



# Tribal Histories

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## Caddo Nation of Oklahoma Research Report

February 2022

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## Introduction

The TxDOT Tribal Histories Project involves creating a set of geographic-focused historical narratives of historic tribal presence in Texas through collaboration with participating Tribes. Taking a statewide approach, these histories will serve as resources to inform future statewide transportation planning, project development, tribal consultation activities, and public engagement by TxDOT.

This research report was designed to facilitate the extraction of geographic data, along with calendar and event information, to populate a GIS dataset for use by transportation planners and the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma. Information from the narrative and GIS dataset is also intended to be adapted for use in archeology reports and for educational outreach materials. Organized chronologically, the research report for this broad overview focuses on providing background context and setting for Caddo peoples, tribes, and cultures associated with the region encompassing Texas and on the physical locations and specific historic time periods during which the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma were present in Texas.

## Caddo Land Use in Texas

### *Pre-European Contact*

The Caddo Indians represent one of the most complex, sophisticated, and cosmopolitan Native culture in the state of Texas. The Caddoan Area irrespective of time period is an approximate 200,000 square kilometer area that centers on the Red and Arkansas rivers within Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Missouri (**Figure 1**). In general, hunters and gatherers settled within recognized territories in communities with structures for several seasons or year-round, manufactured ceramics for cooking and storage, and developed an agricultural lifestyle. Archeological evidence indicates that a distinctive cultural tradition now referred to as Caddoan developed in the area by 800 A.D. When Europeans first arrived within the Caddoan Area in the sixteenth century, the Caddo nation was comprised of at least 25 separate groups, bands, or tribes (as observed by Europeans) and were organized into three loosely affiliated kin-based groups known as the Kadohadacho, the Hasinai, and the Natchitoches confederacies. The Hasinai groups lived in the Neches and Angelina river valleys in East Texas, while the Kadohadacho groups lived to the north along both sides of the Great Bend of the Red River within Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana. The Natchitoches groups lived further southeast near the Red River in Louisiana within the vicinity of what would become the French post of Natchitoches (**Figure 2**). The three groups were in varying degrees of contact with the Spanish and French during the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries - the chroniclers of the time. The term “Caddo” is derived from the French abbreviation of Kadohadacho, meaning “real chief” in the Kadohadacho dialect. The word “Texas” appears to have been derived from “taysha” the Hasinai word for “friend” that was used to greet allies and the Spanish-derived “Tejas” (Carter 1995:61; Perttula 1997:6-13).



Figure 1: The Caddoan Area (Adapted from Perttula 1997)



Figure 2: Locations of the Caddo Confederacy (adapted from the National Park Service 2020)

### Early European Exploration and Settlement

The Caddo and all other Indian tribes were dramatically directly and indirectly- affected by European colonists and later settlers in Texas. European goods, guns, horses, attempted missionization, diseases, and forced resettlement directly impacted their lifeways, culture, and economies. European encroachment forced other tribes to migrate from the north, west, and east into existing Indian territories, resulting in new trade networks, alliances, and warfare. Additionally, the use of the horse greatly altered tribes' hunting capabilities and expanded their range and territory.

#### Sixteenth Century

The first confirmed reference to the Caddo is attributed to the 1542 Spanish *entrada* (expedition) of Hernando de Soto that begun in Florida and was led by Luis de Moscoso Alvarado in search of gold, and later, New Spain (present-day Mexico) after the death of de Soto. The *entrada* traveled into the Caddoan Area within Arkansas and Texas from the east and spent several months among Caddoan groups who lived between the Ouachita River in

Arkansas and the Trinity River in East Texas (see **Figure 2**). It was an often-violent intrusion during which the Spanish army fed itself on Caddo food stores as they moved throughout the regions and, at times, killing inhabitants through force or indirectly through disease. Once they entered Texas, the Spaniards traveled on a long-established trail known as the Caddo or Hasinai Trace (now also called Trammels Trace) that extended from the Red River southwest into the heart of East Texas and connected to other trails (such as the El Camino Real) within the Angelina and Neches river basins. Tim Perttula’s (1997, 2017) research suggests that the *entrada* entered Texas with the help of Indian guides and captives on the north edge of the Great Bend of the Red River within the land of the Kadohadacho and traveled southwest into the territory of the Hasinai before making a round trip back (**Figure 3**). Moscoso described the villages as scattered settlements of dense populations and abundant food reserves of maize (Perttula 1997:19-26; Perttula 2017).



**Figure 3: Moscoso's Reconstructed *Entrada* through the Caddoan Area** (adapted from Perttula 2017)

## Seventeenth Century

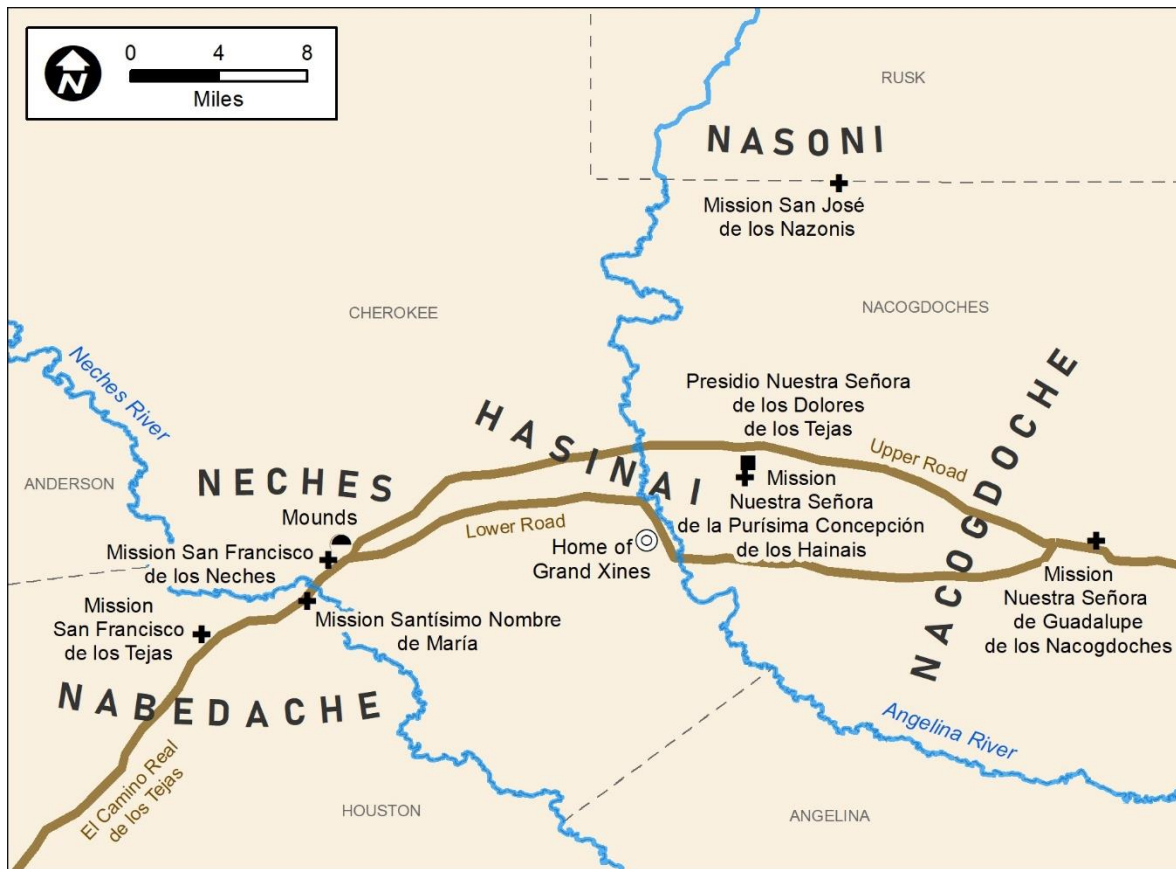
Subsequent to Moscoso's *entrada*, there is no written record of direct European contact with Caddoan peoples until the Hernando Martín and Diego del Castillo *entrada* of 1650. After learning of the "Great Kingdom of the Tejas" from the Jumano who ranged from the Rio Grande to East Texas, the Spanish *entrada* reached the western boundaries of the East Texas Caddoan Area. Though there was a lack of direct sustained interaction with the Spanish during this time, the Caddo traded with the Jumano and acquired Spanish goods and horses indirectly from settlements in New Mexico and Coahuila (Perttula 1997:28).

