

# THE NATCHEZ FORT AT SICILY ISLAND, LOUISIANA

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## ABSTRACT

*The Natchez Fort site (16CT18) has long been known as the location of a major battle between the French and the Natchez that took place in 1731. Here we examine the battle from two perspectives: historical maps and archaeological finds. The maps establish beyond doubt that Green's 1936 reconstruction of the route taken by the main French army to arrive at the battle was correct. Our analysis also shows that a dotted line which appears on some of the maps, formerly mysterious, actually corresponds to an alternate route taken by a contingent of French militia as a feint. The archaeological finds, which were collected by Jack Shaffer in 1987 as the site was being destroyed, include ten burials with grave goods from the area of the besieged Indian fort. These finds are described and found to be consistent with an early-to-mid eighteenth-century Natchez assemblage.*

## INTRODUCTION

The Natchez-French war of 1729-1731 was a pivotal event in the history of French Louisiana. It resulted in the expulsion of the Natchez Indians from their homeland in the Lower Mississippi Valley and led to a diaspora that scattered the remnants of this nation across the South and into the Carribean. It also ultimately precipitated the failure of France's colonial ambitions in the Lower Mississippi Valley, as the destruction of the French settlement at Natchez, combined with the subsequent Chickasaw wars, so weakened the Louisiana venture that France ultimately ceded these territories to England and Spain in 1763.

Here we present and discuss some new cartographic and archaeological evidence pertinent to one of the important battles in this war, which took place near Sicily Island, Louisiana in January of 1731. We begin with a brief summary of the historical background, and then proceed to a discussion of the cartographic and archaeological evidence.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The history of the 1729-1731 war has been well documented and discussed by many scholars (Barnett 2007: 101-131; Charlevoix 1872: 80-118; Claiborne 1880: 42-50; Dumont de Montigny 1853: 66-1-2, 2012: 227-255; Gayarré 1854: 390-456; Giraud 1991: 388-439; Milne 2015: 175-205; Swanton 1911: 217-251). It began in November 1729, when the Natchez, in a surprise attack, fell upon the French fort and settlements in their midst, killing over 200 settlers and taking many captives — mostly African slaves, as well as French women and children. In response to this attack, Étienne Périer, the French governor in New Orleans, sent an expeditionary force to Natchez to punish the Indians and retake the land formerly occupied by the colony. In January 1730, the French force besieged the Natchez at their Grand Village in two forts, built side-by-side, each by a different town: one called *Fort de Valeur* (an alternative name the French used for the Grand Village) and the other *Fort de la Farine*. The siege succeeded in freeing most of the French captives, but most of the Natchez warriors and their families escaped and withdrew.<sup>1</sup>

The French, still determined to punish the formerly allied nation now seen as an enemy, learned that the Natchez towns had re-established themselves in the Ouachita River drainage to the west. So, in December 1730, another expeditionary force set out from New Orleans to destroy these towns. The army — consisting of local soldiers, newly arrived French marines, a local settler militia, and Indian allies — found one of the Natchez towns (*Valeur*) and its associated fort in January 1731, and again besieged it. After several days of skirmishing, many of the women in the fort surrendered, but once again most of the warriors escaped.<sup>2</sup>

Over the next few months, the Natchez attacked the French forts at Natchitoches and Natchez, as well as a town of the Tunica Indians, who were allies of the French and participated in both sieges. Not long after these attacks, however, the remnants of the Natchez Nation mostly withdrew from the Mississippi Valley and

settled among the Chickasaws in the Tombigbee River drainage, in what is now northeastern Mississippi.

In 1936, an amateur historian named John A. Green published an article in which he tackled the question of where the fort involved in the 1731 siege was located (reprinted, this volume). Marshaling an impressive array of historical maps and narratives, he argued that this battle took place near the town of Sicily Island in Catahoula Parish — in particular, at spot on a terrace overlooking the floodplain of the Tensas River, a tributary of the Ouachita. In the same year, archaeologist James A. Ford (1936: 65-68; reprinted, this volume) published a brief account of the same location, which he called the Natchez Fort site. He also described the artifacts found on the surface, which were consistent with an early eighteenth-century Natchez occupation.

Our focus here is on the site of this battle, the one identified by Green and visited by Ford. Specifically, we build on the seminal work of these scholars by presenting some new evidence that was not available to them. First, we examine in detail the complete corpus of manuscript maps connected with this battle, including several that were unknown to Green. In so doing we tie the events leading up to and during the battle more closely to the modern landscape. Second, we describe an archaeological collection from this location that was recovered by Jack Shaffer, a local resident, in the 1980s as the site was being destroyed by land-leveling connected with farming. This collection is by far the most comprehensive known from the site and is the best one we are likely to ever see, as the *in situ* archaeological deposits there no longer exist. As we show in the sections that follow, the new evidence confirms the identification of this site as the 1731 Natchez fort and sheds additional light on the occupation that took place at this locale.

## CARTOGRAPHY

The cartographic record of the Sicily Island campaign consists of nine manuscript maps (Table 1), which currently reside in four different repositories, three in France and one in the United States: Archives nationales d'outre-mer; Service historique de la Défense, département Marine; Bibliothèque nationale de France; and the Historic New Orleans Collection. Four of these maps show the route taken by the French army to reach Sicily Island, and five depict the Natchez fort along with the French encampments and fortifications connected with the siege.<sup>3</sup>

Some, but not all, of these maps were photographed by Louis Karpinski in 1927 and deposited in the Library

of Congress (Karpinski 1928). These are the copies to which Green had access when doing the research for his pathbreaking study; indeed, the “Map Division, Library of Congress” stamps are clearly visible in many of the French maps he published. The upshot is that Green saw copies of only a few of the maps in Table 1. Most of the remaining maps are manuscript copies of those he saw and contain nothing new; but one of the remaining maps (R-4 in Table 1) contains significant information on the French army’s route that is not represented elsewhere. Let us now discuss these maps in detail, starting with those that show the French army’s route from New Orleans to Sicily Island.

### *Maps of the Army’s Route*

These maps depict portions of the Mississippi, Red, Black, and Tensas rivers along which the French traveled on their way to the battle. The first three manuscripts in this group (R-1, R-2, and R-3) are essentially copies of the same map, with only minor differences (Figures 1-3). All are drawn at exactly the same scale, which suggests that they are either tracings of each other, or of a common ancestor. They also have almost exactly the same title and legend (see Table 1), which reads in the original French and in translation as follows:

Route de l’armée française depuis le Mississippi au fort des Natchez, levée à la boussole et à lestime. Ce qui est ponctué est posé sur le Raport des gens du país[,] le Mississippi est de la carte de Mr. Pauger.

Route of the French army from the Mississippi to the fort of the Natchez. Surveyed by compass and estimation. That which is dotted is based on the report of the locals[,] the Mississippi is from the map by Mr. Pauger.

Adrien de Pauger, the cartographer named in the title, could not have had any role in making these particular maps, as he had died in 1726 (Giraud 1991: 236). Around 1721, Pauger was tasked by the colonial authorities to map the course of the Mississippi from its mouth as far north as Natchez (Villiers du Terrage 1920: 222). Thus, the allusion here was to Pauger’s earlier base map, not to the map of the route itself.

A detailed comparison of the maps reveals some subtle differences, which can be used to infer the order in which they were drawn:

Table I. Maps of the Sicily Island Campaign

Category		Author	Title	Catalog Number <sup>a</sup>	Dimensions	Published Illustrations
Map Number						
<b>Route Maps</b>						
R-1	Anonymous	Route de l'Armée Française depuis le Mississippi au fort des Natchez. levée à la boussolle et a lestime[.] Ce qui est ponctué est posé sur le Rapport des gens du pais[.] le Mississippi est de la carte de mr. Pauger.	ANOM 04DFC 45B	67 x 35 cm		
R-2	Anonymous	Route de l'Armée française depuis le mississippi au fort des Natchez. levée a la boussolle et a lestime. ce qui est ponctué est posé sur le rapport des gens du pais[.] le mississippi est de la carte de mr.Pauger[.]	SHD-M recueil 68, no. 63; formerly BSH 4044C-51	68.5 x 35 cm		
R-3	Anonymous	Route de l'Armée française depuis le Mississippi au fort des Natchés, levé a la Boussolle et à l'Estime. cequi est ponctué est [posé] sur le rapport des Genu [Gens] du Pay[s],[.] le Mississippi est de la carte Mr. Pauger.	SHD-M recueil 68, no. 64; formerly BSH 4044C-52	75 x 34 cm	Green 1936: Plate 7	
R-4	Anonymous	Carte du cours du Fleuve St. Louis, depuis son Embouchure jusqu'au Poste des Natchez. Avec partie des Rivières Rouge, R. Noire et des Taenças. Au Dépôt de la Marine. Mars 1732. La ville de la Nouvelle Orleans, les Postes, les habitations etablies, et les Villages Sauvages, marqués en rouge; Les Campementes des troupes qui ont marché contre la nation sauvage des Natchez, et qu'elles ont détruit dans leur Fort situé au bout de la Riviere des Tanças, marqués en jeaune avec des chif. quinotent les quantités des mois.	BNF Ge SH 18 pf 138 bis div 3 p 10; formerly ASH 138 bis 3-10	208 x 66 cm		
<b>Fort Maps</b>						
F-1	Anonymous	Carte Du fort des Natchez, et des attaques qu'on y a faites[.] Levee geometriquement lors de sa destruction.	ANOM 04DFC 33A	65.5 x 41.2 cm		
F-2	Anonymous	Carte du fort des Natchez, et des attaques qu'on y a faites[.] Levée geometriquement [lors] [de] sa destruction.	ANOM F3 290 8 bs	68 x 43 cm		
F-3	Anonymous	Carte du fort des Natchez, et des attaques qu'on y a fait, levée géométriquement sur les lieux lors de la destruction.	SHD-M recueil 68, no. 64; formerly BSH 4044C-52	75 x 25 cm		
F-4	Marc-Antoine Caillot	Plan du Fort Sauvage des Natchez.	HNOC Mss 596, acc. no. 2005.0011	47 x 36 cm	Caillot 2013: Plate 23	
F-5	Anonymous	Plan du Fort des Sauvages Natchez. Bloqué par les François le 20e janvier 1731 et détruit le 25 du dit mois.	BNF Estampes Vd 21(3) Fol	68 x 44 cm	Green 1936: Plate 4	

<sup>a</sup> Key to abbreviations: ANOM, Archives nationales d'outre-mer; BNF, Bibliothèque nationale de France; BSH, Bibliothèque nationale de France; HNOCC, Historique des Archives Nationales; HNOC, Service historique de la Défense, département Marine.



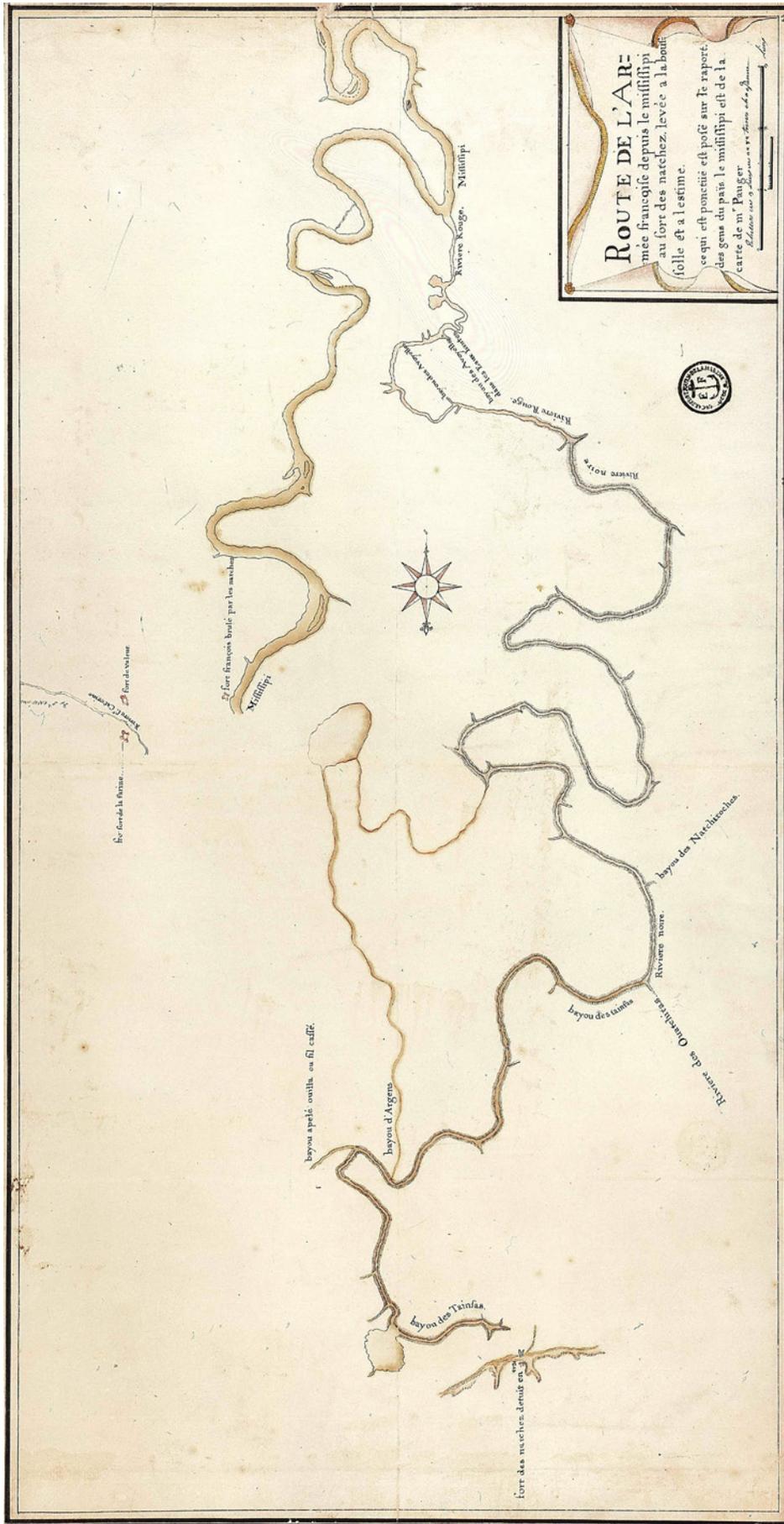


Figure 2. Map R-2, anonymous, titled *Route de l'Armée françoise depuis le mississipi au fort des Natchez*. Service historique de la Défense, département Marine, Cartes et plans, recueil 68, no. 63 (see <http://unc.live/2k2ldrz>).



- In R-1 the alternate route through *bayou d'Argens* is depicted with a dotted line, while the same route in R-2 is a solid line. Given that the cartouches in both refer to this line as *ponctué*, the solid line in R-2 is likely a copyist's error.
- R-2 also lacks certain details that are present in R-1. The first is an unnamed tributary that enters the Red River between its confluence with the Black River and Bayou des Avoyelles. The second is a very small depiction of the fort and surrounding structures. Both these details are subtle and largely unimportant to the map's purpose — exactly the kinds of details that are likely to be dropped as a map is copied.
- R-3 is almost certainly a later copy, as it is (somewhat awkwardly) combined on a single sheet with a map of the fort, which in all other cases appears separately. This map also drops a word (*posé*) from the title, another likely error in copying.

All in all, it appears that R-1 is either the original map or closer to the original than the others. This was probably the one sent by Périer to Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, the Count of Maurepas and French Minister of the Navy, with his letter dated March 25, 1731, which touched on the Sicily Island campaign and other matters (Rowland et al. 1984: 72-76). It is the only one of the three maps that shows multiple creases, both vertical and horizontal — evidence of the folding one might expect in a map that was sent with a letter across the Atlantic.

Green (1936) studied photographs of two of these maps (R-2 and R-3) at the Library of Congress and illustrated one in his plate 7. A fourth map (R-4), which Green never saw, is completely different from the other three (Figure 4). It is far more detailed and shows, day by day, where the army camped as it moved upriver from New Orleans to Sicily Island. If there remain any doubts about Green's reconstruction of the main army's route based on R-2 and R-3, this map dispels them, as it traces the route and places the fort exactly as Green proposed.

A close comparison of R-4 with Périer's written account of the route testifies to the map's accuracy. Figure 5 shows a tracing of the map with numbered circles representing every point at which Périer gives a location and a date. Table 2 shows the portion of the account that corresponds with each numbered point. A close examination reveals that the map and the account match perfectly.<sup>4</sup>

This map also sheds light on a question that Green never fully resolved. Maps R-1 through R-3 all show an alternate route that branches from the Black River, passes through a lake, and rejoins the main route via Bayou d'Argens. Green noted that there was a “system of large connecting bayous approximately on the course of the dotted line,” but that these bayous would not have been practical for Périer's entire army to navigate (Green 1936: 570-571).

Green argued that the *Route de l'Armée* map's cartographer did “not purport to show that Périer's army actually traversed the course of this dotted line; but ... [the dotted line] indicates, rather, the route that the natives suggested should be taken” (Green 1936: 572).

With map R-4 as an aid, a more likely reason for the dotted line becomes apparent. The place at which the two paths diverge is just upstream from the January 14th date marked on R-4 (Figure 6). Périer's account states that near this point in the campaign, part of the French army separated from the rest of the group. The men that split apart were described by Périer as settlers (*les habitants*) — a militia of local Frenchmen (Green 1936: 553). Périer sent these militiamen towards the original Natchez towns (labeled as *Natchez* in Figure 5) in order to trick any enemy scouts who might have been watching. This happened around the 11th of January (Green 1936: 553). If these local militiamen were to leave from where the army was on the 11th (at the mouth of the Red River) the best way to travel toward Natchez would be by the path marked with the dotted line.

This reconstruction obviates Green's concern that the waterway marked by the dotted line would not have been able to support Périer's army, because the group traveling this way would have been nothing more than a small contingent of militiamen. Green was led astray by his interpretation of the phrase *gens du pays* in the map's title. He read it as “natives of the country,” which is correct, but believed it referred to the Indians. The French almost invariably used the word *sauvage* to refer to Indians, so it seems far more likely that the “natives” to which the map referred were the local French settlers (Kathleen DuVal, personal communication, 2013).

