle (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1982), 235.

<sup>21</sup> Sam Davis, son of Ruth Haines Davis and great-grandson of Christian Haines, graciously gave us permission to study the collection in his possession.

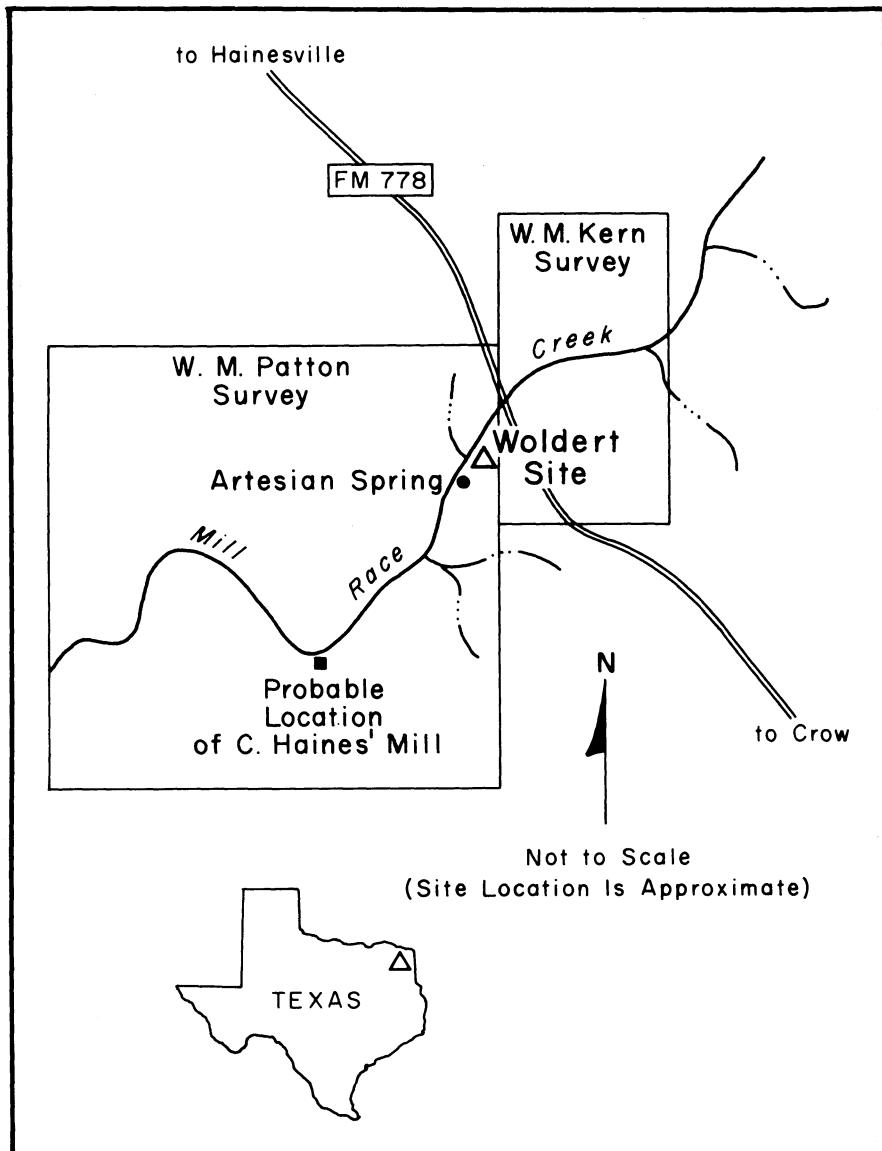


Figure 1. Location of the Woldert Site (41WD333) near Hainesville, Texas.

ropean patterns of usage.<sup>22</sup> Various alterations in the manufacture, form, or apparent function of European-derived material remains are utilized by archaeologists to infer aspects of aboriginal change in acculturative situations. The dating of European-manufactured goods such as knives, glass trade beads, and flintlock guns has been considerably refined since the 1950s,<sup>23</sup> making chronological estimates fairly precise for archaeological sites presumed to date to the eighteenth century.

Woldert noted that the artifacts were found and collected from various farms on the W. M. Kern and W. M. Patton surveys in a two-mile-wide area around the spring (fig. 1). Local information indicates, however, that the majority of the guns were actually found accidentally by ditchdiggers working on Christian Haines' water mill.

According to a local resident, Johnie Moody, about 1870 Haines built a water mill in the Hainesville area. This mill was powered by water from an artesian spring only one-half mile northeast of the mill site on Mill Race Creek. Irishmen hired by Haines to dig the race ditch exposed at least twenty-five "antique" rifles, enough to cover the bottom of a wagon bed.<sup>24</sup>

These same ditchdiggers uncovered an unmarked Caucasian burial in 1874 on the Joe Moody Farm, located in the W. M. Kern Survey.<sup>25</sup> This burial presumably predates the Anglo-American settlement of the redlands and Hainesville areas, which began around 1841.<sup>26</sup> The burial had been placed in a split and hewn log used as a wood coffin. Local legend has it that this burial was the body of Sieur de La Salle, the French explorer who was murdered somewhere in East Texas in March, 1687, while searching for the Mississippi River.<sup>27</sup> This putative associa-

<sup>22</sup>Jeffrey Brain, *Tunica Treasure*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. 71 (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 1979), 271–274. Discussing historic contact period sites, Brain distinguishes artifacts of aboriginal manufacture, which represent traditional techniques of manufacture, use, and function (such as pottery and stone tools), from those of aboriginal and European manufacture, which required new materials and techniques of manufacture, form, and function. These could include such unmodified items as brass gorgets, tinkling cones, axes, hoes, and firearms. When these are found on an archaeological site, they can represent various stages of innovation and aboriginal acculturation as well as evidence of European habitation. Thus, it is essential that a knowledge of artifact context and association be obtained from a site to sort out European influence on aboriginal peoples from an actual occupation by a European group.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 33–223.

