

have been subject to one of the larger provinces of that region, probably <sup>Maguatax or</sup> ~~Hacanac~~; if, indeed, it were not merely a southwestern or cross-river district of the latter province. <sup>and</sup> The words "Hacanac", "Guacane", and "Lacane" (pronounced Yacané), simply different spellings, based on different impressions of obscure aboriginal sounds.

The sub-province or district of Lacane would seem to have been in present Lamar County, Texas; or near the line between the same and Red River County.

<sup>(Called "Mandacho" by Biadna, as in the Hakluyt Society version.)</sup>  
Mondacao, beyond Lacane, was reached "the land of ~~Mondacao~~, which, according to one of the Indians of Lacane, was "very populous, the houses much scattered, as in mountainous regions, and there was plenty of maize."\* Though the houses were scattered, as in mountainous

Footnote \*Narrative by the Gentleman of Elvas, l. c., page 242.

regions, the province of Mondacao itself is not said to be mountainous; and the statement that it had "plenty of maize," is not suggestive of a country more hilly than that south ~~of~~ of ~~the~~ Red River ~~of~~ — which was crossed by the party of Cavalier and Joutel in 1687 and is described by the latter as having its houses ~~and~~ similarly scattered, <sup>nor one more hilly than that west of the Red River Nassonis.</sup> The alleged quantity of maize, and the fact that the cacique of that land "came with his Indians, weeping, as those of Maguatax [after defeat in battle] had done," and bringing "a present of much fish,"\* are consistent with the supposition that Moscoso's

Footnote \*L. c., pages 242-13. After floods, the "sloughs", "horseshoe-lakes", and other diverted channels, of our western rivers often contain fish in ~~the~~ large numbers. force was still in the near vicinity of Red River, and therefore still marching westward.

~~There can be no doubt that the "Mondacao" of 1542 was identical with the Mandarco of recent years; the Azteca "Mandakoas" of Sibley's "Historical Sketches" 1805; <sup>the Mandaco Indians" of</sup> Francois Grappe's testimony of 1805; <sup>and the "Madaco" and "Madakos" of</sup> La Harpe's narrative "Mondaco" of Joutel, 1687; and the "Madaco" <sup>and</sup> of La Harpe's and of Francois Grappe's Itinerary, 1783. Journal, 1719. The Mandakoas, in 1805, according to Sibley, were living "on the Sabine river 60 or 70 miles to the westward of Nettassses, near where the French formerly had a station and factory" which place, according to Francois Grappe, Louis Lamaintry, and others whose testimony concerning it will be noticed more fully in another chapter, was known as "the Dout", was the establishment of a Mr. Bourne, was an important place of Indian resort, and traffic in years prior to the Spanish occupancy of Louisiana, floated the French flag about 150 miles westward of Hatchetches.~~

There can be no doubt that the "Mondacao" and "Mandacaho" of 1542 are ~~entirely~~ <sup>or closely cognate</sup> identical with the Anadarkoes of recent years; the "Mandakoes" of Sibley's "Historical Sketches", 1805; the "Mandaco Indians" of François Grappe's testimony of 1805; the "Nadaco" of Fragoso's Itinerary, 1788; and the same of La Harpe's Journal, 1719; and the "Madaco" and "Madaho" and "Mondaco" of Joutel's Relation, 1687.

The Mandakoes, in 1805, according to Sibley, were living "on the Sabine river 60 or 70 miles to the westward of Yattansess, near where the French formerly had a station and factory": a place dubbed by the French of Natchitoches "the Dout"; the ~~small~~ village of Madacos thereabout being known to the Spaniards (who seem to have adopted the name from the Nacogdoches Indians) as that of "the Nadote".\*

<sup>Footnote</sup> "The Dout, according to François Grappe, Louis Lamalaty, and others, (whose testimony will be noticed more fully in another chapter,) had been established ~~by~~ <sup>the order of</sup> Commandant Bourne of Natchitoches; it floated the French flag; was an important place of Indian resort and trade in years prior to the Spanish occupancy of Louisiana; and was about "50 leagues" northwest of Natchitoches. According to Father Calahorra y Sanz, as cited (p. 7) in ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Handbook of American Indians, "In 1752 a gathering of tribes was held at the Nadote village to discuss a plan for attacking all the Spanish establishments"; but the project was abandoned through the wise counsels of St. Denis of Natchitoches and the Nacogdoche chief, Chacaiacha.

