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THE DEER CREEK SITE, OKLAHOMA:

A WICHITA VILLAGE SOMETIMES CALLED FERDINANDINA,

AN ETHNOHISTORIAN'S VIEW

by

Mildred Mott Wedel

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THE DEER CREEK SITE, OKLAHOMA: A WICHITA VILLAGE SOMETIMES CALLED FERDINANDINA

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Figure 16, page 60: Aerial view of "Council circle" at Sharps Creek,
looking north. Courtesy W. R. Wedel

THE DEER CREEK SITE, OKLAHOMA

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CALLED FERDINANDINA,*

AN ETHNOHISTORIAN'S VIEW

by

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

For many years, Oklahoma has been proud of its historic sites and the increasing public awareness of the necessity for precise identification and preservation of its historic landmarks.

The Deer Creek archeological site in Kay County has held special fascination. Not only was it thought to be an Indian village occupied in the last century, and possibly before, by the Wichita Indians, but it also grew to be known as Ferdinandina or Fernandina, an eighteenth century French trading post. It was even said to be the earliest white settlement in the state.

Archeological investigations in the 1920s under the aegis of Joseph B. Thoburn revealed the fact of Indian occupation and the presence of European trade items. Later studies, discussed in this text, have substantiated the importance of the site.

Mildred Mott Wedel has brought her distinguished scholarly abilities to bear upon the many questions that have arisen concerning the site. Under a grant from the United States Army Corps of Engineers, she has pursued research in various national and foreign archives. Through the methodology of ethnohistory she has developed a description of the chronology of certain pertinent events and the activities of individuals who were involved in the Wichita and French relationship of the time. Her conclusions will be of great assistance to future archeologists who will probe this important site to discover that which documents can forecast may be present but cannot completely reveal.

The Oklahoma Historical Society acknowledges the kindness of the Corps of Engineers in allowing the publication of this report for wider public dissemination.

Martha Royce Blaine

INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This monograph was prepared in 1978-1979 under contract with the Tulsa District of the Department of the Army Corps of Engineers and was initially scheduled for publication by that office. However, because of the probability of an earlier release and the potential for greater dissemination to the general public, the Tulsa District of the Corps, under provision of army regulation 70-31, kindly agreed to formal publication by the Oklahoma Historical Society when it was proposed by Martha Royce Blaine, editor of this series. A few changes and additions have been incorporated into this later version of the report.

Currently the ethnohistoric approach is defined in several ways. The definition followed here requires that the basic source of information be manuscript and published documents, and that they be studied from an anthropological point of view. Thus, the distinctiveness of the method derives from the nature of its source materials and from the kind of interpretation to which these are subjected, the latter quality separating it from the regular historical approach. An important and time-consuming part of ethnohistorical research is the careful and critical analysis of the validity of each document used. It is often necessary to supplement the ethnohistorical data as defined above with the findings of other anthropological and non-anthropological specialists in order to make a comprehensive investigation of a certain problem. Such is the case in this report where the intent is to determine the Indian occupants of the Deer Creek site, Oklahoma, its time of occupation, and the nature of the activity carried on there by Frenchmen.

The documentary material presented in this study consists for the most part of many bits and pieces. There do exist a few detailed, but overall meager, mid-18th century descriptions of the then inhabited Indian villages that are now the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock archaeological sites in Kay County. The Louisiana colony Governor-General, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, seems to have mentioned them only once in official correspondence (AC, C13A,35:fol. 94) during his administration from 1743 to 1753. This was in explanation of the 1750 request said to have been made by Pierre Mallet for

permission to look for hunters indebted to him who were thought to be among the *Panis* [Wichita] on the Arkansas River. Apparently this was an excuse offered to cover Mallet's departure for New Mexico because the route he followed was up the Canadian River, not by way of the Wichita.

Nor was there any extended account in archives in the United States, France, or Mexico City of the French activity that occurred there, as indicated by the presence of a number of French artifacts. Perhaps this is to be explained by the fact that it was commonplace enough not to merit special attention from top Louisiana officials. Moreover, the early French traders and later hunters and *voyageurs* who were at the villages were probably illiterate. Even those with whom the hunters did business at Arkansas Post or New Orleans seem to have left little evidence of their commercial enterprises. Contract time limitations prevented supplemental searches in French sea coast city records for peripheral yet pertinent information on merchants' transactions in New Orleans, cargo content of ships engaged in trade between France and her colony, and contemporary demands for and uses of bison and deer hides in France.

Almost no reports or correspondence were discovered of the quantity that must have emanated from Arkansas Post at the mouth of the Arkansas River before the Wichita Indians all moved south out of the Arkansas River valley. Thus the census of that community taken by its commandant in 1749 (q.v. below) is a rare and particularly welcome official paper.

Aside from the documents that this investigator may by chance have overlooked, what has happened to the numerous records that must have existed formerly? They have disappeared through negligence, disinterest, fires, pillaging, theft, and from other causes.

Since primary documents were used chiefly in this study, much translation has been necessary. Due again to time pressure, published translations were relied upon in some carefully chosen instances. Satisfactory translation of 17th and 18th century documents results from an understanding of the language combined with some knowledge of the general subject matter. Some translations of documents of this period

are more literal than meaningful, a result of an interest that centers in the words themselves rather than in the message being conveyed. A translation must make sense in context and yet adhere closely enough to the original wording to avoid intrusion of unwarranted interpretation. It must recognize that the European was often hard-pressed to find words to describe new non-European concepts. Thus imagination to some degree enters the translation process. As Donald C. Cutter (1966:11) wrote in his foreword to Alicia Milich's excellent translation of Zárate-Salmerón's *Relaciones*, "At best translation is a difficult historical art."

In this report, if a question persists as to the meaning of some words, they are added in parentheses. Then readers also can ponder the problem. The Spanish translations included here were prepared by Jane M. Walsh, Smithsonian Institution, and myself. The author alone is responsible for those made from French sources. It may be of interest to some who read certain of these translations to consider them in relation to previously published paraphrased versions.

Not only the collection but the interpretation of these bits and pieces of information has been an important and time-consuming part of the preparation of this report. After translation, one has to consider if the document contains primary or secondary data, if it is trustworthy and not gossipy or propagandistic--i.e., working for a special cause, trying to put a good face on some questioned action, making presentations designed to denigrate another official. Moreover, the meaning of documents studied here is sometimes not apparent unless one is aware of Plains Indian cultural patterns and the social and political history of Louisiana. Many remarks made in the past regarding the Deer Creek site are erroneous because a single bit of information was taken out of its context and its interpretation dominated by wishful thinking. Thus, as will be noted, myths developed.

A chronological narrative has been presented in the following chapters on Wichita occupation of the Arkansas River basin and on French-Wichita relations because in order to arrive somewhere near the truth, it is necessary to view mid-18th century occurrences at Deer Creek in the light of past happenings.

The Tulsa District of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers is to be commended for its foresight in

arranging for an ethnohistorical assessment of this very important archeological site *before* its excavation to which the Corps is committed. Logically this should be useful to archeologists in planning their research procedures and may prevent their overlooking certain important but obscure features of which they might not have been aware otherwise. This is an advantage that is not always utilized when a historic site is excavated, yet we are all conscious of the critical fact that as a site is explored by archeologists, it is destroyed. I deeply appreciate the ready cooperation of Sue Purves and Daphne Derven, formerly of the Tulsa District of the Corps of Engineers, and of Larry Banks of its Southwestern Division.

On research trips to various archival repositories in the United States, Paris and Mexico City, my husband, Waldo R. Wedel, Archeologist Emeritus at the Smithsonian Institution, has accompanied me. I herewith express special gratitude to him for the benefit of his wisdom and for his unflinching help and encouragement.

I am also appreciative of the ready cooperation and various helpful suggestions regarding use of the Archives of France made to me by Mme. Ulane Bonnel, representative of the *Archives Nationales*, Paris, in the Library of Congress Foreign Language copying program; and of the efforts put forth by Martha Royce Blaine, head of the Department of Archives/Manuscripts, in providing me with xeroxed documents from the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and in performing other needed services. I am also indebted to her for her interest in formally publishing this study. Finally, I am grateful to Monica Hilling of Canyon, Texas, for a multitude of important services performed in my behalf in Paris; to Jane M. Walsh, Smithsonian Institution, for translation of Spanish documents as well as guidance in Mexico City; and to Joan Gardner, formerly of the Smithsonian, for excellent typing of a difficult manuscript and her cheerful willingness in helping with last-minute chores.

Mildred Mott Wedel
August, 1980



FIGURE 1

Locations of the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock Sites. Section of Enid, Oklahoma; Kansas Quadrangle; 1:250,000; U. S. Geological Survey.

CHAPTER I

Identification of the Deer Creek Site with a "Panipiquees" Village

Ethnohistorical data provided in this study of the Deer Creek archeological site (34KA3), Kay County, Oklahoma, will identify the Indian occupants of the site in the mid-18th century and, in addition, will suggest other times it may have been inhabited, the kinds of activities that went on there in conjunction with the French, and therefore, the variety of features which may be found by archeologists. This should aid the Corps of Engineers, Tulsa District, in developing plans for future excavation.

The site, owned by the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers since 1971, is located in the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 15, T28N, R3E, on a high primary terrace of the Arkansas River. It lies just south of Deer Creek, an east-flowing tributary of the Arkansas (Fig. 1). This places it on the west bank of the reservoir formed by Kaw Dam, and within the boundaries of the Corps of Engineer's Kaw Lake Project. The site, which covers about 30 acres, lies well above the Kaw Lake conservation pool at present, but would be partially inundated during periods of maximum flooding. Some shoreline erosion in the form of deep gullying toward the site has occurred.

Upstream about 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles (c. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ kms.) on another higher west side terrace of the Arkansas is the Bryson-Paddock site (34KA5; Hartley 1975:5-78; Hartley and Miller 1977; Sudbury 1976a:App. II; Thoburn 1930:75-85; Wyckoff 1964:20-21; correspondence of Otto Spring and Joseph B. Thoburn, Thoburn Papers, Archives/Manuscripts Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, hereafter OHS). It is apparently very similar to the one on Deer Creek, so far as can be judged at present. Sudbury wrote (1976:93), "The occupants of Bryson and Deer Creek do seem to be related in material culture and in time. There is nothing to indicate that they were not the same people, and possibly the same generation."

For over 60 years archeologists and historians have recognized that the Deer Creek site (sometimes called the Miller site) had special interest for them because both Indian-made artifacts and European trade goods were found on its surface. This would seem to reflect a situation in which Europeans were in contact with American Indians at a time when metal tools had only partially supplanted stone ones, before metal containers had replaced all earthen pots, and before guns were traded in abundance. All too few sites exist that can provide information on how such peoples with very different cultural heritages were interrelating in their earliest associations, especially this far west in the plains. Moreover, this site has not been badly plundered by pothunters or inept excavation. Bert Moore, a collector from Arkansas City, wrote that when a boy he had dug into one mound, and Joseph B. Thoburn and F. H. Sterns in 1917 (Thoburn 1930:74) explored another. There are rumors of other unrecorded digging. However, more than half the Indian-occupied area has never been plowed. The opportunity to obtain sound archeological evidence to complement the ethnohistorical data is unusual and exciting.

Previous archeological work

The Deer Creek site was shown in 1914 to Thoburn (1930:72-73), then on the staff of the University of Oklahoma, by Wilson Fischer, a student there. Fischer had collected artifacts from the surface of the site which aroused Thoburn's interest. Thoburn later claimed (*Ibid.*:73) to have counted at that time 65 low, circular mounds on the "slightly rolling prairie surface." He described them as varying in size from a diameter of 25 feet to one of 50 feet, with a height from 12 to 30 inches. In a survey made

about fifty years later, Don G. Wyckoff, presently Oklahoma State Archeologist and Adjunct Instructor in Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma, counted only 15 to 25 "conical mounds" (1964:11-12) which ranged from 25-35 feet in diameter and from eight inches to two feet in elevation. Although Thoburn had considered the mounds to be domiciliary in nature, resulting from the collapse of earth lodges, Wyckoff observed that two which had been dug into were simply middens composed of village debris. This agrees with Charlie R. Steen's description (1953:178), written when he was with the National Park Service, of "large middens, apparently composed entirely of bison bones among which hundreds of large scrapers are to be found." Byron Sudbury wrote as late as 1976 (p.5) that six mounds were still visible in the plowed western section of the site. He commented that these have been the main sources for several Deer Creek site surface collections that have been made. Mounds in the unplowed pasture area were said to be undisturbed except for some random potting.

All observers have agreed that this is the site of an Indian village. Wyckoff (1964:11) described seeing a number of depressed areas which he suggested might indicate house locations, but not earth lodges.

Thoburn in 1914 also observed (1930:74) a "horseshoe-shaped" trench (Figs. 3,15) which enclosed the head of a small ravine that drops northward into Deer Creek. The trench was said to vary in depth from two to five feet, to be 12-15 feet wide and to have a radius of about 125 feet from the center of the enclosed area to the inner edge of the trench. Although Steen (1953:178) believed there was no evidence of a "stockade" or any other similar structure, Wyckoff (1964:12) reported seeing sections of a "circular rampart located near the center of the site." He remarked, "Whether this feature actually represents a type of fortification or just a circular series of trash mounds is at present unknown." Ronald Corbyn (1976:57-63), after examination of air photos of the site, speculated that on the west side of the "U-shaped" feature two ditches exist, on either side of which back dirt had been piled. To the east, he saw evidence of only one ditch with earth piles on both sides (*Ibid.*:fig.1). He suggested that the inner embankment might

have been a rampart and believed there may be evidence of a bastion or entrance along the west outer ditch system. He recorded the presence of a mound within the enclosed area. He also noted to the east of the earthwork, a "trough-shaped feature" (pp. 26-28) which Thoburn had described as an Indian trail. Otto Spring informed Thoburn in 1926 (May 31; OHS) he had learned from Bert Moore of Arkansas City, Kansas, that someone had once dug a trench at Deer Creek, evidently in the horseshoe-shaped feature. Charred bases of wooden posts were said to have been found.

Surface collections

Although at present almost no artifacts are to be found on the surface of the Deer Creek site, they were formerly present in great abundance (Fig.4). Surface collections that have been made are notable for the unusual number of large chipped-stone hide scrapers. When Thoburn first went there he was impressed by the "almost countless numbers of chert 'turtle-back' or 'snub-nose' skin-dressing picks which," he wrote (1930:75), "may be found upon the village site to this day." As stated above, Steen also (1953:178) was impressed by their abundance. Wyckoff's report on the surface collection at the University of Oklahoma (1964:12-14) indicated not only the noteworthy quantity of scrapers in relation to other artifacts, but the fact that the scraping tools were predominantly large and crude in appearance. In his study of three private surface collections (1976a:17-19, fig. 30-32) Sudbury too commented that although Kay County "flint" flakes well, "the care apparently taken in executing a number of the finer tools . . . is not readily evident in the large end scrapers." He stated that in his sample these plano-convex end scrapers ranged in length from 35 to 105 mm., in width from 25-70 mm., and in thickness from 10-45 mm.

Obviously it was the great number of hide scrapers, unusually large and evidently quickly shaped from nodules procured in nearby quarries of Kay County chert, together with piles of bison bones, that have caused archeologists to believe that a lively operation in hide preparation was carried on here at some time. As Thoburn (1930:74-75) visualized it, the

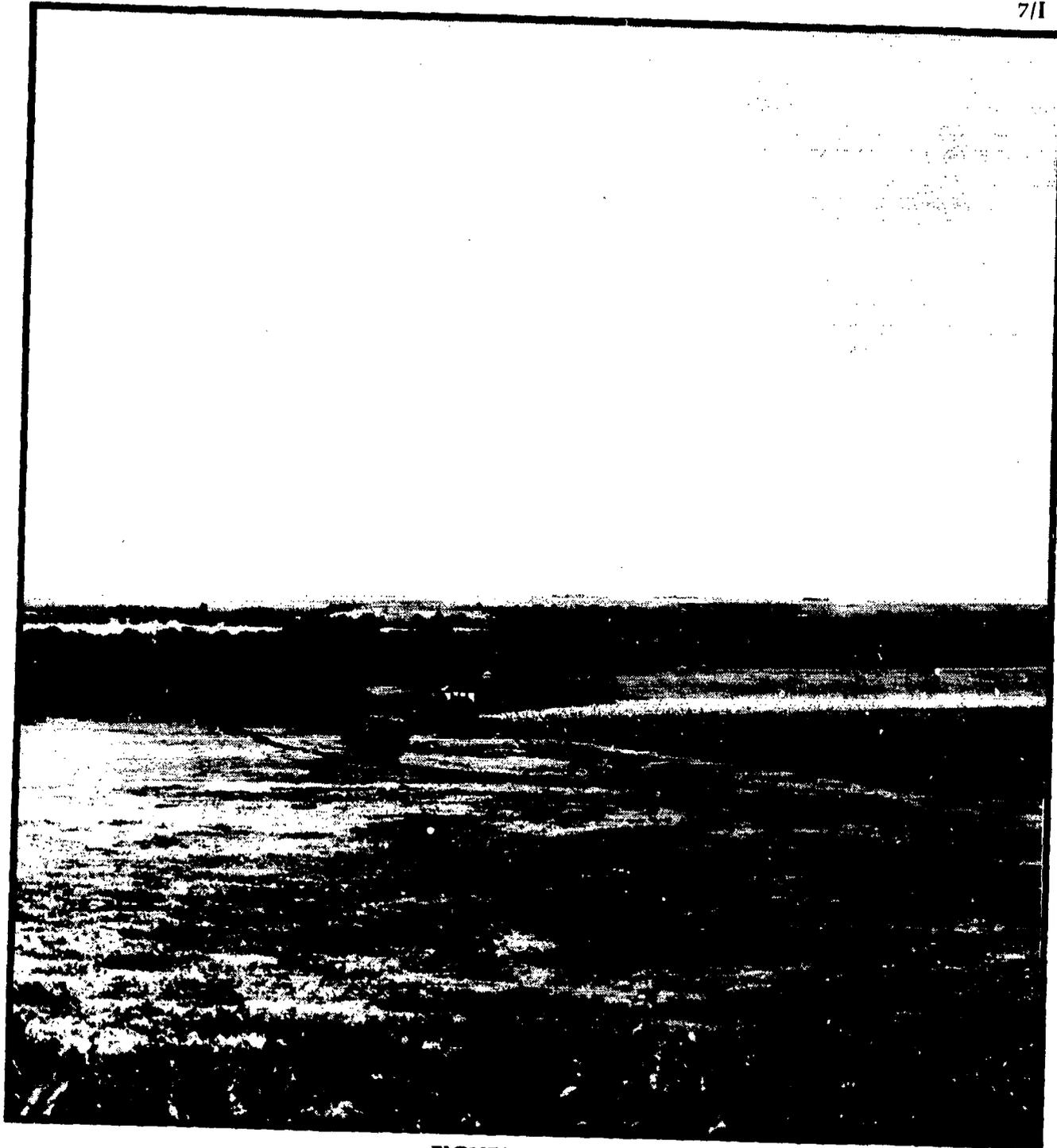


FIGURE 2

Looking east, Deer Creek site (X) to right of buildings, toward Arkansas River. Deer Creek to left. Courtesy W. R. Wedel.

men at the Deer Creek village "we hide hunters and its women busied themselves with the curing and dressing of the hides into finished robes."

Evidence of the European presence that occurs in surface collections consists of gun parts; of metal tools, kettles and ornaments; and of glass beads. Samples of trade material collected by Bert Moore from the Deer Creek site were sent for examination to both Arthur Woodward, Los Angeles County Museum, and to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City. In both cases the material was identified as of French origin. Sudbury, working with R. King Harris, Jay C. Blaine, and T. M. Hamilton, believes this is true of his sample too, with the exception of a few possibly British specimens (1976a:79; 1975:50).

With only surface collections to study, it is difficult to make a satisfactory estimate of how much trade material is actually present at the site. Does the amount reflect a long time or short term, presumably French, contact? Wyckoff wrote of a "considerable quantity" (1964:19), but how much in relation to the large variety and number of native-made artifacts? One reads in Sudbury (1976a:19 ff.) of two gun barrel fragments, one tumbler bridle, two triggers, 3 butt plate specimens, four side plates, and so on. This does not suggest many individual guns. Though 13 metal knife sections were present in his sample, only one fragmentary iron axe, four possible hoe sections, nine metal points, one iron punch, a wedge, and one awl were reported. About 150 glass beads had been retrieved. This amount could have been carried upriver in only one pirogue.

The collection that was accumulated by Mr. and Mrs. Bert Moore of Arkansas City, Kansas, and purchased by the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1956, is much larger than Sudbury's sample because of its having been formed over a period of more than 30 years with some regularity and frequency. In July, 1940, it was viewed by Waldo R. Wedel and the author. Already it contained a proportionately larger number and variety of trade goods than Sudbury described. In fact, Wedel (1961:146) wrote of seeing "quantities of iron axes, hoes, knives, gun parts, and other white-contact items. . . including much brass and many glass beads." A description of the collection (which is as yet

unstudied) appeared in the *Daily Oklahoman* for September 30, 1956. This noted "numbers" of metal tools, and stated that gun hardware was the most extensive of all the artifacts, with at least a dozen examples of "worn-out or defective gun barrels" that had been used as woodcutting instruments. Scissor blades were one of a number of additional trade items mentioned. Along with these, however, were "hundreds" of chert points, chert knives, bone awls, "several" metates and mullers, a great quantity of pottery sherds, all testifying to the fact that a large Indian cultural complex was far from having been replaced by European trade goods.

Clearly, these Indian people were receiving a flow of European items. This raises several questions that will be given further consideration in later chapters of this study. For example, did the trade goods come mainly from Frenchmen who visited the village, or were some received in trade from Indian middlemen? Did the Indians living here go at times to official French posts?

A number of attempts have been made to date this French-Indian contact by means of the trade materials. The Harrises (1967:131) placed the Bryson site in their Period I, 1700-1740. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright (1929,1:42) suggested the second third of the 18th century for such contact at the Deer Creek site, while Bell and Bastian (1967a:119) proposed it covered the first half-century. Woodward (Steen 1953:182) thought the most likely period to have been 1725-1760. Sudbury (1976a:79; 1975:50) advanced the beginning of the main French occupation there by a decade and extended it the same amount, thereby providing dates of 1735-1760. Although Wyckoff reported six Southwest sherds to be in the University surface collection (1964:14), he gives no dates for them.

Deer Creek pottery and other elements of the native cultural complex seem to relate to archeological materials found in southern and central Kansas identified as the Great Bend Aspect (W. Wedel 1959:633), although "they are by no means identical." This Aspect has been linked to the region of 16th and 17th century Quivira and to its Wichita-speaking inhabitants. Therefore, it has seemed to many that certain of these Indians may have been ancestors of the occupants of the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock villages on the Arkansas River (e.g., Bell



FIGURE 3

Aerial view looking south toward Deer Creek site, including pasture (center left) and plowed field to its right. Curving ditch system outlined by tree growth beyond ravine headed in pasture. Courtesy U. S. Army Corps of Engineers.

and Baerreis 1951:91; Hartley and Miller 1977:255; Sudbury 1976a:120,125; Thoburn 1930:72; W. R. Wedel 1959:633).

Documentary evidence

Documentary evidence for European-Indian contacts at the Deer Creek site and for identification of the Indian inhabitants of the village is found in manuscripts in the *Archivo General de la Nación* (hereafter AGN) in Mexico City. In 1742 Felipe de Sandoval had left his native country of Spain for America. The vessel upon which he was a passenger was captured by the English and he was forced to remain in Jamaica for two years. Finally he escaped to the French settlement at Mobile Bay, and from there made his way to New Orleans and up the Mississippi River to Arkansas Post at the mouth of the Arkansas River. In 1749 he and five or six other Frenchmen and a German decided to head for New Mexico. Most of his companions turned back before completion of the journey, but he arrived with two others at Taos, New Mexico. They were taken into custody and brought to the Spanish provincial governor, Don Tomás Vélez Cachupín, who asked Sandoval to prepare a sworn statement describing their journey. This he did, dating it March 1, 1750. If his French associates were interrogated, the manuscripts are not known to exist.

In making their way to New Mexico from Arkansas Post, they appear to have passed through the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock villages and from them to have been directed by their occupants to Comanche allies farther west who took the three men into Taos. A translation of sections of Sandoval's statement follows which provides the basis for this assumption.

Following a description of French posts on the Mississippi River below Arkansas Post, Sandoval said (App.A):

"They [the French] have a detachment of 10 soldiers, one sergeant, and one lieutenant at a place they call *los Sarcos* [the Arkansas], 10 leagues from the river of the *Palaizada* [Mississippi], on the banks of the *Napestle* [Arkansas] river, where there are three towns [pueblos] of Indians of this name [Arkansas, i.e. Quapaw], well armed. . . A bit farther upstream from *los sarcos* this river *Napestle* joins with one

called *colorado* [Canadian, often dubbed *colorado* or Red at this period]. In this place of *los sarcos* I stayed for a while engaging in hunting, in order to support myself. . . Here I learned of the existence of Spaniards and that the province of New Mexico was situated in this direction. The information was given to me by some Frenchmen who had been there in [17]40 [the Mallet brothers' expedition], and they offered me means of transportation. I was persuaded by them because I desired to do this very thing. I undertook the trip to go to New Mexico from *los sarcos* accompanied by four Frenchmen, a sergeant, and a German. We embarked on the *Napestle* river to go upstream, and after 50 days we arrived at two towns of Indians, very friend'y to the Frenchmen, who were situated on the banks of this river, and called *Panipiquees*. All are streaked [tattooed], and the Spaniards call them *Jumanes*."

A later section of the journal describes the route taken:

"... having come here by boat, I observed that it is good flat land, without mountains, having some woods, and a few draws. The rivers that join the *Napestle* come down from the north [*sic*]. These are the river of *San Andres*, that of *febre* [i.e. Fabry; the Canadian River which André Fabry de la Bruyère named St. André in 1741], the small one [*Chiquito*; the Cimarron?], and the salty one [probably Salt Fork rather than Salt Creek], and along all these banks there are many bison."

These right-hand tributaries of the Arkansas River are the only ones Sandoval recorded, perhaps because of his consuming interest in routes westward, before his arrival at the two *Panipiquees* or *Jumanes* villages. Sandoval also commented, "They [the *Panipiquees*] have much friendship for the French and trade much with them." He wrote of "their comrades, who in this kingdom are called *Cumanche*."

Except for Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock, there are no similar twin sites presently known to exist on the Arkansas proper above Salt Fork that have cultural material suggestive of Great Bend Aspect relationships combined with

evidence of the French presence. Consequently, this leads one to believe that Sandoval was in the villages that are now these archeological sites. His use of the name *Panipiquees* for the inhabitants confirms the postulations that these were Wichita-speakers (q.v. below). The friendly relations with the Comanche that he described are congenial to such an identification.

In the fall of 1748, three French soldiers had departed from Arkansas Post headed for Santa Fe. They seem to have passed through the same "Panipiquet" villages and also to have been sent on to the Comanche for safe conduct to Picuris pueblo in New Mexico. In interrogations carried on in Santa Fe after their arrival and arrest in April 1749, they did not provide facts that would make possible as certain an identification of the Deer Creek and Bryson archeological sites with the two villages they visited as do the data of Sandoval. Nonetheless, upon examination of their replies to questions, there can be no doubt but that they were in the same villages Sandoval visited in late 1749.

Since these men did not speak Spanish as did Sandoval, an interpreter identified as Pedro Soutter, who was said to know "sufficient French," asked the questions prepared by Governor Vélez Cachupín (4/12/1749) and recorded the answers. It is easy to concur with the opinion expressed later by authorities in Mexico City that some misunderstandings are recorded in the transcript of the April 12 hearings (Febro 1749; Satren 1749; Raballo 1749; App. A). Because the replies of "Pedro Sartre" or "Satren" and "Joseph Miquel Raballo" are in large part repetitions of the testimony of the first interviewee, "Luis del Fierro" or "Febro," only the full answers he provided to questions pertinent to this study will be quoted. Additional information contributed by the others will be noted when relevant. The names attributed to these deserters may not have been their patronymics, since one was born in New Orleans, one in Quebec, and one in French Illinois, but there has not been time to trace them down in French military records, if such is even possible; no one else has undertaken it. The names recorded in Santa Fe will be used. When more than one spelling occurs in those declarations, the ones employed here have been arbitrarily chosen, i.e., Satren and Febro.

All three men had come to Arkansas Post from

the Illinois country. Raballo and Febro were evidently already deserters from other garrisons when they arrived at Arkansas Post in 1748, although the former had lived here at an earlier time, possibly as a member of the troops. Satren had been stationed at the Post only 15 days before deserting. In answer to the 4th question of the interpreter, Febro said on June 9:

"that he left to come to this province [New Mexico] from an Indian *ranchería* that is called *la Zarca* [the Arkansas] inhabited by a nation of heathen Indians of this name, that a bit further on there is a French garrison of eight men with a lieutenant (maintained) in order to control those Indians who live there [i.e. the Quapaw]; that he had information of these settlements [New Mexico] from the same nations of the *Cumanches* Indians, and also from some European Spaniards who are married, among them one Manuel who had told of there being in these countries gold and silver mines and had given directions to them."

Satren said the married Spaniards lived in New Orleans. The "same *Cumanches*" must refer to those who escorted them to Picuris.

Although Herbert E. Bolton (1917:394) and Henri Folmer (1941:267) believed that these Frenchmen went by boat up the Arkansas, there is no mention in their testimony of boats or of the act of embarking. Febro said (Answer 4) they did not come by the "*camino R1*" [*Real*] which Bolton evidently interpreted to mean they did not go overland. The term could also have referred to the *Camino Real* (the Royal Road) that existed between San Antonio and Los Adaes in what is now the state of Texas, a road with which many Frenchmen and Spaniards of that period were familiar, at least by name. Moreover, in recording Raballo's statement (Answer 4), it was written that from Arkansas Post, he and his comrades "would have walked [as implied by *abran andado*] more than 140 leagues without finding any settlement, or any people at all." It is not surprising then that instead of describing the Arkansas River or its tributaries, Febro stated (Answer 7) that

"the land they crossed [west of the Ozark Mountains] between *Silinue* [the Illinois country] and Taos, the first settlement of Spaniards they entered, is all flat, so



FIGURE 4

Chipped stone scrapers used in hide-working activities, presumably at Deer Creek or Bryson-Paddock sites. Oklahoma Historical Society collections.

lacking in wooded areas that to make fires they used dried grass, that now and then they could find a piece of firewood, and that there is no lack of water throughout the whole route."

The last phrase would seem to make an inappropriate point had they ascended the river. They probably followed an Indian trail. They were not burdened with a quantity of goods for trade as some authors have implied.