<sup>24</sup>Johnie (Mrs. A. L.) Moody, "Reminiscence of Hainesville," in *Chips of Wood County*, comp. Adele W. Vickery (Mineola: Adele W. Vickery, 1969), Part 2, 3 (quotation), 4.

<sup>25</sup>*Wood County Democrat* (Quitman), Aug. 6, 1908.

<sup>26</sup>*Wood County, 1850–1900* (Quitman: Wood County Historical Society, 1976).

<sup>27</sup>While the actual location where Sieur de La Salle was murdered is unknown, current thinking suggests it was in the vicinity of the Trinity River, at least 120 miles south of the Woldert site. See Robert S. Weddle, *Wilderness Manhunt: The Spanish Search for LaSalle* (Austin: Univer-

tion with La Salle<sup>28</sup> was based primarily on the fact that many old guns had recently been found on the nearby Haines farm.

A 1908 article in the *Wood County Democrat* had noted that

the guns and other relics found around there, and more especially [that] the guns were all bent or broken, showing the fact that the superstition of the Indians had been aroused owing to the fact that the bullets coming out of these guns killed their comrades, and they could not understand why such weapons should so mysteriously kill when there was nothing about them that they could see, to produce death. Mr. C. H. Haines, in his lifetime gathered up quite a number of these bent and broken guns.<sup>29</sup>

The obvious antiquity of the burial and the rifles found nearby suggesting La Salle's demise by Indians who had then broken the Frenchmen's guns, contributed by the 1940s to the general notion that the area was the site of an Indian battleground. Woldert appears to have been convinced by the county lore. In a 1946 article the *Mineola Monitor* described the Haines collection as "old gun barrels which had been battered and broken in two, indicating a fight to the finish with Indians. It was the practice of the Indians in the early days to destroy the mysterious death-dealing firearms whenever they captured them."<sup>30</sup> Woldert's study of these guns ultimately removed the La Salle association because Woldert felt that the flintlocks in the collection dated to the late 1700s.<sup>31</sup>

The evidence summarized in Woldert's article, combined with local legend, does indicate that a considerable quantity of European goods has been found around the artesian spring and at other places on Mill Race Creek. The number of guns found together in the mill race ditch implies a cache of guns,<sup>32</sup> though it is still unclear whether the cache was deposited by Indians or Europeans. Giving a European attribution to the burial on the Joe Moody Farm seems logical in view of its apparent age and unusual mode of interment, but its association with the gun cache is still unknown.

Aboriginal and European-manufactured goods in the Haines collection are a composite of occupations on Mill Race Creek beginning

sity of Texas Press, 1973); and Henri Joutel, *A Journal of the Last Voyage Perform'd by Monsr. de la Sale, to the Gulph of Mexico . . .* (1714; reprint, New York: Corinth Books, 1962), 102–104.

<sup>28</sup> *Wood County Democrat* (Quitman), Aug. 6, 1908; Moody, "Reminiscence of Hainesville," 4.

<sup>29</sup> *Wood County Democrat* (Quitman), Aug. 6, 1908.

<sup>30</sup> *Mineola Monitor*, Nov. 22, 1946.

<sup>31</sup> Woldert, "Relics of Possible Indian Battle in Wood County, Texas," 487.

<sup>32</sup> Caches of flintlock guns have been found at several aboriginal Indian sites of eighteenth-century age. See T. M. Hamilton (comp.), "Indian Trade Guns," *Missouri Archaeologist*, XXII (Dec., 1960), 150–171; Jay C. Blaine and R. K[ing] Harris, "Guns," *Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological Society*, XXXVII (1967), 33–86.

about 10,000 years ago.<sup>33</sup> None of the aboriginal artifacts included in the collection are definitely of eighteenth-century manufacture. However, ground celts and clay pipes of similar form and manufacture have been recovered from such historic period sites in East Texas.<sup>34</sup> A fragmentary clay pipe of "ring-base" style from the Woldert site has been recovered from the possible site of the French post (dating from the 1730s to the 1770s) among the Kadohadacho.<sup>35</sup>

The remainder of the collection is dominated by artifacts of eighteenth-century French manufacture. In addition to the fourteen octagonal gun barrel and muzzle sections, a number of other gun parts and iron, brass, or copper artifacts were present. Unfortunately, the glass trade beads, coins, and cross mentioned by Woldert are missing from the collection.

