



THESIS



This is to certify that the
thesis entitled
ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD?
ACCULTURATION AND THE FORT MARION
SOUTHERN PLAINS PRISONERS

presented by

Pamela Holcomb Oestreicher

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Anthropology

Major professor

Date November 13, 1981



RETURNING MATERIALS:
Place in book drop to
remove this checkout from
your record. FINES will
be charged if book is
returned after the date
stamped below.

FEB 02 1998

ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD?
ACCULTURATION AND THE FORT MARION SOUTHERN PLAINS PRISONERS

By

Pamela Holcomb Oestreicher

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1981

ABSTRACT

ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD? ACCULTURATION AND THE FORT MARION SOUTHERN PLAINS PRISONERS

By

Pamela Holcomb Oestreicher

In 1875, seventy-two warriors--members of the Southern Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche tribes--were arrested for their participation in the Red River War. As their punishment, they were sent to Fort Marion, Florida, where they were held as prisoners for three years. At Fort Marion, their superintendent was Lt. Richard Henry Pratt, who took the opportunity to apply his ideas for Americanizing American Indians. This study traces the impact of his efforts on the lives of the prisoners after their release.

Twenty-two of the men, all younger warriors, chose to go on to schools in 1878 rather than return directly to Indian Territory. After Their additional education, nearly all these men lived markedly progressive--i.e., "civilized"--lives by the standards of their reservations. The older warriors, who did not attend school, did not respond uniformly. The Cheyennes, after an initial period of enthusiasm for the White Man's Road, mostly abandoned it to join the extremely conservative faction. The Kiowa and Comanche did not at first unanimously adopt the White Man's Road, but steadily moved towards it. In both cases, the lives of the older warriors reflected the trends and conditions of their reservations, although the Kiowa and Comanche were more progressive.

Pamela Holcomb Oestreicher

The adaptive strategies model is more successful in explaining these conclusions than traditional acculturation theory. It postulates that people consciously change their behavior to fit changed circumstances; that they change their behavior as little as possible, working from their traditional cultural base; that culture changes as groups of individuals make similar changes. On the reservations of the South Plains from 1875 to the early 1900's, acculturation was slow, although the people changed their cultures to fit the new situation. They creatively adapted their lives and institutions to fit their needs without abandoning their identities as Indians. The returned prisoners may be seen to have been more progressive because their experiences broadened their range of choices; they were not limited to the vernacular of their older cultures, but to a substantial degree, their choices were circumscribed by the attitudes and practices of those around them.

© Copyright by
PAMELA HOLCOMB OESTREICHER
1981

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The origins of this study lie in the photographs taken of the Fort Marion prisoners by several southern photographers. Without their record of this episode, I might never have wondered what Plains Indians were doing in an old fort in Florida in the 1870's, much less what happened to them after their stay there.

For more than a decade, Professors Harry Brown and Charles C. Cleland have encouraged me to continue my work. I am grateful for their persistent support and their confidence that whatever I might produce would eventually be good.

The staffs of the various archives where I did my research were unfailingly courteous and helpful, but the staff of the Oklahoma State Historical Society, Indian Archives, deserve special recognition. They made uncomfortable stays in Oklahoma City much more bearable, and Martha Royce Blaine's solicitous research assistance, encouragement, and even emergency medical care, contributed enormously to the successful completion of the study. Thanks also go to the friendly people at the Concho and Anadarko agencies; they provided crucial information with interest and skill.

The American Philosophical Society Phillips Fund provided a grant for ethnohistory which made the last and most productive of my research trips possible.

The University of Pittsburgh history department, chaired by Seymour Drescher, materially contributed to the completion of this

dissertation by providing employment, office space, and computer word processing access at exactly the right moment.

Other graduate students can help each other in very special ways. To Judy, for a wonderful summer of mutual suffering; to Pat, for enduring friendship even over thousands of miles; and to Anne, for knowing I would do it--thanks.

Finally, thanks go to Herbert and Fay Holcomb, for teaching me to be curious, and to Dick Oestreicher, for brilliant criticism, constant nagging, and loving support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Maps	page	v
List of Tables	page	vi
List of Abbreviations	page	vii
Chapter 1. Introduction	page	1
Chapter 2. The Road to Fort Marion	page	18
Chapter 3. Fort Marion	page	46
Chapter 4. Reservation Life: 1878-1912	page	75
Chapter 5. The Older Warriors	page	136
Chapter 6. The Young Scholars	page	186
Chapter 7. Conclusions	page	226
Appendix A. List of Indians	page	244
Appendix B. Prisoner Biographies	page	247
Bibliography	page	292

LIST OF MAPS

- Map 1. Positions Circa 1840 of Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche
page 30
- Map 2. Location of the Cheyenne and Arapaho and Comanche, Kiowa and
Apache Reservations page 77
- Map 3. Allotments on the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation
page 111
- Map 4. Allotments on the Comanche, Kiowa and Apache Reservation
page 115

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Indices of Civilization	page 177
Table 2. Education of Children	page 183
Table 3. The Adaptations of the Older Warriors	page 184

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AG Adjutant General

AGO Adjutant General's Office

BAE Bureau of American Ethnology

C&A Cheyenne and Arapaho

CIA Commissioner of Indian Affairs

KA Kiowa Agency

LR Letters Received

LS Letters Sent

NA National Archives

OHSIA Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives

PP Pratt Papers

WD War Department

Chapter 1

Introduction

I saw 72 big Indians yesterday: proper men, and tall, as one would wish to behold . They were weary and greatly worn; but as they stepped out of the cars..., and folded their ample blankets about them, there was a larg dignity and majestic sweep about their movements that made me much desire to salute their grave excellencies. Each had his ankles chained together; but managed to walk like a man, withall. They are confined, --by some ass who is in authority--in the lonely old Fort, as unfit for them as they for it. It is in my heart to hope sincerely that they may all get out. (Sidney Lanier to Mary Day Lanier, May 22, 1875, quoted in Petersen, 1971, p. 3.)

The Indians were Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, rounded up in the Southern Plains for violently refusing to accept starvation on their newly established reservations. The "ass" was then Lt. Richard Henry Pratt, late of Fort Leavenworth, and volunteer care-taker and superintendent of the Florida prisoners. Three years later (1878), many of them did "get out," and, after a brief stop in Virginia, go home to Indian Territory. This study will trace the lives of these prisoners to learn how they fared back among their own people. Specifically, I shall attempt to discover whether or not, and in what ways the Fort Marion experience influenced their lives and, in turn, whether or

not it influenced through them the course of culture change on their reservations.

Early in the 1870's, reservations were created for the Indians of the Southern Plains in the region then known as Indian Territory. All these groups were nomadic buffalo hunters, used to a life of constant mobility and self-reliance. Their societies valued skill in hunting and prowess in battle. To them, boundaries marked on maps were meaningless, especially when pursuit of the few remaining animals of the near extinct southern buffalo herd required unrestrained movement. Restriction of that pursuit was justifiable cause for violence.

By 1874, the Indian people were starving: the buffalo herd was markedly depleted, and the government was failing to deliver promised rations and services. Years of hostility and warfare had added to the Indians' distrust of settlers, agents, and the military. Many of them chose to disregard treaty restrictions and to hunt off their reservations. If buffalo could not be found, raids were made against White-owned farms and ranches. Others decided to openly attack the White people they believed were causing their misery, especially surveyors and hunters. The violation of treaty conditions and increasing violence led the military to initiate a policy of vigorous pursuit of the scattered bands. Officially, only violators were the targets, but in practice, the military adopted "scorched

earth" tactics--villages and stores of food were burned. By 1875 , the beaten and starving Indians were forced to come in to their agencies. To insure that they would never again be enticed to the warpath or away from their reservations, the military decided to arrest the ringleaders and to send them, "as an example," to prison in Florida.

At Fort Leavenworth, by fortuitous circumstance, was Lt. Richard Henry Pratt, serving with the 10th Cavalry. After several years in Indian Territory participating in the pacification of the Indians, Pratt had developed his own ideas about the proper management of Indian populations. He became committed to education--specifically vocational training--as a solution to the Indian problem. So convinced was he of the efficacy of his plan, that he wrote to General Sheridan requesting that he be assigned to accompany the Indian prisoners to Fort Marion and to direct their treatment there. Sheridan, in turn, recommended Pratt to the Secretary of War, and on May 17, 1875, Pratt and his Indian charges left for Florida.

Almost immediately Pratt began to implement his program at Ft. Marion. He issued uniforms to the Indians, ordered their hair cut, began a sanitation program. He established a tent city for them within the fort, and planned expeditions to neighboring islands and towns for exercise and information. As the men adjusted to their new situation, Pratt began to give them more responsibility for

their own care: by the fourth month, the Indians were guarding themselves. They attended church in St. Augustine, and Pratt even began a work program in which the men were loaned to neighboring plantations and businesses. In the fort, a tremendous tourist attraction was developed, complete with locally produced Indian arts and crafts for sale. Throughout their incarceration, besides working at their jobs and appealing to tourists, the men were expected to study, and by the end of their term at Fort Marion, many could speak some English.

By 1877, Pratt was extremely dissatisfied with Fort Marion as the locale for his efforts in educating "his" Indians: the area could not offer adequate opportunity for industrial training. He also learned that, if offered the chance, twenty-two of his group would stay with him to go to school rather than go home. Pratt then inundated the War Department with requests to find a better place to found an Indian industrial school, requests supported by glowing reports of his work from sympathetic reformers like Harriet Beecher Stowe.

By late 1877, the War Department had concluded that Pratt's group could be safely returned to their tribes. Those who desired further education went with Pratt, first to Hampton Institute in Virginia and later to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where the old army hospital there was turned over to Pratt for his school. The other thirty-five returned to Indian Territory.

Because Pratt's project served as a prototype on which later government Indian policy was based, the later experiences of the Fort Marion Indians are relevant not only to an understanding of Pratt and the Plains Indians but also to the overall development of federal Indian policy. This episode and its aftermath coincide with the development of reformist interest in American governmental Indian policy that would culminate in the Dawes Act of 1887. Pratt and his methods were to become models for that reform movement. In this period, such federal Indian policies as land allotment in severalty, approval of farming as Indian livelihood, and creation of boarding and vocational training schools for Indians went beyond theory to actual application.

Equally important, this episode offers a unique opportunity to explore acculturation theory as it has been developed in anthropology. Since the total number of individuals is small, it will be possible to produce a relatively well-controlled case study of social change in two essential parts: a) an examination of the changes in the lives of the specific individuals and b) an examination of their influence on culture change in their communities. Acculturation, the special form of culture change to be analyzed here, has been defined as a process "whereby the culture of a society is modified as the result of contact with the culture of one or more other societies." (Gillin

and Raimy, 1940: 372) It is generally acknowledged, as well, that acculturation may be both an individual and a group process, and that it may be studied at either level as long as the scholar's perspective is explicit. (Teske and Nelson, 1974: 352) In this study, an effort will be made to examine the inter-relatedness of the process at each level. It is predicted that this case will reveal that individual acculturative change is much more dependent on the changes occurring in the group than vice versa . Broom and Kitsuse (1955) found this to be the case among Japanese in the United States, and Leslie White (1948) has persuasively argued that the role of the individual in society is culturally determined.

Usually, acculturation is viewed as the adoption of culture traits held by one cultural group by the people of another cultural group. In the case of American Indian peoples, the process has been viewed as a mostly one-way affair, with Indians forced to accept basic European traits while Whites were under no pressure to adopt any but minor Indian traits. (Linton, 1940, for example.) It has also been seen as a process of elimination of Indian culture traits. Sometimes this process has been viewed as a simplistic one-for-one exchange: paganism for Christianity, tipis for houses, loin cloths for trousers. It has also been viewed as abandonment of Indian culture with no replacement from the European culture, a situation which

usually resulted in individual depression and personal disorganization, with concomitant social disintegration. (George and Louise Spindler, 1971, for the latter.)

While the culture trait idea has been central to studies of acculturation, some anthropologists have gone beyond it to view American Indian acculturation from a cultural systems approach. This approach leads the scholar to see the changes abstractly and above the level of the individual, as taking place in institutions, values, technology. The conclusions reached using this form of analysis permit the identification of such phenomena as "directed," "enforced," or "fusional" acculturation. (Linton, 1940; Dozier, 1955; Braroe, 1975.)

Another widely used approach to the study of acculturation has been the examination of change at the individual level. This form of analysis has focused primarily on psychological questions such as what motivates a person to change behavior in a certain direction, how one reacts to, or perceives those changes over time, and what characteristics of individuals (and, by extension, of whole societies) predispose them to change in certain directions? Generally scholars using this approach have argued that a transitional stage--neither Indian nor White--is reached in the process of acculturation, and that this stage is characterized by great stress, personal disorganization, pathogenic behavior, and cultural disintegration.

(Spindler and Spindler, 1952; Hallowell, 1955; Opler, 1959; Freed, 1957.)

Neither approach has provided fully adequate answers to the questions implicit in the concept of acculturation. The cultural systems studies have developed typologies of acculturation such as "reactive adaptation" and "progressive adjustment." (SSRC, 1954) These assume that one can measure change in the abstract cultures in a before-and-after fashion, possible because these studies are almost always historical. The "pre-contact" culture is described, the Whites arrive, and the resulting Indian adaptation is examined. The description of the pre-contact culture is derived mostly from documents, while the discussion of the post-contact culture is based on participant observation. Since the individual is largely ignored, one cannot see how people came to act as they do, or through what process the culture changed. On the other hand, the psychological studies do focus on the individual, but usually lose sight of the cultural and historical context in which the people are acting. Here, the typologies have been of kinds of persons--nativistic or traditional, assimilated or acculturated, transitional or marginal--but we see little of what has produced these types. We often do not see the aggregate pattern which their behaviors collectively create. These studies are generally based on participant observation, with only a token inclusion of historical

material. (Braroe, 1975, summarizes this critique very well.) They are also often severely weakened by the application of inappropriate psychological theory. Psychological theory is culture bound--behavior which is seen as pathological in one culture may be normal in another or the result of exceptional historical circumstances. Thus, great caution must be used in any psychological analysis of another culture. Finally, these approaches do not analyze a phenomenon widely recognized in recent studies: the persistence of ethnicity. It has been shown that Indian people in many areas have preserved a distinctive sense of their own "Indianness"--an identity as Navajo or Chippewa or Cheyenne--despite apparent acculturative changes.

My study will attempt to bridge the two forms of acculturation study. I will be working from historical materials while, at the same time, looking at the experiences of individuals. I will be applying no psychological theories or tests, and the historical and cultural context of behavior will be kept in the forefront. The analysis will proceed from the level of the individual to the cultural level--aggregate patterns will be adduced. Therefore, a more complete picture of the acculturation process for these Indian people should be derived.

The theoretical perspective of the study is the adaptive strategies model: placed in a given situation with

certain cultural preconditioning, an individual must make behavioral choices. He will choose to act in the ways he believes will result in the greatest good for himself, but the range of his available options will be determined by his ethnicity. (Bennett, 1969; Braroe, 1975.)

Ethnicity is a concept which in recent years has taken on a wide variety of meanings, from personal cultural identity to the recognition by a group of its own self-interest. (Hicks and Leis, 1977: 2; Blu, 1980: 218-224.) For the purposes of this discussion, it will be defined as suggested by Barth (1969) and Hicks (1977) as an ascriptive category of role like sex or age, based on group identity. The ethnic group itself is largely biologically self-perpetuating, shares cultural values and behaves in largely uniform ways, and is socially and culturally distinct from other groups. Barth also argues that ethnicity is perpetuated through a process of "boundary maintainance"--the protection of difference. What is permanent about ethnicity is this difference from others, not necessarily overt behaviors, which may change. In a contact situation--i.e., in an acculturative situation--a set of rules is created to govern inter-ethnic encounters. The relations are structured such that certain areas of activity are open to exchange (and to change) and some areas are closed, "insulating" parts of the base culture from change. Ethnicity, then, "implies a series of constraints on the

kinds of roles an individual is allowed to play, and the partners he may choose for different kinds of transactions." The parameters of these limits are determined by historical, cultural, and ecological circumstances. (Barth, 1969: 12-17.)

Thus, when placed in an acculturative situation, an individual's range of behavioral choices is broadened, but he is nonetheless restrained by his ethnicity in designing his adaptive strategy. The problem of choice of behavior is quite complex; some behavioral sectors may be open to experimentation while others may not. I hypothesize that an individual will continue to choose to act in the general vernacular of his own culture until and unless a) those behaviors are simply no longer possible, b) those behaviors result in serious problems, (survival is threatened) and/or c) behaviors from the other culture offer great enough rewards to entice the person to use them. His choice will be strongly influenced by the degree of flexibility of behavior which he is allowed in his ethnic context, but he will retain his "ethnicity."

Thus, acculturation is not a passive affair. People actively, and to a large degree, consciously change their behavior in a selective fashion. They retain behaviors which continue to provide benefits (which may be material or psychological) and add new ones which also provide benefits, or at least minimize problems. The new behavior may not be

incorporated without change--in fact, it will frequently be adapted to more closely fit patterns in the older culture, to fit the values prescribed by their ethnic identity. Culture changes as a result of many people altering their behavior in similar ways. Ethnicity is the medium through which the many actions of individuals are translated into cultural phenomena.

Even in a contact situation like that which most American Indians faced, in which a "dominant" (larger, economically and militarily more powerful) culture intended to produce change in certain directions, it cannot actually determine either the exact changes which will take place nor the rate at which they will occur. It only provides the increased set of options from which individuals may choose; it cannot determine how the individuals will use them. Their own ethnicity does that. Thus, ethnicity, and the cultural content of ethnicity, determine the dimensions of cultural change. Direction is determined in a dominant-subordinate situation by the simple presence of the dominant culture. Rate of change, the speed of acculturation, is determined by "ecology" as Barth defines it: the various external factors with which the people must deal such as environmental factors, the the historical variability of the people's ethnicity, the total historical and cultural context. (Barth, 1969.)

The application of the adaptive strategies concept

to American Indian acculturation has been attempted only in two studies of contemporary communities, one in the Canadian Plains and the other divided between Boston and Nova Scotia, (Braroe, 1975; Guillemin, 1974.) but there is no reason why it should not be applied to a historical case where evidence of individual behavior exists. The kinds of behavior which can be studied in this case are not the intensely interpersonal ones analyzed by Braroe, but much more apparently mundane ones which fit easily into the older categories of acculturation study: place of residence, house type, clothing, language use, religious practice, form of livelihood, marriage practice, and so on; the stuff of classic ethnography. On the reservations of the late nineteenth century, the choices Indians made in these very basic areas were of extreme importance for their immediate survival and the shape of their future cultures. The Fort Marion prisoners may have had a special role on their reservations--their adaptive strategies may have been influenced by what they learned from the Fort Marion experience; the adaptive strategies of those around them may have been influenced in turn by their choices; the cultures of their tribes may have changed as a result. We shall see.

The study will take the form of a collective biography including narratives of the lives of the prisoners and statistical analysis of data for the entire group. This method has never before, to my knowledge, been applied to

American Indian subjects, although it has been part of the historical repertoire for more than forty years. First developed for studies of elites, it has been more widely used in studies of such "mass" phenomena as social mobility and voting behavior. (Stone, 1972: 107-40.) This project meets the criteria for a successful collective biography noted by Stone:

the method works best when it is applied to easily defined and fairly small groups over a limited period..., when the data is drawn from a very wide variety of sources which complement and enrich each other, and when the study is directed to solving a specific problem. (1972: 130)

The study will deal with seventy-four subjects over about thirty years, in a clearly defined cultural and historical setting, and for whom a variety of sources exist. The acculturative problem has already been stated. The value of the study is increased because the data for the prisoners will be compared with data on the populations of their reservations at large which will measure the same signs of acculturation.

Certain terms will be used to categorize styles of behavior and change which have been borrowed, to a certain extent, from older types of acculturation study. Most important will be "conservative" and "progressive." Conservative will be used to describe those people or groups who rejected extensive cooperation with White authorities and tried to live what they themselves perceived to be a

"traditional" way. Progressive will describe people or groups who more willingly cooperated with Whites including learning English, farming, educating their children, becoming Christian. These were terms used by Whites in their contemporary descriptions of Indians, and they are widely used by scholars in the above sense, and are therefore useful as a form of "shorthand" to describe behavior.

The material for the study was obtained through archival research, primarily at the Oklahoma Historical Society where most of the reservation documents relating to the period of the study are housed. Additional invaluable information was obtained from the records of the Concho (Cheyenne-Arapaho) and Anadarko (Kiowa-Comanche) agencies. Supporting data were found at the Bienecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, which holds the Richard Henry Pratt Papers, and the National Archives. The work of Karen Daniels Petersen on the Fort Marion prisoner/artists has greatly supplemented my own research. (Petersen, 1971; 1974; 1968.)

A number of problems confront any researcher using primarily government records relating to American Indians. First, since most agency records were maintained in longhand, they are not always legible. Second, as personnel changed at the agencies, so did the method of record keeping: serious gaps exist in many areas. Third, records

are now scattered among a variety of holders, and access is sometimes difficult. Fourth, the spelling of Indian names is a notorious problem in Indian records, as is the habit of record keepers of changing Indians' names: tracing individuals can be a Herculean task, especially when several people may have the same name. Fortunately, the variety of records kept on reservations in the nineteenth century by field matrons, farmers, agents, and missionaries permits reasonably reliable verification of information. Nevertheless, the bias of those responsible for maintaining the records, making and filing the reports, must be kept constantly in mind. The reliability of an agent's judgment about the state of affairs on his reservation was often suspect.

Despite the difficulties, it was possible to obtain information about each of the prisoners. But the information is by no means equivalent for all. For a few, there exists a large set of records which describes their lives in some detail: property ownership, career activities, family stories, religious practices, even anecdotes about a variety of experiences. For many others, however, only fragmentary evidence could be found: dates of death, records of allotment, perhaps names of family members. Yet enough data was found about the Fort Marion survivors to permit a basic statistical analysis of their lives as a group. These figures will be compared with those

derived from the reports for the entire reservation. Certain individuals will be discussed in some detail as representatives of characteristic patterns of life and acculturation, while the aggregate figures will permit a determination of those patterns.

Thus, this study represents a unique opportunity to produce a controlled case study of historical acculturation among American Indians through the application of theory and methods not usually associated with ethnohistory. As such, it should reveal important new information, not only about the undeniably fascinating lives of the Fort Marion prisoners, but also about the process of acculturation itself.

Chapter 2

The Road to Fort Marion

To understand the cultural changes which the Fort Marion prisoners and their tribesmen would experience after the Red River War, it is necessary to describe the transformation of their cultures in the generations prior to 1875. This transformation led the men to their imprisonment. They were members of the great buffalo hunting tribes of the Southern Plains, primarily Comanche, Kiowa, and Southern Cheyenne. Their pre-reservation (pre-1875) cultures were adaptations to the arrival of White people in North America, and represented only one stage in their historical and cultural development. In the 150 years before the Red River War, these tribes migrated into the Southern Plains, acquired the horse and the gun (both donated by Whites), and adopted the "typical" Plains Indian cultural pattern-- the horse-buffalo-tipi complex. (Wallace and Hoebel, 1952: 33.) By the 1840's, these three groups all lived the nomadic buffalo hunting life-style, and while there were differences among their cultures, they were nevertheless essentially similar peoples sharing the same geographic-ecological region. After the 1840's, they

acknowledged and formalized this situation in military and economic alliances formed to try to prevent White conquest of the Southern Plains.

The Southern Plains, the shared homeland of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Southern Cheyenne, are an enormous area extending south from the Platte River to the Rio Grande and east from the foothills of the Rocky Mountains to near the 98th meridian. The eastern part of the region is mostly rolling land, with many stream valleys. To the west are the High Plains, mostly level and at elevations sometimes as high as five thousand feet. The climate ranges from semi-arid in the west to sub-humid in the east. Trees can be found in the stream beds, but most of the region is treeless and covered (until plowed) with hardy grass. The weather ranges from quite hot (90 degrees or hotter) in the summer to very cold (below 0 degrees) in the winter, and westerly or northerly winds are constant. In the nineteenth century, the area abounded in all sorts of game, but buffalo were especially numerous. (See esp.: Webb, 1931.)

The Comanches probably entered the region first. They were a Shoshonean people, hunters and gathers who had a very simple band level social organization, and who came into the Southern Plains from the northwest. They acquired the horse about 1600, and moved steadily southeast over the next seventy-five to one hundred years. (Wallace and Hoebel, 1952: 11, 44-66.) By the early 1800's they lived

south of the Arkansas River in the heart of the Southern Plains, and were a fully mounted buffalo hunting group.

The Comanche adaptation of the horse-buffalo-tipi complex remained fairly simple. The people retained their Shoshonean band structure and did not develop a centralized tribal organization. Neither did they develop institutions or rituals like warrior societies or the Sun Dance which require tribe-wide structure and mobilization. Only in the summer communal buffalo hunts did any larger than band organization prevail, when hunt leaders directed the gathered bands. Each band was led by its own war chief and peace chief (headman) supported by a council of elders who made important policy decisions. Several bands frequently met together to decide issues of mutual concern, but it is probable that no tribe-wide council was held until 1867. (Wallace and Hoebel, 1952: 214.) Settlement of disputes was generally handled privately, normally through payment of damages and/or revenge. Comanche religion reflected this social structure: it was highly individualistic, magic focused, and based in the acquisition of supernatural power.

The horse was the most significant feature of the Comanche plains life-style. By the early 1800's, the Comanche owned more horses than any other tribe, perhaps as many as one hundred per person (Wallace and Hoebel, 1952: 39.), and were the channel by which horses moved north in both trade and warfare. Comanche men were pre-eminently

warriors who fought for personal glory and revenge and raided to steal more horses and other property. Their mastery of mounted warfare, especially in the rapid, surprise attack, blocked Spanish/Mexican expansion from the south and American expansion from the east and west for more than sixty years. (Richardson, 1933.)

By the early 1800's, the Comanches were well established in the center of the Southern Plains, but they were constantly at war with people around them: Pawnee, Osage, Sioux, Cheyenne. However, they had recently acquired an ally, newcomers to the area, the Kiowa. The Kiowa, a Uto-Aztecan speaking people, came into the South Plains from the north, after having moved east from the Rocky Mountains. They lived in the Black Hills for about sixty years after the late 1600's, and there made an alliance with the Crow. The close interaction between the two groups left profound cultural marks on the Kiowa. They remained a hunting band society but acquired the Sun Dance and other tribal institutions, the horse-buffalo-tipi life-style, medicine bundles, and soldier societies. In short, they quickly became a typical plains group-- probably in less than two generations. (Mayall, 1971; Mooney, 1912.)

About 1750, the Kiowas began moving south and about 1775 contacted the Comanche near the Arkansas River. The two tribes fought vigorously for domination of the area, but after fifteen years of warfare reached an alliance about

1790. They divided the Southern Plains, with the Comanche taking the Staked Plains and the Texas frontier and the Kiowa taking the area south of the Arkansas River. Together, they expanded their total range, and pushed back other tribes who had made tentative movements into the region. From the Comanches, the Kiowa learned more brilliant horsemanship, skill at warfare and raiding, and the use of both in profitable trade.

Kiowa culture at the time of the Comanche alliance and into the nineteenth century differed from Comanche culture in several ways. First the Kiowas had a ritual structure which served to integrate the tribe: a Sun Dance which called for an annual gathering of the six bands for both individual power quests and tribal renewal. They also honored a tribal fetish, the Taimei, symbol of the whole people. Greater political and social integration was also expressed in tribal councils, intermarriage among the bands, and the office of head chief, which held real authority. Social differentiation was much more pronounced than among the Comanche, with a clearly defined rank system based on wealth, war exploits, and religious observance. Elaborate age-graded warrior societies flourished, and these often served as tribal police. Finally, religious specialists emerged, in charge of the keeping of the Ten Grandmothers (the medicine bundles) and the observance of important rituals. In short, the Kiowa arrived in the Southern Plains

with a more elaborate political, social, and religious structure than had the more individualistic and egalitarian Comanche. (Mayall, 1971: 106-167; see also Lowie, 1916; Mooney, 1912.)

Despite their differences, the Kiowa and Comanche achieved a lasting, working friendship based on mutual use and defense of the Southern Plains. They maintained their working relationship through the early years of the nineteenth century, hunting buffalo and capitalizing together on their trade in horses.

The Kiowa were followed south by the Cheyenne and Arapaho. These two Algonkian speaking peoples entered the Southern Plains together in the early 1800's, probably about 1815. (Berthrong, 1963; Trenholm, 1970.) The Cheyenne probably began their move into the plains from the area of the western Great Lakes or upper Mississippi River. They began shifting west during the 1680's, and were in eastern North Dakota about 1700. Continuing pressure from other tribes, most notably the Sioux, forced them up the Minnesota River and to the Cheyenne River, where they stayed about fifty years. Archaeological evidence suggests that in this period their culture was like that of the semi-sedentary people of the eastern plains: fortified villages, some agriculture, periodic forays to hunt buffalo. (Berthrong, 1963: 10; Grinnell, 1918; Will, 1914, 1924.) They acquired the horse shortly after 1750. (Berthrong, 1963: 9.)

In the eighteenth century, the Cheyenne moved to the Missouri River where they maintained a mixed economy of farming and buffalo hunting. Some bands probably remained in South Dakota until 1830, but by the early 1800's, Cheyennes were hunting far to the southwest. Sometime in this period, Sioux pressure prompted them to abandon their villages and become a classically nomadic plains group. Their relationship to the Arapaho probably pre-dates this period, as by about 1810 they were the trading representatives for the Arapahos. (Berthrong, 1963: 3-26; Jablow, 1950.)

Thus, the Cheyenne left a semi-sedentary agricultural life-style to become buffalo hunters. On their way from the upper midwest to the western plains, they were in intense contact with many other tribes, especially when they became the trade intermediaries between the western plains Indians and the Missouri River traders. Their culture at the time they allied with the Kiowa and Comanche (about 1840) reflected this contact as well as their Algonkian heritage.

Like the Kiowas, the Cheyennes probably became Plains Indians in only two generations. By the time their bands entered the Southern Plains, they were full participants in the horse-buffalo-tipi complex described earlier for the Comanche, but also like the Kiowa, the Cheyenne came with some marked cultural differences from the

Comanche, primarily in religion and government. Their religion was animistic and magic centered, and each man sought his own "power" in a vision quest, but the Cheyenne also venerated gods. Primary among them was Heanmawikio, the Wise One Above, probably a version of the old Algonkian Manitou. Ahktunowikio, who lived in the earth, was somewhat less important, as were a variety of spirits, including directions. The Cheyenne also had a number of important tribal rituals, including the Ceremony of the Buffalo, the Sun Dance, Arrow Renewal, and Massaum. These were directed by religious specialists. (Hoebel, 1960: 6-17; Powell, 1980.)

In addition, the Cheyenne honored tribal fetishes, the Sacred Arrows and the Buffalo Hat. The arrows were the sacred symbols of the Cheyennes that guaranteed good hunting and success in warfare. They were protected by their appointed keeper. The Cheyenne lost their medicine arrows in 1830 to the Pawnees, and although they made substitutes, they attributed their hardships in the nineteenth century to the absence of the real arrows. Similarly, the Buffalo Hat was important to tribal welfare. From 1869-73, its possession went through a series of changes, and in the process, one horn was removed. The Hat was taken by the Northern Cheyenne while the horn stayed in the south. The Northern Cheyenne believed that their military defeats in the 1870's were a direct result of the desecration. (Berthrong, 1963: 55-61.)

Not only did the Cheyenne have full tribal religious institutions and observances, but their governmental structure was strongly centralized. The tribe was governed by a council of forty-four chiefs: four head chiefs, two doorkeepers of the council tipi, and the thirty-eight others. All were appointed by their bands for ten years. The council had dual religious and civil functions, working with the religious leaders to call and hold the major ceremonies and with the military societies to move camp, stage buffalo hunts, and wage wars. The warrior societies were extremely important for the Cheyenne. There were six, and they functioned not only as police and "social directors," but also as the vessel through which Cheyenne men achieved status. There were both age-graded and general membership societies, but the most powerful were the Dog

Soldiers who essentially controlled the tribe. They included half the warriors, and eventually they separated themselves as a separate band within the tribe. By the reservation period, there were probably ten Cheyenne bands. (Berthrong, 1963: 71-75; Hoebel, 1960: 20-57.)

The Arapaho were probably moving just ahead of the Cheyenne throughout their migrations, although some scholars believe they were present in the north-central plains long before the Cheyenne moved west and were forced south about the time the Cheyenne arrived. (Trenholm, 1971: 3-51, for a summary of this argument.) Whichever was true, they were

southwest of the Black Hills by 1796 and hunting with the Cheyenne near the Platte Rivers by 1810. The alliance between the two tribes no doubt dates from about 1790 and was based on a mutual "feeling" that the two groups were related and in common military-economic necessity. (Trenholm, 1971; Berthrong, 1963.)

The Arapaho culture was in many ways similar to that of the Cheyenne. They too, honored special tribal fetishes: the Flat Pipe and their Buffalo Hat, which were both protected by special keepers. The Pipe was the Arapahos' particular symbol, and was central to all ceremonials. It was exposed only when its bundle was renewed in a ceremony of significance like that of the Arrow Renewal for the Cheyenne. The Sun Dance was the Arapahos' most important tribal ritual.

There were four Arapaho bands (five in later years when the Southern Arapaho were perceived as a separate unit. Kroeber, 1907; Mooney, 1912), each led by a headman. There were also four head chiefs who together were the central authority of the tribe. They were always selected from the Dog Society, which occupied as important a position among the Arapaho as its counterpart did among the Cheyenne. The four chiefs could act as a unit, or if a matter seemed of some seriousness, call the members of the eight societies into council. Once a decision was made in either case, the society members enforced it. Unlike those of the Cheyenne, the societies here were only age-graded.

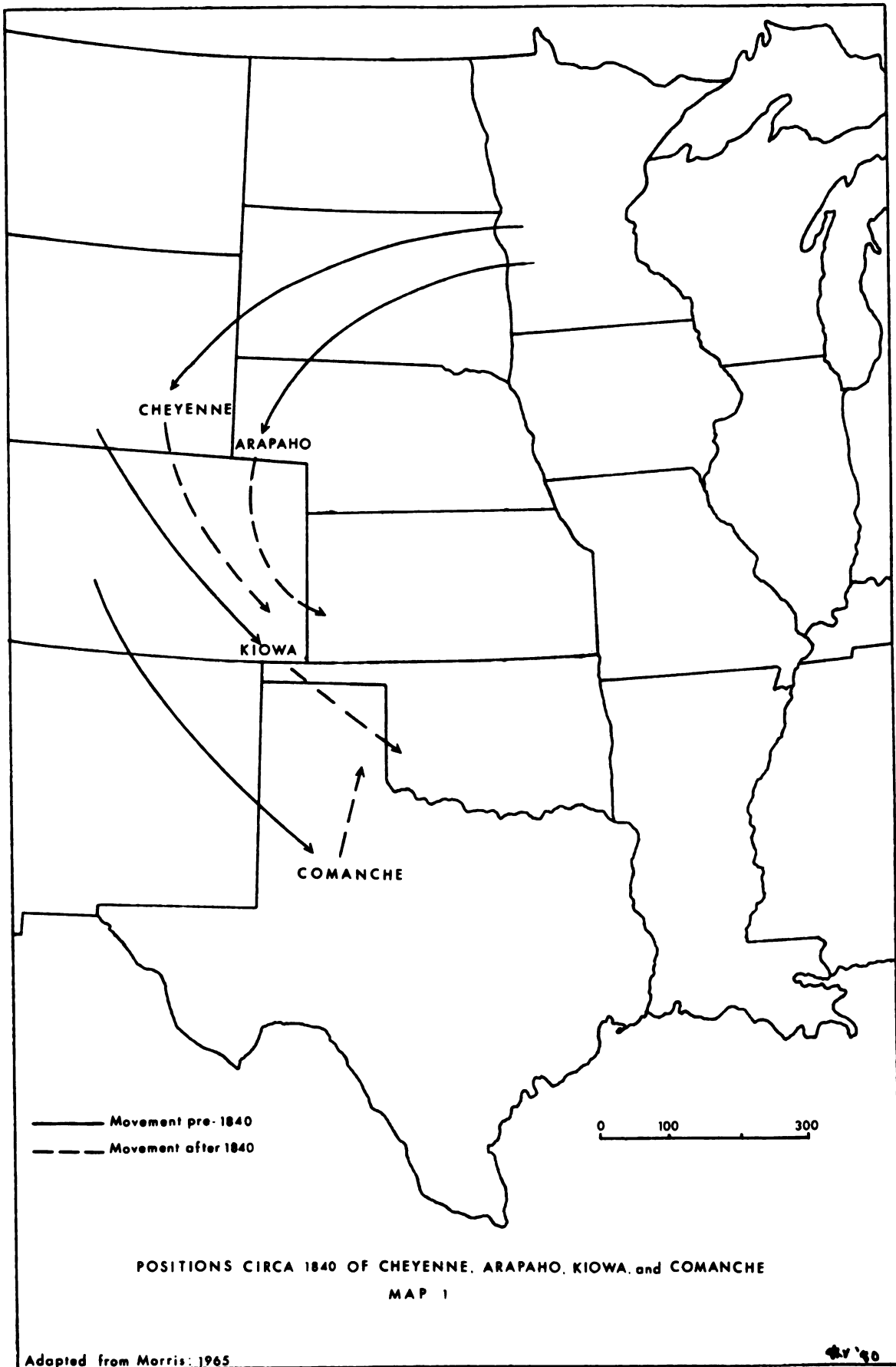
By 1812, the Arapaho moved south again to the Arkansas, and the first Cheyenne movements to the area were probably in response to Arapaho trading needs, and in order to trade with the Kiowas for horses. (Berthrong, 1963: 19-24.) All four tribes (Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho) were present at a large trading meeting in 1821 below the Arkansas River (Berthrong, 1963: 21.), and after 1821, the Cheyenne were in the south in some numbers, although they remained scattered across the entire central plains. About 1826, Cheyenne and Arapaho began to raid the Kiowa and Comanche for horses and to participate in the harassment of the Santa Fe trade. By 1833, and the establishment of Bent's Fort, more Cheyenne bands were on the headwaters of the Arkansas. The trade there made it possible for them to abandon the Missouri River traders and to concentrate their range between the Platte and Arkansas.

Throughout the 1830's, warfare among the tribes of the Plains was particularly furious. The horse raids of the Cheyenne and Arapaho against the Kiowa and Comanche developed into full-scale hostilities. But by 1839, all four tribes desired and needed peace. Constant warfare was draining the Cheyenne and Arapaho, who had many other enemies, especially the Teton Sioux and Pawnee. Smallpox had just decimated the Kiowa and Comanche, and the Texans were pressing into their territory. An unprecedented peace council was held in 1840, mediated by the Arapaho and Kiowa-

Apache, near Bent's Fort, and the four tribes (or, more precisely, the two two-tribe alliances) ended their hostilities. They would remain at peace and cooperate in trade and warfare for more than thirty years--until the establishment of the reservations. (Berthrong, 1963: 83-84; Mayall, 1971: 90-93.)