When queried as to what Indian nations they had seen, Febro replied (Answer 8) that "they found only the nations of *Panipiquet*. . . and the *Cumanche* who were at a distance of 150 leagues from each other." The *Panipiquet* were described as living in two neighboring villages, thus agreeing with Sandoval's testimony.

In a second interrogation of Satren held March 5 of 1750 to clear up some of the confusion existing in the first depositions due to the interpreter and Vélez Cachupín's ignorance of French Louisiana, he explained "up to these pueblos of the *Jumanes* the French hunters go who thus seek their livelihood. . . this intercourse being facilitated by friendship with the *Jumanes*." In addition, he explained that the French deserters left "in search of the Spaniards, having confidence in the alliance and friendship the *Panipiques*, called also *Jumanes*, allies of the French, have with the *Cumanches* who gave them [the French] good treatment upon the recommendation of the *Jumanes*." Although neither Febro nor Satren mentioned that the *Panipiquet* villages were on the Arkansas River, there seems no good reason to doubt that these deserters and Sandoval were in the same villages in 1749 before going on to the Comanche. The village inhabitants are given the same names; in both cases they were said to be friendly with the French; they were also the friends of the Comanche to whom they were willing to guide Frenchmen and others. Thus it follows that the two villages reported upon in both years are now represented by the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock archeological sites.

The presence of a third village of *panipiquees* on the Arkansas River was reported in a letter written February 25, 1751, by Governor Vélez Cachupín to the Viceroy of Mexico. He claimed to have learned from interrogation of the Pierre Mallet party, recently arrived in New Mexico from Louisiana, that the French were considering the erection of warehouses on the Arkansas River above "the three villages of the *panipiquees* or *Jumanes*." Elizabeth A. H. John (1975:317, n.18), was presumably citing this

source when she wrote that "French visitors mentioned three [villages] in 1751."

One wonders, however, why a third village on the Arkansas proper, if it existed, was not mentioned in the earlier testimonies of 1750. This would seem to mean that it had been settled after Sandoval's riverine journey to the Deer Creek region and his 20-day stay there in late 1749, but before Mallet departed from the French colony in mid-summer 1750. He ascended the Canadian River instead of going on up the Arkansas to the *Panipiquees* so that his information about a third village would have been second-hand.

An alternate explanation is that the interpreter in Santa Fe who was described as "very unskilled" or Vélez Cachupín himself confused the three Quapaw villages described by the informants as on the Arkansas River with those of the *Panipiquees*. The fact that the journey was part of a scheme (Michel 7/2/1750; fol. 316) worked out with the ambitious commandant of Arkansas Post, Louis-Xavier Martin de Lino de Chalmette, to develop trade relations between the Spaniards of New Mexico and that post, according to Commissary Honoré Michel (AC,C13A,34:316), would lead one to think the promoters would not have favored warehouses far upriver beyond their control. Surely they would have wanted them nearer, probably between the mouth of the Canadian, the route west preferred by the Mallets, and De Lino's post. It seems logical, therefore, that the three Quapaw villages were those above which the warehouses were to be built.

Moreover, present archeological evidence does not confirm the presence of three contemporaneous villages of *Panipiquees* on the Arkansas in the Deer Creek region in 1751. Although Wyckoff (1964:10) reported that the Love site (38KA2), less than 1¼ miles (.two kms.) north of Bryson-Paddock, produced pottery similar to that of Wedel's Lower Walnut Focus and was told that some contact materials had been found in association, more recent limited testing (Young 1976; Sudbury 1975, 1976b) did not yield evidence of any European items or of trash middens such as are characteristic of the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock sites. It is certainly not impossible that a third *Panipiquees* village was in the Deer Creek region, but not necessarily on the Arkansas River. Unless more sound evidence of a third one comes to light, it is reasonable to assume there were only two villages of these Indians on the Arkansas proper in 1751.

CHAPTER II

Time Depth of Wichita Village Occupation at the Deer Creek Site

Panipiqués, a name used for the occupants of the Deer Creek village by its French and Spanish visitors from Arkansas Post in 1749, means in French "pricked Pawnee." The term recognizes the linguistic relationship of the *Panipiqués* to the more northern Pawnee then living on the Republican (?), Platte and Loup Rivers, but it distinguishes them by a reference to their very noticeable tattooing. It thus identifies them as Wichita-speakers whom the French called also *Paneassa*, a word they took over from Siouan-speaking Indians, such as Kansa, Osage, and Missouri, living near French Illinois. In Dhegiha and Chiwere Sioux languages the name is a combination of two words meaning "black Pawnee" (M. Wedel 1973:203), with the adjective following the noun, which sounded to Frenchmen like *paneussa*, *panioussa*, and so on. Again extensive tattooing was probably the chief reason for the name, although these Indians may also have had a somewhat darker skin coloring than some other Indians (M. Wedel 1972-73:152).

The *Panipiquets* were described by Febvre (1749) as "a nation lined on their faces," and by Sandoval (1750) as "streaked all over." Tattooing was accomplished by pricking the skin and then rubbing charcoal into the wound which when it healed retained the dark color. The designs, chiefly lines, circles, and dots, were made on the faces, arms, breasts, and chests and were meaningful. Although fairly standardized for each sex among the Wichita (Newcomb 1961:251), and possibly distinctive for each subtribe or band, there might be, in addition, individual symbols indicating war prowess or status. Even in sign language the Wichita name means "tattooed people."

As to the term *Jumano*, France V. Scholes (1940:275) commented that: "in the early colonial period the name *Jumano* was used in New Mexico to designate all *indios rayados* [streaked Indians]. Under this usage, the Quiviras [Wichitas], Escanjaques, Teyas, Patarabueyes, and many other Southwestern Indians could be termed *Jumanos*." When Sandoval (1750) said that the inhabitants of Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock villages were "Indians . . . called *Panipiquées*" and then added "the Spaniards call them *Jumanes*," or when Satren (1750) testified regarding the "*Panipiques* (*alias* *Jumanes*," there is no doubt but that the New Mexican interpreter and the others were thinking of Wichita-speakers.

These people in the 18th century included a number of different groups who later combined and came to be known by the name of one of the smaller subdivisions called in early French documents *Ousita* or *Oratchitas*. Even though Athanase de Mézières in 1771 (Bolton 1914, 1:250) wrote of the "Taovaires [Taovayas], or Panis Piques," as if this was a specific equivalent, it is apparent that earlier in the century and in the 1600s the terms *Panipiques*, *Paniassa*, and *Jumanos* might refer to other Wichita bands as well, and in some instances to all Wichita-speakers collectively.

Although Sudbury (1976a:78) thinks "there is minor evidence for possible Archaic and Early Village occupations at Deer Creek," he along with other archeologists believes the major occupation was probably that of historic Wichita-speakers. (Hereafter this linguistic group will be designated "Wichita." The small subdivision bearing that name will be called "Wichita proper.") The problem arises,

therefore, which of the several subdivisions of those speaking the Wichita language lived at Deer Creek and when did they establish a village there? To determine this, a review of the location of Wichita settlements in the Arkansas drainage from their earliest documentation up to the mid-1740s follows. In that decade there occurred the first recorded migration of an entire band of Wichita out of the Arkansas River region.

Problems presented by the source material

The chronological narrative that follows illustrates the kind of evidence available for this period and the complex problems that are encountered in its interpretation. Pertinent information is to be found in Spanish and French documents that must be analyzed carefully in order to determine their kind and degree of authenticity. This includes critical consideration of the various sources used by these authors. First-hand and primary data have been consulted as much as possible, but overall there is disappointingly little to examine. Moreover, it will be apparent as the presentation proceeds that much of the information to be derived from written records in these years is obscure. For this reason some students consider the documents unworthy of serious attention. Because, however, certain ones undoubtedly reflect valid information, the effort to figure out just what the original facts may have been should be rewarding.

Many of the problems of interpretation relate to linguistic misunderstandings, sometimes compounded by interpreters, that developed when Indians and Europeans were conversing. The concept of "a body of water," for instance, might appear as a "lake" or a "sea" in French or Spanish writings when the Indian was actually speaking of a "river." Differing cultural concepts for geographical features, such as river systems, coupled with European ignorance of trans-Mississippi geography, also prevented accurate exchange of ideas. Application of the same term to more than one Indian people, as the use of *Paniassa* for several Wichita subdivisions or *Panis* for all Plains Caddoan speakers (Wichita, Pawnee, Arikara) hinders precise understanding. Maps of the period as well as textual documents illustrate all of these problems. They cannot be evaluated or studied entirely in terms of the

portrayal itself but one must go behind the scene, so to speak, by reconstructing what information the cartographer must have had at hand that caused him to delineate features as he did. It is in analysis of this sort that anthropological insights stand one in good stead preventing acceptance of nonsensical statements and promoting understanding of the problems confronting map makers. I have tried to analyze with care, but I may have stumbled occasionally.

All of these interpretive problems, and others, are illustrated in the following discussion where I have considered it necessary not merely to state conclusions but to justify them because of the kind of data on which they are based. The presentation of requisite detail to accomplish this purpose may result in the section seeming unduly ponderous, but it is to be hoped that thoughtful and willing readers can follow the order of the arguments.

The Wichita as Quivirans

There is no acceptable evidence in historical records until ca. 1700 for a village of Wichita on the right-hand bank of the Arkansas River, the side on which Deer Creek is located, but then the village delineated is clearly placed some distance south of that creek. The Wichita homeland in the 16th and most of the 17th centuries centered in the region between the northeast side of the great bend of the Arkansas and the Smoky Hill River (W. Wedel 1959:Fig. 105) just upstream from Lindsborg, Kansas. Several Spanish sources (e.g. Melchior de Alva, 1574, in Forbes 1960:37) refer to this region in general terms, but more specific knowledge comes from first-hand information provided by members of the Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (1541) and Juan de Oñate (1601) expeditions to Quivira. The Quivirans may be identified as Wichita on the basis of described cultural features such as extensive tattooing and grass houses, and proper names appearing in Coronado-related documents that are evidently two modern Wichita band names.

Several small clusters of dwellings [called *pueblos* by the Spaniards] constituted settlements [called *poblaciones*], of which there were a number according to Juan Jaramillo (Smith 1857, 1:154-63), a member of Coronado's expedition. It was implied that some were situated along tributaries of the Arkansas River which, in the

light of known archeological remains, are thought (W. Wedel 1942:12) to have been Cow Creek and the Little Arkansas River. Ultimately the Spaniards were led to "the end of Quivira, . . . to which they took us saying that it was *Teucarea*." Jaramillo continued, "This (place) was a river of more water and population than the others." The larger river was presumably the Smoky Hill.

In an interrogation of Domingo Martín during the 1544 investigation in Mexico City of Coronado's handling of his expedition to New Mexico and Quivira (*Información*, p. 22), Martín was questioned about the killing of *El Turco* [the Turk], the Indian guide who was accused of intentionally misleading the party on its journey to Quivira. Replying, he stated, "one afternoon when in Quivira, in a pueblo called *Tabas*," the Turk was garroted and buried. This occurred when the Spaniards were said by Jaramillo to be in the farthest section of Quivira (Smith 1857,1:160) so it may be that *Tabas* like *Teucarea* was near the Smoky Hill. The archeological sites there and along Cow Creek and the Little Arkansas are similar enough to be grouped into one archeological classificatory unit, namely the Little River Focus of the Great Bend Aspect (W. Wedel 1959:210 ff.; Fig. 105). They appear to be the remains of the Wichita villages visited by Coronado (W. Wedel 1959:585).

Modern-day linguists (D. R. Parks, David Rood, pers. com.) agree that *teucarea* whether the name of a place and/or a people equates with *Touacara*, a Wichita band name provided by Bénard de La Harpe in 1719. The *Touacara* came to be called the Tawakoni. *Tabas* was thought by Bolton (1949:293) to be the *Toayas* of La Harpe who were later known as *Taovayas* and *Tawehash*. This is acceptable to linguists. The Indians who lived more to the south on tributaries of the Arkansas River are not specifically identified.

When Oñate led a large party of Spaniards from the Rio Grande to Quivira 60 years after Coronado (1601), he too crossed the Arkansas River before contacting the Quiviran/ Wichita Indians. They inhabited several neighboring towns scattered on both sides of a left-hand tributary, apparently near its mouth. Although it has been suggested that Cow Creek or the Little Arkansas River may have been Oñate's destination also, Waldo R. Wedel (1942:18-20;

1959:22), after a careful study of the original account of the journey, suggests that its identification with Walnut River which enters the Arkansas further downstream should be considered also. Cultural materials at sites on both sides of the mouth of this tributary are described as constituting the Lower Walnut Focus (W. Wedel 1959:344-79; Fig. 105) of the Great Bend Aspect. These, along with Little River Focus materials, have been mentioned previously (p. 8) in relation to Deer Creek archeology.

The Indians told these Spaniards that their settlement extended on up the tributary river, "that it was very large; . . . that it contained a great many Indians; and that there were other larger settlements" (Zaldivar in Hammond and Rey 1953,2:890), referring presumably to the Smoky Hill region.

Oñate did not go further north to these, but querying the Indians more, he was told (Bolton 1916:261-62) through interpreters that ". . . down the river also [down the Arkansas?], going due east, it was all settled by people."

For a short distance the mainstream flows generally east from the mouth of Walnut River before turning south above the mouth of Grouse Creek. It is to be regretted that no one in the 1601 *entrada* provided any Wichita band names. The predominant settlement pattern was apparently still that of clustered hamlets. Evidently no stockades were seen in either 1541 or 1601.

From the information provided by the Coronado and Oñate expeditions, it appears likely that the northernmost penetration achieved by the Wichita Indians in a prehistoric movement from south of the Arkansas River ended on the south side of Smoky Hill River where both Tawakoni and Tawehash may have been located in 1541, and possibly 60 years later. Oñate data suggest that movement back to the south had begun by this time as some of the Quivirans settled farther downstream in the Arkansas basin. Existence of a village as far south as Deer Creek is not indicated and seems unlikely.

Wichita settlements on or near the Arkansas River, A. D. 1601-1718

The next accounts of visits to the Wichita that

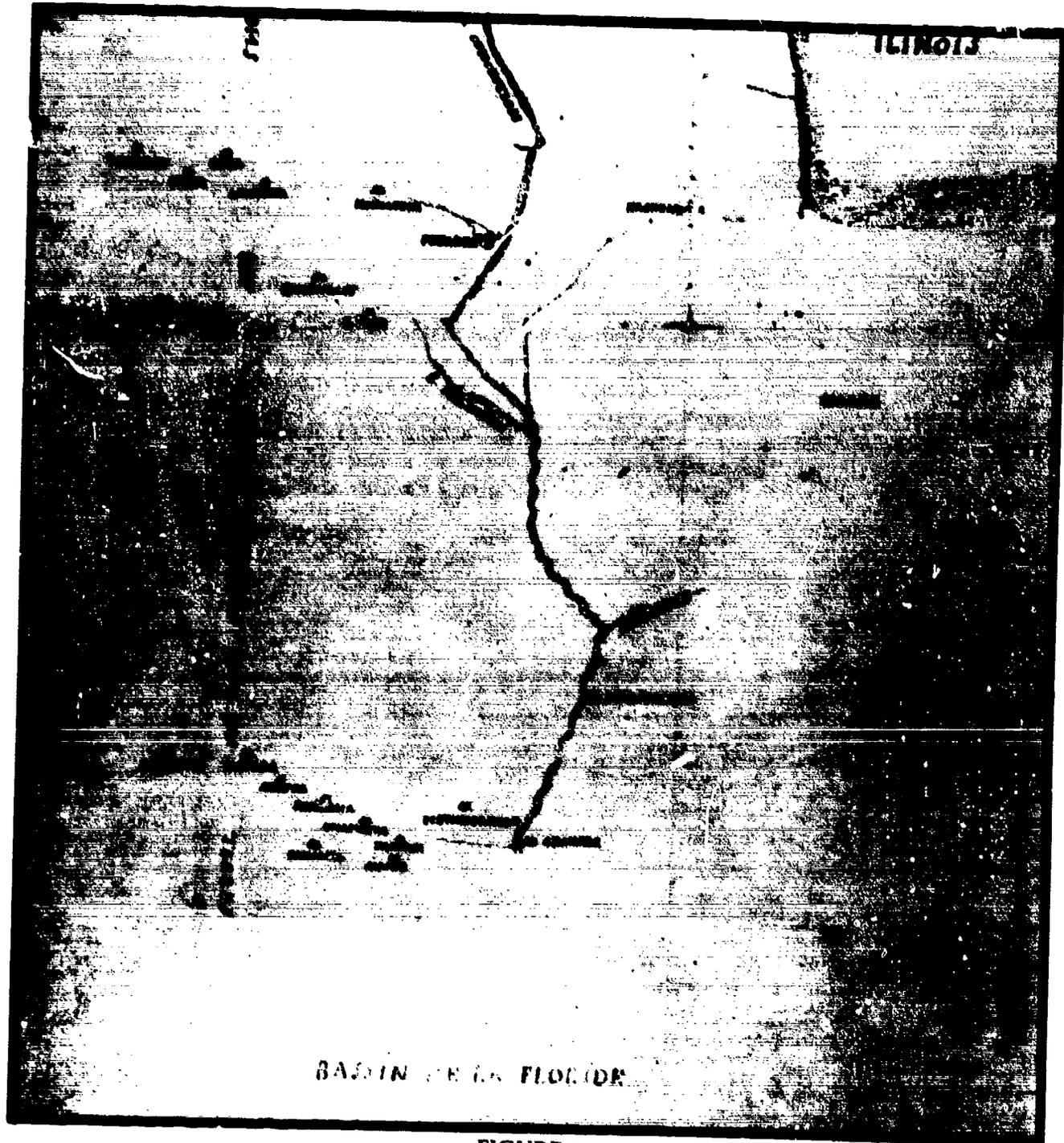


FIGURE 5

Section of Jacques Marquette, S. J., map of 1673-1674. Courtesy Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus, Québec.

present first-hand information on village sites are those of Claude-Charles Dutisné and Jean-Baptiste Bénard, Sieur de La Harpe, in 1719. In the interim of more than 100 years between the Spanish *entrada* of Oñate and these visits by Frenchmen with trade in mind, some general information regarding the Wichita found its way to New Mexico or to French establishments on the Mississippi River, but in general, isolation from Europeans is indicated. After the Spaniards settled in New Mexico in the first half of the 17th century, the Apache found in them a ready market for Indian slaves, often bringing in captured Wichitas. With the slave-raiding Apache roaming through the region east of New Mexico, the Wichita found it increasingly risky to go there to trade with the Europeans directly as they may have done for a few years (M. Wedel 1972-73:157). Occasionally there may have been contact between Wichita individuals and Spanish missionaries in villages of other Indians, but no Spaniards seem to have spent time in their settlements (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:164; Kessell 1979:138,142).

The Kansa, Osage, and other Siouan Indians who lived west of the Mississippi considered it to their disadvantage to have French *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs* from the Illinois country carrying guns to those Indians living west of them. Hence they threatened Frenchmen who tried to reach the middle Arkansas region. No traders from the French Louisiana colony to the south had yet turned their attention to the northern Wichita. As a result, French traders in this period saw these plainsmen only at irregular and infrequent intervals.

In the following examination and discussion of maps and textual documents dating between 1601 and 1719 that contribute sparingly--for the above reasons--to our knowledge of the settlements of the Wichita, it has not been deemed necessary to discuss all maps depicting them or all allusions to these Indians. Instead the data will be organized around primary sources of information, and only those maps that portray new significant data will be considered. It is redundant and a waste of time to consider copy after copy of a notable prototype.

The few Spanish references to the Wichita Indians that crop up in 17th century post-Oñate documents offer no information about the population movements that are suggested in

French records. Between 1673 and 1678 a series of maps present the first French documentation on the Wichita. They were drawn as a consequence of the expedition to the Mississippi River that was led by the Frenchmen Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette in 1673. The explorers descended that stream as far south as a Quapaw village located above the mouth of the Arkansas River, gathering information from Indians met along the way. On the resulting Marquette autograph map, the term *Paniassa* may be seen (Fig. 5) in a group of names projected west beyond a short unnamed stream course, identifiable as the Arkansas River. The visitors must have been told only that these people lived up the stream that entered the Mississippi just below the Quapaw village. *Paniassa* appears again as the last of four tribal names which extend from the end of a short Missouri River delineation westward into an area where there are "Nations far away inland." It occurs beyond the Osage, Missouri and Kansa. The order makes sense but the relative positions do not. In this case, the Frenchmen had probably been told that the *Paniassa* could be reached by way of the Missouri River. It is not unlikely that Indian visitors from the upper Mississippi region, as the French later, began their route to the Wichita by ascending the Missouri, but then diverted onto the Kansas and Smoky Hill Rivers.

In still another line of tribal names portrayed farther north, perhaps west of the mouth of the Iowa River (M. Wedel 1973:206), the name *pana*, possibly Wichita, is seen. Here the order is not in accordance with the known 1673 location of some of the groups. It is quite probable that this placement of *pana* may have resulted from a misunderstanding due to terminological confusion (M. Wedel 1973:206-07).

Jolliet's original map, along with his journal and other papers, was lost in a canoe accident near Montreal upon his return there in 1674. The one he then drew from memory was sent by the Governor of New France, Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, to France in November of that year. There it vanished. A number of maps by other cartographers who copied from it extensively before it disappeared do exist including two published by Sudbury in his Deer Creek report (1976a:Fig. 20), namely the "Joliet [sic] map" and the "Manitoumie" map. Using five such copies Jean Delanglez (1946) reconstructed

the prototype. It lists eight tribes in the area of the Arkansas River which is labelled *Rivière Bazire* honoring a Quebec merchant. The eighth and thus the one farthest west is the *Paniassa*. *Pani* on the Missouri may refer either to the Pawnee or Wichita. The term *pana* appears farther north as on the Marquette map. These maps would suggest that the explorers learned little about the Wichita identified as *Paniassa* beyond the name that related to their tattooed appearance and the fact that they, perhaps called *Pani* also, lived far west up the Arkansas or Missouri. The Quivira region is suggested. There is no confirming evidence for placing the Wichita as *Pana* in the region of the middle Missouri or Platte Rivers.

In the 1680s Robert Cavalier de La Salle's *Pana* slave steps into the picture. He had been given to La Salle when the explorer stopped at a Michigamea-Tamaroa Illinois village on the Mississippi upon his return in 1682 from the mouth of the river. The teenage boy claimed to have been originally captured by Skidi Pawnee, then by Osage, who gave him to the Missouri, who then passed him on to the Michigamea. It is my belief that he was a Wichita Indian (M. Wedel 1973:203-217). In a letter written by La Salle ([1683]b:189vo.), he paraphrased information learned from the boy. He wrote that the *Pana* nation "lives more than 200 leagues to the west, on a tributary of the Mississippi, and there it has two villages near each other." La Salle also quoted him ([1683]a:158) in regard to horses, "there being many at the villages of the Indians called *pana*, *pancassa* [*paneassa*], . . ."

La Salle evidently portrayed the village information as he understood it on a sketch map he drew or had drawn under his guidance in New France, which was copied by the cartographer Jean-Baptiste Louis Franquelin in 1684 when he acted as draughtsman for La Salle in Paris. On a series of Franquelin maps that appeared from 1684 to 1688, two dots with the gloss "*Pana* 2 villages" may be seen (Fig. 6) far west on a stream labelled the Missouri River. This and the immediately surrounding delineations are unquestionably a portrayal of facts derived from the *Pana* slave, but just exactly what these may have been beyond those easily recognized in the above La Salle letters is somewhat puzzling. The problem is complicated further by a startling portrayal of the entire central Mississippi and Missouri River region. This must have been

taken from La Salle's sketch map where the attempt had apparently been made to show, by skewing the Mississippi to the west, how near it came to the mines of New Mexico. Such propaganda, put forth in the effort to obtain further funding, is expressed also in certain memoirs written by La Salle. It is quite possible the *Pana* boy may have told of a route to his villages that included the lower Missouri River and that his concept may have been of the Missouri-Kansas-Smoky Hill as a single river into which the Missouri above the Kansas River flowed as a tributary from the north. This idea was paraphrased by La Salle as "a tributary of the Mississippi." (It will be recalled that the Wabash together with the Ohio River below its mouth was long thought of as one river in the French period, called the *Ouabache*, with the Ohio above considered to be a tributary). La Salle, not knowing the geography of the trans-Mississippi region first-hand, was misled.

On the Franquelin maps of the 1680s the "*Pana* 2 villages" appear well below the Skidi Pawnee of the Platte River region where *Pana* had been depicted on the earlier Marquette-Jolliet works. Even though not precisely accurate, the delineation of other individual Indian relationships seem to reflect an attempt to portray data at second-hand that were given to La Salle by Indians familiar with the area. For example, the *Pana* are placed southwest of the Kansa, as the Wichita actually were. To the east of the *Pana* are the *Paneake* (probably *Paneassa*) with three village symbols arranged along a line that may represent an overland trail south from the Kansas River system. The "*Paneassa* 10 villages" are southwest of the Osage and south of the *Paneake*. This is the beginning of the portrayal of three groups of Wichita. The source for the ten *Paneassa* villages may have been a *Paneassa* woman, another slave belonging to La Salle.

If the *Pana* boy was a Wichita, then from the map depictions and interpretation of the information presented in La Salle letters, it would seem that the two neighboring "villages," or quite possibly dispersed settlements, might have been near the Smoky Hill in the region once called Quivira rather than downstream where the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock sites are located. In the light of preceding information, as well as that to follow, it seems a reasonable guess that those designated *Paneake* with the *Paneassa*



FIGURE 6

Section of Jean-Baptiste Louis Franquelin 1688 map, *Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale*. . . . AM, SH 205, pièce 6 bis (formerly BSH B4040-6 bis). Courtesy Service Historique de La Marine. Photocopy Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

below must have been in the Arkansas River basin somewhere southeast of 16th and 17th century Quivira proper, either in scattered hamlets or in more consolidated neighboring villages. The mention by the slave boy of paired villages is particularly interesting because it is followed by others in later documentation.

Around A.D. 1700, maps began to reflect data that presumably were received from *coureurs de bois* or *voyageurs* who were heading westward overland from the Illinois country or up the Missouri and perhaps the Arkansas Rivers to seek unknown Indian peoples for trading purposes or simply to allay their curiosity. One such map dates about 1699 on the basis of internal evidence (Tucker 1942:Pl. 18) and is judged to be in the handwriting of Father Marc Bergier, S.J. (Baillargeon 1965:206, n.33), who was then serving at the Mission of the Holy Family among the Cahokia and Tamaroa Indians in Illinois. It may be observed (Fig. 7) that again three groups of Wichita identified by Siouan names are shown in diagrammatic fashion. All are associated with tributaries on the left side of the Arkansas. First above the Siouan Quapaw living at the mouth of that river were the *Mentous* (4 symbols), then upstream the "paniassas two large villages" (6 symbols), and furthest west *panis* (4 symbols), described as *gros, partagé*, i.e. "large, divided." This portrayal, more comprehensible than Franquelin's, suggests that Bergier had learned of these three groups and their relationship to one another in the Arkansas River valley from a person who had seen some or all of these settlements. Unfortunately the diagrammatic presentation does not permit determination of the exact village locations, but here again are two large neighboring "villages," evidently more compact settlements than those further upstream described as scattered that are reminiscent of the earlier Quiviran settlement pattern.

Other maps of the turn of the century (Tucker 1942:Pl. XII; Garraghan 1927:oppos. p. 320) used information from a letter written by Henri de Tonti on March 4, 1700, to his brother in France. It described Indian villages along the Mississippi

which Tonti knew well, but he had little to say about the distant Wichita. He wrote (Delanglez 1939:229): "The Mentous and the Paniassas are located on this river [Arkansas]. I am not giving you their number or the distances, since the relations of the Indians are ordinarily false." Maps that portrayed the facts given in the letter usually placed the Wichita, only two groups here, as Bergier did on the north (left-hand) side of the Arkansas which here is called the "Tonti river." An interesting addition to one sketch belonging in this Tonti tradition (Delanglez 1939:229, n.36) is a gloss expressing information obviously derived from an Indian that explains the *Mentou* were five nights (equivalent of six days' journey) from the Quapaw at the river's mouth, and the *Paniassa* five "nights" from the *Mentou*, thereby locating the *Mentou* Wichita midway between the Quapaw and *Paniassa*.

It is of special interest to a study of the distribution of the Wichita that at least five maps of this period representing three cartographic patterns indicate a Wichita group on the right or southwest side of the Arkansas instead of on the north. The earliest (Tucker 1942:Pl. XIV) was drawn by Louis de La Porte de Louvigny probably in 1697 to accompany a memoir (Giraud 1953:10) sent in that year to the Minister of the Navy and Colonies in France asking for permission to carry on the projects begun by Cavalier de La Salle who had died in 1687. Louvigny, stationed at that time at Michilimackinac, had not been on the Arkansas River. His placement of *meintens* on the southwest side of an unnamed stream branch, identifiable as the Arkansas by the Quapaw villages near its mouth, must have been part of the information he wrote he had received from Indians.