The guns represented in the Woldert site collection include at least four Type D French *fusils* or light muskets.<sup>36</sup> The French guns are colonial frontier flintlock muskets manufactured between 1730 and 1765. These types of guns were made in France for trade, where they were shipped to the Colony of Louisiana for eventual distribution to Indians in exchange for pelts, bear oil, horses, and other supplies and as annual presents.<sup>37</sup>

The Type D gun is noted in several Wichita and Caddoan eighteenth-century archaeological sites in East Texas.<sup>38</sup> Gun-barrel bore

<sup>33</sup> See J. Peter Thurmond, "Late Caddoan Social Group Identifications and Sociopolitical Organization in the Upper Cypress Basin and Vicinity, Northeastern Texas," *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society*, LIV (1983), 185–200. Included in the collection is a Paleoindian (10,000–8,000 years ago) Scottsbluff-type projectile point, a Middle Archaic (6,000–4,000 years ago) Yarbrough-type dart point, and two Gary points and one basally notched point dating to the Late Archaic period (4,000–2,150 years ago). Of uncertain temporal attribution are a hematite gorget and a clay pipe stem.

<sup>34</sup> Jelks, "The Gilbert Site," 208; Miroir, Harris, Blaine, and McVay, "Bénard de la Harpe and the Nessonite Post," 215.

<sup>35</sup> Miroir, Harris, Blaine, and McVay, "Bénard de la Harpe and the Nessonite Post," Figures 6c and d illustrate the "ring-base" style of clay pipe. For discussions of the post, built by Alexis Grappe, and the French garrison at the site, see Mildred M. Wedel, *LaHarpe's 1719 Post on Red River and Nearby Caddo Settlements*, Bulletin 30 (Austin: Texas Memorial Museum, 1978), 10–16; Dan L. Flores, *Jefferson & Southwestern Exploration: The Freeman & Custis Accounts of the Red River Expedition of 1806* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984); and Gilmore, *French-Indian Interaction at an Eighteenth-Century Frontier Post*, 13–19, 33–40.

<sup>36</sup> T. M. Hamilton, *Colonial Frontier Guns* (Chadron, Neb.: Fur Press, 1980), 31.

<sup>37</sup> See Brain, *Tunica Treasure*, Appendix B, for examples of supply lists and trade goods shipped to the Louisiana Colony in the eighteenth century. Common and fine *fusils* cost between ten and sixteen *livres* in 1701 and about twenty *livres* in the middle of the eighteenth century. A gun would have been worth about ten deer skins in the 1730s, according to N. M. M. Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Regime, 1699–1763*, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. 71 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1916), 354–355.

<sup>38</sup> Wichita or Norteno sites include Gilbert, Pearson, and possibly the Womack site in Northeast Texas. See Jelks, "The Gilbert Site"; Duffield and Jelks, *The Pearson Site*; and Harris, Harris, Blaine, and Blaine, "A Preliminary Archeological and Documentary Study of the Womack

measurements and lead ball diameters suggest that the guns were 28 to 32 *calibre*,<sup>39</sup> the standard bore for French trade guns of the eighteenth-century.<sup>40</sup> Foliate scrolls and hunting scenes were engraved on the two side plates; these were common French designs for flintlocks of the 1730s.<sup>41</sup> A bow-quiver design was engraved on one of the four cast brass butt plates.<sup>42</sup> Other gun parts include a trigger guard finial,<sup>43</sup> two mainsprings, two gun cocks, and a breech plug.

The barrels include octagonal breech sections and round muzzle sections. None appear to have been flattened or deformed from breakage, though such flattened and reworked barrel sections have been reported from Indian sites where the barrels were made into diggers, stakes, fleshers, and scrapers.<sup>44</sup>

One of the iron tools in the collection resembles an adze or scraper, and it has been reworked from a piece of metal scrap 40 millimeters wide. Similar artifacts, formed from barrel hoops, were recovered from the nearby Gilbert site.<sup>45</sup> Two single-bitted iron axes are in the collection, one of which appears to have also been used as a wedge. These small axes reportedly cost fifteen *sols* apiece in the eighteenth century,<sup>46</sup> roughly equivalent to the cost of two deer pelts in the French Louisiana trade.<sup>47</sup>

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Site, Lamar County, Texas." Caddoan sites with Type D guns include Millsey Williamson and Roseborough Lake. See Jones, "The Kinsloe Focus"; T. M. Hamilton, *Early Indian Trade Guns, 1625–1775* (Lawton, Okla.: Museum of the Great Plains, 1968); Miroir, Harris, Blaine, and McVay, "Bénard de la Harpe and the Nassonite Post," Figure 11; and Gilmore, *French-Indian Interaction at an Eighteenth-Century Frontier Post*, Figure II:2.

<sup>39</sup>This bore size was designed to shoot lead balls weighing 28 to 32 to the *livre*. One *livre* weighs 489.50 grams according to Hamilton, *Colonial Frontier Guns*, 7 and Table II.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 125–133.

<sup>41</sup>Sideplates identical to those at Woldert were found at the Gilbert, Womack, Pearson, and Trudeau sites. See Blaine and Harris, "Guns," Figure 38e; Harris, Harris, Blaine, and Blaine, "A Preliminary Archeological and Documentary Study of the Womack Site, Lamar County, Texas," Figure 13b; Duffield and Jelks, *The Pearson Site*, Figure 13q; T. M. Hamilton, "Guns, Gunflints, Balls and Shot," in Brain, *Tunica Treasure*, 206–216. Thorston Lenk, *The Flintlock* (London: The Holland Press, 1965), Plate 126:2 (foliate scrolls) and Plate 129:1 (hunting scenes), depicts sideplate designs of the 1730s era.