The years of alliance between 1840 and 1875 were essentially a time of resistance to White encroachment for the Indians of the Southern Plains. While inter-tribal warfare continued to be important, more and more attention had to be paid to the increasing presence of Whites in the area-- first as traders; then as hunters, especially buffalo hunters; and finally as ranchers and miners. The traders initially brought an opportunity for increased wealth, but the hunters began to decimate the great buffalo herds, and the ranchers and miners wanted to control the lands over which the Indians wandered. The generation of Southern Plains Indians who came to maturity in this era never knew a time when they were not threatened by decreasing food supplies, increasing limits on their range, and violence from American settlers and military.

After 1840, the separation of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes into northern and southern branches became more stable as the southern bands located permanently in the area around Bent's Fort. Their alliance continued strong, but the Cheyenne also began to pursue their alliance with



the Kiowa and Comanche more aggressively. Those two tribes were continually involved in hostilities with the Texans because in 1838 President Lamar had cancelled the peace policy of President Houston in favor of active elimination of "wild" Indians from Texas and the expansion of settlement northward into Kiowa and Comanche territory. Both sides raided and retaliated in an ever escalating cycle. The Kiowa and Comanche were pushed steadily northwestward, and they began to look to the Southern Cheyenne for help against the Texans. The Arapaho tended to avoid the warfare, and therefore maintained a reputation as the most peaceful of the plains people. (Leckie, 1963: 12-15.)

In the 1840's, the great trails across the plains were open and in full use, especially late in the decade, by traders to Santa Fe and by forty-niners on the way to California. These trails cut directly across the lands and hunting areas of all four tribes and harassment of wagon trains and travellers became common. In 1845, the United States annexed Texas and assumed responsibility for handling its Indian problem, but the refusal of Texas to recognize Indian land claims and the Indians' inability to understand the change in jurisdiction ("Texans are our enemies; Americans are not.") made any peaceful or quick solutions impossible. (Leckie, 1963: 14.) In 1847, a feeble effort was made to establish reserves for Texas Indians, but it was abandoned in the face of White hostility.

As raiding steadily increased, and Texans and traders to the north demanded protection, the government built a double line of forts intended to protect Texas settlements and defend the travel routes. Built between 1848 and 1853, these were of only limited value as war parties breached the lines almost at will. In 1853, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache signed a treaty with the United States at Fort Atkinson, Kansas, whose terms promised no interference with construction of roads or military posts, a halt to raids in Mexico and the United States, and reparations for damages in either country. In return, the Indians were to receive \$180,000 over ten years, and federal protection. (Leckie, 1963: 16.)

Beginning in 1854, another attempt was made to create reserves for Texas Indians on about 56,000 acres of land given by the Texas legislature. By 1858, some 1100 peaceful Indians were settled, but less than 400 Comanches had moved to the reserve. Continuing raids by Kiowas and Comanches led to attacks on all the Indians by Whites, and in 1859, the U. S. Indian agent moved them into Indian Territory to try to protect them. (Leckie, 1963: 17.)

The Cheyenne and Arapaho were also affected during this period by efforts to protect the cross-plains routes. In 1851, they were joined by some Sioux in signing the Treaty of Fort Laramie. This treaty promised them lands in the foothills of the Rockies between the North Platte River

and the Arkansas, \$2,500,000 over fifty years, and protection from White intrusion. In return, the Indians were to permit the establishment of roads and military posts in their region. (Kappler, ed., II: 594-96.) The treaty was never ratified, and the Indians never received any of the promised benefits.

The discovery of gold in Colorado in 1858 brought Whites to the area in tremendous numbers, and no attempt was made to honor Indian land or hunting rights. Game was depleted and the Cheyenne and Arapaho were, like the Kiowa and Comanche, being forced out of their lands and to the south and east. In 1861, at Fort Wise (Bent's Fort), the Cheyenne and Arapaho signed a new treaty accepting a small portion of their former lands and payment of \$450,000 over fifteen years-- minus expenses of improving the land. (Kappler , ed., II: 807-11.)

The Civil War, and its corresponding depletion of federal troops in the Southern Plains, led to an extreme level of raiding in the old Kiowa-Comanche battle areas and the retreat of White settlers from the region. To the northwest, in Cheyenne and Arapaho country, things were relatively quiet until 1864 and Major Jacob Downings' massacre of a Cheyenne village at Cedar Bluffs as revenge for an alleged cattle theft. The Cheyenne responded with large scale warfare in alliance with the Arapaho , Kiowa, and Comanche which cut all communication between Colorado

and the East. Peace attempts were begun in late summer, but the military leadership did not want peace until, in their judgment, the Indians had been adequately punished. (Leckie, 1963: 22.) In November, in response to appeals by civilian peace-minded officials, Black Kettle (Cheyenne) and others came to Fort Lyon to surrender, making camp on Sand Creek nearby. The military, determined to mount a winter campaign against the Cheyenne, sent out Col. John Chivington with one thousand men, who reached Fort Lyon November 28. The result was the infamous Sand Creek Massacre, in which five hundred of the seven hundred Indians died. (Leckie, 1963: 23.)

This incident undoubtedly made peace in the Southern Plains impossible. In fact, it elicited the most widespread warfare ever seen on the plains. Black Kettle called for and received the support of the Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho, the Southern Arapaho, and the Kiowa and Comanche, and their attacks extended from the Red River of Texas to the Canadian border. For the winter and summer of 1865, the Indians successfully held off the troops sent to quiet them.

Despite their inability to stop the Indian warfare (or perhaps because of it), the military sought to expand its campaigns but public outrage about the Chivington massacre encouraged civilian authorities to respond favorably to Indian requests for peace councils. In late summer of 1865, the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche

gathered at Bluff Creek to talk with a United States peace commission. The Cheyenne and Arapaho agreed, after the apologies of General John B. Sanborn for Sand Creek, to leave their lands in Colorado for a reserve partly in Kansas and partly in Indian Territory. However, their transfer had to wait until title to the new lands was cleared, and meanwhile, they could hunt their old lands as long as they stayed at least ten miles from White settlements and transport routes. They also agreed to permanent peace, arbitration of disputes, and to surrender any raiders. In return, they would receive annuities at the rate of \$20 per capita until settled on the reservation and \$40 per capita afterward for a total of forty years. The Kiowa and Comanche agreed to similar terms with a reservation in Indian Territory and the Texas panhandle. (Kappler, ed., II: 887-89.)

Although these treaties briefly encouraged peace, they were sabotaged by the refusal of Texas and Kansas to allow their lands to be used for reservations. Thus the location of lands was delayed for more than two years while Congress and the President selected lands wholly in Indian Territory. In the meantime, the pressure of White settlement continued to build. Although no serious incidents aggravated tensions in Cheyenne and Arapaho country, developments during 1866-67 led Whites to expect further trouble. The Cheyenne Dog Soldiers were known to be

unhappy, and despite their promises of peace, they were suspected of calling for war. Movements of the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho toward the south had military leaders predicting another alliance for war. (They were moving in search of buffalo.) (Berthrong, 1963: 245.)

Tensions were especially high in Kiowa-Comanche country after 1865. Dohasan, chief of the Kiowas, died in 1866 and was replaced by Lone Wolf, a known raider, who had little commitment to peace and equally little control over other Kiowa chiefs. Raiding against Texas was at a peak, due primarily to Santanta and his warriors. The Comanche were accused of raiding not only Texas but the Kansas frontier as well. General William T. Sherman visited the area and concluded that the reports of attacks were completely overblown, but General Winfield Scott Hancock decided to avert what he viewed as an impending outbreak by leading a military force into Indian country to impress the Indians, or to fight and defeat them. (Sherman was commander of the Military Division of the Missouri. Hancock was commander of the Department of the Missouri, a subunit of the Division.)

Hancock went first to meet with the Cheyenne in April, 1867, but remembering Sand Creek, the warriors staged delaying tactics until the women and children could evacuate their big village on Pawnee Fork. Then, they, too, slipped away. Col. George A. Custer was sent after them, but could

not track them or supply his train. Hancock destroyed the abandoned village. He went on to meet the Kiowa chiefs and found that some, along with a few Arapaho, had also fled. Nevertheless, several Arapaho chiefs met with him at Fort Dodge to reassert their peacefulness. Hancock went on to Fort Larned to see Satanta, who also said he wanted peace but warned that burning the Cheyenne village had been a serious mistake. Hancock finally returned to Fort Leavenworth after checking on Custer at Fort Hays. (Leckie, 1963: 39-49; Berthrong, 1963: 266-282.)

Satanta had, of course, been right. The burning of the Cheyenne village was followed by the renewal of widespread attacks by Cheyenne, Sioux, and Arapaho, especially along the Smoky Hill River. By summer, they began to raid military posts and railroad construction crews, and even derailed a train. As warfare spread, the military began to respond, and Custer moved over the region of the Platte, constantly hampered by supply problems. Kansas raised a force of volunteers to assist the federal troops in defending its settlements.

As raiding continued unabated, Congress acted on the investigative report of its Joint Special Commission on the Condition of the Indian Tribes. According to the report, Indian numbers were being reduced by wars usually caused by greedy Whites, a process aggravated by disease and alcohol, as well as by extermination of the game. Greed, ineptitude,

and corruption were rampant in the Indian Bureau. The military was stupidly causing wasteful wars. The report called for civilian control of the Indian agencies. (U.S. Congress, Senate Report No. 156, 39 Cong., 2 Sess.: 3-8.)

In response to the report and to the situation in the Southern Plains, in July, 1867, Congress created an Indian Peace Commission to meet with the chiefs of the hostile tribes. The aims were to remove the causes of war, to protect the settlements and the trans-continental railroads, and to put into effect a plan to civilize the Indians. If the Commission failed in its efforts, the President was empowered to declare war on the Indians. While it was at work, however, the military was authorized to undertake only defensive actions. (15 U.S. STAT 17.)

In October, the Commission went to Medicine Lodge Creek, where five thousand Indians were gathering for the huge peace council . It began October 19, without the Cheyennes who would not assemble in the presence of troops. Chiefs of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Arapaho addressed the Commission, and after only two days, an agreement was reached with the Kiowa and Comanche. Black Kettle ultimately persuaded the Cheyenne to join the meeting, and October 28, they and the Arapaho signed their treaty. The tribes were to abandon all claims to former lands in exchange for 7,300,000 acres in Indian Territory, and promises of food, clothing, and tools. Agencies were to be

created on each reservation with schools, doctors, carpenters, blacksmiths, and farmers. Buffalo hunting was allowed anywhere south of the Arkansas, but the Indians were to avoid all White settlements and the roads and to remain peaceful. They would no longer oppose the trans-continental railroads. (Kappler, ed., II: 980-81, 984-89.)

As after the treaties of 1865, the Indians waited without results for the benefits of the treaties of Medicine Lodge. Congress delayed ratification, and no provisions were made either to move the Indians to their reservations or to provide for them. The Cheyenne and Arapaho, camped near Fort Dodge, were destitute, but during the winter of 1867-68, they remained at peace with Whites although they continued raids on the Kaws and Osages. The Kiowa and Comanche, on the other hand, were raiding not only the Civilized Tribes, but White settlements along the Texas frontier. Finally in July, 1868, Congress authorized implementation of the treaties, but through the military, not the Indian bureau. (Berthrong, 1963: 299-301; Leckie, 1963: 67.)

A major Cheyenne attack on the Kaws, preceded and followed by parades of Cheyenne warriors through Council Grove in June of 1868, resulted in an order that the Cheyenne were not to be given their Medicine Lodge ammunition allowances. They responded by refusing all annuities. At the same time, the Kiowa and Comanche were

not receiving their goods because of transport delays. Minor skirmishes were increasingly reported by isolated ranchers and surveyors in Kansas, Texas, and Colorado, and though full distributions of annuities were made in late summer, various bands of Cheyennes began attacking settlements in Kansas and Colorado. As before, warfare spread, and the 2500 cavalry in the Department of the Missouri could not begin to meet the challenge. The area of warfare broadened when General Alfred Sully, at Fort Larned, decided to attack the Kiowa and Comanche, even though they had not participated in the outbreak. His bumbling campaign, in which his troops were routed, succeeded only in involving the Kiowa and Comanche and in convincing them that the military could be beaten. (Leckie, 1963: 68-83; Berthrong, 1963: 302-317.)

Generals Sherman and Philip H. Sheridan responded at first with only defensive tactics, but they planned a winter campaign designed to attack the Indians when they were most vulnerable--when food was scarce and their ponies were weak. The tribes were to be driven to their new reservations or killed. Sherman wanted to make war on all the Indians of the Southern Plains, but had to agree to an Interior Department demand that the innocent be protected. Believing that the Kiowa and Comanche were not guilty of starting the outbreak, he allowed them to be removed to the area of Fort Cobb, the haven for those not at war. Both the Cheyenne and

Arapaho also moved to the Fort Cobb area hoping for peace talks, but Sherman would not negotiate. The campaign, directed by Sheridan and Custer, resulted in the famous Battle of the Washita, where Custer's men decimated the main Cheyenne village and killed hundreds including Black Kettle, the primary voice for peace. (Berthrong, 1963: 317-33; Leckie, 1963: 88-114.)

All four tribes had been camped on the Washita, and after the fight fled to the south. The Comanche, in response to Sherman's sweep across the area, returned to Fort Cobb, and most Kiowas were brought in after a few days to redeem the freedom of their chiefs Satanta and Lone Wolf, who were captured shortly after Washita. In January, they were moved to the new Fort Sill, and finally, after assurances of peace, Satanta and Lone Wolf were released in February.

The troops continued to hunt for the Cheyenne and Arapaho through the winter. Finally a major expedition westward to the Sweetwater River located the main bands who surrendered to Custer. As with the Kiowa, chiefs were held hostage to assure that the people would come in, which they did during April. Another successful campaign against Tall Bull, a major chief who had refused to surrender, brought in many of the remaining bands, but some Kiowa and Comanche continued to raid in Texas, and the Dog Soldiers stayed out with many Cheyenne warriors and their families. Various bands continued to straggle in over the summer.

The campaign of 1868 did successfully bring most of the Indians into the Medicine Lodge reservations. The agencies were made operational, and Quaker agents Laurie Tatum and William F. Darlington began to try to supply and civilize their charges. Rations were usually too scanty or unsuitable, and the Indians remained unsettled and disturbed. Raiding against Texas again increased, and other raids were common. Although the situation could not be described as real warfare, nerves were raw.

In June of 1870, the Kiowas held their Sun Dance, attended as usual by the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Comanche. Apparently it was the occasion for a decision by many of the bands to resume warfare. Within days, Cheyenne raids were reported in Kansas and Colorado, and through the summer, Satanta's band of Kiowa were extremely active. The Kiowa and Comanche did come in to the agency to receive rations, but raiding, especially under White Horse and Satank, continued. Finally in 1871, Tatum called in the military. After a demonstration of force, several chiefs were called to the headquarters for talks, and in two separate incidents, Satank, Big Tree, and then Satanta were arrested. They were sent to Texas, tried for murder, and sentenced to life in prison--a totally new departure in handling Indian depredations. (Leckie, 1963: 133-57.)

Despite reports of occasional raids, the Cheyenne remained relatively quiet from 1871 to 1874. The agent

reported that the chiefs were using the soldier societies to restrain the more war-like (Berthrong, 1963: 351-52.), and the Indians appeared to be content with the new reservation. In fact, it seems more likely that the Cheyenne were quiet because they were able to procure enough food--enough buffalo still remained in their area to supply them. Remembering their repeated punishments by the army, and living reasonably well, they refused to accept Kiowa war arrows, the symbolic call to warfare, several times. But this situation was extremely fragile. The Cheyenne, and their peaceful allies the Arapaho, were coming under increasing pressure from White intruders. They were greatly disturbed by the presence of surveyors in their country, knowing that behind them came the railroad and settlers. They were constantly harrassed by horse thieves, whose depredations they could not, by treaty, avenge. Liquor dealers were everywhere, and the trade for whisky was impoverishing whole bands as traders took hides and ponies in payment. Finally, the arrival of hide hunters in Indian Territory was the proverbial last straw. In the winter of 1873-74, the Cheyenne and Arapaho, for the first time, could not feed themselves. They were completely dependent upon the agency rations for they could find no buffalo. (Berthrong, 1963: 373-83.)

During these years, the Comanche and Kiowa had continued to raid into Texas on a sporadic basis, mostly in

revenge attacks for horse thefts and murders by Whites. The Kiowa, outraged by the imprisonment of Satank, Satanta, and Big Tree, called repeatedly for war, and they fought alone through 1872 and 1873. After a relatively peaceful winter in 1873, the three were released, but raiding once again increased through 1873-74, and the Kiowa were joined by their allies in 1874 when they were jolted by the impending extermination of the buffalo. (Wallace and Hoebel, 1952: 318; Leckie, 1963: 185-235.)

Reports of Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche attacks became more and more common in the spring of 1874, but the summer brought an event remarkable in both cultural and historical terms. The Comanches held a Sun Dance. Led by their new prophet Isatigh, they assembled for their first and only Sun Dance and invited the Kiowa and Cheyenne, who attended in large numbers. (Wallace and Hoebel, 1952: 319-24; Berthrong, 1963: 384-85.) This Sun Dance, copied in many particulars from the Kiowa, was held to restore the buffalo to the Southern Plains and to call the people to destroy the White invaders who were ruining the lives and cultures of the assembled tribes. Isatigh led the people in prayer and preparation, and then he led them in battle, preaching that his magic would protect them from the guns of the Whites. Their first target was the old trading post called Adobe Walls, and there Isatigh's magic failed. Twenty-eight buffalo hunters defeated the war party of

hundreds of Indians. (Berthrong, 1963: 385-86.) What has come to be known as the Red River War was the winter of "mopping up" skirmishes that followed which brought the defeated, demoralized, and hungry Indians back into their reservations for the last time. Its conclusion would bring seventy-four Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, and Kiowa people to prison at Fort Marion, Florida.

These tribes, all migrants into the Southern Plains, shared a remarkably common culture based in nomadic buffalo hunting . As their region and resources were threatened by White encroachment in the early to mid-1800's, they created trading and military alliances for their common defense. By 1868, and the treaties of Medicine Lodge, the United States government and its agents (both military and civilian) recognized this commonality of culture, history, and interest and established contiguous reservations to be shared by the tribes of the two sub-alliances. Finally, in their last desperate effort to expel the Whites, the Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche once again fought together. It makes sense that they were punished together, and it also makes sense to study acculturation among the Fort Marion prisoners, and their reservation peers, after the Red River War as common phenomena. As we shall see, identical policies and practices would be applied to them whether in prison or on the reservations. We will first examine the Fort Marion experience.

Chapter 3

Fort Marion

General Sheridan doggedly pursued scattered bands of Cheyenne, Comanche, and Kiowa through western Indian Territory, northwest Texas, and Kansas in the Red River War of 1874-75. Wherever he found camps, he ordered the tipis and supplies destroyed and the animals killed. After a winter of this constant war of attrition, the Indians began to come in to their reservations, usually in destitute and starving condition. As the campaign progressed, and showed clear signs of success, military and civilian leaders began to consider proposals for dealing with the defeated Indians.

When the campaign began, General Sheridan had suggested trying the Indian leaders before a specially constituted military commission. Military leaders generally accepted that notion, and Major C.D. Emory, Judge Advocate of the Department of Texas, went to Fort Sill to collect evidence and identify those who should be tried. The United States Attorney General ruled, however, that "a state of war could not exist between a nation and its wards," and therefore a military commission was unconstitutional. Since the authorities recognized that fair trials for Indians were

impossible in the civil courts of the region, they abandoned trials in favor of an imprisonment of the most "notorious ringleaders" in a fort far from Indian Territory. (File of correspondence regarding the Red River War, Records of the War Department, July 1874 through May, 1875, NA, especially Edward Smith, CIA, to Gen. Sherman, February 16, 1875; Pratt, 1964: 104-5.)

By the spring of 1875, Emory and the Indian agents had collected evidence against a number of the Indian warriors, some of whom were in government custody. Assisting Emory in this work at Fort Sill was Lt. Richard Henry Pratt, who had been serving since 1868 in Indian Territory. He supervised Indian Scouts, and in the course of his work, he came to know many of the Kiowa and Comanche band leaders quite well.

Pratt came to the Southern Plains a fervent believer in racial equality. He pointed to his recent experiences in the Civil War, fighting to end slavery, as the origins of his beliefs. Like contemporary Radical Republicans, he argued that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution guaranteed equal rights to all, and for Pratt, "all" included Indians. (Pratt, 1964: 6-8.) Radical Republicans fought racial segregation because their concept of "integral nationalism" allowed for no subordinate race. (Montgomery, 1967: 82.) The Fourteenth Amendment was crucial in solidifying the Union, re-enforcing the Constitution, and

guaranteeing civil rights not only to Blacks but to all citizens. Thus, the policies of the Radicals were anti-racist, legalistic, and assimilationist. Law could correct past injustice and assure equal opportunity, but a single standard of color blind law also implied, to them, conformity to White American values. There is no evidence that Pratt had active contact with the Radical Republicans of his native Illinois, but he was clearly influenced by them when he reflected on his experiences as a soldier and educator:

I cannot see other wise than that all the gross injustices to both races [Blacks and Indians, author's note] which have followed and become indurated policies are primarily the result of national neglect to give the opportunities and enforce the safeguards of our Declaration and Constitution. (Pratt, 1964: 8.)

Throughout his career, Pratt repeatedly asserted that the American task had to be to insure that members of racial minorities received the same open chances and opportunities that Pratt believed both native-born Whites and the new European industrial immigrants had. (Pratt, 1964: 271.) He went even further to call for the assimilation of minority people into mainstream American culture, again as he believed the European immigrants were being assimilated, by educating them in American life, language, and culture and by encouraging them to abandon their old, inferior life-styles.

Pratt's views reflected not only those of the Radical Republicans, but those of former abolitionists and reformers who were turning their attention to race problems, and often, "The Indian Question," in the late 1860's and early 1870's. Lydia Maria Child, poet and abolitionist, for example, wrote "An Appeal for the Indians," for The National Anti-Slavery Standard, April 11, 1868, in which she called for a gradual incorporation of Indians into American culture. Wendell Phillips also spoke widely and wrote pamphlets on total racial equality for Indians. Others who participated in Indian reform campaigns included Peter Cooper, of the working man's Cooper Institute, Henry Ward Beecher, and Vincent Colyer, prominent artist and humanitarian. All were instrumental in founding the United States Indian Commission. The Commission, a private group established to investigate Indian grievances and conditions, became the model for the official Board of Indian Commissioners, founded in 1869. Abolitionists never assumed dominant positions in the post Civil War Indian reform movement, but their racial attitudes and passionate opposition to injustice certainly influenced it, and Pratt. (Prucha, 1976: 25-29.)

If Pratt's ideas in the 1860's and 1870's strongly reflected the Radical Republican's notions of racial equality and Indian reform, his actions and ideas in the 1880's would place him in the forefront of the Indian reform

movement. This new movement, begun in the mid-1870's as Pratt experimented with the prisoners at Fort Marion, like Radical Republicanism, was pre-eminently nationalistic and Christian. It sought to "Americanize" the Indians, a phrase which incorporated within it Christian (especially Protestant) conversion, education, hard work and self-support, and the utter destruction of traditional Indian culture. That culture prevented the Indians from achieving their potential. The movement was led primarily by evangelical Protestants and was typified by such organizations as the Indian Rights Association and the Women's National Indian Association (which began as the Central Indian Committee of the Women's Home Mission Society of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia.) Such groups dominated the movement for Indian assimilation until well after 1900. (Prucha, 1976: 132-68.) Merrill Gates, member of the Board of Indian Commissioners from 1884 to 1922 and key figure in the movement's leadership, summarized the attitudes of those pressing the movement's cause:

We have learned that education and example, and, pre-eminently, the force of Christian life and Christian faith in the heart, can do in one generation most of that which evolution takes centuries to do... The sad uniformity of savage tribal life must be broken up! Individuality must be cultivated...At last as a nation, we are coming to recognize the great truth that if we would do justice to the Indians, we must get at them, one by one, with American ideals, American schools, American laws, the priveleges and the pressures of

American rights and duties. (Lake Mohonk Conference Proceedings, 1900, p. 14, quoted in Prucha, 1976: 153.)

After he founded Carlisle in 1879, Pratt remained fervently committed to these ideas, carrying them to their logical extremes and eventually calling for the end of reservations and the scattering of Indians throughout the United States. Despite his brilliant example in Indian education, his inflexibility in calling for off-reservation boarding schools and the destruction of reservations ultimately put him outside the Indian reform movement. His constant harrassment of Bureau of Indian Affairs officials finally resulted in his removal as superintendent of Carlisle in 1904. (Pratt, 1964: xiv-xvii.)

It was, therefore, no accident that Pratt served in the Southern Plains with the Tenth Cavalry, the Black troops of the Unites States Army. He believed that with the help of enlightened officers such as himself, these men could prove themselves the equals of Whites. In his memoirs, he recounted with obvious delight the story of a "colored" soldier whom he selected to serve as his orderly. The man had "beaten out" White soldiers for the coveted position because of his cleaner fingernails and superior personal habits. (Pratt, 1964: 28-29.) Pratt's success in dealing with the Blacks encouraged his superiors at Fort Arbuckle to have him try organizing and supervising Indian scouts. He took on the job enthusiastically; what better way to get to

know "the Indian", to discover his true capacities, to set a good example. He was remarkably successful. His scouts trusted him, as did many of the local Indians, because, he himself said, of his forthright, completely honest approach and because of his willingness to treat the Indians in ways they would understand.

Pratt's acquaintance with the Indians around Fort Sill, especially the Kiowa and Comanche, made him the obvious person to collect evidence against those Indians he and the agent believed incorrigibly hostile and demonstrably violent. His role in this process, and in the selection of those Indian prisoners sent to Florida, is indicative of his attitudes: he took great pains to determine exact crimes (murders, thefts) which each person was alleged to have committed, and he lobbied for the inclusion of only those known to be guilty (and of all those known to be guilty.) (Testimony was taken from White victims, Indians willing to talk in return for immunity, and military and agency personnel.) As a result, the Comanches and Kiowas chosen for prison were mostly well-known participants in raids and attacks and were accused of specific offenses such as the murder of agency employees, rape, and horse theft. To Pratt's dismay, notorious leaders and warriors such as Kicking Bird and Big Bow were not imprisoned because they provided evidence against their fellows. (Pratt, 1964: 104-8.)

The Indians were also upset that some of their fellows would betray others. The Kiowas were especially angry that Kicking Bird had given testimony against the prisoners but was not himself to be punished. The Kiowa prisoners concluded that they had to punish him themselves, and Mah-mante, another important leader with special supernatural powers, agreed to witch him to death before leaving for prison. Kicking Bird was informed of the verdict, and died as the train left for Florida. Mah-mante predicted that he himself would soon die, both as a penance and from the exertion of the witching, and he died at Fort Marion in July, 1875. White authorities believed Kicking Bird had been murdered by relatives of the deported Kiowas. (Nye, 1962: 277-81; Corwin, 1958: 109.)

By contrast, the selection process among the Cheyennes was far more arbitrary. At the Cheyenne and Arapaho agency, Lt. Col. Thomas H. Neill, with the limited assistance of Agent J.A. Miles, collected evidence for two days by interviewing Indians who were either under arrest at the agency or who were coming in to surrender. The military viewed the Red River War as primarily a Cheyenne outbreak, and it is clear that Neill considered all the surrendered bands to be guilty. Accounts vary as to the sequence of events at the agency, but there was an escape attempt in the evening of the second day (April 6.) Alarmed by the ensuing firing, the assembled Indians tried to run. The military

quickly and brutally stopped the mass flight. Neill, whose patience with the slow process of determining individual guilt had been minimal at best, abandoned the effort, and after quiet was restored, arbitrarily selected most of his candidates for prison. (Covington to Adjutant General, October 15, 1875, Red River War File, NA; Petersen, 1971: 6.)

The Indian warriors selected for prison were, therefore, a mixed group. Sixty-eight men were chosen from the three tribes who had been the active participants in the Red River War--Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche. The Cheyennes included band leaders such as Heap of Birds, Bear Shield, Minimic, Grey Beard, and Lean Bear--prominent men. Most of the group were warriors, ranging in age from about twenty to the mid-thirties. The only woman accused of a crime was the Cheyenne Mochi, wife of Medicine Water, another prisoner. Of the thirty-three, only twelve were accused of specific acts of violence: none of the chiefs were accused of any specific crime and were really hostages for the good behavior of their people. Several men were related to each other. (See Appendix A, prisoner list, and Appendix B, individual biographies of the prisoners.)

The list of the Kiowas included twenty-seven men, seven of whom were prominent leaders (Woman's Heart, White Horse, Taneti, Double Vision, Bear-in-the-Clouds, Lone Wolf, and Mah-mante.) Most of the twenty warriors were under

thirty years of age. The nine Comanches included only the warriors of Black Horse's band, and he was the only leader selected. Every man in both groups was accused of murder, theft, horse-theft, or some combination of crimes. Black Horse's wife, Pe-ah-in, refused to leave her husband in prison alone, and Pratt allowed her and her daughter to go to Florida with the group. (Pratt and the Indians believed that all the men would eventually be able to send for their wives and children.) The group sent to Florida was brought to a total of seventy-four by the inclusion of three men, two Arapahos and a Caddo, accused of murder and attempted murder in incidents unrelated to the Red River War. (Prisoner list, Appendix A.)

The Cheyenne prisoners were transferred in irons to Fort Sill where they were joined by the Kiowas and Comanches in late April, 1875. Lt. Pratt brought the Kiowas and Comanches to Fort Sill, and there asked to be allowed to escort the prisoners to Fort Marion, the site finally selected as the prison. In his letter of application to General Sherman, Pratt expressed his disappointment at the constitution of the group and the decision not to try the leaders. He believed the young men were "not really so culpable"; they had "simply been following their leaders, much as a soldier obeys his officers." (Pratt, 1964: 106-7.) Nevertheless, he was interested in becoming prison superintendent, and for the sake of his family, he wanted a change from his duties in Indian Territory.

Sherman ordered Pratt to take the Indians to Fort Leavenworth to await further orders and then to transport them to Fort Marion by train. He was to "remain in immediate charge of these Indians until further notice and...attend to the supply of their proper wants, etc." (Adjutant General to Pratt, May 11, 1875, in Pratt, 1964: 109-10.) His orders in conducting the prison were never made more specific in the three years of his duty.

After a train ride of several days, Pratt and his Indian charges arrived in St. Augustine, the location of Fort Marion, May 21, 1875. The Indians were apprehensive and many were seriously depressed throughout the trip, which they made in chains and wearing the same clothes in which they had surrendered. During the trip, both Lean Bear and Grey Beard attempted suicide. Lean Bear, who had also tried to hang himself at Fort Leavenworth, had concealed a knife in his blankets and stabbed himself several times. The guards assumed he was dead and left him for burial in Nashville, Tennessee, but he revived. After he arrived at Fort Marion several weeks later, he went on a hunger strike and died of its effects. Gray Beard jumped from the train in Georgia and the guards shot him when he refused to stop. Before he died, he told Minimic that he had wanted to die ever since being chained and taken from Indian Territory. (Pratt, 1964: 114-15.) The Indians were the objects of sensational curiosity everywhere along their route to

Florida: the press covered their stops with lurid, often fictional accounts of their misdeeds and appearance, and crowds frequently surrounded the train for glimpses of the "savages." (Pratt, 1964: 111-15.)

For the first few weeks in the fort, the Indians were kept in chains and housed within the casemates. The dampness, heat, and inactivity augmented the problems of dislocation and depression, and many of the men were soon ill and two died (Sun and Mah-Mante.) Pratt appealed for permission to remove the irons and begin programs of activity and education, and by the fall of 1875, he had begun his experiments in "Americanizing" the prisoners. (Pratt, 1964: 118.)

After removing the shackles, Pratt began to lift the Indians from "the curio class" by cutting their hair and dressing them in White clothing. As will be seen, Pratt actually exploited the prisoners' exoticism to elicit support for his ideas of Americanization and to raise money. What he intended at this point was to make the Indians look like Whites as much as possible during their regular, day-to-day activities and to get them accustomed to White garments and grooming habits. After insisting that the trousers could not be cut apart to make leggings, Pratt gradually introduced inspections in which the men were evaluated on the care of their clothing, by now cast-off military uniforms. He had the guards teach the men to clean

their clothes, polish their shoes, and shine their brass buttons. (Pratt, 1964: 119. Pratt's memoirs provide a vividly detailed account of the Fort Marion programs and will be heavily relied upon.)

In an effort to alleviate the early health problems at the fort, Pratt ordered the prisoners to build large barracks on the north terreplein. This was cooler, open to breezes, and much drier than the casemates, and the better housing, in combination with great activity, did result in improved health. Two more men (Straightening-an-Arrow, and Big Mocassin) died in the autumn of 1875, but only one death occurred in 1876 (Shaving Wolf.) (Pratt, 1964: 136-46.)

Almost as soon as the chains of his prisoners were removed, Pratt began to establish his methods of Americanizing the Indians. Most of his programs and ideas were put into effect within weeks, certainly by Christmas of 1875, and continued with greater and greater elaboration until the prisoners' release in May of 1878. The activities had several distinct purposes: one, to teach the Indians how to work and to understand that work had value; two, to instruct them in the cultural mores of White Americans such as Christianity and manners; and three, to teach them English and specific skills that might be useful in earning a living. Pratt believed that such an education could be achieved only if the Indians were treated respectfully, and only if they were in frequent interaction with White people

in every sort of activity ranging from commercial to social. His policies at the fort reflected these purposes and conditions, and were surprising to local people, visitors, and the military authorities because of the degree of freedom granted to the prisoners.

In the fall of 1875, Pratt requested that the military guard at Fort Marion be removed. He was sure that he had won the trust of the Indians and that, while he expected no trouble, he could personally handle any that might arise. The local commander was understandably suspicious, but his objections were overruled from Washington, and Pratt promptly created his own Indian militia to police the fort. Except for one brief period of trouble in 1876, no White soldiers ever again guarded these prisoners. Instead, young Indian men drilled in formation in the courtyard and stood guard at the entrances and watch posts. Eventually, they were used as much to regulate the entrance of curious Whites as to prevent trouble among themselves. Fort Marion's Indians very quickly became a leading tourist attraction in Florida (just beginning its winter home-tourism development), and the drills of the militia were a continuing popular event. (Pratt, 1964: 120, for example.)

As the residents of St. Augustine became more accustomed to the presence of the Indians at the fort and convinced of their peacefulness and industriousness, Pratt

began issuing passes to the men to leave the fort. They were allowed to come and go relatively unrestricted--they did not have to be accompanied and could be gone as long as they wished, returning only at nightfall. The only requirement was that they had to have some purpose for the visit to St. Augustine, usually shopping. Pratt generally encouraged them to go out in pairs for their own protection. The outings were so popular that Pratt used the denial of passes as a most effective disciplinary device. (Such offenses as failure to present a neat appearance or insubordination might be punished by withholding passes.) Thus, Pratt rather quickly eliminated the restrictions on personal movement characteristic of prisons and instead made the Indians responsible for their own actions to a remarkable degree. (Pratt, 1964: 132.)

As soon as he had achieved a regular routine of daily activity in the fort based on military discipline, Pratt implemented his educational ideas. The men were already being trained in personal hygiene and appearance, and stood daily inspections of their quarters. To begin their instruction in the meaning and value of work, Pratt obtained commissions from local curio dealers to have the prisoners polish sea beans (mackay beans carried in on the tides) which would eventually be sold to tourists. Initially, the dealers furnished the beans in quantity and taught the men the polishing technique. They paid ten cents

per bean; the men polished 16,000 in the first few months. (Pratt, 1964: 119.) An Indian was free to do as he pleased with the money he earned, but Pratt encouraged the men to send money home, both to aid their families and to show their families that they were learning to be self-sufficient wage earners. As the months passed, Pratt and the Indians discovered that they could collect the beans themselves, polish them, and sell them directly at the fort or in St. Augustine to visitors. Not surprisingly, the local curio dealers objected when the Fort Marion Indian entrepreneurs undercut their market, but the sea bean trade remained important until the prisoners' release. (Pratt to St. Augustine City Council, January 23 and 24, 1876; Pratt to Post Commandant, January 23 and 24, 1876. PP. Pratt was ordered by the local military commander to buy provisions for the Indians elsewhere until the local merchants were more cooperative.)

The tourist traffic to the fort offered other means of earning cash as well. Pratt provided the materials for the Indians to make bows and arrows, painted shields, and other items for sale. The two women produced bead work and at least some garments--some of which may have been the reworked originals in which the people arrived at the fort. (Pratt to Chambers, June 22, 1874, PP. Petersen, 1971: 67.) Some of the men achieved a certain lasting recognition for their sketches and drawings--again, Pratt provided the

materials--which they both sold and gave away. (The artists are the subject of Karen Daniels Petersen's books, including Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion, 1971; A Cheyenne Sketchbook by Cohoe, 1964; and Howling Wolf, 1968.) A few men earned additional money by teaching the children of visitors to use bows and arrows. Outside the fort, some of the Indians served as baggage handlers at the train depot, and once they learned boat handling, some took tourists on sailing tours of the St. Augustine area. Pratt eventually found that the constant demand for the "exotic" and the heavy traffic at the fort were distracting his men from their basic task (learning White American culture) and began to limit the hours and days when visitors could enter the fort and to gently discourage the manufacture of Indian curios. (Pratt, 1964: 116-65.)

Pratt found the St. Augustine area to be most inadequate in providing forms of labor and income for his men unrelated to the tourist trade. There were few local industries and little opportunity for employment but he made the most of the limited local resources. The Indians worked in contract labor gangs for local citrus farmers out of season clearing the mangrove swamp lands for orange groves--back breaking labor. In season, they worked picking and packing oranges for shipment north. A few worked as saw mill hands. Pratt also provided a labor team to dig a new deep well for the city of St. Augustine, and another to move

a church building within the city. All of these tasks Pratt described as the most difficult, most disagreeable work available, for which no other labor could usually be found. He reported proudly that his men performed successfully in every case, quickly and with no complaining. Several men also worked at various times for businesses and individuals in St. Augustine as general laborers and handymen. (Pratt, 1964: 128-29.)

It is impossible to determine from the records exactly which and how many of the prisoners worked at these various jobs. Judging from Pratt's descriptions and those of fort visitors, it seems likely that nearly everyone participated to some degree in the tourist trade, but it is clear that relatively few worked at most of the other jobs although the large work details--church moving, for example--no doubt were comprised of most of the men. It is also likely that the older prominent men did not generally work for wages as did the younger able bodied warriors. (See later discussions for additional differences between the younger and older men.) Finally, in an effort to both economize and teach a useful trade, Pratt had a bakery built and put two young men (Beahko and Ohettoint) to work producing the ration bread. They were paid from ration funds. (Pratt to Miles, 1877, PP; Petersen, 1971: 163.)

Since there was not enough work available to keep many men regularly employed, Pratt undertook to fill vacant

hours with instruction and recreation. Several times a week local and visiting women came to the fort to teach English classes. These were attended mostly by the younger men, and Pratt reported that some made substantial progress. In an effort to prepare the men for their return to their reservations, where they would be expected to live in houses, Pratt brought carpenters and house builders to the fort to demonstrate house construction and shingle making. Local and visiting ministers taught Sunday school each week and preached sermons at church services. (Pratt, 1964: 155-66.)