The same delineation of *Mentous* appears on the Delisle 1700, 1701, and 1703 maps (Tucker 1942:Pl. XIII) which follow otherwise the Bergier pattern for the Arkansas River. It may well have resulted from the Delisles having seen the Louvigny sketch map in the contemporary active exchange in Paris of documents pertaining to the New World. The fifth map to exhibit a similar feature (Tucker 1942:Pl. XIX) belongs to the Tonti tradition of maps described just above, the

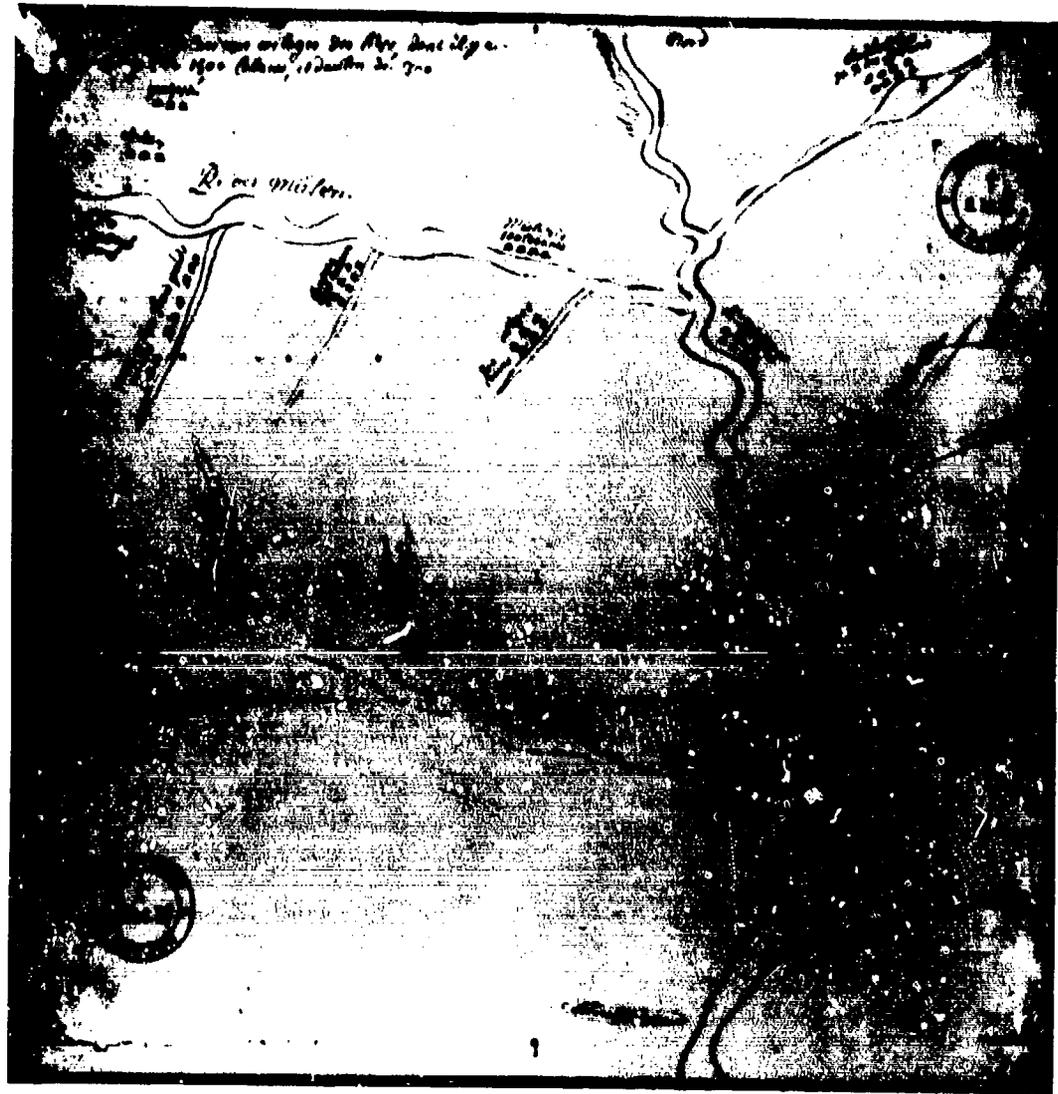


Figure 7

Section of Marc Bergier, S. J., untitled map, ca. 1699. Mississippi River running north/south; Arkansas River is lower western tributary; Missouri River above. Courtesy *Le Séminaire de Québec*.

prototype of which was probably drawn by Father Léonard de Sainte-Catherine de Sienne in France c. 1700. In this case, however, the term *Panis* is added midway between and on the side opposite to the *Mentons* and *Paniassa*. The Abbe Noël Baillargeon (McDermott 1965:206, n.34) attributes the handwriting to Father Henri Roulleaux de La Vente who served in Mobile from 1703 to 1710. The source may have been other than Louvigny in this instance, and La Vente may not have realized that *panis* was a term sometimes applied to the *Mentos* (see p. 31), causing him to duplicate their village designation. The specific location of the *Panis* south of the Arkansas is indeterminable.

Ignoring this deviant delineation on the right-hand side of the Arkansas, many cartographers during the first two decades of the 18th century repeated the pattern of three Wichita settlements on its left side. Portrayals continued to be more diagrammatic than realistic. Occasionally the two *Pana* villages occurring on La Salle-related maps were added as a fourth Wichita unit, evidently to make sure nothing significant had been omitted. It is readily apparent that European cartographers were in need of more current and specific information.

Little by little it was accumulating. Fray Francisco Hidalgo, on a 1716 journey to establish missions among the Tejas, evidently learned from those Caddo (AGN, *Historia* 299:199) of "the large Settlement" that included the "tobacana [Tawakoni] and others" located north of the Red toward the Missouri River. Was it because this was the most southern Wichita band that it was seemingly best known to the Tejas?

The Seminarian priest, François Le Maire, drew a map of Louisiana (Fig. 8) in 1716 while serving in a religious capacity at Mobile. In addition to the usual three settlements of *Mentos*, *Paniouïasa*, and *Panis*, designated by circles, on the left bank of the Arkansas, there is a fourth such symbol, unlabelled, across the river from the *Paniouïasa*. Does that term apply to two villages of one band on opposite sides of the river, or to a fourth subdivision? The more eastern of these two is placed between the river and a tributary of it. They both lie at about 39° north latitude, according to the scale on the left edge of the map. If this latitude reading is reliable and the eastern tributary is a prominent one, the location is too far north to be equated with the Deer Creek Site.

In Paris the Delisles were constantly collecting

information on the French colonies in North America. They took excerpts from all the journals and letters they could acquire that had to do with the New World. They questioned Frenchmen from New France or Louisiana who returned to Europe. Finally there appeared in 1718 the famous "Map of Louisiana and the Course of the Mississippi" signed by Guillaume Delisle. It was a great improvement over their earlier works and included both parallels of latitude and degrees of longitude. Many professional map publishers copied it for decades, sometimes without including the name of Guillaume Delisle who died in 1726, just six years after his father, Claude.

One must be careful not to read too much into this map or expect yet precise data on the Wichita. Their homeland was still "far inland" as Marquette had described it 45 years earlier. The Great Bend of the Arkansas was unknown, for instance, and no western tributaries of that river are drawn which might help with orientation. Still, in a few respects this map presents important information on the Wichita. Of special interest is the recognition of the Wichita proper called *Ouatchitas* as a distinctive unit which had formerly been enveloped by the term *Paniassa*. They are located (Fig. 9) on the southwest (right) side of the Arkansas River, across from *Paniassa*, in a juxtaposition similar to that of *Paniouïasa* and the unlabelled circle on Le Maire's 1716 map. Perhaps the Delisles had asked for more specific information on this feature of the earlier map, a copy of which they had in their possession. However, the sites are placed in 1718 just above north latitude 36° 30'. Thus Wichita occupation in the Deer Creek-Bryson region may be indicated, as may have been intended in 1716, also. This possibility should be given serious consideration.

The Vermale map, on which someone placed the date 1717, shows the Wichita proper in the same relative location as on the Delisle map and with the same band name spelling. Jean Delanglez, S. J. (1937:12, n.19) wrote, "The date is by another hand [than that of Vermale]." To judge by the similarity of this map to Delisle's 1718 work, and by the fact that certain information appears on the Vermale product that had arrived in France too late for Delisle to use (*Ibid.*), there is good reason to think the date of 1717 is wrong, that the map was drawn after August 1718.

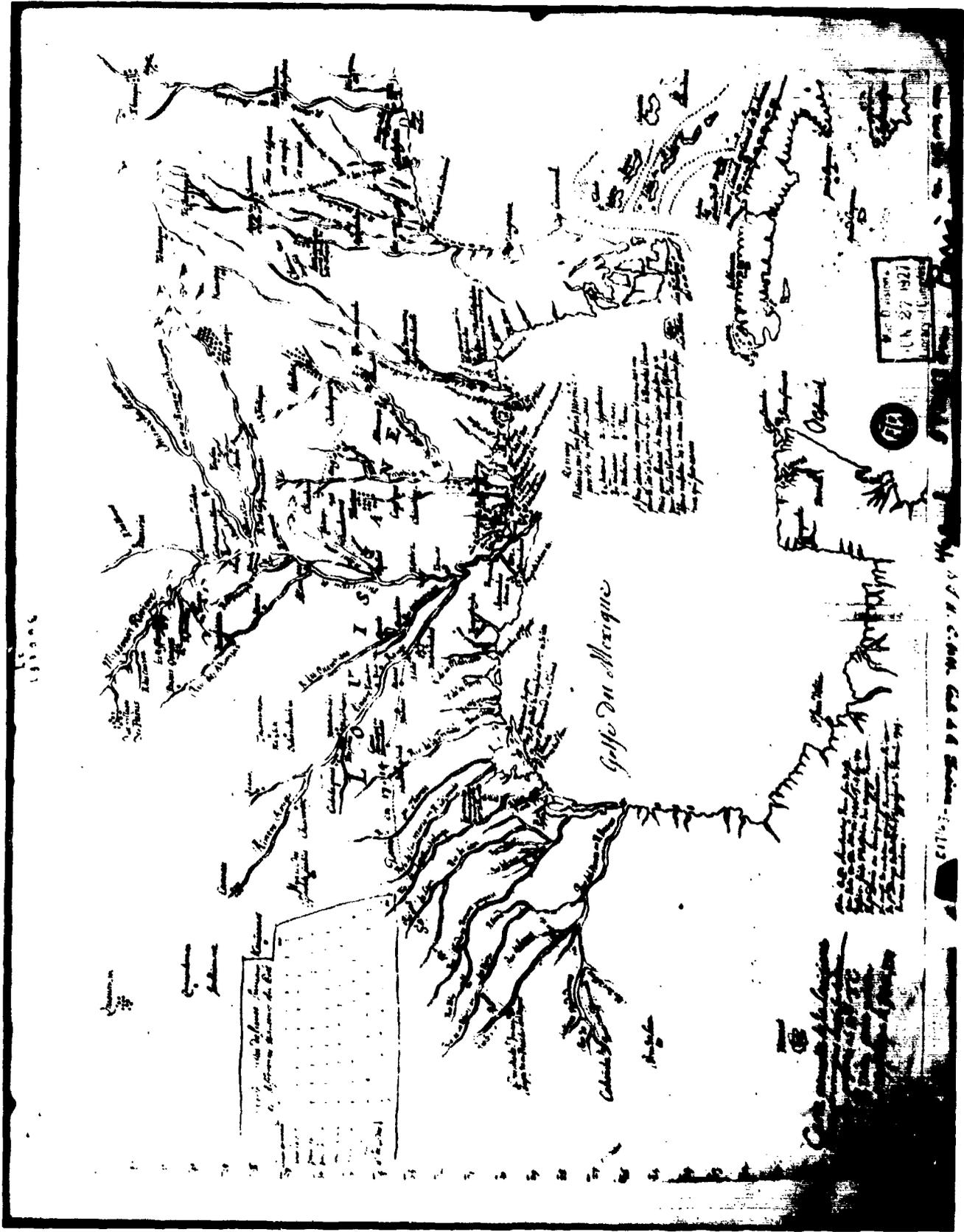


Figure 8

Section of draft copy of *Carte Nouvelle de la Louisiane/ let pais circonvoisin* . . . François Le Maire, 1716. AM, Kacueil 68, pièce 57 (formerly BSH, C4044:46a). Courtesy Service Historique de La Marine. Photocopy Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

It would not be expected that the Delisles would have had accurate information on the latitude of villages this far west. Who might have provided that kind of data? Perhaps latitude computation in relation to the village was based on a distance figure provided by Indian/French sources. The Delisles were accustomed to figure 25 land leagues to one degree of latitude (1700 map, "L'Amérique Septentrionale").

There is another coincidence of this sort, if so it be, which places the *Mentous* just below the 36th parallel of latitude where Bénard de La Harpe appears to have found them (q.v. below) in 1719 living on the south or right side of the Arkansas. Delisle, however, still locates them near the mouth of a left-hand tributary in traditional fashion. As usual the *Mentous* are the farthest downstream of all the Wichita.

The term *Paniassa* which comprehends all the other Wichita in this river basin occurs in two places. One group is upstream from the Wichita proper but on the opposite (left) side of the Arkansas, just below the 37th parallel. The other location is one latitude degree higher, also to the northwest of the river, with a gloss "4 villages" which would seem perhaps to indicate a large settlement of four hamlets.

During the 120 years just reviewed, between Oñate's *entrada* to Quivira and the visits made in 1719 by two journal-keeping Frenchmen, it is evident that Wichita Indians dominated the middle course of the Arkansas River. Bent on hostile actions, Apache raiders approached from the southwest and Sioux speaking Dhegiha dialects from the northeast, but their missions having been accomplished they left quickly. Apparently the kind of persistent Osage harassment that later influenced Wichita population movements had not developed. However, information regarding the Wichita is still vague. They were generally documented as forming three groups which were designated *Mentos* (*Mentous*, *Mentons*), *Paniassa* and/or *Puna*, a third variant. The term *Pani* was substituted occasionally for each or for all. Occupation is recorded on both sides of the Arkansas over these years with more compact villages apparently developing as Quivirans moved downstream. *Mentos*, perhaps called *Paniassa* on the Franquelin maps, are consistently depicted after the end of the 17th century as the most

southerly Wichita group on the river. Around 1700 they are placed on either the left or right side of the Arkansas. Two good-sized settlements of *Paniassa* normally appeared farther upstream. The most northern was probably in the Quivira region. The other was southeast of them but always shown northeast of the river. Not until 1718 were the Wichita proper explicitly recognized when they may have been living in the Deer Creek area.

French visits to the Wichita, A.D. 1719

Unexpectedly, and unbeknownst to each other, two Frenchmen journeyed in September 1719 to Wichita groups on and near the Arkansas River. Claude-Charles Dutisné (M. Wedel 1972-73) was an experienced trader of New France, as well as a "veteran of wilderness travel and Indian negotiation." He was sent by Jean-Baptiste LeMoyne de Bienville, Governor-General of Louisiana, to make an alliance with Indians who occupied the area between Kaskaskia [Illinois] and New Mexico in the hope that a trade arrangement might be developed between the French and Spanish colonies. Dutisné passed overland to an Osage Indian village in present-day Vernon County, Missouri (M. Wedel 1972-73:149-50) where he at first was welcomed. When he wanted to press on to villages of Wichita people whom he called *panis*, *panis*, or *paniouassa*, the Osage became agitated. They feared the consequence of his taking guns to Indians farther west. Finally when he agreed to take three only for himself and his interpreter, they allowed him to proceed. However, hoping to stir up trouble, they sent a messenger ahead at night to warn the *panis* of his coming.

The route taken by Dutisné is described by him (Appendix B) in some detail. Traveling on foot, his party crossed three small streams flowing north, tributaries of the Osage River, before coming on the fourth day to a larger one they learned was the "river of the Arkansas [Quapaw]." Twelve leagues beyond were the two villages he sought. It is probable that the larger river was not the Arkansas proper as advocates of the theory that Dutisné visited Deer Creek (e.g. McRill 1963:132-35) have assumed somewhat uncritically. Those who are familiar with documentation of this period know it was not unusual for Indians to name a stream

for another Indian people who could be reached by following its course. As noted earlier (p. 19), their concepts of river systems were much more personal than ours of today. That the Wichita visited by Dutisné were on a tributary of the Arkansas coming from the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ N and not on the mainstream is explained in both a later addition to B. de La Harpe's 1718-1720 *Journal Du Voyage* (fol. 20) and the 1831 published edition (pp. 171,208) of the *Journal Historique Concernant l'Établissement des François à la Louisiane* which he assembled in Biloxi and Paris in 1722-1723. In Biloxi where French Canadian and Louisiana *voyageurs* were in and out constantly, such matters must have been frequently discussed and new information added to the old.

Consideration of the descriptive features of the route and region provided by Dutisné has led to the suggestion that the settlement he visited might have been near the Verdigris River near Neodesha, Wilson County, Kansas (W. Wedel 1959:527-33; M. Wedel 1972-73:153-56). This interpretation stems partly from the fact that in the latter 19th century two neighboring archeological sites (14WN1, 14WN2) were reported (Galey 1931) in this locality with shell-tempered pottery, possibly in association with metal artifacts and U-shaped earthworks. This construction would identify the Neosho or Grand River with Dutisné's larger river which together with the Arkansas below its mouth may have been conceived of by the *panis* as the "river of the Arkansas." An additional twelve leagues west [32-36 miles] would have brought the Frenchmen near the Verdigris. If the *panis* villages were not near present-day Neodesha, then they were surely in the general region. They cannot be linked satisfactorily with the Deer Creek and Bryson sites (McRill 1963:134; then cf. 155; 159) merely because these are twin villages with French trade goods. Conflicting data, such as drainage patterns, distances, and pertinent information provided in other contemporary documents, should not be overlooked.

Up to this time, as has been indicated, the easternmost Wichita have appeared in documents as the *mentou* or *menton*, according to the reading of the handwriting. Later they were called *Mentos*. Dutisné never used this term for those he visited, but called them usually *panis* or *paniouassa*. Moreover, their village location near

the Verdigris as suggested above would not equate readily with any of their village sites noted previously. Dutisné did identify as *mento* a "chief" (probably a sub-chief) who came to the Osage village presumably for some kind of trading operation (M. Wedel 1972-73:161-62). This Indian said he lived seven days' journey to the southwest. Did he mean the village to which Dutisné had gone in four days but which the Quapaw said was five days from the Osage, or did he refer instead to the locality on the Arkansas below present-day Tulsa from which B. de La Harpe had just departed?

The presence of this chief among the Osage points up, as did the night mission described above, the relatively peaceful relationship that existed in 1719 between the Wichita and Osage. In the *Journal Historique* (B. de La Harpe 1831:208), it was written that the *Panionassa* "although at peace with the Osage mistrusted them." This probably describes the situation well. It indicates that the more bitter and persistent Osage-Wichita hostility that soon developed was not a longtime phenomenon. In fact, it presents the possibility that these Wichita may have been trading horses to the Osage who acted as middlemen between them and the French.

Dutisné was told of several other *panis*, that is, Wichita, villages to the WNW, perhaps a gestured direction, but he added the phrase "they are not known." He must have meant that to his knowledge they were not known to the French. Little did he realize that a Frenchman had just met with some Wichita to the south.

Jean-Baptiste Bénard de La Harpe arrived in French Louisiana in 1718 and thereafter ascended the Mississippi and Red Rivers in order to erect a post on the latter stream from which to establish trade with the Spaniards of Texas and New Mexico. He was foiled in this endeavor by the war that soon aligned France against Spain. Therefore, he determined to travel overland to meet with Wichita-speakers who had been described to him by the Caddo among whom he had built his post (M. Wedel 1978). After an eventful and rugged journey in August 1719 through the Ouachita Mountains and Osage and Apache hunting grounds, he arrived at a location where he found an assemblage of Caddoan-speaking Indians, mostly Wichita.

Like the myth of Dutisné visiting the Deer Creek locality, another has arisen regarding the

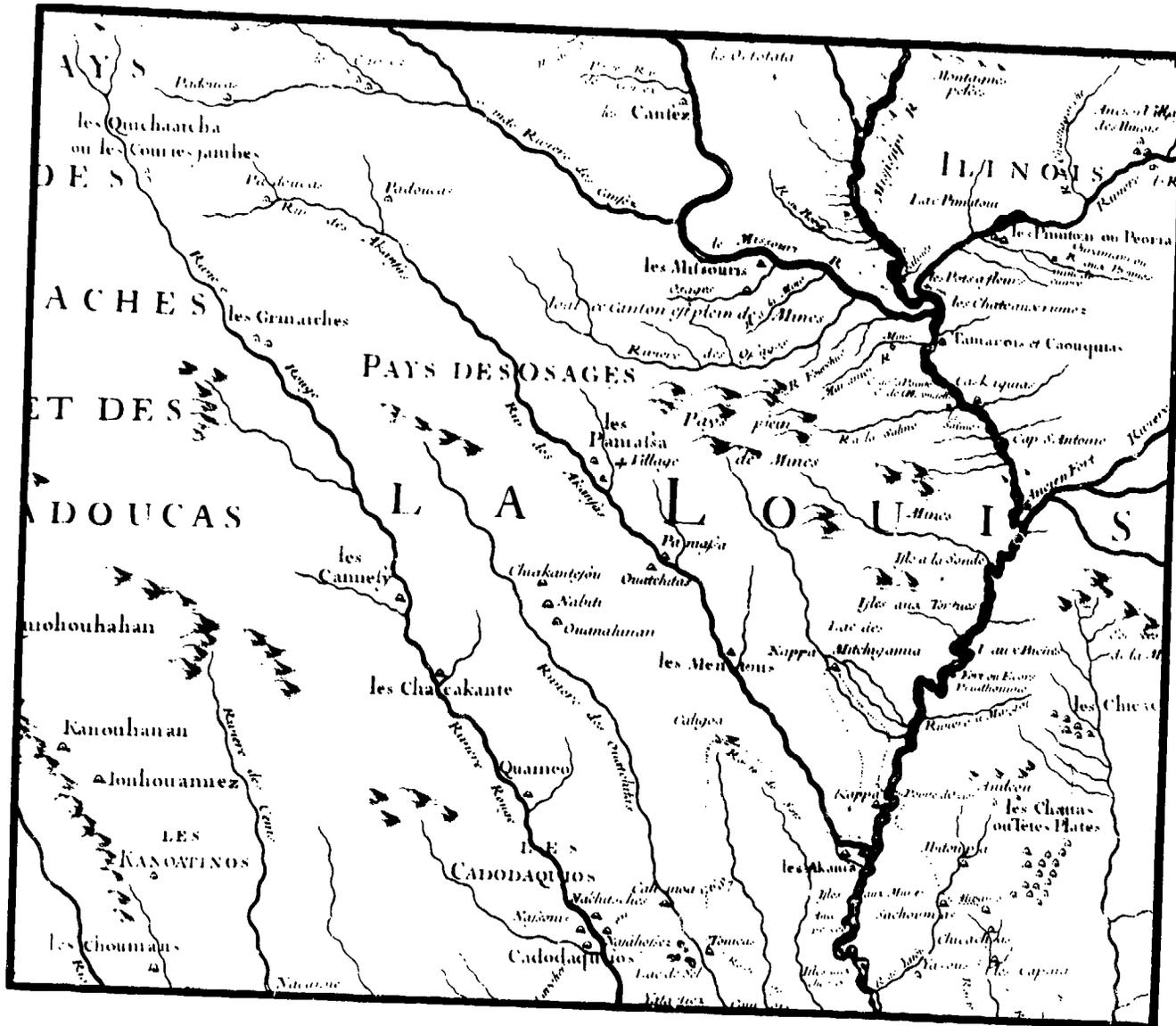


Figure 9

Section of Guillaume Delisle 1718 printed "Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississippi." Courtesy Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

destination of La Harpe. In the 18th century it was common knowledge that he went to the river on which the Arkansas or Quapaw Indians lived (e.g. Macarty 1763). However, historians and anthropologists, obviously copying one another in a number of cases, have set forth the idea that he journeyed only as far north as the Canadian River. This resulted partly from a misinterpreted statement in the journal but also from failure to consider with care the route described. In a discussion of this matter with W. W. Newcomb, Jr., he commented that no one could read that description thoughtfully, thinking in terms of the terrain, and believe La Harpe went only to the Canadian. This is an important matter because other Wichita village locations are described in relation to the meeting place.

Having independently arrived at the same conclusion as Newcomb, I with Larry Banks and Waldo R. Wedel in 1972 re-traced on the ground the route of this 1719 expedition (manuscript in preparation), following with care the detailed journal of the trip kept by the Frenchman. Quintus Herron of the Museum of the Red River joined us for part of the distance. I had translated the journal using the manuscript in the Archives of France (Bénard de La Harpe 1718-1720: fols. 17-19; M. Wedel 1974:17-25). Although Pierre Margry ostensibly published this manuscript (1876-86, 6: 243-306) which was translated into English by Ralph A. Smith (1958-59), the printed version contains changes, additions, and unnoted deletions for which Margry was responsible (M. Wedel 1974:20-21), thereby altering its original content and minimizing its usefulness. The unaltered journal led us to Wealaka Ridge in Tulsa County, Oklahoma, between Tulsa and Haskell. This is a three-mile long crescent-shaped bluff that rises some 50'-80' above an old floodplain in a meander on the south side (right bank) of Arkansas River. It lies generally east-west, parallel to the river, just as described by La Harpe. The ridge has been much altered by construction and some disk plowing, thereby disturbing and destroying archeological evidence. In a limited survey, we found some shell-tempered sherds and chips of Kay County chert in a plowed field but nothing diagnostic. A more comprehensive archeological survey of the ridge and the general locality would be desirable.

At this location, in the "most beautiful situation one might ever see," the Frenchman

met with several thousand Caddoan-speaking Indians, the majority of whom were led by chiefs of six Wichita bands. The Wichita included (*Journal Du Voyage*: fol. 19) the *Touacaro* (1541 *teucareo*; present-day Tawakoni); the *Toayas* (1541 *tabas*; later Taovayas, present day Tawehash); the *Ousita* (Wichita proper); the *Ascani* (Yscani), the *Adeco* and *Honecho*. Only two Wichita-speaking *Quidehais* or *Kitsai* were present, having served as guides on the journey. The term *quiraquirit* was also recorded by La Harpe who did not understand that it is a self-designation for all Wichita-speakers, one used by members of all individual bands to identify themselves as belonging to the larger category.

Because La Harpe does not specifically identify a host village in his *Journal Du Voyage*, the question has been raised as to whether his destination on the Arkansas was a permanent village of one of the Wichita groups or, alternatively, was a meeting place where the Wichita rendezvous used for ceremonies, trading, or visiting. Failure to specifically identify the village as Tawakoni may have been simply an oversight or La Harpe at the time of his visit may not have been certain which Indians permanently lived at the site and which were visiting. It must have been a confusing experience in many respects. He did say that the leader of the welcoming party was a *Touacaro* (i.e. Tawakoni) chief, and that he was entertained in this chief's dwelling. In his later writings (e.g. *Journal Historique* 1831:197, 205) the village identification is clearly implied or distinctly stated. For example, in the account of his 1722 lower Arkansas River journey (B. de La Harpe 1722:77vo.), he wrote that "it would be suitable to establish. . . a post among the *Touacaru* nation, discovered in 1719," referring to his former expedition. In addition, this viewpoint is reflected on a map in the construction of which La Harpe probably had a hand (Fig. 10). The *Touacaru* are placed on the right-hand side of the "R. of the *Touacaru*," or Arkansas River, downstream below all other Wichita.

The map, unpublished heretofore, requires a few comments. In its lower left-hand corner it carries a confusing inscription in that La Harpe was not in St. Malo on February 4, 1720. He was instead in the lower Louisiana colony, having arrived in New Orleans late in January. He was preparing an account of his experience on the Red and Arkansas Rivers for the directors of the Company of the Indies. I suggest that in this

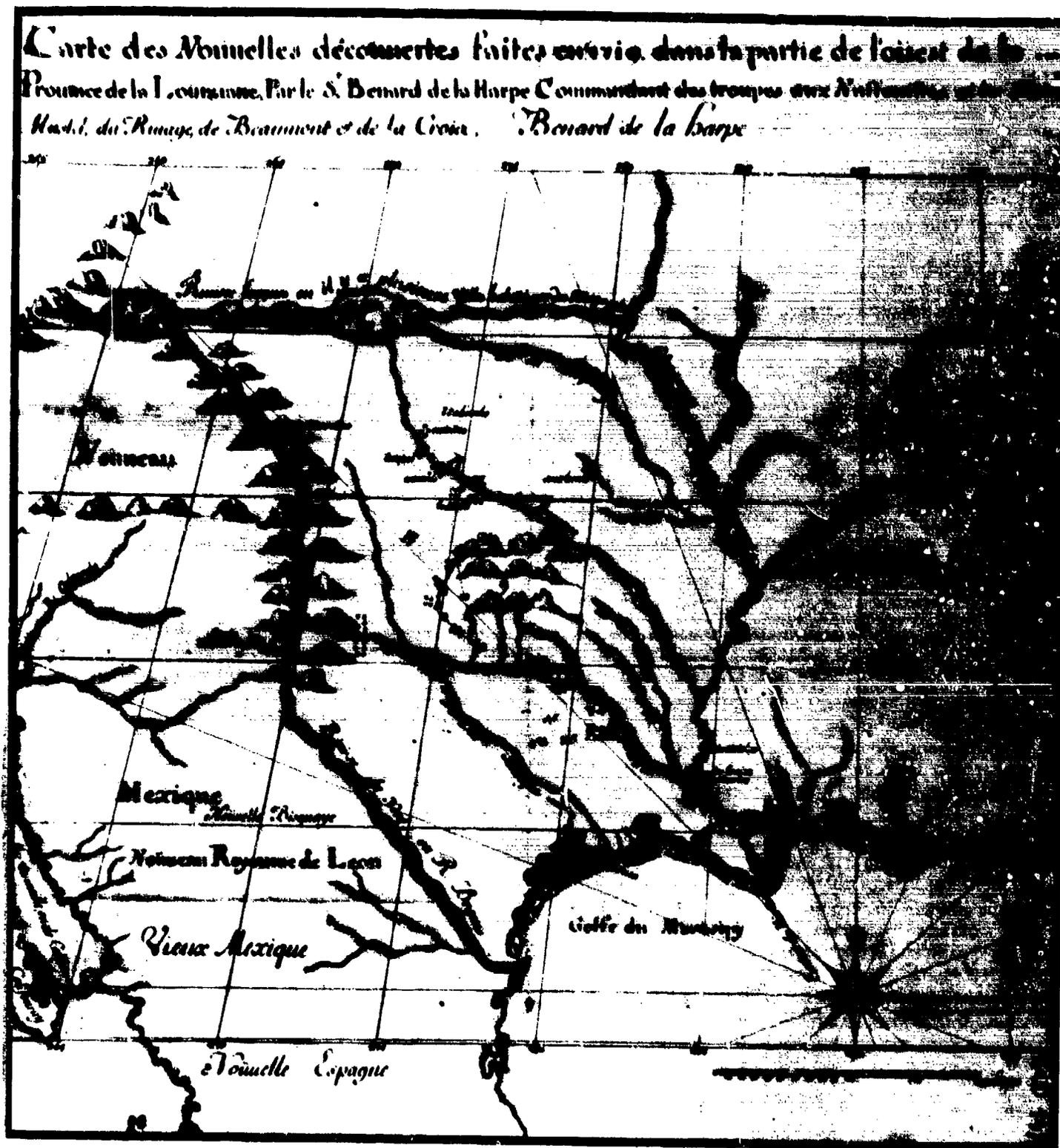


Figure 10

"Carte des Nouvelles découvertes faites en 1719..." B. de
 La Harpe-Gavengeau, 1720. Courtesy
 Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans: GeD 14744.

connection, he, with perhaps others of his party, composed a sketch of the country where they had been. Later it was turned over to one Gavengeau in St. Malo, the home of La Harpe, Durivage, and other of their companions, so that a formal map could be drafted. In so doing, the sketch was combined with features from the Delisle 1718 map cited above and Durivage's 1709 map of the Baron de La Hontan's *Rivière Longue*. The omission from the sketch of the Wichita visited by Dutisné is congenial with La Harpe's knowledge in 1719. It is relevant also to note that after La Harpe's visit to the Tawakoni, Frenchmen from Arkansas Post were said (B. de La Harpe 1831:328) to have reached a Wichita village on the Arkansas River where La Harpe "had been well received" three years earlier. Again village permanency is suggested.