<sup>42</sup>For similar butt plates, see Blaine and Harris, "Guns," Figures 37h and j; Harris, Harris, Blaine, and Blaine, "A Preliminary Archeological and Documentary Study of the Womack Site, Lamar County, Texas," Figure 16e; Hamilton, *Early Indian Trade Guns*, Figures 7a and d; and Hamilton, "Guns, Gunflints, Balls and Shot," 213.

<sup>43</sup>Type D trigger guards are also illustrated by Blaine and Harris, "Guns," Figure 39g; Hamilton, "Guns, Gunflints, Balls and Shot," 213; and Harris, Harris, Blaine, and Blaine, "A Preliminary Archeological and Documentary Study of the Womack Site, Lamar County, Texas," Figure 12i.

<sup>44</sup>Hamilton, "Indian Trade Guns," 126; Blaine and Harris, "Guns," 59.

<sup>45</sup>See R. K[ing] Harris, Inus M. Harris, and J. Ned Woodall, "Tools," *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society*, XXXVII (1967), 18–32 and Figures 24a and b.

<sup>46</sup>Brain, *Tunica Treasure*, 140.

<sup>47</sup>Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Regime, 1699–1763*.

There are several fragments of cast brass kettles, including a repaired and riveted kettle bail ear.<sup>48</sup> These types of kettles, with a flat bottom, straight sides, and a diameter of up to 50 centimeters are quite common trade items at the 1730–1763 Tunica Indian Trudeau site.<sup>49</sup>

The three iron knives in the collection are very similar to French clasp knives, though no names of the French manufacturers are discernible on the heavily rusted blades. Knives of this type were popular trade items and have been found at a number of Caddoan and Wichita sites contemporaneous with the Woldert site.<sup>50</sup>

The only known aboriginal groups living in the Sabine Basin during the middle of the eighteenth century were the Nadaco (or Anadarko) Caddo on the Sabine River near the Rusk and Panola county line,<sup>51</sup> and various Wichita groups on the Upper Sabine and its tributaries near the Blackland Prairie in Rains County (fig. 2). Wichita groups included the Taovayas, Tawakoni, and Yscani and the separate group of Kichai, though, according to De Mézières, in 1770 there were other Wichita groups living on the Sabine River.<sup>52</sup>

Sometime between 1542 and 1717 Nadaco settlements were split between those on the Sabine River and newer settlements in the vicinity of the Nacao Caddo in the Angelina River drainage.<sup>53</sup> A 1717 map<sup>54</sup> locates the southern Nadaco group near the Hasinai. Also depicted on

<sup>48</sup>These are Type A, Variety 1 kettles defined by Brain, *Tunica Treasure*, 165. Similar kettles were also found at the Womack site; see Harris, Harris, Blaine, and Blaine, "A Preliminary Archeological and Documentary Study of the Womack Site, Lamar County, Texas," Figure 22d.

<sup>49</sup>Brain, *Tunica Treasure*.

<sup>50</sup>Represented at the Woldert site are two Type 1 and one Type 2 clasp knives. Sites with Type 1 clasp knives include Gilbert, Trudeau, Ware Acres, Roseborough Lake, Womack, and Bryson-Paddock; see Harris, Harris, and Woodall, "Tools," Figures 21a–d; Brain, *Tunica Treasure*, 154; Jones, "The Kinsloe Focus," Plate 1f; Miroir, Harris, Blaine, and McVay, "Bénard de la Harpe and the Nassonite Post," Figure 8e; Harris, Harris, Blaine, and Blaine, "A Preliminary Archeological and Documentary Study of the Womack Site, Lamar County, Texas," Figure 21a; John D. Hartley and Ann F. Miller, *Archeological Investigations at the Bryson-Paddock Site, Oklahoma River Basin Survey Archeological Site Report 32* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma River Basin Survey, 1977), Figure 10p. Type 2 knives have been found at contemporaneous sites such as Gilbert and Fatherland. See Harris, Harris, and Woodall, "Tools," Figures 21e–g; and Robert S. Neitzel, *The Grand Village of the Natchez Revisited: Excavations at the Fatherland Site, Adams County, Mississippi, 1972* (Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1983), Plate 32b.

<sup>51</sup>The Nadaco or Anadarko had a population of more than 100 in the 1770s and at least 29 families and 150 individuals in 1828. The Nadaco moved from the Sabine River to the Brazos River in the 1850s along with other East Texas Caddoan groups. See Swanton, *Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians*, 18, 95–104; Berlandier, *The Indians of Texas in 1830*, 138.

<sup>52</sup>Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, I, 208–209.

<sup>53</sup>See John R. Swanton, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), map no. 9.

<sup>54</sup>J. Senek, *A Map of Louisiana and the Mississippi River, 1717*, I.D. no. 1134, Louisiana Room (Northwestern Louisiana State University, Natchitoches, La.).

