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A SOCIAL HISTORY OF CADDOAN PEOPLES:
CULTURAL ADAPTATION AND PERSISTENCE IN A
NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

The Caddo Indians originated in the Red River Valley, and occupied the area encompassed by present-day northwestern Louisiana, southwestern Arkansas, southeastern Oklahoma, and east Texas. At first white contact, the Caddo were organized into at least twenty extensive matri-bands settled in three to four geographical groupings. Over the centuries, these bands have merged into one social and political unit, the Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma.

Cultural information on the historic Caddoans is limited. This scant information has nonetheless been used to extrapolate cultural loss for the contemporary tribe. The Caddo suffered population decline of catastrophic proportions – approximately 95% – between 1691 and 1900. It has been assumed by some researchers that the Caddo may have suffered population loss of similar proportions protohistorically, due to diseases introduced by Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century. Although no empirical evidence supports this contention, this presumed population loss has been used to justify disassociating the contemporary Caddo from their prehistoric past.

This work examines the population health of protohistoric Caddoans based upon bioarchaeological evidence to discover if presumptions of protohistoric demographic collapse are supportable. Further, historic observations are reexamined and reinterpreted to discover adaptive responses to extreme biocultural stress. This work also looks at community formation

after 1859, when Caddoans merge into one tribal entity, as well as how the Caddo have adapted culturally to maintain a unique identity.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

The Caddo people of Oklahoma still go home to Louisiana to visit the places they "remember," though they haven't lived there for more over 150 years.[1] I grew up in Caddo Parish near Caddo Lake in Shreveport, and I first encountered members of the contemporary Caddoan community while a university student in Natchitoches (named for a Caddoan tribal group) in the early 1980s. Having been a casual student of Caddo history most of my life, I was delighted to discover that Caddo people had maintained a strong sense of their own history and identity despite more than four hundred years of interaction with Europeans and Americans ("white people").

The contemporary Caddo community is centered in Caddo County, Oklahoma, with its tribal headquarters located near the "Binger Y."[2] As with any contemporary tribal entity, Caddo Nation has members living away from

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[1]To a person, all Caddo people I have encountered identify Louisiana as the Caddo homeland. Cecile Carter, Caddo historian, states that all Caddo on the present tribal rolls trace their ancestry to Louisiana (1995:3). This is not to say that all historic Caddoan tribes originated within the present political boundaries of the state of Louisiana, but that the Caddo trace their origins to an area of the Red River Valley in northwestern Louisiana and southwestern Arkansas.

[2]The tribal complex is located near Binger, Oklahoma, where Highway 281 meets Highway 152, forming a kind of "y" or "t."

the central community. The primary areas of residence, however, are Caddo County and the metropolitan Oklahoma City area. A smaller group lives in California, the result of the Bureau of Indian Affairs relocation initiative of 1952.

The Caddo interacted intimately with other tribal groups prehistorically and with Indians and Anglo-Europeans after the sixteenth century. They continue to interact on a number of levels with the non-Caddo world, while tenaciously holding on to a distinct identity. Reduced by attrition from an initial population which can be estimated at between 8,500 and 12,500 (Thornton 1986:30, 71)[3] to approximately five hundred at the turn of the twentieth century (Mooney 1896:1094), the Caddo now number approximately 3,800 enrolled tribal members.

Recognized as separate entities by colonial and territorial administrators, several Caddoan-speaking peoples came to be called collectively by the name "Caddo"[4] after their 1859 relocation to Indian Territory. Some confusion exists as to what the separate groups of Caddoans

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[3]The formula used by Thornton to figure contact population is population nadir multiplied by twenty and twenty-five [low end/high end].

[4]From *Kadohadacho*, the name of a so-called Caddoan confederacy and tribe or chieftaincy. *Kadohadacho* is generally defined as "true chiefs" or "real chiefs," attesting to the prominence of this group among the Southern Caddo. In the orthography currently in use for Caddo language studies, *kaadíi*= chief and *hadááchu* or *hadááchaw* = sharp or cutting; *hayahshuh* or *hahshu* = true or straight (Lee 1995), so the name could mean either cutting [perhaps war] chiefs or true chiefs.

represented. However, for purposes of identification, the individual Caddoan groups discussed within this work will be called bands or matri-bands. A band has been identified as a type of "primitive" social organization generally distinguished by political autonomy and a small population consisting of several nuclear families (Harris 1968:666). The band is affiliated with or subject to a larger group.

The concept of Caddoan bands allied into confederacies should be seen as a non-Caddo categorization, but it has served historically to designate what may have been separate polities or chiefdoms. The confederacy classification will be further examined within this research, but will be retained when discussing previous works.

Herbert Bolton (1987:81) considered the basis of confederate relations among the Texas Caddoan bands to be as much religious as political, with subgroup composition unclear. He identified two Caddoan divisions in present-day Texas, one in the lower Neches-Angelina drainage area, another in the Red River drainage system which included the Nacogdoches and a division of Nasoni, both of whom he linked to the Kadohadacho (1987:65-6; 81). Casañas enumerated the Hasinai as the Cachae (Hainai), Nabedache, Neche, Nechavi, Nacono, Nacachau, Nacogdoche, Nabiti, and Nasayaya (Hatcher 1927:215).

Glover (1935:876) designated two groupings of Caddo in the Red River Valley as confederacies. The Kadohadacho, Yatasi, Adai, [upper]

Natchitoches, Natsoos, and Nassonites [Nasoni] formed the Kadohadacho confederacy. The Yatasi at various times were affiliated with both the Kadohadacho and lower Natchitoches, eventually separating into upper and lower divisions like Natchitoches (Swanton 1942:7). The Natchitoches confederacy included the lower Natchitoches, the Yatasi and a group which disappeared from recorded history early on, the Doustioni, who were settled in 1690 with the Natchitoches and the Ouachita (Swanton 1942:12).

The Kadohadacho confederacy centered around the big bend region of the Red River near present-day Texarkana, and the Natchitoches confederacy ranged along the river from below present-day Shreveport to above Alexandria in central Louisiana. Some groups of Caddoan peoples seemed to have had "an independent status." The Cahinnio were located in south-central Arkansas and are thought to have coalesced with the Kadohadacho. The Ais[5] and Adaes appear to have been Caddoan speakers, but were included in neither the Louisiana nor Texas groupings (Swanton 1942:7). All in all, there were at least twenty-one separate groups of Caddoans at first sustained white contact in the early eighteenth century (Figure 1).

Relocated to Indian Territory, later Oklahoma, the disparate groups of the Southern Caddo eventually merged into one linguistic, social, and political unit, the contemporary speech community, by the twentieth century. In this work "Caddo" or "Caddoan" will be used as an inclusive term when

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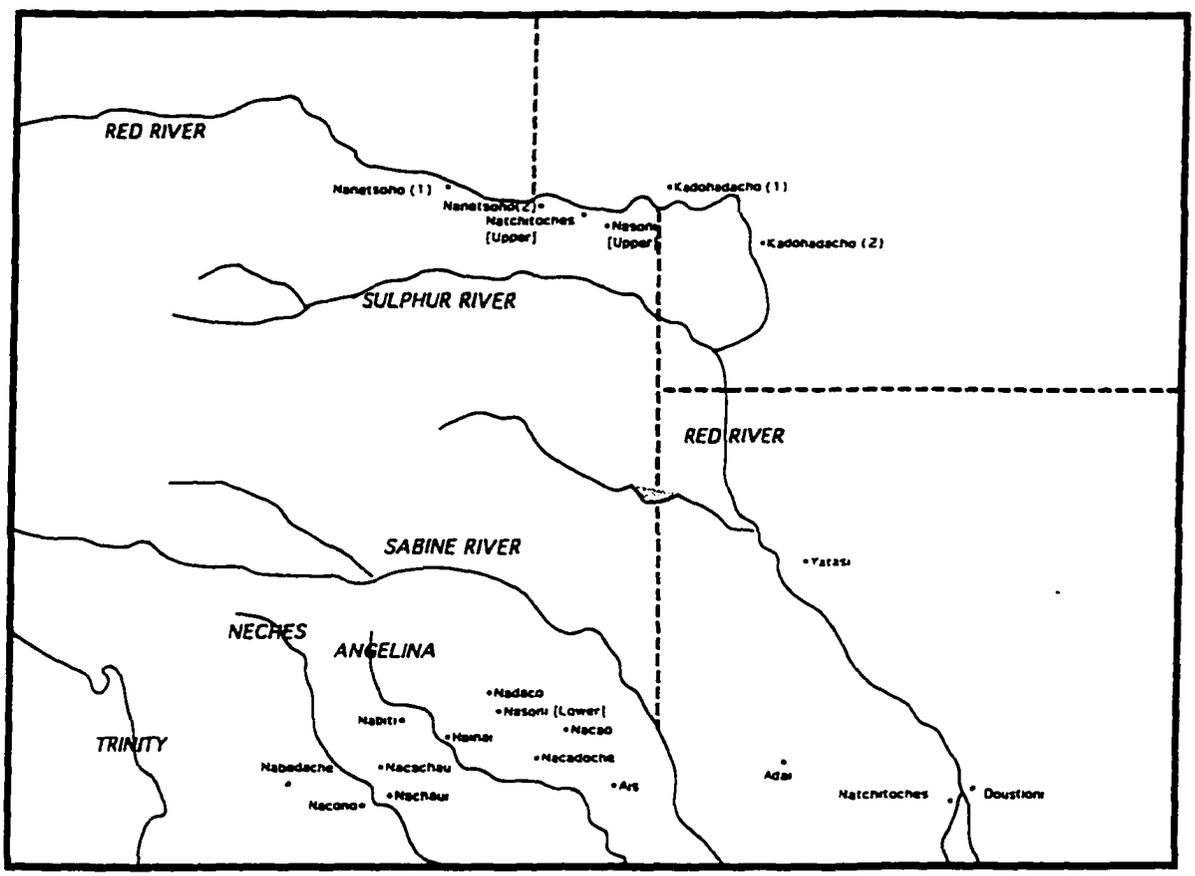
[5]Also Aish or Haish.

FIGURE 1

CADDOAN AREA



(after Swanton 1942)

referring to Caddoan peoples collectively or to the present-day tribe. Otherwise, individual band names will be used.

The Caddo are no strangers to anthro-historical investigations, but observations of social interaction during the historic period were infrequently recorded. Spanish missionaries were the first to record ethnographic information about the Hasinai in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[6]

Caddoan peoples had previously been encountered by the DeSoto *entrada* in the sixteenth century (Clayton et al. 1993; Young and Hoffman 1993), and by members of La Salle's ill-fated expedition to establish a French settlement in lower Louisiana in the late seventeenth century (Joutel 1714).

Numerous documentary sources from the eighteenth century detail encounters with Caddoans, but are primarily political in nature. Nineteenth-century observations are rare. A few, brief cultural notices exist for the pre-removal Caddoans (Sibley 1832; Sibley 1922) and for the Caddo in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Mooney 1896; Dorsey 1905a, 1905b). Swanton (1931) and Parsons (1941) briefly investigated Caddoan social organization and history in the early part of this century.

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[6]Among these missionaries were Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesús Maria, Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, Fray Francisco de Céliz, and Fray Francisco Hidalgo. These fathers were established at Texas missions from 1691-1722 (Hatcher 1927-8; Griffith 1954; Bolton 1987). Most missions were abandoned after just a few years, and the priests attached to the few which were maintained exhibited little interest in recording their observations of Caddoan social organization.

Notable contemporary works on the Caddo have been produced, especially within the areas of archaeology and history. Archaeological investigations make up the greatest body of work concerning the Caddo, and there is an annual conference devoted to archaeological research within the Caddoan area. The Caddo attend and participate in this conference, and have a strong presence at archaeological sites which yield Caddo remains.

Historical works concerning the Caddo are also numerous (Smith 1995; La Vere 1993; Glover 1935) and include two notable studies by Caddoan women. Vynola Beaver Newkumet with Howard Meredith (1988) constructed a history of Caddo socio-political organization around the framework of Caddo songs and dances. A history of the Caddo before 1860, which includes contemporary Caddoan perspectives, was written by Cecile E. Carter (1995). Physical anthropological and linguistic studies are also represented in the literature (Story 1978:46-68; Burnett 1990, 1993; Tiné and Tieszen 1994), and linguistic studies are on-going in the contemporary community as language retention becomes an issue of greater concern.

Caddoans were spread throughout the region encompassed by the Red River and its drainage area when first encountered by the De Soto *entrada* in the sixteenth century. Exhibiting control and self-confidence, leaders of Tula, Naguatex[7] and Nondacao (Nadaco) met the Spaniards with no apparent sense

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[7]Wallace Chafe (1993:222-3) identifies the Naguatex as the same people later noted as the Nawidish. Frank Schambach (1993:89) suggests that the Naguatex eventually became the Kadohadacho. The word Tula is not

of awe or intimidation. Even when their fields were burned and their corn stolen by the Spanish marauders, they were not overwhelmed. When retracing their trail through the lands of the Naguatex some few months after practically destroying the province, the expeditioners found fields replanted, surplus crops stored, and houses rebuilt (Schambach 1993:92).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Caddoans interacted with both the French and the Spanish as equals, as they did with the Americans before the War of 1812. Caddoan peoples utilized strategies that made sense to them to structure their interactions with Anglo-Europeans, who at first made similar adjustments in order to fit into Caddoan interactional norms (Lee 1989b). This balance was sustained until the Jacksonian era, when the Caddo were forced to relinquish their Louisiana lands to the United States (Lee 1989a).

Caddoan peoples controlled a critical geographical area in North America and played an important role in prehistoric and early historic trade interaction between the southeast, southwest, and southern plains. They left many significant sites and remains which continue to intrigue scholars. Yet despite the importance of this group, and despite the intense scrutiny to which their early history and prehistory has been subjected, ethnographic studies of the Caddo past 1859 are rare. It is as if, upon entering Indian Territory, Caddo people ceased to exist.

Caddoan, but the so-called Tula apparently were.

Mooney (1896) included the Caddo within the scope of his investigations into the Ghost Dance movement in the 1890s at about the same time that George Dorsey recorded aspects of Caddoan mythology and oral tradition (1905a,b). Elsie Clews Parsons (1941) conducted interviews with one Caddo man living in New York before spending less than a month in the Oklahoma community in 1927.[8] John R. Swanton (1941) produced a comprehensive synthesis of source material on Caddo history, but visited the community only once in April, 1912. There were also a few linguistic studies conducted within the community, notably by Leslie Spier (1924) and Alexander Lesser and Gene Weltfish (1932).

All of these investigations took place within about a thirty year period prior to World War II, and the investigators offered little expectation for Caddoan cultural survival into the future. Parsons labeled the Caddo as one of the "broken cultures," without explaining which groups she included under that epithet or exactly what she meant by it. Still, without suggesting social continuity for the Caddo, she remarked upon the persistence of "Southeastern traits" within the community and noticed that the Caddo had maintained an identity separate from their neighbors (Parsons 1941:5).

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[8]Some contemporary Caddo elders were children when Parsons visited their community. Driven to the dance grounds by an Apache man, Parsons conducted fieldwork from her car, rewarding Caddo children with candy when they brought their fathers and grandfathers to be interviewed. The adults found Parsons to be humorless, and assumed that she was either a missionary or government worker which, no doubt, influenced any information they gave her (Lee 1994:120).

> In my ignorance [of the Caddo] lay one advantage, I was not consciously or unconsciously seeking survivals. . . . I am all the more impressed by the persistence of Southeastern traits in these fragmentary groups of the once large Caddo confederacies. How little the Caddo seem to have been affected by recent Indian neighbors in Texas and Oklahoma is another general impression. Probably broken cultures thrown together helter-skelter borrow little from one another.

Recommending Parsons's work on the Caddo, Swanton (1942:3) noted that it contained "about all the ethnological material that may be expected from the remnants of the many tribes now covered by the name 'Caddo.'. . . [I]t may be confidently assumed that this is as perfect a sample of these fragmentary materials as will ever be recovered. That which remains will be acculturation processes rather than the restoration of what we are pleased to call, but never is, primitive."

Although the Caddo have indeed survived, no comprehensive ethnological studies have been conducted since World War II. This omission seems curious, as the Caddo present an interesting case study. Surrounded by larger plains tribes like the Kiowa and Cheyenne with whom they interact on several levels, and forced to seek employment outside the community, the Caddo have still maintained a singular identity and a dynamic core community.

From prehistoric times the Caddo have straddled both geographical and cultural boundaries between the southeast and the plains, sharing cultural, political, and economic ties to both regions. They interacted with native neighbors, then with Europeans and Americans, serving as influential

brokers in a network of intense barter and exchange. Robbed of nation status and autonomy by the United States and seemingly reduced to dependency in Indian Territory, they adapted themselves both biologically and culturally in order to survive, maintaining an identity defined by community history and bound by community constraints. Despite severe population decline in the historic period, the Caddo were somehow equipped to carry themselves forward. In this research social, political, and economic interactions will be examined, with emphasis on how the Caddo have adapted culturally to maintain tribal integrity – i.e, a distinctive social identity.

Theoretical Overview

This study will examine cultural persistence and change within the Caddo community. An examination of their ethnohistory demonstrates that the Caddo have consistently adapted themselves to meet the challenges of biocultural survival into the twenty-first century. Despite predictions to the contrary, contemporary anthropologists and historians have begun to recognize that Indian peoples have actively resisted assimilation to western cultural norms by using native strategies and logic.[9]

Interest in tribal cultural persistence is a natural outgrowth of theories of culture change, acculturation, and assimilation which developed in post-

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[9]For example, see Kidwell (1995), Kroeber (1994), Foster (1991), and Fowler (1987, 1982).

Boasian anthropological scholarship (Linton 1940; Steward 1955; Herskovits 1958; Spicer 1961, 1962). Environmentalist and materialist in approach, these theorists assumed that native groups had assimilated – and would continue to assimilate – in varying degrees to Anglo-European cultures, retaining little of their original identities. Julian Steward envisioned a bleak outcome of culture change in Native American communities (1955:56-7).

> American Indians since post-white times have been potentially subject to influences from both the national and folk levels of European culture. . . . In most cases, the influence of the institutions of the larger sociocultural system has been sufficient to destroy the native pattern.

The acculturationists were products of the era of salvage ethnology conducted under the aegis of the Bureau of American Ethnology. B.A.E. ethnographers – few actually trained as anthropologists – sought survivals from precontact Native America, gathering from elders lists of traits and functions that were thought to represent pre-reservation life.

B.A.E. researchers were determined to record all things remembered by elderly Indian people thought to have lived unencumbered by intense interaction with Anglo-Europeans – those few souls who remembered a history which did not include their non-Indian neighbors. The assumption that such people existed in the twentieth century was, of course, erroneous. Indian people had been interacting with – and reacting to – non-Indians for generations by the time B.A.E. investigators sought them out.

Acculturation studies grew out of a need to explain the persistence of

Indian peoples expected by these earlier B.A.E. ethnologists to have totally assimilated to American norms by the middle of the twentieth century. Theories of acculturation examined culture change resulting from prolonged contact between diverse peoples, generally those changes which occurred in Native American communities under the political and economic domination of Anglo-Europeans (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936; Linton 1940; Spicer 1961; 1962).

As had the B.A.E. researchers before them, acculturation theorists worked within a framework of oppositional elements which could be used to contrast the cultures in native communities with the culture of the dominant society. Indian people continued to be seen as study subjects, their histories in need of outside interpretation and their oral traditions afforded no historicity, reduced to the realms of mythology.[10]

Edward Spicer was among the first to consider that persistence of "American Indian cultures" (1961:2) was a possibility. Carrying on the work of the Social Science Research Council, which in 1935 initiated the study of cultural change under contact conditions, Spicer and his colleagues produced a comparative study of acculturation within six Indian groups. Theirs was an

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[10]There are so many definitions of culture. I like Jorgenson's definition (1995:6) because it implies that culture is dynamic and adaptive. He defines culture as the ". . . organizations of phenomena – acts, objects, ideas, and sentiments – that are dependent on the use of symbols, that are characteristic of a people, and that are transmitted – modified by innovations, borrowings, and deletions – from generation to generation."

attempt to quantify change – to measure and compare rates and varieties of change incorporated by Indian groups in contact situations (Spicer 1961).

It became clear to the researchers that change was not uniform. "[W]hat has been the most interesting about contact situations has been the wide variety in the results of contact. Every contact involves some degree of social and cultural integration, but there is a wide range in what become more or less stabilized situations with varying degrees of integrations" (Spicer 1961:519).

The researchers identified five types of acculturative processes or social integrations growing out of contact situations: incorporative [elements from the dominant group are integrated by the "traditional" group in ways that conform to the traditional groups system]; replacive [elements of the dominant group replace those of the traditional group]; fusional [elements are combined to form a single system]; isolative [elements accepted by traditional group are compartmentalized – for instance, resulting in two distinct ceremonial systems] and bicultural [two systems of behavior are employed, one with outsiders, one in one's own community] (Spicer 1961:518-35).

Although not as fatalistic as Steward in his appraisal of the assimilation of Indian peoples, Spicer still did not appear to recognize the ability of Indian peoples to utilize traditional strategies to mediate outside influence (1962:569).

[P]rocesses of cultural assimilation based on conquest and rarely

> resulting in the complete assimilation of any people have gone on at markedly different rates. How fast they have proceeded has depended on the kinds of conditions set up by the conquerors, the political institutions through which they have maintained dominance, the kinds of organizations permitted or stimulated by the invaders among the native peoples, the compatibility of the cultures thrown into contact, and a host of other circumstances.

Spicer saw rates and levels of assimilation as being predicated upon constraints determined solely by the dominant group.

Spicer also seems to have struggled with the concept of identity. On the one hand, he felt that reservation life had produced a number of regional pantribal "cultures." He was able to identify only three or four "ways of life, or . . . distinctive cultures, in all the reservations of the United States and Canada" (Spicer 1961:2).

On the other hand, Spicer noted that the results of contact were less striking than the fact that Indian groups continued to exist as "identifiable and self-conscious entities" (1962:576). Identity was, he believed, unrelated to the extent that native ideologies and traditions had been replaced or had persisted, but was tied to factors like the relationships between a tribal group and its traditional land base, and those which promoted solidarity among tribal members, like warfare and religious movements (Spice 1962:576-8).

In his later works, Spicer refined his ideas about persistence and identity. He saw the defining characteristic of a persistent people as the continuity of a common identity based on a common understanding of the meaning of a set of symbols that are historically-bound. "Thus the persistence

of a people rests on a set of meanings about actual events of history, as uniquely experienced by the people and stored as it were in a stock of symbols" (Spicer 1980:347). This perspective seems to agree with and predate studies of Native American peoples using communicative means, and differs from Spicer's earlier ideas about identity.

Spicer's heirs have taken persistence theory in different directions (Castille and Kushner 1991; Rushforth and Chisholm 1991), further exploring ideas like membership in an identity system, enclavement, and pluralism using approaches as diverse as materialism, mentalism, and *praxis*. Most contemporary ethnohistorical research that deals with persistence in Indian communities grows out of ideas first introduced by Spicer.

Since the recognition of ethnohistory as an academic approach or direction in the 1950s, native peoples have been viewed more as active participants in their own cultural survival. Their oral traditions have undergone renewed consideration among American researchers; but oral histories have still, for the most part, been considered reliable only when substantiated by documentary sources. Only recently have American scholars begun to look at oral traditions scientifically (Steinhart 1989:3-4), and only recently has the participant's perspective been objectively represented.

If ethnohistory is seen as an approach or a discipline without theory, as current thought suggests, then quality and comprehensiveness of methodology becomes all-important. Historical theory can be applied to an

ethnohistorical problem, but ethnohistory lends itself especially well to analysis using anthropological theory. Theoretical approaches as diverse as political economy, cultural ecology, materialism, world systems, and biocultural adaptation can be used as the framework within which ethnohistorical research can be conducted. Ethnohistory is truly a cross-disciplinary approach, combining critical documentary investigations, archaeology, linguistics, and biological anthropology, as well as native testimony, in an attempt to reconstruct and reinterpret the past.

As discussed above, many notable revisionist ethnohistorians are seeking new insights into native roles in Indian/white interactions. However, some recent anthropological research reveals an alarming trend toward retrograde or reversionist theoretical approaches. This approach is typified by anthropologist Henry Dobyns's (1983, 1987, 1991) protohistoric depopulation hypothesis which has gained *a priori* acceptance among many researchers, despite the fact that little empirical evidence of catastrophic population decline prior to sustained white contact exists (Dunnell 1992; Perttula 1992, 1993; Ramenofsky 1987, 1992).

Historically, anthropological theory has been used heuristically to develop and test models meant to be examined for efficacy and plausibility. Theory is merely a tool which enables us to model, predict, and, ideally, to enlighten ourselves about the complexity of human beings. Anthropological research can be generated from any number of theoretical perspectives, but

the ultimate goal should still be to add to our knowledge by investigation which leads to discovery. Preconceptions have no place in anthropological research and interpretation of available data often comes down to a best-guess. The best-guess – the hypothesis – should not be assumed factual, however, without some sort of empirical data.

Despite severely limited data to support protohistoric pandemics, "[e]thnohistorians, typified by Dobyns . . . assume infectious diseases, a major cause in the destruction of aboriginal populations, reached regional groups decades, if not centuries, prior to historical documentation. Consequently, even the earliest census counts may describe populations as much as 95% reduced from precontact maxima" (Ramenofsky 1987:1).

Several competent researchers have challenged both Dobyns's methodology and scholarship and have pointed out flaws inherent in the hypothesis that protohistoric pandemics affected Indian people throughout North America (Henige 1986, 1989; Snow and Lanphear 1987; Thornton 1987, Thornton et al. 1992; Ubelaker 1988, 1992). Dobyns's perspective has many advocates, however, and its current popularity has spawned assumptions that go basically unchallenged in the literature.

There are obvious dangers inherent in fitting the data to the model. Ramenofsky (1991:43) ponders why the Creek survived the pathogenic holocaust, while the Quapaw became extinct (a question which the members of the federally-recognized Quapaw tribe of Oklahoma must be asking

themselves today). She states positively that "assumptions of continuity or ethnic identity from the present to the past are unwarranted" (Ramenofsky 1991:35).

There is enormous disparity between estimates of initial Native American population and population decline after white contact. Swanton synthesized Mooney's (1928 and Kroeber's (1939) estimates of total southeastern population, including the Caddoan peoples west of the Mississippi River and the Shawnee of the Ohio River Valley, to arrive at a figure of 171,900 for the approximate period 1600 to 1650. Swanton was in general agreement with these estimates and did not believe disease-related depopulation to have been greatly significant during this time (1946:11).

Dobyns's figures are in sharp contrast to those of previous researchers. Although he projected his estimates across the entire southeast, Dobyns based his extrapolations upon disease-related depopulation among Timucuan-speakers of Florida only. Dobyns suggested a population of 807,500 for the pre-contact Timucuan alone, declining to 36,450 by around 1617, a ninety-five percent decrease (Dobyns 1983:205).

More recently Douglas Ubelaker has used ethnohistorical data to arrive at a precontact southeastern population estimate of 204,400 for the year 1500 and 157,400 for 1600, about a twenty-five percent decline in one hundred years. According to Ubelaker's estimates southeastern population continued to decline to 105,125 by 1700, and by 1800 he estimates a total population of

only 60,370 (1988:292). Dobyns (1983:293) proposes a general decrease in rate of population decline from 1517 to the mid-1500s, then a gradual increase in rate of decline into the 1600s, while Ubelaker (1988:292) sees a gradual increase in depopulation rates from 1500 to 1800. Using ethnohistorical data, Ubelaker suggests a decline of 23 percent in the sixteenth century, 33.2 percent in the seventeenth century, and 42.6 percent in the eighteenth century.

In addition to inflated estimates of contact population figures, Dobyns also posits that epidemics of malaria, typhoid, smallpox, measles, and an unknown disease hit Florida between 1513 and 1538 (1983:254-70), According to Thornton et al., however, "none of these was demonstrated to have definitely occurred. . . . Subsequent ethnohistorical accounts indicate some depopulation in Florida and elsewhere due to disease during the late 1500s. . . . From then on, many Southeastern Indian populations were depleted for various reasons, including disease" (1992:190).

It is generally agreed that European diseases were primarily responsible for post-contact depopulation among southeastern tribes. Dobyns (1983:11-16) has suggested that virgin soil epidemics, especially of smallpox, had swept through the southeast by 1520 causing widespread population reduction. Seemingly more plausible than quick-spreading pandemics are episodes of disease which were less severe and more isolated, having limited effect on protohistoric populations.

Virgin soil epidemics like those suggested by Dobyns for the southeast

are thought to have resulted in an almost total infection rate. Dense populations would sustain the diseases and facilitate their diffusion widely by means of European expeditions in the southeast, Indian migrations, and trade. Proponents of episodic disease incidents – as opposed to pandemics – point to the isolation of southeastern chiefdoms due both to hostility and to the ecological and cultural buffer zones which helped to contain diseases (DePratter 1983; Steponaitis 1986), as well as the short infection periods of many diseases (Thornton 1987; Snow and Lamphear 1987) to support their perspective on the initial effects of European diseases.

Thornton and coworkers (1992:191-3) examined rates of diffusion and endurance to demonstrate that smallpox probably did not become pandemic in the early sixteenth-century southeast. Very simply stated, the authors found that the incubation period of smallpox is approximately two weeks, with transmission from person to person accomplished by either contact with erupted pox or by coughing and sneezing. Even under ideal conditions for its spread on objects – low temperature and low humidity – the virus did not survive for more than a few days or weeks in the form which would induce infection. In the southeast, with its high temperatures and high humidity, diffusion would probably be more dependent upon transmission by human means.

Smallpox introduced into the virgin soil of the southeast is estimated to have resulted in infection rates of about one hundred percent, with fatality

rates of about fifty percent. With population concentrations surrounded by buffer zones which limited close contact with other populations, smallpox may have played itself out in many instances before it had the opportunity to diffuse to another population.

This information would seem to support the contention that smallpox episodes among southeastern chiefdoms may have terminated before spreading to other populations (Thornton et al., 1992:193).

> [T]he pattern of initial smallpox diffusion in the Southeast may have been one of spurts and busts as the disease infected a chiefdom, spreading rapidly throughout the population until "buffer zones" were encountered, . . . [a model which] fits well with the ethnohistorical record. . . . Ubelaker's (1988) pattern of increasing rates of population decline from about 1500 to 1800 is supported here. . . . Thus, early disease in the Southeast would be characterized by either isolated disease episodes or slowly developing epidemic than by sudden pandemics.

Timothy Perttula, a highly-regarded archaeologist specializing in the Caddo area, has embraced precontact population catastrophism in his studies of Caddoan archaeology (12991, 1992, 1993). While conceding that "there is *no direct evidence* of the transmission of epidemic diseases during the de Soto entrada, or indeed until 1687-1691," Perttula maintains that "it is *probable* that Caddoan groups were being affected by infectious diseases throughout this initial period of contact. Thus, while the effects of indirect and intermittent contact between European and Caddoan peoples were probably not significant in terms of the European goods and products introduced to the Caddoan peoples, the biological effects of the entrada *were* manifold" (Perttula

1991:502) [emphasis added]. The possible scenario has, in the course of a paragraph, become a fact which influences his – and other – interpretations within the Caddoan area.

Citing Perttula, historian Todd Smith (1995:7) estimates that the Caddo population had reached 200,000 by 1500. "Although there is *no historical evidence* of epidemic diseases reaching the Caddos before the sustained presence of the Europeans in the late seventeenth century, the archeological record does *suggest* that a major demographic decline occurred among the Caddos prior to the 1680s. . . . By the time the Europeans did reappear . . . the Caddo population *had fallen* to perhaps ten thousand, a catastrophic decline of 95 percent" (Smith 1995:7) [emphasis added]. Again the assumption has become a fact from which further research proceeds.

Those who adhere to the idea of protohistoric population catastrophism believe that contemporary Native American societies are effectively disconnected from their prehistoric pasts. This perspective has proven especially popular among archaeologists, a stance which has weighty consequences for Indian people attempting to deal with issues of repatriation.

Severing contemporary tribal ties to the prehistoric past serves to disempower native peoples, abrogating their rights to determine what should be done with sites, artifacts, or human remains. The effect is gross reductionism, devaluing the historicity of contemporary Native American practices and eliminating the need to consult living traditions to suggest

possible past behaviors. Although Dobyns states definitively that the ethnographic present is "divorced from reality," (1983:26), anthropologists cannot accept this statement as fact without at least some empirical evidence. Neither can we assume the responsibility for negating tribal histories, with their implicit links to the past, on the basis of such nebulous assumptions.

Ubelaker (1992:169), recognizes the need for caution when looking at Native American population history.

> [L]arge estimates of aboriginal population weaken the ability of some contemporary American Indians to trace their ancestry back to the tribes identified at contact or to what has been called the ethnographic present. Thus, assessments of American Indian population numbers and other demographic profiles not only serve academic interest but also contribute to broad interpretations of population history and the historical identity of contemporary American Indian groups.

Clearly we cannot determine with certainty the ethnographic past of prehistoric populations. However, by accepting the idea of protohistoric biocultural collapse we assume a population decline of the same magnitude as that documented historically, where differential population loss of ninety-five percent is strongly suggested (Thornton 1987:90,132).

This study is not designed to confront inconsistences or problems inherent in the idea of protohistoric demographic catastrophism across the entire southeast, where each situation should be examined individually. The acceptance of this postulate by Caddoan-area researchers, however, does affect the way we interpret ethnohistory within the Caddoan area.

Persistence among Indian peoples can be examined using the Caddo as

a study group, and the need for an examination of Caddo social organization post-1859 has been demonstrated. Using a theoretical framework drawn from biocultural adaptive studies, a model of Caddoan cultural adaptation can be developed. This model should address issues of cultural continuity and change while considering how Caddoan tribal identity is maintained through both internally- and externally-generated adaptations. Adaptation in itself implies participation, individual and group motivation, and some degree of control. An adaptive model is warranted in viewing the long-term persistence of a tribal entity, and adaptive dynamic studies developed in biological anthropology can be modified and successfully applied to ethnohistory (Thomas et al. 1979).

This investigation will look at the collective Southern Caddo from the micro-social level (individual bands/tribes to speech community) to the macro-social level of Caddoan participation in a larger world system. The community will be examined within a framework of cultural adaptation.

The rationale for applying a broad theoretical foundation is multi-fold. Any community which expects to survive within a political and economic system which it does not control must learn how to interact within that system without being subsumed by it. The Caddoan population through time – the unit of study – has accepted or rejected change based upon a number of factors, but ultimately has adapted itself to survive as a discrete unit and to maintain a place within the larger political and economic arena. Changes or

adaptations had to make sense to the community.

Anthropology has generated many ways of looking at peoples not ourselves (the anthropological "other") since its beginnings. The semi-holistic or comprehensive data-gathering approach espoused by the pre-World War II Americanists was replaced by the post-war trend toward extreme specialization, both in units of study and in theoretical approaches. While there has been a recent tendency to combine research efforts across disciplinary boundaries (Krech 1991), there remains isolation within each sub-discipline of anthropology and a kind of dividing into theoro-centric camps. But since humanity represents a system or series of systems, a broad-based approach which is not too general can make substantial contributions to understanding human dynamics. The sub-disciplines of anthropology should not be incompatible.

There have been recent calls for a more unified approach in anthropological research, and I believe such an approach to have merit. "Increased subfield separation threatens our ability to maintain the concepts, perspectives, and ideals that link us as a field of study. In the face of [such] trends, one mechanism for maintaining our connectedness is to reconsider shared concepts and perspectives" (Goodman et al. 1988:169).

The present study uses an ethnohistoric approach which combines aspects of archaeology, political economy, socio-linguistics, and adaptive dynamics, allowing us to look at the Caddo at several levels through time and

space. By discovering how the Caddo have adapted to extreme stress and insults to group integrity, we may be able to gain fresh perspectives on culture change and persistence in other Native American communities.

Adaptation and the Speech Community

Indian peoples have in the past been seen as powerless to do aught but react to and submit to western hegemony. However, some contemporary ethnohistorians are examining these peoples in contexts unlike those constructed by their predecessors. Foster (1991:19) comments in his social history of the Comanche tribe: "If anything is clear about the last three hundred years of Comanche-Euro-American relations, it is that we have not understood Comanches' relations with one another very well." We can easily substitute Caddo, Cherokee, or any other tribal entity for Comanche in this observation.

Some recent works have examined cultural persistence in native communities predicated in large part on communicative means. Instead of looking exclusively at interactions with non-Indians to trace changes within the community, these studies look at the ways in which the community is maintained and perpetuated based on Indian-to-Indian interactions – i.e., how intra-community social interaction functions to maintain identity despite extra-community social, political, and economic conditions (Schultz 1995; Foster 1991; Fowler 1987, 1982).

Fowler's studies of the northern Arapahoe (1982) and Gros Ventre (1987) demonstrate how two Indian communities with similar histories have used different strategies to successfully adapt to changing socio-political circumstances while maintaining a distinctive social identity. The Arapahoe interact within the larger political and economic system of the United States while in large part maintaining a traditional religious system. The Gros Ventre have partially abandoned their religious system, but without losing their sense of identity.

Both strategies are adaptive. They make sense to the participants involved and allow them to maintain a social identity by the use of traditional cultural symbols. These symbols can be reinforced or redefined in a way that is both acceptable and understandable to community members (Fowler 1982:5).

> The Arapahoes resolved problems of legitimation of authority and advocacy of tribal interests by interpreting new social realities in ways that were culturally acceptable as well as adaptive. Symbols emerged that worked to revitalize or reassert traditional values and relationships. . . . [and] old symbols took on new meanings that both reinforced traditional understandings and motivations and made innovation culturally acceptable.

Foster (1991) and Schultz (1995) also examine cultural persistence of contemporary tribal communities, demonstrating how intra-community social controls work to maintain identity. Both Foster's work on the Comanche (1991) and Schultz's study of Oklahoma Seminole Baptist churches cite Erving Goffman's (1961) sociology of interaction – i.e., the study

of social life – to explain how identity is maintained.

According to Goffman, intra-group social encounters and interactions are the arenas in which community standards of behavior and belonging are defined. A community member participating in these social encounters or occasions attempts to control or manage the impression of other members in order to maintain or enhance his or her "face," the positive social identity each person brings into the interactional situation (Goffman 1967:4-5).

In order to maintain face, the individual must adhere to community-defined standards for behavior and interaction. Although face is personal, it is defined and given by the community and it can be taken away by the community (Goffman 1967:9-10,36). Membership in the community is predicated upon participation at social occasions, and participation is crucial to maintaining a place in the community. Membership and status also temper individual interactions outside the community (Goffman 1967:18).

Expanding upon community interaction and membership, Foster uses the speech community, a social unit defined within the field of sociolinguistics, around which to structure his study of the Comanche. While membership in the speech community is not constrained by a common language, it is determined by knowledge of shared meanings. A speech community is one which shares knowledge of the rules of conduct, interaction and interpretation (Hymes 1974:51; Gumperz 1972:16). This community may be both socially and ethnically diverse, and its members may

or may not share political and/or economic interests.

Although not dependent upon shared linguistic competence, still community maintenance depends upon social interaction and consensus within the group of what constitutes that social interaction (Foster 1991:20-1). This is what Gumperz (1982) defines as communicative competence (as opposed to linguistic competence) and what Charlotte Heth (1982:3) calls the language of the insider. The concept of the speech community is well-suited to define the post-removal Caddo, especially at a time when language competency is limited to about seventy speakers. Caddo language no longer serves to connect the larger community, but communicative competence does.

Defining the contemporary Caddo as a speech community and understanding that it is community interaction which sanctions individual membership and ensures group identity should help to demonstrate how the Caddo have persisted despite extreme external pressures. An effective way to view this persistence is by using an adaptive approach. As humans have adapted biologically in order to survive as a species, so have tribes, communities, and ethnic groups, adapted socio-culturally in order to survive as discrete entities.

The ability of tribal entities to adapt themselves is recognized. As Fowler observed, the Arapahoe interpreted new social realities in ways that were adaptive (1982:5). Schultz says of the Seminole Baptist community:

"The innovations within the Seminole community expressed in the Baptist churches are not passive responses to a dominant society, nor are they an abandonment of cultural integrity; rather, they are creative, deliberate adaptations that assure community survival within a locally meaningful framework" (1995:7).

Kroeber (1994:7) has touched on how adaptation works in native communities, and how those communities incorporate innovation without loss of social identity.

> So far as the culture is a vigorous one, a firm, yet flexible, system of vital processes, (as many Native American ones, in fact, were and are) new ideas and practices can be translated and structured into traditional attitudes without extreme stress and without creating too much fear or guilt in individuals engaged in this acculturative activity.

So, it is accepted that adaptation enables Indian peoples and other small societies to interact politically and economically – even culturally – with outsiders without sacrificing identity. The Caddo have adapted successfully through time, evolving into the contemporary speech community. But, in order to effectively use an adaptive framework to look at culture, it is helpful to understand the biological model of adaptation which is central to all adaptive studies. Adaptation is more than simply a term to describe positive change. Rather, adaptation should be seen as a complex process.

Adaptive Dynamics

Adaptive theories drawn from human ecology and biology have for

some time been used by physical anthropologists to demonstrate how humans develop strategies that enable both biological and cultural persistence (Armelagos et al. 1992; Goodman et al. 1988; Ellen 1982; Winterhalder 1980; Thomas et al. 1979). Organisms survive, either individually or as communities, by adapting to external conditions. Persistence does not imply stasis, as even communities which do not undergo intense and sustained stress are in constant states of evolution. Not all adaptive responses produce positive results, but persistence is always the ultimate goal.

Biocultural approaches to stress, adaptation, and persistence can be used to examine culture change in Native American communities and to address issues of catastrophic population decline. Assuming Dobyns's depopulationist theory is correct – a 95% protohistoric population loss as is suggested for postcontact native populations (Thornton 1987:90,132) – it still does not indicate a total eradication of cultural integrity. In the historic period many native communities suffering extreme biocultural insults persisted to retain separate and distinct identities.

As historic peoples developed coping and adaptive strategies, so protohistoric populations would have done in order to survive and persist. As delineated earlier, recent studies have demonstrated that many native cultures have persisted as distinct cultural entities from prehistory to the present. By investigating the adaptive success of one group, known collectively as the Caddo, we can see how similar strategies might have

worked protohistorically.

At first white contact, the Caddo were settled primarily in dispersed matrilocal hamlets located in riverine environments of the Red River drainage system. The smallest possible unit for study would be a single matrilineal family group. Let us suppose that this unit included a matrilineal unit of two elder parents, two adult daughters and their husbands, and five sub-adults, a total of eleven persons. Assuming a maximum 95% population loss due to European disease, approximately one person in this kin group would survive.

It has been demonstrated that the "younger and older segments of preindustrial populations" suffer the highest disease-related mortality (Goodman et al. 1984:38). The survivor from this kin group, then, would probably be an adult of middle age. Although elders hold a vast repository of accumulated knowledge, the passing on of such wisdom is an on-going, lifelong process.

William Moss, a Caddo scholar and descendant of the Oat/Nadaco lineage, has outlined the process of traditional male learning ideals as passed down through his family. According to this model, a man should receive the total knowledge of the Caddo laws of life by the age of twenty. The wisdom of these laws is perfected throughout one's lifetime (Moss 1993:41-2).

An adult who survived the loss of his or her kin group would be, while not totally cognizant of accumulated cultural knowledge, at least well-

versed in the cultural traditions of the group. Males and females would also possess gender-specific knowledge. Surviving adults would coalesce into new communities, each one bringing knowledge to the group. Additional contributions would be made by surviving elders.

Adaptive strategies would be brought into play to ensure cultural persistence – that is, the maintenance of group identity and integrity. Biological persistence is, of course, implicit in cultural survival. While this is an admittedly simplistic scenario, it is a plausible one nonetheless. It is also an extremely conservative view, assuming the lowest rates of survival and the greatest loss. It will be demonstrated that the numerous bands of Caddo coalesced in just this fashion as their numbers diminished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The study of adaptive dynamics has long been used in human ecological and biocultural adaptive studies (Thomas, et al. 1979; Winterhalder 1980; Ellen 1982; Goodman, et al. 1988). A perspective normally associated with biology and physical anthropology, adaptive studies can also be accommodated to illustrate how culture can be adapted to ensure group persistence.

Using "environmental" in its broadest sense to include both the physical and the cultural environment, and describing constraints or insults to cultural systems, an adaptive model can be constructed to suggest how the Caddo people have responded to external stresses over a long period of time

in order to persist as a community (Goodman et al. 1988:182).

> There are several situations in which human populations find themselves, where a stress model can provide some understanding of the processes involved, even when we cannot precisely measure stress itself. Cases in point are prehistoric or historical cultures undergoing rapid transitions in resource utilization and those in competition with other groups for resources.

There is little question that Caddo populations were undergoing rapid transition throughout the historic period. From first sustained contact, Caddoan peoples were constantly barraged with both mechanisms and opportunities for change. Economic and subsistence strategies were reconfigured to accommodate European interaction, villages were relocated to more strategic sites, cultural accommodations were made, and European pathogens introduced into early historic native populations worked as stressors of varying magnitudes. Tremendous population loss due to disease appears to be the most manifest and consistent stressor confronting the historic Caddo. "Stress [is defined as] a concept addressing the consequences of disruptive events on individuals and populations. . . . [It] redresses an imbalance by focusing on the costs and limits of adaptation" (Goodman et al. 1988:169).

Humans respond to stress on different levels, developing somatic and extrasomatic adaptive strategies to regain a measure of equilibrium. Adaptive units (individuals, families, kin groups, communities) help the adaptive system (Caddo) perpetuate itself through self-regulatory processes. Several

adaptive units can function at different levels to achieve different goals. Goals can be either complementary or competitive, but they are integrated into the same system. Responses can have different characteristics and modes, types and levels, designed to counteract the effects of external properties (Thomas et al. 1979).

Winterhalder describes ecosystems as temporally dynamic, a term that can easily be applied to culture (1980:163). Diachronic change effected by stress, response, and adaptation can be studied to reveal degrees of stability, resilience, and persistence of cultural systems. In this model stability is the system's ability to return to a state of equilibrium after a temporary disturbance; resilience measures the system's ability to absorb disturbances while retaining intra-system relationships; persistence is the ultimate goal, the system having absorbed fluctuations and survived to reproduce itself (Winterhalder 1980:159). "If we are dealing with a system profoundly affected by changes external to it, and continually confronted by the unexpected, then its behavior becomes less important than the persistence of the relationships" (Holling 1973:1). Persistence, then, is ensured by adaptive responses which work to return balance to the system.

Cultural Adaptation

Four types of adaptation have been identified among organisms: phylogenetic and physiological adaptations involving biological processes,

and learning and cultural modification involving behavioral processes. Phylogenetic adaptation is that in which the genetic constitution of an individual (genotype) adapts trans-generationally through natural selection, as in the sickling of cells in some tropical populations to promote resistance to malaria (Ellen 1982).

Physiological modifications are effected on the outward physical constitution of an individual (phenotype) during the course of a life span. Physiological adaptations may include respiratory adjustments to living in high altitudes or more temporary adjustments like shivering.

Learning adaptations are common throughout the animal kingdom, but cultural modification is rare among non-primates. It is, however, a dominant characteristic among humans (Ellen 1982:236-7). While phylogenetic, physiological and learning adaptations may be slow in taking effect, cultural modification results in rapid change. Learning from the experiences of others eliminates the trial-and-error stage of simple learning. The speed with which cultural modifications can be made enables them to be used as safeguards against the necessity of physical change. However, adaptation to some environmental conditions may function at all four levels.