The introduction into the *Journal Historique* in the 1720s of the term *Mentos* for the Tawakoni (*Ibid.*:208,328), a name which does not appear either in the 1718-1720 *Journal* or on the 1720 map, has important implications. It suggests for one thing that Dutisné's *Mento* chief who lived seven days southwest of the Osage may have come from Wealaka Ridge. Of greater interest it calls to mind the placement of the *Mentos* (*meintens*) on the southwest of the Arkansas River on Louvigny's 1697 map thought to be based on Indian information. Moreover, the Ridge vicinity could be reckoned as halfway between the Quapaw and *Paneassa* (see p. 21) if c. 1700 the latter term indicated Wichita between the Arkansas and Smoky Hill Rivers. This presents the possibility that the Tawakoni may have lived in the Wealaka Ridge vicinity for at least twenty years before La Harpe's visit. As will be discussed later, it seems probable they were still in that same locality in the mid-1730s. Of course, one may question whether the same compact village site would have been occupied continuously for thirty years, recognizing that there may have been some fluctuation of residence in the general area, including a trend from a dispersed settlement pattern (Franquelin's 10 villages possibly?) to greater consolidation.

The manuscript being prepared on the reconstruction of La Harpe's route northward will document the view that he met with Wichita on Wealaka Ridge. Miscellaneous documentary data when carefully considered will buttress the conclusion that this site was definitely that of the

Tawakoni village in 1719.

No Frenchman in the La Harpe party ascended the Arkansas River beyond this point. Information on settlements upriver must have been received from Indian informants. The confusion that results in today's attempt to interpret this body of data must stem in large part from the fact that in conversations held with the chiefs, La Harpe was working through two interpreters successively, a French soldier who could speak Upper Nasoni and a Nasoni Indian who could understand a Wichita dialect. Was the map as well as the *Journal* the result of such interviews or did it reproduce an Indian diagram drawn on the ground or on one of La Harpe's precious sheets of paper? It is apparent that the Frenchman mistakenly believed that all these Wichita represented by chiefs at the meeting lived upriver from his hosts.

The settlements of the *Ousita* (Wichita proper) and of the *Ascanis* (Yscanis) were the only ones described in the *Journal*. They were said to be 60 leagues NNW of the meeting place. This has to be a figure calculated by La Harpe who equated Indian *journees* (day's journeys) with French leagues. Sixty leagues would be about 160-180 miles (M. Wedel 1978:2) which if realistic and referring to an overland route would suggest a location well above Deer Creek and the 37th parallel. It is not said on which side of the Arkansas they lived, nor if their villages were close together as paired villages would be.

The Yscanis (*Aucanis*) may be seen on the map above the Tawakoni, on the same side of the river, at what appears to be a distance unrelated to a figure of reality. The Wichita proper (*Ouitsitas*) are across the river further north, and thus at variance with Delisle's 1718 portrayal. The map illustrates also a location for the Tawehash (*Touajas*) placing them on the right side of the Arkansas above the Yscanis at about the same distance as the latter are shown above the Tawakoni. This must be a basically diagrammatic rendition; certainly it is a puzzling one.

Considering that Wichita villages are indicated on the west side of the Arkansas River above the Tawakoni on this La Harpe-related map and on Delisle's 1718 work where the feature came from a different source, it is indeed possible one or more groups of Wichita were living in the Deer Creek vicinity at this time. More than that one cannot say from the evidence at hand.

A bit inland on the left side of the Arkansas the *ahouaho* are to be seen on the map, possibly the *honecho* of the *Journal Du Voyage*, a subdivision that may have merged later with other small Wichita groups, possibly including the Wacos whose name came to designate them all. The *Adeco* of the *Journal* are not shown. The latitudes do not agree with those of Delisle's 1718 map, but are more in accordance with those calculated by La Harpe which are uniformly one degree or more too high.

For some reason, when La Harpe was among the Tawakoni, he did not learn of those Wichita soon to be visited by Dutisné, although in revising his *Journal Du Voyage* in Biloxi he inserted into it a Dutisné letter to Bienville and two Dutisné *Relations* (M. Wedel 1974:19). Could this ignorance have related to the way La Harpe framed a question regarding other Wichita villages? Did he limit the answer by asking only for the names of those living up the Arkansas River? To the east of the Arkansas mainstem, the only Indian people recorded were *Anahouo*, identified by B. de La Harpe (1718-20:f.18) as Osage. However, in late 1722 or in 1723, La Harpe brought the Wichita hosts of Dutisné into the *Journal Historique* manuscript (1831:208) as *Panionassa* [a Dutisné term], who were friendly to the Tawakoni and lived north of them 40 leagues. It would seem he had talked over this matter with Frenchmen in the lower Louisiana colony because he includes facts not in the Dutisné material. This location could refer to the Neodesha, Kansas, locality (see p. 26). The direction would be unacceptable for the Deer Creek site.

Much of the data presented in this section for the location of Wichita villages in 1719 is more challenging to interpretation than it is rewarding in acceptable reconstruction. The Tawakoni have emerged more clearly from the mist of vagueness and muddled terminology than other Wichita. Both Coronado and La Harpe contacted them, describing them as the most important group of Wichita. In 1541 they were said to be living on a stream, presumably the Smoky Hill River. By 1719, they were apparently on the Arkansas River at Wealaka Ridge. Placement of them as *Mentos* to the northeast of the river on maps of the Bergier and Tonti traditions may have resulted from ignorance or referred to earlier 17th century villages established in the course of their movement south from Quivira.

The collective term, *Paneassa* or *Pani*, that up to this time had cloaked in anonymity the Wichita proper, *Yscanis*, *Taovayas* or *Tawehash*, *Adeco*, *Honecho*, and probably other small groups of Wichita, was broken down into more specific names by Delisle and La Harpe. While some of them were still living on the southern or southeastern edge of old Quivira, others were farther down the Arkansas on its left side but well above the Tawakoni. Records of 1719 suggest the possibility that one or more of these people were then living in the region of Deer Creek on the west side of the river. If so, no evidence exists of continual occupation there from this time forward into the 1740s when there is a more firm indication of their presence. However, lack of evidence is not proof.

A particularly puzzling problem is the identification of those Wichita who must have attended the gathering at Wealaka Ridge in early September 1719 and then have gone home to be unexpectedly visited by Dutisné later in the month. Could this dual settlement have been the same two large villages of *Paneassa* that Bergier placed along the Arkansas below Quivira about 1699? Might they have been *Taovayas* who La Harpe reported to be the most numerous Wichita people? Or are we to believe that these anonymous 1500-2000 Indians [450 warriors as reported by Dutisné] were killed by their enemies or dispersed to be assimilated by other Wichita villages within the next few decades so that no documentary evidence of them is retained by the 1740s? The probability would seem to be greater that they were the numerous *Taovayas*. If the significance of paired villages in this period were clearly understood, that might shed some light on this whole perplexing question.

There is the equally challenging problem of why they moved so near to the Osage even though antagonisms were not as great before 1719 as later. Did this location facilitate trade between them and the Osage? Were Frenchmen involved in any way?

Fabry de La Bruyère, A. D. 1742

Just over 20 years later the Tawakoni had moved from the Arkansas River to the Red. This is learned from extracts from the correspondence of André Fabry de La Bruyère who ascended the Arkansas River in 1742 as far as the

Canadian which he then entered intending to continue to Santa Fe. In this he was unsuccessful. In a letter in the form of a journal sent to Bienville and Edme Gattien Salmon, commissary general of Louisiana (AC,F³24:393), he described a war party of 35 Osage who came into his camp on the Canadian (Blaine 1979:145) in the course of searching for

"los mentos whom the Indians call also *Panis* who were formerly on the river of the Arkansas Indians above the forks [meaning here the mouth of the Canadian], and at 25 leagues below the *panis noirs* [black Pawnee], whence they withdrew to *la rivière St. André* [Canadian River], where may be seen yet their former village, and four or five years ago near to the *Kadodakious* [Caddo or specifically Kadohadacho Indians] where they are at present."

About a week later, half of the party returned having been unable to find the *Mentos*. However, when La Bruyere went to the Red, cutting south from the Canadian, he found those for whom the Osage had searched, but he called them *Tavakanas* [Tawakoni]. They were living with the *Kitsaiches* [Kitsai] on the river above the "Caddo" and Yatasi.

Another account of this movement to the south is in a letter written by the Chevalier Macarty (1763) who said he had succeeded Don César de Blanc as military commandant at Natchitoches in 1763. He wrote retrospectively about the Tawakoni:

"Then, when the Tehuacanas separated from the others, they came alone to found a settlement on the banks of our Colorado, or *Nachitos* [Red] River, hoping to enjoy better the nearness of the French, their discoverer, friend, and

protector. They came there willingly and comfortably until, because of the invasions of certain Indians [Osages no doubt] from the north, they were obliged to move inland farther toward the south to the place where they now reside."

This probably indicated the Sabine River in Texas (Johnson and Jelks 1958) where they were still living in 1758-1759.

From these two accounts, it would seem that about 1737-1738, almost twenty years after the journeys of Dutisné and La Harpe, the Tawakoni moved south to the Canadian River from probably Wealaka Ridge or that vicinity. This location would fit Fabry's description of their village as above the "forks"--a term he used in his letter of October 31, 1741 (AC,F³24:392 vo.) to mean the junction of the Canadian River with the Arkansas--and at an estimated 25 leagues overland from the *panis noirs* who probably are to be identified with the 1749 *Panipiqués* at Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock sites.

There is no evidence by the 1740s of Wichita in the Verdigris-Neosho region. As Osage hostility toward the Wichita increased in post-Dutisné times, it seems probable that those visited by him may have been forced westward even before the Tawakoni migrated south. The two villages of *panis* near the Verdigris, who I propose were *Tavayas*, may have set up two similar villages at Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock in the 1720s or early 1730s, or may have joined other Wichita already living there. A move toward consolidation of Wichita peoples for purposes of safety was apparently taking place. Nonetheless, there are later indications that some small villages may yet have existed in Fabry's time east of the Arkansas but relatively close to Deer Creek.

CHAPTER III

Pre-A. D. 1740 French-Wichita Trade

As shown in the preceding section, the data available on Wichita village locations up to the 1740s indicates that the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock sites, singly or together, may have been occupied as early as 1716 by the Wichita proper and/or *Yscanis* and/or *Taovayas*. Since pottery and other artifacts encountered in the excavation of the Deer Creek site might be quite similar in both a 1720 occupation and one of 20-30 years later, being the cultural remains of the same or closely related Wichita peoples, the amount of trade goods present in a cache pit or within a limited area could be a useful time indicator. It was pointed out in Chapter I of this study that European items in Deer Creek surface collections seem to be almost entirely of French origin.

A study of 17th and 18th century Wichita-French contacts as reported in both Spanish and French sources faces special problems involving terminology as did the preceding research. When Spaniards wrote of *Jumanos* in a specific manuscript, were they referring to Wichita-speakers or to another people farther south? And when *Panis* is used, does it mean Pawnee of the Platte-Loup Rivers or the Wichita? Some data in the literature have been omitted from discussion because of uncertainty regarding proper interpretation and, in other instances, because of questionable reliability.

Information on French-Wichita trade which came out of New Mexico or the French colonies before 1719 is entirely secondhand in nature. The Spaniards, always tremendously concerned about the threat of approaching Frenchmen,

listened attentively to tales of such occurrences brought to them by Apache, more than once calling for a special investigation of such informants. They queried Wichita slaves received from the same source. Literate Frenchmen living in the Illinois country tried to make sense out of information stemming from their interrogation of both their Wichita slaves and returning *voyageurs* who by the late 1690s were reaching toward the Arkansas River apparently from the Kansas and Smoky Hill Rivers. French explorers going west from the Louisiana colony of the Gulf and lower Mississippi region, founded in 1699, tended to ascend the lower Red River and ultimately to contact the Hasinai Tejas on the Trinity and Angelina Rivers, thus restricting their trade to a region well south of the Arkansas. They contributed little to our knowledge of the Wichita in this period.

Only a few glimpses of *voyageur* activity involving the Wichita before 1719 are revealed in documents. Although Frenchmen were at the mouth of the Arkansas River at the turn of the century (q.v. below), there is no evidence they had ascended the river beyond the several Quapaw Indian villages clustered nearby. It will be recalled that Tonti wrote as if his 1700 information on the Wichita came from Indians, not from *voyageurs*. So also, it may be reasonably assumed, did that of Pierre LeMoyne d'Iberville when he wrote in 1702 (AM, ASH 115X: #17) of the *Mantou* and *Panis* on the Arkansas River.

From the French settlements on the Illinois River and just below its mouth on the Mississippi

mainstem, the Missouri River was the obvious avenue to follow westward. Thus contact was made in the late 17th and early 18th centuries with the Osage Indians, the Missouri, Kansa, Pawnee (called *panis* or *panismaha*), and the *Padouca* (Apache). These were risky ventures. Bienville, Governor-General of Louisiana, wrote in 1704 to Jérôme Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain, Minister of the Navy and Colonies in France (AC,C13A:457), that *voyageurs* tended to separate into small bands of seven or eight when carrying their trade onto the Missouri River, and in so doing some were always killed by Indians. Such journeys were thwarted at other times by French politics as, for example, when the King was persuaded in 1696 to forbid traders to go into the hinterland. As a result, it was difficult for *coureurs de bois* or *voyageurs* to get articles for an illicit trade they would have been quite willing to pursue. This slowed the French advances westward for a few years.

When the Wichita were first contacted, it seems to have been by French Canadians coming from the north or northeast. Then, if Apache gossip is to be credited, it was hostile in nature. Apache reported to New Mexico Spaniards in both 1695 and 1700 that Frenchmen had attacked the *Jumanos*, i.e. the Wichita, in their own country. In the first instance (*Diligenzias . . .*, fol. 493vo.), they said that they had learned from [Wichita?] slaves that "white Spaniards," meaning the French, had come to the edge of a body of water (undoubtedly not a lake as literal translation would have it) to make war on those of Quivira. They had gone away and then returned, only to leave again. I would interpret this to mean that in a typical Indian move, the Missouri, Kansa, certain Pawnee, or other Indian enemies who had gun-bearing French traders living with them had inveigled these Europeans into participating in a war party that went to the Smoky Hill River. In the 1700 reference (Bandelier 1890:181,n.2) one town of *Jumanos* was said to have been destroyed by Frenchmen. This is quite possibly an exaggeration, but the attack may have been severe enough to have caused desertion of the site, and once again Indian enemies of the Wichita must have been involved. One wonders if firsthand French information on the location of Wichita settlements as depicted by Bergier c. 1699 came from Frenchmen who had earlier helped attack

the Wichita or others who had visited them on a friendly basis.

Two French Canadians, Saint-Laurent and Pierre Sauton (Higginbotham 1977:220), who were reported by Bienville to have survived a long pre-1705 excursion among the Missouri River Indians (AC,C13A,1:502-13) must have bypassed the Wichita by staying north of them before turning south to reach Apache. The 20 or 30 Frenchmen who according to Iberville (AM,B4,25:370-vo.) had set off in 1702 from Cahokia in the Illinois country to trade for piastres in New Mexico and to see Spanish mines probably never arrived at their proposed destination, possibly due to Wichita intervention. Their arrival in that Spanish colony would surely have triggered a thorough investigation involving extensive paperwork, some of which might be expected to have found its way to Mexico City. Of this there seems to be no evidence.

By 1714, however, the French and the Wichita were engaged in friendly trading activities. It was learned in Santa Fe in that year (Thomas 1935:36) that *Jumanos*, probably Wichita, in alliance with Frenchmen had attacked the Apache at El Cuartelejo on the western border of Wichita lands. They had not been slow in appreciating the advantage of Frenchmen with guns. And an Apache woman who as a slave had lived at a French post on the Mississippi (Valverde y Cosio 1719:fol. 10 vo.) in or before 1719 was said to have reported that the French were friendly with some *Jumanos* and had traded guns to them. Dutisné saw six fusils, presumably French in make, among the Wichita he visited (BN, Mss. fr. 8989:21 vo.), but obviously, with 200-250 warriors in the villages, their archeological sites would show much more evidence of chipped stone arrow and spear points than of gun parts. If their move to the Verdigris River region had been intended to foster in some way French-Wichita trade, it had not been, notably successful. The alliance which Dutisné consummated with these Indians was supposed to lead to more frequent trade exchanges. In fact, the *panis*, as he called these Wichita, were to take horses to Kaskaskia in Illinois the next spring, but there seems to be no evidence that this occurred.

La Harpe could be more generous with his newly-made Wichita friends because he brought

packs of trade goods on horseback. Upon meeting the *Touacaro* chief (B. de La Harpe 1718-20:18 vo.) he presented "several fusils, some powder, and some balls, some hatchets, knives, and some ells of cloth." It was said "the chief was clearly surprised to see so much merchandise." Later, at the end of the Calumet ceremony, La Harpe bestowed gifts on representatives of all the "nations," i.e. Wichita bands, present. It is probable, however, that relatively few articles would have reached each of the several individual villages to which the Indians returned. During the Calumet ceremony, the *Taovayas* and *Yscanis* chiefs extolled with oratorical fervor the alliance with La Harpe because they said (*Ibid.*:19 vo.) the French would now provide them with firearms and other kinds of merchandise suitable for their needs.

There is no indication in the accounts of either Dutisné or La Harpe—who between them had probably contacted representatives of all the Wichita in the middle Arkansas River area—that regular trade was going on between these Wichita and Frenchmen in 1719. That which did occur must have been sporadic and carried on by traders from the Illinois country chiefly. There was as yet no official post at the mouth of the Arkansas where, as later, a commandant might have wanted to augment his returns from the Quapaw peltry trade by sending traders to the Wichita. Frenchmen based at Natchitoches on Red River continued to limit their attention to the lower Red River and Hasinai Caddo.

The *Mento*/Tawakoni chief whom Dutisné met in the Osage village (p. 25), and from whom he had bought Indian slaves when stationed at Natchitoches in 1716-1718, may have brought some French items to his village at times. There may well have been other such itinerant Indian traders.

In addition to French trade, a few objects distributed under British direction might be present on sites of Wichita villages of 1719. A Chickasaw Indian undoubtedly sent by an

English trader, with merchandise probably from Carolina on his back, arrived among the Tawakoni while La Harpe was there, creating mutual astonishment. There is no indication whether this was an initial trade journey to the *Touacaro* or a regular occurrence, nor is there any evidence that British Indians were expanding their trade to other Wichita farther up the Arkansas.

Wichita slaves in Illinois were observed wearing turquoise ornaments in the years just preceding 1721 (Pease and Werner, eds., 1934:388). No documents suggest this resulted from direct trade with Spaniards at this time. Either the turquoise was received long before in New Mexico or had been taken from Apache slaves recently.

After 1720 the French from both the Illinois country and from Louisiana attempted to trade directly with the Wichita for horses (q.v. below) but their efforts apparently failed. This was due perhaps to Osage interference and to Chickasaw harrassment along the Mississippi, certainly not to lack of willingness on the part of the Wichita. As noted earlier, one of the attractions for the Tawakoni of the move southward to Red River c. 1737 was the likelihood of more frequent trading contacts with the French based in Natchitoches.

If there are archeological horizons at Deer Creek that relate to a pre-1740 period of occupation, they probably would contain relatively few trade goods. Earlier occupancy may be one possible explanation, for instance, for the absence of contact items and the presence of more than the customary amount of sherds in Mound 3 at the Bryson-Paddock site (Thoburn, longhand MS., OHS,AR3). It would have been interesting if later excavators there had followed up on the interpretive leads suggested by the 1926 work on this mound.

Such a situation would be in strong contrast to the one in the mid-century years when a large-scale French hide-working and meat preparation business involving extensive exchange of European items was being carried on.

CHAPTER IV

Chronological review of the circumstances that led to cooperative Wichita-French hunting and meat processing activities at the Deer Creek site

In writings on the French presence at the Deer Creek site, a number of misleading statements appear. Some show ignorance of the history of the Louisiana Colony as a whole and of Arkansas Post specifically, knowledge of which forms a backdrop against which the Deer Creek development must be viewed. Others reflect little sensitivity to the politics and economic reality in 18th century Louisiana. And too often one or two specific happenings have been interpreted as customary behavior, resulting in generalizations that cannot be substantiated. At other times, sentences are cited out of context which causes them to be misleading. Authors such as Jean-Bernard Bossu are given credence that is not always their due.

Because of the serious attention that has been given to material of this nature, it is deemed necessary to present a short chronological narrative which provides some information on French Louisiana economic affairs, on specific trade practices, relations with Spain, Indian warfare in the Mississippi and Arkansas River regions, and other matters pertinent to understanding the ethnohistory of the Deer Creek site, particularly after 1740. Hopefully this will bring about better understanding of interaction between the Wichita and French and of Wichita population movements. Special consideration has been given to trading activity at and out of Arkansas Post because it has often been implied this was the headquarters for Frenchmen who went to Wichita villages during the first half of the 18th century. It is not

proposed to present a full integrated history in the following section, but instead to succinctly present certain information with which those concerned with the Deer Creek site should be familiar. Although there is more source material to draw upon for this section than existed for the previous ones, there still are gaps in information that handicap interpretation and breed caution. In addition, it will be noted that situations often changed quickly in these war years, that relations between Indian peoples fluctuated, and that generalizations can easily lead to pitfalls.

The strategic importance of the mouth of the Arkansas had been recognized as early as 1682 by Robert Cavelier de La Salle and his party when they descended the Mississippi. Upon their return La Salle granted a seignory there to his able associate, Henri de Tonti. One advantage of the location lay in the fact that it was the homeland of the Arkansas or Quapaw Indians. Although the grant was never confirmed by the King of France, Tonti built a storehouse at the site where for a few years at least French Canadian traders received beaver skins said to be of mediocre quality and deer hides from the Quapaw. In 1700 Pierre-Charles Le Sueur found no Frenchmen there (C. Delisle [1702]) but instead an English trader from Carolina who had provided the Indians with fusils and swords. No record of French traders who made this their headquarters during the next two decades has been found.

In 1717, after Antoine Crozat's control of

trade in the Louisiana colony came to an end, John Law was granted a commercial monopoly. For his personal benefit, he was allowed to have a concession of four square leagues at the mouth of the Arkansas. Here he intended to locate hundreds of German colonists who would develop the site into a bustling agricultural and trading center. Because of complications caused by the war between Spain and France (1719-1721), mismanagement by the commercial companies of the West and the Indies, and Law's financial troubles, none of the German emigrants who were brought from Europe to people the settlement arrived there until August 1721, two years after Dutisné's journey and the overland expedition of La Harpe. Eighty white men were said (AN,OM,G¹465) to be working at Arkansas Post in November. Unknown to these people, John Law had fled from France by this time and the Company of the Indies had taken over management of Louisiana commerce.

The Germans intended to clear land for farming, partly because they were accustomed to making a living in this way and partly on the advice of Louisiana officials. The Illinois country, formerly a part of New France, had now come under the authority of Louisiana, a change which necessitated sending a convoy of flat boats and pirogues (dugout canoes) loaded with supplies and trade goods up the Mississippi annually. On the return trip, hides, lead, wheat, and other items were taken to New Orleans. Officials recognized that a post at the mouth of the Arkansas would be valuable as a midway stopping point for re-provisioning. To provide protection from Indian marauders, a garrison was soon stationed in the German community (B. de La Harpe 1718-1720:fol. 69). It was reported to be badly equipped with no fort as such. In February 1722 when on an inspection tour up the Mississippi, Bernard Diron d'Artaguiette (Mereness 1961:56) observed six blacks at Arkansas Post who were employed by the director to clear land for the concession. Here and there in the vicinity *habitants* (landowners) were making individual gardens near their small rude cabins. On his return trip the next year (AN,OM,G¹465), he noted that the population was already dwindling. It was an inauspicious beginning (Giraud 1974:274-275).

LeMoyne de Bienville, who had been impressed by La Harpe's enthusiasm for

establishing a French trading post among the *Touacaro*/Tawakoni, appointed him in 1721 to lead a second expedition to these Wichita. He was to go this time by way of the Mississippi and Arkansas Rivers in order to ascertain the feasibility of reaching these Indians by a river route rather than overland through the Ouachita Mountains. With him went another Malouin, Bertrand Dufresne du Demaine, who as a representative of the Company of the Indies was to supplant the concession director appointed by Law. This transfer which La Harpe supervised was described by Bolton (Bannon 1964:151) as a re-establishment of Arkansas Post in the sense that the management of the enterprise changed. This sentence has been quoted to indicate no one was at the post previously. That is a misconception, although as seen above, occupation had taken place only a few months before. La Harpe's observations on the settlement are similar to those of d'Artaguiette. Trade by the residents with the Quapaw only is implied.

Bienville's interest in La Harpe's projected journey was partially due to the fact that the Tawakoni were reported to have a large number of horses. He expressed the hope (AC, C13A, 6:179 vo.) in 1721 that "a quantity" could be obtained for "our establishment on the Mississippi," meaning New Orleans. The Spaniards along the east border of Spanish Texas were making it more difficult for the French on the lower Red River to continue to get them through Hasinai Caddo middlemen. In 1720, Pierre Dugué de Boisbriant, who had just established Fort de Chartres on the Mississippi above Kaskaskia, had received similar information, probably from Dutisné. Thereupon he allowed four men to go to the *Panyouessa* for horses (AN, AG, Corr. 2592:97) referring no doubt to those Wichita near the Verdigris. Although other such journeys--unrecorded and successful--may have occurred, it perhaps became apparent soon that it was safer to get the animals directly from the Osage. Fifteen years after the founding of the Louisiana colony in 1699, the missionary François Le Maire (Delanglez 1937:149) had written that these Indians were furnishing lower Louisiana with some horses. The Osage may not have wanted to lose this middleman role. Whether the horses they traded were all seized in raids or were

obtained in part through a trading relationship with the Wichita is uncertain. Dutisné implied in 1719 that Osage horses were all stolen from those more western Indians, but earlier in this study it was suggested (p. 37) that the presence of Wichita in the Verdigris vicinity at that time might be explained by the desire for more trade with the Osage, a relationship in which horses might be exchanged for a few French items. One can only speculate.

In the fall of 1721, before La Harpe arrived at Arkansas Post, the director of that concession had already sent six Frenchmen up the river in a pirogue to procure horses from the *Touacaro*. They had not returned when La Harpe was there in February 1722, and the Quapaw told him they had been murdered by the Osage as he too might be if he persisted in his plans to visit the Wichita. However, the men turned up later in Mobile relating a tale (B. de La Harpe 1831:208) of having been pillaged by Osage but of ultimately arriving at the Tawakoni village where they were received with pleasure. The Tawakoni must have had agreeable memories of La Harpe's previous visit. This episode emphasized to the French the risk of trying to deal with the Wichita directly.

La Harpe was less successful in his effort to reach the Tawakoni than were the horse traders. This was not so much because of the threats and uncooperative actions of the Quapaw as because of the difficulties encountered (M. Wedel 1971:56) in taking heavy pirogues up the meandering Arkansas River in shallow water with raw troops newly arrived from France. When the troops threatened to mutiny, he had to turn back before reaching his proposed destination. This development appears to have discouraged Governor-General Bienville from considering for the time being the Arkansas River as a suitable route to the Wichita or on to New Mexico by way of their villages. It also may have deterred men living at Arkansas Post from other such trips. There seem to be no records of any until 1739-1740. Meanwhile the Europeans at the Post were involved in agricultural pursuits. The Quapaw were able to provide them with an adequate supply of meat, tallow, hides, and particularly of bear grease used for flavoring. Some trading for profit developed ultimately when the supply of these products increased beyond that required by the settlers

for their own use. Nonetheless, Bienville in 1725 (AC, C13C, 1:366 vo.) denigrated the Indians at Arkansas Post for laziness, presumably meaning the Quapaw, when they produced barely 1000 deer hides of the 50,000 sent to France from Louisiana that year.

The second venture at Arkansas Post soon ended. An economy move that followed the end of the war with Spain resulted in the 1724 withdrawal of the garrison and in reduction of the number of Mississippi convoys. In reaction to this, most of the Germans, being fearful of Chickasaw and Osage raids, moved the next year nearer to New Orleans where their produce could be sold easily and with regularity. In 1726 it was recorded (AN,OM,G¹⁴⁶⁵) that fourteen men were living at Arkansas Post of which ten were *habitants* and four were hired employees. Father Paul de Poisson, S. J., remarked (Thwaites 1896-1901,67:260-61) that these who remained here "earned their living by trading with the Indians." Again the Quapaw would seem to be indicated for in the same year Bienville in writing of the Wichita (AC,C13C,1:366vo.) commented: "Trade would be very good there but few Frenchmen have been that far."

It was suggested in Chapter II of this report that the Wichita on or near the Verdigris may have moved west before the Tawakoni left the Arkansas, perhaps even as early as the 1720s. There seems to be no evidence in this period that traders from Arkansas Post had been going to their villages to get products of the hunt, nor for that matter that French Canadians from the Illinois were doing this. The reason for the presence there of the Wichita remains a mystery. As to their departure, was it triggered by attacks of the Osage and their allies after Frenchmen made efforts to get horses directly from them, bypassing the Siouan-speakers?

Following the Germans' abandonment of Arkansas Post, no French officials were stationed there again until Louisiana became a royal colony in 1731. The Jesuit Poisson established a mission among the Quapaw in 1727 and alone represented French authority for the next two years before he was murdered by the Natchez.

When the King of France took control of the Louisiana colony, he re-established a garrison at Arkansas Post. Twelve men were stationed

there commanded by Ensign de Coulanges. The buildings in which they were housed were not protected by a stockade, according to Bienville and Salmon (AC,C13A,18:84vo.-85). For the next ten years or so, a trade in hides and meat products with Indians seems to have been the chief means of support for these Frenchmen who continued to live at the Post. Apparently the presence of the garrison after 1731 stimulated increased activity along this line as did the fact that post officers were allowed to supplement their salaries (AC,F1,30:333) with profits from the trade. Accordingly Coulanges and two of his associates formed a trading company of which one learns (AC,C13A,20:155vo.-156vo.) because they erred in putting personal interests ahead of those of the colony in wartime. As a result, Coulanges was removed in 1734 (AC,C13A;18:84vo.). Again there is no evidence that the trade was carried on with any Indians but the Quapaw.