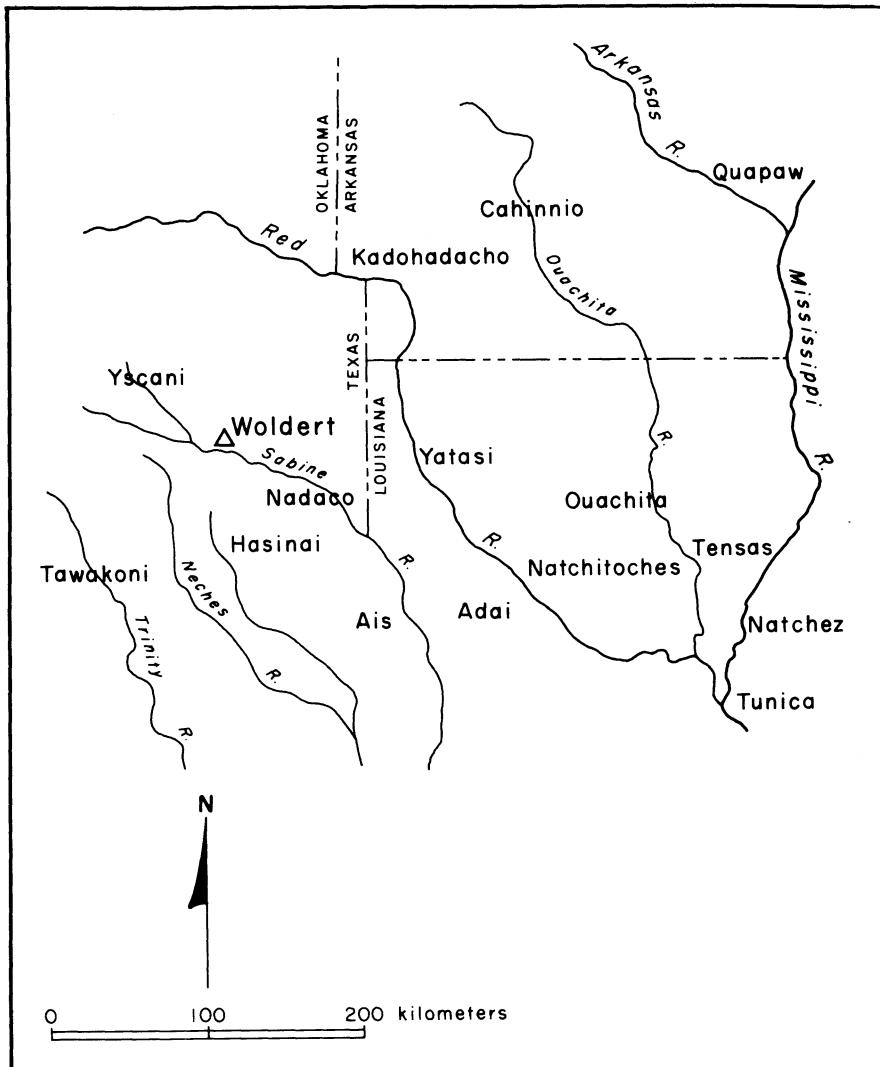


Figure 2. General location of Caddoan, Wichita, and other southeastern aboriginal groups and the location of the Woldert Site.

the same map are two forks of the Sabine River west of the Caddoan Ais and Adai tribes. They probably represent the Sabine River and Lake Fork Creek, its largest tributary. According to the map, there were no aboriginal groups living on this part of the Sabine River in 1717.

In 1752 the "Tebancanas," or Tawakoni, were described by the Nasoni Indians of the Hasinai Confederacy as living about twenty leagues (52 miles at 2.6 miles to the league)<sup>55</sup> northwest from the Upper Angelina River.<sup>56</sup> This would place the Tawakoni village on the Sabine River near its confluence with Lake Fork Creek, not far from the Wolpert site (fig. 2). Wichita groups had begun to move out of the Arkansas River Valley south to the Red River between 1742 and 1757, due in part to Osage harassment, and into the Sabine River Valley about the same time.<sup>57</sup>

Visits by Fray Calahorra in 1760 and De Mézières in the 1770s placed the Wichita groups on the Sabine River and its tributaries along the prairie-woodland margins.<sup>58</sup> Fray Calahorra is fairly specific in placing the Tawakoni-Yscani villages "at the other side of the other arm of the Sabinas (Sabine) River."<sup>59</sup> This "other arm" of the Sabine River was described by Fray Calahorra as a creek with "an abundance of water in pools," but it was not a permanently flowing stream in May, 1760, when the journey from the Nacogdoches mission was made. The Fray Calahorra route and visit suggests that the Tawakoni-Yscani village was located on Lake Fork Creek in northeast Rains County.

In 1770 some of the Wichita groups had moved on to the Trinity and Brazos rivers, but based on archaeological evidence from the Gilbert and Pearson sites,<sup>60</sup> the Upper Sabine Basin was still occupied at that time. The main villages of the Wichita were twenty-five or thirty leagues to the south-southwest, however. When Pedro Vial traversed the Upper Sabine Basin in August, 1788, he apparently followed the Tawakoni-Taovayas trail from the Red River to the Sabine River crossing.<sup>61</sup> He did not note any aboriginal settlements along the route once he left the Taovayas village on the Red River<sup>62</sup> until he reached the Nadaco village near but west of the Sabine River.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See Susan C. Vehik, "Onate's Expedition to the Southern Plains: Routes, Destinations, and Implications for Late Prehistoric Cultural Adaptations," *Plains Anthropologist*, XXXI (1986), 13–33; Johnson and Jelks, "The Tawakoni-Yscani Village, 1760," 414 (quotation).