### **Maps of the Natchez Fort**

The surviving manuscript maps of the Natchez fort are all close variants of each other (see Table 1). All are drawn at exactly the same scale, as if traced from a common source. They show the fort itself and the surrounding landscape, including the distinctive topography, scattered Indian houses, and the positions of the French troops during the siege. The only maps in this



Figure 4. Map R-4, anonymous, titled *Carte du cours du Fleuve St. Louis, depuis son Embouchure jusqu'au Poste des Natchez, Avec partie des Rivières Rouge, R. Noire et des Taenças*. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des cartes et plans, Ge SH 18 pf 138 bis div 3 p 10 (see <http://bit.ly/2hW7YvV>).

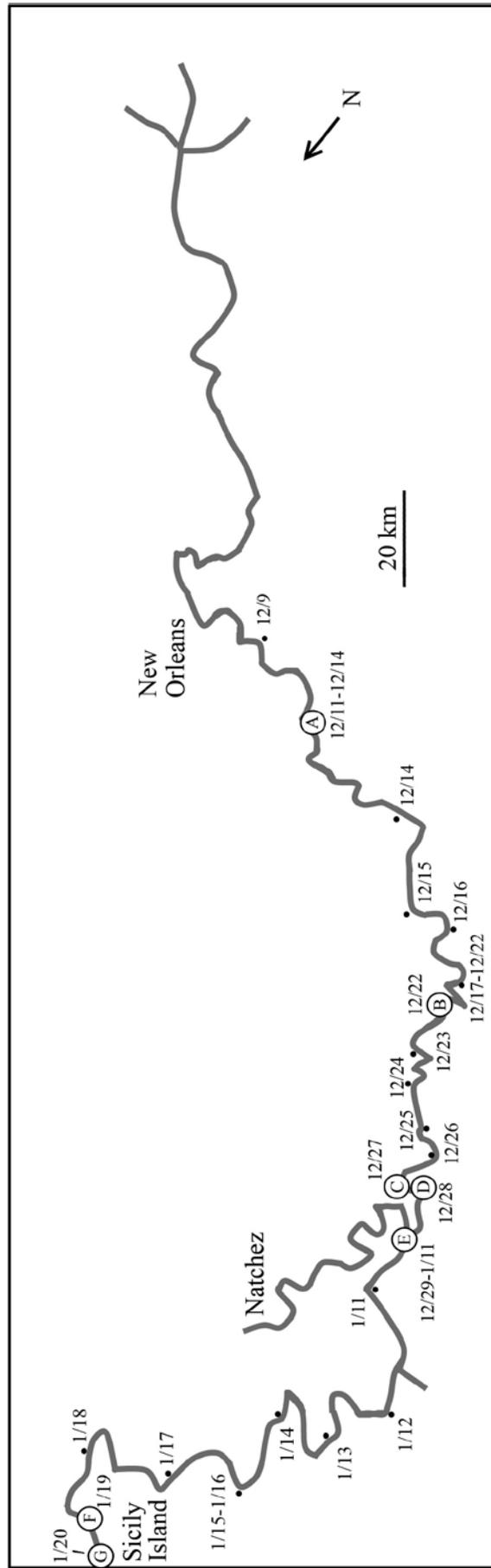


Figure 5. Simplified version of map R-5 with dates typed and points that coordinate with Périer's account marked with lettered circles. See Table 2 for excerpts that correspond with the lettering.

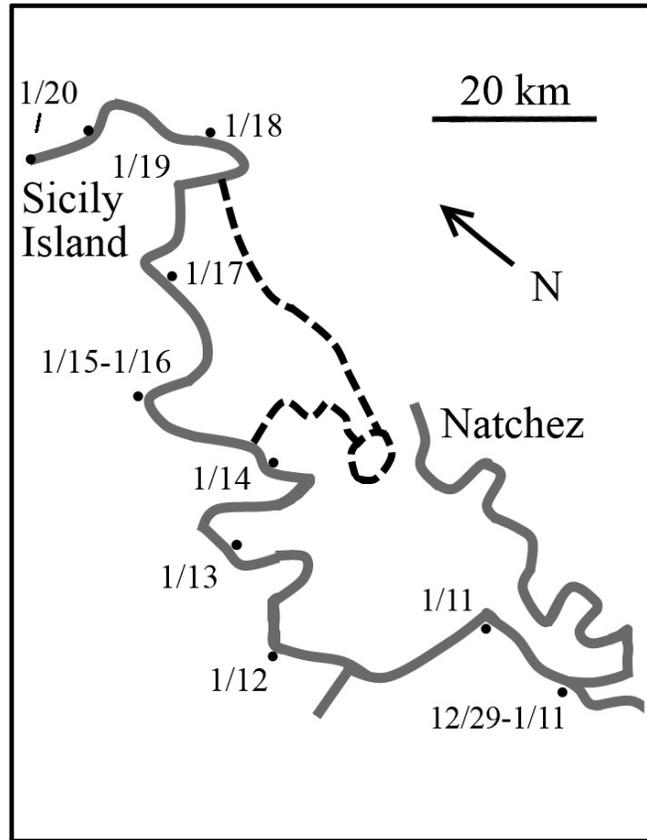


Figure 6. Simplified version of the northern section of map R-5, with the dotted-line path from the *Route de l'Armee* maps.

Table 2. Excerpts From Périer's Narrative Corresponding with Positions on Map R-4 (Figure 5).

Position on Map	Quotations from Périer
A	"as it [the army] left the 9th of December, with a battalion of Marines with orders to wait for me at the village of Carlesten." (Green 1936: 552)
B	"... Bayagoulas, from which I left only on the 22nd, the large vessels not having been able to join me sooner." (Green 1936: 552)
C	"... my brother, who joined me in spite of the snow and ice at the Tunicas on the 27th." (Green 1936: 553)
D	"The 28th, I had my brother to continue the march almost to the mouth of Red River." (Green 1936: 553)
E	"... we were to attack them by Red River, from which we all left the 11th [of January] to find the enemy." (Green 1936: 553)
F	"... we arrived on the 19th at exactly one league from the Fort Valeur." (Green 1936: 553)
G	"It was not until the 20th ... they were on a beaten path to the fort." (Green 1936: 554)

set that Green examined are F-3 and F-5, photographs of which exist at the Library of Congress. The only one he illustrated and discussed was F-5 (Green 1936: plate 4).

Three of the maps (F-1, F-2, and F-3) are virtually identical, with the same title and only minor differences in the legend (Figures 7-9). Again, internal clues can be used to infer their proximity to an original. F-1 is the most complete and error free. F-2 drops a few words in the title and legend, suggesting errors in copying. F-3 not only is juxtaposed crudely on the same sheet with R-3, but also contains a substantive error in the legend: It labels a gate in the fort as the “entrance through which 30 Natchez escaped,” while the corresponding entries in F-1 and F-2 call it the “entrance through which 16 men and 4 women escaped” — figures that match perfectly with Périer’s account (Green 1936: 556).

All this indicates that F-1 is either the original or its closest copy. Interestingly, it bears the same circular stamp as R-1: an anchor flanked by two fleur-de-lys, surrounded by the words *Dépôt des Colonies Francaises*, all in red ink. It also shows signs, like R-1, of having been tightly folded. The upshot is clear: F-1 and R-1 have a common provenance, and these are almost certainly the two maps that accompanied Périer’s aforementioned 1731 letter to Maurepas, which, not coincidentally, was also housed in the Archives des Colonies (C13A, vol. 13, f. 46-54; see Rowland et al. 1984: 76).

The fourth map in this series (F-4) is the only one whose draftsman is known (Figure 10). It was drawn by Marc-Antoine Caillot, who worked for the Company of the Indies and lived in New Orleans from July 1729 to April 1731 (Greenwald 2013: xxii-xxix). We know from his memoir that Caillot did not participate in the Sicily Island campaign, so his map had to be a copy, presumably traced from an original in the Company’s files. The layout is more like F-1, while the title and legend are more like F-5. In other words, its original may no longer exist.

The fifth map (F-5) stands out from the rest (Figure 11). Superbly drafted, it not only shows the lay of the land but also tells the story of the siege, bringing together all the key elements of the battle on a single sheet. In addition to the fortifications and other physical structures, the map shows the paths along which various movements took place (Figure 12) — all of which match perfectly with the descriptions in the narratives. Thus, for example, as the French army approached the fort from the southeast, Périer’s detachment is shown going to the left and Salvert’s to the right, exactly as in Périer’s account (Green 1936: 554). Similarly, the Natchez escape route is shown between Creñay’s position and militia’s encampment, just as Charlevoix described (Swanton

1911: 247). In terms of its level of detail and quality, this map compares favorably with R-4 among the maps of the army’s route.

Who was the cartographer responsible for these maps? None of the maps (other than Caillot’s) is attributed, so we must use circumstantial evidence. The French expeditionary force included two engineers, both of whom are mentioned in F-5’s legend by association with the fortifications they built: Pierre Baron (*Tranchée de Baron*) and Bernard de Vergès (*Tranchée à Devergès*). Baron came to the colony in 1728 and by 1731 was acting *de facto* as the colony’s chief engineer (Giraud 1991: 244-255). His talents, however, lay more in the realm of making machines than drawing maps. Not a single manuscript map has ever been attributed to him. De Vergès, on the other hand, was an accomplished cartographer. He began working in Louisiana as a draftsman in 1720, moved up the ranks to become the principal engineer at the Balize (where he worked closely with Pauger), and in 1751 became engineer-in-chief for the entire colony (Rowland et al. 1984: 97). Over that time he produced many important maps, often in collaboration with other skilled cartographers such as Ignace-François Broutin and François Saucier. He is far and away the most likely candidate to have created the prototypes for all of the maps associated with the campaign, including the one copied by Caillot.

## SITE INVESTIGATIONS

As originally described by Green (1936: 565) and Ford (1936: 65), the Natchez Fort site (16CT18) was located in Sections 38 and 39, Township 11 North, Range 8 East, in Catahoula Parish, Louisiana (Figure 13). It was situated on a bluff at the eastern edge of Sicily Island, overlooking the floodplain of the Tensas River. The site was once bracketed on two sides by large ravines, which also appeared on the eighteenth-century maps just discussed.

The site has been known and collected by local residents since the nineteenth century (Green 1936: 564-569). One such resident, Jack Shaffer, took an interest in the site during the 1980s. Initially he collected artifacts from the plowed surface and did some metal detecting. He kept field notes and roughly mapped the artifact concentrations he observed, both on the site itself and in surrounding fields.

In 1987, the landowner began a massive land-leveling operation, in which he removed soil from the site to fill the ravine along its northeastern edge. As the self-loading pans moved across the site cutting away the surface, burials and other features were exposed.

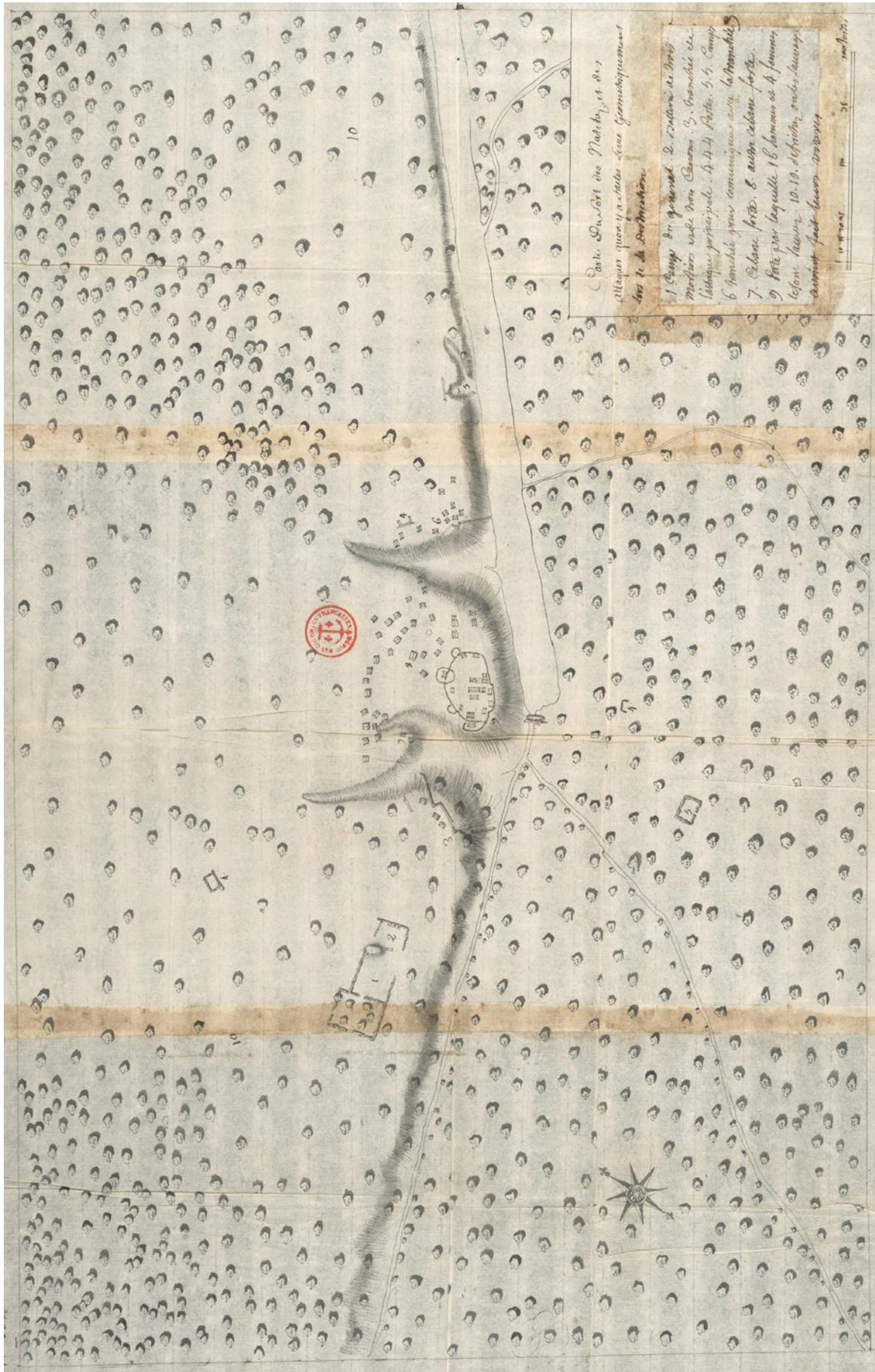


Figure 7. Map F-1, anonymous, titled *Carte Du fort des Natchez, et des attaques qu'on y a faites*. Archives nationales d'outre-mer, 04DFC 33A (see <http://bit.ly/2iNgugl>).

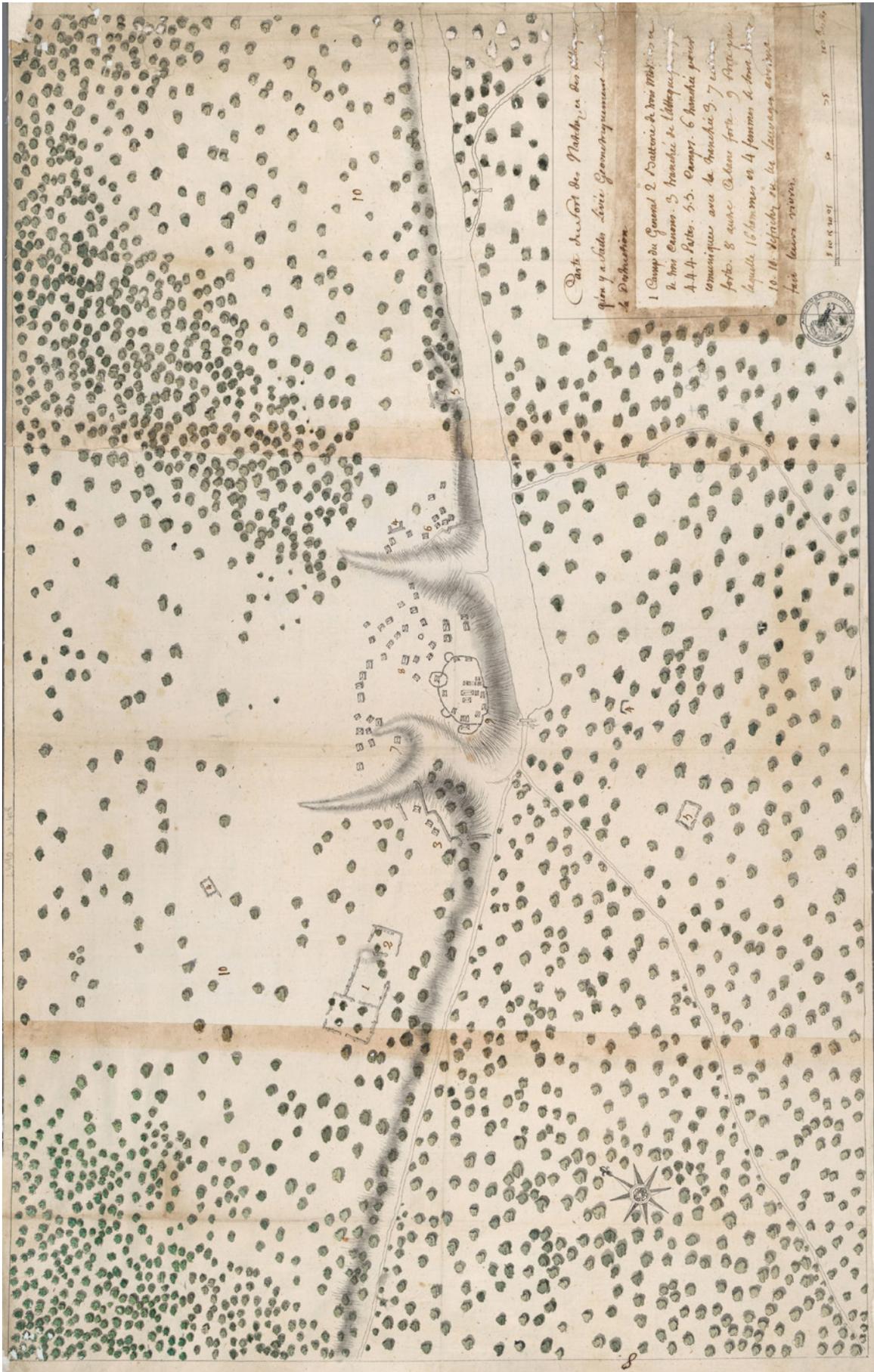


Figure 8. Map F-2, anonymous, titled *Carte du fort des Natchez, et des attaques qu'on y a faites*. Archives nationales d'outre-mer, F3 290 8 bs (see <http://bit.ly/2iJY12>).