The Indians of Louisiana were markedly affected by the accelerated conflict between the British and French colonists together with their Indian allies that characterized Bienville's second term as governor (1732-43). The hostilities had been sparked originally by rivalry for control of the Indians living in what is now the southeastern United States. It was not long, however, before the English of Carolina were looking for trading opportunities west of the Mississippi River and endeavoring by means of the Chickasaws and Cherokees especially to establish friendly relations with trans-Mississippi Indians. La Harpe's 1719 meeting with the Chickasaw trader at the Tawakoni village was an example of such British-directed encroachment into territory long claimed by the French. Campaigns were undertaken in 1736 and 1739 against the Chickasaw by Bienville. Farther north, Illinois officials along with those of New France were trying to halt English advances down the Ohio River. Hostilities were also carried on against the Natchez in lower Louisiana and against the Fox Indians in the Illinois region.

During these war years, Indian allies were used extensively not only in the large concentrated war efforts, but also in smaller aggressive actions that were widespread and continual, such as raids on Indian and French villages and hunting parties, destruction of

Indian crops, attacks on French convoys, and retaliatory raids. Intrigue flourished between Indian factions and Europeans. Under these circumstances, the Indians did little hunting beyond that which satisfied their own needs. The amount of peltry exported to France greatly decreased (Surrey 1916:194). It was exceeded by products that were the result of colonists' labor, such as tobacco, or pitch and tar.

The Quapaw at Arkansas Post had been raiding the Chickasaw for years before they were invited by Bienville (AM,B45:368vo.-69) to join the 1739 campaign, an invitation they willingly accepted. Since this had taken time away from their hunting activity, it is not surprising to occasionally come across references to French hunters up the Arkansas River in this period. It was a portent of important developments in the next decade. The lower Louisiana colony where domestic stock was in short supply had come to depend for a large part of its subsistence upon salted meat of deer and bison brought down the Mississippi. Bear oil had become an acceptable substitute for imported olive oil. In response to this demand, Frenchmen were evidently hired to supplement the diminishing trade with the Quapaw. It was not a safe line of work. In 1733 eleven hunters in two pirogues ascended the Arkansas where at some unspecified point, in the absence of nine of the Frenchmen (AC,C13A,18:145-vo.), an Indian and a *voyageur* misidentified, it was said, as an Indian, were killed. Upon discovery of the murders, the others fled overland to an Illinois post. Just how far up the Arkansas these hunters were accustomed to go is nowhere stated. In 1740 the returning Mallet party (q.v. below) found Frenchmen hunting just below the mouth of the Canadian River. They were evidently finding a sufficiency of animals there without going higher up the river.

Official French correspondence of this period contains relatively few remarks on development of trade with the Indians. Instead detailed consideration is given to military plans and the means of implementing them. Always there is concern over insufficient military equipment, especially guns, and the lack of presents needed to retain the loyalty of Indian allies. As a result those Frenchmen trading with Indians for meat products were frequently limited in the number of fusils and other trade goods that were

available to them from either private or official sources. Indians who had become dependent upon certain European items were protesting their scarcity. The situation was not conducive to extension of trade to Indian people farther west such as the Wichita.

In 1738 when Father Pierre de Vitry, S. J., visited Arkansas Post he saw there (Delanglez 1935:438) "a few Frenchmen attracted by the bait of commerce with the Indians." He may not have been aware that some of these *habitants* had *engagés* (hired hunters) working for them up the Arkansas.

Plans for overland trade with New Mexico languished also in the 1730s. While this was partly due to the time-and thought-consuming Indian wars, it also reflected Spanish prohibitions against such commerce. In 1730 the viceroy of Mexico had ordered trade with Louisiana to be stopped, although a few years later he mitigated the ruling to allow foodstuffs to be received by his subjects. The French King wrote Bienville and his commissary general, Salmon, in February 1732 to urge them (AC,B57:834vo.-835) to enter into trade with New Spain. Their reply the following year (AC,C13A,16:84vo.) showed them to be very pessimistic on this score, in spite of their earlier interest that had been indicated frequently. They commented that Spanish royal officers of Havana and Mexico were now acting rigorously in carrying out orders prohibiting trade, although it sometimes could be conducted with private individuals. After noting the slim chance for trade at Pensacola and Los Adaes near Natchitoches, they added: "We must not expect that we shall ever be able to open commerce with Mexico by way of the Red River. The viceroys of that kingdom are too watchful. . . . We must rely upon the trade by sea. . . . They would seem to be writing off the possibility of trade with New Mexico. In spite of a peace agreement between France and Spain in 1733, relations in Louisiana between the two powers still were not smooth. Officials argued about the location of the boundary line between their territories and whether it had been breached by the French. The Spaniards expressed resentment of the custom of French traders to go to Hasinai Caddo villages in territory claimed by Spain. While there is evidence that soldiers deserted to New Spain, there seems to be no record of deserters reaching

New Mexico specifically at this time or of contraband trade being carried on with that Spanish province.

It was a surprise to Bienville when in March 1741, four French Canadians from the Illinois region, who had been to Santa Fe, arrived in New Orleans. In New Mexico they had been received graciously by Governor Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza. They had remained for nine months and then were permitted to return to Louisiana. The Louisiana governor was delighted. He congratulated the Mallet party (Satren 1750) and expressed appreciation of the information it had acquired about New Mexico and the intervening country. It had taken a circuitous route which led north and west of the Wichita, not through their villages as McRill (1963:155) wrote. The Mallet brothers had returned down the Canadian and Arkansas Rivers to the Mississippi. It is important to note that in making this journey in 1739-1740 they, unlike earlier Frenchmen who passed north of the Wichita, encountered Comanche Indians northeast of New Mexico rather than Apache. At Santa Fe they were told they could not return again to that province and avoid having their trade goods confiscated without their bearing a permit from a Spanish official and a passport from the Louisiana governor.

It was the success of this journey that led to Bienville's backing André Fabry de La Bruyère in his 1742 plan to further develop the commercial opportunities to be found in New Mexico. In addition, some of the later unofficial efforts of French soldiers to reach that colony (AC,C13A,28:34; Duran de Armijo 1748) may have been undertaken because of the success of the Mallet expedition. Others who went by way of the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock sites later in the decade reported they were personally encouraged to do so by the Mallet brothers and their associates (Sandoval 1750).

It will be recalled that Fabry (q.v. pp. 31-32) was the one who reported on the move of the Tawakoni away from the Arkansas River c. 1737-1738. Just exactly what was happening in this western region to prompt the move is not clear. No doubt a number of factors contributed to the decision to leave. Osage raids were still continuing, although by 1738 inhabitants at Illinois posts were so well supplied with horses they were able to spare 46 animals to sell to the

French government for military purposes. Perhaps Osage attacks reflected at times the intrigues and maneuverings that were part of the British and French conflict. Dufresne, the former head of the concession at Arkansas Post, wrote in a memoir dated January 30, 1737 (AN,OM,G¹465, Genl. Corr.) that in the past Chickasaw Indians had sought refuge among both the Osage and *panis ouassas* [Wichita]. The Osage, normally French allies, were probably threatened with disciplinary action after such a misstep. The French could not exert similar influence on the Wichita. Therefore, might they have urged the Osage to drive the Wichita farther away where they would not be as accessible to the British Indians? It is not clear at what point the French traders of Red River entered the situation to entice the Tawakoni south to become part of an Indian barrier that would prevent the Spaniards from expanding north of the river. It must have been a combination of the hostile pressures exerted by the Osage and their allies and the beckoning hand of the French from Natchitoches that caused the move to the Canadian and then to the Red. When Bienville returned to France in 1743, he may have been completely unaware of the changes that had taken place on the Arkansas River during his term of office. Those at Arkansas Post, at the Illinois, and at Natchitoches probably knew but they left no record of it.

The Governorship of the Marquis de Vaudreuil

By the year 1744 when François-Pierre Rigaud, Baron de Cavagnial, Marquis de Vaudreuil, assumed the functions of governor-general of Louisiana, commerce between the colony and France had been picking up (AC,C13A,33:166vo.). It looked as if Louisiana might finally succeed financially and be viewed by France as a desirable holding. One of the acts of Vaudreuil's first year as governor was to officially establish a post on the Missouri River near a village of Kansa Indians who lived above today's Leavenworth, Kansas, on Salt Creek. The fort was to serve as headquarters from which to control *coureurs de bois* and the peltry trade in that region, to seek valuable metals, and to develop a route to New Mexico. This terminal for such a route seems to have taken precedence

in Vaudreuil's thinking over one that might have led through the Wichita villages in the Deer Creek locality.

The post came to be called Fort de Cavagnial (Hoffhaus 1964:425-54) in honor of the governor, although colloquially it was often called *Fort des Canzès* or *los Canzels*. Apparently operating for some 20 years, its exact location remains undetermined today. Contrasts between this establishment and the setup at Deer Creek that was reported to be operating four years later are readily apparent. For instance, correspondence between Vaudreuil and both the French Minister of Navy and Colonies and Illinois officials, under whom the new fort on the Missouri functioned, contains a fair bit of information about the new venture. The garrison and its composition are discussed; the plan for the square stockaded fort with storied bastions at the rear is described; the succession of commandants may be traced; the activities of and interrelations between traders and allied Indian groups are partially recorded. There is mention of the annual convoys sent to the post from the Illinois. Nothing like this exists for the Wichita Deer Creek site in official correspondence. The obvious inference is that the setup up at Deer Creek was, by comparison, an unofficial operation based on cooperation between the Indians and French hunter-*voyageurs* that developed when conditions permitted and invited it. It was not an official fort.

Vaudreuil as the son of a former governor-general of New France and as past governor of the town of Trois-Rivières in that colony was not new to the problems and rewards of Indian trading. However, his evident ambitions along this line were frustrated for some time by the War of the Austrian Succession which France entered on the side of Spain against England in 1744. For four years shipping was hazardous. In fact, it is said (Surrey 1916:202) that by the end of the first year of the war, half of the 600 vessels that were engaged in colonial trade out of French ports had been seized by the English. The colony was short of all kinds of supplies that it normally received from the mother country. All commerce in Louisiana slowed perceptibly, particularly trade with Louisiana Indians because of the insufficient quantity of European items on hand. In March 1747 Vaudreuil (AC,C13A,31:26-28) was expressing to the French minister the urgent need for Indian merchandise both for

presents and for trade.

The war also affected the shipping of products from Louisiana to markets in the West Indies and Europe. In 1745 the two government boats from France that had been able to reach the mouth of the Mississippi were taken as prizes by the British on the return trip. The local shippers--agents of the Company of the Indies, traders, planters--thus lost all of their investment (AC,C13A,29:109-10vo.;C13,30:68-70). The next year the shippers sent out nothing because of the risk involved. Even in 1748 the merchants continued to be wary of British sea power although there were large quantities of products on hand in New Orleans, particularly of peltry and tobacco. "The colony finds itself loaded with commodities," Vaudreuil wrote in May (AC,C13A,32:52), "and in risk of losing them [from spoilage]."

Little information is available regarding cargos taken to France so it is of interest to see that those two captured vessels, the contents of which were reported, carried a far greater number of deerskins than of bison (AC,C13A,29:109-110vo.;C13A,30:68-70): in one instance 976 bundles of deerskins as compared with 37 bundles or casks of bison hides, and in the other, 484 bundles of deerskins compared to only 45 [bundles? of] bison hides. This could reflect preference for deerskins in France or the fact that a smaller supply of bison hides had reached New Orleans.

A large part of the official correspondence that concerns Arkansas Post specifically during the war period relates to the efforts of the commandant, Lt. Jean-François Tisserant de Montchervaux (Montcharvaux), to inspire the Quapaw to undertake raids against the Chickasaw (VP,LO9,vo.1:44vo.,65;LO147), who attacked even the Post itself in the last year of the war (AC,C13A,33:83-vo.). Although Vaudreuil suggested the Quapaw be rewarded for the scalps they brought in (AC,C13A,31:22-vo.), the paucity of Indian merchandise made this difficult. A garrison continued to be maintained. One assumes there was a settlement nearby of *habitants* and that it was a base for both traders who continued to do a little business with the Quapaw and for hunters who ascended the Arkansas. Even though peltries were accumulating in New Orleans, the colonials still wanted their meat, bear oil, and tallow.

Montchervaux was said (AC,C13A,35:117vo.) not to have been interested in a trading operation. No record has been found of French contact with the Wichita at Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock sites, but that does not mean that no *voyageurs* were ever getting that far. It probably does indicate this was not a voyage regularly made from Arkansas Post and that no Frenchmen had been murdered or plundered on such a journey, an event one would expect would have been recorded. The Osage now had a number of French traders in their villages who were able to exert some influence upon them.

It was during this European war period of the 1740s, according to the three French deserters who were interviewed in 1749 in Santa Fe (see p. 11), that an alliance was made between the *Panipiqués* of the Deer Creek vicinity and the Comanche living west of them. Luis Febro (App. A; Answer 8) said it had taken place two years earlier; his companions said "a little more" than two years. It seems likely that this did occur ca. 1746-1747. On February 4, 1746, the governor of New Mexico, Joachim Codallos y Rabal, had reached the end of his patience and issued an order (SANM 495,R.8,Fr.213-15) forbidding trade and communication between New Mexico inhabitants, including Indians, and the Comanche. Although at times the Comanche had come peaceably to trade at Taos or Picuris, bringing hides and slaves for the Spaniards, they came at other times to fiercely attack Pecos and Galisteo and generally harass New Mexico settlements. It has been suggested that with New Mexico trade cut off, the Comanche turned to the Wichita as a means of getting French trade goods (e.g. John 1975:316-17). It has also been proposed by many (e.g. Thomas 1940:17) that the French were involved in arranging this; "French officials" have been cited. Certainly the governor of New Mexico, Don Tomás Vélez Cachupín (3/8/1750), always very suspicious of the French, felt strongly that their policy had influenced the Indians.

Yet as W. W. Newcomb and W. T. Field (1967:256-57) commented, "The view that the French were responsible for this alliance is wholly conjectural and apparently based on a naive and erroneous conception of Indian cultures. The assumption seems to have been that these Indian tribes--notorious cannibals on one hand, famous horse thieves on the other--

were too primitive, backward, savage, or just plain dumb to conclude alliances, even when to their mutual advantage. Hence, they must have been pushed and cajoled into such an arrangement by the clever, wise, and politically sophisticated French . . . A careful search has failed to reveal any evidence which would support the thesis that the French were responsible for the alliance."

The sequence of ideas in a sentence by Bolton (1917:391) leads one to think he was considering the possibility that it was the French at Fort de Cavagnial who had encouraged the Wichita-Comanche alliance in an effort to open a route to New Mexico. However, their passage to the Comanche did not require that they go through the Wichita villages in the Deer Creek vicinity. There appears to be no specific evidence for this notion in extant French Illinois or Louisiana official records.

Two facts mitigate against the view that this alliance was initiated by French traders or officials based at Arkansas Post. For one thing, Frenchmen going up the Arkansas River at this time were largely hunter-*voyageurs* (see p. 51 rather than traders as such. Their activities did not require this arrangement. Even when the army deserters and hunters passed on to the Comanche from the Wichita in 1748 and 1749, they did not carry trade goods as writers have wrongly stated. They gave a few gifts in response to Comanche demands and in order to procure guidance to the Spanish colony. Evidence that traders capitalized on the alliance (John 1975:317) does not seem to be obvious.

Secondly, French trade merchandise was limited in quantity in these years. The Wichita on the Arkansas would have had little to share and certainly would not have looked with favor upon Frenchmen carrying desirable items through their villages to the Comanche further west. There is some evidence that the Wichita themselves were having to scrounge for European goods. The Spanish interpreter understood Febro and his associates (App. A; Answer 6) to say in 1749 that the *Panipiqueés* had firearms obtained from "other Indians" of New Orleans. This might mean they were getting some through their Tawakoni relatives, who were already assuming the role of middlemen in their new location to the south, or perhaps through Red River Caddo, both of which groups were supplied from Natchitoches

or, in a sense, New Orleans. Moreover, when Satren (1750:App. A) was interrogated a second time and was asked the distance between the *Panipiqueés* and French "he answered that to the first called *los Canes* the *Jumanes* go in 4 or 5 days by land." *Los Canes* would probably be Ft. de Cavagnial located among the Kansa. Does this mean that with the French exerting control in that region of enemies, the Wichita were then able to visit there safely to trade?

Lastly, the French deserters spoke of the alliance between the Wichita and Comanche, and then separately of the Wichita-French friendship. Moreover, they commented that the Comanche were not known in the French colony because they feared the Wichita too much to dare to attack the French friends of the latter (App. A:167,170,173).

Perhaps the French have been named as the instigators of the alliance because a number of authors--Bolton, John and others--considered that the Comanche had been bitter enemies of the Wichita for a long time and thought outside influence would have been required to bring them together. This view reflects the erroneous assumption that the term *padouca* always meant Comanche. It did not. It could refer to Apache also (see e.g., W. Wedel 1959:77-78; M. Wedel 1973-74:158-59). The fact seems to be that not until the Comanche arrived in northeastern New Mexico in the 1720s and 1730s taking over former Apache territory did some intermittent hostilities occur. The Wichita were, after all, defending their western lands from new intruders and always seeking horses. The animosity reflected here was nothing comparable to their hatred for the Apache. Never at this time would these two have become allies even with French persuasion.

Did the alliance envision an exchange of horses and mules for French guns? The Wichita were finding their usual source for these animals--the Apache--moving farther away to the south. Perhaps the respect the Comanche were said to have for Wichita strength (Febro, App. A:Answer 10) and the concomitant feeling it was better to be friends than enemies were elements that contributed to the arrangement. Moreover, their mutual hatred for Apache would surely have tended to unite them. With the Comanche cut off from trade for horses with the Spaniards by the Governor's regulation, they may have been looking forward to joint large-

scale horse-stealing raids, such as were recorded ultimately. Newcomb and Field were very likely correct when they suggested that this was an Indian alliance unguided by the French. In certain situations, the friendly relationship extended to Europeans also, but not in all cases (Mallet 1750; AGN, *Hist.* v.294). It lasted long after all Wichita had left the Arkansas River. Reciprocity that accompanied the relationship is described by Sandoval (App.A). In 1749 he had met a Comanche Indian west of the Wichita villages who was bringing three horses which he traded for a gun and a small handax.

It is not clear if the 33 Frenchmen who reached the Comanche in late 1747 or the first two months of 1748 (Duran de Armijo 1748; Codallos y Rabal 1748) had taken advantage of the Wichita-Comanche alliance. One of the party of seven Comanche who visited Taos on February 27, 1748, told of the arrival at their village on the Jicarilla River (Rayado River:D. Gunnerson 1974:318) of Frenchmen who traded to them "some (*bastantes*) fusils in exchange for mules." (Febro, who had spent two months in early 1749 with the Comanche, saw among them only five fusils. They had no powder or bullets, having evidently used up their supply.) As soon as the trade was made, all but two of the French left for their "own country." Was this Ft. de Cavagnial, the Illinois country, or Arkansas Post? It seems improbable that they had proceeded through the Deer Creek village, as has been suggested. This view requires the unlikely assumption that the Wichita allowed the Frenchmen to continue on with firearms for the Comanche. Even though these two Indian peoples were allies, personal needs were likely to have controlled Wichita actions. Febro's observation later in 1748 (App. A: Answer 6) that the Wichita too lacked powder and bullets would indicate that up to this time supplies fluctuated and there was always the need for more.

Perhaps the traders came from Ft. de Cavagnial or Illinois settlements taking their customary route that passed the Wichita to the north and west. The two Frenchmen who remained with the Comanche wanted to accompany the Indians to Taos later, but Bolton (1914:155) questioned that they succeeded in this. No record seems to exist of their arrival for which Armijo and Rabal were undoubtedly on guard.

The journey made by French deserters who left from Arkansas Post and passed through the village at Deer Creek in 1749 en route to Taos, New Mexico, was definitely undertaken and facilitated because of knowledge of the 1746-47 alliance. Febro (App.A: Answer 10) explained that they were unharmed by the Comanche because of the "apprehension" [*el miedo*; probably meaning respect borne of power] that they had of the *Panipiques* who had guided them on west. In the second questioning of Satren (1750), he too explained that the French party, "deserted in search of the Spaniards having confidence in the alliance and friendship that the *Panipiques* (*alias*) *Jumanes*, partial to the French, have with the *Cumanches* who treated them well upon recommendation of the *Jumanes*." If they knew of the earlier 1748 French expedition to the Comanche, it was not mentioned. Reference was made only to that of the Mallets in 1739-40. Sandoval and his companions in 1750, passing from Wichita to Comanche, encountered the same helpful situation.

It would appear, however, that this alliance did not funnel all French journeys toward New Mexico along this route. The Illinois French appear to have continued to follow the Missouri (Bienville AC, C13A,28:34) and Kansas Rivers and then to drop south far to the west, while Pierre Mallet in 1750 led his party up the Canadian River to Comanche country where he was maltreated by those Indians before reaching Pecos.

Even before the official ending of the war in 1748, more merchant ships began to reach Louisiana from France each year in addition to one or two royal vessels. In 1747 four merchant vessels came, although in 1748 the arrival of only one is recorded. By 1750 Vaudreuil was writing to the minister in France (AC,C13A,34:250), "There has come here since the peace such a large quantity of ships that the abundance is beyond all expression." Nonetheless, he was annoyed (AC,C13A,34:250) that the colony did not receive more merchandise suitable for the Indian trade. He was eager to see such trade expanded.

The thriving business that had developed by 1748 through the cooperation of the French hunters and the Wichita living in villages now the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock archeological sites was congenial to Vaudreuil's

plans, but of this enterprise we learn in almost incidental fashion, that is, from the interrogations in New Mexico of the French soldiers and hunters who had been taken into custody by the Spanish. These Frenchmen had left Louisiana for the Spanish colony in the hope of establishing themselves in situations personally more advantageous. Satren (1750:App.A) explained, "that the French hunters (hunting being their livelihood) go up to these *pueblos* of *Jumanes* on the Arkansas River in canoes [pirogues], in which they return with peltry, fat and lard of the bison, bears, and deer, their access being facilitated by friendship with the *Jumanes*." When asked if he knew the Frenchmen who came in the Sandoval party in 1750 "he answered yes and that their profession was hunting because of the profit resulting from the tallow and hides, sent to Europe by the merchants who buy them." Since this was no longer a business related only to the domestic trade in lower Louisiana but had become part of the commerce carried on between Louisiana and the French Islands and France, it would appear that it had blossomed after French ships were once again able to ply the Gulf and Atlantic waters with safety. Vaudreuil reported in 1751 (VP,LO9,v.II:108vo.-109) on the increasing trade in salt meat with the Islands, as well as trade in tallow both with them and with the Spaniards. He added that the French salters of meat (*salaisons*) did not neglect to procure hides and bearskins also.

Thus Frenchmen were not simply trading with the Wichita at the Deer Creek village as has often been implied. It was not a "trading post" in the usual sense of the term. The French were hunting with the Indians and were evidently aiding in the processing of the game. The Wichita were receiving European trade items in return for help in certain aspects of the business, such as providing horses for hunting and transporting large portions of the game to the villages and in preparing the hides and other meat products for shipment. The association with the Wichita would have been a great advantage to those hunters who had worked out this cooperative venture and would have greatly increased their returns. In 1751 Commissary General Honore Michel described Arkansas Post (AC,C13A,35:327) as "one of the better [posts] in the colony." The commandant Louis-Xavier Martin De Lino

de Chalmette, who had the exclusive privilege of trade there during his term from 1748-1752, may have been influential in developing the project.

A general census of Arkansas Post (VP,L0200) taken by De Lino in 1749 reveals more details of the expanded hunting activity on the river. Under the general heading of *voyageurs* who have remained on the river in spite of orders which were given them" there were listed 11 *bourgeois* with 29 hired employees [*engagés*]. Then under a second heading, "List of *voyageurs* remaining at the post in order to return to hunting," 16 names appear. The additional figure 49 seems to indicate anonymous *voyageurs*. The total was then given as 65 men, "as many on the rivers as at the post which is more than sufficient."

The picture seems to be of many French hunters distributed along the Arkansas River, remindful of those encountered by the Mallets in 1740, with a number concentrated at the villages of the Wichita in the Deer Creek locality. It is not clear if the phrase "at the post," refers to Arkansas Post or to the Deer Creek site. Some Frenchmen were seasonal visitors while others may have occasionally remained the year round.

The size of the operation at Arkansas Post is probably reflected in statements regarding the Illinois convoys. In 1748 the cargos were said (Surrey 1916:293) to include buffalo wool, bears' oil, bison tongues, peltry and tallow. The next year (AC,C13A,33:57) there was a particularly large supply of peltry. In 1752 the convoy from the Illinois brought to New Orleans many more peltry than the year before (AC,C13A,36:270) and many more were shipped to France than in the preceding years. In September, Michel, the commissary general, commented (AC,C13A,36:285vo.) that although formerly a convoy to the Illinois of two boats annually was usual, "now that they carry the goods of other posts along the route, there ascend today two convoys annually with four to five boats in each..."

A short time before Sandoval arrived at the Wichita villages in 1749-1750 "the commandant or French general [the commandant of Arkansas Post?] in the name of his sovereign, had given them various things, such as vermilion, beads, knives, guns, ammunition, hats, cloth, and other supplies, and the French flag that I saw there." The commandant De Lino was an energetic young relative of Vaudreuil. He may or may not

have made the journey there himself to give official sanction to the operation. The alternative is that the presentation was made ritually for the official.

There is no certain way of telling just when the arrangement was first made with the Wichita to collaborate with French hunters in collecting and preparing animal products for the *voyageurs* to take downriver. It is a continuation of an activity that had been pursued lower down on the Arkansas for some years by small parties of Frenchmen alone or with a few Indian helpers. It seems likely that linkage with the Wichita villages at Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock sites may have developed first on a small scale following Vaudreuil's post-1743 efforts to revitalize trade in Louisiana. M. Beletrus (1746-47:46) reported that Arkansas Post had made a fortune for those who had commanded there, referring it would seem to the period 1744-1747 and to trade with the Quapaw only.

By 1748-1750 the cooperative effort in the Deer Creek region was functioning at a lively pace in the more compatible post-war climate. Now ships were safely plying their Gulf and transoceanic routes. They once again brought trade items to Louisiana to be exchanged with the Indians and carried peltry to foreign markets. The French in Illinois were threatening and punishing the Osage for attacks on their countrymen. Hence Arkansas River traffic was more open than it had been earlier.

The Comanche as allies of the Wichita undoubtedly benefitted as the cooperative hunting and meat processing business expanded and brought in an increasingly large quantity of European items to the Indians. This was deplored by the governor of New Mexico, Tomás Vélez Cachupin, who had noted in 1751 (Thomas 1940:75) the impressive supply of firearms the Comanche appeared to have and the increasing skill they were exhibiting in using them. However, this operation taking place on the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock sites was a phenomenon by itself with its roots in the domestic trade of Louisiana. Trade with the Comanche was not what incited the French hunters to greater productivity. Comanche did not furnish bear oil, tallow, and salted meat. Their bison hides were not needed, although accepted if offered. Vélez Cachupin wrote on March 8, 1750 (AGN, PI, v.37) that Don

Bernardo de Bustamente y Tagel had told him of seeing in the country of the *Jumanes* "innumerable cibola cattle," i.e. bison, which he added, "the Divine Providence created for the sustenance of the savages and greed of the French."

During the mid-century period when the hunting operation was flourishing, the Wichita at Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock villages were under continuing harassment by the Great Osage. Basing his remarks on a series of 1750 and 1751 letters received from Jean-Baptiste Benoist de St. Clair, commandant at Fort de Chartres in Illinois, the Governor-General of New France, Pierre Jacques de Taffanel, Marquis de La Jonquière, wrote of the Osage (AC, C11A, 97:83), "They have been making war continually on the *Panis noirs* and *picques* and have achieved the destruction of an entire village which had commenced with the measles and smallpox." (The significance of the two terms for the Wichita is unclear. Do they result from ignorance or is it an attempt to distinguish between two bands or subdivisions?) The Wichita ultimately "implored the help of the *Laytannes* [Comanche], a nation near the Spaniards; this nation moved by their [the Wichita] situation, joined with them and together went to the village of the *grands osages*." In this raiding action that probably took place in 1751, the Osage claimed to have lost 22 chiefs while the others lost 27. The unrecorded Wichita claim was probably the reverse of this.

How much truth might there be to the assertion that an entire village of Wichita was destroyed in this period? Such accounts were frequently exaggerated. Could there be any linkage between this attack and the possible charred posts (see p. 6) said to have been found at the Deer Creek site? On the other hand, it might have been another band village altogether, perhaps one still to the east of the Arkansas River that has escaped mention in documents of the period. The epidemics may refer to those that spread on the Arkansas River in 1747-1748 (VP:LO 117).

Were further alliances intended to be an answer to these attacks? In August 1752 Luis Feuilli, who had deserted from Illinois by way of Fort de Cavagnial, made a declaration after his arrest in Santa Fe (AGN, PI, v.34). In it he said that the Comanche had recently made peace

with the *Panana* "by means of the *Jumanes*." This fact was also communicated to Macarty Mactigue who had by this time succeeded Benoist as commander at Fort de Chartres. He wrote to Vaudreuil (VP, LO 412) that the commander of Ft. de Cavagnial "tells me that the *panis* have reported they have made peace with the *Letannes* [Comanche]." Were the *panis* in this case both South Band Pawnee and Skidi? The Comanche pursued this advantage by asking a Skidi Pawnee chief to take them to Macarty because (AC,C13A,37:190) "they wish to have a father." It would seem quite possible that this was another Indian alliance rather than one negotiated by the French commander as it has been described. The New Mexican governor, Vélez Cachupín, reported in September 1752 to the Mexican Viceroy, Conde de Revilla Gigedo (AGN,PI,v37) that the people called by the Spaniards the *Aé* had also been persuaded to join the expanding alliance. John (1975:318), omitting this name as it appears in the primary source, evidently accepts their identification as Skidi Pawnee, as suggested by Marc Simmons (1973). This correlation has not been generally accepted and the *Aé* remain somewhat of a puzzle. It is possible that the intent behind this coalition was the destruction of the Osage and their Siouan-speaking allies.

In this same year (1752), four French deserters from Fort de Cavagnial were reported by Major Macarty Mactigue (AC,C13A,37:190) to have been killed by the *panis noire*, presumably Wichita living in the Deer Creek region. The way of French-Wichita relations was not always smooth. Nor were they helped at this time by the unavailability of trade firearms (AC,C13A,36:72vo.-73), none having arrived from France in 1751. Such deficiencies handicapped the hunters in getting the needed cooperation from the demanding Indians.

The problem arises of how long the mid-century joint activity was maintained at the villages of the Wichita. This is one of the several places in this chronological narrative where a gap in information makes it difficult to even theorize with much assurance. No post-1750 Spanish interrogations of Frenchmen who followed the Wichita-Comanche route to New Mexico are known. Perhaps none took place. Vélez Cachupín wrote on March 8, 1750 (AGN,PI,v.37) that he regarded "as most harmful the

permission given to those first Frenchmen [the 1739-40 Mallet party] to return [to Louisiana] and as most unfortunate the experience and knowledge which they were thereby able to acquire. . ."

