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"Historical Processes and the Political Organization of the Hasinai Caddo Indians": A Reply

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In a recent volume of the *Caddoan Archeology Newsletter*, Daniel Hickerson (1995) argues that Apache aggression across the Southern Plains, Apache trade in horses and other European goods, and European-introduced diseases dramatically affected Caddoan populations by encouraging their migration south to the upper Neches/Angelina river basins area traditionally occupied by one segment of the Caddo, the Hasinai groups. In his opinion (Hickerson 1995:12), the Hasinai confederacy was a nascent chiefdom that developed as a direct result of this mid-to late-seventeenth century southern migration. As has been pointed out by Caddoan ethnographers, ethnohistorians, and archeologists for 50 years or more, the Caddo were affected by a number of historical processes that resulted from the European exploration and settlement of the New World, and we would agree with Hickerson that these are worthy of study and continual reexamination. How-

ever, it is our view that Hickerson's consideration of historical processes has only dealt with a fraction of the available archeological and archival/documentary literature on the Caddo peoples, and this reliance on a limited sample of this material has led to a portrayal of Apache aggression and its effects on the Caddo populations in eastern Texas that is overdrawn and misleading. Furthermore, Hickerson incorrectly characterizes the limitations of the eastern Texas environment, leading to depictions of the region, as an impenetrable forest that stood as a defensive barrier, that do not stand up to scrutiny. Finally, a failure to differentiate between the Caddo and Southern Plains Caddoan-speakers causes Hickerson to inappropriately attribute to the Caddo the effects of Apache hostilities directed against the Pawnee and Wichita, close tribal allies (Meredith 1995:20-21).

Caddoan Coalescence and Apache Aggression

Hickerson (1995:7) argues that Apache aggression "was a major concern for the Hasinai" and that "violent encounters" between the two groups were

increasingly common after ca. 1650. The fundamental cause of the increased aggression, according to Hickerson (1995:8), was Apache acquisition of

large horse herds and Spanish weapons obtained through trade and also through raids on the Spanish and Puebloan settlements in New Mexico. These horses and weapons enabled the Apache to extend their territories to the north and east where they preyed on the Wichita, Pawnee, and, ultimately, the Caddo. It is Hickerson's (1995:8) opinion that, by 1660, the Apaches had "acquired their reputation...as the fearsome and hostile warriors who dominated the southern Plains, a reputation that stayed with them through the eighteenth century". The Caddoan response, says Hickerson (1995:9), was population aggradation in the territory of the Hasinai Caddo between the Neches and Angelina rivers. This region was apparently chosen because it was at some distance from the Apaches and was heavily forested, a condition that Hickerson believes was a barrier to horse travel.

It is our opinion that Hickerson's arguments and conclusions are not well supported by documentary or archeological evidence, although we concur that hostilities did exist between the Caddo and the Apache. For example, the French (Margry n.d., roll 3:348) noted the conflicts with the Apaches in 1687, and, in 1691, Casañas (Swanton 1942:251) listed the Apache as one of the enemies of the Caddo. Hidalgo's (Swanton 1942:269-271) letters offered further support of the enmity between the Apache and the Caddo. Statements of Apache/Caddo hostilities are also present in the writings of Mendoza (AGN 1683),

Lopez (AGN 1684), Paredes (1968:475), Posada (1982:36), Olivares (BA 1719), and others.

There is, however, no archeological or documentary evidence that the level of these hostilities overwhelmed the Caddo or caused their coalescence between the Neches and Angelina rivers. With regard to the archeological data, to date, no sites with abundant evidence of warfare have been identified on the Southern Plains or in eastern Texas. To be sure, only a few historic sites that may be attributable to the Apaches have been identified on the Southern Plains (Spielmann 1982; Habicht-Mauche 1987; Boyd *et al.* 1994:242; Johnson and Holliday 1995), and the paucity of systematic surveys in the region may account somewhat for the lack of evidence of Apache/Caddoan aggression in that region. More likely, the difficulty in identifying Apache sites is a product of Apache mobility, band structure, and limited time depth in Texas (Black *et al.* 1996:56). However, that is not true for the eastern Texas Caddo region where archeological investigations for the last 60+ years have resulted in surveys of large land masses and in the identification of a wide variety of historic Caddo sites from the Red River to deep eastern Texas (Pertulla 1993, 1995). This includes important Caddo sites such as Deshazo (Story 1982, 1995), Mayhew (Kenmotsu 1992), many other Allen phase sites in the Neches and Angelina river drainages (Cole 1975), Kinsloe phase sites on the Sabine

drainage (Jones 1968), the Goode Hunt and Clements sites near the divide between the Sulphur River and Cypress Bayou (Perttula 1992:188-195), and post-1600 Texarkana and McCurtain phase sites along the Red River (Gilmore 1986; Gilmore and McCormick 1980, 1982; Perttula *et al.* 1995). Although arrowpoints have been recovered in quantity from some of these sites, European weaponry (*i.e.*, gun parts and/or knives) is minimal in an archeological context at any Caddo sites before 1740, and those sites with human remains have no evidence of violent deaths.