Figure 9. Map F-3, anonymous, titled *Carte du fort des Natchez, et des attaques qu'on y a fait*. Service Historique de la Défense, département Marine, Cartes et plans, recueil 68, no. 64 (see <http://unc.live/2jaTNQe>).

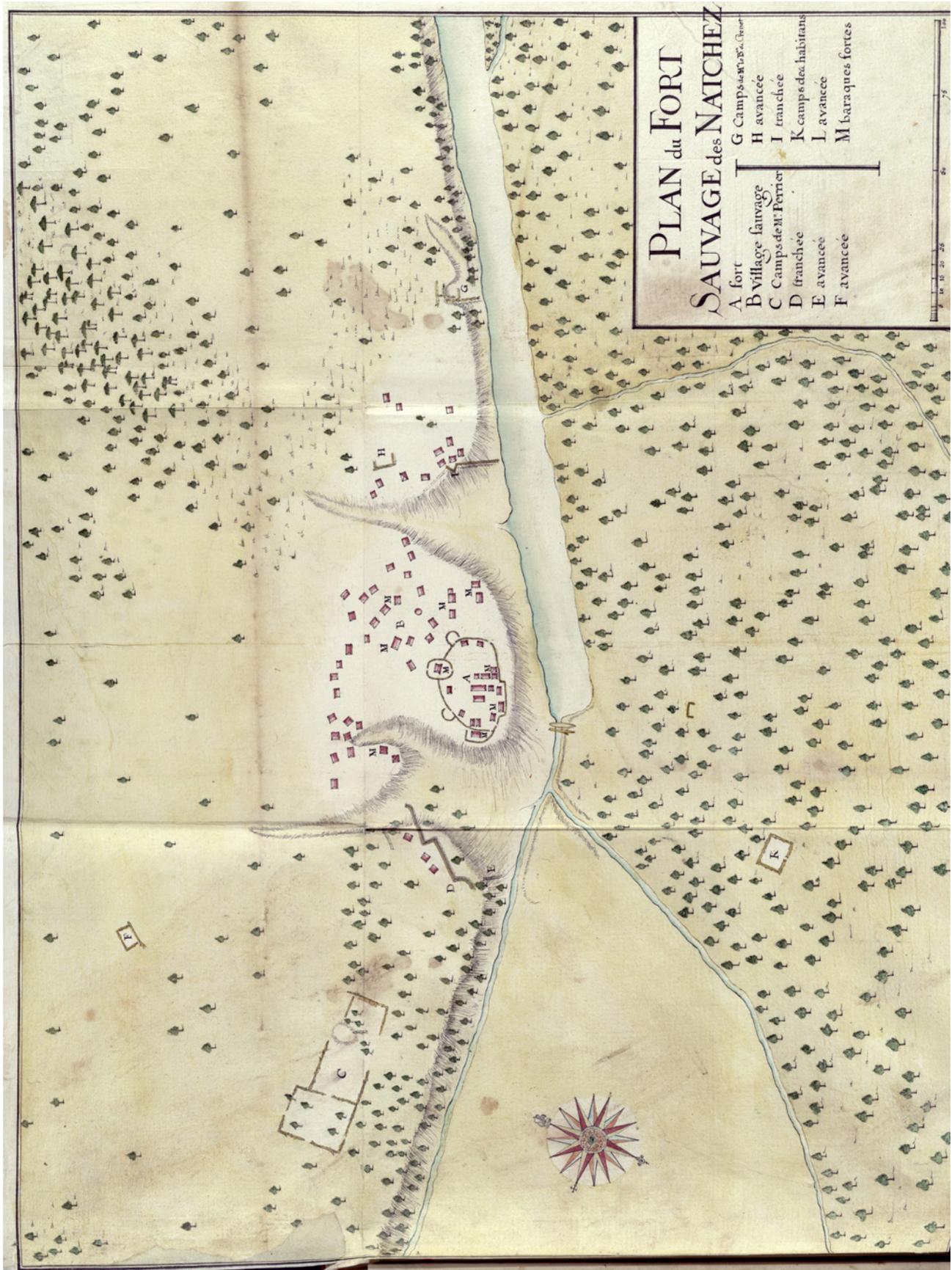


Figure 10. Map F-4, by Marc-Antoine Caillot, titled *Plan du Fort Sauvage des Natchez*. The Historic New Orleans Collection, Mss 596, acc. no. 2005.0011 (see <http://bit.ly/2jg2yfJ>).

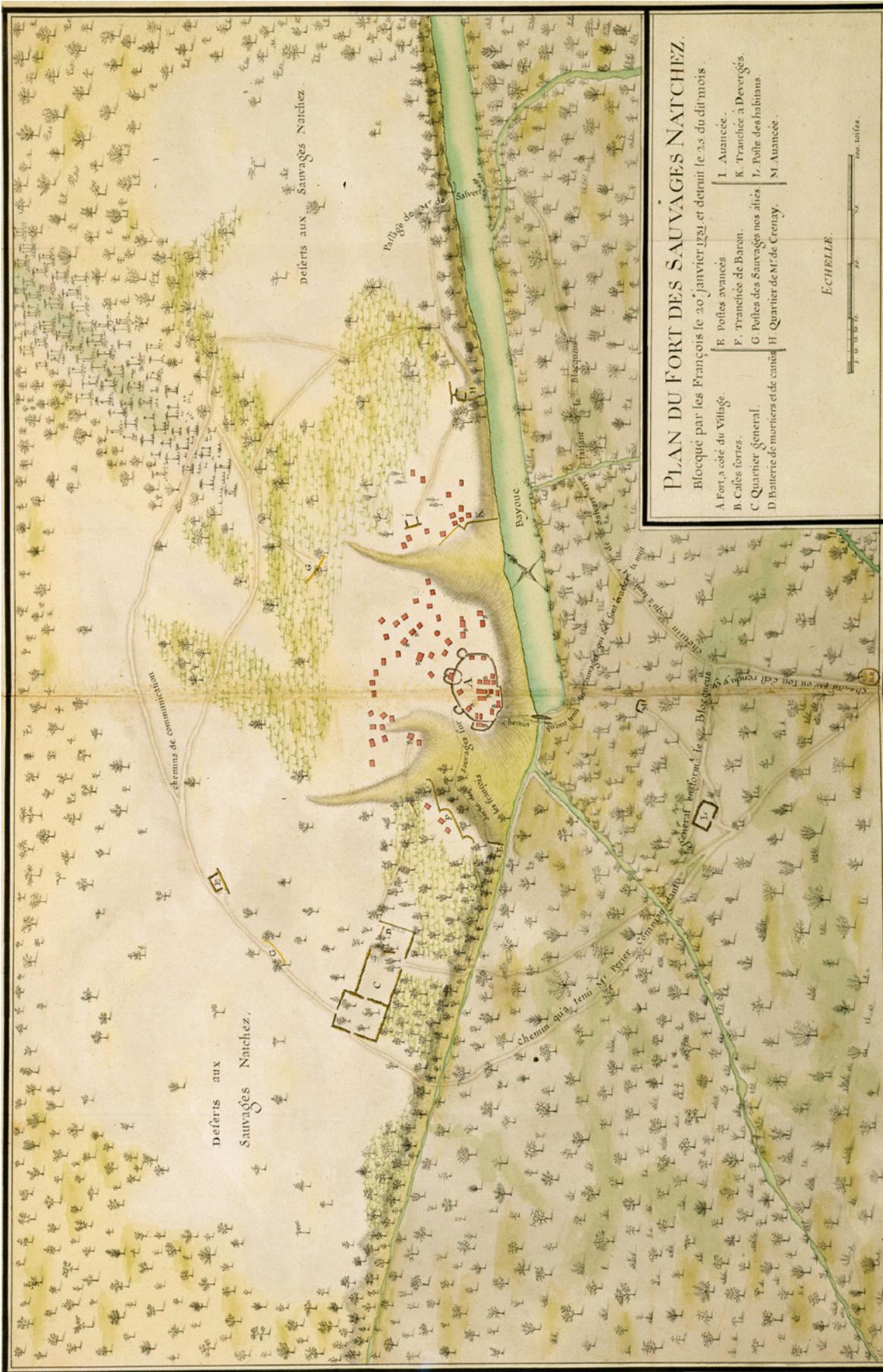


Figure 11. Map F-5, anonymous, titled *Plan du Fort des Sauvages Natchez*. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes, Vd 21(3) Fol. (see <http://bit.ly/2IVmJMv>).

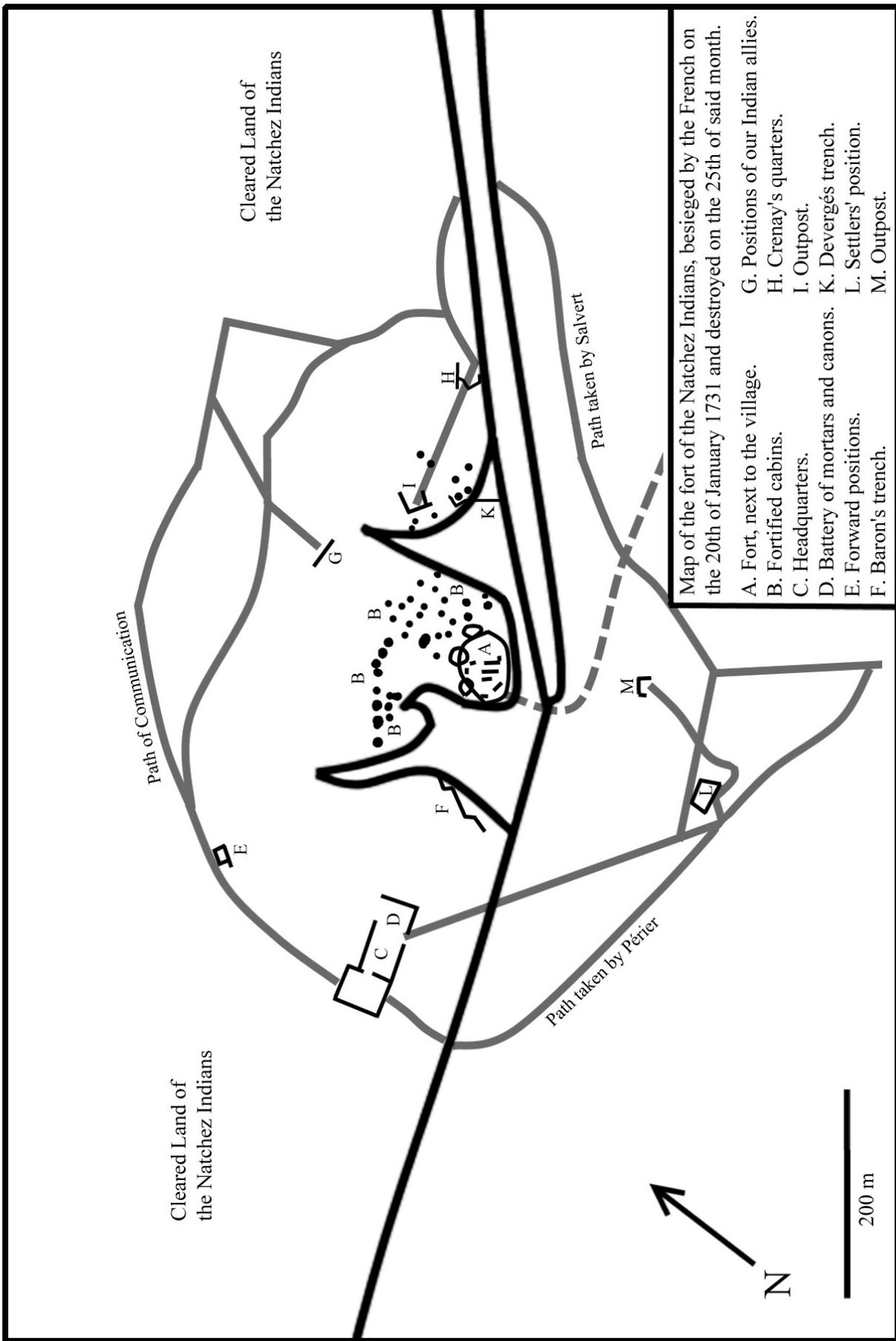


Figure 12. Simplified version of map F-5. Paths used by the French are shown with solid gray lines. The path used by the Natchez to escape is shown with a dotted gray line.



Figure 13. Photograph of the Natchez Fort site, taken in December 2013.

Shaffer, who witnessed the operation, did his best to retrieve whatever information he could. When a burial was uncovered, he placed a 3-ft-wide roll of kraft paper next to it and drew the layout of the bones and artifacts at nearly full scale. He then recovered the artifacts and recorded which burial they were from. Except for a few teeth (Listi, this volume), he left the bones in place as they were damaged and poorly preserved. All in all, he documented ten burials, which were arranged in a tight cluster that may have been a small cemetery.

After being introduced to Shaffer by Joseph “Smokye” Frank in 2009, one of us (Steponaitis) photographed his collection from this site, including the associated burial drawings and maps. The other (Prickett) subsequently met with Shaffer in 2013, took more pictures, and borrowed additional field records. Yet another round of artifact photos was taken in 2015 by Beverly Clement and Dennis Jones on behalf of the Louisiana Archaeological Conservancy. In 2016, Shaffer generously donated this collection to the Louisiana Archaeological Conservancy. As of this writing, discussions are being held for the artifacts, the photographs, and his field notes to be placed on long-

term loan to the Mississippi Department of Archives and History and housed at the Grand Village of the Natchez Indians Museum in Natchez, Mississippi.

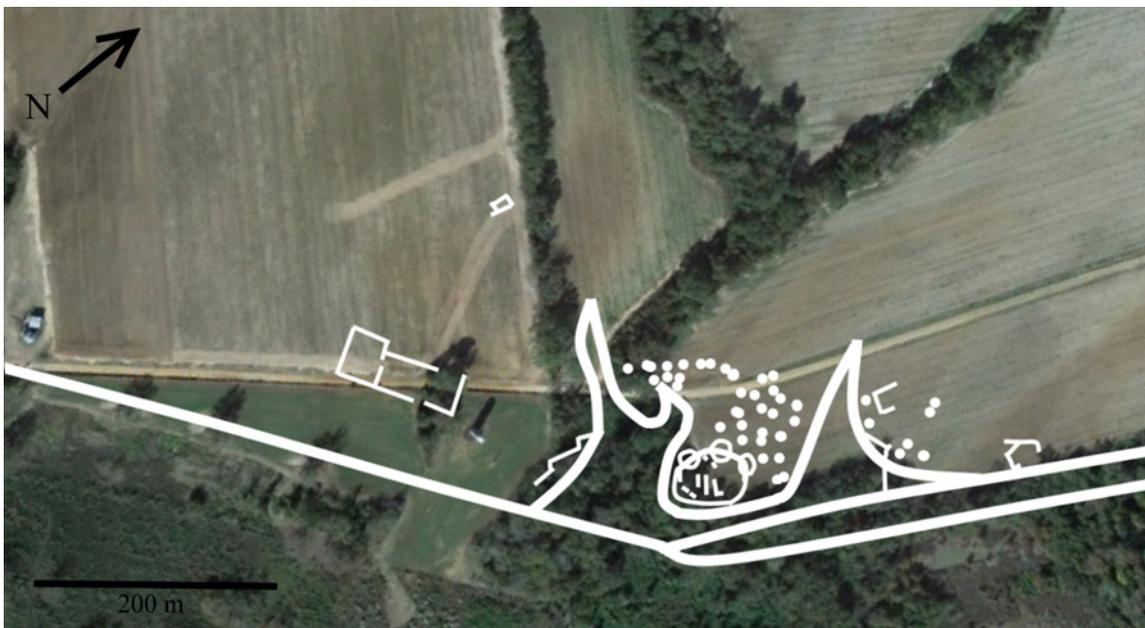
### *Site Plan*

In order to reconstruct the general layout of the site on the modern landscape, we overlaid Shaffer’s maps of artifact concentrations and other finds on an aerial photograph obtained from Google Earth. Although his maps were sketched rather than surveyed, we were able to correlate them with the aerial imagery, at least approximately, by aligning the roads and major topographic features (Figure 14).

We then took the most detailed map of the battle (F-5), scaled it appropriately, and overlaid it on the same aerial photo using the bluff and the two ravines as a guide. Even though the northeast ravine has been mostly filled as a result of the land leveling, its mouth is still visible as a notch in the bluff’s edge. The result is a map that shows the distribution of Shaffer’s finds in relation to the Natchez fort and other key locations associated with the battle (Figure 15). The burials appear to have been placed within the fort itself,



**Figure 14.** Aerial photograph of the Natchez Fort site, with artifact concentrations mapped by Jack Shaffer shown in gray. Shaffer's original map has no scale, but the features he sketched that allow correlation with the aerial photograph are shown in black: solid line, escarpment and stream; dotted line, Ditto Road. The photograph is from Google Earth.



**Figure 15.** Aerial photograph of the Natchez Fort site, with features traced from map F-4 overlaid in white (see Figure 12). The map was appropriately scaled and aligned with the photograph using the edge of the escarpment and the prominent ravine southwest of the fort. The ravine to the northeast was filled when the site was destroyed, but its former location can still be seen as a notch in the escarpment's edge.



Figure 16. Aerial photograph of the Natchez Fort site, with the location of the burial cluster found by Jack Shaffer marked with a star.

which, not surprisingly, also coincided with an artifact concentration (Figure 16).