In 1788, Francisco Xavier Fragoso, travelling from Santa Fe to Natchitoches, and when ~~met~~ at about 38 leagues northwest of the latter place, crossed a creek called de la Casa, whose name, meaning "Creek of the House", perhaps referred to the former existence of the Dout trading-house upon that stream; and at 8 leagues farther east he found a small Madaco village.

At the Massoni village on Red River in 1719, La Harpe was told by the chiefs of the Four Nations, that the ~~Massoni~~ <sup>Massoni</sup> Madaco nation and a Spanish mission for the same were "80 leagues to the south" of the Massonites. The mission was that of San José de los Nazones,

~~The above data seems to point to Nac County, Texas, as a home of the Anadarkoes throughout practically all of the eighteenth century; but there are indications that, then and even earlier, this was but one of several widely separated districts in which ~~parties~~ <sup>parties</sup> of that people ~~resided~~ <sup>resided</sup>, and that others ~~were~~ <sup>were</sup> ~~farther~~ <sup>farther</sup> to the north and west; and it seems probable that one such~~

~~Possibly significant in this connection are the closely similar names, Madaco, Madaho, Madatcho, and Tonaco. In Joutel's table of tribes (Merry's Orig. Fr. 409), ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> location of "Tonaco" on the Cimarron River, additional to one of "Madaco" east of the Arkansas, legended "destruit par les Chicachas en 1714"; on the British map of 1718; and the occurrence of a village of "Arreco" ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> the O-Nations confederacy found on the Cimarron River, in 1710, by La Harpe; etc.~~

established by the Franciscans in 1716. Its position, according to Herbert E. Bolton, in the Handbook of American Indians, was "E. of Angelina r. and about 20 m. N.W. of Hacogdches, on a small stream flowing N., evidently one of the southern branches of Shawnee cr." According to Professor Bolton also, (l. c., page 8,) "Espinosa, who was present at the founding of San Joseph de los Nasones mission, said that it was composed of Masoni and Nacono, but the latter were ~~more likely~~ <sup>more likely</sup> the Nadaco (Anadarko)." And it should be noted that a left-hand branch of Shawnee Creek still preserves the name of Anadarko Creek.

The above data all point conclusively to Rusk County, Texas, as a home of the Anadarkoes throughout ~~the greater part~~ of the eighteenth century; but there are indications that ~~the greater part~~ <sup>then and earlier</sup> this was but one of several districts in which <sup>then and earlier</sup> people resided, and that others were farther to the north and west;\* and it seems

*Footnote*

\*Possibly significant in this connection, are the closely similar, <sup>yet not quite identical</sup> names, Nadaco, Nadaho, Nadatcho<sup>(2)</sup>, and Nondaco, in Joutel's table of tribes of 1687 (Margry's Orig. Fr. III, 409); the location of a village of "Nondaco" on Trinity River, additional to one of "Nadacoo" east of the Assinais, legended "detruit par les Chicachas en 1714", on the Delisle map of 1718; and the occurrence of a village of "Ardeco" in the 9-nations confederacy found on the Cimarron (Canadian?) River, in 1719, by La Harpe; etc.