As previously noted, cultures, like ecosystems, are temporally dynamic. Studies of responses to stress which result in cultural adaptation can reveal degrees of stability, resilience, and persistence (Winterhalder 1980:159). Adaptations, then, work to return balance to the system thus ensuring

persistence.

The mechanisms through which cultural adaptations take place have been identified by Ellen (1982) as differential population survival, perceived hazards (stressors), conscious responses, and chance. Adaptations based upon deliberate, individual selections of various cultural traits must result in overall positive adaptations for a population to persist. Certainly some responses are maladaptive, but those responses should be recognized and countered.

Differential population survival results from both passive adaptation to certain conditions and active adaptation in which individuals and populations actively modify their behavior in order to maintain certain conditions, cope with hazards and new conditions, or improve an existing condition (Ellen 1982:238-9).

Some adaptations may sometimes have no real adaptive effects, as in the case of praying to avoid disease. Although this type of adaptation may be initiated on erroneous information, it still may result in an action that is adaptive. Other adaptations are serendipitous and unconscious, the by-product of some other socio-cultural practice which maintains and extends survival of the population, as when a ritual cycle has effects on environmental conservation (Ellen 1982:239-40).

Cultural adaptation can be seen as a process of modification that maintains or extends the conditions for individual existence. It can be

defined as any change or trait that contributes to the ultimate state of adaptiveness of an individual or population. This view of adaptation is rooted in systems theory which sees behavior as adaptive if it maintains critical variables within certain physiological limits – i.e., homeostasis achieved through regulation of short-term environmental fluctuations and long-term, permanent changes. While cultural adaptations may be designed to maintain these conditions for existence, some adaptations may actually have the effect of disturbing others. Further, these adaptations may ultimately extend the conditions of existence only for particular individuals and groups within a population (Ellen 1982:241).

The effectiveness of particular adaptations is difficult to measure, but any cultural response to a particular stressor or condition is seen as adaptive if it is an open-ended process of modification which copes with conditions for existence by selectively reproducing them (Mazess 1975). Therefore, any measures that might be used to evaluate these adaptations are dependent upon the adaptations involved and on the hazard to which these changes are adaptive (Ellen 1982:243). Further, all adaptations must be viewed within the particular temporal and conditional contexts in which they are developed.

Having discussed the mechanisms and measurement of adaptation, the level of adaptation must also be identified. Adaptation cannot take place at the social or cultural level. Individuals and populations adapt through social structures, but the structures do not themselves adapt. Cultural

adaptation takes place among populations, the result of either cumulative or manipulative adaptations made initially at the individual level.

Cumulative adaptations are made at the individual level and may be predicated upon the collective knowledge of many who exchange information within a population. An adaptation instituted on the individual level that is adopted by members of a population becomes a characteristic of that population – i.e., the population is seen to have adapted. Individuals within a population may cooperate with the intention of sustaining or furthering their collective conditions of existence, another example of population adaptation (Ellen 1982:246).

The population level of adaptation identified by Ellen corresponds to the adaptive system (Thomas et al. 1979) – in the case of this study, the Caddo. Adaptive units, which can be individuals, families, kin groups, or communities, help the adaptive system perpetuate itself through self-regulatory processes. Several adaptive units can function at different levels to achieve different goals, as when adaptations are made at the individual or family level and are adopted by the larger community. Goals can be either complementary or competitive, but they are integrated into the same system (Thomas et al. 1979).

Ellen has developed a loose temporal framework within which to view cultural adaptation. Recognizing that some adaptations may transform into others under certain circumstances, Ellen identifies short-term adaptations as

those which are instituted and abandoned within an annual cycle, medium-term adaptations as those taking place within a single life cycle, and long-term adaptations which promote population survival beyond a single life cycle.

Because adaptations are time-phase specific, those which are operational within the short-term sometimes make no sense in the long-term, and vice-versa (Ellen 1982 247-9). Seasonal relocation of a village to avoid flooding is a short-term adaptation, while the several-year relocation of a village to secure advantage by proximity to a European trading center is seen as a medium-term adaptation. The organizing structure of kinship is a good example of long-term adaptation.

Adaptation may be accomplished through graded sets of responses to stressors of increasing magnitude within a distinct temporal structure, depending on the duration and severity of conditions which threaten individuals or populations. Responses can have different characteristics and modes, types and levels, designed to counteract the effects of external properties (Thomas et al. 1979).

Just as there are contradictions between adaptations at different levels of organization and during different time periods, so are there contradictions within social and cultural practices which may have adaptive advantage for some segments of a population and not for others. Whether a practice is adaptive – for either an individual or a population – depends upon the cumulative effect of positive features over negative ones (Ellen 1982:250).

So, a population at any particular point in time is part of a complex fabric of sometimes contradictory adaptive strategies employed by individuals and populations to cope with present and possible future conditions. These adaptations are appropriate only within specific contexts and are not necessarily the most adaptive of all possible strategies.

Cultural adaptations are never entirely rational and are subject to human choice. Populations planning for future contingencies are never fully adapted to the present. "The situation at any one time is a dynamic compromise between individuals and groups, and their interests as perceived for different phases of future time" (Ellen 1982:251). Bearing these constraints in mind, we can now begin to examine how cultural adaptations made among Caddoan peoples historically have resulted in the persistence of Caddoan social identity.

Research Design

This study will examine how the Caddoan population has adapted in order to persist as a social unit. My objective is two-fold. I will first examine protohistoric population health using the bioarchaeological record to determine if presumption of protohistoric population catastrophism within the Caddoan area is supportable. Population health at the time of sustained white contact must certainly have borne upon the ability of Caddoans to persist through the coming times of almost overwhelming biological and

cultural stress. The acceptance or rejection of population catastrophism among protohistoric Caddoans certainly has implications for the adaptability of the historic Caddo.

Previous investigations of Caddoan social organization will also be examined within this work. Caddo social history from first contact to 1859 will be reevaluated – and to some degree, reinterpreted – and a social history for the Caddo after 1859 will be constructed.

Finally this research will look at the evolution of the present-day Caddo Nation from the diverse bands and confederacies which constituted Caddoan socio-political organization prior to their relocation to Indian Territory [later Oklahoma] in 1859. The eighteenth century represented an era of extreme biological and cultural upheaval; but after relocation to Indian Territory, Caddoans would undergo even more drastic transitions in social organization, subsistence, settlement, and political and economic interaction within the larger system. No longer politically or economically viable within the existing world system after relocation, the Caddo have nevertheless persisted culturally.

Cultural-adaptive responses are important indicators in examining group persistence. Cultural adaptation and the transmission of information "constitute the dominant [*Homo sapiens*] characteristic. Humans are born with a capacity to learn [an] unlimited set of social and cultural conventions, and this must ultimately be seen in terms of the enhancement of biological

survival and the ability to transmit genetic material" (Ellen 1982:237). Diachronic investigations should reveal adaptive strategies which conform to Caddoan cultural constructs and constraints. Negative adaptations as yet remain unidentified.

Primary sources, ethnohistoric accounts and oral histories will be utilized to identify stressors and responses, as will interviews conducted with contemporary community members. Although ethnohistorical sources are primarily filtered through Anglo-European perspectives, they still may be used to suggest mechanisms and strategies which have worked to maintain Caddoan identity and tribal integrity, i.e. cultural persistence. Only by studying change – and continua – through time can we get a true picture of how the Caddo responded to stress. The types of responses used and adaptations accomplished will indicate the measure of resilience which the cultural system possessed. In addition, the role of individuals as agents of group change and adaptation will be examined.

Persistence is indicated by the presence of the contemporary community which retains a distinct identity with ties to the past. The processes by which the Caddo ensured this persistence, will define this research.

CHAPTER TWO:

CADDO PEOPLE BEFORE WHITE CONTACT

Caddoan Prehistory

Prehistoric Caddoan peoples inhabited the uplands and river valleys in present-day northwestern Louisiana, southwestern Arkansas, east Texas, and southeastern Oklahoma. Their territory was generally demarcated by natural barriers – rivers, streams, mountains, plains, etc. Although their habitation area extended west into the southern plains, the Caddo are more closely identified with southeastern cultural traditions. Clearly they were engaged in systems of both economic and cultural exchange with other Mississippian (ca. A.D. 1000-1700) societies within the Southern Cult pantheism as evidenced by the presence of associated symbology, mortuary traditions, and esoteric goods found in Caddo mound sites.

In the late prehistoric period, Caddoan elites organized the construction of extensive ceremonial sites with associated mound structures, administered long distance trade of esoteric goods, and practiced redistribution of food and exotics. They appear to have been engaged in a tributary mode of production common among societies with intensive agricultural production in which a ruling elite of surplus-takers controls a critical element in production and has the means to control social labor (Wolf 1982:80-88). In a tributary economy, chiefly lineages contend for overall

control through accumulation and redistribution. "Contenders for power must accumulate adequate "funds of power" and redistribute them selectively to gain followers" (Wolf 1982:97).

By the historic period, however, it appears that the Hasinai participated in a more kin-ordered mode of production organized under a divine chief with sacral authority (Pauketat 1994:17), the *xinesi*, and a number of local chiefs or lineage heads, *kaadíis*.

Chiefdoms have been conceptualized within an "evolutionary ordering of cultures" as a societal type intermediate between kin-ordered tribes and class-divided states, in which the chief and his high-ranking lineage act on behalf of a social whole. "While genealogical rank differentiates people by the functions they perform, the society as a whole appears to be laced together through common interests, common descent, and general redistribution" (Wolf 1982:96-7).

When considering the concept of modes of production, however, attention is shifted away from the form of interaction between chiefs and commoners to the ways in which social labor is organized. Wolf sees chiefdoms as comprising two different forms: those based on the kin-ordered mode, "in which the chief and his followers are still embedded in kinship arrangements and bound by them, and those in which the form and idiom of kinship may be maintained even as a dominant group transforms divisions of rank into divisions of class." The chiefly lineage in the second case is an

incipient class of surplus takers in the tributary mode (Wolf 1982:97). In this form of chiefdom, "the function of kinship changes from that of ordering similarly organized groups in relation to one another to that of drawing a major distinction between one stratum and another" (Wolf 1982:98). Chiefly lineages may expand by "budding off," creating a plurality of power centers in place of a single mechanism for decision-making, perhaps like the Kadohadacho and Hasinai.

The Caddo at first contact may have been organized somewhere between the two forms of chiefdom mentioned above. Early observations of Hasinai social organization stress the lack of overt political control exercised by the leaders. Producers appear to have controlled their own surpluses, while still contributing to support the *xinesi* European trade goods, when they became available, were probably reserved for the elites at first, but later were redistributed to the populace by the *kaadíis* (Wyckoff and Baugh 1980:235).

Assumptions regarding the authority or amount of control exercised by Hasinai leaders are contradictory. Although the *xinesi* is noted as being both a civil and religious leader, when examined closely, his functions appear more religious in nature. "[I]t seems that the Chenesi was primarily a priest, but that through his personal dignity and influence he outranked all others, and that his word had great authority in civil as well as religious affairs" (Bolton 1987:83).

The authority of the *kaadíi* may have been both civil and religious, as well, combining the functions of civil executive and priest. *Kaadíis* might also serve as war leaders. Father Casañas declared that the *kaadíi* was like "a governor ruling and commanding his people" (in Hatcher 1927:216-17). However, he also noted that, among the Hasinai, there existed no overarching political organization more definite than a group of friendly tribes associated under a provincial leader (Griffith 1954:62-3).

After analyzing the actual duties and actions of the *kaadíis*, Griffith notes that, while exerting local authority in organizing wars, punishing wrongs, etc., "rather than the power to govern, they possessed only the opportunity to persuade" (Griffith 1954:64). The amount of social distance between the *kaadíis* and the rest of the population is unknown, but it appears that chiefly authority was "in proportion to [a leader's] eloquence, . . . fame for valor, or the love and esteem which the nation holds for him" (Morfi in Griffith 1954:64). While the offices of *xinesi* and *kaadíi* were hereditary, the authority to govern appears to have been tied directly to a leader's personal dignity and the respect of his people.

The Kadohadacho organization at first contact is not as well-documented as that of the Hasinai. The nineteenth-century Kadohadacho appear to have had a political power over all Caddoans, but their earlier social organization is basically unknown. Presumably based upon observations by Domingo Terán in 1691, Bolton believed that the early historic Kadohadacho

had a political organization which paralleled the Hasinai, including a *xinesi,* but this information is not certain (Bolton 1987:85). If true, his presumption supports the idea of a dual chieftaincy, to be discussed below.

The Hainai *kaadíi* apparently had a rank higher than other western Caddo *kaadíis,* and Bolton believed that the Kadohadacho *kaadíi* held a higher position than those of other Red River Valley Caddoans (Bolton 1987:84-5).

It appears, then, that the Caddo – at least the western Caddo – had an organization of ranked, hereditary offices under the overall leadership of a priest-chief. However, the control exerted over the general population appears to have been somewhat limited, or perhaps, relaxed.

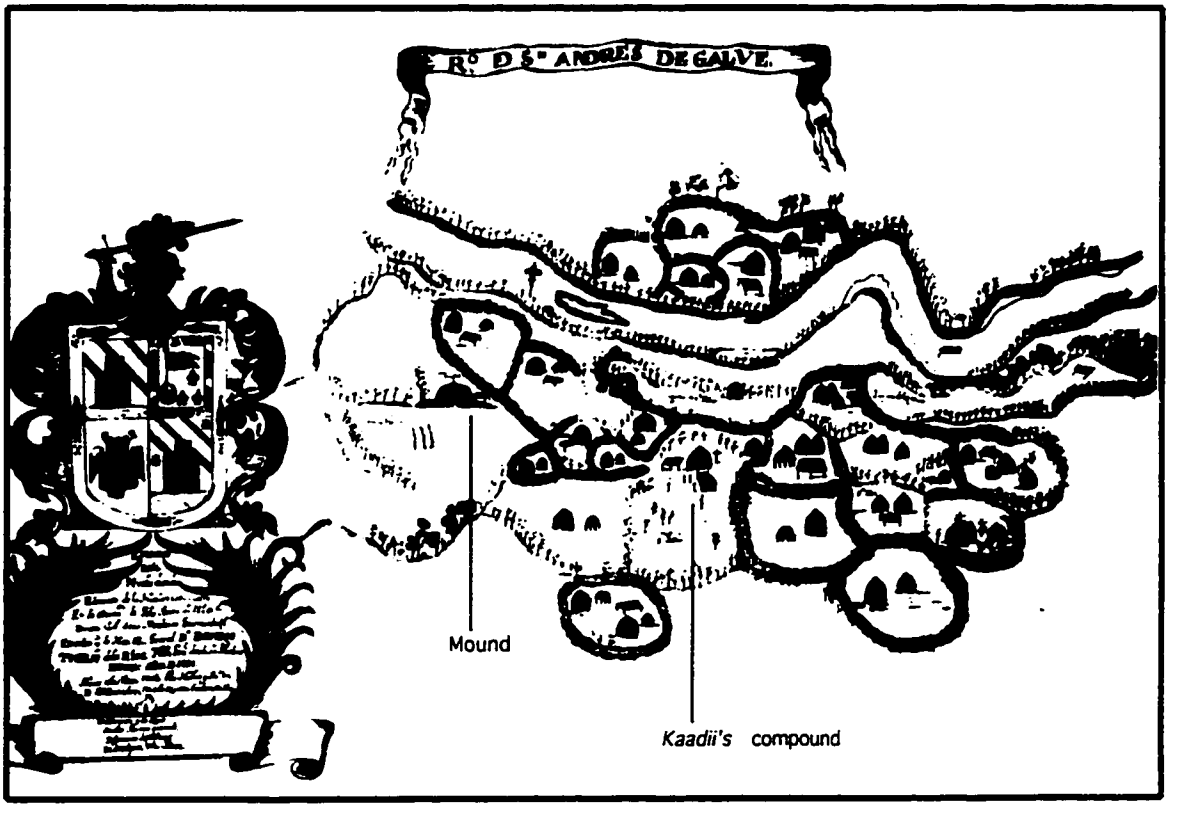
Prehistorically, Caddoan mound centers were placed prominently on the natural levees of major riverways and served as centers for group sociopolitical activities and redistribution. It is impossible to determine exactly when the construction of mounds ended, but the Nasoni were still utilizing a mound center when encountered by a Spanish expedition in 1691 (Figure 2). Perttula (1993b:93) is likely correct in his assumption that the use of Caddoan mound centers ended by about 1700.

Caddo houses were round and conical, covered with thatch or grass. Sites also contained rectangular structures, usually ramadas and storage houses. This style of dwelling persisted among the Caddo until the end of the nineteenth century (Figure 3), as did the extended family settlement pattern.

FIGURE 2

UPPER NASONI SETTLEMENT ON RED RIVER

FROM 1691 TERAN EXPEDITION



Original in Archivo General de Indias, Seville

FIGURE 3

A CADDO CAMP, C. 1867-74
NORTH OF FORT SILL, INDIAN TERRITORY

[Longhat Camp near Fort Cobb]

Photograph by Soule, Fort Sill Museum, Lawton, Oklahoma.

Smaller, dispersed, matrilocal settlements were spread along the floodplains in prime agricultural areas. These small communities ranged in size from single homesteads, to hamlets and towns which stretched along waterways for some distance. Prehistorically the Caddo developed a successful horticultural economy consisting of maize, beans, and squash.

Caddo archaeology has a long academic history. Prehistoric sites are better represented than historic. Caddoan socio-political institutions have been examined through the evolution of symbology, ceramics, monumental architecture, and mortuary data. Preservation of skeletal remains in the acidic soil and tropical climate of the Caddoan area is not ideal and overall samples are small, but skeletal analyses, which will be reviewed below, reveal peoples who were generally well-adapted to their environments, who exploited both wild foods and cultigens, and who displayed reasonably good health.

The Protohistoric Caddoans

The protohistoric[1] Caddo of the Red River Valley are classed with the sedentary-dispersed adaptation type throughout the contact and colonial periods. During the protohistoric period they maintained their prehistoric

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[1]Caddoan cultural development is loosely organized by archaeologists into five categories: Caddo I (ca. A.D. 900-1200); Caddo II (ca. A.D. 1200-1400); Caddo III (ca. A.D. 1400-1500); Caddo IV (Protohistoric, ca. A.D. 1500-1700); Caddo V (Historic, after A.D. 1700).

tradition as traders and continued to engage in maize agriculture supplemented by the exploitation of natural resources.

It appears that the protohistoric and early historic Caddo consumed more maize and experienced more physical stress associated with intensive agricultural production than had their ancestors, but suffered a lower bacterial infection rate. It has been posited that a "lowered bacterial infection rate may be the key hallmark to identify the presence of Old World infections, which are primarily viral and leave no bone lesions" (Jeter et al. 1989:371-3). However, a low infection rate may also reflect a change from compact to dispersed settlement patterns and/or improved diet.

A recent synthesis of bioarchaeological data for the protohistoric Red River Caddo suggests that maize agriculture developed in the Late Archaic period. Differential adoption of maize agriculture continued during the Caddo I-II periods. Adaptive efficiency[2] overall for Caddoan peoples is thought to have been high during late Caddo II to Caddo III. High incidences of dental caries, associated with starch-heavy diets, declined in late Caddo III-IV Red River groups, as the subsistence system appears to have become more diversified.

Caddoan peoples of the upland Ouachita drainage relied on greater

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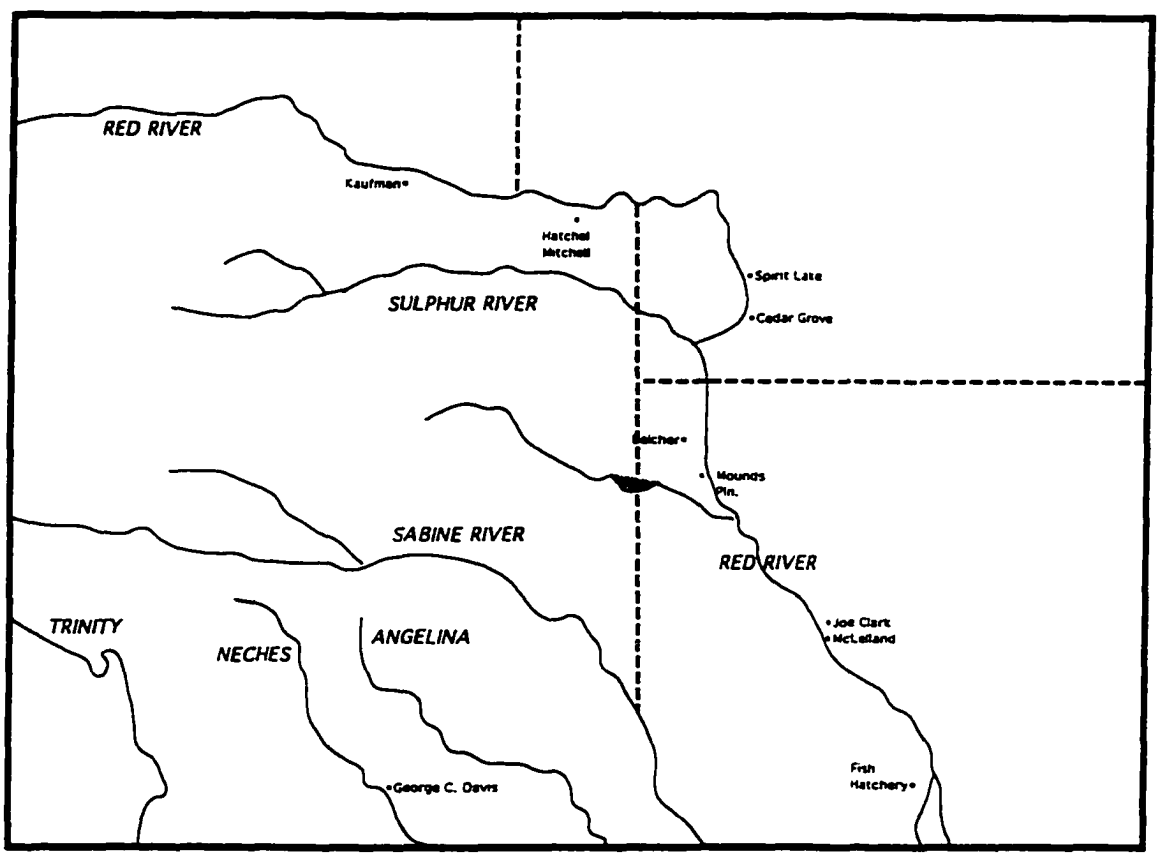
[2]Adaptive efficiency is a measure of how well a cultural system protects its members from environmental stressors, enabling successful maturation to adulthood and production of viable offspring. In other words, adaptive efficiency is a measure of reproductive success (Burnett and Murray 1993:229).

FIGURE 4

PROTOHISTORIC CADDOAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES



(Map not to scale)

maize intake during the same time periods, and display evidence of higher caries rate and physical stress levels than the Red River Caddoans. These physical stress levels are suggestive of intensive agricultural activities. There is not enough information to accurately determine overall adaptive efficiency for Caddo III and IV, but available data suggest that the Red River Caddo exhibited the highest level of adaptive efficiency among all Caddoan groups during this time (Harmon and Rose 1989:348).

Caries rates for Red River Caddoans increased markedly from Caddo II-III and teeth did not exhibit the wear generally associated with the consumption of nuts and vegetable fiber, indicating extensive reliance on maize agriculture (Harmon and Rose 1989:348).

The multi-component Cedar Grove site in southwestern Arkansas (Figure 4) has the largest and most completely analyzed skeletal sample (fourteen individuals) from the protohistoric-to-early historic Red River Valley Caddoans. Caries rates increased markedly from Caddo II-III and teeth did not exhibit the wear generally associated with the consumption of nuts and vegetable fiber, indicating extensive reliance on maize agriculture (Harmon and Rose 1989:348-9).

The adult infection rate was 28.5% with an anemia rate of 11.1%, suggesting that diet was not maintaining disease resistance at the same levels as in Caddo III-IV. The high rate of degenerative diseases (joint arthritis 53.8%, spinal arthritis 41.7%) and trauma (33.3%) is indicative of a strenuous

work load. The authors hypothesize a more complex agricultural system during the protohistoric period, which increased physical stress (Harmon and Rose 1989:348-9).

Adaptive efficiency is measured by analyzing demography, disease frequency, and childhood stress. The paucity of analyzed skeletal samples precludes good paleo-demographic analysis, but the Cedar Grove population was compared to seventeen Caddoan skeletal series representing Caddo I-IV populations within the total Caddoan area. These comparisons revealed that average age of death for both adults and children at Cedar Grove was typical of other Red River Caddo sites, suggesting average adaptive efficiency.

Higher infection rates at Cedar Grove imply that adaptive efficiency was declining slightly from the overall maximum achieved during late Caddo II-III. Incidences of childhood stress, evident in tooth enamel defects, support this decline in adaptive efficiency. Regarding the protohistoric population of the Red River Valley, the authors conclude that "the adaptive efficiency level of Cedar Grove . . . and possibly [very early] Caddo 5 peoples in general, appears to be slightly lower than optimum, but not so low as to indicate inordinate stress" (Harmon and Rose 1989:348-9).

Recent bioarchaeological analyses for the protohistoric McLelland site in Bossier Parish, Louisiana (Figure 4), support the above assumptions regarding protohistoric adaptive efficiency and health status of Red River Valley Caddoans. Caries rates (9.5%), infection rate (25%), and especially high

rates of arthritis (75%) indicate increased maize agricultural activities, but overall – as at Cedar Grove – the population at McLelland was not too highly stressed. "[T]he lack of severity of degenerative diseases, overall robustness of the skeletons, and absence of Harris lines (childhood stress indicators). . . suggest that the McLelland individuals' adaptive efficiency was not substandard" (Tiné and Tieszen (1994:228-31). Small sample size (seven individuals) is always a problem; but McLelland is both temporally and geographically related to Cedar Grove and both are farmstead communities, albeit of different sizes.

This dispersed hamlet settlement pattern is typical of the prehistoric-to-historic Caddo, and communities were typically composed of extended families. The presence of skeletal and dental anomalies in both populations at Cedar Grove and at McLelland suggest family relationships at each site (Harmon and Rose 1989:349; Tiné and Tieszen 1994:218, 236). Based upon extensive skeletal analyses, Rose (1984:252) believes that genetic markers seen in all populations within the whole Caddo region indicate a common genetic heritage for the Caddo from Fourche Maline peoples.

Infection rates at both sites are somewhat high (28.5% at Cedar Grove and 25.8% at McLelland), but there is no evidence to suggest catastrophic population loss at this time (Tiné and Tieszen 1994:229).

> Although it is possible that European diseases had impacted the area, an epidemic seems unlikely. Each individual was buried in a single grave, and most were accompanied by funerary artifacts. If a disease . . .

> swept through killing a large number of individuals at once, it is unlikely that enough people would have been alive or in sufficient health to bury each person with that degree of individual attention.

Data from Cedar Grove and McLelland, and from the ceremonial Belcher mound site discussed below, do not support the hypothesis of precontact population catastrophism for the protohistoric Caddo of the Red River valley.

The Belcher Mound site (Figure 4) is situated on a natural levee located between abandoned channels of the Red River. Geographically placed between the Cedar Grove and McLelland sites, Belcher is probably too far from either to have served as their ceremonial center and may have no longer been in use when the McLelland site was inhabited (Kelley 1994:244). The site contained two conjoined mounds and a low platform adjacent to the mounds which were constructed in stages beginning in Caddo II and continuing through Caddo IV. Each construction stage is noted by the erection, burning, and covering of a structure. Kelley (1994:25) observes that "[t]hroughout much of the site's history two structures appear to have stood simultaneously, suggesting that one may have served as a specialized religious structure, while the other was the residence of an important individual."

Detailed skeletal analyses were not performed on the remains from Belcher mounds, but the mounds contained several grouped burials (Webb 1959). These burials were associated with ritual burning activities mentioned above, and each contained the remains of an individual identified by position

and placement of artifacts as being of high rank or status. Interred with or near the person of high status were the remains of other adults and/or subadults. Within the burials there were thirteen adult females, five adults of uncertain sex, four adolescents, thirteen children and six infants, as well as six adult males.

Webb assumed ritual sacrifice based upon a number of factors. Each grouped burial contained a high-ranked individual (four males, two females). Caddoan settlement patterns exhibit little attention to defensive measures, implying a comparatively peaceful existence, hence group burials would not likely contain victims of conflict with other peoples. Epidemic disease is not suggested (Webb 1959:110).

> Sudden death of family groups as a result of epidemic diseases cannot be eliminated, but there is no evidence in this Caddoan period of the population decline which rapidly followed the introduction of European diseases; villages seem to be numerous, although small.

It is, of course, possible that Caddoan populations were already suffering the effects of European diseases at this time. As noted above, few infectious diseases leave identifying features on skeletal material. The practice of human sacrifice at Belcher could have been in response to a sudden epidemic which removed persons of high rank and their retainers. However, this group burial tradition was also evident at Mounds Plantation (Webb and McKinney 1975), a Caddo II-III mound site just south of Belcher mounds (Figure 4). Additionally, the attention paid to mortuary traditions at

Belcher does not indicate a population stressed by epidemic diseases which could eliminate up to 95% of its members. Evidence does not support the existence of pre-contact epidemics caused by European diseases in this region at this time.

From the limited data available to archaeologists, it would appear that in the period immediately preceding white contact Red River valley Caddoan peoples were settled in dispersed hamlets populated by extended family groups. These hamlets were initially tied to a ceremonial center containing one or more mounds; but in the waning protohistoric period these mound centers were being abandoned for the most part. It is not known if mound-building was still practiced at the time of white contact, but the Teran map of 1691 (Figure 2) indicates the presence of a temple mound bearing two structures apparently still in use in 1691.

The protohistoric population was generally more physically stressed and had higher rates of anemia and dental caries than those of their ancestors due to over-dependence on maize, but had lower rates of infectious diseases. Population was not dense, but there were many small settlements. Ritual human sacrifice and elaborate mortuary traditions would seem to suggest no shortage of population. In other words, the protohistoric Caddoans of the middle Red River valley exhibited overall fitness and adaptability.[3]

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[3]Adaptability is the ability of the adaptive system (in this case the Caddo) to reorganize in the face of directional environmental change. Adaptive systems are those which perpetuate themselves through self

Protohistoric-to-early historic sites on the upper reaches of the Red River are represented by the Kaufman-Williams-Roden site complex – components of the same large ceremonial center located on opposite sides of the river – and the Hatchel-Mitchell site complex, a contemporary ceremonial center with an associated, but later, feature (Figure 4). These sites were community centers which supported residential populations, and served as centers for sociopolitical and probably economic activities. While the earlier Belcher mound site had obvious status indicators within the mortuary complex, the mortuary status markers are not defined for many of the burials of the upper Red River sites. This would seem to suggest a less stratified social system than was evident earlier (Burnett 1990).[4]

While similarities between the two upper Red River populations exist, there are some notable differences. There was a higher caries rates among the Kaufman-Williams-Roden population, as well as evidence of anemia, both associated with high carbohydrate (generally maize) diet. Floral analyses from samples at the site indicate a mixed subsistence economy of wild foods and cultigens (maize and beans).

The Hatchel-Mitchell population collectively had a very low caries rate

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regulatory processes – individuals, households, clans, communities, etc. (Thomas, Winterhalder, and McRae 1979:21).

[4]All bioarchaeological information regarding these two site complexes is taken from Burnett's (1990:393-5) bioarchaeological synthesis of the Gulf Coast plain.

and little evidence of anemia, indicating a diet with minimal carbohydrates, i.e., little or no maize consumption. There was also evidence of less physical stress. It appears that the populations of these coeval sites had different diets and different levels of adaptive efficiency. The Kaufman-Williams-Roden people were probably maize-dependent with some indication of nutritional inadequacy, while the Hatchel-Mitchell people had a diet that was not carbohydrate rich, thus was more nutritionally adequate.

These site complexes are located in two different physiographic zones and may have had different subsistence strategies associated with resource availability between the two vegetation regions. Hatchel-Mitchell is within the Pine Forest physiographic zone of eastern Texas, while the Kaufman-Williams-Roden complex is upstream within the Post Oak vegetation region. It is interesting to note, however, that the soil on which Hatchel-Mitchell sits is considered a prime "corn-soil" (Woodall 1980:156), leading one to wonder if some socio-political mechanism may have led the people of this center away from large-scale maize production. The Hatchel-Mitchell site has been identified as the community represented on the 1691 Teran map (Wedel 1978:10).

As mentioned earlier, skeletal samples for the Caddoan culture area are small and analyses are rare. Sub-adults are particularly under-represented primarily because of poor preservation. With growing concerns among Indian people regarding treatment of the remains of their ancestors – and

increasing authority to deal with these issues given to them under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 – there is small likelihood that analyzed samples will increase appreciably. Therefore, we must extrapolate population health – and adaptive efficiency – among the pre-contact Caddo from a sparse population sample. Still, a comparison of the sites delineated above – sites that are temporally and culturally related – indicates that late protohistoric Caddoan peoples were neither as well-adapted nor as healthy as they had been earlier, but were not so stressed as to be in biological decline.

By the time of first sustained contact between Caddoans and Europeans (late seventeenth century), Caddoan bands or tribes were loosely organized into what have generally been called confederacies, under a socio-political administration to be discussed below. It has been suggested that the complex chiefdoms of the prehistoric Caddo had devolved into this type of confederacy structure because of European epidemic episodes which reached the protohistoric Caddo prior to sustained contact (Perttula 1991; 1992; 1993b, 1993c). There are, however, alternative explanations for a change in the socio-political structure and settlement patterns among late prehistoric and protohistoric Caddoans.

Hickerson suggests that the effects of epidemic disease on the Caddo be viewed within the context of combined large-scale processes of change associated with European interaction in North America and Mesoamerica.

He suggests that the acquisition of the horse by western Apaches made the Caddo subject to increasingly costly raids by their ancient enemies. This, along with other factors, may have caused the east Texas Caddo to amalgamate and relocate to areas protected by dense forests and by numerous rivers prone to flooding (1995:8-9).

An ecological/environmental approach has also been used to examine the evolution of the historic Caddoan confederacies. Woodall (1980:129) posited that a decline of the means of social integration led to the formation of confederacies.

> [T]he appearance of confederacies, characterized by a tribal-level, egalitarian social order, was attendant upon the decline of major ceremonial centers which previously had performed the integrating function necessary to the society. These centers, which probably served a large number of isolated hamlets as well as a large resident population, inhibited conflict by providing a common religious activity, . . . a single person or group of persons centralizing the authority for settling disputes, and probably a binding network of trade alliances involving . . . specialists producing the elaborate artifacts interred with the social elite.

Woodall argues convincingly that the prehistoric Caddoan ceremonial centers and associated satellite communities were located in areas of upland sedimentary or lowland alluvial soils, i.e., areas of prime agricultural production. These rich microenvironments were not continuous, but were surrounded by larger areas of poorer soils which would not result in high crop yields.

The regions on the Red River and in east Texas where the major

Kadohadacho and Hasinai groupings developed were separated by large areas of less-productive soils and low population density. Very simplistically, when the soil around the large ceremonial sites became depleted (as it would inevitably) and could no longer support the production of the agricultural surplus necessary for highly populated centers and for trade, so would the support for a privileged class decrease. Lower production eliminated support for elites which also eliminated the means of social control necessary to maintain harmony in large population aggregates, hence the adoption of a more dispersed settlement pattern in which smaller patches of arable soil could be exploited by small family groups (Woodall 1980:129-46).

Woodall uses the George C. Davis site (Figure 4) on the Neches River to illustrate his theory. George C. Davis is a multiple mound site which dates from Caddo II-III. It is strategically located for the exploitation of at least four microenvironments and has two water sources, the Neches River and Bowles Creek. The surrounding bottomland is heavily timbered with abundant flora and fauna. A nearby lake yielded waterfowl and mussels, and the natural terrace on which the site was located was prime for domesticated plants. There existed no more attractive site in the area (Woodall 1990:153-4).

> [T]he Davis site appears to be located in an extremely advantageous area, given a horticulture-hunting-gathering mode of subsistence. With the ample area provided for agricultural expansion *within an unbroken area* there arose a large population concentration. The necessary social controls engendered by such a population could easily lead to a stratified society and a position of cultural leadership for the village as a unit. Should there be a serious failure of the subsistence

> sources, however, the entire system would collapse, because there existed no other spot similarly endowed for supporting such a large village. At least one of the alternatives in such a situation would be a dispersion of population, taking advantage of the many smaller scattered plots of arable fertile soils along the river and minor interior streams.

As the socio-political system of complex chiefdoms broke down and the populations dispersed, a new system emerged that was "compatible with the cropping of small isolated plots, i.e., the confederacy" (Woodall 1980:165). The confederacies would provide a kind of protection from outsiders, as well as maintain a socio-religious structure with which the Caddoans were comfortable.

Another potential explanation for Caddo population decentralization and decline has been introduced by Burnett and Murray (1993). Noting that native population decline and/or disappearance was recorded by Europeans as having taken place in (present-day) northeastern Arkansas between de Soto's sixteenth-century *entrada* and the French appearance in the Mississippi River valley in the late seventeenth century, the authors examined skeletal collections from three regions in Arkansas to see if evidence of European disease existed which could explain this decline.

The authors saw evidence of dramatic decrease in reproductive potential[5] in populations in both northeastern and central Arkansas during

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[5]Reproductive potential is normally measured by comparing the proportion of adults to subadults and young adults to older adults to determine what proportion of the adult population is available to reproduce. The paucity of subadult remains made it necessary for the authors to measure

the seventeenth century, while the Caddo groups in southwestern Arkansas enjoyed a high level of adaptive efficiency and reproductive potential.

Moving from northeast (populations located on the Mississippi River) to southwest (Caddo region) through time, the authors noted that populations in the late Mississippian northeast maintained an adequate adult life expectancy and satisfactory level of adaptive efficiency between 1450 and 1600, but showed evidence of diminishing female reproductive efficiency. Central Arkansas populations between 1600 and 1700 exhibited the lowest adult life expectancies and reproductive potential. Following the temporal and geographic pattern, one would expect the Caddoans of southwestern Arkansas, to have the greatest reduction in reproductive potential after 1650; however, they exhibited the greatest longevity and potential for reproductive success (Burnett and Murray 1993:230-3).

Finding no evidence to support depopulation due to European pathogens in all Arkansas groups encountered by de Soto, the authors did find evidence that dramatic depopulation had occurred within some protohistoric populations (Burnett and Murray 1993:234). Seeking alternatives to European disease as the cause for this apparent decline in reproductive health, Burnett and Murray found evidence to suggest that, while epidemics may have initiated the depopulation evident among groups

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reproductive potential by comparing the percentage of young adults to old adults (Burnett and Murray 1993:231).

located in northeastern Arkansas, the central Arkansas populations demonstrating the worst reproductive health were probably subject to a series of droughts.

Bioarchaeological evidence suggested that these populations were experiencing chronic malnutrition due to a drought cycle which has been reconstructed for central Arkansas. Between 1549 and 1577, negative precipitation index values occurred in twenty-two of the twenty-nine years which would effect not only maize production, but also the procurement of wild foods (Burnett and Murray 1993:235-6). Conceivably long-term droughts like this one occurred in many areas from time to time in the years prior to white contact, and could easily be responsible for changes in settlement patterns and social structure among protohistoric native peoples.

In another look at protohistoric Caddoan health in the Ouachita Valley, Burnett (1993:222) concludes:

> The geographic differential in adaptive efficiency between the northern and southwestern drainages [the southwestern drainages were inhabited by the Caddo] may relate to locational proximity of European influences. It appears that the southwest Arkansas groups were more completely buffered from disruption than the northeast Arkansas groups who were more vulnerable to cultural disruption simply because of their location along major waterways. . . . Across the region there is little evidence of European disease-borne epidemics. . . . It is often speculated that European epidemics resulted in depopulation which then resulted in cultural instability. . . . At present, it is not clear if it was European disease epidemics that caused reduced adaptive efficiency evident among northeastern and eastern protohistoric populations of Arkansas.

Considering the bioarchaeological evidence presented above,

protohistoric Caddoans who apparently had little direct contact with non-Indians appear to be reasonably well-adapted biologically – certainly they appeared so when encountered by de Soto and his followers. Bioarchaeology tells us less about their cultural adaptive potential, but Caddoans appeared secure and self-confident when encountered by the Spaniards.

Prehistoric Caddoan peoples had likely been organized into complex chiefdoms with centralized political and religious authority. It has been posited that these chiefdoms and the reasons for their existence had disappeared by sustained white contact, replaced by at least two loose confederations of bands or tribes. We cannot truly know what conditions initiated this socio-political-economic transformation or on what levels such a transformation occurred.

Europeans encountering Caddoans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries found populations enjoying generally good health, who consistently adapted themselves to changing environmental conditions, and who were socio-politically secure within their interactional sphere. Although probably not experiencing peak adaptive efficiency due to an over-dependence on maize, it appears that Caddoan peoples were well-equipped, both biologically and socio-politically, to make the choices which would help them to endure the Anglo-European biocultural onslaught.

The de Soto *Entrada*

Spain was the first European power to extend its influence into the western hemisphere, and had established a secure footing in the New World by the early sixteenth century. Attempts to explore and colonize southeastern North America began with Ponce de Leon in 1513. Several subsequent explorations were mounted before Hernando de Soto received a charter from King Carlos V in 1537 to conquer and govern La Florida (an area covering virtually the whole southeast). The charter required de Soto to conquer, pacify, and settle virtually all of the coast, as well as construct three stone forts. De Soto was to support his efforts – and his five hundred men – with his own funds, presumably his share of the Inca plunder. In return he would receive titles, lands, and a share of the colony's profits (Milanich 1993:15).

In addition to extending Spain's political, economic, and religious influence in the New World, de Soto sought riches the likes of which had been found in Mexico and Central America. This *entrada* had no great aim to colonize La Florida. Its primary mission was to accumulate native wealth and precious metals and to subjugate native peoples for Spain.

After trekking across the southeast for some months, de Soto and his followers crossed the Mississippi River in the summer of 1541, landing in present-day northeastern Arkansas. The first significant Caddoan group

encountered by the Spaniards and their Indian slaves were the Tula[6] (Figure 5). Although some question exists as to whether the Tula were Caddoan (Swanton 1942), they shared customs with groups later encountered by the *entrada* which are generally accepted to have been Caddo.

To rid themselves of their unwelcome Spanish visitors, the *cacique* (leader) of the Cayas, pointed the *entrada* to the next large province beyond his own – that of their enemies, the Tula. De Soto took a scouting party of about sixty men to visit the Tula, who gave no welcome to the expedition (Elvas in Clayton, et al. 1993[I]:125):

> As soon as [de Soto] arrived and was perceived by the [Tula] Indians, the land was summoned. When fifteen or twenty Indians had gathered together, they came to attack the Christians. . . [T]hey climbed on top of the houses, where they tried to defend themselves with their arrows; and when driven from some would climb on top of others. . . . Fifteen Indians were killed there, and captives were made of forty women and young persons; for they did not leave any Indian alive who was shooting arrows if they could overtake him.

De Soto and his entourage retreated briefly to Cayas to retrench, returning three days later in full force with the cacique of Cayas in tow. They found the town of Tula abandoned, but the following morning Tula forces attacked from two directions. Rangel (in Clayton, et al. 1993:305) spoke of their valor: "[T]hese were the best warriors that the Christians came upon;

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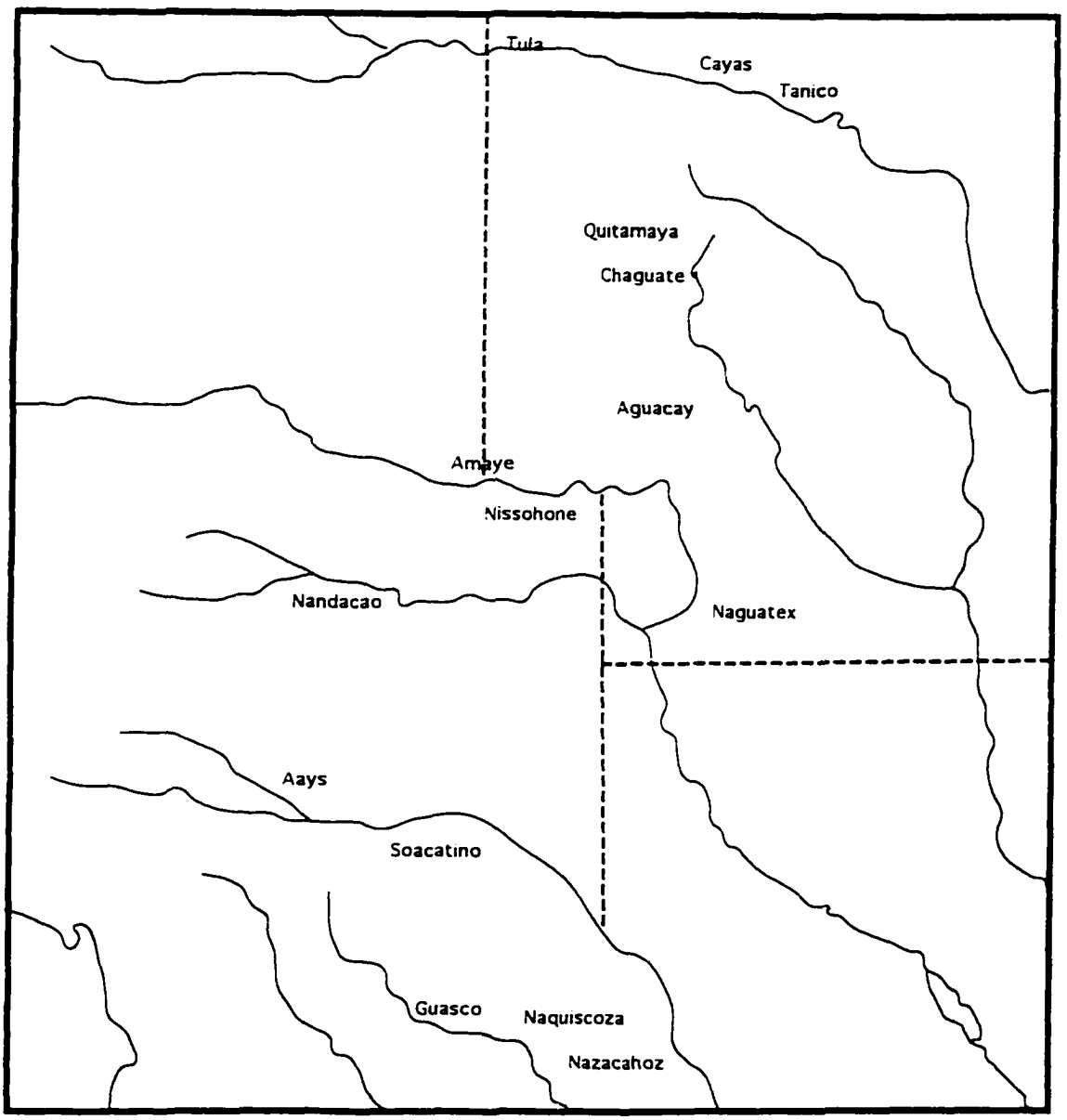
[6]Chafe (1993:222-5) has examined the names of twelve groups encountered west of the Mississippi by the *entrada* that have been identified as potentially Caddoan. Of these twelve, Chafe believes that eight are almost certainly Caddo, two are uncertain, and two are not Caddoan, the Tula and the Lacane. Chafe suspects that Tula was the name used by de Soto's Muskogean-speaking guide, not what the people called themselves.