### **Burials**

The relative positions of the burials Shaffer recorded are shown in Figure 17. All the burials whose type could be determined were primary and extended. Shaffer believed that most of the burials were prone (Burials 2, 6-10). Given that prone burials have never been found at other sites of this period in the Lower Mississippi Valley (e.g., Neitzel 1965; Brain 1979, 1988), it seems more likely that they were actually supine, and that Shaffer was misled by the poor condition of the bones and the fact that the highest points in the skeletons — the faces — had been clipped away by the earthmoving equipment. Shaffer's drawings are consistent with this scenario, as is the fact that many of the whole vessels he recovered also had their tops clipped away.

The illustrations of each burial that follow are traced directly from photographs of Shaffer's field drawings (Figures 18-27). While, given the circumstances, these drawings may not be perfectly accurate, they are helpful in showing the relative positions of the finds within each grave. Almost every artifact that was labeled in the drawings is still present in the collection.

Burial 1 had no longbones but was believed to be a burial because of the presence of teeth with a cluster of artifacts nearby (Figure 18). These artifacts include glass beads, a large iron key, a small iron key (not in collection), a brass angle bracket, five brass rings, a brass

tinkler, iron scissors, three brass thimbles, a brass bell, an iron nail, a brass bail lug from a kettle, a "melted musket ball" (not in collection), a gun barrel with a musket ball inside, various other gun parts (iron lock parts and screws, and fragments of a brass side plate and trigger guard), a possible aboriginal gunflint, a knuckle guard from a sword, and a chert pebble that may have been a smoothing stone.

Burial 2 contained an extended individual with the head pointing north (Figure 19). An iron axe was found on the chest, and the skeleton was entirely surrounded by nails, suggesting a wooden enclosure. Other artifacts found near this burial include a Fatherland Incised bowl with gunflints inside, a Barton Incised jar with musket balls inside, additional scattered gunflints, two small bells, glass beads, an iron bracelet, a small patch of metallic thread, three iron scissors, three iron blade fragments, two brass buttons, a brass spoon, two iron keys, four iron ear coils, two ramrod pipes, a brass trigger guard, various iron gun parts, three iron strike-a-lights, a number of unidentifiable metal objects, and vermillion.

Burial 3 was extended, with the head pointing north (Figure 20). The associated artifacts were a metallic braid near the right elbow, a iron blade fragment, and three Fatherland Incised bowls.

Burial 4 was also extended with the head toward the north (Figure 21). Artifacts found near this burial included glass beads, a lead musket ball, a brass ring, a copper bracelet, a small copper bracelet fragment, and an iron key.



Figure 17. The burial cluster found by Jack Shaffer, as traced from his notes. No scale provided.



Figure 18. Shaffer's drawing of Burial 1. Key to labeled objects: (a) pottery sherd, Fatherland Incised; (b) iron keys (one in collection); (c) brass angle bracket; (d) brass rings; (e) brass tinkler; (f) chert pebble; (g) iron scissors; (h) brass thimbles; (h') brass thimble, crushed; (i) brass bell; (j) teeth; (k) glass beads; (l) iron thumb screw; (m) brass bail lug; (n) brass knuckle guard (sword part); (o) brass trigger guard, finial; (p) iron gun barrel, two pieces, one with musket ball lodged inside; (q) iron lock plate; (r) brass side plate, fragment; (s) iron frizzens (lock parts); (t) Native chert gunflint; (u) iron top jaw and screw (lock parts); (v) lead musket ball, "melted" (not in collection); (w) iron nails and screws.



Figure 19. Shaffer's drawing of Burial 2. Key to labeled objects: (a) pottery bowl, Fatherland Incised, with gunflints inside; (b) pottery jar, Barton Incised, with musket balls inside; (c) glass beads with metal braid; (d) small brass bell; (e) iron bracelet; (f) iron coils, small; (g) brass buttons; (h) gunflints; (i) lead musket balls; (j) iron lock spring; (k) iron hammers (lock parts); (l) brass trigger guard; (m) brass ramrod pipes; (n) iron keys; (o) iron axe; (p) iron scissors; (q) iron blades; (r) iron spoon; (s) iron strike-a-light; (t) iron nails; (u) vermilion; (v) iron trigger assembly. Not shown are miscellaneous pewter and iron fragments.

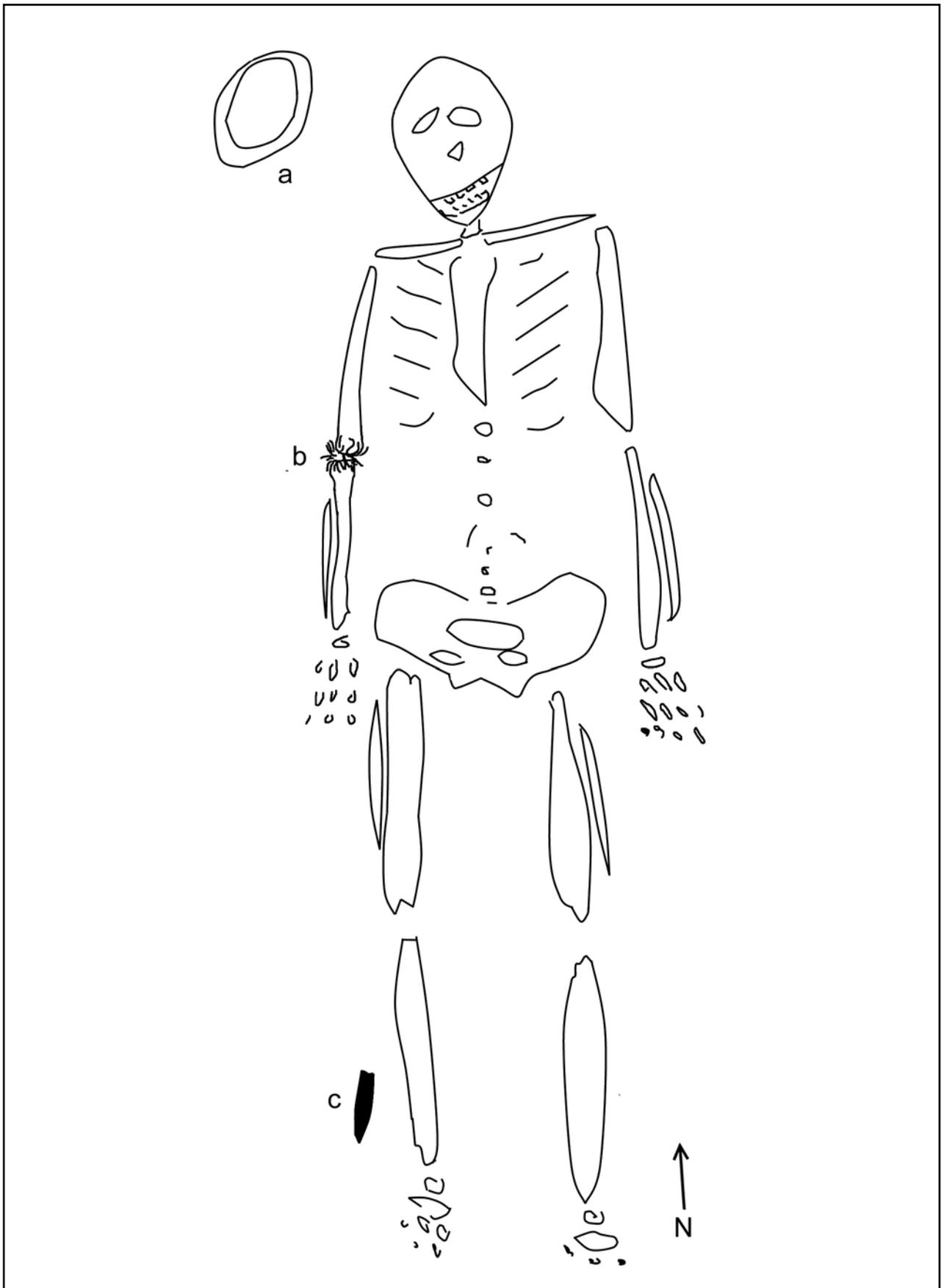


Figure 20. Shaffer's drawing of Burial 3. Key to labeled objects: (a) pottery bowls, Fatherland Incised, one nested inside the other; (b) metal braid; (c) iron blade. Not shown is a third Fatherland Incised bowl in fragmentary condition.

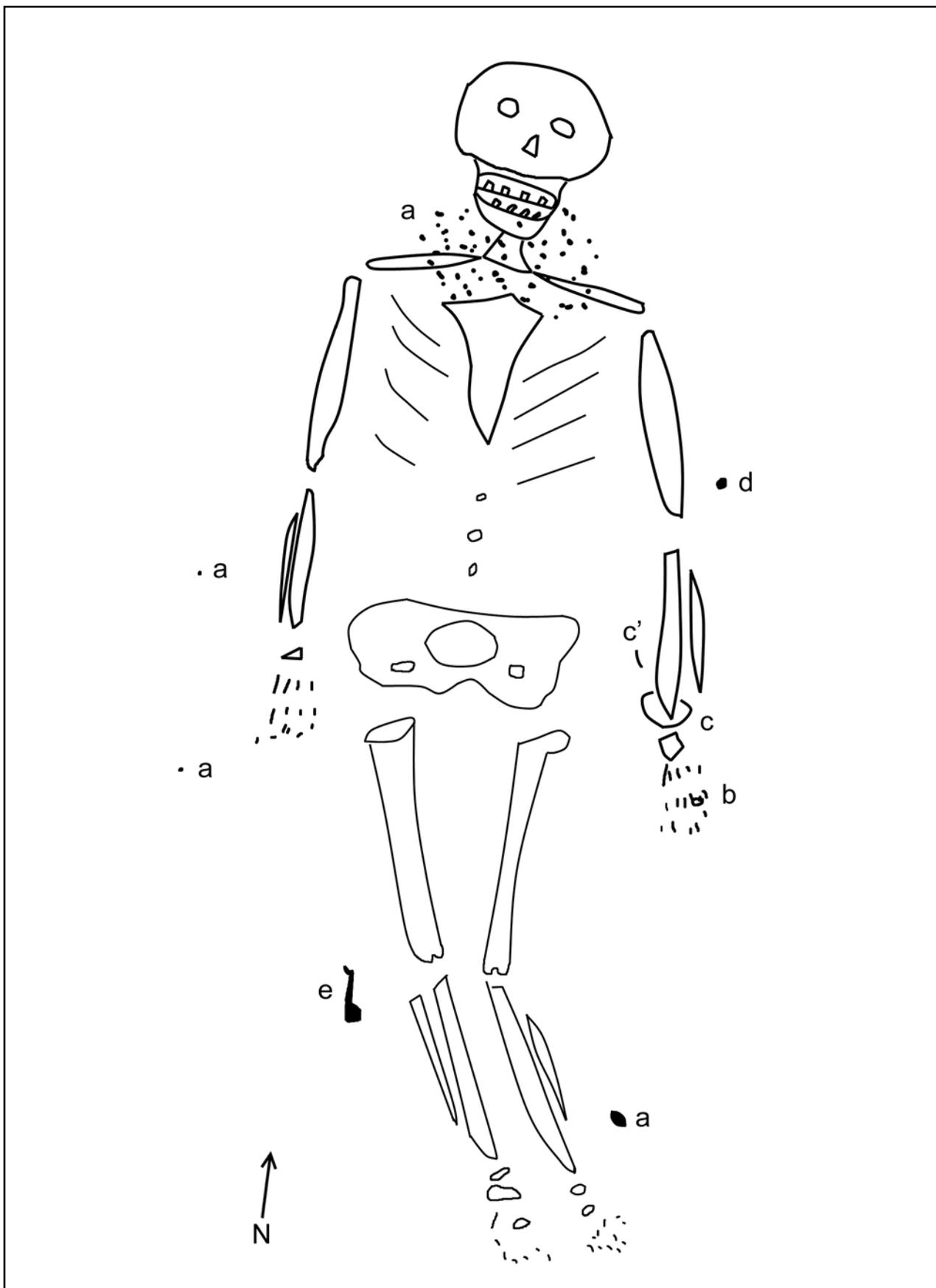


Figure 21. Shaffer's drawing of Burial 4. Key to labeled objects: (a) glass beads; (b) brass ring; (c) copper bracelet; (c') copper bracelet, small fragment; (d) lead musket ball; (e) iron key.

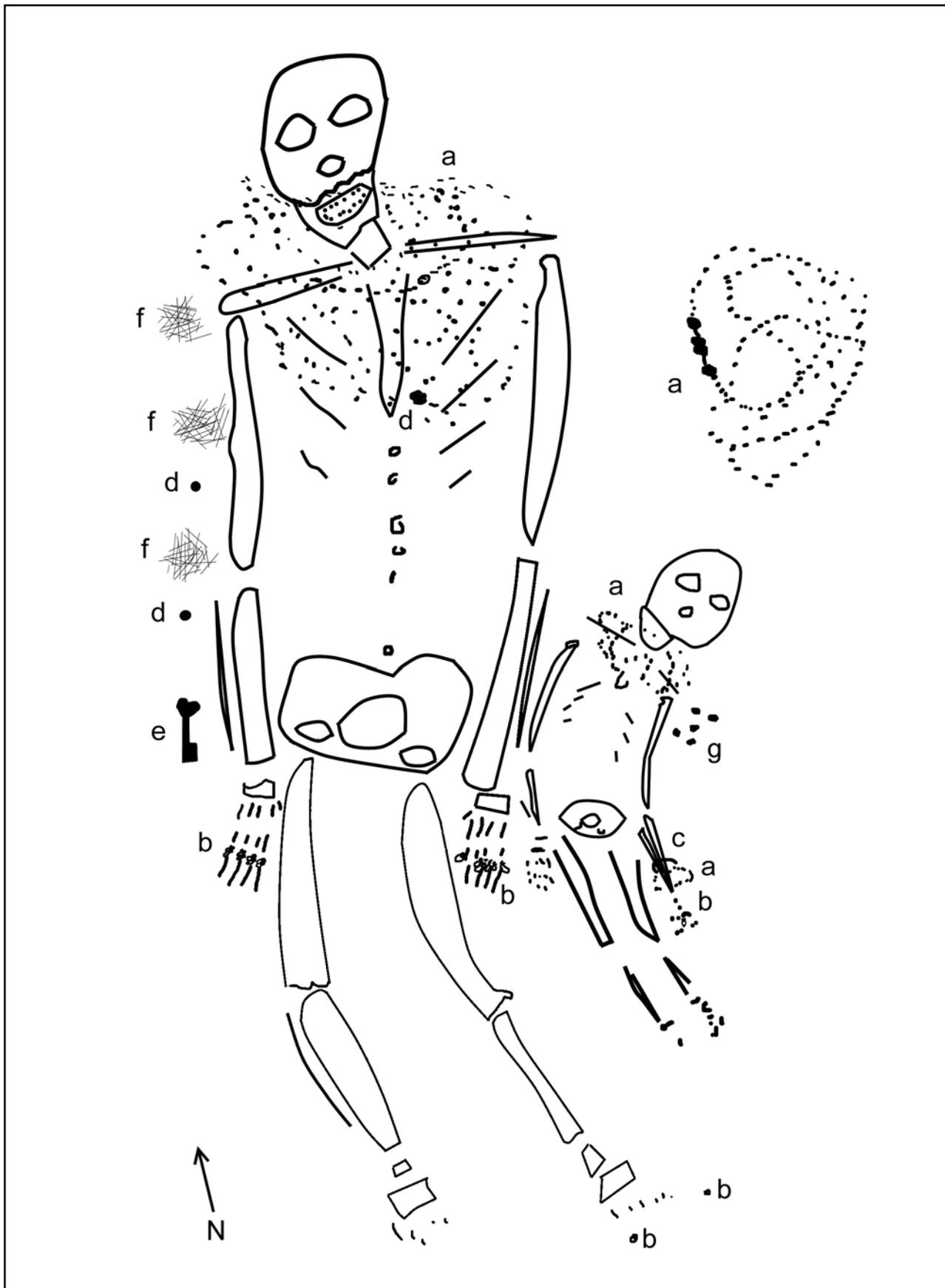


Figure 22. Shaffer's drawing of Burial 5. Key to labeled objects: (a) glass beads; (b) brass rings; (c) copper bracelet; (d) lead musket balls, the one in chest cavity deformed from impact; (e) iron key; (f) brass pins; (g) vermillion. Not shown are a chert point and an iron nail.



Figure 23. Shaffer's drawing of Burial 6. Key to labeled objects: (a) pottery jar and bowl, Addis Plain, one nested inside the other; (b) pottery jar, Addis Plain; (c) glass beads; (d) brass bells; (e) brass buttons; (f) brass earring; (g) iron nails; (h) pottery sherds.