The church services became an especially important demonstration of Pratt's success in civilizing the Indians. They were attended by many visitors including such important reform activists as Bishop Henry Whipple of Minnesota, famous for his rescue of hundreds of Sioux after the uprising of 1862 and later to be one of Pratt's chief benefactors, who wrote glowing accounts in major publications. One such story, published in October, 1877, included a description of the Indians' songs and prayers and the following speech by Soaring Eagle:

It is good to go to church. When I was at my home I did not know about church. At home I did not wear good clothes. My hair was long. I know now to spell and read a little, and will know more. When I go home I hope to sit down and sing God's hymns...At home I did not know who Jesus was, I loved to hunt, shoot, and sleep on Sundays like other days, but the

Bible God's book has told me it was wrong. I now look up to Jesus who has been so good to me and pray to him to forgive all my past sins and to make me his child. (Unidentified church pamphlet, Mrs. Pratt's Scrapbooks, PP.)

Conscious of the anxiety and distress his prisoners felt in their isolation from their homes and families, Pratt did all he could to boost morale. He regularly took the entire group out of the fort for camping expeditions to a nearby island, believing a change of scene, routine, and air were beneficial not only to the morale but to health. He had the men taught to sail, and permitted frequent excursions, even staging races in the bay. Furnished by him with fishing equipment, the men often caught their own dinners--after they acquired a taste for seafood. Pratt allowed the men to stage their own entertainments, especially foot races and Indian games, although gambling was forbidden. Those who showed the best progress, or who were Pratt's special favorites (for example, the chiefs Minimic and Lone Wolf), were sent to St. Augustine to eat in restaurants. Perhaps most remarkable, given the tenor of the times, was Pratt's promotion of picnics for the young Indian men and young White women of the area. (Pratt, 1964: 116-27, 181-90.)

Pratt also arranged with representatives of the Smithsonian Institution for the participation of the Indians in the collection of archaeological and natural science data. For several weeks in 1877 they provided the field crew for

excavations of near-by Indians mounds. When an enormous saw fish was caught off St. Augustine, an Indian crew hauled it ashore, cleaned, and mounted it for shipment to Washington. Clark Mills, a noted sculptor, came to Fort Marion to take plaster casts of each prisoner's head--the men themselves becoming the objects of scientific investigation. In addition to being modeled in plaster, each man was weighed and measured, and Pratt and Mills prepared a list describing their physical attributes and giving brief details about their crimes. (This list is duplicated in Appendix A for reference. Smithsonian Institution, Proceedings of the National Museum for 1878. The casts were on display at the Smithsonian for years.) (Pratt, 1964: 136-46.)

The residents of St. Augustine being initially alarmed at the presence of the "dangerous savages" in the fort so close to their homes, Pratt quickly set out to allay their fears. His constant demonstrations of the Indians' peaceful nature and usefulness gradually made an impact, and local people began to visit the fort frequently. Most of these were women who came at first out of curiosity but returned to befriend and to teach the prisoners. The townspeople became accustomed to employing the Indians at odd jobs and to seeing them moving unaccompanied on the city streets. There was some objection to this freedom of movement, and to the absence of guards at the fort, expressed in the local newspaper in 1876 and in a petition

to Congress (on which no action was ever taken.) Pratt countered by reminding the editor that the Indians had been responsible for saving much of the city from burning by providing a bucket brigade during a recent fire, and he made no changes in his policies. (Pratt, 1964: 132-35.) As Pratt began his campaign for the release of the prisoners and the provision of schooling for some of them, it was the local women who provided much of the important initial support by staging benefits and writing letters to influential friends.

Harriet Beecher Stowe was among those influential friends. She had a winter home some distance from St. Augustine. Brought to the fort by a Miss Mather, one of the most active teachers and Pratt supporters, Mrs. Stowe also regularly taught English classes. By the 1870's, Mrs. Stowe, who had won fame as an opponent of slavery, had turned to other issues, including the "Indian problem." Greatly impressed by Pratt's work, she became one of his most ardent and effective propagandists. Beginning in 1876, she wrote lengthy pieces for such nationally important publications as The Christian Union and Harper's Weekly, describing the men in the fort and Pratt's programs. The largest part of each article was devoted to the classroom teaching and the church services, viewed as most important in bringing the Indians to civilization. In her letter to the Christian Union, April 25, 1877, she concluded with a

passage echoing Pratt's more and more frequent appeals for the education of the men. Noting that many of the young unmarried men wanted to stay east to learn trades, she asked:

Is not here an opening for Christian enterprise? We have tried fighting and killing the Indians, and gained little by it. We have tried feeding them as paupers in their savage state, and the result has been dishonest contractors, and invitation and provocation to war. Suppose we try education?...Might not the money now constantly spent on armies, forts, and frontiers be better invested in educating young men who shall return and teach their people to live like civilized beings? (PP)

Mrs. Stowe's appeal reflected the efforts Pratt had begun as early as January 1876 to achieve the release of the prisoners and to provide further education for the younger men. Important reformers and politicians increasingly supported his position until Pratt was successful in 1878. In a letter to General Sheridan, January 17, 1876, Pratt wrote:

The behavior of the prisoners has been so good that I would recommend their release and return to their people at an early day. There is a difference in guilt, and it might be better that the worst cases be held longer than the less guilty. I am satisfied, however, that all have been cured. (PP)

Over the next several months, Pratt continued to press for release and introduced the notion of extended schooling for the younger men. At first, he suggested that six to ten of the most eager be sent to agricultural or

industrial schools to teach them to become helpers at their agencies. (Pratt to Adjutant General, March 21, 1876, in Pratt, 1964: 172-73.) If government funds were not available for such a purpose, he asked permission to accept charitable contributions to make it possible. Pratt also insisted that the progress the men had made could be sustained only if, when released, they were supported and cited as examples by the local authorities, rather than being simply put back among "the reservation herds" where they would "fall back" to the level of their people. (Pratt to Sherman, May 1, 1876, in Pratt, 1964: 179.) He continued to argue for release, for practical aid to those sent home, and for additional schooling for some, and by 1877, wanted the families of those educated to be also included in the training:

All indications favor that the best results will follow clemency and practical assistance to these people. Their conduct here is deserving of the highest praise, and should be rewarded with a change of condition. A few of the old men would be an element of great good sent back to their tribes. The younger men can so easily be carried forward to industrious civilization that it would seem a sin to deny them the facilities, but their women and children should be included, else much labor is lost. (Pratt to Adjutant General, February 20, 1877, Kiowa Indian Prisoners File, OHSIA.)

After receiving some informal encouragement from the military and enthusiastic support from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, church groups, and his local teachers, Pratt began actively to plan and arrange for education for the younger

men. Late in 1877 he took a survey of the prisoners and found that twenty-two wanted to stay in the east for further training. (Pratt to CIA, April 23, 1878, PP.) Working with his local and religious supporters, Pratt began to raise money to send some of the men to various locations to live with White families, attend local schools, and receive special tutoring. During the winter and spring of 1877-78, a number of benefit performances were held at which both St. Augustine townsfolk and the Indians performed. In response to these "entertainments" and Pratt's appeals, individuals and groups volunteered to support all twenty-two students. Some even offered to take the Indians into their homes. (Pratt, 1964: 189-90.)

Once funding was assured, Pratt began to look for appropriate places to send the young men. Once again, Miss Mather provided a crucial recommendation, this time to General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder and superintendent of the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute. (Hampton was opened in 1868 as a special training school for Blacks.) Armstrong agreed to take the seventeen students who were not being taken directly into the homes of their benefactors. Those other five were to go to Paris Hill and Tarrytown, New York, where they would receive additional religious training. (Pratt, 1964: 190.)

In April of 1878 the War Department released the prisoners to the care of the Bureau of Indian Affairs

pending their transfer back to Indian Territory. During the three year imprisonment, Pratt had developed and experimented with the concepts and methods of Indian education which would be the seeds of his practices at Carlisle, which he would go on to found in 1879. He believed that the results of his efforts were clear: Indians could be taught the "White Man's Road" through firm discipline combined with genuine respect in a context removed from the debasing influences of the traditional cultures.

The visible results seemed to bear out his beliefs. There had been almost no overt resistance to his programs at the fort. In general, the men had responded cooperatively, with very little of the resentment or surliness that might have been expected. Pratt maintained discipline with remarkably little difficulty through a shrewd combination of rewards for "good behavior," the use of informers, and denial of privileges (freedom of movement, association with peers, and good food) for offenses. The Kiowas did plan an escape attempt in 1876 after the government failed to send their wives and children to Florida, but Ah-ke-ah, a very young prisoner, informed Pratt of the plans. Pratt locked the leaders in solitary confinement for several weeks, brought in the military guards for a few days, delivered a sermon on cooperation and the wonderful opportunities being offered the men at Fort Marion, and then dropped the matter.

He considered the attempt a "natural" outgrowth of the "trying uncertainty of their imprisonment." (Pratt to Adjutant General, April 7, 1876, PP.) The incident was quickly forgotten. There were petty thefts, a few arguments, and incidents of insubordination, but Pratt did not consider these to be signs of serious resistance. He believed that only the Kiowa leaders, especially White Horse, were not showing clear signs of acceptance of White culture. (Pratt, 1964: 152-53.)

Although most of the men participated to some degree in Pratt's programs, the youngest prisoners were most active and receptive. They were the students in the English classes, the members and officers of the militia, the bakers, and Pratt's orderlies and assistants. Pratt and his teachers believed that these young men were their hope for the future and unabashedly lavished attention on them, singling out several for special visits, trips away from the fort for medical treatment, fancier clothing, and personal friendships. (Etahdleuh, Howling Wolf, especially. Petersen, 1971: 137-49; 1968: 21-64. Ah-ke-ah, the young Kiowa informer, was even the subject of a syrupy poem, "Ah-ke-ah's Lament," by an unidentified author. Mrs. Pratt's Scrapbooks, PP.) It should not be surprising that the group responded to this treatment with genuine efforts to learn English and perform special duties. The more they progressed, the more privileges and higher status positions

they received. (The importance of early acquisition of status to a Plains Indian warrior should not be ignored here. Petersen has also noted the importance of the age factor in her study of the art produced by the prisoners. Only the young men were artists. Petersen, 1971: 15.)

The division between the older and younger men was clear in 1877 when Pratt forwarded to the Adjutant General an appeal from the prisoners for their release. Instead of the old chiefs and head men speaking for the whole group, Making Medicine spoke for the young men and Minimic for the old. Both asked for a return to their families and for grants of land, and both promised to farm to support themselves, but Making Medicine specifically promised that the young men would live in houses, raise animals, and teach their children:

I speak for the young men; we want to work. We young men all belong to you...We are thankful for what we have learned. This is the feeling of all the young men that are here. We are willing to learn, and want to work. (February 20, 1877, Kiowa Indian Prisoners File, OHSIA.)

Minimic spoke more traditionally for "all the Kiowas, Comanches, and Cheyennes," but with assurance that they could work even if they were old.

In the spring of 1877, two Kiowas were sent back to Indian Territory: Woman's Heart, an older chief, and Ah-ke-ah, who had contracted tuberculosis. Ah-ke-ah died in June, and Woman's Heart wrote to Pratt through Agent Haworth to

tell him that the young man had carried Pratt's "good talk" with him to the grave. Woman's Heart himself had "learned a great deal about white people's way--much of which I can not keep in practice here." (Woman's Heart-Agt. Haworth to Pratt, June 20, 1877, PP.) A year later, in May of 1878, a steamer arrived at Fort Marion to carry all the men to Hampton Institute. From there the surviving prisoners who would not be further educated went on to Indian Territory and seven young men went to New York State to the homes of their mentors. The other fifteen stayed on at Hampton. In the next chapter, we shall examine the reservation milieu to which the older former prisoners were immediately returning, and in which all the former prisoners would live the rest of their lives.

Chapter 4

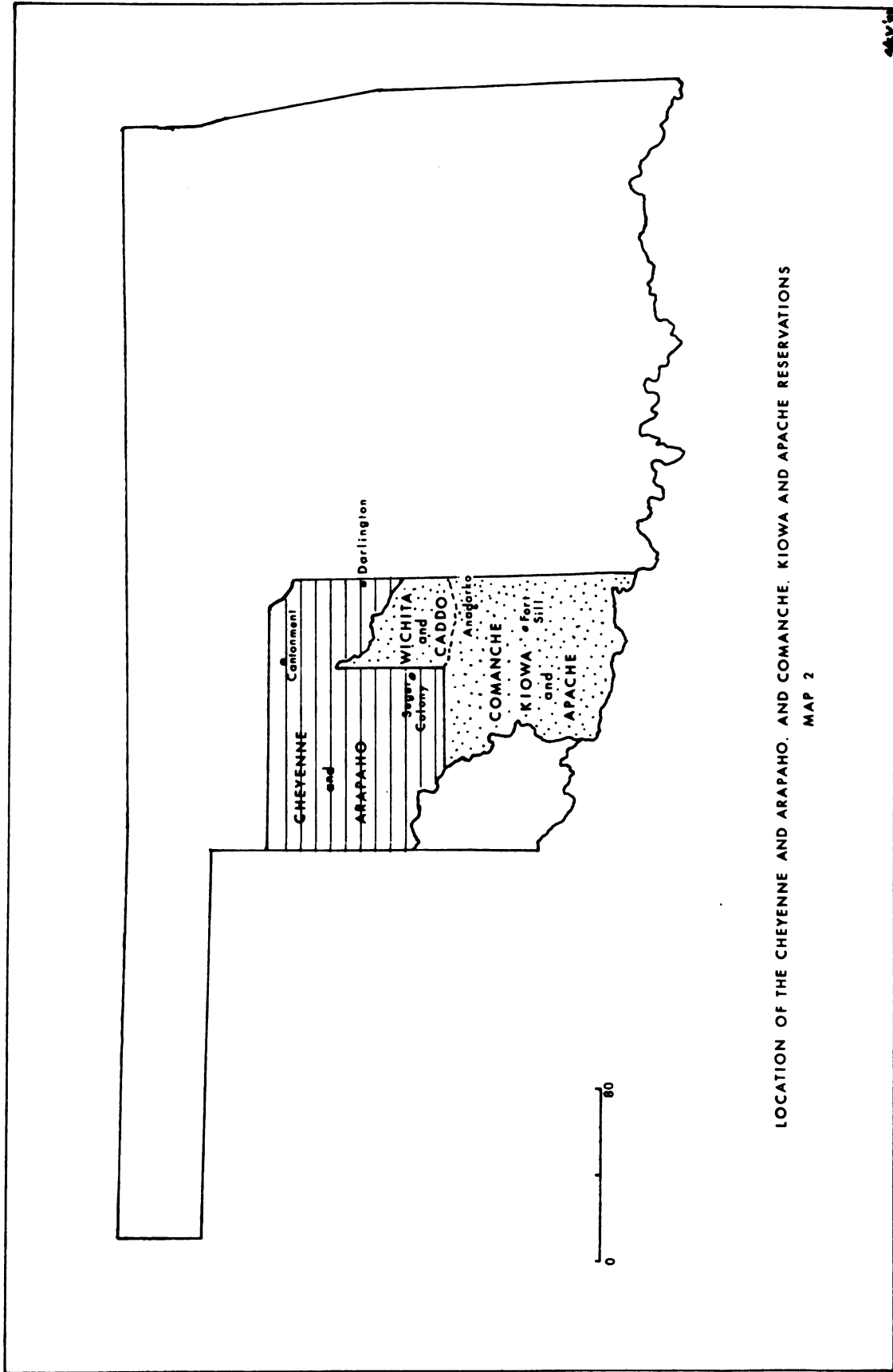
Reservation Life: 1878-1912

After three years of intense immersion in White American culture in an environment totally removed from their homes, thirty-seven Fort Marion prisoners returned to Indian Territory. Their friends and families were living a life very different from the one they had known before prison, and during their lifetimes, that life would change even more drastically. Those changes meant the end of nomadic buffalo hunting and the emergence of a new, sedentary life based at first on government rations and later on small scale agriculture and rents. At the same time, the people experienced pressure to adopt White culture in all its ramifications: religion, language, clothing, subsistence, healing. Their actual acceptance of that culture--their acculturation--was markedly limited until the early twentieth century, but they did make accomodation to their new situation by creating new, distinctly Indian, institutions. It was in this context that the ex-prisoners made their own choices and adaptations, and their lives will later be compared to those of their peers.

The returning prisoners found their people living in

1878 as they might have, in the old days, only during large summer gatherings for Sun Dances or communal buffalo hunts. In the preceeding three years, the tribes of both reservations had been "pacified": no bands remained on the warpath; constant raiding against Whites and other Indians had ended. Instead, the Indians were gathered in large camps near the agencies and issue stations. (Darlington was the agency headquarters for the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation, Fort Sill for the Kiowa-Comanche. In 1878, the Kiowa-Comanche agency was moved to Anadarko when the reservation was merged with the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes reserve. See Map 2.) Women continued to cook for their families, provide clothing and shelter, gather wood and water, but men no longer hunted buffalo or fought battles. Instead, they passed their time in such leisure pursuits as games, gambling, story-telling, and ceremonial activities. (See for example: Berthrong, 1976: 48-90; Hagan, 1976: 120-66; Marriott and Rachlin, 1977: 1-22.)

Life was different from pre-Red River War days in other ways as well. Almost all of the people's food was now government rations: coffee and sugar; beef; flour and lard for bread the women were just learning to make. A few months before the prisoners' return, during the winter of 1877-78, the Cheyenne-Arapaho agent had allowed his charges to organize an off-reservation buffalo hunt, hoping they would be able to augment their inadequate government



rations. The hunters could find no buffalo--the southern herd was practically extinct--and no further large off reservation hunts would again be allowed. The Kiowa and Comanche fared no better; a hunting party off the reservation in July of 1879 had to be rescued with provisions from the agency. They could not even find enough game to feed themselves. (Annual Report, J.D. Miles, August 31, 1878; Annual Report, P.B. Hunt, August 24, 1879.)

The routines of camp life were punctuated by the excitement and rituals of issue days, weekly for beef and less often for other commodities. Until the 1890's, the agents issued beef to the Indians live. The animals were driven to corrals near the agencies and then released. Each band received a certain number of head per person. (In 1889, one head for about twenty people. Agents believed that six pounds per person per week was the minimum necessary, although that ration was often reduced or unavailable. Correspondence, Agent Miles, March, 1882, C&A Letterbooks, Vol. 4, 195, 196-201, 209, OHSIA, for example.) The band head, a figure who retained the authority of old hunting band leaders, was responsible for supervising the receipt of the beef. The warriors of the band pursued and shot the terrified animals in the manner of a buffalo hunt, and the women dressed and butchered the carcasses. The band head then determined the allocation of the meat among the families. (C&A Issues; Kiowa Issues, OHSIA. See also Berthrong, 1976: 137; Hagan, 1976: 185; Seger, 1956.)

On other issue days, the people gathered at the agencies to receive foods, clothing, agricultural tools, cloth, seeds, household goods, or cash. As at the beef issues, the band heads controlled the distribution of goods. When the ex-prisoners returned, their peers often had no idea how to use articles they received (certain clothing, shoes, household gadgets), and might simply abandon them. Other more valued items such as wagons, blankets, pots, or knives became the currency of gambling or debt payment. The Indians modified the clothing to suit their tastes: trousers were cut apart to make leggings, hats were adorned with feathers, and blankets were trimmed with beadwork. By the late 1870's, women used the calico issued to them to make dresses of traditional pattern. On annuity days, merchants and traders descended upon the camps intent on collecting debts incurred by the Indians and upon offering even more merchandise for sale. (Hagan, 1976: 171-74, for example.)

The camps were plagued with serious health problems. Because the people did not move as often and lived in much larger groups than they had in the past, severe sanitation problems arose. Disposal of waste became a monumental task. Because they could get no more buffalo hides, and cattle hides were inadequate (and could be sold for extra cash), the Indians made their tipis from government issue canvas--an inferior substitute which was not as waterproof nor as

warm in winter as buffalo hide. The quality of shelter which the Indians now had was thus far worse--dirtier and less protective--than before the reservation. In combination with seriously inadequate rations and exposure to diseases against which the people had no immunities, the unsanitary, crowded, and inadequate living quarters resulted in a very high rate of illness. Epidemics of smallpox, measles, and cholera swept the camps, and malaria was a constant hazard. Tuberculosis was making its first widespread appearance in the late 1870's, especially among school children and their relatives. (Annual Reports, Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency and Kiowa-Comanche Agency, especially doctors' reports when attached, 1878-1890. C&A and Kiowa Schools Files also contain records of student epidemics; OHSIA.)

Thus the people of the two reservations to which the Fort Marion prisoners returned lived uncomfortable, and markedly changed lives. But they were still distinctly Indian lives: basic patterns in band and family structure, leadership, religion, and day-to-day habits had not been drastically altered. It had been all government and military officials could manage to subdue the hostile bands and set up the skeleton organization of agency administration during the prisoners' three year absence. Now government officials, especially the agents, were beginning to apply greater pressure to get the Indians to

conform to the plan for civilization which had been devised for them. By the early reservation years, this plan, the product of many years of the evolution of Indian policy and as applied by reformers and Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel, included several quite specific goals. (For discussions of this evolution see: Priest, 1963; Mardock, 1971; Prucha, 1973.)

First, Indians were to become farmers and to support themselves entirely from their produce or its sale. Second, they were to own their farms individually. Communal land ownership or agricultural work would not be allowed. Following the model of the Homestead Act, an Indian farm would be 160 acres. Third, Indians were to be converted to Christianity. Fourth, Indians were to speak English, and learn to read and write. An especially important sign of civilization would be the number of Indian children attending schools. Fifth, Indians were to adopt "civilized" behavior, a concept which included monogamous marriage solemnized by White civil or religious authorities, White styles of dress, residence in houses furnished according to current modes, and responsible citizenship (voting, tax payment.) Finally, Indians were to think of themselves as Americans, not as members of tribes such as Cheyenne or Kiowa. (For one statement of this plan, see Columbus Delano, Secretary of Interior, Annual Report, 1874: iii-iv.)

As the agents, field matrons, school

superintendents, and agency farmers attempted to change their charges to meet these goals, they also identified behaviors which they would not tolerate. While the prescriptions of the civilization plan were universally applied to all Indians, these proscriptions were often developed locally, by the agency personnel. The list of discouraged activities grew during the late nineteenth century as the Indians created new adaptations to their situation. As soon as the agents learned of these new, but distinctly Indian, behaviors they added them to the list. An example of such new, and quickly forbidden, activities was the peyote religion, a combination of traditional religion and certain Christian concepts which used the hallucinogen peyote as a sacrament. Authorities were quick to condemn the use of the drug and successfully lobbied for legislation against it. (See below for further discussion of peyote on the South Plains.)

By the end of the nineteenth century, proscribed behaviors had been clearly defined for the Indians of the South Plains. The life-style known as "camp life" was first on the list. Camp life meant living in groups larger than nuclear or limited extended families and using old fashioned means of survival. Implicit in the concept were such acts as living in tipis, cooking over open fires, using traditional sanitation practices, using traditional Indian furnishings such as skin bedding and backrests instead of

beds and chairs. (Field matrons' reports from both agencies, OHSIA, are excellent sources on camp life.)

Throughout this period, agents also struggled to strip band heads and chiefs of their authority to direct their followers' behavior in such matters as movement of groups, cooperation in farming, education of children, distribution of rations and annuities. Agents viewed respect for traditional leadership as a barrier to civilization because many older leaders were conservative and uncooperative; their people behaved accordingly. Agents tried, therefore, to deal with Indians as individuals, not as members of groups. (P.B. Hunt, Kiowa_Comanche Agent, discussed destroying tribalism in his Annual Report, 1880.)

Dancing was a third proscribed behavior. At first agents discouraged the Sun Dance and other traditional ceremonies. Later, they declared them illegal, and denied permission for them. As these dances were restricted, the Indians created new ones, which the agents also forbade. In the 1880's, the Indians of the South Plains developed a new secular dance/give-away, "dancing for horses" (described in more detail later in the chapter), which the agents vigorously opposed. (C&A and Kiowa Indian Dances Files, OHSIA.)

Agency personnel frequently complained about the Indian habit of wandering or "visiting." These phrases referred to the Indian practice of frequent movement, a

heritage of the buffalo hunting past which was adapted to suit reservation conditions. The Indian bands moved to visit each other and to attend dances, but most movement was to and from agency issue stations for rations, annuity payments, and lease payments. The people often stayed near the stations for long periods to feast, gamble, and trade (viewed as wasteful or sinful by White authorities), and thus were not on their assigned lands, farming. (Berthrong, 1976: 210; Hagan, 1976: 172, 184, 277; C&A and Kiowa Passes Files, OHSIA; Agents' Annual Reports.)

Officials also objected to the widespread practice of sharing food, money, and trade and issue goods which was also a heritage of the hunting days. Since the agency personnel expected each Indian to be self-supporting, any individual not working was not only a sign of wasteful idleness, but also a drag on those who did work. To a degree which the Whites could not understand, male "idleness" had also been a part of the buffalo hunting life: when not hunting (which was a good part of the time), men relaxed, told stories, played games, or performed their ceremonial obligations.

Agency personnel additionally created a miscellaneous category of proscribed behavior generally labelled Indian customs. This included any aspects of life paralleling "civilized" behavior which the Indians continued to perform in traditional ways. For example, Indian

marriage customs were seen as immoral, unsanctified by either civil or religious authority. Native curers were charlatans who did more harm than good; children were undisciplined and spoiled; the destruction of property and self-mutilation at funerals were barbarous, wasteful, and useless. (For such statements, see C&A and Kiowa farmers' reports, Farmers Files; Field Matrons Files, especially Laurretta Ballew, Kiowa agency, OHSIA; agents' Annual Reports.)

Finally, agents viewed any open resistance to the civilization program as the worst possible offense. When the Cheyenne actually mounted organized resistance, led by members of the warrior societies, the agents reacted by appealing for troops and by withholding rations from offenders.

The remarkable detail of the proscribed behaviors is a clear indication that the agency personnel recognized many dimensions of the cultures of the Indians of the South Plains. In their reports, agents and others commented on Indian performance both in adopting the White models and in persisting in traditional ways. By the 1880's, each annual report included a section of statistics detailing the number of Indians who sent their children to school, who farmed, who spoke English, who dressed correctly, who lived in houses. In the narrative sections, the agents described "problems"--the continuance of Indian traditions and the

prevalence of resistance. The agents and their assistants were determined to eradicate the Indians' native cultures, and in their determination, they left a useful record of the culture change which did take place on their reservations.

For a number of reasons, the methods used to try to civilize the Indians on the two reservations were nearly identical. First, the agency personnel were following the uniform policy established by Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Second, they were in close, frequent contact with one another and shared perceptions about their charges, both in the idea of the sort of Indians they were dealing with and in goals which they desired to achieve. Third, the agents and other personnel were well aware that the four tribes had a historical alliance and close cultural ties. They understood that attempts to change any one without changing them all would be futile. It was, therefore, common for the agents to consult with each other before taking action, to warn each other of Indian activities, to ask for assistance in a crisis. Ideas were sometimes tested on one reserve before being widely applied on both. Differences in application of policy, specifically leasing reservation lands and allotment, arose not from agency attitudes and practices as much as from differing geographic locations in proximity to major White ranchers and Indian responses to pressure and promises from Whites. (Freighting was tested first on the Cheyenne-Arapaho

reservation; see discussion later in chapter. Leasing and allotment are also discussed. The agents warned each other of Indian visits: C&A and Kiowa Passes Files, Letters Received, OHSIA.)

The methods which the agents and their assistants applied were both educational and punitive; in other words, most of them combined teaching the Indians the White Man's Road with punishment for failure to follow it. The most obvious of these was, of course, the agency schools. Throughout the period, the agencies operated boarding schools for school age children, and these were supplemented by schools run by a variety of missions, most notably Mennonite and Presbyterian. (In addition, a small number of Indian students attended off-reservation schools such as Carlisle or Haskell.) At no time until after the 1890's did the reservation schools have the capacity to enroll more than 40% of the children, despite repeated pleas by agents and school superintendents for increased school appropriations. During the early 1880's, the Cheyenne-Arapaho schools could enroll about 25% of their children. The capacity gradually increased to about 50% by 1890, where it remained even after allotment. It reached 75% in the early twentieth century. The capacity of the schools for Kiowa and Comanche children went from about 13% in 1880 to about 50% in 1900, and then to about 60-70% before World War I. Thus, a substantial proportion of Indian children were

never enrolled between about 1875 and 1910. Of those who did enroll, very few attended regularly. (Berthrong, 1976: 31-32, 36-39, 78-90, 140-43, 227-30; Hagan, 1976: 39, 74-75, 198-99, 221-23; C&A and Kiowa Schools Files, especially superintendents' reports, OHSIA.)

The enrollment and attendance of the children remained a major source of contention between the agents and Indian adults throughout the period. The agents on both reservations repeatedly withheld rations from families and/or bands who refused to send children to school, but many nevertheless resisted. Enrollment at the Cheyenne schools declined from about three hundred in 1880 to eighty in 1884 when the Cheyenne boycotted in protest of leasing the reservation to White ranchers. Enrollment remained low until 1889, when the leaders of the boycott, the Dog Soldiers, attempted to seize food for the protesting families. The attempt failed, and the boycott was cancelled. As late as the mid-1890's, two Cheyenne chiefs (Red Moon and White Shield) kept their bands' children out of school and survived until 1898 on the charity of other bands and credit from a local trader. (Berthrong, 1976: 227-230, 140-43.)

By the early twentieth century, fewer than 15% of all Indian children on these reservations went beyond the primary grades (1-3). Those who did could expect very little reward if they returned to their homes. Returning

students were often the object of ridicule or might be ostracized, and agents and others complained that once home they "forgot" their English and their manners and put back on their native clothes. Field Matron Lauretta Ballew of the Kiowa-Comanche reservation complained in 1904 that returning students were dancing for ponies "who had graduated from one or two schools. They went far enough back in the old road to take off their cloths and almost dance naked." (Monthly Report, 8/1/1904, Kiowa Matrons File, OHSIA.)

Among the Kiowa, returning students who took the part of the Whites and espoused Christianity and/or allotment could be targets of witchcraft. At least two young Kiowa men died after warnings from their elders to stop exhorting their people to give up the old ways. (Joshua Given and Etahdleuh Doanmoe. See Appendix B for a biography of Etahdleuh, a former prisoner. Hagan, 1976: 213, gives an account of Given's death.) Perhaps as dispiriting as opposition from their peers was the almost total lack of opportunity to apply their newly acquired skills. Especially after the mid- 1880's, returning students found no work and support to continue their new styles of life. (Funds for Indian employment were cut; see discussion later in chapter. Berthrong, 1976: 265-326; Hagan, 1976: 262-285.)

Education was not, however, restricted to the young.

For adult education, there were sexually specific programs designed to teach the men to farm and the women to be housewives. Initially, the farming programs consisted of placing the Indians on what were believed to be suitable sites and issuing them farming tools. Each agency operated a demonstration farm where Indians could go to observe. The agents also arranged to have land plowed for interested Indians, a necessary assistance since Indian ponies were too small for the work. Beginning in 1885, the reservations were divided into farming districts, and the Indians were urged/forced to relocate along the stream beds, sites of some fertile land and water. A farmer was hired for each district to travel among the bands to teach farming methods and generally supervise behavior. Undoubtedly the most successful of these was John Seger on the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation, who not only supervised farming but founded a school at his headquarters. Unlike most of the other farmers, Seger was well liked by the Indians. He spoke Cheyenne and did not interfere with traditional religious events or other activities to the degree others did. Most farmers were White, and some were mere patronage appointees ill suited to the work, but by the 1890's, a few were educated Indians. Throughout the reservation period, issues of farm equipment and seeds continued. After allotment (1891 for the Cheyenne and Arapaho, 1901 for the Kiowa and Comanche), this structure of instruction and assistance

remained intact, although many issues ceased with the termination of the Treaty of Medicine Lodge. (Berthrong, 1976: 48-78, 118-123, 128-31, 141-42, 192, 265; Hagan, 1976: 16, 56, 96, 120, 127-28, 143, 181-82, 240-41, 249. See also C&A and Kiowa Farmers Files, OHSIA; Seger, 1956.)

Of all the goals of the civilization program, making farmers of the Indians was perhaps most important to the White authorities. It would mean the Indians were self-supporting, not wards of the state. Of all the goals, it was also perhaps the least successful. About 1880, almost no Indians were farming. The plowed lands on the reservations belonged to the agencies, the schools, and Whites living on the reservations--the "squaw men," White men married to Indian women and enjoying the full benefits of tribal membership. On the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation, only about one thousand acres, or about 4.5 per person, were planted by Indians in the early 1880's. The figure was even lower for the Kiowa and Comanche. Faced with their failure to enlist Indians as farmers, the agents, interested in obtaining revenue to support their charges, and neighboring ranchers, eyeing the thousands of acres of pasture on the reservations, hit upon an idea. Since the Indians would not farm the land, the agents would arrange to lease it to the ranchers. (Agents' Annual Reports, 1878-1884.)

Leasing began on the Cheyenne and Arapaho

reservation in 1883 and lasted until 1885. The Indians were gathered in huge groups near Darlington and Cantonment (Map 2) to clear the area for the ranchers' herds. Most Cheyenne and Arapaho opposed the leases, however, and the Dog Soldiers frequently attacked the herds and harrassed the cowboys. Their school boycott has already been mentioned. Cheyenne and Arapaho protests and direct action convinced the agents that leasing would not work, and the farming efforts resumed, but by 1889, only about 20% of the Indians were farming, at an average of eight acres each--hardly adequate to be self-sufficient. That percentage actually began to decline after allotment, when the Indians began to lease their individual holdings to their White neighbors. By 1900, it was 15%, and by 1910, farming by the Cheyenne and Arapaho had all but disappeared. (Berthrong, 1976: 91-117, 146, 265, 337.) Leasing on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation began in 1888 and lasted until allotment. It was opposed by many of the Indians, especially the Kiowa, but important Comanche chiefs, notably Quannah Parker, favored it. These men were undoubtedly in the pay of the ranchers who were headquartered in Texas near the Comanche southern section of the reservation. The leases of about 1.5 million acres thus effectively removed that land from Indian use. (Hagan, 1976: 150-53, 217-249.)

Other lands on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation also passed to Whites before allotment through the practice of

share-cropping. When the Cheyenne and Arapaho were allotted in 1891, many Kiowa and Comanche realized that they should choose their lands. A large proportion of those who did so actually began farming, at least on a small scale. Following the lead and encouragement of important squaw men who controlled thousands of acres, they then sublet their farms to Whites, who enlarged the plowed areas and supplied fences and other improvements. The Indians received shares of the crops. (An example was Pautausape, an ex-prisoner who share-cropped the farm he owned by about 1890. He provided his government-issue plow and cultivator and received three fifths of the crop. See Appendix B, prisoner biographies.) Most often, the Indians left their lands and went to live with family bands. Within a few years, nearly all farming done on the reservation was by White sharecroppers. After allotment, these became the leasees of the Indian lands. As on the Cheyenne and Arapaho reserve, very few Kiowa or Comanche farmed during the twentieth century. (Hagan, 1976: 240-41, 287, 182-83; Kiowa Leases File, Kiowa Cattle File-OHSIA.)

It is more difficult to precisely assess the program to make housewives of Indian women than the effort to make farmers of the men. The field matrons, women hired to travel from band to band to teach such skills as cooking, sewing, and household decoration, did not keep the same sort of statistical records as farmers could on acreage planted

and numbers farming. Nevertheless, they did file monthly and annual reports in which they discussed their "ladies'" progress, and it is clear, even acknowledging a certain amount of self-serving exaggeration, that the Indian women did respond relatively favorably.

The first field matrons, who served the same districts as the farmers and were often their wives or relatives (or agents' relatives), were appointed in 1891. As with the farmers, they were initially all White, but by the mid-1890's, educated Indian women were also chosen by the agents. Their work was undeniably difficult. They travelled, usually alone, by buggy or horseback, from band camp to band camp to teach American-style housewifery. The Indian women were receiving iron stoves, flour, lard, and canned goods as annuity items which they did not know how to use. They also received bolts of cloth, sewing patterns, and treadle sewing machines--even more foreign devices than the stoves. Given the end of buffalo hunting, which had supplied food and clothing before the reservation era, learning to use these new tools and supplies was crucial to a comfortable existence, and the matrons often found a willingness to accept instruction in this new technology. Sewing was the most readily learned: the matrons complained that stoves were often unused, but that they could not supply the demand for cloth and sewing machines. (C&A and Kiowa Matrons Files, especially Monthly Reports, OHSIA.)

The matrons' responsibilities went beyond teaching the basic techniques of cooking and sewing, however. As houses appeared on the reservations, the matrons tried to teach Indian women to keep them clean, and judging from their reports, to properly decorate them. Laretta Ballew, the most voluble of the matrons, noted with pride the occasion of Mrs. Lone Wolf's putting up curtains (1896) and the season when several families painted their houses green and white (1898). The furnishings of the houses were also a concern to the matrons, who carefully reported the presence of beds, tables, and chairs. They also regularly noted how many houses were actually occupied (or were vacant, or being used as storehouses), and how many families either owned or used a house. (C&A and Kiowa Matrons Files, OHSIA.)

Matrons also had moral obligations beyond teaching the practical management of a frontier household. For example, they espoused the "correct" method of child rearing: stern discipline and schooling, as opposed to the Indians' easy guidance. In this capacity, they reported children out of school and the behavior of returned students. They monitored and reported peyote and alcohol use. They even exhorted Indian women to make and wear underwear. They also encouraged the women to attend Christian churches (if the women convert, the men will surely follow), and to this end, they organized holiday celebrations, especially Christmas, to which the women

brought food and where children and women received gifts. They also often held their classes in church buildings. As part of their conversion efforts, they argued against participation in dances and feasts and actively interfered in the staging of such events, both by appearing at them in person to try to get the Indians to leave and by reporting them to White authorities. (C&A and Kiowa Matrons Files, OHSIA.)

Mrs. Ballew's report for December, 1897, provides a remarkable example of the impact a matron could have. She reported the death of an elderly "medicine man," at which she was present. Normally, his medicine bundle would have been passed on to a younger man, but "this man said to his wife 'bury the medicine with me I don't want my people to worship it any more.'" The old man then told his son to take care of his ponies, "live in the house I have built for you, and take care of your mother."--a statement which reflects both traditional and new values. As in the old way, the first priority was the horses, and the last the woman, but in the center was living in the new house. Not only were the old man's relatives to worship in some new way, but they were also to live in a new way. Of course, Mrs. Ballew was elated, and took steps to assure that the old man's desires were fulfilled: "This is true I laid the medicine bundle beside the man in the coffin myself and was glad to see it buried." (Kiowa Matrons File, OHSIA.)

Mrs. Ballew was obviously aggressive in her activities, and, by her accounts, successful, but other matrons also reported slow, but steady, progress in their efforts, especially in practical areas. By the early twentieth century, iron stoves were common, even in tipis, and most bands had at least one sewing machine. After issues stopped in 1898, the matrons helped the Indian women to buy them, often by organizing craft cooperatives or encouraging other work such as bone gathering or bread baking. By 1900, traditional women's dress patterns had given way to simple White fashions, and nearly every home, whether house or tipi, had at least a few White furnishings. Indian women now even competed in local fairs in such events as canning and baking. (C&A and Kiowa Matrons Files; C&A and Kiowa Indian Fairs Files. OHSIA.)

