CADEOAR RELATIONS WITH THE INDIAN RACE

PREVIOUS TO 1801

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PREFACE

The early history of the Caddoan Family can be conveniently divided in three epochs. It appears that sometime during the prehistoric age the family trekked from the west or southwest. At the dawn of history the Caddoes were found to be divided into three groups. The European Adventurers found the Southern group located in the northeastern part of Texas, and northern part of Louisiana. The Middle Group had trekked farther to the north, and was located in the valleys of the Canadian and Arkansas Rivers; and the Northern Group still farther north in the valleys of the Platte, and Missouri Rivers.

As the European became better acquainted with the Southern Group, it was found to be divided into two strong confederacies. The Hasinai confederacy was located in the northeastern part of Texas, and for more than two and a half centuries was in friendly alliance with the Spanish. The Caddo confederacy was located on Red River in northwestern Louisiana. For over two centuries this confederacy was under the influence of the French. It was always friendly to both the French and Spanish.

By the rights of discovery, both the French and Spanish laid claim to the regions occupied by those two confederacies. The unfriendly relations of the two European nations, and the introduc-
tion of European diseases wrought havoc to the Caddoan group.
At the beginning of history the combined strength of the two
groups represented a population of over 10,000 souls, while in
the course of a few decades this number declined to a few hundred.

In 1765 peaceful relations were established between the French
and Spanish, and the whole of the Southern Group was controlled
by the Spanish Government. Trade relations were placed on a more
stable basis, and peaceful alliances were formed between the Caddoan
tribes, and tribes of the North. The western tribes of the Middle
Group, known as the Confederacy of the Wichitas, was forced southward
by the attacks of the Apaches. And during the last half of
the eighteenth century, the Middle Group and the Southern Group
were gradually united.

An Early History of the Caddoan Family could not be otherwise
than brief. Many records of the early adventurers have been destruc-
ted, and many others are not available. It is hoped, that in
the near future, old records, that are molding and decaying in
foreign capitals will be made available to research. Dr. Herbert
Eugene Bolton has probably done more than any other, to bring to
light the early history of the Caddoan tribes.

The data used in the composition of this paper has been
selected principally from primary sources. Where secondary sources
have been quoted, the information was based upon primary sources.

The writer is indebted to Professor T. H. Reynolds, Head of
the Department of History of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical
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Charles Raymond Cox.

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CHAPTER I
THE CADDIAN FAMILY

When Columbus landed on the Island of San Salvador he found it inhabited by a primitive folk, which he mistook for the islanders near India. Later records proved these people to be of a new race, and because of their color they are called the Red Race. That they are related to one of the older races can not be doubted, but their origin is unknown. At what date, or by what route they came to the New World is still an unsolved problem. It is probable that some time in the future a more thorough knowledge of the Indian languages may furnish a clue to the primitive history of the tribes that spoke them.\(^1\)

The languages spoken by the prehistoric tribes of North America were many and diverse. A study of the culture and archaeological remains of the various regions has caused diversity of opinions. The meanderings of tribes and sub-tribes during the prehistoric epoch has so mixed the aborigines that an exact classification is practically impossible. Explorers and missionaries were the pioneers in the study of the languages and customs of the various tribes. The coast tribes were the first to be civilized, or pushed back into the interior. The study of the records of the early adventurers, and the classification of languages made by recent students has caused the tribes to be divided into a great number of linguistic stocks, or families.

\(^1\) Redpath, John Clark, A Popular History of the United States of America, p. 41.
At the close of the prehistoric epoch the Caddoan Family occupied a place among the major divisions of the linguistic stocks of the Indians of North America.\(^1\) Sometime during the latter part of the prehistoric era the Caddoan Family became divided into three major divisions, and each of these divisions has divided into tribes and sub-tribes as we know them today. As to the origin of the Caddoan Family, it is unknown, but they probably came to the south central part of the United States from the west or southwest. The general movement of tribes since the discovery of North America has been to the southward. This is more noticeable among the Plains tribes than among the tribes near the Gulf of Mexico.\(^2\)

Tradition places the origin of the Caddoan Family in a mountainous region, and according to the tradition they were destined to be an agricultural folk.\(^3\) From the earliest records the Caddoan tribes have been cultivators of the soil as well as good hunters. They were skilled in the arts of pottery-making, weaving, and the dressing of skins.\(^4\)

During the prehistoric epoch the Caddoan Family seemed to

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1. Schoolcraft, Henry R. Indian Antiquities. Part III, 596
have moved from a region located in the southwest. The tribe
to take the lead was probably the Caddo Proper, the other di-
visions of the Family coming in the following order: the
Hasinai who settled to the southwest of the Caddo; the Wichita
who settled to the west; and the Pawnees who settled to the
northwest. At the time of the coming of the white race the
Caddoes had dwelt so long in the region of the Red River in
Louisiana, that they regarded it as their original home or
(1)
birth-place.

It was a custom of the Indian families to form confederacies
against their enemies. The confederacies would rise and fall
much as did the kingdoms of the European World. The early
Europeans found the Caddoan Family formed into confederacies,
and those were remnants of older confederacies.

With the dawn of history we find the Caddoan Family divided
into three divisions. The largest group, known as the Southern
group, occupied the region along the Red River in the present
states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma. This group
at an early date was divided into three divisions; viz., the
(2)
Caddoes Proper, the Hasinai, and the Wichita. Their kinsmen,
the Pawnees, or Middle group, were located in Kansas, and Nebraska,

1. Ibid., I, 182.
2. Ibid., I, 179, and II, 739.
and the Arikaras located farther north, in the North and South Dakotas. Recent research of the culture and archaeological remains places the division of the northern groups in the east central part of Oklahoma. At that time they were inhabitants of the Arkansas River Valley, from the mouth of the Cimarron to a point below the Arkansas State line.

In the Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Powell divides the Southern Group into three major tribes, known as the Caddoes, Wichitas and Kichais. He also mentions many tribes related to some tribes of the major group.

In considering the early location of the three major tribes we are led to locate the following as approximate boundaries; beginning on the northwest in Oklahoma where the Canadian River crosses the 100th meridian, following that river to a point

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3. p. 61. "Dr. Sibley locates the Caddo habitat 55 miles west of the main branch of Red River which is about 120 miles by land from Natchitoches, and that they formerly lived 375 miles farther up that stream. Cornell's Atlas (1870) places Caddo Lake in the northwest corner of Louisiana in Caddo Parish. It also gives both Washita and Wichita for the name of a river in the southern part of Arkansas. This duplication of names seems to show that the Wichitas migrated from Arkansas."
near Allen, Oklahoma; thence due east across the Arkansas State line to the headwaters of the Washita, or Wichita River in Polk County, Arkansas; thence through Arkansas and Louisiana along the western bank of this river to its mouth; thence southwest through Louisiana striking the Sabine River near Salam and Belgrade; thence southwest through Texas to Towakony Creek and along that stream to the Brazos River; thence up that stream to Palo Pinto, Texas; thence in a northerly direction to the beginning. In the northwest part of this region is located the Wichitas, in the southwest the Caddoes and in the central part the Kichais.  

The Caddo tribes were located on the Red River and its tributaries in northwestern Louisiana, northeastern Texas, southwestern Arkansas, and southeastern Oklahoma. In their wanderings they ranged as far north as the salt springs in Arkansas, as far west as the buffalo plains in Texas, and as far south as the Gulf coast. They were an agricultural people and their homes were more permanent than those of their more war-like kinsmen of the Plains.  

The Wichita tribes that lived both by agriculture and hunting the buffalo were located in southwestern Oklahoma and

1. Ibid., pp. 59-62.
the north central part of Texas. In their wanderings they ranged as far north as the Arkansas River, and as far south as the headwaters of the Brazos. (1)

The Kichai, the smallest of the southern Caddo divisions, spoke a language closely related to the Pawnee. They were first located on the upper waters of the Red River, and later moved southward to the upper waters of the Trinity. They seem to have been allies of the western tribes and to have intermarried with the Kadohadacho. (2)

Early records show the divisions of the Southern group to have been two strong confederacies, and one general confederacy. The earliest records mention the general confederacy as the "Texas" (texivs, techan, thecas, teyas, techas, etc.). The early Spanish explorers were inclined to believe that the term, or terms, represented a great kingdom, but later records prove that the term was applied to some fifty tribes who were enemies to the Apaches. (3) The name Texas was most commonly used by the Spanish writers, from whom the French and English borrowed it, to designate the tribes of the upper Neches and Angelina valleys. However, it was sometimes used to designate the

1. Ibid., II, 947.
2. Hodge, Ibid., I, 682.
single tribe. When used in this sense, it was applied to the Hainai, the leading tribe of the Hasinai confederacy. As to the geographical use of the term, for the first quarter century of Spanish occupation, it was applied to the tribes east of the Trinity, but with the founding of the settlements at San Antonio, the term extended westward, more in harmony with the native meaning, to the Medina River, and then gradually to all the territory of the present state of Texas. While the name Texas was commonly used by the natives of eastern Texas, its real meaning was that of a salute, as "hello friend" a greeting of the allies who were enemies to the Apache; the natives themselves in speaking of the tribes about the missions of the Neches and Angelina valleys used the term Hasinai, or Asinai.

The name Hasinai is said to represent an early confederacy organized of tribes of Caddoan stock and to have existed before the later Caddoan Confederacy. It was made up of ten tribes the most important of which occupied prominent places on the later organization. This confederacy occupied the region west of the Sabine River on the Angelina and upper Neches Rivers. None of the tribes lived as far west as the Trinity River. The leading members were the

Hainai, Nacogdoche, Nebedache, Nasoni, and Nedaco. The Hasinai like the later confederacy were an agricultural folk. They lived in scattered villages in large conical, communal, grass lodges, and raised extensive crops of maize, beans, calabashes, and sunflowers. They were excellent hunters and hunted the bear and deer in the nearby woods, and they made regular trips to the prairies to hunt buffalo. It is an evident fact that this group of tribes known as the Hasinai confederacy was a separate confederacy from that of the Caddo. (2)

Many names are found in the records concerning the early history of the Caddoan group. A tribe could be spoken of in three ways: First, by the proper name, which generally referred to the share or part taken by it in religious rites or ceremonies, wherein all the villages of a tribe had a place. Second, by its secular name, which was often descriptive of its locality. Third, by the name of its chief, or line of chiefs. Thus there was a confusion of names, several of which might mean the same tribe or village. This confusion was augmented when not all of the tribes of the same confederacy spoke the same dialect; a mispronunci-

ation or an error in translation causes a new word to be recorded. For illustration Hodge lists forty-two names all synonymous to Kadohadacho. (1)

The early location of the Caddoan confederacy was along the banks of the Red River from the present site of the City of Natchitoches to above the great bend in Arkansas and Oklahoma. The best known members of this group were the Kadohadacho, (Cadohadacho, Grand Cado, or Caddo proper) Petit Cado, upper and lower Natchitoches, Adaes, Yatasi, Nasonites, and Natoos. The fact that there were two divisions of the Natchitoches, one on the lower Red River and the other on the Great Bend in southwestern Arkansas makes it much easier to trace the route of Moscoso travels (2) after the death of De Soto.

The native term for Caddo is Ka-ede, (Kadohadacho) (3) signifying "chief or principal people." The number of tribes that were formerly included in the Caddo confederacy can not be determined. Mooney (1896) revised the list as follows, naming ten tribes of pure Caddo stock and two that were adopted from foreign tribes:

(1) Kadohadacho

(2) Oklahoma
(3) Anadarko
(4) Nacogdoches
(5) Natchitoches
(6) Natchitoches
(7) Yatsis
(8) Adai
(9) Bysish
(10) Kanaswan
(11) Imaha, a small band of Kwaip.(1)
(12) Yowani, a band of Choctaw.(2)

The name Hainai was used by the natives in speaking of the first three divisions, which may be significant of their prominence at that time when the confederacy was over-lapping and absorbing members of an older organization, and as the

2. Ibid., II, 1001.
Hodge, op. cit., I, 600. Imaha, a Quapaw village mentioned by La Metairie in 1682 and by Iberville in 1699, and visited by La Harpe in 1719. It was situated on a southwest branch of the Arkansas River. In the wars of the 18th and 19th centuries some of the Quapaw tribe fled from their more northerly home and took refuge among the Caddo, finally becoming recognized division of the confederacy. Kappler, Charles J., Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties. 2d ed. 58th Congress, 2d Session, Senate Documents, XXXIX, p. 210, and p. 396. The Quapaws were friendly with the Caddo, in 1824 they signed a treaty with the United States ceding their land to the U.S. agreeing to settle among the Caddos; and to become a part of that tribe. They settled on Bayou Treashe on the south side of Red River in Louisiana. An area of territory was given to them by the Caddo. Because of unhealthy conditions they ceded this territory back to the Caddo, moved to Arkansas in 1835.
Hodge, Ibid., part II, 1001. The Yawani, a tribe of the Choctaw that migrated from their home in Mississippi in 1764 and united with the Caddo forming the Yawani band of the Caddo federation, an organization that later moved into Mexican Territory. Mooney, James, Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 1092.
three divisions speak similar dialects, the name may be that which designated a still older organization. Many tribes now extinct, that were found by the early Spanish and French in this region were either members of the confederacy or sub-tribes of members of the group. Each tribe had its totem, its hereditary chieftain, its priests, and ceremonies common to the confederacy. The above mentioned tribes are recognized as belonging equally to the whole Caddo people and in old times were probably the chief bond that held the confederacy together.\(^{(1)}\)

The Kadohadacho are recognized as the principal Caddoan division, and the generic term, Hasinai, by which the confederates designated themselves became a common term in speaking of all Caddo tribes.\(^{(2)}\) Early adventurers found the villages of the Kadohadacho located on both sides of Red River just below the Great Bend. The dialect spoken by the Kadohadacho was the same as that spoken by the Hainai and Anadarko, and is one of the two dialects to live through the ages.\(^{(3)}\)

The Hainai, Inie, or Iono was one of the most important tribes of the Hasinai confederacy. In manners, customs, and social organizations they did not differ from the Kadohadacho,

\(^{2}\) Bolton, "Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions," op. cit., p. 251.
\(^{3}\) Hodge, op. cit., p. 658.
with whom they were closely affiliated. The early location
of their villages placed them with the Hasinai on the headwaters
of the Angelina River, and they were considered the principal
tribe of the confederacy. The term Hainai in its correct use
refers only to one tribe, but this tribe in early Spanish records
is frequently called Texas.

The Anadarko, from Nada-ko (their own name) was a member
of the Caddo confederacy whose dialect was spoken by Kadohadacho,
Hainai, and Adai. The territory occupied by this tribe during
the formation of the Caddo confederacy was to the southwest of
the Kadohadacho, and northwest of the Hainai. Their villages
were scattered along the Trinity and Brazos Rivers. The earliest
mention of this tribe is in the relation of Beidma (1544), who
writes, "Moscoso in 1542 led his men during his southward march
through a province that lay east of the Anadarko." On account
of their location they were not visited at an early time by the
French.

The Nabedache (from Nabaidache, said to be a fruit resembling
a blackberry, but more likely from Nawadiche meaning salt,) spoke a common
dialect of the group. Their villages for more

1. Bolton, H.E., "Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions,"
op. cit., XI, 251.
than a century were located about four leagues west of the Neches River near the present site of a small village, San Pedre, Texas. In 1687 a well-beaten path led past this village to the hunting-grounds of the Hasinai beyond the Brazos. The Napedache territory was to the southwest of the other tribes of the Caddo confederacy, and being so located they were the first tribe of which a definite account is given. This was a prominent tribe of the Hasinai, and the term "Texas" was frequently applied to it.

The Nacogdoches, their Indian name, Nado-ho-dot-si, spoke a dialect similar to that of the leading tribes of the Hasinai group. The main village of this tribe was located near the present site of the modern city of Nacogdoches. The early Spanish writers mention this tribe as about third or fourth in their location of the nine tribes of the "Hasinai," but the exact location of this tribe has been located without doubt, thus making it more easy to locate the other tribes.

The Natchitoches (Caddo from, "Nashitosh") was one of the tribes of the Caddo confederacy whose dialect was similar to that of the Yatasi, but different from that of the Kadohadacho

and its closely affiliated tribes. Their lower villages were located in the vicinity of the present Natchitoches, and near them were located the Dousioni, a Caddo tribe that early became extinct. The upper tribes of the Natchitoches were located on the Great Bend of the Red River in southwestern Arkansas.

Yataasi was a tribe of the Caddo confederacy closely affiliated with the upper Natchitoches, during early history, but evidently moved southward in later history. They were first mentioned by De Tonti, in 1690, as living in company with the Natasi and Choyes. The Natasi, mentioned by De Tonti (1690) as "Nadas" being located to the northwest of the Natchitoches near the Yataasi. The Choye tribe was located in the north-

from the Trinity River settlement of Bucareli, he found the Nacogdoches mission buildings still standing, settled his colony near them. Hence it is clear that the city of Nacogdoches represents very closely, and perhaps exactly, the site of the main village of the Nacogdoches tribe at the opening of the eighteenth century. If more evidence were necessary, the presence within the city of Nacogdoches till recent times of four ancient mounds would strengthen the conclusion. Dr. J. E. Mayfield, of Nacogdoches; "Four similar mounds once existed at Nacogdoches, located upon a beautiful site about three hundred yards northeast of the old stone fort or stone house that has been recently moved from the main city plaza. These have been rased and almost obliterated. To the east of them is a hole or excavation from which the earth may have been taken for the construction of these mounds."

2. Hodge, op. cit., II, 35.
western part of Louisiana, on Red River. From their association with the Yatasi and Natasi, they were without doubt related to the Caddoan group. (1)

The Adai, a tribe of the Caddo confederacy, speaking a dialect closely related with the Kadohaducho, Hainai and Anadarko, had a variety of names. Cabeza de Vaca called them the Atayos. La Harpe, who says that they were a very useful tribe in making portages, called them the Adays, Adayes. Gatschet mentions them in 1884, as the Hadai. And Iberville, in 1699 spoke of them as the Natao. De Vaca mentions them as an inland tribe meaning back from the Gulf coast. They were located on Delisle’s map as west of the Natchitoches on the west bank of the Petite R. de la Madelene, or the Sabine River. This tribe at an early date came under the influence of the French. Because of their location they suffered from wars and the ravages of disease during the period of the French and Spanish boundary disputes. (2)

The Eyeish was a tribe of the Caddo confederacy which spoke a dialect now extinct, very different from the dialects of the other tribes; hence it is probable that they belonged to a

1. Ibid., I, 295.
confederacy at an earlier date and were incorporated into the Caddo when that tribe formed a later confederacy. The early home of the tribe was on the Eyeish Creek located between the Sabine and Neches rivers. Moscoso led his troops through their country and while in their territory he encountered herds of buffalo. There is some evidence that they were generally regarded as aliens to the Caddoan family, although there are records which show that they were friendly to the Hasinai. The Hasinai medicine men "make all the tribes believe that disease originates in the bewitchment which the neighboring Indians; the Bidais, Ays, and Yaodocas, cause them," a belief that clearly implies hostility between the tribes concerned.

The following tribes, now extinct, because of their location and friendly relations with the Caddo were probably related to them, viz: Dustionis, Nacaniche, Nanatsho, and Nasoni.

The Doustiono, a tribe formerly living on the Red River of northwest Louisiana, and from its proximity to the upper Matchitoches and the Yatasi was kindred to them and was a member of the Caddo confederacy. This tribe was visited by Moscoso in his wanderings to the west after the death of

1. Ibid., p. 446.
De Soto. The early French found them to be wanderers, who lived by the hunt, but on invitation they settled and became an agricultural folk.

The Nacaniche was a tribe which was possibly a subdivision of the NABEDACHE, with whom they were closely affiliated, but was not always on friendly relations with the Caddo confederacy. They first became known to the French in 1690, and La Harpe places their villages (1713) north of the Hainai. During the disturbances between the French and the Spanish, they abandoned their northerly home and settled on the Trinity River, near the road leading to New Mexico. During the first half of the eighteenth century they clung to their kinmen the NABEDOCHO and if any survive they are with the Caddo in Oklahoma.

The Nantscho was a subdivision of one of the tribes of the Caddo confederacy, whose village was located on Red River near Pecan Point in Louisiana, and according to Joutel (1687) they were allies to the Kadohadacho, upper Natchitoch, and the Nasoni. During the eighteenth century they probably drifted southward, but in 1912 twelve families were found near

2. Hodge, or. cit., I. 599.
3. Ibid., I, 5.
their former habitat.

The Nasoni was a former tribe of the Caddo confederacy, and a member of the older confederacy, the Hasinai. Their villages from 1687 to 1752 were located about twenty-seven miles north of Nacogdoches, on or near an eastern branch of the Angelina River, in northeastern Texas. The Nasoni is evidently Nisone of the De Soto Narrative as given by Biedma The Gentleman of Elvas. They were mentioned in the Texas census in 1790 but seemed to have disappeared by the close of the century. In customs and religion they resemble their kinsmen of the Caddo confederacy.

The exact population of the Southern Caddoan Group is not known but there is no doubt that they numbered many thousands. They were once a powerful confederacy, and wielded a wonderful influence over the neighboring tribes. The early Europeans found them peaceful, and a valuable aid in the attacks on the fierce tribes of the North, and of the plains. By war and disease they were at an early date reduced to mere remnants of tribes.

1. Ibid., II, 25.
CHAPTER II
THE SOUTHERN CADDIAN GROUP UNDER THE INFLUENCE
OF THE SPANISH AND FRENCH.

From the time of the early explorers to 1762, when
France ceded her claims in the New World to Spain, no exact
boundary had been placed between the territory of the Spanish
and that of the French. By right of exploration each claimed
a part of the Caddoan territory. The Sabine River and that
part of Red River, from an early date were considered natural
boundaries, and these two rivers divided the Southern Caddo
(1) group into two divisions. These physical conditions placed
the Caddoes in peculiar circumstances. They wished to be
friendly to the Europeans, but the strife that developed
between Spain and France forced them to some extent to become
a divided people. Thus, two large groups of the Caddoan
family simultaneously became allies of two warring nations
of Europe. The Hasinai, a powerful confederacy in the north-
eastern part of the present state of Texas, came under the in-
fluence of the Spanish, and the Caddo confederacy in the north-
western part of Louisiana under that of the French. The

1. French, Benjamin F., Historical Collections of Louisiana
   and Florida, Historical Memoirs and Narratives. 2nd series,
   1527-1702, p. 120.
appeal made by the French impressed the savage far more than that made by the Spanish. France put forth an effort to stimulate trade, and offered to the natives commodities which they wanted; while Spain restricted trade, but appealed to them in a spiritual way. Both were backed by a slight display of military force, and both nations tried to influence the natives of the other's territory. (1)

The Spaniards in their early expeditions on the Gulf Coast were the first to come in contact with the Caddoan tribes, whose early habitat was in close proximity to the sea-shore. Ship-wrecked mariners could not wander far from the sea without coming in contact with them. Alonso Alvarez Pineda has the honor of being the first European to chart the Gulf Coast. In 1619 he sailed from Jamaica under instructions issued by Governor Gray to explore the coast to the west. He touched the mainland near Florida a few leagues east of the mouth of the Mississippi River. He followed along the coast of Louisiana and Texas sailing as far south as the present Vera Cruz. On the strength of his map and explorations, Governor Gray secured a patent of the Northern Gulf shore and

named the province Amichel.

The lack of exact records and maps of expeditions made by early explorers leaves the student very much in doubt as to the early location of Indian tribes, also the location of routes as they were made by the adventurers themselves. A careful comparison of records shows that the habitat of the Caddoes and related tribes covered an enormous territory. The territory of the Texas (Tejas) extended to the central part of Texas. The Avarares and Avoyelles were two tribes whose locations were near the Gulf Coast and Mississippi River, within the present states of Texas and Louisiana. The Caddoan people of the village called Tutelpince were located on the Mississippi River near the northern boundary of Louisiana. The provinces of Chavite and Amayo, densely populated by savages, were located near the southern boundary of Arkansas, west of the Washita River. The village of the Kiamishes was located on a river of the same name within the present limits of Oklahoma. Thus, the Caddoan territory,

as described, came within the discoveries of many early
Spanish and French explorers, but later records which are more
dependable, place the Caddoes in the northwestern part of
Louisiana on the upper Red River, and the Basinai in the
northeastern part of Texas east of the Brazos River. However,
it must be remembered that the American Indian was a great
wanderer, and frequently travelled great distances in a single
season. Also that he was a warrior, and that the strong forced
the weak from the choice hunting-grounds. Thus, a tribe that
occupied a region in one decade might be found many miles
away in the next.

Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, wandering
survivors of the De Narvaez's ill-fated expedition, were the
first Europeans to enter the territory of the Caddoes. Of
all the points along the Texas coast from which the adventur-
ers could have started, Espiritu Santo Bay, or San Antonio
has the best claim to be considered as the initial point of
the journey. (1) For more than six years Cabeza and his compan-
ions lingered among the tribes along the coast; during a
part of this time, they were forced as slaves to endure many
hardships. As slaves they were owned by different tribes,
but were permitted to visit one another while hunting for

2. Bancroft's Works, North Mexican States and Texas, I, 64.
tunas (prickly pears) on the plains country. They secretly planned to make their escape from these tribes, and to gain their freedom by crossing the plains to the Spanish settlements in Mexico. Cabeza de Vaca was ship-wrecked upon the Island of Ill-Fate, where two languages were spoken; those who spoke one language were called Capoques; this tribe was apparently of the Carancawa group. Those who spoke the language of the other were called Han, and were possibly the most westerly tribe of the Attacapas. From this region Cabeza went among the Mariames. It was while he was held captive by the Mariames that he heard of other Christians, and during his stay with them he and his three companions were united.

Cabeza and his companions secretly fled from the Mariames and went among the Avavares. While among these Indians they were treated with great respect and performed the duties of medicine men. Because of their power to heal the sick, they were treated with great respect and were honored by the

3. Cabeza de Vaca, op. cit., p. 81.
Indians as gods rather than slaves. From the Avavares they took their departure in secrecy, as they feared that these Indians might follow them and put them to death, an act which had been committed on other Christians who tried to escape.

From the Avavares they went among the Cultalchuches who were in company with the Malicones, and who spoke the same language. The Cultalchuches were located in Caddoan territory and were probably Caddoan. They spoke a different language, and had customs different from those of the Avavares.

The customs and traditions learned by the Europeans from these tribes were similar to those of the Caddoes of later records. From the Cultalchuches they went among the Malicones,

1. Ibid., p. 98.
2. Ibid., p. 101.
3. Ibid., p. 112. While among these Indians, the Cultalchuches, they were told of the power of a being which they called the "Bad Thing" who had super-human power. This being appeared among them during their ceremonies and after night performing acts that caused them great fear. He had the power of raising huts to a great height and letting them fall with a great crash. At times he performed surgical operations upon them without pain. For a costume he wore a robe of dark color, and his beard was long and shaggy. This was probably a tradition misunderstood by the Spaniards.
4. Ibid., p. 108. All of the people go naked; only the women cover part of their bodies with a kind of wool that grows
who were in company with the Arbadacha, an unidentified tribe, but possibly a plains tribe as they met while hunting tunas. While among these Indians they suffered much from hunger and exposure, because of the severe climate and scarcity of food.\(^1\)

After leaving the Arbades they went among Indians whose name is not given by the Narrative, and whose customs were different. They lived in the Mesquite country as Cabeza mentions the mesquiquas (mesquite) bean and shows how they prepared it for food.\(^2\)

The Europeans were without doubt among the Plains Indians, as the Mesquite trees grow near the headwaters of the rivers of Texas, and on the plains, but not yet in the region known as the Staked Plains.\(^3\) They had not as yet reached the

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on trees. The girls go clad in deer skins. They are very liberal towards each other with what they have. There is no ruler among them. All who are of the same family cluster together. They are very fond of their children and when one dies they mourn its loss for a year. There is a custom for husbands to leave their women, if they do not agree, and to re-marry whom they please; this applies to the young men, but after they have had children they stay with their women and do not leave them. While on their hunts they frequently have differences, and beat one another, but they never use the bow, or kill each other. They then take their families and separate, each goes his way into the field and remains for some time. When they meet again they are friends as if nothing had happened.

1. Ibid., pp. 112-114.
2. Ibid., p. 122.
3. Ibid., p. 126.
4. Ibid., p. 152.
mountains which are later mentioned in the Narrative, probably the San Sabas.

1. Ibid., p. 141, cf. Bancroft, North Mexican States and Texas, I, 64.

2. Cabeza de Vaca, op. cit., p. 124. Note. Oviedo gives no names of tribes. How far they may be reliable is problematic. In the first place, it is very doubtful if Cabeza de Vaca understood as much of the language of the different tribes as he insinuates; and next, even if they are names of bands or tribes, we cannot determine whether they were those which they gave to themselves, or those given to them by others, which is always a great difference.

3. Hodge, op. cit., I, 374.
writers, so that one has a feeling of treading on safe ground.

After crossing the Arkansas River Moscoso led the army in 1642 through Arkansas, Louisiana, and into Texas. He passed through the province of Chavite, where they found the Indians making salt. This province was located on the Ouachita or Black River, and was possibly inhabited by Caddoan people, as they had a habit of going to the salt springs to make salt. Later French explorers found the Caddoes to be traders in salt. After passing through the province of Chavite they came to the country of Aguacay. The first village that they entered was that of Chaguate. While here a Christian, Francisco de Guzman, a base son of a gentleman of Seville, remained among the Indians. He had lost heavily in gambling with the soldiers, and fearing that Moscoso would punish him for his debts he took refuge among the natives. The army had travelled two days before he was missed by the officers. When this fact was reported to Moscoso he sent an Indian messenger to the

cacique of Chavite ordering him to capture the deserter and bring him to Aguacay. This duty was never performed. After three days travel they came to the town of Pato, a place probably located in the present Clark County, Arkansas. At this point they were about six days travel from the River of Guacheya, the place where De Soto died. From Pato they reached the peopled country of Amaye in one day's travel. These people were prosperous and permitted the adventurers to pass peacefully. Having passed through the province of Amaye, on Saturday the 20th of July, 1542, they pitched their camp at noon on the border of the country of the Naguatex. Their camp was located on a small stream among falt trees. While in camp certain Indians were discovered approaching in a cautious manner. The horsemen were ordered to approach them. When some distance from camp they were attacked and a battle took place, in which six savages were killed, and two taken prisoners. On being questioned by Moscoso as to their actions and from whence they came, they replied that they had been sent by their cacique, who had been joined by other caciques, and who intended to drive

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them (the Europeans) from their territory. While they were parleying with the savages they were attacked by two divisions, one from the right and one from the left. A severe battle took place in which several savages were slain and one taken prisoner. Moscoso asked of him who it was that came to bid them battle. The captive replied that it was the cacique of Naguax, of Assaye, and of another province called Nacanac; and that they had made an alliance for the purpose of protecting their territories. He also informed Moscoso that these provinces contained many peoples, and that the cacique of Naguex had sent messengers for aid from other countries to the south. After passing through the province of the Naguex, in three days' journey they came to the territory of the Nissoone. On their journey from the Nissoone the guides led them many days in the wrong direction, for which they were hanged, and they were guided by a woman to the town of Lacane. Lacane is probably located in the southwestern part of the present State of Arkansas.

1. Ibid., II, 196.
2. Ibid., II, 196, cf. Hodge, op. cit., II, 9. Naguex, a province located by Lewis as being on the west bank of the Washita River in the present Clark County, near the southern boundary of Arkansas. The tribe was evidently Caddoan.
3. Ibid., II, 34. Later records place the Nissoone (Nasoni) on a branch of the Angelina River about twenty-seven miles north of Nacogdoches. Moscoso was at this time within the present limits of Texas.
It is probable that the guides intended to lead the Europeans among their enemies, and were leading them toward the Osages. From Lacane they were guided to the country of the Nondacac to the Soacatino, a village located on the border of the Yeieh and Anadarko and was probably the Doustioni. In five days' journey they came to the country of the Aays (Eyeish). On entering the territory of the Aays, the cacique sent to receive them feigned peace; and led them into a trap. Before entering the main village they had to cross a large river. While examining the ford their conductors disappeared and they were attacked by the enemy from all sides. At first the enemy was driven into the woods, and while they were organizing their forces the Europeans selected a camp. A party of footmen, while some distance from camp, was attacked by the savages, and the horsemen went to their aid. While the horsemen were away from the camp the savages in great numbers attacked the camp, and at this time occurred the fiercest battle of Moscoso's expedition to the west. A few Europeans were slain, and several wounded while many savages were killed, and a great number wounded.

1. Ibid., I, 73.
2. Ibid., II, 19.
The important question that was asked by the explorers of both friend and foe was if they knew of any Christians. And, when among savages who had heard of Christians, they were directed to the south or southwest. While among the Douaston, they were told that the Indians to the south had seen Christians. Thus, on leaving the province of the Aays, they travelled for twenty days, through a country, evil-inhabited and where there was a great scarcity of maize, for the savages had buried what little they possessed. Finally they arrived at a province called Guasco. Here they found plenty of maize, with which they loaded their horses and Indian slaves. From Guasco they journeyed to a village called Naquisocoa. Here the Indians said that they had no notice of any Christians. Moscoso, thinking that the Indians were deceiving him, ordered them tortured. Then he was told that the Christians came to a province called Nacahos, and from there they returned from whence they came. In two days' journey the adventurers reached Nacahos.

1. *Ibid.* II, 199. *cf.* Hodge, *op. cit*., II, 4. Nacachau (Nacahos) is mentioned by Francisco de Jesus Marie in 1691 as one of the nine tribes of the Hasinai confederacy, and that they were located on the River Neches, a short distance north of Neches tribe. There is no record of them after 1746.
While here some women were taken as slaves, among whom was a woman who said that she had seen Christians and that she had been held as captive by them, but had escaped and come to Nacachos. On receiving this information Moscoso sent fifteen horsemen, using the woman as a guide, to the place where she had seen the Christians. After traveling some three or four leagues the woman told them that what she had told them was untrue. Thus, they held all other information given them by the Indians as false. Weary of travel and being deceived by the natives they became discouraged and began to believe that they would never see Christians in the land of Florida. The country of Nacachos contained very little maize, and to the west there was no notice of habitation, so they returned to Guasco. In Guasco the Indians told them that to the west a distance of ten days' journey was a river called Daycao, to which they sometimes went hunting and while there they had seen inhabitants on the other side, but did not know who they were. With this information the adventurers decided to continue their journey. Taking

1. Ibid., II, 200, cf. Hodge, op. cit., I, Daycao was possibly the river Trinity. This was the farthest point west travelled by Moscoso's army in 1542. The people mentioned in the Narrative are of unknown origin.
all the maize that they could carry, they travelled ten
days and came to the river as stated by the Indians. Here
they made a camp and ten horsemen crossed the river; after
searching some time they captured two natives, but they could
not understand what they said. A council was held to decide
what was best to do. Against the wishes of some they de-
cided to return to the River Guachoya, to the place where
De Soto had died, and there build ships, and go to sea. (1)
From Daycao to the River Rio Grande (Mississippi) or the
Great River, they had travelled some one hundred-fifty leagues
to the west. (2)

On their return they found it difficult to find maize,
for as they passed through the country they had destroyed
much, for which they now repented. In the villages of
Nauguatex they found the huts repaired, and again filled
with maize, for this country was well inhabited and a land
of plenty. Among these inhabitants they found vessels made
of clay which differed very little from those of Estremoz,
or Montemor. (3) At the village of Chaguate, by orders of the

1. French, op. cit., II, 201.
2. Ibid., II, 201.
3. Two small towns in Portugal, in Alemtijo, a few miles
apart, both are noted for earthenware jugs. Estremoz is
near five quarries of fine marble. Estremoz has a popula-
tion of 200 and Montemor about 5,000.
Cacique, the inhabitants approached them peacefully, and the Cacique informed Moscoso that the Christians (as above mentioned) still remained with them but would not return. Upon receiving this information Moscoso wrote him, Francisco de Guzman, a letter. He informed him that the army was going from Florida, and that as a Christian, he should not remain among the infidels. He also told him that he would pardon him and he could return to the army in good standing. Moscoso requested Guzman to answer and inform him if the Indians were holding him by force, and if so, he would send the horsemen to take him. Guzman answered Moscoso's letter by signing his name, which showed that he was staying among the Indians of his own volition. Moscoso then sent twelve horsemen among the Indians to get him by force, but he hid and could not be found.

From Chagua they went to the River Aays, going down that river to the village Chilano. This was their first visit to this village. Because of the lack of maize they went to Nilco. At Nilco they found little maize, and were forced to search among the neighboring tribes. While at Nilco the natives told them that there was much maize two days' journey from

2. Ibid., II, 203. Hodge, op. cit., I. The river Aays was the early name for the Sabine, and the village Chilano was that of the Caddoan group located near the headwaters of the Sabine.
thence, in the villages of the Minoyas. The natives offered to go with the army to aid in defeating the Minoyas. Here was found plenty of maize and on the banks of a river were built the rude ships with which they floated down the Mississippi.\(^{(1)}\)

Nearly a century and a half passed before the Caddoes were again visited by the Europeans. What took place during this time is unknown, but generally speaking, their geographical location was unchanged. During this period a greater interest was manifested in the New World. The English were planting colonies along the Atlantic sea-board, the French from the north were pushing their explorations farther inland, and the Spanish were carrying on a rich trade in the tropics, and forbidding other nations to enter their ports. La Salle had explored the river Colbert, or Mississippi, from the mouth of the Illinois to its mouth. The time was opportune for planting a colony in Louisiana, near the Gulf, and thus gaining control of the trade of this vast region.

The plans proposed by La Salle would not only give France control of the whole of the Mississippi basin, but would furnish a basis for future conquest against Spain.\(^{(2)}\)

\(^{(1)}\) French, op. cit., II, 205.
\(^{(2)}\) Ibid., I, 25.
In his plans La Salle asked for two ships, and absolute command of the expedition. It was easy to be seen that the adventure would prove a failure under the final plans, as they were given by Prime Minister Seignelay. La Salle asked for a subaltern officer, with one or two pilots to sail the vessels as he directed. Instead, Seignelay gave the command of the vessels to Beaujeu, a captain of the royal navy, who was to have absolute control at sea, while La Salle was to prescribe the route and have absolute control of the troops and colonists on land. This arrangement proved very unsatisfactory, as both La Salle and Beaujeu were temperamental and each was jealous of the other.

A fleet of four vessels finally sailed from France, July 24th, 1680. One vessel was captured by the Spanish in the West Indies, the other three landed on the Texas coast instead of in Louisiana.

After much quarreling and delay, expeditions were made among the Indians to the north in search of the Mississippi River. On the first expedition a site was selected for the fort and settlement on the La Vache, (Lavaca River). During

1. Ibid., 1, 86-87.
minor expeditions it was found that the Spaniards had long before placed an establishment some fifteen leagues from the
present French fort St. Louis.

Joutel remained in charge of the fort while La Salle made his first expedition in search of the Mississippi. La Salle's brother, Cavalier, was in the company of fifty men who made this journey, and it was he who kept an account of the expedition. On the last day of October 1685 they departed on the journey. Following the sea-shore to the northward they passed many Indians who were unfriendly. At length they came to a people who were friendly, and who told them much concerning the Spaniards, and that these people universally hated them. La Salle cherished this information, as he felt that here would be a nucleus for a large army to attack New Biscay. Proceeding farther they came to a large river, which was mistaken for the Mississippi. Here a fort was built of palisades and garrisoned by several men. La Salle and the remainder returned to St. Louis.

1. Ibid., I, 111.
2. Ibid., 596. Note. Parkman makes the following statement as to his use of documents. "The above is translated from the original draft of Cavalier which is in my possession. It was addressed to the colonial minister, after the death of La Salle. The statement concerning the Spaniards needs confirmation."
3. Ibid., I, 128.
While in camp La Salle became dangerously ill with fever. No sooner had he recovered than another attempt was made to locate the Mississippi, and from thence make a trip to Canada. Every nook was searched for raiment and supplies for the expedition. On the 22nd of April they departed on their journey, each bearing his pack and weapons, and again Joutel was left in charge of the fort. The party was made up of twenty of the most able-bodied men in camp. They travelled in a northerly direction crossing many small streams and beautiful plains. At last they came to a large stream, which they crossed by a raft. After crossing a third river they came to the nation of Cenis,—a tribe then powerful, but long since extinct. The term Cenis was the early Spanish name for the Hasinai Confederacy, which was made up of ten or more large and powerful tribes. The Cenis received them with much honor. The chiefs and elders met them some distance from the village shouting their greetings of welcome. On nearing the village they were met by the warriors, who were clad in embroidered deerskin, each bearing his weapon. When they came to the ceremonial ground the people swarmed out like bees, offering them food and various articles

1. Parkman, op. cit., p. 413.
2. Bolton, Athanase de Mesieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780. "West of the Sabine River on the Angeline and the Upper Neches, was the compact Hasinai (Asinai, Cenis, Texas) Confederacy, consisting of some ten or more tribes of which the best known were the Hainai, Macogdoche, Nebedache, Naseni and Nadaco. None of these tribes ever lived as far west as the Trinity River."
of wealth. La Salle was the guest of the great chief, and his quarters were assigned within his lodge. But La Salle caused his men to encamp near for fear that their gallantry might give cause for offense. At this point in the Relacion is described the grass lodges, which may still be seen among the full-blooded Caddoes north of Fort Cobb.\(^1\)

While in camp they met a party of Comanches—fierce Indians of the Plains who lived by the hunt and by their forays. The Cenis were friends and allies to the Comanches, from whom they got horses and other articles of plunder, which had been taken from Spanish settlements on the south. Soon after leaving the Cenis they came to the villages of the Nasoni north of Nacogdoches, on the river Neches. While here La Salle and his nephew were attacked by the fever, and the party was forced to remain in camp for about two months, during which time they used so much of their ammunition that they were forced to return to Fort St. Louis.\(^2\)

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1. The writer had the pleasure of visiting among the Caddoes, a few miles north of Ft. Cobb, August 25, 1929. The grass lodges can still be seen in that vicinity. They are cone-shaped and from a distance they have the appearance of an enormous bee-hive. The frame-work consists of saplings placed in a circle of about twenty feet diameter, the tops being bent together and fastened. Upon this a frame is constructed of light poles and the whole is covered with long grass in bunches.

Conditions at the time were deplorable—almost beyond imagination. Hardships, sickness and exposure and at times a scarcity of food had reduced them to mere skeletons.

They had good cause for being depressed and down-hearted, for there remained only thirty-seven of the 280 persons that sailed from France. Of this group seventeen men, the most able-bodied, departed from camp leaving only five, possibly six, men in the camp; the balance were women and girls. There were no savages in camp as La Salle had given strict orders that they should not enter. They departed from camp the 12th of January, 1687:

Being seventeen, in number, viz, M. de la Salle, M. Cavalier, the priest, his brother, Father Anastasius, the Recollet, M. Moranget and Cavalier, nephews to M. de la Salle, the Sieurs Dehaut, the elder Hiens, Liotot, surgeon, young Talon, and an Indian footman belonging to M. de la Salle, &c—we took our leaves with so much tenderness and sorrow, as if we had all presaged that we should never see each other again.

Father Zenobius (one of the priests who remained) was the

Of the 280 persons, including the crews there were 100 soldiers with their officers, one Talon, with his Canada family, about 50 volunteers, some young women, and the rest hired people and workmen of all sorts, requisite for making the settlement—On the 11th of September they reached Santo Domingo, where the Ketch, a swift sailing vessel and crew was captured by the Spanish—The Captain and crew of L'Aimable returned to France with M. de Beaujeu, Commander of the Joly—This left La Salle only one ocean-going ship
person who expressed it to me most significantly, saying he had never been so sensibly touched at parting with anybody. (1)

After travelling from camp some five or six leagues they came to a river called by La Salle, Princess's river. This river and another smaller one which they crossed flowed into the Bay together. Being unable to cross the Princess's they followed up stream for many days. While making camp on the 21st, some fifteen savage hunters approached. La Salle talked to them by means of sign language and some words of the Senis which he had learned on previous trips. After receiving some presents they withdrew. On the 17th they came to a deserted village of some two or three hundred cottages, made of poles and thatches of grass. On the 21st they came to a narrow place in the river where they felled a tree and were able to cross by carrying their goods. The packs were taken off the horses and they swam the stream. While preparing their camp some Indians came with whom La Salle talked by means of the sign language. They proved to be of the Habahame tribe and spoke

"The Belle" which was lost, including all of her crew except five sailors, who managed to escape. Parkman quotes the number after all losses at 130 colonists, which according to Joutal were only thirty-five when La Salle departed from Fort St. Louis for the last time.

1. French, Ibid., p. 130.
a difficult language. After conversing with them they departed and promised to return the next day. The Indians returned and gave them some valuable information concerning the country and routes of travel. On the 28th of January they came to a large river called La Sablonniere. They made their camp the 30th in a grove of timber near a stream, where they remained until the 2nd of February. While here La Salle visited some Indians who received him peacefully and exchanged buffalo robes for knives and other articles. These people lived in grass lodges and were friendly with the Canis. They departed on the 2nd and after crossing a beautiful plain they came to a large river called by La Salle "La Maligne" or Mischievous because on this river La Salle had lost on a previous journey, his servant who was devoured by an alligator. While here he met many natives who were friendly, and with whom they bartered. While here the men made a portable canoe which was very useful in crossing later streams. After crossing many small streams, passing through several beautiful plains, they came to a village located on a stream called Maligne. The savages received them kindly and offered them buffalo robes which they refused because of their burden to carry. At this point in the Narrative are listed the tribes whose country they passed from Fort St. Louis as follows:
The Spicheats, Kabayes, Thecamons, Theauermets, Kiahoba, Choumenes, Kouans, Arhank, Enepihe, Ahonrhopiheim, Kerenkaka, Korkone, Omeafife, Keremen, Ahehoen, Maghai, Thecamenes, Otenmarhem, Kavagan, and Meracouman. These are the nations that lay on our road; those on the west and northwest of the said river, were the Kannehonan, Tahaka, Fehir, Coyabegux, Onapien, Pichar, Tohan, Kiaffess, Chanzes, Teera, Socrettes, Tsephoan, Fercouteha, Panego, Petao, Petzares, Peisache, Peihoum and Orcampion.

Those we were with then, were called Teao, whom we had not before heard named. They talked of a great nation called Ayona and Canohatino, who were at war with the Spaniards, from whom they stole horses, and told us, that one hundred Spaniards were to have come to join the Genis, to carry on that war, but that having heard of our march, they went back. M. de la Salle gave them to understand that we were at war with the Spaniards, and that we feared them not; and that he was sent on their account to the great captain of the world, who had charged him to do them all good, and to assist them in their wars against such nations as were their enemies. (1)

On the 1st of March they camped near a marsh on the river Canoes, so called because they had crossed it some time before by means of canoes which they had made. On account of the heavy rains they did not travel very far. On the 15th they came to country through which La Salle had passed on a previous journey. He had cached some Indian wheat and beans two or three leagues away, and to this point he sent Sieurs Duhaut, Heins, Liotot, the surgeon, and his own Indian slave, and his footman, whose name was Saget to get it. When they found the

1. Ibid., 157.
cache, they found the wheat and beans spoiled. On their return they killed two buffaloes. The footman returned to camp to inform La Salle and to get the horses to carry the meat to camp. La Salle ordered Sieurs Moranget and De Male and the footman to return and to send back a horseload immediately. When Moranget arrived at the hunter's camp he found the meat being smoked but not dry enough to pack on the horses. Sieurs, Liotot, Heins, Duhaunt and the rest had laid aside the marrowbones and some choice pieces for their own use, which according to woodland custom they had a perfect right to do. Moranget became angered and put all of the meat together, which caused the others to become very angry and many hot words were said. During the evening, counsel was held by the following: Surgeon Liotot, Heins, and Duhaunt, in which they decided to kill Moranget. Nika, the hunter, and La Salle's devoted follower, and Saget his faithful servant must die with him. After the murder they remained in camp until La Salle became worried and went in search of them. On approaching the camp he was shot from ambush. Thus closed the career of France's greatest explorer.