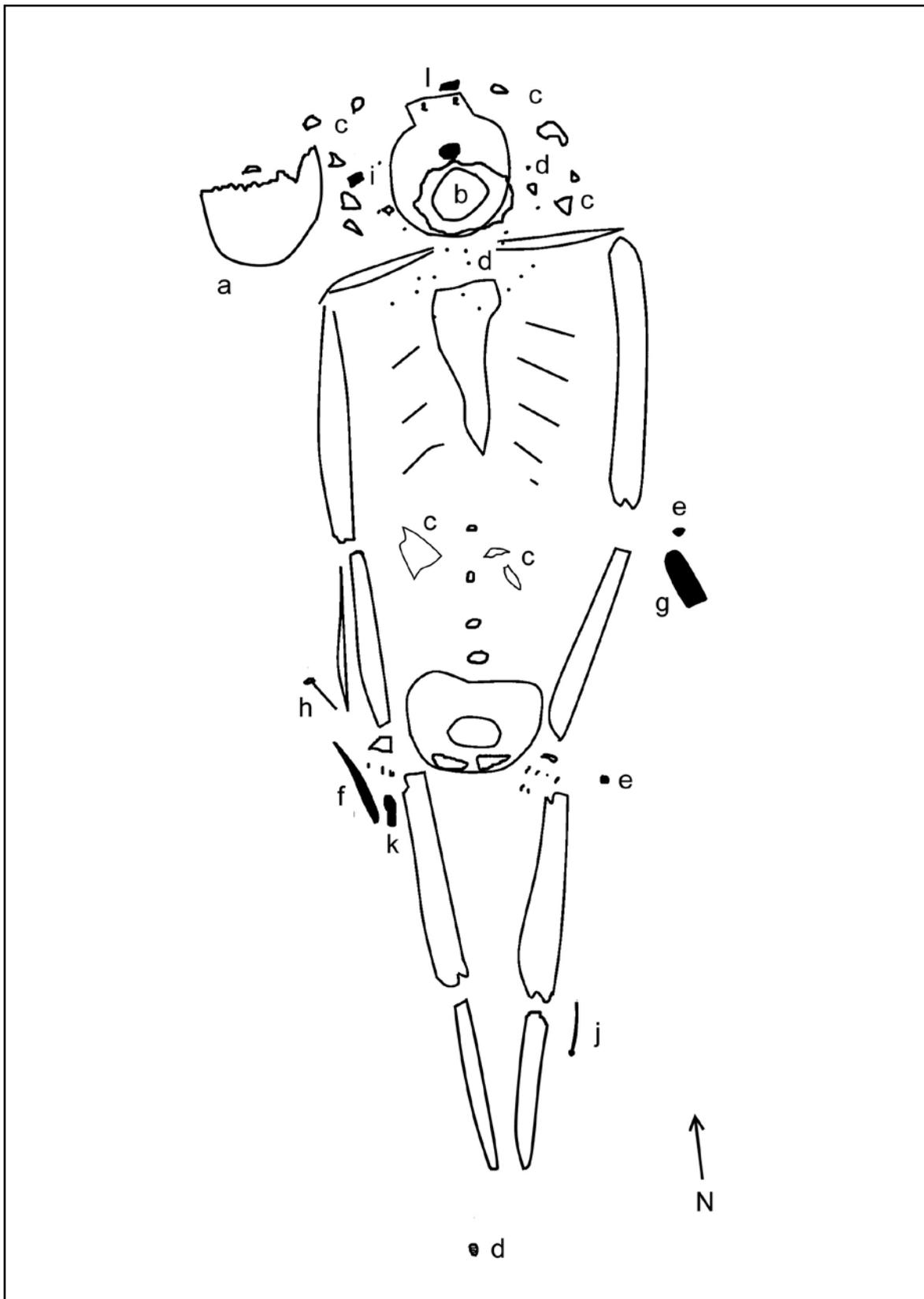


Figure 24. Shaffer's drawing of Burial 7. Key to labeled objects: (a) pottery bowl, Fatherland Incised; (b) two large pottery fragments over skull, Mississippi Plain; (c) pottery sherds, Fatherland Incised and Addis Plain; (d) glass beads; (e) lead musket balls; (f) iron scissors; (g) iron knife blade; (h) iron nail; (i) lead cylinder; (j) miscellaneous iron, straight piece with rivet; (k) pewter spoon handle; (l) iron blade fragment. Not shown are a brass ring, a pewter comb, and miscellaneous pieces of sheet brass and iron.

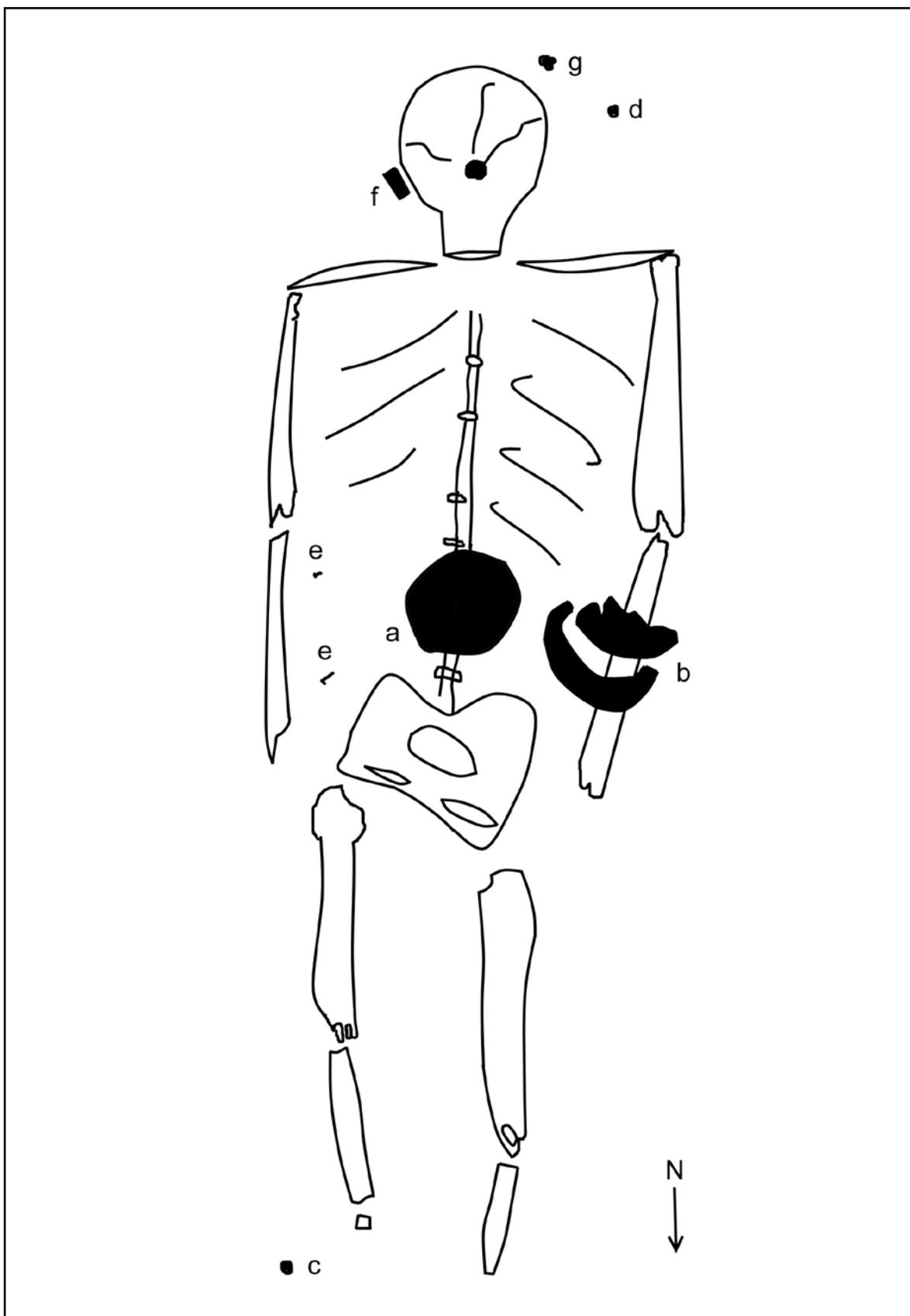


Figure 25. Shaffer's drawing of Burial 8. Key to labeled objects: (a) pottery bowl, Addis Plain; (b) pottery jar fragments, Addis Plain; (c) pewter button; (d) musket ball; (e) small iron nails or tacks (only one in collection); (f) crinoid fossil; (g) shell fragment. Not shown are glass beads.

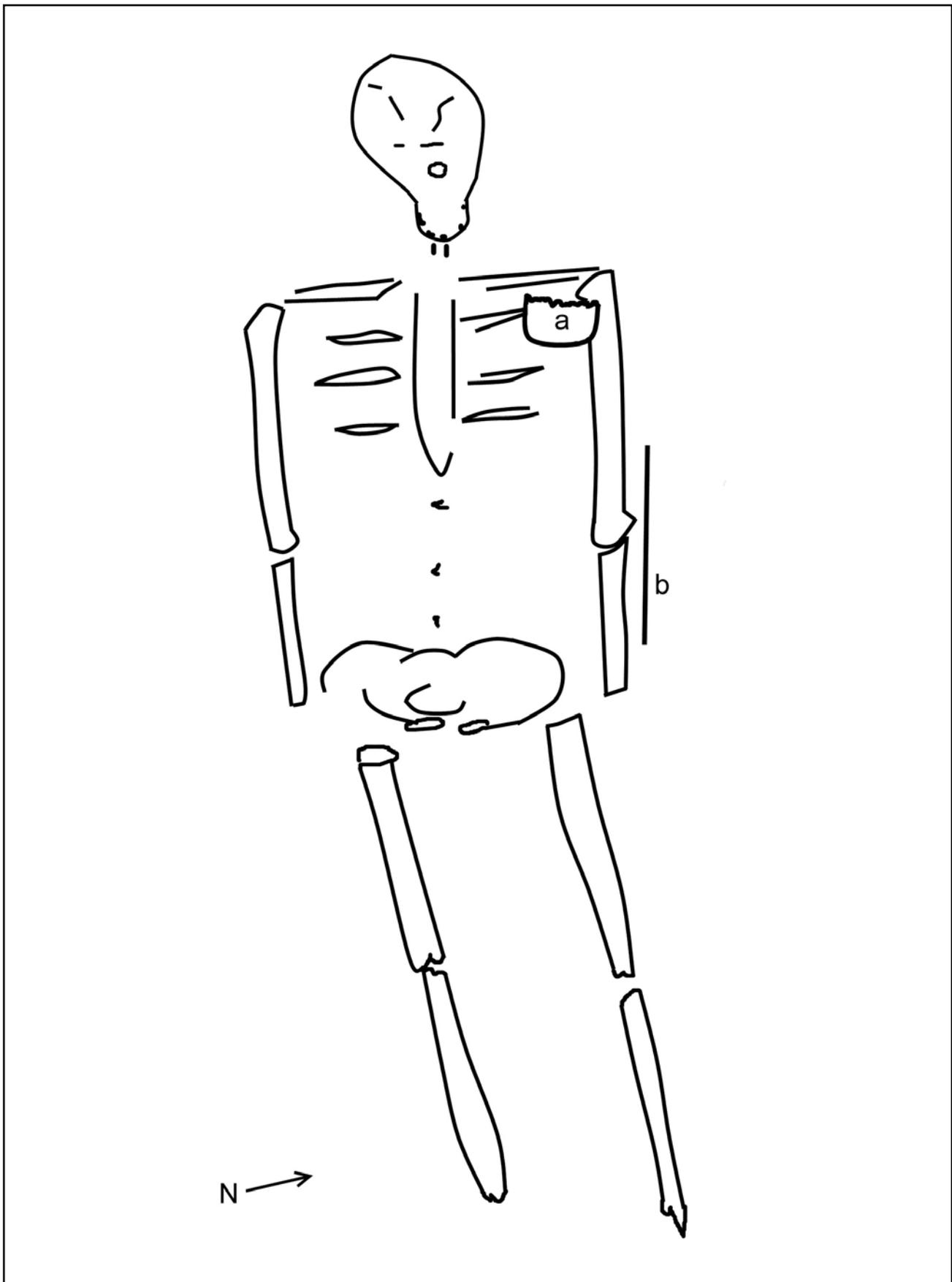


Figure 26. Shaffer's drawing of Burial 9. Key to labeled objects: (a) pottery vessel fragments, Fatherland Incised; (b) brass rod, with iron adhering. Not shown is an iron blade fragment.

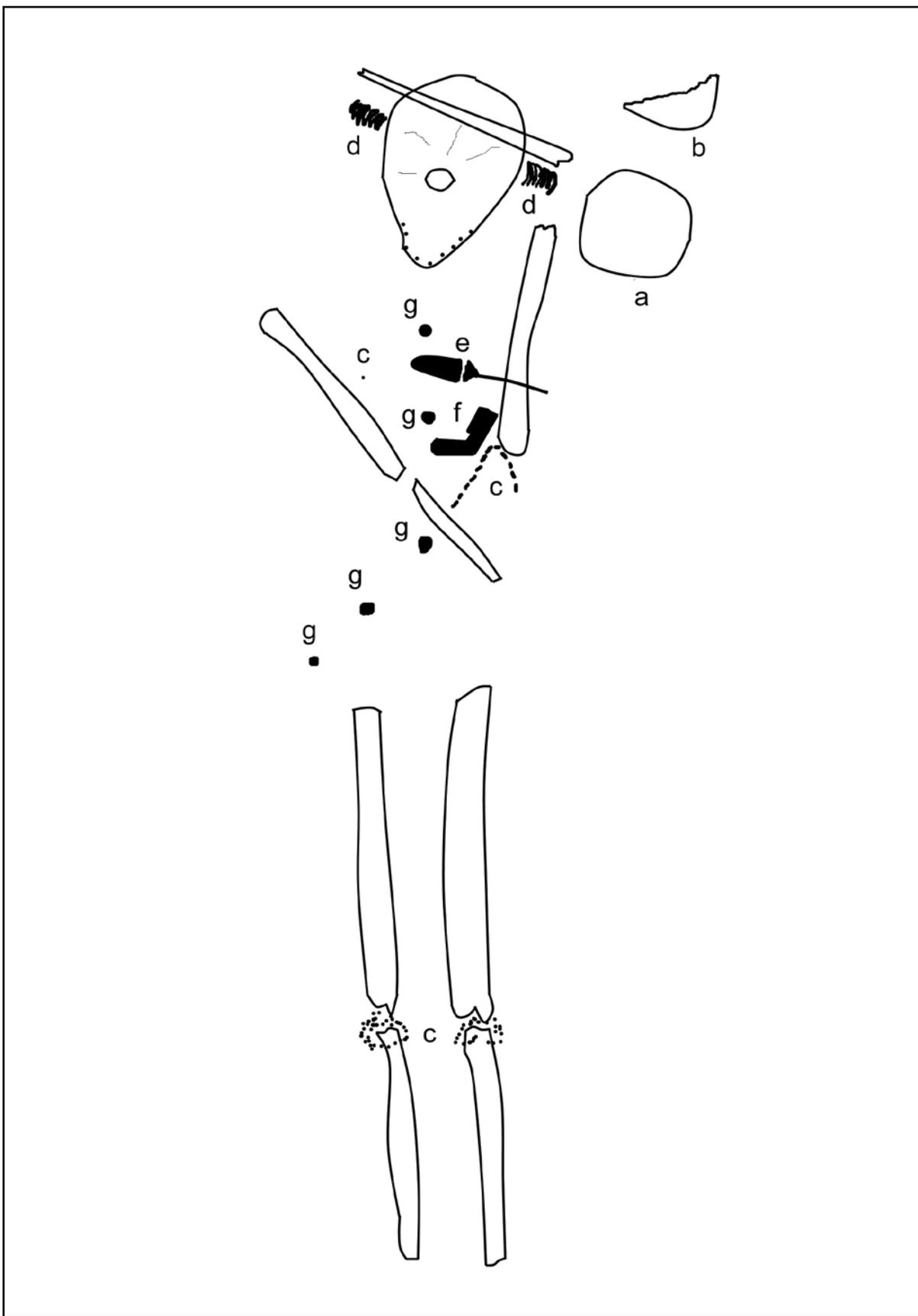


Figure 27. Shaffer's drawing of Burial 10. Key to labeled objects: (a) pottery bowl, Fatherland Incised; (b) pottery bowl, Fatherland Incised; (c) glass beads; (d) large iron coils (only one in collection); (e) iron spoon; (f) catlinite pipe; (g) brass buttons (not in collection).

Burial 5 contained two individuals (Figure 22). Both were buried in an extended position, with heads pointed north. One was much shorter than the other. Associated artifacts included three clusters of brass pins, glass beads, four musket balls, 16 brass rings, a copper bracelet, a chert point, iron nail, an iron key, a small brass clasp, and vermillion.

Burial 6 contained a single extended individual with the head pointed east (Figure 23). The artifacts included glass beads, seven brass bells, two small iron nails, a brass earring, two brass buttons, two Addis Plain jars, and an Addis Plain bowl.

Burial 7 contained an extended individual with the head pointed to the north (Figure 24). Artifacts include a Fatherland Incised bowl, a fragmentary Mississippi Plain pot, glass beads, a brass ring, two musket balls, a large iron nail, iron scissors, a lead cylinder, part of an iron blade, a pewter spoon fragment, a pewter comb, small piece of sheet brass, and several unidentified objects of iron.

Burial 8 contained an extended individual with the head pointing south or southwest (Figure 25). Other artifacts found near this burial include an Addis Plain bowl, an Addis Plain jar, glass beads, a pewter button, a musket ball, a small iron nail or tack, a crinoid fossil, and a mussel shell fragment.

Burial 9 was in an extended position, with its head pointing approximately west (Figure 26). It contained the smallest number of artifacts, only a Fatherland Incised bowl, a brass rod, and small piece of iron, possibly a blade fragment.

Burial 10 contained an individual in an extended position with the head pointed west (Figure 27). Artifacts included two Fatherland Incised bowls, glass beads, two large iron coils, an iron spoon, a catlinite pipe, and five metal buttons (which were not recovered).

## ARTIFACTS

An abundance of artifacts were found by Shaffer at the site (Table 3). Here we describe the objects and compare them with materials from the Fatherland site (Neitzel 1965), where the Natchez lived before the 1729 uprising, and from contemporary Tunica Indian sites whose inhabitants had access to similar European items (Brain 1979, 1988). It is important to note that Shaffer found many more artifacts than those discussed here. Because many were surface finds on a multicomponent site, not all were associated with the 1730-1731 occupation. Hence, we mainly focus here on the artifacts found with the ten burials just described, and consider

objects found apart from the burials only when they are clearly contemporary and particularly noteworthy.

For present purposes we group the objects into broad functional categories, while at the same time recognizing that objects of European manufacture may have been used by Native people in very different ways. It should also be noted that all of our metal descriptions are based purely on visual appearance with little or no cleaning. Thus, we use the term “brass” as shorthand to refer to any copper-based metal, not just the copper-zinc alloy to which that term is properly applied.

### *Pottery*

In addition to many isolated sherds, which are not here described, 15 whole and partial vessels were recovered by Shaffer. Most of these vessels were reconstructed from fragments, and many are missing their upper sections, probably because they were damaged by the earth-moving equipment that exposed the site. They include five examples of Addis Plain, one of Mississippi Plain, eight of Fatherland Incised, and one of Barton Incised (Brain 1988). Bowls are the most abundant shape (12 vessels) with jars also represented (three vessels).

Barton Incised (Figure 28a). This shell-tempered type is decorated with patterns of simple, rectilinear incisions (Brain 1979: 238). Only one vessel, a jar, was found in Burial 2.