The relative success which the field matrons enjoyed (despite their constant complaints about the persistence of tradition in family life, religion, and liesure) can be attributed to the essential usefulness of the skills which they taught, and real possibility which the Indian women had to succeed at them. The farmers could not offer such a promise to men who tried to farm. Indian Territory was unsuited to then current farming methods: The soil was too sandy, the climate too hot and dry. Year after year, the farmers reported crop failures. Apart from any cultural aversion which Plains Indians might have had to farming,

there were simply no practical rewards to be had from trying it. On the other hand, Indian women could continue to provide food, clothing, and shelter to their families, to pursue their accustomed roles, now using the materials and methods of Whites. Craft cooperatives and fair competitions even provided support and recognition much like they had experienced in pre-reservation days in their women's societies. It is not surprising that the matrons found a receptive audience.

Faced with large numbers of men who would/did not farm, and ordered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to deny certain rations to non-working Indians, the agents sought other sources of employment for both men and women. Undoubtedly the most successful non-agricultural labor was freighting. Agent J.A. Miles (Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency, 1875-1884) had begun having his Indian men haul their own supplies, and those for the agency, in 1877 when he founded the Cheyenne-Arapaho Transportation Company. By 1879, ninety-five men had been issued wagons (for which they had to pay out of the proceeds of their work) and were working as teamsters. Miles' service provided a cash income for the men, and it saved the government 50-75 cents per hundredweight in freight charges. This work was actually popular: unlike agricultural work, freighting seemed to attract the Cheyenne and Arapaho, and demand for wagons exceeded Miles' ability to supply them. (Miles, Annual

Reports, 1879, 1880; Berthrong, 1976: 61-62; C&A Freight and Transportation File, OHSIA.)

After Indian freighting was proven successful at the Cheyenne-Arapaho agency, Agent P.B. Hunt (1878-1885) started his own company at the Kiowa-Comanche agency. In 1879, he had fifty men and wagons on the trails. He paid a lower rate than the Cheyenne-Arapaho company initially, but raised it as the service proved itself. During the decade of the 1880's, freighting became the single largest employer of Indians at both agencies. A man who made two trips per year, as was usual, could earn between \$14 and \$50 to supplement his annuities and issues. (Kiowa and C&A Freight and Transportation Files: Vouchers, Receipts, Freight Record, 23/23/1879 to 12/31/1895, OHSIA.) Freighting remained important through the 1890's, but ended after 1898.

In further attempts to make the Indians self-supporting, and in response to a Bureau of Indian Affairs order to employ Indians in preference to Whites, the agents also made use of Indian labor at the agencies beginning in the 1870's, but the total number of jobs available was always quite small: usually about two dozen per agency, not counting Indian police. Indians worked as herders, teamsters, brick makers, general laborers, lumber mill hands, butchers, and in the various shops (tinning, carpentry, blacksmithing.) The introduction of Indian police added fifty new jobs in 1878, but despite increases

in appropriations for Indian employment in 1879-81, there remained very few opportunities. There were a total of 2129 adult males on the two reservations in 1878. Assuming a total of 270 jobs, including 145 freighting, fifty police, and seventy-five at agency work (estimating agency work high to allow for counting error), only 13% had any chance of agency employment. (Hunt and Miles, Annual Reports, 1878.) It is probable that many more Indians would have worked for wages had jobs been available: Agent Miles reported that the Cheyenne liked wage work and that he could fill as many positions as Washington would authorize. Women were also employed as cooks and school aides, but these jobs were even more scarce than those for men. Until late in the period, off-reservation employment was non-existent. (C&A and Kiowa Employees Files; C&A and Kiowa Censuses, 1878-1906. OHSIA. Miles, Annual Report, 1883.)

In 1884 Congress greatly reduced appropriations for agency employees, and the agents were forced to fire most of their Indian staffs. Opportunities for Indians to work at the agencies remained extremely limited until the mid-twentieth century, although a few were always used as translators, school aides, and general helpers. After the 1891 opening of the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation, Indians from both reservations found wage labor picking cotton and doing other seasonal agricultural work. It was not uncommon for Indian families to pick cotton on their own land leased

to a White farmer. The number of Indians doing such work was always small, however. (Tables 1 and 3, Chapter 5.) During the late nineteenth century, a few Indian men also served in the United States Army as scouts--an arrangement that allowed them an average of only a few months service a year, a cash income, and most desirable, a guaranteed old-age pension. (C&A and Kiowa Employees Files, 1884-1910; C&A and Kiowa Scouts Files. OHSIA. Hagan, 1976: 287, for an example of wage work.)

Given such limited opportunities for Indian employment, the agents also tried another alternative to farming: ranching. The agents themselves recognized the unsuitability of the area for farming and its great grazing potential--stimulated, no doubt, by the presence of huge cattle herds to the south and west. They also believed, with some justification, that cattle could be a logical substitute for the Indians' ponies. These small hunting horses could not pull plows or other farm machinery. The Indians owned thousands of them, and the agents viewed them as a wasteful drain of Indian wealth and resources. They therefore offered to trade draft animals and breeding stock for the ponies (1878)--they got almost no takers, despite the renewals of the offer throughout the 1880's and 1890's. The agency schools did establish successful herds, with the animals owned by the school boys, but these were dispersed in 1880-81 when the commissioner ordered that the cattle

should be distributed to the bands of the owners. They were quickly eaten. In 1880, and again later in the 1880's, two or three head of cattle were issued to each head of household, but since these were unaccompanied by breeding instructions and collective herding was discouraged, most of these, too, quickly disappeared. (Berthrong, 1976: 65-66; C&A and Kiowa Issues Files, OHSIA.)

The major exception to this general failure of ranching among the Indians of the two reservations was among those Comanche who lived in the southernmost section of their reserve. Several important headmen (noted above as leaders of the pro-leasing group) established their own very large herds with the help of Texas cattlemen from whom they received both cash and cattle. These herds remained important throughout the reservation period and were the source of much of the food and income for the Indians of the area in an era of inadequate rations--the chiefs were obligated to share with their relatives, band members, and allies. In the late 1880's and 1890's, other less powerful men began to enter into partnership arrangements with White ranchers: They would supply the land and a small core herd and the White men would bring in larger herds. These were formalized agreements arranged through the agency and were generally undertaken by Indians with some experience in dealing with Whites. For example, Tischecoddy (a former prisoner) set up such an agreement for his land in the

1890's. He joined with other Indians holding land near his and a White man for his ranching partnership. (Hagan, 1976: 120-21, 143-44, 156-57, 219, 237-40, 271-72, 278; Kiowa Cattle, Pastures, and Grazing File, OHSIA: Appendix B, "Tischecoddy.")

After 1895, the chiefs on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation insisted that \$50,000 per year of the lease payments be used to provide cattle, bulls, and fencing for tribal herds, which were run collectively. The herds grew quickly, but after allotment, and especially with the sale of the Big Pasture (a 400,000 acre reserve kept to maintain the herds), they all but disappeared. The fragmentation of Indian land into scattered 160 acre parcels made large scale tribal ranching impossible. In addition, the end of the Medicine Lodge rations and annuities meant that many of the animals were used for food. By 1910, the Kiowa and Comanche, like the Cheyenne and Arapaho, held no herds of substantial size. (Hagan, 1976: 271-72; Hagan, 1971.)

White authorities applied other, non-economic, methods during the reservation period, which were expected to teach the Indians respect for Anglo-American laws and mores. In 1878, for example, the agencies established Indian police forces. The agents expected these men to patrol their reservations enforcing edicts against dancing and feasting, peyote, alcohol, and other traditional activities. They were also to assist the agent in removing

unauthorized Whites from the reservations. This was a severe problem: agents complained constantly of rustlers stealing Indian livestock, whiskey sellers, outlaws hiding in the hills, gamblers, and illegal traders gouging the people, not to mention prospectors and ranchers "stealing grass." There was more than enough work for the police just to watch the reservation borders, and the agents found that the officers would not arrest their fellows for cultural infractions. (They did make arrests for crimes: thefts, murder, rape.) For the entire reservation era, therefore, the Indian police rarely performed punitive functions against their people, but they were valuable in defending their lands. (Hagan, 1976: 148-51; C&A and Kiowa Indian Police Files, OHSIA; Hagan, 1966.)

Another attempt to involve the Indians in enforcing White cultural demands were Courts of Indian Offenses, established in 1883 on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation and in 1889 at Darlington. While the police forces were manned by younger warriors, the agents quite deliberately appointed important chiefs to the courts. They had been trying for years to diminish the power of conservative leaders, and in an effort to divide the chiefs among themselves, they selected men who were thought to be more progressive (in favor of cooperation with Whites.) The appointments were thus both rewards for good behavior and incentives to lead their people on the White Man's Road. Much to the agents'

dismay, the justices almost never agreed to rule on cultural infractions such as multiple marriage or peyote use and instead limited their rulings to crimes such as murder or theft. (Hagan, 1976: 184, 186-88; Berthrong, 1976: 146; C&A and Kiowa Indian Judges Files, OHSIA; Hagan, 1966.)

These civil institutions were accompanied by efforts to convert the Indians to Christianity. Of course, the agents did not undertake the preaching themselves, but invited various missionaries to the reservations. The first agents in the region had themselves been Quakers (1869-78), and they, in turn, had placed the operation of agency schools in Quaker hands. For a decade, mission and agency were nearly indistinguishable, but with the end of Grant's Peace Policy and the appointment of secular agents, mission activity markedly declined. During the early 1880's, only two full-time missions operated, both on the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation. The Mennonites opened their first school/farm/mission in 1880 at Darlington where they preached to the Arapahos. In 1881, David Pendleton (Making Medicine) returned from his religious training (he was an ex-prisoner; Appendix B.) to begin his life-long career as an Episcopalian missionary to the Cheyenne. The Reverend J.J. Wicks attempted, with the help of two other ex-prisoners, to establish a Presbyterian mission in the 1880's on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation, but it remained part-time and ended about 1885. (See discussion in Chapter 6.)

The agents viewed the weakness of missionary activity among their Indians as a serious problem, and they commented often that church groups should be encouraged to send their representatives. Agent E.E. White (Kiowa agency) wrote "I recognize in them potent auxiliaries of the government in the great and important work of civilizing and Christianizing the Indians." (Annual Report, 1888.) In the late 1880's, missionary activity did increase, especially near Anadarko and Fort Sill. Methodist Episcopalians operated two chapels and schools for Comanches and a community of Kiowa Mexican captives. Presbyterians ran a mission and school for Kiowa-Apaches, and several other groups sent occasional travelling ministers and priests. In the 1890's, six groups received 160 acres each for permanent mission sites, and by 1900, fifteen missionaries were working among the Kiowa and Comanche. Among the Cheyenne and Arapaho, the Mennonites remained dominant during this period, expanding their operations to a second school and farm near Cantonment. (Berthrong, 1976: 140-1, 226; Hagan, 1976: 193-94, 199, 229-31; C&A and Kiowa Churches Files, OHSIA.)

Despite the enlargement of mission activity, however, their impact remained small. In fact, their impact was primarily educational rather than religious: every permanent mission operated a small school which provided an alternative for some families to the agency schools. These

were often filled to capacity (usually about twenty-five pupils) by the children of converts, but at least one mission school on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation served exclusively the children of White agency employees and squaw men. Others catered to the relatively more "civilized" Caddo and Wichita who shared the reservation with the Kiowa and Comanche. (Hagan, 1976: 229-31; Kiowa Schools Files, especially Mary Gregory School, OHSIA.)

Until at least after 1920, very few Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, or Comanche actually belonged to churches and fully participated in their activities. In 1904, for example, the agents reported about fifty practicing Christians among the 2858 Cheyenne and Arapaho, and 184 Christians among the Kiowa and Comanche. (Annual Reports, C&A and Kiowa Agents Files, OHSIA.) Despite such low membership figures, revival meetings such as one held by Baptists near Anadarko in 1909 could attract as many as two thousand Indians from several different tribes. Careful reading of the proceedings of such meetings shows that the people came for dancing, give-aways, and socializing, not religious observation. (Hagan, 1976: 278-88; Kiowa Churches File, OHSIA.)

The ultimate civilizing method which government authorities applied to the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche was allotment. Allotment, the issue of individual parcels of land to Indians (usually 160 acres per person),

followed by the sale of any remaining lands to Whites, was a practice long advocated by Indian reformers. They believed that the holding of lands in common was a positive detriment to the civilization of Indians: only through individual land ownership--private property--could Indians come to fully appreciate and participate in American culture. Many also felt that only by living among Whites could they learn that culture. A combination of Indian reform sentiment and pressure from land hungry farmers, ranchers, and speculators resulted in the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887 to bring allotment to western Indians. Allotment itself came four years later to the Cheyenne and Arapaho. (Mardock, 1971: Chapter 12; Kinney, 1937.)

The process of forcing allotment on the Cheyenne and Arapaho was notably corrupt. After bitter negotiations in 1890, an agreement was achieved between the Jerome Commission (the committee sent by Congress to arrange allotment) and the Indians, but only because the Cheyenne who opposed allotment boycotted the final sessions. The Dawes Act required that 75% of the adult males sign the agreement before Congress could approve it: Agent Charles F. Ashley (1889 to 1893) submitted 464 signatures which the Cheyenne claimed were both too few and largely fraudulent, but Congress approved the agreement in March of 1891. (For a full discussion of the corruption surrounding Cheyenne-Arapaho allotment see Berthrong, 1976: Chapters 6 and 7.)

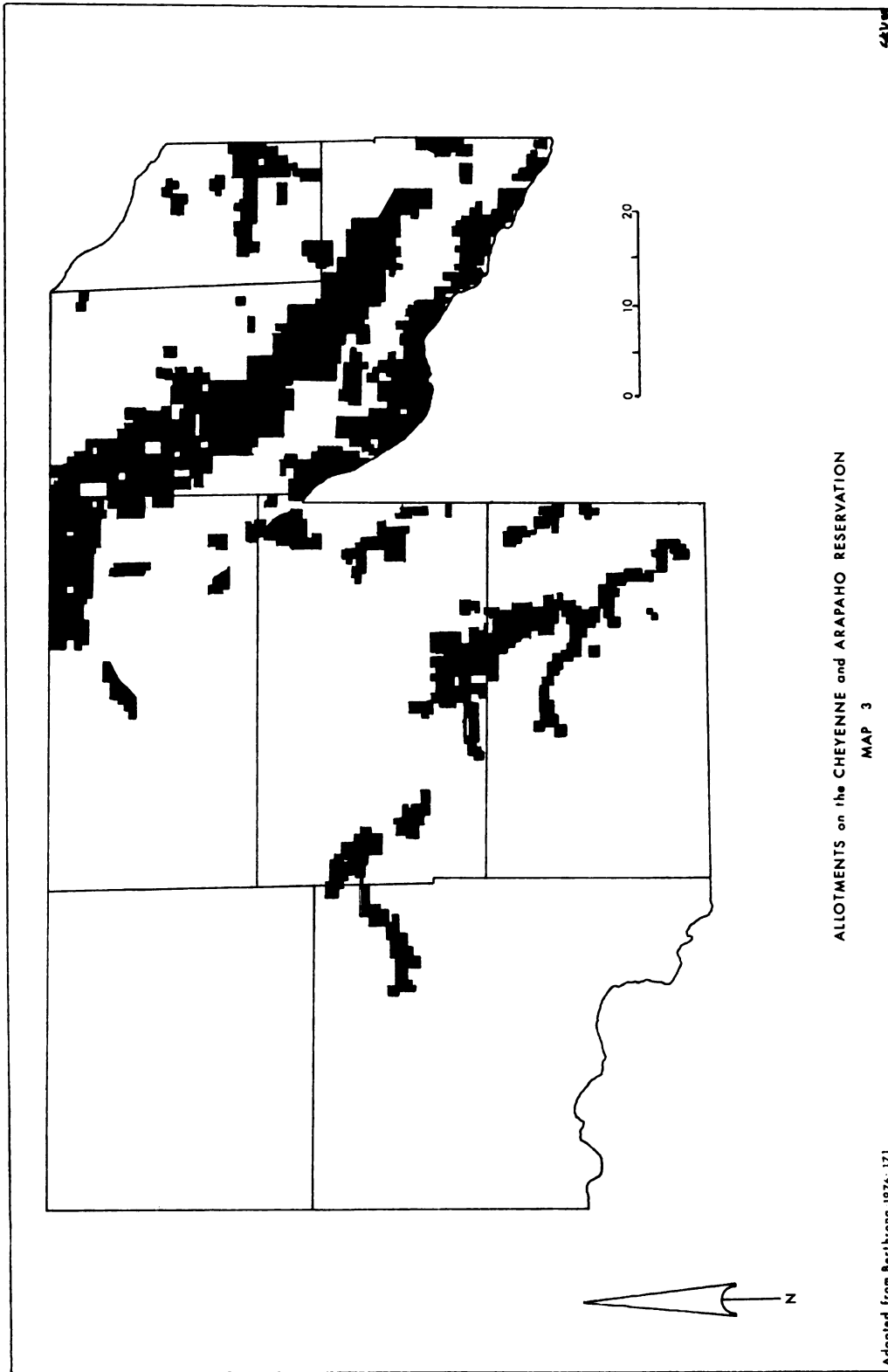
The Cheyenne and Arapaho cession agreement established that the two tribes would receive \$1.5 million for all their land except their individual allotments. Of that sum, \$500,000 was to be distributed on a per capita basis; the remaining \$1 million was to be held in trust at 5% interest to be distributed annually. Each Indian was entitled to 160 acres, and parents could select their minor childrens' lands. All lands were to be selected within ninety days of the arrival of allotting agents or those agents would be empowered to assign lands to individuals. No allotment could be alienated (sold or title in any way transferred except by inheritance of one Indian from another) for twenty-five years. Once all Cheyenne and Arapaho had received their allotments, the remaining reservation land would be opened to White settlement. (26 Stats., 1022, 1025; Congressional Record, 51 Cong., 2 Sess., Feb. 28, 1891, 3529.)

The actual allotment process was slowed on the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation by the non-cooperation of those who opposed ceding the lands. These individuals at first refused even to enroll on the tribal census, then refused the first partial payments of the cash, and finally refused to select lands. The allotting crews began to work in April, 1891, but when they ran out of operating funds in September (well over the ninety day limit), 1400 Indians had still not chosen their lands. The crews resumed work in

February, 1892, and assigned lands to all remaining Indians. By March 29, 1892, the Cheyenne and Arapaho retained 529,692 acres of their original 4,294,415. Of the retained lands, 231,828 acres were reserved for education and 32,343 acres were held by the military. Thus, the Indians controlled only about 6% of their original reservation. (Berthrong, 1976: 169-92; CIA, Report, 1892: 81,371.)

Despite attempts by some of the chiefs to delay, E.F. Weigel, special inspector of the Department of Interior, opened the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation at 12 o'clock noon, April 19, 1892. Within hours, 25-30,000 settlers invaded the area; the Cheyenne and Arapaho now constituted about 10% of the population. When the Whites poured into their lands, the Indians were not scattered on their allotments. In an effort to avert trouble, the chiefs had called the people into two large camps where the agent provided food until the run was over. A few Arapahos did gather in a remote region to dance the Ghost Dance, trying to stop the new developments. (Berthrong, 1976: 182-84.)

For the first weeks after allotment, Whites reported threats of violence from Indians who were apparently trying to scare off the new settlers, but no real trouble occurred during the occupation of the reservation. Instead, a pattern of White harassment of the Indians emerged which became a permanent feature of their lives: Whites stole animals, tools, fencing and other improvements from Indian



allotments; they illegally taxed Indian property; they improperly and/or excessively charged for services or merchandise and then confiscated Indian property to cover bad debts; they illegally occupied Indian allotments; they verbally and physically abused and intimidated Indian people. The Indians were totally unprepared to handle White cupidity themselves, and the agent, working alone in the face of the onslaught, could do little but write letters and appeal for help. (Berthrong, 1976: 184-208. An example of an agent's efforts was Woodson to CIA, Jan. 4, 1894, C&A Letterbooks, Vol. 38: 276-81. OHSIA.)

The Cheyenne-Arapaho experience with allotment provided important lessons for the Kiowa and Comanche. Even though the Jerome Commission moved directly to their reservation in 1892, and imposed an agreement for cession modelled on the Cheyenne-Arapaho agreement in less than a month, the Kiowa and Comanche managed to delay actual allotment until 1900. They did so with the help of their allies, White ranchers and lawyers (and, later, reform groups), by lobbying sucessfully to prevent Congressional ratification of the cession agreement. Each year between 1892 and 1899, delegations travelled to Washington to testify in hearings--on both pro- and anti-allotment positions. The case of the anti-allotment groups, however, was so convincing that White reformers and even the reservation agents soon supported it. They argued that 160

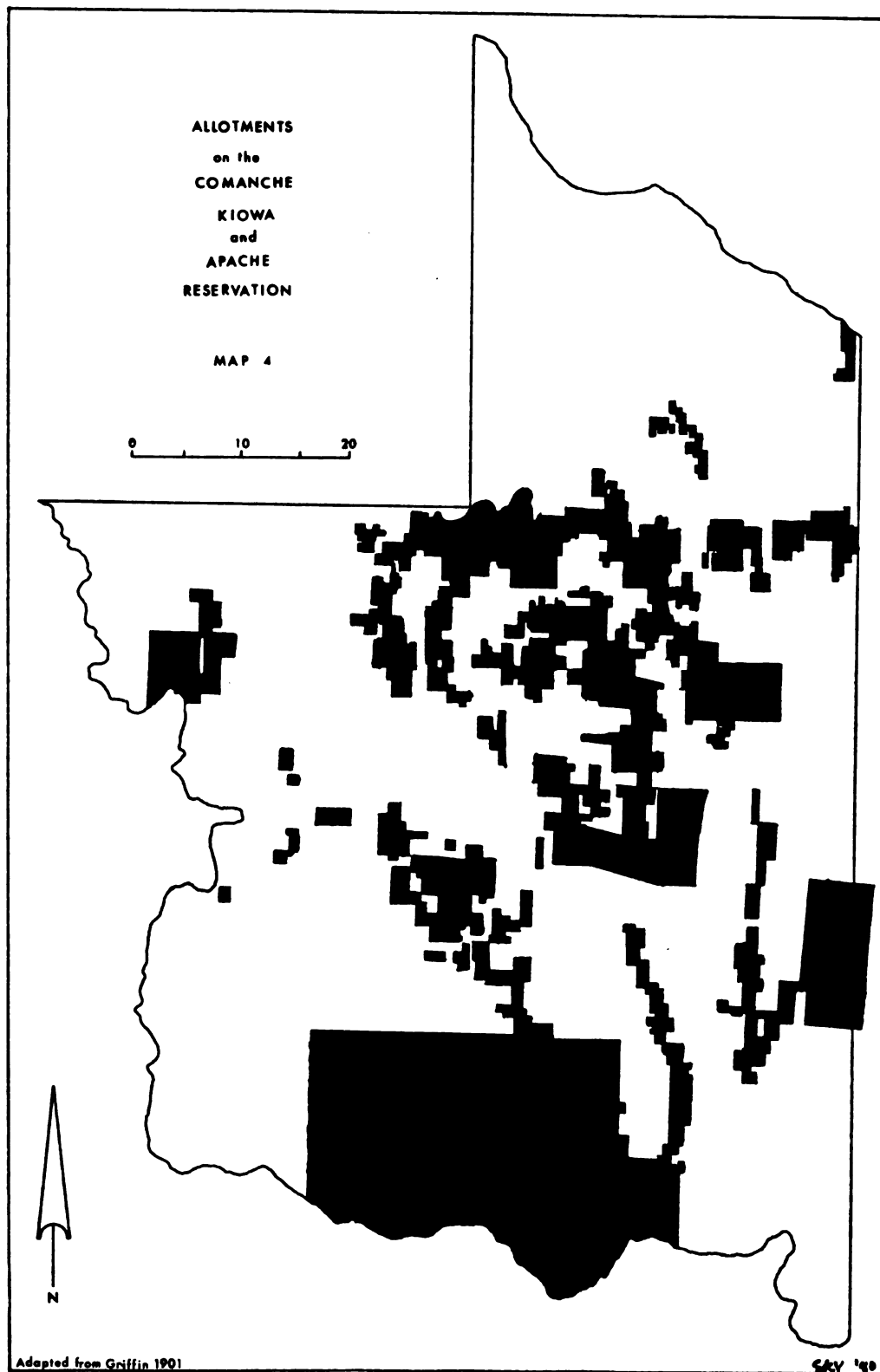
acres were totally inadequate for either farming or ranching in the area and that the Jerome Agreement should be renegotiated. The Indian Rights Association appealed for allotments of 480 acres; the agents also wanted larger allotments, but they also wanted the remaining land to go to landless Indians, hoping to avoid the problems the Cheyenne and Arapaho were having with their White neighbors. Eventually, even the Secretary of Interior was convinced that the agreement should be renegotiated. (Hagan, 1976: 201-61; Indian Rights Association Report, 1899.)

However, by 1899, white pressure was intense to open the lands. A railroad had been built across the reservation; large communities ringed it; good lands were gone on the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation. Whites were illegally on the reservation in large numbers, and problems with theft, misuse of lands, and general mistreatment of Indians were endemic. Despite a special Senatorial report on the reservation that recommended the issuance of one thousand acres per family, Congress prepared to pass a revision of the original Jerome Agreement. In 1900, the final bill, written without consulting the Kiowa and Comanche, gave each person only 160 acres, but it also set aside 480,000 acres as common grazing land--the Big Pasture. The purchase price of the remaining lands was set at \$2,000,000, to be managed as the Cheyenne-Arapaho funds were. In a special section, the bill gave preference in

filing land claims to squatters who had illegally occupied a part of the northern section of the reservation since the Cheyenne-Arapaho run of 1892. (31 U.S. Stats., 676.)

Thus, after eight years of successfully holding off the inevitable, the Kiowa and Comanche met the new century having to deal with allotment. Despite the efforts of some chiefs to legally block allotment, the process began in July, 1900, and took less than a year. Those Indians who had already selected lands had them confirmed. Others could select any but those reserved for education. Following the settlement pattern established long before allotment, the Comanches usually lived south of the Wichita Mountains and the Kiowa lived north of them. (Map 4.) The Big Pasture, 400,000 acres in the south of the reservation, was immediately leased by the agent to four of the old "grass lessees." The other 80,000 acres of the extra reserved land were also partly leased. In order to try to maintain an orderly process of White occupation of the excess Indian lands, the government ordered that the land be disposed of by lottery. The sales began July 10, 1901, and ran, in several different locations, until August 6. Only the barren lands in the Wichita Mountains were not sold. (Hagan, 1976: 264-71.)

Allotment was supposed to scatter the Indians on their family farms and result in their finally becoming agriculturalists. In the first several years after





allotment on the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation, no such effects were visible. As we have already seen, farming actually declined, and band life was very little affected. In response to the Indians' general failure to adopt the desired lifestyle, Agent Captain A.E. Woodson (1893 to 1899) issued a set of remarkably stringent edicts to the Indians and employees of his agency in 1895. Those "ORDERS" demonstrate how little impact the civilization program, and specifically allotment, were having.

First, Woodson commanded that "to promote the civilization and progress of the Indians of this Agency, and to hasten their approach towards...self-support," all camps were to be broken up within thirty days. Thereafter, no more than four families could settle together. This was an official acknowledgement of the standard practice of band life, still vibrant twenty years after the Red River War. Second, on pain of loss of rations, all able-bodied males were to immediately establish residence on their allotments--an acknowledgement that most Indian allotments were unused by their owners. Rations were also to be denied to anyone "who will not work" or showed "no disposition to help themselves or their families," or to anyone visiting away from his or her district without permission, evidence of positive resistance to farming and persistence of widespread population movement.

Several other edicts went directly to the

persistence of distinctly Indian practices. For example, agents had expressed great difficulty in getting the Indians to understand the concept of private property, especially exclusivity of use of tools and equipment. It was common for Indians to borrow each others' and agency items without asking permission and without return. This was henceforth strictly forbidden. Indians were also enjoined to protect their own property, primarily from White thieves. Order No. VIII forbade all plural marriages and required all marriages to be properly solemnized. Finally, Order No. X banned in one sweep gambling, the mescal bean (peyote), and "all the old-time customs that existed during the reservation system which served to keep alive superstition and barbarous practices..." (A.E. Woodson, C&A Indian Agency, May 6, 1895, Record Group #75, Letters Received 1881-1907, BIA, NA. Copy in OHSIA.) The agency employees were required to enforce the orders on pain of dismissal.

However, Woodson was never able to markedly influence the behavior of the Cheyenne and Arapaho, despite his vigorous efforts. Instead, his activities strengthened the anti-government faction on the reservation. When he ended the old practice of ration issue with distribution handled by band chiefs and instituted a family issue system as an attack on the power of the headmen, more of those chiefs and their followers joined the opposition group. Woodson went on to aggressively oppose peyote and was

responsible for the legislation against it in 1897. This activity, combined with his harshness in attempting to force culture change, brought even younger, educated Cheyenne and Arapaho into the anti-agency faction. (Berthrong, 1976: 248-265.)

Thus, by the time allotment was applied to the Kiowa and Comanche reservation, despite stringent efforts, relatively little change had taken place among the Cheyenne and Arapaho in the direction which the White authorities expected. Despite somewhat greater experiments with farming and ranching, the Kiowa and Comanche were little changed as well. But among all four tribes there had been marked cultural and political developments in response to reservation conditions. For example, on both reservations factionalism had emerged; as noted above, the people had divided into what the agents described as progressive and conservative groups. By the White definition, progressives were those who cooperated with the farming programs, placed their children in schools, and generally supported agency positions on such politico-economic issues as leasing and allotment. Progressives might include older chiefs who believed that further resistance was futile or younger leaders who accepted the inevitability of the situation and sought to make the best of it, often seeking personal favor and advantage. (Quannah Parker is an example of these younger leaders.) These men would influence their families

and bands to also adopt the progressive approach. Other people might become progressives as a result of education in White schools and/or religious conversion.

Conservatives, on the other hand, were those Indians who either actively or passively resisted the civilization program. On the Kiowa-Comanche reservation, resistance was primarily passive: conservatives withdrew to the more remote regions of the reservation (the Rainy Mountain area, and the northwest.), and tried to avoid much contact with Whites. When action was taken against progressives, it was usually private social pressure: ostracism or ridicule were common. When a progressive was particularly offensive in his advocacy of White policies and beliefs, however, a group might ask a known witch to kill him. Both students who were bewitched had been warned to cease their outspoken support for Christianity in one case and allotment in the other. (Hagan, 1976: 216-49. Hagan's emphasis is on allotment factions.)

On the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation, however, the conservatives were well-organized and mounted active, often violent, resistance to White authorities. The old military societies, which the agents called collectively the Dog Soldiers, assumed the responsibility of enforcing traditional lifestyles and opposing any cooperation with Whites. Just as they had during communal hunts and on war parties, they punished any who violated their conservative

precepts; those who farmed or placed children in schools could expect Dog Soldiers to destroy their property or inflict beatings. The Dog Soldiers rigorously policed the reservation from the late 1870's through the 1880's, compelling attendance at Sun Dances and harrassing progressives. They took the lead in opposing leasing and were successful in stopping it, but by the early 1890's their power was declining. The agents withheld rations from resistant bands, and many were hungry. Allotment was imposed despite their objections. A major leader of the Dog Soldiers went into hiding and disgrace after raping first an Indian woman and then a White girl. (Howling Wolf, an ex-prisoner. See Appendix B and Chapter 6.) Although several leaders in the Cantonment region, heartland of the conservatives, remained firm in their resistance until after 1900, the Dog Soldiers were no longer an active force. Instead, conservatives pursued an approach more like the passive resistance common among the Kiowa and Comanche, an approach that was undoubtedly more practical once the Indians were totally immersed in the new White settlement of Oklahoma Territory. (Berthrong, 1976: 100-05, 145-46, 249, 265-326.)

At no time were progressives ever a majority on either reservation. While we cannot say specifically how many Indians belonged to either faction, substantial evidence suggests that conservatives were the majority.

First, the numbers of Indians choosing to live in known conservative areas is an indication that most preferred at least to live away from White influence. The settlements around the agencies were always smaller than the bands in the hinterlands. (Berthrong, 1976: 171, map clearly shows population distribution. Moore, 1980; Kiowa Allotment Map.) Second, the missionaries were never able to make serious inroads. Finally, the agents' constant litany of complaints about resistance to farming and education and the persistence of "savage" practices indicate that many of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche were uninterested in becoming "civilized." (Agents' Annual Reports, especially Woodson, 1893-99, and Randlett, 1900-1903.)

It should also be noted that the distinctions between progressives and conservatives were political and economic; their cultural distinctions were often insignificant. In his "private" life, a progressive was often indistinguishable from his conservative peers. For example, the Comanche Tischecoddy noted earlier was a farmer/rancher and supported leasing the reservation--but he was never a Christian, he belonged to dance societies and probably to the peyote religion, and he had three wives. (Appendix B.) He was representative of many on both reservations. (Hagan, 1976, does not make this connection in his discussion of factionalism. Berthrong, 1976, considers the cultural factor only slightly more.)

If the development of factionalism reflected the strains of adapting to the conditions of reservation life economically and politically, the emergence of nativistic religious movements demonstrated the Indians' attempts to deal with those strains emotionally and spiritually. Many continued to turn to the traditional Sun Dances, which the Cheyenne and Arapaho held regularly and which were visited by large numbers of Kiowa and Comanche. At the peak of the strength of the Dog Soldiers (1884-85), however, leading medicine men announced that their power could stop White bullets--a notion which they may have learned from the much more vocal and aggressive prophets among the Kiowa. Throughout the 1880's, these preachers argued for a return to the "old ways," promising in return to bring back the buffalo, bring the sun down from the sky, destroy Whites in a fiery whirlwind, or bring the dead back to life. (These included Datekan, son of ex-prisoner Woman's Heart--1881; Botalye--1881-82; Paingya--1887. Mooney, 1898: 220-22.) The people responded anxiously to their appeals: in 1881, hundreds, including a huge delegation of Cheyenne (among whom were several former prisoners) attended a demonstration of Datekan's powers. He produced no buffalo, however, explaining that the Indians did not believe strongly enough. Botalye's medicine also failed, but in 1887, Paingya again had a following of hundreds. This time, they moved to a remote area to set up a permanent camp where even matches,

symbol of White technology and culture, were forbidden. White authorities feared that the group would lead a violent outbreak and prepared to attack the camp, but a young student (Joshua Given, one of the men bewitched for his pro-White views) intervened. He challenged Paingya to allow the soldiers to shoot him: he would then rise from the dead on the third day. Given promised that even the Whites would acknowledge Paingya then, but the prophet refused, and his following quickly dissipated. (Mayhall, 1962: 178-179, 262-263; Mooney, 1898: 219-20; Nye, 1962: 342-45; C&A and Kiowa Indian Dances Files, OHSIA.)

The presence of such prophets and messages in the South Plains certainly prepared the Indians there to be receptive to the Ghost Dance of 1890-91, the well-known revitalistic movement of the Shoshone prophet Wovoka which swept the Great Plains. But the failures of the previous prophets also prepared the people to be skeptical. The religion was brought to the area by the Southern Arapaho Sitting Bull, and the Arapaho embraced its teachings enthusiastically, even attempting to halt allotment by dancing. Despite its apparent failures to bring back the buffalo and destroy Whites, small groups of Arapaho continued to dance a version of the Ghost Dance until as late as 1902. (Mooney, 1896; Trenholm, 1970: 283-286.)

The Ghost Dance's reception among the other three tribes was far less enthusiastic, however. The Kiowa at

first fervently accepted it, and began to dance almost constantly, but their receptiveness was short-lived. Chief Apiatone, brother-in-law of Etahdleuh Doanmoe, went on a personal mission to Wovoka and returned greatly disillusioned. He denounced the religion as a fraud, and its impact quickly faded. The Cheyenne generally withheld participation until their own delegation returned from a similar mission; they also denounced Wovoka and the Ghost Dance as fraudulent, and the Cheyenne never adopted it. The Comanche were apparently never particularly interested: there were few reports of Comanche dances, and it is probable that most Comanche by 1890 did not feel the need for such a religion. They were already participating in a new, different religion, largely their own creation, which they, and many others in the South Plains found much more satisfying. (Only one small band of Penetethka Comanches danced. Hagan, 1976: 189-92; Mooney, 1896; Mayhall, 1962: 266-67; Kiowa Indian Dances File, OHSIA.)

That religion was peyotism. The use of peyote had been known among the Comanche for perhaps a hundred years, but its use as a religious sacrament accompanied by a full, regularized set of rituals and paraphernalia emerged in strength in the late 1870's. From the Comanche it spread to the Kiowa, and by the 1880's, to the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The number of its faithful grew steadily well into the twentieth century. The religion itself combined elements of

the mysticism of earlier Plains religions with explicit aspects of Christianity, and it found its expression in the peyote meeting at which the drug was ingested and its visions sought. The religion, unlike its contemporary nativistic movements, did not promise an end to reservation conditions or a return to the past. Its ceremonies, small in scale and intensely personal, differed sharply from the large tribal rituals of older religions and the prophets' movements. Rather, peyotism offered a new "Way" to deal with present realities, including ethics and rules for upright living. Its adherents also believed that peyote had far more than religiously mystical powers: they felt it could cure illness, prevent or cure alcoholism, and prevent or cure personality disorders--some of the most serious of the problems they faced. In short, it could provide the strength Indian people needed to cope with their harsh lives. The strength of peyotism had a powerful appeal: membership crossed not only tribal barriers but factional ones, as well. Both progressives and conservatives joined it, and so did many avowed Christians. No membership figures exist for the nineteenth century--the religion was clandestine in the face of White opposition--but the agents considered it such a widespread "problem" that they successfully lobbied in the Oklahoma legislature to have it outlawed in 1897. (La Barre, 1938; Slotkin, 1956; Marriott and Rachlin, 1971.)

Thus, the Indian people increasingly turned away from large scale tribal religious ceremonialism--encouraged by the opposition of White authorities. The agents sought to end dances and feasts, believing not only that they perpetuated "heathen" beliefs, but that they wasted time and resources. They applied force to stop Sun Dances--the last Kiowa Sun Dance was broken up by troops in 1889--and the agents almost never granted permission for ceremonials. (Mayhall, 1962: 265; CIA, Report, 1903: 245-46, 253-54.)

But large ceremonials never stopped. Instead, the Indians danced secretly and increasingly held secular ceremonials at which they performed dances with little or no religious meaning. They successfully convinced agents that these dances were harmless social events during the early 1880's, and the number of such dances steadily increased. Dances such as the Cheyenne Willow Dance became more important, and the people borrowed dances from other tribes: Omaha Dance Societies emerged on both reservations during this period. Other dances which had once had specific purposes, such as buffalo hunting or war magic, were now danced for entertainment and in competition. (Berthrong, 1976: 217; C&A and Kiowa Indian Dances Files; C&A Passes File. OHSIA.)

The most important ceremonial development of the era, however, was the major feast at which many of these dances were performed--the event the Indians called "dancing

for horses." Dancing for horses was the forerunner of the modern give-away pow-wow in the Southern Plains. As often as several times a year, bands or whole tribes visited each other, sometimes for weeks at a time, to dance, feast, and receive gifts. The host group provided all food and shelter, and the gifts--which could include blankets and household goods, but always included large numbers of horses. The visits were always reciprocated during the next dancing season. (Because Whites seldom attended these feasts, it is not possible to describe them from archival records. Additional research is needed to completely describe and analyze them. Agents were fully aware of them, however. Correspondence, KA 39 and 40, Kiowa Foreign Relations, OHSIA. Astonishingly, neither Berthrong nor Hagan mentions dancing for horses.)