<sup>56</sup> Johnson and Jelks, "The Tawakoni-Yscani Village, 1760," 414.

<sup>57</sup> Wedel, "The Wichita Indians in the Arkansas River Basin," 128.

<sup>58</sup> Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, I, 206–220.

<sup>59</sup> Johnson and Jelks, "The Tawakoni-Yscani Village, 1760," 412.

<sup>60</sup> See Jelks, "The Gilbert Site," 244; and Duffield and Jelks, *The Pearson Site*, 80; Johnson and Jelks, "The Tawakoni-Yscani Village, 1760," 412 (quotation).

<sup>61</sup> Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, 128–133.

<sup>62</sup> Dan L. Flores, *Journal of an Indian Trader: Anthony Glass and the Texas Trading Frontier, 1790–1810* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1985), 6.

<sup>63</sup> Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 342–345.

Present evidence suggests that Vial crossed the Sabine River in southwestern Wood County near its confluence with Grand Saline Creek,<sup>64</sup> about twenty miles west of the Woldert site. From the Sabine River crossing southeast to the Nadaco village was 25.5 leagues. The village had between thirteen and fifteen houses scattered over 3 leagues, but these were evidently located along tributaries of the Sabine River because the second Sabine River crossing by Vial was 5 or 6 leagues to the east.<sup>65</sup> The presumed location of the Nadaco "village" in 1788 is in the vicinity of Tatum and Carthage, Texas—the same part of the Sabine River Basin in which post-1680 historic Caddoan archaeological sites (referred to as the Kinsloe Focus) have been found.<sup>66</sup> Known Kinsloe Focus sites extend from Longview, Texas, to the vicinity of Carthage, and all are located on tributaries to the Sabine River. This territorial relationship need not necessarily imply that the Kinsloe Focus is the archaeological correlate of the Nadaco Caddo, though the initial archaeological and ethnographic associations are supportive.

The American State Papers, Documents of the Congress of the United States (1780–1815), include several valuable documents by John Sibley concerning eighteenth-century French trading establishments among aboriginal groups on the Sabine River.<sup>67</sup> French traders lived among the many different aboriginal groups in the Caddoan area, operating as traders and *courreurs du bois* from Natchitoches, New Orleans, or other French enclaves.<sup>68</sup> Gregory notes that "French hunters operated from the Natchitoches post on a sort of share cropper basis. Men were outfitted with French firearms, flints, powder and shots to go to the vicinity of the Wichita to hunt hides."<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 346.

<sup>66</sup> Jones, "The Kinsloe Focus," Figure 1.

<sup>67</sup> American State Papers: Indian Affairs; American State Papers: Foreign Relations. Dr. John Sibley, a Great Barrington, Massachusetts, native and physician, arrived in Natchitoches, Louisiana, a short time after the cession of Louisiana to the United States from Spain in 1803. President Jefferson appointed Sibley an occasional agent to the Indian groups in Louisiana, including the Caddo, in 1804, and gave him a full-time appointment as the Indian agent in 1805. Sibley served as agent until 1815, and the agency's headquarters remained in Natchitoches until 1821. Sibley was an active agent with contacts throughout the Louisiana-Texas border country and had a broad familiarity with the land and its aboriginal inhabitants. See John Sibley, *A Report from Natchitoches in 1807*, ed. A. H. Abel, Indian Notes and Monographs (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, N.Y., 1922). For bibliographic data on Sibley see G.P. Whittington, "Dr. John Sibley of Natchitoches, 1757–1837," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, (1927), 467–473; Flores (ed.), *Jefferson & Southwestern Exploration; The Freeman & Custis Accounts of the Red River Expedition of 1806*, 30–31; and Helen H. Tanner, *The Territory of the Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma, Caddo Indians IV* (New York: Garland Press, 1974), 63–64, 85, 90–93.

<sup>68</sup> Usner, "The Deerskin Trade in French Louisiana," 82.

<sup>69</sup> Gregory, "Eighteenth-Century Caddoan Archaeology," 243.

The peltry trade was an important part of the Louisiana economy, accounting for as much as 15 percent of the total exports in the mid-1740s. In 1756 the yearly contribution of the peltry trade was 120,000 *livres*.<sup>70</sup> French voyageur Pierre Mallet described the operations of the French traders in a 1740 testimony thus:

That in Nachitoos (Natchitoches) there are few inhabitants other than the French soldiers. . . . From Natchitoos to Cadodachos . . . it is about fifty leagues toward the northwest. Between them are French settlements, as there are likewise at the said place of Cadodachos, though these French do not have fixed habitations, but only come and go to sell muskets and other things needed by the Indians, from who they obtain annually about 100,000 pounds of furs, as well as tallow and the oil of bears, buffaloes, and deer.<sup>71</sup>

The French had a trade station and military post on the Sabine River near where the Nadaco were living in 1805.<sup>72</sup> Its location sixty to seventy miles west of the Yatasi and the French settlement Bayou Pierre (fig. 3) would place it in the same area as where the Nadaco were living in 1788.<sup>73</sup> Vial, however, does not mention any French establishment in or near the Nadaco village, which suggests it had been abandoned some time prior to 1788. Sibley also mentions another station and factory on the Sabine River “nearly a hundred miles northwest from the Bayou Pierre settlement.”<sup>74</sup>

John Baptiste Grappe, a resident of Natchitoches in 1805, located a trading establishment on the east bank of the Sabine River “towards the head of said river.”<sup>75</sup> This establishment was called Le Dout, the “redoubt” or “fortification.”<sup>76</sup> Its location on the east bank of the Sabine River suggests to us a siting on Lake Fork Creek, the eastern fork of the Sabine River, rather than on the Sabine River itself.