FIGURE 5

CADDOAN BANDS ENCOUNTERED BY THE DE SOTO ENTRADA

1541 - 1542



and they fought like desperate men, with the greatest courage in the world." Nevertheless, the spear-bearing Tula were overcome by the Spanish forces. Prisoners, their right hands and noses cut off, were sent to summon the Tula cacique to de Soto.

After numerous delays, gifts of buffalo hides to the Spaniards, and the assurance of his safety, the cacique and his entourage entered the village weeping, a ritual form of greeting, and bearing additional hides for de Soto. According to Elvas (in Clayton, et al. 1993:126-7), the cacique of Tula "made his address to the governor in which he excused himself and offered him his land and vassals and person." Shortly thereafter, de Soto turned back east to the Mississippi River leaving the Tula to disappear from recorded history.

Using both documentary and archaeological evidence, Ann Early (1993:75) places the Tula near present-day Ozark in northwestern Arkansas on the northern reaches of what is recognized archaeologically as Caddoan territory. Recent scholarship has given support to cultural affiliation of the Tula with the Caddo (Hoffman 1993:137; Chafe 1993:225) .

Only in Elvas's account (in Clayton et al. 1993:124-7) are we given any indication of the size of the Tula cacique's town. In the first foray between de Soto and the Tula fifteen men were killed and forty women and subadults were captured. No mention is made of how many men may have escaped. Elvas notes that when fifteen to twenty Tula men had gathered, they began to attack the Spaniards.

It is not clear whether this number was augmented during the battle, but if so many must have escaped the troops. Some Indians were captured and "many killed" when de Soto was attacked at the Tula town. Six of those captured were sent to the cacique. At least twenty-four Tula men were involved in negotiations prior to the cacique's arrival, and he was accompanied by eighty men. Using a low estimate of twenty to represent the Tula men engaged in the first battle, six captured, twenty-four negotiators, and eighty-one in the cacique's entourage, an estimate of 131 men is obtained. At the conservative ratio of one man to three women and subadults, we can estimate that the cacique's authority extended over at least five hundred people.

Ann Early notes that Tula was not a densely populated community, but was composed of "dwellings scattered over a wide area" (1993:71). As described by Schambach (1993:81), Caddoan settlements encountered by the *entrada* were not compact like those to the east. Populations were smaller and settlements were composed of small farmsteads and other types of compounds spread for miles around the mounds or mound groups that served as ceremonial centers for these communities. These centers had small resident populations of priests and caretakers.

Schambach uses the Teran map (Figure 2) to illustrate the typical Caddoan settlement pattern (1993:71-2).

The settlement in the Teran drawing consists of twenty-five

> clusters of buildings, of which twenty-three appear to be farmsteads, dispersed along both sides of the Red River and around two oxbow lakes, over a distance of no less that 2.5 miles and possibly 6 miles or more. At the western edge is a compound containing a platform mound with a building on top and a brush-covered arbor close to the base of the mound, but no other structures. . . . [T]he compound of the "caddi," as the Caddo called him, or the cacique, as the Spaniards would have called him, was about a mile and a half east of the mound, near the center of the settlement. His compound (identified on the map by a cross and the notation, "Caddi") is similar to the others, but it is in a much larger clearing, and very significantly, it is the only one without a storage bin.

The significance of this absence is that the *kaadíi* of this group of Caddo did not collect and redistribute food. Instead, Caddoan farmers kept their own maize in their own granaries and fed the *kaadíi*.

After the death of de Soto in 1542, the *entrada* led by Luís de Moscoso headed west in an attempt to reach Mexico by land. They eventually reached the province of Naguatex (Figure 5), thought by Schambach (1993:89) to be the antecedents of the Kadohadacho.[7] Camped in a grove between the provinces

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[7]Swanton (1942:139) believed the term Naguatex to refer to the Nawidish (in some places, Namidish), a Caddo word meaning the place of salt [*widish*]. He also located a Caddoan group by that name near the Neches River in the seventeenth century. Schambach (1993:89-90) disputes Swanton's identification because of the distance between the Naguatex on the Red River from the Neches, and because there is no salt source at the Spirit Lake locality which he identifies as the Naguatex site visited by the *entrada*. Linguist Wallace Chafe (1993:222-3) addressed the absence of a salt source associated with the Naguatex by concluding that the place of origin for these people was not necessarily the place where they were encountered by the Europeans. He supports Swanton's association of Naguatex and Nawidish. "[T]his is clearly the name *Nawidish* 'the place of salt' or 'the people of the place of salt.' It is derived from *widish* 'salt,' with the addition of the locative prefix *na-*. . . . The name *Nawidish* is still known to Caddo people today. There appears to have been a Caddo dialect in which *w* was replaced by *m*." White Bread noted this w/m replacement in the Natchitoches dialect (eagle =

of Amaye and Naguatex, the Spaniards were attacked from two directions by two bands of Indians. After the battle one prisoner was questioned regarding who was responsible for the attack. He declared that "they were the cacique of Naguatex and he of Maye and another of a province called Hacanac, lord of vast lands and many vassals; and that he of Naguatex came as captain and head of all" (Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:142-3).

Obviously the *entrada* had encountered a major Caddoan polity with a leader who was probably equivalent to the Grand Xinesi, the supreme civil and religious authority of the seventeenth-century Hasinai to be discussed below. Moscoso intended to occupy the extensive Naguatex "village" to take advantage of the corn stored there, As was the habit of the Spaniards, they sought the cacique's village which was on the opposite side of the river, "a large village and many provisions" (Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:143).

Schambach (1993:91) observes that in the Hakluyt translation of the de Soto chronicles, Moscoso "came to the habitation of Naguatex, which was very *scattering*" (emphasis added), an appropriate term to describe Caddoan settlement patterns. The Naguatex habitation "extended for quite a distance along both sides of the Red River. It contained dozens of farmsteads, each with one to several houses, storage bins, bark-covered drying racks, and ramadas" (Schambach 1993:92). There was an abundance of corn stored in the granaries – the late crop still to be harvested – enough to feed Moscoso's army

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íwi) and the Kadohadacho dialect (eagle - *i´mí*) (Swanton 1942:15).

(around three hundred) and Indian slaves (about five hundred). The Spaniards provisioned themselves from the Naguatex surplus, which was even then not exhausted.

The cacique of Naguatex was summoned by Moscoso, and like his Tula relative, took every opportunity to delay entry into his settlement. Arriving at last with his procession, the Naguatex "cacique came . . . well attended by his men. They all came after this manner, one ahead of the other in double file, leaving a lane in the middle through which the cacique came, . . . all weeping after the manner of Tula." According to Elvas, the leader offered obeisance to Moscoso and was forgiven for his past misdeeds.

In July, 1542, the Spaniards crossed back over the river, sending to the cacique for a guide to lead them south. The Naguatex ignored this demand until Moscoso ordered his soldiers to burn both provisions and "towns" (Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:145). The Spaniards began to burn the towns and fields, whereupon six principal men were sent to guide the *entrada*. After deliberately misleading the Europeans, these guides were executed and new guides secured (Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:144).

The *entrada* passed through Naguatex province again in October. "On the backward journey, they found maize to eat with great difficulty, for where they had already passed the land was devastated, and any maize which the Indians had, they had hidden. The towns which they had burned in Naguatex, which was now regretted by them, had now been rebuilt and the

houses were full of maize. This region was well populated and well supplied with food" (Elvas in Clayton et al. 1993:149).

The Spaniards encountered other Caddoan groups before finally returning to the Mississippi River and then traveling on to Mexico, but the Naguatex were obviously the most important. Schambach (1993:88-90) has identified the Spirit Lake locality in southwestern Arkansas as the province of Naguatex, and his placement of the Naguatex certainly appears plausible. Although we get no idea of Naguatex population size and general health from the de Soto chroniclers, we may infer that a province which could rebuild itself within three months and which was observed to be well-populated was not suffering undue stress. The Spaniards also made no mention of diseases among these previously encountered populations upon their return through the provinces.

For almost a century and a half after de Soto, Caddoan peoples lived free of contact with non-Indians. It has been suggested that Caddoan populations were undergoing tremendous population reduction during this time (Perttula 1992:27-8), but bioarchaeological and ethnohistoric evidence cited above does not support this contention.

The absence of evidence of protohistoric population catastrophism suggests that Caddoans were probably not experiencing severe stress resulting from the introduction of European pathogens during the protohistoric "Dark Ages." Caddoan peoples would once again encounter Europeans in the late

seventeenth century, however. From that point forward, population catastrophism among Caddoan peoples ceases to be a debatable issue.

CHAPTER THREE

CADDOANS AND EUROPEANS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Neither bioarchaeological nor ethnohistorical evidence suggests that Caddoan populations had experienced significant population decline due to pathogens introduced by the Spanish during the late protohistoric period. What we do know is that by the time they were reencountered by Europeans, Caddoan peoples were enjoying apparent good health. After 1691, however, the onslaught of European diseases combined with the social, economic, and political upheaval resulting from intensive interaction would compel the Caddo to adapt quickly in order to survive.

The Early Historic Period

By the time Caddoans were reencountered by Europeans, population probably totaled about 10,000 people organized into two to four loose groupings, labeled confederacies by outsiders. Swanton (1942:5-6) recognized the Kadohadacho as "eminent above all the rest. The name is derived from kadi, or rather kaadi, ka´ede, meaning 'chief,' and Kadohadacho signifies 'real chiefs.' Strictly, it was applied to one of four bands."

The Kadohadacho may represent the core Caddoan prehistoric population if Rose (1984:252) is correct in his assumption of a common genetic heritage for the Caddo from Fourche Maline populations. They acted

as middlemen in an extensive east-west trade conduit, and controlled valuable resources of their own – *bois d'arc* and salt. Located at white contact around the bend of the Red River near Texarkana, the Kadohadacho confederacy was counted as the Kadohadacho, Nanatsoho, Upper Nasoni, and Upper Natchitoches.

South of the Kadohadacho along the Red River were the Yatasi, Lower Natchitoches, and Doustioni, identified as the Natchitoches confederacy (Swanton 1942:12-13). These groups ranged from around present-day Shreveport to Alexandria, Louisiana. Williams (1964:545) has suggested that the Natchitoches confederacy is the weakest grouping of Caddo, in that it represents a late arrangement of disparate tribes. The Natchitoches "confederacy" may be no more than an earlier division of the Kadohadacho, made to advance their interests. In that case only two major divisions – the Hasinai and the Kadohadacho – existed.

The Kadohadacho apparently sent out satellite groups which maintained very close relationships with their northern counterparts. The Lower Nasoni, Nawidish, and Nadaco in Texas and the Lower Natchitoches, Doustioni, and Yatasi in the lower Red River Valley were all closely related to the Kadohadacho. They may have been situated advantageously on the east-west trade route to represent Kadohadacho interests.

There were four geographic groupings of Caddo in east Texas. The westernmost group – the Neche, Nabedache, and Nacono – lived on and

around the Neches River. The Hainai were the centrally-placed, probably dominant lineage who lived along the Angelina River near the Nabiti. These two geographic groupings became known to Europeans collectively as the Tejas [Texas] or Hasinai. Hasinai is a term meaning "our people" (Carter 1995:72); *tejas* [*teysha*] is the Caddo word for friend or ally (Lee 1995).

Unlike the Natchitoches and Kadohadacho "confederacies" which were named for the most prominent lineages or bands within each grouping, there is no individual group known as the Hasinai. The most prominent lineage/group within the Hasinai confederacy was the Hainai, located about halfway between the Nabedache and the Nacogdoche. "Within its territory was the chief temple of the group, presided over by the Great Chenesi, or high priest" (Bolton 1987:36). East of the Hainai were the Nacogdoches, and to the north within the lower drainages of the Red River were the Lower Nasoni, Nadaco, and Nacao (Bolton 1908), all more closely related to the Kadohadacho than the Hasinai. Swanton's informant, White Bread, recalled a close relationship between Hainai and Nabedache, two of the western and central Texas Caddoans, and a similar relationship between the Red River Valley Kadohadacho and the eastern and northern Texas Nacogdoches and Nadaco (Swanton 1942:15).

A reexamination and synthesis of both documentary sources and contemporary ethnography suggests that, instead of three confederacies, the Caddo divisions probably numbered two, the western Caddoans identified as

Hasinai, and the Red River Valley Caddoans, including both the Kadohadacho and Natchitoches "confederacies." For purposes of identification, these divisions can be called Hasinai and Kadohadacho. What caused this division is unknown, but possible interpretations include a moiety, dual chieftaincy, splitting of a paramount lineage, seasonal foraging groups, or entrepots for trade and/or ideology.

It is clear that the eastern and western branches of the Caddo were similar, but not the same. Based upon linguistic data collected from the Caddo in the early nineteenth century, Lesser and Weltfish (1932) concluded that at one time the various bands lived apart and each spoke a somewhat divergent dialect. Of the eight divisions recalled by informants, the Hainai and Nabedache shared the same dialect, while the dialects of the Kadohadacho, Nadaco, Nacogdoches, Yatasi, Natchitoches, Ais, and Kiamichi (Nasoni?) were similar, but individual. Adaes was considered the most divergent dialect. At the time of Lessor and Weltfish's research, however, Kadohadacho was the primary dialect spoken by almost all descendants (Lesser and Weltfish 1932:2, 13).

Descendants of all divisions identified themselves as *Hasinai* – our people – which may explain the confusion in categorizing the western Caddo. *Tejas* – friend/ally – and *Hasinai* were identifiers, but the Europeans did not understand the true intent of these words and took them to be tribal names.

The dialectical divisions identified by Lesser and Weltfish correspond

to the assumption by Bolton that the Lower Nasoni and Nadaco were more closely related to the Kadohadacho than the Hasinai (Bolton 1908).

It has been noted that the Caddo at first contact shared cultural similarities with the Muscogean tribes of the southeast. The Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek are known to have had moieties which determined their clan structure. Using the Creek as an example, we know that the colors red and white – representing peace and war – were associated with the moiety divisions (Swanton 1946:663). A red and white division [which Hudson calls a moiety, but Swanton does not (1946:664)] also existed among the Natchez, headed by the Great Warrior and the Great Sun (Hudson 1976:237, 410).

A similar dual arrangement can be posited for the Caddo. If indeed there was a common genetic heritage for all Caddoans from Fourche Maline populations in southwestern Arkansas, as proposed by Rose (1984:252), then the historic Kadohadacho and Hasinai may represent parts of a prehistoric moiety – the red, war side being represented by the Kadohadacho, the white, peace side by the Hasinai – or two paramount chieftaincies.

The Hasinai appear to have been organized under a divine chief with sacral authority (Pauketat 1994:31-2), while the Kadohadacho organization is basically unknown. We do know that the Kadohadacho were known as fierce warriors into the nineteenth century. Most Euro-American observations concerning the Kadohadacho had to do with their military prowess. We also know that by the nineteenth century, the Kadohadacho leader served as

overchief of all Caddoan bands.

If the Hasinai/Kadohadacho do represent an ancient red/white moiety, then the division along lines of war and peace had broken down. It is well documented that, besides hereditary civil chief-priests, the Hasinai also had elective war chiefs "whose authority seems to have been confined to the period of the campaign for which they were chosen" (Bolton 1987:77). It is well-documented that the western Caddo engaged in war campaigns, associated primarily with the winter hunt, especially against the Apache (Griffith 1954:125).

A pattern of dual organization, believed to be very ancient, was common among Indians of the southeast. In its oldest form it was probably a division of clans within chiefdoms into dual divisions, then later a way of organizing chiefdoms with respect to each other (Hudson 1976:237). Whatever the original design, however, it does appear that the Caddo were organized into dual east/west chieftaincies.

Evident among the historic Red River Valley Caddoans were several upper and lower, or small and large divisions. The Nasoni had a division placed near the Hasinai, and the Natchitoches had a division placed lower down the Red River at present-day Natchitoches, Louisiana. This is the group headed by the White Chief, who accompanied St. Denis to Texas in 1700. Both groups had upper divisions near the Kadohadacho. The Nanatsoho and Kadohadacho also had upper and lower, or large and small

villages, but they were located nearer to each other.

Instead of three "confederacies," perhaps what appeared as a confederacy among the lower Natchitoches was no more than a division within an ancient division. The Doustioni and Yatasi were the other groups listed within the Natchitoches confederacy. The Yatasi – which at times also had two divisions – appear at times to be closely allied to the Kadohadacho, at other times to the Adaes, and the Doustioni are so opaque as to be practically unknowable, having passed out of existence as an separate entity by the 1720s.

The possibility of an early moiety, modified through time and geography, needs further investigation. A war/peace dichotomy could explain, however, why the Kadohadacho are never seen to have a religious leader like the *xinesi*, but were ruled by a more secular *kaadíi*. A dual arrangement would also conform to information contained within Caddoan mythology. Two brothers figure prominently in Caddo oral traditions and may in some way represent this ancient partition.

The individual groups of Caddo, called bands or tribes in previous literature, were probably matrilocal family groupings – matribands – which became identified with particular locales. The *na-* suffix on so many of these names is a place indicator in the Caddo language. These matri-bands were consistently identified with either the Hasinai or the Kadohadacho in Anglo-European documents, as will be seen below.

It is difficult to determine accurate population data for Caddoans at first

sustained contact and the beginning of the historic period, *circa* 1700. Using Swanton's estimates (1942:22-3), the Natchitoches confederacy consisted of between 400 and 450 warriors (1,600-1,800 people), the Kadohadacho had 500 to 600 warriors (2,000-2,400), and the Hasinai had the largest population of 600 to 700 warriors (2,400-2,800).

These figures of between 6,000 and 8,000 people do not include all affiliated Caddoan tribes and, of course, are estimates made by Europeans who did not make actual population counts. Neither do these figures appear to take older men and non-warriors into consideration. Swanton is using an estimate of one warrior to three family members, i.e., four to a family, but it is likely that many nuclear families had more than four members.

As previously estimated, the total population of Caddoan tribes at the beginning of the historic period was probably between eight and twelve thousand. We cannot know at this time whether this population was drastically reduced from the pre-Columbian population, but there is no evidence to suggest that it was. After 1700 population estimates for Caddoan peoples were recorded by white administrators, as were some observations of Caddoan society. It is through these efforts that recorded history for the Caddo begins, but these sources must be examined critically.

Wedel (1981:2) recommends a hermeneutic approach when constructing tribal ethnohistories, suggesting that manuscript and published documents be examined anthropologically. The interpretation to which these

sources are subjected sets ethnohistorical methodology apart from regular historical research. Wedel stresses critical analysis of the validity of each document used in ethnohistorical research. An evaluation of contemporary research is also warranted, as in the case of *a priori* acceptance of population catastrophism among Caddoan peoples protohistorically.

Gregory (1974:294) has remarked that the Caddo practiced the same types of strategies, both economic and cultural, in the nineteenth century as they had in the fifteenth: "[C]hanges in Caddoan culture so often attributed to European influence merely reflect the adaptability of traditional economic strategies." Webb and Gregory (1978:19) later observed that the Caddo held onto their land and their autonomy long after many southeastern tribes. "The fact that their roots extended into prehistory gave them strength and self-confidence. They kept their faith and polity, and their traditions remain even today."

Perttula (1992) couples observations like those of Gregory and Webb with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century accounts which noted that Caddoan leaders had maintained lineage and power despite severe depopulation to explain this perception of Caddoan cultural adaptability, a perspective he does not share (1992:68-9).

> [W]hile I do not wish to deny the historical record or the picture it paints of the political relationships and alliances of the time, to rely on the testimony of then-active participants . . . is to negate an objective consideration of the changes to aboriginal people brought about by Europeans. . . . Diseases introduced by the Europeans must be

considered.

Certainly the consequences of European disease must be factored into any historical treatment of the Caddo after 1690, which both Webb and Gregory acknowledge (Webb 1980:125; Gregory 1980:129). Euro-American records compiled by "then-active participants" attest to severe Caddoan population losses due to diseases like smallpox and yellow fever. However, no European observed or even speculated that disease was rampant – or even present – among Caddoan peoples prior to 1691.

Despite Perttula's reservations regarding cultural continuity from prehistory, the extant Caddoan archaeological record does not support his presumption that Caddoan peoples encountered by Europeans after 1542 were in widespread population or cultural decline. Also, the fact that Caddoan leaders were noted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to have maintained their authority despite severe biocultural stress suggests that Caddoan socio-political institutions continued to function, enabling the people to coordinate responses to this stress. From this point forward, then, this study will examine documented conditions of Caddoan populations and cultural health after 1686, as well as the implications of those conditions.

When recontacted by explorers in the late seventeenth century, Caddoan people appeared healthy and secure.[1] After 1691, however, the

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[1]Works addressing Caddoan social and political history from 1686 to 1859 are too numerous to recount here. I especially recommend Carter (1995), Gregory (1974), and Swanton (1942).

effects of European diseases on Caddoan populations are well-documented. These pathogens proved swift and fatal to large numbers of Caddoan people, reducing total population approximately ninety-five percent over the next two hundred years.

Seventeenth-century Encounters

Deeply entrenched in the European political arena, France was the last of the major powers to extend its reach into the Americas. Spain had been aggressively exploring and settling in the New World for almost half a century by the time France directed its attention across the Atlantic Ocean. After Pope Alexander's 1493 bull partitioned the Atlantic between Spain and Portugal, the two powers quickly expanded a system of mercantilism designed to exploit the resources of newly "discovered" lands. The English would prove the most effective mercantilists, though, gaining control of valuable North American lands for agricultural production through successful colonization. Immune to papal edicts after 1536, England nurtured an increasingly solid presence on the eastern seaboard of North America (Allain 1988:1-3).

Spain and England had several explorations between them by the time the French king challenged Alexander's bull in 1533, obtaining a favorable reinterpretation which broke the exclusive Spanish/Portuguese monopoly on lands in the New World. Francis I then set about to develop his "colonial

theory," the foundation upon which his country's expansion into North America would be built. Although never envisioning more than token settlement in North America, Francis saw colonization as the diplomatic strategy by which he could secure vast commercial wealth for the French Crown. The king mistakenly assumed that wealth would be found in precious metal mines like those exploited by the Spanish.

Lacking the means for colonial conquest, Francis I pursued a tripartite "theoretical justification of colonial occupation," insisting that: 1) lands in North America must be colonized to be legitimately possessed; 2) Indian peoples must be actively recruited into the Catholic religion; and 3) legitimate possession could only be gained with the acceptance of colonial rule by indigenous peoples. This professed regard for the inhabitants of North America – albeit, a regard tied to Francis's desire to participate in an increasingly competitive world system[2] – would set France apart from both Spain and England in regards to interactions with native peoples (Allain 1988:1-3). The French did not covet Indian lands like the English and, unlike

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[2]Wallerstein defines world-system as the present world economy (capitalism) that emerged in the sixteenth century. He sees it as the world-wide social system containing a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems, and being comprised of two varieties, world-empires and world-economies. World economies, which were unstable and often resulted in conquest between participants, transformed into world empires in which groups of merchants engaged in long-distance trade, but that commerce made up only a minor part of the total economy of the system. Wallerstein sees our present capitalist world economy as the culmination of the economic predominance of the market trade world-wide (Wallerstein 1974:390-1).

the Spaniards, sought more commerce than converts in establishing their position in North America.

French interactions with native peoples, even the enemies they warred upon, were formulated upon the assumption that the groups of Indians they encountered constituted sovereign nations. Naturally, the Europeans considered those nations subject to French authority.

With settlements in Canada well-established by the late seventeenth century, the lower Mississippi River Valley and the Gulf Coast became the primary focus of French expansion. René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, claimed Lower Louisiana for the French crown in 1682 upon his exploration of the Mississippi River. A second expedition designed to establish a French presence near Spanish territory was granted to La Salle in 1684 (Allain 1988:3).

There were few documented encounters between Europeans and Caddoans in the late seventeenth century, and most were limited to a few weeks at most. The Spaniards in Mexico had knowledge of the "Tejas" through the Jumano, and had hopes of establishing relations with them. The Bishop of Guadalajara wrote about the Hasinai in 1676 (in Bolton 1912:16).

> Coahuila has a neighbor, . . . a populous nation of people, and so extensive that those who give detailed reports of them do not know where [the nation] ends. . . . [The Hasinai] live under an organized government, congregated in their pueblos, and governed by a casique. . . . The Coahuiles do not give more detailed reports of the Texas because, they say, they are allowed to go only to the first pueblos of the border, since the Great Lord of the Texas does not permit foreign nations to enter the interior of his country.

The survivors of La Salle's second, ill-fated expedition to Louisiana are the first Europeans known to have actually encountered Caddoans after de Soto's *entrada* in 1542. Parties of these lost Frenchmen visited Caddoan peoples from the Hasinai to the Kadohadacho, and recorded some ethnographic information.

La Salle had embarked from France in 1684 with four ships carrying nearly four hundred people, planning to establish a gulf port settlement near the mouth of the Mississippi River. The proposed port would provide easier access between France and its Illinois and Canadian settlements and help to thwart Spanish expansion. Plagued by constant problems, the expedition overshot the mouth of the Mississippi, landing instead at Matagorda Bay on the coast of present-day Texas. The two hundred-odd colonists who survived to establish the settlement of Fort St. Louis were stranded and desperate, their supplies were lost, and they were ill-equipped to adapt to harsh conditions and unfriendly Indians.

La Salle chose twenty men with whom to travel overland toward the Mississippi River, hoping to eventually reach the Illinois post to secure assistance and reinforcements for the fledgling colony. This northeasterly trek took the party into the territory of the Hasinai, called Cenis by the French explorers (Douay in Cox 1905:231-2). The Hasinai group encountered by La Salle has been identified as the Nabedache (Swanton 1942:38), although they were consistently identified as Tejas, Cenis or Hasinai by early explorers and

priests.

The struggling French party reached the Hasinai and were received by a delegation of chiefs and warriors dressed in ceremonial regalia, bearing the calumet and leading two horses bearing provisions (Douay in Cox 1905:231-2). The Hasinai party had come to smoke the calumet with the strangers, an act of sharing designed to establish a bond which would sanction interaction between the two peoples. The Hasinai had many horses which the French party needed, and the French had metal implements and guns which the Hasinai desired.

The Hasinai met La Salle and his party as equals. Already acquainted with the opportunities and advantages of commerce with white men, the Hasinai possessed Spanish items they had obtained from the Jumano who had acquired them from the Spanish in New Mexico (Douay in Cox 1905:232-4). The relationship established by La Salle as representative for France and the Nabedache for Caddoans would continue long after Spain acquired the Louisiana colony, carried forward by French creole families throughout the eighteenth century (Lee 1990).

La Salle found an extended, apparently well-populated Hasinai territory which stretched over at least twenty leagues,[3] a pattern of settlement identical to that of prehistoric and protohistoric Caddoans. La

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[3]The French league is equal to about two thousand *toises* (6.39 English feet), or 2.42 English miles (McDermott 1941:93, 142). Twenty leagues, then, is equal to about forty-eight miles.

Salle's brother, Jean Cavelier, called the Hasinai "the most numerous and polished" of all the Indians they encountered. "[The nation] is governed by a King or Cacique, and the subordination that we remarked among them made us infer that they had offices" (Cavelier in Cox 1905:286).

The people lived in individually named, probably matrilocal clusters of ten to twelve beehive-shaped houses. Father Anastasius Douay observed that the village "of the Cœnis [was] one of the largest and most populous that I have seen in America." We have no way of knowing how many matri-bands Douay included under the aegis of "Cenis," or whether he meant specifically the Nabedache village. La Salle was impressed by the wealth and hospitality of the Hasinai and was able to acquire horses and corn in exchange for needles, axes, beads, and other French goods (Douay in Cox 1905:231-5).

The French party, already reduced by illness, remained with the Nabedache for several days before heading northeast again toward the Nasoni. Just before departure, La Salle's party suffered another blow when four men deserted to live among the Indians. Shortly thereafter, La Salle became ill and the expedition was forced to return to Fort St. Louis. Failing to reach the Mississippi River, La Salle's small party was nevertheless able to return to their settlement with horses and supplies acquired from the Hasinai (Douay in Cox 1905:234-6).

Early in 1687 La Salle made another attempt to reach the Mississippi. Leaving the now greatly-reduced settlement with less than thirty people, La

Salle and seventeen others began their journey. Included in the expedition were Henri Joutel, who would chronicle the expedition, and Pierre Talon, a ten-year old boy whom La Salle intended to leave among the Hasinai in order to learn their language (Weddle 1991:35-6). Eleven years later Talon described his life among the Hasinai to French authorities.

La Salle and his party traveled toward the Hasinai villages in order to obtain supplies for the remainder of their journey. La Salle's party met up with some Hasinai engaged in a hunt and continued on to the villages accompanied by Hasinai guides. Before reaching the villages, however, La Salle and three others were murdered by disgruntled members of the expedition (Joutel in Cox 1906:125-8).

The expedition, now controlled by the assassins, continued on toward the villages. The Hasinai guides left the French party camped on the edge of a river and went ahead to alert their leaders. Joutel and some others were dispatched to follow the Hasinai and begin to trade for corn and horses. Again the French travellers were made aware of the proximity of the Spaniards when they were greeted by a Hasinai warrior dressed in full Spanish regalia, including white stockings and woolen garters (Joutel in Cox 1906:133).

Joutel marveled at the construction of the beehive-shaped houses in which fifteen to twenty people comfortably dwelled. "[W]e saw several cottages at certain distances, straggling up and down [the Neches River], as the

ground happens to be fit for tillage. The field lies about the cottage, and at other distances there are other large huts not inhabited, but only serving for public assemblies. . . ." (Joutel in Cox 1906:137). This dispersed settlement pattern has been noted for Caddoans prehistorically and would be maintained through the nineteenth century.

Joutel and his companions remained among the Hasinai over the course of two months, during which time he made notes on "the religion, customs, and manners of the *Cenis*" (in Cox 1906:136-45). Joutel remarked on the Hasinai habit of communal tillage of fields, the preparation of which involved as many as two hundred people.

These two hundred people presumably represented the working-aged population of a "village" (probably a matrilocal settlement headed by a *kaadíi*) composed of ten to twelve houses in which Douay estimated two families dwelled (in Cox 1905:232-5). Joutel estimated fifteen to twenty occupants per house comprising one "private family" (in Cox 1906:137).

From these observations of Hasinai population made just a year apart, we can assume that an extended Hasinai (Nabedache) village was comprised of between 150 and 240 people old enough and hardy enough to take part in planting. Settlements of this type were observed to spread approximately fifty miles along the river (Douay in Cox 1905:232). Between 1686 and 1687, then, Hasinai population appears to have been stable and reasonably well-adapted. Joutel made no mention of the Hasinai exhibiting any overt signs of having

suffered disease episodes between their 1686 encounter with La Salle and the 1687 expedition.

Joutel was uncertain whether the Hasinai recognized a supreme being but he did record some significant ceremonies, one of which was apparently analogous to the Green Corn celebration central to the ideology of many Muscogean peoples. Contemporary Caddo elders acknowledge past participation in the Green Corn cycle common among southeastern agriculturalists, but the ceremony has not been observed among the Caddo in recent memory. Joutel also wrote about a victory dance which closely resembles the Turkey Dance song and dance complex so important to contemporary Caddoan social identity (Joutel in Cox 1906:161; Carter 1995a:41; Carter 1995b:31-6).

Joutel observed about the Hasinai: "[T]he word nation is not to be understood, among those Indians, to denote a people possessing a whole province or a vast extent of land. Those nations are no other than a parcel of villages dispersed for the space of twenty or thirty leagues at most, which compose a distinct people or nation; and they differ from one an other rather in language than in manners" (in Cox 1906:145).

Joutel and seven others were eventually able to find the Mississippi, leaving the assassins, deserters, and the young Pierre Talon with the Hasinai. The party travelled several days to reach the territory of the Nahordikhes (Nawidish), "allies to the Cenis" (Joutel in Cox 1906:169), and apparently a

Kadohadacho division. After bartering for provisions the party continued on with the Nawidish leader, who accompanied the French party as far as the Assonys (Nasoni).

Arriving among the Nasoni, the Frenchmen – in order to facilitate their departure – dishonestly informed the Nasoni leader of their intent to return with more trade goods from Illinois. Wherever the Europeans encountered Caddoan leaders they were encouraged to remain or return. Having witnessed the force of French firearms and the utility of French trade goods, especially metal items like axes and knives, the Caddo were anxious to maintain this potentially lucrative commercial relationship.

The party eventually reached the Kadohadacho villages along the Red River, where they were greeted by the chief and his entourage outside a village of at least two hundred people. During their stay among the Upper Nasoni/Kadohadacho, one of the Frenchman drowned while bathing in the river. "During our short stay in that place, we observed a ceremony that was performed by the chief's wife, viz., that every morning she went to M. de Marle's Grave, and carried a little basket of parched ears of corn to lay on it" (Joutel in Cox 1906:178). Joutel had observed mortuary behavior still common among the Caddo over three hundred years later.

Before their departure, Joutel and his party were informed "that the villages belonging to our hosts, being four in number, all allied together [were called] Assony, Nathosos, Nachitos, and Cadodaquio" (in Cox 1906:178).

These four villages were the Upper Nasoni, Nanatsohos, Upper Natchitoches, and Kadohadacho, called the town of the "Ouidiches"[*widish*, salt] by Douay (Swanton 1942:41).

The encounters between La Salle, his followers, and Caddoan peoples took place over the course of just over a year. Pierre Talon, the young boy whom La Salle had intended to leave among the Hasinai to learn their language, did remain with the Indians for three years and learned to communicate in the Caddoan language.

The exchange of young men between the French and their Indian allies was a strategy employed on several early explorations. Throughout the chronicles of both French and Spanish explorers and early settlers, the difficulty of communication between Indians and Europeans is lamented. Often the parties spoke only with signs, precipitating misunderstandings and animosity (McWilliams 1981:86; Lee 1989b:11).

In a deposition given on 14 February, 1698, Pierre Talon and his brother, Jean-Baptiste, told French authorities of their lives among the Indians in Texas. Jean-Baptiste had remained at Ft. St. Louis when his brother departed with La Salle and was later taken by the Karankawa. Pierre Talon lived among the Hasinai for three years before being discovered and taken to Mexico by a Spanish expedition. He was eventually able to return to France (Weddle 1987).

Talon called the Ceni [Hasinai] the most gentle and civil of all nations,

describing their abundant crops, their horses, and their capacity for the buffalo hunt. He located the Hasinai about one hundred leagues (242 miles) from the coast, and the Ayenny [Hainai] village twelve leagues inland from the people he called the Ceni (Weddle 1987:230), probably the Nabedache.

> [The Hainai] are allies of the Cenis and have the same language and the same manner of living, but they are fewer in number. [The Ceni told Talon] that, farther inland, there are several other villages of diverse small nations. They knew of no other nation more numerous than the Cenis.

The brothers described the country as beautiful, temperate, and rich in wild plants that were used in medicines. Further, they testified that the Indians "generally live to be very old and nearly always possess perfect health." Talon said the Cenis knew the medicinal properties of plants which they used to "easily" cure themselves of illness and injury. Their French interrogators noted: "The Talons assure us that, during all the time they stayed among them, they saw no one die of illness" (Weddle 1987:228).

Pierre Talon was tattooed during his stay with the Ceni, as were the French deserters who had married Hasinai women (Joutel 1714:117). Joutel remarked that both Hasinai men and women were tattooed with "figures of living creatures, of leaves and flowers on their shoulders, thighs, and other parts of their bodies" (1714:110).

Tattooing was a common practice among southeastern peoples and the figures most likely represented clan, moiety, or kinship. European traders and administrators seeking to secure exclusive commercial relationships with

southeastern peoples were often tattooed by their new partners, ever after displaying the signs of a fictive kinship between themselves and their Indian allies (Mills 1985:72; Lee 1990:4). Abbe Delaporte (1772:92-3) told of being adopted and tattooed by the Chitimacha of Lower Louisiana.

> Some adopted me as their son, others as their nephew, cousin, . . . father or uncle. They insisted that I allow myself to have imprinted on my left thigh the mark of a squirrel, symbol of this nation, to serve me as a letter of naturalization. . . . I was told that I could go to all the peoples allied with this nation, show my squirrel, and be well received. . . . I have acquired by this adoption the quality of a savage nobleman.

The adoption of outsiders as fictive kin can be seen as a medium- to long-term adaptation by the Caddo. Although tattooing is obviously limited to one lifetime, the fictive kinship established by the act exceeds one lifetime – ergo, medium- to long-term adaptation, as opposed to one or the other.

Enamored with the trade goods, guns, and protection which the French traders and soldiers could provide, the Caddo actively and collectively sought to incorporate the Europeans into their extended family. French citizens were then obligated to serve the commercial needs of the Caddo, with whom they often intermarried, while also standing against their enemies.

Tattooing of French citizens, more common in the initial stages of Caddo/European interaction, was designed to identify a European encountered by any other tribe as a relative of the Caddo. This permanent mark of kinship gave the Caddo exclusive rights to "claim" that person – a child as family member who would contribute to the common good, an adult

as an ally and commercial partner.

During his time among the Hasinai, Pierre Talon lived with the chief and his family where he was treated as one of their children (Weddle 1987:239).

> [T]he chief appeared to have no authority over the others except at war. . . . The father of the Cenis chief was still living and he also bore the title of chief. They lived together, but it appeared that all authority resided in the son. The father was already old and had apparently bestowed on him [the son] all the honor of commanding, but they lived in concord and in an admirable union.

Talon also noted that the chief's authority was restricted to matters of war, and even that authority was limited, supporting Griffith's assessment that *kaadíis* had less the power to govern than the opportunity to persuade (Griffith 1954:64). Apparently organized matrilocally, it is assumed that Hasinai offices were passed from father to son instead of maternal uncle to nephew, the common practice among matrilineages. Lineage and inheritance of office in early Caddoan societies is not well-understood. The Caddoan kinship system may have been in a transitional state, as will be discussed below.

Henri de Tonti, waiting at the Illinois post to hear that La Salle was established at the mouth of the Mississippi, did not learn of Cavelier's death until 1689, about the time he discovered that France and Spain were engaged in King William's War (Weddle 1991:102). Tonti started down the Mississippi River in 1689 in the belief that he could gather Caddo allies to

help him rescue the survivors of La Salle's colony from Spanish territory.

Upon reaching the Arkansas Post, Tonti assumed responsibility for two Kadohadacho women who had been captured by the Osage and rescued by the Quapaw, fully aware that returning these women would earn him the gratitude and support of the powerful Kadohadacho. On previous attempts to find La Salle at the mouth of the Mississippi, Tonti had established relations, with the Taensa in present-day northeastern Louisiana. From the Taensa he obtained guides to take him to the Natchitoches, then to the Yatasi, eventually reaching the Kadohadacho in 1690 (Tonti in Cox 1905:42-47).

Tonti did not receive the assistance he had anticipated from the Kadohadacho. Upon reaching their territory, Tonti found the tribe living under the authority of the chief's widow. Her husband, the traditional ruler [*kaadíi*] of the Kadohadacho, and the husbands of the two women returned by the Frenchmen, at least one of whom was a chief, had been killed by the Osage. The female *kaadíi* wanted Tonti's assistance to take revenge against the Osage (Tonti in Cox 1905:46).

Carter observes that a Caddo woman would rule only in dire circumstances (1995:58), and the death of at least two *kaadíis* and ongoing war with the Osages would certainly put stress on the socio-political structure of the community and force an adaptation of some kind. It is not known whether this woman continued to serve as leader for the Kadohadacho, or if her tenure was only temporary until an appropriate male was installed. The

structure of Kadohadacho lineage does not easily lend itself to interpretation. Clearly the widow's assumption of her husband's duties was a short-to-medium-term adaptation designed to address the loss of the Kadohadacho chief.

Tonti and his party stayed with the Kadohadacho for a few days, learning that the Kadohadacho, Upper Natchitoches, and Nasoni all spoke the same language and were affiliated. They did not form true villages, but built their cabins at some distance from each other like the Hasinai. Tonti assumed the villages to be sparsely populated due to the war with the Osages, but it is possible that the Kadohadacho may have begun to be affected by European diseases introduced by traders to their villages.

By this time European diseases – even if not introduced by La Salle's party – could have reached the Kadohadacho by down-the-line river trade with other Indians. Whether due to war, disease, temporary relocations of hunting or gathering expeditions, or simple misinterpretation, Tonti did believe the villages to be depopulated.

Tonti eventually reached the [lower] Nawidish village where some of La Salle's party had remained, but he was unable to contact the deserters or reach Ft. St. Louis. Frustrated by his failure to contact La Salle's survivors and by the intransigence of his Canadian search party, Tonti insulted the Nawidish by accusing them of murdering the French survivors and his party was forced to depart quickly (Tonti in Cox 1905:49-50). However, news of

Tonti's excursion into Spanish territory would motivate the Spanish in Mexico to establish a presence among the Caddo.

Tonti noted what he considered to be sparse village populations among the Kadohadacho. He attributed this sparseness to the on-going war with the Osages and he may have been correct. He may also have been completely unfamiliar with the dispersed settlement of the Caddo, expecting to see large villages like those of other southeastern peoples. Tonti does not appear to have witnessed any effects of disease among the Caddo, nor had Douay, Joutel, or Talon. The first European epidemics documented among Caddoan people can be attributed to Spanish friars seeking to conquer the Indians using God and the mission system.

Hasinai and Spaniards in the Seventeenth Century

In keeping with Spanish colonial policy, initial exploration and settlement in New Spain was accomplished by conquest – both physical and ideological – of the Indian nations encountered. The treatment of Indian peoples by conquistadors initiated debates and generated policy shifts within the Spanish government on how to deal with indigenous peoples. The intent of conquest was to appropriate native resources and labor for the Crown and to subdue the Indians through the Catholic religion. This was accomplished through the Castilian feudal system of *encomienda*, modified somewhat for implementation in New Spain (John 1975:8-10).

Encomienda was designed to ensure the permanence of colonies by granting Spanish administrators, militia, and settlers the fruits of Indian labors through a system of vassalage. Spanish citizens who received such benefits were required to reside within the district of their *encomienda.*

The *encomienda* system "commended" groups of Indians to the care of Spanish citizens and clergy who then became responsible for their religious conversion and for their protection (Lee 1989b:13-14). Indians were ostensibly afforded rights of relocation, religious instruction, and protection under *encomienda,* but these rights were easily abrogated. *Encomienda* became a kind of sanctioned slavery in the New World, and efforts to break that system were incorporated in the New Laws of 1542 (John 1975:9-10).

Protective policy for the Indians was difficult to monitor or enforce in the New World. Felipe II enacted a new ordinance in 1573 which changed the focus of Spanish activities from conquest to pacification. Benefits to the Indians were to be in the form of salvation through Catholicism, protection through vassalage, and civilization through the introduction of Spanish tools, foods, trades, and lifestyles (John 1975:10-11). Again, this benevolent policy was practically impossible for the Spanish Crown to enforce from halfway around the world.

Efforts to improve the lot of Indian subjects in New Spain continued. In 1680 King Carlos II published the *Recopilación de las Indias.* The *Recopilación* brought together Spanish laws, ordinances, and instructions

which would dictate how Spain governed her North American possessions. One of the volumes of the *Recopilación* was devoted to Indian relations, and provisions concerning Indians are found throughout the work (Juneau 1983).

The *Recopilación* grew out of administrative misuse of the *encomienda* system in Spanish possessions in the Americas. Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Dominican priest who had witnessed atrocities against Indians first-hand, was responsible for initiating the reform movement designed to afford Indians some protection from Spanish settlers and administrators. The *Recopilación,* as it evolved, proscribed the use of conquest and forced pacification of the Indians, who were allowed to keep their own political systems if not incompatible with Spanish laws or the Catholic church. No colonist was permitted to wage war on the Indians, and their properties and possessions were to be protected (Juneau 1983:7-18).

Foremost among these efforts to protect the Indians and their possessions were safeguards initiated to preserve Indians' ownership of their lands. The *Recopilación* formulated zones [*fundo legal*] around Indian villages which were to be left open for their exclusive use. The purpose of these zones was to insure that Indian settlements and lands were separated from those of the Europeans. Indian lands were considered inalienable. No individual Indian could sell tribal land, and Indians were allowed to purchase lands which were vacant. Conflicts of ownership between Europeans and Indians were to be decided in favor of the Indians, who were to be restored

possession and ownership (Juneau 1983:7-18). The *Recopilación* formed the legal basis, then, of the administration of the Indians and their possessions in Spanish Texas and later in Spanish Louisiana.

Having been established in Mexico and Florida for over a century, the Spanish considered all lands along the Gulf Coast to be under their hegemony. News of La Salle's expeditions and Tonti's attempt to contact survivors in Texas were instrumental in goading Spain to explore Hasinai territory and to establish a presence among Caddoan peoples. Spanish explorations had been stalled by involvement in European wars and by "degenerate Crown policy," but French efforts spurred them to initiate new explorations to find La Salle's colony and to establish barriers against future incursions (Weddle 1991:82-3). Caddoan territory would ever after be a disputed area between France and Spain, and later the United States and Spain.

A series of excursions north of the Rio Grande to find the French intruders resulted in the establishment of the first missions among the Hasinai in east Texas. Although Spanish missionaries had long targeted the "great Kingdom of Texas" as an area ripe for conversion, and had repeatedly petitioned the government for assistance in extending their influence, it was not until rumors of French settlement reached Mexico that funds were provided (Bolton 1917:50).

The mission enterprise depended upon inadequate government

funding, and its success could only be ensured by the resettlement of local Indians to the mission locale. Proximity would ideally encourage native participation in religious and economic activities associated with mission life. After all, a feudal system needed serfs.

Unlike the French, only marginally interested in saving Caddoan souls, Spanish colonial policy was designed to achieve political, economic, and religious goals – conversion, civilization, and exploitation of the Indians (Bolton 1917:45). The Caddo, however, did not succumb to missionization as had other groups before them.

Although the presence of Spanish missionaries among the western Caddo was sporadic barely thirty years (1690-1721), observations of the early Spanish fathers represent the most complete information on Caddoan socio-political structure for the entire historic period. It must be stressed that the understanding of these European observers was limited by a poor or nonexistent understanding of Caddoan language.

The first attempt to establish missions among the Hasinai was associated with the search for survivors of La Salle's party. On a second expedition north of the Rio Grande in 1689, Alonso De León was accompanied by Father Damian Massanet, who was eager to bring Christianity to the "Great Kingdom of Tejas "(Bolton 1917:50). Still in pursuit of La Salle's men, the Spanish party finally encountered a Tejas (Nabedache) chief and eight of his men accompanied by two Frenchmen.

De León and Father Massanet were impressed by the Caddo leader, "an Indian of Great faculty" (De Leon in Weddle 1973:199). The unnamed *kaadíi* promised to visit Mexico with several people so that they might learn the ways of Christians, and he agreed to welcome Catholic missionaries into Tejas lands the following year. "The [Tejas] governor seemed well pleased, and I was still more so, seeing the harvest to be reaped among the many souls in those lands who know not God" (Massanet in Bolton 1925:363-4). The apparent enthusiasm of the Hasinai leader would likely have been lessened had he known that interaction with the Spanish would not produce the commerce his people had enjoyed briefly with the French.

The Hasinai group to whom Massanet returned the following year has been identified as the Nabedache (Carter 1995:62). Accompanied by three other priests, De León, 110 soldiers, and two French interpreters, Massanet entered the village fortuitously at the same time a much-needed drenching rain began. The Spanish were received with great ceremony by the *kaadíi*, who was clearly aware of their desire to usurp the influence of the French among the Caddo. The *kaadíi's* former interactions with La Salle's men and his knowledge of Tonti's visit to the Nawidish convinced De León to return to Mexico and recommend immediate measures be taken to protect Spanish interests in the area (Weddle 1973:210-11).