probable that one such district—the fish-abounding ~~of~~ Nondacao—was found by Moscoso on the south side of Red River, in the vicinity of Bois d' Arc Creek. The Massonis near whom was ~~extinguished~~ the San José mission of 1716-'19, etc., were the southern division, and the Anadarkoes living near the same mission were probably an eastern division, of their respective ~~tribes~~. The western Anadarkoes, in 1716-'19, very likely occupied a position on Trinity River, and one somewhat more southerly, <sup>therefore</sup>, than that which they had in 1542; but in 1719 there was possibly yet a third and much more northerly division of the Anadarko—La Harpe's "Ardeco"—in east-central Oklahoma.\*

*Footnote*

\*It ~~may~~ be noted that, while Joutel, in 1687, passed through the district, in present Rusk County, in which both Nadacos and southern Massonis resided about three decades later, and found in it the latter, ~~he says nothing of finding there the Nadacos; although he mentions that~~ nation or its villages under several closely similar names, as in part among the "enemies" and in part among the "allies" of the Red River (Four Nations) confederacy. And this circumstance, taken in connection with the well-known segregation policy of the Spanish missions, raises the question whether the Nadacos resided in the near vicinity of the southern Massonis before the founding of the mission of San José de los Nasones, or whether a community of them may have been induced to locate ~~near that~~

there at about that time. Such a community seems ~~to~~ likely to have been recruited from the one whose village had been destroyed by the Chickasaws in 1714, more than from western Anadarkoes.

Aays. ("Hais" of Biedma.) "The Governor set out from Mondacao for Seacatino, and on the fifth day came to a province called Aays. The inhabitants ~~had~~ never heard of the Christians," and, "as fast as they could get together, came by fifties and hundreds on the road," and, without being able to check his advance, kept up attacks upon his army "during the greater part of the day," until he "arrived at their town." \*

<sup>11</sup> *Max. Gen. of Elvas, L. o., page 243.*

The Aays can hardly ~~be~~ have been of any other nation than the "Ayches" of La Harpe (1716), the "Aliche" and "Eyeish" of Sibley (1805), "Ayish" of Kennedy (1841), "A-ish" of Gatschet (1884), etc., etc. But the Ayish province discovered by Mosecoso in 1542 was not the Ayish Creek district of San Augustin County, Texas, so well known as the home of the Ayish in the eighteenth century, but was a more north-westerly one of the same nation. Evidence which is strongly confirmatory of this statement, is given by Posadas, who says that Juan de Onate, in his Quivira expedition of 1606, went "nearly 300 leagues east" from Santa Fe, "reaching the country of the Ayados south of Quivira ~~southwest~~ [of Kansas] and west of the Tejas";\* for there can be

<sup>1</sup>H. H. Bancroft, Works, XVII, 149. The italics are mine.

no doubt that the "Ayados" are the Aays, ~~and~~ or in other words the Ayish, while the "Tejas" ~~was~~ <sup>Spanish</sup> of the seventeenth century writers, were the tribes of the Hasinal confederacy ~~the~~ <sup>invention</sup> of ~~the~~ eastern Texas

### "The "Denis" of early French writers."

and western Louisiana, to which confederacy the Aycie settlements of San Agustin County belonged. There is therefore nothing to indicate that Moscoso was here pursuing other than his general westward course along the southern ~~part~~<sup>part</sup> of the Red River Valley; and we conclude that his province and town of Aays were ~~at the confluence of the~~<sup>at the confluence of the</sup> ~~about five days'~~<sup>say 65 to 70 miles</sup> ~~altogether~~<sup>altogether</sup> west of Boid d' Arc Creek, or near the western border of the Lower Cross Timbers in Caddo County, Texas. The villages of these

"Lewis believes that the province was 'to the southward of Gainesville'; and the town 'just west of the 'Lower Cross Timbers,' on the prairie.' See Span. Explor. So. U. S., page 243.