In essence, then, the archeological assemblages and settlement/community patterns indicate that these historic Caddo sites were the residences of closely interacting and well-integrated small-scale agriculturists. Moreover, the sites in the Angelina and Neches river basins appear to have been occupied as extended family farmsteads (Kenmotsu 1992) or as small hamlets of several farmsteads (Story 1982, 1995; Cole 1975) that were widely dispersed across the landscape around public buildings used by the tribal leaders. Father Douay in 1687, for example, commented that the Caddo in the Neches/Angelina river basins lived in a community "at least twenty leagues (about 50 miles, as a league is equivalent to 2.76 miles) long, not continuously settled, but with rancherias of ten or twelve huts" (Hackett 1931-1946, Vol. I, para. 361). We detect no defensive posture in the

small, dispersed, late seventeenth century Hasinai communities in eastern Texas.

Contrary to Hickerson's thesis, then, there is no archeological evidence that the Hasinai Caddo communities were occupied by large enclaves of migrant Caddos from regions to the north. Rather, the Caddo rancherias were widely separated from one another by unoccupied lands and hunting territories. Although Hickerson (1995:8) contends that the Apache aggression was sufficient to cause the Caddos and their allies "to concentrate their settlements for the benefit of mutual protection", the archeological record does not support his thesis.

In part, Hickerson's assumption of Apache/Caddo warfare stems from his failure to distinguish between the Caddo, a distinct Native American group occupying the Piney Woods and Post Oak Savannah of eastern Texas, northwestern Louisiana, southwestern Arkansas, and southeastern Oklahoma, and Caddoan speakers, notably the Pawnee and the Wichita. Although the latter share a linguistic base with the Caddo, glottochronologists suggest that, for at least 4000 years, the Caddo language had been evolving separately from the Pawnee or Wichita (Chafe 1990). Ethnological (Swanton 1942) and ethnohistorical (Perttula 1992; Smith 1995) studies support the separation of the Caddo as a distinct cultural and tribal entity from the Pawnee and the Wichita. Because Hickerson lumps Caddoan

speakers with the Southern Caddo speakers (the affiliated Hasinai, Kadohadacho, and Natchitoches groups), his conclusions regarding hostilities often rest upon documentary evidence related to the Wichita and/or Pawnee, but not to the Caddo.

Spanish and French documents dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries do, as noted above, support the notion of Apache/Caddo hostility. However, our interpretation of the data from those documents differs significantly from the position taken by Hickerson. It is our opinion that the documentary record indicates: 1) that the Caddo were cautious, but not overly concerned about the Apache; 2) that the Apache were only one of several groups with hostile relations with the Caddo, but that this hostility did not prevent the Caddo from regularly hunting and trading across central and southern Texas before and after they had the horse; 3) that the East Texas forest never imposed a barrier to horse travel; and, 4) that while the Apache certainly were actively hostile to eastern groups, their push to the east was largely forced upon them by the arrival of the Comanche in the Southern Plains, interrupting the Apache-Spanish commerce in New Mexico in the early eighteenth century (Kavanagh 1986:60-64; John and Wheat 1989:76; John and Wheat 1991:157, 170). Each of these points is discussed below.

The documentary evidence indicates that the Caddo were not overly

concerned about the Apache as a hostile force. We believe that this lack of fear relates to their own fighting abilities, their acquisition of the horse, and their large population base. When the French first encountered the Caddo, they noted that the Caddo raided to the west (across the Trinity and Brazos rivers), often returning with Apache captives whom they subsequently tortured to death (Margry n.d., roll 3:363). A few years later, the Spanish priests Espinosa (Swanton 1942:294) and Casañas (Swanton 1942:251) wrote that the Caddo undertook war parties to the west to seek out their enemies. Although each of these authors acknowledged the enmity between the Caddo and the Apache, none described large numbers of casualties on either side resulting from the hostilities, and none indicated that the Apache were the "major concern" for the Caddo that Hickerson (1995:7) has portrayed.