Before departing De León accepted the "obedience which [the Hasinai] rendered to his Majesty, and in his royal name promised to befriend and aid

them." Further, De León presented the *kaadíi* with a Spanish staff of office[4] "giving him the title of governor of all his people, in order that he might rule and govern them" (De León in Bolton 1925:416). The first Spanish mission among the Hasinai established, De León and Massanet – with the interpreters, Pierre Talon and Pierre Meunier of La Salle's party – departed for Mexico.

Three priests and three soldiers assumed responsibility for the fledgling mission. Among those remaining was Father Francisco Casañas de Jesús Maria, who would document Hasinai socio-political organization over the next year. The observations of Casañas and other Spanish clergy from 1691 to 1722, limited as they were to the western Caddo, provide the most comprehensive information regarding Caddoan social organization at first sustained white contact. Imprecise and imperfect as these observations were, they are nevertheless the seminal materials from which changes in Caddoan social organization have been inferred.

From this point forward, the Caddo experienced sustained and intimate contact with white people. That contact was less intense at some times than at others; but after La Salle's foray into Caddoan territory in 1686, the population of non-Indians there increased exponentially.

The first documented instance of epidemic disease among Caddoan peoples took place among the Hasinai in 1691. Casañas noted that the Hasinai

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[4]A staff of this type remains in the community today as an object of social patrimony and will be discussed later.

were quick to place responsibility for the introduction of the illness firmly upon the shoulders of their Spanish visitors (Hatcher 1927:294-5).

> The demons put it into their heads that we had brought the epidemic into the country; and, when they saw that during the scourge which the Lord sent upon them in the year 1691 some three or four hundred persons -- more or less -- had died in that province during the month of March, they maintained their superstition even more firmly, saying that we had killed them. Some of them tried to kill us.

Growing and open hostility contributed to the Spanish decision to abandon their two missions in 1693. Over twenty years would pass before the Spanish returned to establish new missions among the Hasinai, who had become increasingly hostile to these Europeans. The French would enjoy better relations with the Caddo. They returned to Caddo country with the turn of the seventeenth century to form an alliance which would last over the next hundred years.

When encountered by La Salle in 1686 and up until the winter of 1691, Caddoans are not known to have experienced epidemic diseases of European origin. They appear to have had a reasonably high level of adaptive efficiency during this time and seemed well-equipped to confront stresses. They would have to be. The eighteenth century was a time of rapid, almost catastrophic population decline for Caddoan peoples who, nevertheless, were able to maintain political autonomy and remain integral to the designs of the European powers who shared their lands.

CHAPTER FOUR

CADDOANS AND *INKINISHIH*[1]

The Spanish mission system was never successful among the Caddo, but Spanish fathers did maintain an interrupted presence among some of the western Caddo throughout much of the eighteenth century. In their attempts to understand and manipulate Caddoan belief systems, clerics observed and recorded aspects of social organization and interaction.

Father Francisco Casañas de Jesús Maria was the first to document Hasinai traditions, and his writings still contain the most comprehensive cultural information recorded by any Euro-American on any Caddoans prior to the twentieth century. However, a lack of documentary evidence regarding the social make-up of other bands or tribes has resulted in these observations being applied to all Caddoans, causing an assumption of social homogeneity for all Caddoans. In addition, these sources have been used uncritically for the most part.

Obvious problems exist in using any Anglo-European documents as sources of cultural information on American natives, especially when this information may be assumed by later researchers to represent the pinnacle of social organization for a particular group. Griffith (1954:44) was among the first to recognize inherent problems in European records dealing with the

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[1]White people.

Caddo.

> [B]eing Europeans, . . . it is entirely probable that they did not see every significant facet of Hasinai life, that they did not always understand what they saw, that they at times misinterpreted what they thought they understood, and that their reporting . . . was not always objective.

Communication between the early fathers and Caddoans presented a significant problem. But despite the flaws, these Spanish observations still constitute the most complete picture of Caddoan social organization at first contact.

Hasinai Social Organization as Documented by Spanish Clerics

As mentioned earlier, there are virtually no observations of Kadohadacho social organization. Observations of Hasinai social organization, as interpreted by Spanish priests, have been applied to all Caddoans. There is no known evidence, however, to reveal more than brief glimpses of the hierarchies, clans, or belief systems of the Kadohadacho.

Father Casañas lived among the Hasinai for less than two years, and certainly had an imperfect command of the Indian language. Left with no interpreter and imprecise communication, Casañas nevertheless attempted to extend Catholic influence and to understand Hasinai society. Casañas enumerated the individual Hasinai bands as the Cachae (Hainai), Nabedache, Neche, Nechavi, Nacono, Nacachau, Nacogdoche, Nabiti, and Nasayaya (Hatcher 1927:215). "These nine tribes [*naciones* in the original text (Bolton

1908:253)] occupy about thirty-five leagues and are all subject to the grand *xinesi*" (Casañas in Hatcher 1927:216).

Carter (1995:73) suggests that the term for the Hasinai religious leader, *chenesi*[*xinesi*] may be translated as "Mr. Moon," – *tsa* is a Caddo male title, like Mister, and *nici* or *nish* is moon. According to some Caddo speakers, *tsa* is the feminine form of the title of address, while *tca* is the masculine form (Lee 1995a); however, the two words sound almost identical. Parsons used *sa* for a female and *tsa* for a male (1941:26). *Xinesi* is pronounced with a combined ch-/sh- sound, so in the present orthography it is probably *tcá nisi*. The traditional spelling [*xinesi*] is maintained within this work.

Moon is a significant figure in Caddoan mythology. He led Caddo people into this world and served as their first leader. A prayer to the new moon is still said each month by some traditionalists (Cussen, personal communication, August 19, 1993). It appears that this important mythological figure was reproduced within the Hainai social organization as the priest/chief, *xinesi*.

Vernon Knight (1990) posits that Hasinai hierarchical organization reflects a regional pattern shared, with some variation, by Muscogean, Natchean, Apalachean, and Timucuan groups. Like other hereditary systems in eastern North America, the early historic Hasinai system included marked class distinctions, hereditary paramount chiefs and subchiefs, and a principal female akin to the Natchez White Woman (Knight 1990:15). Based within an

exogamic matrilineal clan system, Knight sees agnatic inheritance as no more than a mechanism to confer nobility on the chief's children, an ancillary feature to the principal that nobility was inherited through the mother (Knight 1990:12).

Some type of patrilineal inheritance of office has been presumed for Hasinai rulers, but ambiguity remains regarding Caddoan kinship. Casañas, writing in 1691, said only that inheritance of the office of *caddi* [*kaadíi*] is through "the direct line of blood relationship." When a *xinesi* died, his nearest blood kin was said to succeed him (Hatcher 1927:215-16). Thirty-one years later, Fray Isidro Felis de Espinosa stated that Hasinai offices were perpetual "and one's sons or relatives inherit it when he dies" (in Hatcher 1927:175).

Whether agnatic inheritance was common among the early historic Hasinai – or whether it was inferred by the Spanish fathers – is unclear. The presence of revered women and female control of communal resources among Caddoan peoples is well-documented in European chronicles. The possibility exists that the Spanish fathers misinterpreted Hasinai descent, but it is also possible that inheritance of office was agnatic, as Knight suggests.

Eggan's study on kinship (1937) among southeastern Muscogean peoples revealed that in the early historic period, many possessed a Crow kinship system, which through time shifted from a strictly matrilineal to an increasingly bilateral emphasis.

George Sabo (1993b) identified a form of jural descent (the passing of religious and political offices through the male lineage) that might be applied to the Hasinai. His synthesis of previous works suggested that kinship nomenclature recorded by Parsons is consistent with Iroquoian terminology associated with "weak" matrilineal systems; i.e., systems in which descent and other kin affiliations are based primarily, but not totally, on relations through the mother's lineage. Sabo identifies jural descent, which functioned within the broader context of matrilineality, as just such a shift toward bilaterality. "[J]ural descent among elites (particularly succession to office) was organized patrilineally" (Sabo 1993:10).

Sabo's presumption of jural descent appears to be consistent with ethnohistorical sources on the Hasinai which record a ranked society of elites and non-elites having matrilineal social organization with a male lineage of socio-political leaders (Bolton 1987:67-86). If so, the trend toward bilaterality identified by Eggan may have begun earlier among the western Caddo.

Wyckoff and Baugh (1980:231) observed that the Caddo descent system is sometimes called asymmetric; i.e., preferred descent with the mother's lineage unless the father is higher rank. This type of descent has been applied to the Natchez, but Natchean kinship terminology reveals a Crow system common to other southeastern tribes. "This information indicates that the Caddo do indeed stand alone when compared to other Southeastern societies" (Wyckoff and Baugh 1980:231).

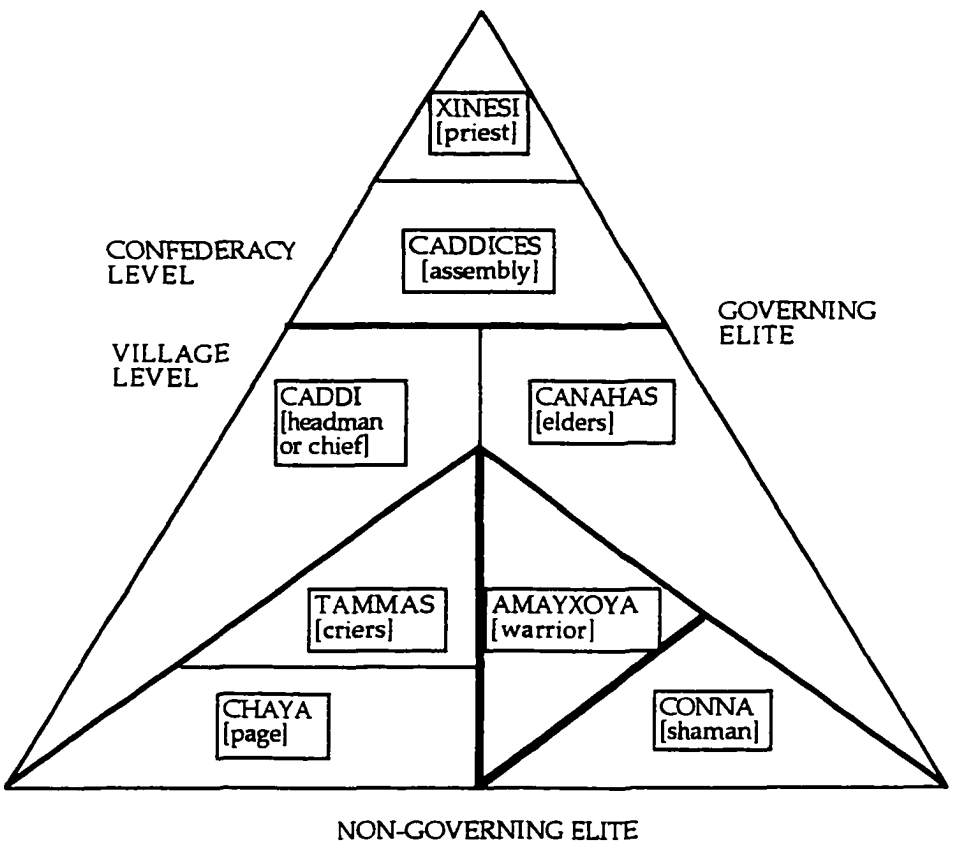
The absence of an Iroquoian system among other southeastern or plains societies suggests that the Caddo system represents a transitional phase toward a more plains-like structure similar to the Wichita. The authors conclude that the asymmetric system of descent may be a nebulous concept, and that Hasinai kin structure may represent a system based on options from which the best alternative is selected (Wyckoff and Baugh 1980:231).

The Kadohadacho may or may not have mirrored the kinship system of the Hasinai. Swanton believed that the Red River Valley Caddoans were more influenced by the southeastern maternal, exogamous clan structure, while the western bands may have shared with their plains neighbors non-exogamous clans in which not all children inherited from the same side (Swanton 1942:204-6). If so, the Kadohadacho may have been organized more like the Muscogeans to the east, with a purer form of matrilineage and clan structure.

Casañas identified eight offices among Hasinai elite, categorized as governing and non-governing elites by Wyckoff and Baugh (1980:234-7:253). At the apex of this elite structure (Figure 6) was the *xinesi,* identified variously as a religious leader or kind of paramount ruler [a kind of priest-chief]. All offices were subordinate to the *xinesi*. The *caddices* comprised the assembly of village leaders. These offices were at the confederacy – or regional – level. Individual villages were administered by a *caddi* (headman or chief) and a council of elders or headmen, the *canahas*. Non-governing

FIGURE 6

EARLY HISTORIC HASINAI ELITE STUCTURE



(After Wyckoff and Baugh 1980:253)

elites were comprised of *amayxoyas* (warriors),[2] *chayas* (pages), *tammas* (criers), and *connas* (shamans). We have only the impressions of European observers to determine the rights and responsibilities of each office or rank (Table 1), and there may have been additional positions that were not recorded. There is also some evidence of a "priestly subunit" within Hasinai society (Wyckoff and Baugh 1980:239).

Clearly the Hasinai exhibited a complex social and political system when encountered by Europeans. There is also strong evidence to suggest that women played more than a nominal role in social and political activities, serving as both leaders and priests. Even the *xinesi* was subject to the influence of the females in his family. Casañas attempted to persuade the *xinesi* to allow a mission to be established within the confines of the sacred Hasinai temple. It appeared the *xinesi* would acquiesce until he consulted two women of his house, one of whom "told him so many things that she convinced him and dissuaded him from the plan" (in Hatcher 1927:293).

The wives of the *xinesi* and *caddices* were all designated by one general title, which Casañas called *aquidau* (Hatcher 1927:216). The term was probably *tsa kadau,* the mythological Kadohadacho matriarch called Zacado by Commandant Macarti in 1763 (Swanton 1942:27-8). The female Hasinai title probably represents another social reproduction of a mythological figure.

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[2]*Amayxoya* are provisionally included in the category of governing elite in the text, but are grouped with non-governing elite on the diagram (Wyckoff and Baugh 1980:235,253). See Figure 6.

TABLE 1

OFFICES OF THE HASINAI ELITE

AND THEIR DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

XINESI [with assistance of *Caddices*]	religious and ceremonial leader of confederated villages •maintained temple fire •mediated between deities and people •leader of rituals and ceremonies •relates his perception of population welfare to *caddices* and influences decision-making process at all levels
CADDI [with assistance of *Canahas*]	village headman or governor •joined with *caddices* of allied villages to settle inter-village disputes •assembled village elders for decision-making •set communal village activities like house-building •hosted village feasts and ceremonial activities with *canahas*: •greeted visitors and conducted calumet ceremony •redistributed gifts to populace •conducted war councils •hosted victory ceremonies •supervised planting and harvest ceremonies
AMAYXOYA	•title awarded to men who have achieved distinction in war •rank from which village war chiefs were chosen
CHAYAS	•pages to/subordinates of the *canahas* •inform villages of assembly decisions and ensure decisions are carried out
TAMMAS	subordinates of the *caddis* •carry out orders of *caddis* •notify and instruct families involved in house-building •punish those who shirk house-building duties •collect first growths of tobacco for *caddi* to use in ceremonial activities •inform villages of assembly decisions and ensure decisions are carried out
CONNA	shamans involved in curing, divination, and astrology •like *xinesi* and *caddis*, they are involved in new building activities •involved in feasting ceremonies

(after Wyckoff and Baugh 1980)

Woman occupied a central position in Hasinai mythology. In 1691 Fray Casañas recorded the western Hasinai "superstition" that a woman born from an acorn gave the ancestors the circular design for heaven. Thereafter she came to reside in heaven and "daily gives birth to the sun, the moon, the water when it rains, the frost, the snow, the corn, the thunder, and the lightning" (in Hatcher 1927:296-7).

This metaphysical connection between women and the environment was reflected in the agricultural practices observed among the Hasinai by Spanish priests. Men participated in the preparation of the soil, and as priests and lineage heads apparently mediated with the Creator for successful harvests, but planting and subsequent care of the crops was the domain of women (Bolton 1987:97-8). Women also had authority over the distribution of harvest surplus and the husbanding of seed corn for the next year's crops.

Henri Joutel, spent some days in the cabin of the Nasoni *kaadíi* in 1687. Joutel observed during his stay that an elder woman possessed all authority over distribution of the communal food supply within the multi-family residence. Joutel called this matriarch, who he assumed to be the *kaadíi's* mother, *la maîtresse des femmes,* mistress of the women (Bolton 1987:71).

Fray Isidro Felis de Espinosa recorded a somewhat different version of the Hasinai creation story in 1722. His version attributed the creation of the

universe to *Caddi Ayo*,[3] "the great captain in the sky." This apparent congruence with Catholic dogma must have encouraged the Spanish priest who lamented, however, "how disconnectedly they reason" when relating the story of how *Caddi Ayo* came to be (Hatcher 1928:158-9).

According to the priest's account, at the beginning of the world there was only one woman who had two daughters, "one a maiden, the other not." No man existed who could impregnate the women. One of the daughters was murdered and eaten by a demon, *Caddaja*, but a drop of her blood landed in an acorn and from this drop her son grew. He sought out *Caddaja* and avenged his mother, then removed his grandmother and his aunt with him to heaven where he became *Caddi Ayo* and continues to rule the world (Hatcher 1928:158-60).

In the thirty year interval between Casañas's and Espinosa's recording of the creation myth, the central figure born from the acorn changed gender. The women in the myth assumed Virgin Mary-like roles. It is impossible to know whether this was a matter of interpretation, deliberate misrepresentation, a continuing trend toward bilaterality, or a result of increasing Plains and/or Christian influence. Nevertheless, even the later story recorded by Espinosa carries within it the defining structure of matrilineage within Caddoan social organization.

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[3]*Caddi Ayo* translates literally as "chief above." In the contemporary community the Caddo direct their prayers toward *A?ah? hayo*, Father Above.

Noted earlier, the Kadohadacho were ruled by a woman during Tonti's 1689 visit (Cox 1905:46). Some years later, in 1768, Fray Gaspár José de Solis, observed among the Nabedache "an Indian woman of great authority and following, whom they call Santa Adiva which means 'great lady' or 'principal lady.'" This woman had at least five husbands, lived in a large house with many rooms, and was served by both men and women called "tamas conas."[4] The nation honored Santa Adiva with gifts and, Solis observed, "she is like a queen among them" (Solis 1931:69-70).

Santa Adiva seems to parallel the Natchez White Woman. Santa Adiva, so-called by the Spaniards, was probably an hereditary title, Tall Woman. Although the Caddo word for woman is *nattíh*, the honorary title equivalent to Mrs., *tsa*, can also be used to indicate femininity. Espinosa noted that the Hasinai called the Pleiades constellation *"las sanatas,"* "'the women,' because the devil made them believe that these stars are people" (in Hatcher 1928:172). *Hadiba* is translated either long or tall (Lee 1995b). Therefore, a literal translation of Santa Adiva – *tsa nattíh hadiba* – is Mrs. Tall Woman.

Mrs. Frank [Alice Inkanish][5] Cussins, interviewed in 1937, spoke of her

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[4]The two positions of *tamma* and *conna* – crier and shaman – appear to have been combined here by Solis. More likely, she was attended by both *tamas* and *connas*.

[5]*Inkinishih* literally means "white person" in Caddo. The partial French heritage of Mrs. Cussins's husband, John Inkanish (to be discussed later), is reflected in his Caddo name, *Kanoshtsi* , Little Frenchman.

mother, Tall Woman [Mary Inkanish], who had been born in Louisiana and was among the Caddo relocated to Indian Territory in 1859 (Cussins interview, July 12, 1937, IPI, OHS). Tall Woman was a healer and, as such, the holder of vast knowledge of Caddoan ritual behavior. As will be seen below, she was also the keeper of an item of great cultural patrimony. The title and responsibilities of Tall Woman were apparently passed down through the generations.

The cultural information recorded by the Spanish missionaries, then, suggests that the western Caddo were probably organized matrilineally, possibly with some form of agnatic or jural inheritance of offices. The Kadohadacho and Hasinai may have differed somewhat in patterns of descent, or at least in the inheritance of offices, with the more western Hasinai having adapted aspects of plains organization. Women appear to have participated in most aspects of social and political life and controlled communal resources.

Clearly Caddoan peoples "represented the highest form of native society between the Red and upper Rio Grande rivers" giving them a "large political importance" (Bolton 1908:252). Throughout the eighteenth century they would be courted by both the Spaniards and the French, who sought to use the Caddo to extend their influence and strengthen their positions.

Initial Spanish efforts to missionize the Hasinai failed miserably. Despite the attention of Fray Casañas and his interest in delivering souls, the

Hasinai quickly tired of the fathers, the soldiers, and the diseases they introduced into the villages. Domingo Teran de los Rios, dispatched from Mexico to establish seven new missions in January, 1691, met up with Juan Sabeata and about two thousand Jumano, trading partners of the Hasinai. Sabeata carried letters from the missionaries telling of a serious epidemic in which many Hasinai had perished (Swanton 1942:46-7).

This may have been the disease episode documented by Fray Casañas in 1691. If so, it had lasted several months. The Hasinai were quick to place responsibility for the introduction of the illness firmly upon the shoulders of their Spanish visitors (Hatcher 1927:294-5). Casañas reported that "about three thousand persons among all the friendly tribes of the *Tejias* must have died during the epidemic" (in Hatcher 1927:303). Casañas counted the "Tejias" as all Caddoan bands, the Kichai, and Bidai.

If three to four hundred Hasinai perished in March and a severe epidemic had swept the nation in January, the population loss must have been devastating. Combined with depredations committed by Spanish soldiers, the Hasinai no doubt questioned their decision to welcome the outsiders.

The increasing hostility of the Hasinai contributed to the Spanish decision to abandon their two missions in 1693. Over twenty years passed before the Spanish returned to establish new missions among the Texas Caddo. These, too, would enjoy only marginal success. French traders and

administrators would form deeper relations with the Caddo than the Spanish priests. The French returned to Caddo country with the turn of the seventeenth century to form an alliance which would last over the next hundred years.

Caddoans and French Canadians

French efforts to secure a foothold in the Gulf South waned in the decade following La Salle's death. The War of the League of Augsburg, initiated by England's William of Orange, drained the coffers and the energies of France from 1688 to 1698. Further, the collapse of the beaver market, resulting from both a glut of stored furs and changes in European fashions, resulted in the closing of the Canadian fur trade in 1696. Expansion of the French presence in North America was not deemed necessary until England and Spain appeared ready to establish control of the Mississippi River (Allain 1988:46-7).

Henri de Tonti had attempted for years to garner support within the government to complete La Salle's enterprise in the Mississippi Valley. Tonti believed that the fur trade – in this case, based upon deer hides – and potential mines in Louisiana could support these efforts. A strong French presence in the lower Mississippi Valley would not only stymie English expansion, but could also prevent Spain from claiming the area.

Minister of Marine, Louis Phelypeaux de Maurepas de Pontchartrain,

finally authorized an expedition to establish control of the Mississippi River after learning that Daniel Coxe intended to establish a British colony on the Gulf Coast. Coxe, whose English land grant entitled him to an area stretching from Carolina to Texas, planned to man his colony with Huguenot refugees, an added insult to the Catholic French king (Allain 1988:48-9).

As a preventative measure, then, and not because Louis XIV and his ministers favored expansionism, the Mississippi expedition was launched late in 1698. The expedition was headed by Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, fresh from military exploits in the North American arena of King William's War. Iberville typified the colonial French Canadian explorer/entrepreneur. He was aggressive, independent, and opportunistic, and was constantly seeking the means to build his fortune while serving his sovereign.

Iberville led the first group of colonists to the Gulf Coast in 1699 and established a settlement near present-day Biloxi, Mississippi. He was anxious to reach the Caddoan groups encountered by La Salle's expedition, hoping through these tribes to obtain horses, cattle, and produce to support his settlements. At the same time, French influence could be extended into an area long claimed by Spain. Iberville attempted to reach the Kadohadacho early in 1700, but was forced to turn back. Later that same year, Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, tried again (McWilliams 1981).

Bienville set out for the Kadohadacho in the spring of 1700. He travelled with a party of twenty-two French Canadians, six Taensa, and one

Ouachita, journeying west toward the Caddoan groups. The Indians were to serve as guides, but deserted the party early on when they discovered that the spring floods made travel nearly impossible. Bienville and his party carried on, intent upon establishing ties with the powerful Kadohadacho (McWilliams 1981:146-50).

After three weeks and the loss of several men to illness, the party reached the Doustioni and Natchitoches, small settlements that offered little in the way of trade. The Indians sang the calumet to Bienville, establishing the initial bonds of interaction between the two peoples. The son of the Natchitoches chief agreed to lead the party to the Yatasi, but again the way was made difficult by severe flooding. Few of the villages had stockpiles of corn, and those which did were reluctant to share with the French party (McWilliams 1981:151-3).

Upon reaching the Yatasi, Bienville found more than forty houses "scattered along the river for a distance of 2 leagues," typical of Caddoan settlements. Using Joutel's estimate of fifteen to twenty people per house, the Yatasi settlement had at least six hundred people. Having been warned that the Frenchmen were after corn and pirogues, the Yatasi hid their goods, but Bienville threatened to remain with the tribe unless they supplied his party and furnished guides. He managed to acquire three pirogues in exchange for two axes each, and set out for the Kadohadacho. The party quickly turned back, however, when Bienville discovered that because of the flooding it

would take at least ten days to reach their village (McWilliams 1981:153).

Before abandoning the area, Bienville met with several Kadohadacho, a Nadaco, and a Nabedache who were visiting the Yatasi. The two Texas Caddo described the Spanish settlements near their villages and informed Bienville that the Spaniards frequently visited the Kadohadacho on horseback. They also named the major tribal groups to their west and told of the flora and fauna there. Under severe time constraints, Bienville had enough information to warrant mounting an expedition into Caddoan and Spanish territory upon his return to Biloxi (McWilliams 1981:154-6).

During his brief sojourn, Bienville had established commercial relations with the Red River Valley Caddoans. He participated in the calumet ceremony which, along with tattooing, established a fictive kin relationship between the Indians and the Europeans, and he made them gifts of esoteric items like glass beads, axes, and knives (McWilliams 1981).

Accompanying Bienville up the Red River was Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, a French Canadian adventurer who would secure the allegiance of the Caddoan groups for France by virtue of his personal relations with them. St. Denis established a relationship with the Caddo which was maintained after his death by his son, Louis de St. Denis *fils*, his son-in-law, Athanase de Mézières, and his grandson, Louis de Blanc.

The Quebec-born son of a French Canadian explorer/entrepreneur, St. Denis was educated at the Royal College in Paris, and began his military

career as an "officier volontaire" in Louisiana. He received no commission, however, until 1708. St. Denis sailed from France to Louisiana under the command of his niece's husband, Le Moyne d'Iberville, and made himself integral to French success in lower Louisiana (Giraud 1953:44; MPA 1929: 125, 129; McWilliams 1981:120).

St. Denis was gifted with an ability to master native languages, and through kinship-like trade relations secured the support of several powerful tribes. He adapted quickly to the kin-ordered mode of production of the southeastern tribes for whom the exchange of goods and gift-giving – like tattooing and the calumet ceremony – served to establish and/or reinforce the bonds of fictive kinship (Wolf 1982:88-100; Lee 1990; La Vere 1993).

Men like St. Denis, stationed at the outposts and responsible for direct dealings with the Indian allies of the French, understood the responsibility of reciprocity (La Vere 1993). However, the importance of giving annual gifts to local tribes to maintain good relations, was not always understood by French administrators new to the colony.

Hubert of St. Malo, Commissary General in 1717, complained about Governor L'Epinay's failure to distribute merchandise intended for Indian presents to the Natchez, Alabama, and Natchitoches posts (in MPA 1928:249-50).

> All the chiefs of the Indians, even those remote from these posts, . . . go to see the commandants, with the expectation of receiving some presents from these officers. That is what keeps these nations on our

> side. Deprived of these little attentions, they are less disposed in our favor. That makes them think that the French are beggars and slaves, just as the English . . . have insinuated to them.

Even close allies, like the Natchitoches, became disgruntled when they were not rewarded for their services, or when their honor was insulted by the insensitivity of French leaders. Bienville was informed by St. Denis in 1733 that the Natchitoches wished to revolt and had "forced him to remain shut in for six months . . . . [H]e is always on his guard against them" (in MPA 1927:203). The Natchitoches were insulted by the meager reward of a few munitions they had received upon bringing several Natchez scalps to General Périer after assisting the French during the Natchez rebellion.

It is not certain whether – like Bienville and de Mézières – St. Denis was tattooed, but it seems likely that he was. A personal symbol, "Big Legs," was used by St. Denis when communicating with his Indian allies. Louis de Blanc observed in 1792 that "by sending around a drawing of a painted leg, a well-known symbol among all the Indian nations of this jurisdiction [Natchitoches] as well as of the provinces of Texas, I would instantly have at my command all of the Indians, . . . for this symbol represents my grandfather" (in MPA 1948:26).

The actual symbol is somewhat ambiguous. The leg could have been painted onto a piece of paper, or a painted [tattooed] leg could have been represented. Because of his close relations with the Indians – especially the Caddo – it is probable that his status as kin was cemented by tattooing, already

noted as a medium- to long-term adaptation effected by the western Caddo.

Shortly after Bienville's return to Biloxi, St. Denis was commissioned to take a party into Hasinai country to discover what success Spain might have had in establishing settlements there. St. Denis secured the services of the Natchitoches White Chief to guide his party to the Kadohadacho, where he learned that no Spaniard had visited their villages for more than two years (Clark 1902:5-6).

St. Denis secured a firm foothold into the Caddoan trade family. When interrogated in Mexico in 1715, it was noted that trade relations between the French – namely, St. Denis – and the Natchitoches had been established by 1700. Among the items obtained in this trade were skins, game, numerous agricultural products, and salt, which they "extract with great skill from three abundant and inexhaustible mines." It was noted as "very white and better than the salt of France" (in Hackett 1949:306).

Upon his return from Spanish territory, St. Denis was placed in charge of the French fort of the Mississippi near present-day New Orleans. While there, he persuaded the Biloxi to settle nearby in order to supply the fort with food (McWilliams 1953:100). In addition, the Natchitoches, with whom St. Denis already had strong relations, petitioned in 1702 to relocate from the Red River to the area where St. Denis commanded. They were settled with the Acolapissa north of Lake Pontchartrain (Swanton 1942:51).

Because of the extensive log rafts clogging Red River, spring flooding

could devastate yearly crops, which may have happened to the Natchitoches. However, Gregory (1974:233-4) posits that the Natchitoches used the crop failure as an excuse to move closer to the French in order to exploit the new trade alliance initiated with St. Denis.

As already suggested, this type of relocation has precedent. When first encountered by Europeans, the Nasoni (closely related to the Kadohadacho) had a division attached to the Hasinai and the Natchitoches also had an upper and lower division. Archaeologically, sites like the Greer site in Jefferson County, Arkansas, appear to have been temporary camps occupied by Caddoan trading parties (Gregory 1974:233-4).

The Doustioni may represent a division of the Natchitoches who remained on their Red River homelands during the time their relatives resided over four hundred kilometers south with the Acolapissa. The Doustioni are poorly documented (Swanton 1942:12-13), but were associated in most sources with the Natchitoches.

Further evidence to support this type of relocation comes from Jeff Girard and H. F. Gregory (Gregory, personal interview, August 28, 1997). Based in large part upon the archaeological record, they suggest that the Natchitoches occupation of the lower Red River Valley did not precede the European appearance there by many years. The lower Natchitoches could have moved there from the Big Bend region in order to take advantage of the salt lick nearby, as well as further their trade connections with the Tunica to

the east (Kniffen, et al. 1987:208-9).

A site at the mouth of Saline Bayou near Natchitoches, Louisiana – identified as a Doustioni settlement – contains numerous sherds resembling Fatherland Incised, a diagnostic Natchez pottery type. The Doustioni might represent a link to the ranked, matriarchal Natchez, to whom Knight has compared the Hasinai. In 1690 they were settled between the Natchitoches to the west and the Ouachita to the east. The Doustioni may be a matri-band of the Natchitoches who entered the lower Red River area to exploit local resources, and participate in both commercial and ideological relations with the Tunica and Natchez to the east.

Apparently, then, with long-distance trade relations stretching into prehistory, the Caddo established seasonal to semi-permanent *entrepots* in important areas within their interactional sphere. The temporary resettlement of the Natchitoches with the Acolapissa, then, can be seen as a medium- to long-term adaptation made to order to advance their commercial interests.

Just as they had in the seventeenth century, Spanish efforts to establish a permanent presence in Texas came in response to French exploration there. After the abandonment of the first Hasinai missions, Fray Francisco Hidalgo, who had been with Father Massanet among the Hasinai, attempted to minister to the needs of the Hasinai by himself. Hidalgo travelled alone back and forth to the province of the Hasinai for several years. Frustrated at

receiving no assistance from the Viceroy of Mexico, Hidalgo wrote in 1711 to the French governor in Louisiana asking for help in establishing missions among the Caddoans. Governor Lamothe de Cadillac seized the opportunity to extend French trade into Texas and appointed St. Denis to carry out the project (Swanton 1942:50-2).

St. Denis had certainly been trading with the Caddoans since establishing contact in 1700. The Hasinai, especially, were privy to numerous trade items desired by the French – horses, Indian slaves, buffalo skins, well-tanned elk and deer skins, bear oil, and an excellent grade of salt (Magnaghi 1981:419). In exchange, the French offered cloth, knives, beads, and most importantly, guns, which the Spaniards refused to supply.

St. Denis sent word to the Natchitoches at the Acolapissa village to accompany his party back to their old village site. Whether because they had become enamored with the Natchitoches women (Pénicaut in McWilliams 1953:100-101), or more likely because they wanted to keep their French trade connections close by, the Acolapissa attacked the Natchitoches when they attempted to depart. Seventeen Natchitoches were killed and fifty women captured, while the rest escaped to accompany St. Denis. Thirty of those captured later reached their old village site to be joined by the Doustioni who had remained behind. There the French post of Natchitoches was established by St. Denis before he continued with his party on into Texas (Swanton 1942:51-2; Bridges and De Ville 1967).

The Texas exploits of St. Denis between 1714 and 1719 – including his marriage to Doña Maria Ramón – are well-documented and will not be dealt with in this study. Eventually, six new missions were established by the Spaniards, including one at the Adaes village just eight leagues west of the newly-established Natchitoches post. A presidio, Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Los Adaes, was later founded nearby and would eventually serve as the capital of Spanish Texas.

St. Denis was appointed commandant of the French fort at Natchitoches, where he remained until his death. The Natchitoches post became the heart of an extensive Indian-European trade network which included an illicit trade with Spanish Los Adaes to the west. By 1718, the Texas Caddo (in territory that Spain considered hers) were carrying out a lively trade with French citizens in Louisiana. Natchitoches served as the outlet from which French goods were dispersed to the Indians and through which items secured in trade with the Indians were shipped to other posts and to France. Through the Kadohadacho, French traders were given access to the powerful Wichita tribes, called collectively the Mento or Norteños, as well as the Comanche (Magnaghi 1981:4, 419).

The interactions between the St. Denis dynasty and the Caddo would come to dominate the regional economy situated around Natchitoches. A frontier exchange system developed in the Mississippi River valley during colonial times which was based on local and regional interaction between

Indians, Europeans, and slaves. It was within this type of regional economic sphere that inhabitants exchanged basic resources without much division of labor (Usner 1991:5-7). Colonial officials attempted to regulate this commerce, but met with only limited success as locals maintained an open and direct trade across cultural and political boundaries.

This type of regional autonomy is especially noticeable in outposts like Natchitoches and Los Adaes, where individuals carried on an overt and fairly unrestricted commerce between the two forts and with local Indians. "[T]he outcome of colonization depended as much upon the influence of colonial and native inhabitants as upon the policies designed by official and commercial interests" (Usner 1991:5).

In less than twenty years of association with the French, the Red River valley Caddoans suffered substantial population loss (Table 2). Bienville noted in 1724 that the Kadohadacho, Upper Nasoni, Upper Natchitoches, and the Natsohos [Nanatsoho] lived together in one village and numbered about two hundred men. When encountered by Bienville in 1700, the combined groups had numbered five to six hundred men. Although diminished by both disease and warfare, especially with their traditional enemies, the Osage, the Kadohadacho were still "dreaded by their enemies" (in MPA 1927:529).

The Natchitoches, Doustioni, and Yatasi also formed one village, according to Bienville, and were reduced from four hundred to only eighty men (MPA 1927:529). Although these numbers are strictly estimates, there is

TABLE 2

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CADDOAN POPULATION FIGURES

YEAR	SOURCE	GROUP	WARRIORS	POPULATION
1699	Pierre Talon	Hasinai	600-700	[2400-2800]
1716	Ramon	Hasinai	--	4000-5000
1721	Aguayo	Hasinai	--	1,378
1783	Morfi	Hainai	80	[320]
1783	Morfi	Nabedache	40	[160]
1783	Morfi	Nacogdoches	300	[1200]
1798	Davenport	Nadaco	100	[400]
1798	Davenport	Nacogdoches [& Ais]	50	[200]
1798	Davenport	Hainai	60	[240]
1798	Davenport	Nabedache	80	[320]

YEAR	SOURCE	GROUP	WARRIORS	POPULATION
1700	Bienville	Kadohadacho	500-600	[2000-2400]
1718	Bienville	Kadohadacho	200	[800]
1719	La Harpe	Kadohadacho [combined]	--	400
1773	De Mézières [Gaignard]	Kadohadacho	160 families	[640]
1798	Davenport	Kadohadacho	200	[800]

YEAR	SOURCE	GROUP	WARRIORS	POPULATION
1700	Bienville in Beaurain	Natchitoches	450	[1800]
1700	Bienville's Memoir	Natchitoches	400	[1600]
1718	Bienville	Natchitoches [combined]	80	[320]
1719	La Harpe Narrative	Natchitoches [combined]	--	200
1719	La Harpe in Beaurain	Natchitoches [combined]	--	150
1773	De Mézières [Gaignard]	Yatasi	3	[12]
1798	Davenport	Yatasee & Adai	40	[160]

[Bracketed figures represent a ratio of one warrior to three family members, or a total of four per family.]

no doubt that diseases carried by the Europeans were responsible in large part for the noticeable population reduction in all Caddoan populations (Table 2). The diseases introduced among the Caddo also had devastating effects upon the Europeans, as one epidemic after another swept through the colony killing Indian and European alike. The Indians, however, had no natural immunities to these diseases, and suffered all the more.

In 1718, Jean-Baptist Bénard de la Harpe was commissioned by the Company of the Indies to establish a post near the Kadohadachos (La Harpe 1971; Wedel 1978; Gilmore 1986). Placed at the Upper Nasoni village, the Nasonite post was manned by a few soldier/traders who secured and distributed goods back and forth to Natchitoches. This post was maintained until after Spain acquired Louisiana in 1763.

The placing of this small French settlement among the powerful Kadohadacho is similar to the relocation of the Natchitoches to the lower Mississippi River some years earlier. The French quickly adapted to the Caddo kin-ordered mode of production, sending traders – many of whom took Caddo wives – to the villages to establish socio-economic ties through kinship. The church registers in Natchitoches record marriages between French men and Caddoan women, as well as the death of French soldiers living in the Caddo villages (Mills 1977:Nos. 9, 367, 386, 816).

The Nasonite post, which came to be called Fort St. Louis, was supervised by Alexis Grappe, who later relocated to the bluffs near present-

day Campti, Louisiana (a few miles east of Natchitoches). He was appointed as the licensed trader to the Kadohadacho under the Spanish administration (Bolton 1914 [1]:223).

Alexis Grappe's wife, Marguerite Guedon, was the daughter of a former Chitimacha slave (acquired in early raids by St. Denis) and a French Canadian soldier/trader. Because the Grappe family lived so long among the Caddo, it was later assumed by both Indians and whites that Marguerite was Caddo. Grappe's son, François, would become a powerful *métis* intermediary between the Spaniards (later the Americans) and the Caddo, and was considered by the tribe to be one of their own (Lee 1989a).

Louis St. Denis died in 1744 and was succeeded by his son, Louis *fils*. The younger St. Denis was presumably not chosen by French administrators to succeed his father as commandant of the post because of his inability to write. He did, however, continue to represent the St. Denis family interests with the Indians and remained a powerful intermediary between the tribes and the Europeans.

The Caddo certainly considered Louis *fils* to be the successor to his father. Upon the death of St. Denis *pere*, the surrounding nations danced the calumet before his son in preference to the new commandant of the post, a son-in-law of St. Denis *pere*. By this act, the Caddo extended the formal bonds of kinship from one generation to the next. Louis *fils* was "versed in [Indian] languages and . . . Castilian, as well as the peculiar methods of dealing with

the Indians" (Ripperda in Bolton 1914 [1]:324-5).

Throughout the French colonial period, Caddoans were treated as valued allies whose good will and good relations were to be cultivated. They were given annual gifts as well as access to European goods through trade, and were treated as family by their trading partners. French entrepreneurs like St. Denis adapted themselves to Caddoan principles of interaction and exchange, thereby serving the interests of both Indians and Europeans alike. They would be treated in the same fashion after Louisiana passed to Spain.

The introduction of liquor and European diseases certainly took a toll upon the villages, but Caddoan autonomy was never at issue. Now connected through kinship – both fictive and real – French settlers and Red River Valley Caddoans interacted on multiple levels.

In Spanish Texas, the Texas Caddo maintained good relations with both Spain and France. The missions established among them, however, failed miserably. Although generally tolerant and friendly with the priests, very few Caddo were ever converted and fewer gathered around the missions. They maintained their own settlement patterns, forcing the priests to travel several leagues in all directions from each of the four Hasinai missions in order to reach their charges. Fray Espinosa complained: "These natives do not live in congregations reduced to pueblos, but each of the four principal groups . . . are in *ranchos* [separate houses] as it were, apart from each other" (in Bolton 1908:272).

Failure to induce the Caddo to settle close to the missions was a primary cause of the abandonment of all but one of the missions after fifteen years. Spain would have to rethink her Indian policy upon acquiring the Louisiana colony in 1762.

Spanish Louisiana

Throughout the period of Spanish administration over Louisiana, Natchitoches retained its primary position as the center for Indian trade in the lower Red River Valley. Although the transfer of the colony was effected by the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau on November 3, 1762, actual possession of the colony did not take place until the arrival of the first Spanish governor, Antonio de Ulloa, in 1766 (Holmes 1962).

Although basically ineffective as governor, Ulloa did understand that control of the Indians of Louisiana would come only through the adoption – with some modifications – of French trade policy. Still, seeking to exert some control over the French system, Ulloa initiated the practice of licensing traders to travel to the Indian villages (Kinnaird 1949 [2]:61). The mission/presidial system – a demonstrated failure in east Texas – was abandoned altogether after Spain acquired Louisiana.

The Louisiana Indians were accustomed to dealing with individual traders and with receiving annual gifts. Spain was required to adopt this overall practice in their new colony. Within a few years of acquiring

Louisiana, this new policy was extended to the Indians of east Texas. Although this type of interaction represented a total reversal of Indian policy for Spain, administrators realized the value of maintaining the *status quo.* Louisiana was to be used to buffer Mexico from the British to the east and the hostile tribes to the west, and the Indians were to provide the central support. This policy contributed to additional stress on the Red River valley Caddoans, as tribes from east of the Mississippi crossed into Louisiana to avoid the English.

Ulloa was replaced as governor by Alejandro O'Reilly in 1769. O'Reilly intended to institute total control over Indian trade, compiling his "Ordinances and Instructions," an amalgamation of Spanish colonial laws, his own regulations, and French Code Noir components. He was particularly interested in the illicit trade – both with the Caddo and Spanish Texas – carried on through Natchitoches. The trade in Indian slaves was to be eliminated altogether (Kinnaird 1949 [2]:125-6).

In November of 1769, O'Reilly appointed Athanase de Mézières lieutenant-governor of Louisiana at Natchitoches, charging him with the enforcement of Spain's new trade policies. De Mézières was from a noble French family, a former French military officer, and the son-in-law of Louis Juchereau de St. Denis (Bolton 1914 [1]:80-4). In typical fashion, the daughters of St. Denis were betrothed to men who could extend the family's commercial interests.

O'Reilly's appointment of De Mézières was both shrewd and chancy. It was common Spanish practice to promote French citizens to positions of responsibility in the new government. This practice allowed Spanish administrators to benefit from the insight and connections of the French inhabitants in the colony, ostensibly placing these powerful men under Spanish control. Of added benefit to the Spaniards, De Mézières was also fluent in Castillian.

On the other hand, the first marriage of De Mézières to Marie Pétronille Féliciane de St. Denis and his second to Marie Pélagie Fazende connected him to two powerful family-dominated trading consortiums (Lee 1990). He could easily have used his connections to subvert or manipulate official Spanish policy on a regional level.

De Mézières enjoyed a long relationship with the Kadohadacho, having held the trade concession in their large village in the 1740s. He had been ceremonially adopted and tattooed at some point (Mills 1985:72), probably when initiating his alliance with the Kadohadacho. Pénicaut, who should be viewed critically, asserted that the Natchitoches were not tattooed, but it has been well-documented that both the Hasinai and Kadohadacho bore elaborate tattoos (Tonti in Cox 1905:48; Swanton 1942:142-3).

As lieutenant-governor De Mézières used his old trade connections, many of them relatives, to implement Spanish policy. Traders licensed to reside at major villages were given responsibility for controlling contraband

trade and illegal traders, as were the Indian nations with whom they traded.

De Mézières and Governor O'Reilly understood the necessity of maintaining close relations with the Caddo. To that end, O'Reilly ordered his lieutenant to distribute annual gifts from the Spanish government to the Red River valley Caddoans (Table 3). It is interesting to note that salt is among the gifts being distributed. Apparently the Natchitoches no longer supplied salt to their northern relatives as they had when first encountered by the French (Hackett 1949:306). They may still have been gathering salt on a limited scale, however, since they alone received none in their presents.

A month later, De Mézières contracted with Natchitoches merchant, Juan Piseros, to supply the licensed traders to the Petit Caddo [lower Kadohadacho village], the Grand Caddo [primary Kadohadacho village], and to the Yatasi (Table 4). The Indians were to supply items like deer skins, bear oil, and buffalo hides in exchange for the European goods (Bolton 1914:[1]146).

Having cemented relations with the Red River Valley Caddoans, one of the first orders of business for the new government was to make alliances with the traditional enemies of the Spaniards, the Norteños and the Comanche. This was to be achieved with the assistance of the celebrated Kadohadacho leader, Tinhioüen.