Caddoan tribes were usually built in small "solitudes," ~~and~~ ~~surrounded~~ ~~by~~ ~~woods~~ or prairies, ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~woods~~, ~~so~~ ~~that~~ surrounded by woods; so that the town of the Aays may have been in one of the "openings" of the Cross Timbers themselves, a little south of the river.\*

("Xuacatin" of Biedma.) Soacatino, Moscoso and his command having left Aays, and for two days been led off from the road to Soacatino, and having cast to the dogs the unfortunate guide who had thus led them astray in obedience to the command of his master, the cacique of Nondacao, they were brought to Soacatino by another Indian guide on the following day. Hence it would seem that the distance from ~~of~~ Aays to Soacatino by the regular way could hardly have been more than two days' march, and that the province of Soacatino must have been just west of the Upper Cross Timbers; ~~it~~ a locality which in later years, at least, was a favorite ~~villaging~~ spot for western tribes of the Caddoan linguistic family, and ~~is now known under the misleading name of Spanish Fort Bend.~~ In the early part of the eighteenth century it was found by La Harpe to be the rendezvous of the Tonkawas and other "wandering nations" of that family; and ~~throughout all~~ <sup>and nearly all of</sup> the latter ~~part~~ <sup>half</sup> of that century it was noted as the place of a strong dual village—or rather, pair of villages, of which the larger was on the south and the smaller on the north side of Red River—of Tawash, or Tawashaw ~~Wichitas~~ and Wichitas, with whom the ~~Wichitas~~ Towaconies and Wacces were closely related and ~~had~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~always~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~been~~ more or less associated. The Towaconies seem to have been ~~the~~ <sup>and</sup> residents at this place in 1542; for the names "Soacatino," ~~and~~ "Xuacatin", seem to be only variants of "Towaconi".

Footnote

"Apparently the same as the "Cihccatin" of the "Contemporary Map of the Area of De Soto's Wanderings," published in Harisse's "Discovery of North America," from the Archives of the Indies at Seville, and reproduced in "Original Narratives of Early American History", the volume entitled, "Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States 1528-1543."

the name of a well-known tribe, called "Touacaras" by La Harpe <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~, "Tehuscanos" by ~~the~~ Spanish writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and which has been spelled in a variety of other ways, <sup>when spelled</sup> but which, <sup>as pronounced</sup> by an old native of that tribe during the trial of the famous "Greer County Case," seems to be somewhat illuminating in this connection. In his sworn testimony of March 26, 1894, ~~the~~ Naethoo, one of the chiefs of the ~~the~~ Wichita Reservation Indians, testified, "There were three bands that were all the same, yet they called them different from the others: one called the Kidi-ki-tashe, and then one the Toc-wah-cuddy, and another name, Waco;" and in response to the question, "Were they not — one band — called a long while ago To-wa-ka-nees?", he replied, "I don't know, but I am a Toc-wa-cuddy."\* The analogy between the hispanized

Foot <sup>2</sup> Record, Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1894, Vol. I, pp. 631-632.

names, "Soacatino" and "Xuacatin" and the stenographer's phonetically

spelled "Toc-wah-cuddy", from the lips of old Masthee, is obvious.

The Towaconi nation, like most of its group, changed its village location from time to time; and in fact the nation was sometimes, if not ~~usually~~, divided into ~~several~~ two or more villages, more or less widely separated. In 1542, Moscoso found them ~~near the upper part of the~~ ~~Minimis~~ on Red River, near the Upper Cross Timbers. In 1719, La Harpe found his "Touacaras" on the lower part of the Cimarron (Canadian?) River, in east-central Oklahoma. In 1778, Lieut.-Col. Don Antonio de Mésieres found them living in two villages some 8 leagues apart on the ~~Minimis~~ ~~River~~ west side of the Brazos River, nearly west and northwest of the Tehuacano Hills of Limestone County, Texas. In 1805, they seem to have had about the same locality as their usual ~~usual~~ place of residence; but according to Sibley (Hist. Sketches), "lived "for months at a time, lower down than their usual place of residence, in the great prairie at the Tortuga, or Turtle, called so from its being a hill in the prairie, which at a distance, appears in the form of a turtle; upon which there are some remarkable springs of water." In 1778, when visited by Mésieres, "La Tortuga" was found to be the headquarters of the Tonkawa Indians; and he described it ~~as~~ as "an eminence that overlooks a wide plain and from which a crystalline spring gushes forth." We are able to identify the "Tortuga" by tracing Lieut.-Col. Mésieres thither in his expedition of 1778. Starting from Bucareli, where the Royal Spanish Road ~~crossed~~ ~~Minimis~~ ~~River~~ from San Antonio to Nacogdoches, crossed Trinity River, at the later Robbins' Ferry, on the line between ~~between~~ ~~McGiston~~ and Madison counties, Mésieres led his small force 18 leagues northward, to the Keechi saline and village, west of present Palestine; and thence, 15 leagues westward, which is the distance and direction thence of the Tehuacano Hills, where he reached "La Tortuga."