One Santiago Velo or Jacques Belleau, a Frenchman, possibly one of the ten who left Illinois in 1742 (Bienville AC,C13A,28:34), had arrived at Pecos Pueblo in 1744 (Kessell 1979:388). He was interrogated by the current governor Codallos y Rabal (SANM R.8,Fr.271) and hustled off to *Nueva Vizcaya* (New Biscayne). His declaration which was sent to the Mexican viceroy is evidently lost so the Frenchman's route of approach is unknown beyond the fact (Twitchell 1914, 2:150) that he finally reached Comanche who brought him to Pecos. Although the French deserters and hunters who came in 1749 and 1750 by way of the Arkansas River had been allowed to locate in Mexico, far from the French border, where they could follow their professions of civil life, the Spaniards dealt more severely with later arrivals such as the members of the 1750 Mallet party who sought trade but were held as spies (VP,LO9,vII:186), and the deserters Jean Chapuis and Luis Feuilli coming from Fort de Cavagnial in 1752. These men were all imprisoned in Mexico City and then sent to Spain. Such action did not encourage further journeys to New Mexico by any route. It is questionable if opportunities existed for Pueblo Indian pottery to reach Wichita villages at this period (Sudbury 1976:13) except through Indian exchange.

It has been assumed with good reason by many contemporary authors (e.g. Bell and Bastian 1967b:119) that the Wichita who lived in villages at the Deer Creek and Bryson sites moved thence to the north side of Red River where the Longest archeological site (JF-1) is located in southeast Jefferson County, Oklahoma (Duffield 1965:39, 44-46; Bell and Bastian 1967a:56). This inference is based on the fact that the Taovayas and part of the Yscanis were living here in 1758 in adjacent villages. Other Yscanis (Bolton 1962:91) may have been living near the Tawakoni at this time. It is difficult to believe that the Wichita proper or representatives of other Wichita groups would have dared to remain alone on the Arkansas River after the principal bands had left. They too probably migrated with their relatives.

In 1758 various Wichita-speakers, such as the Tawakoni, *Taovayas*, *Yscanis*, and Kitsai, along with the Tejas, Bidais, Tonkawa, Comanche, and other Indians, attacked the Spanish mission of San Sabá de la Santa Cruz which had been established recently on the San Sabá River, a tributary of the Colorado River (Texas), for proselytization of the Apache. The raid was the culmination of three years of boasting by these nations (Aparico 1758) that they would join together to exterminate the Apache who had been befriended by the Spaniards. In a number of secondary accounts of the assault, the enemy forces are reported to have consisted of the Comanche and older residents of the Spanish Texas region such as the Tawakoni, Yojuane, Tonkawa, and Tejas whose dress, arms, behavior and speech were familiar to firsthand observers. But in some statements taken that year from soldiers from the nearby garrison, the participation of "Indians of the North" (Nathan and Simpson 1959:54,66,82,108) is reported. There is no doubt that these were in large part the *Taovayas*, *Yscanis* and other newcomers from the Deer Creek region who were probably present at San Sabá in full force. After all, it was to the *Taovayas* village (Longest site) on the Red River, near which Comanche were camped, that Don Diego Ortiz Parilla went in 1759 to avenge the assault on the mission, and it was there that some articles from the mission might be seen, according to the Tawakoni (Castañeda 1939,4:110-111). In the next decade these Wichita are recorded as continuing to live on Red River.

No particular reason can be pinpointed for the abandonment of the Deer Creek and Bryson sites by 1758. Evidently a number of factors were involved. Certainly a demand for the products which hunters took to New Orleans continued after 1752, the last date when the French-Wichita operation was documented. In fact, hunters were working far up the Arkansas long after the Wichita had departed. The joint activity may have slowed after De Lino left Arkansas Post in 1752. There is no evidence to indicate whether his immediate successors involved themselves in it to as great an extent as he had. Nor is it clear just how much the increasing number of Chickasaw attacks on convoys and single transports may have hindered the Arkansas River *voyageurs* in getting their

products to market. Most of the reported aggression against convoys occurred on the Mississippi above the mouth of the Arkansas, but individual pirogues or flatboats were preyed upon (AC,C13A,38:95vo.) all along the river. Moreover, with the beginning of the French and Indian War in the Ohio Valley in 1754, salted meat was demanded by New France from the Illinois country which heretofore had sent a considerable quantity to New Orleans. Hence this city became more dependent upon the hunters working along Mississippi River tributaries below the Ohio River.

Again shipping was endangered by a war and adequate supplies were not received in Louisiana from France. Those that came were often diverted to war needs. By 1756 Louis Billouart de Kerlérec, who succeeded Vaudreuil as governor-general of Louisiana, wrote that not only the King's storehouses but also the private merchants of New Orleans (AC,C13A,39:190-91) lacked merchandise for the Indian trade. In 1757 no ships came from France. This lessened the ability of the hunters to engage the Wichita to cooperate with them.

Furthermore, the Indians had reason to be restless in the years between 1752 and 1758 because of Osage harassment and what they observed and heard was happening in regard to the Apache farther south. As awareness of projected Spanish protection of the Apache at San Sabá deepened, the temptation to join in large-scale hostilities against them strengthened. French officials and traders based at Natchitoches were in sympathy with their reactions but for somewhat different reasons. As early as 1753 the French commandant there, César de Blanc de Neuveville, lodged a complaint (Dunn 1914:386,n.13) against the establishment of a mission or presidio in Apache country. The French knew that some Spaniards hoped a mission on the San Sabá would lead to northward expansion of Spanish interests. French strategy continued to be maintenance of a line of defence along Red River composed of Indian villages. Although French hunters were probably still busy on the Arkansas River, the Wichita chose to move south, attracted by the opportunities to join in the destruction of the Apache mission and to obtain more trade goods.

In the fall of 1757 reports were spreading (Dunn 1914: 402) that the Indians of the North

were gathering to make some kind of protest. Antonio Treviño in 1765 reported that the *Taquais* [*Taovayas*] had moved south about eight years previously, that is, ca. 1757. More precise data for the time of this move of the Wichita from the Deer Creek vicinity on Arkansas River to the Red are so far unknown.

It would seem, therefore, that the heyday for French-Wichita cooperative activity in the Deer Creek locality began c. 1747-1748 and extended to 1752. After that year, the joint enterprise may have decreased in intensity with Wichita help becoming less dependable. When the operation was flourishing, as many as 30 or so hunter-voyageurs may have been ascending annually to the Deer Creek region in order to hunt seasonally with the Indians and to direct the processing of the game there. Some hunters may have stayed for longer periods. Even after the Indians deserted these villages, hunters may have worked there at times on their own.

Arkansas River hunters reported in 1770 that the *Taovayas*/Tawehash had removed north temporarily to what may have been their former village sites near Deer Creek or to some nearby locality. In January of that year Alexander O'Reilly, in charge of establishing Spanish rule in territory formerly French Louisiana, had ordered Athanase de Mézières at Natchitoches (Bolton 1914, 1:90-92, 135-36) to cut off all commerce with the so-called "hostile tribes" which included the *Taovayas*. This regulation denied to these Wichita the trade goods to which they were accustomed. Their response was to return to the Arkansas River in the hope of making contact again with Frenchmen from Arkansas Post. Don Francisco de Mazillières, the commandant there, suspected they had other intentions. He reported on July 16 (Papeles de Cuba 107; courtesy A. P. Nasatir) "that all the village of the *panis* [meaning *Taovayas* chiefly?] and a large group of *Lahitanes* [Comanche] are

joined together to the number of 5000 men, that they intend to make an attack on the *ausages* [Osages]. . . According to the report of hunters, the group that he [Mézières] should influence is on the upper reaches of this river [the Arkansas] in brushwood country [*fourre*; that is, treeless country?], toward the north about 250 leagues from here, in the middle of extensive prairies. The hunters who come from this region have seen their village." The next day the commandant wrote further that if the *panis* hunted and did not pillage the French, they would be supplied with trade.

Mézières who had not been north of the Red River commented on the situation in October, writing (Bolton 1914, 1:215), "I am informed that the *Tavaïases* [*Taovayas*] who although they form with the foregoing [Yscanis and Tawakoni] a single nation, live apart for greater convenience in hunting being without the accustomed supplies furnished them through the disordered greed of the traders (whom, by order of your Lordship I made retire), have gone to the interior, far to the north, seeking asylum in the dark solitudes which lie between the Natchitoches and Akensas Rivers; but now, in the hope of obtaining peace, they propose again to draw near to Cadodachos [on the Red River]." They had returned to these villages by 1771.

In the 1780s there are suggestions in Spanish documents that the Wichita might have returned to hunt from time to time in the region of the middle Arkansas where in some years upwards of 200 French hunters now working under the Spanish regime were still plying their trade. There is no evidence, however, that this was more than a seasonal journey taken by the Indians in order to obtain meat and meat products for themselves and to get hides to exchange for European items with traders working out of Natchitoches.

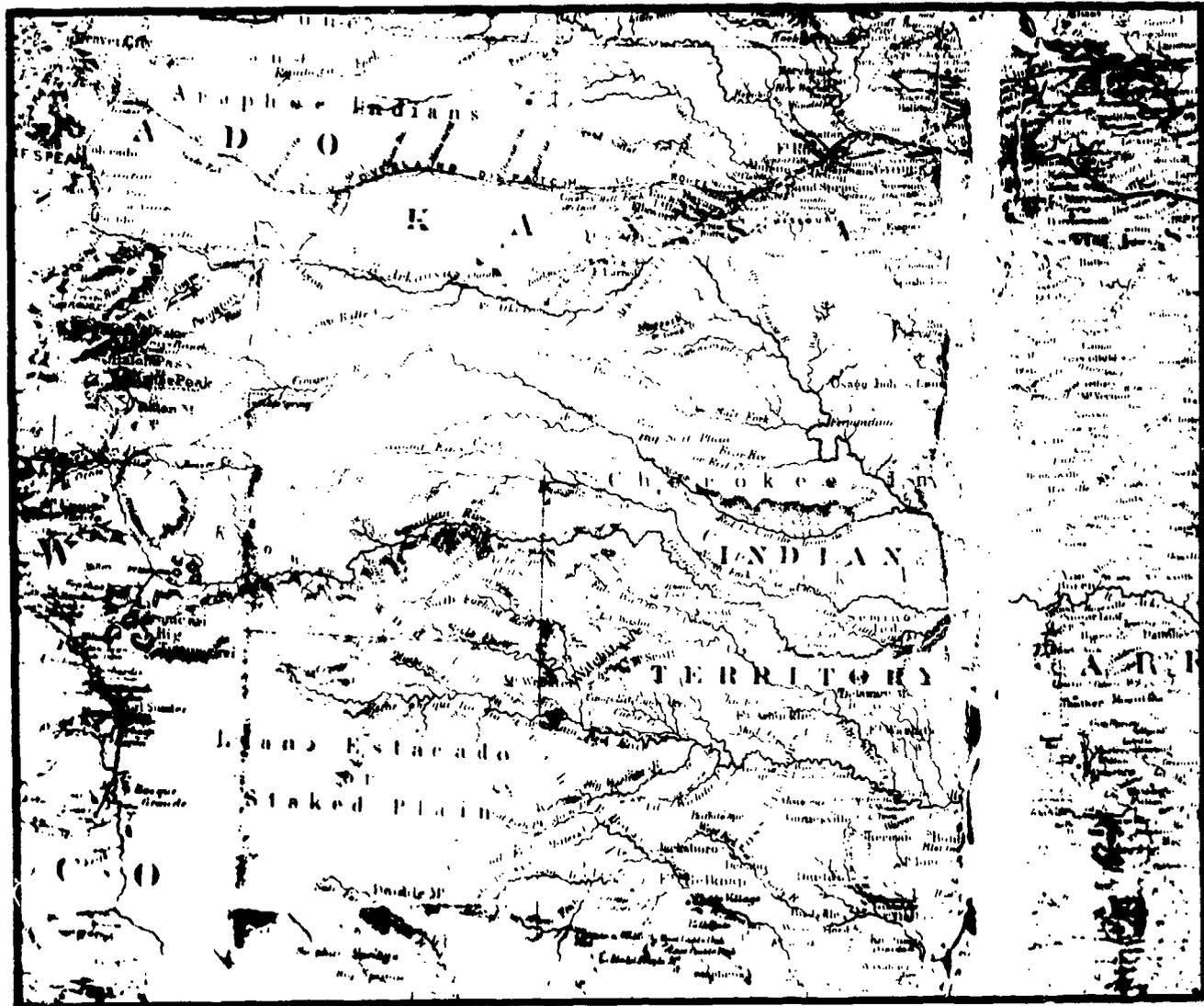


FIGURE 11

Map showing *Fernandina*. This photograph was presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Bert Moore. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.

CHAPTER V

The Myth of Fernandina

"Early maps of western North America and the United States, made by cartographers in England and Scotland give the name of a town or trading post *Ferdinandina* shown near the mouth of a small stream on the west side of the Arkansas River, a few miles south of the present north boundary of Oklahoma."

Muriel H. Wright
The Chronicles of Oklahoma
41/2:157 (1963)

"Ferdinandina was thought to have been established by the French nearly two hundred years ago and therefore the site could be pointed to as that of the first white settlement in Oklahoma, according to Doctor Thoburn."

Muriel H. Wright
The Chronicles of Oklahoma
24/4:404 (1946)

In May or June 1926, Joseph B. Thoburn of the Oklahoma Historical Society and Otto Spring, his field assistant, became aware of a map on which the place name *Fernandina* appeared on the Arkansas River above the mouth of Salt Fork and below the 37th parallel of north latitude (the boundary line between Oklahoma and Kansas), therefore in the general region of the Deer Creek site. There seems to be some confusion on dates. On June 1, 1926, there appeared in the *Blackwell [OK.] Morning Tribune* a feature story on the excavations being carried on at that time at the Bryson-Paddock site. In it "Camp

"... the main Pani village may have been moved to the Deer Creek site, if it had not been on location there before, and map-makers of Europe show the exact location under the name of 'Ferdinandina.'"

"Ferdinandina, the feminine form used so often in referring to towns or ships, may have been a designation used by the English map makers and not have been so designated by the traders actually on the scene."

Leslie A. McRill
The Chronicles of Oklahoma
41/2:140, 156 (1963)

Ferdinandina" was mentioned and identified with the Deer Creek site. However, in a letter dated June 13, 1926 (OHS), Otto Spring wrote of hearing of the map for the first time. Spring wrote: "Mr. Moore and his wife are here this P.M. He tells me that a Paul Miller of Winfield has an old map that belonged to his grandfather and is dated 1864. It seems that it has a number of interesting things on it and among others it maps Camp Fernandino. As it names and maps the creeks and the Arkansas River more or less accurately and places the camp some twenty miles south of here [Bryson-Paddock site] it might pay to come on up and look that locality

over. Mr. Moore would meet us at Ponca early Sunday morning next and we could look over the country east of there." Apparently Spring and Moore were interpreting the position of "Camp Fernandino" as just east of Ponca City.

Writing of the same map in 1973, Spring said, "It was made by Loyds [*sic*] of London about 1835 and showed Fernandina. . . I do not know what became of this map. I made a photograph of it and recently found the negative among my old records" (7/13/1973;OHS). The next year Spring informed Byron Sudbury that the negative of the picture he had taken of the "old Loyds [*sic*] map of about 1830 showing Fernandina" had been turned over to the Ponca City Cultural Center and Indian Museum. Through the kindness of Martha Royce Blaine, Oklahoma Historical Society, and Delia Castor of the Ponca City Indian Museum, a print was made. Although the negative was badly over-exposed, it is possible to identify the map from the cartouche and the features shown. C. M. Sarchet of Ponca City also photographed it in 1926, but focussed on a smaller area. A print of his exposure may be the picture donated by Bert Moore to the Oklahoma Historical Society, a gift recorded in its Photo Accession Book. Here the date of the map is again given as 1864.

Both pictures are of a map that appears to be identical with "Lloyd's Topographical Railway Map of North America or the United States Continent" (Fig. 12). This work was published by J. T. Lloyd of New York and London in 1868. The Sarchet (?) photo (Fig. 11) does not include the cartouche which is unfortunate since it is a much clearer picture than that taken by Spring. On the Spring photo, the map date is somewhat obscured; the last two figures look smudged or appear to have been dimmed by age. Although Moore and Spring in 1926 read the figure as 1864, it is doubtful if this was a correct reading since the 1868 map was copyrighted in 1865 in the "Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York." This would suggest, in addition, that the map was published in New York and not in London. Certainly this possibility should not be disregarded as it has been in the past.

The place name *Fernandina* (not *Ferdinandina* or *Camp Fernandino*) accompanies a small circle which, according to the key, is the symbol for "Towns, Villages, Post Offices." This is not the

only such circle with a place name in Indian Territory. Straight west of *Fernandina* on the map may be seen the designation "Hot Springs" on the Cimarron River and then "Cidar [Cedar?] Spring," each with its little circle. Thus is *Fernandina* as the "first white settlement in Oklahoma [that is, Indian Territory]," shown to be a product of wishful thinking. It is but one of three communities noted northeast of Fort Gibson.

As may be seen on Figure 12, *Fernandina* occurs on the Lloyd map on the north side of the east-west stretch of the Arkansas just above the mouth of Salt Fork between the present-day sites of Ponca City and Kaw. That is why Moore and Spring intended to search that course of the river for evidence of it. Thoburn was unable to join them, but Spring reported to him (June 20, 1926;OHS) that he and Moore had located a site on that section of the river where there had been an encampment of Indians and "whites." Frenchmen were not specified. Thoburn responded two days later that this must be the "3rd site of Camp Fernandino," but there is no evidence he had the site explored further. Thereafter, although he occasionally mentioned this place, he usually associated *Fernandina* with the Deer Creek site where he knew Indian artifacts and French trade items were present. The Bryson-Paddock site he described several times as in the vicinity of the "French fort." The concept of a fort must have stemmed from the surface configuration at Deer Creek that he viewed as a fortification.

The equation of *Fernandina* or *Ferdinandina* with the Deer Creek site required that two assumptions be made: first, that the cartographer of the map of the 1860s erred in the location of the place name. It is not on the foreshortened, generally north-south stretch of the Arkansas above its two meanders that flow west where Red Rock Creek and Salt Fork enter the river and, therefore, it is not at the "exact location" of Deer Creek as McRill wrote (1963:129).

Secondly, it was assumed this place on the Lloyd map was an 18th century French establishment rather than a 19th century American one. Thoburn remembering that King Ferdinand had reigned in Spain from 1746 to 1759 decided that the post must have been named for this king. He soon began to call the

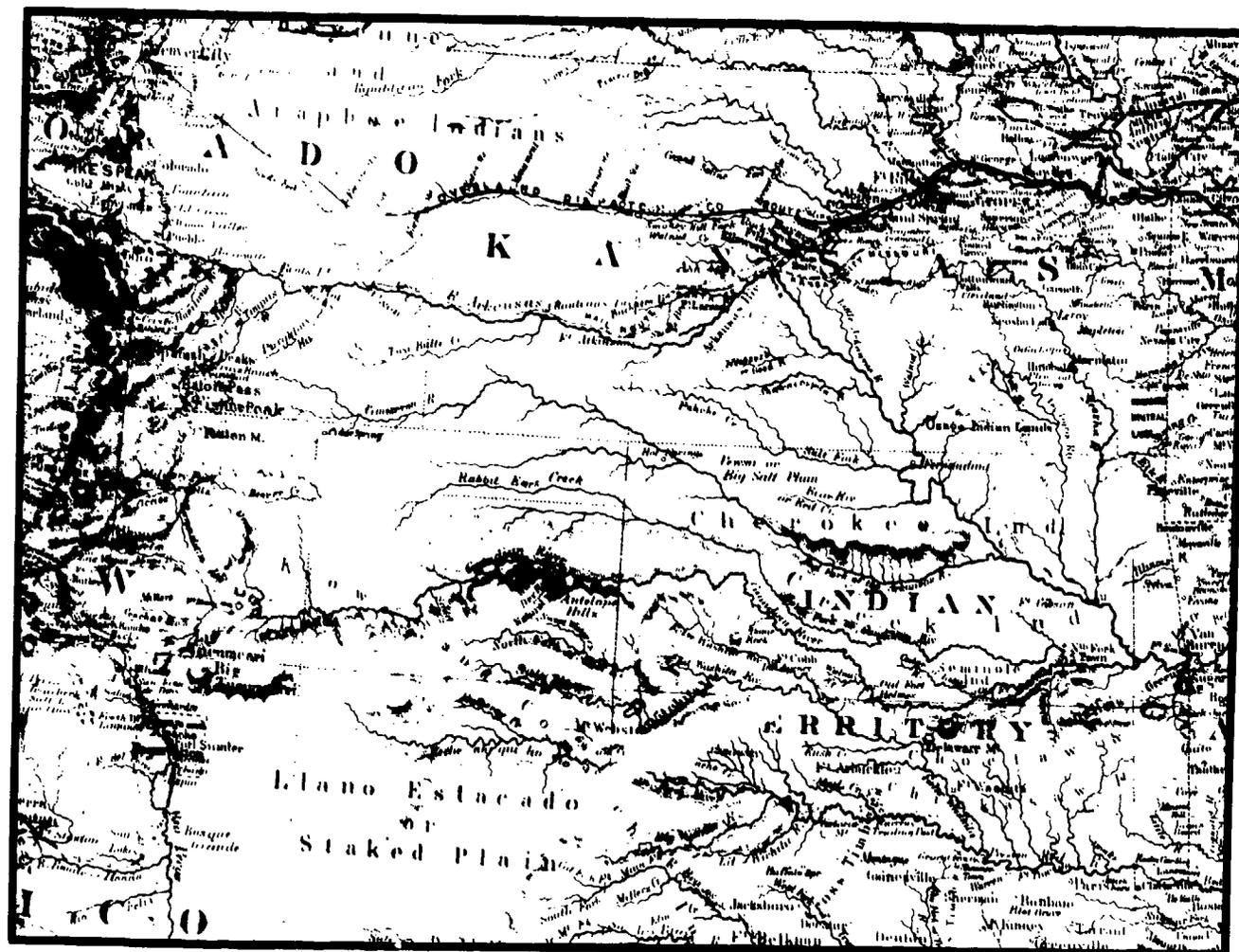


FIGURE 12

Section from "Lloyd's Topographical Railway Map of North-America, or the United States Continent." 1868. Courtesy Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

Deer Creek site *Ferdinandina* rather than "Camp Fernandino." Of course, this raises questions as to why, when Frenchmen and Spaniards were often glaring across their shared boundary at each other, the French would name a post of theirs after the King of Spain. As may be seen in Appendix A, the army deserters and hunters from French Louisiana who had been at Deer Creek in 1749 and 1750 did not use this place name at all when being interrogated by Spaniards in New Mexico. Expectedly, explanations for the use of the term became very involved. It was proposed by some that it must have been coined by mid-19th century map publishers in England (Wright and McRill in McRill 1963:140,156,158). There is no substantiation, however, for the idea that the French activity at Deer Creek was significant enough for Europeans to have heard of it at the time it was functioning, let alone a century later. In fact, there does not appear to be any substantive support for the assumption that the place name *Fernandina* referred to the Deer Creek site. Thoburn, and others who have followed his train of thought unquestioningly, would seem to have been pushing the evidence at hand. Thereby a myth was created.

The presence of the term *Fernandina* on maps after 1868, as described by Wright (McRill 1963:158), has no significance for either its relationship to the Deer Creek site or for the original meaning of the name. This is simply evidence for the prevalent custom of plagiarizing items from earlier maps.

A search of pre-1868 maps of the region has been made in order to determine, if possible, the original source for the place name. Pertinent maps have been examined in the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress, in the National Archives, in map repositories in Paris, and at the *Mapoteca* in Mexico City. Journals, survey records, postal maps, and other textual sources have also been investigated. No occurrence of the name was found in all the documents viewed that related to the 1740s and 1750s when the hunting and meat processing operation at Deer Creek was active.

In fact, the term does not surface in secondary sources until the 1850s. Those assembling data for the J. T. Lloyd maps often copied from those produced by J. H. Colton. *Fernandina* appears to be an example of this, although its location differs somewhat. It occurs on the Colton map titled "Nebraska and Kansas," published in New York in 1856, copyrighted March 31, 1855. It is shown

(Fig.13) at the mouth of the *Shawacaskah* (Chikaskia) River which is not on the Lloyd map but depicted here as entering the Arkansas a short distance above the mouth of Salt Fork rather than flowing into Salt Fork as it does today. Interestingly, the place name does not appear on Colton's earlier 1853 map, or on any of the maps studied that preceded this date in the 19th century.

Another map of 1856, one published by Morse & Gaston of New York (Fig. 14), entitled "Kansas and Nebraska," places *Fernandino* in a quite different location, but still not at Deer Creek, instead to the northeast of the Arkansas River. This site might be interpreted as at the forks of Grouse Creek or on the lower Santa Fe trail. The map was copyrighted in 1854, but cartographic consultants at the Library of Congress say that items were sometimes added after copyrighting. Other later maps copied this portrayal and spelling too.

A map in the Kansas State Historical Society (information courtesy Pat Michaelis) that is undated but copyrighted in 1857, titled "Territory of Kansas and Indian Territory," and attributed to Prof. H. D. Rogers & A. Keith Johnston, F.R.S.E., copies the Colton map in its position of the place name just above the mouth of the *Sha-wa-cas-kah*, but spells it with the added "d", *Ferdinandina*. Was this simply inexact copying? The map appears to have been printed in both London and Edinburgh and copyrighted in both London and Massachusetts.

The primary source for the term *Fernandina* would seem to have appeared at some time in the middle of the 19th century. So far it has eluded a varied search. It is of interest to learn there is a *Fernandino*, Florida. It is thought likely this town derived its name from Don Domingo Fernandez who received an early land grant in that locality (Harder 1976:176). There seems to be no evidence, however, that one Samuel Fernandis, an American who was living in Leavenworth, Kansas, in the 1850s (Barry 1972:1211,1227) and was engaged in the freighting business, had a trading post on or near the Arkansas River, but he or someone else might have. A location near the mouth of Salt Fork would have been a good spot at which to trade with western bound Osage hunters who in the 1830s were shown (Hood 1833-34) to have a trail along the south side of that stream. It may have been used by Indian hunters later as well.

The search for the origin of the term *Fernandina* continues.

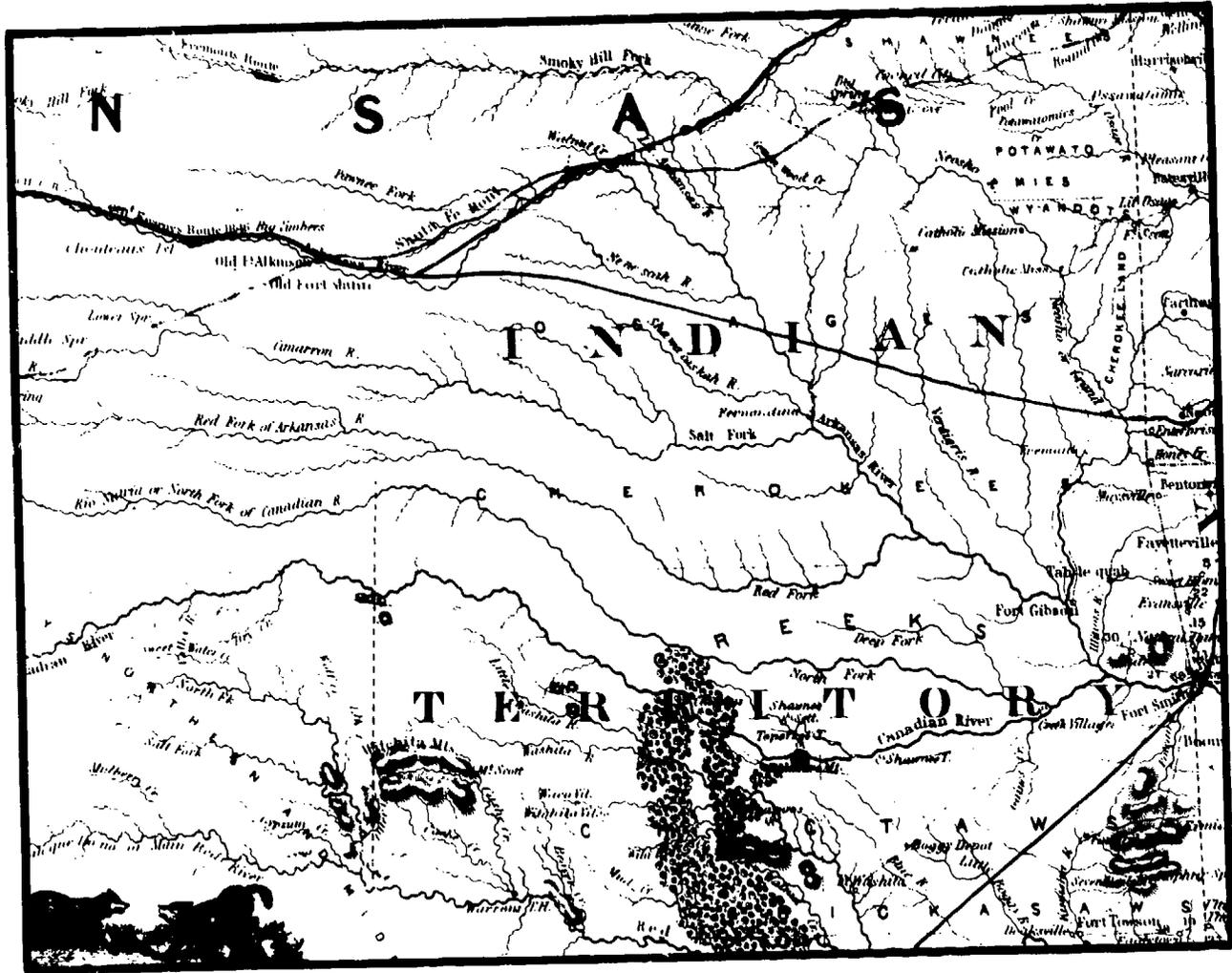


FIGURE 13

Section from the map "Nebraska and Kansas," published by J. H. Colton & Co., 1856. Courtesy Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

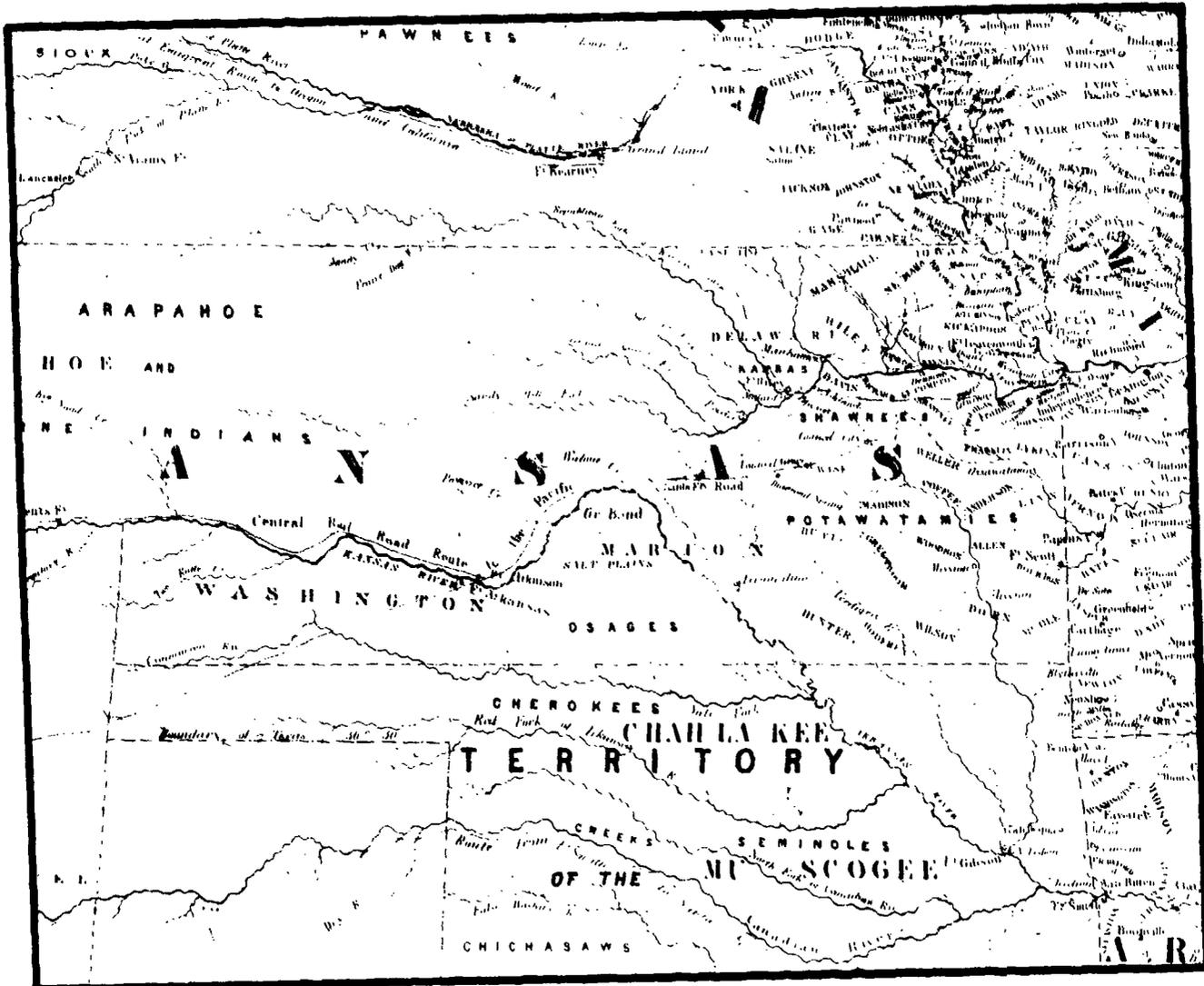


FIGURE 14

Section from map "Kansas and Nebraska," published by Morse & Gaston, 1856. Courtesy Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

CHAPTER VI

The Archeologists' Challenge

At Deer Creek, archeologists will be excavating an unusually interesting and complex site. In one respect at least, it and the Bryson-Paddock site together are unique. Here Wichita Indians were living in the mid-18th century. The two villages were serving as headquarters for "professional hunters whose business it was to supply the Louisiana colony with meat," as suggested by Steen (1953:187) 25 years ago. With the Indians--probably *Taovayas* and possibly *Yscanis*, Wichita proper, and individuals from other less well documented bands--the French carried on hunts for bison, deer and bear. In all likelihood Wichita women were hired to help in the dressing of hides, in smoking, drying or salting of the meat, and in rendering of tallow and oil. Trade existed to the extent that the Indians were paid in European items for their cooperative labor.