During the 1890's, dancing for horses reached what the agents called a "frenzy." The Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Comanches were exchanging frequent visits in groups numbering in the hundreds. In 1891, the Cheyenne agent justified giving permission for two hundred Cheyenne to go to the Kiowa reservation by noting that they had taken allotments and would be a good influence on their hosts. (Ashley to Myers, KA 39, Passes, 9/4/91, OHSIA. Among them were several prominent ex-prisoners.) By mid-decade, the numbers were exceeding five hundred per visit, and the agents began to try to stop the practice. Their objections

were not so much to the actual dancing, but to the results of the events: huge numbers of Indians missed planting or harvest, and crops failed; entire sections of the Indian lands were left vacant for weeks at a time, inviting theft or vandalism; the feasts "impoverished" bands because of the expense of the food and gifts. (Ashley to Adams, 7/15/91, 9/23/91; Woodson to Nichols, 8/22/94--KA 39, Kiowa Foreign Relations. Ashley to Day, 7/6/92; Woodson to Nichols, 8/24/94; other correspondence--KA 40, Kiowa Passes, Letters Received, OHSIA.)

In 1896, after the Cheyenne and Kiowa exchanged visits, agency police rounded up all the gift ponies and sent them back to their respective reservations. Neither the Cheyenne nor the Kiowa would accept them. William Little Chief, an ex-prisoner and former student by now recognized as an important progressive leader, spoke for the Cheyenne. He said that to take back the ponies would disgrace them and cause hard feelings with the Kiowa. (Woodson to Baldwin, 7/3/96; 7/20/96--KA 39, Kiowa Foreign Relations, Letters Received. OHSIA.) Instead, they authorized the agents to sell the ponies and use the money to buy cattle for their children--but they begged that the horses be taken back to the Kiowa.

Neither agent ever got his Indians to take back horses, and dancing for horses continued unabated--now with official active disapproval. In 1899, Cheyenne-Arapaho

agent Woodson notified the Kiowa-Comanche agent that Cheyenne were dancing on the Kiowa reservation. He asked Agent Randlett to take "immediate steps to drive them off your reservation." (11/18/99, KA 39, Kiowa Foreign Relations, Letters Received, OHSIA.) Despite repeated efforts to use force to prevent dances, the Indian people continued. By the early twentieth century, the hosts were receiving guests from more than one tribe at a time, and Indians from outside the immediate area participated, especially the Pawnee. By this time, dancing for horses was an annual mid-summer event, and as late as 1919, the agents were still warning each other of impending invasions and attempting to block the feasts. (C&A Indian Dances File, August, 1919.)

Dancing for horses, therefore, replaced or supplemented traditional tribal ceremonies which had provided the occasions for expressing group solidarity. Through its creative use of apparently outmoded dances and reciprocal gift giving, it not only gave the people a tie to their heritage but it also strengthened their ties among themselves. Most significantly, this new feast ignored tribal boundaries and recognized the commonality of experience of the Indians of the South Plains.

Thus, in many aspects of their lives including subsistence, dress, religion, and public ceremonies, the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Comanche created nearly

identical lifestyles and institutions--and some common institutions--between the late 1870's and the early twentieth century. They maintained separate and vibrant tribal identities: honoring traditional leaders, speaking their original languages, preserving a variety of stylistic differences, and respecting long-standing kinship and marriage customs; but they also developed a pan-tribal culture, of which these tribes became essentially sub-cultures.

By the early twentieth century, that larger culture encompassed a number of clearly identifiable traits. Its economy was based on income derived primarily from rents--nearly all Indians leased most of their allotments. This income was supplemented on a small scale by gardening and seasonal wage work. Few Indians could be said to have been either gainfully employed or "self-supporting," in White terms. Annual income was very small, averaging about \$150 per household. (Berthrong, 1976: 296-340; Hagan, 1976: 287. Hagan estimates Comanche income at about \$400, including wage work, an overestimate for most. If land was not leased, income could be well below \$100 per year.)

The people lived clustered on their allotments in band groups. An extended family or several related families might live on one allotment, the remaining land being leased. A number of such groups constituted a band, which occupied an identified region of allotments. As late as

1910-12, thirty percent of the people in conservative areas were still reported to be living in tents, rather than houses, but the trend was towards single family houses. This trend was encouraged by construction assistance provided by the government, especially after about 1920. (Annual Reports, 1910, 1911, 1912, C&A and Kiowa Agents Files; C&A and Kiowa Indian Houses Files, especially undated description of modern houses, ca. 1925. OHSIA. Moore, 1980.)

Two-thirds to three-quarters of all children attended government sponsored boarding schools, but most adults did not use English in normal activities. Christian church membership remained small, although small Indian congregations did exist. Most Indian people dressed in White style with the addition of Indian elements such as mocassins, blankets, or dance shawls (a White fashion incorporated as an essential part of women's ceremonial attire.) (Berthrong, 1976: 296-340; Hagan, 1976: 287; Agents' Reports, 1900-1912, OHSIA.)

Since their time was not consumed by jobs, the people (adults) were free to devote large amounts of time to visiting and ceremonialism--for many, these were dominant activities. Participation in ceremonies, dancing for horses, and various adult societies remained strong. The peyote religion was also strong, and it received a tremendous stimulus when the courts ruled that the law

forbidding the use of peyote was unconstitutional. (Territory of Oklahoma v. Howling Wolf, Reuben Taylor, and Percy Kable, 1907. In the original law, peyote was described as "mescal beans," which the judge held was an illegal class legislation. See also Berthrong, 1976: 317-24.) Native curers were still preferred, but fewer of them remained.

Despite the disappearance of the generations who remembered the old buffalo hunting days, the people of the old South Plains alliance remained distinctly Indian--if not the same sort of Indian they had once been. They had acculturated to some degree, mostly in technological and material areas which provided more comfortable lives or replaced vanished items--housing, dress, food and food preparation. But they had not, for the most part, accepted those elements of White culture which Whites considered most important: Christianity and farming. Instead, they had achieved a region-wide adaptation to their changed situation, which, despite White pressure to the contrary, built on old traditions and current facts in a creative new way.

It should not be surprising that this new regional culture, with its tribal sub-cultures, emerged. First, despite the authorities best efforts, White power to coerce change in a desired direction was quite weak. The agencies had very small staffs, the Indian police usually declined to

take action against their peers, and the threat of military force was not realistic for any but major disturbances. The agents' main weapon, the denial of rations and annuities, could cause hardship, but its usual impact was to harden resistance as the people turned to their relatives and peers for support. The agents were, therefore, left to rely on example and persuasion to achieve results. Until allotment, Indians could withdraw from the agencies and largely avoid contact with Whites except for essential rationing. Even after allotment, despite the overwhelming presence of Whites everywhere in their territory, the Indians could, albeit to a smaller extent and in smaller numbers, still find areas within the allotted lands where they could live largely as they wanted. They were relatively free, then, both during and after the reservation period to adapt as they chose.

The inability of Whites to force change helps to explain the failure of the Indians to abandon their old cultures and their ability to change in their own ways, but it does not explain the changes which did take place nor the uniformity of the regional pattern. The explanations for these lie in the common heritage of the four tribes, their continued intense communication during the reservation period, and the uniformity of reservation conditions. It has already been shown that the people of the four tribes shared the exploitation and defense of the South Plains for at least thirty years before the reservation period. Their

economies were nearly identical, and although they did differ in social organization, language, and religion, they were thoroughly familiar with each others' customs and participated in each others' ceremonials. During the intense warfare of the 1850's, -60's, and -70's, the people became even closer, despite differences over tactics and strategy. (See Chapter 2.)

Once the Indians were enclosed on their reservations, their contact did not stop. Their reservations, shared by the Cheyenne and Arapaho and by the Kiowa and Comanche, were contiguous, and the bands embarked on nearly continuous visiting--without reference to reservation boundaries. The long periods of inactivity which especially the men now experienced encouraged the practice, and by the 1880's, the tribes were probably in more contact with one another than they had ever been before the reservation. Even greater sharing of ideas and customs was a logical outcome.

The visiting groups found that conditions on the two reservations were nearly identical. Agents applied the uniform federal Indian policy. The geography and environment were the same. Choosing from a limited range of options, similar peoples responded to the same situation with similar adaptations. Their continuing close relationship helped to further "homogenize" those adaptations.

Finally, few benefits accrued to Indians who attempted "The White Man's Road." During the early reservation years, such Indians could expect at the least ostracism or ridicule--at the most, physical abuse or even death--from their peers. In return for their efforts, they received very hard work, failed crops, and destroyed kinship and band ties. In short, they sacrificed the support of their community for a life no better materially, and much harder physically, than those of their peers. Since the original aspects of their cultures were either no longer possible or no longer helpful, the people essentially created a new culture appropriate to their new situation, building on their older traditions and borrowing, occasionally, from Whites.

The Fort Marion prisoners returned to their people just as these changes began, and many of them lived well into the twentieth century. In the next chapter, we will see how those who did not go with Pratt to school participated in the changing culture/s of the South Plains and how they applied the lessons of Fort Marion to that experience.

Chapter 5

The Older Warriors

In 1881, R.H. Pratt wrote "To the Friends of Indian Education" seeking support for his outing system at Carlisle Indian Industrial School. In defense of his methods, he cited the "Americanization" of his former Fort Marion prisoners.

"The contact of peoples is the best of all education."

Through this principle foreign emigrants speedily become American. Denied this means, our Indians have failed of Americanizing for three centuries. Governed by this law, every possible chance was given to the prisoners in the old Fort at St. Augustine, during their three years imprisonment. There were no failures there. Every one of those hardened leaders became, in some measure, reconstructed to an industrious producing basis of thought and action, and they are today reported to be about the only exceptions to savage life and superstition among their tribes. (Mrs. Pratt's Scrapbooks, PP.)

The purpose of this discussion will be to determine if, in fact, the prisoners who returned directly to Indian Territory (without benefit of additional education) actually were profoundly changed by their Fort Marion experience--whether they became examples of civilized life to their

reservation peers. In order to understand and identify Fort Marion's impact, and to analyze the roles of the innovative leaders (if any), the lives of the ex-prisoners will be traced and placed in the context of the historical/cultural developments of their reservations. It will be shown that the men generally were influenced by Pratt and Fort Marion, but often not entirely in the ways Pratt hoped. As well, the circumstances of their reservations set limits on ways the men could express those influences, and for most of their lives, they lived largely as their peers did.

Certainly, at the time of their release in 1878, Pratt expected the returnees not only to live upright, enlightened lives but to lead their people on the White Man's Road. As early as 1876, he wrote that he would continue to work with them, pending their release. He understood that:

They are to be returned "in a body to form the nucleus for the organization of their tribe"...If, sustained in what they have attained and carried ahead by authority, their people will try to rise to them instead of their dropping back. (Pratt to Gen. W.T. Sherman, 5/1/76 in Pratt, 1964: 174.)

Apparently, some of the prisoners shared Pratt's expectations. In their appeal for release in 1877, Making Medicine (spokesman for the young men) and Minimic (spokesman for the older men) both recounted all they had learned at Fort Marion and promised to continue to learn and to work hard, and to teach their children the new ways.

(Pratt, 1964: 178.) Whether the men would meet Pratt's or their own expectations remained to be seen.

After a lengthy journey from Florida--by boat to Hampton, Virginia, by train to Kansas, and then wagon to Fort Sill and the Indian agencies--the ex-prisoners arrived home. (Agency records indicate thirty-five men returned in 1878. These are included in Table 3. At least ten died at Fort Marion; five are unaccounted for. The Cheyenne woman Mochi and the Comanche woman Peahni, like most Indian women, were not discussed directly in the records, with the exception of some censuses, and they are not included in the analysis. See also Appendix B.) The thirteen Cheyennes and two Arapahos were led by the only surviving Cheyenne chief, Minimic, and his son Howling Wolf. Agent J.D. Miles received them at Darlington April 28, 1878, and he wrote Pratt immediately commenting on the profound changes he saw in his group.

although I had made up my mind to see a great reformation in them, yet I was never more surprised, and that agreeably, too, to see such a complete, radical, and thorough reformation--I could scarcely believe I was in the presence and company of the men whom I saw three years ago leave this agency and country in chains and with hearts full of revenge and hatred...good results will accrue to the whole Cheyenne tribe through those whom you have returned to us. (Miles to Pratt, 5/23/78, LR, PP.)

Agent P.B. Hunt's nineteen Kiowas and Comanches reached Anadarko May 1. In his report of their arrival, Hunt sounded surprised as he noted his pleasure at their

"condition"; i.e., their dress and demeanor: "A thorough reformation in every particular." He commented that he hoped good would come of their return, and he expected the ex-prisoners to be useful in the teaching work on the reservation. (Hunt to Hayt, CIA, 5/2/78, KA 7, LS, Vol. 5, OHSIA.)

The returning prisoners were thus greeted with praise at their changed appearance and manners and with predictions of good works. Both agents immediately tried to provide support to the returnees so that they could/would maintain their new lifestyles. Pratt had specifically urged that the ex-prisoners be provided with employment and that their families be involved in the civilization effort through education and jobs, "else much labor is lost." (Pratt, 1964: 178.) Both agents did their best to comply.

Miles hired most of the Cheyennes at the Darlington agency, effectively turning over nearly all agency employment to the ex-prisoners, and placing them in a highly favored position. The first Indian police force at the Cheyenne-Arapaho agency was composed of twelve returned Cheyenne prisoners, captained by Little Medicine, with Star as Sergeant. (Another five men were reservation Arapahos. C&A Indian Police File, 1878, OHSIA. C&A Indian Police, 1878, NA.) Four ex-prisoners were also employed as laborers, a mill hand, and stone quarrier. (C&A Employees, 1878, OHSIA.) Minimic began a wood cutting and hauling

business, whose only customers were the agency and school, in which his son also worked, (Minimic to Pratt, 10/26/78, PP; Pratt, 1964: 165.) and Howling Wolf also worked as a school aide. (Miles, Annual Report, 1878.) The entire group were thus provided with jobs that assured at least a modest income, required that they live near the agency, and offered a measure of higher status, especially from a White perspective. Miles apparently missed the irony of appointing the ex-prisoners (so recently considered savage and recalcitrant) as police expected to supervise their fellow Cheyennes.

At Anadarko, Agent Hunt did not promptly hire his returnees, except for Pautausape whom he put to work as a watchman, and Aulih, who was a laborer. (Kiowa Employees File, 1878, OHSIA.) Instead, he sought to encourage "civilized" pursuits more directly in keeping with government policy: he tried to get them to farm. In late May, he wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs asking permission to expand the area of plowed land on the reservation because the returned prisoners needed the acreage for their farms. (Hunt to Hayt, CIA, Monthly Report, May, 1878, KA 7, LS, Vol. 5, OHSIA.) He also put the agency carpenters to work building houses for five ex-prisoners. (Hunt to Miss S.H. Mather, 2/17/80, KA 9, Vol. 8, LS, OHSIA.)

Early in 1879, Agent Hunt wrote to Pratt describing

the returned Kiowas and Comanches and listing the returned prisoners who were "doing well": Pautausape was working at the agency and wanted a house; Wohaw was attending the agency school; Black Horse had plowed and fenced a field, had a child in school, and also wanted a house. Six others were also "worthy of assistance," all of them apparently now serving on the police force. (Taneti was Sergeant of the force.) Hunt stressed that to stay on their "progressive path" all of these needed continued help. (Hunt to Pratt, 2/12/79, KA 8, Vol. 7, LS, OHSIA.)

Through 1879, Hunt employed only nine of his nineteen returnees, in contrast to Miles' employment or subsidization of nearly all of his. (Kiowa Employees and Police Files, 1879, OHSIA.) By 1880, only Pautausape (laborer) and Quoyouh (policeman) remained on the payrolls, although as many as seven were farming near Anardako. (Etahdleuh to Pratt, 9/14/82, in Petersen, 1971: 152-53.) The failure of many of the Kiowa and Comanche ex-prisoners to stay on the White Man's Road, at least in terms of visible employment, seemed to fulfill the prediction which Gen. J.W. Davidson of Fort Sill had made in July, 1878. He noted that while their immediate influence among their peers appeared good (i.e., leading to civilization), that it really did not amount to much. As their reservation tribesmen had been learning farming and household skills, these men had learned little of real use:

The St. Augustine Indians can write a few words, sing a hymn or two, but are wanting in a knowledge of the industrial pursuits of life-- [To compound the problem,] no provision was made...for their living...beyond the issue of rations. The consequence is, they find the larger number of their tribal associates far better off than they are, and it would not be strange if they lapsed into their former savage ways of life. The educational and civilizing opportunities afforded them are not of that character to profit them permanently and substantially among their associates. (Davidson to Asst. Adjutant General, 7/22/78, Kiowa Indian Improvement File, OHSIA.)

In other words, once back among their uncivilized friends and relatives, the meagre skills these men had learned, and the minimal chance to succeed offered them by White authorities would soon lead them to see their "old" ways superior.

Apparently, about half the returning Kiowas and Comanches lapsed "into their former savage ways" almost immediately. Woman's Heart, the old chief who had been released early at Pratt's urging (Pratt thought he was dying), was perhaps the most visible example. In April, 1879, he actually led a war party off the reservation to avenge the death of a Kiowa man killed by Texas rangers. (Hunt to CIA, 4/16/79, 4/17/79, KA 8, Vol. 7, LS, OHSIA.) With the other older war chief ex-prisoner White Horse (instrumental in the Kiowa escape attempt), Woman's Heart was emerging as leader of a vigorous anti-White group on the reservation. His son was soon to announce his mission as a nativist prophet. The third old war chief, Lone Wolf,

disappeared from the agency soon after his return and went to live among the resistant Kiowas near Mount Scott. He died there in 1879, and was buried secretly to avoid White attention. (Corwin, 1958: 163-80.)

Of the warriors who did not participate in Hunt's farming or employment efforts, two probably died in 1878-79; no mention was ever made of them in agency records. The others chose to return to their old bands. In January, 1880, Hunt wrote a discouraged response to Pratt's request to send home some of the "Florida Boys" who had chosen to attend school. Despite his efforts to employ the returnees, and the fact that he had built houses for several of them, he "hardly knew what to say" about their return. He had "found they would fall back." Although he was willing to try to help them, and to employ them at the agency, he was not optimistic. "Most of those who came in 1878 went back to the blanket." (Hunt to Pratt, 1/13/80, KA 9, Vol. 8, LS, OHSIA.) General Davidson's prediction had apparently come true.

At Darlington, affairs progressed somewhat differently; although the eventual outcome was similar, the development took longer. In his annual report for 1878, Miles wrote glowingly of the impact the returned Cheyennes were having:

The return of these people has had a good effect

and has stimulated afresh the desire the Indians have manifested to engage in the pursuits of civilized life.

As an example, he cited the work of Howling Wolf, who had convinced "more than twenty of his friends and relations [to adopt] the dress, habits, and ways of the whites..." Miles went so far as to declare that "the policy of restoring them to their tribes has proved a success." (Miles, Annual Report, 1878: 55.) Besides working at the agency, the men attended church, sent their children to school, and spoke out in favor of the White Man's Road. The old chief Minimic was especially active. The only apparent lapse came when one younger warrior danced in the July Sun Dance, explaining that he had pledged to do so before his departure in 1875. (Berthrong, 1976: 81.) The commandant at Fort Reno joined in the praise, announcing that the changes among these Cheyennes were permanent and that their influence was "highly beneficial." (Hayt to Hunt, 9/29/78, Kiowa Indian Improvement File, OHSIA.)

Only one voice cautioned that the Cheyenne, too, might not maintain this wonderful transformation. Major J.K. Mizner, who also served at Fort Reno, believed that the men genuinely wanted to live as they had at Fort Marion, but reservation conditions would force them back to "camp life." There was too little chance to use their new skills, no houses, and only limited clothing. (Berthrong, 1976: 81.)

Despite the hardships, many of the Cheyenne

returnees tried to live up to Miles' praise. Minimic and his band were the progressive leaders working hard at the wood supply business. Minimic wrote Pratt in 1880:

For two winters I have been chopping wood. This is the road the agent gave me--He said it would be better for me than to raise corn. I have chopped wood for the soldiers and am now chopping for the Agent--and all my people--thirty lodges--are working with me. (1/26/80, PP.)

Minimic wrote Pratt frequently, and Pratt published some of the letters as signs of Indian progress. (For example, Minimic to Pratt, 1/24/79, Southern Workman, VIII, No. 3, March 1879: 31. This was the newspaper of the Hampton Institute, where the Florida Boys went after their release from Fort Marion.)

Minimic's son Howling Wolf was identified as the most progressive of the younger Cheyenne returnees. He had gone to work at the agency school as a butcher, moderator (disciplinarian), and general assistant; he was also a reservation policeman. He, his wife, and daughter moved into the school, and Miles reported they were "boldly on the side of reform." (Miles to Pratt, 5/23/78, PP.) He spoke often at church and at school where he strongly advocated the White Man's Road. In 1879, Howling Wolf moved back to camp, but only because he had chosen to try to farm. Miles rewarded his good behavior by allowing him to visit another tribe in April, 1879. (Petersen, 1968: 6-7.)

Yet, the same year, Howling Wolf dictated a letter

to Pratt which revealed a growing ambivalence about his life. Howling Wolf felt himself to be poor because the Northern Cheyenne had stolen all his horses in their breakout in 1878, and he discussed his ideas for rectifying his poverty and for a good life.

You gave me the white man's road and it is very good. At the fort you gave us cloths but we have bin here one year and they are about all gon... When I hunted the buffalo I was not poor; when I was with you I did not want for eney thing but here I am Poor. I would like to go out on the planes again whare I could rome at will and not come back again...[If he could go to Mexico to catch wild horses, then he would not be poor.] Bare Shield, Manimak, Little Medison, and my self have no wagon. I would like to have you talk to Washiton and find out why those tha ware white man's cloths do not get wagons first. The Solder Chief plowed my field for me. That made my hart feal good and caused me to recomend the White Man's road to the Indin...My father is cutting wood while I am looking at my corn... The White Man that has the school in charge is like my brother. Tomorrow I will kill my Beaf, then will call the cheafs in to my lodg and have a talk and made a road. I think the Trader does not doe right as we don't get as much for five cents as I did in the states. (Howling Wolf to Pratt, 6/5/79, PP. See also Petersen, 1968: 7-8.)

Clearly, despite his attempts to farm, and his avowals of the White Man's Road, Howling Wolf was unhappy. His clothes were wearing out and the government did not replace them. He was not adequately rewarded for his efforts toward civilization: less progressive Indians received their wagons before he did. He felt cheated by agents and traders. He was also nostalgic for the old free life, which was richer than his present one. He had resumed

living in a tipi, and was about to stage a traditional feast and "talk" among the chiefs to plan their next actions. Howling Wolf, son of the most progressive Cheyenne, was wavering between the old and the new roads. Despite all his efforts, the rewards from his new life did not--could not, under reservation conditions including shortages of rations, unscrupulous traders, and general hardship--meet the standards he had been led to expect by his Fort Marion experience.

Like Howling Wolf, the other Cheyenne returnees tried to stay on the White Man's Road, despite the problems. They were aided by Miles' employment policies. Through 1879 and 1880, ten worked either as agency employees (fireman, mill hand, laborer, teamster) or as policemen (six.) (C&A Employees and Police Files, 1879, 1880, OHSIA.) In September, 1880, The Cheyenne Transporter, the reservation newspaper, reported that Bear Shield was becoming a stock raiser. (9/10/80, OHSIA.) At the end of 1880, only Cometsevah (who probably died in 1879) and Long Back were not among those pursuing the progressive trail. Long Back died about 1884, having never worked for the agency. In 1878, Pratt had argued against his release, describing him as a "bad Indian." (See Appendix B; Pratt to Adjutant General, 12/4/78, NA, WD, AGO, APC File 6238, 1878.)

Long Back was the only Cheyenne or Arapaho ex-prisoner who immediately rejected civilization--or at least

employment--but the numbers of those employed at the agency steadily declined from 1880 until 1884. Old Minimic died in the spring of 1881, leaving his large progressive group under the leadership of the increasingly disillusioned Howling Wolf. (Cheyenne Transporter, 5/25/81, OHSIA.) Ten of the men remained policemen until 1881, when the force was reduced. In 1882 Miles fired the entire force, and started over, unsatisfied with the performance of the original group. (C&A Police Files, 1880, 1881, 1882, OHSIA.) In 1881-82, most of the men worked as laborers to substitute for their lost police income, but that work offered none of the status of police work (uniforms, weapons, horses), and by 1882, only five men (Buffalo Meat, Star, Chief Killer, Left Hand, and Packer) remained on the agency payrolls. (C&A Employees Files, 1881, 1882, OHSIA.)

In 1884, Miles had to fire even these loyal workers for lack of funds. He wrote Pratt a warning about the future of the returned prisoners--and the returning young scholars--in which he said that the men were "mystified" by their dismissal because they could see that their work was clearly needed. Now they spoke of the betrayal of the government which had promised to help them live properly; "the government has gone back on us." They left the agency and went out to the band camps "brooding" over the unfair treatment they had received. Miles believed that now their influence would be used against White authorities, rather

than in leading their people toward civilization. (Miles to Pratt, 2/16/84, PP.)

He was right, and he already had other examples of ex-prisoners who had abandoned their efforts at civilized life and had turned toward the old ways. Little Medicine, after leading the reservation police force until his dismissal in 1882, left the Block Band (the large leaderless group camped at Darlington--most were somehow associated with the agency), and he moved to the conservative area of the reservation near Cantonment. There he resumed his membership in one of the warrior societies, whom the agents classed together as the Dog Soldiers, and rapidly moved into a position of leadership. By 1884, he was a band head. As early as 1881, he had two wives, and he sent none of his children to school. ("Little Medicine," Appendix B.)

At the same time, Howling Wolf rejected the White Man's Road. In 1881, Miles wrote to Pratt that he was "as uncivilized, but not as hostile, as he ever was." (Petersen, 1968: 6.) In 1882, Pratt's son Mason visited Darlington and wrote that Howling Wolf "Dresses as an Indian and is just as much an one as any of them, he has forgotten all his English, does nothing." (Mason Pratt to R.H. Pratt, 7/10/1882, PP.) By 1884, he began to share the leadership of the Dog Soldiers with Little Medicine. ("Howling Wolf," Appendix B.)

Nearly all the rest of the Cheyenne and Arapaho

former prisoners abandoned Darlington, going out among the conservative bands head-quartered near Cantonment. In the mid-1880's, most did join the freighters hauling goods for the agency, an occasional occupation not requiring other aspects of civilized life. They resumed full participation in traditional culture: nine of the twelve had two or more wives by the mid-1880's, a practice particularly discouraged by White authorities. (See Table 1.) Many attended dances and ceremonials: Little Chief (a returned student) led the delegation of Cheyennes, which included several other ex-prisoners, to observe the work of the Kiowa buffalo prophet in 1880 and 1881 (E.L. Clark to Hunt, 7/14/81, Kiowa Celebrations and Dances File, OHSIA.), and we may assume that, living in the region dominated by Dog Soldiers, (now actually led by two ex-prisoners) most of them attended Sun Dances. Certainly by the standards of Whites, nearly the entire group could be said to have "gone back to the blanket."

Only Buffalo Meat, Left Hand, and Star tried to maintain regular employment at the agency after 1884, and when that seemed impossible, Left Hand and Star joined the U.S. Army as scouts. (C&A Employees Files, 1884-1891, including scouts subsection, OHSIA.) The rest lived from their annuities and rations among their kin and friends, as most of the Kiowa and Comanche returnees had done early in the 1800's. They would continue to do so until allotment in 1891. (C&A Issues, Census, 1884-1891, OHSIA.)

Thus, the Cheyennes were more unanimous in their early attempts to adhere to the White Man's Road, and slower to abandon them, than the Kiowa and Comanche ex-prisoners. The reasons for their greater early enthusiasm for civilization lay in Pratt's treatment of them at Fort Marion, the differing circumstances on the two reservations, and the different age/leadership structure of the two returning groups. First, it should be remembered that Pratt generally gave preferred treatment to the Cheyenne prisoners at Fort Marion. He believed that most of the men had been unjustly chosen for punishment and therefore should be given relatively more kindness and opportunities. (Pratt to Miles, 1/3/76, C&A Indian Prisoners File, OHSIA.) He was also very fond of Minimic and showered him with special privileges. Howling Wolf received close attention for an eye disease and was even sent to Boston for treatment, returning dressed as a dandy with blue spectacles. (Petersen, 1968: 2.)

On the other hand, Pratt himself had chosen the Kiowa and Comanche prisoners and believed they fully deserved punishment. His generally negative feelings were more than confirmed by the Kiowa escape attempt, for which several older Kiowa (especially White Horse and Wyako) were severely punished. Those Kiowa and Comanche who cooperated with Pratt were rewarded with privileges and attention, but those who did not were treated coldly. It is not surprising

that the Cheyennes returned to Indian Territory more willing to cooperate with White authorities, especially since Agent Miles was a close personal friend of Pratt.

Miles' friendship with Pratt contributed to the differences in circumstances on the two reservations. He made every effort to provide the returnees with support, specifically with jobs for which the men were somewhat prepared by the Fort Marion experiences. Having done a variety of laboring tasks, including serving in the fort militia, they were ready for the agency employment Miles offered. Agent Hunt, on the other hand, offered fewer such jobs, opting instead to try to produce farmers.

Agent Hunt did offer some appropriate jobs, however. His efforts were undoubtedly thwarted more by the character of his ex-prisoners (at least initially) than by the work he could give them. The returning Kiowas, especially, were led by the three old war chiefs: White Horse, Woman's Heart, and Lone Wolf. These men had been prominent hostile leaders before Fort Marion, had organized the escape attempt, and returned to Indian Territory unreconstructed. They, and some of their warriors, left Anadarko immediately to resume anti-White activities. (The Comanche chief Black Horse did not join them.) By contrast, none of the more hostile Cheyenne chiefs survived Fort Marion, and Minimic had been part of the Cheyenne peace faction before the Red River War. At Fort Marion, he repeatedly spoke for cooperation with

Whites, and as we have seen, worked hard at promoting White-approved lifestyles on his return. ("Minimic," Appendix B.) It should also be noted that most of those younger Kiowa and Comanche who cooperated with Pratt at Fort Marion did not return in 1878, having chosen to stay in the east for further schooling. Several of the younger cooperative Cheyennes elected to return immediately to Indian Territory, notably Howling Wolf, Buffalo Meat, and Star.

By the mid-1880's, then, most of the returned Cheyennes had abandoned their early efforts at civilization. They were frustrated and antagonized by the problems they had faced in trying to live up to Pratt's expectations: too few rations, too few appropriate jobs, generally inadequate support and rewards. Their disillusionment coincided with the emergence on the reservation of the violently anti-White Dog Soldiers, and like most of their peers, most of them at least sympathized with the Dog Soldiers' aims and moved to their area of the reservation. It is a remarkable indication of the depth of the revulsion felt by the returned Cheyennes that two of the surviving twelve were leaders of the resistance movement, both of them previous avid supporters of the White Man's Road. (C&A Census, 1884-87, OHSIA.)

The mid-1880's found the Kiowas and Comanches living somewhat differently--certainly not as members or leaders of a violently anti-White movement. At least half of these had

not tried the civilized lifestyle, but the other half had begun farming in the late 1870's. While the full range of their activities until 1885 is not known, it is clear that the Comanche and Kiowa ex-prisoners did not experience the Cheyenne enthusiasm-disillusionment pattern. Although their reservation was witnessing the emergence of nativistic religious movements, it did not have an anti-White political/cultural faction at all like the Dog Soldiers. Without the Cheyenne tradition of strong central organization, those who chose not to cooperate generally simply withdrew in small groups from areas of White influence. The reservation did have a small, but active, mostly Comanche progressive faction. The Kiowa and Comanche returnees therefore found themselves in a somewhat more flexible cultural situation. Unlike their Cheyenne peers, they did not have to choose total rejection of all things White, and they could, within certain limits, begin to experiment with certain aspects of civilization. What some of them tried was farming.

The Comanche chief Black Horse began his small farm immediately on his return in 1878, and with the agent's help, he expanded it during the 1880's. The other ex-prisoners lived mostly from their annuities and rations until the mid-1880's, when they, too, slightly expanded their farms. In fact, five of the six Kiowas who survived until 1890 had farms in that year--all within a small

community along Hog Creek near Anardarko. All had been listed as "doing well" in 1879, and their farms were in the "Government field" originally plowed for them in 1879-80. (All farming Kiowa had their plots there. Hunt, Annual Report, 1885: 318.) The Kiowa ex-prisoners were led by the old chief Taneti in their new endeavor. Black Horse was joined by the Comanches Tischecoddy and Quoyouh; only one of the surviving six Comanches (Wyako) was not reported as having broken at least a few acres, but even he accepted such agricultural issues as a plow in 1887. (Wm. Wyatt, Report, 6/28/90, Kiowa Farmers File; Kiowa Issues. OHSIA.) What produced this interest in farming?

First, the old Kiowa war chief Woman's Heart died early in the decade and White Horse was aging. The only active Fort Marion chiefs were farming, and Black Horse was quite successful. The agency blacksmith made brands for his herds of cattle in 1881 and 1882, and his plowed acreage steadily increased. By 1890, Black Horse had sixty acres fenced and thirty-five cultivated, when the average Indian farm was less than five acres. ("Black Horse," Appendix B.)

Second, the Kiowa and Comanche agents made it clear to those who would listen that allotment was inevitable. They offered extensive services to any who would begin their farms in anticipation of allotment, including plowing fields, erecting fences, providing tools, and seeds, and, through the farmers, giving instruction. In addition, the

agents provided help in building houses and barns, and in obtaining White laborers or sharecroppers to work on the farms. (See Chapter Four.) Those Indians who took advantage of this assistance could expect a higher standard of living and favored treatment at the agency, especially in the form of reduced harassment about their "Indian" behavior. Since some of these men, including Black Horse, had more than one wife and all lived a version of "camp life," this special treatment could be very helpful. Their standard of living would be higher because their rations, annuities, and tribal grass money would now be augmented by garden products, the sale of some crops, and the proceeds from sharecropping. In short, farming offered clear advantages, especially to individuals who were prepared to appreciate them; i.e., had some English skills and were accustomed to dealing with Whites. In the absence of organized resistance to it, these individuals were free to try it without abandoning other aspects of their Indian cultures.

It is remarkable that so many of the Kiowa and Comanche ex-prisoners became farmers, ten of the eleven who survived until 1890 and of the total sixteen, when relatively few of the reservation population as a whole did. While the Kiowa and Comanche were more interested in farming than the Cheyenne, in 1890 the agent estimated that about thirty-five percent of the adult males were "engaged in

civilized pursuits"; i.e., farming or working for wages. (Table 1.) Clearly their Fort Marion experience influenced the ex-prisoners to try this new lifestyle. At least some of them had learned enough English to understand the agents' explanations and to handle their own negotiations and arrangements. Second, several of them learned to trust the judgment of some Whites in such matters, especially Black Horse and Quoyouh, who sought agents' and even Pratt's advice. (For example, in 1899 Quoyouh wrote Pratt asking for help in getting agency assistance for the construction of a new house. 11/23/99, Kiowa Indian Houses File, OHSIA.) Third, all had experienced the relatively rich material life of Fort Marion and may have viewed farming as a way to once again attain the better clothes, the better food, and the little luxuries obtainable with cash. Finally, most of them had maintained at least some friendly contact with the agency after they quit work there about 1880--farming, working on the freight trains or as policemen, educating a few of their children, remaining near Anadarko. Only White Horse was noted as a member of any of the anti-White groups. Most of the Kiowa ex-prisoners did oppose the grass leases in the late 1880's, but their position must be viewed as political and economic, not as categorically anti-White. The same men who opposed the leases were also farmers, and one argued for them noting that they needed the acreage themselves for winter pasture. (Wohaw, 9/5/92, Kiowa Cattle, Pastures, and Grazing File, OHSIA.)

The Kiowa and Comanche ex-prisoners also had on their reservation the examples of the Wichita and Caddo, Indians who had been farming in the area for a generation, and squaw men who had large successful farms or ranches and who were anxious to see the region agriculturally developed. Several of the ex-prisoners had direct ties (by marriage or partnership) with squaw men: Tischecoddy, Quoyouh, Black Horse all had business relationships with Whites living on the reservation. It is not surprising then that, as a group, the Kiowa and Comanche returnees were so receptive to the farming program.

The Cheyenne returnees could/did not experiment with farming in the 1880's, and Cheyenne-Arapaho allotment in 1891 therefore found them both unprepared to try an agricultural life and still somewhat hostile to White authorities and culture. Nonetheless, some had cooperated to a small degree. At mid-decade, the Dog Soldiers held full sway on the reservation, and most returnees kept their children out of school and otherwise followed the lead of Howling Wolf and Little Medicine. The exceptions were Packer, who sent a child to a reservation school in 1881, and Antelope, Buffalo Meat, Chief Killer, and Medicine Water, who sent children to Carlisle between 1881 and 1889. Star worked as the agency carpenter between 1887 and 1888, and he and Left Hand also served as army scouts. (C&A Census, 1884-1890; C&A Employees File, 1885-1890. OHSIA.)

The Dog Soldiers' authority began to erode after their victories over the White cattlemen in 1886. As rations were withheld and people went hungry, determination flagged. The conservatives' power received an additional serious blow when Howling Wolf ingloriously lost his leadership position. In 1881, he had been accused of raping a Cheyenne woman and had had to leave his band to live elsewhere on the reservation. (This incident coincided with the death of Minimic and with Howling Wolf's turn to conservatism.) Then, in 1893, he allegedly raped a White girl. He was captured by White police and briefly jailed, but he escaped. Once back on the reservation, he was protected by Cheyenne warriors, but his status and authority had been destroyed. He fled in exile to the Kiowas, where he lived in hiding for about the next ten years. ("Howling Wolf," Appendix B.)

Little Medicine, however, remained an "impudent, abusive, and arrogant" spokesman for the conservatives. He wanted the Arapahos sent to another reservation because they were too cooperative with Whites, for example, and he demanded that the agent provide food for traditional feasts. The agent said he could be kept on the reservation only by the presence of troops. (Ashley, Annual Report, 1889.)

Little Medicine no longer fully represented the rest of the ex-prisoners by about 1890. They still lived in the conservative area, but as we have seen, several educated

children and a few worked for the agency. Buffalo Meat ran wagon trains from the mid- to the late 1880's. (C&A Freight and Transportation, 1885-1890, OHSIA.) Most importantly, however, several of the men ascended to lead their own bands: Packer, Antelope, Bear Shield, Buffalo Meat, and Medicine Water (a leader before 1875.) None of these were as hostile to Whites as Little Medicine or Howling Wolf; as each of these established himself as an authority in his own right, he was more free to cooperate with Whites without fear of retribution, as were members of their bands. For example, in 1884 a child from Packer's band attended Laurence Institute. (C&A Census, 1881-90, OHSIA.)