The late 1680s marks the beginning of continued contact between Caddoan groups and Spanish missionaries from the west and French traders typically reaching the area from the east. French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, established the settlement of Fort St. Louis on the Texas coast and made trips into East Texas after a failed attempt to find the mouth of the Mississippi River. In 1686, he and his men encountered the Hasinai within the Angelina and Neches river valleys and visited villages bartering for the Hasinai's Spanish horses (**Figure 4**). Some of La Salle's men decided to remain in the villages and the rest of the party returned to the coast. In 1687 another attempt to locate the Mississippi River was made by the French, though La Salle was murdered by his men during the trip. Several remaining men including Henri Joutel stayed in Hasinai villages along the Neches River before heading north, passing through the Kadohadacho territory within the Red and Ouachita river valleys with the assistance of the Hasinai, Kadohadacho, and Cahinnio Caddoan groups that lived in the area. Joutel recorded four nearby allied Kadohadacho communities as the Kadohadacho, Upper Nasoni, Nanatsoho, and Upper Natchitoches villages (**see Figure 2**) (Carter 1995:49, 52; Perttula 1997:30).

Spain had claimed the territory which included modern day Texas in the early 1500s but did not attempt to colonize the area until they learned of La Salle's coastal settlement, expedition into East Texas, and rumors of Frenchmen living with the Hasinai. Prompted by the threat of French settlement in Texas, the Spanish set out exploring the area from the southwest and aimed to locate their first Texas settlement much further inland. In 1689 a Spanish expedition led by Alonzo de León set out into East Texas from Mexico with Father Damián Massenet, a Catholic missionary within the company. Upon arrival in Hasinai territory Massenet encountered who he referred to as "the governor of the Tejas" or chief of the Nabadache (the westernmost of the nine Hasinai villages) accompanied by several of La Salle's French defectors (Carter 1995:60).

In regard to the Texas Indians whose lands the Spanish intended to occupy and control, Spain aimed to continue their policy of missionization which was previously successful in Mexico. Through a system of missions and protective presidios between 1690 and 1721, Spain intended to conquer and reduce the Texas Indians to servantry, elevating them to what was considered a "civilized" life through a Spanish lens (Bolton 1987:29; Perttula 1997:30). Spain's first and short-lived attempt at missions within the Neches-Angelina river valley of East Texas was in 1690 near the Nabadache village after seemingly having the blessing of the chief. This first mission for the Hasinai was known as San Francisco de los Tejas and was overseen by Fray Francisco Cansañas. A second mission known as El Santísimo Nombre de María was constructed closer to the Neches River, east of the first mission in 1690 (Bolton 1987:30-31; Carter 1995: 69-73). Massenet recorded nine of the villages within the Hasinai confederacy as: Hainai, Nabadache, Nacogdoche, Lower Nasoni, Nadaco, Neches, Nacono, Nehcauis, and Nacaos. Except for Nasoni and Nadaco, the villages were located along a long-

established Indian trail that would later be known by the El Camino Real de los Tejas by the Spanish (see Figure 4) (Bolton 1987:30-31).



**Figure 4: Hasinai Territory** (adapted from Bolton 1987)

The first attempt at Spanish missions in East Texas lasted only a short time (1690-1693). In addition to sickness and a smallpox epidemic introduced by the Europeans, the Hasinai also experienced a drought from 1690 to 1691, and the combination resulted in 300 Hasinai deaths and nearly 3,000 deaths among the surrounding tribes. Although the sickness subsided, the Hasinai still suspected Cansañas and his men were the cause (Carter 1995:89). In 1691 Massenet returned to the area from Mexico with additional priests, horses, cattle, and Domingo Téran, the newly appointed governor of Coahuila and Spanish Texas. Téran and Massenet left to explore the Kadohadacho confederacy to the northeast with plans to establish additional missions, but they soon turned back due to cold weather, intending to return (Carter 1995:89, 99). After floods destroyed the mission on the Neches River in 1692, there was further crop loss and diseases that plagued the livestock and people. In 1693 the Nabedache chief urged the Spaniards to leave as he was convinced that they were the cause of disease and the missions were withdrawn. In addition, any goods brought by the Spanish could easily be gotten by trading with the French, who also traded guns, which were forbidden by the Spanish (Carter 1995:99-100).

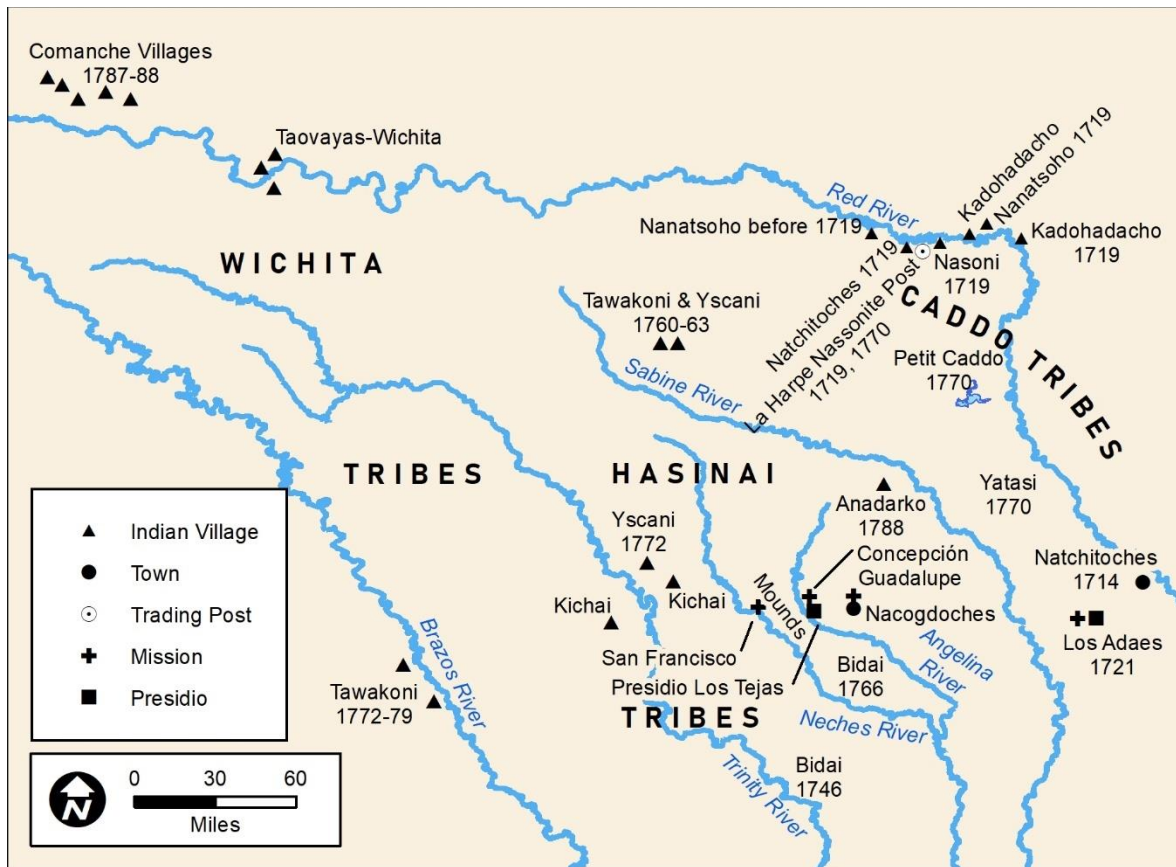
### Eighteenth Century

The French, led by commander Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, set out for further exploration of the Red River within Louisiana in 1700 during which time he and his company visited



Natchitoches and Kadohadacho villages. It would mark the beginning of a 40-year relationship between the Natchitoches and the man they called Big Leg. When floods destroyed their villages and fields located on an island in Louisiana within the Red River in 1702, the Natchitoches relocated southeast to the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain for eleven years alongside the Acolapissa with support from St. Denis. In 1713 Fray Francisco Hidalgo sent a letter to the French governor of Louisiana Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac asking the French to cooperate with the Spanish in the founding of a new mission among the Hasinai. The governor agreed and dispatched St. Denis and a company of men under the pretext of trading at the mission site. Hidalgo's motive was to prove to the Spanish viceroy that the French were closing in on Spanish East Texas, while the French governor's ulterior motive was to gain access to mining districts in Mexico by arranging a trade agreement with the Spanish. St. Denis accepted the task recognizing that the old village site of Natchitoches was a strategic location for trading because it was within reach of the Kadohadacho and just across the Red River from the Hasinai. The Natchitoches returned to the site of their village in 1713 and St. Denis established the French trading site of Natchitoches Post before leaving for the Hasinai villages and then continuing on to Mexico City (Carter 1995:103-110).

The Spanish reacted as Hidalgo had wished and returned to Hasinai territory to reestablish missions in East Texas to protect the frontier from French intrusion. St. Denis gained a Spanish bride and employment as he led the Spanish back to the Hasinai villages. The Spanish were received by the Hasinai who agreed to four missions within their territory, and they largely determined the location of each. The four missions, intended to serve an estimated population of 4,000 to 5,000, were established in rapid succession in 1714: San Francisco de los Tejas near the Nabedече and Neche villages; Purísima Concepción at the main Hasinai village of Hainai, Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches at the main village of Nacogdoches; and San José de los Nazones near the Lower Nasoni and Nadaco (Anadarko) villages (**see Figure 4**). The building of the missions was easy compared to convincing the Hasinai to become Christian converts and live like Spaniards. When asked to come live within or close by the missions, the Hasinai by and large responded dismissively, stating repeatedly over the years that they could not move until they had gathered their crops (Carter 1995:111-113).