The murder took place at a hunting camp about six miles distant from the main camp on the Brazos.

Joutel was away from the camp grazing the horses when the

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1. Ibid., p. 142.
murderers arrived. L'Archeveque went in search of him and to inform him of the murder. At first Joutel thought of fleeing among the Indians, but after meditating he decided to return to camp and if possible prevent further bloodshed. He found the camp in a high state of turmoil. The Cavaliers were pleading for their lives, while Duhaut was giving orders and dividing La Salle's personal goods.

After parleying they decided to go among the Genis under the leadership of Duhaut who had made himself leader. The path to the Genis was very faint and after wandering until the supplies grew short, it was resolved that Joutel should go with Heins, Liotot and Teissier to the village to barter for corn and beans. This worried Joutel as he didn't know the feeling toward him and it had the appearance of a plot. After two days travel they met three Indians, one of whom wore Spanish clothing. The Indians were kind enough to guide them to the Genis villages. On arriving at the village they were received according to the Caddo custom. Twelve of the Elders came first approaching the strangers with their hands extended and shouting their greetings of welcome. On entering the village they were met by the warriors painted and clad in war attire. They were then presented with the calumet or rather smoked the pipe of peace. Then they were

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1. Ibid., p. 146.
presented with food. The savages then celebrated the occasion
by dancing. (1)

At this place in the Narrative Joutel describes the grass
huts as mentioned above. While in the village they met a
Frenchman who had deserted La Salle on one of his previous
journeys. He had been among the savages but a short time, but
he had so completely adopted their manners and customs that it
was almost impossible for them to distinguish him from a
savage. He was from Provence and later when Joutel speaks of
him he calls him the Provençal. He invited the Frenchman to
visit the village of his tribe, which was some four or five
leagues away. While making the journey they passed through
many villages and saw patches of maize and beans rudely culti-
vated with wooden hoes. On arriving at the village of the
tribe that had adopted the Provençal they were greeted with the
same honors as before. They were lodged in the abode of the
savage Frenchman and Joutel asked him if they were safe,
upon which the Provençal assured him that they were. Here again
Joutel mentions the grass huts and speaks of their enormous
size. While here they did much bartering and Lirotot with his

1. Ibid., I, 147-148.
2. Ibid., I, 148.
companions accompanied by the Provencal returned to the camp on the Brazos. After their departure Joutel heard of two other Frenchmen in the vicinity and he hired an Indian boy to carry them a message. He requested that they should come and visit him, thinking that they might be able to direct him to the Mississippi River. While the Frenchmen were gone to their camp, Joutel remained several days in the Indian village. During the time he appeared glum and dejected. The old chief noticing his grief came to his quarters with a young maiden and presented her to him as his wife. Joutel refused to talk to her; she departed and never returned.

Late one night after all had retired an Indian entered Joutel's sleeping quarters, very cautiously with a bow and arrows in his hand. Joutel spoke but received no answer. The Indian went to the center of the lodge and sat down by the fire. Joutel followed him and looked at him very closely. Suddenly the savage threw his arms about Joutel's neck telling him that he was French and that he had deserted La Salle's company a few months before. He proved to be a Breton sailor

1. Bolton, "Location of La Salle's Colony." Mississippi Valley Historical Review. II, 163.
3. Ibid., I, 155.
named Ruter. He expressed regret on hearing of La Salle's death, and stated that his companion Grollet would have come with him had he not feared meeting La Salle. Ruter could tell him nothing concerning a route, or the distance to the Mississippi River. The next day he went home taking with him a goodly supply of beads for his wives. A few days later Ruter returned bringing Grollet with him. They were dressed in savage style each with his face painted and his body tattooed. Painted turkey feathers dangled from their heads, and they wrapped their naked bodies in blankets. To Joutel they appeared perfectly satisfied with their savage life.

During the absence of Liotot and his companions, Joutel was to barter for maize and beans. In a few days three men arrived from Duhaut's camp commissioned to get the corn and with an order for Joutel to return with them. They also informed him that Duhaut and his followers were making preparations to return to Fort St. Louis in Texas, and that there they intended to build a ship and set sail. A visionary scheme thought Joutel as there were no carpenters left in the group. (1)

Joutel could do nothing but obey orders, so in a few days he arrived at the camp, which he found in a wretched state of

1. Ibid., I, 155.
affairs. Douay and the Cavaliers had been forced to make a separate camp, and were given scarcely enough to eat. Douay stated that the assassins had quarreled several times over La Salle's goods. Heins was discontented because Duhaut had taken more than his share of the plunder.

Being placed in a separate camp Joutel and the Cavaliers could make their plans. So, secretly they began to make preparations to go to Canada. They intended to escape from the murderers for they knew that punishment would be made just as soon as they reached civilization. The Cavalier was to tell Duhaut that they were too fatigued to go to Texas and that they wished to remain among the Indians. Also that a part of the goods be given to them for which he would make Duhaut a note. Duhaut gave his consent, but shortly he was informed by Ruter that Joutel and his party intended to go to Canada. Duhaut then declared that he and his men would also go to Canada. Heins had gone to the Cenis to buy horses. While there he heard of Duhaut's change of mind, to which he replied, "that he would not go; that he did not care to risk his neck in civilization." Duhaut and Liotot, it was reported, spent their leisure time in practicing with bows and arrows. Heins, on coming to camp,

immediately approached Duhaut, telling him that he did not intend
to go to the Mississippi with him, and that he wanted his share of the goods. Duhaut informed him that the goods were his as La Salle owed him some money. At this refusal Heins became very angry, and drawing his pistol he fired at Duhaut, who staggered a few paces and fell dead. Almost at the same instant, Ruter, who was with Heins, fired his gun at Lirotot, shooting three balls into his body, stretching him out on the ground, mortally wounded. Lirotot lived long enough to make a confession, then (1) Ruter finished him by exploding a blank against his head. The savages stood in awe at such cold-blooded murder. Two of the leaders of the terrible crime were killed before the eyes of the savages in super-savage style. Joutel and the priests did what they could to explain to the natives that civilized men didn't always act as such and that such acts were unpardonable. But as a matter of fact Joutel had a revengeful feeling toward the third murderer when he was seen among the Indians wearing (2) La Salle's scarlet coat.

The Cenis were at this time planning a campaign against their enemies, a tribe not far away. Heins and six Frenchmen went with them and in a few days they returned as victors laden

1. Ibid., I, 157-5.
2. Ibid., I, 182.
with plunder and the warriors carried forty-eight scalps.
The French guns were very effective in the battle. (1)

Heins willingly consented for Joutel and party to go to
Canada, which at first he opposed, and like a good freebooter
he gave to them generously of the plunder he had taken in the
late campaign. He gave them six horses and large quantities of
articles to be used as presents to the Indians. They secured
from the Cenis three Indians to act as guides to direct them to
the Assonis toward Red River.

On the 23rd of June they approached the villages of the
Caddoes on Red River, where they received an elaborate ceremony
of welcome. They were met some distance from the village with
shouts of welcome, then they were carried into the village on
the backs of the savage warriors. Joutel being large and port-
ly, so weighed down his bearer that two of his countrymen were
forced to aid him, one on either side. In the village they
were received by the old chief, who took them into his lodge
and washed their faces with warm water. (2) Then they were required
to mount a scaffold about four feet high made of canes where
they sat in the hot sun and listened to four speeches of
welcome of which they understood not a word. They were then

1. Ibid., I, 160.
2. Ibid., I, 75. De Tonty visits these Indians two years
   later and he mentions their custom of washing the faces of
   their guests.
presented with food, and assigned quarters in the lodges.

On the morning of the 24th, they made preparations for their departure. They informed the natives that they wanted guides to direct them to the Capps. They refused and gave them to understand that they wanted them to remain with them and to join them on an expedition against their enemies. While parleying with them, Cavelier was informed that M. de Marle had gone to the river to bathe. He quickly went to the river knowing De Marle could not swim. On arriving at the bank he saw him go down for the last time. He called for help and Indian divers rescued the body. M. Cavelier and Father Anastrusius gave him a Christian burial while the Indians gazed with amazement. During their stay they observed a ceremony of the natives. The chief's wife would go every morning to the grave of M. de Marle and carry a little basket of parched corn, and place it by the grave. "the meaning whereof we could not understand." Before their departure they were informed that they were among a powerful confederacy, made up of four principal tribes; viz., Assomy, Nathosos, Nachitos, and Cadodaquico.

They again made preparations to depart on the morning of the 27th when M. Cavelier informed them that his feet pained him

1. Ibid., I, 168.
so that he was not able to travel, and they were obliged to stay until the 30th. While among these people Joutel learned much of their customs and of others whose villages were near. They differed from the Genis in one respect as follows:

During that time we were frequently visited by Indians, both old and young, and of both sexes, and even the chiefs of the nation, called Janique, came to see us, and with them we often conversed in dumb show; and every evening the women, attended by the warriors, with their bows and arrows, resorted to our cottage to sing a doleful sort of song, shedding tears at the same time. This would have given us some uneasiness, had we not before seen the same ceremony, and been informed that those women repair in that manner to the chief's cottage to entreat him, singing and weeping to take revenge on those who have killed their husbands or relations, in former wars, as I have observed before. In all other respects, the manners and customs of this nation being much the same as those of the Genis, I shall add no more concerning them.(1)

On the 30th, they departed for the villages of the Cadodaquio, whither they were led by a chief. On their journey they came to a village, peopled by friends of their guide. They were made to halt and given food to eat. Their guide then conducted them to the Cadodaquio, where they were received with much honor, being assigned places in the cottage of the chief. They informed the chief that they were in need of provisions. He spoke to the women who brought meal for which they bartered with strings of beads. At this village their guide who conducted them there, took his leave and returned to his own people.

1. Ibid., I, 168.
They informed the chief of the Cadodaquo that they wished to proceed toward Cappas near the Mississippi River and asked for guides to another village which was called Cahainhousa. By good fortune there were present among the Cadodaquo some men and women from the Cahainhousa who had come among them to barter. They brought a kind of wood which was valuable for bows, and which was plentiful in their vicinity. The Cahainhousa informed the French that they would conduct them to their village and that they knew of people like them, who had firelocks, and who lived in a house. They also told the adventurers that they were acquainted with the Cappas. The Cahainhousa wished to remain among the Cadodaquo two more days to barter and the French waited for them. During this delay Joutel learned of some of the customs of the Caddoes which he relates as follows:

We observed, that there was a difference between the language of those people and the inhabitants of the village we were in from that of the Cenis, and that they had some peculiar ceremonies, one whereof is, that when the women have their terms, they leave the company of their husbands and withdraw into other cottages appointed for that purpose, which no person is to come near, upon pain of being reputed unclean.
These women have their faces still more disfigured than the others we had seen before; for they make several streaks or scores on them, whereas the other had but one. They adorn

1. Ibid., I, 169.
themselves with little locks of fine red hair, which they make fast to their ears in the nature of pendants. In other respects they are not disagreeable, and neither women nor maids are so ill-natured as to make their lovers pine for them. They are not difficult of access, and they soon make return for a small present.

The men wear their hair short, like our capucins; they anoint it with sort of an oil or grease, and curl it like snails, after which they strew on it a sort of down or lint, dyed red, as we do powder, which is done when they design to be very fine, in order to appear in their assemblies. They are very fond of their children, and all the way of chastising them they use is to throw water at them, without ever beating or giving them ill words. (1)

The Indians of the Cahainihoua not being ready to depart on Wednesday the 2nd of July as they promised, the French departed led by a Cadodaquio, who conducted them toward the northeast. After going some distance their guide deserted them and returned to the village to get some dried skin to use in making moccasins. He gave them directions how to go and told them that they would soon come to a large river.

They soon came to the river, as directed, which they crossed by means of a raft which they constructed. After crossing they were joined by the Cahainihoua who had promised to accompany them. The Cahainihoua used their raft in crossing and they all proceeded together. Joutel in his Narrative describes the country as being beautiful and fertile, and watered by many streams. They passed through many villages, and on one occasion they met an Indian who had in his possession a Spanish sword

1. Ibid., I, 169, ff.
which he had decorated with small Spanish bells. On the 7th of July they came among people who seemed to be living in a more advanced stage of civilization. He describes them in his Narrative as follows:

The 7th. The elders came to give us a visit, bringing us two bullock's hides, four otter's skins, and one white wild-goat's skin, all of them well dried, and four bows, in return for the present we had before made them. The chief and another came again some time after, bringing two loaves, the finest and best we had yet seen. They looked as if they had been baked in an oven, and yet we had not observed that there were ovens among any of them. That chief stayed with us some hours; he seemed to be very ingenious and discreet, and easily understood our signs, which were most of the language we had. Having ordered a little boy to bring us all we had occasion for, he withdrew.

Their customs, however, were similar to those of previous tribes, but were more disagreeable to M. Cavalié, as they took him to be the chief of the expedition and made him the center of their ceremony. They honored him as follows:

When M. Cavalié was seated, the elders took their places, sitting round about him, and the master of the ceremonies fixed in the ground two little wooden forks, and having laid a stick across them, all being painted red, he placed on them a bullock's hide dried, a goat's skin over that, and then laid the pipe thereon.

The song was begun again, the women mixing in the chorus, and the concert was heightened by great hollow calabashes or gourds, in which there were large gravel stones, to make a noise, the Indians striking on them by measure, to answer the tone of the choir; and the pleasantest of all was that one of the Indians placed himself behind M. Cavalié to hold him up,

whilst at the same time he shook and dandled him from side to side, the motion answering to the music.

That concert was scarce ended, when the master of the ceremonies brought two maids, the one having in her hand a sort of collar, and the other an otter's skin, which they placed on the wooden forks above-mentioned, at the ends of the pipe. Then he made them sit down, on each side of M. Cavalier, in such posture that they looked one upon the other, their legs extended and inter-mixed, on which the same master of ceremonies laid M. Cavalier's legs, in such manner that they lay uppermost and across those of the two maids.

Whilst the action was performing, one of the elders made fast a dyed feather to the back part of M. Cavalier's head, tying it to his hair. The singing still continued all that time, so that M. Cavalier, grown weary of its tediousness, and ashamed to see himself in that posture between two maids, without knowing to what purpose, made signs to us to signify the same to the chief, and having given him to understand that he was not well, two of the Indians immediately took hold of him under the arms, conducted him back to the cottage, and made signs to him to take his rest. This was about nine in the evening and the Indians spent all the night in singing, in so much that some of them could hold out no longer.

In the morning they returned to M. Cavalier, conducted him again out of the cottage, with the same ceremony, and made him sit down, still singing on. Then the master of the ceremonies took the pipe, which he filled with tobacco, lighted and offered it to M. Cavalier, but drawing back and advancing six times before he gave it to him. Having at last put it into his hands, M. Cavalier made as if he had smoked and returned it to them. Then they made us all smoke round, and every one of them whipped in his turn, the music still continuing.

About nine in the morning, the sun growing very hot, and M. Cavalier being bareheaded, made signs that it did him harm. Then at last they gave over singing and conducted him back into the cottage, took the pipe, put it in a case made of wild goat's skin, with the two wooden forks and the red stick that lay across them, all which one of the elders offered to M. Cavalier, assuring him that he might pass through all the nations that were allied to them by virtue of that token of peace, and should be everywhere well received. This was the first place where we saw the calumet, or pipe of peace,
having no knowledge of it before, as some have written. This nation is called Cahaynohoua. (1)

Ceremonies among the Indians always close with the presentation of articles adored, often giving their hunting steed. On this occasion Joutal noticed that the savages were becoming dissatisfied, either because of the interruption of the ceremony or that they had received no presents; so he presented them with an ax, four knives, and several strings of beads, which seemed to please them very much. They then gave the savages a demonstration of their weapons, of which the explosion and fire frightened them very much. The Indians earnestly pleaded with the French to remain offering them wives and whatever else they wanted. The adventurers spent two days visiting nearby tribes. Some of them told of a great river, describing it by making marks in the sand, and at the same time pronouncing the word Capa, which is a nation near the Mississippi. On the 11th of July they left the Cahaynohoua, and proceeded by a very difficult route, had they been without guides they would have never found the way to another village called the Desert—So-called because of its location in the midst of fields and gardens. The

people received them kindly and gave them an abundant supply of their products. They also gave them a fruit which served to quench thirst, the pulp of it being no better than\textsuperscript{(1)} water. From thence they departed for a village on the banks of a great river. They passed through a pleasant wood, in which there was an abundance of stately cedars. Coming to the river they saw on the opposite bank an enormous cross which was very pleasing to their eyes. By firing their pieces as a signal they were soon joined by Christians, followers of De Tonty.

The followers of De Tonty who welcomed them were among the Accanceas, a large nation of Indians which consisted of four villages. The first village was called Otsotchove, the second Torisan. Both of them were located on the river. The third was Tongina, and the fourth Cappa, located on the Mississippi. After going through the villages mentioned above they came to the Mississippi River, which they ascended to the Illinois, and from there they came to Fort St. Louis on the Illinois.

M. de Tonty was absent from Fort St. Louis when Joutel and his party first arrived. Because of a storm Joutel was forced to remain at the fort for several months, after having

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., I, 173.
made a trip to Lake Michigan. Tonty returned from a campaign against the Iroquois and was pleased to hear of La Salle. For two reasons Joutel and his companions had kept La Salle's death a secret; first, M. Cavalier wished to borrow from Tonty a sum of money on La Salle's credit, and second, they did not want La Salle's savage followers to know that he was dead. M. Cavalier was careful to get a letter of credit from La Salle before he was murdered. He presented this letter to De Tonty and had no trouble in getting 4000 (1) livres of furs which they sold in Canada.

On the 7th of April, 1688, Coutoure, one of the Frenchmen Tonty had left on the Arkansas, came to Fort St. Louis. He informed Tonty of La Salle's death at which Tonty was much surprised. (2) De Tonty immediately began preparations to aid the colony on the Texas Coast. He departed from Fort St. Louis and arrived at the mouth of the Illinois River the 17th of October, 1688. Here he spent several weeks among the Illinois Indians, who had just returned from an

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1. Ibid., I, 189-190.
2. Ibid., I, 70. Sieur De Tonty in his Memoir gives the following information: "There I found M. Cavalier, a priest, his nephew, and the Father Anastasius, a Recollet and two men. They concealed from me the assassination of M. de la Salle; and upon their assuring me that he was on the Gulf of Mexico in good health, I received them as
expedition against the Osages.

De Tonty reached the Kappas on the 16th of January, 1689, where he was received with demonstrations of joy and for four days there was dancing and feasting. They danced the calumet for him which confirmed the alliance.

if they had been M. de la Salle himself, and lent them more than 700 francs (twenty-eight livres). M. Cavelier departed in the spring, 1687 (1688) to give an account of his voyage at court.

M. de la Foret came here in autumn and went away in the following spring. On the 7th of April, 1689 (1688) one named Coutoure brought to me two Arkansas who danced the Calumet. They informed me of the death of M. de la Salle, with all the circumstances which they had heard from the lips of M. Cavelier, who had fortunately discovered the house I had built at Arkansas, where the said Coutoure stayed with three Frenchmen. He told me that the fear of not obtaining from me what he desired had made him conceal the death of his brother, but that he had told them of it.

M. Cavelier told me that the Cadadoquo had proposed to accompany him if he would go and fight against the Spaniards. He had objected on the account of there being only fourteen Frenchmen. They replied that their nation was numerous, that they only wanted a few musqueeters, and that the Spaniards had money, which they, (the French) should take; and as for themselves, they only wished to keep the women and children as slaves. Coutoure told me that the young men whom M. Cavelier had left at Arkansas had assured him that this was true....M. de Denonville informed me that war was declared against Spain. Upon this I came to the resolution of going to Naodhoche, to execute what M. Cavelier had ventured to undertake, and to bring back M. de la Salle's men who were on the sea coast not knowing of the misfortune that had befallen him.
On the 20th they passed through the village of the Tongen- 

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gas. and on the 22nd, they came to the Torremans. Here 

he left the greater part of his men and departed for the 

Assotoue. The Assotoue received him with much honor, 

and gave him two women to return to the Cadadoquis nation, 

as he was going there.

After several days of travelling he arrived on the 

17th of February, 1690, at the villages of Natchitoches. 

Tonty had in his company thirty Taencas who joined him 

when he went through their country. The Taencas desired to 

make peace with the Natchitoches, with whom they in the 

past had been waging war. The Taencas to show the Natchitoches 

and their allies, the Ouasita and Capiches, that they were 

sincere, left their arms and went to the temple to take 

part in the ceremony. After the ceremony Tonty gave the 

Natchitoches and their allies many presents in the name 

of the Taencas. The Taencas remained several days to 

traffic in salt, which these nations got from a lake in 


1. Ibid., I, 72. It seems that in Tonty's Memoir this 

date is incorrect, and should read 1689, rather than 

1690. Joutal departed from Fort St. Louis on the 

Illinois in the spring of 1688 and shortly afterwards 

Coutoure came to the fort and informed Tonty of the 

death of La Salle. Tonty went among the Illinois 

Indians October 17th, 1688 and remained several 

weeks.
The neighborhood. The Natchitoches gave Tonty guides to direct him to the nation of the Yatches. They ascended the river about thirty leagues when they came to the villages of the Natches, who received them pretty well. From the Natches they travelled about forty leagues and came to the villages of the Yatches, Nadas and Choye. These people received them with much honor, coming several leagues to meet them and to give them refreshments. After several days of feasting and dancing Tonty asked for guides to lead him to the Cadadoquis, which at first they refused, because they had murdered three ambassadors, who had come from the Cadadoquis on the 26th of February. One of the women that Tonty had in his party proved to be a wife of a former chief, who had been killed by the Osages. On the 30th a woman who ruled another tribe came to him and entreated him to aid her warriors against the Osages to avenge the death of her husband, and the husband of the woman he had with him. To save time he promised that their dead would be avenged. He went with them to their temple and after the ceremony was conducted to the lodge of the chief, who washed his face with warm water before permitting

1. Ibid., I, 72.
him to enter. Joutel mentions this ceremony in his Narrative. While among these people Tonty heard of seven Frenchmen, members of La Salle's party, who had remained among the Naovediche. At this point Tonty's men refused to continue the journey and he was forced to go among the Naovediche some eighty leagues distant with only one Frenchman and an Indian servant. Tonty departed from the village of the Cadadoquis on the 6th of April guided by five warriors who were to lead him to the Naouadiches. On the journey he met a hunting party of Naouadiches, who assured him that there were some Frenchmen at their village. This encouraged him very much as he thought that the object of his journey would be accomplished. On the 19th the Frenchman who was with him got lost and did not find the party for two days, during that time he nearly lost his life in crossing a river, and lost most of the powder that they had in their possession. This vexed Tonty very much knowing that if the Indians were unfriendly toward them that they would have to return to the nation of the Cadado-

1. *Ibid.*, I, 75. "The Cadadoquis are united with two other villages called Natchitoches and Nacouli, situated on the Red River. All of the nations of this tribe speak the same language. Their cabins are covered with straw,
quis, where he had left a supply of ammunition. On the night of the 23rd, they pitched camp about a half a league from the village of the Naouadiches, and the chiefs visited them in camp. Tonty asked concerning the Frenchmen and was informed that the Frenchmen had gone with the Naouadiches against the Spaniards and at that time were absent from the village on a trip in search of iron-arrow-heads. Some others of the Indians told Tonty that the Quanqua-tine had killed three of them. On entering the village Tonty was unable to find any of the French, whereupon he accused the natives of murdering them; at this the women began to weep, and he felt that he had solved the mystery.

Tonty was, at this time, only three days journey from the place where La Salle was killed and only about eighty leagues from Fort St. Louis in Texas, but he was unable to

and they are not united in villages, but their huts are distant from one another. Their fields are beautiful. They fish and hunt. There is plenty of game, but few cattle (besufts). They wage cruel war with each other—hence, their villages are thinly populated. I never found that they did any work, except making very fine bows, which they make a traffic with distant nations. The Cadadoquis possess about thirty horses, which they called "cavali" (sp. caballo, a horse). The men and women were tattooed on the face and all over the body."