Fatherland Incised (Figure 28b-i). This type is decorated with curvilinear bands of two, three, or four parallel lines, executed as narrow, dry-paste incisions (Brain 1979:242). All eight vessels are grog-tempered bowls. Six are *var. Fatherland*, one is *var. Nancy*, and one is *var. unspecified*. They were found in Burials 2, 3, 7, 9, and 10.

Addis Plain (Figure 29a-c, e-f). This grog-tempered plainware is represented by three bowls and two jars. All fall comfortably in *var. Addis*. They were found in Burials 6 and 8.

Mississippi Plain (Figure 29d). A single plain shell-tempered vessel was associated with Burial 7. Only fragments of the vessel remain and the rim is missing, so its shape is uncertain. We suspect it was either a bowl or a jar, based on its smoothed interior.

### *Ornaments and Clothing*

A variety of ornaments and clothing accessories was found at the site. The types include beads, rings, bells, bracelets, coils, earrings, and buttons.

Glass Beads (Figure 30). Glass beads were found with all but two of the burials (Table 4), and were classified

Table 3. Artifact Counts.

Category Type	Figure	Burial										Surface
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<b>Pottery</b>												
Barton Incised	28	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fatherland Incised	28	-	1	3	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	-
Addis Plain	29	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-
Mississippi Plain	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
<b>Ornaments and Clothing</b>												
Glass beads	30	5	153	-	104	662	3	83	11	-	93	-
Brass rings	31	5	-	-	1	16	-	1	-	-	-	-
Brass bells	32	1	2	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-
Metal bracelets	32	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron coils	32	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Brass earring	32	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Brass buttons	32	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	5 <sup>a</sup>	-
Pewter button	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Brass tinkler	32	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Metal braid	32	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Weapons and Munitions</b>												
Gunflints	33	1	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lead musket balls	34	2 <sup>b</sup>	28	-	1	4	-	2	1	-	-	-
Iron gun barrel	35	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron lock parts	35	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron trigger assembly	35	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron screws	35	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass side plate	35	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass trigger guard	35	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass ramrod pipe	35	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass sword parts	36	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Iron grenade fragments	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
<b>Other Metal</b>												
Iron axe	38	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron scissors	38	1	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Iron blades	38	-	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Iron strike-a-lights	38	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron nails	39	1	12	-	-	1	2	1	1	-	-	-
Iron keys	39	2 <sup>b</sup>	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass angle bracket	39	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Metal spoons	40	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Brass rod	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Brass pins	41	-	-	-	-	260	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass thimbles	41	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass bail lug	41	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass clasp	41	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pewter comb	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Lead cylinder	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous iron	41	-	23	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous brass	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous pewter	41	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Stone and Shell</b>												
Catlinite pipe	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Chert point	42	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vermillion	42	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crinoid fossil	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Chert pebble	42	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chert cobble with image	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Quartz crystal	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Shell fragment	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

a Not collected in the field.

b One missing from the collection.



Figure 28. Decorated pots: (a) Barton Incised, *var. unspecified* jar; (b-e, g, i) Fatherland Incised, *var. Fatherland* bowls; (f) Fatherland Incised, *var. unspecified* bowls; (h) Fatherland Incised, *var. Nancy* bowl. (Provenience: a-b, Burial 2; c, Burial 9; d-f, Burial 3; g-h, Burial 10; i, Burial 7.)



Figure 29. Undecorated pots: (a) Addis Plain, var. *Addis* jar; (b) Addis Plain, var. *Addis* bowl; (c) Addis Plain, var. *Addis* jar; (d) Mississippi Plain, var. *unspecified*, shape unknown; (e) Addis Plain, var. *Addis* jar; (f) Addis Plain, var. *Addis* bowl. (Provenience: a-c, Burial 6; d, Burial 7; e-f, Burial 8.)

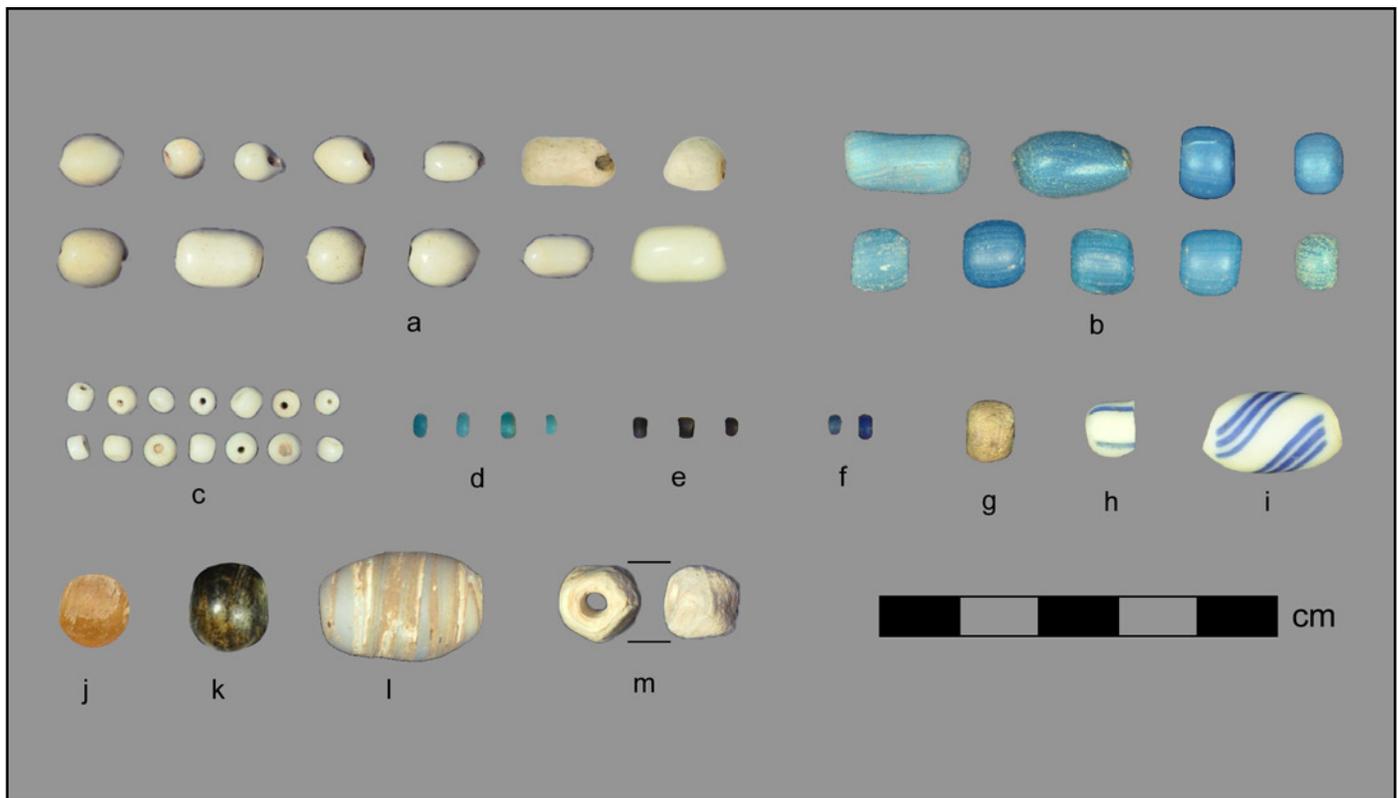


Figure 30. Glass beads: (a) IIA1; (b) IIA7; (c) IIA1, seed beads; (d) IIA7, seed beads; (e) IIA5, seed beads; (f) IIA6, seed beads; (g) IIA2; (h) IIB2; (i) IIB13; (j) WIA3; (k) WIA6; (l) WIC1; (m) WIIA1.

Table 4. Glass Bead Counts.

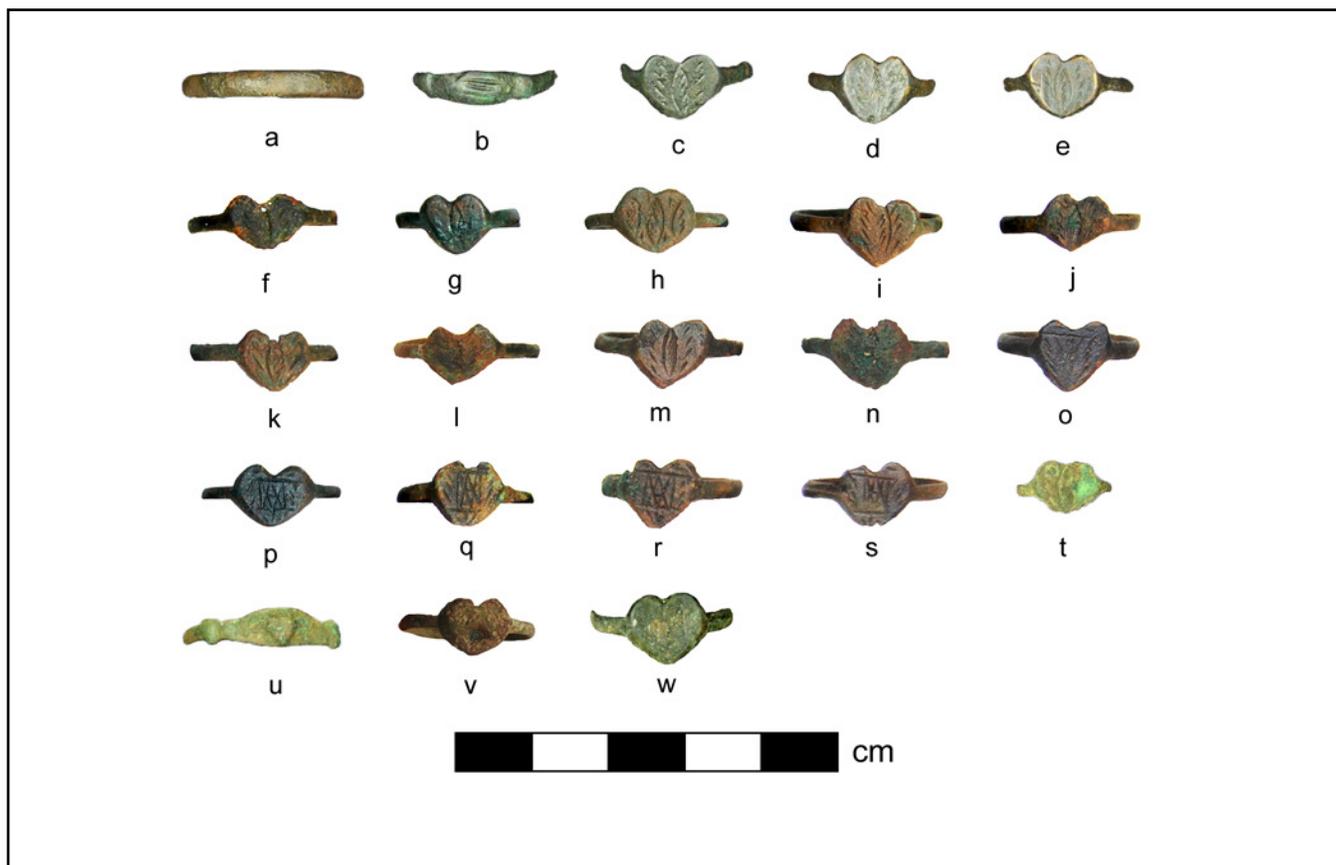
Category	Burial										Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<i>Drawn Beads</i>											
IIA1	-	32	-	101	630	3	77	11	-	80	934
IIA2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IIA5	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
IIA6	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
IIA7	3	110	-	2	21	-	3	-	-	13	152
IIB2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IIB13	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>Wire-Wound Beads</i>											
WIA3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
WIA6	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
WIC1	-	11	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	13
WIIA1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1

according to the system used by Brain (1979: 98-116). Both drawn and wire-wound types are present. Among drawn beads, by far the most common were white (type IIA1) and turquoise (IIA7). Other types represented in smaller numbers were dark burgundy (IIA5), dark blue (IIA6), yellow (IIA2), aqua blue (IIA10), and white with blue stripes (IIB2, IIB13). Wire-wound beads in simple shapes occurred in pale blue (WIC1), amber (WIA3), and black (WIA6). One faceted white bead (WIIA1) was also found.

**Brass Rings** (Figure 31). A total of twenty-three finger rings made of brass were found at the site. These have often been called “Jesuit rings,” despite the fact that they have no clear historical connection to this religious order and their designs are often not religious (Mason 2003, 2010; cf. Cleland 1972). Twenty of the rings in our sample have heart-shaped plaques, most of which bear engraved decorations that fall into one of two categories: The first design, of which there are 14 examples, consists of a lenticular element oriented vertically with short oblique lines on either side — similar to the “Incised Abstract II” design illustrated by

Wood (1974: Figure 13b). The second design, of which there are four examples, consists of two Xs side by side — similar to Wood’s “Ave Maria II” (1974: Figure 3b). Two of the plaques have designs that cannot be clearly discerned. Similar rings, albeit with round or oval plaques, have been found at Fatherland, Haynes Bluff, and Trudeau (Neitzel 1965: Figure 17c; Brain 1979: 192, 1988: Figure 168j). The remaining three rings have no plaques; one is plain, a second is decorated with a heart cast in relief, and a third shows clasped hands in relief. The last corresponds to Wood’s “Clasped Hands Motif III” (1974: Figure 8c).

**Brass Bells** (Figure 32a-j). Ten bells were found at the site. Seven of these (from Burial 6) are cast bells of the Key type (Brown 1979a: 197). One (from Burial 1) is a cast Flowerkey bell, which is marked by “raised stylized flowers” on its surface (Brown 1979a: 198). The other two (from Burial 2) are small fragments in poor condition, each likely from a French Flushloop bell made of sheet brass (Brown 1979a: 201; John Connaway, personal communication, 2016). They may have come from the same bell.



**Figure 31.** Brass rings: (a) plain; (b) clasped hands cast in relief; (c-o, t) lenticular element engraved on heart-shaped plaque; (p-s) “Ave Maria” motif engraved on heart-shaped plaque; (u) heart cast in relief; (v-w) heart-shaped plaque, design unclear. (Provenience: a-e, Burial 1; f-u, Burial 5; v, Burial 4; w, Burial 7.)



**Figure 32.** Miscellaneous ornaments and clothing-related items: (a-h) cast brass bells; (i-j) sheet brass bell fragments, possibly from the same bell; (k-l) metal braid, (k) with adhering lumps of soil; (m) iron bracelet; (n-o) copper bracelets; (p-q) brass buttons; (r) pewter button; (s-t) brass buttons; (u) small iron coils; (v) large iron coil; (w) brass earring; (x) brass tinkler. (Provenience: a-h, x, Burial 1; b-h, p-q, w, Burial 6; i-j, l, s-t, u, Burial 2; k, Burial 3; m-n, Burial 5; o, Burial 4; r, Burial 8; v, Burial 10.)

Metal Bracelets (Figure 32m-o). In all, the burials yielded four metal C-bracelets, three of copper and one of iron. The copper bracelets are made of wire, bent to the necessary shape. One complete and one fragmentary example were found with Burial 4, near the left wrist. Another complete example was found on the left wrist of the child in Burial 5. The iron bracelet was recovered from Burial 2, near (but not on) the right wrist. Such objects are abundant at contemporary Indian sites (Brain 1979: 157, 193-194, 1988: 411-412, Figures 62k, 156g; Neitzel 1965: Plates 13ll, 14k, 1983: Plate 30h).

Iron Coils (Figure 32u-v). A total of six iron coils occur with the burials, placed consistently near the head. Four small coils were associated with Burial 2, and two large coils with Burial 10; only one of the latter was recovered reasonably intact. According to Le Page Du Pratz, such coils, presumably the smaller ones, were passed through holes in the ears and worn by warriors as ornaments (Swanton 1911: 55). Coils of both iron and brass were found at Fatherland, Trudeau, and Haynes

Bluff (Brain 1979: 157, 196; 1988: 412, Figure 166f; Neitzel 1965: Plate 14a).

Brass Earring (Figure 32w). One brass earring fragment came from Burial 6. It has a wire earlobe hook with a round knob attached to it. Judging from contemporary examples found at Trudeau, a conical pendant may originally have been hung below the knob (Brain 1979: 163, 191).

Brass Buttons (Figure 32p-q, s-t). Two brass buttons were recovered from Burial 2, and two more were found in Burial 6 along the centerline of the torso, probably from a tunic or shirt. The latter are hollow and made of sheet metal. Five other buttons also were arranged similarly in Burial 10, but were not recovered. Shaffer described them in his field notes as “composite” buttons, made of very thin metal covering another material, possibly bone, inside. Such buttons are thought to have been from French uniforms but could have been traded to or taken by the Natchez (Brain 1979: 189). Brass buttons are often found at contemporary sites (Brain 1979: 189-

190 [see esp. B-112], 1988: Figure 16a; Neitzel 1965: 43, Plate 14i).

Pewter Button (Figure 32r). A plain pewter button, with the eye broken off, was found near the right foot of Burial 8. A pewter disk of similar size, also probably a button, is illustrated from Fatherland (Neitzel 1983: Plate 33s). Other such buttons, although not identical, occur at Haynes Bluff (Brain 1988: 410, Figure 168m).

Brass Tinkler (Figure 32x). A single tinkler, with a rather wide, triangular base, was associated with Burial 1. It is unusual in being more tetrahedral than conical in shape. Conical tinklers are common at early eighteenth-century sites (Brain 1979: 195, 1988: Figures 65y-cc, 122n-q, 156h, 168h, 175i; Neitzel 1965: Plate 14n, 1983: Plate 33b-f).

Metal Braid (Figure 32k-l). Small, tangled patches of metal braid were found with Burials 2 and 3. Larger swatches of such clothing adornment have been found at Trudeau, Haynes Bluff, and Bloodhound (Brain 1979: 217-218; 1988: 412, Figure 148w-x).

### ***Weapons and Munitions***

Not surprisingly, military weapons were abundant at the Natchez Fort site. Such objects include gun parts, gunflints, ammunition, sword parts, and grenade fragments. Except for the last, all are of types common at early-eighteenth-century Indian sites in French Louisiana.