Professional French hunters such as those at Deer Creek had been operating up many tributaries of the Mississippi since the 1720s at least. Bienville wrote in 1726 (AC,C13A, 1:367vo.) that the Illinois Indians formerly traded furs and hides to French *voyageurs*, but that "now the French have been insisting they devote themselves to producing oil, tallow and meat for which they [the French] trade." This was in response to the steady demand in the growing lower colony of Louisiana for these products. The dried or salted meat supplemented the meagre supply of beef and other domestic animals in the colony. Tallow was used as fat to cook with corn and other vegetable products. It was also important in the making of candles. The

colonists combined wax from the common waxmyrtle (*Myrica cerifera* L.) with tallow--preferably deer it seems--which made the final product "as firm as those of France" (AC,C13A,15:35vo.). Rendered bear oil was used for frying and other purposes served by olive oil in Europe.

The St. Francis River, a western tributary of the Mississippi above the Arkansas, was an early and continuing haunt of these professional French hunters (AC,C13A,38:208), often accompanied by a few Quapaw Indians. In 1722 Bénard de La Harpe (1831:200) in going to Arkansas Post met two pirogues manned by French hunters carrying 5000 pounds of salted beef [bison meat] for New Orleans. Antoine-Simon LePage du Pratz wrote of Frenchmen and Indians hunting and salting meat up the Black (i.e. Ouachita) River, a tributary of the Red, in the second and third decades of the 1700s. On the Nicolás de La Fora map of 1766-67 there are three symbols on a Red River tributary marked "*Casas de los Franceses para carnear*" (cabins of the Frenchmen for processing meat). This may also refer to the Ouachita although it may instead indicate another tributary, the Little River, where John Mitchell placed a "Salt House" on his 1755 map. Hunters worked on the east side of the Mississippi as well. In 1752 Macarty Mactigue wrote (VP,LO 339) of two Frenchmen who were seen en route to New Orleans from evidently the Tennessee River area with boats containing fat, oil, and salted meat. Beletrus wrote ([1746-47]:190) that the hunters spent six to seven months up the rivers, and sometimes "entire years (living) as veritable savages." In

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FIGURE 15

Aerial photograph of ditch system at Deer Creek site, taken July 9, 1938. Courtesy National Archives, RG 145; neg. no. AW1-3-34.

New Orleans, after selling their products, "these hunters usually make continually *la débauche*," Beletrus continued. Then after a while, upon obtaining credit again, they returned to the hunt.

The uniqueness of the situation at the Deer Creek and Bryson-Paddock sites stems from French hunters having established themselves in Indian villages whose inhabitants, male and female, cooperated in the meat procuring and processing activities so that a greatly expanded operation could take place compared with that carried on by small hunting parties working out of temporary camps.

Steen made the provocative but in some ways equivocal suggestion that the "great middens of bison bones" at the Deer Creek site reflected a change in the hunting habits of the Wichita caused by the arrival of the professional hunters. He proposed that faced with the necessity to produce a quantity of meat beyond that normally used by the Indians alone, they transported carcass parts by horses from the hunting ground to the villages where much of the meat cutting and processing as well as dressing of skins was now performed, activities that once took place near the kill site. Do the bones in the middens confirm this hypothesis? The villages were located in good game country. In later years even, bison were reported to have been seen in incredible numbers northwest of Deer Creek along the Arkansas River further upstream. They were also said to have been attracted to salt deposits in the adjacent region of present day Grant County (p. 65). White-tailed deer were later documented as living up the wooded tributaries of the river below present-day Great Bend, Kansas. If antlers of mule deer are found at the Deer Creek site, then concurrent use of a different hunting range would seem to be indicated.

While grizzly and black bears have been extinct in the Deer Creek region since the last century, they were probably found there earlier. E. Raymond Hall (1955:192) believed that black bear distribution in Kansas was once statewide. He also suggested that the grizzly "probably roamed over most of the western two-thirds" of that state. If bear claws are found in excavations at Deer Creek, it will be of interest to mammalogists as well as to others to determine from the difference in size whether they came from black or grizzly bears.

The French hunting activity up the Arkansas apparently had no official status, no garrison, and in all the 18th century French documentation I surveyed, the site was never identified by a special name. It would not be expected that a formal architectural style of fortification would be found there (Corbyn 1976:58;84).

What then might archeologists find? Sandoval furnished some detail on the villages in 1750. His declaration (App. A) reads:

"We embarked in a boat on the *Napestle* [Arkansas] River to go upstream, and after 50 days we arrived at two towns [*pueblos*] of Indians. . . We were well received by them, and we stayed 20 days in these towns during which time I observed with care the two towns. They were near each other. The houses are (made) of poles and grass, all fortified, with poles and earth, with openings [*casas son de palo y zacate, todos atrincherados de Palo, y tierra, con sus tronerras*]. . . They live there the year round; they plant corn, beans and squash."

There is no further indication of whether this description applied to each village or only one.

Although Thoburn believed some earth lodges had existed at the site, the dwellings Sandoval described seem to be typical Wichita grass lodges made of poles covered with bundles of dried grass. It will be interesting to see if archeologists find that structures of this sort do correlate with surface depressions as Wyckoff suggested might be the case (see p. 6; Bell and Bastian 1967a:114). In her interpretation of Sandoval's testimony, Elizabeth A. H. John (1975:317) wrote of these villages on the Arkansas: "They were veritable fortresses, their grass houses clustered closely, stockaded with stakes and earth, with loopholes for gunfire, built to withstand raids of Indian enemies." The word *atrincherados* cited above can mean "entrenched" or "fortified." Thus some kind of dry moat may have been observed by Sandoval. The mention of poles and earth certainly suggests some arrangement of a rampart and stockade. The latter feature was said to have *tronerras* or openings. Antonio Treviño (1765) described the stockade at the *Taovayas* village on Red River as being made of split logs which were separated "one from the other in order to make use of muskets." Were the *tronerras* similar to this? A stockade, built on an earthen rampart or supplemented by earth piled

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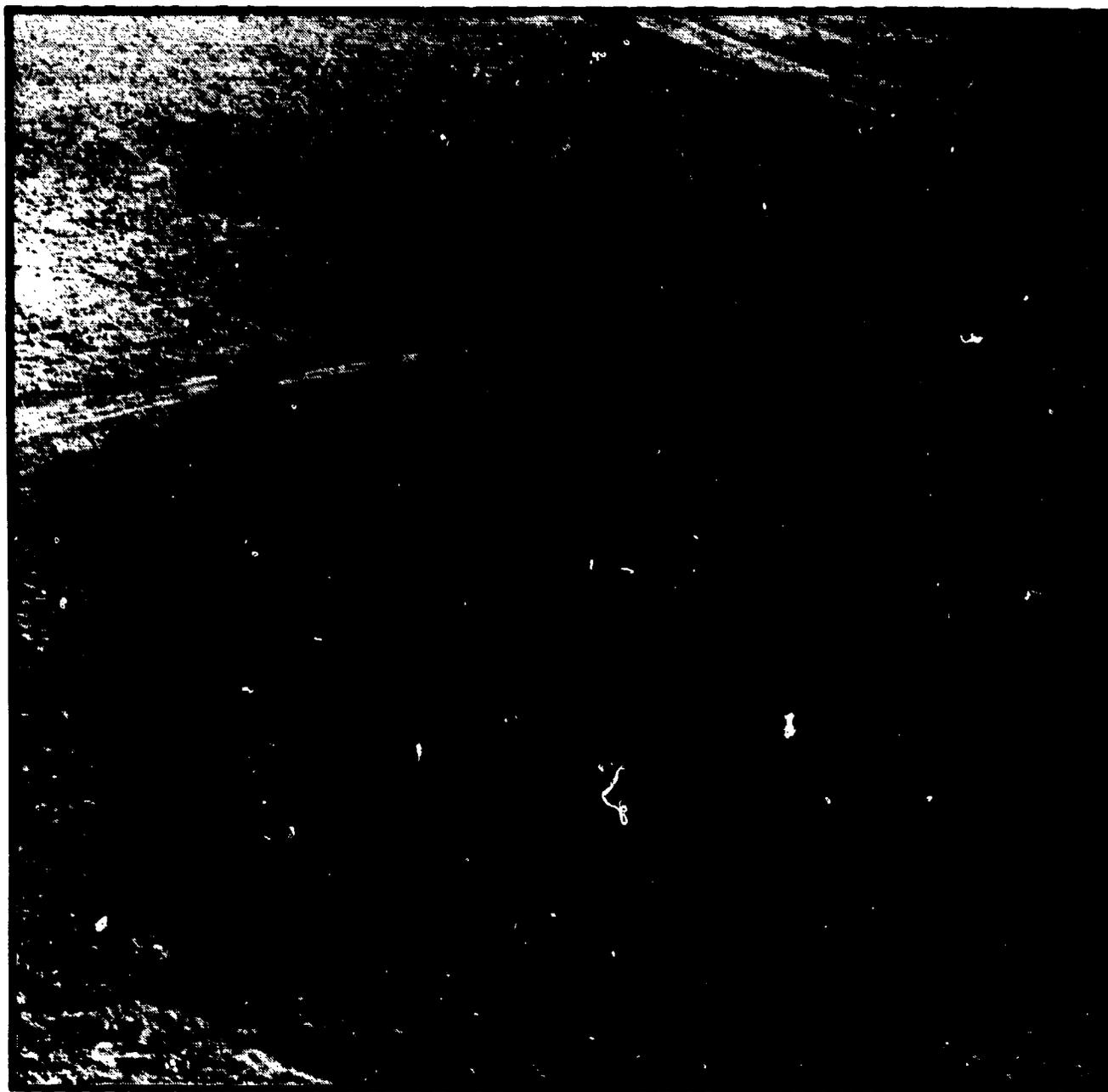


FIGURE 16
Aerial view of "Council circle" at Sharps Creek,
McPherson County, Kansas, looking south.
Courtesy W. R. Wedel.

against it, in conjunction perhaps with a ditch, seems a possible interpretation of the original Spanish.

The use of the word *todos* presents a problem too. Did Sandoval really mean that all the Indian dwellings were surrounded by a stockade and ditch as a literal translation would indicate? Febro (App. A: Answer 8) estimated there were 300 "warriors" [able-bodied men?] in the two villages while Sandoval, who was there almost three weeks, estimated there were 500 "men" in the two towns. Multiplying this by five would give a tentative population of 1500 to 2500. Following estimates of eight to ten persons to a house as given by Oñate in 1601 (Bolton 1916:260) for the Quivirans and ten persons to a house for the Waco as reported by R. B. Marcy in 1852 (1854:77), this would mean there might have been 150 to 250 dwellings or more in the dual settlement, possibly 75-125 at Deer Creek. There is no indication in answers to Santa Fe interrogations that one village was larger than the other. Even if, as Mrs. John wrote, the houses were "clustered closely," 75 or so houses with adjunct structures would leave little activity area. Looking again at the stockade at the *Taovayas* village on Red River (Parilla 1763; Treviño 1765), it is seen to have been in the middle of the village or settlement with most if not all family dwellings outside. The question facing the archeologists at Deer Creek will be, was there a stockade that entirely encircled each or one of the villages, or, on the other hand, was the situation comparable to that on Red River in later times?

It has been assumed by many that the horse-shoe shaped trench, ca. 250' in diameter (Corbyn 1976:25), of which there is surface evidence at Deer Creek, was the feature Sandoval was describing. This may or may not be so. The position of the ditch or ditches (*Ibid.*:52-63; fig.9), still easily observable as a surface feature, may relate to some kind of fortification that provided safe access for the French from pirogues in the creek to the village and vice versa. It has been suggested by observers that Deer Creek itself may have been straightened somewhat from its mouth up to the ravine, perhaps to provide adequate space to bring in and store pirogues. Artificial alteration of the banks should be checked upon. Palisades were common to French settlements (Peterson 1965:25; Brown 1976:201-202). Might this one have enclosed the

living quarters of the Frenchmen? Did they store here their hides and other products of the chase until departure time came? The mound said to be within the enclosure may offer some interpretive help.

Corbyn observed (1976:60) on aerial photographs a "rectangular negative vegetation impression" within the ditch system. While this could be the site of a Wichita arbor or large drying rack, he suggested another possibility, namely that it may indicate a structure built by Frenchmen. In this period the French in Louisiana were constructing buildings (Peterson 1965:27,40) with sidewalls made of vertical logs set side by side (*poteaux en terre*) or with short spaces between which could be filled with daub of some sort, such as a mixture of mud and grass (*bousillée*). These may have been set in ditches. A form of construction called *pièce sur pièce* was also in use. Here the vertical posts were widely spaced and connected by horizontal logs or hewn planks if available. Ian W. Brown (1976) has suggested that the structures inside a fortification at Bayou Goula, Louisiana, were so built, and notes the use of this method elsewhere in the colony. Thus the posthole pattern for a square building of typical French construction might show a line of postholes set in a ditch side by side or at intervals, or postholes set far enough apart to mislead an archeologist who is not aware of the *pièce sur pièce* construction.

An alternative explanation of this horse-shoe shaped feature at Deer Creek is that it was basically a combination of a traditional Wichita feature and an Indian defensive work adopted under the stress of 18th century hostilities. Such may have been the stockade and semisubterranean chambers that were built at the *Taovayas* village (Longest site) on Red River. Here (Bell and Bastian 1967a:59) the surface feature is a large (c. 80 x 120 meters) oval-shaped ring. Parilla (1763) described the stockade as surrounded by a moat. Treviño (1765) testified that the outside of the stockade was an earthen rampart. To the east and the west were very deep trenches. Inside the oval stockade were four semisubterranean apartments occupying all of its circumference, "into which all of the people who cannot help with the defense of the said settlement retreat in time of invasion." A winding pathway lined by vertical posts led to the river, providing access to water. Excavation at the site (Bell and Bastian 1967a:59,84-85) has

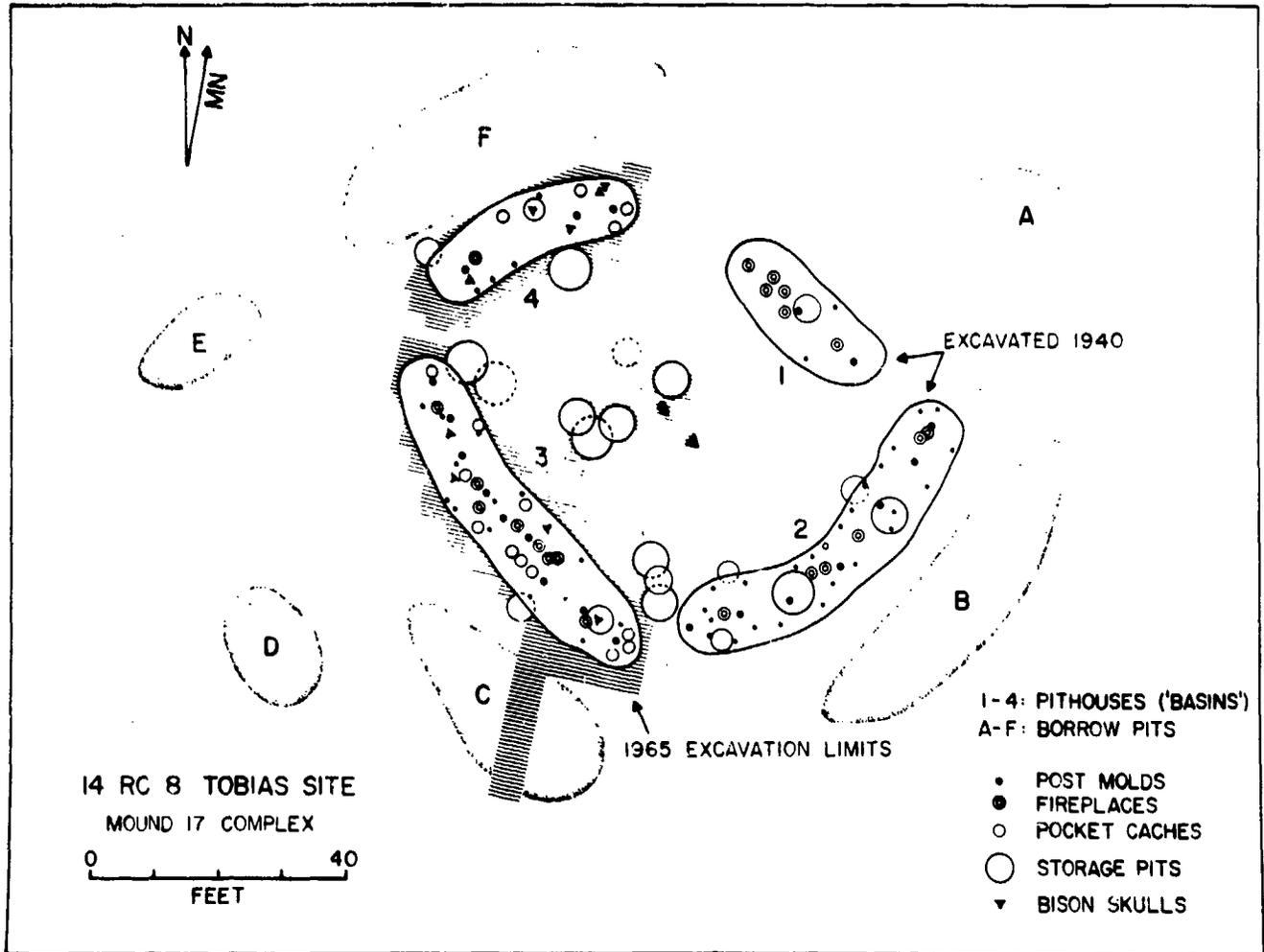


FIGURE 17

Diagram of excavations at "Council Circle," Tobias site, Rice County, Kansas. Courtesy W. R. Wedel.

not been extensive enough to illuminate the 18th century descriptions.

Although very much larger, these four chambers are reminiscent of those in the so-called "council circles" (fig. 16) five of which Waldo R. Wedel (1968:374-76) has located in the Quivira region of central Kansas, and three of which he has excavated in part. "Typically," he wrote,

"the council circle consists of a low central mound, 20 to 30 yards in diameter, around which there is a discontinuous shallow ditch or a series of oblong depressions placed end to end, and forming a roughly circular, subcircular, or elliptical pattern. In some cases, there seem to have been two ditches or discontinuous depressed zones concentrically placed around the central mound. . . . Excavation disclosed a series of four oblong or curving dug basins, arranged in a roughly quadrilateral plan (Fig. 17) inside the ellipse and more or less paralleling the surface depressions. . . . It seems clear that the four basins represented the ruins of as many burned-out houses each built on a framework of poles, thatched with grass, and then partly covered with earth."

No evidence of stockades was found, however. Wedel has suggested that the circles may have been special-purpose areas that provided points for observing sunset and/or sunrise horizon points at solstice times. The structures represented now by the basins may have had ceremonial functions. However, these circles are less than half the diameter of the Deer Creek formation and bear little surface resemblance to it. They are much smaller than the stockade circle at the Red River village.

Sudbury (1976:85-86) thought the "geographical location of the *Paniassa* and the map legend" on the John Mitchell map entitled "A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America, . . ." printed in 1755 (Berkeley and Berkeley 1974; Ristow 1972; Fig. 18) "strongly support the viewpoint that the Deer Creek site was a fortified *Paniassa* village and not a French trading post." Although it cannot be proved that the *Paniassa* location indicates the Deer Creek site, the possibility exists. By the name *Paniassa* on the map is a symbol keyed to

the meaning "Indian Towns and Forts." It appears frequently on the map and often in places where, to my knowledge, there was never an Indian fort: e.g. at the Kadohadacho settlement on Red River, at the Doniphan Kansa site, at the mouth of the Little Sioux River in present-day Iowa. The association of the symbol with the *Paniassa* village would seem to be a questionable argument for the Deer Creek ditch formation being an Indian fort rather than a French structure. Only excavation of the site can be expected to provide a satisfactory explanation.

Still another horse-shoe shaped enclosure (W. Wedel 1959:527-30; Galey 1931) may link with a Wichita village, the one visited by Dutisné. Near Neodesha, Wilson County, Kansas, an earthwork (14WN1; Fig. 19), which is also horse-shoe shaped, was observed by early white settlers who came into the region in 1869. The curving embankment had been badly mutilated by the 1950s; it is possibly destroyed altogether by this time. Shallow trenches or borrow pits paralleled it on both sides. Pottery and other artifacts, together with European trade goods, are supposed to have been found on the surface inside the enclosure.

It is to be hoped that through careful and thoughtful excavation, the purpose and structure of the visible enclosure feature at Deer Creek can be determined. Were there semisubterranean chambers here? Was the stockade, if such existed, made of split logs? Were they spaced to leave openings between the posts? Is there evidence within of French dwellings, or of meat processing operations? Can Corbyn's (1976) speculations regarding the enclosure structure be verified?

There is some confusion as to whether there was a similar trench pattern at Bryson. In his 1926 letters Otto Spring, while working there, several times mentioned a "trench" or "entrenchment." On May 31 he suggested to Thoburn that since someone had cut across the "trench" at Deer Creek finding evidence of posts that "it would be well to dig a trench across the one here." On June 26 he described the "long mound to the west of the entrenchment" as being formed apparently from earth excavated from the ditch. On June 1, 1926, the *Blackwell* [OK.] *Morning Tribune* published a feature story written with Thoburn's help which carried the

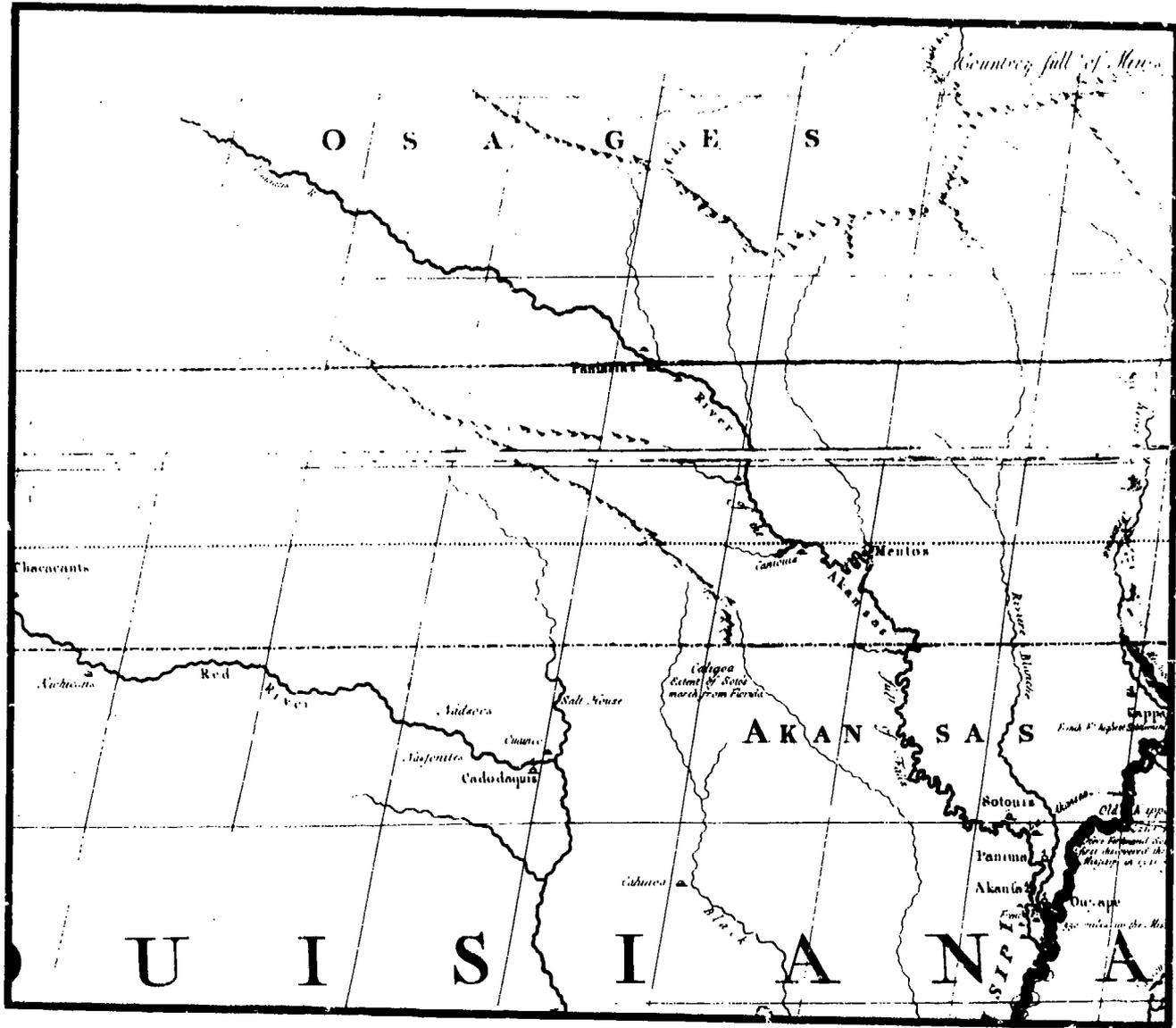


FIGURE 18

Section of John Mitchell "A Map of the British and French Dominions of North-America, . . ." 1755. Courtesy Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

sentence, "Originally surrounded by a deep trench, this village occupies land now included within the Ingleking and Bryson farms." From a study of aerial photographs, Corbyn described (1976:54-55) the extent of the site as the area enclosed by a stockade around the entire village. While these statements tend to confirm Sandoval's description of a fortification around an entire village, a later statement by Thoburn suggests an alternate situation. In his 1930 manuscript (p. 77) he wrote: "A ravine, or upland water-course, heads in the slope at the south end of the hill. Around the head of this depression, are to be found the traces of a circular trench, horse-shoe shaped in outline, with the opening extending across the course of the same, similar to the one already described at Deer Creek village site." Years later, Otto Spring writing to Mrs. Delia Castor at the Ponca City Cultural Center and Indian Museum (OHS:July 21,1977) said: "There was no indication of any stockade or fort there" referring to the Bryson site. The map he drew of the site in 1926 has not been found at the Oklahoma Historical Society. Wyckoff (1964:20) reported no evidence of such a feature in a 1963-64 survey of the site.