1. As a matter of fact De Tonty was wrong in his assumption, that the French had been murdered. He arrived among the Naouadiches on the 24th of April, and departed from their villages some time before the close of the month; for he arrived at the villages of the Cadadoquis on the 10th.
proceed for want of ammunition and the Indians refused to furnish guides. After bartering for some horses he started on his return trip. When the horses were delivered he found them branded with Spanish brands. The Naouadiches had plenty of horses which they used in hunting and in their campaigns.

On the 10th of May, Tonty and his party arrived at the village of Cadadoquis, where he remained for seven days to rest his horses. From thence he departed on the 17th for the Coroas with one Indian guide, who left him

of May. At this same time De Leon was camped on the Guadalupe, and was encouraging the Frenchmen to come to him for a conference. Two of the Frenchmen whom Tonty sought arrived at De Leon's camp some time during the latter part of the month, about April 26th. Leon sent them a message before April the 22nd, for upon this date he discovered La Salle's ruined fort on the La Vaca River. After exploring the ruins he went several leagues to the south and explored by Bay of Espiritu Santo. On returning to the ruined fort the messenger had arrived and told that the French would meet him in a few days. While waiting he explored the San Marcos (Colorado). Three days after his return to his camp, possibly near the ruined fort the Frenchmen joined his party. Leon broke camp on the Guadalupe, May the 3rd, departing for Coahuila taking with him the two Frenchmen, L'Archeveque and Grollet. At this date De Tonty must have been enroute from the Naouadiche to the Cadadoquis.

1. Ibid., I, 75, "I forgot to say that the savages who have horses use them for both war and hunting. They make pointed saddles, and wooden stirrups, and body-coverings of several skins, one over the other as a protection from arrows. They arm the breasts of their horses with the same materials, a proof that they are not far from Spaniards."
a short time afterwards because of a peculiar accident. The packs were loaded on the horses and they were guided by a halter. In going through a marsh the guide thought that he was being pursued by an alligator when he fled and climbed a tree. In his rush the horse became entangled and was drowned. The savage thinking that he would be punished for the loss of the horse, fled without saying a word. When the guide was gone Tonty tried to get the Chaganon to take the lead, but he refused, and Tonty had to lead. After travelling towards the southeast for a distance of forty leagues or more they came to lowlands where they travelled for more than fifty leagues by means of a raft. On the last part of the journey they suffered many hardships. They secured no game except a bear which they found on an island, and before reaching the Mississippi they were forced to eat their dogs. At night they were obliged to sleep on logs fastened together and to build their fire on trees.

While De Tonty was putting forth every effort to aid La Salle's fatal colony on the Coast in Texas, and encouraging his men to travel through an unknown country inhabited by wild Indians to lend them succor, Captain

1. Ibid., I, 77.
Alonso de Leon was pushing his excursions from the Rio Grande farther and farther into the same wilderness not to lend aid and succor to the fatal colony, but to capture and destroy it. The viceroy of Coahuila had been notified of La Salle's intentions as mentioned above, and several trips had been made along the coast in the course of which the wrecks of vessels had been found but no signs of the settlement. In 1687 a strong fort was placed on the frontier of Coahuila, inhabited by about 150 families, and containing 270 persons capable of bearing arms against the French. This was to serve as an outpost from which expeditions could start, also as a barrier against French invasion. To this and other frontier outposts came the information that there were French among the Indians in Eastern Michel which caused Leon to make several expeditions to that part.

On the 27th of March, 1689, Leon departed from the Sabinas River on an expedition that led him into Caddoan Territory. They passed through many beautiful plains, and after crossing several rivers went into camp on the Guadalupe April the fourteenth, 1689. At this place they heard

2. Ibid., p. 15.
3. Ibid., p. 18.
of white men among the Tejas, also they heard of the destruction of the French fort on the coast. Before departing for the Bay of Espiritu Santo, Leon sent a messenger to the Tejas (Texas) requesting the French to come to his camp. After waiting some time for the Frenchmen to come he decided to go among the Texas Indians. With thirty men he set out toward the north. After travelling for three days he was overtaken by a part of his army, who had with them two Frenchmen; they were Jean L'Archeveque, and Santiago Grollet, who had deserted La Salle on one of his early expeditions. When Leon returned to the Guadalupe he took with him the chief or governor of the Nabedoch tribe, who was treated with much kindness by the Spaniards, and who in response gave them evidence of his kindly disposition. Especially was the chaplain, Fray Damian Massanet impressed with the good will and fortitude of the savage. Making use of one of the French as interpreter, he urged the savage chief and his people to become Christians offering if he wished it, to send priests among them to teach them. When the chief expressed his desire, Father Massanet promised to return the next year at planting time. Thus on the Guadalupe the San Francisco

1. Ibid., p. 19.
2. Ibid., p. 21.
de los Tajas was conceived. On the third of May the savage chief and his warriors departed for their country in the north and Leon crossed the Guadalupe on his return march to Coahuila, where preparations were to be made to return to the nation of the Tajas in the near future.
CHAPTER III

SPANISH MISSIONS OF THE SOUTHERN CADDOAN GROUP

The purpose of the Missions among the Tejas was to be two-fold; the savages were to receive both secular and religious training, and the presence of the friars and soldiers was to serve as a barrier to the incursions of the French. The barbarian was to be renovated; he was to give up his primitive god, to forget his savage enemy, to take up the cross and banner of the Spaniard and to be ever ready to aid against a Spanish foe. The fact that Frenchmen were found in Spanish territory was the best of proof that they were endeavoring to gain influence among the natives.

After the return of Leon and Massanet to Mexico several conferences were held for the purpose of preparing for another expedition among the Tejas. Consequently on the 26th of March, 1690, a combined military and Missionary force departed from the presidio of Coshuila for the Nation of the Tejas. The force was made up of 100 soldiers under the leadership of Leon and three Franciscan religiosos, Fray Miguel Fontecuberta, Fray Francisco de Jesus Maria, and Fray Antonio Bordoy under the direction of Father Massanet. (1) On approaching the territory

of the Tejas, Leon sent ahead a small guard who first came in contact with the Indians and found among them two French boys. It seems that they had been companions of L'Archeveque and Grollet. Knowing that the Spaniards were coming they did not wish to be prisoners, and were attempting to escape. On nearing the villages Leon sent a messenger to inform the chief that they were coming. The chief appeared with his attendant to welcome them. In the village they were received with much kindness. As the chief and his countryman were still willing for missionaries to remain among them, the friars with the assistance of Leon, began to make preparations for a chapel, and a dwelling for the priests. The mission of San Francisco de los Tejas the first religious and educational institution was located on the Neches River in the heart of savage wilderness, over 400 miles from the nearest settlement. The friars went diligently to work first to learn the native language, using the young (1) Frenchmen as interpreters. The teaching was to be done by three friars, Fontacuberta as president, with Francisco de Jesus Maria and Antonio Bordoy as assistants. So strong was the faith of the Fathers in the savages that

1. Ibid., p. 25.
only three soldiers were left to protect the Mission. The Spanish were yet to learn a bitter lesson, that no matter how faithful the missionary friars might be, little could be accomplished in bringing the savage to respect the institutions of religion and civilization without the aid of military force to check his native impulses. Within a short time the Spanish friars learned that the tribes, among whom they located, were organized into a confederacy spoken of by them as the "Aseney." (1) This group of tribes when mentioned by the French were the Cenis, after 1715 when mentioned by the Spanish, "Hasinai." It is a known fact that the Hasinai as mentioned in the early records were of Caddoan stock, but the exact number of tribes during that period is unknown. (2) The term "Tejas" which was erroneously used by the early adventurers was given its correct use when its meaning

1. Bolton, H. E., "The Native Tribes about the East Texas Missions," Texas State Historical Association Quarterly, XI, 235. "Francisco de Jesus Marie Casanas, writing in 1681 near the Nacedache village after fifteen months residence there, reported that the "province of Asenay" comprised nine tribes (naciones) living on the Neches-Angelina valleys within a district about thirty-five leagues long."
2. Ibid., XI, 264.
became known. Whether by reasoning or by accident, probably the latter, the Spanish in selecting the Caddoan confederacies were placing their efforts among the natives who represented the highest form of native society to be found any place between the Red and the upper Rio Grande rivers, an area more than a thousand miles in extent. From a political viewpoint the most logical point for an establishment would have been on the coast but these tribes were hostile both to the Spanish and the French. The initial effort of the French was appreciated more by the natives than were those of the Spanish. While the latter was offering him civilization, the former gave him goods in exchange for native raw materials.

Massanet on his return to Mexico published a very optimistic account of the savages and of the location of the New Mission. The Indians were friendly and the country well suited for missions; the Tejas (Hasinai) and the Cadodaches were the best organized for government, favorably inclined toward the Spaniards and desirous of being

1. Ibid., 250. Before the locations of missions by the Spaniards, the term "Texas" variously spelled, was applied to the group of tribes later known, the Hasinai. The term had wide currency among the tribes of eastern Texas and perhaps over a wider area; that its usual meaning was "Friends" or more technically "allies"... It was also used to designate a large number of tribes who were customarily allied against the Apaches."

2. Ibid., p. 252.
taught in the doctrines of the church. In the new enterprise more priests should be sent, carpenters and mechanics to instruct the Indians. Only a few soldiers were needed to protect the priests. Boys were to be sent to live and grow up with the Indians that they might learn the language and to love the country. Two juntas (conferences) were held; one on October 6, the other on November 28, 1690 in the City of Mexico to plan an expedition on a more extensive scale.

To command this third expedition Don Domingo de los Rios was selected and made governor of Coahuila and Texas with a salary of $2500.00 per year. For the enterprise he was to have fifty soldiers; and forty skilled seamen were to be sent by ship from Vera Cruz to bay Espiritu Santo to act in conjunction with him. (1)

The purpose of the expedition was to be three-fold; first, the welfare of the savage was to be provided for, both spiritually and mentally. The mission already established among the Hasinai was to be enlarged, and eight more were to be established among the two Caddo confederacies. One of the eight was to be located on the Guadalupe as had been recommended by Massanet. A special study was to be made of the savage, both his mental and spiritual

1. Clark, op., cit., 27.
training should be conducted in such a way as to appeal to his desires; and especially should he be encouraged to receive favorably the efforts of the priests. He was to be taught how to work and encouraged in his efforts, and in no way was he to be abused in transactions concerning his property or person. The stamp of royal approval was given to the enterprise.

A royal decree, dated at Madrid the 20th day of September, 1690, and received by the viceroy in April 1691, in which it was commended that friars sufficient for the conversion of the Tejas and surrounding tribes be sent among them fully provided with everything necessary for the success of the missions. (1)

In the second place every effort was to be made to locate French settlements, if there were such, within the limits of the domain rightfully belonging to Spain. So many stragglers from La Salle's colony had been found among the Indians that there was a suspicion that another French settlement was located some place in the North. And finally, expeditions were to be made to the Cadodaches of the Red River, to examine the country, the rivers, locate their sources and mouths, and to make special observations concerning the Indian tribes, their character, government, and their religious belief. For carrying out this extensive

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1. Ibid., p. 26.
program, Fray Damian Massanet was given complete charge.

The personnel was to consist of fifty soldiers, nine priests and such servants and attendants as were necessary; and in order the better to carry out the exploration of bays, inlets and rivers, forty men skilled in seacraft were to be sent, as already indicated, to St. Bernard Bay to join the overland expedition. To support this company and to supply the missions already established as well as others to be established, there were to be taken abundant supplies of provisions, arms and munitions, large herds of horses and mules, and flocks of cattle, sheep and goats. Massanet who was constituted by the viceroy commissary of the expedition and only upon his orders were these supplies to be appropriated and consumed, save as such were necessary for the immediate maintenance of the army. On the other hand the military direction of the enterprise, and the determination where it should go, what lands it should explore and courses to follow, and the control of those who composed the company, within the limits of his very detailed instructions, to be left to the direction of Don Teran de los Hies.(1)

A new route was taken in making this expedition. They crossed the rivers farther from the bay (giving them new names), finding a similar country but easier travelling. On June the 18th near one of the branches of the Guadalupe they were met by some Indians, who brought letters from the friars left at the Mission San Francisco. From these Massanet learned that there had been much sickness among the natives about the mission and that Father Fontecuberta had died,

June the 27th the expedition reached the Colorado. Because of the rugged banks they were forced to go down

1. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
stream for several leagues. Here they pitched camp while Captain Francisco Martinez descended to the bay of Espiritu Santo to meet the expedition from Vera Cruz.

While the main army and force of Teran and Massanet was camped on the Colorado, a party of Cadohadacho came to their camp and reported that there had been a party of white men among the Caddoes in the past. This party was evidently the French under the leadership of De Tonty.

As before mentioned De Tonty appears among the Caddoes in 1689 or 1690 in search of the stragglers who remained when Joutel and Cavelier went to Canada.

The expedition was delayed at the crossing of the Brazos two days because of the ferrying of the flocks. The friars became impatient of the slow progress at the Trinity and went in advance to the mission. They were met near the village by the natives and Fathers Francisco de Jesus Maria and Antonio Bardoy, who gave in detail the death of Father Fontecuberta and of the sickness among the Indians. In a single month more than 300 had died among the tribes of the Asinias, and among the Tejas, (friendly nations) more than 5000 had died during the year 1690-91.

1. Ibid., p. 51. See page 55.
The friars gave an account of what they had done, as follows:

They had continued their labors among the Asinais at Mission San Francisco, and at another mission established a few miles to the north upon a stream called Archangel San Miguel (probably the Neches). This second mission was built in June 1690, and was the special charge of Father Francisco de Jesus Maria; it was named Santisimo Nombre de Maria. (Note, it was located about a league and a half from Mission San Francisco).—They succeeded in inducing a number of the Indians to receive baptism, among them the great "Xinesi," head of the Asinais tribes. This chief was baptized on his death-bed, but miraculously recovered, and according to Father Francisco became "a very good Christian, for he has given me his word that he will do nothing other than what I tell him"........ The work had been slow, because of the difficulty of learning the native language and the indifference of the Indians.(1)

The information concerning the French on the Red River received while the expedition was encamped on the Colorado, caused Teran to depart on his expedition probably before he intended. On November the sixth, he departed from the Mission on his journey to the Caddo country. Teran had just returned from the coast and as the fall rains had set in, the expedition had been a very difficult task. After resting a short time he set out with a small army and the choice of the animals. The vast forests and thickets afforded little pasture for the stock; day after day the animals became jaded, starved and unable to travel. The rain continued to fall swelling the creeks into rivers and making the rivers impassable. Much

1. Ibid., pp 32-33.
time was lost in building bridges and rafts over streams that otherwise could have been forded easily. To add to the difficulties the weather turned cold, snow fell and the creeks became frozen. The explorers poorly clad, and not accustomed to the hardships of the wilderness were soon in a condition to go no farther. The animals began to die from starvation and the cold and the whole army was forced to halt. A camp was established and Teran and Massanet with thirty men and the strongest of the animals pushed on. At last on November 28, they came to the great river of the Caddoens. The natives received them well, and while Teran explored the river and adjacent country Father Massanet visited the tribes on either side of the river. At every village he was made welcome, and he found the people disposed to receive Christianity. But no missionaries were left among them. The severity of the season and the lack of supplies necessary to equip a mission would have been sufficient to compel the postponement of missionary effort among the Cadodachos, even if the friars had been willing to remain under such unfavorable conditions.

The orders given by the viceroy having been fulfilled

in a meager way Teran departed for the Mission. The winter became more and more severe, the rain changed to sleet, the animals were forced to eat frozen shrubs, one by one the cattle died and the soldiers dismounted placing their packs on their horses. On the way to the Mission Teran promised the seamen fresh horses to use on their trip to the coast. On December 30 the company in a wretched condition reached the Mission Santa Maria, where they remained a few days, then proceeded to the Mission San Francisco on Arroyo San Pedro.

In preparing for the expedition to the Bay Teran several times urged Massanet to let the men have horses to be used on the journey, but he refused and finally Teran ordered the soldiers to take what they wanted. "Thus the breach between the two leaders of the expedition widened." It was plain to be seen that the principal initial cause of the expedition was growing into a failure. The Indians were losing faith while professing good will in order to secure presents which were frequently given them, they were constantly pilfering from the missions and stealing and killing the animals. "Moreover, they attributed the disease and deaths among them to the influence of the new religions which they had professed, and began to rebel
against it and to threaten the priests. Furthermore the conditions were aggravated by the harshness and lack of tact which marked the dealings of the soldiers with the natives. A strong executive, realizing the importance of the situation might have reorganized the expedition, compelled obedience on the part of the soldiers, sought out and punished the offending Indians, and carried the undertaking to a successful close. But Teran was no executive. Neither did he have ability to prosecute such an enterprise; apparently his only wish was to return to Mexico in such a manner as to satisfy the viceroy that he had not been lax in performing the duty assigned to him.

For the enterprise to have been a success, it would have been necessary to build two forts and garrison them, each with at least 500 men. For the establishment of eight missions it would have taken an army of some 2000 men.

As to the failure of the enterprise the friars blamed the soldiers and their treatment of the savages. Father Francisco insisted that in order to convert the Indians the Spaniards must set a good example. In a letter to Count of Galvo he expresses himself in the following manner:

1. Ibid., p. 57.
2. Ibid., p. 55.
And so I beg your Excellency, that you consider how this, as agreeable to the Lord, may not be lost by sending the criminals taken from the prisons, both unmarried and vagabonds, who if they were turned loose among Christians, would do harm, and would there commit atrocities and prevent the ministers of the Lord, by their depraved life and bad example, from gathering the fruits of souls.\(^1\)

The medicine man of the savage was using his influence, attributing to the new religion the cause of so many deaths in their midst. The friars were so discouraged that six refused to remain, and returned to Mexico. Massanet and his assistants remained for two years, but the work did not prosper. Droughts and floods destroyed the crops for two successive years. The savages with whom the priests were laboring joined the coast tribes in driving off their stock; the soldiers set bad examples, and at times angered the savages by their treatment of their women. Finally the principal chief of the Tejas informed Massanet that his people were tired of the Spaniards and were determined to drive them from their land. This caused the missionaries to depart, and they left on the night of the 25th of October taking away their ornaments and burying the swival guns, bells, and other iron things before they departed. In March 1694 the viceroy formally ordered the

\(^1\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 59-40.
abandonment of the province of Nueva Montaña and Texas. And for twenty years these possessions were left to the rule of the Indian tribes, until the appearance of the French from the east to stimulate the missionary movement anew.

By way of conclusion it may be said that these efforts among the Tejas were not a total loss. This costly experiment on the part of Massanet was to reap results, though meager, in the future. Valuable lessons were learned; one probably most important was the geography of the new province; some few of the number had learned to speak the language of the Indians; and for a permanent establishment of missions settlements must be made rather than garrisons occupied by single men.

During the twenty years that the Spanish had forsaken their missions among the Tejas, they were not entirely without Spanish company. On the journey to Mexico in 1693 four soldiers of the party of Massanet deserted and returned to the Indian villages, among them was Captain Urrutia who lived among them for seven years and established

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1. Ibid., p. 42.
himself so well in their good graces that thirteen years after his departure they inquired about him and expressed a desire that he return to them. Fray Hildago, one of the friars who worked with Massanet, returned in a short time and continued to work among them. He so endeared himself with them that in 1714 when Saint-Denis appeared among them they expressed a strong desire to have the good father return and resume his missionary work. It is not known just how long Fray Hildago labored among the Indians but in 1700 he was in a mission on the Rio Grande trying to get the Mexican Government to sponsor another expedition to re-establish missions among the Caddoes.\(^{(1)}\)

Being discouraged in his effort he again set out alone and went among the Asinais and spent several years in his work. While among the Indians at this time he evidently realized that the time was ripe for missionary work among the savages for he made an appeal to the French provinces for aid, from whom he received a favorable reply.\(^{(2)}\)

On January 17, 1711, he wrote three letters directing them toward the French settlements. One of them came into the hands of Governor Cadillac who immediately offered aid. He

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was willing to help the Spanish missionaries in order to build up the French trade with the Frontier. Cadillac selected Saint-Denis for the expedition because of his ability as a frontiersman. He was also well versed in the Indian languages. As two European nations, France and Spain, were now at peace, Cadillac wished to establish trade with Mexico peacefully, if possible.

Rumors reached the Spanish settlements before Saint-Denis departed from Louisiana, that such an expedition was being formed, and orders were sent to the governors of the northern provinces, instructing them carefully to prohibit the French from entering Spanish territory.

The plan as drawn up by the Spanish contained three important parts: the governors were to prevent trade by the French with the Indians located in Spanish territory, a combined military and religious expedition was to be sent at once among the Asinais for the purpose of establishing four missions, and lastly, the French were to be carefully watched to prevent settlements among the Asinais and Caddoes. Each mission was to be guarded by a small military force. The soldiers were to be paid a salary and prohibited from trading with the Indians. The dilatory nature of the Spanish was such that as long as they felt that Texas and the silver mines were far from the commercial road of the foreigner they could rest in peace and let
conditions take care of themselves. It took the presence of
the French who had travelled over 400 miles through restricted
territory to arouse them to action. There was probably a
feeling among some of the officials that a secret or illegal
trade would net them enormous profits, thus the locating
of trading posts, and the fixing of a permanent boundary
seemed to appeal to some of the officials, even though it was
contrary to the instructions from Spain. In 1690 the French
offered no real menace to Spanish interests, but in 1715 a
different state of affairs existed; the French had entire
control of the Mississippi River and their commerce was rapidly
developing on the Gulf and they were pushing their products
farther and farther into the wilderness.

Their rivals thus established, active and energetic,
the Spaniards could not as in the former instance, allow their
missionary and colonizing enthusiasm to expend itself in a
single ephemeral effort. They must find not four missions,
but as many as would be needed to secure them in possession
of the country. (2)

Captain Domingo Ramon was appointed the 30th of September,
1715, by the viceroy, the Duque de Linares, as leader of the
expedition and on the 17th of February 1716 he departed from

1. Ibid., p. 60. The two Frenchmen who arrived at the
capital of Mexico were Saint-Denis and his valet, Merdar
Jalot.
2. Ibid., pp. 61-62.
the Villa de Saltillo leaving behind six soldiers to escort the friars who were to come later. On the 3rd of March the friars over-took the company and they proceeded together. Saint-Denis, who must have made a favorable impression at the court in the city of Mexico was to be the Chief Guide of the expedition. The company of sixty-five persons consisted of five friars, one lay friar, one lay brother, besides Espinosa and Hildago. Of the soldiers five were married and one was married en route, in addition there were two married men and thirteen unmarried, whose intentions were to settle among the natives. There were also the two Frenchmen, Saint-Denis and Jelot.

After crossing the Brazos the Indians became more numerous as they approached the country of the Hasinai. Everywhere the Indians received them with honor and were much

1. Ibid., p. 62. It is interesting in this connection to note the double part that Saint-Denis was playing. He accepted an office under the Mexican Government, received a salary in advance to abet an enterprise which was in direct opposition to the interests of his own government. At the same time under the date of September 7th, he wrote a letter to the Governor of Louisiana advising him that the viceroy was about to send a party to establish a mission among the Tejas. He asked that a brigantine be sent to Espiritu Santo Bay and declared that it would be necessary for the king of France to demand that the boundary of Louisiana be fixed at the Rio Grande.

2. Ibid., p. 64.
pleased that the Spaniards were returning to live with them. Saint-Denis made himself useful to Captain Ramon as interpreter, and his influence was valuable in securing for the Spaniards a kindly welcome. He approached the villages of the Asinais and returned at the head of a mounted party of Indian chiefs who gave the Spaniards an impressive welcome. Captain Ramon received them with the proper ceremony, the flaunting of banners and firing of guns; after they had smoked the pipe of peace the Indians led the way to their villages. Before arriving at the villages they were met by large bodies of natives, who presented them with maize, melons and tamales which were heaped in a great pile before the Spaniards.