**Figure 5: Kadohadacho, Hasinai, and Natchitoches in the eighteenth century** (adapted from Carter 1995)

After visiting the French post at Natchitoches, the Spanish established two additional missions with the intent to block French encroachment upon Spanish land. San Miguel de Linares de los Adaes was founded near the Adai in 1717 and abandoned in 1719 when threatened by the French (**Figure 5**). It was reestablished in 1721 near the location of present-day Robeline, Louisiana within the eastern edge of Spanish territory. It would serve as the capital of the Province of Texas from 1727 to 1770. The Spanish also founded Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais at the present-day site of San Augustine for the Ais (Carter 1995:114-115).

While the Spanish struggled to convert and secure control of the Hasinai and protect its eastern border from real and/or perceived French threats, the French aimed to consolidate their influence with the Natchitoches and Kadohadacho. In 1719 the French trader Jean-Baptiste Bénard de La Harpe was instructed by the Louisiana governor to enter into trade with Spain and he was given command of a post above the Natchitoches villages within Kadohadacho territory. La Harpe visited the home of the chief of the Upper Nasoni (along the south side the Red River) and told him that the French would defend and protect the Kadohadacho from hostile tribes such as the Osage and Chickasaw. According to La Harpe, approximately 400 people were located within Kadohadacho territory and living within four villages: the Upper Nasoni, Upper Natchitoches, Nanatsoho, and Kadohadacho (which served as the main village). All were situated along the north side of the Red River (**see Figure 5**). La Harpe claimed he was given permission by the Upper Nasoni chief to build his trading post known as the Nassonite Post near the chief's home on the south side of the river. The French

trader gave liberal gifts to the Kadohadacho to draw them into the interests of his company on account of the Spaniards alliance with the Hasinai to the south (Carter 1995:143-147).

Once his post within Kadohadacho territory was established in 1719, La Harpe sent letters to the Spanish within Hasinai territory offering to sell the missionaries French supplies. This began a series of correspondence arguing over which European nation had control over Kadohadacho territory. The boundary dispute between Spanish Texas and French Louisiana coincided with the War of the Quadruple Alliance in Europe (1718-1720) between Great Britain, Austria, the Dutch Republic, and France against Spain over a territory dispute. The war manifested in North America when France captured Spanish Pensacola with the declaration of the warring countries reaching Natchitoches in June of 1719. After several French soldiers charged the Spaniards at Los Adaes, Spanish soldiers, missionaries, and families left the Hasinai territory for San Antonio de Bexar (Carter 1995:150-152).

The Spaniards returned to Hasinai lands in 1721 with more people, cargo, and livestock than they had previously and were determined to reestablish the four missions. Ceremonies were held for the founding of each mission which included a distribution of gifts to attendees with special presents for chosen leaders. About 80 Kadohadacho also attended the ceremony near the Hainai village and the Spanish, in an attempt to gain allegiance, offered them many gifts as well. After the four Hasinai missions were rebuilt, the mission of Dolores de Ais and presidio were reconstructed about a half-mile south from present-day San Augustine. The missionaries were confident that their endeavors of rebuilt missions and gifts would be successful but the Hasinai, although fond of the Spanish, were as resistant as ever to convert to Christianity and move to the missions. In 1730 missions Concepción, San José, and San Francisco were removed to San Antonio de Béxar leaving only the missions of Guadalupe at Nacogdoches and Dolores de los Ais, and the Los Adaes presidio within Spanish East Texas and the territory of the “friendly tribes” (Carter 1995:154-161).

In 1722 St. Denis was appointed commandant of Natchitoches. By this time, he was known to the Natchitoches, Kadohadacho, and Hasinai as a man who could be trusted as he kept promises and traded fairly. And although the Spanish still claimed the Hasinai territory, France sided with Spain in a war between Spain and England, and the relationships on the Texas-Louisiana border became a bit more friendly for a while. French trade under St. Denis with the Kadohadacho and the Hasinai was peaceful. Merchandise from France arrived in the area along an all-water route with regularity ensuring a plentiful supply of trade. St. Denis gave ample annual gifts to the Natchitoches and he traded with the Kadohadacho at the old Nassonite Post, the village of Petit Caddo further down the Red River, and at a Yatasi village near present-day Shreveport. In contrast, Spain’s goods to the Hasinai came overland inconsistently, so they too relied on French goods, which they considered more satisfactory (Carter 1995:132-161, 167).

The French ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1763 after losing to Great Britain during the French and Indian War. Trade with France then began to wane when the flow of French goods into New Orleans was curbed. In an effort to control unauthorized trade of European goods in the region, the Spanish installed licensed traders and threatened death to French traders found in Texas. In 1769, the Spanish governor of Louisiana appointed Athanase de Mézières as lieutenant governor in Natchitoches, in part, because he had good relations with the Natchitoches and Kadohadacho while previously serving as commandant of the Natchitoches Post after St. Denis’ death. Mézières made the first of several expeditions up the Red River in

1770 and set up bonded traders at Kadohadacho, Natchitoches, and Yatasi villages in an effort to halt unlicensed trade (**Figure 6**). At the time of Mézières' visit, the Kadohadacho population had shrunk as result of European diseases and continuous raids by Osage parties armed with French and British guns. The remaining Kadohadacho had merged and now occupied only Chief Tinhouen's Grand Caddo village on the south bank of the Red River and the Petit Caddo village just downstream from the Great Bend of the Red River (**see Figure 5**) (Carter 1995:180-181).



**Figure 6. Caddo villages and Mézières' travels in Texas during the eighteenth Century** (Herbert E. Bolton, Map of Texas and Adjacent Regions in the Eighteenth Century, 1915, Courtesy of the Portal to Texas History)

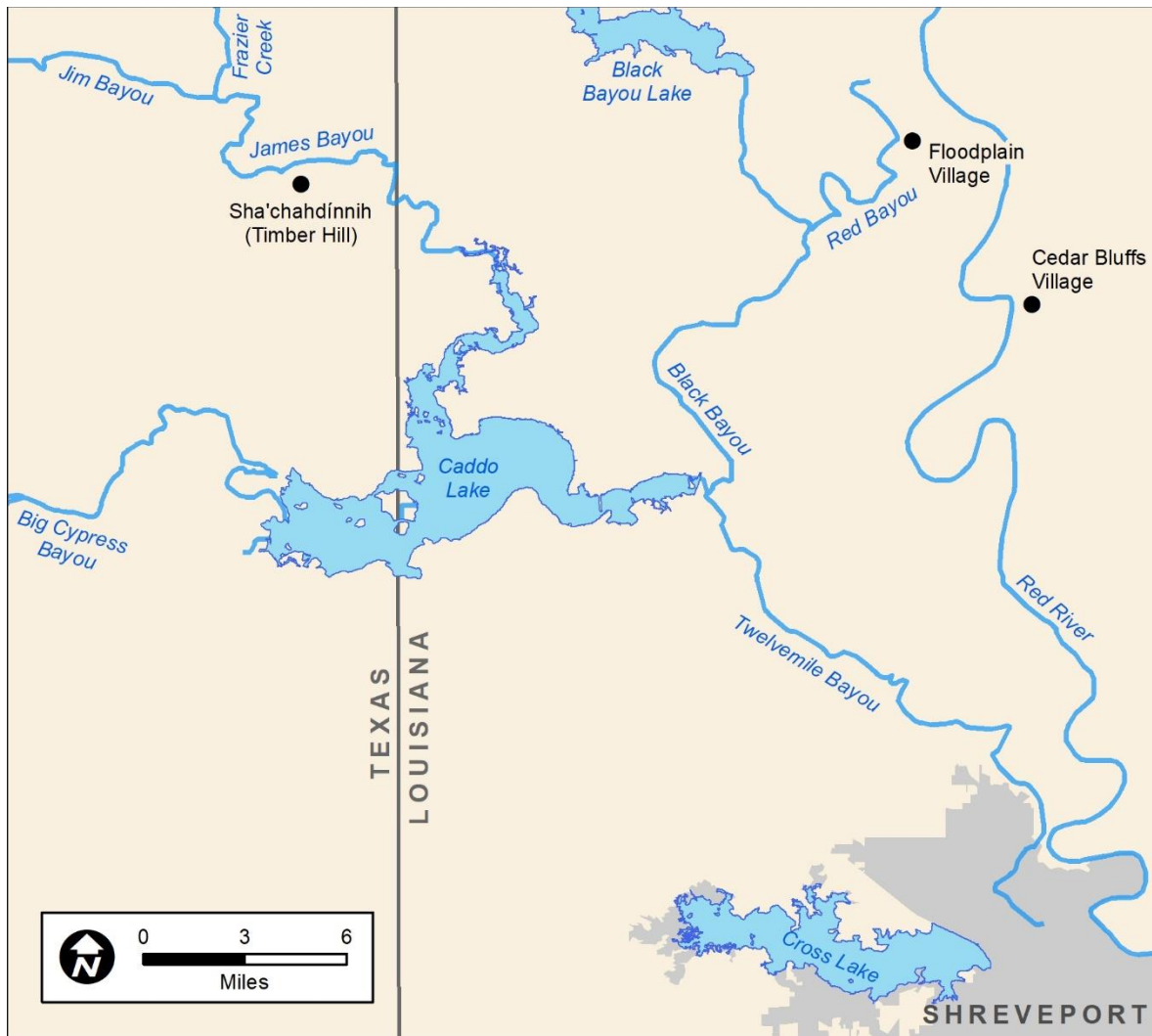
Mézières main goal was to bring peaceful relations between the Spanish government of Texas and Louisiana and the increasingly hostile tribes including the Comanche, Apache, Wichita, and Osage. In addition, he hoped to decrease intratribal warfare. He sought help from Caddo leaders such as Tinhouen, Chief Bigotes of the Hainai, and the head chief of the Yatasi, Cocay.