François Grappe, John Baptiste Grappe’s older brother, described Le Dout as follows:

On the Sabine River, near where the Nandaco (Nadaco or Anadarko) Indians now live; and that it was an ancient establishment, and a place of great trade and resort at the time his father’s family lived at the Caddos; and that he has

<sup>70</sup> See Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Regime, 1699–1763*.

<sup>71</sup> Quoted in C. W. Hackett (ed. and trans.), *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas . . .* (4 vols.; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1931–1946), III, p. 417, paragraph 670.

<sup>72</sup> American State Papers: Indian Affairs, 722; American State Papers: Foreign Relations, 693–694.

<sup>73</sup> American State Papers: Indian Affairs, 722.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> American State Papers: Foreign Relations, 693.

<sup>76</sup> We are indebted to Kathleen Gilmore for this interpretation of the etymology of “Le Dout.”

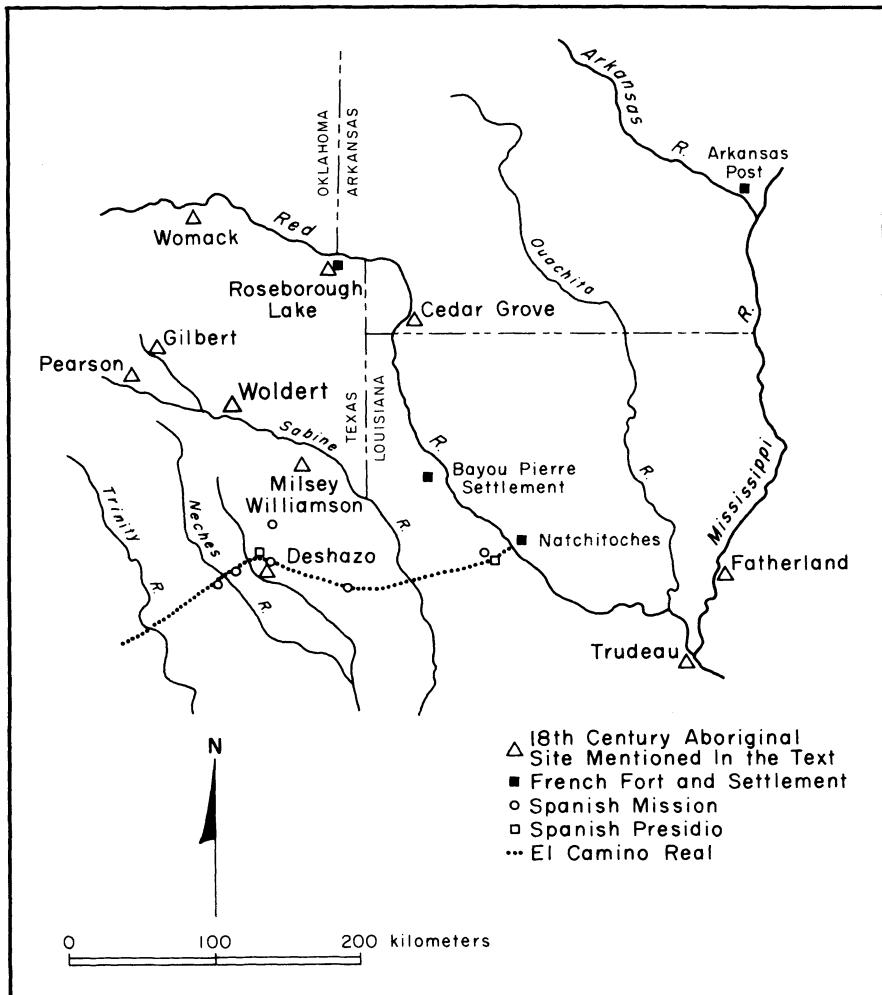


Figure 3. Spanish and French settlements and historic localities relative to the distribution of eighteenth-century Caddoan and Wichita archaeological sites.

several times been at the place; the French flag used to be hoisted there, and there are the remains of the buildings and works now to be seen; and that the Dout is about 150 miles northwest from Natchitoches.<sup>77</sup>

Another 1805 resident of Natchitoches, Louis Lamalty, described a French trading house, on the southwest side of the Sabine River but 15

<sup>77</sup> American State Papers: Foreign Relations, 693–694.

or 16 miles from it, that was established prior to 1762.<sup>78</sup> This trading house was 130 miles from Natchitoches.

