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The Caddo Chiefdoms: Caddo Economics and Politics, 700-1835. By David LaVere.

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claims that “traditional” is a misnomer and that “Native Americans who are interested in their traditional religions do not practice anything like their traditional religion, and Black Elk is the same” (p. 300). If Catholic Mass is not delivered in Latin, must we then conclude that there are no “authentic” Catholics?

In contrast to Enochs, Alexandra Witkin-New Holy emphasizes the importance of kinship, place, and tradition. In “Spiritual Significance of *Paha Sapa*,” she discusses *cangleska wakan* (the sacred hoop) and *hocoka* (the center), writing that “the Lakota do not conceptualize the universe in terms of ‘three planes’ [sky, earth, and underworld] but as ‘integrated’” (p. 196). She also states, following Black Elk’s metaphor, that in order for the “stick to flower . . . [e]ach Lakota must take personal responsibility for the nation, each Lakota must do what is necessary to nurture the flowering of the stick” (p. 204). The Western categories of culture and religion fail to capture the Lakota way, which—as many writers in the anthology discuss—is grounded in unity, relatedness, and responsibility. Francis Kaye extends this responsibility to the *wasicu* reader, who in her opinion necessarily engages in thievery through the appropriation of *Black Elk Speaks* as a tool for spiritual growth or for the expurgation of *wasicu* guilt. She also considers all American non-Indians thieves. Kaye conflates being responsible for the past with being responsible to the past. All Americans (who are the direct beneficiaries of the cultural genocide, broken treaties, and unjust treatment of the Indian nations) are obviously not responsible for those crimes, yet we are responsible to the Indian nations and for the state of our contemporary society. However, Kaye should be commended for her belief that anyone “who seeks to benefit from Black Elk’s spirituality willingly takes on . . . a similar obligation . . . to give something back to the Lakota community or at least to one’s own local community or perhaps to the helpless ones in whatever may be one’s own community” (p. 166).

*The Black Elk Reader* is a collection of thoughtful and challenging essays. Equipped with a fundamental understanding of Lakota history and culture and a critical study of *The Sixth Grandfather*, the prudent reader will greatly benefit from this volume. Some supplementary works that offer historical and contemporary contexts to Lakota history and culture are *Oglala Religion* (W. Powers, 1975); *Sioux Indian Religion* (edited by DeMallie and Parks, 1987); *Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing* (Young Bear and Theisz, 1994); and *Reading and Writing the Lakota Language* (White Hat, 1999).

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**The Caddo Chiefdoms: Caddo Economics and Politics, 700–1835.** By David LaVere. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. 198 pages. \$50.00 cloth.

Historians have labored for many years under the misconception that the scholarly writing of history should be solemn, objective, and somewhat dull. Anything lively smacked of the popular and no reader of such history, academic or otherwise, could take it seriously. Happily, David LaVere has

ignored such injunctions and has proven that history books can, indeed, be lively and interesting. They may well serve their readers better by their spirited enthusiasm than histories that put their readers to sleep. *The Caddo Chiefdoms: Caddo Economics and Politics, 700–1835* entertains as it informs. Graceful writing enlivens solid and painstaking research.

LaVere has structured his book in five chapters plus an introduction and a conclusion. The chapter titles summarize the story. “The Ancient Chiefdoms” depicts the ways in which Caddos carried the Mississippian culture of mound-building, agriculture, and important religious rituals and ceremonies, which insured prosperity, authority, and leadership. This was a time of greatness which is still remembered and revered by Caddos today. The people, according to tales told by grandmothers, lived within the earth—mother—in a place of darkness—but had journeyed, at their leader’s urging, on a path upward, moving out of the earth and into the light. LaVere has begun his telling of the Caddo story at its proper beginning—the moment when the people came together to begin their life on earth.

Caddos believe they emerged from the earth before time began. LaVere dates the emergence of Caddo culture around 700. Caddos, much less interested in date than place, agree with LaVere that Caddo ancestors lived in what has become western Arkansas and Louisiana, southeastern Oklahoma, and Texas. In this hospitable land Caddos flourished, eventually developing what LaVere terms a “theocratic chiefdom, essentially a political and social system based on rank and status in which the chief possessed both political and religious authority” (p. 11).

The significance of Caddo economic systems forms the content of the next chapter entitled, “The Horse, Gun, and Deerskin Trades.” Ancient Caddo chiefdoms had already developed trade networks with neighboring Indian allies and even with those farther afield long before Europeans enlarged Caddo trade possibilities. Europeans brought with them new items which Caddos and other Indians learned to treasure. Placed at the convergence of water and land trade routes, the Caddo held enhanced influence among Indians, and their strategic placement between the French and Spanish, the two European nations competing for dominance in the southern region of North America, allowed them substantial affluence. Caddos brought traders from both nations into their network, primarily through creating kinship through reciprocal gift-giving. Caddo strategy worked well with French traders, many of whom settled in Caddo villages, married Caddo women, and helped produce bicultural children. As they grew older, these children became master diplomats, serving both Indians and Europeans as they struggled to live together.