Hickerson (1995:8) believes that horses were important in the Apache's success against the Caddo. However, this position fails to acknowledge that, by the late seventeenth century, the Caddo themselves acquired horses in quantities that facilitated their ability to procure bison hides and meat, that were a boon in their trade with the French and Spanish, and that granted success in their raids of enemies. By the late seventeenth century, most Hasinai families had three or more horses (Margry n.d., roll 3:298, 325, 333). Throughout the eighteenth century, Gregory (1973:292) has further

documented that the Caddo continued to supply horses and hides (deer and bison) in large numbers to the Europeans (see also Perttula 1994). In 1744, more than 100,000 hides passed through Louisiana, many through the French post at Natchitoches (Gregory 1973:239). The Caddo obtained some horses by raiding Apache camps (Margry n.d., roll 3:325); others were acquired through trade with Native American groups other than the Apache (Smith 1995:16), particularly the Jumano and Wichita groups. In short, another look at the documentary record clarifies that the presence of the Apache to the west was insufficient for cessation of Caddo travel to the west, south, and northwest, areas that Hickerson (1995) considered to be the strongholds of the Apaches, to obtain the hides that they traded to the French in Natchitoches.

The Caddos' confidence appears to have been partly based on their population. Seventeenth century descriptions of the Caddo by both the Spanish (AGN 1684; Posadas 1982:36; Paredes 1968:467; Massanet 1957; Casañas [Swanton 1942]) and by other Native Americans (e.g., AGN 1683, 1684) indicate that they were a large, populous nation living securely in their homeland. Fray Nicolas Lopez (AGN 1684) wrote of the "vast and powerful kingdom of the Tejas (Caddo)" when he met their ambassadors in west-central Texas. Several months earlier, a Jumano Indian in El Paso stated (AGN 1683) that the Tejas often visited each other's settlements and were a large, powerful,

and populous nation. This general impression of the Caddo held, and in 1686, Paredes (1962:467) wrote in his overview that the explorations of Martin and Castillo in 1650 had not penetrated the lands of the Caddo "because it was recognized as being expansive and filled with many people". This impression is supported by Joutel's statement in 1687 on Caddoan fighting policy:

For that is their way of making war, in Turkish fashion, giving no quarter; they bring back these scalps as trophies, so that the huts of the warriors and brave men are known by the number of scalps in them (Margry n.d., roll 3: 340).

The impression, then, is one of a large, confident Indian nation that neither feared, nor underestimated, their western enemies, and that was known to initiate attacks on their own accord (Margry n.d., roll 3:284).

The documents also illustrate that the Caddo had other enemies. In 1691, Casañas (Swanton 1942:251) wrote that their enemies included "Apaches, Caaucozi, and Mani." Espinosa (Swanton 1942:286) added the Yojuanes to this list, and Joutel wrote in 1687 that the Choumanos (Jumanos), friends of the Cenis (Hasinai), often joined the Hasinai in attacks on the Ayano or Canohatino. The Caddo also had long-standing hostilities with the Osage, Choctaws, and Chickasaws (Smith 1995:14). Smith

(1995:15) further points out that while "the Apaches quickly earned the enmity of all the Indians of Texas by stealing from the other, more established tribes", it was the Osage who "struck terror in the hearts of the Caddos" (Smith 1995:14). In sum, the documents do not substantiate Hickerson's contention that the Apache represented the most feared, or even the only, enemy of the Caddo.

We also take exception to Hickerson's (1995:12) statements that the dense forests of eastern Texas served as protection against savage Apaches because they represented a barrier to travel. As noted by Joutel (Margry n.d. roll 3:290), Casañas (Swanton 1942), and all subsequent observers, the Caddo had their own horses which, as Smith has noted (1995:14), thrived and multiplied in the eastern Texas environment. The ability of horses to negotiate and maneuver in this setting is further underscored by the quantity of horses brought by Moscoso, De Leon, Terán, and others to the region in Spanish exploration and colonizing efforts. To be sure, as Hickerson (1995) notes, difficulties were encountered in these expeditions. However, the diaries indicate that the difficulties centered upon the problems attendant in crossing large, flooded rivers, and that flooded rivers were common not only in eastern Texas but also central and southern Texas. Terán (AGI 1692; Foster 1995:69) had to wait 12 days to cross the Trinity, and, on the same return to Mexico, was forced to wait at the Rio Grande because

of floods. Governor Gregorio de Salinas Varona, traveling in 1693, was also forced to deal with swollen rivers (Foster *et al.* 1993), as were other expedition leaders. In other words, the rivers were temporary barriers to travel, but the forests were not.