La Vere (1993:148-9) believes there were two Kadohadacho leaders named Tinhioüen – a father and son – during the Spanish period. His assertion is based upon a series of letters between De Mézières and Governor

TABLE 3

ANNUAL GIFTS TO THE RED RIVER VALLEY CADDOANS, 1770

Goods	Grand Cados	Petit Cados	Natchitoches	Yatasi
Hats	1 - trimmed with galloons	1 - trimmed with plumes	1 - with feathers	--
Shirts	1 - ornamented	1 - laced	1 - laced	1
	2 - ordinary	2 - staple shirts		
Fusils [guns]	2	1 - staple fusil	1 - staple fusil	1
Blankets	2 - of 2.5 points	2 - of 2.5 points	--	1 - of 2.5 points
Cloth	3 ells	2 ells	--	1
Copper kettles	1	1	--	1
Powder [pounds]	20	10	4	6
Balls [pounds]	40	20 of fine shot & balls	8 of fine shot & balls	12 fine shot & balls
Vermillion [lbs.]	1	1	1	1
Glass beads [lbs.]	2	2	1	
Thread [lbs.]	1	1	1/2	1/2
Axes	1	1	--	1
Adzes	2	1	--	1
Large knives	24	24	12	12
Small knives	40	24	12	12
Awls	48	24	12	12
Worm-screws	48	20	12	12
Flints	200	100	50	50
Steels	24	12	6	6
Hawksbells	48	24	12	12
Needles	200	100	50	50
Tape [ells]	90	60	30	30
Tobacco [rolls]	10	5	--	5
Brandy [jugs]	2	2	2	2
Mirrors	6	4	2	2
Wire [lbs.]	2	1.5	1	1
Flag	1	1	--	--
Cord	1 - half piece	1 - half piece	--	--
Hatchets	2	2	--	2
Ribbon [ells]	1 - for the medal	1 - for the medal	--	--
Salt [lbs.]	25	25	--	2

(After Bolton 1914:[1]132-4)

TABLE 4

CONTRACT OF JUAN PISEROS WITH DE MEZIERES

FEBRUARY 3, 1770

Goods	Grand Cados [Upper Kadohadacho]	Petit Cados [Lower Kadohadacho]	Yatasee
Shirts	25 gingham	24	30
	25 white		
Fusils [guns]	40 staple fusils of good caliber	30 staple fusils of good caliber	15 staple fusils
Blankets	20 of 2.5 points 10 of 3 points	20 of 2.5 points 20 of 3 points	20 fine blankets of two grades
Cloth [ells]	60 of Limbourg, red & blue	40 of Limbourg, red & blue	30 of Limbourg, red & blue
Powder [pounds]	400 of French powder	200 of French powder	200 of French powder
Bullets [balls] [lbs.]	900 of 30-32 caliber	450 of 30-32 caliber	450 lbs. of balls
Vermillion [lbs.]	6	4	4
Glass beads [lbs.] sky blue, white, black	60	30	30
Boxwood combs	6 dozen	1/2 gross	1/2 gross
Pairs Scissors	6 dozen	--	--
Hunters' knives	1 gross	1/2 gross	1/2 gross
Pocket knives	1 gross	1/2 gross	1/2 gross
Awls	6 dozen	--	1/2 gross
Flints	1000	500	500
Steels	6 dozen	4 dozen	1/2 gross
Wormscrews	--	4 dozen	1/2 gross
Mirrors [of pliant copper]	6 dozen	2 dozen	3 dozen
Copper Wire [lbs.]	12 lbs.	6 lbs.	6 lbs.
Scarlet Tavelle [lace]	6 pieces	--	4 pieces
Hatchets - good quality	30	20	10
Pickaxes - [ditto]	30	20	10
Tomahawks - [ditto]	30	20	10

(After Bolton 1914:[1]144-5)

Bernardo de Galvez in 1779 concerning the visit of the Kadohadacho medal chief to New Orleans. The *kaadíi* was noted as already possessing a smaller medal, but De Mézières urged the governor to himself present the visiting *kaadíi* "the grand medal" which Galvez had already sent to Natchitoches for De Mézières to distribute (Bolton 1914:[2] 252).

A review of the literature pertaining to the distribution of Spanish medals reveals that, upon attaining office, several Spanish governors awarded new medals in addition to those already in the possession of significant leaders. The awarding of a medal by Galvez, then, may not have indicated investment of a new leader among the Kadohadacho, but, instead, the recognition of an old leader by a new governor.

Unfortunately, De Mézières does not name the medal chief in this particular series of correspondence. Bolton inferred that the chief in question was the son of Tinhioüen (fn. 300, Bolton 1914:[2] 249). The wording is vague in the letters, however, and even a review of the original document (AGI [Cuba] 192:916-17, May, 1779) is no more enlightening.

In the passage in which De Mézières asked Galvez to honor the visiting chief, he reminds the governor "that when this post [Natchitoches] was attacked by the Natchez nation, those of the Cadauxdakioux came to its aid with the greatest willingness; and to the praise which they are due on this subject, is joined that which is merited for having the medal chief, died Christian at the capital, and buried with military honors; that of which his

father was equally worthy; and finally that, which he [the present chief] merits himself the same, being the worthy successor of these good and valorous chiefs" (AGI [Cuba] 192:916-17, May, 1779).

Bolton inferred from this statement that Tinhioüen had died at the capital, but the statement could just as easily have referred to Tinhioüen's own father. La Vere believes that the son was also called Tinhioüen because a chief of that name is noted as the Kadohadacho leader for about ten years after this correspondence.

La Vere may be correct. The name of a leader of Tinhioüen's stature could certainly be preserved and passed down in the community. Three Caddoan leaders with similar names – Tinnehinan, Tinnowin, Tewinnun – "signed" the 1835 land sale treaty (ASP, PL 1861 [8]:914), and there was a Kadohadacho named Towinin who died in Oklahoma in the 1920s. His children used Towinin as a surname (Randlett Edmonds interview, Feb. 11, 1994). Also, Tinhioüen could have been a title.

However, it does seem that De Mézières, who several times recorded the deaths of significant tribal leaders, would have mentioned the death of a leader as important as Tinhioüen at some point in his correspondence.

Another possibility exists. Tinhioüen may have relinquished his authority to a son, also named Tinhioüen, a practice noted by Pierre Talon among the Hasinai almost one hundred years earlier. This would explain the omission of a death notice by de Mézières (Carter, personal communication,

August 29, 1997).

A letter from Commandant Don Juan Filhiol of the Ouachita Post makes it appear that Tinhioüen was an old man. In 1787, only eight years after the correspondence in question, a delegation of "Great Caddo" traveled to the Ouachita Post seeking to relocate there. Commandant Filhiol, who granted them permission to move onto the banks of the Little Missouri River, noted at the time: "The Great Caddos - now disunited - have divided themselves, and the *old* [emphasis added] Chief Tiniouan, with those who still adhere to him, have asked to be established on the lands belonging to this Post" (in Mitchell and Calhoun 1937:296-7).

Two years later, Filhiol recorded the death of chief Tinhioüen (AGI [Cuba] 202:477-8, June 25, 1789). Louis De Blanc wrote Governor Miro that same year, saying that he had "caused the man named Bicheda to be recognized as chief of the Great Caddo" (in Kinnaird 1946 [3]:281). It is not known if Bicheda became chief of the Kadohadacho *in toto*, a division of the Kadohadacho, or simply the headman who represented them with the Spaniards. Bicheda may have served as some sort of regent, however, until Tinhioüen's son achieved majority. This son was probably Dehahuit, the famed Kadohadacho leader of the early nineteenth century.

At this point, it is difficult to determine exactly how many Kadohadacho leaders named Tinhioüen existed in the latter eighteenth century. It is also unknown when the two divisions of the Kadohadacho –

the one historically settled on the Red River and the one referred to by Filhiol in 1787 – were reunited.

Tinhioüen's assistance was critical to the designs of the nascent Spanish colonial administration. De Mézières and later administrators stressed the importance of maintaining his loyalty, as well as his influence over the tribes with whom the Spaniards sought to establish relations. De Mézières wrote Galvez about the gifted leader (AGI [Cuba] 192:779, May, 1779):

> This Indian . . . is very commendable so much for a fidelity towards us that has been proven; that because of a courage which has never diminished. It is to him principally that we owe in this district a constant barrier against the incursions of the Osages; it is to the love and to the respect that is dedicated to him by the neighboring villages that we are indebted for some of the same sentiments, by which they have generally come to us.

The following year, Etienne de Vaugine, new commandant at Natchitoches, wrote to Lt. Governor Piernas of unrest among the Taovayas after the death of De Mézières. "Tinikouan, grand chief of the Cados (to whom we owe much consideration because of his fidelity), is the only one who has determined [persuaded] this nation to withdraw to its borders. . . ." (AGI [Cuba] 193B:589-90, November 16, 1780).

Until his death, administrators for the Spanish government sought to maintain good relations with the Kadohadacho leader. The Kadohadacho occupied such a critical geographical position, that any thought of their relocation was to be addressed by the Spaniards. De Mézières wrote to Galvez of "a faction amongst them who desire to abandon the great village. This

would leave the interior of the country exposed to incursions of foreigners and its Indian enemies, a design so fatal that it will not succeed if Monsieur the governor uses his prodigious influence to frustrate it" (in Bolton 1914:[2] 250, May 1779). Every effort was made to placate the Kadohadacho and their leader, including the occasional subversion of Spanish law at his request.

In 1770, De Mézières called all traders in from the Indian villages to be licensed. Among those who arrived in Natchitoches was François Morvant *dit* Bernard, a resident trader at the Grand Caddo village. Upon reaching the post, Morvant was arrested by De Mézières for the murder some years earlier of a man named Brindamour, and his goods were seized (CABC 3:640, May 5, 1771).

Apparently, Tinhioüen had traveled downriver with his trader, aware that Morvant might be detained. Telling De Mézières that he understood Spanish law and would never again interpose in such matters, Tinhioüen strongly petitioned for Morvant's release, asking that he be allowed to return to the Caddo village (CABC 3:642, May 11, 1770). De Mézières granted the leader's request with great reservation, and Morvant continued to trade with the tribe for a number of years.

Perhaps Tinhioüen had great affection for Morvant; more likely, however, Morvant could offer a service that other traders could not. An inventory of Morvant's goods taken the following year (CABC 4:692, May 5, 1771) includes a metal stamp, dies, and other tools used in the manufacture

and repair of arms. Guns were at a premium in Indian trade, and the quality of guns supplied was often inferior. If Morvant were a gunsmith, as it appears, his skills would have been valuable enough for the Caddoan leader to intercede on his behalf (Lee 1990:68).

To keep the Indians happy, the Spanish government continued to distribute annual presents. Some years the gifts were slow in coming, so local administrators had to furnish small presents from their own supplies. When Vaugine took over at Natchitoches after the death of De Mézières, several of the local tribes came to sing the calumet for him, drawing him into their family as the representative of Spain. Vaugine understood the obligation he now faced, and was forced to distribute goods from his own stores to acknowledge the fictive familial ties by which the calumet ceremony bound him (AGI [Cuba] 193B:581-2, September 20, 1780; 193B:589-90, November 16, 1780).

In addition to the distribution of annual gifts and the placement of licensed traders, the chiefs of allied nations were given flags, uniforms, medals, commissions, and batons or staffs of office – physical symbols of both their authority and their alliance with Spain (Ewers 1974). Spanish staffs of office were often given to Indian leaders to symbolize chiefly authority (Ewers 1974:277-8)[6].

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[6]Ewers states that Athanase de Mézières presented staffs of office to Indian leaders whom he recognized as captains or governors of their villages. "Those chiefs appeared to prize their *bastónes* as highly as they did their

These staffs or canes were made of wood or thick cane and were ornamented with gold or silver heads, like the one which has been passed down within the Caddoan community and is used in the Turkey Dance today. The staff was held by Mary Inkanish (Tall Woman) until her death, and is today in the possession of her grand-daughter. Although the exact origin of the Turkey Dance staff cannot be pinpointed, there are several instances recorded in which staffs of this type were awarded by Spanish representatives to Caddo leaders.

A staff of office was given by General Alonso de León to the Nabedache *caddi* in 1690. By this gift the *caddi* was recognized by the Spanish crown as governor of his people (Bolton 1925:416). Captain Don Diego Ramon awarded a cane in the name of the Spanish King in 1716 to a newly appointed Hasinai chief (Wyckoff and Baugh 1980:227). In another instance Governor Martin de Alarcon gave his own baton of office to one of four Hasinai chiefs who had come to greet him upon his arrival at their village in 1718 (Griffith 1954:83). Three years later, the Marqués de Aguayo distributed silver-headed canes to chiefs with whom he interacted in a number of Caddoan villages he visited (Buckley 1898:46-9).

The Indians apparently understood the significance of these symbolic

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medals" (Ewers 1974:277). Although De Mézières may have awarded these highly-prized items to significant leaders, none of the references cited by Ewers in support of this statement mentions batons. Each citation refers to a medal and not to a staff.

gifts, and recognized that the medal conferred upon a "chief" the authority to speak and/or act for his people. Commandant De Villiers attempted to recognize the Natchitoches chief, Tomoth, by awarding him a flag and staff. Tomoth refused to accept the gifts, "saying that always having been faithful, and the first establishment carrying the name of his nation, he merits a medal also, as well as the others" (AGI [Cuba] 208A:333-4, July 20, 1773).

The staff used in the Turkey Dance could be any of those noted above and its importance as an item of cultural patrimony is apparent in the contemporary community. It is interesting to note that what originated as a symbol of male political leadership for the Spanish has become a symbol of female authority among the Caddo today.

Although the Caddoan groups were loyal to the new Spanish government, their allegiance was actually to the French representatives that it employed. Caddoans both east and west of the Sabine River maintained relations with French traders throughout both French and Spanish tenures in Louisiana. The Texas Caddo continued to receive French trade goods, especially weapons, against the wishes of the Viceroy of Mexico and formed no real affection for the Spaniards themselves.

After Spain took over Louisiana in 1762, the Texas tribes continued to prefer French traders. Texas and Louisiana, although both now Spanish possessions, were still two separate administrative units – one based in San Antonio and one in New Orleans – that were fractious and competitive.

Throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, this competition was obvious. Further, the Viceroy in Mexico adhered to the old Spanish Indian policy, believing the country would be better served by distributing agricultural implements to the Indians rather than weapons (Bolton 1914:[1] 107). Indians could also get a higher rate of exchange for their hides, bear oil, etc., from French traders.

In addition, old animosities and mutual distrust still existed between the French-born representatives and the Spaniards. Fray Miguel Santa Maria Y Silva journeyed from Los Adaes with De Mézières to the Kadohadacho village for a meeting arranged by Tinhioüen with leaders of the Taovayas, Tawakoni, Yscanis, and Kichai, all former enemies of Spain. Silva was jealous of De Mézières's influence and was horrified by French traders and soldiers posted in the villages who received in trade from the Caddoans Spanish horses and Apache slaves. Neither did he understand the practice of the harangue – a verbal joust made up of equal parts boasting, chest pounding, obsequiousness, and diplomacy – at which De Mézières and the Indian leaders were masters. At the Petit Caddo village, Silva complained in a letter to the Viceroy, the Indians and their leader expressed "much friendliness . . . for the Frenchmen, and for me and the Spaniards an indifference which I cannot express" (in Bolton 1914:[2] 71).

In May, 1783, Antonio Gil Ybarbo, Spanish commandant at Nacogdoches, decided to circumvent unlicensed French traders who

continued to deal with the Texas tribes despite official bans. Taking with him a contingent of soldiers and François Grappe to serve as interpreter, Ybarbo reached the East Texas village of the Kichai, members of the Caddoan linguistic family and close relations of the Kadohadacho. Ybarbo threatened to have Paul Bouet Laffitte, with whom the Kichai preferred to trade, brought into town in chains should the Kichai not accept traders from Nacogdoches (La Vere and Campbell 1994:74-5).

According to Grappe, who filed the official report, the Kichai leader stated in response "that they had always traded with the French and that they would always receive them in their villages, and that they would always trade with them, even a small child, and not with the people from Nacogdoches." When Ybarbo became enraged and claimed to be a great chief in his own right, the Kichai medal chief explained that "the real chief for them was the chief with the big leg (that is how they call the late Monsieur de Saint Denis). . . . that he had died; but that he had left one of his descendants, and that it was him whom they regarded as their chief and that they would similarly look upon all his descendants, as long as there would be some" (Grappe in La Vere and Campbell 1994:75-6).

The Kichai chief could have been referring to Bouet Laffitte, St. Denis's son-in-law, as the descendent, but more likely it was Louis Charles De Blanc. Seven months after Ybarbo's ill-fated visit to the Kichai, Louis De Blanc and his cousin, Marcel de Soto, both St. Denis grandsons, were invited by the

Kichai chief to attend an assembly of his people. Despite the earlier rejection, Ybarbo had nevertheless sent two traders from Nacogdoches to the Kichai. The assembly was held to formally evict these traders from the village and to reaffirm Kichai loyalty to the French citizens from Natchitoches. De Blanc recorded the sentiments of the Kichai chief (AGI [Cuba] 196:657, December 1, 1783).

> [T]he late Monsieur de St. Denis . . . being their father, had been the first Frenchman they had seen and who . . . had furnished them with traders, and that since this time, they had seen none in their village but the French; . . . that they had never received any other medals and presents but from Natchitoches. . . . [H]aving trouble with the Osages, they had drawn closer . . . to the land of the Caddo, . . . and in consequence never had conducted the least amount of commerce with the Province of Texas. . . . He ordered [the Spanish traders] to return to Nacogdoches without delay and to advise the Commandant to never send [anyone] to conduct commerce in his village.

The naming of St. Denis as "father" and the passing of that status to his heirs conforms with role of "father" in a Caddoan exogamic matrilineal clan system with limited agnatic inheritance (Knight 1990:12). It would appear that Europeans ritually adopted by the Caddoans may have been afforded a status similar to a *kaadíi's* father – a more distant kinship than mother's family, but one which afforded the European and his heirs a noble status. Tattoos received by de Mézières, for example, may have represented the clan of the *kaadíi's* father.

Galloway (1989) has discussed how the recognition of French governors as "father" conformed with constructs of both European patriliny

and Choctaw matriliny. French administrators envisioned themselves as "father" within their own concept of *pere de famille* (Galloway 1989:258), a dominant figurehead with final authority on all issues affecting his "children." The Choctaw saw the French as nonrelatives with no authority over them. In Choctaw society, the father-to-child relationship was one of "affection without authority," with no particular obligation (Galloway 1989:255-6).

The Choctaw ritually adopted leading men among potential allies, establishing a fictive lineage with the outside group. The same kind of relationship was established with French diplomats. Neither side appeared to recognize the different interpretations each had for the father figure (Galloway 1989:257-9). Galloway's model appears to conform with the Caddoan placement of St. Denis within the father's lineage.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, Red River Valley Caddoans were reduced not only by European pathogens, but also by incursions by the Osage and, later, the Choctaw. The Osage had been a problem for the Caddo since before Europeans settled in the area. As early as 1690, Tonti was asked to take revenge on the tribe for killing the Kadohadacho *kaadíi* (Tonti in Cox 1905:46).

The Osage problem was exacerbated after Spain acquired Louisiana. While local administrators like de Mézières, Vaugine, and de Blanc urged Louisiana's governors to punish the Osage for repeatedly breaking treaties

and raiding villages along the Red River, one governor after another attempted to control the errant tribe through negotiations and trade. The Caddo and their allies were forced to relocate several times in the late eighteenth century, attempting to escape the better-armed, more numerous Osage warriors.

The governors appeared to be unwilling or unable to protect the Caddo through sanctions upon the Osage. Commandant Filhiol of the Ouachita Post wrote to the Spanish governor of constant depredations made by the Osage in his district (AGI [Cuba] 197:617-18, February 10, 1784).

> All the propositions of peace that they have hade hitherto were not offered but to procure themselves new victims; in which they have not much good success, since they alone have mostly ruined and destroyed everything of all the other nations together. It is cruel that one nation so despicable, so little consequent, and enemy of nearly all the neighbors, we allow so much mischief and deprive the province of immense resources . . . !

Filhiol noted that the Caddo could have been victorious over their enemies if only offered some support from the Spanish government. "Weak as are the Cadaux, the small advantages that they win are always burdensome to them since the loss of only one man is more considerable for them than four to the Osages" (AGI [Cuba] 197:617-18, February 10, 1784).

To compound the Osage problem, the Choctaw were accustomed to crossing the Mississippi River to hunt whenever they wanted. The Choctaw tribe was the largest of the southern tribes and was subject to influences by British traders east of Mississippi River, so the Spaniards encouraged them to

settle in Louisiana. The Spaniards also hoped that the large and powerful tribe might serve as a deterrent to the Osage, their bitter enemies. The plan, however, was never successful, and the Choctaw proved to be "only the lesser of two evils" (Kinnaird and Kinnaird 1980:351).

The Caddoan population, then, was greatly reduced in the eighteenth century, both by native warfare and European pathogens. At least nine known epidemics – primarily smallpox, measles, and cholera – brought huge population loss among the Texas Caddoans from 1691 to 1816 (Ewers 1973:108). Numerous disease episodes occurred in the Red River Valley during both French and Spanish dominions, as well.

Village relocations resulted from both Osage raids and disease episodes (Williams 1964). As population declined and villages splintered and merged, individual Indian people began to sell off tracts of land.

In the late eighteenth century, we have evidence of the Natchitoches Indians selling off several tracts of land. François Grappe's mother and nephew purchased land on the Red River from Tsauüa Camté in 1778. Campti, Louisiana, where the tract is located, was apparently named for Camté. The sale was made for "the sum of 300 livres . . . paid to the seller in merchandise with which he is content and satisfied" (Sale of land, March 26, 1778, Folder 579, Melrose Collection).

After the death of the Natchitoches chief, Tomoc [Tomoth], the Natchitoches were noted by Louis de Blanc as inhabiting land not belonging

to them and were provisionally granted land near that of Camté on the Red River. They later sold that land to Hypolite Bordelin for ninety dollars (ASP, PL 3 1834:74). Nearby, Pierre Gagnier purchased 213 acres from John Sohano, "a civilized or Christian Indian, and other Indians of the Natchitoches village" (ASP, PL 3 1834:77).

Farther up the Red River on Lake Bistineau, east of present-day Shreveport, François Grappe purchased a tract of land which he would use as a *vacherie,* or cattle ranch. The land, "on the road from Compte to the little Cado village," was purchased from the Kadohadacho Indian, Cajadet or Cahada, and "was known by his nation to have been his property, by inheritance, from his ancestors; and which had been inhabited and cultivated by him and them" (ASP, PL 3 1834:77).

The selling off of land was a long-term adaptation made in response to the changing conditions confronting the Indians. Smaller groups like the Natchitoches were forced to relocate in order to receive social reinforcement and protection from enemies like the Osage and Choctaw.

As noted earlier, matrilocal family settlements were spread throughout the region. As population coalesced, many areas were abandoned and, as such, became subject to occupation by colonials. Seemingly in conflict with ideas of communal ownership, individual land sales can be seen as a positive, deliberate act. By selling lands which were being abandoned anyway, individuals could secure goods necessary for the common good.

As a result of population loss, the Caddo consolidated their settlement into groups that included remnants of individual matri-bands. There is no way to know with certainty, however, exactly how eighteenth-century Caddoans were organized or how their social organization may have changed.

A tremendous amount of credence has been placed upon the observations of a few Europeans, each with an agenda and a particular bias. Further, these observations apply for the most part only to the western Caddo. We know practically nothing about the social organization of the Red River Valley Caddo. Despite the shortcomings and biases of this information, however, it has been used to extrapolate cultural loss among the Caddo (La Vere 1993:184-5; Sabo 1995).

Prior to white contact, the socio-religious leader of all Caddoans, possibly the *xinesi*, may have been separated or hidden from Osage or Apache raiders. If so, his moiety – with a make-up similar to that of the Natchez Great Sun – may have moved southwest and evolved into what became known as the Hasinai. Later, after the Hasinai began to cool toward the Spanish due to the actions of soldiers and the introduction of devastating diseases, the *xinesi* may have, once again, been hidden from outsiders. Certainly, this scenario is speculative, but not more so than others which have been presumed.

The disappearance of the *xinesi* cannot be assumed by negative

evidence (La Vere 1993:184). The protective action of "masking" has been used throughout the centuries since white contact, and continues to be used in contemporary communities. For example, members of traditional Creek tribal towns employ this tactic to preserve the integrity of sacred concerns, and the Jena Choctaw of Louisiana have long forbidden their children to speak Choctaw to outsiders, giving the impression they have no knowledge of the language. Gregory suggests that the Caddo "carefully covered 'real chiefs' and that the . . . medal chiefs were always secondary figures – diplomats more than chiefs," which may be the "strongest adaptation of all" (Letter to the author, December 3, 1996).

The information of the Spanish fathers, then, can be said to be potentially valid only for the western Caddo. We have no idea whether a religio-political leader – a *xinesi* equivalent or one somewhat different from the Hasinai *xinesi* – ruled over the Kadohadacho confederacy, or whether the *xinesi* was the religious leader for all Caddoans. Both the Natchitoches and the Kadohadacho had temples when first encountered by the French, but no records of their religious organization exist (Swanton 1942:216).

We do know that in 1763, Commandant Macarti of the Natchitoches post noted that the Kadohadacho had four clans: beaver, otter, wolf, and lion [probably panther] (Swanton 1942:164). The same commandant also related the Kadohadacho myth about "Zacado," the mythological Caddo matriarch mentioned earlier (Swanton 1942:27-8).

> On a hill some two leagues distant from the pueblo where they lived, [in 1763] there appeared a woman, called by them *Zacado*, and venerated by them as the first of their divinities, who in the same place raised her first children, instructing them to hunt, fish, to construct houses, and to dress themselves, and when they were skillful in these things she suddenly disappeared from sight. The hill is still held in great veneration by those Indians, who consider themselves as the progenitors of the other nations.

The Caddo origin myth has been recorded in slightly different versions up to the present. As with the story of the creation myth of the Hasinai, the story reveals an underlying structure of matrilineage. It also pinpoints the Red River valley as a point of origin for the Caddo.

Caddo Jake, a Natchitoches Indian, told Swanton in 1912 that, after the Caddo had emerged from the earth near Caddo Lake, they began to disperse in groups to look for food (Swanton, Caddo Notes, NAA 1912).

> Some of the Hainai found a lot of black berries which grow on thorny trees and are called in Caddo be´idatco. Hence they came to be called Nabeidatco [Nabedache]. Some Yatasi went out hunting and found pawpaws (nacito´c) [Natchitoches] which they began to eat and after which they came to be called. Some Kadohada´tco went out and found some bumble-bees' honey in the ground which they began to eat and from which they came to be called Nadako (Anadarko). Thus, as they split up, they came to be called after what they ate. Afterward the Nadako and Hainai crossed the Sabine and lived on the western side of it.

Swanton's informants, White Bread and Richard Dunlap, stated that five Caddo clans existed – buffalo (sometimes called alligator because of the roaring sound both make), bear, panther, wolf, and beaver. These clans were not exogamous and were graded according to the power of the animal. If a man from a more powerful animal clan married a woman from a weaker

one, their male children belonged to the father's clan, while the girls belong to the clan of their mother. If the woman belonged to the stronger clan, all children belonged to her clan. According to White Bread, "each clan has its clan story, all of which fit together, and tell a connected story." Caddo Jake told Swanton that many more clans had existed "in old times, and that the clans were exogamous with female descent" (Swanton, Caddo Notes, NAA 1912).

Certainly the eighteenth century was a time of rapid transition in the Caddoan world. However, European sources have been shown to be flawed and cannot be considered uncritically. In addition, information shared with the outsiders by the Caddo was bound to be incomplete or cursory, at best. That it was misinterpreted is a given; that it was biased through European social constructs is without question.

Sabo has looked at public rituals – specifically, greeting ceremonies which initiated interaction and the calumet ceremony by which interaction with outsiders was sanctioned – to identify cultural categories, structures, and themes present within Caddoan society at first contract (1995). By examining documentary evidence throughout the colonial period, Sabo traces changes in public ritual which he believes reflect changes in social structure and ideology.

Sabo envisions a shift from the sacred to the secular and from hierarchical to egalitarian among the Caddo, as groups dependant upon

European material goods and support no longer shared a belief system in which elites mediated with gods. In this scenario, Europeans and their institutions replaced the sacred/supernatural "as key referents of the social hierarchy symbology" (Sabo 1995:44).

Using European observations of public ritual to get at cultural categories and structures appears efficacious for early contact situations, but it is problematic to assume cultural loss simply by examining changes in public ritual. Certainly a replacement of the supernatural with European institutions is not implied.

Many ethnohistorians assume that interaction with Europeans (and later Americans) was the defining principle which shaped post-contact Indian identity. In this scenario, the totality of any post-contact native society developed in response to conditions thrust upon it by Euro-Americans. Identity was reformulated to accommodate a western mind-set, a kind of cultural Pavlovian response in which Indian societies remain static until reacting to another situation or event initiated by outsiders.

There are a number of ways in which one can interpret what appear to be diminished elements of formality in Caddoan greeting ceremonies in the eighteenth century. Most obvious is that relations with both the French and the Spaniards were well-established after the first part of the eighteenth century. The Caddo accepted the French as commercial partners and tolerated the Spanish Catholic clergy, with whom they shared some ideological

similarities – a central male god and an afterlife – which they probably found intriguing at first. A need for formality in subsequent contact situations seems unwarranted.

There is no doubt that Caddoans were bombarded with externally-generated problems and situations in the eighteenth century, but there is no way to know with any certainly what their internal responses were. Despite severe population loss and village relocations, the opinions and good will of Caddoans continued to be critical for Europeans and, later, Americans. Traditional forms of secular leadership were certainly maintained, especially among the Kadohadacho. European administrators who assumed that they were able to "chose" certain Caddo leaders only did so when the choice conformed to Caddoan social norms. When it did not, the Caddo were quick to ignore the desires of the outsiders (Bolton 1914 [2]:253-4).

Caddoans embraced European trade and trade goods, which certainly had a lasting effect and could be viewed as a negative adaptation. An obvious negative adaptation was an increasing overuse of liquor.

Europeans were incorporated into the Caddoan system (for example, trade networks, tattooing, adoption) in large part, and even modified their own ways of dealing with Indians in order to maintain good relations. The Spaniards abandoned the mission system in Louisiana, supplied gifts and traders, and utilized the services of French fictive relations of the Caddo. Thus, both sides adapted.

The Caddo as a whole never embraced Catholicism in the eighteenth century and must have maintained their own belief system, even if it had evolved between first contact and the end of European colonialism. Only twenty-five Caddo are identified in the Natchitoches church records as having been baptized, or can be presumed to have been baptized, between 1729 and 1822 (Mills 1977, 1985, 1980). Five were women baptized upon marriage to Europeans or upon the birth of their *métis* children, four were adults baptized shortly before death, five are assumed to have converted earlier because they were buried in consecrated ground, and others were small children in the homes of French families, some of whom may have been *métis*. It has already been noted that the mission system among the Caddo in Texas was a failure due to the disinterest of the Indians.

The Caddo were perhaps not as culturally bereft at the end of the eighteenth century, then, as may have been thought in the past. Despite loss of population and external influences and pressures, the Caddo probably responded along the same lines as Europeans faced with the same sets of stressors. They used Caddoan strategies to respond to these issues internally and deliberately.

A good example of this type of adaptive response is demonstrated by the Natchitoches in 1773. Commandant de Villiers observed: "It is certain that this nation was on the point of dying out, but by the adoption that it has made of different Indians, and having more than thirty-five children, it

merits some attention" (AGI [Cuba] 208a:333-4, July 20, 1773).

It is difficult to measure the adaptive efficiency of Caddoan peoples at the end of the eighteenth century. It will be recalled that adaptive efficiency is a measure of how well a cultural system protects its members from disease and how is enables them to survive and reproduce (Burnett and Murray 1993:229). Practically no collections of skeletal material are available for bioarchaeological evaluation, so adaptive efficiency can only be assumed. Because of intense interaction with Europeans, Caddoans were subject to all sorts of pathogens and their population was greatly reduced in the eighteenth century. However, they employed strategies like village relocations, consolidations, and adoption to ensure their persistence.

Also during the eighteenth century, depredations committed by the Osage reduced Caddoan populations and forced them to relocate repeatedly. Although the Osage problem was basically exacerbated and ignored by Spanish administrators, the Osage had been a problem faced by the Caddo since before the arrival of Europeans in the lower valley.

We do know that traditional forms of leadership were maintained among the Kadohadacho. Ideologically, they appear to have maintained traditional belief systems and did not embrace Catholicism in significant numbers. Political-economic interactions with outsiders conformed to the types of interactions the Caddoans had experienced prior to white contact, although a heavy reliance upon European goods might indicate an negative

adaptation.

The Caddo, however, were still a force to be reckoned with when the Americans entered the Red River interactional sphere. Leaders continued to influence European policy, choose the representatives they wished to deal with, and reject those they did not. Adaptations were certainly made; but adaptation does not imply surrender or loss, and Caddoans, though of smaller numbers, were still self-sufficient agriculturalists and sovereign nations upon the arrival of the Americans.

CHAPTER 5

"DISAFFECTION AND WANT OF PROTECTION:" THE CADDO ENCOUNTER THE AMERICANS

Caddo/American Relations: 1803 - 1835

Despite its potential value, the Louisiana colony was a constant drain on the Spanish government. James Pitot, an American businessman living in New Orleans, recorded his observations on the economic situation in Louisiana between 1799 to 1802, hoping to secure a position should the French regain the colony. Aware that Spain's policy in Louisiana was shaped by a defensive priority for her more valuable colonies in Mexico and Central America, Pitot criticized Spain's negligence of the Indian trade. "Ever since Spain has owned the colony that article has undergone only imperceptible changes, but always to its disadvantage. Indifferent to the prosperity of a country, the simple possession of which was sufficient for her, she did not concern herself with the progress of the Indian trade" (Pitot:1979:80).

Administrative costs rose steadily throughout Spanish tenure in Louisiana. Construction and maintenance of the forts, expenses of keeping the militia viable, and the rising costs of Indian gifts all contributed to the economic difficulties of the colony. Intendent Morales reported to the viceroy in 1798 that the subsidy for Louisiana had risen from $500,000 in 1792 to $800,000 in 1797 because of expenses associated with troop maintenance and

defense of the province (Holmes 1978:60). Although Spain professed an interest in developing the economy of Louisiana and did more to introduce economic initiatives there than had France, the colony became too much of an economic liability to justify its defensive value.

By the dawn of the nineteenth century, Spain had been involved in costly European wars for several years and her resources were effectively diminished. Louisiana had become an expensive luxury that must be sold before England or the United States took it by force. On October 1, 1800, the Treaty of San Ildefonso was enacted retroceding Louisiana to France in exchange for conquered lands in Italy to be awarded to Spain.

Napoleon envisioned Louisiana as an agricultural complement to Santo Domingo, giving France control of valuable cotton and sugar production. However, a slave revolt on the island prompted Napoleon to sell Louisiana to the United States. Thomas Jefferson understood that control of the port of New Orleans and the Mississippi River were necessary to further American expansion. On April 30, 1803, the United States acquired the Louisiana territory for the price of $15,000,000 (Billington and Ridge 1982:243-5). Conditions of existence for the Indian nations of the southeast would be dramatically and irrevocably changed.

American intent for economic development in Louisiana was neither as opaque nor as haphazard as that of the Europeans. Although enlightened and humanitarian by nature, President Jefferson gave little regard to the

Indian inhabitants of Louisiana when weighing the agricultural bounty that the territory could provide for the United States.

The value of the Mississippi River valley extended not only to agriculture, but also to exploitable natural resources, primarily timber and numerous waterways. Not indifferent to the plight of Indians whose lands were daily being encroached upon, Jefferson expected that the tribes would continue to relocate westward into the vast expanse of territory beyond the Mississippi River valley. Treaties designed to force Indians to vacate ancestral lands were implemented by frontier officials empowered by Jefferson.

Immediately after the Louisiana Purchase was effected, thousands of American immigrants moved west of the Mississippi. The Territory of Orleans, set aside in 1804 in the southern portion of the purchase area, saw fourteen thousand immigrants arrive within five years. By and large, the newcomers sought land on which to build an agricultural empire. From New Orleans north and west, cotton and sugar plantations built upon slave labor flourished. "By 1812 cleared fields extended along the Mississippi to the northern boundary, up the Red River as far as Natchitoches, and northward on either side of the Ouachita River. Eight years later 153,000 people lived in the state, which was thoroughly settled except for a few northern and western areas" (Billington and Ridge 1982:409-10).

Upon acquiring Louisiana for the United States, Jefferson began to gather information on the tribes inhabiting the region. At the time of

annexation at least two thousand Indians lived within the political boundaries of the present-day state of Louisiana. It was reported that the tribes were generally industrious and at peace with their white neighbors. One exception was the Choctaw displaced from east of the Mississippi who regularly raided and plundered both white and Indian inhabitants of Louisiana (Purser 1964:402; Kinnaird and Kinnaird 1980). Pressured by the steady westerly movement of white settlers, bands of Choctaw had been troublesome since the Spanish invited them to settle in Louisiana in the last century.

President Jefferson appointed William C. C. Claiborne governor of the Territory of Orleans in 1803. Claiborne gathered and supplied information relative to political and social conditions in the colony, as well as Indian affairs. Remarking on the poor economic state of the colony at the end of Spanish administration Claiborne observed that, ". . . little has been lately expended in Fortifications, buildings or repairs, that the Public Works are all in ruins, & that but few Presents have been made to the Indians since the news of the Cession to France, by which the Expences [sic] have been considerably diminished" (in Carter 1940:43).

No mention of Indian affairs was made in Claiborne's commission as governor, and by his own admission he had no real authority to deal with the tribes until given *ex officio* status a little over a year later. However, as governor, Claiborne assumed overall responsibility for Indian affairs within

the territory.

A major obstacle to Claiborne's administration of Indian affairs in Louisiana emanated from Spanish Texas. Spain had opposed the transfer of Louisiana to the United States, and tried to discourage American settlers by inciting the Indians against them. Spanish officials used their allies west of the Sabine River as agents to instigate insurrection among the tribes in the Territory of Orleans. Problems were exacerbated by the steady flow of white settlers into lands previously held exclusively by the Indians (Purser 1964:403-5).

Indian agents in the field were immediately subject to the territorial governor, who served as *ex officio* superintendent for his territory. The governor was the conduit by which the tribes or their local agents communicated with the president. Agents were appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate, and were instructed to keep peace among the Indians, distribute gifts, negotiate treaties, license traders and craftsmen, and serve as counsel and advisors to the tribes under their administration (Purser 1964:403-4). Although some Indian agents were honest and worked within strict parameters to offer the tribes what small measure of protection they could, many were little better than land speculators given free reign to profit from the disempowerment of the natives.

Dr. John Sibley came to the Mississippi River Valley in 1802 and ingratiated himself with Claiborne, then governor of the Mississippi

Territory. When Dr. Sibley arrived in Natchitoches in 1803, he began to gather knowledge on the area and the Indians from *métis* traders who served as interpreters and middlemen. This knowledge would serve him well, and in 1805 he was appointed Indian Agent for the Territory of Orleans (Purser 1964:404).

Sibley was instructed to cultivate the friendship of the tribes, and to assure them that surveyors sent onto their lands would not inhibit their rights of ownership. The Secretary of War wrote to Sibley: "Their several titles, to the respective tracts of land, will be held sacred; and no person or persons whatsoever will be allowed to molest them, or take from them, one acre of their lands, in any way, except by their consent, and fairly & honestly agreed to by the respective nations, at public treaties, held under the immediate direction of the Great Father" (Carter 1940:449-50). Under the guise of protection, the stage was set for the wholesale acquisition of Indian lands which began almost immediately.

Because Spanish officials continued to administer Louisiana during the retrocession to France, the laws of Spain enacted under Alejandro O'Reilly in 1769 remained in effect. As delineated by Congress in the Organic Act of 1804, all laws in force in the territory at the time of purchase were to be continued until altered by the territorial legislature. In 1805, a committee was established to draft a civil and criminal code for the territory; and in the same year the 1805 Organic Act preserved the statute which authorized the

continuance of laws in force.

James Brown and Louis Moreau-Lislet were appointed in 1805 to prepare a civil code for Louisiana, which was accepted by the territorial legislature in 1808. The courts continued to apply Spanish law, however, considering the Brown/Moreau-Lislet work to be no more than a summary of preexistent Spanish law (Juneau 1983:28-31).

Not until 1825 was a new civil code adopted in Louisiana which officially repealed the laws in force. However, two decisions made by the Louisiana Supreme Court after the 1825 Civil Code was enacted held that preexisting laws were not repealed unless contrary to the provisions of the new civil code. In an 1839 decision the courts went further, concluding "that the Spanish, Roman, and French civil laws, which the legislature repealed, are the positive, written, or statute laws of those nations, and of this state. . . . The legislature did not intend to abrogate those principles of law which had been established or settled by the decisions of courts of justice" (Judge Martin in Juneau 1983:33-4).

Explicit in the corpus of Spanish laws which Louisiana courts considered to be in force were those protecting Indian lands and tribal rights of ownership (Juneau 1983:16-18). Creole judges were accustomed to the Spanish tradition of cordoning tribal land from that of settlers; but when American courts of law were established in Louisiana, Spanish protective measures would be misinterpreted and manipulated to legitimize white

claims to Indian lands (Juneau 1983:38-47). Caddo lands would no longer be protected.

The border between Spanish Texas and the United States remained undefined for the first part of the nineteenth century, and both sides sought the support of powerful Indian groups in the dispute. The Kadohadacho, especially, were courted by the Americans and Spain, each hoping to capitalize on the influence wielded by its powerful leaders. The Kadohadacho understood their own value and used their diplomatic position between the two powers to further their own interests.

Before the War of 1812, the territorial government still maintained an interest in the deerhide trade. Located in Natchitoches in the central part of the Territory of Orleans, John Sibley's agency oversaw this trade. For the most part, Sibley interacted with tribes from the Rapides district north to Natchitoches, and those to the north and west from Natchitoches. Most influential were the Caddoans and through them, the Norteños (Wichita tribes) and Comanche, all of whom who carried on extensive commerce in Spanish Texas.

Sibley was the first non-St. Denis relative to mediate between the Caddo and a white government in nearly one hundred years. Unlike Spain, the United States afforded no special status to French creoles and no attempt was made to employ them in either commercial or political positions. Sibley himself, however, sought out locals who could provide him with an

understanding of interactional dynamics and utilized this knowledge in his dealings with regional tribes. He understood reciprocity and gift-giving, as well as the use of fictive kinship in cementing alliances. Sibley also seemed to respect the rights of Indian people, and had great admiration for Dehahuit, the leader of the Kadohadacho.

Tribes from both Louisiana and Texas visited Sibley in Natchitoches to engage in trade and to receive presents. The United States government at first adopted the European practice of reciprocity, distributing gifts and symbols of authority to the chiefs and headmen of visiting delegations (Purser 1964:411). The U. S. also established a factory system – regional trading facilities where Indians could exchange goods and receive supplies.

Trade with the Indians declined in importance after the War of 1812. The transformation from a regional economy based on Indian trade to one based on market agriculture resulted in a push for Indian peoples to either assimilate or relocate. As early as 1806 Governor Claiborne wrote to the President seeking clarification of the duties of a newly-appointed official, Mr. Reibelt. "In his Commission he is named the Factor for the Post of Nachetoches [sic], and it would seem therefrom that his agency would be confined solely to the management of the Indian Store; but from some private letters which have been addressed to Mr. Roebelt [*sic*] by some members of Congress, he is under an impression that his Agency is to extend to the introduction of civilization among the Indians; and is therefore the

more anxious to receive his general instructions" (Claiborne in Carter 1940:657).[1]

At first, however, the American objective was to establish relations with Indians like the Kadohadacho and secure their support through the intervention of their powerful leader, Dehahuit. Sibley wrote Governor Claiborne upon first reaching Natchitoches in 1803 that he had been visited by the "King of the Caddos"[2] (in Clark 1940:75-6).

The following year, Edward Turner wrote that Dehahuit had requested an American flag to fly over his village. "[H]e said it was customary to have the Flag of the Nation who claimed the Country in which they lived" (in Clark 1940:336).[3] It is important to note that the Caddo leader did not say the Americans *owned* the country, only that they *claimed* it.

In 1806, Governor Claiborne visited Natchitoches to meet with the Caddoan leader and they smoked the calumet together. After explaining the disputed boundary claims of Spain and the United State, Claiborne listened as

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[1]William Reibelt was initially chosen as Natchitoches factor, but his long delay in starting for the post spurred Secretary of War Dearborn to appoint Thomas Linnard, who had been provisionally in charge of the factory since its inception (Abel 1922:99).

[2]After the American arrival, the Kadohadacho and their amalgamated population became known collectively as the Caddo.

[3]Misquoted in Smith 1991:188. Smith quoted Turner as saying it was "customary to have the Flag of the Nation who claimed *his* [italics mine] Country in which they lived," a small but significant alteration.

Dehahuit expressed his preference for the old French system of relations between white governments and Caddoans (*The Mississippi Messenger*, September 30, 1806):

> I have heard, before, the words of the President, though not from his own mouth; his words are always the same; but what I have this day heard will cause me to sleep more in peace.
>
> Your words resemble the words my forefathers have told me they used to receive from the French in ancient times. My ancestors, from chief to chief, were always well pleased with the French.

The French Canadians – later their creole descendants – with their ties of fictive kinship and their emphasis on commerce, were still the standard by which the Caddoans judged white people.

Despite antipodal views of land ownership, the Caddoans and U. S. representatives were seemingly able to reconcile these differences until scores of land-hungry Americans began to move into the fertile Red River valley after 1815. The Caddo continued to practice their old hunting and trading system, roaming freely over their ancestral lands. Sibley related an incident which took place in the territory disputed by the U. S. and Spain (in ASP, IA, 1832:[1] 721-2).

> A few months ago, the Caddo chief, with a few of his young men, were coming to trade, and came that way, which is the usual road; the Spanish officer of the guard threatened to stop them from trading with the Americans, and told the chief, if he returned that way with goods, he should take them from him. The chief and his party were very angry, and threatened to kill the whole guard; and told them, that that road had been always theirs, and that, if the Spaniards attempted to prevent their using it, as their ancestors had always done, he would soon make it a bloody road. He came here, purchased the goods he wanted, and might have returned another way, and avoided the

> Spanish guard, . . . but he said he would pass by them, and let them attempt to stop him if they dare. The guard said nothing to him as he returned.

Shortly after arriving in Natchitoches, John Sibley described the regional Indian groups, most of whom came to his post to trade and receive presents despite their supposed Spanish ties (in ASP, IA, 1832:[1] 721-4). Sibley noted of the Kadohadacho in 1806 that, within the previous five years, they had lost at least half their population to smallpox and measles epidemics, and fourteen years earlier had experienced "a dreadful sickness" (in ASP, IA, 1832:[1] 721).

> The whole number of what they call warriors of the ancient Caddo nation, is now reduced to about one hundred, who are looked upon somewhat like the Knights of Malta, or some distinguished military order. They are brave, despise danger or death, and boast that they have never shed white men's blood. Besides these, there are of old men, and strangers who live amongst them, nearly the same number; but there are forty or fifty more women than men. This nation has great influence over the Yattassees, Nandakoes, Nabadaches, Inies or Tackies [Hainai or Tejas], Nacogdoches, Keychies, Adaize, and Natchitoches, who all speak the Caddo language, look up to them as their fathers, visit and intermarry among them, and join them in all their wars.

Doubtless, some of the "strangers" among the Kadohadacho were members of the Upper Natchitoches, Nasoni, and Nanatsoho, no longer mentioned as separate entities after the eighteenth century, as well as others adopted by the Kadohadacho to supplement their diminishing population.

In 1817, Dehahuit declared that he was chief of the Kadohadacho, Yatasi, Adaes, Nadaco, Nacogdoches, Hainai, Ais, Nabedache, Kichai,

Taovayas, and Tawokani (Trimble, June 4, 1817). The last three were marginal, but related, Caddoan-speaking groups who aligned at times with either the Wichita or Caddoans.

The Kadohadacho, who had in the last century been noted as the leaders among a confederacy comprised of four groups including themselves, the Upper Nasoni, the Upper Natchitoches, and the Nanatsoho, now were responsible for all remaining members of Caddoan bands in both Texas and the lower Red River Valley, as well as three affiliated Wichitaan tribes. This authority – and descriptions which portray the Kadohadacho as militaristic and warlike – may support a red/white, war/peace division among the eastern and western Caddoans. Whether the religious leader and priest class of the western Caddo [Hasinai] disappeared or went underground, the importance and visibility of the warrior group would naturally increase with rising pressures from other Indian groups and Anglo-Europeans.