The emergence of attitudes less hostile to civilization can also be seen in the allotment of the Cheyenne and Arapaho ex-prisoners. Eleven survived to receive allotments. Six took theirs in the first allotment session among those who were not boycotting the process. Star missed the first session only because he was on active duty as an army scout. (C&A Indian Scouts, 1891, OHSIA.) Medicine Water and Chief Killer are not known to have opposed allotment, but they were among those to whom lands were assigned in the second allotment session. Bear Shield and Howling Wolf were also assigned lands, after actively boycotting and opposing allotment. Little Medicine, so recently hostile, and an opponent of allotment, nevertheless took his lands in the first round, having been personally

convinced by John Seger to join the group near Seger Colony. (C&A Allotment Schedule, OHSIA; Berthrong, 1976: 165, 226.) Four of the ex-prisoners went to Seger Colony: Little Medicine, Packer, Antelope, and Bear Shield. All of them died in the epidemics of measles which hit the area in 1893 and 1894. (C&A Census, 1893, 1894, OHSIA.) The rest, except Buffalo Meat, took their lands in the area where they had been living near Cantonment. There they continued to live much as they had been, surviving on rations and annuities and living in small band groups. After allotment, there were almost no employment opportunities at the agency for these men, and freighting was phased out. Only Nocomista sent a child to school: Round Belly, renamed Leslie, in the late 1890's. (C&A Census, 1896, OHSIA.)

Buffalo Meat, who took his allotment near present-day Kingfisher, however, dramatically departed from the pattern of the rest of the ex-prisoners. By 1891, he was an important band head and had supervised freight expeditions for the agency. In 1890, he had expressed his growing interest in civilization by ordering a specially tailored suit from the shops at Carlisle. He took his lands early (did not oppose allotment), and set up a homestead where he actually began farming a few acres. In 1892, he sought Agent Woodson's help to build a two room house, which he occupied with his one wife. Again with agency help, he repaired and expanded the house in 1897. Even more

remarkable, Buffalo Meat converted to Christianity. About 1895, he joined a small Baptist congregation, rising eventually to Deacon. During the late 1890's and early 1900's, he spoke often at church gatherings on the reservation and even toured for Baptist missionary organizations. (Buffalo Meat was in his fifties in this period, optimum age for Cheyenne men in leadership and respect.) Finally, Buffalo Meat sent his youngest son, Raymond, to school where he actually graduated from seventh grade, one of only about twenty-five percent of Cheyenne children to attend all primary grades. ("Buffalo Meat," Appendix B.)

Thus, at a time when most of his surviving peers were living a reduced version of the old "camp life," Buffalo Meat was firmly pursuing the White Man's Road. In nearly every way, from dress to housing to religion and even to farming, he was on the "right" path. He stayed on that path until his death in 1917--leasing and then selling part of his allotment only when he was too old to farm.

It is in Buffalo Meat's life that Fort Marion's influence may most clearly be seen among the Cheyenne-Arapaho ex-prisoners. Buffalo Meat returned to Indian Territory a young man, where he immediately went to work for the agency. He was a loyal employee, apparently uninfluenced by the Dog Soldier emergence, until the cuts of 1884, and as soon as he could return to work in 1886 as a

freighter, he did. He stayed at it, rising in responsibility at the same time as his Cheyenne status rose. Finally, after allotment, he wholeheartedly embraced the lifestyle prescribed for Indians by White authorities. Nevertheless, in at least one area, even Buffalo Meat maintained his "Indian-ness"--he belonged to a dance society, and participated in dancing for horses. He obviously did not believe that this activity interfered with his civilized life. ("Buffalo Meat," Appendix B.)

Of Buffalo Meat's fellow Cheyenne ex-prisoners, only Star was as "civilized." He served as an army scout at various times after allotment and then settled on his land where he did farm. He sent his son Locust to school for a few years. In 1905, at the age of 57, he went on tour with the XIT Ranch Wild West Show. After his return, he worked on his allotment, sold firewood and some hay. The agent estimated his earning capacity at fifty cents a day in 1912. The family received some extra cash from leasing his wife's lands. There is no evidence that Star ever became a Christian. He died in 1924. ("Star," Appendix B.)

The other men who survived into the twentieth century (Rising Bull, Nocomistah, Chief Killer, Howling Wolf) adopted styles of life much more like those of the rest of the Cheyenne. By the early 1900's, pressured by White agents to do so, and following the dominant pattern, these men all lived on their own or a close relative's

allotment. Their farming was limited to small gardens. Their income was derived from leases of their own or their relatives' allotments, supplemented by occasional sales of hay, wage work, or sales of inherited lands. Their standard of living was very low by White standards. Even Buffalo Meat had to sell half of his allotment in 1916 to have enough cash to live on (he got \$3800, and at his death left an estate including only the remaining land, \$939 in cash (a startlingly large amount, most of the rest left none), and a horse and wagon. (C&A Allotment File #444, Concho.)

Chief Killer's life represented a more common situation among the reservation Cheyenne: frequent indebtedness. Throughout the early 1900's, he, or members of his family, owed various local merchants, and in 1920-21, the proceeds from the sale of his wife's land were withheld by the agent to cover the cost of some farm equipment for which the merchants were demanding payment. He wrote a plaintive letter to the agent begging for his funds:

today I am here at this city after my check--...I am not feeling well--I got too used that money for my supportan myself...I just by myself...I got no money too supported myself with so please pity me and sent that check back too me--and next Big Payment come I will sure and paid my acct...(Chief Killer to Superintendent Coggeshall, 1/24/21, C&A Indian Files, Cantonment--OHSIA.)

The local farmer refused to release the money, stating it was an "old game with the Chief Killer outfit" to run up bills and still try to get their lease or land sale money.

(Goss to Coggeshall, 1/22/21, C&A Indian Files, Cantonment--OHSIA.) Chief Killer died a few months later.

None of these men converted to Christianity (C&A Churches, 1891-1915, OHSIA.) and most were known participants in dances. Several joined the peyote religion, most notably Howling Wolf, who was introduced to it during his stay among the Kiowa. He was one of the primary defendants in the peyote case of 1906-7, and was sketched with his peyote paraphernalia at one of the dances he attended regularly. (Petersen, 1968: 9.) Howling Wolf, despite his loss of leadership, maintained his reputation as a conservative activists until his death, frequently making requests to the agents for dances and arguing against too much cooperation with Whites. For example, in 1918, he and several other Cheyennes asked to hold a dance in honor of returning World War I soldiers. The agent refused. He said the occasion would be "just an excuse" by the "notorious kickers" to hold an old style dance. (Supt. to CIA, 7/19/18, C&A Indian Dances, OHSIA.) Howling Wolf even earned a little extra cash from his conservatism, travelling to fairs or exhibitions to dance and "be Indian." Ironically, he died in 1927 in an automobile accident, returning from one such exhibition. ("Howling Wolf," Appendix, B.)

The Kiowa and Comanche Fort Marion prisoners, like their reservation peers, had a higher standard of living

than the Cheyennes in the 1890's from the combination of annuities, rations, reservation leases, and their own small farms. As a group, they remained markedly more progressive than their Cheyenne counterparts, especially in farming. Several joined the Kiowa freighting trains in the mid-1890's (Kiowa Freight and Transportation, 1890-1900, OHSIA.), Wohaw served as an army scout from 1891-95 (Kiowa Scouts, OHSIA; Petersen, 1971: 207.), and Quoyouh was a policeman and agency laborer. (Quoyouh to Col. Nessler, Allotting Agent, 5/6/1901, Kiowa Allotments, OHSIA.) Even the most conservative began to move toward civilization: old White Horse planted a few acres, and in 1892 (the year he died) built a house! (Wm. Wyatt, Report, 7/1/91, Kiowa Farmers File; Kiowa Indian Houses File, 1/9/93, OHSIA.)

Several of the men took advantage of the growing trend on the reservation to sublet or sharecrop their farms. For example, Pautausape hired a White man to work his farm in 1896 so that he could work as a freighter and a school helper, at a salary of \$120 a year. (Kiowa Freight and Transportation, 1895; Kiowa Washita School Records, Semi-Monthly Report, 6/30/96--OHSIA.) Black Horse, who was by now in his late fifties or early sixties, and Quoyouh also sharecropped their farms. ("Black Horse," "Quoyouh," Appendix B.) Tischecoddy, who had a small farm and a cattle herd in the early 1890's, went even further. In 1896, he set up a partnership with E.L. Clark, a squaw man, to fence

a large area near Saddle Mountain to raise Clark's 300 cattle and those of Tischecoddy and two other Indians. (Clark to Baldwin, 10/16/96, Kiowa Cattle, Pastures, and Grazing File, OHSIA.) Tischecoddy, along with Wohaw and Black Horse, had children in reservation schools. (Kiowa Fort Sill Boarding School File, 1890-1900, OHSIA.) By 1900, five of the men were living in houses. (Kiowa Indian Houses File, 1895-1900, OHSIA.)

But this image of prosperous progressivism had its limits. None of the Kiowa or Comanche ex-prisoners converted to Christianity, and the men participated in traditional marriages and ceremonial life. Wohaw, the scout who built a house and educated his children, nonetheless had a reputation as a conservative and belonged to dance societies. ("Wohaw," Appendix B.) Perhaps the best example of the combination in one person of the old with the new was Tischecoddy. Here was a man who enthusiastically endorsed education for his children and farming, even ranching entrepreneurship, for himself, but who nevertheless remained distinctly Comanche in his attitudes about marriage and social contracts. Tischecoddy had three wives, one of them given to him by his brother Pe-e-chip, another ex-prisoner. In 1891, one of his wives "ran off" with another man. Astoundingly, he wrote (through his partner Clark) to Agent Adams for permission to take action. He asked whether he should take cattle and horses in payment from the man, or

whether he could take the woman back by force. He preferred the latter, since the woman had left a child for him to care for. (E.L. Clark to Adams, 5/9/91, Kiowa Divorces File, OHSIA.) The agent's response has been lost, but it is remarkable that Tischecoddy, in seeking a traditional Comanche remedy for a traditional Comanche problem, nevertheless sought White advice and permission.

The Kiowa and Comanche were allotted in 1901 after their unsuccessful battle to redraw the Jerome Agreement. Taneti, who had become a band head by the 1890's, signed one of the memorials opposing the agreement (KA 48, Kiowa Councils, 10/17/92.), but none of the other ex-prisoners actively campaigned against allotment. A total of nine of the returnees lived to take their 160 acres, three Comanches and six Kiowas. All of their allotments except Wohaw's were in areas occupied primarily by progressives near Anardako or Fort Sill. Again except for Wohaw, all the Kiowa allotments were within the community area where the men had been farming since the 1880's: they simply received title to and continued to occupy their old lands. (Kiowa Allotment Schedule, Anadarko.) Some continued to farm until they "retired," in which case they leased part or all of their land and lived from those proceeds. (Kiowa Leases File, OHSIA; Allotment Files 799, 2537, 617, Anadarko.) Four men (Taneti, Quoyouh, Onkoet, and Pedro) never leased their allotments, but farmed their lands until they died. Old

Pedro married a much younger woman a few years before allotment, and they sent their daughter to the Methvin Institute (Methodist mission school) from 1903 to 1907. (Kiowa Methvin Institute, School Rolls, OHSIA.) Pautausape's son Domebo assumed his father's farming chores, and was listed among the most progressive Kiowa in 1913. (Kiowa Reports, Agents File, OHSIA.) Only Wohaw, who lived away from the progressive group, near Rainy Mountain, did not farm after he left the army, and he increasingly devoted his time to dances and the peyote religion. ("Wohaw," Appendix B.)

Despite their failure to adopt Christianity, this group was very largely on the White Man's Road. While their last years were in many ways like those of their Cheyenne compatriots--living on their allotments at the poverty level, some income derived from leases (the general reservation standard dropped with the end of annuities and rations)--their failure to farm was not a continuation of previous habits but a legitimate retirement as they became physically unable to continue. Four never did quit. Their standard of living was reduced after allotment, but none of these men was ever in the debt Chief Killer experienced. Nevertheless, only Beahko left any cash in his estate (\$277.96) at his death in 1910. (Request to pay heirs, Kiowa Estates File, 6/22/1915, OHSIA.) The rest left their heirs only their land. The last of the Fort Marion

prisoners, Onkoet, died at the age of eighty-five in 1931, fifty-three years after his release and after about forty years of farming. (Kiowa Allotment File #323, Anadarko.)

What then can we say about the warrior group who returned directly to Indian Territory from Fort Marion? Did their experience there have a lasting impact on their lives? How can that impact be seen? In what ways did they differ from their reservation peers, and how did they differ from each other? If they were influenced toward "civilization," did their lives influence others to similar changes?

It should be clear from the foregoing discussion that the Fort Marion experience did have a permanent impact on the lives of these former prisoners. But the expression of that impact varied widely between the Cheyenne-Arapaho group and the Kiowa-Comanche group, as well as between the extremes within each group. Viewed together, the ex-prisoners were much more likely to become farmers, work for wages, or educate their children than their reservation peers, as Table 1 shows. At every five year interval from 1880 to 1900, the ex-prisoners were markedly more active in "civilized pursuits"--the government term including farming and working for wages--than the reservation population at large:

"Civilized Pursuits"

	<u>Reservation Population</u>	<u>Ex-prisoners</u>
1880	21% (n=9774)	66% (n=31)
1885	17% (n=7641)	66% (n=21)
1890	23% (n=7456)	55% (n=20)
1895	33% (n=6848)	75% (n=16)
1900	12% (n=6828)	80% (n=15)

(from Table 1)

Eighteen of the thirty-five returnees educated at least one child each. By 1900, every man with a child of school age had it in school. (Table 2.)

Clearly, Pratt's two main messages--work and education--had reached these men. But the pattern was not uniform. Table 1 also shows that over time, the Kiowa and Comanche ex-prisoners were far more persistent in and representative of a progressive trend than the Cheyennes. The following gives the figures for "civilized pursuits":

"Civilized Pursuits"

	<u>Cheyenne-Arapaho</u>		<u>Kiowa-Comanche</u>	
	<u>Reservation Population</u>	<u>Prisoners</u>	<u>Reservation Population</u>	<u>Prisoners</u>
1880	15% (n=5899)	93% (n=14)	33% (n=3875)	47% (n=17)
1885	14% (n=3609)	100% (n=9)	20% (n=4032)	42% (n=12)
1890	10% (n=3372)	11% (n=9)	35% (n=4084)	91% (n=11)
1895	0 (n=3078)	43% (n=6)	65%* (n=3770)	100% (n=9)
1900	15% (n=3018)	50% (n=6)	8% (n=3808)	100% (n=9)

*This figure is undoubtedly inflated; probably includes any attempting even small gardens.

(Table 1)

These figures obviously demonstrate the Cheyenne ex-

prisoners' initial enthusiasm for wage labor, first around the agency and as police, and in 1885, as freighters. By 1890, most of them had abandoned all work. The figures for 1895 and 1900 reflect the fact that the few Cheyenne progressive ex-prisoners outlived their more conservative peers, even though by this time they numbered only three. After 1900, no changes occurred in these patterns.

As we have seen, the Kiowa and Comanche ex-prisoners were somewhat less likely to uniformly embrace the White Man's Road immediately after their release, but those who lived ten or more years after their release were almost certain to do so. (Table 3.) Here, too, the progressives outlived the conservatives, and more Kiowas and Comanches lived until 1900 than Cheyenne returnees--strongly suggesting that the more progressive lifestyle had better survival value for those who chose it. (Possible factors in that survival value might have been improved nutrition, better medical care, and a greater willingness to seek the aid and advice of Whites.) As they grew older, surviving conservatives also moved toward the progressive path; even Howling Wolf had a small farm by the 1920's. (Table 3; "Howling Wolf," Appendix B.) Table 1 clearly shows the more progressive atmosphere on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation: for all practical purposes, the number of Cheyennes farming or working for wages remained constant at about 10-15% (The 0 figure in 1895 may be attributed to

Agent Woodson's very hostile attitudes towards the Indians.), while the number of Kiowas, Comanches, and other Indians on their reservation farming was usually at least 30%. The marked decline in 1900 was due to the advent of leasing as a standard method of acquiring cash. Thus, the life-long impact of Fort Marion was more pronounced among the Kiowa and Comanche ex-prisoners because their situation permitted them to exercise it.

Of course, the range of variation in expression of Fort Marion's impact was enormous. The greatest extremes were among the Cheyenne returnees: Little Medicine, eternally hostile leader of the Dog Soldiers, and Buffalo Meat, Christian farmer. Nevertheless, by far the majority of the Cheyennes must be classed as conservative: eight of fifteen. (Table 3.) Of the three progressives, two died before the Cheyenne disillusionment in the mid-1880s.

The Kiowa and Comanche returnees presented a very different picture. The two whom I have classed as fully progressive died very early. Of the six conservatives, four died before or in 1890. Of the twenty total, eleven lived what I have called a moderate lifestyle, all of them dying after 1890. None of these converted to Christianity or otherwise altered their tribal traditions other than in their economic behavior. They used their Fort Marion skills to do so, but it is clear that Pratt's teaching did not overcome the power of ethnicity--identity, tradition, and community--in non-economic areas. (Table 3.)

Fort Marion's influence, then, was both limited to economic (survival related) behavior and mediated by the cultural atmosphere of the two reservations. Its persistence and elaboration depended on the acceptability of White-style/White-approved activities within the Indian community. This community atmosphere also determined the extent to which the ex-prisoners could be agents of acculturation--the role models Pratt had hoped for. Of all the Cheyenne-Arapaho ex-prisoners who attained the status of band head (seven: C&A Census and Issues File, 1879-90, OHSIA.), only Buffalo Meat led a fully "civilized" life. He did actively preach to others, but relatively late in life, and after allotment when the atmosphere for such activity relaxed. There is no evidence that he converted many, either to Christianity or to the White Man's Road, despite his celebrity among Whites. ("Buffalo Meat," Appendix B.)

Of the Kiowa and Comanche returnees, four became band heads-- all involved to some extent with civilization. (Kiowa Census and Issues File, 1879-90, OHSIA.) Their primary associations, judged by business arrangements and places of residence, were with other relatively progressive Indians or with Whites, so it is difficult to assess their impact as agents of acculturation. The same was true of the majority of the ex-prisoners who were not leaders. Certainly none aggressively exhorted their people to the White Man's Road, preferring to go about their individual

business quietly. Nonetheless, the presence of a group of Indians, living well by comparative standards and led by men prominent among their peers, must have had some influence among the Kiowas and Comanches. Just as the presence of a progressive faction on the reservation permitted or encouraged the returnees to live as they did, undoubtedly their success and leadership stimulated the persistence and enlargement of that faction.

Thus, Pratt was wrong in his description of the returned older warriors in 1881. Many of them were still trying to adhere to his teachings, but many had already "fallen back" or were soon to do so. Those in whom Pratt had the most confidence, the Cheyennes and Arapahos, would be ultimately the least faithful, but the Kiowas and Comanches who lived until after 1890 uniformly acted on what he had taught them. Nevertheless, only Buffalo Meat became the "exception to savage life and superstition" Pratt wrote of in 1881. Despite the efforts of the Kiowas and Comanches in farming, Pratt would have undoubtedly seen his experiment at Fort Marion as a failure: the re-immersion of the men into the "sea of savagery" resulted in their remaining essentially Indian.

If the older warriors, armed with three years of Pratt's work at Fort Marion, could/did not totally withstand the attractions of Indian culture on their return, what of the young scholars? In the following chapter the lives of

the Florida Boys who chose to stay in the east for further education will be traced. All of these who survived also eventually returned to their reservations, bearing different skills and expectations than had their older brothers, uncles, and peers. Their adaptation to life in Indian Territory took on a different pattern as well.

TABLE 1
Indices of Civilization

1880

	<u>Cheyenne- Arapaho</u>	<u>Chey.-Arap. Prisoners</u>	<u>Kiowa- Comanche</u>	<u>Kiowa-Comanche Prisoners</u>	<u>Both Reserves</u>	<u>All Prisoners</u>
Population	5899	14	3875	17	9774	31
Citizen's ¹						
Dress	430 (7%)	na ²	600 (15%)	na	1030 (11%)	na
Farming	565 (10%)	1 (7%)	750 (19%)	1 (6%)	1315 (13%)	2 (6%)
Civilized						
Pursuits ³	300 (10%)	12 (86%)	560 (14%)	7 (41%)	860 (8%)	19 (61%)
Houses	5 (1%)	0	143 (4%)	na	148 (2%)	na
Read	249 (4%)	na	143 (4%)	na	391 (4%)	na
Education of Children	283 (23%) of 1223	1 (7%)	183 (23%) of 800	2 (12%)	466 (23%)	3 (9%)

Table 1, continued.

	<u>1885</u>					
	<u>Cheyenne- Arapaho</u>	<u>Chey.-Arap. Prisoners</u>	<u>Kiowa- Comanche</u>	<u>Kiowa-Comanche Prisoners</u>	<u>Both Reserves</u>	<u>All Prisoners</u>
Population	3609	9	4032	12	7641	21
Citizen's						
Dress	890 in part	na	450 in part	na	1340 in part	na
	2809 wholly ⁴		650 wholly		3459 wholly(45%)	
Farming	1084 acres	0	3500 acres	1 (8%)		1 (5%)
Civilized						
Pursuits	495 (14%)	9 (100%)	825 (20%)	5 (42%)	1320 (17%)	14 (66%)
Houses	30 (1%)	0	21 (1%)	na	51 (1%)	na
Read	364 (10%)	na	260 (6%)	na	624 (18%)	na
Education of						
Children	208 (26%)	4 (44%)	76 (10%)	0	284 (18%)	4 (19%)
	of 796		of 767			

Table 1, continued.

	<u>1890</u>					179
	<u>Cheyenne- Arapaho</u>	<u>Chey.-Arap. Prisoners</u>	<u>Kiowa- Comanche</u>	<u>Kiowa-Comanche Prisoners</u>	<u>Both Reserves</u>	<u>All Prisoners</u>
Population	3372	9	4084	11	7456	20
Citizen's Dress	450 in part 2922 wholly	na	120 in part 340 wholly	na	570 in part	na
Farming	2082 acres	0	4445 acres	10 ⁶		10 (50%)
Civilized						
Pursuits	107 ⁷	1 (11%)	35%	10 (91%)	23%	11 (55%)
Supported from ⁸						
Rations	85%	8 (89%)	50%	100% ⁹	68%	8 (40%)
Houses	84 (3%)	0	194 (5%)	na	278 (4%)	na
Read	600 (18%)	na	509 (12%)	na	1109 (15%)	na
Speak English ¹⁰	635 (19%)	na	350 (8%)	na	985 (13%)	na
Education of Children	287 (42%) of 680	1 (11%)	207 (52%) of 395	2 (18%)	494 (46%)	3 (15%)
Church Member ¹⁰	15 (1%)	0	183 (4%)	0	198 (2%)	0
Multiple Wives ¹⁰	215 (14%) of 1585 males	7 (78%)	157 (8%) of 1 2000 males	7 (64%)	1 10%	14 (70%)

Table 1, continued.

	1895					
	<u>Cheyenne- Arapaho</u>	<u>Chey.-Arap. Prisoners</u>	<u>Kiowa- Comanche</u>	<u>Kiowa-Comanche Prisoners</u>	<u>Both Reserves</u>	<u>All Prisoners</u>
Population	3078	6	3770	9	6848	16
Citizen's						
Dress	687 in part 1965 wholly na	na 2 (29%)	372 in part 1116 wholly na	na 9 (100%)	1059 in part 3081 wholly	na (45%) 11 (69%)
Farming						
Civilized						
Pursuits	0	3 (43%)	65%	9 (100%)	32.5%	12 (75%)
Rations	100%	4 (57%)	25%	0	63%	4 (25%)
Houses	125 (4%)	1 (14%)	350 (9%)	na	475 (7%)	na
Read	580 (19%)	na	120 (3%)	na	700 (10%)	na
English	500 (16%)	na	372 (10%)	na	872 (13%)	na
Education of						
Children	460 (51%) of 909	2 (29%)	550 (51%) of 1074	5 (55%)	1010 (51%) of 1983	7 (44%)
Church Member	49 (2%)	1 (14%)	145 (4%)	0	194 (3%)	1 (6%)

Table 1, continued.

	<u>1900</u>					
	<u>Cheyenne- Arapaho</u>	<u>Chey.-Arap. Prisoners</u>	<u>Kiowa- Comanche</u>	<u>Kiowa-Comanche Prisoners</u>	<u>Both Reserves</u>	<u>All Prisoners</u>
Population	3018	6	3808	9	6826	15
Citizen's						
Dress	1015 in part	na	898 in part	na	1913 in part	
Farming	1035 wholly	2 (33%)	1561 wholly	8 (89%)	2596 wholly	
Civilized	na		na		na	10 (67%)
Pursuits	15%	3 (50%)	8%	9 (100%)	12%	12 (80%)
Rations	20%	0	22%	0	21%	0
Annuities and						
Leases	65%	3 (50%)	70%	0	68%	3 (20%)
Houses	176 (6%)	na	736 (19%)	5 (56%)	912 (13%)	na
Read	750 (25%)	na	868 (23%)	na	1618 (24%)	na
English	1058 (35%)	na	1097 (29%)	na	2155 (32%)	na
Education of						
Children	350 (53%)	5 (83%)	400 (47%)	6 (67%)	750 (50%)	11 (73%)
	of 660		of 848		of 1508	
Church Member	336 (11%)	1 (16%)	434 (11%)	0	770 (11%)	1 (7%)

Table 1, continued.

Table derived from statistics published in Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Population, Civilization, Religious, Vital, and Criminal Statistics), 1880, 1885, 1890, 1895, and 1900. Statistics on the prisoners were tabulated from the biographies in Appendix B.

- 1 Citizen's Dress is the term used by Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel to designate trousers, boots, and jackets for men; White-style fabric dresses for women.
- 2 na is used in any instance where precise figures are not available.
- 3 Civilized Pursuits here means working for wages or self-employed.
- 4 Tabulation of Citizen's Dress was changed to account for the Indian habit of wearing partially Indian garments (mocassins, breech cloth, or leggings) with White garments (jackets, hats.) "In part" also applied to garments decorated in an Indian fashion.
- 5 Actual numbers of those farming are no longer reported. Instead, they are combined into the Civilized Pursuits category. Therefore, the number listed for prisoners under Civilized Pursuits includes those listed as farming.
- 6 All Kiowa or Comanche ex-prisoners were farming to some degree. Number includes those known to be actually earning a fair proportion of their living at it.
- 7 No actual figures were any longer reported under this category.
- 8 This is a new reporting category. No actual figures were offered.
- 9 Although all were farming some, all also received rations at this period.
- 10 These are new reporting categories. The Multiple Wives category was omitted in the future.
- 11 New reporting category. No actual figures reported.

TABLE 2

Education of Children

<u>Carlisle</u>	<u>Reservation Schools</u>
Chief Killer (Cheyenne)	Chief Killer*
Medicine Water (Cheyenne)	Nocomistah*
Buffalo Meat (Cheyenne)	Buffalo Meat
Antelope (Cheyenne)	Star* (Cheyenne)
Woman's Heart (Kiowa)	Packer* (Arapaho)
	Bear Shield** (Cheyenne)
	Quoyouh* (Comanche)
	Black Horse** (Comanche)
	Wohaw** (Kiowa)
	Tischecody** (Comanche)
	Pe-e-chip* (Comanche)
	Pedro** (Kiowa)
	Taneti* (Kiowa)
	Howling Wolf** (Cheyenne)

Total=18
n=35

	No. of men with children of school age	No. with children in school
1880-1883	na	3
1884-1887	na	4
1888-1893	6	3
1894-1897	7	7
1898-1903	11	11

Compiled from Carlisle Student Records, NA; Reservation School Records, Cheyenne-Arapaho and Kiowa Agencies, OHSIA; individual biographies, Appendix B.

* indicates that children received White names. Usually, only children who attended school had White names.

** indicates that a child's parents were named in its school records. No asterisk indicates another source.

TABLE 3

The Adaptations of the Older Warriors

	<u>Cheyenne-Arapaho</u>	<u>Kiowa Comanche</u>
	Little Medicine (died 1893)	
	Long Back (died @1885)	Lone Wolf (died 1879)
	Packer (died 1893)	Woman's Heart (died 1882)
Conservatives	Antelope (died 1893)	Zopehe (died 1879)
	Bear Shield (died 1894)	Wyako (died 1893)
	Nocomista (died after 1917)	Eckenahats (died 1890)
	Rising Bull (died 1903)	Koho (death unknown)
	Medicine Water (died 1924)	
	Howling Wolf (died 1927)*	White Horse (died 1892)*
	Chief Killer (died 1922)*	Wohaw (died 1924)**
		Pe-eh-chip (died 1912)
		Tischecoddy (died 1913)
Moderate		Onkoeht (died 1931)
		Taneti (died 1905)
		Beahko (died 1910)
		Pedro (died 1920)
		Black Horse (died 1900)
		Pautausape (death unknown)
	Star (died 1924)	Quoyouh (died 1909)
	Cometsevah (died 1878)	Maukopeh (died 1880)
	Minimic (died 1881)	Aulih (death unknown)
Progressive	Buffalo Meat (died 1917)	
Unknown	Left Hand	Sogause

Progressive=Farmer or wage laborer; one wife; educate children; Christian.

Moderate=Economic behavior largely farming or wage labor; may educate children. Non-economic behavior reflects reservation trends.

Conservative=Economic behavior is dependence on rations, annuities, leases. All other behavior reflects reservation trends.

The above categories are applied to behavior which was characteristic of most of a man's life. Because of lack of data, the two women have been omitted.

* these men moved toward a more moderate way of life late in life.

** Wohaw moved toward a more conservative way of life.

Chapter 6

The Young Scholars

I...am trying to live right...Since returning from school I have been the frien and have lived in peace with the white man, and all others. (Little Chief, Report of Returned Students, Carlisle Student Records, 1910, NA.)

Little Chief wrote describing his life since his release from Carlisle Indian Industrial School. He was one of twenty-two Fort Marion prisoners who chose not to go home in the spring of 1878. Instead, they stayed in the east for further education. In many ways, Little Chief's description of himself suited most of the young scholars. As a group, these men were markedly more progressive than both their reservation peers and their older Fort Marion compatriots: they had (and used effectively) a greater command of English, educated their children, worked at farming or other jobs, and most significant, frequently became Christians. For the older warriors, the White Man's Road, if they chose it at all, had been a strictly utilitarian adaptation to reservation conditions. For the young scholars, it was far more. It included not just practical ways to live more comfortably but also the ideology and world view which

Whites sought to impress upon Indians. To a remarkable degree, these men were, in fact, "civilized."

The young scholars arrived at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in April, 1878. Fifteen of them remained there for a summer of farm work and schooling while four went on to Syracuse, New York, to begin intensive religious instruction. Three went to Tarrytown, New York, for similar education. Each of the men had a sponsor, an individual or religious group who had agreed to pay all expenses for a period of three years. Bishop Whipple of Minnesota paid for five of the men at Hampton; the Episcopal Diocese of New York supported some at Syracuse and in Tarrytown. The expectation of all sponsors was that the men would remain in training, without a break, until 1881. (Pratt to Hayt, 4/23/78, LS, PP.)

The experiences of the "Florida Boys" who went to New York and those who stayed at Hampton were very different. Dr. Horace Caruthers took personal charge of the Kiowa, Tsaitkopeta, in Tarrytown along with Zonekeuh (Kiowa) and Roman Nose (Cheyenne.) Dr. Caruthers, his wife, and sister, had all been frequent visitors to Fort Marion. Both Mrs. Caruthers and Amy taught English classes there and became fond of several of the prisoners. Tsaitkopeta was a special favorite. Within a few weeks, Caruthers and Pratt agreed that Roman Nose and Zonekeuh should transfer to Hampton to join the other scholars there. Tsaitkopeta

stayed on with the Caruthers for his full three years, and slightly more. In essence, although he was in his early twenties, he became the adopted son of the Caruthers, living in their home, travelling with them, studying under the watchful eye of Mrs. Caruthers. (Petersen, 1971: 252, 263; Petersen, 1964: 463-64; "Tsaitkopeta," Appendix B.)

Tsaitkopeta assumed the Christian name Paul Caruthers, and for the rest of his life used Paul Tsaitkopeta (in a variety of spellings) as his official name. During his stay with the Caruthers, he learned to read, speak, and write English. He wrote frequently to Pratt to describe his progress (for example, Tsaitkopeta to Pratt, 12/16/81, PP) and he even kept a diary of his experiences including a trip to Florida (in Mooney, M.S. Field Notebooks, II, 10 passim, 1880, Smithsonian.) Paul's letters to Pratt were in a style that would characterize the writing of many of the other prisoner/students. Although he was a young adult, Paul wrote as though he were an adolescent addressing an absent parent. In 1879, he noted his acceptance of the idea of himself and the other students as "boys," explaining that the warriors who had gone home would not hold to the new ways: "they not boys but men. Old men don't give up old ways... the young mens you now got will listen to you and grow better." (Tsaitkopeta to Pratt, 1/5/79, PP.) In answer to a letter, he thanked Pratt for a photograph:

I would answer you before but I know you very busy & I don't want trouble you too often with letters...It came just a good time because I had a present of a photograph album for Christmas & your picture can be the first one in it. mamma [Mrs. Caruthers] sent my picture to you...I feel very glad & much favored that you gave me your picture. (Tsaitkopeta to Pratt, 1/24/80, PP.)

Paul apparently received no special training in any particular skills in Tarrytown. Instead, he continued the enterprises he had begun at Fort Marion: decorating sea beans, making bows and arrows, and creating other curios for sale. He made enough money to send cash, blankets, and clothing to his family. (Tsaitkopeta to Hunt, 12/17/79, Kiowa Indian Prisoners File, OHSIA.) In 1879, Paul fell ill with tuberculosis, but he continued his studies. The trip in 1880 was for his recuperation, although he never fully recovered. Apart from his scholastic training, Paul also received intensive religious instruction. February 1, 1879, he was baptised an Episcopalian. ("Tsaitkopeta," Appendix B; Petersen, 1971: 252.) In short, Paul Tsaitkopeta led a comfortable, protected life as the protege of the Caruthers, and judging from his letters, he responded to their attention eagerly and gratefully.

The men sent to Syracuse also led relatively luxurious lives, although they were expected to study hard. Making Medicine (Cheyenne), Zotom (Kiowa), Shave Head (Cheyenne), and Taawayite (Comanche) were supervised by the Rev. John B. Wicks, who took them to Paris Hill, New York,

in May, 1878, where they lived in the Episcopal rectory. Each had a separate sponsor: Making Medicine was supported by Mrs. George Pendleton; Zotom by the Dakota League of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts (an early women's Indian rights group); Shave Head and Taawayite by the Episcopal Diocese of Central New York. These men had been recognised at Fort Marion as especially promising students by Deaconess Mary D. Burnham, who personally arranged for their training specifically to "become Christian teachers and ministers to their people." (Petersen, 1971: 176, 191.)

Thus, their work was particularly focused on their Christian education. They divided their time between academic study in a classroom in the rectory and practical farm labor, assisting Rev. Wicks with his chores. (The Paris Hill area was quite rural.) They also participated in various community activities, attending church affairs, parties, and meetings. Like Tsaitkopeta, they quickly learned English and wrote Pratt often. Zotom kept a journal. (Petersen, 1971: 176-79.) Also like Tsaitkopeta, they lived as Rev. Wick's sons; despite their ages (24 to 34) they were treated as White families treated teen-aged boys. Only Making Medicine was referred to as a "man" by his host. (Wicks referred to the group as "boys" in his correspondence with Pratt. LS, PP.)

Within a few months, Rev. Wicks concluded the students had made enough progress to be baptised. In a

special service October 6, 1878, held in Syracuse at the direction of Bishop Frederic D. Huntington, the four received their new Christian names. Making Medicine became David Pendleton (after his sponsor), the name he used the rest of his life. Zotom took Paul Caryl, "Paul" for the apostle and "Caryl" for an officer of the Dakota League. Shave Head became John Wicks, after their mentor, and Taawayite became Henry Pratt, after his old supervisor. They were confirmed October 20. (Petersen, 1971: 178, 244, 225.) The assumption of such names must be viewed as a sign of the men's profound identification with their hosts and benefactors.

Zotom, Taawayite, and Shave Head had been in their early twenties when they were sent to Fort Marion, and unmarried, but Making Medicine was in his mid-thirties, married, and a fairly important warrior. His enthusiastic adoption of the White Man's Road delighted Pratt and Rev. Wicks, and as he made more progress, Pratt found ways to use him to advance the cause of Indian education. In 1878, Pratt had wanted Making Medicine, now David Pendleton, to go with him to recruit for Hampton in Indian Territory, but that trip was cancelled. In 1879, however, Pratt did send him to recruit for his new school soon to open at Carlisle. Making Medicine returned with a number of Cheyenne children--and with his own wife and son, who stayed with him for the remainder of his training. Undoubtedly the presence of

David's family contributed greatly to Pratt's and Wicks' perceptions of him as an adult. (Petersen, 1971: 140-41.)

The prospective missionaries continued their efforts and in 1879 Rev. Wicks reported that while they were all doing well, Zotom ("the Kiowa") was potentially the best missionary:

The Kiowa,...quick to see, apt to learn, sometimes headstrong and sometimes heartstrong, is growing in his own way. Of the four, he will be the voice which shall tell out with all the grace of Indian eloquence the good tidings that are now coming to him, and through him to his people. (In Petersen, 1971: 178.)

Zotom himself appeared to believe in his own potential, as well, writing to Agent Hunt, "I like to aid you some things by and by I got home there. I no want stay Indians camp I like to stay always in white man house." (Zotom to Hunt, 1/22/80, Kiowa Indian Prisoners File, OHSIA.)

In their second year of training, the four men parted company. In September, 1880, Shave Head (John Wicks) and Henry Pratt Taawayite left Paris Hill. Taawayite went to Carlisle to join the other young scholars who had begun there the year before. He had not been as successful in his religious training as the others and was sent on for other practical training. He had been pleading to be allowed to go home since at least May, 1880, but Pratt opposed allowing any student to return to his people alone; peer pressure would force him "back." (Pratt to Hunt, 5/5/80, Kiowa

Carlisle Indian School File, OHSIA.) Therefore, he was kept at Carlisle until a group was ready to depart.

Shave Head, however, was sent directly home. Pratt's policy at Carlisle was to return any sick student who could travel to his home--there to either recover or die. Shave Head had contracted tuberculosis in 1879 and steadily deteriorated in 1880. He was sent back to Indian Territory with two other sick "Florida Boys," and he died there in November. (Cheyenne Transporter, 11/26/80, OHSIA; Petersen, 1971: 244.)

Paul Caryl Zotom and David Pendleton Oakerhater (a variant of his Cheyenne name) persisted in their training, however, and were ordained deacons June 7, 1881. Bishop Huntington wrote of the occasion that:

The church of modern times presents no parallel case of savage men captured in war, fierce and revengeful, returning in a few short years as missionaries of Christ and His Church to their heathen people. (in Petersen, 1971: 179.)

And return they did, leaving the same day as their ordination, with Henry Pratt Taawayite and the Rev. Wicks, intending to establish missions in Indian Territory. (Petersen, 1971: 179.)