It is unreasonable for Hickerson (1995:9) to characterize the Hasinai territory as remote. Existing aboriginal trade routes, trails, and later Spanish trails across Texas all led to the Hasinai, in particular to the Nabadache Caddo on San Pedro Creek, and then on across the Neches River. Not coincidentally, this location is also marked by the earliest, largest, and probably most important prehistoric Caddo mound center south of the Sabine River, the George C. Davis site (Story 1990:325, 340-341). The Caddo construction and use of this mound from as early as A.D. 800/900 indicates that this part of the upper Neches River had been an significant population center long before the protohistoric era as Hickerson suggests.

Finally, we argue that the reason for Apache aggression against the Caddo and a number of other Southern Plains groups did not stem from their acquisition of the horse and Spanish weapons. Rather, their aggression stemmed from the inexorable push of the Comanche into the Southern and rolling Plains. Summaries of the shifts in Comanche and Apachean territories can be found in Kessell (1979), John (1975), John and Wheat (1989), and Kavanagh

(1986). These researchers point out that once the Spanish recognized the prominence of the Comanche newcomers, they found it expedient to negotiate trading pacts with the Comanche and abandon a century of Apache alliances (John and Wheat 1989; Jackson 1995:226-227). Left at the mercy of the Spanish and the Comanches, the Apaches moved south and east. By 1700, they were in La Junta de los Rios, Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, and, occasionally, central Texas (Kenmotsu 1994:270), locations well to the south and east of their earlier range. Four years later, groups of Apaches pleaded for peace in El Paso following retaliatory raids by Spanish forces (AHP 1704; NMA 1710). In 1712, they were introduced to Ramirez in La Junta, and they indicated that they sought amicable relations with both the Spanish and the resident native groups (AGI 1716). Other reports of their requests for peace and/or alliances with native groups along the Rio Grande in Texas (Salinas 1990), and with Spanish military commanders in Mexico, are relatively common in the Parral archives. Those pleas for peace were a dramatic reversal of the regular and consistent small raids that they had previously undertaken against the natives in those regions.

As Kessell (1979), Kavanagh (1986), and John and Wheat (1989) have demonstrated, the reversal can be attributed to their replacement by the Comanches at the nexus of the Plains/Spanish relations and trade

networks, and to the Comanches' military dominance of the Southern Plains within a few decades of their arrival in the early eighteenth century. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Comanches pushed the Apaches into regions, such as the fringes of eastern Texas, where their presence had been merely sporadic. The Apache themselves became "refugees driven...by the even more formidable Comanches" (Adams 1991:211). Indeed, the Comanche and Apache were implacable enemies, as Cortes indicated in his 1799 report:

The most irreconcilable hatred that the Apaches hold, and the war that they carry on most tenaciously, are against the Cumanche Indians. This hatred is as old as the nations themselves, and the war is waged with utmost vigor by the groups nearest to them, that is, the Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, and Lipanes. There is no other apparent origin than that both the Cumanches and the aforementioned nations seek to have certain exclusive rights to the buffalo which abound to an astonishing degree on the lands of both sides (John and Wheat 1989:76).

As the Apache moved east and south out of the eastern Apacheria, conflicts with native inhabitants resulted. In La Junta and other southern regions, the Apaches sought to resolve the conflicts

through peace. The Coahuiltecan groups, however, were displaced by the Apache after 1680 as the latter moved across the Edwards Plateau in search of sources of horses (Campbell 1983:345). On the

eastern margins of the Blackland Prairie, however, the Apache either could not, or were not able to, find resolution through peace. Instead, they raided the Caddo and were, in turn, raided by the Caddo.

Populations and Demography

Hickerson (1995:6-7) argues that the Caddoan area, the Hasinai and Cypress Creek basin areas included, was more dispersely settled and less densely populated than Mississippian settlements in the Southeast, thus less susceptible to the spread of epidemic diseases. This runs counter to much recent archeological work on Mississippian communities, where there is actually little uniformity but much diversity among these polities in the character of settlement systems and settlement amalgamations, as well as in relative population densities (Rogers 1995:23-25). Thus, Caddo settlements and population densities in East Texas were likely comparable to Mississippian groups in much of the interior Southeast.

It is interesting that Hickerson (1995:7) asserts that the Hasinai area was lightly settled. When the DeSoto-Moscote entrada came through the Caddo province of Guasco ("an island of relative plenty" in the upper Neches/Angelina river basin according to Hudson [1996]), the Spanish were provisioned three times in a single year, a considerable achievement for a "lightly settled" province. Furthermore, the Cypress Creek basin was not sparsely populated; rather, it was perhaps the most densely populated region of northeastern Texas until at least the early 1600s, as large settlements and community cemeteries abound along Big and Little Cypress creeks and tributaries.