During 1770-1771, several councils resulted in peace treaties between the northern tribes and the Spaniards (Carter 1995:183-184, 189; 1991).

The Spanish, including missionaries, soldiers, and families were ordered to leave Hasinai territory in 1773. Spain no longer needed the Hasinai as a barrier against the French, the missions had failed to win converts, and the treaties with the northern tribes had been negotiated. Chief Bigotes argued against the withdrawal as he was concerned about the loss of Spanish trade goods as well as the loss of some security against the Apache, but he was not successful (Carter 1995:192). Mézières, who was stationed at Natchitoches, promised to continue trade with the Hasinai and Kadohadacho, as well as with the tribes that had earlier signed treaties. He urged them to move close to the Kadohadacho villages as he realized this was the only barrier between the Osage and the now European community of Natchitoches. The Natchitoches and Yatasi tribal units had disintegrated and were so scattered that by 1776, Mézières considered annual presents to the two tribes as unnecessary (Carter 1995:206).

In addition to continued raids by the Osage, the Grand Caddo village struggled with an epidemic sickness throughout 1777 and 1778 that killed 300 Kadohadacho including Chief Bigotes. It then spread south to Hasinai territory killing the Nabedeche chief. When Mézières travelled through Hasinai lands in 1779 as he relocated to San Antonio, he observed that the Hasinai village was left with just 80 men, while the Nabedeche were reduced to less than 40 men (Carter 1995:207).

With the population in decline, the lieutenant of the Spanish settlement of Nacogdoches, Antonio Gil Ybarbo, made verbal agreements of land grants to white settlers to lay claim within Hasinai territory. By this time, the Natchitoches, for the most part, were dispersed from their homeland and were living among the Hasinai and Kadohadacho. The latter remained in their ancestral homeland but continued to struggle with succumbing to disease and waiting for the Spanish to fulfill their promise of controlling the Osage (Carter 1995:212-213). Unable to defend their exposed location, the residents of the Grand Caddo village, once the center of population and power, left their home in 1788 and united with the Petit Caddo by 1790 further down the Red River (**see Figure 5**) (Carter 1995:214; Perttula 1997:170). Five years after the consolidation of the Grand Caddo and Petit Caddo, it appears that a surprise Osage attack may have initiated another move further down along the east bank of the Red River into Louisiana to the Cedar Bluffs village north of present-day Shreveport. This village was later occupied by the Coushatta. The southern area along the Red River lay within what was referred to by frontier settlers as Caddo Prairie, part of the Kadohadacho's Louisiana homelands and hunting grounds. Caddo Prairie edged the west bank of the Red River from present-day Shreveport to the Arkansas state line (40 miles). According to Indian agent John Sibley, after the 1795 relocation, the Kadohadacho abandoned the Cedar Bluffs village due to a smallpox outbreak and moved west across the river to what was known as the Floodplain village (**Figure 7**) (Carter 1995:229; Parsons et al. 2002:6).



**Figure 7: Kadohadacho villages 1795-1842** (adapted from Parsons et al. 2002)

#### Nineteenth Century

In the spring of 1800, the Kadohadacho were forced to relocate once again, this time due to natural causes. Known as the Great Raft, a logjam of a massive amount of timber and debris within the Red River resulted in a natural dam that backed up the river upstream and created a series of connected raft lakes that the Kadohadacho called Tso'to Lake. It also flooded low lying areas and backed up tributary streams. The Great Raft resulted in the gradual inundation of the Floodplain Village leading Chief Dehahuit and the Kadohadacho of about 150 warriors to move their principal village further west back into Texas to a new location called Sha'chahdinnih or Timber Hill (41MR211) which is situated along Jim's Bayou near present-day Caddo Lake in Marion County (see Figure 7) (Carter 1995:219; Parsons et al. 2002:6-7; Carter 2003). After smallpox and measles killed more than half of the population during the first few years at their new home and the village also became known as the "Place of Crying" (Carter 1995:217). Other Kadohadacho settlements were located between Tso'to Lake and the Sabine River, generally near the boundary of Spanish Texas and Louisiana (Pertulla 2020). At least four contemporaneous Kadohadacho villages may have been located south of Tso'to Lake in present day eastern Harrison County (Tiller 2007).

In 1803 the Americans extended the boundary of United States west of the Mississippi River through the Louisiana Purchase, ending Spanish rule of Louisiana. However, the boundaries between the Spanish province of Texas and the new American territory of Louisiana were loosely defined. The Americans believed that East Texas belonged to the United States and the Spanish disagreed. Sibley, the American Indian agent stationed in Natchitoches, visited the Kadohadacho and Hasinai around 1803 and estimated there were fewer than 2,000 men, women, and children representing the Caddo tribe, a loss of about 6,000 in just 200 years. However, the Americans and the Spanish recognized the strength of the Caddo in numbers and their influence with other tribes and understood their friendship was important as the border still was contested. The governor of Louisiana, William Claiborne, responded by asking for the continued friendship of the Caddo, and reminded the Spanish that the French, whose former territory they purchased, once had a garrison within Kadohadacho lands and therefore according to the Americans, the disputed area belonged to the United States (Carter 1995:224-226).

By 1806 it seemed that a war between the two nations would be fought on Kadohadacho lands. Just across the Louisiana border, Chief Dehahuit met with Americans regarding explorers Thomas Freeman and Dr. Peter Custis who were commissioned by President Thomas Jefferson to explore the Red River to its source. The Spanish were convinced that the expedition was cover for Jefferson's territorial ambitions and more than 1,000 Spanish troops intercepted the Americans near the old Nasoni village along the Red River and the Americans turned back without bloodshed. Later that year, poised on either side of the Sabine River near Natchitoches, the Americans led by General James Wilkinson and Spain by Símon de Herra, came to an agreement. Until their governments settled the boundary dispute, all the territory between the Sabine River and the Arroyo Honda would be considered neutral ground and not occupied by either country (**Figure 8**) (Carter 1995:227–228; 238). Also unresolved between the two European nations was the possession of the Red River, as was the territorial allegiance of the Kadohadacho (Perttula 1997:41).



**Figure 8: Neutral Ground between Spanish Texas and French Louisiana (1806-1821)**

After the establishment of the Neutral Ground, American trading ventures out of Natchitoches continued, including within Caddo lands. Although against the agreement, the disputed territory was first occupied by robbers and thieves, then by settlers and families who began building permanent homes, most notably near the old Nanatsoho village along the Red River, called Pecan Point (Carter 1995:241, 243). By 1818, around 3,000 American settlers from the Midwest and upper Southern states had squatted illegally in Kadohadacho lands along the south side of the Great Bend of the Red River to the Kiamichi River in present-day Oklahoma and their numbers quickly increased (Perttula 1997:41-42). By 1819, there were over 14,000 settlers living between the Arkansas River and the Great Bend, within U.S. Arkansas territory to the north and the new state of Louisiana to the east. Indian Territory to the northwest began to fill with displaced tribes from east of the Mississippi River. That same year, Spain and the United States signed a treaty establishing the Sabine River as the boundary between Texas and Louisiana, bisecting Caddo lands (Carter 1995:252-254).