Thus, the few men who went to New York for their educations were treated well. In their roles as juvenile family members in the homes of their sponsors or teachers, they interacted with their communities, attending parties

and events. Their training was primarily religious. Those who remained at Hampton had a very different experience. With the return of Roman Nose and Zonekeuh from Tarrytown, seventeen Indian scholars enrolled at Hampton in 1878. (Kiowas: Koba, Etahdleuh, Tonekeuh, Zonekeuh, Tsadletah, Ohettoint. Cheyennes: Little Chief, Roman Nose, Cohoe, White Man, Matches, Squint Eyes, Soaring Eagle, Bear's Heart, Buzzard, Big Nose. Arapaho: White Bear.) They were mostly in their mid-twenties. Only Tsadletah and Koba were over thirty; only four had married before 1875. In short, they had been men of little personal status in Indian Territory. Their youth disqualified them as leaders, and their junior status as warriors with very little wealth was confirmed by their unmarried state. With the end of their traditional life, much impressed upon them by Pratt and his aides at Fort Marion, they must have felt they had little to go home for. (List of prisoners in Pratt to Hayt, CIA, 4/23/78, LS, PP.)

At Hampton, they found a well-established school for Blacks--freedmen--founded in 1868. In its ten years of operation, its director, General Armstrong, had developed a curriculum intended to teach practical skills, especially scientific agriculture, and to prepare young Blacks to teach others, especially in the primary grades. The school was a boarding school, and the pupils functioned on a military regimen. Rules for cleanliness and behavior were strictly

enforced. (Petersen, 1964: 468; Clippings, Mrs. Pratt's Scrapbooks, PP.)

Thus, in many ways, Hampton was very little different from Fort Marion for its new pupils--and quite different from the New York surroundings of the religious trainees. The Indian men lived in dormitories, continued to wear their uniforms, and immediately resumed their studies. On their arrival, the "Florida Boys" could reportedly speak only very broken English, but at least two of them spoke at an assembly for the students and White visitors, and Matches delighted his audience with his appreciation for the ladies present:

I go school--way off. I come a school--three days, way off--sea. I go school here--I like here. Come last night, half past one...I went school--Miss Mather. I like here--all these girls--good girls. ("Indian Raid on Hampton," an account of the prisoners' arrival, May, 1878, clipping, Mrs. Pratt's Scrapbooks, PP.)

The men were put to work at a variety of tasks including farm labor, carpentry, operating knitting and sewing machines, and serving as dining hall waiters. They also put in regular tours of duty as guards for the school. Since the curriculum at Hampton equally stressed academic and vocational education, their routine was altered seasonally. During the regular academic year, four days a week were devoted to classroom study and two to farm or other labor. During the summer, the pattern was reversed,

with the stress on farm work. (Clipping, 4/22/78, Mrs. Scrapbooks, PP; Petersen, 1971: 101.)

The religious training begun at Fort Marion also continued. The students attended chapel each Sunday and were expected to recite psalms, sing hymns, and occasionally address the group in English. Their teachers believed that the young scholars found help and sustenance in their new faith. (Clippings, Mrs. Pratt's Scrapbooks, PP.) Perhaps they did. In March 1879, eleven of them were baptised Christians by the school chaplain. He wrote about the simplicity of their faith:

One point in theology they understand, and one point only. It is to walk the new road in the help of Jesus; and they show their faith by their works. Digging in the earth is not the chief joy of an Indian warrior; but Koba writes: "I pray everyday, and hoe onions." (in Petersen, 1971: 131-32.)

Many of the "Florida Boys" kept in close contact with Pratt, writing to him to report on their studies and activities. (For example, Koba to Pratt, 6/22/79; Ohettoint to Pratt, 7/11/78; Etahdleuh to Pratt, 7/4/79, LR, PP.) They also wrote to their agents, Miles and Hunt, noting their good work, their plans for living properly on their return, or even reporting the death of a fellow student. (Ohettoint to Miles, n.d., 1879, PP; Bear's Heart to Miles, 6/2/79, C&A Deaths File, OHSIA.) Some also wrote to their benefactors, the sponsors paying for their educations. (Etahdleuh to Miss Mather, 1/6/80 in Petersen, 1971: 142.)

These letters, like those of Tsaitkopeta and the men at Paris Hill, were phrased like those of adolescents, seeking Pratt's approval and encouragement or assuring their patrons of their hard work.

However, despite the similarities, in key ways Hampton was also markedly different from Fort Marion for the Indian students. First, they were no longer among their older Indian compatriots. They could not seek out the other ex-prisoners for reinforcement of their Indian identities or to behave in roles other than as subordinate students. Instead, they were surrounded by much younger Black students, with whom they attended class, but from whom they were otherwise strictly segregated. Their primary contacts were with their White teachers, who treated them like children. (See the discussion below of Soaring Eagle.) At Fort Marion, the men had a remarkable degree of autonomy: they could leave the fort, associate with local people, schedule their own time and activities within certain limits. At Hampton, that freedom ended. Here, their every moment was scheduled and supervised. Contacts with local residents on a casual basis were impossible. Hampton was the real prison.

This severe regimentation, accompanied by their treatment as children, undoubtedly contributed to the apparent juvenilization of the Fort Marion scholars. Called "boys" by everyone, they responded as boys, despite their

ages and experience. Most of them struggled hard to win the approval and affection of their supervisors, and especially of Pratt. There are suggestions of resentment and resistance from some of the men (requests to go home, especially--Most of this evidence is in Hampton records in Virginia, which the author was unable to use.), but most responded well from Pratt's point of view, accepting their new roles and the whole of the White Man's Road, its ideology and practice.

The Indian students worked at Hampton, following regular school routine, until the summer of 1879. During that year, one student, Big Nose (who had renamed himself Nick Pratt) became ill, and he died in May of 1879. He was buried at Hampton with due ceremony. (Armstrong to Miles, 6/2/79, C&A Hampton, OHSIA.) Pratt, in the meantime, had been working to obtain permission and funding to open a separate school for Indians. He believed that Indians should not be educated with Blacks, and he felt that an equal balance of the sexes should be maintained in the student population--a "civilized" Indian married to a "savage" would surely revert. He also had disagreements with Armstrong over the handling of the Florida Boys. (Pratt, 1964: 213-15.) Armstrong had suggested placing some of the men on farms in order to accustom them to actual White lifestyles, and Pratt seized on the idea to remove the men from Hampton, explaining that he wanted to make room for

younger students of both sexes. He developed a plan to place them on a working farm for six months a year, leaving them in school at Hampton or elsewhere the other six months. (Petersen, 1964: 465.)

The plan was implemented in the summer of 1879. Deacon Alexander Hyde, a trustee of Hampton, arranged to place twelve of the now sixteen men on the farms of his neighbors in the Lee, Massachusetts area. They were scattered to several different farms where they lived and did farm labor. Some experienced real problems with the difficulty of the physical labor or did not get along with their host families (Petersen, 1964: 466.), but most seemed to adjust well. Roman Nose wrote Pratt that he "liked [his] new friends here very much," and that he was trying to work hard and learn well. (Roman Nose to Pratt, 6/1879 in Petersen, 1964: 466.) Bear's Heart also liked his new situation.

I was very glad to learn up there the farm. I stayed with Mr. Frank Merrill, he is very kind man, he learn me how to work with a mowing machine. I work on the farm, I cut corn stalks, and pick potatoes, and pick apples; Mr. A. Hyde, who has charge of all the Indian boys, want us all work on the farm and learn; he is very kind to me, and of all the Indian boys. (Bear's Heart to J.R. Murie, a Hampton teacher, November, 1880 in Petersen, 1971: 102.)

One of the men faced a serious problem at Lee, however, not directly related to the work or his relationship to his hosts. He fell ill with tuberculosis.

Tsadletah, who had been working on the Goodspeed farm, sickened quickly and could not leave as the others prepared to return to school. He died at Hyde's farm October 6, 1879, and was buried at Lee. ("Tsadletah," Appendix B.) Three others may have also contracted the disease at Lee: Bear's Heart, Buzzard, and Koba would all be dead within three years of tuberculosis.

Pratt's efforts to found his own school finally were rewarded during the summer of 1879, and he went west to recruit new students. (While he went to the Sioux, Making Medicine and Etahdleuh went to Indian Territory. Petersen, 1971: 144.) Pratt had selected the abandoned army post at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, as the site of his new school, and in the fall of 1879, he took ten of the "Florida Boys" there with him. Not only were they to continue their educations, but they were to assist him in rebuilding the post and to serve as "examples of civilization" to the much younger Indians who made up the student body. (Pratt, 1964: 230-244.)

By October of 1879, then, the scholars were divided into three groups: four religious scholars in New York; four students at Hampton; and ten at Carlisle. The group at Hampton rapidly dwindled to one, however. Squint Eyes (Cheyenne) left almost immediately to go to work for the Smithsonian Institution. Over the next year, he served as a bird collector in Florida, a taxidermist, and most

importantly, as a guide to the museum. He was said to be almost as popular an attraction as the exhibits, and the Smithsonian photographer used him as a model for various tribal costumes. (Smithsonian Annual Report, 1881: 40; Pratt to Miles, 1/20/80, C&A Indian Prisoners File, OHSIA.)

Soaring Eagle, another Cheyenne, returned to his reservation in October, 1879--the first of the young scholars to decide he had had enough White Man's education. Perhaps he had had enough of humiliation at the hands of his teachers:

The little school ma'am, with amusing confidence and with audacity that was rather startling, treated her scholars as if they were children in a primary school. She would encourage them, invite them to "speak up," reprove them for forgetfulness and give her approval in a manner that seemed to gratify the Indian heart, while it provoked the smiles of astonished spectators. When she invited Soaring Eagle to explain the peculiarities of a peninsula, and Soaring Eagle's intellect would fail to soar to the necessary extent, she would appeal sharply from him to Bear's Heart, who would unfold the mysteries of a peninsula in a manner that seemed to make Soaring Eagle wish he was dead. (newspaper description of Hampton, in Petersen, 1971: 101.)

Zonekeuh became yet another victim of tuberculosis. He was sick by the fall of 1879, and by late winter of 1880, it was clear he would not recover. As he was not well enough to travel to Indian Territory, he was sent to Carlisle in March. He died April 27, 1880. (Carlisle Student Records, NA; Petersen, 1971: 102, 258.) Only Bear's Heart remained at Hampton, where he was considered an

outstanding pupil. He commanded the Indian student guard detail, and he led the Hampton marching battalion and band at President James A. Garfield's inauguration. His teachers especially appreciated his influence in calming and controlling the young Sioux students. But Bear's Heart, too, was sick by late 1880 with tuberculosis, and he was sent home in 1881, one of only six of the scholars to complete their full three years of study. (Cpt. Henry Romeyn to Miles, 3/9/81, C&A Hampton File, OHSIA; Petersen, 1971: 104-5.) As his teacher Henry Romeyn put it, Bear's Heart's record at Hampton had been "without a stain." (Romeyn to Miles, 3/31/81, C&A Hampton File, OHSIA.)

The men who transferred to Carlisle were apparently less dedicated to their educations than Bear's Heart or were becoming less satisfied with their situations. Nearly all of them went home in 1880. The departure of several of them was precipitated by a letter from Minimic, who asked the Cheyennes to come home to help lead their tribe on the White Man's Road. (Pratt to Miles, 1/20/80, C&A Indian Prisoners File, OHSIA.) Little Chief, Buzzard, and White Man left Carlisle together January 26, 1880--after only four months, perhaps because Buzzard was sick. He died on the reservation soon after his return. ("Buzzard," Appendix B.) Squint Eyes also returned to Indian Territory from Washington, D.C., early in 1880. ("Squint Eyes," Appendix B.) In March, three more went home: White Bear, Cohoe, and

Tonekeuh. Ohettoint, who had been Number One on the enrolment list at Carlisle, departed at the end of the academic year in June. In March, he had made a recruiting trip for Carlisle, and Pratt expected him to be "very helpful" to his people because of his new skills and determination. (Pratt to Hunt, 5/5/80, Kiowa Carlisle File, OHSIA.) On his departure, he made a speech to the Carlisle students, exhorting them "Do not walk in the Indian road any more." (Carlisle School Records, NA; Petersen, 1971: 166.)

Two other students who had intended to serve out their full three years nevertheless had to leave in September, 1880. Koba and Matches both had tuberculosis and went home with Shave Head. Matches recovered, but Koba died immediately. Pratt considered his death a tragedy as he had been among the most promising students. He had been learning tinsmithing and intended to return to Carlisle to complete the course. Prior to his departure, Pratt wrote that Koba, now aged thirty or thirty-one, was "a thoroughly good boy, and I consider that his influence will be valuable amongst his people, equal to the cost [of his training]." (Pratt to Acting CIA Marble, 8/9/80, NA, OIA, LR: 1112-80.)

By the fall of 1880, then, only Roman Nose and Etahdleuh remained at Carlisle. Roman Nose also learned the tinsmithing craft, advancing to such a degree that the instructor advertised that he would bet \$100 that Roman Nose could make better wares than any other apprentice of equal

training. (Petersen, 1964: 470.) He made a recruiting trip for Carlisle in the summer of 1880, and while home, exhorted his friends and relatives to work hard and learn Christianity. In fact, his father did "abandon the blanket" and buy a farm. (Petersen, 1964: 471.) His trip apparently reminded him, however, of home and family and he was soon anxious to go home, marry, and settle down. After asking Agent Miles to be sure to have at least a room in a house ready for him ("I no like it to live in Indian tents any more." Roman Nose to Miles, 11/3/80, C&A Prisoners File, OHSIA.), he left for Indian Territory in March, 1881.

Etahdleuh was Pratt's star pupil, his protege and pet. Their relationship began at Fort Marion, when Etahdleuh was eighteen or nineteen years old. He became one of Pratt's most trusted assistants, serving as quartermaster sergeant, in charge of all goods and stores for the fort. He also served as commander, with Making Medicine, in Pratt's absence. He participated actively in the "entertainments" held to raise money for the young scholar's educations, and was a favorite of the White teachers and fort visitors. (Pratt, 1964: 119, 185.)

Because of his relatively greater skills in English and his willingness to "perform" in public, Pratt almost always chose Etahdleuh to speak at fund raising events or other occasions to demonstrate that Indians could be civilized. At Hampton, he was a frequent speaker, and he

was among several of the men taken to meet President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1879. He was instrumental in the arrangements for the Lee, Massachusetts, summer, travelling to the area to meet the residents and calm their fears. (Petersen, 1971: 140-41.)

After his recruiting trip in the late summer of 1879, Etahdleuh went to Carlisle, where he served as Pratt's assistant and continued his frequent speechmaking. He fell in love with one of his Kiowa recruits, renamed Laura, and Pratt, seeking to discourage the affair, sent him to replace Squint Eyes at the Smithsonian in 1880. (Pratt wanted Laura to graduate before a marriage; this incident is an example of his treatment of the men as boys incapable of making their own decisions.) He stayed a few months, but became ill with eye and throat trouble and was sent to Syracuse (to Deaconess Burnham) to recover. He returned to Carlisle before Christmas, 1880, and remained there, teaching younger pupils and making speeches. By 1881, his own school work was finished, but he stayed on at Carlisle to assist Pratt as disciplinarian--and to wait for Laura. As soon as she graduated in 1882, they were married in an elaborate ceremony at Carlisle. (Carlisle Student Records, NA, #1359; Pratt to Hunt, 9/21/81, Kiowa Carlisle File, OHSIA; Petersen, 1971: 142-50.)

Pratt and Etahdleuh both expected that the couple would stay at Carlisle to work as teachers and aides, but

Agent Hunt wrote in June of 1882 asking that they return to Indian Territory. As the best educated young Kiowa couple in the history of the tribe, they would surely be of great help to him. He offered them jobs as interpreter and school aide/seamstress. Although he offered less in salary than Pratt would pay them, they decided their duty lay at home among their people. They left Carlisle August 7, 1882. (Etahdleuh to Hunt, 7/11/82; Pratt to Hunt, 6/28/82; Pratt to Hunt, 8/2/82-- Kiowa Carlisle File, OHSIA. Petersen, 1971: 151.)

By 1882, then, all the "Florida Boys" had gone home. Most had spent a total of about five years away from their friends and families. Tsaitkopeta and Etahdleuh had been gone seven years. They returned as men in their mid-to late twenties, of traditionally marriageable age, but with many non-traditional new skills and attitudes. All had learned at least rudimentary English and mathematics; they had all had extensive practice at farming and usually an additional craft such as carpentry or tinsmithing. Nearly all had been baptised Christians. Most believed in the work ethic and that Indians should abide by the wishes of Whites in the design of their lives. They had been changed far more profoundly than their fellow prisoners who returned directly home from Fort Marion. How did they fare back on their reservations?

Soaring Eagle, the first to return in 1879, did not

set an encouraging precedent by the standards of White authorities. He went to work on the Cheyenne-Arapaho police force in 1879, and served until 1881, when he was fired for incompetence. (C&A Police File, 1881, NA.) He married about 1880, and after his dismissal from the police, joined Antelope's (ex-prisoner) band in 1881. He belonged to Nocomistah's band (conservative ex-prisoner) in 1885. (C&A Census, 1880-1886, OHSIA.) He never again worked at the agency, and judging from his presence among the conservatives, did not use his education to lead others to civilization. His two children did not attend school. He died in 1887. (C&A Census, C&A Employees File, 1880-88, OHSIA.) In most respects, his life was identical to those of the other Cheyenne Fort Marion returnees.

Those who returned in 1880 presented a much different picture. There were four Cheyenne in the first group, of whom one--Buzzard--died almost immediately. The other three lived many more years, the first dying in 1923 (Little Chief) and the last in 1932 (Squint Eyes). They all demonstrated the deep impact of their educations. Each was employed at the agency throughout the early to mid-1880's as laborer, teamster, or policeman. (C&A Employees File, 1880-87, OHSIA.) Squint Eyes made a trip to Arizona with a Smithsonian expedition in 1880. ("Squint Eyes," Appendix B.) When agency employment was curtailed in 1884-85, both Little Chief and Squint Eyes joined the army as scouts. (C&A Employees, Scouts, 1884-86, OHSIA.)

About 1885, White Man (who changed his name to Hail) did move to the Cantonment area, but after allotment, he became a farmer and stock raiser and continued to work until blindness forced him to stop. He lived in a house on his only wife's land and supplemented his income by leasing his own land. This brother-in-law of Howling Wolf sent his children to school, but did not belong to any reservation churches. In 1907, the agent included him on the Indian Honor Roll (a listing of Indians believed to be hard working progressives), and in 1918, another described him as a "good old Indian." He died in 1931. Although he apparently abandoned Christianity, White Man/Hail held firmly to other aspects of the White Man's Road. ("White Man," Appendix B.)

Squint Eyes returned to agency work in 1889, after his service in the army, but after the death of his wife in 1891, he moved to the Northern Cheyenne reservation in Montana. He leased his Oklahoma allotment and served as a policeman and cavalry member in Montana, but for most of his life he was a farmer/rancher. In 1929, he was baptised a Mennonite. He had sent all his children who lived to school, and his brother Rutherford B. Hayes attended Carlisle from 1879 to 1882. ("Squint Eyes," Appendix B.)

Little Chief was also an unwavering progressive. He became a policeman, and served until 1893, by which time he had established a farm on his allotment near Seger Colony. He worked as a farmer the rest of his life, and he never

faltered in his Christianity. He led the delegation to see the Kiowa buffalo prophet in 1881, and that failure apparently confirmed his new faith. Little Chief acted as interpreter for the Dutch Reformed Church at Colony and later joined the Mennonite church. By the early 1900's, White agents and the Oklahoma City press reported that he was an "honored man" among his people, who had since the 1880's encouraged other Indians to "civilize." He was often called Dr. William Little Chief, a distinctly White honorarium, in memory of his service as the agency medical assistant in the 1880's. Despite his progressivism, Little Chief nevertheless belonged to a dance society and hosted what the press called the "last" Sun Dance in 1907. ("Little Chief," Appendix B.)

These men were followed home by Cohoe and White Bear, a Cheyenne and an Arapaho. White Bear immediately began a farm, and by 1885 was living among the farming Arapahos near Seger Colony. He sent one child to Carlisle and another to White Institute in the early 1880's. He died in 1892. ("White Bear," Appendix B.) Cohoe, who lived until 1924, worked in many capacities around the agency, and for many years was a clerk at the agency trading post--a distinctive use of his language and mathematics skills. He also served briefly in the army. By the 1890's he too, was farming and he farmed until he was too old to continue. In some ways, Cohoe diverged from the strictly progressive

path. He married sisters, and had children by both (who were sent to school.) He was an important leader of the War Dancer's Society, and a leader of the Native American Church, holding services in his home in the early 1900's. Nevertheless, he was a hard worker at his "civilized" labors, even if that work brought him few rewards. He reported in 1910 that "I work hard try to make a living, at the same time I am getting poor." (Cohoe, Report of Returned Students, Carlisle Student Records, NA; "Cohoe," Appendix B.)

The first Kiowa to reach Anadarko was Tonekeuh, in March of 1880. He had been asking Pratt to let him go for some time. (Pratt to Hunt, 2/27/80, Kiowa Hampton File, OHSIA.) As soon as he arrived, Hunt hired him as a laborer, but he worked only one week. He quit, saying he was too "tired" to work. (Kiowa Employees File, 3/31/80, OHSIA.) He wrote to Pratt in April that some White men had "made bad talk" to him and that he was upset. (The letter is nearly incomprehensible. Tonekeuh to Pratt, 4/24/80 with Hunt to Pratt, 5/4/80, Kiowa Carlisle File, OHSIA.) Within a few weeks, Hunt wrote Ohettoint asking that he try to get Tonekeuh to go back to work; he had left the agency entirely. (Hunt to Ohettoint, 5/4/80, KA 10, LS, Vol. LL: 410. OHSIA.) Tonekeuh never did return, and he died in 1882.) ("Tonekeuh," Appendix B.)

His friend Ohettoint came home in June, 1880.

Unlike Tonekeuh, he embarked at once on a long life (died in 1934) of hard work. He worked for the agency in the 1880's as a laborer and carpenter, and by 1890 had a farm established near those of the non-student Kiowa returnees. In addition to his farming, Ohettoint was a policeman from 1889 to 1902, and he occassionally hauled freight. Shortly after his return, he taught at the agency school, and his children were all educated. Ohettoint, often called Charles or Charley, did not become a Christian, and until he was forced to divorce one by his agent in 1914, he had two wives. He became an important band head, and like Little Chief, he was widely admired. In 1908, he built a fine house. In many regards, his life paralleled those of the moderate older Kiowas except for his greater prominence and prosperity. ("Ohettoint," Appendix B.)

The three who returned in September of 1880 included the two who died (Shave Head and Koba) and the Cheyenne Matches, who despite his tuberculosis, lived until about 1888. Pratt sent him home with a carpenter's outfit, and he went to work at once for the agency. He demonstrated his progressiveness in other ways as well. In November, 1880, he was married in a Christian ceremony at the Arapaho mission. His children were given White names (Wicks and Philip) and his son Charles was christened in a formal service in 1881. His brothers, renamed Carl and Jonas Matches, attended Carlisle, and Walter (as he called

himself) toured with Pratt in 1881. Matches continued his wage labor, working as a teamster, scout, and freighter until about 1886. He may have been incapacitated by ill health, as he died within about a year. ("Matches," Appendix B.)

1881 brought the religiously trained "Florida Boys" back to Indian Territory along with two more of the Carlisle students. First to arrive was the Cheyenne Roman Nose, who called himself Henry. He expected to immediately begin work as a tinner, but Agent Miles placed him in the sawmill until the tin shop was built. By 1882, the shop was still not available, and Roman Nose was "getting tired to ask Agent Miles." (Petersen, 1964: 474.) Instead, he began to think that he should return to Carlisle for further training until the shop was ready. For two years he waited for Miles to assist him, but the shop was never opened, another Indian (Star, an ex-prisoner) was appointed tinner, and no house was built for him. He married in 1881 and reported that he was trying to teach his wife the White road, but in 1883, he wrote dejectedly to Pratt.

I went to ask Agent Miles for I start to working my tin trade...Agent said wait and so I keeping rest in the Indian camps. I have nothing to do no work...I shall never forget you and I wish to see you but I have no money to pay my way to come to Carlisle. Capt. Pratt please excuse this bad writing my letter. I have almost forget how to write English language because I have not read and write long time. (in Petersen, 1964: 475.)

Pratt published the letter, and a religious group provided the money for Roman Nose to return to Carlisle. He stayed five months, May to September, 1883, but when he returned, there was still no position for him. He served instead as a policeman during the Dog Soldier troubles of 1884-85, and as a scout in 1886. Roman Nose occasionally worked as a policeman until 1894, but in 1890, he finally got his agency tinshop. Roman Nose had been astonishingly patient for eight years, waiting for his labor and skills to be rewarded, but when his chance came, it was apparently too late. He had embraced the Ghost Dance religion, and the agent reported that he neglected his duties and refused to place his children in school. Rebuked by the agent, he quit and withdrew to the Salt Creek area thirty miles northwest of the agency. He received that land as his allotment and lived there the rest of his life. (Petersen, 1964: 475-77.)

During the 1890's, Roman Nose began to farm his land, but his relationship with White authorities was generally poor. He joined the peyote religion, and opposed education. As late as 1898, Agent Woodson ordered that his daughter be brought in to school by force if necessary. Roman Nose frequently represented his people, especially the conservatives, in negotiations, using his Hampton-Carlisle skills by travelling to Washington and writing many letters to agents and other officials. In response to his growing

prominence and his efforts in his people's behalf, he was recognised as Chief of the Cheyennes in the late 1890's. ("Roman Nose," Appendix B.)

After 1900, Roman Nose apparently became more compliant, sending his son John to school and trying to get him to Carlisle. He lived in a small house on his allotment and farmed, but most of his income was derived from the lease of his land to the Roman Nose Gypsum Company, which mined gypsum deposits there and packed the product in bags decorated with his portrait. He handled most of the negotiations and correspondence for the leases himself. By 1915, the agents described him as well-educated, industrious, and of good character. Despite his efforts and his prominence, Roman Nose was never prosperous. He complained of his poverty to Pratt, and he left only \$4.17 in the bank when he died. Roman Nose died in 1917 at a peyote ceremony in the home of his friend and fellow student, Cohoe. ("Roman Nose," Appendix B.)

Bear's Heart followed Roman Nose to the Cheyenne-Arapaho agency in 1881. He had assumed the name James and trained as a carpenter at Hampton. When he left, he was given a full outfit so that he could practice his trade. He had been greatly liked at Hampton, and despite his illness, his teachers hoped he would recover and be a prime "example of civilization." He went to work at once at his craft and struggled against his worsening disease to do well. He

died, however, in January, 1882. His obituary in the Cheyenne Transporter noted that he was "industrious, faithful, kind, affectionate, and genial" and that he had attended church regularly since his return. He was buried near Minimic in the agency cemetery. (Cheyenne Transporter, 2/10/82, OHSIA; "Bear's Heart," Appendix B.)

The three missionaries (Paul C. Zotom, Henry P. Taawayite, and David Pendleton) returned together in June, 1881, accompanied by Rev. Wicks, their Paris Hill patron. Their intention was to found two missions, one on each reservation. At Darlington, David Pendleton would serve as Deacon to Rev. Wicks. At Anadarko, Paul Zotom, Deacon, would run the mission with Taawayite as catechist. They arrived in Indian Territory in the midst of the furor over the buffalo prophet Papepte, and Paul and Henry went out to the Sun Dance camp to try to influence the people through morning and evening prayer. (Petersen, 1971: 181-83.) All three men set to work with their preaching and teaching. David Pendleton helped to build the Whirlwind Mission at Fay, Oklahoma, and for the rest of his life was a practising Episcopalian minister. He took an allotment at Seger Colony, but lived most of the time at Darlington, leasing his land for additional income. Late in life, he purchased lots in the town of Watonga, built a comfortable home, and died there in 1931. Despite his relatives' very conservative positions (Little Medicine, the Dog Soldier

leader, was his father), he held fast to his new faith and way of life. ("Making Medicine," Appendix B.)

Zotom and Taawayite, however, (the two Kiowas) did not present such an image of consistent piety. They were faced with persistent hostility from their fellow tribesmen (David Pendleton always stayed in progressive areas), and Rev. Wicks found it necessary to visit them often at Anadarko, leaving David on his own. For three years, the two Indians and the minister worked together, steadfastly opposing the resistance they met.

When I think how bravely and firmly they have met the storm which has fairly beaten upon them, coming up out of the depths of the old, dark life, winning the victory inch by inch, I do just one thing, "thank God and take courage." (Rev. Wicks writing in the Spirit of Missions, in Petersen, 1971: 184.)

But in 1884, Rev. Wicks had to return to Paris Hill because of ill health. He never went back to Anadarko, and his departure meant the end of the mission work. Both Zotom and Taawayite abandoned their Episcopalian posts by 1885. Taawayite was a policeman in 1885-86, but was discharged for inefficiency. He moved away from the agency. There is no evidence that he began farming until at least the late 1890's, but by 1910, he was farming his allotment. He reported then that he had "3 rooms house and horses and mony \$2263," a substantial sum. (Report of Returned Students, Carlisle Student Records, NA.) Although his children, Charlie Pratt and Susan, attended school, Taawayite never

again joined or participated in a church. He died in 1917. ("Taawayite," Appendix B.)

Zotom rejected his Christian life forcefully, leaving Anadarko and the house built for him by Hunt, and going out to the camps. There he followed the example of his cousin and became a medicine man. His Episcopal sponsors continued to pay him until 1889, when the report of a visiting bishop prompted the church to declare him "retired." In 1890, Paul and his wife participated in the Ghost Dance, and Mary composed a widely used Ghost Dance song. Finally, in 1894, the church authorities formally deposed Zotom from the ministry. ("Zotom," Appendix B.)

But Paul was not entirely finished with Christianity. Since the late 1880's, he had been farming near Anadarko, but in 1895, he and his new wife (Mary had divorced him and married Ohettoint) moved to Saddle Mountain to help found a new Baptist mission. There he was baptised again, and for two or three years he interpreted for the missionary, but in 1898, he was reported to be the leader of a "ghost dance" and peyote group. He soon moved back to Anadarko and remained a member of the Native American Church the rest of his life. ("Zotom," Appendix B.)

Zotom's children attended school, and two of his brothers went to Carlisle, but Paul had real problems balancing the demands of civilization with the pressure from his peers. His religious experiments are one sign of these

problems, as were his difficulties with indebtedness and liquor. During the 1890's he was sued for debts and arrested for public drunkenness. When he served as an informant to anthropologist James Mooney in 1897, Mooney described him as "sadly fallen from grace." Paul died in 1913. (Mooney, 1898: 216; "Zotom," Appendix B.)

By 1882, the only two "Florida Boys" still in the east were the Kiowas Tsaitkopeta and Etahdleuh. Paul Tsaitkopeta finished his education at Tarrytown in July, 1882, and was sent home with a mild case of tuberculosis. During the early 1880's, he worked at the agency whenever his health permitted, serving as a school assistant, wood cutter, and scout. He was a policeman in 1886 and helped to remove White gamblers from the reservation. By the late 1880's, he had begun a small farm. ("Tsaitkopeta," Appendix B.)

Paul was not immune to the pressures and difficulties faced by the missionaries, however. In addition to his other work, he became the interpreter/assistant to the Methodist missionary J.J. Methvin. About 1888, however, he told Rev. Methvin that he could no longer help him; the ridicule and threats from the other Indians were too much to bear. (Etahdleuh faced the same threats; see below.) Methvin convinced Paul to continue to interpret for him, but Paul always pointed out to the Indians that he did not live as Methvin preached--he

just translated the words. He married sisters, and belonged to the peyote religion. (Interview with Mrs. J.J. Methvin, 10/26/37, Indian Pioneer History, Vol. 36: 200, Foreman Collection, OHSIA.)

As he grew older, Paul's health again deteriorated. He stopped farming and became an agency fixture, serving as a perennial witness in heirship cases, lease agreements, and other situations in which an Indian signature was required. He was a Mooney informant in 1897, and was described as basically an invalid. (Mooney, 1898: 216.) Only four of his eighteen children lived to school age, but they all attended school, and two daughters went to Carlisle. In 1906, one of his two wives divorced him to marry a White man. He died in 1910. As had been the case with the other religiously trained Kiowas, Tsaitkopeta's life was one of struggle to maintain the White Man's Road in the face of peer disapproval, and he managed to strike a balance between the old and the new. ("Tsaitkopeta," Appendix B.)

The last student to return to Indian Territory was Etahdleuh Doanmoe, Pratt's favorite protege. Between August of 1882 and December of 1884, he and his wife worked at the agency school, and Etahdleuh made frequent visits to the camps to encourage the people to try civilization. He was greatly discouraged at the poverty and illness he found and at the slowness of his work, but he persisted, insisting that he did not meet ridicule. (Etahdleuh's account of this

stay on the reservation is in Petersen, 1971: 151-53.) In 1884, however, after the death of his new infant and the recurrence of old illnesses, Etahdleuh wanted to go back to Carlisle. ("Etahdleuh," Appendix B.)

Etahdleuh and Laura worked at Carlisle for two more years, living in a tent on the school grounds with their new son Richard Henry, but in 1887, Etahdleuh tried again to go home. This time, he left Laura at Carlisle, planning to bring her out once he was established. He and his brother started a 160 acre farm, and Etahdleuh worked as agency interpreter. In that capacity, he forwarded the proceedings of a council on receiving lands in severalty to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The chiefs' words clearly showed they opposed allotment, and Etahdleuh added a personal note of regret at their attitude. He offered to try to persuade them.

You know that the Indians know no better...I do earnestly wish and hope that the days are not far distant when the Indian shall live among men as men and have the same rights and privileges of this great Government. (4/3/87, LR, CIA, NA.)

In September, 1887, illness once again sent Etahdleuh back to Carlisle where he received training from the Presbyterian church. Early in 1888, he and his family returned to Anadarko for the last time, now as missionaries. At Anadarko, Etahdleuh and Rev. Methvin worked together as an interfaith team, but Etahdleuh, like Tsaitkopeta, aroused

the ire of his fellow Kiowas. If he had met no resistance before, he did now. First he had advocated allotment; now he preached Christianity, too. He was warned to stop his activities, but he persisted. On April 19, 1888, Etahdleuh and Methvin held a large meeting. Their message left most of their audience angry, and several Indians announced that "bad medicine" would be made against them: they would both die. Exactly twenty-four hours later, Etahdleuh suddenly died. Given his history of illness, Etahdleuh might have died of natural causes, but the Indians (and Methvin) believed that he had been bewitched. This most aggressively progressive returning student had met the ultimate form of peer disapproval. (Methvin lived many more years. Interview with J.J. Methvin, 9/26/37, Indian Pioneer History, Vol. 36: 100, Foreman Collection, OHSIA. See "Etahdleuh," Appendix B, for an account of his huge traditional funeral.)

It is clear, then, that the young scholars were enormously influenced by their years at school, in ways that their older fellow prisoners had not been influenced by their time at Fort Marion. All but three (not including those who died before 1881) became farmers or worked for wages. Both non-workers died before 1890, and the other was a missionary. Seven of the sixteen were Christians. In fact, the criteria established in the preceeding chapter to describe the older warriors are inadequate to describe these

men, for they were far more progressive than any but the Christian Buffalo Meat from that group. Only two, Soaring Eagle and Tonekeuh, totally abandoned the White Man's Road and could be called conservatives. Those in this group who might be called moderates--members of the Native American Church, polygamists--nevertheless were more progressive than the moderate older warriors. (See Tables 1 and 3, Chapter 5.) They uniformly educated their children; they began their work early and stayed at it throughout their lives. While the older moderates moved toward their combination of new economic behavior and traditional lifestyles over many years, the scholar moderates most often retreated from a very progressive position in the face of disappointments or severe peer pressure. (For example, Roman Nose, Zotom.)

Five of the seven returned Kiowa scholars fit the "retreat from progressivism" model, and all who survived ultimately lived much as their older peers did, living mostly by farming and occasional wage work. This lifestyle was of course, far more progressive than that of the reservation at large, and the evidence indicates that the four who lived past 1900 had unusually close ties to the agency, serving often as witnesses, interpreters, and helpers. But the Cheyenne students were astonishingly more progressive than their Cheyenne Fort Marion compatriots. On a reservation where an active and well organized resistance movement successfully recruited the older returnees and

blocked White efforts at civilization for years, these men nevertheless became farmers and even leaders in progressivism. Even those who retreated from fully progressive attitudes never turned instead to fully traditional ones. As among the younger Kiowas, these men (Cohoe, Roman Nose) joined the "neo-traditional" Native American Church, lived by farming, and willingly used their skills in interacting with Whites. Why were these men so much different from both the older ex-prisoners and their reservation peers? Why could some even remain progressive when their Kiowa friends could not?

Clearly the most important factor was residence. The Cheyenne students lived at first near Darlington, the agency, where the presence of conservatives was small. Later on, when they founded their farms, they moved to regions of the reservation occupied by other fairly progressive Indians, especially the Arapahos near Seger Colony. While some of these men did proselytize for the White Man's Road, they generally did so among the already converted. Because the hostile conservatives tended to withdraw to the area around Cantonment and avoid both the agency and the progressive areas except when absolutely necessary, these men were able to live their lives in relative peace. In addition, throughout the period, they lived near missionaries, one of whom was, of course, one of their own.

The Kiowa conservatives, however, despite a tendency to live in the northwest section of the reservation, were more scattered throughout the area, and there were large camps near Anadarko--who became the specific targets of the student Kiowas' preaching. In addition, the men arrived on the reservation and retreated from their religious beliefs during the 1880's, a period of intense religious ferment. Except for themselves, few full-time Christian missionaries were among the Kiowas and Comanches until the 1890's. As was shown in the previous chapter, Kiowa conservatism was a primarily religious and lifestyle issue; individual economic behavior was not usually a target for criticism. It is not surprising then, that, although they backed away from their new religious ideas, the Kiowa ex-students generally held to their ideas about work and education.

The inescapable conclusion to be drawn from the lives of the Fort Marion students, the "Florida Boys," is that they were convinced, in ways that their older peers were not, of the value of the White Man's Road. Not only did they farm, the first major indicator of civilization, but in nearly every aspect of their lives they reflected the lessons of Pratt and their teachers. Despite some "lapses", as a group they accepted civilization, and they spent their lives as they understood civilization required. While none of them became especially prosperous, all of them lived fairly well by Indian standards, an indication of the

usefulness of their training and of their dedication to their work. None of them chose to leave the reservation (to be civilized in civilization), and they continued to participate in the events which confirmed their identity as Indians such as dances and feasts, but they held to their new way as best they could. They were so successful at being civilized that they were noticed by Whites, who put them on Indian Honor Rolls and praised them to both Indians and Whites. Significantly, several were also honored and praised by other Indians, most notably Roman Nose, Little Chief, and Ohettoint, for their efforts to "live right" and help others. Pratt had actually achieved a deep and lasting change in these men: his methods (removal from home, military discipline, kindness, vocational and linguistic education) had proven themselves.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

The history of the prisoners at Fort Marion permits analysis of culture change in several ways. First, it is possible to study the individual decisions of each man--to see how his own life changed--and then to aduce an aggregate pattern by studying the men as a group. By comparing both the individual and collective changes to the patterns discovered for the general reservation population, it is possible to clearly see the impact of Fort Marion in conditioning the lives of these men. Second, it is possible to determine, within limits, whether the ex-prisoners influenced, or tried to influence, other Indians to change as they had changed--to see whether they were agents of culture change. Finally, it is possible to test certain aspects of anthropological theory regarding culture change, and its special case acculturation, on the basis of the data.