Although the collection includes many gun parts, no complete guns were found by Shaffer in the burials he recorded. All the parts came from Burials 1 and 2, but in neither burial did the parts comprise a single firearm. Moreover, the parts were never found in a spatial arrangement that suggested an articulated gun. Whether this pattern was the result of original burial or post-depositional disturbance is hard to say. However, two lines of evidence point to the former. First is that the numbers of parts from each burial do not match those of a single gun. Thus, among the lock parts Burial 1 had an extra frizzen and Burial 2 had an extra hammer, suggesting the inclusion of parts rather than (or in addition to) complete weapons. Second, the gun barrel from Burial 1 was clearly bent in a way that could only have happened prior to deposition. In other words, the barrel was no longer functional at the time it was buried.

Gunflints (Figure 33). A total of 39 European gunflints were placed with Burial 2. One was clamped in the jaws of a flintlock's hammer (described below), and most of the rest were found in a Fatherland Incised bowl next to the individual's head. All but two of these gunflints were made from the blond flint typical of French pieces — a mottled, translucent stone that ranges from yellowish brown to grey in color. Ten of these French

flints were spalls and 27 were prismatic blades. The remaining two pieces were spalls made of black flint, the stone usually associated with English manufacture (Hamilton 1980: 138-147; Hamilton and Emery 1988: 9-14; Smith 1982; Woodward 1982). Burial 1 contained a single flake of local chert that could have been used as a gunflint, but this functional attribution is far from certain. Overall, the gunflint assemblage from this site is similar to those from other contemporary sites in the region (Brain 1979: 210-211, 1988: 414, Figures 60i-k, 65ff-mm, 67n, 78l-o, 97j, 103u-v, 122z-cc).

Lead Musket Balls (Figure 34). Twenty-eight musket balls were included with Burial 2, mostly contained in a Barton Incised jar near the buried individual's right shoulder. An additional ten balls were scattered across five other burials (1, 4, 5, 7, and 8). They were also ubiquitous across the entire site. Green (1936: 566) reports that the site was once used as a source of lead for the surrounding community because of the large number of musket balls easily found on the surface. Most had diameters in the range of 14.1-14.8 mm (0.56-0.58 in), corresponding to the 26 or 28 *calibre* balls typically found with French guns of this period (Hamilton 1980: 125-137). Others were larger, with diameters of 14.9-15.4 mm (0.59-0.61 in), or 22-24 *calibre*. One, from Burial 8, had a diameter of 14.9 mm (0.62 in), or 21 *calibre*. Most of the musket balls were pristine, except for two: One found in the chest of the adult in Burial 5 was deformed from impact and may have caused the individual's death. A second deformed ball was found near the left elbow of Burial 4.

Iron Gun Barrel (Figure 35l). The forward end of a gun barrel was found with Burial 1. The piece is just over 13 cm long and visibly bent into an arc, damage that could only have happened prior to deposition. It has a musket ball lodged inside, at the end opposite the muzzle. Given its length, this may well be a pistol barrel with the breech blown out. However, the fact that the proximal end lacks a hexagonal cross section makes this interpretation less than certain.

Iron Lock Parts (Figure 35a-c, e-i). Burial 1 contained one lock plate with its sear and tumbler still attached, two frizzens, and one articulated top jaw and vise screw from a hammer assembly. Burial 2 produced one hammer assembly complete with gunflint, a second hammer lacking the top jaw and flint, and a lock spring.

Iron Trigger Assembly (Figure 35d). Also in Burial 2 was a gun's trigger fused with the trigger plate through which it originally passed. A similar piece is known from Wright's Bluff (Brown 1979b: Plate 103g).

Iron Screws (Figure 35i-k). Burial 1 contained three threaded fasteners. All may have been gun related, but it



Figure 33. Gunflints: (a-e) blades, blond flint (French); (f-g) spalls, blond flint (French); (h) spalls, black flint (English). (Provenience: a-h, Burial 2.)

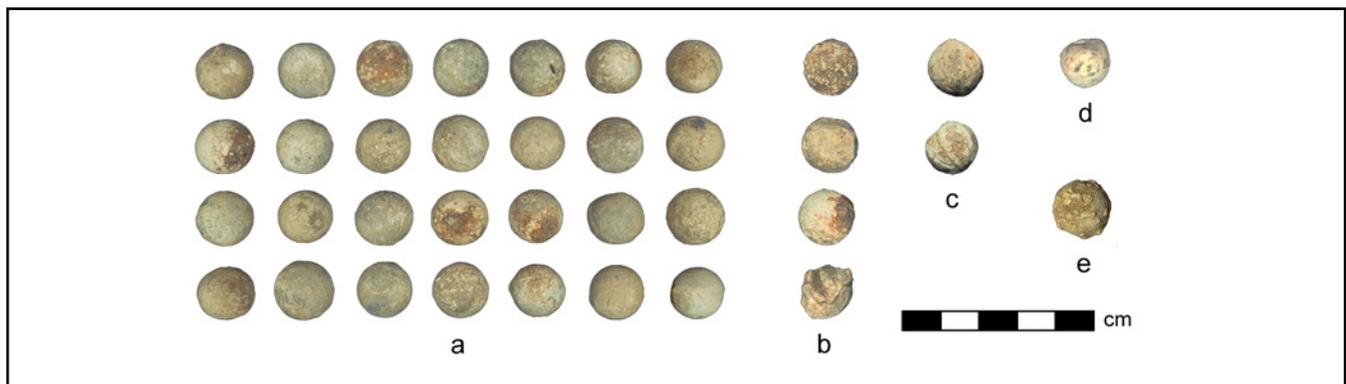


Figure 34. Lead musket balls. (Provenience: a, Burial 2; b, Burial 5; c, Burial 7; d, Burial 4; e, Burial 8.)



**Figure 35.** Gun parts: (a) lock plate with sear and tumbler, three views; (b-c) iron frizzens; (d) iron trigger assembly; (e) iron hammer assembly with gunflint; (f) iron hammer; (g) iron top jaw and screw, from a hammer assembly; (h) iron lock spring; (i) iron vise screw, probably from a hammer assembly; (j) iron wood screw; (k) iron thumb screw, possibly from a gunsmith's vise; (l) iron gun barrel, bent, with musket ball lodged inside, two views; (m) brass trigger guard; (n) brass finial, probably from a trigger guard; (o-p) brass ramrod pipes; (q) brass side plate fragment. (Provenience: a-c, g, i-l, n, q, Burial 1; d-f, h, j, m, o-p, Burial 2.)

is hard to be sure. One, with a spherical head, is probably a vise screw from a hammer assembly. The second tapers to a point like a wood screw, and may have been used to secure gun furniture to a stock. The third is straight-sided and has a flat finger-grip at the top, like a modern thumb screw; it may have been part of a gunsmith's tool, perhaps a hand vise (cf. Hamilton 1982: Figure 6).

**Brass Side Plate** (Figure 35q). Burial 1 produced a fragmentary side plate showing the distinctive oval medallion that characterized French Type C fusils (Hamilton 1968: 7, Figures 3, 5a, 1980: 29-31, Figure 9f). It is very similar to examples from Bloodhound (Brain 1988: Figures 142d, 148g-j; Hamilton 1988: 416), Fatherland (Hamilton 1968: Figure 3b), and Trudeau (Hamilton 1979: 216 [B-233]; Brain 1988: Figure 103s).

**Brass Trigger Guard** (Figure 35m-n). A large piece of a brass trigger guard was found in Burial 2. The engraved "Chevrolet" design on the bottom of the bow is typical of French Type C fusils and also occurs on Type D guns (Hamilton 1968: 7, Figures 4, 5b, 8b, 1980: 29-30, Figures 13e-h, 14f-g). Similar pieces are known from Fatherland (Neitzel 1983: Plate 31n), Trudeau (Hamilton 1979: 212 [B-217, B-222]), and Bloodhound (Brain 1988: Figure 142f-g, 148l-q). In addition, a brass finial, probably from a trigger guard, was found in Burial 1. It is of simple design, tapering to a small nipple at the end. There is evidence of a screw hole at the broken edge. A similar finial occurs on a Type C trigger guard from Bloodhound (Brain 1988: Figure 142f), and an almost identical one has been illustrated among the French gun furniture from Fort Michilimackinac (Hamilton 1980: Figure 45 [lower right corner]).

**Brass Ramrod Pipe** (Figure 35o-p). Two brass ramrod pipes were associated with Burial 2. One is a simple tube that would have been installed in the forward or middle position along the barrel. The other is a rear pipe with a flange that would have been set into the forestock. Similar pipes are illustrated from Fatherland (Neitzel 1983: Plate 31a-b), Trudeau (Brain 1988: Figures 103y, 122r-s) and Bloodhound (Brain 1988: Figure 148f).

**Brass Sword Parts** (Figure 36). Among Shaffer's surface finds is a bilobate counter guard of a type common on eighteenth-century small swords (also called court swords) from France and neighboring countries (Dean 1929: Plates 10-14). This type of sword was a thrusting, rather than a cutting weapon, like a rapier but smaller. Another piece of a sword's hilt came from Burial 1. It is a curved rod of cast brass that probably served as a knuckle guard, curving around the handle. It is decorated in relief with a pattern that simulates twisted cordage, a common motif on eighteenth-century sword hilts and handles. An iron blade likely from a small sword was discovered at Bloodhound (Brain 1988: Figure 142b), and two brass hilt fragments — a quillon and a branch (or finger ring) — are known from Fatherland (Neitzel 1983: Plate 31l-m).

**Iron Grenade Fragments** (Figure 37). At least 11 fragments of hollow, spherical, cast-iron grenades were found on the surface, apart from burials. It is of interest to note that Périer specifically mentions the use of grenades during the battle, both fired by mortars and thrown by hand (Green 1938: 555, 556, 559). The most evocative description follows:

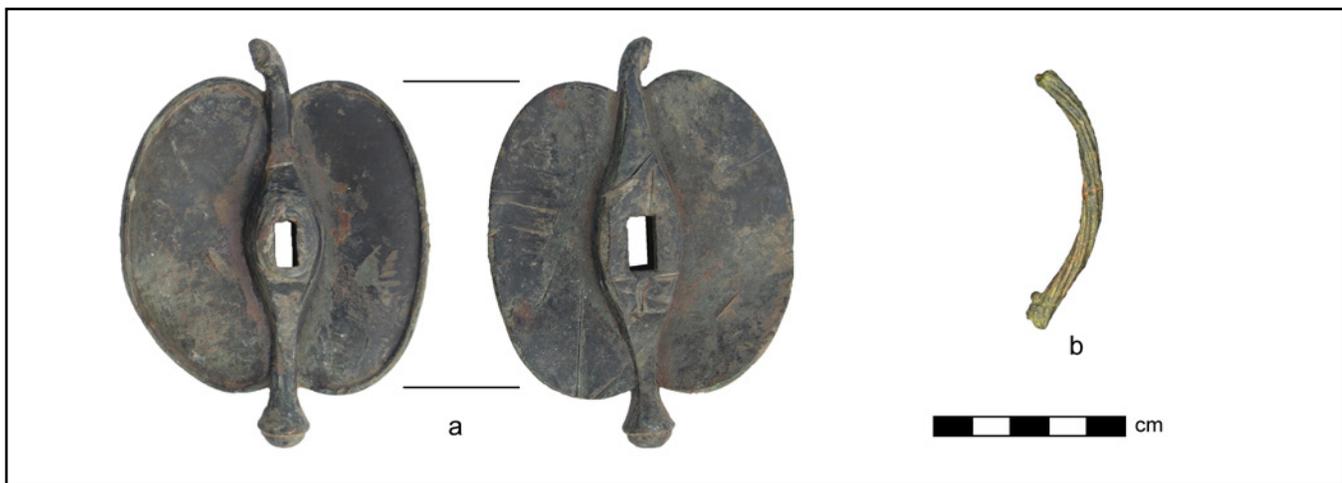


Figure 36. Brass sword parts: (a) bilobate counter guard, two views; (b) knuckle guard. (Provenience: a, surface; b, Burial 1.)



**Figure 37. Iron grenade fragments. (Provenience: surface.)**

The 21st I sent an order to Baron de Cresnay to come and join me in order to command the attack on the left. And the same day I hoisted a white flag to demand of the savages that they return to me the negroes they had captured in the cypress swamp. They fired on the flag, saying they did not wish to talk to dogs like us. At two o'clock one of the wooden mortars arrived. I immediately fired a few Royal grenades, two of which fell in the fort on one of their cabins, after which they exploded. We heard the loud cries and weeping of their women and children, which caused us to increase our musketry fire and that of the double grenades; but unfortunately the bands of two of our mortars failed, which put them out of service [Périer, translated in Green 1936: 555].

The “royal grenades” were presumably those meant to be fired by a royal mortar — a small artillery piece used during the eighteenth century by both French and English troops, particularly in sieges. The bore of eighteenth-century English royal mortars was 5.8 inches, but they were typically called 5.5 inch mortars, presumably referring to the diameter of the projectile,

which was smaller to allow for windage (James 1810: 47; McConnell 1988: 115-118; Muller 1768: 67, 119-121; Pasley 1829: 2: 174-175; St. Germain 2009; cf. Hanson and Hsu 1975: 78). Based on their curvature, the fragments found by Shaffer would have come from projectiles with a diameter of about 14 cm or almost exactly 5.5 inches. A much smaller, complete grenade was found at Trudeau (Brain 1979: 158).

#### ***Other Metal***

Metal artifacts besides those related to clothing, ornament, and weaponry constitute a catchall category that represent a large portion of the collection.

Iron Axe (Figure 38a). An iron axe head was found on the chest of the individual in Burial 2. Such axes, with a flaring bit, were very common trade items during this time. Similar ones are known from Trudeau, Bloodhound, and Fatherland (Brain 1979: 140-143; Brain 1988: Figures 65vv, 145a; Neitzel 1965: Plate 14x).

Iron Scissors (Figure 38b-f). Five scissors, in various states of completeness, came from Burials 1, 2, and 7. They are similar to ones found at Fatherland (Neitzel 1983: Plate 32k-l) and Trudeau (Brain 1979: 154).

Iron Blades (Figure 38g-l). The collection includes five flat, elongated pieces of iron that may represent the blades of knives or similar implements, but they



**Figure 38.** Iron cutting and fire-making tools: (a) axe; (b-f) scissors; (g-l) knife blades; (m-o) strike-a-lights. (Provenience: a, c-e, j-o, Burial 2; b, Burial 1; f, h, Burial 7; g, Burial 9; i, Burial 3.)

are so corroded and incomplete that little more can be said. Case knives and folding or clasp knives are not uncommon at sites of this period, and weapons such as swords, bayonets and pikes are also occasionally found (Brain 1979: 152-154, 158, 1988: 408, Figure 142b; Neitzel 1965: Plate 13w-aa, 1983: Plate 32a-c).

**Iron Strike-a-Lights** (Figure 38m-o). One complete, oval strike-a-light was found with Burial 2, and two probable strike-a-light fragments came from Burial 1. Pieces like the former are illustrated from Fatherland (1983: Plate 33a) and Haynes Bluff (Brain 1988: Figure 167f), and a fragment similar to the latter is known from Fatherland (Neitzel 1965: Plate 13cc). Trudeau also produced a strike-a-light (Brain 1979: 157).

**Iron Nails** (Figure 39a-m). A total of twenty wrought-iron nails of various sizes were found in the burials: 13 with Burial 2, two each with Burials 1 and 6, and one each with Burials 5, 7, and 8. The individual in Burial 2 was surrounded by 10 nails and had three more spread over the torso — perhaps indicative of some sort of wooden cover or frame; Brain suggests a similar arrangement of nails around an early-nineteenth-century Tunica burial at Pierite was indicative of a coffin (Brain 1988: 60, Figure 51). Nails are very common on contemporary Indian sites in the Lower Mississippi Valley, and may have been used not only as fasteners, but also as tools (Brain 1979: 156, 1988: 408-409; Neitzel 1965: Plate 14o, 1983: Plate 32g-h).



**Figure 39.** Iron and brass chest hardware: (a-m) iron nails; (n-r) iron keys; (s) brass angle bracket (crease at center, ends folded up into a right angle). (Provenience: a, o, Burial 5; b, Burial 8; c-k, n, q, Burial 2; l, Burial 7; m, r-s, Burial 1; p, Burial 4.)

**Iron Keys** (Figure 39n-r). A total of six iron keys were found in Burials 1, 2, 4, and 5. As Brain (1979: 155) suggests, these may have used for wooden storage chests. Similar keys are known from both Fatherland and Trudeau (Brain 1979: 155; Neitzel 1965: Plate 13hh, 1983: 112)

**Brass Angle Bracket** (Figure 39s). Burial 1 contained a thin brass strap bent into a right angle. It was about 3 cm wide and had seven holes for fasteners. A bracket like this could have been used to reinforce the corner of a chest (Brain 1979: 155).

**Metal Spoons** (Figure 40a-c). Two reasonably complete spoons were found, one made of brass in Burial 2 and another made of iron in Burial 10. The former is in good condition, and strongly resembles an example from Trudeau (Brain 1979: 186 [B-240]). Its handle has a long, tapered rat tail that extends halfway under the bowl. The iron spoon is in poor condition and was found in two pieces, probably the result of post-depositional corrosion. An otherwise comparable spoon found at

Fatherland was made of silver (Neitzel 1965: Figure 18, Plate 14p). In addition to the two complete specimens, an oval pewter fragment, about 5 cm long and 2 cm wide, was found in Burial 7. It looks like the proximal end of a spoon's handle, although the piece is so small and poorly preserved that it is difficult to be sure.

**Brass Rod** (Figure 40d). A straight, flat rod of sheet brass, about 22 cm long and 0.8 cm wide, was found near the left arm in Burial 9. One end of the rod is rolled and the other is beveled from the edges, so it almost comes to a point. Rusted iron adheres to one of the flat sides along its full length. We cannot say whether this iron was part of the same implement or simply resting against the rod when it was buried. The function of this object remains a mystery.