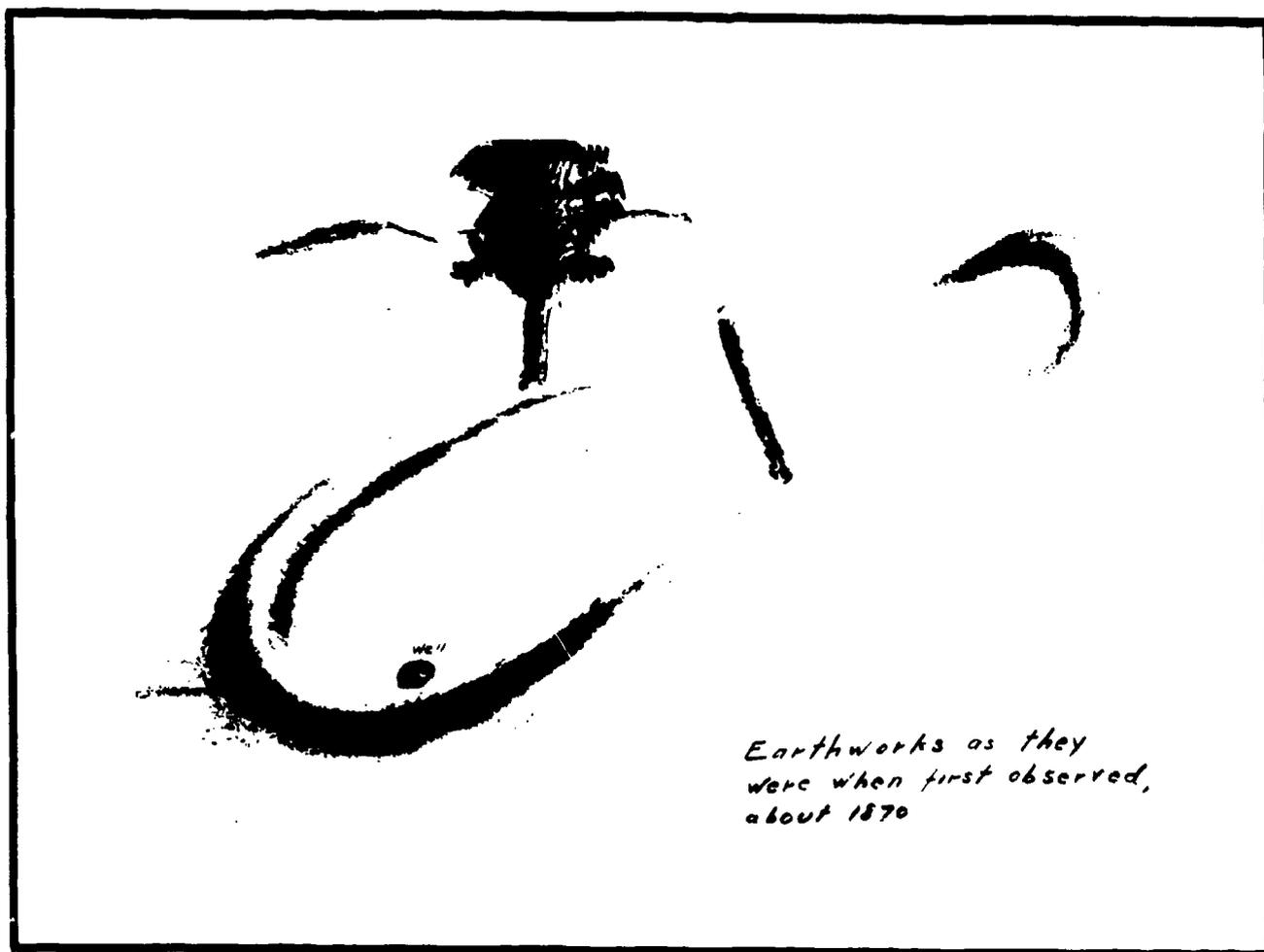
Evidence at the Deer Creek site of meat processing operations may prove to be more elusive to the archeologist. The large chipped stone scrapers (described in Chapter I) that were used in dressing hides will probably be found in quantity. Their size and their appearance of having been hastily shaped must relate to the magnitude and intensity of the game processing operation being carried on at certain seasons. However, clues to seasonal or chronological changes in the activities which took place here may be found in the relative proportion of large to small chipped hide scrapers in various parts of the site. Other cutting and rubbing tools will surely be present in notable quantity. The meat may have been smoked (requiring good-sized fires), and/or dried (requiring racks), and/or salted. The 1749-1750 deserters did not mention salting of meat at Deer Creek, but professional hunters customarily used this method of preservation at this time. Father Paul Poisson, S. J., wrote in 1727 (Thwaites 1896-1901,67:285) that French Canadians "make *plats cotes*--that is to say, they dry in the sun the flesh that is on the flanks of those animals [bison],--and salt the rest.

There is no indication where salt, if used, may

have been procured for use at the Wichita villages. Denman has written (1979:307-308;310) that ca. 15 pounds of salt are required to cure 100 weight of pork or beef [and presumably of bison], and that "A heavy hide, such as bear or buffalo, required fully one-third of its weight in salt to adequately preserve it from decay." Did the Frenchmen and/or the Indians travel the 60 or 70 miles west to the Great Salt Plains of present Alfalfa County, Oklahoma, to get salt or was there a nearer adequate source? Lt. James B. Wilkinson reported in 1807 that at two days' journey up the Salt Fork of the Arkansas "you find the prairie grass on the S.W. side incrustated with salt. . . This salt the Arkansas Osages obtained by scraping it off of the prairie with a turkey's wing into a wooden trencher." Nathan Boone when ascending the Salt Fork (Fessler 1929:71) in 1843 wrote of "many places where salt appeared to be efflorescing on the soil." This location has been identified as present day Grant County, immediately west of Kay County.

Metal kettles may have been used in salt making or for storage. Salt may have been transported in hide bags. LePage du Pratz (1758,1:319-20) told of hunters on the St. Francis River making a pirogue, "which serves for salting in the middle, and is closed at the two ends, where room is only left for a man at each extremity." Evidently the meat was salted and transported in the middle compartment. It would be of interest to have soil tests made at Deer Creek to see if areas where salt might have been used could still be determined. Metal pot fragments might show corrosion that would result from extensive contact with salt. The distribution of salt tolerant plants may also be a guide to an area where meat was salted. Although none of these approaches may yield definite evidence of this activity, their soundness will never be known until they are tried.

Metal kettles may have been used to render bear fat into oil and to melt tallow. Fireplaces used for these purposes may differ in some respect from the regular family cooking fires. To obtain bear oil, according to LePage du Pratz (1758,2:89) both meat and fat were cooked together. The oil would rise to the top and could be poured into portable containers made of deer or smaller animal skins or animal bladders. Preservatives in the form of inner slippery elm or sassafras bark were sometimes added (Charles Hanson, Jr. 1972:4; Adair 1775:415). Tallow



*Earthworks as they
were when first observed,
about 1870*

FIGURE 19

Earthworks near Neodosha, Wilson County,
Kansas. Courtesy National Anthropological
Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

"cakes" are mentioned in 18th century writings, but neither the size nor appearance is given. The term presupposes melting of fat to separate the grease from the fibrous and membranous matter and then cooling into a cake form. There is disappointingly little in the documentation about the exact manner of processing game. The containers used in transporting the products would have been made of skins for the most part and would, therefore, have been subject to rapid decomposition. The basic garden crops observed and named by Sanodval (p. 59) are those one would expect. The gardens were probably near the villages and may have been enclosed by pickets to keep out animal predators as were those at the later *Taovayas* village (Parilla 1763) on Red River. A botanical survey of the vicinity would give clues to wild plant foods that may have supplemented the diet of meat and cultivated crops.

Corbyn (1976:60) remarks on a square outline of vegetation and dark soil outside the inner ditch at its east end that he suggests might indicate a fenced [stockaded?] horse corral. There is no question but that these Wichita had a large number of horses. Thoburn (1930:74) believed he saw in the presence of a chunk of coal and crudely-shaped metal tools evidence of the operation of a blacksmith shop on the Deer Creek site. Archeologists should watch for this feature, as well as for signs of burned stockade posts (p. 6) or other charred structures resulting possibly from Osage attacks on the village (p. 46). Of course, the reported charring may relate instead to the felling of the trees. There may also be tenuous evidence that the epidemic of the 1740s (p. 46) reached the Wichita at Deer Creek.

Although it is suggested in the literature that Wichita people were living in the Deer Creek locality in the second decade of the 1700s, it is not clear just how they were disposed geographically from time to time. This will be another complex problem facing the archeologist. On the basis of the kind of trade goods found at the Bryson-Paddock site, Sudbury (1976:77,79) believed that

village to have been established earlier than the one at Deer Creek. This, it may be recalled, was suggested also by excavation of Mound 3 there (see p. 35). If this were so, then it might follow that the *Taovayas* set up a separate village nearby, namely, the one at Deer Creek, if and when they moved west from the Verdigris villages. However, there is the possibility that, instead, they moved into an already established or abandoned settlement of either *Yscanis* or Wichita proper. The solution of this intricate problem may necessitate a comparative analysis of Bryson-Paddock materials and those excavated at Deer Creek. It will require close and continuous observation and careful recording on the site during excavation, followed by meticulous application of specialized analytical techniques. Complicating the problem is the probable overall similarity of pottery made by the various bands thought to have been involved. As has been demonstrated, trade goods in the earlier occupation should be much scarcer than later, and should include the distinctive earlier trade types described by Sudbury.

The scientific and historical importance of the Deer Creek site is in no degree diminished by finding that it was not a permanent or "official" outpost of French settlement or enterprise. On the contrary, its firm placement in time and the identification of its inhabitants as certain Wichita-speakers, together with indisputable evidence of close interaction between Indians and Frenchmen, make its proper excavation and interpretation matters of particular importance. Students of the cultural history of French Louisiana should be as interested as anthropologists.

A unique opportunity and a great challenge will confront the investigators here. They will need a full measure of methodological competence, of flexibility in planning, alertness in observation, and controlled imagination in thinking and interpretation. If this opportunity is missed or mishandled, there is not likely to be a similar one.

APPENDIX A
Translated excerpts from
Declarations made in Santa Fé,
New Mexico, in 1749 and 1750.
(Printed with permission of the
Archivo General de la Nación,
Mexico City).

The following excerpts pertinent to this report are taken from *Autos fijos para averiguar que rumbo han traído tres franceses que llegaron al Pueblo de Taos con la Nación Comanche que venían a hacer sus acostumbrados rescates*. [Proceedings held in order to learn the route taken by three Frenchmen who arrived at the Pueblo of Taos with the Comanche nation who came to make their accustomed trade], and a statement by Felipe de Sandoval. AGN, *Provincias Internas*, t.37. Translation is by Jane M. Walsh and Mildred M. Wedel.

Declaration of Luis Febro (otherwise called Luis del Fierro):

"In the city of Santa Fé, on April 13, of 1749, there appeared before me, Don Tomás Vélez Cachupín, Governor of this province of New Mexico, . . . a man of the French nation that he might make a declaration in his language relayed by Don Pedro Soutter, who has the position of interpreter, since he [Febro] does not understand Spanish. I received his oath under God and the Holy Cross to speak the truth regarding all he knew. . .

1. To the first question he said he was called Luis del Fierro, was a Frenchman, a native of New Orleans, a resident of Canada, and of *San Miguel Machina* [Michilimackinac], distant 150 leagues from the *Rio de la Sarca* [Arkansas River]; that he is unmarried and 29 years old, and

that he is of the Christian religion, Roman Catholic Apostolic.

2. To the second he said that his trade was that of tailor and through practice he knows barbering which is the trade he followed in the places he has lived, and also through which he has travelled, excepting in the Indian *rancherías* [settlements]. . .

3. To the third he said that in the settlement of New Orleans he was serving as an enlisted soldier, whence he deserted for the *Presidio* of Canada. He had served three years as an enlisted soldier. Fearful lest his captain M. *Bozse* [?] would catch him, he went to *Sⁿ Mig^l Machina* [Michilimackinac] from where he proceeded to a place named *la Ysla Negra* [the Black Island?] which is located on the banks of the Mississippi River, and on said island his nation has set up a fort with two companies of infantry. . .

4. To the fourth he said that he left to come to this province from an Indian settlement that is called *la Zarca* [the Arkansas] inhabited by a nation of heathen Indians of this name, that a bit further on there is a French garrison of 8 men with a lieutenant (maintained) to control those Indians who live there; that he had information of these settlements

[New Mexico] from the same nations of *Cumanche* Indians [same as those who brought him in], and also from some European Spaniards who are married, among them one Manuel who had told of there being in these countries gold and silver mines and had given directions to them; that since he had not come by the *camino Real* [Real] he only knows the region from the Fort of *Silinue* [Illinois; Ft. de Chartres? Arkansas Post?] which is the last of those in his colony; that advancing toward this province [New Mexico] you come 150 leagues secure from hostility of Indian nations, across flat land without any settlement such as ranches or anything else.

6. To the sixth he said that the route to the west was given them by a nation of Indians who in their colonies are called savages whose name is *Panipiquet*, who are a nation with lined faces [tattooed], very warlike, who live off the meat of Indians from different nations whom they kill, who have firearms that they take from the Indians of New Orleans, but they lack the lead for bullets and powder for which they asked when they [the French] found them. In their [French] colony they do not provide ammunition, and in it there is a death penalty for anyone who gives or sells it to them. They [the French] did not give them any since they brought none.

7. To the seventh he said that the land they crossed between *Silinue* [Illinois] and Taos, the first settlement of Spaniards they entered, is all flat, so lacking in wooded areas that to make fires they used dry grass, that now and then they could find a piece of firewood, and that there is no lack of water throughout the entire route.

8. To the eighth he said that they found only the nations of *Panipiquet*, where in two settlements there were about 300 Indians, all warriors [that is, 300 warriors], and of *Cumanche* who were at a distance of 150 leagues from each other; that it has been two years since they made peace; that they found different

Cumanche settlements, that the first is composed of 84 tents inhabited by 300 persons, and the second of 40 tents, and third of 23 tents with occupants in the same proportion, that he is not able to be more precise because the Indians did not let him get near to them. These had five fusils but again there were no powder and bullets. They supported themselves with meat of bear, deer, bison and some wild animals, and they gave them [the French] some of these.

10. To the tenth he said that the *Cumanche* nation is not known in his colonies, and that they had not attacked them [the French] from the fear they [the Comanche] have of the *Panipiques* who were those who guided them.

13. To the 13th he said that in the trade that the friendly Indians of their colony [evidently the Quapaw] have with them, they receive peltry in exchange for paints, firearms and ammunition of war; that they [the French] give these to them [the friendly Indians] because they have been many years at peace, and so that they can defend themselves from enemy nations, those from whom they are accustomed to seize some slaves [*piezas*] though few, to take to *Silinue* to sell.

14. To the fourteenth he said they came with the intention of seeking a livelihood because of the many necessities they lacked. . .

That what he has said is that which he knows and can say because it is the truth.

Declaration of Pedro Sartre (otherwise called Sartre) on April 13, 1749:

1. To the first question he said he was called Pedro Sartre, was of the French nation, of the city of Quebec; a carpenter by trade, a soldier and inhabitant of Canada on the river of New Orleans [Mississippi]; he had also been at *St. Migl*

de Machina [Michilimackinac], 150 leagues from the river of *la Zarca* [Arkansas]. He is unmarried and 42 years old, of the Christian Roman Catholic Apostolic religion.

2. To the second, he repeats that he practiced the trade of carpentry which he has always done since he grew up.

3. To the third he said that he had been a soldier at *el Puesto de la Zarca* [Arkansas Post], the last settlement of the French nation in coming to this Kingdom [New Mexico], where fifteen days after enlistment he took leave, deserting in company of Luis and Joseph, his companions. Luis agreed that his captain was called *Monsiere Mopserbon* [M. Montchervaux].

4. To the fourth he said that they left in order to come to this Province from a settlement of infidel Indians called *la Zarca*, a short distance from whom there is a garrison of eight Frenchmen with a lieutenant to keep Indians under control. They received exact information on these [New Mexico] settlements from the same nation of *Cumanches* and also from some European Spaniards who are married and inhabitants of New Orleans, among them a Manuel whose last name he [Satren] does not know, who there gave information on gold and silver mines in these countries and on their location. They had not come by the *Camino real*. From the last forts of their colony, which are *la Zarca* and *silinue* [Ft. de Chartres?], one can travel, it seems, 140 leagues in safety from Indians, there being no settlements with any kind of people.

6. To the sixth he said that the direction to travel was given to them by a nation of Indians which in his colony are called savages or *Panipiquettes*, a nation lined on the face, whose food is the meat of other Indians from different nations whom they kill. They use firearms which they receive from other Indians of New Orleans. In this nation he and his

companions were asked for powder and bullets, since they [the Indians] lack these supplies. In his colony they do not give them.

7. To the seventh he said that the land they travelled from *Silinue* to Taos, the first settlement they encountered in this province, is all flat and lacking wood for fire, they made it with dried grass except when rarely they found a piece of small wood. They did not use the *camino R^l* at all, and throughout there is no lack of water.

8. To the eighth he said they found only the nation of *Paniqtas* Indians which he has referred to, in two settlements [rancherías] composed of more than 300 Indian warriors, and the *Cumanche* nation who guided them, who are only 150 leagues apart. Two or a little more years ago these two nations made the peace. They found different *rancherías* of the aforementioned *Cumanches* . . . Among them he saw that they had 5 fusils but also no powder or bullets. . .

10. To the tenth he said that in his colony the *Cumanche* nation is not known, and that these did no harm to them [the French] because of the fear they have of the *Paniquettes*, those who guided them until they met the said *Cumanches*.

13. To the 13th he said that the commerce the Indians have with those of his colony is an exchange of paints, firearms, and munitions of war for peltry; and that these are supplied only to friendly nations [Quapaw?] already allied, which have been many years at peace, so that they can defend themselves from enemies from whom in raids they sometimes take slaves [*piezas*] to *Silinue* to sell.

14. To the fourteenth he said that the many necessities which they lacked in their colony moved them to leave it and come in search of a livelihood . . .

Declaration of Joseph Miguel Raballo (otherwise called Riballo) on April 13, 1749:

1. To the first question he said that he is a Frenchman, a native of the fort of *Silinoe* [Fort de Chartres] in the jurisdiction of the Kingdom of New Orleans [French Louisiana]; that his trade is that of carpenter and his employment that of a soldier in said fort where he served four years; that he also had lived in *la Zarca* [Arkansas Post]; that he is 24 years old, unmarried, and of the Christian Roman Apostolic Catholic religion.

3. To the third he said that all he has to add is that his captain is called *M. Billec* [Benoist?] in the Illinois fort where he served; that he deserted in the company of Luis and Pedro, his companions.

4. To the fourth he said that they--three deserters--all left in order to come to this Province from a settlement of infidel Indians called *la Zarca*; that at a short distance beyond there may be found a squadron of eight Frenchmen and a lieutenant of the garrison for the purpose of controlling the barbarous nations who intrude there; that they had news of these [New Mexico] settlements through the same *Cumanche* nation and that they had learned of it previously from some European Spaniards who had married in their colonies, especially a Manuel whose last name he does not know who had given them information on all these Provinces, on gold and silver mines that were in them, and the direction in which they lay; that to come across they did not use the *Camino Rl* and that from the last of the forts, *La Zarca* and *Silinoe*, they walked a little more than 140 leagues without finding any settlement, nor any people at all.

6. To the sixth he said that the *Panipiquets* Indians, or by the other name, savages, that they have in their colonies, were the ones who directed them to always go west which is the route they followed, so far as he knows; that this nation is very warlike and maintains itself on the meat

of other Indians of different nations they kill in war; that they use firearms they obtain from the Indians of New Orleans; that they lack lead for bullets and powder which was all they asked for when encountered; and that in their [the French] colony they have the death penalty for those who give or sell these supplies to them; and neither he nor his companions gave them any because they did not have any.

7. To the seventh he said that the land they travelled over from *Silinoe* to Taos is flat and totally lacking in woods, so that the scarcity along the road deprived them of wood for fires which they made with dried grass; that rarely did they find firewood; that they did not go by the *camino Rl*; that in the extent they travelled there is abundance of water and a good opportunity for cultivation of the land.

8. To the eighth he said that they had only found the nation of *Panipiquettes*, who in two *rancherias* would have about 300 Indian warriors, and the nation of *Cumanches* that is at a distance of 150 leagues from the first; that they told him it was a little more that two years since they made peace; that the *Cumanches* were found in different *rancherias*; that they [the French] saw in their possession five fusils (but they) also had no powder or bullets. . .

10. To the tenth he said the nation of *Cumanches* are not known in his colony and that the reason this nation did not harm them [the French] was because of the fear they have of the *Panipiquette* in whose name they spoke to them [the Comanche] and who they said guided them.

13. To the thirteenth he said that those of his nation receive hides in trade from the friendly Indians to whom they give paints, firearms and munitions of war; that they give them [the Indians; Quapaw?] these for having been at peace for many years, in order that they can defend themselves against other enemy nations from which they are accustomed

to take slaves [*piezas*], though few, in war, and these they bring to *Silinoe* to sell.

14. To the fourteenth he said that they came with the intention of looking for a means of livelihood because of the many necessities they lacked in their settlement. . .

Excerpts from the re-examination of Pedro Satren, March 5, 1750:

"and that from this place [Natchez] upriver (it is) 100 leagues to the fort of *los Arcos* with a garrison of 20 soldiers and four cannons of artillery. . . Asked if there are more forts he answered that. . . there is. . . another 90 leagues from *Silinoe* to the south [*sic*; west] with a garrison of 50 men called *los Canes* [the Kansa] situated on the banks of the Missouri River which empties into the *Misisipi*. . . Asked in what fort he was with his two companions when he got the idea to come across to the Spaniards, he answered at *los arcos* where the *Napestle* [Arkansas] River along with *el colorado* [the Canadian] enters into the Mississippi; that finding himself in this place and with information of this Province of New Mexico acquired from other Frenchmen who years before had been there and had returned [the Mallet party], he in company with his two companions and others of the same fort of *Los Arcos* deserted in search of the Spaniards, having confidence in the alliance and friendship the *Panipiquees*, called also *Jumanes*, allies of the French, have with the *Cumanches* who gave them [the French] good treatment upon the recommendation of the *Jumanes*; that they were with the *Cumanches* two months before arriving at the pueblo of Taos. . .; that in each [Comanche] tent there are three, four, and five warriors armed with the usual arrows, lances, little axes, and some fusils which the *Jumanes* give them with ammunition. Asked the distance there would be from the villages of the *Panipiquies* (*alias*) *Jumanes* to the French forts, he answered that to the first called *los Canes* the *Jumanes* go by land in four or

five days, and that to the one of *Silinoe* [Ft. de Chartres?] in fifteen, and that the French hunters, hunting being their livelihood, go up to these towns of *Jumanes*, on the Arkansas River in canoes [pirogues], in which they return with peltry, fat and lard of the bison, bears, and deer, this intercourse being facilitated by friendship with the *Jumanes*, who made peace with the *cumanches* about two years ago. . . Asked if he knew the other Frenchmen who later came to this kingdom, he answered yes and that their profession was hunting because of the profit resulting from the tallow and hides that the merchants who buy them took to Europe, and that the reason for their having deserted their colonies was the same that he had in coming to search for a livelihood among the Spaniards and to earn more profit."

Declaration of Felipe de Sandoval in Santa Fé, New Mexico, on March 1, 1750:

"I, Felipe de Sandoval, native of the Port of Santa Maria, testify with truth that in the year [17]42 we left the Bay of Cadiz for America, on a vessel of the company, and in the latitude of Puerto Rico, it was captured by the English, and they took us to Jamaica, where we remained for two years performing hard labor. At the end of this time I had the good fortune to escape on a French vessel called *La Flor*, which brought me to a large river called *La Mobila* [Mobile]. . . They have a detachment of ten soldiers, one sergeant and one lieutenant at a settlement they call *los Sarcos* [Arkansas], ten leagues from the river of the *Palaizada* [Mississippi], on the banks of the *Napestle* [Arkansas] River, where there are three towns [*pueblos*] of Indians of this name [Arkansas; i.e. Quapaw], well armed. This detachment is from the fort of *Silinoe* [Ft. de Chartres] which I did not reach. From the fort of *Nache* [Natchez] up to *los Sarcos* it would be about 150 leagues. A bit further upstream above *los arcos* this river *Napestle* joins with one called *colorado* [Canadian River]. In this place of *los Sarcos* I stayed for

a while, engaging in hunting, in order to support myself there, and I was well received and esteemed by all the Frenchmen. . . Here I learned of the existence of Spaniards and that the province of New Mexico was situated in this direction. The information was given me by some Frenchmen who had been there in [17]40 [the Mallet party] and they offered me means of transportation. I was persuaded by them since I desired to do this very thing. I undertook the trip to go to New Mexico from *los sarcos*, accompanied by four Frenchmen, a sergeant and a German. We embarked on the *Napestle* River to go upstream, and after fifty days we arrived at two towns of Indians, very friendly to the Frenchmen, which were situated on the banks of this river, and called *Panipiquees*. All are lined [tattooed]. The Spaniards call them *Jumanes*. We were well received by them, and we stayed twenty days in these towns, during which time I observed with care the two towns. They are near each other. The houses are (made) of poles and grass, all fortified (*atrincherados*) with poles and earth, with openings. [See pp. 59, 61 for discussion.]

They are pagans, without social graces, but are good-natured. They live there the year round. They plant corn, beans and squash. There are about 500 men in the two towns. All use firearms, although they are not very accomplished in their use. They have powder and bullets supplied by the French. They are at war with various nations, among them the *Panunas* [Pawnees; Skidi, South Bands or both?] (who are) also pagans and devoted to the French. These *Panipiquees* or *Jumanes* kill and eat their prisoners of war, human flesh being their most tasty food, and during the days I was there with them, I saw them eat a girl of c. 15 years, and an infant still at the breast they had taken from another nation. They are very friendly with the French and trade with them, and in my short time there, the commandant or French general, in the name of his sovereign, had given them various things: vermilion, beads, knives, guns, ammunition, hats, cloth and other

supplies, and the French flag which is there. I saw it. They keep it in their town caring for it with diligence and affection. They have some horses that another nation, their comrades, had given them who in this region are called *Cumanches*. Although I came here by boat, I observed it is good flat land, without mountains, having some woods, and a few gullies. The rivers that join the *Napestle* come down from the north [*sic*]. These are the river of *San Andres*, that of *febre* [i.e. Fabry; the Canadian River], the small one [the *Cimarron*?], and the salty one [Salt Fork rather than Salt Creek?], and along all these banks there are many bison. From these towns I left in company of the aforementioned Frenchmen, and twenty *Panipiquees* or *Jumanes*, for the *Cumanches*. We went about twenty days toward the south, and another twenty, without finding them; and on the last day the Frenchmen returned with the *Jumanes*, leaving me alone . . . in distress and lost, I resolved to return to the *Jumanes* by the route we had come, and I accomplished this in twelve days. . . after four days I again set out, having been clearly directed by the *Jumanes* so I would not miss the *Cumanches*, and at a short distance on the road I met a robust man of about 24 years of age who had three horses, and with him I returned again to the *Jumanes* who told me, upon our arrival, he was a *Cumanche*. They received him with pleasure, and after he had traded the horses for a gun and a small handax, I left in his company, heading toward the *Comanche* settlement . . . They received me well . . . They have great quantities of horses, mares, mules, and asses . . . Twenty *Jumanes* came to this settlement while I was there, along with two Frenchmen to carry on trade. I saw that the French, *Cumanches*, and *Jumanes* have established a great friendship. Having spent five days in trading guns, axes, beads, powder, bullets, buffalo hides, horses, mares, and slaves, the *Jumanes* returned leaving behind the Frenchmen, recommending that they [the *Comanche*] take them on to the Spaniards . . . and there having arrived at this settlement a *Cumanche* who said he was going to trade

with the Spaniards, we resolved--the two Frenchmen and I--to go with him . . . and having made this account of all that happened to me, and what I saw and observed, during the time of my journey and residence with the French, by order of the Governor of this Kingdom of New Mexico, Don Tomás Vélez Cachupín, I deliver it to Your Grace, in the best form I

am able to present it; and what I have said in it is all true, and so that you will have faith it all occurred as stated, I swear to it as a Christian, Roman Apostolic, before God and with the sign of the Holy Cross in this capital city of Santa Fe on the first of March, 1750, and I sign it with my own autograph. Felipe de Sandoval."

APPENDIX B

The Route of Claude-Charles Dutisné, 1719

The following translation describes the route taken by Claude-Charles Dutisné when he went in 1719 from an Osage village presumably on the Osage River in present day Vernon County, Missouri, to a Wichita village. Both excerpts are taken from a manuscript in the Archives of France, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits français*. It is numbered 8989. Translation is by Mildred M. Wedel.

The first excerpt is from a document entitled: "Account of the journey made by M. Dutisné overland from Kaskaskia to the Osage and *panyousa* [Wichita] in 1719," fols. 21-vo. It is a copy of the journal sent to Louisiana Governor-General Bienville.

"From the *ausages* [Osage] to the *panis* [Wichita] it is 40 leagues to the southwest, all a route through prairies and some hills, filled with bison. The land is beautiful and well wooded. There are four rivers between the *Aussages* and *Panis* that it is necessary to cross. The largest is that of the *Alcansas* [Arkansas] which takes its course from the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ N. The Sr. Dutisné crossed it. He found there some rapids with three feet of water. The

other rivers are of no consequence. They enter the river of the *Aussages* [Osage]. This river of the *Alcansa* is 12 leagues east of the *panis* village. It is situated on the edge of a stream on a knoll enclosed by high prairies, to the SW of which there is a woods which is of great use to them . . . At two days' journey from their villages to the W $\frac{1}{4}$ SW there is a saline of rock salt which is very beautiful and pure."

The second excerpt is from a document entitled: "Letter written to M. de Bienville by M. Dutisné, Company Captain, dated Kaskaskia, November 22, 1719," fol. 21vo. This is also a copy of the original.

"Knowing the character of the Indians, I did not delay. I set out on the path. In 4 days I was at the home of the *panis* . . ."

For further discussion of these excerpts, see "Claude-Charles Dutisné: A Review of His 1719 Journeys," Part II, by Mildred Mott Wedel, *Great Plains Journal*, vol. 12, no. 2 (1973): 153-154.

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AC *Archives Nationales, Colonies*

AM *Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine*

AM, ASH *Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Archives du Service Hydrographique*

AM, BSH *Archives Nationales, Archives de la Marine, Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique*

AN, AG *Archives Nationales, Archives de la Guerre*

AN, OM *Archives Nationales, Section Outre-Mer*

BN *Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*

BN, C&P *Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans*

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City:

AGN, PI *Provincias Internas*

AGN, Hist. *Historia*

BA *Bexar Archives, University of Texas Archives, Austin*

SANM *Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Santa Fe*

VP *Vaudreuil Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal. Direct quotations (pp. 114-15;119) with permission of Huntington Library.*

[Many of the French documents cited are available on microfilm or in fair copy at the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.]

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