On Moscoso's departure from Aays, the guide had said "that the Indians of Scacatino had seen other Christians, at which," wrote the Gentleman of Elvas, "we were all delighted, thinking .....they could have come from New Spain," and that, "finding nothing in Florida of value, we should be able to go out of it".... Thus, it was clearly the purpose of Moscoso's party to go from Scacatino in whatever direction should prove necessary, upon the receipt of direct information from the natives of that place, to find the supposed ~~other~~ Christians from New Spain.



14

U.S. G. S. W.

Bull. No. 224, Pl. II,  
fig. B.

The natives of Soacatino, "being asked if they had any knowledge of other Christians, said they had heard that near there, towards the south, such men were moving about." Now, since one of the main hopes of Moscoso and his men was to find any Spaniards that might have come from New Spain, it is but reasonable to infer that, upon hearing this statement at Soacatino, they at once started in search of their supposed countrymen, as we know they did in certain other instances on receiving what purported to be news of Christians; and it is virtually certain therefore, that <sup>at</sup> Soacatino they turned from Red River and their westward course to nearly a southward direction.

"For twenty days the march was through a very thinly peopled country, where great privation and toil were endured; the little maize there was, the Indians having buried in the scrub, where the Christians, at the close of the day's march, when they were well weary, went trailing, to seek for what they needed of it to eat."

Guasco. At the end of this twenty days, they reached Guasco. It is probable that the scattered native settlers found along the way thither, who were of that western Caddoan group that included the Towaconies, Tawashas, Wichitas, Wacces, and Yscans, raised their meager crops of maize in small openings along the borders of the Cross Timbers. The "great privation and toil" endured in those twenty days, will suggest — to any one who has toiled along the sandy roads of the Cross Timbers — that, in considerable parts of this southward march, the Spaniards were led, by their unwilling and ill-intentioned guides, through the Cross Timbers themselves. The difficult way over which they were guided, together with the small supply of maize found along it, and the necessity of hunting for this, during the latter part of each day, in the sandy oak scrub in which the natives had concealed it, were obstacles of no mean sort, and probably hindered the army from making here its ordinary rate of progress, and from covering ~~anywhere near~~ the 100 leagues which it might have done under more favorable conditions; and the twenty days need not necessarily have taken them farther south than the present Waco City neighborhood, which was the place of a former village of Waco Indians, and which, while not known to have been so prior to the nineteenth century, may have been <sup>the residence of a band of southern Wacos or Maiders (southern Yscans),</sup> in 1542, for all that it is possible to say; it having been known in part of the eighteenth century as a residence of the Towaconies, of whom the Wacces are close relatives and have sometimes been considered as a part, ~~and~~ with whom, ~~and~~ in the

Ap. c, page 244.

their march was in fact, probably at first in the upper Cross Timbers, and then along what to the east of south, in the lower Cross Timbers, and then along

~~the articles "Waco" and "Towacニー" Professor John W. Fewkes, of American Indians, says, "are both derived from the Yucatec "Wac" (a person) and "Towacニー" is derived from the Yucatec "Towacニー" (a person).~~