Sibley recorded a Kadohadacho origin myth, which differed somewhat from the one collected by Macarti in 1763, cited in the preceding chapter (in ASP, IA, 1832:[1] 721).

> They have a traditionary tale which not only the Caddoes, but half a dozen other smaller nations believe in who claim the honor of being descendants of the same family; they say, when all the world was drowning by a flood, that inundated the whole country, the Great Spirit placed on an eminence, near this lake, one family of Caddoques [Kadohadacho], who alone were saved; from that family all the Indians originated.

The following year, Thomas Freeman – aided by the Kadohadacho on

his expedition up the Red River – recorded a longer, less attenuated version of the origin myth, which he compared to the Christian deluge story. In the account collected by Freeman, a civil war among the Caddoans caused their supreme being to send a great flood which destroyed all but one family – a mother, father, and twelve children. This family was saved by seeking out a knoll on which the highest point of land stood above water. On this knoll was a cave in which were preserved two of all the animals known to man. Following a bird bearing straw, the survivors set out on a raft, reaching land two leagues to the west. There they found an enormous fish which, by its size, frightened them, causing them to shed tears upon the ground. Thereafter, the place was known as *Chacenanah* [*Chákanína*, the place of crying]. "All the Mexican & Louisiana Indians they say are offspring of that family" (in Flores 1984:170-1).

The story about *Chákanína* has been preserved within the Drum Dance song complex of the contemporary Caddo, and has been collected in various forms from 1763 to the present. Freeman's version is the only one which mentions paired animals, and both the versions collected by him and by Sibley involve a flood. This Caddo myth may have been "Christianized" to accommodate western expectations or to draw parallels between the two peoples. In other historic versions – and in the contemporary community – the flood story (preserved in the Turkey Dance complex) relates a separate event.

More common versions of the emergence myth identify *Chákanína*, the place of crying, as the point from which the Caddo emerged from darkness into this world. Part of the people were unable to emerge and cried for the loss of their relatives, hence the place of crying. The first village erected by those who emerged was named *Sháchildíni*, Tall-Timber-on-Top-of-the-Hill (Dorsey 1905a:8-9; Newkumet and Meredith 1988:5-6; Carter 1995:217).

Based upon information supplied by the Freeman and Custis expedition, Dan Flores identifies *Sha'childi'ni* as the lower or Petit Kadohadacho village, an ancient village site occupied until 1795, when it was abandoned following a particularly vicious attack by the Osage (Kadohadacho 2, Figure 7). The tall hill associated with the site of emergence (*Chákanína*) was still revered by the Caddo. The guides who accompanied the expedition identified it as the place where their old chiefs met in council, and proposed to visit the site with a bottle of liquor so they might drink and speak to the great spirit (Flores 1984:184-9).

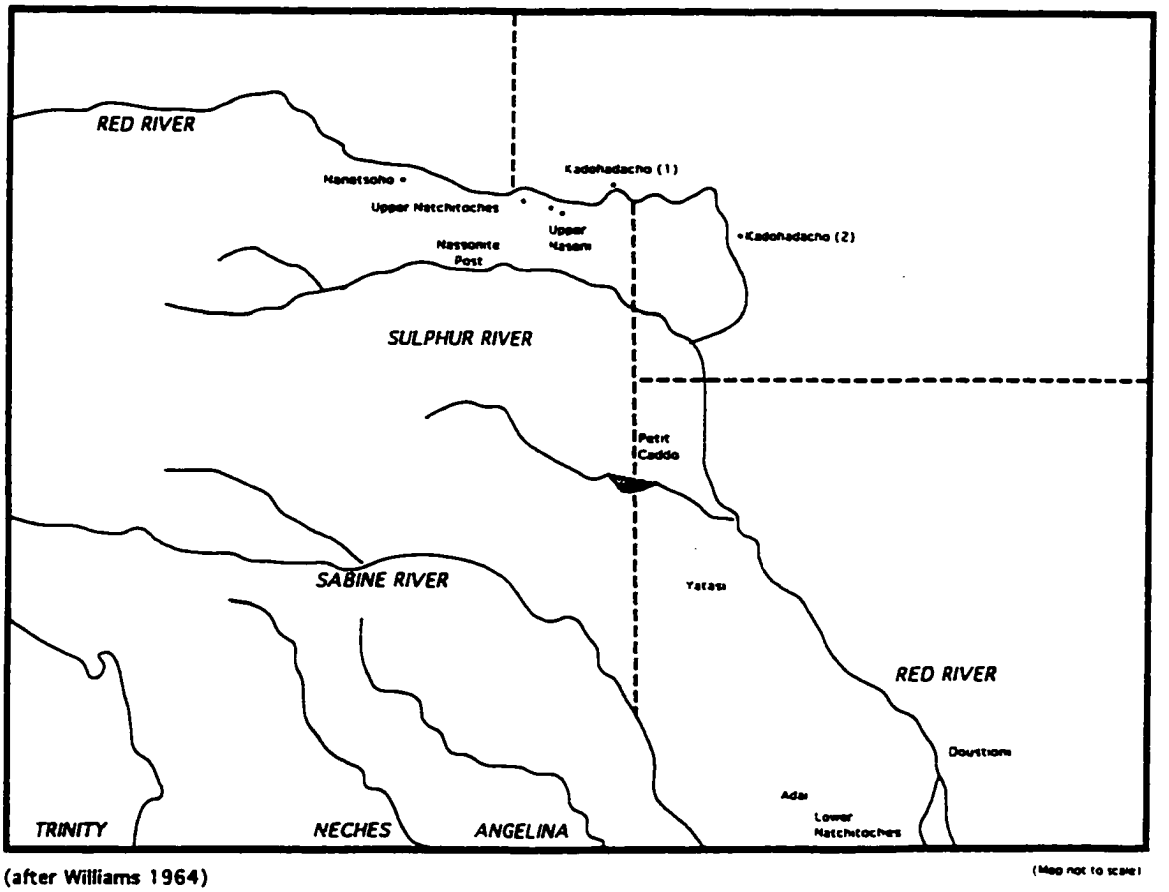
By 1806, all the tribes in the region were coming to Natchitoches to receive presents and to trade. The Americans, following the old French custom modeled on the ancient Caddo system attracted the western Caddoans, Wichita, and Comanche through the Kadohadacho and their leader, Dehahuit. The Spanish commandant at Nacogdoches complained that the Texas tribes were visiting his post less frequently because of the trade

FIGURE 7

CADDOAN TRIBAL LOCATIONS

IN THE RED RIVER VALLEY

1542 - 1790



(after Williams 1964)

(Map not to scale)

advantages and presents they received at Natchitoches (Rodriguez to Cordero, February 13, 1806, BAM roll 34). However, the Indians also continued to receive supplies in Texas, much to the chagrin of the Americans.

In 1807, Sibley held a summit in Natchitoches in which he explained the problems between Spain and the United States to Indians invited to gather there by Dehahuit. Those attending numbered over three hundred, including Comanche, Tawakoni, Kichai, Nabedache, Nadaco, Hainai, Nacogdoches, Ais and Kadohadacho. Sibley understood the need for ritual, and seated the leaders "in the Great Council Room, the Calumet & Council fire lighted" (in Sibley 1922:56).

Dehahuit, in his role as overchief of these tribes, acted as intermediary for the U. S. agent. He had learned diplomacy at an early age as the descendant of a long line of chiefs (*The Mississippi Messenger*, September 30, 1806), and was probably the son who had accompanied Tinhioüen to see Governor Galvez in New Orleans in 1779 (Bolton 1914 [2]:248-52).

Highly respected by Indian and white man alike, Dehahuit was described by Sibley as "a very fine looking Man" (in Carter 1940:75) and "a remarkably shrewd and sensible fellow; he has been much caressed by the agency at Natchitoches, but still retains strong Spanish predilections; he could probably command 500 warriors" (in Sibley 1922:97). Writing to President Andrew Jackson, Governor Claiborne call Dehahuit "a man of great merit, he is brave, sensible and . . . the most influential Indian on this side of the River

Grande . . . [who can] give much security to the western frontier of Louisiana" (in Rowland 1917 [6]:293-4).

Dehahuit assisted the Americans in numerous ways, including advising and providing assistance to the aborted Freeman and Custis expedition up the Red River. In a speech to the expeditioners, Dehahuit recognized that his people were in an area claimed by both Spain and the United States, and expressed his support for an alignment with the Americans (Flores 1984:163).

Clearly, though, Dehahuit preferred to maintain relations with both powers. That same year, he told Governor Claiborne that, "when I saw the Spaniards on one side of me, and your people on the other, I was embarrassed – I did not know on which foot to tread" (in *The Mississippi Messenger,* September 30, 1806). Both diplomat and protector of his people, Dehahuit would do whatever necessary to maintain good relations with both powers to the advantage of the Caddo.

The War of 1812 proved a turning point in U. S. / Caddoan relations. Dehahuit was called upon to secure the support of his allies for the United States, who expected an altercation with Spain along the Louisiana/Texas border. Garnering the support of tribes near his own country protected the Caddo as well as the Americans – "the caddis' centuries-old strategy of shielding their borders with allies" (Carter 1995:250).

Although Dehahuit and the Nadaco *kaadíi* visited both Nacogdoches

and Natchitoches to hear talks and receive presents intended to cement alliances, Dehahuit eventually dedicated his support to the Americans. On October 6, 1813, Sibley wrote the Secretary of War that he had met with representatives from the Caddo, Alibama, Coushatta, Yatasi, and Apalachee concerning the American war with the English. Concluding his speech to those gathered, Sibley assured them "that their Great Father the President of the United States Continued his friendly disposition Towards his Red Children." Dehahuit demonstrated both his sense of irony and self-awareness, while reaffirming his support for the American cause (related by Sibley in Garrett 1946:603).

> [I]n such times many false reports were Spread. they [*sic*] were never sure of the truth of what they heard, that they, Red people not having the Arts of Writing & Printing were more liable to be Imposed on than white people, . . . that he had learned to be Very Cautious not to be led away by Idle Reports, he was not a Child to Open his Ears to all he heard, that although his skin was Red he trusted he had some of the Sentiments & discretions of white people, that from the time he first Took his great Father . . . by the hand, through his Brother the Agent he never entertained but one Sentiment.

Two weeks later, Dehahuit was visited by Governor Claiborne, who awarded the *kaadíi* a sword to signify their alliance (Rowland 1917 [VI]:275-9) . In the waning days of the war in Louisiana, the Kadohadacho leader gathered 150 warriors at Natchitoches at the behest of General Andrew Jackson in New Orleans, although the war concluded with their having seen no action (Smith 1991:198-200).

With the end of the War of 1812 and the subsequent Adam-Onis Treaty

of 1819, which finally determined the boundaries between the United States and Spain, the value of the Caddoans and their leader was greatly diminished to the Americans. Also, with movement up and down the Mississippi River now unrestricted, land-hungry American settlers began to pour into the Red River Valley. Sibley was removed from his position as Indian agent in 1815, in part because he attempted to protect the interests of the Caddo against the encroaching American settlers.

Still primarily sedentary agriculturalists, the Kadohadacho also continued to hunt buffalo and other game for their own subsistence, as well as for hides to trade. They were forced to range farther west on hunting expeditions, attempting to elude Osage and Choctaw raiding parties and distance themselves from the ever-encroaching American farmers. Dehahuit anticipated that his people would have to return to a more settled, agricultural existence and took steps to insure that they were equipped to make the transition.

Sibley wrote to the Secretary of War in 1813 that Dehahuit, wished "to live more in the farming way." He requested that the Americans send a representative to teach the Caddo how to use plows, to keep their tools in order, and to manage domesticated stock. Although Sibley favored the idea, recommending Dehahuit as "a very important Character & his Nation generally well behaved people, & the Nations to the West, as far as River Grand Almost Entirely Under his Influence," no attempts were made to

address Dehahuit's request (in Garrett 1946:426). Dehahuit's request was an adaptive response to the stressors of war, encroachment, and environment designed to insure stability and protection for his people, as well as a peaceful coexistence with the Americans.

Thomas Gales was appointed Indian agent at Natchitoches in 1815, but lasted only one year. The next year, John Jamison took his place there and the fortunes of Caddoan peoples in Louisiana began a rapid decline. Jamison was informed by Governor Claiborne that the Indians were to be kept at their homes to protect them from unscrupulous unlicensed traders – and no doubt to protect white settlers, as well – and they were to be introduced to "husbandry and the art of civilization, [the government] supplying all their wants to impress them with grateful and friendly sentiments" (in Rowland 1917 [VI]:401. Still, the Caddo received no training and little support.

In an attempt to control trade and enforce intercourse laws, agencies were established closer to the Caddo and associated villages. The Kadohadacho and their upper valley relations had abandoned their villages in the Big Bend region and located to Sodo Bayou (now Caddo Lake) in about 1791. Smaller groups from east of the Mississippi River – Alabama, Koasati, Delaware, Shawnee, and Choctaw, as well as the Quapaw from Arkansas – had been settled with the permission of the Kadohadacho within their territory. Local agencies were designed to serve the needs of these combined groups.

Shortly after his appointment, Jamison wrote the Secretary of War of Dehahuit's increasing "disaffection" for the Americans, caused primarily from a "want of protection." Jamison employed a military detachment to evict squatters and arrest unlicensed traders at Pecan Point in present-day southeastern Oklahoma, but just two years later the area was once again occupied by white families (Carter 1995:252).

Dehahuit's "disaffection" was evident in correspondence between Jamison and Captain John Fowler, the U. S. factor at Sulphur Fork (Figure 7). In a letter to Jamison, the factor complained bitterly about the Caddo and their leader, who he accused duplicity. Fowler claimed that Dehahuit still visited and received presents from the Spanish under the guise of hunting in the west (April 16, 1819, in Carter 1953:69-71).

> [Dehahuit] was here a few days since, was very insolent and full of threats – He now claims all the lands above the raft – is much exasperated at the emigration of whites to this quarter and says he will drive every american [*sic*] off. . . . He appears to be entirely insensible of the obligations he is under to the Government for all the presents he has received together with rations, repairs of Arms [etc.] and his hatred to americans [*sic*] seems to be invisible.

Fowler suggested that the government replace Dehahuit as chief or appoint a "second Chief who would at once divide his influence," obviously ignorant of the hereditary nature of Caddoan rule.

In forwarding Fowler's letter to the Secretary of War, Agent Jamison noted that, "[Dehahuit] will in the end Cost us some trouble, al'tho we have not much to dread from his Physical force he may nevertheless Cost us both

Blood & Treasure – He is the Chief of Ten tribes Eight of whom live beyond the Sabine, in all he might raise five hundred Warriors – He is vain, & with his vanity ignorant of our resources" (May 26, 1819, in Carter 1953:70).

Fowler maintained his criticism of Dehahuit and the Caddo in a letter to the superintendent of Indian trade. "For many years the Caddo Indians have murdered and robed [*sic*] the whites. . . . Two thirds of the Caddo tribe are far below any Indians that visit this place in point of Civilization – indeed, this portion is almost as savage as if they had never seen the face of a Whiteman. . . . [Dehahuit] is what some call the brute Indian – despises the habits of whitemen and is now too old to be improved" (June 14, 1819 in Carter 1953:73).

As Sibley had stressed repeatedly, the Caddo took pride in never having shed white blood. It is doubtful that the Caddo had begun the wholesale murder of white people in the four years since Sibley's replacement as agent. Nevertheless, the Caddo were no longer susceptible to American misrepresentations regarding the fate of Indians within their boundaries, and responded accordingly. When the Americans no longer had any use for the Caddo and began to encroach upon their lands in earnest, the Kadohadacho and their leader responded as warriors, refusing to have their loyalty – and quiet submission – purchased by American goods and services. Neither would they accommodate encroaching white settlers by withdrawing from their own lands. However, there is no evidence to suggest that these settlers

were being killed by the Caddo, or any other local Indians.

During the first part of the nineteenth century, the commercial interests of the Caddo were represented by François Grappe *dit* Touline, the *métis* trader mentioned earlier. Grappe was born at the Kadohadacho village in 1747, and remained there with his family until his father relocated to Campti after the post closed in 1763.

Grappe served as interpreter and informant for John Sibley and for the Freeman and Custis expedition, and was a well-known and well-respected figure in northwestern Louisiana. His primary residence was around present-day Campti, Louisiana, but he kept a large *vacherie* (cattle ranch) south of Lake Bistineau on the road between Campti and the Kadohadacho villages. Because of his lifelong association with the Caddo, Grappe was considered by them to be of their own blood, although his actual Indian heritage was Chitimacha (Lee 1989a). Grappe kept an "open House" for the Caddo and fed them whenever they called at his home. "The Indians never came here without going to see him" (Poissot in Lee 1989a:57).

Grappe worked well under Sibley, who called him "a man of strict integrity, [who] has for many years, and does now, possess [the Indians'] entire confidence, and a very extensive influence over them" (in ASP, IA I:725). Jamison, however, suspected Grappe's loyalties lay with the Spanish, since he continued to work for both governments contemporaneously (Lee 1989a:57).

Grappe served his own interests and those of the Indians while

representing first the Spaniards, then the Americans. He advised the Texas groups with whom he traded to ignore American traders who tried to steal their pelts for small return, and furnished them price lists of what they should be receiving in exchange (Purser 1958:122-4). Unfortunately for the Caddo, Grappe died in 1825 and was replaced as interpreter by Larkin Edwards. Edwards, while certainly loyal to the Kadohadacho – to whom he was related by marriage – does not appear to have had the wherewithal or the lineage to represent their interests to the same degree as Grappe.

Upon the death of Jamison in 1819, Captain George Gray was appointed Indian agent for the Red River region. Gray moved the agency first to the Sulphur Fork post, then later to Caddo Prairie (Figure 8) in an attempt to have more control over illicit trade and to better protect the interests of the Caddo and other tribes (Williams 1964:556). Gray was an agent of the Sibley variety: he attempted to balance the interests of both his government and the Indians.

Gray faced astounding odds on both sides. The prevailing American attitude toward Indians and expansionism is exemplified in a memorial from the Arkansas Territorial Assembly to the Secretary of War on October 18, 1823 (in Carter 1953:602-3).

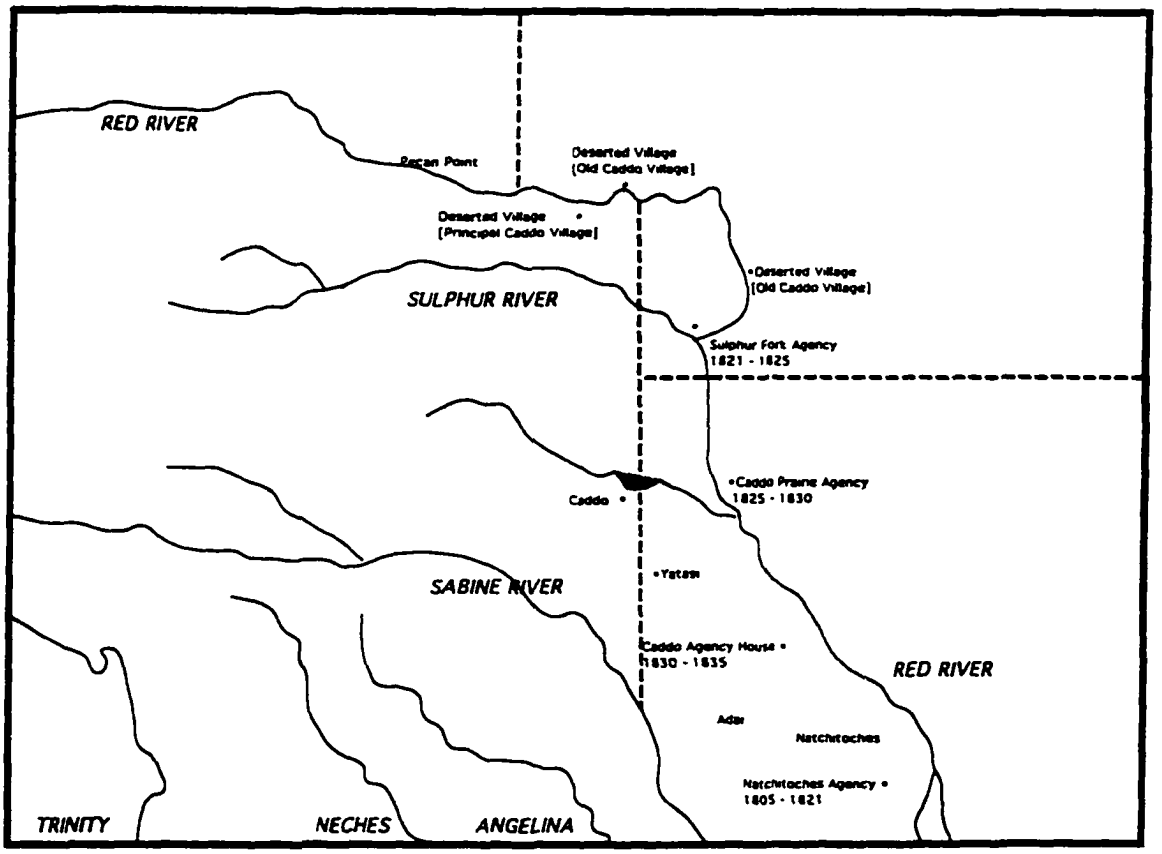
> The post on Red River, or Sulphur Fork, is not in the immediate vicinity of any Indian Nation, except the Caddoe's, a weak and harmless tribe and consequently, the inhabitants in that quarter are not threatened with indan [*sic*] depredations, nor are there any tribes, from the extend [*sic*] and density of the population, that could with

FIGURE 8

CADDOAN TRIBAL LOCATIONS

IN THE RED RIVER VALLEY

1803 - 1835



(after Williams 1964)

(Map not to scale)

> impunity, commit any act to the detriment of the Settlers from the Kiamitia to the Mississippi. . . . [With increased military presence] [p]opulation will pour in and the Settlements by becoming more Compact will in a short time be enabled to bid defiance to their Savage enemies and render any protection or expence [*sic*] from the general government useless.

Gray apparently had a better relationship with Dehahuit and the Caddo than had his predecessor, but he was sometimes baffled by the internal controls exhibited by the Indians. In a letter to the Secretary of War in 1825, Gray related an incident involving factions among the Caddo which occurred while Dehahuit was away on the winter hunt (December 4, 1825, CAL). Three Caddo "of bad fame" entered an encampment of about ten Caddoan families and shot one of the men before returning to their own encampment.

> I am informed the only reason they give for this improper murder, is that this Caddow . . . is what they term a Wizard and that they believed, He had the power of putting any of the Indians to death . . . by Blowing on them and this is a general idea, those people have amongst them and that He had the same power of restoring life. This Murder has been in consequence of many deaths amongst the Caddows, this last Fall and Summer and the Murdered Man has been generally accused with the cause of their Death. . . . The murder of this man will be a popular thing amongst the Caddows, or at least amongst the greater propotion [*sic*] of them.

It is not known on what basis these factions were formed, or why the series of deaths was blamed on this "Caddow," but it was clearly an attempt by the majority of the group to deal with what they saw as an internal problem. Perhaps the murdered man was from one of the groups adopted by the Kadohadacho – the Nasoni, Nanatsoho, or Natchitoches. Whatever the case, the killing of sorcerers accused of using bad medicine was a practice noted

among the Hasinai by Casañas (Griffith 1954:90). The belief that blowing something on or into a person can cause illness or death was also noted by Casañas, and is maintained by many in the contemporary community. Gray later wrote that, "respecting the Murder of the Caddow Indian last Winter, [I] have reconciled them to bury the Hatchett [*sic*]" (April 6, 1826, CAL).

During Gray's tenure as agent, the Caddo – through their leader, Dehahuit – continued to respond to stressors in ways that conformed to Caddoan logic. In one case, Dehahuit offered to vaccinate his people against smallpox, suggesting that "the Caddo response to stress (epidemiological stress at that) was positive, realistic, and not dysfunctional" (Gregory 1980:129). Further, he enlisted Gray to ask the Secretary of War to mark off Caddoan lands "by some natural or other boundry [*sic*] line, as He is frequently in dispute with the whites residing near the supposed line, intruding on his Lands" (May 26, 1825, Carter 1954:52).

George Gray died on November 2, 1828, "a courageous but dispirited man" (Williams 1964:557). The son-in-law of Larkin Edwards applied for Gray's position (Carter 1954:777-8), but the agency was given to Thomas Griffith, who subsequently died in 1830 (Williams 1964:557). Griffith was replaced by Jehiel Brooks, a "land-hungry Washington lawyer" (*Caddo Gazette*, July 2, 1935), who was anxious to persuade the Caddo to relinquish their lands.

Brooks became agent to the Caddo at a time when they were

particularly vulnerable. The deaths of Gray and Griffith had interrupted the annual distribution of hunting supplies and gifts, and a serious drought had ruined Caddoan crops. The drought had also caused the water level in the river to drop, preventing the shipment of goods and supplies from New Orleans. Local game was scarce due to over-hunting by both the Caddo and the immigrant tribes, so Dehahuit and his warriors set out in November, 1830, for a four-month winter hunt. While they were away, Nadaco and Hainai affected by the same drought, came to the Caddo and shared their small stores of food (Carter 1985:263).

Brooks was unsympathetic to the plight of the Indians, while protective of the "rights" of white settlers illegally squatting on Caddo lands. Brooks complained that the Indians were begging and stealing from neighboring whites. He was disappointed when his request for military aid "on account of Indian insurrection, or any other movement of Indians . . . prejudicial to the safety or welfare of American citizens" was refused (January 14, 1831, CAL).

Brooks was so distrusted and disliked by the Indians that Dehahuit addressed a complaint to the President on behalf of the local tribes asking for a new agent, a new interpreter, and information about why they were no longer receiving gifts. He asked the President to send his reply through John Sibley, now a private citizen in Natchitoches (Tanner 1974:98). President Andrew Jackson, however, easily dismissed old Indian allies in favor of

westward expansion and American settlement.

At about the same time, two Spanish envoys recorded their observations about Caddoan peoples in Texas. These observations – cursory as they are – represent the last real ethnographic information extant for Caddoans before the end of the nineteenth century.

Juan Padilla was sent by the Spanish government in 1820 to gather information on the Indians of Texas (Hatcher 1919). Because of the dispute over border territory which included their villages and because the Kadohadacho continued intercourse with the Spanish settlements, they were included in Padilla's work.

Padilla found the "Cadó" still largely agricultural, raising quantities of corn, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables sufficient to feed their families, supplemented by stock of hogs and chickens. Padilla noted that they also hunted bear, dear, beaver, otter, and other animals, the hides of which they traded at Natchitoches for "carbines, munitions, merchandise, tobacco, and firewater, of which they are fond" (in Hatcher 1919:47-8). Padilla wrote favorably of the "moral customs" of the Kadohadacho, who's leader was known as the *Gran Cadó*, noting that they treated the Spaniards well and were faithful in executing their contracts. "They, of all the Indians, perhaps are the most civilized" (Padilla in Hatcher 1919:48).

Although Padilla assumed that the Kadohadacho had "no recognized religion," he conceded that they had an "idea" of God as Creator. He also

remarked on their vast knowledge of the properties and uses of medicinal herbs. Their growing dependence upon liquor, however, especially its use during ceremonial occasions, was a problem that became increasingly common among the Kadohadacho and their allies about this time (Hatcher 1919:48-9).

Of the other Caddoans, Padilla found the Nacogdoches "much . . . given to drunkenness," as were the Nadaco. Padilla attributed this fondness for alcohol to the "trade with foreigners." The Texas [Hainai] and San Pedro [Nabedache] were "little addicted to firewater." Although there was "no lack of foreigners" to trade at their villages, they rarely travelled to Natchitoches, preventing them – in Padilla's eyes, at least – from forming an addiction to alcohol (Hatcher 1919:49-50).

The Hainai and Nabedache were very likely still the keepers of western Caddo religion. Noted in the previous century to have had a highly developed religious organization, they probably maintained this religion in a more private manner than they had when first contacted by Europeans. There is no doubt that this highly-stratified, religious/political organization must have altered over almost a century and a half – time combined with rapid population loss due to European disease – but their religion may have been in part responsible for their lack of dependence upon alcohol.

Jean Louis Berlandier had access to the writings of early Spanish fathers when compiling information on the Texas Indians in 1830. He used these

documents to give historical perspective to his own observations. He noted of the Texas that in 1690 they had "a sort of high priest" who lived in a separate house and interceded with the Creator on behalf of the people.

His direct observations revealed a similar arrangement in 1830. "When the chief of the Texas calls a council of the several tribal captains, . . . he is obliged to house them and feed them. . . . [T]hey gather to deliberate matters of national interest such as peace or war" (Berlandier 1969:150). Other obvious continua regarding this supreme ruler are manifest in Berlandier's description of the Hainai – among them, the ritualized domestic activities of women at his house and the belief that this ruler alone could occupy his chair – others who attempted to usurp his seat would die.

It appears, then, that despite severe population reduction (Tables 5 and 6), the Hainai group identified by the Spaniards as "Texas" continued to interact closely with other Texas Caddo, and maintained a leader who exercised some authority over the "captains" of neighboring Caddoan groups – an authority which seems more religious in nature than that of the Kadohadacho overchief.

Of the Kadohadacho, Berlandier noted their fame as warriors. "The Texas, Bidases [Bidai], Navadachos, and Nacodochitos are only offshoots of the ancient and once mighty Cado. . . . [T]he fact that they call their chieftain the Grand Cados, and . . . the idiom of their speech would seem adequate

TABLE 5

NINETEENTH-CENTURY HASINAI POPULATION FIGURES

1805	Sibley	Nadaco	40	[160]
1805	Sibley	Nabedache	80	[320]
1805	Sibley	Hainai	80	[320]
1818-20	Cincinnati Gazette [Sibley]	Nadaco	30	120-30
1818-20	Cincinnati Gazette	Nacogdoches	40	150
1818-20	Cincinnati Gazette	San Pedro [Nabedache?]	30	130
1818-20	Cincinnati Gazette	Naradachoes [Nabedache?]	20	100
1818-20	Cincinnati Gazette	Texas [Neches or Hainai]	30	150
1820	Padilla	Nacogdoches	--	200
1820	Padilla	Nadaco	--	200
1820	Padilla	San Pedro [Nabedache]	--	500
1820	Miller	Anno Dakoos [Nadaco] between Sabine & Red Rivers between La. & Ark. lines	150	[600]
1820	Miller	St. Padroes [Nabedache] between Sabine & Red Rivers between La. & Ark. lines	60	[240]
1820	Miller	Texas [Hainai] between Sabine & Red Rivers between La. & Ark. lines	100	[400]
1828	Berlandier	Aïnais [Hainai]	10 families	[40]
1828	Berlandier	Ay or Aizes [Ais]	160 families	300
1828	Berlandier	Nacodochitos [Nacogdoches]	50 families	200
1828	Berlandier	Nadacos	30 families	150
1828	Berlandier	Navadachos [Nabedache]	20 families	70 - 80
1828	Berlandier	San Pedro [Nabedache?]	80 families	400
1828	Berlandier	Texas [Hainai]	30 - 40 families	[120 - 160]
1834	Almonte	Tejas [Hainai]	--	400
1834	Almonte	Nacogdoches	--	300
1847	Burnett	Hainai	50 families	[200]
1847	Burnett	San Pedro [?]	50 families	[200]
1847	Burnett	Nabedache	50 families	[200]
1847	Burnett	Nacogdoches	50 families	[200]
1851	Stem [Sterm]	Nadaco	--	202
1851	Stem [Sterm]	Hainai	--	113

[Bracketed figures represent an estimate of four per family.]

TABLE 6

NINETEENTH-CENTURY KADOHADACHO AND NATCHITOCHES POPULATION FIGURES

1805	Sibley	Kadohadacho	100	[400]
1818-20	Cincinnati Gazette	Kadohadacho	120	500-600
1820	Padilla	Kadohadacho	--	2000
1820	Miller	Cado between Sabine & Red Rivers between La. & Ark. lines	300	[1,200]
1825	Schoolcraft	Kadohadacho	--	450
1825	Gray	Caddou	200 men, 250 women	450 [no children counted]
1828	Berlandier	Cados or Caddoquis	300 families	[1,200]
1829	Porter	Kadohadacho	--	450
1834	Almonte	Kadohadacho	--	500
1851	Stem [Sterm] [Texas]	Kadohadacho	--	161
c. 1851	Upshaw [Chickasaw territory]	Kadohadacho	--	167

1805	Sibley	Natchitoches	12	[48]
1805	Sibley	Yatasee	8	[32]
1825	Schoolcraft	Natchitoches	--	61
1825	Gray	Natchitoches	10 men, 15 women	25 [no children counted]
1825	Gray	Yattassee	12 men, 24 women	36 [no children counted]

[Bracketed figures represent an estimate of four per family.]

proof that this is the case." The *Grand Cados* still held letters patent awarded to his father shortly after Spain acquired Louisiana in 1763 (Berlandier 1969:106-7).

Dehahuit died in 1833, and shortly thereafter the Kadohadacho world changed radically and irretrievably. At the time of his death, Dehahuit was probably at least seventy years old. If he was indeed the son who visited Governor Galvez with Tinhioüen in 1779, and was deemed too inexperienced by his father to receive the small medal (Bolton 1914 [II]:253-4), one can assume that he must have been at least in his late teens at that time. Dehahuit related a little about his background and present authority to Governor Claiborne in 1806. "My father was a chief; I did not succeed him till I was a man in years; I am now in his place, and will endeavor to do my duty, and see that not only my own nation, but other nations over whom I have influence, shall properly conduct themselves" (*The Mississippi Messenger*, September 30, 1806).

Although Smith (1991:180) concludes that the Kadohadacho had only two leaders between 1770 and 1800, it is known that a leader named Bicheda became *kaadíi* after Tinhioüen's death in 1779 (Kinnaird 1949 [II]:281). It is uncertain whether Bicheda served as a regent for Dehahuit, if he ruled in his own right, or if he was simply a headman who interacted politically and/or economically with the Europeans It is also not known exactly when Dehahuit assumed power; but as related by De Mézières, the office of *kaadíi*

among the Kadohadacho had been held by Tinhioüen's lineage since at least the 1720s (AGI [Cuba] 192:916-17, May 1779) – with the possible exception of Bicheda.

Dehahuit was *kaadíi* by 1803, when the Americans obtained Louisiana. His strength of character and determination served the Kadohadacho and associated peoples well in a confusing and turbulent time, and he was probably responsible for retaining land rights for the Caddo far longer than the American government might have wanted. When asked by General Terán in 1828 whether the land of his people was in Mexico or the United States, Dehahuit "answered that he was neither on Mexican nor United States territory, but on his own land which belonged to nobody but him" (in Berlandier 1969:107).

After the death of their leader, the Caddo at first refused to meet with Agent Brooks, who continued to pressure them to relinquish title to their ancestral lands. By 1834, however, with the Red River raft (log jam) being cleared and white settlement increasing, Caddo leaders reached a decision to accept the Spanish offer of land near the Guadeloupe River (Tanner 1974:98).

In a January, 1835, memorial to the President, the bitterness and frustration of the Caddo is evident (Caddo Chiefs to Andrew Jackson in CAL, January, 1835).

> [O]ur traditions inform us that our villages have been established where they now stand ever since the first Caddo was created, before the Americans owned Louisiana; the French, and afterwards the Spaniards,

> always treated us as friends and brothers. No white man ever settled on our lands, and we were assured they never should. We were told the same things by the Americans in our first council at Natchitoches, and that we could not sell our lands to any body but our great father the President. . . . [B]ut now our . . . agent tells us that he is no longer our agent, and that we no longer have a gun smith nor blacksmith, and says he does not know what will be done with us or for us.

The Caddo had made a difficult and pragmatic decision to separate themselves from their homeland and the American invaders, hoping to make a new home in Spanish territory. The Caddo land cession, "for all practicable purposes, a forced sale" (McGinty 1963:64), took place at the Caddo agency on July 1, 1835. Larkin Edwards refused to interpret and his son, John, served in his place. It is not know whether Larkin Edwards's refusal was due to a small reservation of land made to him by the Caddo, or if it was in protest to the conditions of the treaty itself (Lee 1989a:62).

The whole tenor of the gathering was furtive. Three men requested by the Caddo to attend the talks were arrested, then evicted at Brooks's insistence. Captain J. Bonnell, attending the treaty-signing as a witness from nearby Fort Jesup, testified later that he attempted to read the supplementary articles, but was prevented from doing so by Brooks. Bonnell stated that he witnessed the treaty only as one who touches pen to paper, not as one who has read what he has signed. He was "very particular in this respect, as I did not feel satisfied with the rapidity with which a matter of so much importance to the Indians had been carried through" (Bonnell in Lee 1989a:62).

The Caddo were led by Tarshar (*táashah*: wolf or coyote), with Tsauninot serving as underchief. Brooks demanded an immediate resolution to the land sale, but Tsauninot told the agent that the chiefs and headmen would meet in council to reach a decision, as they had always done. The Caddo people gathered at the agency waited to hear the council's decision, fearful of what would become of them and their homeland. Tarshar announced the council's decision to abandon their Red River lands and admonished them not to lose heart (in Glover 1935:919).

> My Children: For what do you mourn? Are you not starving in the midst of this land? And do you not travel far from it in quest of food? The game we live on is going farther off, and the white man is coming near to us; and is not our condition getting worse daily? Then why lament for the loss of that which yields us nothing but misery? Let us be wise then, and get all we can for it, and not wait till the white man steals it away, little by little, and then gives us nothing.

The Caddo "sold" their land, estimated at some 900,000 acres, to the United States government for $80,000 which they never fully received. As stipulated by the treaty, the Caddo were allowed one year to gather their people and possessions and relocate to Spanish territory.

Brooks was able to profit personally from the land sale. He subsequently purchased a very valuable reservation made to the sons of François Grappe – a reservation that became the object of a fifteen-year-long litigation eventually argued before the Supreme Court (Lee 1989a:62-4).

In 1929, Caddo elder, Mary Inkanish [Tall Woman], was interviewed by C. Ross Hume, the lawyer for the Caddo tribe. Mrs. Inkanish was believed at

that time to be 105 years old, making her about eleven at the time the treaty was signed.[4] Hume related what Mrs. Inkanish remembered of the events surrounding the 1835 treaty. "At the Council the Indians were asked for an amount of land large enough to be covered by a hide. After the bargain the hide was cut into thin strips and stretched around a large plot of land and claimed as per agreement. She related that the whites raided the Indians, drove them from their villages and took a portion of their crops. After the treaty a part of the money was paid, but a part never was paid. Afterwards her people and fourteen other families went to old Mexico" (Inkanish Interview, August 25, 1929, Hume Collection).

The Caddoan decision to vacate the Red River Valley was a positive adaptive response of their part. In the thirty-odd years of American occupation of their land, the Caddo continued to handle their internal problems internally – as in the case of the killing of the wizard – and responded to external stressors in a positive, deliberate manner which made sense to them. When their people succumbed to illness, they asked for vaccinations. When American settlers encroached upon their lands, they asked that boundaries be established. When it became more difficult to hunt

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[4]Parsons estimated Mrs. Inkanish was 90 years old in 1927 (Genealogy III:21-3), which would place her birth after the 1835 land cession treaty was signed. Mr. Hume's estimation, while probably not exact, appears more accurate. Mrs. Inkanish, whose husband, John Inkanish, was involved in both the Ghost Dance and peyote religions, was Tall Woman, the Caddo healer mentioned in Chapter 4.

for wild game, they asked for assistance in learning new agricultural techniques and animal husbandry. And when it became clear that the Americans would have their land one way or another, they made arrangements to receive compensation and relocate into the territory of the Spaniards. Their responses were not simply reactive. They were well thought out and the best they could contrive under extreme circumstances.

Despite overwhelming odds – drought, disease, warfare, and Euro-American invasion – the Caddoans of the Red River Valley had successfully maintained a hold on the lands they had possessed "ever since the first Caddo was created" (Caddo Chiefs to Andrew Jackson, January, 1835, CAL). Betrayed by the United States government, they sought out new homelands with their relatives in Texas. Unfortunately, the Americans would follow them there.

Interregnum: 1835 - 1859

The quarter-century between the Caddo land cession and their final relocation to Oklahoma was a time of huge upheaval for Caddoans. Hopes of establishing a homeland in Spanish Texas were dashed when Americans revolted and the battle for Texas began just four months after the land cession treaty was signed.[5]

In the two years between the death of Dehahuit and the signing of the

[5]There are several works that effectively detail the Caddo/white political history of this time, especially Glover 1935, Swanton 1942, Carter 1995.

treaty, no Caddoan leader was mentioned by name in Euro-American documents. Apparently Caddoan leadership underwent transition after Dehahuit's death, but so little is known about the Red River Caddo social structure that the form of this transition can be no more than the subject of speculation. However, the term Grand Caddo – used in reference first to Tinhioüen, then to Dehahuit – does not appear to have been used for any subsequent Caddoan leader.

Dehahuit's designated or hereditary heir is unknown. Seven men signed the compensation agreement of the cession as chiefs and headmen: Tarshar, already noted as principal chief and Tsauninot as underchief, Satiownhown, Oat, Ossinse, Tiohtow, and Chowawanow. Chowawanow did not sign the actual cession treaty, which an additional eighteen chiefs and headmen did sign (in Swanton 1942:90-1).

After the land cession, the Caddo split into at least two major groups – one moving west into the Trinity/Brazos Rivers region in Texas and one settled near the old Nanatsoho territory, now in the Kiamichi district of Choctaw lands in Indian Territory. This may have been the same group which remained in the Caddo Lake region until 1840 (Glover 1935:930).

The Kiamichi area of southeastern Oklahoma, dominated in 1835 by Choctaws relocated from Mississippi, was part of the ancient Kadohadacho territory. By the early nineteenth century, however, the area encompassed by the valleys of the Blue, Boggy, and Washita Rivers had become the hunting

ground for not only the Caddo, but also for bands of Delaware, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Yuchi, and Koasati (Tanner 1974:96-7).

That the Caddo were living within what had become the territory of the Choctaw was in itself a curiosity, since the two peoples had been in conflict for most of the latter part of the eighteenth century. However, by the time the Choctaw were relocated to Indian Territory in the 1830s, they were eager to build good relations with other Indians living within the area. Their agent advised them to take representatives from the Caddo when visiting the plains Indians because of the close relations the Caddo kept with these various peoples (Tanner 1974:97). Also, a band of Choctaw called the Yowani had been affiliated with the Caddo for some time (Hatcher 1919:49).

Exactly how the Caddo divided is not fully understood. According to Mary Inkanish, the Caddo "did not separate as to gens or tribes, but went in groups made up of members of the different tribes. Some Hainai, Cado-dacho, Nadarko, and others in the same group" (Inkanish Interview, August 25, 1929, Hume Collection). Her group, led by a chief called Monwon or Monwell – not a signer of any cession-related documents – settled in Mexico for a while, then with other Caddo in Shawnee territory around present-day Paul's Valley, Oklahoma, before coming to the Brazos reserve. Because of unrest in Texas, her group changed village locations a total of seven times between 1835 and 1859.

Whatever caused the division between the Red River Valley

Caddoans, relations appear to have remained close between the people living in Indian Territory and those in Texas. Mary Inkanish stated that the groups visited back and forth while divided (Inkanish Interview, August 25, 1929, Hume Collection).

As the Caddo prepared to vacate the area east of the Red River within the year after the land cession was signed, the Texans attempted to keep them from settling in Texas. It was believed that the Caddo would use their influence with the Texas tribes to support the Spanish war effort. The Caddo were classed with the Texas Cherokee – aggressive, hostile, and prepared for war against the American Texans (Everett 1990). Reports of Caddo attacks against white people spread escalated.

Manuel Flores, one of the men close to the Caddo who had been evicted from the treaty-signing by Agent Brooks, was known to be among the Caddo and was thought to be inciting them against the Texans. Flores apparently held a commission from the Mexican government and promised that the Caddo would be safe if they followed him to Mexico (Glover 1835:926-7). Manuel Flores could possibly be the Mon-well who led Mary Inkanish's group into Mexico, where they stayed for three years (Gregory, personal communication, November 12, 1997).

Responding to reports of Caddo-led aggressions, Major B. Riley was sent to investigate conditions at four Caddo villages in May, 1836. Riley found the Caddo to be peaceful, but degraded by the use of alcohol. He

assumed that any depredations attributed to the Caddo were probably caused by the use of too much whiskey. Tarshar told Riley that his people wished to live in peace and did not intend to go to war against white people (Glover 1935:930).

After July 1, 1836, part of the Caddo migrated to Texas and joined the "prairie Indians," while some remained in the Caddo Lake region until at least 1840 (Glover 1935:930). More and more aggressions were attributed to the Caddo in Texas. R. A. Irion, Secretary of the State of Texas, wrote to Minister Memucan Hunt: "In almost every skirmish that occurs on our western frontier Caddoes are recognized. They have in several instances, been shot in the act of stealing horses and murdering the Texians. They are not formidable on account of numbers but from their influence with the prairie tribes" (September 20, 1837, in Glover 1935:931).

Whether the Caddo actually were engaged in guerilla warfare against white soldiers and settlers in Texas, or whether the Texans feared their influence enough to attempt to neutralize them, the tension erupted in November, 1836. Texan Thomas J. Rusk invaded United States territory, pursuing the Caddo who had stayed near Caddo Lake back across Red River. The people of Shreveport and the Caddo's new agent, Charles A. Sewell, interceded and protected the Caddo, who were forced to give up most of their guns to Rusk and take up winter quarters on a large island in the Red River near Shreveport (Carter 1995:289-92; Glover 1935:934-6).

The leader of the Caddoans who remained near Shreveport is uncertain, but it may have been either Tsauninot or Cissany [may be Ossinse, a signer of the treaty]. Tarshar, with the majority of the people, had moved into Texas and joined other Indians at the three forks region of the Trinity River. In January, 1838, Rusk and his troops encountered Tarshar's people in the cross timbers area west of the Trinity and burned their villages (Glover 1835:937). Another group, led by Cissany, is thought to have remained in Louisiana near Caddo Station until 1842 (Webb and Gregory 1978:25).

Having been cheated out of a great part of their annuity payments by unscrupulous representatives, the Caddo case came to the attention of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who sent their 1839 annuity payment directly to Captain William Armstrong, the western superintendent. Armstrong wrote the Caddo to verify that they agreed for the year's annuity to be administered by their agent, Charles Sewell, in Shreveport. In July, 1840, the "Chief, Headmen and Warriors of the Nation of the Caddo Indians, residing near Shreveport," wrote in support of Sewell's administration. Tsauninot was one of fifteen Caddo to sign the letter (in Carter 1995:298-9).

In early 1841, Captain Armstrong wrote the commissioner that the Caddo now living in Texas – comprising at least two-thirds of the tribe – had not participated in the annuity payments received by the Caddo who had remained in Louisiana. The son of chief Tarshar requested that the last annuity be paid at Fort Towson in southeastern Oklahoma and "hoped that

the Shreveport Indians would not be participants in the ensuing annuity" (in Carter 1995:300).

A year later, Colonel A. M. Upshaw, Chickasaw agent, informed General Ethan A. Hitchcock that "The Caddos were reduced, he thought, to about 250; that 167 were in the Choctaw Nation and that the last annuity due them was paid this year and now they are without a country and without an annuity and are living here by sufferance of the Choctaws" (in Swanton 1942:95).

After seven years of sporadic warfare, Caddoan leaders were ready to make peace with the Texans. On July 20, 1842, four Muscogee chiefs wrote to Caddo chief Red Bear on the Grand Prairie in Texas, counseling the Caddo on how to keep peace with the Texans. The Muscogee chiefs were responding to a letter sent by an unnamed Caddo, perhaps one of those living in Oklahoma at the time (Winfrey 1959 [1]:137-8).