While it is conceivable that the archival information reviewed here may relate to only one trade station, albeit with wide-ranging estimates on directions and distances from known French settlements, it seems more likely that there was more than one French trade station in the Upper Sabine Basin. Le Dout, as described by François and John Baptiste Grappe, could be in the general vicinity of the Lake Fork Creek confluence with the Sabine River. This would be consistent with its being at the head of the river and 150 miles from Natchitoches; the Woldert site is about 5 miles from the confluence of these two streams. The only testimony inconsistent with this purported location is François Grappe's suggestion that it was also near where the Nadaco lived. This would place it about 50 miles farther downstream, unless the Nadaco moved between 1788 and 1805. Sibley's separation of two possible factories would place one near the Nadaco and the other upstream in the same area as Le Dout. Lamalty's testimony, however, seems to refer to the trading establishment at the Nadaco village. His description suggests it is on a tributary to the Sabine River, perhaps Martin Creek. The only area on the Sabine River where the "southwest side" makes sense topographically is between Cherokee Bayou and Murvaul Bayou in Rusk and Panola counties.

The French factory called Le Dout is the best candidate, therefore, for a separate trading establishment on the upper reaches of the Sabine River Basin prior to 1770. If located on the headwaters, it is likely associated with Wichita groups who maintained villages and hunting camps on the upper tributaries of the Sabine at that time.<sup>79</sup> If it was located nearer to the Lake Fork Creek–Sabine River confluence, any Caddoan or Wichita groups living west of the Nadaco may also have taken their furs to Le Dout. Lamalty<sup>80</sup> also indicated that there were several other unnamed tribes then living on the Sabine River—other than the Tawakoni, Kichai, or Yatasi—who were participating in the French trade.

Is the Woldert site the French post called Le Dout? Is it the location of an Indian-European battle? On the basis of present information we do not think that the site was the location of a battle. The guns from the site probably derive from a cache, and their broken condition can be explained simply by the dismantling of breech and muzzle sections when placed in the cache or by their exposure in the 1870s.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 693.

<sup>79</sup>See the discussion by Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, 91–92 and n. 46.

<sup>80</sup>American State Papers: Foreign Relations, 694.

The area adjacent to the artesian spring on Mill Race Creek where the Woldert site is believed to be located is presently covered by a dense understory of weeds, briars, tall grasses, and poison ivy as well as a twenty- or thirty-year-old oak-hickory overstory. It has not been cultivated for many years, and there is nothing visible to suggest the presence of an archaeological site. There have been several cursory visits in the last twenty-five years to Mill Race Creek to try to relocate the site, but at the present time its exact location remains unverified.<sup>81</sup>

The context of the other artifacts from the Woldert site is still unclear, however. The presence of French goods commonly exported to the Louisiana Colony as Indian trade items, particularly the *fusils*, kettles, and iron knives, may be expected on Indian habitation sites as well as in French trading posts.<sup>82</sup> Except for the adze/scraper reworked from metal scrap, none of the artifacts have been modified in a manner suggesting aboriginal usage. This is difficult to assess with the limited range of artifact classes present in the Woldert site collection. In addition, acculturation of aboriginal groups may possibly affect patterns of artifact use to the point that they will appear similar to European manners of usage.<sup>83</sup> The separation of varying functions and stages of acculturation cannot readily be determined until information on archaeological context and artifact associations is available. We are hesitant, therefore, to interpret the site as either an aboriginal or European one without further archaeological research.

Additional archival research is necessary to evaluate the possibility that the Woldert site is the location of the post called Le Dout. Testimony by French residents of Natchitoches in 1805 places the post near the Woldert site, but as yet no evidence of foundations or works suggestive of French buildings has been reported anywhere in the Upper Sabine Basin. If Woldert is the post Le Dout, we would expect not only concentrations of French goods at the site but also contemporaneous aboriginal sites in the vicinity, representing the habitations of the Indians who traded at Le Dout. The fact that mid-eighteenth-century French goods have been found in a two-mile radius around the Wol-

<sup>81</sup> Lathel E. Duffield and Sam Whiteside in 1959 were unable to relocate the locale where eighteenth-century historic period artifacts had been found. However, they did record a site on Mill Race Creek where artifacts of aboriginal manufacture (41WD217) were found (Carolyn Spock, telephone conversation, June, 1986). The junior author has found aboriginal Caddoan materials at four sites (41WD329–332) between one and two kilometers downstream from the artesian spring; one of these (41WD331) has a limited number of historic European artifacts.

<sup>82</sup> For a discussion of the character of a French colonial post see Gregory A. Waselkov, *Fort Toulouse Studies*, Auburn University Archaeological Monographs, No. 9 (Auburn: Auburn University, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, 1984).

<sup>83</sup> Brain, *Tunica Treasure*, 274.

dert site is intriguing in this light, and this distribution may represent the immediate sphere of French influence among the local aboriginal groups. A site (41WD331) about one-half mile below the Woldert site contains a limited number of historic European artifacts such as beads and gun-barrel fragments as well as artifacts of aboriginal manufacture.<sup>84</sup> This site is clearly an Indian settlement dating to the eighteenth century.

At this point we can only conclude that the Woldert site is a mid-eighteenth-century location containing abundant numbers of French trade guns. Its association with Le Dout, or with Indian settlements elsewhere on Mill Race Creek, remains problematical. We hope that with further research the Woldert site and other possible historic sites in the vicinity will contribute to a clearer understanding of Indian-European interaction and lifeways during this poorly understood period in East Texas history.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Perttula, Skiles, Collins, Trachte, and Valdez, "This Everlasting Sand Bed," 59.

<sup>85</sup> We would like to thank Kathleen Gilmore, Paul McGuff, and two anonymous reviewers for their useful comments about the manuscript. Gerald Blow of North Texas State University provided the figures.