#### ***Mexican Province of Coahuila y Texas (1821-1836)***

Mexico gained independence from Spain in August of 1821. A proclamation reached Chief Dehahuit in January 1822 announcing the change of government and asked the tribes to



unite with the new independent country of Mexico and promised them equal rights as citizens. Colonization in Texas followed and began in earnest in 1825 when American empresario Stephen F. Austin began populating south-central Texas with American families. Soon after, the state granted land to Haden Edwards and Frost Thorn within Hasinai territory. This influx of white settlers would later result in the Caddo and other tribes having limited movement within their traditional lands and later their new lands (Carter 1995:258-259; Smith 1995:112). By 1828, settlement by outsiders was not just limited to Anglos, displaced Native American groups including the Choctaw, Coushatta, Cherokee, Quapaw, Shawnee, Delaware, and Kickapoo had established villages in and around Hasinai territory (Carter 1995:258-260).

To the north, the Great Raft protected the Kadohadacho for some time by prohibiting boat movement along this portion of the Red River and limiting white settlers from moving into the area. However, in 1833 Henry Shreve removed the majority of the raft with a battering-ram steam ship and cleared the Red River for traffic and settlement, but it also resulted in a drop in river levels that prevented shipping of trade goods upriver from New Orleans. Drought also plagued the Kadohadacho as did overhunting in their Louisiana lands due to the addition of small bands of displaced tribes they allowed to live in Kadohadacho territory. This decline was not witnessed by Kadohadacho Chief Dehahuit as the great leader died in 1833. Little is known about his passing, but he appears to have been buried on Stormy Point overlooking Tso'to Lake just east of the Texas-Louisiana border (Carter 1995:264-265).

On the heels of drought and loss of subsistence, the Kadohadacho would face their greatest loss yet in 1835. Following the removal of the raft, the Americans in Louisiana knew that the new access to fertile lands would attract planters, merchants, and settlers to the area and they used passage of the 1830 Indian Removal Act and coercion to convince the Kadohadacho to cede their lands to the U.S. government so they could be legally purchased by white farmers and businessmen. The Kadohadacho were also influenced to give up their Louisiana homelands and join their Hasinai kin by promises of peace and land that the Mexican government authorized to give the Cherokee in Texas. On July 1, 1835, 489 Kadohadacho (and perhaps remnants of the Natchitoches and Yatasi) gathered at the Caddo Agency south of Shreveport and 25 tribal members, including chiefs Tarshar and Tsauninot, reluctantly signed with an "X," the Caddo Indian Treaty of Cession. It ceded their homelands within the limits of the United States, almost 1 million acres of land in the area from Texarkana south to DeSoto Parish, Louisiana, for just \$80,000 including goods over 5 years. This included the area of Caddo Prairie. In exchange for the meager sum of which they never received the total, the Kadohadacho were to move at their own expense out of the boundaries of the United States within one year (Carter 1995:266-274; Perttula 1997:42; Smith 1995:119-122).

By 1835 only three Caddo tribes remained: the Kadohadacho, the Hasinai, and the Nadaco (Anadarko). The majority of the Kadohadacho moved westward initially to the head of Lake Tso'to (Caddo Lake) where they believed they were on the Mexican side of the unsurveyed boundary line. The three remaining Hasinai tribes: the Hainai (Ioni), Nabedeche, and Nacogdoches and possibly a few Ais had fallen to a population of only 225 and were gathered at the Hainai village on the Angelina River. The combined group was later referred to as the Hainai. The Nadaco (Anadarko) were still located on the headwaters of the Sabine River and were able to maintain their population of about 250 due to their location far from white settlement (Smith 1995:126).

**Republic of Texas (1836-1845)**

In the fall of 1835, the Anglo Americans in Texas rebelled against the Mexican government and Sam Houston became the general of a provisional Texas government during the impending Texas Revolution. Houston helped to negotiate a declaration that same year with several East Texas tribal representatives including the Hasinai and the Nadaco (Anadarko) in an effort to ensure their neutrality during the Texas Revolution. The treaty declared peace between the parties, promised to respect the land rights of the Indians within East Texas, and established clear boundaries with the tribes - the same rights the tribes had under the Spanish and Mexican governments. The land between the Angelina, Neches, and Sabine rivers, and the Old San Antonio Road (part of the Camino Real de los Tejas) was to be reserved for Indian occupation and use; however, the area was much smaller than the amount of land that the Indian tribes in East Texas had originally occupied. In accordance with the treaty, the Indians could live under their own laws, trade with the Texans, and expect justice from the new government. However, when delegates met at the Texas Congress Convention on March 2, 1836, they declared their independence from Mexico then refused to discuss, much less ratify, the treaty. This failure was viewed by the Tribes as a betrayal and led to a threat of war between Texas and the East Texas tribes (Smith 1995:126-127; Texas State Library and Archives Commission 2019; Winfrey and Day, ed 1966[1]:14).

The broken treaty left some tribes supporting Mexican overtures and promises of land in exchange for attacking the Texans. This heightened fears and increased paranoia of the Texans that all Indians in East Texas were dangerous and involved in a supposed uprising. By this time the Anglo American population in Texas had reached 20,000. Settlements in East Texas included Nacogdoches (the seat of government), San Augustine, and Johnsbury near Pecan Point. In addition, communities of individuals and families had set up homesteads along the Neches and Angelina rivers in Hasinai territory and complained that their lands were almost "encircled by Indians". At the same time that the Texas provisional government was organized, a division of the Mexican army marched toward Nacogdoches after the March 6, 1836 fall of the Alamo. Texans were convinced that the Indians including the Caddo and Cherokee were planning to join the attack. However, the rumored combined Mexican and Indian forces never materialized, and Texas Independence was won on April 21, 1836 at the Battle of San Jacinto (Carter 1995:275-277; Smith 1995:131).

According to the 1835 treaty, the deadline for the Kadohadacho to leave Louisiana was July 1836 and those that left did so in various groups following different paths. A group of at least 15 families left for Mexico for several years then returned to Texas to live along the Brazos River at Big Arbor near Waco and the Council Grounds. Another group, that became known as the Whitebead Caddo, travelled north and settled into Indian Territory near the Choctaw around 1840. A few Kadohadacho warriors entered Texas and joined other Indians that were hostile toward the settlers. Some Kadohadacho remained in Louisiana for several years, but after failed protection by the United States they also left for Indian Territory. The largest group of Kadohadacho led by Chief Tarshar relocated to the western edge of Hasinai hunting territory along the forks the Trinity River and some travelled back and forth to receive their annuities. The payments were always lacking due to greedy agents who stole large portions of what was rightfully owed to the Tribes. The Kadohadacho may have believed that Sha'chahdinnih was

within Louisiana and thus was a part of their ceded homelands, and people gradually began to leave the village after the treaty. By 1842, it seems to have been completely abandoned (Carter 1995:277-280; Carter 2003; Webb et al. 1990). By the time Tarshar had led his people into Texas, the Hainai and Nadaco were still within Hasinai territory. However, due to encroachment from white settlement that often turned violent, they too fled their homelands and moved northwest to the Three Forks of the Trinity River near some of the relocated Kadohadacho groups (**Figure 9**) (Carter 2003).

Even after Texas Independence was won in April 1836, the Texans were still suspicious of an Indian uprising engineered by Mexico. The Kadohadacho specifically induced fear because of their influence over other tribes and based on claims that large groups had entered Texas well-armed (from the recent payment of their annuity) with intent to lead massive assaults against the Texans. Accusations of Kadohadacho instigating or joining in on frontier attacks increased as did the Texans declarations for vigilance to restrain and retaliate against them. There was merit in some claims, though most reports appear to have been rooted in fearmongering and/or had little justification. In January of 1837 Texas Rangers led by Captain George Erath ambushed more than 100 Kadohadacho on Elm Creek, west of the Brazos River in Milam County. The Rangers lost the battle but justified the killing of 10 warriors in response to claims of Indian ambushes and because women and children who lived eight miles away “would have been killed next, perhaps, if we had not attacked the Indians.” The accusations against the Kadohadacho continued to increase as did a series of punitive raids by the Texans (Carter 1995:283-284).

Mirabeau B. Lamar succeeded Sam Houston as president of the Republic of Texas in late 1838 and, as his political rival, Lamar adopted a program that included exterminating the hostile tribes and removing friendly tribes or moving them to reservations within Texas or to Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Via use of Texas troops and the murder of their chief Duwali, Lamar succeeded in removing the Cherokee from northeast Texas in 1839 and into Indian Territory, and forced several other tribes including the Delaware, Choctaw, and Shawnee to the upper Brazos River where they built a small village, beyond the line of Texas settlements. There were a few isolated families of Indians, but, by the 1840s, most of the immigrant Indian tribes had been removed from Texas (La Vere 1998:175).