Captain Ramon, with reciprocal courtesy, ordered cloth, dishes, hats and tobacco to be distributed among the Indians. Then by means of an interpreter he addressed them, telling them that the Spaniards had come to look after the welfare of their souls and to bring them knowledge of the Holy law and to a recognition of the authority of King Felipe V, who by the hands of the Duque of Linares, viceroy of New Spain, had sent them these gifts as a token of his love. He instructed them for the good of the people to select one from their number who should be their captain general. The Indians withdrew to confer together and in a short time they sent the youngest of their great chiefs as the one whose rule they could most easily endure. To him was given the baton and Captain Ramon's own jacket as insignia of his rank and office."

1. Ibid., p. 66.
After the ceremonies they resumed their journey and on the 20th of June they came to the spot where the Mission San Francisco de los Tejas had been established in 1690. Here some time was spent in conference with the Indians, in the selection of a site for the new mission. On the 3rd of July 1716 the site was selected about four leagues from the old mission among the Nacoches, located on a stream flowing from the northeast. This site was evidently southwest of the present city of Alto in Cherokee County, Texas, near the Neches Indian mounds. The Nacoches chief was the grand chief of the Napedache, Neche, Nacachau and Nacone. Father Hildago who for many years had been laboring among the Tejas was placed in charge of the mission, sometimes called San Francisco de los Neches, and was intended to serve the Napedache, Neche, Nacachau, and Nacono tribes. But conditions were not yet ripe for the permanent establishment of a mission. The Indians refused to give up their roving habits and settle down to village life. The army was inadequate to keep peace among the tribes, and the friars were in constant fear of the French traders. The mission was abandoned in

1719, when other missions to the east were attacked by the French. (1)

On August the 5th, 1721 the mission was re-established by the Marquis de Aguayo, who marched into Texas with the largest military organization that had ever entered the province. Friar Jose Huerra was placed in charge of the mission. As before the Indian tribes were called together in a peace council and they were requested to appoint another governor. The natives appointed the leading chief of the Neches, and to him was given the baton the symbol of authority recognized by the Spaniards. He in turn represented over 180 natives of all ages, as subjects of Spanish rule. A village was located near the mission and was called San Francisco Valero. Espinosa encouraged the people of the different tribes to take up permanent abode in the village, which they promised to do after they had gathered their crops. Neophytes were encouraged in studies but the haunts of the wilds were so strong that desertion took place shortly after

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1. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas.* I, 615. *(In June 1719 a force of French and Indians from Natchitoches took possession of San Miguel de los Adaes, capturing the friar in charge, who escaped, however, to carry the news to other missions. The Spanish imply that St. Denis was in charge of the command, composed of Natchitoches and Cadochaches, but this was probably not the case.... La Harpe who was at...*)
the receiving of presents. In 1727-28 General Pedro Rivera was sent by Governor Mediavilla to inspect José Huerra's mission. He found it completely deserted, and described it as being a settlement of huts. General Rivera in his report to the viceroy recommended a radical reduction of soldiers at the Texas missions, much against the wishes of the friars. Governor Mediavilla endorsed Rivera's report, which was one of the causes of his removal. The friars appealed to their college and obtained permission to remove their missions to San Antonio near the presidio of Béjar. This mission with two others, San Francisco and Concepción was moved to San Antonio in 1751, and it became known as San Francisco de la Espada. Henceforth the mission served the tribes of Tacames. The new location placed it nearer to the Spanish base of supplies but it was subject to the attacks of the plains Indians.

A Franciscan mission, San José de los Nazones, was founded among the Nazones in 1716. It was organized by Fray 

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1. Bolton, Texas in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century, pp. 16-17. "In the region of Béjar the Apaches caused great trouble to the missions, and though Governor Bustillos was successful in killing over 200 in one campaign their incursions did not cease."
Isidro de Espinosa, and was located on a small stream flowing north, evidently a branch of Shawnee Creek, in Texas. The statement,

"that it was located between the Neches and the Trinity is incorrect, as is also the assertion that it was founded for the "Noaches" a tribe that never existed in Texas."(1)

The mission was northeast of Concepcion at a distance of about nine leagues. In 1716, Espinosa went over the country from the Hasinai to the villages of the Nasoni and made a careful study of natives and their modes of living. He found them to be a semi-agricultural folk and capable of advancing rapidly in the studies of the doctrine of the Church. The country was densely populated by villages and each family lived upon a plot where they grew melons, beans, and maize.

In speaking of their huts, or homes, he called them "ranchos." He later became the author of "Chronica Apostolica," a manual which was used by the friars in teaching and directing the missions.

After three years of little success the mission was abandoned in 1719, when the attacks of the French caused the abandonment of all the missions of East Texas. During the absence of the Spanish, the French and their allies were possibly present among the Nasoni. When war was declared

between France and Spain, the colonies took it over. Blondel who was commandant at Natchitoches led an army made up of a great number of Indian allies against the Spanish among the Añas. La Harpe at this same time was at the Nasonite post where he spent several weeks. While there, he sent Du Rivage to reconnoiter the country to the north and to gain the friendship of the Indian tribes. When La Harpe left the Nasonite post he went north among the Touacaras, nine tribes that had formed an alliance including the Wichitas, located near the South Canadian River in Oklahoma.

On August 13, 1721, the Spanish returned under the leadership of Aguayo and Father Espinosa. The mission was found in ruins, but new buildings were placed on the sites and after the dedication, the mission was placed in the charge of Fray Benito Sanches. During the military ceremony the head chief of the Nasoni was re-instated as Governor for the Indians. In 1729 the Spanish withdrew their soldiers from the presidio on the Angelina River, and as the mission was without protection, the Queretarian College withdrew the mission, with others, to San Antonio River. Here the mission San Jose was rechristened San Juan Capistrano, and generally spoken of as San Juan. While in East Texas the mission was never very successful, and during the period of desertion in

1757 it lost its neophytes as did the other missions. In June and August all of the natives deserted, but they were followed by Father Ysasmendi and an escort of ten soldiers, and after a journey of twenty-one days the friar was successful in getting practically all of his charges. After the removal the records show that it was more successful. The work was conducted among the southern tribes.

During the month of July 1716, the mission Purisima Concepcion was established under the direction of Antonio Margil de Jesus. De Jesus was president of the friars in the Ramon-Saint-Denis expedition, and his account of the tribes and missions is the most valuable to be had at the present time. Purisima Concepcion was located among the Hasinai about nine leagues northeast of San Jose on the Angelina River in a village of the Hasinai, the leading tribe of the Hasinai confederacy. This village was located at a strategic point as far as the missionaries were concerned. This was the heart of the Hasinai country, and there was located here the Great Indian Temple of the Hasinai confederacy. This temple was presided over by the "Great Xinesi," a priest of great spiritual influence before the coming of the Spanish

missionaries. Because of the influence of the Great Xinesi, the Queretaran missionaries made this mission their head mission. Fray Ysidro Felis de Espinosa was the first president to the Queretaran missions, and this mission was placed in his charge. He later became the author of the famous work on Franciscan Missions, "Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica," a noted work concerning the care and regulations of missions. The natives were friendly because of the presents given them by the Spanish, but resisted all efforts to reduce them to regular pueblo life. The Hainai Indians were placed under the influence of the hunting and warring parties from the tribes of the east, as Espinosa says in the location of the mission, it was the place where the highway crosses the Angeline River. This was an ideal place for the location of a mission. The Indians were prosperous, industrious, and the seasons were well fitted for agriculture, and a greater part of their living must consist of agricultural products.

The Hainai settlement at the time the missions were founded consisted, it is said of an infinite number of ranches, with their patches of maize, melon, watermelons, beans, tobacco, and sunflowers. (Ramon, Derrotero, 1715, MS. in Memoirs de Nueva Espana, xxvii, 158) (1)

The first church and dwellings for the Spaniards were

1. Hodge, op., cit., II, 92.
built by the Indians in their savage way and consisted of poles and grass after the manner of the Hasinai grass ledges. The natives were friendly toward the friars and Spanish soldiers but were slow to accept baptism.

However, within a year, Espinosa succeeded in baptizing on his death bed, the Hainai Chief, which because of his exalted position in the confederacy, presumably made other conversions easier.

Before the removal of the mission to San Antonio, it was frequently called Nuestra Senora de La Purisima Concepcion de los Ajnais. This mission was abandoned with others during the hostilities of the French when they and their Indian Allies made a raid in 1719. In 1721 the mission was re-established when Governor Marquis de San Miguel de Aguayo made his expedition into Texas to dislodge the French. The mission was again placed in charge of Espinosa who was successful in enrolling over 400 Indians for religious and secular study. The old buildings were occupied after some remodelling had been done. On August 8, the mission was re-established and to Cheocas, chief of the Hainai and head chief of the Hasinai, was given the honor of Governor of the Indians. Aguayo gave to him "the best suit that he had—blue, heavy embroidered with gold, with waist coat of gold and silver."
Cheocas called the Hainai together and Aguyoc, after exhorting them to come and settle a pueblo, gave presents of clothing and trinkets to over 400 persons, including perhaps the eighty Kadokhadacho visitors who chanced to be there. (1)

In 1751 the mission was moved to San Antonio, with other missions of the east and its name was changed to La Purisima (2) Concepcion de Acuna. Concepcion was placed on the banks of the San Antonio River about two miles below the mission of San Antonio. The mission after its removal served principally tribes of Coahuiltecan stock.

On July 9, 1716, the Franciscans of Zacatecas founded the mission of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe which was the third mission to be established this year and was located in a village of the Nacogdoches. This mission was at a distance of about nine leagues from Concepcion. It became a landmark in Spanish history, as the site never changed during its history to the time of its abandonment in 1773. It was located on the old highway, Camino Real, which was the route used by the French when they made their journeys to the Rio Grande. Thus it had a dual purpose: to check the French on their incursions among the Spanish and as a station for future travel between the settlements of Mexico and the missions to the north. It

1. Ibid., II, 92.
was the head mission of the Zacatecan missions and at first was under the charge of Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus.

This mission proved of no more value than the others. The Navedaches and Texas deserted and returned at will, refusing to give up their heathen ways. During the early period of its history the natives lived by hunting and by planting small patches of maize as opportunity and seasons permitted. Later in the history of the mission, stock-raising became the important means of livelihood, and large ranches were established.

The mission was abandoned in 1719 when the French and their Indian allies attacked the missions in eastern Texas. When in 1721 Aguayo and Margil de Jesus went to the old site not a sign of the church or dwelling remained.

On August 18 the new church was dedicated; Fray Jose Rodrigues was put in charge, and 520 Indians were given presents, having promised to settle in a pueblo, a promise which they evidently never fulfilled.

In 1730-31 the Queretaran missions were transferred to San Antonio, while the Zacatecan missions were retained. Many

2. Bolton, Athanase de Maziers and the Texas-Louisiana Frontier, 1766-1780, II, 260-261. This mission had a continuous history since 1716, except for the years between 1775 and 1779. "In the early months of this year, 1779, Antonio Gil Ybarbo moved his settlement of Filar of Bucareli, composed of former inhabitants of Adaza, from Trinity to the site of old Nacogdoches nation which had been abandoned six years before."
times during the history of the mission the friars were in danger from attacks by the Indians who were made hostile because of the influence of the French.

As mentioned above three of the Zacatecan missions were moved, but the friars continued their work at the old missions. There is some evidence that a Spanish post was established at Nacogdoches in 1732 which would be a protection much desired by the missionaries in charge. Also protection could be had from Pilar presidio, which had been established in 1721.

In 1752 Father Cambaros went to Mexico to propose a new mission among the Karakawa who were reluctant to go to a mission out of their native land. He proposed moving the mission to the Ais, (Eyesih) as their mission had been unsuccessful, to the new site and sending one of the friars to Nacogdoches. He also argued that all aid could be given the Ais from the Nacogdoches Mission.

The Apaches of the plains had been considered the arch enemy of the tribes of east and north Texas. In 1754 these natives came to the Spanish in great numbers asking for missionaries and teachers.

1. Bancroft, op. cit., I, 619. Footnote, "Several writers say that a Spanish post at Nacogdoches was established in 1752."
2. Bolton, Herbert E., Texas in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century, p. 61.
3. Ibid., p. 55.
The attacks of the Comanches and other tribes of the north kept forcing the Apaches farther south, and in seeking aid against their enemies they pleaded with the Spaniards to send them missionaries and to help them in their campaigns. In 1757 the first mission called Santa Cruz, was founded among the Bipan Apaches. In March 1758 the Comanches and their allies appeared bearing French weapons.

The principal cause of the assault was clearly the hostility between the northerners and the Apache, and the feeling that by establishing missions the Spaniards had become allies of the latter.(1)

The news of the attack caused a military expedition to be led against the northern tribes. Colonel Parrilla was selected as leader of the campaign and on October 7, 1758, his army was badly beaten at the villages of the Taovayas on Red River in the vicinity of the present Ringgold. In eastern Texas Governor Martos and Father Calahorra, the veteran missionary at Nacogdoches made every effort to establish peace among tribes even though it might cause war with the Apaches.

Soon after the defeat of Parrilla, two northern tribes who had taken part in the hostilities, came to the Nacogdoches mission, asking for peace and offering to give up the Spanish prisoners and Parrilla's cannon. Governor Martos and Father Calahorra took the opportunity to establish peace among these

1. Ibid., p. 87.
tribes and met them in council on the upper waters of the Sabine. The Indians were desirous of a mission, and in the following year the friar took presents to the following tribes: Tawakoni, Yacanis, and Taovayas. In the peace ceremonies there was an exchange of presents and the chiefs were honored with titles.

As evidence of the continuation of the good will of the northern tribes in 1765 the great chief of the Taovayas, Eyasiquinche, escorted to the Nacogdoches mission, Antonio Trevino, a Spaniard who had been captured at San Saba a few months before. The great chief offered to give up Parrilla's cannon and Spanish captives but refused to cease war at San Saba.

In 1767 Rubi made a military expedition to the missions of eastern Texas. He found the northern missions infested with warring tribes and he regarded the missions of the east utterly useless as the Indians would not live in them. A few months later the College of Guadalupes de Zacatecas sent Father Gasper Jose de Solis to inspect the missions and his report was very little more encouraging than that of Rubis.

1. Ibid., p. 91.
2. Ibid., pp. 92-93.
3. Ibid., pp. 107-8.
There was a general adjustment of conditions on the frontier during the reforms of Carlos III. The Jesuits were removed from Spanish domain in 1767, which necessitated a redistribution of the missionary forces. After 1772 all of the missions in Texas were placed under the control of the College of Guadalupe de Zacatecas.

In 1782 the chief reason for maintaining the missions was removed when France ceded her possessions to Spain, thus Rubi recommended its removal in 1787.

The Governor of Texas, Baron de Ripperda, received orders in May 1775 to remove the missions on the northeastern frontier to San Antonio. The missions to be removed were Nacogdoches, Los Áis, and Los Adaes. At Nacogdoches he was visited by Souto, head chief of the Hasinai, who entreated him not to withdraw the Spaniards. Of the several hundred inhabitants, some deserted and went among the Indians or to the French settlement at Natchitoches. One prominent citizen of Los Adaes, Antonio Gil Ybarbo, was the owner of a ranch, El Labonillo, near the highway west of the Sabine River. When the expedition passed the ranch twenty-four of the party remained. At Nacogdoches their leader, Lieutenant Gonzales, died and the party was conducted from there by a captain. After much suffering and many days of weary travelling the

1. Ibid., pp. 108-9.
expedition reached San Antonio. A request in the form of 
a petition was sent to the viceroy asking for permission
to return to Nacogdoches. The request was granted under the 
conditions that the settlement be located at least 100 
leagues from Natchitoches. The site was selected at a place 
called Pilar de Bucareli. The refugees remained here until 
1774 but on account of the danger from the attacks of the 
Comanches they removed to Nacogdoches in 1779. Father Gerza 
took charge of the missions that were deserted five years 
before. The mission became prosperous and Nacogdoches grew 
into an important center of Indian control.

The flight from Bucareli to Nacogdoches marks the beginning 
of modern Nacogdoches. Ybarbo several times requested of the 
viceroy to either give him military aid against the attacks 
of the Comanches or grant them permission to move among the 
friendly Indians of Hasinai. During the winter of 1778 
they were attacked by the Comanches, and in the spring a flood 
destroyed a part of their dwellings. A part of the inhabit-
ants fled and Ybarbo was forced to depart with the rest 
before a message was received from the Government. They 
arrived at the site of the old mission April 30, 1779. On 
the same day Father Garza wrote to El Caballero de Croix,

1. Ibid., pp. 115–118.
Comandante General of the Provinces, concerning the hardships suffered while at Bucareli. With the development of Nacogdoches begins an important epoch in Indian history. At Ybarbo's request an Indian trading house and agency was established. He was for many years the appointed representative of the Spaniards among the dozen or more tribes of this region and to the city of Nacogdoches the Mexican government looked for maintenance of influence among the Indians when the Anglo-Americans made their appearance upon the Texas frontier. In 1803 when Louisiana became an American possession Nacogdoches was probably the most important trading post in East Texas.

In 1717 Alarcon's expedition arrived at the four missions as mentioned among the Tejas. He brought instructions for Ramon to reconnoitre the country of Natchitoches. When the Spaniards learned that the French had located a trading post at Natchitoches they organised two more missions among the Adays and Ays. The one among the Adays, founded in 1717,

1. Ibid., p. 435. *These miserable inhabitants are left in such deplorable state that they have no way even to hunt for food....for they cannot go out to hunt except in large numbers and well armed, nor yet can they go out together and with their weapons, lest they should leave the settlement helpless.....Hence they can follow no other
was called San Miguel de Lineres and was only eight leagues from Natchitoches. The one among the Ayes was called Nuestra Senora de los Dolores.

The San Miguel de Lineres, a Franciscan mission was established near the Sabine River in Louisiana. In 1719 the French with the Natchitoches and their allies the Caddoes took possession of the mission, and the Indians destroyed the buildings. But in 1721 it was rebuilt by the Spanish who encouraged a following of 400 Adai. The records show that there had been 105 baptisms in 1768. The rebuilding of the mission in 1721 caused some excitement among the French at Natchitoches. Marquis de San Miguel de Aguayo, Governor of Coahuila and Texas, arrived in the region of the abandoned missions late in July. Shortly after his arrival St. Denis came to this region from Natchitoches. He met the Marquis in a conference, and seemed pleased to see the Spaniards putting forth an effort to re-occupy the missions. The Indians were found friendly and showed an appreciation of the Spanish gifts.

By August, five of the former six missions had been rebuilt

occupation than to be continually on guard of the horses and the settlement, relieving each other morning and night. The time left free from this fatiguing work they spend in witnessing the need and miseries of their families, without being able to furnish them daily with food by the ordinary work of hunting, fishing, or other similar means, and moreover, without hope of remedy in the future, since the best time for sewing wheat has passed without a grain being sown up to the present."

and re-occupied. The Marquis crossed the Sabine River among the Natchitoches in Louisiana, whereupon the Commandant at Natchitoches made some objections, but no resistance. Near the mission of San Miguel, only seven leagues from the French fort was founded the presidio of Pilar garrisoned by 100 men.

This could probably be considered the beginning of a long and bitter boundary dispute. Contentions in the past were not so much as to a division of territory but rather the claim of territory by right of discovery. Then, to establish that right by developing a friendly influence with the natives and at the same time stirring up an enmity against their opponent. The French felt that they had a rightful claim to East Texas as far south as the Espiritu Santo Bay. The Spanish could establish just as legal a right to the Mississippi River.

On April 14, 1750, the viceroy exhorted the missionaries to organize a mission for the Karankawa tribes. These tribes had been assigned to the Zacatecan mission which was established at Espiritu Santo, and it seems that nothing had been done in a missionary way for the Cujane who had been asking for a mission to be established among them. Father Camberos

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1. Bancroft, History of the North Mexican States and Texas, I, 617.
recommended the moving of the mission that served the Ais from near the Sabine River to the vicinity of Bahia and re-establishing it there for the Cujane. He argued that the missions of east Texas had never been very successful, that San Miguel de los Adaes, Nuestra Senora de los Dolores de los Ais, and Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches had been existing for more than thirty years, and yet, according to him, notwithstanding the untiring efforts of the missionaries to reduce the Indians to mission life, it was notorious that they had succeeded in little more than baptizing a few children and fewer adults, upon their death-beds; that there was little hope that these tribes could ever be reduced to pueblos and induced to give up their tribal life.(1)

In 1767, Marquis de Rubi accompanied by an engineer Nicolas de la Forra passed through the Northern provinces on a general inspection tour. He made a careful study of the Frontier, of the settlements, and of the missions. He held that Spain was trying to spread over too much ground, and recommended that she distinguish between her true and "imaginary" dominions, and that she should sacrifice the latter to the former. Concerning the mission and presidio among the Adaes he said,

Adaes was bringing to a close a career that had been unfortunate from the outset.....and, that the Adaes either be annexed to the province of Louisiana, now Spanish possession, or that it be extinguished and the settlers there brought near Bejar, or if they preferred, allowed to settle somewhere in Louisiana.(2)

2. Ibid., pp. 277, ff.
Rubí’s recommendation passed to the hand of the king and after the usual deliberation, on September 10, 1772, the monarch issued the order known as "New Regulations on Presidios." As to the mission and presidio among the Añas, they were to be moved to the presidio Bajar. Baron de Ripperda was to carry out the orders. He issued his orders on the 14th of June 1775, and on June 25, the removal was begun by an aged Captain Jose Consales who did not live to accomplish his task. Some of the settlers fled to Natchitoches and some went among the Indians before the orders were carried out. The mission was never re-established.

Nuestra Senora de los Dolores de los Ays, a Franciscan mission, was established in 1715 at the same time as San Miguel. It was located near the Sabine River about thirty-seven leagues from Natchitoches, almost due east, and near the French settlements in Louisiana. It was abandoned in 1719 during hostilities between the French and Spanish, and the buildings were destroyed by the Indians. It was rebuilt in 1721 with an enrollment of about 180 natives, but was never a success. In 1768 the records showed only eleven baptisms. These missions located so near to the French were constantly under the influence of them. And as stated before the French primary

1. Hodge, op. cit., II, 94.
issue was trade, while that of the Spanish was religion. However, this mission served its purpose well. In the thirty-six years that it was in operation, 158 souls had been saved by baptism, the missionaries who worked in the various missions were useful as physicians and nurses for the Indians, and must be near at hand to perform these duties. There was still reason to hope that the Ais tribe would settle down to pueblo life. However, later records show that this was not the case. The Ays (Eyish) and Adaes were the first to aid the French when hostilities began. The mission was permanently abandoned in 1775 on account of the decimation of the Eyish people. The interest in all of the missions in Texas seemed to decline gradually beginning about 1780 and closing with the secularizing of all missions in 1794.