Two of the major gifts introduced into Indian trade networks—horses and firearms—also brought about major changes in their way of living. Firearms allowed hunters to bring more animal skins into trade and gave them superiority in skirmishes. Caddos ranged farther and farther in their hunt for more animal skins for trade, taking them more and more frequently into lands considered by other Indians to be their hunting range. The immense amount of trade goods brought by Europeans into Caddo villages made them targets of other Indians.

Osage and Choctaw, in particular, frequently raided Caddo settlements, forcing Caddos to call upon their European relatives for more goods and horses.

The Caddo were weakened by their long contact with Europeans through new diseases introduced to them unintentionally by their new relatives. European disease epidemics came in waves, rolling over Caddo villages. Caddos experienced epidemics in every generation after the arrival of Europeans, indiscriminately taking their leaders, elders, women, and children. In a precipitous population decline, many Caddo traditions and religious rituals were lost. This unhappy period is recounted in LaVere's chapter, "Challenge to the Chiefdoms." He summarizes: "Undeniably, close contact with Europeans brought tremendous changes and challenges to the Caddos." He then cites such changes as European disease, mercantile capitalism with its "overreliance on European manufactured goods," and trade in horses and skins, which brought raids by the Osage, Choctaw, and Apache (p. 105).

In "Restructuring the Chiefdoms," LaVere explains the ways Caddos sought to survive attack and disease by looking for protection from those villages and chiefdoms that had maintained their strength. In so doing, some of the chiefdoms disappeared or were subsumed within larger communities, a practice that continued among Indian tribes and subtribes throughout the twentieth century. The great Kadohadacho chiefdom took in survivors from other chiefdoms, and gave them protection both from neighboring Indians and Europeans. LaVere states: "Now the great chief of the Kadohadacho extended his power, played the European powers and colonies against each other, and eventually became the spokesman for the Caddo people" (p. 107).

Events beyond their power were brewing, however, as a new people with a new need came into Caddo homelands. American settlers began moving into the region, taking land as they went. France sold Louisiana to the United States and withdrew from the territory. Caddos now found themselves placed between land claimed by the United States and that claimed by Spain. Relations between Spain and the United States were becoming increasingly hostile over a border dispute. Caught in the middle, Dehahuit, great chief of all the Caddo, tried to work with both, keeping each as friend and ally.

During this period Mexico was becoming increasingly restive under Spanish rule and revolted in 1810, creating further problems along the border of Louisiana and Texas. Similarly, the War of 1812 involved the Caddo, albeit peripherally, with Andrew Jackson calling upon Dehahuit to bring Caddo warriors to help defend New Orleans.

Although Dehahuit held his greatest influence by 1815, American settlers, disinterested in the hide and horse trade, wanted only land for farming, and Caddo land looked prosperous and theirs for the taking. The Caddo story replicates that of many other Indian nations as they tried to retain their sacred lands and traditions in the face of encroaching American settlers, disreputable officials, and land speculators and the whisky trade. Caddos confronted the same choices as other eastern nations—move west or remain and fight.

In the midst of continued uncertainty about their land, the Caddo lost their great chief Dehahuit, marking the end of the Caddo's chance to survive in their lands east of Texas. Dehahuit's successor, Tarshar, carried little

influence, prestige, or power. LaVere quotes Tarshar as saying in 1835: "Before the Americans owned Louisiana, the French, and after ward the Spaniards always treated us as friends and brothers—no white man ever settled in on our lands and we were assured they never should. We were told the same things by the Americans in our first Council at Natchitoches" (p. 127). The Americans took the land by the Treaty of 1835, promising to pay a just price. They did not.

Thus ends the period of the Caddo chiefdoms. LaVere writes: "The problem for the Caddos was not that they adopted strangers into their families, it was when strangers refused to become family" (p. 152).

Only a few years ago Caddos and those desiring to learn about those people who served as liaisons and intermediaries—middlemen—between representatives of European nations and among various Indian nations, had only a few works to study. LaVere has examined those works as well as recent works and has researched letters and documents in US archives and in Europe. Even if this book were poorly written, which it is not, it would be well worth reading for its extensive bibliography testifying to the author's prodigious research. While scholars have long known the outline of Caddo history, LaVere has provided details, filling gaps and giving a rounded picture of a great nation.

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**The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War: Fort Sill 1894–1914.** By John Anthony Turcheneske Jr. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1997. 232 pages. \$32.50 cloth.

*The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War: Fort Sill 1894–1914* by John Anthony Turcheneske Jr. describes the events leading to the incarceration of the Chiricahua Apaches. The author details the events well—almost too well. Each paragraph explains the process by which the US government planned and executed the forced settlement of the Apache Nation. Turcheneske recounts each memo and letter relating to this time period, which often makes for dull reading. The book is intensely factual and sets up an explicit timeline of what the US Army, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the affiliated states—Arizona, Texas, Florida, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania—did to the tribe.

Each chapter reviews events from the European-American settler perspective through written accounts and letters exchanged among different organizations. The information is difficult to read at times for two reasons. First, the book lacks any Native perspective, and second, it is set up in a journal format, providing facts from letters and memos exclusively. If the reader is seeking an Apache perspective, *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey* by Eve Ball (1980) would be a much better choice. *Indeh* delivers clear and concise information on the Apache experience while including pertinent information from the