Texas Rangers also tried to keep the remaining Kadohadacho led by Tsauninot in Louisiana from crossing the border into Texas as they viewed them as a threat. In 1838, General Thomas Rusk led 70 men into the United States and demanded that the Kadohadacho give up their small arsenal and remain there until the “war” with the Kadohadacho and other Indians on the Texas frontier ended. After his time in Louisiana, Rusk joined a Texas Ranger’s campaign against the Caddo (Kadohadacho, Nadaco, and Hainai) and other Indian villages along the Trinity River. In January 1839, Rusk and his men burned Caddo villages in the Cross Timbers just west of the West Fork of the Trinity River. The attacks on Indian villages by the Texas Rangers persisted and in May of 1841 General Edward Tarrant organized a company of volunteers in response to claims of increased Indian raids on settlers who continued to move into Indian territory. Tarrant and his men attacked a series of Indian villages (including Caddo) along the banks of Village Creek, a tributary to the Trinity River now largely inundated by Lake Arlington. The Battle of Village Creek ultimately led to deaths and wounding on both sides and

the withdrawal of Tarrant’s men who were outnumbered. However, it also compromised the village’s semi-secured position. Tarrant returned several months later with a larger company and found the villages burned and deserted (Carter 1995:306; Carter 2003).



**Figure 9: Kadodhadacho, Hainai, and Nadaco Village Locations 1835-1854** (adapted from Smith 1995)

Prior to becoming president of the Republic of Texas, Sam Houston’s Indian policy included limiting trade to established posts, keeping the tribes out of the settler’s towns, preventing intertribal warfare, appointing Indian agents, and punishing both Indians and settlers when crimes were committed against each other. In 1841, Sam Houston regained the Presidency on the heels of Lamar’s policy of extermination and removal of tribes, especially in East Texas where lands were now open for white settlement. For the remaining Indians in Texas, Houston began to pick up where he had left off - building frontier posts and trading houses, encouraging councils to result in peace treaties, and appointing agents - all in an effort to

reduce raids and the cost of Indian affairs in Texas. However, despite Houston's policies and intentions, the majority of the white population still distrusted all Indians. (Dickerson 2021).

In August of 1842 the Caddo met with Texas commissioners and entered into an agreement that resulted in a three-year period of close relations between the tribe and the Republic of Texas. The Caddo agreed to help foster peace between the government and the more hostile tribes. A council was held in March of 1843 at Tehuacana Creek near the Brazos River, seven miles south of present-day Waco. The council grounds were long established, having hosted intratribal councils under a big arbor long before the arrival of Europeans. In addition to the Texas commissioners, nine tribes were represented at the council: the Kadohadacho, Hainai, Nadaco, Kichai, Waco, Delaware, Shawnee, Tawakoni, and Wichita. Kadohadacho and Hainai chiefs Bintah (son of Tarshar), Chowa, and Had-de-bah as well as Iesh or José Maria, who had become the principal Caddo chief, were the Caddo signatories. The agreement offered the allowance of trade privileges at Torrey's Trading House, four miles below the council grounds and a promise that the Indians could plant corn north of the trading house without harm from the Texans (Carter 1995:301-304; Carter 2003).

The Caddo and other peace seeking tribes knew that they would continue to be blamed for the hostile acts of other tribes and the war on the Indians would not end until tribes such as the Comanche, Waco, and Tawakoni and agreed to make peace. A grand council to conclude a "Treaty of Peace and Friendship" was agreed upon by President Houston and the peace seeking tribes to meet with the Comanches in August of 1843 at Bird's Fort located near the site of the Battle of Village Creek. Houston was not present as promised when the Treaty was signed on September 29, 1843 as he waited over a month for the Comanche to arrive, which they did not. In addition to the Caddo, the Kichai, Waco, Delaware, Tawakoni, Chickasaw, Biloxi, and Cherokee signed the treaty. The signatories for the Caddo were Kadohadacho chiefs Red Bear, Bintah, and Ha-de-bah; Nadaco chief Iesh, and Hainai chief Towaash. The treaty incorporated the principals of Houston's peace policy including demarcating a geographical line separating the settlers from the Indians which neither should cross without authorization. The "Treaty of Peace and Friendship" was a rarity as it was one of the few treaties ratified by the Republic of Texas Senate; however, the Texans purposely did not include within the treaty the recognition of the Indians rights to possess Texas land (Carter 1995:301-304; Winfrey and Day, ed 1966[1]:241-246).

Although the Waco and the Tawakoni signed the treaty, errant bands of both tribes continued raiding and stealing horses. At the next grand council in May 1844, they were thoroughly rebuked by Caddo chiefs Red Bear and Ha-de-bah who offered to join with Chief Iesh's village to punish the Waco in an effort to continue peaceful relations with the settlers. They were persuaded to wait until the next council scheduled in the fall. In October 1844 President Houston met with representatives of the Comanche, Kichai, Waco, Tawakoni, Lipan, Cherokee, Delaware, Shawnee, Nadaco, Hainai, and Kadohadacho and a treaty much like that at Bird's Fort was concluded. Presents were distributed to all except the Waco who were told they would receive them when the stolen horses were brought back (Carter 1995:312-313).

Despite the treaty, rumors of the Texan's deceit against the Indians had spread through the Brazos River villages. Honoring his treaty commitment, and with the support of Red Bear and

Bintah, Nadaco chief Iesh met with the Indian agents who lived at the nearby Torrey's Trading House in January 1845. Perceiving a danger in the rising unrest, Iesh reported the "bad talk" that flowed through the villages claiming that the Indian agents planned to call the Indian women and children to the council so that the white settlers and troops from the United States could kill them. He also admitted his position of being in "between two fires" with the Waco and Texans. He feared that if the Caddo did not join the Texans in attacking the Waco, they "would think we were friends to the Waco and kill us" while the Waco would continue to steal Caddo horses for living too close to and associating with the Texans (Carter 1995:313-314). One last council under the Republic of Texas was held in September 1845 and was attended by the Comanche, Delaware, Cherokee, Lipan Apache, and the Caddo. The latter were represented by chiefs Iesh, Bintah, and Towaash who spoke of continuing along the White Path of peace. The council meeting did not result in a signed treaty between the Republic of Texas and the tribes because it was assumed the federal government would soon take over all treaty negotiations with the Indians (Winfrey and Day, ed 1966[2]:334-342).

### ***State of Texas (1845-1860)***

In December of 1845, the United States annexed Texas and the new state formally joined the Union in February of 1846. At this time, peaceful relations between the Texas tribes and the Texans were still tenuous despite the years of previous treaties. The United States quickly moved to assume its duty of supervising the tribes in the new state and commissioned two agents to negotiate with the tribes at a council at Tehuacana Creek. The May 1846 council was intended as a diplomatic initiative between the federal government and the remaining Indians in Texas. The resulting treaty was approved by the United States Senate in February 1847 and was known as the "Treaty with the Comanche and Other Tribes." In addition to the Comanche, the Lipan, Kichai, Tawakoni, Wichita, Waco, and Caddo were signatories. Iesh, Bintah, and Towaash represented the Caddo. Similar to previous agreements, the treaty greatly favored the United States and the Texans. Article One stated that the tribes were under the protection of the United States and would no longer rely on Texas. Article Two dictated that the federal government would solely deal economically and diplomatically with the Texas Indians. The treaty also permitted the United States to use force against the tribes and included a list of punishments for crimes. Lastly the treaty allowed the President to "use his exertions, in such a manner as he may think proper, to preserve friendly relations between the different tribes or nations parties to this treaty and all other tribes of Indians under his jurisdiction" (Carter 1995:317, Winfrey and Day, ed 1966[3]:43-50).

Although the federal government was to assume responsibility for the remaining Texas tribes, Texas' unique agreement upon admittance to the Union hindered their efforts. Unlike other states, Texas reserved rights to its public lands and it charged the federal government with duty to defend the state's frontiers. Thus, the United States may have had political control of the Texas tribes, but the State of Texas controlled the land they lived on. Texas would be for the Texas settlers and the United States would have to relocate the Indians as quick as the Texans were ready to move onto Indian-occupied lands (Carter 1995:315).

Following the 1846 treaty, the United States appointed Major Robert Neighbors as special agent to the Indians of Texas. Neighbors accompanied a delegation of Texas Indian leaders to Washington D.C. in an effort to impress them with the living conditions of the United States

and the power of its government. Ilesh later remarked that he had seen “what the white people were and knew it was folly to fight them.” He continued to maintain a policy of peace and cooperation because he realized that the Caddo had no alternative. Ilesh returned to his village situated along the Brazos River about 16 miles west of present-day Hillsboro. Another Nadaco-Hainai village was located nearby to the north below Kimball’s Bend of the Brazos River with a third Nadaco village to the south on Big Creek east of Marlin. Ilesh had formed friendships with some of what he considered good Texans along the Brazos River. This included the Barkley family whose son Ilesh was entrusted with after the boy fell ill (Carter 1995:316-318; Smith 1995:154).