In 1785 Padre Jose Francisco Lopez, president of the Texas missions made an elaborate report to the bishop of Nuevo Leon on their condition and prospects. From the fragmentary statistics presented it appears that Texas had a population of about 460 mission Indians in eight establishments; and according to Morfil's statement the gente de razón, that is the families of soldiers and settlers numbered in 1782, about 2600, though this would seem an exaggeration. The whole number of natives baptized since 1890 was less than

2. Bancroft, op. cit., I, 615.
3. Ibid., I, 635.
10,000; and at no time had the neophytes exceeded 2,000. The few still under the padres' care were vicious, lazy, tainted with syphilitic diseases, and were with great difficulty induced to gain a precarious living by cultivating their maize-patches and tending their herds. Nowhere in America had missionary work been so complete a failure. Stone buildings and church decorations, provided in the early years of each establishment, mainly with funds from abroad, were the only indications of apparent prosperity on the past. The settlers were hardly more energetic than the neophytes, supplementing their limited agricultural operations by hunting wild stock still very abundant, or by the easier method of stealing from the missions. The soldiers lived on the supplies furnished by the government with the slightest possible exertion, meanwhile protecting villa, ranchos, and missions from the destruction at the hands of Apaches and Comanches whose raids never entirely ceased. The northeastern district about Nacogdoches was held meanwhile by a system of treaties with friendly tribes, French traders living at many of the tancherias and reporting to the commandants at Natchitoches.(1)

As far as the activities of the Spanish were concerned, very little was done toward the aiding of the missions after 1780. General Croix in 1781, recommended the consolidation of all missions under the control of San Antonio, and Governor Cabello of Texas favored the plan except, that he would strengthen Nacogdoches. Both officials were appointed to positions in South America before any actions were taken. In 1788, the military authority of Texas was placed in the hands of Colonel Juan de Ugalde, as commandante de armas. He is accredited with a great victory over the Apaches and Comanches in 1790. In the same year a number of old projects were brought up by royal orders; the question of extending

1. Ibid., I, 654.
the boundary of Louisiana to the Rio Sabinas, the propositions of opening trade between the provinces, and to favor commerce with Habana and Vera Cruz by opening some Texas port. The viceroy deemed it necessary to make a complete investigation before acting, and in the meantime orders came from the King that no immediate changes should be made. The viceroy then turned matters over to the commander of the Provincias Internas, who it is said, secularized all missions in Texas in 1794. Of other matters concerning the conditions in Texas, very little is known until Philip Nolan comes into prominence in 1800.

The abandoning, re-establishing, and moving of the missions caused the Indians who were interested, to become intermixed. The church record of the San Xavier mission in 1750 showed an enrollment of 155 persons, representing nine tribes, two of which were Caddoan. In all, six major missions were established among the Caddoan tribes, and in 1794, only two represented active work.
CHAPTER IV

FRENCH TRADERS AMONG THE CADDIAN TRIBES

If the Spanish were slow in turning to accounts the discoveries of Leon and Teran, the French were hardly less tardy in following up the work of La Salle and De Tonty. During the years immediately following the enterprises of La Salle petitions were sent forth giving advantages of a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Henry de Tonty, who had been with La Salle during his expeditions on the Mississippi, and who later went far into the interior in search of La Salle's colony laid before Villermont a proposition for following up the discoveries by permanent settlements. He mentioned the wealth of the mines in Mexico that could be seized in time of war; and of the lead mines in the lower Mississippi Basin; and, still more important, the danger of the English superseding the French in the Mississippi valley. In 1697 De Louvigny, a Captain of the marine troops of Canada, and Lieutenant De Montet, commander at Chicago, presented a memoir to the French Court setting out the importance of continuing the discoveries of mines and establishing of trade routes with the Spanish settlements in Mexico. All of which could be accomplished by placing settlements on the Mississippi. By co-operating with the Indians the coast from the mouth of the river to Panuco could be explored. A settlement could be placed on the Rio del Norte.
(Rio Grande) River which would furnish a convenient base for pushing to the interior and capturing the mines. Later in the same year Sieur de Ramonville addressed a memorial to the Count de Pontchartrain, minister of the marine, in which he showed the importance of establishing a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River in Louisiana. His project was more distinctly a commercial enterprise.

These projects did not meet with favorable consideration, but no doubt they had some influence in securing a hearing for a similar proposition, when it was proposed by Lemoyne d'Iberville. Reports of a company being formed in England for the purpose of colonizing the Mississippi Valley caused Iberville to rush his preparations, and on the 24th of October 1699, he set sail from Brest. His route lay to the island of Santo Domingo, where he took additional men and the escort of the Francois, a ship of war. Exploring the gulf coast he reached the mouth of the Mississippi in March 1699, where he established Fort Maurepas. He returned to France in May, and in making his report he pointed out the advantage of having a base of operations against the provinces of the Spanish.

He thinks that the Spanish in order to check the westward movement of the French will establish themselves among the Hasinai, and at the Espiritu Bay, and asks for instructions as to the action to be taken against them if when he returns he finds them already occupying these places. (1)

1. Clark, op. cit., p. 47.
Two important problems present themselves at this time: first, the fear of the English, a desire to place a barrier to check their westward movement, and second to extend their boundaries as far west as possible, and silently encroach upon Spanish territory and if the opportunity presented itself to seize the mines. For the present the government was careful to instruct Iberville in his second expedition to Louisiana that while the principal object was to explore and discover the mines, if possible, "that he must be careful not to encroach upon the settlements already established by the Spanish and must avoid arousing their jealousy."(1)

According to these instructions exploring parties were sent up the tributaries of the Mississippi. In March 1700 Jean Baptiste de Bienville and Louis de Saint-Denis led a party consisting of twenty-two Canadians, and seven Indian guides up the Red River as far as Yactaches (Yatass). They were told here that they were only two days journey from the Cadodaches, and as there were present some Indians from the Caddo tribe they informed the French, that five days' journey distant there was located a Spanish settlement where there were men, women and children. The French adventurers did not go in search of the

1. Ibid., p. 47.
settlement and returned to Mobile. In August of the same year Saint-Denis again ascended the Red River seventy leagues from its mouth to the Nachitoches, and thence a hundred leagues farther to the Caddoes. These Indians informed him that they had seen no Spaniards for two years. It is possible that Saint-Denis made another journey to the Nachitoches, and from thence to the Asinais and then across to the Rio Grande River. Saint-Denis in his notes, under date of June 22, 1715, states "that it had been ten years since he had travelled over the route from Mobile to the Rio Grande." (1)

The action on the part of the French to lay claim to territory by the right of discovery, and the same right by the Spanish would result in the over-lapping of territory. Furthermore, the records of the discoverers were so inaccurate that both nations might rightfully lay a claim to the same territory. The right of discovery as granted by the bull of Alexander VI, could not be enforced by Spain because of her dependence on and alliance with Louis XIV, thus France could continue her exploring of rivers, and forming of alliances with Indian tribes.

The granting of a monopoly of trade to Grozart in Louisiana in September 1712, for the first time attempted to define the limits of Louisiana. The royal grant gave him per-

1. Ibid., p. 48.
mission to trade in the country watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries, and included between the territory of the Carolina on the east and New Mexico on the west. (1)

But Crozart, who received the grant, did not bother himself about boundaries. He interested himself in the trade of the Indians, and the prospect of getting valuable ore from the mines that were supposed to exist. Lamothe Cadillac, who had been appointed governor of Louisiana, had received instructions to approach the Spaniards for the purpose of establishing trade relations. He became at once an active agent of Crozart, and sent a vessel to Vera Cruz laden with goods to be exchanged for cattle and other commodities, but was refused entrance, and informed by the Spanish that the ports of New Mexico were not open under any conditions to foreign trade. Crozart says "that this refusal, was to gratify the English with whom they had made the Assiento Treaty, March 28, 1715." Thus all hope of building up a trade seemed to be abandoned until a letter written by a Spanish priest, Fray Francisco Hildago reached Cadillac.

1. Ibid., p. 49. See footnote, "La Salle's discoveries and explorations offered as a more definite western boundary the Guadalupe river and in 1714 a French writer made the river Madeline (Guadalupe), which is a short river flowing into the St. Bernard bay, and which is neither the panuco nor the Rio del Norte the western limit of Louisiana."

2. Ibid., p. 50.
In this letter, Hildago was praying for aid to establish missions among the Asinais Indians. Cadillac saw in the scheme of aiding the Spanish friars an opportunity for building up a valuable trade with the Indians, and accordingly an expedition was fitted out to go overland to the Rio Grande. This excursion was to be one of purely commercial relations.

The undertaking was a difficult one, the route was long and inhabited by wild Indians, the Spanish were jealous and suspicious; thus the success of the expedition depended entirely upon its management. Saint-Denis was selected for the expedition, for which he was well fitted. He knew the western routes, had learned some of the Indian dialects, and had a knowledge of Spanish. He willingly accepted the trust offered him and took a large supply of goods from the public store to be exchanged for Spanish cattle and horses.

His passport was dated September 12, 1713, and his instructions set forth the objects of the expedition. He was to go in search of Fray Hildago, with whom he was to confer concerning missions among the Hasinai; he was to get a supply of cattle and horses in exchange for his goods, but the ultimate design of a future trade was purposely omitted. However, Cadillac probably thought that the establishment of a mission would bring the Spanish closer, and thus stimulate trade. Saint-Denis departed from Mobile probably in September 1713. He was detained at Ft. John (Biloxi) for several
months while searching for guides, probably continuing the
journey in the early months of 1714. They ascended the Red
River to the villages of the Nachitoches where he built two
store-houses, and placed a garrison of ten men to protect
them. With a force of Nachitoches he proceeded to the
villages of the Asinais, where the Spaniards had located a
mission in 1699. Hildago was not to be found. It seems that
there were no Spaniards present. Among the Indians they
found plenty of cattle and horses, so one part of his in-
structions could be fulfilled.

"For six months or more they seemed to have carried on
with the Indians an active exchange of French guns, beads,
knives, and cloth, for beasts and buffalo hides."

For a traffic of this kind the post just established on
Red River would prove a valuable asset. Saint-Denis return-
ed to Nachez on the Mississippi to give an account of his
journey after which he took more goods and went again to the
country of the Asinais. (3)

1. Ibid., p. 52. Note. "At Fort St. John (Biloxi) they
halted while Penicaut, our historian, with several other
men, proceeded up the Mississippi to secure for guides
some Nachitoches Indians who lived with a tribe on the
eastern side of the river. They were detained at Biloxi
several months on account of the difficulties with the
Indians, and it is probable that the journey was not
resumed until the following year."
2. Ibid., p. 53.
3. Ibid., p. 55. Footnote: "La Harpe, Margry, 6:193. The
The French found that the Asinais were still friendly toward the Spanish and that they still adhered to the Catholic faith. They requested St. Denis to use his influence to get the missionaries to return to them, and especially Fray Hidalgo. Bernadino, the chief of the Asinais, and his warriors accompanied the French to the San Marcos where they fought a band of hostile Indians. With the aid of the French guns they were victorious, and after the battle the fact that St. Denis's journey was not continuous from the time of his departure from Mobile to his arrival in Mexico has not, I think, been noticed by modern historians. Penicaut's account makes the expedition continuous, but he may be thinking of only one phase of it. The Declaration takes no account of the long stops, nor on the other hand does it account for the year and nine months on the road. The evidence on which I have based the statement above is as follows: Captain Ramon in a letter to the viceroy, written in July 1716, commends St. Denis for the assistance he had given to the Spaniards through his knowledge of the Indian languages, saying: 'For he once lived in this province six months on two occasions. He has given to the Tejas eighteen or twenty French arbuses, many beads, bugles, knives, ribbons, clasp-knives, some small pieces of blue and red cloth, and some coats; all of which the French have traded for some beasts at the time they have entered the province.' Velasco, Dictamen Fiscal 192, calls attention to the inconsistency of these facts as given by Ramon and the statement of St. Denis in his Declaracion, and states further that the governor of Pensacola had given notice, under date of October 20, 1715, 'of what the French were publishing in Mobile: that they had reached the province of Coahuila and carried away a great number of cattle.' The rumor would presumably have reached Pensacola in an exaggerated and twisted form, but the facts are in the main correct. It is to be understood, however, that they carried away a great number of cattle, from the country of the Asinais,
Asinais warriors returned to their villages with a number of captives. Bernadino remained with the party until they found Captain Diego Ramon, to whom St. Denis presented his passport. The passport presented to the Spaniards a distinct proposition for them to enter into commercial relations with a foreign nation. Captain Ramon did not feel competent to act without instructions, and he held St. Denis until he could receive word from the viceroy. The viceroy sent an armed guard to accompany the Frenchmen to Monclova, the capital of Coahuila, and from there they were sent to Mexico City.

After several conferences with the officials in Mexico in which St. Denis explained the object of his mission, showing the letter of Hidalgo, he was returned to the presidio on the Rio Grande. Evidently St. Denis omitted the information that the French had located a post among the Natchitoches, and that they had been trading with the Indians of Spanish territory. He also left the impression that his journey had been continuous.

The Spanish immediately fitted out an expedition for the

and not from Coahuila. La Harpe, as cited above, says:
"Saint-Denis, after this expedition to the Asinais, returned to the Natchez, 115 leagues, to the Mississippi, to give an account of his journey to M. De Lamothe. He took in this place the goods of which he had need and, having ascended the Red River with five Frenchmen returned to the Natchitoches, and thence to the Asinais."

1. Ibid., p. 66.
purpose of re-organizing their missions and placing forts on the frontier near the French boundary. With this expedition began quibbling concerning a boundary that was never permanently settled.

The expedition was led by Captain Ramon who used Saint-Denis as guide. Saint-Denis proved very valuable as guide and interpreter, but he was successively playing a double part. As soon as Ramon's expedition had reached the Asinais Saint-Denis departed for Mobile to get goods to replenish his supply at Natchitoches. In a few years he built up a valuable trade with the Indians about the Spanish missions, continuing friendly with the Spanish, even though they were aware that he had deceived them. Ramon had received orders to arrest him and confiscate his goods in order to stop a trade that the Spaniards had themselves encouraged indirectly. Even though the officials of Mexico had learned of his scheme, he had been permitted to gain such an influence over the Indians that Father Hidalgo wrote a letter April 19, 1718, begging the viceroy to permit his return. This influence lasted for many years, as is mentioned in the Breve Compano of Bonilla. He writes in 1772:

1. Ibid., p. 71.
2. Ibid., p. 75.
3. Ibid., p. 80.
The conversion of the heathen of the north would have been accomplished completely had not Don Luis de San Denis fallen into misfortune. This man worthy of eternal remembrance, facilitated the entrada of the Spanish into Texas; his kindly manner quieted the Indians, and he gave the most consistent proofs of his fidelity. (1)

In April 1717 the Mississippi Company was organized under the directorship of John Law with a capital stock of 200,000 francs. The charter members included some of the leading capitalists of France, to whom were granted large areas of land in the choice parts of the Mississippi Basin. The charter provided for both friendly and military relations with the Indians, and was recognized by the French Parliament on September 6, 1717. La Harpe was one of the leading members of the company and was granted land on the Red River, which he took possession of in person in the spring of 1719. (2)

In March 1719, Barnard de la Harpe while at Natchitoches heard that the Spaniards intended to establish a post among the Nassonites. With a party of six Frenchmen and some Indians he departed for the Nassonite villages. After a month of hard travelling they came to the Nassonite tribes located on Red River. The Indians received them with much honor, presenting La Harpe with the calumet, during a celebration that lasted for twenty-four hours, closing with an enormous feast. After the ceremonies La Harpe made treaties of

1. Ibid., pp. 82-83.
alliance with the Nasonites, Cadodaches, Natsoe, and the 
division of Natchitoches located on the Upper Red River. He 
presented them with a large amount of merchandise, in order 
to interest them in French trade. From here Du Rivage was 
ordered to continue explorations up the Red River and to find 
out about the Roving Nation to the West. "According to 
Du Rivage the Roving Nation was located between Blue River and 
Boggy Creek in Southeastern Oklahoma."

While among the Nasonite La Harpe built a store-house 
and a fort known as Nasonite Post. This post remained a 
permanent French post until 1782, and was an effective 
barrier to the Spanish.

The French traded among the Hasinai, in whose very midst 
the Spaniards were established, though not without danger of 
punishment, for such trade was strictly forbidden by law. 
They established a trade route from Natchitoches by way of the 
Sabine River to the Cadodacho; and below them depots were 
established at the villages of the Petit Cado and Yatasi. 
These posts, together with the influence of Saint-Denis, were 
the basis of almost undisputed domination under the Caddoan 
tribes of the Texas border. Several times the Spanish 
officials contemplated driving the French traders from the 
Caddoan villages, and establishing posts of their own. But

1. Lewis, Anna, "French Interests and Activities in Oklahoma," 
Chronicles of Oklahoma II, 258. cf. Gayarre, op., cit., pp 
265-264.
it was never done; in fact, any attempt on the part of the Spanish to curtail French trade among the natives, would have been at the risk of bringing down upon the Spaniards the (1) wrath of the Indian Tribes.

The boundary question was gradually becoming an important point of issue. In 1716 the Spanish established a mission among the Adaes, and in 1719 the same mission was destroyed by the French and their Indian allies. In 1721 the Spanish rebuilt the mission and established a strong fort garrisoned by 100 men only seven leagues from the French fort on Red River. Saint-Denis, who had been for some time in command of the French post, had received instructions from the Governor of Louisiana to strengthen the post. As trade developed many French settlers came and settled to the west of Red River near the territorial boundary of the Adaes, which

1. Bolton, *Texas in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 35-36. Note: "Peace having been established between France and Spain, in 1720 another attempt was made to establish trade between the Spanish colony of Texas and Louisiana. La Harpe was sent to Texas by Governor Cadillac of Louisiana with instructions to peacefully form a treaty by which the traders of Louisiana could trade with the Spanish settlers and Indians of the Texas Frontier. La Harpe travelled a distance of 250 leagues from Matche-toches. Here he found several tribes who were unfriendly toward the Spanish, and aided him in constructing a fort. The fort was constructed in latitude 35° 25' and is without doubt the one that he established among the Caddoes. While with these people he sent a messenger to Governor Don Martin de Alacorne offering to trade with the Spanish on very liberal terms. Martin sent him a courteous reply, but added that the French should withdraw, and if they did not he would use force in expelling them."
was contrary to the friendly relations of the Spanish.

After the war of the Spanish Succession Franco-Spanish relations generally tended toward an increasingly close friendship. In 1735 the Family Compact was signed for a definite purpose—that of withstanding the colonial and commercial aggressions of England. However, Spain continued to watch the East Texas border with some degree of jealousy. In 1735 Saint-Denis moved the Fort and store-houses to the west bank of Red River to make them safe from floods, and perhaps, because of the diminution of the Spanish garrison in 1730. This act was resented by Gonzales, the commandant in charge of the presidio among the Los Adaes, and also by Sandoval, Governor of Texas. Sandoval had received strict orders from his government to resist any effort on the part of the French to pass beyond their boundaries, but not to come into an open breach without reporting the matter to the viceroy. The incident was the cause of a spirited correspondence between Saint-Denis for the French and Sandoval and Gonzales

1. Ibid., p. 53. "On the western bank of the western arm of the stream French settlers had houses, orchards, and corrals, their ranches extending westward to the Arroyo Hondo and La Gran Montana, natural features about midway between Natchitoches and the Los Adaes." cf. Gayarre, op., cit., p. 48. "In June 1718, a shipload of colonists arrived at the port of Mobile, sent over under the auspices of the Mississippi Company to be distributed at various points in Louisiana, one hundred forty-eight took up their abode at Natchitoches."
for the Spanish, which lasted until August 1736 and which involved mutual threats to resort to force. Saint-Denis maintained that the boundary was a line between the fort and presidio, and furthermore the predecessors of Sandoval had never protested against their location. Saint-Denis refused to suspend the transfer as his orders came from the governor. He built a stockade, church, and some fourteen houses for the settlers and the garrison. Sandoval issued an order curtailing all communication with Natchitoches much to the inconvenience of the Los Adaes, who depended largely upon the French for grain. (1)

The precise boundary line was not the most important issue. While the expedition of Marques de Aguayo determined the ownership of southeast Texas for Spain, it did not give the Spaniards undisputed sway over the natives. The missionaries had practically failed in their efforts to establish a permanent friendship with the natives, and they regarded their failure as due in no small degree to the influence of the neighboring French. The French were skilled Indian traders, and France had placed no restrictions concerning the trade; on the other hand Spain permitted trade with the Indians under the strictest regulations, completely prohibiting the sale of firearms. Thus the natives looked to the French for their arms, ammunition, and most of

1. Ibid., pp. 35-34. cf. Clark, op., cit., p. 33.
their articles of commerce, for which they exchanged pelts and (1) agricultural products.

Distance and overland travel were a serious handicap to the Spanish. The establishment of Camino Real, or the Old San Antonio Road made the only approach that the Spanish had with the Hasinai and Caddoes, while the French could approach both confederacies by water. Red River was a direct route to the Caddoes and it was only a short distance from Natchitoches overland to the Hasinai.

The year 1719 marks the beginning of the establishment of a regular trade with the northern tribes, which acted as middle-men between the French and other tribes on Spanish territory. By 1730 the French had pushed their trade as far west as the Lower Sabine River. In the northeastern part of Texas the Spanish had never established trade relations. However, at times the Spanish tried to stop the French trade with these tribes of the north. Spain was at this period greatly in need of a surplus population. She had enormous areas to settle and no settlers; an extensive frontier and no soldiers to protect it. The scarcity of Spanish settlements and forts along the frontier gave the French easy access to the territory. In fact in 1725 an army of 500 French soldiers penetrated Spanish domain to a distance of ninety leagues in search of a silver mine, thought to

1. Ibid., pp. 54-55.
have been located on the Trinity, and returned without being molested.

An incident that happened in April 1757 serves as an excellent illustration concerning this point. "Jean Legros of Natchitoches, was sent by Saint-Denis to trade among the Cadodacho."

In February Ybiricu, lieutenant at Los Adaes, had given Legros a passport permitting him to pass through Spanish territory. When only twelve leagues from Natchitoches he was captured by Sergeant Antonio Losoya, of Los Adaes by order of Ybiricu. When captured he had a typical trader's outfit, consisting of three horses two of which were laden with goods, and the other he rode. He was accompanied by an Ais squaw. He was taken to the presidio at Los Adaes, put in stocks and ordered ramrodded, but some one interfered. Ybiricu confiscated his goods and a part of them were burned in the presence of witnesses. As soon as he was released he went to Natchitoches and reported what had happened to Saint-Denis who became furious and on the 17th addressed a wrathful letter to Ybiricu. The letter was written in Latin in Saint-Denis's own hand.

Soon after the Legros event, Governor Franquis arrived at the presidio of Los Adaes, and was informed concerning Saint-Denis's complaint. He held an investigation and found that

1. Ibid., pp. 34-35.
2. Ibid., p. 37.
Although Legros had a passport he had no trader's license for trading with the Texas tribes. "Whether his arrest was caused by this fact, or a quarrel he had with Ybiricu over the squaw whom he took on his journey is not clear." (1)

Another important phase of the border question was the fact that the Indians had become accustomed to getting supplies from the French and any interference caused them to become angry with the Spanish. Shortly after the arrest of Legros fourteen Indian chiefs came to Saint-Denis with a complaint, but as the affair had been settled to the satisfaction of Saint-Denis he encouraged them to return peacefully to their villages. Still another incident of a still more serious nature took place in 1752. Rumors of contraband trade caused Jacinto de Barrios to investigate conditions on the Texas-Louisiana frontier. The investigation showed that Louis de Saint-Denis, the younger, since the death of his father in 1744 had become master of the frontier tribes; that in the previous year the Indians had threatened to expel the Spanish because of orders issued by Governor Barrios, which had interfered with the trade of Saint-Denis. In the following year, 1755, Barrios sent Manuel Antonio de Soto Vermudes among the tribes to report operations of the French. While going from Nasoni to the Nadote village where Saint-Denis had

1. Ibid., p. 58.
2. Ibid., p. 58.
established a trading post, he was driven back by the Nadote chief. Immediately after De Soto's departure, an assembly of over 500 warriors gathered for the purpose of massacring the Spaniards on the frontier, but they were pacified by Saint-Denis.

After the cession of Louisiana, Ulloa, the first Governor, and O'Connor issued orders that no French traders should trade in Texas under penalty of death. In 1767 the Yatasi rose in rebellion when a trader named Du Buche was stopped by O'Connor's orders. The tribe held a meeting and planned to attack a Spanish presidio, but were held in check by their chief, Guakan. When the affair was reported to Ulloa by Saint-Denis, Guakan and his warriors were pacified and trade continued.