In addition, Red Bear sought the assistance of Robert Jones, an influential and wealthy Choctaw from Boggy Depot, asking him to serve as intermediary between the Texans and the Caddo. Shortly thereafter, three agents of the Texas government met with Red Bear's representative at Boggy Depot and arranged to meet with the Caddo chiefs in Texas (Swanton 1942:95-6).

A treaty between the Texas government and the Caddo and associated tribes was signed at Bird's Fort on the Trinity River on September 29, 1843.

Among those signing were chiefs of the Delaware, Chickasaw, Waco, Tawakoni, Kichai, Biloxi, and Cherokee. Signing for the Caddoans were Binchah [Bintah], Had-dah-bah [Hadiba], and Red Bear for the Caddo, José Maria for the Nadaco, and Tow-a-ash for the Hainai (Winfrey 1959 [1]:241-6).

A population count was made in 1843. However, it does not appear to represent total population, as the ratio of warriors to total number is skewed. The Anadarko and Ioni [Nadaco and Hainai] numbered together forty-three, with thirty warriors, while the Caddo numbered forty, with twenty-two warriors. José Maria was chief of the Nadaco, Bedi was chief of the Hainai and Besente was his orderly sergeant. Bintah was listed as chief of the Caddo, Red Bear as speaker, Had-dah-bah [Hadiba] as captain, and Ne-est-choo as order sergeant (Winfrey 1959 [1]:281-2).

At about the same time, an artist named J. M. Stanley visited the Caddo in Texas and painted some of the principal leaders. Unfortunately, these paintings were lost in a fire at the Smithsonian Institution. However, Stanley's catalogue with descriptions of the Indians has survived (in Swanton 1942:96).

> Bin-tah, the Wounded Man. Principal Chief of the Caddoes. He derived his name from the fact of his having been wounded in the breast by an Osage; he wears a piece of silver suspended from his nose, as an ornament.
>
> Ah-de-bah, or the Tall Man. Second or Assistant Chief of the Caddoes.
>
> José Maria. Principal chief of the Anandarkoes [Nadaco]. This chief is known to the Mexicans by the name of José Maria, and to the Caddoes

> as Iesh. He has fought many battles with the Texans, and was severely wounded in the breast in a skirmish with them.
>
> Cho-wee, or the Bow. Principal chief of the Natchitoches. This man had a brother killed by the Texans, some four or five years since, while on a hunting expedition, whose death he afterwards avenged by taking the scalps of six Texans.

It appears that, although no longer a separate entity, the Natchitoches chief still held a place of authority among the associated bands. Cho-wee [bow] may be the man who signed the land cession treaty as Chowabah [bow and arrow]. By this time, only three bands were recognized as separate entities – the Kadohadacho and affiliated bands called collectively the Caddo, the Nadaco, and the Hainai. All other bands had apparently diminished so greatly in number that they were no longer counted individually.

In May, 1844, a council was held at Tehuacana Creek Council grounds, called Big Arbor by many Indian people, near present-day Waco, Texas. This council was called by the Delaware, Caddo, Shawnee and other tribes to talk to the Waco and Tawakoni regarding aggression against white settlers. Red Bear, noted as the Caddo Speaker and self-proclaimed as one of the oldest members of his tribe, counseled his plains relatives not to steal horses or cause trouble, as blame would fall on all Indian people. A faction of Caddoans was also included in his admonishments. "Some Caddo, Ioni, Anadarko live with the Tawehash [Tayovayas]. I saw nine going to war and told them to turn back, yet they went on; if red captains talk of peace and go to war their words are nothing" (Winfrey 1960 [2]:42).

Red Bear went on to say that his hands were bloody only from killing deer, which caused a great deal of laughter among the Indians present since Red Bear had never been known to kill game of any kind. His mention of red captains suggests that some sort of red/white,divisions were still recognized.

Bintah – the Caddo chief – Had-dah-bah – a captain – and José Maria – the Nadaco chief – also spoke. Bintah and José Maria, like Red Bear, were elder statesmen who counseled those present to "hold the white path," a sentiment echoed by Had-dah-bah, a young man (Winfrey 1960 [2]:43-5). The Hainai chief, Bedi, told those gathered: "I am an Ioni, and we are now few. our [*sic*] old chiefs have all gone. I have no chief. . . . [T]he old people of my race are all dead and I stand here the oldest" (Winfrey 1960 [2]:53).

José Maria and Red Bear continued to counsel their own people and their allies against committing depredations against white people, but problems persisted, especially among the younger warriors.

By July, 1844, Red Bear noted that all the Caddo who had gone to Mexico had returned to settle with their people in Texas (Winfrey 1960 [2]:82). According to Mary Inkanish, her group started for Mexico after leaving Louisiana, stopping for a little over a year to make crops. A smallpox epidemic caused part of her party to join the Caddo in Texas, while others joined those in Oklahoma. Her people and fourteen other families went on to Mexico, where the government set aside a large plain of land watered by numerous streams. They stayed at least two years on the plain, then settled

near a town called Navia.

The next year they moved to another place and made crop, then "drifted back to Texas" after another smallpox episode – probably about the time Red Bear noted that all Caddo had returned from Mexico. They settled near Big Arbor in an abandoned Cherokee village for at least three years before moving to another location near some mountains. After two years, they moved to an area where there were "Setting-up Rocks." Her group moved to Shawnee country in Indian Territory around present-day Paul's Valley, where they were residing when they received the call to return to the Brazos prior to relocation in 1859 (Inkanish Interview, August 25, 1929, Hume Collection).

On October 9, 1844, another treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce was signed between the Caddo and other Indians of Texas and the Republic. Signing for the Caddos were José Maria for the Nadaco, Bead Eye [Bedi] for the Hainai, Red Bear as speaker for the Caddo, Bintah as Chief, and Codeh, Tah-win, Ish-sha-ho-mo, and Cho-wa as captains for the Caddo. Decater signed as Caddo Captain (Winfrey 1960 [2]:114-18).

By law enacted January 14, 1843, the Republic of Texas was obligated to establish a line of trading posts which were to provide a sort of boundary between the Indians and white settlers. By 1845, only two had been established – that of the Torrey Brothers on the Brazos and one of Mathias Travis on the south fork of the Trinity (Swanton 1942:97-8).

These posts were inadequate to meet the needs of the Texas tribes. In 1845, Thomas Western, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Republic, wrote to Indian agents Benjamin Sloat and L. H. Williams, complaining that Red Bear, Bead Eye [Bedi], and others of their tribes had arrived in the town of Washington, Texas, with several packs of pelts to trade. Western refused to let them trade in the city, sending them straight to Torrey's after giving them provisions and presents. Western told the agents: "[T]heir introduction into the Settlements cannot be tolerated – it must be prevented by the Agents it is in violation of law and of existing treaties, Subversive of order expensive to the Government and very annoying – no indian must be permitted to come below the trading house. . . ." (January 4, 1845, in Winfrey 1960 [2]:160).

Two days later, Western wrote to J. F. Torrey to ascertain if, as he had heard, Torrey's trading house was "destitute of goods. . . . Dissatisfaction among the Indians must be prevented, and our Treaties with them must be rigidly complied with" (January 6, 1845, in Winfrey 1960 [2]:161).

A shortage of trade goods was not the only problem facing Indian agents for the Republic. On January 10, 1845, Sloat and Williams wrote to Western that José Maria, Bintah, and their people had heard that, when their corn was ripe, the whites intended to exterminate all of the Indians. José Maria spoke of the problems of convincing his people that the rumors were false. From his words, the conflict between older and younger tribal members becomes evident (Winfrey 1960 [2]:163-4).

> At the last Council one of the Captains said the old men with grey beards would not tell lies.–My beard is not yet grey. I am a young man, but I speak the truth. . . . For my own part I am not afraid, but my people say I am a fool for staying so near the whites. . . . I do not wish to go around like my young men have done but come straight to the white path, and pursue it. Our women and children are naturally scary, but myself and men are not afraid.

In July, the Caddo and Hainai had about 150 acres of the finest corn Agent Williams had ever seen in Texas. In addition, they had enviable crops of watermelon, pumpkin, beans, and peas. Williams asked Superintendent Western to supply a blacksmith to Torrey's post so that the guns of the Indians, critical for the hunt, could be repaired (July 16, 1845, in Winfrey 1960 [2]:291-2).

Caddoans residing in Texas appeared better off than those in Oklahoma, despite the constant possibility of conflict with white settlers. The Texas Caddo continued to engage in agriculture and hunting, and were also given gifts and supplies by the Republic. Those in Indian Territory, however, depended almost entirely upon hunting to support themselves.

Conflicts were caused by too many people crowded into the area, causing the Creeks to call an intertribal council held in May, 1845. Eight Caddo chiefs attended. The principal speaker for the Caddo was chief Chowawhana (a signer of the 1835 treaty), described by Pierce Butler, the Cherokee agent, in his journal (in Gibson 1961-2:408-9).

> The talk of the Caddo chief was of deep interest. He was a striking man of great personal beauty and commanding appearance. Small in stature, yet beautiful and attractive features, dressed in what would be

> called Indian magnificence, feathers, turbans, and silver bands. His speech was looked for with interest and was very well received. Approving the council, deploring the past and probable future fate of the red man, had been gloomy. future [*sic*] prospects worse, hostility among themselves, destruction of their race and ruin of their children. His people honest and true to the objects of this council. Would, when he got home assemble the people and tell them the talk.

The next year, in 1846, the Republic of Texas became the state of Texas within the United States. Robert S. Neighbors was appointed Special Commissioner to the Texas Indians. On May 30, he visited a village of the Kadohadacho, Hainai, and Nadaco on the Brazos River, forty-five miles from Torrey's trading house. Neighbors found the Caddoans friendly and apparently prosperous, with large fields of corn in cultivation. The village consisted of about 150 houses constructed in the beehive manner long noted for the Caddoans. Neighbors discovered that rumors that the whites intended to massacre all of the Indians were still rampant (Swanton 1942: 98-9).

In the 1849 report on Indian Affairs, Caddoans were found to number about 1200 people (in Swanton 1942:99).

> The Caddoes, Annadarcoes, and Ionies, although having each their separate chief or head man, and living in separate villages are associated together under the government of one principal chief. . . . The Annadarcoes have their village on the Brazos, . . . but spend most of their time some 100 miles within the settlements between the Brazos and Trinity rivers, where they have been permitted to go at their pleasure in violation of the laws of the State, greatly against the will and much to the annoyance of the citizens, and greatly jeopardizing the peace and safety of the frontier. . . . The last three named bands migrated from Louisiana; small parties of them have been in Texas for a number of years, and have been gradually

increasing in strength by migrating parties of their own people, who have followed them.

The agent was obviously mistaken in his assumption that all Caddoans were immigrants from Louisiana. He does at least give us a glimpse of political organization for the affiliated tribes. Although each group had a separate village and leader, they were still represented by an over-chief or political diplomat, just as all Caddoans and their close allies had been represented by Dehahuit until his death. José Maria, the Nadaco leader, was that man.

José Maria, called *Kaadíi Aish* by his people (Julia Edge interview, July 6, 1988),[6] was born around the turn of the nineteenth century near the mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at Nacogdoches. His exact birth date is not known, but he declared himself a young man in 1845 (Winfrey 1960 [2]:163-4). Although his people did not reside in Louisiana, he may have been the "Aach" who signed the 1835 land cession treaty.

As previously noted, there was a very close relationship between the Kadohadacho and the Nadaco which is not clearly understood. If these relations were so close that Aish signed the treaty as a "Caddo," this may give some insight into why he became the recognized leader of affiliated Caddoans in Texas. Oat, the brother of José Maria, did sign the land cession treaty. Aish may have been closely related, possibly matrilineally, to the Kadohadacho

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[6]Also spelled Aisch and Iesh (Carter 1995:295).

leader, Dehahuit.

Baptized at the mission as a baby, he was given the Christian name by which he became known to whites. It is uncertain when he became *kaadíi*, but he was already leading his people by 1836 when he and his second chief captured five surveyors while hunting buffalo near present-day Belton, Texas. The second chief and warriors insisted on killing the men, but one of the surveyors purportedly made a Masonic sign, causing Aish to step between his men and the surveyor, a Mr. Taylor. When asked how he understood the sign, Aish supposedly told Taylor he had been made a Master Mason in a French lodge in Canada (Neighbours 1966:254-5).

Other white people were not as fortunate as Mr. Taylor. Shortly after his encounter with Taylor, Aish and a group of his men were confronted by Benjamin Bryant and almost fifty men seeking Indian raiders. "The noted chief, José Maria, who was riding in front in perfect nonchalance, halted, slipped off his gloves, and taking deliberate aim, fired at Joseph Boren, . . . cutting his coatsleeve. José Maria then gave the signal for his men to fire." Despite being shot in the breast bone and having his horse shot out from under him, Aish led a rout of Bryant's men, killing ten and wounding five others. Years later when Aish visited Bryant's Station, he offered his pipe to Bryant, but Bryant insisted that Aish smoke first as the victor (in Neighbours 1966:256).

Aish became a noted diplomat during the time Texas was a republic,

and was commended by Republic President Sam Houston, as well as by U. S. President James Polk, whom he visited in 1846. He was instrumental in the signing of numerous treaties, and interceded between the plains tribes and white governments on many occasions.

Beginning in 1848, the Texas Indians found themselves besieged by the continued influx of land-hungry American settlers. Hostile, suspicious, and intent upon the complete removal of Indians, settlers and soldiers began a concerted effort to either kill all the Indians in Texas or effect their complete removal. In retaliation for the killing of their people by Rangers on the northern frontier, the Wichita on the Trinity killed three surveyors. Rangers returning from burying the surveyors wantonly killed a Nadaco boy, even though they knew him not to be Wichita. He had, in the past, supplied these same Rangers with game. José Maria's people were outraged, but he kept them from taking action until the matter could be investigated by a grand jury (Neighbours 1966:266).

Thereafter, Major Neighbors relocated José Maria's people to the Brazos area, where Charles Barnard established a trading post. Visiting in 1851, Samuel Cooper, Assistant Adjutant General of the U. S. Army, found that the affiliated Caddoans still maintained separated villages and chiefs, but recognized Aish as "head chief." Cooper noted that the Caddoans were peaceful and friendly toward whites, and cultivated extensive crops of fine corn and other vegetables without the use of hoes. He also wrote that they

felt the United States had failed to meet its commitments as set out in the 1846 treaty in which it agreed to furnish farm implements, cattle, and hogs. Cooper believed that "this trifling investment would pay big dividends in the influence which the sedentary or agrarian tribes had on the nomadic plains tribes who came to trade for agricultural products" (in Neighbours 1966:267).

Skirmishes between the whites and Reserve Indians escalated. Lieutenant William Burnett, a member of the 1st Infantry, wrote his father about the allegations of the Texans. "The people say they have lost a thousand head of horses [to theft by Reserve Indians] in the last year. This Reserve consists of only eight leagues; and as they have the right to come and look for their horses at any time, it would be easy to find some of them within so small a space" (in Estep 1960). Reality played no part in the persecution of Reserve Indians. Only total annihilation would satisfy the Texans.

Neighbors recognized that escalating hostilities between the whites and Indians would result in uncontrolled warfare if circumstances did not change. In 1854, Neighbors secured twelve leagues of land on the Brazos from the Texas legislature to be used as an Indian reservation. Neighbors consulted with José Maria, who addressed the President regarding his hopes that such a reserve would end the hostilities. Speaking of the Indians over whom he had authority, Aish noted that "they had been driven from their homes several times by the whites since they came upon the Brazos, and that they

now cherished the hope that their troubles were ended" (in Neighbours 1966:270).

Relations between the Texans and Indians appeared to be improving when the Indians helped repel attacks by Comanches from north of the Red River in 1858. However, white men with designs on the Indian land began to circulate rumors that the northern raids had actually been initiated by the Reserve Indians. While the warriors from the Reserve accompanied Major Earl Van Dorn against the northern Comanche, 250 white men led by John Baylor – recently dismissed as Indian agent to the Comanche – killed two Indian elders. In retaliation, Aish led fifty old men and boys in pursuit of the whites, who took refuge at William Marlin's ranch house. Taking care not to hurt the Marlin family, the Indians killed seven of the white raiders (Neighbours 1966:273).

Clearly the hostilities between the Texans and Indians would never end. Major Neighbors obtained permission from the government to relocate the Texas Indians to Indian Territory on land leased by the government in the Treaty of 1855 with the Choctaw and Chickasaw. On August 1, 1859, Neighbors and Agent Shapley Ross led two contingents of Reserve Indians on separate routes, meeting a week later at the Red River crossing. Over fourteen hundred Indians, with all they could carry of their worldly goods, crossed into Indian Territory, accompanied by two Second Cavalry companies. Included among those relocating were 218 Nadaco and 244 Caddo (Estep

1960:278). All Texas Caddoans were included in the Nadaco enumeration, and all Louisiana Caddoans were included with the Caddo. The Hainai were not counted separately.

Stories of the hardships accompanying the relocation in the height of summer survive in the contemporary Caddo community. In a letter to his wife, Neighbors compared the flight of the Indians to that of the Jews out of Egypt. "If you want to have a full description of our Exodus out of Texas – Read the Bible where the children of Israel crossed the Red Seas" (August 8, 1859, in Carter 1995:346). Two Nadaco men, one Nadaco woman, and one Caddo boy died along the way or shortly after arrival (Estep 1960:278).

By the end of August, the Reserve Indians had reached the Washita River. Neighbors and his military escort turned the Indians over to Agent Samuel Blain and returned to Texas. The day after reaching Fort Belknap, Neighbors was murdered by a Texan who resented his protection of the Indians (Estep 1960:274).[7]

The Texas Caddoans established themselves near the present town of Fort Cobb, while the Caddo and Nadaco settled above present-day Anadarko. They were joined there by the Caddo already settled in Oklahoma. This group – called either the Kiamichi or the White Bead group – was composed of descendants of the Caddoans who had located to Choctaw country upon their

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[7]The Caddo still visit Neighbors's grave whenever possible, where they place tobacco and pray for the white man they called *teysha*, friend.

removal from Louisiana.

The military post of Fort Cobb was established on October 1, 1859. The Caddoans – once powerful and respected by their European neighbors, betrayed and displaced by the Americans they befriended, and greatly diminished in number – finally came to rest after twenty-four years of social and political upheaval.

From first contact to relocation, the Caddo had been subject to enormous population reduction. This loss resulted in the merging of several distinct bands into two major divisions: the Nabedache/Hainai – known collectively as the Hasinai – and the Nadaco/Red River Valley Caddo. By the end of the nineteenth century, even these divisions would no longer be discrete, as the people became known collectively as the Caddo tribe. An examination of Caddoan history reveals that this type of consolidation was an age-old adaptive response used to supplement population and to offer support and protection to those whose bands were greatly reduced.

Although numbering not quite five hundred people upon relocation to Oklahoma, the Caddo still maintained a level of adaptive efficiency which enabled them to survive and reproduce. Changing political circumstances, generational conflicts engendered by white aggression, population loss, division, merging, and relocation did not eliminate the Caddo people.

In order for the Caddo to perpetuate themselves as a discrete cultural unit, they would have to protect themselves from loss of identity.

Community history, values, and traditions had to be brought forward despite population loss and the merging of bands.

From the individual bands encountered at first white contact, the Caddo came to recognize two major divisions – the Kadohadacho and Hasinai – under the leadership of an overchief and individual chiefs and headmen. Future generations would come to associate earlier band divisions – Nadaco, Nasoni, Natchitoches, etc. – with clans.

This regional consolidation under an overchief is congruent with Caddoan socio-political dynamics at first white contact. As discussed earlier, the three confederacies assumed by Euro-Americans were probably, in fact, two closely related polities composed of separate bands or discrete entities, each having an individual leader – the *kaadíi* – and each of whom was subject to a paramount ruler – the sacred *xinesi* among the Hasinai, and the lineage of the family of Tinhioüen among the Red River valley Caddoans.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Kadohadacho leader served as overchief for all Caddoans. José Maria served in this capacity after the death of Dehahuit in 1833. Although the religious office of *xinesi* appears to have been hidden, lost, or modified, the old structure of individual *kaadíis* subject to an overchief was maintained. It is uncertain how the office was acquired by Aish, or José Maria, nor is it known if his authority was equal to that of Tinhioüen's lineage.

After the war of 1812, the allegiance of the Caddoans was no longer

sought by the United States. The Americans – once purported allies – were now seen as enemies by some Caddo. At best, they were viewed with ambivalence. Dehahuit, a leader venerated by Agent John Sibley and Governor Claiborne, was seen as a barely civilized "brute" by later American administrators. The Caddo, who bragged of never shedding white blood, adapted themselves to easily break this prohibition when they found they had been betrayed by their former allies.

Upon attempting to coexist with their white neighbors in Texas, they found themselves subject to repeated depredations. Consenting to relocate with other tribes to Indian Territory, Caddoans finally found a home on the Washita River, where they remain today.

CHAPTER SIX

INDIAN TERRITORY – OKLAHOMA: FROM NATIONS TO TRIBE

Although Superintendent Elias Rector declared the Reserve Indians to be "entirely satisfied with the country selected for them" (in Swanton 1942:111), Lieutenant William Burnett, who accompanied them to Indian Territory, believed that the harsh territory would impede efforts to "civilize" the Indians. "The Country is certainly about as poor as can well be found any where, . . . exposed to the 'Northers' which . . . are ten times more severe than any where else, I believe" (in Estep 1960-61:379).

Nevertheless, the Caddo immediately began to establish homes and clear fields. Their agent noted in 1860 that, despite their continued harassment by Texans and having suffered a devastating drought, the Caddo had over eighty-four acres in cultivation and had built twenty-three grass houses and eighteen wood houses. The Nadaco had over seventy-three acres in cultivation, with thirty-three grass and six wooden houses (Swanton 1942:114).

The Caddo were barely able to establish themselves by 1861, when the Civil War began and Fort Cobb was abandoned by its Federal garrison. The majority of Caddo are assumed to have "remained faithful to the Federal Government" and relocated to Kansas under Federal protection (Swanton

1941:114), while a smaller group under the leadership of José Maria and George Washington aligned with the Confederacy. It appears that the Red River Caddo and Nadaco remained to support the Confederates, while the western Caddo sought protection from the Union in Kansas, although the division may not be that simple.

A total of 462 Caddoans were enumerated at the time of relocation to Indian Territory in 1859. Both "Ironeyes [Hainai] and Cadoes" were counted among the numbers of the Union Indian Brigade stationed in Kansas in 1862 (Abel 1919:115). In 1864, 520 Caddo and Hainai were reported living in Kansas (Swanton 1942:114), while in 1864 and 1865 the Confederates allotted rations to over two hundred combined Nadaco and Caddo settled on the Washita River (Requisitions for 1864-5, CSAIA). Since the Caddo population barely exceeded five hundred throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Union figures appear to be somewhat inflated – even allowing for some fluidity between the two groups.

C. Ross Hume, attorney to the Caddo in the twentieth century, stated that the "White Bead Caddos" remained settled on the Washita under Confederate administration, while the "Southern or Texas Caddos" relocated to western Kansas (1938:414). The Nadaco under the leadership of José Maria apparently remained with the White Bead group, confirming the old Nadaco/Kadohadacho alignment.

The reasons for these particular Caddoan alliances with Union and

Confederates are unknown. A settlement pattern in which divisions of the same band or tribe are positioned in different areas has been demonstrated as typical among the Caddo. Also, having balanced their dealings between Euro-American powers in the past had allowed the Caddo to benefit from interaction with all sides. Alliances with both the North and South guaranteed that the Caddo would gain some benefit from supporting the victors – whomever they might be.

Black Beaver, the Delaware leader, was used by the Federal government to convince the Caddo to sign peace treaties and take up residence at Indian agencies rather that get involved in a "hopeless conflict against the omnipotent 'Long Knives'" (Hauptman 1995:25). It may be that Black Beaver had relations with the western Caddo dating from the times they were settled together in Texas. But, if as suggested earlier, the Hainai represented the peace or religious side of an ancient Caddoan moiety or dual arrangement, it would make sense for them to be separated from potential conflict. The Kadohadacho and Nadaco – acknowledged warriors – must have had a tremendous animosity for the United States government, which had stolen their lands and left them homeless. It seems natural that they would oppose the Federals.

In 1861, a treaty was signed between Caddoan leaders and Albert Pike, commissioner of the Confederate States to the Indian nations and tribes. José Maria signed as principal chief of the Anadarko (Wright 1951:34). The Caddo

Frontier Guard, a two-company squadron of mounted troops, was commanded for the Confederates by Chief George Washington of the White Bead Caddo. Jose Maria, noted as second chief of the same group, served as captain (Hume 1938:419-20). The guard refused to fight white soldiers, engaging only in battles against other Indian troops.

It is of great interest that José Maria, known to be the Nadaco chief and the overchief of the combined Caddoans in Texas, was recognized after relocating to Oklahoma as the Nadaco chief and the *second* chief of the White Bead Caddo, the group also known as the Kiamichi band – descendants of the Kadohadacho who had entered directly into Oklahoma after 1835.

As previously noted, a close relationship existed between the Nadaco and Kadohadacho. The position of overchief, occupied by the Kadohadacho Dehahuit prior to his death in 1833, appears to have been assumed by the Nadaco José Maria until the Texas Caddo were removed to the Washita reserve, where they were joined by the White Bead Kadohadacho.

This White Bead group may have included descendants of the lineage of leadership among the Kadohadacho, a fact which conforms with George Washington being known as the last hereditary chief of the Caddo. Upon combining with the Reserve Caddo in Indian Territory, this lineage once again gained ascendancy. As noted in Chapter Four, Gregory posits that the Caddo at times concealed their real chiefs and were publicly represented by a kind of chiefly diplomat, like the Squirrel Chief among the Choctaw (personal

communication, December 3, 1996). This may have been the position occupied by José Maria. In fact, it may be that his lineage had always held a similar position within the Kadohadacho paramountcy or polity.

Whatever the reason for the split between Union and Confederate alliances for the Caddo, another relocation had to be traumatic for those who joined the Federals in Kansas. Dr. D. J. MacGowan spent a few days among some Comanche, Wichita, and Caddo, probably settled in Coffee County, Kansas, in 1865. He noted at that time that of the three, the Caddo were "the farthest advanced towards civilization," They lived in comfortable houses, raised wheat, and possessed stock. However, Dr. MacGowan worried about their reproductive health (MacGowan 1865, NAA MS 1814).

> A matter of painful interest, in regard to our Indian population, is their prospective extinction. The prevalence of intemperance is justly regarded as the main cause of the decrease of the aborigines, veneral [*sic*] disease and epidemics, particularly smallpox, are also hastening their destruction and added to these causes of decay is their low degree of sexual desire. They are non prolific. The Caddos though kind to their offspring, are not desirous of many children.

James Reagles, Army Surgeon stationed at Fort Arbuckle in 1866 and 1867, was very interested in the Indians who visited the post. In letters to his nephew and in his private journal, Dr. Reagles recorded his observations on the local tribes. The Caddo, he noted, were "very light Indians, sharp featured and dress in the native custom (almost naked) armed with bow an [*sic*] arrows, and fond of the war paint" (Journal, November 22, 1866, Reagles Collection). He wrote his nephew, James Truax, about an Indian council held

at the fort in December, 1866, attended by representatives of several tribes. George Washington, Jim Potmark, and a few warriors were there for the Caddo, while Tinner represented the Nadaco (December 12, 1866, Reagles Collection). Tinner may have taken José Maria's position as *kaadíi*. The Nadaco leader is believed to have died around 1862 (Neighbours 1966:274).

In the summer of 1867, Reagles spent three days among the Caddo visiting their "camps." He spent the first night at the home of Choe-a-poches, whom he identified as third chief of the Caddo. "These Indians live in grass lodges . . . about twenty feet high and fifteen in diameter, they look nice and are very comfortable." The following day, Reagles traveled three miles further with George Washington to "Bi-yan-oo's camp" where they ate a lunch of "boiled hominy, served out of a brass kettle with horn spoons." On the return trip, George Washington told Dr. Reagles "many traditions relating to the Caddo's, which I will tell you if I ever come back" (Reagles to Truax, June 9, 1867, Reagles Collection). Unfortunately, Reagles wrote his nephew nothing further about the Caddo traditions.

The Caddo who relocated to Kansas and those who had remained in Indian Territory were reunited on the Washita River in 1867. Two divisions were maintained – the White Bead Kadohadacho/Nadaco group settled above Anadarko and the Hainai-dominated group near Fort Cobb.

Show-e-tat or Little Boy,[1] called Caddo George Washington by whites, was the leader of the White Bead Kadohadacho. Caddo George was born in 1816 in Louisiana. He owned a trading post and stage coach stop north of the Washita River, cultivated over one hundred acres of land, and had a two-story frame house. Washington carried on the ancient Kadohadacho entrepreneurial tradition. Like his ancestors before him, Washington positioned himself on a critical trade route and bartered highly-prized, sometimes illegal goods like liquor and firearms (Swanton 1942:116-17; Rucker, n.d.). His place was the first stage stop south of El Reno on the Chisolm Trail (Rucker n.d.).

Washington walked in two worlds, both Caddo and white. While he engaged in commerce and participated in war with whites, his spiritual life was rooted in the old ways. In his later years, Washington became a leader in the peyote religion under the influence of John "Moonhead" Wilson. Earlier in his life, Washington had murdered his own father in retaliation for the elder using bad medicine to try to kill him (Rucker, n.d.).

As related by Ralph Murrow (May 14, 1951, Schmitt Collection), George Washington had become very ill and sought the advice of a mescal doctor. To effect a cure, the doctor removed several objects from Washington's body that had been shot into him by a witch [bad medicine doctor or shaman]. The

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[1]Show-e-tat (Swanton 1942:115) is translated by Swanton as Little Boy. In Caddo, *shúuwi?-ti?ti?* actually translates as Little Man or Little Warrior.

doctor asked Washington whether he should put the objects in the fire – which would then work to harm the witch in the same way as the witch hoped to harm Washington – or to send the objects back – in which case, the witch would be apprised that he had been discovered. Washington wanted the objects sent back to the witch, who turned out to be his own father.

Washington stayed at his home for four days recovering, then gathered four men and rode to his father's house near present-day Caddo, Oklahoma. Washington "knocked on the door . . . like a white man," and entered to discover his father waiting for him. Taking out his axe, Washington hit his father repeatedly in the head attempting to kill the old man. Finally, with the help of his friends, Washington split his father open from throat to pubis (Murrow in Schmitt Collection, May 14, 1951).

> He was all colors of the rainbow inside. . . . They took his heart, lungs and liver out and threw them on the ground. The old man's body was still moving. Finally after some time the old man's body quieted down – he was so hard to kill. They dug a grave and put the old man's body in it – threw the lungs, heart and liver in, too, [but] didn't put it back together. . . . About 4 days later they noticed mescal bean shoots coming up out of the grave – they came from that old man (it was his power). Sometimes people would see a tiger (panther) standing on the grave – he was still doing that business.

Washington handled the situation with his father in much the same way that George Gray remarked that the Caddo had treated a witch in Louisiana some years earlier. It is not known why Washington's father attempted to harm him, but Murrow noted that "witches killed their own folks lots of times – that was the way they tried out their power" (in Schmitt

Collection, May 14, 1951).

The 1870s and 1880s saw the Caddo settling in and adapting to a new environment and changing political conditions. Epidemics continued to plague the Indians after they located in Indian Territory, but a continued consolidation of the two major divisions resulted in some population increase. In 1876, the combined Caddo numbered 467, including thirty Hainai. The following year, 530 Caddo were enumerated, including Hainai who had returned from the Shawnee. The year had also seen some births (Swanton 1942:117).

Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, Caddoan population hovered at around five hundred, a population nadir for Caddoan peoples (Table 7). Although two major settlements were maintained, all Caddoans were counted together as one political unit after resettlement in Indian Territory. The Hainai were apparently interacting closely with the [Absentee] Shawnee settled north of present-day Paul's Valley and were not always counted with the combined Caddo, which may account for the low population totals in 1872 and 1876.

Just when the Caddo were beginning to reach a bio-cultural equilibrium, the United States government once again disrupted their lives by implementing the General Allotment Act of February 8, 1887, allotting 160 acres to each Indian and clearing communally-held lands for white settlement.

TABLE 7

CADDOAN POPULATION COUNTS IN INDIAN TERRITORY/OKLAHOMA

Year	Consolidated Caddo Tribe
1866†	362
1872*	392 + absent Hainai
1873	401 + 50 Hainai
1876	467
1877	520
1879	543
1880	538
1886	521
1888	491
1889	517
1891	545
1894	507
1897	497
1900	497
1903	534
1905	547
1930	1005
1944	1165
1997	3800

†not including those who stayed on the Washita River during the Civil War

*not including Hainai and others living away from the Caddo reserve at the time census was taken

The United States had by treaty granted the Wichita and affiliated bands, including the Caddo, country now comprising the counties of Caddo, Canadian, Blaine, Custer, Washita, and Grady. The treaty, however, was never ratified by Congress (Chapman 1933).

On June 4, 1887, President Grover Cleveland directed that allotments be made to those of the Wichita and affiliates who might be found ready, competent, and qualified, but by the spring of 1891, only one allotment had been made on the Wichita reservation (Chapman 1944:193).

Agent E. E. White's August 18, 1888, report from the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita agency noted that these "Indians seem to be without a single exception opposed to the allotment of their lands in severalty" (in RAIT 1888). Many spoke against it, notably Caddo Jake, Natchitoches-born leader of the Caddo.[2] In an address to the President in Washington, D. C., Chief White Bread reiterated through his interpreter, Punjo, what Caddo Jake had stated a year earlier (Address to the President, February 3, 1888, Hume Collection).

> [The Caddo] did not wish their lands to be allotted to them. . . . because they have no country of their own, [and] . . . because his people lived mostly by hunting and cultivating small patches of ground, and were used to moving from place to place in the spring and summer where the grass was good, and the streams were running with clear water. . . .

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[2]Caddo George Washington, known as the last hereditary chief of the Caddo [more correctly, the Kadohadacho], died in 1883 and was presumably succeeded by Caddo Jake. Jake visited the President in Washington, D. C. in 1887, and was thereafter known to Caddo people as *Hakáyu'kinuiseya'* - Once-in-white-house.

> Such had been the custom of their fathers and fore-fathers farther back than their traditions went, and which they had inherited for so many generations that it had become a part of their nature, and it was hard to get rid of.

A commission to implement allotment among the Wichita and affiliates met at Anadarko on May 9, 1891. Commission Chairman David Jerome promised the Indians that "the Government has a plan, which if you will adopt and try your best to live up to, will give you more comforts and better living to you, and your families, than you have ever had before" (in Chapman 1944:193). Warren G. Sayre, member of the Commission, said that the Wichitas had nearly seven hundred acres per capita, which was "more land than you can use and more than anybody in this nation can use and that is the reason we are come to ask you to take a lesser piece" (in Chapman 1944:193).

On May 11, Jerome opened the conference with a reminder that forced allotment could happen under the "Dawes Bill" if the Indians would not deal with the Commission. Caddo Jake replied that the Government should give the Indians time to send their children to school and educate them before sending such a Commission. He stated that the Wichita and affiliates were not able to take land in allotment, were not able to take care of it, and that they wanted to return to their farm work and "not sit around here and talk for several days." The reservation seemed to him "about the right size" for the Indians, since they wanted to keep the land for the next generation (in

Chapman 1944:195).

On May 13, the Commission submitted to the Wichita and affiliates an offer in which they should cede and forever relinquish to the United States all their right, title, claim and interest in and to the reservation they occupied. The United States should classify said country into grazing and grain growing land, and should allot to each Indian on the reservation 160 acres of land, the title to which the United States would hold in trust for 25 years, during which time it could not be sold or encumbered, nor be subject to taxation. Should any Indian die during the 25 years, then his or her land should descend to his or her heirs (Chapman 1944:195).

Jerome continued to remind those gathered of the benevolence of the Government, who furnished "gratuity rations and beef and clothing" to the Indians. Caddo Jake responded: "It is just this way. The white people know we have no game to hunt and they know it is them that killed them and only took their hides and leave the meat lying around and I think that is why they feed me. . . . [W]hen you have a little more than you want, you don't want to sell it and we don't want to sell it or take lands in allotment" (in Chapman 1944:196).

Nevertheless, the Wichita, Delaware, and Caddo were coerced into an agreement on June 4, 1891, in which each person was entitled to 160 acres of land, and their communal lands were opened to white settlement. Their incorporation into the United States was inevitable, but the question

remained – would they be able to retain cultural if not political sovereignty?

The Caddo people had been continually assailed by both cultural and biological stressors in their not-quite-one hundred year association with the United States. Having achieved a measure of population stability – albeit diminished – in the waning years of the nineteenth century, it became crucial that the Caddo increase their population and reinforce their spiritual lives in order to prevent cultural obliteration by the plains tribes and the white people who surrounded them.

The Ghost Dance

By 1890, Caddoan bands were consolidated into two major divisions within present-day Caddo County, Oklahoma. They were settled much like they had been since first white contact, in small matrilocal groupings usually comprising at least three generations.

They were among the first tribes in the area to adopt the Ghost Dance and likely practiced it the longest. Although the so-called Ghost Dance Movement of 1890 had basically ended among neighboring tribes by the turn of the century, the Caddo continued to hold formal Ghost Dances well into the 1960s. Ghost Dance songs are still sung at Caddo social gatherings and continue to hold a place in the contemporary Caddoan song complex.

The Ghost Dance movement which the Caddo embraced grew out of a vision which the Paviotso (Paiute) prophet, Wovoka, received in 1886 or

1887. The tenets of this pan-tribal religion spread quickly to Indian peoples throughout the northern and southern plains (Thornton 1986:6). Wovoka's revelation offered promise and comfort to Indian people on many levels (Mooney 1896:772)

> [The people] must be good and love one another . . . [and] live in peace with the whites; . . . they must put away all old practices . . . of war; . . . that they would at last be reunited with their friends in this other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age.

Wovoka was commanded in his vision to bring the Ghost Dance to his people who, by performing this dance at intervals for five consecutive days each time, could hasten a reunion with their departed loved-ones.

Wovoka's northern Arapaho disciple, Sitting Bull, brought the Ghost Dance to the southern plains tribes. Several Caddo attended the initial Ghost Dance held in Indian Territory by the Cheyenne and Arapaho on the South Canadian River in the fall of 1890. "On returning to their homes they started the Ghost dance, which they kept up, singing the Arapaho songs as they had heard them on the Canadian, until Sitting Bull came down about December, 1890, to give them further instruction in the doctrine. . . . From this time the Caddo had songs and trances of their own" (Mooney 1896:903).

The Ghost Dance phenomenon of 1890 has been included in studies of revitalization movements which develop among societies undergoing disruption and acculturation caused by political, economic, and cultural hegemony. A revitalization movement is defined as a "deliberate, organized,

conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace 1956:265). The Ghost Dance religion can also be seen as adaptive responses to conditions of extreme bio-cultural stress. The stressors which acted as a catalyst to the spread of the doctrine among the Caddo was multi-fold.

Although devastation of the buffalo herds has been identified as a significant factor in the acceptance of Wovoka's Ghost Dance doctrine among plains tribes among whom the Caddo were included (Lesser 1933:109; Thornton 1986:26), it is doubtful that the return of the buffalo was a primary objective when the Caddo embraced the movement. Although they hunted buffalo and utilized it for subsistence, clothing, and ceremonial activities, the Caddo were primarily "an agricultural people who . . . had only within comparatively recent times hunted the buffalo, [and] this animal was not so all-important to them as to the semiplains and plains Indians in the west and north" (Bolton 1987:101). More critical to the Caddo than the loss of the buffalo herds was the drastic population decline, and resultant cultural impact, resulting from the introduction of European diseases.

The Ghost Dance was not the first Caddoan response to the devastation of European diseases. It has already been noted that Caddoans took deliberate action when confronted with profound population loss. Responses included the eviction of Spanish priests from their villages, the murder of witches, and the petition to American officials to be vaccinated.

If population figures are accurate, Caddo population after the Civil War generally increased until 1880, but declined gradually until 1889, shortly before the Ghost Dance reached Indian Territory. Caddo reproductive health at this time was in question, epidemics were still a problem, and their population had declined steadily for eight years. The promise that the Ghost Dance could eliminate disease and return their lost people made their participation a logical response to the problems confronting the Caddo at a particularly stressful period in their collective history. "The Ghost Dance was congruent with [Native American] systems of belief and knowledge; they performed it deliberately and purposefully" (Thornton 1987: 158).

Trances were an important element in the Ghost Dance religion, as they were the means by which one communicated with departed relatives. Mooney stated that, as the Ghost Dance grew in popularity, "the hypnotic tendency" grew, eclipsing "the original religious excitement" (1896:924). Not limited to the leaders, most participants experienced trance-states and received the benefits of communication with their loved-ones. "Entering a trance signaled that the dancer successfully had embarked on a transcendent journey to the spirit world" (Kracht 1992:460).

Not much is known about Caddo religious practices in Indian Territory prior to the introduction of the Ghost Dance. Early Hasinai religion was similar to that of other southeastern agriculturalists – a priest/leader who mediated between the Creator and the people, the centrality of the sacred fire

to the well-being of the people, and a Green Corn ceremony. How Caddoan religion had evolved after nearly two hundred years and numerous consolidations and amalgamations is not known. No observations of Caddoan ritual behavior were recorded between the mid-eighteenth to late-nineteenth centuries. However, some elements of the Ghost Dance paralleled practices and symbology contained within early Caddoan ritual behavior. It made sense for the Caddo to participate in the Ghost Dance religion, adding and adapting the doctrine to fit their own needs.

Old and new elements were synthesized to make the Ghost Dance fit the ideological needs of the Caddo, probably in a way similar to their acceptance of the Southern Cult. Fowler (1987:9-10) observed that this type of syncretism accompanied times of social and cultural change among the Gros Ventre.

> [S]ymbols are invented, discarded, and reinterpreted as they are adapted to new social realities. A community's view of itself and its past is reconstructed, and new symbols of identity emerge in the light of new social, ecological, and psychological conditions.

Benjamin Kracht reported numerous syncretisms in the revived Kiowa Ghost Dance (1894 - 1916), including symbols from Kiowa ideology, peyotism, and Christianity (1992:462).

The use of a pole around which the dances were conducted, the receiving of visions revealed in trances, and a strong belief in an afterlife were already important aspects of Caddoan ritual life. In 1690, Fray Casañas

observed the Nabedache dance before going to war, stating: "In front of those who are dancing there is a pole and on it hangs a portion of everything they are offering to God" (in Hatcher 1927:214). The sacred nature of eagle feathers used to facilitate communication with the Creator was another component of the Ghost Dance which fit nicely with Caddoan beliefs (Griffith 1954:85; Mooney 1896:903).

Attention to the needs of the deceased – providing sustenance and supplies for their sojourn into the afterworld, speaking soothingly to them before burial, alerting the Creator of their imminent arrival (Griffith 1954:945) – suggests that the Caddo fully intended to reunite in the "hall of the dead" with the spirits of their departed relatives. The Hasinai told Casañas that they "had seen the dead eat what they had carried and that they heard them cry" (Hatcher 1928[31,I]:56). Acceptance of any religion, the practice of which promised to return their fallen members and swell their ranks in *this* world, would certainly be considered a rational act by the Caddo.

Further, the Caddo had been joined in the Red River Valley by emigrant tribes like the Koasati (Coushatta) and Delaware in the early nineteenth century. Both of these nations possessed songs and dances which they performed to take on the spirits of or call back the dead, as did the Caddoan-allied Tunica. These songs and dances were similar in character to

later Ghost Dance songs (Howard 1975:9-12). Four Caddo sisters of Kanoshtsi[3] were said to be able to call back the soul of a deceased person up to a certain point upon his journey to the afterworld (Parsons 1941:38-9).

In 1890, the Caddo and the Black Beaver Delaware were settled together with the Wichita above Anadarko. They also participated together in the Ghost Dance. Mooney (1896:118) noted that: "The Caddo and the Delaware usually danced together on Boggy creek," and one of the primary leaders of the Ghost Dance among the Caddo was Nishkúntu [Moonhead], called John Wilson by whites. Although only one-quarter Caddo and half Delaware, Nishkúntu was considered by most to be Caddo (Mooney 1896:903-4). "Moonhead was the main prophet they had. This included the Delawares and the Caddos, . . . you couldn't very well separate them (Weller interview, November 17, 1967, Duke Collection).

The remarkable accord between the Ghost Dance and Caddoan ideological symbology must have facilitated the decision to adopt Wovoka's doctrine. The reunion with the dead, however, was probably the primary motivator in following his instructions so explicitly.

Clearly the Caddo had suffered devastating population reduction, which they correctly perceived was attributable to their long-term interactions with white people. As they had in the past, the Caddo were prepared to take

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[3]Little Frenchman, John Inkanish, an important figure in the Ghost Dance movement and the husband of Tall Woman, Mary Inkanish.

definitive action to perpetuate themselves as a people.

Thornton posits that Ghost Dance movements were intended to accomplish a demographic revitalization among Native American participants. "By joining the movements, tribes might assure their survival by increasing their numbers through returning the dead to life, which was the most fundamental objective. . . . From this point of view, the Ghost Dances were deliberate attempts to respond to a threatening situation rather than a phenomenon of mass hysteria" (Thornton 1986:xi). The Ghost Dance movement of 1890 offered both demographic revival and ideological reinforcement to the Caddo. The promise of peaceful coexistence with their white neighbors doubtless held some appeal, as well.

The Ghost Dance phenomenon provided the impetus for organized cultural studies to be conducted among the Caddo, beginning with James Mooney. In his study of the Ghost Dance movement of 1890, Mooney provided insight into the adoption of the doctrine by the associated tribes of the Wichita agency – the Wichita, Kichai, Caddo, and Delaware. "The Caddo are the leading tribe, numbering more than half of the whole body. . . . They were the first of these to take up the dance, and have manifested the greatest interest in it from the time it was introduced among them" (1896:903).

After Sitting Bull gave the feather to their leaders, formalizing tribal acceptance of Wovoka's doctrine, the Caddo began to compose their own songs and receive visions out of the trances they entered during the dance.

"From this time . . . [they] went into the dance heart and soul, on some occasions dancing for days and nights together from the middle of the afternoon until the sun was well up in the morning. . . . Cold weather had no deterrent effect, and they kept up the dance in the snow" (Mooney 1896:903).

Seven men, chosen by the "Arapaho messiah dancer" to receive the feathers from Sitting Bull, were "inducted into this religious dance. . . .They were the composers of songs. . . . They belonged to that dance and they could practically hypnotize anybody that they wanted to" (Weller interview, November 17, 1967, Duke Collection).

Led by the charismatic Moonhead, the Caddo still adhered to the Ghost Dance doctrine in 1896 when Mooney's study was published, though most of their neighbors had abandoned it by that time. Concluding his study of the 1890 Ghost Dance phenomenon, Mooney (1896:653) wrote that "the dance still exists and is developing new features at every performance."

Nishkúntu, John Wilson, was near fifty years old in 1890. He would become an important figure in the peyote religion in the years before his death (Speck 1933), but before then, he was probably the most significant Caddo involved in the Ghost Dance religion (Mooney 1896:903-5).

> The principal leader of the Ghost dance among the Caddo is Nishkû´ntu, "Moon Head," known to the whites as John Wilson. . . . He was one of the first Caddo to go into a trance, the occasion being the great Ghost dance held by the Arapaho and Cheyenne . . . in the fall of 1890. On his return to consciousness he had wonderful things to tell of his experiences in the spirit world, composed a new song, and from that time became the high priest of the Caddo dance. Since then his

trances have been frequent, both in and out of the Ghost dance, and in addition to his leadership in this connection.