Though some of the white settlers were friendly towards the Caddo, a good amount were openly hostile, including those with authority, leading the Caddo and other Indians to continuously relocate. After one settler accused Ilesh’s people of stealing livestock, he threatened the chief with a gun then fled to the Barkley’s for refuge after Ilesh chased the man. Barkley recommended that Ilesh move his people after the settlers raised a force to kill Ilesh’s entire band. Reluctantly Ilesh relocated his village to the east to a place on the Navasota River in Limestone County. Violence against the Caddo escalated in 1848 when Texas Rangers killed the nephew of Kadohadacho chief Ha-de-bah, who they were acquainted with, seemingly in retaliation for the Wichita killing of white surveyors. Ilesh had a difficult time controlling the Caddo’s justified anger, but he convinced them to abide by the treaty and let Agent Neighbors seek justice. The agent reached an agreement with the chiefs and the government paid the Caddo \$500. Neighbors also urged another relocation and Ilesh moved his people farther northwest near the well-known landmark of Comanche Peak in present-day Hood County. Just two years later in 1850, the Nadaco, Kadohadacho, and Hainai had relocated further north along the Brazos River once again and were living in nearby but separate villages in Palo Pinto County with Ilesh as their head chief (Carter 1995:318).

American immigration into Texas had lulled between 1846 and 1848. However, a surge of cheap land in the state beginning in 1849 resulted in more than 5,000 Texas-bound Americans crossing the Red River in northeast Texas in the month of November alone. The spread of new settlers made the invisible line separating the Indian villages from the white settlers useless. It seemed that the Indians were forbidden, threatened with death, to cross the ever northward moving line, while the settlers were all but encouraged to survey and claim the Indian occupied lands (Carter 1995:318).

An 1849 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* demonstrated just how much the Caddo tribes had suffered. It stated that the Caddo numbered only 1,200 people and this number may have also included other Indians in addition to Kadohadacho, Hainai, and Nadaco. In 1851 when Jesse Stemm replaced Major Neighbors as Indian agent, he visited Ilesh, Towaash, and the principal men of Caddo villages along the Brazos River and remarked that they were “raising Indian corn, beans, pumpkins” and “their lodges are made of a frame or network of sticks, thatched with grass, and are large, warm, and comfortable.” Stemm also enumerated the villages, asking the chiefs for a count. The final count was 476 people: 161 Kadohadacho, 202 Nadaco, and 113 Hainai. In addition, he was told that 80 warriors had left two years prior for the Wichita Mountains and another 300 Caddo were living near the site of a new fort in Indian Territory. Stemm’s report also included that the Caddo desired a permanent boundary

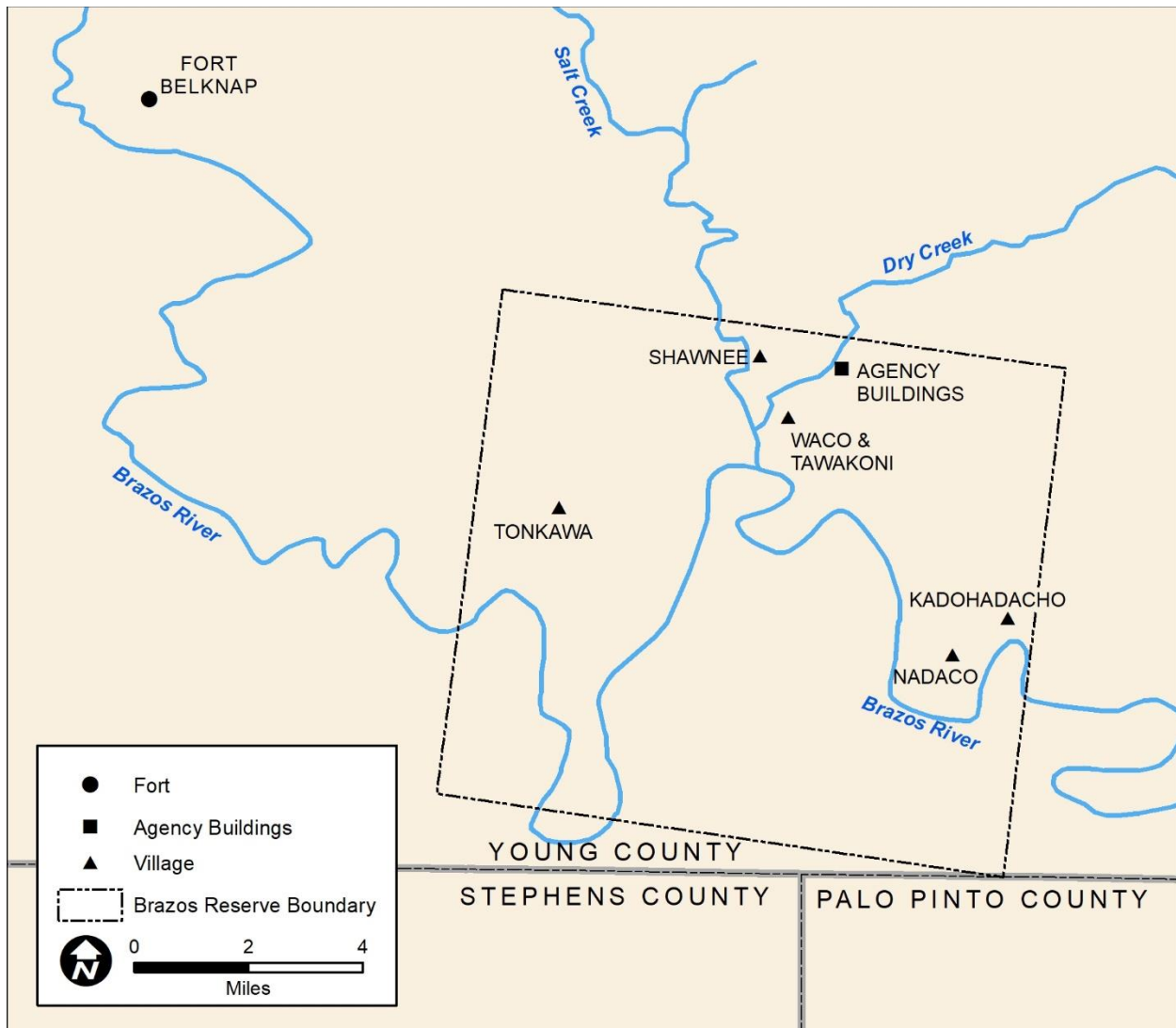
so they “could be secure from encroachments of the white settlements.” Only then could they truly establish their villages and crops without the continual fear of being “forced to abandon their homes, the fruits of their labor, and the graves of their kindred.” The report also recommended agricultural aid to the Caddo in the form of livestock to help offset the scarceness of game, as well as farming equipment to work the drier soils (Carter 1995:319-321; Smith 1995:162-163).

Predictably, despite Stemm’s report, the federal government took no action to help the Caddo and the other agricultural tribes along the Brazos River. Matters were actually made worse in the summer of 1851 with the establishment of Fort Belknap in present-day Young County along the Clear Fork of the Brazos River. The new post was built above Caddo and Wichita villages near the junction of the Clear and Salt Forks of the Brazos River and practically served as an invitation to the white settlers to come beyond the Indian villages. When the Hainai and the Nadaco returned to their villages following the winter hunt in early 1852, they found the area surveyed and surrounded by white settlers. Forced to yield their established villages and homes without compensation, they moved again further down the Brazos River to unoccupied land near Comanche Peak. The land was of lesser quality, yielding a small corn crop and the environmental resources did not allow them to construct adequate shelter. Stemm reported that the two tribes “experienced an unusual amount of sickness and mortality.” The Kadohadacho relocated their village upstream close to the new Fort Belknap. Realizing the desperation of their situation, United States army Major Henry Sibley is said to have purchased the land on which they resided and gave the Kadohadacho written permission to live on the property for five years (Carter 1995:321; Smith 1995:163-164).

#### Brazos Reservation (1854-1859)

Reports of Indian depredations from the white settlers, many of whom crossed the invisible line separating the Indian villages from Texas settlement, continued to increase throughout 1853. Governor Peter Bell (former commander of the Texas Rangers) recommended that the United States be given the authority to settle the remaining Texas Indians on a reservation within the state. The Texas legislature reacted and passed an act in February 1854 to select and survey 12 leagues of vacant lands “for the use and benefit of the several tribes of Indians residing within the limits of Texas.” It was to be placed no further than 20 miles from a line of military posts intended to separate the Indian range from the settlers. Captain Randolph B. Marcy and Agent Neighbors reported the results of the Brazos Reservation survey in September 1854. The reservation was located 12 miles south of Fort Belknap near present-day Graham in Young County and contained 26 miles of river frontage and a few springs (**Figure 10**). The first reservation, the lower reserve, encompassed eight leagues (37,152 acres) on the main fork of the Brazos River a few miles below Fort Belknap and was established for the Hainai, Kadohadacho, Nadaco, Waco, Tonkawa, Tawakoni, and several other eastern and central Texas tribes. The upper reserve was set aside for the Penateka band of Comanche on four leagues (18,576 acres) approximately 40 miles southwest of Fort Belknap on the Clear Fork of the Brazos River in present-day Shackelford and Throckmorton counties. The remaining four leagues were intended for bands of the Mescalero and Lipan Apache, but these groups remained far to the west and probably never became aware of the land claim (Carter 1995:321-; Smith 1995:164-165; Winfrey and Day 1995[3]:186-190).