The tardiness on the part of the Spanish in establishing a settlement on the coast of Texas, even though it would have been necessary to use a large force to conquer the hostile tribes, caused a most serious situation. Restrictions had been placed by the Spanish officials concerning the French trade with the Indians while at the same time the settlers and soldiers were forced to get their food supplies from the French. It was without doubt the intention of the Duke of

1. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, p. 70.
2. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres, I, 83-89.
Linares, viceroy in 1716, to establish a trade between the French of Louisiana, and the Spanish of Texas when he proposed placing presidios near the Texas–Louisiana frontier.\(^{(1)}\)

In 1730, the viceroy ordered Governor Bustillo of Texas to cut off trade with the French. Bustillo replied that he would enforce the orders, but foodstuffs, such as maize, beans and other supplies had always been purchased from the French, and in view of a hardship, he would await further orders. From the first establishment of the presidio among the Los Adaes it had been customary to purchase a part of the supplies from the neighboring French post. In 1727 Mariscal de Campo Pedro de Rivera made a visit to Texas to inspect conditions. In his report he went into details concerning sites, climate, seasons, and the feasibility of producing grains for the supplies.

Rivera's report gave the viceroy an idea of how conditions might be, so he ordered Bustillo to select another site where the garrison would be self-supporting. After fifteen days search he reported that a suitable site could not be found. \(^{(2)}\) In December 1733 the viceroy gave orders that for the present the presidio might remain, and in case of necessity foodstuffs might be purchased from Natchitoches, but beyond this,
commerce should not go. In 1740 another order was given to cut off trade but Orobio repeated the plea made by Rustillo ten years before and the order was rescinded, the reason given was the excessive cost of transporting supplies all the way from Saltillo. This juggling of orders and the fact that the Spanish had not located a trading post near (1) was the cause of contraband trade. In spite of the various forms of border friction the relations between these frontier posts were on the whole friendly.

The fact that the European nations could not keep their commercial treaties had a very undesirable effect upon the trade among the colonists. If boundary lines had been peacefully established at an early date, and trade treaties drawn up and respected, much trouble and quibbling would have been prevented. From the very beginning the French had made efforts to establish routes to the Spanish settlements in New Mexico, and the Spanish government had never consented to such operations. The French desired this trade for two reasons; first the silver mines were located there. Second, there was a rich trade with the Indians of the west and Spain was unable to supply them with goods. Thus there was an opportunity for the French to place a

1. Ibid., p. 39.
2. Ibid., p. 40-41.
surplus from posts already established among the Caddoes.
The friendship established by the French with the tribes of
the west permitted trade to be conducted freely from the posts
on Red River. In 1753 Governor Kerlerec wrote with apparent
sincerity of the northern tribes in common with the Hasinai
and the Caddoes, that "they all agree unanimously in recogniz-
ing the French Governor of Louisiana as their father and they
never deny his wishes in the least." An important feature
of the French trade with the Indians of the west was the exchange
of guns and ammunition for stolen stock.

The Wichita supplied the Comanche with weapons and
agricultural products. In exchange they secured horses
and mules stolen from the Spanish settlements, and Indian
captives, among whom Apaches predominated. For these
articles they found a ready market in Louisiana, where
stock of Spanish brands and Apache slaves were common
forms of property. If the facts were all known the history
of the eighteenth century slave trade market at the
Caovayn village on Red River near modern Ringgold would
make an interesting story. (2)

About the year 1740 the Caddoan territory was becoming
the center of a triangular trade. The Spanish had been
contesting in a friendly way the efforts of the French who
were bartering goods with the tribes of the South and West.
The French were unsuccessful in preventing the English from
breaking through from the North and East and trading with

1. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres, p. 47.
tribes west of the Mississippi River. A peaceful and legal trade could not be established for five reasons. First, the colonial officials could not prevent illicit trade in their own territory. Second, both legal and contraband traders were constantly making incursions into restricted territory. Third, the Indians themselves could not be relied upon to remain loyal to the nation that had a just claim to their territory. Fourth, boundary lines had never been established so that territory could be legally restricted. Fifth, the Indians encouraged illicit trade for they (1) wanted a market for stolen goods.

In 1751 the viceroy of Mexico investigated conditions and found that the French had pushed eighty leagues or more west from the Mississippi River which was far beyond their limits. He ordered Jacinto de Barrica, the new governor of Texas, to investigate rumors of contraband trade and the French advance. The combined reports caused the issuing of a royal order, which further crystallized interests concerning the boundary. The order provided that Frenchmen entering Texas and New Mexico should not under any pretext be permitted to return; that the viceroy should watch the French, and in any case should they advance, they should

1. Ibid., I, 58–59.
be ordered to evacuate Natchitoches, though no force should be used in view of the alliance between the two nations. And in the same year Barrios sponsored an illegal trade between the French and the tribes to the south. The trade was kept a strict monopoly in the hands of his special agents, among whom were Marcos Ruiz, Domingo del Rio, Juan Antonio, Maldonado and Jacinto de Leon. The goods were carried in pack trains and guarded by the soldiers. These purchases were made from the government at Natchitoches, and consisted of French knives, scissors, tobacco, and even firearms, though it was a serious offense to furnish weapons or ammunition to the natives. For the goods the Indians gave in exchange horses (usually stolen from Spanish settlements and missions), corn, and buffalo and deer hides. The horses and grain were used by Governor Barrios at the presidio of Los Adaes and the hides were sold either at Natchitoches or Saltillo.

In 1752 the question of boundary again came up and Barrios was ordered to investigate and if possible determine whether the Mississippi River or Red River was the true international boundary. He examined several witnesses, and

1. Ibid., p. 336.
it was agreed that Red River was the true boundary but since 1756 Arroyo Hondo or Gran Montana had been accepted as the limit. He also reported that the Spaniards on the frontier were at the mercy of the French since if war should be declared the Indians would massacre them all. In 1754 it was decided to send the last two French intruders, Chapius and Feuille to Spain for trial. Barrios was ordered to watch the French should they overstep their boundary, to order Saint-Denis to withdraw his commission to the Nacote chief, to recall all French interpreters from Spanish soil, and to prevent all commerce by the French with the Texas Indians.

Barrios has been considered one of the poorest of Spanish officials, as there is little doubt that he was interested in illicit trade during the full time of his administration. His term of office began in 1751 and closed in 1757.

As has been mentioned the Wichita were supplying the Comanche with goods bartered from the Caddoan and in 1758 they joined the Comanche in an attack on the San Saba mission. The attack was made because the Comanche and Wichita took for granted that the Spanish had formed an alliance with

1. Ibid., p. 72.
the Apache, the immortal enemy of the Comanche and Wichita. During the decade from 1745 to 1755 the French considered the Apache as an enemy but in 1755 Kerlerec suggested sending an expedition across northern Texas for the purpose of forming a general alliance between the Caddoan, Hasinai, and the northern Indians with the Apache. He prophesied that such an alliance would open the trade routes to New Mexico which had been closed because of the hostilities of the Apache.

The French posts established among the Caddoans located on Red River proved to be an emporium by which a lucrative trade was carried on with the tribes of the west. There is plenty of evidence that French arms and ammunition were used by the Indians in more than one of the attacks upon the Spanish. It is also believed that the French used their influence to arouse the natives if they did not accompany them in person. In 1767 when the Spanish took over the rule of Louisiana there were sound French traders who had lived for years among the Caddoans. Storehouses had been established and they had received supplies regularly from Natchitoches.

In October, when De Mesieres went up the Red River, there was a trader, apparently Moriere, at the Yatasi village,

2. Bolton, Texas in the Middle of the 13th Century, p. 532.
living with an Apache woman; Du Pain, with his engages, was at the village of the Petit Cado; and Grappe, with several other Frenchmen, was at Cadodacho, where he occupied as a storehouse the old French fort. One of the Frenchmen there, a man over seventy years of age, was said to have been living there more than thirty years. Another had four or five squaws, and a grown up son who had never been baptised. (1)

Of the many French traders probably the most complete record extant is that of Athanase de Mezieres, who spent the greater part of his life among the Caddoes. The exact date of his arrival in Louisiana is not known, but the church records show that he was in Natchitoches in 1745, and that he was trading with the French in partnership with Sieur de la Fleure in 1747. In 1769 he was appointed by O'Reilly as Lieutenant-general of Natchitoches and proved to be a very valuable officer.

1. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres, I, 90.
CHAPTER V

THE CADDOES UNDER THE SPANISH REGIME 1762-1801.

The preceding chapters have presented the Spanish and French relations with the Caddoan tribes from the beginning of history to the cession of Louisiana to Spain, a transfer that took place in 1762 but was not completely carried out until 1769. The Caddoes Proper located on Red River had been affected but little by the influence of the Spanish while from the beginning they had been directly under that of the French. While on the other hand the Hasinai from the beginning had been directly under the influence of the Spanish. The conditions on the border had developed a jealousy that could not be suddenly stopped, especially by the natives who had been taught the ways of civilization from two different and radical viewpoints. There is no doubt but that the methods used by the French pleased the Indians more than those used by the Spanish. Even though the Caddoan tribes were more susceptible to the ways of civilization than the average American tribe, they yielded more readily to the influence of barter than to that of Christianity.

The cession of Louisiana solved an important problem for the Spanish Colonial Government; that of placing the boundary line on the Mississippi River. For the first time in history, the Southern Caddoan Group was placed under the governmental...
rule and influence of a single European Nation. The Spanish officials realized at an early date that their form of government did not appeal to the natives, and in the organization of the new provinces they followed the line of least resistance.

The province of Texas suddenly changed from a frontier to an interior province, and was ruled under the viceroy of New Spain. Louisiana was attached as a province to the captaincy-general of Havana, the governor being appointed by the crown.

This new arrangement complicated matters some, as the provincial governors did not always act in harmony, but the Louisiana-Texas frontier was permanently removed. The missions and presidios which for over half a century had feebly protected the border could now be removed, as the new line of defense would have to be placed farther to the north. Henceforth the Arkansas River becomes a natural boundary between tribes, and St. Louis and Arkansas Post rapidly develop into frontier settlements.

New Spain in withdrawing the East Texas garrisons, organized a strong post at San Antonio for the purpose of checking the Apache and Comanche attacks. The local authorities in East Texas requested that some of the defences be placed on the Upper Red River for they feared the inroads of those tribes, and urged the danger of the influence of the English.

The French trader played a leading role in the control of

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1. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres, I, 70.
2. Ibid., I, 74.
the Indians. He represented both the government and the trading company. As a government agent he distributed presents among the various tribes in the name of the king, and as a trader he furnished a market for furs and agricultural products, in exchange for arms and ammunition. When the cession took place there were a great number of French traders among the Caddoes located at the various posts. As they were on friendly relations with the Indians, and in many the Spanish representatives were not, they were retained by the new government. The natives were to be informed that Louisiana had become the possession of Spain, and that henceforth the Spaniards and French must be considered as brothers. The new sovereign would expect more peaceful relations among tribes, and all matters of interest to the government should be reported. If necessary, special messengers were to be sent by the Indian chiefs. Friendly tribes were to act as intermediaries with the hostile, and they were to use their influence in establishing peaceful relations between the governmental officials and the wild natives of the West. On the other hand the new sovereign would provide licensed traders who would treat the Indians fairly, sell them goods at reasonable prices and use all possible means to make the life of the savage more happy. Representatives of the government would go at regular intervals among the various tribes for the purpose of inspection; to see that the traders obeyed instructions, to search out vagabonds, outlaws, and unlicensed
traders, to see that intoxicating liquors were not sold to the natives, to form treaties of alliance between tribes on Spanish soil, and to organize all tribes against the English and their Indian wards across the Mississippi River. Special instructions were to be given to the Osages and Caddoes. These tribes had been enemies from time immemorial, and previous to the cession, the English had encouraged the Osages in their grievances against their southern enemy. The traders were not to permit any trade with the Indians in horses, mules, or Indian slaves, forms of traffic which had caused much hardship when conducted by the French on the Spanish border; nor were they to permit intertribal hostilities, notably that between the Caddoes and Osages; this however, did not preclude following the old policy of balance by which one tribe was turned against another if the situation required it.

The first official acts of the governors appointed by the new sovereign were concerning trade with the East Texas tribes. Antonio de Ulloa was appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1762, but did not reach his post until 1766. Hugo O'Conor was appointed Governor of Texas in 1767. They issued orders threatening with death any Frenchmen found trading with the

1. Ibid., I, 71.
tribes of Texas. The orders were so strongly resented by
the Indians, that Balthazar de Villers, Lieutenant-Governor
of Natchitoches, apparently under the orders of De Ulloa
permitted the French to trade freely with the tribes of
Texas and Louisiana without restrictions as to time or place.
Villers licensed a number of traders, among whom were some of
the leading settlers of Natchitoches. Villers lost his posi-
tion with Governor Ulloa, when the latter was expelled by
the Louisiana French Superior Council during the French Revolt.

Alexander O'Reilly was appointed Governor of Louisiana
in 1769. He took possession of the province on August 18, and
on September 25, he appointed Athanasso de Mezieres to the
position of Lieutenant-Governor of Natchitoches to succeed

1. Ibid., I, 88. Antonio de Ulloa, the first Governor of
Louisiana, was born in Seville, January 12, 1716. After
the accession of Charles II, he was appointed to the
command of the fleet of the Indies. On the cession of
Louisiana to Spain in 1762, he was appointed Governor, but
did not take charge until 1786. He appointed Balthazar
de Villers to the post of Natchitoches as Lieutenant-Gover-
nor. Hugo O'Conor went to Texas as an inter Governor
in the middle of 1767. Writing in 1772, Bonilla says of
him: "But O'Conor attained the glorious distinction of
leaving an immortal name in the province. He attested his
valor, disinterested conduct, and military policy, he
preserved peace in the land, and he made himself object
of fear to the savages, who knew him by the name of El
Capitán Colorado." He remained as Governor until 1770,
when he returned to Mexico.

2. Ibid., I, 89.
3. Ibid., I, 130. Alexander O'Reilly was born in Ireland
on the frontier, and his record in dealing with the Indians is equal, if not better than that of Saint-Denis. He was a native of Paris, of noble birth, his father was M. Louis Christophe De Mezieres and his mother Madam Marie Antionette Clugny. He came to Louisiana apparently about 1733. Just when he came to Natchitoches where he spent the greater part of his life in America is not known, but there are records that show him to have been present as early as 1743. He was active in Indian trade, there being a document extant showing that in 1747 he was a partner with Sieur de la Fleuré, and in later years he is mentioned in Spanish documents as having long been an Indian trader at Natchitoches.

The records of the French Government show that he spent some thirty years in military service. And while in government about 1755, and while still a young man he went to Spain to escape the disabilities imposed in his native land upon the Catholics......He went to Havana in 1762 as a major-general to look after the interests of Spain......The expulsion of Ulloa from Louisiana by the "Revolution of '68" led to the sending of O'Reilly to New Orleans in 1769, where he arrived on August the eighteenth. After establishing Spanish rule he returned to Spain early in 1770, leaving Unzaga y Aragón as Governor.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 81. "The Sieur de Mezieres served in La Louisiane continuously for thirty years, up to the cession of the colony in capacities of ensign, lieutenant, and captain, under the orders of Messrs. de Bienville, Vaudreuil, and Kerleruc."
3. *Ibid.*, II, 43. "To this is to be added the pretended treaties which he made with those Nations of the North..."
service he spent much time on the frontier. Here he came in contact with the Spanish and there is no doubt but that he allied himself with the Spanish officials of Texas, who sponsored an illicit trade between the French and the Indians about the East Texas missions. This former friendship, even though his work with them was in direct conflict with the law concerning trade, made him of valuable service to the new form of government adopted by Spain after 1762.

In taking up his duties at Natchitoches De Mezieres found a multitude of things that needed his immediate attention. The city government was in a terrible plight, the military post was badly in need of repairs, the church was so dilapidated that it had to be built anew, and the officials of the past had enforced only the desirable parts of royal orders. He made nominations for minor offices, selecting dependable citizens, and expelling those whose reputations were questionable. He turned his attention to the promoting of industry, experimenting in raising certain grain, importing choice seed from Europe. He encouraged the establishment of manufactures; such

through Don Atanacio de Misieres, commandant of Nachitos, a person who has always lived among these nations, trading in guns and ammunition since the time of Don Jacinto de Barrios. It was during his term that the presidio and mission at the mouth of the Trinity was established. He, too, was the Texas trader who was most criticized for contraband trade with the French of Louisiana."

1. Ibid., I, 240.
as flour mills, and distilleries, showing that this would be an aid to commerce. He repaired the fort and government buildings, largely at his own expense. But probably his greatest accomplishment was the building of the church, which was constructed of stone, the corner-stone bearing an inscription honoring the Governor of the province.

In obedience to O'Reilly's orders De Mazieres in January 1770, confiscated four Indian slaves, and a number of horses and mules which had been purchased from the Indians by Duquesne, Pawpawre, and Pavie. At the same time he expelled from Natchitoches some other traders who seemed to insist on trading in contraband goods. Early in the same year some horses and mules bought by Barre from the Nacogdoches and Nadaoay were confiscated and sold at public auction. Barre still held a license issued to him by Villers.

O'Reilly made one exception to the trade policy established by the French. No trader should be granted or hold a monopoly in trading with an Indian tribe; a rule that caused much trouble.

1. Ibid., I, 240.
2. Ibid., I, 256.
3. Ibid., I, 91. Of the Frenchmen whom De Mazieres expelled from Natchitoches, the name of Villers is found. It seems that the temptation to conduct contraband trade was very great.
4. Ibid., I, 176. Barre was trading under a passport issued to him by Villers, thus he did not suffer imprisonment, but his papers were taken from him and he was ordered to retire to Punta Cupe, where he had lived before coming to Natchitoches.

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and was soon abandoned. De Mezieres put forth an effort to enforce the rule, and in the summer of 1770, he settled a dispute between Antoine Charbonet and Esteben Pavie on the ground that Charbonet had been monopolizing the trade which was contrary to O'Reilly's instructions.

In the spring of 1770 De Mezieres sent messengers to the chiefs, Tinhicauen and Cocay of the Cadodacho and Yatasi respectfully informing them that they had been selected as medal chiefs, and that he desired to meet them in Natchitoches in the near future. The gathering took place in April, 1770, when the chiefs formally ceded their lands to the king. They promised to receive presents and traders, and to use their influence in establishing peaceful relations with the Nations of the North. Three Frenchmen were appointed as traders, to trade with these people. Alexis Grappe, and Dupain were to go among the villages of the Cadodacho and Fasande Moreire to the villages of the Yatasi. On January 22, 1770 O'Reilly informed De Mezieres that he had made a contract with M. Rancon of New Orleans to furnish a supply of goods annually as presents to the Nations of the Caddoes. On February 5, 1770, De Mezieres made a contract with Juan Piseros to furnish goods to the traders. He was to deliver the goods at Natchitoches on a

1. Ibid., I, 90.
2. Ibid., I, 157.
3. Ibid., I, 152.
year's credit, and to take in payment bear's fat and hides which the traders were to purchase from the Indians. During the summer De Mezieres licensed Cessire Borme, commander of the post (Natchitoches) as additional trader to the Yatasi.

O'Reilly ordered De Mezieres and other post commanders to cut off trade with the Indians in horses, mules and captives, and to prohibit all commerce with hostile tribes. This order caused much trouble when De Mezieres enforced it. The tribes of the north were friendly to the French but had been considered enemies to the Spanish since the attack on San Saba. At the time that De Mezieres cut off trade with these nations, he took steps to conciliate them by using the good offices of the Caddo chief Tinhiquen, by sending couriers from the Caddo nation among them to arrange for a conference. As the Tejas Nations in east Texas feared the attacks of these tribes, De Mezieres asked permission of Governor Ungaza y Amexaga to take the representatives to San Antonio to draw up the treaties before the Governor of Texas.

O'Reilly was very favorably impressed with the actions of De Mezieres in his work for the welfare of the Indians, as well as what he did for the people of Natchitoches. In a letter dated January 25, 1770 he expresses himself as follows:

1. Ibid., I, 140.
I approve the two traders whom you propose to establish in the village of the Caddausa-kion, and the third among the Tatasses on the condition that you answer for their zeal, intelligence, and good habits....I must express to you my satisfaction with your conduct, and I cannot doubt the advantages that will result from it to the service. This will be true ground which you furnish me for congratulating myself on having chosen you, and for rendering you other services.\(^1\)

In the agreements made between the Indian Nations and De Mezieres on April 21, 1770, the chiefs promised to arrest and bring to the post any vagabonds, French, Spanish or Blacks of whom they had any knowledge, for which service they were to receive rewards. In compliance with this agreement the Caddoes caused several persons of foreign birth to come to the post at Natchitoches. In the group was a Frenchman, called Francisco Morvan, who according to political law was a murderer.\(^2\)

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1. Ibid., I, 135.
2. Ibid., I, 139. "to reward them for their efforts and for so good a service, have promised to give in exchange for each person of that class, a staple fusil and two ells of broadcloth."
3. Ibid., I, 160–62. Francisco Morvan had killed a person by the name of Brindamur, who was a criminal from justice, having committed a crime at the French settlement of Punta Cupe. Brindamur had gone among the Osages on the Arkansas River, and there had made himself a petty king over those vagabonds, and highwaymen who had come among the savages. On three different occasions he had threatened to kill Morvan, but had been prevented by those present. Morvan because of the threats and of fear, killed Brindamur. Morvan fled to the forests, and was found on the verge of death by the Caddoaches Indians, who were moved to pity, carried him to their village, cured him of his ills, and restored him to health. He remained among these people for a term of seven years, none of the French officials attempting to bring him to justice.
The Nabedakious (Nebedache) known as the Indians of San Pedro, who were under the jurisdiction of Los Adaes, found among them two French traders, who had been appointed by Villers, and given passports. The two traders, Blot and Menciere were carrying on an illicit trade with all the heathen nations, and because of their greed for what they had, the Indians killed them, as well as a Spaniard who was in their employ. For the act De Mezieres demanded of their chief Bigots, the heads of the murderers. On October 23, 1770 De Mezieres informed Governor Unzaga y Ameszaga that the Nabedakious had executed one of the murderers, a member of their own tribe, and were in search of the other a member of the Macogdoches.

About the first of October De Mezieres and party consisting of Frenchmen, and three Indian chiefs, set out from Natchitoches for the villages of the Cadodachos to confer with the representatives of the tribes of the North. He went by way of the presidio of Los Adaes, to join the representatives of the province, who were to accompany him. At Los Adaes De Mezieres

1. Ibid., I, 164.
2. Ibid., I, 187. De Mezieres informed the Governor, that his intentions were to demand of the savages the heads of the murderers which he would nail to a post in the fort, as a warning to other Indians.
3. Ibid., I, 204. and IX, 68. Two accounts are given concerning the expedition, one by De Mezieres, and the other by Father Santa Marie. The document of De Mezieres was written
was joined by Fray Santa de Marie, President of the East Texas missions, and a detachment of soldiers, furnished by Lieutenant Don Joseph Gonzales. The combined force left Los Adaes the third or fourth of October, and after passing through the villages of Yatassi and Peticando, where they were received kindly, they arrived at the villages of the Cadodaches. On the day of their arrival, Tinhicuen the chief of the Cadodaches announced that there would be an assembly of all the chiefs on the following day.

In the harangue which took place De Mezieres informed the visiting chiefs; that he gladly came at the command of his chief, the Captain-Governor of Louisiana, the father and

immediately after the journey and dated October 29, 1770. While that of Santa Marie was written almost four years later, and after De Mezieres and the Father had become unfriendly. In comparing the contents it is easy to note the "jealousy and suspicion with which the Spaniards continued to regard the French long after Louisiana had been transferred to Spain."

1. Ibid., II, 69. Fray Santa Marie states that the detachment of soldiers was detailed for him by Lieutenant Don Joseph Gonzalez, while De Mezieres makes it appear that they were intended for himself.

2. Ibid., I, 205. Here in the narrative De Mezieres describes the country, that the village is located on the Colorado (Red) River surrounded by pleasant groves and plains, and is endowed with land of extreme fertility. "If to these advantages of the place there be added the great loyalty of its inhabitants and the importance of their territory which, with the respect of the neighboring foreigners, should be considered the master-key of New Spain."