**Brass Pins** (Figure 41a-a'). Three groups of pins (with about 260 pins total) were placed beside the adult in Burial 5. Pins were considered a luxury item until the early nineteenth century, giving extra significance to the large number found here. The Trudeau site had a



**Figure 40.** Spoons and unidentified implement: (a) brass spoon, two views; (b) iron spoon; (c) pewter handle fragment, probably from a spoon; (d) brass rod with adhering iron, two views. (Provenience: a, Burial 2; b, Burial 10; c, Burial 7; d, Burial 9.)

similar number of pins, although it is rare to find them at eighteenth-century Indian settlements (Brain 1979: 189).

**Brass Thimbles** (Figure 41c-e). Three thimbles were found in Burial 1. One was unmodified; a second had its top cut away, forming a tube open at both ends; and a third had been hammered flat. Thimbles such as these are known from both Trudeau and Fatherland (Brain 1979: 188; Neitzel 1965: Plate 14h)

**Brass Bail Lug** (Figure 41c). Burial 1 contained a perforated piece of brass that was probably a bail attachment mounted on a kettle's rim. It is made of sheet brass and has a tab that wraps around a metal wire, likely the kettle's rim reinforcement. Interestingly, this type of bail lug is not well represented among the kettles from contemporary sites and may well be unique (cf. Brain 1979: 164-180).

**Brass Clasp** (Figure 41f). A brass clip, 1.8 cm long and 1.2 cm wide, comes from Burial 5. It presumably was part of a pouch, belt, or other piece of clothing, but beyond that little more can be said.

**Pewter Comb** (Figure 41j). A small fragment of what appears to be a pewter comb is cataloged as coming from Burial 7, but it is not shown on the field drawing of that context. No other combs of this material are known from contemporary sites in the region.

**Lead Cylinder** (Figure 41h). A cylinder made of lead was found in Burial 7. It is about 2 cm in diameter and 2 cm long. Its use is unknown.

**Miscellaneous Iron** (Figure 41k-l). This category mostly includes fragments of iron so nondescript or corroded that their function could not be determined. Some are flat shards, others are lengths of wire or rod. Only two are noteworthy: Burial 2 contained a length of wire bent into a hook; and Burial 7 had a straight piece about 8.5 cm long with a rivet at one end.

**Miscellaneous Brass** (Figure 41g). A small fragment of sheet brass was found in Burial 7, about 2 cm long and 1 cm wide. Its location was not marked on the field drawing.



Figure 41. Miscellaneous metal: (a) brass pins; (b) brass bail lug; (c-e) thimbles; (f) brass clasp; (g) sheet brass fragment; (h) lead cylinder; (i) pewter rod; (j) pewter comb; (k) iron spring; (l) iron wire hook. (Provenience: a, f, Burial 5; b-e, Burial 1; g-h, j-k, Burial 7; i, l, Burial 2.)

Miscellaneous Pewter (Figure 41i). A bent pewter rod, also possibly a handle of some sort, was found in Burial 2.

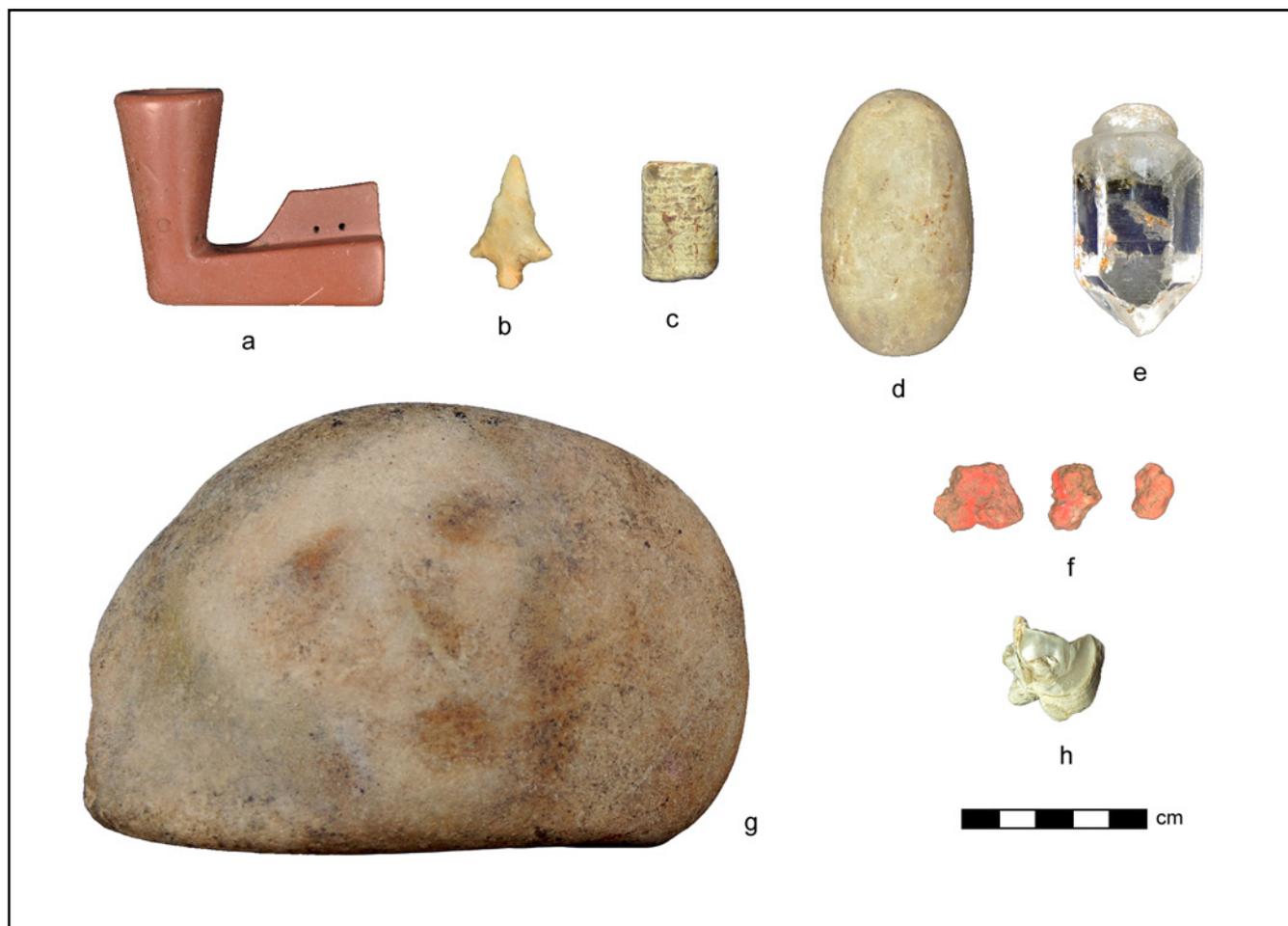
### ***Stone and Shell***

This category includes all the stone and shell objects except for gunflints, which are described above with weapons and munitions.

Catlinite Pipe (Figure 42a). A catlinite elbow pipe was associated with Burial 10. It has a cylindrical bowl that tapers toward the bottom, a rectangular stem of similar length, and a flat projection atop the stem. It

is similar to pipes found at Trudeau (Brain 1979: 248 [S-16], 1988: Figure 56; Moore 1911: Figure 1) and Haynes Bluff (Brain 1988: Figure 166c). This pipe was likely part of a calumet, a universal symbol of peaceful intent among the southern Indian nations (Brown 1989; Swanton 1911: 136-137).

Chert Point (Figure 42b). A chipped-stone point made of local tan chert was recovered from Burial 5. It is classified as Alba Stemmed, *var. Alba* (Williams and Brain 1983: 221-222), which dates much earlier than the eighteenth-century occupation at this site. Whether it was part of a medicine bundle or an incidental inclusion



**Figure 42. Miscellaneous stone and shell: (a) catlinite pipe; (b) chert point; (c) crinoid fossil; (d) chert pebble; (e) quartz crystal; (f) vermillion; (g) chert cobble with image; (h) mussel shell fragment. (Provenience: a, Burial 10; b, Burial 5; c, h, Burial 8; d, Burial 1; e, surface; f, Burial 2; g, surface.)**

is hard to say, as the artifact’s location was not recorded in Shaffer’s field drawing.

Vermillion (Figure 42f). Lumps of this bright-red pigment were found next to the head of the person in Burial 2, and near the right shoulder of the smaller person in Burial 5. Vermillion was a trade item obtained from the French. It occurs with reasonable frequency at Trudeau (Brain 1979: 223), which postdates 1730, but is rare at earlier sites.

Crinoid Fossil (Figure 42c). Burial 8 contained a fossil crinoid stem. Such fossils were sometimes drilled and used as beads, but this one shows no such modification. Several such fossils, both drilled and undrilled, were found at Trudeau (Brain 1979: 250).

Chert Pebble (Figure 42d). This was an oval, smooth piece of tan chert about 6 cm long and 2 cm wide found in Burial 1. Similar pebbles found at Trudeau were called “smoothing stones” by Brain (1979: 250) and may have been used in burnishing pottery.

Chert Cobble with Image (Figure 42g). A smooth chert cobble, found within the area of the fort but not associated with a burial, is noteworthy because it bears the crude image of a face. One cannot completely dismiss the possibility that the image is accidental, but it is so striking that one senses its presence is deliberate — either made by human hands or selected for its unusual character. The stone does not appear to be painted, in the sense that there is no visible layer of pigment; rather, the surface itself seems to be discolored by the kind of chemical alteration that can happen when an organic material touching the stone decays (see Steponaitis et al. 2011: 94, and references therein).

Quartz Crystal (Figure 42). About 60 cm northeast of Burial 10 a quartz crystal was found, surrounded by small nails. The crystal is in the shape of a prism that comes to a point at one end and is modified with a knob and groove at the other, perhaps for suspension. The presence of the nails suggests that the crystal may have

been buried in a wooden container. Quartz crystals were present at Trudeau, although none were deliberately shaped (Brain 1979: 250). Gravier mentions a “piece of rock crystal” in his account of the Natchez temple, and Le Petit describes the Taensa temple as containing “some pieces of crystal” stored in baskets (Swanton 1911: 158, 269). Swanton, in a note pertaining to Gravier’s account, correctly states that “supernatural properties were often connected with this substance” (Swanton 1911: 158).

Shell Fragment (Figure 42h). Burial 8 contained a single fragment of mussel shell that showed no clear signs of being worked.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our re-examination of the historical maps connected with the French siege of the Natchez *Fort de Valeur* in January of 1731 leaves absolutely no doubt that Green’s (1936) reconstruction of the French army’s route along the Mississippi, Red, Black, and Tensas rivers was correct. The new information provided by map R-5, which Green never saw, is definitive. It shows the army’s progress day by day, on exactly the route that Green proposed. This map also helps to resolve one of the few remaining ambiguities in Green’s reconstruction: the meaning of the dotted line that diverges from the main rivers in the *Route de l’Armee* maps (R-1, R-2, and R-3). Correlating the dates on this map with the details provided in Périer’s narrative of the journey, we argue that the dotted line indicates the alternate route taken by the militia of local settlers, in a feint ordered by Périer to confuse the enemy’s scouts.

Both the historical maps and the archaeological evidence also confirm that the Natchez Fort site (16CT18) on Sicily Island was the place where the battle occurred. Sadly, this site was largely destroyed by land-leveling in 1987. The only mitigating factor was the archaeological collection that Jack Shaffer obtained before the destruction was complete. Shaffer’s sketch maps indicate the various areas where artifacts were concentrated. Overlays of his maps and the historical maps on modern aerial photos show that one of his concentrations coincided exactly with the location of the Natchez fort. And it was within the area of this fort that Shaffer documented a cluster of ten Indian burials as they were being destroyed by the land-leveling.

The artifacts found with these burials are perfectly consistent with an early-eighteenth-century Natchez occupation. The dominant pottery types, Fatherland Incised and Addis Plain, are identical to those found at Fatherland and other Natchez settlements that were inhabited just before the 1729 uprising (Neitzel 1965,

1983; Brown 1985). The array of European trade goods also matches well with the assemblages at these sites and at other contemporary Indian settlements in the Lower Mississippi Valley (Brain 1979, 1988).

There were distinct differences among burials in the number and types of associated artifacts. Burials 1, 2, and 5 had a much larger number of artifacts than any of the other burials. Such disparities could represent differences in status or wealth (Brain 1979: 278).

Some individuals may have been warriors. For instance, Burials 1 and 2 both contain gun parts. In addition, Burials 2 and 10 contain ear coils, which were said by Le Page Du Pratz to be worn by warriors of the Natchez (Swanton 1911: 55). In contrast, Burial 5 has a large quantity of artifacts, such as beads and pins, but contains no evidence of weaponry. This warrior-nonwarrior distinction may correlate with gender, just like at Trudeau (Brain 1979: 279).

When did these burials take place? Their location within the fort suggests that some or all of them happened during the siege. Two of the burials show possible signs of violence. Burials 2 and 5 contain musket balls in the areas of their torsos, where the chests would have been. Since these musket balls were not lodged in bones, the evidence is not definitive. That is, the musket balls could have simply been buried on top of the bodies. We know from Périer’s account that Indian casualties occurred within the fort (Green 1936: 555). However, we have no way of knowing for sure if any of the individuals found buried at the site died in the conflict with the French.

In sum, the maps and archaeological materials examined here not only support past research on the Natchez, but also provide new information about the battle that took place at Sicily Island between the French and the Natchez. This battle was a key part of a bitter war that affected the history of both nations. It not only contributed to the demise of the French colonial endeavor in the Lower Mississippi Valley, but also led to the Natchez diaspora, in which those who survived this battle and escaped the siege ultimately scattered to live among the Chickasaws, the Cherokees, the Creeks, and the Catawbias. Contrary to the common belief that this battle marked the “destruction” of the Natchez nation, the descendants of these Indians, like those of the French, still live on to this day.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research was made possible by Jack Shaffer, who not only salvaged information from the site as it was being destroyed, but also shared that information and ultimately donated his collection to the Louisiana

Archaeological Conservancy. We owe him a great debt of gratitude. We are also enormously grateful to “Smoky” Joe Frank, who told us about the collection and introduced us to Jack; to Kathleen DuVal and John DuVal, who gave us critical assistance in translation; to Erin Greenwald, Elizabeth Jones, Scott Madry, and Rebecca Smith, who helped with maps; to Beverly Clement, who provided many of the artifact photographs; to Laurie Steponaitis, who commented on earlier drafts; and last, but not least, to LAS Editor Dennis Jones, who provided much-needed encouragement, gave us helpful suggestions, answered many questions about the collection, and showed enormous patience as this manuscript inched its way to completion.

## NOTES

1. The best evidence that *Valeur* is an alternate name for the Grand Village comes from a manuscript by Jean-Baptiste Delaye, who fought in 1730 battle at Natchez (“Relation du massacre des françois aux Natchez et de la guerre contre ces sauvages, 1er juin 1730,” Archives nationales d’Outre-Mer, 04DFC 38; see Gordon Sayre’s English translation at <http://bit.ly/2ignG1e>). Delaye consistently refers to the temple at the Grand Village as *maison de valeur* or *temple de valeur* (pp. 32, 34, 35, 44). This equivalence is not surprising, as *Valeur* is loosely synonymous with *Grand*, both carrying connotations of importance (see Brown and Steponaitis 2017, note 10). Delaye also fought at Sicily Island as part of the settler militia and was wounded there (Green 1936: 555).
2. French intelligence prior to the battle indicated that the Natchez had three forts in the Ouachita drainage, not just the one that Périer’s forces besieged (Le Petit 1730: 221). It is therefore not surprising that the Natchez surrender there did not end the war. In the months after the battle at Sicily Island, Natchez warriors attacked the French settlements in Natchitoches and Natchez, and the main Tunica town at the mouth of the Red River (Barnett 2007: 127-131; Giraud 1991: 424-427; Swanton 1911: 248-251). It seems reasonable to assume that each of the three forts in the Ouachita was associated with a different town, just like the two forts involved in the 1730 siege at Natchez. In addition to the Grand Village (*Valeur*), whose fort the French attacked, another was likely *Farine*. The chief of the latter participated in the battle at Sicily Island, was captured by the French, and then escaped (Green 1936: 556). He subsequently led the Indian assault on Natchitoches, where he was killed.
3. There are two additional manuscript maps in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France that are not listed in Table 1 but are worth mentioning here. Both were drawn by Jean-Baptiste d’Anville or someone in his workshop; the library’s catalog lists d’Anville as *cartographe présumé* for each. The first is a straightforward tracing of one of the original route maps, like R-1 through R-3, and is scaled exactly the same (Ge D 10648; see <http://bit.ly/2iVjJzw>). The second appears to have a more complicated pedigree (Ge D 10643; see <http://bit.ly/2hVZ3L7>). Superficially it looks like a copy of R-4, drawn at the same scale, but closer examination reveals some interesting differences. The outline of the Mississippi River, from Natchez to the birdfoot delta, is almost identical to that in R-4, suggesting that both came from the same source, probably Pauger’s base map of the Mississippi made in the early 1720s (see discussion in the main text). The outlines of the Red, Black, and Tensas rivers, however, diverge from those in R-4 and mirror more closely the courses shown in R-1 through R-3. Thus, the map appears to be a composite derived from two different sources — Pauger’s base map and one of the original route maps — rather than a simple tracing of R-4. Indeed, it is reasonable to assume that this composite provided the basis for the river courses shown in the famous “*Carte de la Louisiane*” Anville published in 1752 (see <http://bit.ly/2jfV6B3>).
4. Yet another interesting manuscript at the Bibliothèque nationale de France lists not only the various places the French army camped between New Orleans and the mouth of the Red River, but also the travel times between them (Ge D 10652; see <http://bit.ly/2iN8Xy0>). It came to the library with Anville’s papers and is associated with the first map discussed in note 3 above (Ge D 10648), along with a manuscript signed by Etienne Dubuisson entitled *Mémoire pour servir d’instruction à Toulouse pendant le temps qu’il employera à monter, et à défendre le bras du fleuve*, or “Memoir to serve as instruction to Toulouse on the time that it will require to ascend, and to defend the branch of the river” (Ge D 10651; see <http://bit.ly/2iGwksK>). The latter manuscript is dated February 2, 1730, but the travel times could not have been written until after French army’s arrival at the mouth of the Red River in January 1731. This may be explained by the typical slip of the pen that occurs early in each new year, when people accidentally write the previous year out of habit. Clearly these manuscripts warrant further study.

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