The seven Ghost Dance leaders were able to doctor the sick, to find lost objects, and to identify wrong-doers. Captain Scott, investigating the Ghost Dance in the winter of 1890-91, said of Nishkúntu: "John Wilson had progressed finely, and was now a full-fledged doctor, a healer of diseases, and a finder of stolen property through supernatural means" (in Mooney 1896:904).

Some Caddo became afraid of Wilson's powers, "not because he would do them any harm but he just knew too much. He could just look at people and tell what they were thinking about" (Ralph Murrow in Schmitt Collection, December 31, 1949).

Wilson's close association with the moon conforms to Caddoan ideology. A connection to the mythological leader, Moon, is reinforced in Wilson's name and in his supernatural communication with the moon. "[Wilson] had much to say also of the moon. Sometimes in his trances he went to the moon and the moon taught him secrets" (Mooney 1896:905).

Caddo women participated fully in the Ghost Dance and sang with the men. Women also composed Ghost Dance songs, some of which were collected by Mooney (1896:1096-1102). Most Caddo Ghost Dance songs concerned a reunion with lost relatives, but others spoke of the return of their original homelands, their mother earth, the Creator, and the eagle. One

song about finding buffalo has been collected, as well as the only known Ghost Dance song about seed corn, attesting to the importance of agriculture to the Caddo (Randlett Edmonds in Lee 1995b:55).

The Caddo sent their own delegation to meet Wovoka in 1891 and returned even more convinced than before that they had followed the right path. When the Kiowa delegate, A'piatan, returned from a visit with Wovoka convinced that the Ghost Dance would not achieve its purpose, he reported his impressions to the surrounding tribes. Many of those gathered to hear A'piatan were disheartened by his words. "Even those opposed to the ceremony remarked that it was one of the saddest days in their memory" (Kracht 1992:459). "The Caddo and their confederates . . . refused to put any faith in his statements, claiming that he had not seen the real messiah or else had been bribed by the whites to make a false report" (Mooney 1896:903).

Mooney observed that, although totally abandoned by some early participants, the Ghost Dance had been integrated into the ritual and ideological lives of many of the tribes who had adopted it (Mooney 1896:927). Alexander Lesser observed that the Ghost Dance movement did not have an arbitrary beginning or end. "In human culture, as in human experience, what has come to attention and prominence never disappears. Either it is retained in some form as a part of culture thereafter, or it leaves its impress and influences upon other aspects of culture" (Lesser 1933:108).

This integration is supported by Elsie Clews Parsons's field research

among the Caddo in 1927. Although one of her informants, Grayson Pardon, told her that the Ghost Dance had not been held since World War I, Parsons noted that the Ghost Dance still figured prominently in Caddo ceremonial life at the time of her visit. Tribal council meetings were called during the Ghost Dance, "since then all the people have assembled" (Parsons 1941:11). At memorial feasts held annually for four years on the anniversary of a Caddo's death, the time and place of the next Ghost Dance was announced (Parsons 1941:38). Perhaps Pardon separated the intratribal Caddo Ghost Dances from the pan-tribal, messianic Ghost Dance which had been a source of such concern for the whites. This could be another instance of masking or hiding important traditions from outsiders, especially since the Caddo thought Parsons might be a government worker of some kind.

Ghost Dances were normally held several times during the summer and early autumn. Traditional chief, Enoch Hoag, was in charge of the Ghost Dance at the time of Parsons's visit in 1927. Mr. Blue [Thomas Wister], Enoch Hoag's younger brother [also the father of Parsons's primary informant, Michael Martin], had been in charge of the Ghost Dance until his death in 1917. He was given this authority because, "long before the land allotment, it was Mr. Blue who had put into order the dancing grounds, . . . hoeing up the weeds for a dance place and erecting the circular arbor" (Parsons 1941:47).

Mr. Squirrel [Joshua Longhat], another of the seven Caddo delegates to visit Wovoka, succeeded Mr. Blue as leader of the Ghost Dance until his

death in 1922. Moonhead, recognized at one time as the leading proponent of the Ghost Dance among the Caddo, died in either 1897 or 1901 in a train wreck while taking the peyote ritual to the Quapaw (Parsons 1941:47; Wilbur Williams, Interview April 14, 1987; Stewart 1987:93).

Parsons described the pole around which the dances were conducted, stating that certain persons climbed the pole to induce trance (Parsons 1941:49). This practice is remembered by contemporary Caddos (Interviews with Clara Longhat Brown, February 3, 1993, and Randlett Edmonds, February 11, 1994).

In the 1940s, this pole was removed from the family dance ground where it was kept, and is now housed in the Oklahoma Museum for Natural History. According to Sadie Weller, (November 17, 1967 interview, Duke Collection), the pole was given to J. W. Stovall when it was no longer used for religious purposes. She recalled, however, that three or four years after its removal from the community, the pole was brought back for a final, formally-conducted Ghost Dance, possibly a healing ceremony described by several contemporary Caddo.

The removal of the pole was traumatic for many tribal members, one of whom, Grace Akins, was brought to the museum on a kind of pilgrimage to touch the pole which had belonged to her grandparents' family. Although Grace said that the government took away the Ghost Dance in 1914, she stated that the pole "continued to be used whenever there was a need." After the

death of her grandfather, White Bread, the pole was given to Mr. Squirrel [Joshua Longhat] (Carter 1995:95-6).

Caddo elders still remember attending formal Ghost Dances. Wilbur "Lefty" Williams, Caddo traditionalist and highly respected singer and composer, compared the ceremonies to "holy-roller" services, stating that the Arapaho would arrive in covered wagons "just like in a dream," setting up camp in a nearby valley, and dancing with the Caddos for days. Dancers entered a trance-like state and passed out, overwhelmed (Wilbur Williams interview, April 14, 1987).

The observance of the ceremony was both precise and strict. When not dancing, however, participants "played hand games and had a covered dish luncheon at noon. All the women cooked and brought the food to the circle . . . . Everybody had dinner together" (Weller interview, November 17, 1967, Duke Collection).

Williams stated in 1987 that Ghost Dances were still called at that time, but they were not conducted in the same sacred or religious manner (Wilbur Williams interview, April 14, 1987). This conforms to information from Sadie Weller, who stated that the Ghost Dance had passed from a religious ceremony to a social dance within her lifetime. Despite the loss of the Ghost Dance pole, however, Mrs. Weller did suggest in 1967 that White Bread's descendants, led by his Hainai son-in-law, Ralph Murrow, continued to practice the Ghost Dance as a full ceremony, stating that this family

"belonged" to the Ghost Dance. When asked if the Caddo had even stopped doing the Ghost Dance, Mrs. Weller replied, "No, we never did. It's been going on for years" (Weller interview, November 17, 1967, Duke Collection).

In a 1950 ceremony conducted to donate a family peyote staff to anthropologist Karl Schmitt, several of the Caddo attended but did not participate. Schmitt noted that the Murrow family did not, for the most part, participate, but attended in honor of the family donating the staff. Alice Weller told Schmitt that her family, the Murrows, didn't follow peyote. Instead, they got their "power from the Ghost Dance" (in Schmitt Collection, December 16, 1950).

Although some contemporary tribal members state that no formal Ghost Dance ceremonies have been held in the community since the removal of the pole, a Caddo dance leader performing on the *Indians for Indians* radio broadcast *circa* 1967 announced Caddo dances to be held from July 13 - 14, stating that the dance on the 13th would be dedicated to the Ghost Dance (Ralph Murrow, Tape 54, IIH Collection, circa 1967).[4]

Ruby Edge Resoff remembered that Ghost Dances were held every weekend during her childhood in the 1930s, and that the historic Caddoan dance complex was practically subsumed by the Ghost Dance at that time.

Although the Ghost Dance songs maintain a place in the contemporary

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[4]Although no date is recorded on this particular recording, from the chronological placement within the collection, the year appears to be 1967.

song repertoire, Ghost Dance songs are no longer composed. Samone Williams and Frank Whitebead are considered to have been two of the most highly respected composers of Ghost Dance songs. Frank Whitebead was thought to be the last person to know the complete Ghost Dance ceremony, and he would not allow himself to be tape recorded. Whitebead felt that the complex should be learned in the proper context, or not at all (Resoff Interview, April 15, 1987).

Many of the old Caddo Ghost Dance songs remain in the contemporary song repertoire in the form of hymns or church songs, sung at funerals and memorial dinners. The Caddo Culture Club, which meets on Tuesday nights to sing and dance, sometimes includes Ghost Dance songs. The Culture Club has been successful in maintaining interest among Caddo youth in the history and significance of Caddo music which expresses tribal history and tradition. Caddo traditionalist, Vynola Newkumet, stated that the Ghost Dance remains "a powerful means of expression" among the Caddo, especially for tribal elders (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:69).

The Ghost Dance has been demonstrated to have maintained cultural significance for the Caddo. The Ghost Dance doctrine brought hope, based on direct supernatural experience, of communication and reunion with the dead. Although the dead did not return, Caddo population did begin to increase – from barely five hundred in 1900 to about 3,800 in 1998. Thornton has demonstrated that tribal participation in the Ghost Dance movement

resulted in positive demographic results by various means, including birth and intermarriage with outsiders. The Ghost Dance movement "'worked' . . . by strengthening tribal identity and distinctions between American Indian and European populations" (Thornton 1986:45).

The Ghost Dance movement of 1890 was embraced by the Caddo for a number of reasons. It represented a positive and deliberate response to the stressors of population loss, allotment, loss of confidence in their own belief system's ability to maintain them as a people, and their devaluation as a nation in the eyes of the United States government. The complex also confirmed extant ideology and provided a means by which to touch the lives of deceased relatives. The Ghost Dance achieved a place in Caddoan ritual life and tradition, introducing new elements which remain today.

Peyotism

At about the same time as the Ghost Dance phenomenon, peyotism was becoming prominent among the plains Indians. Peyote had been utilized by the Caddo and other peoples long before Wovoka's Ghost Dance was introduced. Although two completely separate religions, the Ghost Dance and peyotism were not apparently incompatible (Kracht 1992:462). Many of the same men were involved in both religions – among them, George Washington, Caddo Jake, Enoch Hoag, and John Wilson (Stewart 1987:94).

Wilson is credited with having introduced the plains-style cult of

peyotism to the Caddo (Parsons 1941:53). However, peyote use was documented among Hasinai medicine men in the early eighteenth century, "and, recalling the elaborate ritualism of the Caddo, as well as their various contacts with Christian missionaries, . . . one wonders whether such a background does not constitute part of the explanation of John Wilson. It may put the ancient fire cult of the Natchez and Caddo, Franciscan teachings, the Ghost dance religion, the peyote cult, and the North American churches founded on the last mentioned in one line of descent" (Swanton 1942:121).

The Caddo had also been long-time users of mescal bean medicine (Howard 1957), and were "directly responsible for the diffusion of mescalism to their Plains relatives, along with much of the ritual context for the use of the mescal bean. . . . [T]he Tonkawa and Jumano (and also Coahuiltecan?) were probably the source of Caddo mescal ritualism" (La Barre 1938:218). It should be remembered that George Washington's father was a mescal doctor. The use of mescal, like the Ghost Dance and peyote, facilitated communication with the supernatural.

As with the Ghost Dance, trances and visions were common among Caddo peyote leaders. La Barre notes that the "vision experiences of John Wilson . . . and Enoch Hoag . . . are typical . . . in individuals whose culture background highly values vision-experiences" (1938:18). Parsons noted that the peyote cult among the Caddo had been described "as a sequence of the Ghost Dance cult, but the Peyote cult here . . . has older roots also. At the close

of the seventeenth century it was reported of the Caddo that they had in their dances men and women who got 'drunk on peyote or frixolillo' [mescal beans] and that the people believed everything these persons told them they had seen" (Parsons 1941:53).

Wilson had visions in which he communicated directly with the supernatural Peyote. "[H]e was shown the figures in the sky and the celestial landmarks which represented the events in the life of Christ, and also the relative positions of the Spiritual Forces, the Moon, Sun, Fire." The Peyote Road led from the grave of Christ to the Moon in the sky and was the same road that Christ had taken in his ascent into heaven (Stewart 1987:89). As with the Ghost Dance, Wilson's visions once again connected the central Caddoan mythological figure, Moon, to contemporary peyote practices, in which the moon was also central.

Wilson's form of peyotism was called the Big Moon, Cross Fire, or Moonhead ceremony. Similar in theology to other forms of peyotism, the Big Moon ceremony incorporated numerous western religious elements like Jesus, the crucifix, and the Bible. Wilson apparently practiced Catholicism as well as Indian religions. Another characteristic of the Big Moon peyotism was the centrality of Wilson as prophet and interpreter of Peyote's communications.

Wilson's Big Moon ceremony lost favor among the Caddo, but gained so much popularity among the Quapaw and Osage of northeastern Oklahoma

that it supplanted the so-called Half-Moon ceremony. Most sources have Wilson's death occurring in 1897, but Stewart dates his death to April 16, 1901 (1987:93). The circumstances surrounding his death are not at issue, however. Struck by a train after having conducted a peyote meeting for the Quapaw for which he received payment and a new wife (although he was already married), it was thought by many that Wilson brought on his death through his avaristic use of the peyote religion for personal gain (Stewart 1987:93).

Enoch Hoag, at one time Wilson's assistant and drummer, developed an original variation of Wilson's Big Moon ceremony. The maternal great-nephew of Nadaco chief, José Maria, and later *kaadíí* himself, Hoag and his relatives were prominent in both the Ghost Dance and peyotism. Mr. Blue [Thomas Wister], Hoag's younger brother, was in charge of the Ghost Dance until his death in 1917 (Parsons 1941:47), Hoag was a leader of both the Ghost Dance and peyote ceremony contemporaneously, and each of his three sisters had two husbands, four of whom became peyote leaders (Stewart 1987:93).

The Enoch Hoag moon was noted by La Barre as being preferred among the Caddo at the time of his study, and seems to be the antecedent of the religion as practiced in the contemporary community (La Barre 1939:76). Apparently, however, both sects still had their followers in 1967, when Sadie Weller described methodological differences between the Hoag and Wilson sects (June 29, 1967 interview, Duke Collection).

Hoag's moon was thought to be more "pure and aboriginal" than

Wilson's (La Barre 1939:161). "[Even] the simple matter of leaving the tipi at recesses is involved in schism among the Caddo. . . . [T]he full-blood Caddo, Enoch Hoag's, [is] the 'systematic way,' or 'pure tribal way,' to which they are currently returning; . . . the half-Caddo, John Wilson's is 'any kind of way' (because he is said to have abrogated some of these rules)" (La Barre 1939:80).

On July 10, 1923, chief Enoch Hoag and a committee of Caddo met with Congressman Elmer Thomas at Medicine Park, Oklahoma. A primary purpose of the conference was to explain the sacred use of peyote to Thomas so that he could represent their interests in the legislature. Through his interpreter, Willie Wilson, the son of John Wilson, Hoag reminded Thomas of the religious freedoms afforded by law to white people. "The Indians and you white people have churches and you people worship the same Creator and . . . he doesn't think it right for Congress to put a stop to our religion. . . . [W]e ought to have the right to worship our Creator, according to the dictates of our own conscience" (July 10, 1923, Hume Collection). Caddoan leaders participated in efforts to protect their religion with peyote leaders from other tribes, as well (Central Council of the Native American Church minutes, March 12, 1923, Hume Collection).

When La Barre published his study in 1939, he remarked on the absence of doctoring or curing within the Caddoan peyote meetings, although participants prayed for the sick and held four successive meetings for this purpose, similar to the meetings held on the first four anniversaries of a

child's birth or a death (La Barre 1939:54, 59). Peyote was and is still used as a medicine among the Caddo, however. Julia Edge, eighty-eight at the time of this interview, attributed her survival in the 1918 influenza epidemic to the use of peyote (Edge, July 6, 1988 interview, OHS). Some people keep peyote plants, which they use for medicine, growing in their homes.

La Barre remarked that the Caddo strongly objected to the presence of white men at their meetings, attributing the sentiment to the ill treatment the Caddo had received at the hands of the Americans (La Barre 1939:60). Even today, Caddo Native American Church members shield their religion from non-members. La Barre noted that Caddo practices differed also in that the opportunity was taken in the morning after a meeting to talk to the young boys and teach them moral lessons (La Barre 1939:88).

After the Caddo relocated to Indian Territory, they were subject to aggressive missionizing efforts – especially by the Quakers (Nye 1937:102-3) and the Catholics (Ursula 1938), and many Caddo eventually became Christians. In 1967, predominant Christian churches in the community were Catholic, Presbyterian, and Baptist (Weller, June 29, 1967 interview, Duke Collection), about the same as today.

Although the Ghost Dance faded as a tribal religious focus, the peyote religion is still prominent in the contemporary community. Some community members – especially Catholics – may attend both Christian and Native American Church ceremonies, but most chose one over the other

(Weller interview, June 29, 1967, Duke Collection).

The Native American Church has become the primary "native" religion in the community today. The Caddo no longer maintain a sacred fire as they did in the past; and since we have no information regarding Caddoan religious practices in Indian Territory prior to the Ghost Dance, we cannot speculate as to why or when it was abandoned. As in the past, there does not appear to exist great conflict between N. A. C. members and non-members, who participate together at tribal functions.

Leadership

When Elsie Clews Parsons visited the Caddo community in 1927, Enoch Hoag was serving as chief of what she termed the northern division of the Caddo. There were two major centers of distribution – one in the north around Sugar Creek [Gracemont to Lookeba and east], and in the south along the Washita River from Fort Cobb to Anadarko. The Hainai made up most of the southern division, while the Kadohadacho and Nadaco comprised the northern division (Parsons 1941:8-9; Brown, February 23, 1993 interview).

At that time, no man served the Fort Cobb group as chief. Francis Longhat had recently died, and Harry Age [Edge], Longhat's step-son, was being considered as a replacement. The political consolidation of the Fort Cobb and Sugar Creek groups may have occurred at this time. It is known that Harry Edge did serve as *kaadíi* – presumably for the consolidated group –

after Enoch Hoag. Parsons noted that it was customary for a younger man to apprentice to the chief for training, and the apprentice was usually connected by family to the chief. She observed that the office was not hereditary (1941:10). If she was not mistaken, this was likely a result of a diminished population and smaller families.

George Washington was the last traditional Kadohadacho leader. Washington died with no heir, and it appears that the Natchitoches-born Caddo Jake assumed the office of *kaadíi* for the Sugar Creek group upon Washington's death. According to Parsons, Caddo Jake died in 1914 at the age of 130 (1941:21-2, Gen. II), but the Kiowa Agency Census for 1901 lists his age at seventy-seven, making him ninety in 1914. He was of the Natchitoches band and may have been one of the signers of the cession treaty in 1835. The only Caddo name we have for him is *Hakáyu'kinuiseya,'* Once-in-white-house, given after he traveled to Washington in 1887 to meet with President Cleveland.

Caddo Jake probably served until about 1902 (Newkumet and Beaver 1984:66) and was succeeded by White Bread, his apprentice, according to Parsons. Swanton did not name White Bread's band affiliation, but he indicated a western Caddo origin for White Bread when he suggested that Caddo Jake's people in Louisiana had a more strict, matrilineal descent than the western Caddo "to whom White-bread belonged" (Parsons 1941:12).

White Bread was also involved in the Ghost Dance religion, and had a

dance ground at his place. This ground is now known as the Murrow dance ground after White Bead's son-in-law, Ralph Murrow, a Hainai.

White Bread served as *kaadíi* until around 1913, when he was succeeded by Enoch Hoag. White Bread's original successor was to be Moonlight, but he died before White Bread. Although not in a direct line of inheritance, the office of *kaadíi* was passed down within an extended family. The wife of Caddo Jake was parallel cousin (called sister) to Enoch Hoag, and they all lived in the same settlement. Enoch Hoag took the place of Moonlight, White Bread's nephew and apprentice. Moonlight was related to White Bread through White Bread's wife. It is of interest that the family connections between these leaders was through their wives' families. Presumably, Caddo Jake's wife was Nadaco like her cousin, Enoch Hoag (Parsons 1941:10-11).

Enoch Hoag served as both a political and religious leader among the Caddo – he was involved in both the Ghost Dance and Peyote religions – and was *kaadíi* when Parsons visited the community in 1927. The maternal great-nephew (grandson) of Nadaco chief and sometimes overchief, José Maria, Hoag was born in Texas before the removal, but his birth date is not known. Parsons suggested that men were not named as chief until they were at least forty years of age, and Hoag became chief in 1896 (1941:10). He was probably near seventy-five when Parsons visited the community in 1927, and died two years later, in September, 1929 (Whitehorn interview, June 25, 1969, Duke

Collection).

Hoag's Caddo name is not known, but he must have acquired his "white name" in honor of nineteenth-century Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Enoch Hoag, considered to be sympathetic to the Indians. Meredith and Newkumet (1984: 66) have Enoch Hoag serving as chief from 1913 - 1920, but Parsons stated he was made chief in 1896 and still served in 1927 (1941:10).

According to Hoag's daughter, Lillie Whitehorn, Hoag took over as *kaadíi* from Caddo Jake, who was married to Hoag's sister. Either she did not recall White Bread serving as *kaadíi* or did not consider him because he was not in the correct lineage; but in her mind, Hoag was chosen by Caddo Jake (Whitehorn interview, June 25, 1969, Duke Collection).

> [M]y dad . . . was principal chief of the Caddos. . . . Caddo Jake, he was my father's brother-in-law. He had married my father's sister. He was getting old and he told my dad. He says he was going to give that back to him, that chief business. Turn it back over to him. . . ."Furthermore," he said, "Your greatuncle was the leader of the Caddo people and it rightly belongs to you. . . . You're the one that's supposed to be standing in this place. Not I.

It appears that, with the death of Francis Longhat shortly before Parson's visit to the community in 1927, leadership of the Fort Cobb and Sugar Creek [Hainai and Kadohadacho/Nadaco] divisions of Caddo became consolidated. White Bread's band affiliation is unknown, but he may have been Hainai. Omitting him, all other known *kaadíi* post-1859 were either Kadohadacho or Nadaco until Harry Edge and Amos Longhat, who were both Hainai.

In terms of religion, both Fort Cobb and Sugar Creek leaders were involved in the Ghost Dance and Peyote church. Chief White Bread, Enoch Hoag and his brother, Mr. Blue, and Mr. Squirrel, the brother of Francis Longhat, were all still involved with the Ghost Dance in 1927 (Parsons 1941:49). White Bread's Hainai son-in-law, Ralph Murrow, and his family maintained the Ghost Dance as a religious tradition into the 1960s. Many of the same men served as leaders in the Peyote Church, with the exception of White Bread and his family, which has for the most part continued to eschew the peyote religion.

Before the system of governance for Indian tribes was standardized into a chairman/council organization under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936, three more men are known to have served as *kaadii* – Harry Edge (mentioned by Parsons as a possible successor to the Fort Cobb chief, Francis Longhat), Amos Longhat, and Charles Adams.

On January 17, 1938, the Caddo Tribe organized under the law, receiving a corporate charter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and writing a constitution (Newkumet and Meredith 1984). The constitution provided for a governing body consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary-Treasurer, and two councilmen.[5]

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[5]The constitution has been modified several times, with changes including the addition of more council representatives.

The role of traditional *kaadíi* differed from that of chairman, *nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah,* "one who has the chair." Occasionally, though, the office of chair is held by one who fulfills the requirements of *kaadíi,* as in the case of Melford Williams. Williams was descended from the Kiamichi Kadohadacho (Carter 1995:356), and combined the role of tribal chairman and *kaadíi* in the 1960s and 1970s (Meredith and Newkumet 1984:69).

> The sophisticated leadership patterns of the Caddo that had been in place for centuries had been crippled in the removals of the nineteenth century. The Indian Service of the federal government was no substitute for the Caddo system. . . . Williams felt that the Caddo tradition was central to what he was doing and determined the characteristics of his leadership. . . . Williams, as leader and culture bearer, carried on the tradition of Caddo leadership internally within the tribal structure and played a diplomatic role which was critical in working with the United States government. . . .Where the United States would not offer an acceptable alternative, internal Caddo processes provided paths of action. [Williams's] strength was his understanding of the Caddo tradition in the cosmos.

Caddo leaders after relocation made the acquisition of a land base one of their major priorities. White Bread spoke to President Cleveland about establishing a land base for the Caddo and for compensation for lands lost, telling the President that the issue of land was "something we have been working on for a long time" (Address to the President, February 3, 1888, Hume Collection). The Caddo did eventually receive some compensation for lands they been forced to cede. The Indian Claims Commission in the 1950s awarded the Caddo what amounted to 15 2/3 cents per acre for 590,503 acres they had lost, but the land is estimated to have been worth an average of

$3.48 per acres (McGinty 1963:71-2).

Settlement patterns and Internal Division

Both Parsons in 1927 and Karl and Iva Schmitt in the 1940s and 1950s noticed a tendency for the Caddo to settle matrilocally. Unlike other tribal peoples who inhabited prime agricultural or resource-rich land in Oklahoma, the Caddo were not as greatly pressured to sell off their allotments. Split among several individuals through inheritance, parts of many of these allotment lands remain in family hands today.

These individual allotments, or what remain of them, represent the "home place" of a family. Naturally, matrilocality is less of an issue now than in the past. Young people leave the community to attend college or work and, of course, some lands have been sold off, making settlement patterns unreliable for reckoning matrilocality today. However, elder women in the community recall that when a woman married, her husband came to live with her family.

It has already been noted that two major settlement divisions existed in 1927, one around Fort Cobb and one centered around the present tribal complex near Binger. Although the old east/west divisions are no longer recognized, these two settlement areas remain. Naturally, many Caddo people live outside of these two areas today, but most Caddo enrolled in the early 1990s listed their postal addresses as Binger, Gracemont, Anadarko,

or Fort Cobb (Carter 1995:3).

At the time of relocation to Indian Territory, the Caddo "tribe" was composed of three major bands – the Kadohadacho, the Nadaco, and the Hainai – into which were incorporated the remnants of the other bands that were no longer politically recognized. These bands were still recalled, and many recognized their distinction.

Lesser and Weltfish, who probably visited the Caddo in the 1920s, noted that the Caddo language included several dialects, but at time of their fieldwork the dominant dialect was "essentially the language of the kad'adatc'^{u} band, which seems to have gradually eliminated whatever former dialectic differentiation existed" (1932:13). There is no dialect which can be termed Hasinai (Meredith and Newkumet 1984:64).

What they termed "Caddo proper" was spoken by those of the Nadaco, Nacogdoches, Yatasi, Natchitoches, Aish, Kiamichi, and Kadohadacho. It is uncertain what differentiation was made by the researchers or community members between the Kiamichi and the Kadohadacho, since the Kiamichi band was comprised of Kadohadacho. The Hainai dialect was spoken by the Hainai and Nabedache (Lesser and Weltfish 1932:2).

Informants recalled that all bands once spoke divergent dialects except the Hainai and Nabedache, whose dialects were identical. They told the researchers that Nabedache was a branch of Hainai, which has been confirmed by the ethnohistorical evidence presented above (Lesser and

Weltfish 1932:13).

Noting that Mooney had stated that the Kadohadacho, Nadaco, and Hainai called themselves Hasinai, "our own people," Lesser and Weltfish observed that the term "may have been used by Caddos for some of the people collectively" (1932:13). In fact, it is what Caddo people call themselves. Kadohadacho, the "true chiefs," were the progenitor Caddo – Hasinai are all Caddo.

We have no way of knowing how many major cultural or political divisions Caddoans comprised at first contact, but they were divided into three geographical divisions. At least one of these, commonly called Hasinai, had a ranked hierarchy headed by a priest-chief, the *xinesi*. Whether there was a counterpart among the Kadohadacho is not known, nor whether the *xinesi* was the religious leader of all Caddoans who had a complimentary civil/military leader among the Kadohadacho.

We have no way of knowing if the Red River Valley and Texas divisions at first contact were two parts of a whole or two separate sociopolitical units, but we do know that by the early 1800s, all Caddoans were subject to a Kadohadacho overchief from whom they expected actual and political protection. Caddoan religion is almost totally undocumented for the nineteenth century, so we cannot know whether the position of *xinesi* was maintained.

As previously stated, physical anthropologist Jerry Rose (1984a:252)

believes that genetic markers seen in all populations within the whole Caddo region indicate a common genetic heritage for the Caddo from Fourche Maline peoples originating in southwestern Arkansas, where the Kadohadacho were centered. This is apparently confirmed in the Caddo oral tradition. Caddo Jake told Swanton in 1912 that, after the Kadohadacho had emerged from the earth near Caddo Lake, they began to disperse in groups to look for food, from which their band names developed. The Hainai/Nabedache and Nadaco eventually crossed the Sabine and settled in present-day east Texas (Swanton, Caddo Notes, N.A.A., 1912).

In the present community, band differences are remembered but are no longer recognized as identifiers. Only rarely will an elder remark that he or she is Kadohadacho or Hainai or Nadaco; regional confederacies are not remembered at all. Differences between traditional family practices are probably attributable in part to old band divisions. Bands are often equated to clans, but no totemic clan system is remembered. The descendants of the ancient Caddoan bands, estimated to have numbered more than twenty at first contact, have merged into one social and political unit, the Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma.

CHAPTER 7

THE CADDO TRIBE OF OKLAHOMA

The Ghost Dance can probably be credited with mobilizing the Caddo ideologically at a time of severe population decline. There is scant information on Caddoan religious practices in the nineteenth century prior to the Ghost Dance, but adoption and adaptation of Wovoka's doctrine apparently helped the Caddo survive the population nadir they had reached in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The Ghost Dance crossed cultural boundaries and brought many groups together for psycho-social reinforcement, providing an ideological focus which conformed with Caddo tradition – as perhaps the Southern Cult pantheism had done centuries earlier. The promise of increased population, reunion with the dead, and a peaceful co-existence with whites provided a sense of stability and allowed the Caddo to look forward to a less stressful future. Intertribal interaction also resulted in marriages with non-Caddo participants in the Ghost Dance who had experienced depredations similar to the Caddo. This intertribal interaction provided a means of communal solace, and appears to be associated with improved adaptive efficiency of the Caddo in the twentieth century.

The twentieth century has seen a steady population growth among the Caddo. Noting the increase in population in the first part of the century,

Parsons assumed that, "Obviously the criterion for tribal membership has been changing" (1941:8). However, it has been demonstrated in this work that adoption and marriage with outsiders were common means by which the Caddo built diminished population. Also, reproductive health apparently improved with increased stability, and couples began to have more children. Parsons's inclusion of three genealogies in her 1927 work reveals that several Caddo born after relocation to Indian Territory produced more than four children each. Although she does not include ages for each person, it appears that many of the births came after 1890.

Enoch Hoag had two children with his first wife, one of whom later had six children. Sadie Shemamy and Mr. Squirrel [Joshua Longhat] had at least five children. Mary Inkanish [Tall Woman] had two children by her first husband and six by John Inkanish. Five of those six had between three and five children each (Parsons 1941:21-3).

Detailed population studies are warranted. The present enrollment is around 3,800, and enrollment criteria are one-eighth blood quantum with documented descent from an original allottee (Carter, personal communication, December 23, 1997).

As with many contemporary Native American groups, economic issues remain a problem for the Caddo. With no natural resource base or industry, the tribe has no real political or economic impact within the American political and economic system. Caddo Nation does, however, have

a strong voice within Native America. The Caddo are one of the only Indian nations to have had long-term interaction with archaeologists and the tribe has had agreements with archaeologists for many years. The tribe is actively involved in repatriation issues, and has recently received a $750,000 community development grant to build a tribal museum which will serve as an educational facility and will house artifacts which are repatriated.

The Fritz Hendrix[1] tribal facility near Binger, on land donated by a White Bread descendant, has a cultural center with an indoor dance arena, as well as the tribal dance ground where most community dances are held. The White Bread/Murrow family dance ground is also still in use. Since 1970, cultural preservation has been a tribal mandate. In the 1970s, the Hasinai Cultural Center was incorporated to "develop and save Caddo lands, customs, music, crafts and traditions. . . . To encourage our youth to maintain a strong interest in their tribal values and . . . to study and preserve the Caddo language, dances, and history" (Meredith and Newkumet 1984:69). Although the organization was disbanded after the deaths of several leaders, the Caddo Culture Club has arisen to take its place. The tribe, through the efforts of members like Cecile Carter and Stacy Halfmoon, has in recent years received grants to document and preserve both oral and material traditions.

The Culture Club stresses the involvement of young people, and tribal activities are well-attended by Caddo of all ages. Lowell "Wimpy" Edmonds,

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[1]Son of Caddo Jake.

named as Keeper of the Songs by the tribe, acknowledged that language loss makes teaching the songs difficult (in Lee 1995b:68, 72).

> Our Caddo language is just about gone. It is hard to try to teach our young ones the songs with the words in them. . . . It looked like we might lose [the songs], but we started the Caddo Culture Club . . . and the kids are learning. When we first started, we'd have to tell them what we were going to sing or dance – we'd tell them how to do it. But now we start a song, they know what dance it belongs to. I think our language is gone, but I think we can keep the songs going.

Caddo song and dance traditions remain strong despite a lack of fluency. Language loss in the community is critical and probably irreversible and is a real tribal concern. Loss of fluency is certainly a negative adaptation. There are less than one hundred fluent speakers today and none are under sixty years old. Efforts to teach Caddo language have been sporadic, and a language immersion program has not been instituted. Caddo language has evolved into a kind of liturgical language. Speakers are called upon at tribal events – dances, birthdays, funerals, reburials, etc. – to pray in Caddo, but Caddo is rarely spoken conversationally or outside of a ritual context.

The songs and dances of the Caddo form the core of tribal identity and are the focus of tribal social and ceremonial activities. "Sacred dances" are the Drum Dance and Turkey Dance complexes (Leon Carter in Carter 1995:49), and their performance is strictly observed. Vynola Newkumet and Howard Meredith tied the songs and dances to the cultural identity of the Caddo (1988), and they are still the means by which traditional history is related.

The more than fifty Drum Dance songs recount the mythological

beginnings of Caddoan peoples. The Drum Dance is the first in the night's cycle of dances and is always performed at tribal functions. Male leaders and singers carry the drum clockwise "in harmony with the earth's movements" around the dance ground. They begin in the west, stopping at each of the cardinal directions before returning to the point of beginning. "The Hasinai have moved through their history each time the dance is performed. It makes them one with their ancestors" (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:3)

The Turkey Dance must be danced before sunset, and is integral to the cultural tradition of the Caddo. The Turkey Dance is sometimes called the victory dance, and the fifty-two songs relate specific battles or events in Caddo history. The turkey is not a totem among the Caddo, and there are several explanations regarding the origin of this song complex and the reason it is danced before dark (Carter 1995b; Newkumet and Meredith 1988).

The most common story involves a young warrior out hunting who followed the sound of beautiful songs and came upon a group of turkey hens dancing around the gobblers. He "caught" their songs and brought them back to the Caddo, by whom they were incorporated (Lowell Edmonds interview, June 24, 1994). As to why they are danced only in the daylight hours, it is said that Caddo women wore black shawls trimmed with black cut beads which caught the firelight as they danced. The victory dances were only danced in the daylight hours to prevent enemies who tracked the warriors from catching the reflections of the beads as the women danced, leading them to

the Caddo village (Burnett interview, April 14, 1987).

The Turkey Dance belongs to the women. Originally, they danced to honor the men, and the exploits of the warriors were related in song. Only in the last phase are men chosen by the dancers to join them. Many of the songs recount ancient battles with the Osage, Choctaw, Apache, and Tonkawa. Others relate significant events, like the creation of Caddo Lake. New events may be incorporated into the traditional history by any of the dancers (Newkumet and Meredith 1988:103-4).

Some of the songs are in ancient dialects like Aish, Neche, Kichai, and Natchitoches, no longer understood even by fluent speakers, but the cultural and historical information contained within the songs is ingrained in tribal memory.

Frances Cussen Kodaseet dances with the Spanish staff of office brought from Louisiana by her great-grandmother, Tall Woman, Mary Inkanish. On September 1, 1979, the staff was returned to the Cussen family by Winona Williams, wife of Melford Williams. Leon Carter officiated at the ceremony, and spoke about the history and significance of the staff (Leon Carter, September 1, 1979, Newkumet Collection).

> This staff was brought up from Louisiana . . . by one who a lot of us here call Grandma Inkanish, . . . a great turkey dancer, a great lady, a fine lady, and everybody had a lot of respect for her. . . . This staff has been handed down for two, three, four generations, and Winona is the last owner, the present owner of the staff, and so what she wants to do is to give it back to a surviving member of Grandma Inkanish's family.

Another group of songs, Riding Songs, have no associated dances, but they are also rooted in history. One is so old that it relates the story of two brothers who killed an enemy wearing Spanish armor (Edmonds in Lee 1995b:54). Other Riding Songs recount the Caddo removal from Louisiana (Lowell Edmonds, personal communication March 13, 1995).

The Native American Church and Christianity have taken the place of tribe-specific religion. Unlike the Creeks and Seminoles to the east, the Caddo appear to have no internal division along religious lines. Participation in a Christian denomination does not preclude participation in the Native American Church. "There's all kind of denominations in the Native American Church" (Lowell Edmonds interview, June 24, 1994).

A close relationship has been maintained with eastern traditions, as well. The Caddo have incorporated stomp dance into their social repertoire and visit back and forth with the Creek, Seminole, and Shawnee, all of whom they are connected to through marriage.

Obvious continua from the ancient Caddo belief system are apparent in burial practices which are maintained in the community today – the use of ochre; the burial of material items with the deceased; food, fire, and water offerings at the grave site and for four years after burial; carrying the casket clockwise around the grave four times; orientation of the grave head east, feet west; ritual smoking of the family with cedar; and the passing of hands down the corpse to take on the spirit of the deceased (Lee 1988). Burial traditions

vary from family to family, but at least some of these practices can be observed at most community funerals.

Tribal dances are held several times a year. It is especially in these social situations that Caddoan oral traditions are maintained and community membership defined. Intra-group social encounters and interactions are the arenas in which community standards of behavior and belonging are defined. Participation in tribal social occasions is crucial to community membership, and most of the Caddo living in Caddo County or in other areas of central Oklahoma are active participants.

The Caddo social unit now comprises a speech community, membership in which is not constrained by a common language, but is determined by knowledge of shared meanings, rules of conduct, interaction, and interpretation (Foster 1991, Hymes 1974, Gumperz 1972). The concept of the speech community is well-suited to define the contemporary Caddo.

The Caddo have partially abandoned their ancient religious system, they have lost fluency in their native language, they have incorporated non-Caddo symbols and traits, and they have adopted members from outside. Yet, despite severe population reduction, the coalescing of many bands into one tribe, and the loss of sovereignty and homeland, the Caddo have maintained their social identity. Why they were able to persist when other groups more numerous and powerful did not is probably not completely knowable. However, some characteristics of the historic Caddo are suggestive.

When encountered by Europeans, the Caddo had experience with outsiders because of their ancient and widespread system of both material and ideological exchange. Caddoan leaders were confident in their ability to garner support from other tribes and to act as middlemen in the regional exchange system, making them critical to advancing European interests.

Caddoans were apparently enjoying overall adaptive efficiency and good reproductive health at first contact, and had a dispersed settlement pattern that probably helped buffer the effects of epidemic disease. The coalescing of smaller bands with the Hainai and Kadohadacho – with whom they were biologically and socially connected – provided psycho-social and population reinforcement.

We can look at adaptive responses to identify some instances of stress and adaptation in the historic Caddoan population. Many of the examples of adaptive responses (Tables 8 and 9) were based upon individual innovation, but were enacted at the population level (Ellen 1982:246). Adaptive responses can be organized into response modes which are used to avoid or modify an environmental property [stressor] (Thomas et al. 1979:26-33).

The response modes are very general categories, and adaptive responses may easily fit more than one mode, address more than one stressor, and have numerous outcomes. For example, diminished adaptive efficiency evident in a reduced birth rate, as noted during the Civil War (MacGowan 1865, NAA MS 1814), may have resulted from biological stress

TABLE 8

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CADDOAN ADAPTIVE RESPONSES

ENVIRONMENTAL PROPERTIES	RESPONSE MODES	ADAPTIVE RESPONSES	NEGATIVE ADAPTATIONS/ OUTCOMES
Interaction with French traders	Conformity •Accommodation	Adoption/marriage> development of fictive kinship	
Crop failure	Avoidance	Relocation closer to European settlements	Increased exposure to Euro. pathogens
New commercial opportunities	Conformity •Accommodation	Relocation closer to European settlements	Increased exposure to Euro. pathogens
		Changes in production •increase in hunting for hide trade	Increasing dependence on European goods, alcohol
			Diminished importance of Caddo trade items, salt & bois d'arc
			Diminished material culture
	Resistance	Chose their trading partners & who would represent them before foreign government	
		Increased hostility when they felt cheated	
	Resistance •Masking	Diplomat/chiefs to deal with outsiders	
Missionization	Conformity •Accommodation	Allowed outsiders to settle near villages	Increased exposure to Euro. pathogens
			Increased depenency on Euro. goods
	Resistance	Only nominal religious conversion	
		Refusal to relocate to mission sites	
		Hostility •rejection of priests/soldiers	
Population decline	Avoidance	Village relocation after severe disease episodes/raids	
	Buffering	Coalescing of bands/villages	
		Individual land sales	

TABLE 9

POST-1800 CADDOAN ADAPTIVE RESPONSES

ENVIRONMENTAL PROPERTIES	RESPONSE MODES	ADAPTIVE RESPONSES	NEGATIVE ADAPTATIONS/ OUTCOMES
Trade with U. S./ factory system	Conformity •Accommodation	Acceptance of U. S. Indian agent with no fictive kin ties	Development of cultural schism/ misunderstanding/ misrepresentation
	Resistance	Maintenance of ties and trade with Spanish Texas	
Encroachment of American settlers	Conformity •Accommodation	Allowed Ind. Agents to relocate non-Caddoan tribes to Caddo territory - asked to have boundaries set around their territory	Geo-political marginalization of Caddo along ethnic lines [Indian-American]
	Avoidance	Relinquishment of Red River homeland and relocation to Texas and Okla.	Instability, threat to identity, increased exposure to disease as they drew closer to allied tribes
	Resistance	Aggression against Amer. citizens	Loss of life, increased Amer. aggression
Removal to Indian Territory	Avoidance	Moved to escape genocide by Texans	Instability, loss of political status, dependency on U.S.
Civil War	Buffering Avoidance	Split in remaining Caddo population, Kansas/Okla.	Instability, possible decrease in fecundity
		Decreasing birth rate [may also be linked to nutrition]	
Population decline	Buffering	Asked for vaccinations	
		Reduction in birth rate	
		Coalescing of bands into one social and political unit	
		Acceptance of Ghost Dance and Peyote Religion	
Reservation/ allotment	Conformity •Accommodation Buffering	Increased interaction and marriage with non-Caddo Indians	
		Religious syncretism	
		Participation in U. S. education and social programs	Language loss
	Resistance •Masking	Discouraged participation of non-Indians in Peyote Church	
		Hid religious aspects of Ghost Dance from outsiders	

due to disease, social stress due to geo-political instability, or ecological stress resulting in poor nutrition. Reduction in births may have been a conscious decision, or a result of diminished fecundity.

The Caddo today are not the Caddo of the sixteenth century. They do not practice the same religion, subsistence strategies, politics, or economy. From several affiliated bands with individual dialects and traditions, they have become a speech community which does not depend upon a single language.

The Caddo may experience internal division along lines such as family/band, blood quantum, and location, but as a social and political unit, they have common goals and stand together when faced with external stressors. They have demonstrated the ability to adapt to stressors and accept innovation, while maintaining a distinctive social identity which reaches into the past and helps the Caddo address the future.

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IMAGE EVALUATION
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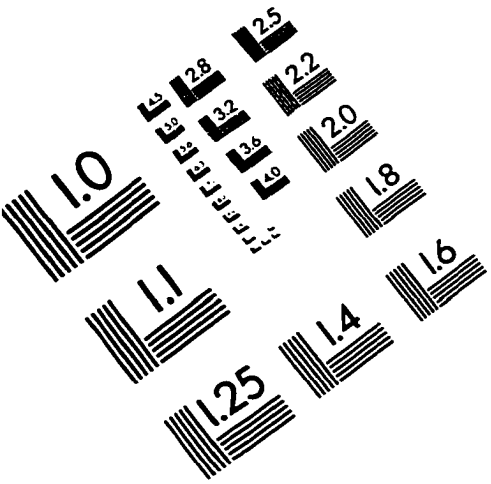

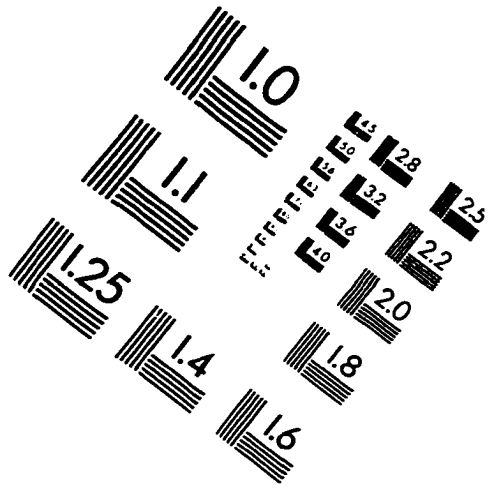

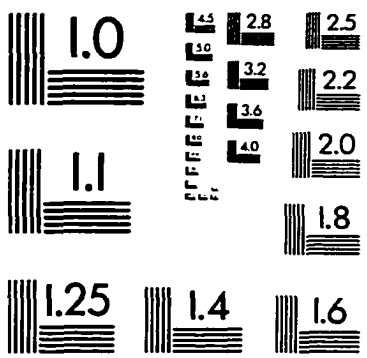

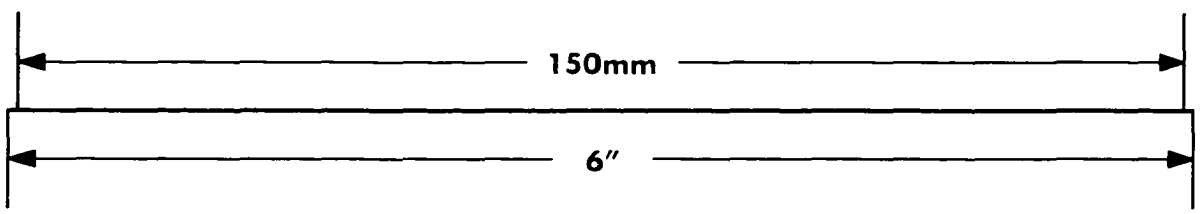

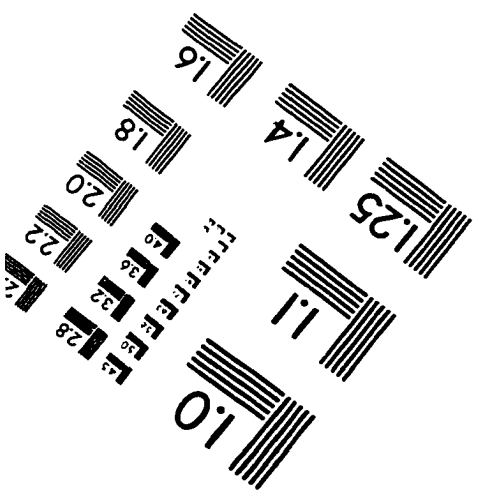

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