3. Ibid., I, 208. The tribes represented were the Tavalazes, Tuacanas, Iscanas, and Quitqueys members of the Wichita confederacy.
protector of the Indians; that the great chief wished to be informed as to the disposition of the Indians of the Nations of the North, and he had orders to assure them, that in case of invasion they could get plenty of assistance from Natchitoches to protect their lands and their families. He informed them that the new and beloved monarch was the most powerful in the world, stating briefly the extent of his possessions; that he would grant them peace if they desired it, and that of all of his realm, he looked with most love and compassion upon the natives. It was the wish of the illustrious sovereign that in the future, none of them should be slaves of his other subjects, but should all be brothers; and if they wished such love and protection, they should desist from robberies and hostilities; that they might profit by the good example set by the friendly Cadodaches, whose hands, far from having been stained by our blood, had been dedicated at the cost of their own, to the defense of their lives, when the ferocious Natches threatened them by their invasions of Natchitoches. This act on the part of the Cadodaches was a deed worthy of applause. De Mezieres then in speaking of their enemies said:

That they should look to the north, at the Osages; to the west, at the Comanches; to the south, at the Apaches;
and to the east, at the Spaniards of Louisiana, all their enemies; that they were placed in the midst of four fires which, raising their terrible flames, could reduce them to ashes as easily as the veracious fire consumes the dry grass of the meadows; that they should inform me of the decision they had made in so obvious and so frightful situation; that they should, above all, refrain from moving their lips to invent excuses which sooner or later their deeds would belie; and finally, that they should rest assured that there was no hope for aid except under the conditions above expressed since the very name of the Frenchman had been erased and forgotten.

Henceforth they would deal with the Spaniards, who were sensitive to the outrages that had been committed and would be interested in avenging them if others were resumed. The grave and venerable man who was seated in their presence was held by the Spaniards in the greatest esteem, and as they could see by the grey habit that he wore that he was a companion of those of the same garb, whom, though helpless, they had exultantly beheaded at San Saba. But that he was far from being angry, and had come in person to invite them to merit his pardon, which they would receive if they should truly repent. At the conclusion of his speech he arose and shook the hand of each of the Spaniards as a demonstration to show the savages evidence of the close and sacred pact.

For some time the visiting chiefs remained in silence then after conferring together one of them who was skilled in the language of the Cadodaches replied to De Mezières' dis-
course. He said:

That their discord with the Spaniards arose from the fact that, with the recent founding of the presidio and mission of San Saba, the Spaniards had treated as guests and given aid to their enemies, the Apaches; that until that time they could not be charged with the slightest offense, although they well knew the location of the Spaniards' ranches, villages, and presidios; that many times when they had set out to explore the country for their own safety or with the intention of seeking their enemies in question, they had found them mingled with the Spaniards, who aided them whenever they offered to fight; that in support of the truth of this assertion they would cite the aid given by the Apaches when the Spanish army directed its march to Tavias; that as a result of this occurrence, the hatred had increased more and more; but that now their rancor had entirely disappeared; that for this reason the Tocanas and Yscanis, immediately upon learning of the wish of the great Captain of La Luisiana, have abandoned the establishment which they had in the vicinity of San Antonio de Vexar and San Saba and are to-day living off to one side, not far from San Pedro; that under no pretext will they move from there; that they will leave the Apaches in quiet rather than occasion disastrous contingencies; that they had given ear to the admonishments that they should live in peace; that they had placed in the most secret recesses of the heart; that they truly desire and ask for peace; that their punctual obedience in coming to secure it has been very disastrous to them, because the Comanches, who were formerly among their allies, having been irritated by this decision, are now waging a cruel war against them, but that not on that account will they waver in their promises; that they cannot conceal how oppressed they live by such an enemy, who invests them in all directions with inquietude that they are not permitted to breathe; that they deserve the great compassion; and that they implore with confidence that of the French, their ancient protectors. (2)

1. Ibid., I, 211. This passage has a bearing on the linguistic differences between the Wichita and Caddo-related groups. The inference is that not all of the Wichita chiefs were 'skilled in the Cadodache language'.
2. Ibid., I, 211-212.
De Mesieres then informed them that the French no longer held possessions in the New World. He told them that he would remember their promises, and would report the same to the sovereign who would be pleased to receive them as happy children.

But meanwhile it is fitting, since you have committed so many insults, robberies, and homicides in San Antonio de Vexar and vicinity, that without loss of time you should journey to that city, with the interpreter whom I shall provide for you and two Spaniards who will accompany you, carrying a flag to protect you. That you humble yourselves in the presence of the chief of greatest power who resides there, and whose part it is to ratify the treaty that you seek, since you have established yourselves within his jurisdiction.(1)

Upon hearing this, they began to make excuses; that they had no horses with which to make the journey, that they had to build huts for protection during the coming winter, and that they feared the attacks of the Apaches. Then De Mesieres offered to accompany them to the capital of the province of Texas, which they also refused.

At this point two conclusions were formed, one by the Spaniards: that the savages did not intend to keep their promises, and one by De Mesieres: that it was through fear of being deceived, and they were being led into a trap where they would be murdered. But before the departure of the

Europeans, the caciques promised, that during the winter they would refrain from hostilities and would come in the spring to make the treaties.

In the meantime the friendly Cadodachos, under the leadership of Tinhoouen; and the Acinais (Hasinaí) led by their famous chief Bigotes used their influence to bring about the formation of treaties.

In the spring of 1771, Don Mathias le Court, a retired officer who was then living with the Cadodachos informed De Mesieres that the cacique of the Taousiazes came to the village of the Cadodachos, and protested that in the future he would not only remain in harmony with the Spaniards, but would lead his warriors against any tribe which might be conducting hostilities against them. In pledge of his promise he left two hostages with the Cadodachos until after his return from Natchitoches.

In the spring of 1771, the cacique of the Acinais came to Natchitoches to inform De Mesieres that the various tribes which had been hostile to the Spanish, were ready to sign a peace agreement; that in their savage way they had prepared a contract by placing a cross, to represent each tribe, on a

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1. Ibid., I, 249.
buffalo skin and sent it to the Spanish officials.

On October 27, 1771, a treaty of agreement was made and signed at the Royal Fort of San Juan Bautista de Natchitoches between the Spanish representatives, who officially represented both provinces of Texas and Louisiana and the caciques of the Taovayas. The Taovayas attached three crosses to represent their tribes and Tinhio-gen, the Cacique of the Cadodachos attached two to represent tribes who were sol present.

For two reasons the scene of action gradually changed from the villages of the Cadodachos to the villages of the Hasinai. In the first place, the Wichita tribes had moved into territory under the jurisdiction of the province of Texas, and near to the Hasinai; and second, these tribes were to make treaties with the Government of Texas. In the change, Bigotes the Grand Cacique of the Hasinai comes into prominence by using his influence with the Wichitas. Bigotes was made a medal chief by O'Reilly in 1770, when the Government of Louisiana furnished medals and goods for many tribes on the frontier. De Mesieres made the presentation and gave him a flag, of which he was very proud, and he immediately began to

1. Ibid., I, 249-50. The nations, that were represented by crosses upon the skin, were the Quitseys, Yacanis, Tancais, Tancausyes, Taquinies, or Fanis Piques. These tribes were principal tribes of the Wichitas. cf. Hodge, op., cit., II, 947, 704-705.
2. Ibid., I, 259. The caciques of the Cadodachos and Hasinai
work for the Spanish cause. After the signing of the second treaty between the officials of Texas, and the tribes of the north, in 1771, he was selected by the chiefs as their representative to appear before Baron de Ripperda with the treaties for ratification. He immediately went to San Antonio where he and his party were received by De Ripperda. For this work De Ripperda placed additional honors upon him changing his name to Sauto.

A division of opinion developed in the fall of 1771, between the Spanish officials of Texas and De Mesieres that caused much trouble in dealing with the Indians of the West. The depredations of the Apaches and Comanches upon the missions and presidios of the Spanish, caused them to think that an alliance could be formed between them (Apaches and Comanches) and the tribes of the North. And by making a change in their trade policy these attacks would be stopped by the Indians themselves. The Spanish had always restricted trade in horses, mules, and Indian slaves in exchange for arms and munitions.

In 1762, the same restriction had been placed upon the French traders trading with the tribes of East Texas; but continued by contraband traders, and by the English from across the

were interested in the treaties as the Wichita confederacy was related to the Caddoan Group. Tinhicuen was chief spokesman and host of the envoys during the conference of 1770.

1. Ibid., I, 175.
2. Ibid., I, 266.
Mississippi River. De Mesieres was of the opposite opinion; that because of the hatred of long standing between the Apaches, and the "three confederacies," the Cadodachos, Hasinai, and the Wichitas, that such an alliance could never be formed, and he used his influence to prevent it.

In the fall of 1771, when Sauto and his party were returning from San Antonio they were approached by an Apache chief, and his band of warriors, who insisted upon treaty relations with them. The Apaches promised to go before the officials of Texas the following year to ratify the treaty. After forming the agreement, they immediately attacked the mission, killing some of the guards and driving off a herd of horses.

In the latter part of March in 1772, De Mesieres made an expedition among the Wichita tribes in order to make more secure the treaties and so strengthen the alliance against the Apaches. He encouraged the tribes to move their villages closer together for the purpose of defense, and some were to settle nearer to the Cadodacho and Hasinai. While on this expedition he witnessed an attack of the Apaches upon a Spanish village, and he immediately began to make preparations for an attack upon them. On July 25, Baron de Ripperda informed De

1. Ibid., I, 269-70.
2. Ibid., I, 267.
3. Ibid., I, 292-94, 511.
Mesieres that four Apache chiefs and large numbers of their people were coming to the villages of the Badais and Acinais to ratify the pernicious treaties, which they had entered into the previous year. De Mesieres sent a message to the chiefs of the Badais and Acinais nations,

urging them not to lose so propitious an occasion to fulfill the promise which they had given me, and to avail themselves of feigned friendship in order to prevent any of the mentioned Apaches from leaving their hands alive. (1)

History proves the Apache to be the "Ishmael" of the plains, he is an enemy of every tribe and every tribe is his enemy. In 1700 the Apaches suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Comanches, who continually pressed them toward the south. In 1718 they became the enemy of the Spanish by their attacks upon the frontier settlements. In 1757, the Spanish put forth an effort to reconcile them and placed a mission and presidio in their territory. Since that date the Apaches have at times tried to make peace with the Spanish. In 1753 Kerlerac Governor of Louisiana proposed an alliance between the Apaches, and members of the Caddo confederacy,

prophesying that from such a step the French could open

1. Ibid., I, 358. Later records show that Sainte plumed the plot and treacherously murdered three of the chiefs and a number of their followers. One of the charges brought by the Spanish against De Mesieres was that he was giving orders outside of his jurisdiction.
2. Ibid., I, 65-66. The Apaches have been considered the most warlike tribe of the plains, making depredations upon the whites, and Indians alike.
a brilliant commerce, with establishments at the very door of Coahuila, and get control of the then closed road to Santa Fe, "certain at the first sign that we should make, the Camacys (Apaches) would pounce upon the Spaniards, with whom they would be at par, by means of fire-arms and ammunition which we would secure for them."(1)

In July 1772, Baron de Ripperda urged the viceroy to modify the Spanish trade policy, or adopt the methods used by the French; that they were trading the Indians arms, and ammunition for horses and mules; furthermore that the savages did not want them as friends unless they would exchange with them goods to their liking. He also pointed out the fact that the present conditions were serious to the province of Texas. In the same report he suggested that the control of trade be placed under a general head and that the Governor be relieved of the responsibility. This last suggestion met with the approval of the viceroy and O'Connor was appointed comandante-inspector with the rank of Colonel. His other suggestions were bitterly criticised and charges of being implicated in contraband trade with De Mesieres were brought against him. (2)

Joseph de la Pena served as Lieutenant-governor of Natchitoches while De Mesieres was absent among the friendly tribes in 1772. On the return of De Mesieres, Pena went to the pre-

1. Ibid., I, 64. It is believed that the Comanches, and the Nations of the North were under the influence of the French, when they attacked the mission of San Saba in 1759.
2. Ibid., I, 279.
sidio of Los Adaes under orders from the Governor of Louisiana, and there he joined Father Abad in issuing complaints against De Mesieres. La Pena was acting as a spy, to keep Governor Unzaga y Amezaga informed concerning De Mesieres and his treaties with the tribes of the North. After spending some time among the Spanish presidios of East Texas, La Pena wrote four letters to the governor expressing in detail the complaints of the Spanish friars and the actions of the tribes, with whom De Mesieres had formed treaties.

In August 1772, Baron de Ripperda informed the viceroy of the complaints of the friars, Miguel de Santa Maria y Cilva, who had gone with De Mesieres to the villages of the Cadodachos in 1770, and Abad de Jesus Maria, who had gone with him to the villages of the Hasinai. Both Fathers complained of the lack of faith on the part of the savages, concerning the

with the Northern tribes in reporting the "scandalous trade" that he witnessed on the frontier, said, "I thought (I do not know for certain) that the Governor was implicated in the trade, through his communications with De Mesieres."  

1. Ibid., II, 14-15. I, 511. When De Mesieres left San Antonio he was accompanied by Father Joseph Abad, who was going in search of some Indians of the Xaramanes tribe, apostates who had fled from the mission of Espiritu Santo. De Mesieres stopped among the Texas and Bidais, but he furnished an interpreter and guard for the Father to continue his journey. The Father was unsuccessful in getting his converts, blaming the French, because of the traffic in firearms. Ibid., II, 67.

2. Ibid., II, 15-24.
treaties; and the interest, on the part of De Mesieres, concerning trade in French goods, especially fire-arms and ammunition. They found French traders plentiful, who occupied all of the time of the Indians leaving none for spiritual development.

The viceroy in replying to De Ripperda ordered him to cut off trade and communications with De Mesieres.

In the spring of 1773 Don Hugo O'Connor took charge of the new office of commandant-inspector of the frontier province. His first order was, that the useless missions and presidios of Nacogdoches, Ays, Adaes, and Orcoquiza should be disbanded and the inhabitants moved to San Antonio. He then spent his time in trumping up charges against Baron de Ripperda. On May the eighth, 1774, the viceroy severely reprimanded De Ripperda, and charged him with disobeying orders, neglect of duty, carelessness in his protection of the missions and presidios and even being in alliance with De Mesieres in conducting illicit trade with the Indians of the North. On the last charge the viceroy ordered him, to cut off absolutely correspondence with the governor of Natchitoches and with all the rest of the Frenchmen, not permitting them in that presidio under any circumstances. On June 28, 1774, in a diplomatic

1. Ibid., I, 550-51.
2. Ibid., II, 50-51.
manner Governor Ripperda answered the viceroy, showing how he had been falsely charged, and demanding that the viceroy (1) order the charges to be proven.

While the officials of the province of Texas were finding fault with one another, and charging the French traders with encroaching upon Spanish territory; the officials of the province of Louisiana were gradually strengthening the trade relations with the Cadodachos and Hasinais, and through their villages were sending cargoes of merchandise to the friendly Nations of the North. In October 1771, Governor Unzaga y Amezaga of Louisiana ordered De Mezieres to extend the trade system to the new allies of the North. In July 1772, De Mezieres informed Governor Unzaga y Amezaga that bonded traders had been appointed to the new tribes, and that a valuable trade was developing mentioning articles of barter with the natives. (2)

In 1775, De Mezieres went to Europe, where he spent almost a year. During his absence Balthazar de Villers, commander of Pointe Coupee, acted as Lieutenant-Governor of Natchitoches. Villers' most notable act was the sending of Gaignard to make a treaty with the Maytane (Comanche) an enter-

1. Ibid., II, 57-63.
2. Ibid., I, 286.
prise in which he was at least nominally successful.

Gaignard departed from Natchitoches, October 1, 1773. He used as guides Indians from the Panis, who were supposed on that date to be on friendly terms with the Osages. After passing through the villages of the Natassee and Petit Caddes he arrived at the villages of the Grand Caddes. He spent eighty-four days among the Caddoes before continuing his expedition. While among them he was told that two silver mines were located near; one twelve leagues to the northeast, and the other fifty leagues distant on the Cayamichy (Kiemichi) River. On the sixteenth of January, 1774, he departed in company with Sieur Layssard, the elder, who took advantage of the convoy. On his arrival among the Panis he learned that the Apaches were preparing for an attack on the presidios of the Spanish. He sent Sosier to inform the Governor of Natchitoches. He found that the Panis were in a bad humor, for as they said, De Mezieres had not visited them with presents as he had promised; and because of this fact they refused to permit him to continue his journey to

I. Ibid., II, 81-100.
2. Ibid., II, 86. Shortly after the departure from the villages of the Caddoes Gaignard and Sosier quarrelled over some goods, that had been stolen, and they were not on friendly terms thereafter. Gaignard sent him back to Natchitoches with instructions to the Governor not to permit him to return. De Mezieres, who had returned from Europe and taken charge of his post permitted Sosier to return,
the Neiatane, learning that he could not come to them they came to see him; and on the third of July Gaignard formed a treaty with them. On the second of July Sosier and Baudoin arrived at the villages of the Panis with a large supply of goods. On the sixteenth of July Gaignard departed from the Panis, with a convoy that was going to the villages of the Caddoes. After staying among the Caddoes for several weeks he arrived at Natchitoches on the twenty-fourth of November. He delivered his report to De Mezieres, who was not very well pleased with it. A few days later Sosier and Baudoin arrived at the village of Natchitoches, Sosier had in his possession over 5000 pounds of hides, which he had purchased from the Panis.

In 1771, when friendly relations were established with the Nations of the North, the villages of the Cadodachos and Hasinai rapidly developed into emporiums of trade. Under the leadership of Tinhiouen, the Cadodachos aided the Government in keeping peace in the North and even made campaigns against the Osages. The Cadodachos could be relied upon to keep out

1. Ibid., II, 95. Here in the narrative Gaignard shows his weakness as a leader, and it is very likely that had he been a man of valor and zeal he could have prevented his trouble with Sosier.
2. Ibid., II, 99.
3. Ibid., II, 98. This is good evidence that an attractive trade was being developed with the tribes of the Wichitas.
4. Ibid., I, 193, II, 141.
the English traders from the East. The Hasinaí under the
direction of Bigotes aided the Spanish in treaty relations
with the Nations of the North; and in 1778 and 1779, warriors
from this confederacy went with De Mazieres on his expeditions
among the Apaches and Comanches.

After 1778, two important problems confronted the Spanish
with regard to their relations with the Cadodachos and the
Hasinaí. There was an ever present fear that the English
from across the Mississippi River would establish trade with the
tribes of the north; and thus gain an influence with these
tribes which could not be overcome. At various times goods
of English make were found among these tribes, but not until
1778 was an actual attempt made to trade with the Cadodachos.

The second problem; was the movement of tribes from
the north and east that developed crowded conditions upon
the Southern Caddoan group, which forced the Spanish to
use diplomacy to prevent inter-tribal wars, and to keep

1. Ibid., II, 142.
2. Ibid., II, 173, 255. "In 1777, a severe epidemic swept
through the Indian tribes of eastern Texas and western
Louisiana greatly reducing their numbers. On August 25,
De Mazieres reported to Galvez the simultaneous deaths
of the chiefs of the "Acinays (Hasinaí) Pidays, and
Nobedakioux."
3. Ibid., I, 66-69, 270, 278.
4. Ibid., II, 207, 249.
peaceful relations on the frontier. The changing of the
habitat of the plains tribes from the north to the south
during the latter part of the seventeenth century forced
the friendly tribes of the Caddoan group to move closer
together for protection.

Traditional history places the early home of the
Comanches in the southern part of the present state of
Wyoming, where they were living with their kinmen, the
mountain division, of the Comanches. The terrible attacks
of the Sioux and other prairie tribes forced the plains
Comanche southward upon the Apaches. The Apaches, in turn,
forced the western tribes of the Wichita confederacy southward
into the territory of the Hasinai, or Tejas as they
were known in early history. The great force of this move-
ment began about 1700. The Wichita confederacy consisted
of tribes of Caddoan stock, linguistically related with the
Pawnee. They are also identified with the Quivira met by
Coronado in 1541. The Ouachita living in East Louisiana
in 1700 are a different people but probably related to
them. Just when the Wichitas separated from the Caddoan

1. Hodge, op., cit., I, 527.
2. Ibid., II, 172. The Ouachita tribe found on the Oua-
chita, or Black River in northeastern part of Louisiana,
apparently Caddoan, but it was not a tribe of the
Wichita group.
group is unknown, but in 177, they had moved from the region of the Missouri River into Texas. And at the above date they were in alliance with the Hasinaí, Caddoes and the Spanish. These friendly relations continued through the ages, and they are known as the Wichitas and affiliated bands at the present time.

The other general movement of tribes that affected the crowded conditions of the Caddoes was from across the Mississippi River. The culmination of this movement came in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. But parts of the various tribes made their appearance in the latter part of the eighteenth century. As early as 1765 roving bands of the Choctaw left their homes in Georgia and migrated west of the Mississippi River, where they encroached upon the Caddo; for in 1780 they were at war with them. In 1809 Choctaw villages were permanently located in Louisiana. In 1789 a band of Delawares received permission from the Spanish government to settle west of the

3. Hodge, op., cit., I, 288.
Mississippi River within the limits of the present state of Missouri. In 1795 a band of the Shawnees settled near the Delawares in Missouri. White settlers from across the Mississippi forced these bands to move farther westward. The date of their departure is unknown, but in 1825, both bands, the Delawares and Shawnees, were found living with the Caddoes in Texas. With the dawn of history the Quapaws were found near the mouth of the Arkansas River. The depredations of the Osages caused them to move southward, and in 1773, they formed an alliance with the Caddochos. It is not known just when they left their original home, but in 1828, a band of 150 families was found located on Sulphur Creek in northeast Texas. In 1829, they moved among the Caddoes on Red River in northeast Louisiana.

This movement of tribes into the territory of the Caddoan group brings out the true nature of these people. The records show that the "Caddoes" have always been a peaceful tribe. In fact it has been said, "that they never imbued their hands with the blood of white men." This is

1. Ibid., I, 385, II, 556.
3. Hodge, op., cit., II, 335.
the highest tribute that can be paid to any tribe but it might be questioned; however it is a known fact that the relations of the Osoduchos with both the French and Spanish has always been friendly. (1)

1. Hodge, op., cit., I, 180, 638.
SUMMARY

The stage of civilization represented by the early Caddoan stock made them superior to their neighbors. Their influence and friendship was desired by all tribes of close proximity, and because of their ability as warriors their arch-enemies were forced to stay at a distance from their favorite hunting-grounds. The European found the Tejas confederacy (which consisted principally of Caddoan stock) peaceful and dependable. The early Spanish explorers approached this confederacy from the south. Their missionaries put forth an effort to civilize and christianize the group by establishing among them many missions. The Spanish influence is noticeable even at the present time as many Spanish words still exist among the Caddoan dialects. The Early French explorers approached the confederacy from the east. They also tried to christianize, but their greatest influence was wielded through trade. The records of the first half of the sixteenth century show that both of the European nations were using all of their efforts to gain the territory occupied by the Tejas confederacy. In 1763 all of the territory of the Caddoan stock was placed under the control of the Spanish government, but French methods in dealing with the Indians took precedent over those of the Spanish,
as the desire of the savage for trade was much greater than his religious inclinations. There was also a feeling that if the Spanish did not regulate trade according to the wishes of the natives, that they would establish trade with the English. It was during the Spanish Regime that the most desirable relations existed between the Caddoan tribes and the Europeans. French traders who had been most successful in their trade relations with the Indians were retained by the Spanish government and greater efforts were made to keep the frontier tribes peaceful. Trading posts and forts with garrisons were established along the western tributaries of the Mississippi River which served not only to bring about more peaceful relations among tribes, but to keep out the English trader. It was also during this period that the drifting of northern and eastern tribes became a menace to the Southern Caddoan Group. The English Colonies along the Atlantic coast were pushing their settlements farther and farther into Indian territory, and dissatisfied bands of the major tribes to the east of the Mississippi River were drifting across and settling among the Caddoes; sometimes peacefully, but frequently taking possession of lands by force. The crowded conditions caused a scarcity of game and the Indians were forced to depend more and more on the Spanish for necessities. The Caddoan family met these conditions peacefully, and to them is given the honor of being the most loyal of Indian stocks to the European Race.
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