Caddo Archeology in the Neches/Angelina River Basin

Although this is not the place for a detailed review of the archeology of the upper Neches and Angelina river basins, the ancestral homeland of the Hasinai Caddo groups, the most current consideration of prehistoric and early historic sociopolitical organization provides no support for Hickerson's (1995:12)

argument that the formation of a Hasinai confederacy was strongly influenced by the migration of Caddo groups from north and west (apparently the Nasoni and the Nadaco, according to Hickerson). Rather, the archeological record of the Anderson Cluster (the Frankston and Allen phases) indicates that:

[t]he Allen Phase [ca. A.D. 1600-1750] is believed to have developed out of the Frankston Phase [ca. A.D. 1400-1600] and, more importantly, to have shared the same form of organization, kinds of intergroup interaction, and settlement patterns. In sum ... Late Caddoan groups in the upper Neches and Angelina drainages were socio-politically united, and this unity prevailed with only minor changes from perhaps A.D. 1400 into early historic times (Story and Creel 1982:34).

The archeological evidence summarized by Story and Creel (1982) does not suggest that the historic Allen phase is the product of the incorporation of Caddo groups from north of the Sabine River, or for that matter from any other part of the eastern Texas region. In fact, the distribution of known Allen phase archeological components (Story 1990: Figure 56) encompasses a larger area than that recognized by the Spanish for the different Hasinai groups.

If Caddoan groups from the Cypress Creek and Sulphur River basins moved into the Hasinai Caddo region beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, as Hickerson (1995:10) asserts, then we

may posit that there should be some indication of a sharing of ceramic styles and technology between the post-1650 Hasinai components (the Allen phase) and the antecedent Nasoni and Nadaco groups north of the Sabine River. In general, this part of eastern Texas was occupied by Titus phase groups after ca. A.D. 1450 (Thurmond 1985; Perttula 1995:Figure 10), and distinctive Titus phase engraved ceramic styles and vessel forms are well known. If we examine the ceramic assemblage from the early eighteenth century Deshazo site, the best known historic Caddo site in the upper Neches/Angelina river basin, it is readily apparent that Titus phase ceramics (Perttula 1995:Figures 11 and 18) are not present and, in fact as Fields (1995:228) notes, "there are no apparent nonlocal ceramics in the Deshazo collection". As with other Allen phase assemblages throughout eastern Texas, the Deshazo ceramics are dominated by Patton Engraved bowls (Story 1995:242). Ripley Engraved, the most recognizable Titus phase ceramic style, is absent, as are engraved bottle forms (Perttula 1995:Figure 11d-e, h), another distinctive vessel form that is common in Titus phase assemblages. From this evidence, there appears to have been little sharing of ideas or interaction between the Hasinai Caddo households at Deshazo and any Cypress Creek Caddo groups.

Conclusions

In sum, Hickerson (1995:20) is correct in stating that "identification of the historical processes taking place in the material and social environment are important to any understanding of the influence on sociocultural change". However, by focusing on Apache aggression, Hickerson's article does not serve to better identify those processes that shaped Caddo lifeways after European contact, nor does it accurately reflect current archeological and documentary literature on the Apache or the Caddo, perhaps because it largely relies on only a few Spanish documents out of the hundreds available that are relevant.

Hickerson's statements that the Apaches had a reputation as fearsome and hostile warriors "that stayed with them through the 18th century" is misleading. It is fair to characterize the Apache in the eighteenth century as a series of bands that were to be approached with caution and not to be ignored. Moreover, they

were more actively fighting with eastern groups, including the Caddo and the Wichita groups, during the early to mid-eighteenth century (BA 1719). Significantly, this was the time that the thriving traffic in Apachean slaves began to develop between the Wichita, Hasinai Caddo, Comanche, and the French and Spanish markets at Natchitoches and Los Adaes, respectively, fueled principally by Wichita and Comanche raiding for horses among the Apache (Gregory 1973:261-268, 287). Thus, to depict the Apache as fierce and successful warriors throughout the eighteenth century, killing hordes and forcing Caddoan coalescence in the Neches and Angelina river basins, fails to recognize the lack of archeological evidence of either Apache aggression or Caddoan coalescence in those river basins, but moreover also ignores the documentary evidence that strongly supports the notion that the Caddo were recognized by other Native American groups as a powerful nation that could, and did, undertake their own punitive expeditions against their enemies.

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