**Figure 10: Location of Caddo and other villages within the Brazos Reservation (1855-1859)**

Captain Marcy met with the chiefs of several tribes at Fort Belknap concerning their settlement on the reservation. Iesh represented the Nadaco, and Hainai and Tinah appeared for the Kadohadacho. Iesh was in his 60's and had attended many councils with the white man only to be disappointed. He expressed his lack of faith in this council regarding the promise of the reserve and that they were caught between two evils: the whites that "allow us to eat what we raise" and the Comanche who "take everything." Iesh further stated that they would prefer to take their chances on the Brazos." The Kadohadacho, Hainai, Nadaco and other Indians hoped that they could finally settle on permanent land and end the years of forced wandering and relocation (Carter 1995:322).

The reservation was open for settlement in 1855. The Kadohadacho settled near the east line of the reserve in seven log homes while the Nadaco and Hainai settled together in a village of ten log homes about 1.5 miles to the west and were from then on counted as one. The Caddo

and other tribes each had their own villages within the reserve and those that were not familiar were instructed in agriculture as farming was practically enforced. They also hunted the surrounding area to supplement their diet and maintain some of their traditional lifeways. By 1857, after preparing fields that were dry from months of West Texas drought, 205 Nadaco and 188 Kadohadacho finally had successful gardens full of vegetables and melons and 130 acres and 115 acres of corn respectively. Both tribes also successfully raised livestock including and dairy cows. Agency buildings - a kitchen, storeroom, blacksmith shop, three houses for the agent and employees, and later a schoolhouse - were located near the north central boundary of the lower reserve (Carter 1995:324).

Over the next few years outside of the reservation, the landscape had changed. The wide stretch of mesquite-covered undeveloped land that lay between the settlers and the relocated tribes now included new settlers in and around Fort Belknap and Young County. Complaints from the settlers located immediately south of the reservation claimed repeated attacks by hostile Indians and accused the federal government of providing too little protection. On the other hand, the Northern Comanche viewed the reservation Indians as enemies and often raided the reserve while continuing to attack the Texans. The settlers still blamed the reservation Indians despite verification from Neighbors that the Northern Comanche were the responsible party. This was also despite the Caddo's many demonstrations of friendship assisting the Texas Rangers and the U.S. Calvary in pursuing the Comanche in 1858 (Carter 1995:326-327; Smith 1995:167).

The situation continued to deteriorate despite confirmation that further attacks were committed by off-reservation Comanche, Kiowa, and Kickapoo, and complaints from the Texans regarding all Indians in Texas and against Agent Neighbors swelled. Small groups of self-appointed "protectors," many of dubious character, concluded that all their troubles were caused by the reservation Indians. One of the leading troublemakers was John R. Baylor, a dismissed Indian agent, who wrote inflammatory remarks in public letters and held mass meetings of settlers that provoked even more prejudices against the reservation Indians. The antagonism verged on warfare such that Governor H.R. Runnels and General Houston appealed to the federal government to move the Brazos Reservation out of the state (Carter 1995:326; Crouch 2020).

However, before a suitable location would be secured in Indian Territory, two incidents brought the situation to climax. In December 1858 Indian agents gave Tom, a Choctaw with a Nadaco wife, permission to take his family and a few other Kadohadacho and Nadaco just south of the reservation in several camps for hunting above Golconda (present-day Palo Pinto in Palo Pinto, County). While they were sleeping, white men from Erath County ambushed the camps killing Choctaw Tom's wife and six other adults, and severely injuring many others, including children. Iesh's nephew, Little John was one of the casualties. Though there were cries for immediate vengeance against the killers, who made no secret of their identities, Iesh once again had to convince his people to not seek revenge, to hold back, and let the agents investigate. As expected, justice for the Caddo was not served as no indictments were made against the white murderers when a grand jury was held in Waco, and the Brazos Reservation was labeled a nuisance. To add to the insult, the jury found Iesh guilty of stealing a mule and

the men that participated in the massacre justified their actions in a long “Open Letter to the People of Texas” (Carter 1995:330-331, 336-337; Crouch 2020).

In early 1859, the Caddo were further disheartened when Comanches stole the last 80 head of their cattle. In addition, horses were taken from the Caddo as well as some settlers were kidnapped. This incident was used as an excuse to unjustly spark an attack on the reservation. In May of 1859, Baylor led a force of 250 onto the lower Brazos Reservation. They drew their mounts in a single line within 600 yards of the agency buildings to announce to the federal troops protecting the reservation that he had come to fight Indians and not the whites but would if they fought back. The Indians and U.S. soldiers prepared for action while Baylor’s men killed an elder Indian man and woman upon their retreat. Once Baylor’s men were off the reservation and hiding at a nearby ranch the federal troops did not intervene as they had no jurisdiction. However, in the ensuing battle between Indian warriors from the reservation and Baylor’s men, one Caddo was lost while five of Baylor’s men were killed. Baylor’s men then dispersed and vowed to return in six days declaring his determination to destroy the Indians (Carter 2003; Crouch 2020).

#### Removal to Indian Territory (1859)

Major Neighbors realized the severity of the issue following Baylor’s attack immediately pushed for removal of the Brazos Reservation Indians to across the Red River into Indian Territory. Writing to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in May 1859, he stated that the reservations were not maintainable in Texas where the “lawless bands of white barbarians who now infest that portion of our state and the General Government at defiance.” In addition, conditions on the crowded defense enclosure within the reservation depreciated as Neighbors received little aid from the federal government and an epidemic was feared with several Indian deaths occurring each day (Carter 1995:341; Newlin 1981:80).

The removal of the Kadohadacho, Nadaco, Hainai, and associated bands on the Brazos Reservation to Indian Territory began on August 1, 1859. Temperatures averaged 106 degrees on the long trail, which were brutal especially for the elderly and those still weak from the sickness that ravaged the reservation. The refugees were forced to abandon their homes, gardens, livestock, and crops they were traveling with only what they could carry. In addition, despite being escorted by federal calvary, infantry, and wagons carrying military provisions for five months, the Caddo feared the lurking Texas Rangers and Baylor’s men who were ever-present as the Tribes left the reservation. They covered 10 miles on the first day and the same the next day, stopping at the dry Conin Wood Spring before resting at the west fork of the Trinity River for drinking water. Then they traveled onto Little Wichita River during the next two days. The Indians and their escort crossed the Red River into Indian Territory on August 8<sup>th</sup> with Major Neighbors describing the journey as “our Exodus out of Texas” (Carter 1995:344-346).

The trail from the Brazos Reservation brought the 462 Kadohadacho, Nadaco, and Hainai to the Leased District of Indian Territory, so named as the Choctaw-Chickasaw Nations leased that part of their assigned lands to the United States for the purpose of providing a home for the Wichita and “such other tribes of Indians as the Government may desire to locate therein.” Not counted in the total were the Caddo that fled the Brazos Reservation after the 1857

attacks by the Texas settlers. A month before their departure from Texas, Major Neighbors brought tribal leaders from the Brazos Reservation to Fort Arbuckle in Indian Territory for a council with the Superintendent of Indian Affairs Elias Rector, to choose a place for resettlement. The council also included bands of Delaware, the Wichita, and the Whitebead Caddo who had relocated to Indian Territory in 1840 and eventually settled 18 miles south of Fort Arbuckle. Rector and Neighbors expressed their regret for the hurried removal from Texas, promised payment for losses incurred (that never materialized), and pledged that they and their children would live in a country “as long as the waters should run, protected from all harm from the United States” Carter 1995:342-343; Carter 2003).

Rector recommended a site on the south side of the Washita River for the “Texas Indians” (Kadohadacho, Nadaco, Hainai, and Delaware) and the Wichita for the “Wichita Agency,” and the tribes accepted what was called the Fort Arbuckle Agreement on July 1, 1859. However, it would be many years until a permanent boundary of the land assigned to the Caddo, Wichita, and other affiliated tribes would be officially defined. After many years of displacement, the Kadohadacho, Nadaco, and Hainai came together to live permanently north of the Washita River in Indian Territory. They left their homes and the graves of their ancestors in their ancestral homelands of the Red River valley and in the prairies and rivers of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas but each brought their culture and traditions to survive as the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma (Carter 1995:349; Carter 2003).

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