Acculturation was earlier defined as a process "whereby the culture of a society is modified as the result of contact with the culture of one or more societies." (Gillin and Raimy, 1940: 372.) For American Indians, this

process has most often been viewed as a one way development: White culture traits have been imposed upon Indians, have replaced Indian culture traits, but White culture has been little affected. Frequently, the process has been viewed as exclusively destructive and damaging to Indians and to their cultures. This study allows us to examine these propositions, while also overcoming the weaknesses of acculturation analysis limited to either the individual or societal (cultural systems) level by combining the two approaches. Finally, the study permits testing of the adaptive strategies theoretical model as both more descriptively accurate and of better explanatory value than more traditional acculturation theory. (See Introduction.)

The most immediate conclusion to be drawn from the lives of the Fort Marion prisoners is that their years in prison did, indeed, affect them. Twenty-two of the seventy-four (29%; 48% of the fifty-seven who survived the prison) chose not to return home upon their release in 1878, but stayed in the east for further education. Without their initial Fort Marion exposure to White culture, certainly none of them would have chosen, or had the opportunity for, such a decision. After their additional schooling at Hampton and Carlisle, or in New York, the students returned to Indian Territory. There, despite the fact that they retained their ethnic Indian identities, most of these men lived quite progressive lives by the standards of their

reservation peers. They lived, as much as circumstances permitted, as they had been taught, working hard to support themselves and their families, using their new skills, seeking both White and Indian approval. While several did retreat from full progressivism, especially Christianity, in the face of peer pressure and disappointments, only two entirely abandoned their new "civilized" lifestyles. For the most part, these men were outstanding examples of the Indian types White authorities sought to create.

The other thirty-five ex-prisoners, mostly older warriors, who returned directly to Indian Territory from Fort Marion were less profoundly affected over the duration of their lives, but they were nonetheless changed. They returned prepared to try the new lives that Pratt had spoken of, and for several years, they persisted in their efforts. However, reservation conditions--a curtailment of Indian employment and the emergence of a powerful resistance movement--blocked the attempts of most of the Cheyennes. They merged back into the reservation population and lived conservatively for the rest of their lives. On the other hand, the Kiowas and Comanches found an atmosphere more conducive to their new way of life, and they were able to create a combination of new economic behavior and traditional culture. While they were far more progressive than their reservation peers in their farming/ranching, they were indistinguishable from other Indians in their

religious, marriage, and family practices. Fort Marion had provided for them the skills--primarily an understanding of White behavior and methods--to live well, but Pratt had not convinced them to embrace the ideology and culture of White American society.

Thus, Pratt's former charges were changed by their experience at Fort Marion, even if that change varied with the ages of the men and the conditions they found on their reservations. Did that change reach beyond these men? Did they, by preaching or example, get others to live differently? Certainly some of the men--the mission trained scholars and Buffalo Meat, the Christian older warrior--viewed themselves as agents of change. They had been taught, or called, to proselytize, not just for Christianity but for the whole of "civilization." For the most part, they failed. The Kiowa missionaries met with such forceful resistance that they gave up not only preaching but their own Christianity, as well. Etahdleuh gave up his life. The Cheyenne missionary, David Pendleton, was more successful and spent his life at his work, but he preached in mostly progressive areas. His congregations were always small, and the total number of Christian Cheyennes was tiny well into the twentieth century. Buffalo Meat, who became a Christian in the 1890's, had a similarly small impact.

If the conscious proselytizers had little impact, what of the "examples of civilization?" Did those who

actively used their Fort Marion or school-learned skills entice others to live as they did? The evidence for such an impact is impressionistic and sketchy at this point. Confirmation would require much more additional research on the lives of the kin and associates of the ex-prisoners, beyond the scope of this study. But it is nonetheless possible to suggest that many of the more progressive ex-prisoners were agents of change. First, their influence on their own relatives is undeniable. At a time when less than half of the reservation children attended even the first three primary grades, the children of these men attended school as long as seven years. Of the sixteen surviving young scholars and nineteen moderate or progressive older warriors, eleven sent relatives to Carlisle. (Compiled from Appendix B.) The children of these men became a significant segment of the educated reservation population. They also tended to follow their fathers' leads in work, taking over farm duties as the men aged or assuming their full support.

The children were not the only relatives affected, however. Roman Nose's father opened a farm, as did Etahdleuh's brother. Etahdleuh's brother-in-law was Chief Apiatone, who debunked the Ghost Dance to the Kiowas. Little Medicine, the Dog Soldier leader who nevertheless took his allotment at Seger Colony (a relatively progressive area), was David Pendleton's father. Systematic analysis of additional family data would undoubtedly uncover even more

cases, but these suggest the impact of these men upon their kin. (See biographies, Appendix B.)

The progressives had an impact on Indians unrelated to them, as well. While progressives tended to live among and associate with other progressives, it is clear that several of the progressive Fort Marion ex-prisoners had a wider influence. They became important men, leaders not only of progressives but of their tribes. Tischecoddy, Black Horse, Ohettoint, Little Chief, and Buffalo Meat were band heads or sub-chiefs. Roman Nose became Chief of the Southern Cheyenne. The status which these men attained is somewhat problematic. The question remains whether they were leaders because of their achievements (results of their Fort Marion experiences) or because of their family and community ties, or some combination of the two. Clearly, at least Roman Nose achieved his position because of his service to his people, using his new skills. However they reached their leadership positions, the men could serve their tribesmen, and they could also influence them. Those who belonged to their bands sent proportionately more children to school and tended to farm more than members of other bands. (C&A and Kiow Censuses, 1880-1900, OHSIA.) That these men, who lived such progressive lives, were so respected is in itself a convincing indication of their influence even though it is not possible to say precisely how widespread or profound that influence was. Probably,

the overall course of culture change on the two reservations was not dramatically altered by their presence--they were few in number, and their followers were only a fraction of the population--but they undeniably influenced many of their peers.

The implications of these findings for the analysis of culture change are substantial, especially when they are placed in the context of the changes taking place among the reservation population. Between 1875 and the early twentieth century, the cultures of the Indians of the two reservations changed enormously. The classic buffalo hunting patterns of subsistence and warfare ended forever, and the people gradually developed means of support based on annuities and/or rents and small scale wage earning or gardening. At the same time as this huge economic change took place, the people elaborated a set of new pan-tribal institutions, including dancing for horses and the peyote religion, which reinforced their identities as Indians and provided important emotional support in handling their common reservation conditions. Finally, older tribal traditions were also maintained in areas such as language, marriage, leadership, band and family structure--ties to the past which preserved tribal distinctiveness, tribal ethnicity. Although the contents of that tribal ethnicity differed from group to group, the changes insisted upon by Whites-- farming, Christianity, the nuclear family, the

abandonment of tribal and "Indian" ideas and practices--were limited to a small minority and very slow in developing. Ethnicity limited the degree of acculturation.

Thus, while the Indian cultures changed, becoming more similar and adapting to reservation conditions, those changes were not those which some theories of acculturation might predict. While the Indians did stop hunting and warfare in the face of the extermination of game and of superior force, they did not replace these "culture traits" with White methods of subsistence. Rather, they took advantage of or discovered other methods which suited their values but not those of Whites bent on "civilizing" Indians. As the basis of their cultures disappeared, it is not surprising that other aspects of those cultures also changed, especially the religions which had supported the old activities. But the Sun Dance and power quest did not give way to Christianity. Instead, a new religion, distinctly Indian but especially suited to the new circumstances, emerged.

In short, the Indian people responded creatively to their changing lives, not passively. They remained Indian (preserved their ethnic boundaries--Barth, 1969) and chose from White culture only those things which seemed to offer clear benefits: limited use of money, a familiarity with English, certain aspects of clothing and shelter, foods. In the sense of acculturation so often used in describing

Indians, these Indians did not markedly acculturate. While by the early twentieth century they were very different than they had been in 1875, they were hardly "less Indian" than they had been in 1875. Notions of "forced acculturation," or typologies of "degree of acculturation" neither describe nor explain the changes which took place. (See Introduction.)

It is much more productive to view these changes from the perspective of the concept of adaptive strategies, choices and plans devised by individuals and groups in response to their historical, cultural, and environmental situation. (Introduction.) Whites believed that the range of choices available to Indians in Indian Territory during this period was severely limited: either the old ways and death from starvation, or White ways and survival. In fact, the range of choices was quite different. Most Indian people recognised that the old life was simply no longer possible, but they recognised that other options existed besides those demanded by Whites. Operating within a traditionally Indian value system, it was possible to devise new ways to survive while maintaining as much as possible of the older social structure and behavior. (Introduction: ethnicity.) Drawing on older traditions, new institutions could emerge to fit the new economic and settlement patterns while preserving old ideologies. As I hypothesized earlier (Introduction.), the peoples of the South Plains retained as

much as possible of their old cultures and selectively, consciously changed those areas which required change. They did incorporate aspects of White culture in their adaptive strategy, but until the twentieth century, those aspects were quite limited; more were unnecessary. Profound acculturation did not take place.

But what of the Fort Marion prisoners? Many of them may surely be described as "acculturated," even assimilated, having abandoned Indian behavior and values for White, if to varying degrees. While it is true that certain categories of acculturation theory may describe the ex-prisoners--traditional vs. progressive definitions, for example--the adaptive strategies model nevertheless provides a more complete explanation. First, it adequately answers the question of the variation of response among the prisoners. In fact, it would predict that variation. Each person makes his own choices and decisions. It is the collective pattern of these decisions which we view as culture or cultural change. Each prisoner, starting from his learned cultural base, chose his own "road." While each of those roads was slightly different, overall clear patterns developed because of the prisoners' common cultural heritage and shared experiences.

The adaptive strategies model also explains the differences among those patterns. We have seen that the younger scholars adapted differently from the older

warriors, and that older Cheyenne warriors adapted differently from the Kiowa and Comanche. The model easily accomodates these differences by taking into account age variations, including the very different experiences of the older and younger men (Fort Marion treatment, schooling) in the first instance, and reservation conditions in the second. The adaptive strategies concept predicts that behavior--and culture change--are conservative. People will continue to act in the vernacular of their usual cultures until overwhelming evidence convinces them to change. Certainly older men, accustomed to their values through years of hardship and war, and resuming their older roles in an only slightly changed culture, would be slow to see the value of marked change. Once back on the reservation, they would be expected to live as their peers did. The limits placed on their behavior by their ethnicity would be quite broad. Young men, less attached by experience or expectation to their old cultures, could more easily see the virtue of alternatives--even alternatives from an enemy culture. Placed in the intensive acculturative atmosphere of the schools they attended, outside their ethnic group where limits could be enforced, they could more readily choose the path of civilization. In fact, they would be expected to experiment with alternatives; the presence of a profoundly conservative youth would actually be surprising.

If the older men could therefore be predicted to

behave more conservatively than the younger ones, the older Cheyennes could also be predicted to behave more conservatively than the Kiowas and Comanches because of the presence of a powerful conservative organization on their reservation. Because of the tight organization among the Cheyenne, and the men's resumption of their former roles, that conservative movement severely limited their range of choices, while the Kiowa and Comanche range was much broader.

It can be seen that in fact the variations in the content of the ethnicity of an ethnic group constitute a variable in the adaptive strategies acculturation model. As Barth (1969) has pointed out, each ethnic group creates different limits on behavior in the process of maintaining its boundaries. The specifics of Cheyenne ethnicity, which placed great restrictions on individual Cheyenne behavior, were different from the specifics of Kiowa and Comanche ethnicity, which permitted relatively greater independence of action, especially in the economic sphere.

Acculturation is then a special kind of adaptive strategy: the choice within an ethnic context to adopt aspects of a new culture while changing or retaining aspects of the old. It is not a "transmission belt," by which one culture passes to and replaces another, but a process of selection. It is not a process by which a new culture is imposed upon a receiving people, but a process by which

people redesign an older culture, incorporating elements of the new. The culture they create will be more or less like the new or the old culture depending on historical circumstances and the permeability of their ethnic boundaries.

This model helps us to understand why the conscious agents of acculturation among the Fort Marion prisoners--the missionaries--failed, while the unconscious agents of acculturation--the examples of civilization--met with some success. The missionaries wanted to be part of a transmission belt, imparting the new culture whatever the desires or needs of the recipients. Not surprisingly, they were met with resistance. The adaptive strategies model postulates conservatism, and conditions on the reservations did not require that the people immediately adopt all of White culture, especially its ideology, in order to survive. The examples of civilization, however, simply demonstrated new kinds of behavior which observers could choose or not. They broadened the range of choices, without an element of coercion. Since they were not proselytizers, their influence was largely limited to their immediate associates, but they could influence those adaptive strategies. Their skills, especially, did offer better ways to live, as their greater survival rate suggests.

This analysis suggests, then, that individuals may play a role in a group's culture change/acculturation, if to

a limited degree. Certainly, it seems clear that they do not lead groups of people into a totally new lifestyle; missionaries, whether foreign or native, are not successful. However, individuals may provide examples of successful adaptation to changed conditions. So long as they continue to function within the generally accepted community social institutions--religion, marriage, family structure, political organization--they may offer new ways of living better. As we have seen, because such individuals do function as ordinary members of their communities (even leaders are ordinary if they develop in the usual ways), their lives reflect the persistence of traditional values even as they demonstrate new adaptations. Other members of the community are more ready to accept their new ideas because of their proper ethnic context, and that context itself slows or moderates the extent and degree of the changes those others may make. Barth has postulated that "agents of change" may choose from three strategies in a culture contact situation.

(i) they may attempt to pass and become incorporated in the pre-established industrial society and cultural group; (ii) they may accept a 'minority' status, accommodate to and seek to reduce their minority disabilities by encapsulating all cultural differentiae in sectors of non-articulation, while participating in the larger system of the industrialized group in the other sectors of activity; (iii) they may choose to emphasize ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for the new purposes.

In the first strategy, the individuals cross the ethnic boundary--no change occurs within their group. In the second and third, change does occur. I would argue that most former prisoners I have classed as moderate or progressive chose the second strategy, while the third strategy was initially adopted by their tribesmen, especially the Cheyenne. Barth points out that the second leads to gradually decreasing ethnic differences--to some degree of acculturation--while the third results in nativistic movements like the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. (Barth, 1969: 33.)

Acculturation at the societal level, therefore, is deeply imbedded in traditional values and institutions: in ethnicity. In an apparent paradox only those individuals who continue to function within that context can propose changes, and their impact will be limited and gradual. Only as the institutions themselves change, as large numbers of people adopt new ways, does acculturation accelerate. Such widespread changes are the result of dramatically changed circumstances affecting the community uniformly, not the result of the impact of the leadership of one or more individuals.

Finally, the Fort Marion prisoners' lives have offered a classic opportunity to observe and measure culture change in a historical context. It has been possible, because of the wealth of archival materials, to discover in

some detail how these men lived, and to examine changes not only in their lifestyles, but in the cultures of their tribes. The measurement of that change has been possible because a base culture could be defined: the remembered life of nomadic buffalo hunting described in Chapter 2. That culture itself existed only briefly, but nonetheless was the foundation from which these men emerged. A "yardstick" against which to measure the culture change which took place was "The White Man's Road"-- that complex of values and behavior which White authorities expected Indians to follow. It included especially farming, Christianity, and the nuclear family but also encompassed clothing, language, settlement pattern and a range of other behavior described in Chapter 4. The remarkable records maintained by agency personnel and the Bureau of Indian Affairs permitted measurement of the lives of both the prisoners and their peers against this yardstick, since the record keepers were concerned with exactly these issues and noted both individual anecdotes and collected statistics.

Of course, care had to be used in making these measurements. Because of their own ethnocentricity, record keepers often evaluated behavior which they observed as simply "heathen" while a modern scholar might view it as a marked departure from earlier patterns. They also categorized as "failures" people who refused to adopt the White Man's Road in every aspect while that same scholar

would see them as strong progressives, omitting perhaps only religion or marriage from their complex of changes. Thus, in this analysis, great attention has been paid to distinguishing real from ideal behavior, agents' or matrons' prejudices from descriptions of actual life.

Additionally, sensitivity to changes outside the White Man's Road had to be maintained. As we have seen, culture change in Indian Territory did not follow the simple Indian-to-White pattern. The records were thus read with an eye to noting new developments--most often complained of by authorities as "traditional" ceremonies or practices--that indicated culture change in a direction other than towards civilization. Whenever agents and others complained often about a behavior, it was reported from many areas, and large numbers of people were reported as participating, it was viewed as an actual phenomenon.

Thus, as long as attention is paid to the ethnocentric biases of record keepers and the records are read with an openness to all kinds of changes, the records available for nineteenth century Indian reservations provide a wealth of information for anthropologists. Their surprising failure to use those records (to any substantial degree) is undoubtedly due to limited training in the archival methods of the social historian and to the act of imagination required to achieve this special kind of observation. Anthropologists expect to personally observe

behavior; for long-dead subjects, they must reconstruct that behavior from fragmentary evidence. It takes work and time to fit the pieces together, but the outcome is gratifying. The story of the Fort Marion prisoners and their tribesmen is only one example of the possible results.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

List of Indians

Cheyennes

1. Heap of Birds. Chief. Age 49. Ringleader. Died October 9, 1877.
2. Bear Shield. Chief. Age 45. Killed Watkins.
3. Eagle's Head. Minimic. Chief. Age 50. Ringleader.
4. Medicine Water. Warrior. Age 40. Wilful and deliberate murder.
5. Long Back. Subchief. Age 53. Held and abused Germain girls.
6. White Man. Warrior. Age 24. (Murderer.)
7. Rising Bull. Warrior. Age 30. (Murderer.)
8. Broken Leg. Cohoe. Warrior. Age 24. (Murderer.)
9. Bear's Heart. Warrior. Age 26. (Murderer.)
10. Star. Warrior. Age 29. No offense.
11. Howling Wolf. Warrior (Minimic's son.) Age 27. Ringleader.
12. Making Medicine. Warrior. Age 33. Ringleader.
13. Antelope. Warrior. Age 39. Ringleader.
14. Wolf's Marrow. Come-uh-su-rah. (Cometsevah) Warrior. Ringleader. Age 49.
15. Little Medicine. Chief. Age 35. Ringleader.
16. Shave Head. Warrior. Age 23. Ringleader.
17. Roman Nose. Warrior. Age 22. Ringleader.
18. Big Nose. Warrior. Age 22. Ringleader.
19. Squint Eyes. Quch-ke-i-mus. (Tichekematse) Warrior. Age 20. Ringleader.
20. Little Chief. Warrior. Age 23. Ringleader.
21. Matches. Warrior. Age 21. Ringleader.
22. Buffalo Meat. Warrior. Age 30. Ringleader.
23. Buzzard. Warrior. Age 22. Ringleader.
24. Soaring Eagle. Warrior. Age 26. Murder.
25. Bear Killer. Nocomista. Warrior. Age 33. Ringleader.
26. Left Hand. Warrior. Age 32. Murder.
27. Chief Killer. Warrior. Age 28. Murder and abduction.
28. Buffalo Calf. Mochi. Wife of Medicine Water. Age 34. Murder.
29. Gray Beard. Chief. Died in 1875 when he jumped from the train. Ringleader.
30. Big Moccasin. Warrior. Died in November, 1875. Murder.
31. Lean Bear. Chief. Died July, 1875. Ringleader.
32. Shaving Wolf. Warrior. Died December, 1876. Ringleader.
33. Spotted Elk. Warrior. Died January, 1877.

Ringleader.

Arapahoes

- 34. Packer. Warrior. Age 26. Murder.
- 35. White Bear. Warrior. Age 25. Attempted murder.

Caddo

- 36. Choctaw. Leader. Age 49. Murder.

Kiowas

- 37. Woman's Heart. Chief. Raids, murder.
- 38. White Horse. Chief. Raids, murder.
- 39. Beef. Wo-haw. Warrior. Age 22. Murder.
- 40. Bad Eye. Ta-na-ti. Leader. Age 43. Raids and murder.
- 41. Double Vision. So-gau-se. Chief. Age 62. Murder.
- 42. Bear-in-the Clouds. Sa-a-mi-a-da. Leader. Age 48. Murder.
- 43. Lone Wolf. Chief. Age 55. Raids and murder.
- 44. Biter. Zotom. Warrior. Age 24. Murder.
- 45. Ankle. On-ko-eh. Warrior (Mexican.) Age 28. Murder.
- 46. High Forehead. Ohet-toint. Warrior (Mexican.) Murder.
- 47. Boy. E-tah-dle-uh. Warrior (Mexican.) Age 21. Raids.
- 48. Toothless. Zo-pe-he. Warrior (Mexican.) Age 45. Murder.
- 49. White Goose. Tash-dle-tah. Warrior. Age 30. Murder.
- 50. Teeth. Zone-ke-uh. Warrior. Age 20. Raids.
- 51. Old Man. Beah-ko. Warrior (Mexican.) Age 38. Theft.
- 52. Good Talk. To-un-ke-uh. Warrior. Age 19. Raids.
- 53. Wild Horse. Ko-ba. Warrior. Age 29. Raids.
- 54. Flat Nose. Mau-ko-peh. Warrior. Age 21. Horse theft.
- 55. Wise. Au-lih. Warrior. Age 28. Murder,raids.

- 56. Kicking. Ko-ho. Warrior (Mexican.) Age 27. Raids.
- 57. Bull with Holes in His Ears. To-o-sape (Pautausape.) Warrior (Mexican.) Age 45. Murder, raids.
- 58. Bear Mountain. Tsait-kope-ta. Warrior (Cheyenne-Pawnee.) Age 25. Raids.
- 59. Pedro. Warrior (Mexican.) Age 48. Murder, raids.
- 60. Straightening an Arrow. Warrior. Died October, 1875. Raids.
- 61. Sun. Warrior. Died May, 1875. Murder.
- 62. Coming to the Grove. Ah-ke-ah. Warrior. Murder.
- 63. Man-who-walks-above-the-Ground. Mah-mante. Chief. Died July, 1875. Murder and raids.

Comanches

- 64. Buck Antelope. Eck-e-nah-ats. Warrior (Mexican.) Age 31. Raids.
- 65. Dry Wood. Wy-a-ko. Warrior (part Mexican.) Age 30. Raids.
- 66. Black Horse. Chief. Age 46. Murder.
- 67. Mad-a-with-t. Warrior. Age 26. Died July, 1877. Raids.
- 68. Telling Something. Ta-a-way-te. Warrior. Age 22. Raids.
- 69. Tail Feathers. Pe-eh-chip. Warrior. Age 25. Raids.
- 70. Always-Sitting-Down-in-a-Bad-Place. Tis-cha-kah-da. Warrior. Age 31. Raids.
- 71. Pile of Rocks. Quoi-yo-uh. Warrior. Age 46. Horse theft.
- 72. Little Prairie Hill. Pa-voor-ite. Warrior (Mexican.) Age 42. Horse theft.
- 73. Mother. Peahin. Wife of Black Horse.
- 74. Ah-kes. Daughter of Black Horse, age 9.

Adapted from the prisoner list which Pratt sent to the Smithsonian Institution in February, 1878. Descriptions of crimes have been abridged. Indian names have been included for those individuals who used them consistently after their release from Fort Marion. (Pratt, 1964: 138-44.)

APPENDIX B

Prisoner Biographies**"Antelope"**

The Cheyenne Antelope was born about 1839. At the time of his arrest in 1875, he was married and had two children. He was not charged with any specific crimes. Pratt believed he was "worthy" of release in 1877. On the reservation after his release in 1878, Antelope worked as a policeman until 1882, and as a scout in 1881. He hauled freight in 1885 and 1886. He had two wives by 1880 and was a band head throughout the 1880's. His son, renamed Abe Lincoln, attended Carlisle from 1879 to 1880, when he died. Antelope received his allotment near Seger Colony among the first allottees. He died about 1893. (Pratt to Miles, 10/18/79, C&A Indian Prisoners File; Pratt to Miles, C&A Carlisle File; C&A Census, 1878-1894; C&A Freight and Transportation File, 1881, 1885, 1886; C&A Employees, 1878-1889; C&A Police, 1878-1889; OHSIA. C&A Allotment Schedule, 1891, Concho. C&A Annuities, 1893, 1894; C&A Allotment Records, NA.)

"Aulih"

Aulih was born about 1847, and he was unmarried at the time of his arrest in 1875. He was accused of participating with Lone Wolf and Mahmante in murders and

raids and in a robbery. He may have been a policeman briefly after his return in 1878; a man called "Wise", the English equivalent of his name, served until he was discharged because of a disability. Aulih accepted farming issues in 1881 and 1883, but he was not among those the agent described as doing well in 1879. He disappeared from the records about 1883, and may have died at about that time. (Smithsonian list, 1878, #55; Kiowa Police File, Voucher, July 2, 1879; Kiowa Issues, 3/31/81 and 1883; Kiowa Census, 1878-1883. OHSIA.)

"Beahko"

Beahko was a Kiowa born about 1839. He was married and had two children at the time of his arrest in 1875. His step-son was his fellow prisoner Tsaitkopeta. He was accused of robbery. Upon his return to the reservation, he began a farm on Hog Creek, and the agent listed him among those doing well in 1879. Beahko farmed most of the rest of his life, but he leased his allotment between 1903 and 1908. Beahko had at least two wives, but none survived him. He left \$277.96 in his estate at his death in 1910. (Kiowa Issues, 1880-1890; Freight and Transportation File, 1883, 1889; Kiowa Carpenters File, August, 1880; Per Capita File; Report of Wm. Wyatt, 6/28/90, Kiowa Farmers File; Hunt to Pratt, 2/12/79, KA 8, Vol. 7, LS, Kiowa Agency. OHSIA. Kiowa-Comanche Family Record Book, #'s 1327, 59, 653, 617,

1821; Kiowa Allotment File, #617, Anadarko. Kiowa Leases, Vol. 1901-1906, #229, OHSIA.)

"Bear's Heart"

The Cheyenne Bear's Heart was born about 1852, and he had no wife or children at the time of his arrest in 1875. He was accused of murder by two other Cheyennes. At Carlisle, Bear's Heart was a prolific artist. He went to Hampton Institute as the protege of Mrs. William Smith Brown of New York City and took the first name James. While at Hampton, he was considered a model student, and he trained to be a carpenter. He returned to his reservation in April of 1881 because of his worsening tuberculosis, and he died in January, 1882. (Smithsonian prisoner list, #9. Petersen, 1971: 98-109. C&A Employees File, 1881-82, OHSIA.)

"Bear Shield"

Bear Shield was a Cheyenne born about 1832. He was already an important man at the time of his arrest in 1875, and he was accused of murder. In 1876, he sent a message home to his wife:

My ears are very large now. I want a house to live in, like the others. Tell my wife I am well and get well fed here. She must not think hard...All I think now is that I want to learn to plant corn.

Pratt said he was "the last Cheyenne to fall into the traces," but that he trusted him after his imprisonment. After his release, Bear Shield was reported to be a stock raiser (1880), but the evidence does not indicate that he stayed with it or that he became a farmer. He hauled freight occassionally during the 1880's. By 1880, he had two wives, and he was a band head during most of the 1880's. In 1885, one of his sons attended the Cantonment school. Although he lived among the conservatives during the 1880's, Bear Shield apparently took his allotment near Seger colony (the records are very confused on this point.) He died in January, 1894. (Smithsonian list #2. Pratt to Miles, 1/3/76 and 4/5/77, C&A Indian Prisoners File, OHSIA. C&A Census, 1878-1895; C&A Freight and Transportation File, 1879-1886. OHSIA. C&A Allotment Schedule, 1890, Concho.)

"Big Nose"

Big Nose was a Cheyenne born about 1856. He was unmarried at the time of his arrest and was accused of no specific crimes. At Fort Marion, he was an artist. He went to Hampton as a protege of Mrs. Joseph Larocque (New York City) who had befriended him at the fort, sending him gifts such as gold rings. At Fort Marion, Big Nose took the name Nick, and at Hampton, he added Pratt. He died of "congestion of the liver with heart trouble" at Hampton in 1879. (Smithsonian list, #18. Petersen, 1971: 164, 238.

Ohettoint to Miles, 1879, PP. Armstrong to Miles, 6/2/79, C&A Hampton File, OHSIA.)

"Black Horse"

At the time of his arrest in 1875, the Comanche Black Horse was a recognised chief and had at least one wife and child, who accompanied him to Fort Marion. He was accused of murder. At Fort Marion, he and his family were frequent subjects for photographers. Upon his release and return to Indian Territory, Black Horse started a farm which he steadily expanded during the 1880's. He had three wives by 1883, but he sent at least three of his children to school (1890's). He was a band head throughout the period, and he took progressive positions, favoring leasing in the 1880's and 1890's. He died before allotment in 1900. (Smithsonian list, #66. Kiowa Census, 1878-1900; Kiowa Hides, Blacksmith, Farmers, Issues, Cattle Pasture and Grazing Files, OHSIA. Kiowa Allotment Family Record Book, Anadarko.)

"Buck Antelope"

Buck Antelope was a Comanche born about 1846. He was said to be unmarried when he was arrested in 1875 and accused of raiding in Texas, horse theft. He was a Mexican captive of the Comanches who lived as a full member of the tribe. After his return from Fort Marion, he worked twenty-

two days at the agency as a laborer and quit. The agent said he was "tired of work." He disappeared from the records after 1879. (Smithsonian prisoner list, #64. Kiowa Employees File, 11/1/79, OHSIA.)

"Buffalo Meat"

Buffalo Meat was a Cheyenne who was born about 1848. At the time of his arrest, he was married and had one child. He was not accused of a specific crime. At Fort Marion, he was an artist, and he made a price list of items which the Indians could purchase in St. Augustine with the proceeds of their work. After his return to the reservation, Buffalo Meat worked as a policeman, millhand, laborer, commissary worker, and teamster. He became a very prominent man, participating in delegations to Washington and as Deacon of his Baptist church. He was recognised as a chief of the Cheyennes, and he was leader of a dance society. He had only one wife at a time, although he was married twice. His children were educated, and his son Raymond was cited as a very progressive Indian by the agent. His daughter Leila Jones attended Carlsle from 1882 to 1884. In his old age, Buffalo Meat leased his allotment. He died in 1917. (Smithsonian prisoner list, #22. C&A Census, 1878-1918; C&A Employees, 1878-1889; C&A Frieght and Transportation, 1883-1889; C&A Police, 1878; C&A Indian Dances File, 1907; C&A Churches File, especially 1905; C&A Indian Improvement File.

OHSIA. C&A Allotment File #444, Concho. Petersen, 1971: 228.)

"Buzzard"

Buzzard, Cheyenne, was born about 1856. He was unmarried at the time of his arrest in 1875 and was arrested arbitrarily. At Fort Marion, he is known to have been an artist. Buzzard attended Hampton Institute as the protege of Mrs. Howard Charlton and Mrs. Sara Charlton, and he took the name Howard Charlton in their honor. He was baptised at Hampton in March, 1879. Buzzard transferred to Carlisle in 1879 and returned to Indian Territory in January, 1880, where he died almost immediately. (Smithsonian list, #23. Petersen, 1971: 232-33. C&A Census, 1880; Pratt to Miles, 1/20/80, C&A Indian Prisoners File, OHSIA.)

"Chief Killer"

The Cheyenne Chief Killer was born about 1850 and was married at the time of his arrest in 1875. He was accused of murder and kidnapping. At Fort Marion, he was an artist. Back on the reservation after 1878, Chief Killer worked as a laborer, herder, butcher, and brickmaker in the early 1880's, but after the mid 1880's, he did only occassional freighting. Most of his life, he lived among the conservatives near Cantonment. Chief Killer's daughter Maud went to Carlisle in 1887, and his other children were

educated. Chief Killer was often in debt in his later years, and he had to sell his inherited land in order to raise cash. There is no evidence that he was an active farmer. His step-father was the prisoner Medicine Water. He died in 1922. (Smithsonian list. Petersen, 1971: 234. C&A Census, 1878-1910; C&A Per Capita File, 1897; C&A Police File, 1878; C&A Employees, 1878-1889; C&A Freight and Transportation, 1880- 1888; C&A Allotment Schedule; OHSIA. C&A Allotment and Estate Records, Concho. C&A Cantonment Files, Individual Indians, Chief Killer, Old Coffee Woman, Naomi Chief Killer, OHSIA.)

"Cohoe"

Cohoe was a Cheyenne born about 1854. He was arrested for murder in 1875, when he was already married. His wife's sister's husband was Little Chief, another prisoner. At Fort Marion, Cohoe was an artist. Cohoe attended Hampton, where he was baptised "Cohoe" in March, 1879. He transferred to Carlisle in 1879 and returned to his reservation in March, 1880. At Darlington, he worked variously as a millhand, teamster, baker, brickmaker, butcher, and scout. He went to work as a store clerk for a local trader, and worked in that capacity for six years. He served as a scout in 1885. During the 1890's, he began farming, and he farmed for the rest of his life. Cohoe used the given name William during this period. Although he was

a progressive, he took his allotment near Cantonment, and he had two wives for a time. Cohoe became a very prominent man, serving on at least one delegation to Washington and as head of the War Dancers' Society. He was listed on the Cheyenne Honor Roll in 1907. At his death in 1924, he left his allotment and \$2,210 in property. His children were educated. (Record of Graduates and Returned Students, 12/15/1910, Carlisle Student Records, NA. A Cheyenne Sketchbook by Cohoe, commentary by E. Adamson Hoebel and Karen Daniels Petersen, 1964. Smithsonian list, #8. Pratt to Miles, 1/20/80, C&A Indian Prisoners File; C&A Scouts, 1885, 1887; C&A Employees, 1880, 1881, 1882; C&A Freight and Transportation, 1884; C&A Census, 1878-1909; Miscellaneous Cantonment Records, 1907, List of Cheyenne males; C&A Estates, 1908; OHSIA. Cheyenne Allotment File #1936, Concho.)

"Cometsevah"

Cometsevah was a Cheyenne born about 1828. His brother was Medicine Water. At the time of his arrest in 1875, he was married and had four children. He was not charged with a specific crime. He was not present on the list of returned prisoners in 1878, but apparently served as a policeman in 1878. It is likely that Cometsevah died in 1878 or 1879 and that his nephew assumed his name in his honor. (Smithsonian list, #14. C&A Police File, 1878,

OHSIA. C&A Allotment File #788, Concho.)

"Etahdleuh"

Etahdleuh Doanmoe was the Kiowa prisoner who achieved the position of Pratt's favorite. He was born about 1857 and was a Mexican captive of the Kiowa. At the time of his arrest, accused of raiding with Lone Wolf, he was an unmarried youth. At Fort Marion, he was an artist, an archery instructor, and Pratt's quartermaster sergeant. He was an avid student of both English and Christianity. He was a popular entertainer at local "entertainments." Etahdleuh went to Hampton in 1878 and was baptised in March, 1879. In the same year, he made a recruiting trip for Pratt's new school at Carlisle, and he transferred to Carlisle in October. In 1880, he worked at the Smithsonian Institute. In 1881, he served as Pratt's disciplinarian at a salary of \$35 per month, including clothing and board. At Hampton and Carlisle, his patron was Mrs. Quincy Shaw of Boston. In 1882, Etahdleuh married his sweetheart Laura, a Kiowa student he had recruited, in an elaborate ceremony at Carlisle. He made two brief attempts to return to his reservation in 1882-3 and 1887, working as an interpreter, school helper, and farmer, but he returned to Carlisle each time because of ill health. He returned to Anadarko for the last time in 1888 to work as a Presbyterian minister. He died suddenly in April, 1888, after other Kiowas warned him

that his activities in behalf of civilization were unacceptable. His funeral, at which women practiced self-mutilation and animals and property were destroyed, enraged the local missionary who wrote Pratt to report it. Pratt protested this "savage" practice to the agent. Etahdleuh's widow returned to Carlisle for another year with their son who had been born at the school. Later in her life, she married a White man, William Pedrick. Her brother, Chief Apiatone, visited the prophet Wovoka during the Ghost Dance craze, and returned to denounce the new religion. (Smithsonian list, #47. Petersen, 1971: 135-159. Carlisle Student Records, #1359, NA. Interview with J.J. Methvin, Indian Pioneer History, Vol. 36: 112-116, 100-101, Grant Foreman Collection, OHSIA. Various correspondence, Kiowa Carlisle File, OHSIA, especially Methvin to Pratt, 4/22/88, and Pratt to CIA 4/30/88.)

"Howling Wolf"

Howling Wolf was a Cheyenne, the son of chief Minimic, born about 1855. At the time of his arbitrary arrest in 1875, he was married and had one child. At Fort Marion, he was an artist and participated in the classes, the militia, and various entertainments. He was a popular figure with the tourists. He developed an eye disease and was taken to Baltimore for treatment, returning dressed as a dandy and wearing blue spectacles. After his return to his

reservation, Howling Wolf worked as a policeman and school assistant briefly, and tried to farm in the early 1880's. He hauled freight occasionally during the 1880's, but rejected the White Man's Road to become a leader of the extremely conservative Dog Soldiers. In 1881, he was alleged to have raped an Indian woman. He lived in the conservative area near Cantonment, and received his allotment there. In 1893, he allegedly raped a White girl, and after an escape from jail, went into exile among the Kiowa. He stayed on the Kiowa reservation until about 1901, when he returned to the Cheyenne area. Apparently he began farming about that time, although remaining a conservative. He sponsored frequent dances and was described as a "notorious kicker" by the agent in 1918. He belonged to dance societies and to the peyote religion. After 1901, his children of school age were educated. Howling Wolf died in an automobile accident in 1927, leaving an estate valued at \$4500, including his allotment. Despite his conservatism, he was listed on the Cheyenne Honor Roll in 1907. (Smithsonian list, #17. Petersen, Howling Wolf, 1968. Cheyenne Allotment File #2102, Concho. El Reno Daily Herald, 4/22/94. Cheyenne Transporter, 6/10/81. C&A Census, 1878-7909; C&A Scouts, 1885; C&A Farmers, 1921 and Report of Jay Johnson, Cantonment, 5/25/27; C&A Cantonment Miscellaneous Files, 1907; C&A Dances, 1900, 1918; C&A Freight and Transportation, 1878-1888. OHSIA.)

"Koba"

Koba was a Kiowa born about 1849. He was unmarried at the time of his arrest in 1875, when he was accused of raiding with Mahmante and of attacking the Wichita Agency. At Fort Marion, he was an artist. He attended Hampton, and he was baptised in March, 1879. With the other students, he worked on a farm at Lee, Massachusetts, in 1879, and transferred to Carlisle in October. He returned to his reservation in September, 1880. He died on the reservation September 24, 1880, of tuberculosis. He had been considered a model student. (Smithsonian list. Pratt to Adjutant General, 7/19/75, PP. Petersen, 1971: 129-32.)

"Koho"

Koho was a Kiowa Mexican captive born about 1850. At the time of his arrest in 1875, he was married. He was accused of various raids with Lone Wolf and Mahmante. Nothing is known of his activities at Fort Marion. Koho never worked at the Kiowa-Comanche agency and was not listed among those the agent described as "doing well" in 1879. He received some non-agricultural issues in 1889, and refused to accept his share of the grass money in 1888 and 1889. Nothing else is known about his life or activities. (Smithsonian list, #56. Kiowa Census, 1879-93; Kiowa Issues File, 1889; Kiowa Per Capita File, 1888, 1889.)

"Left Hand"

Left Hand was a Cheyenne born about 1845. He had no family at the time of his arrest in 1875. He was accused of at least two murders. After his return from Fort Marion, he worked at the agency as a policeman from 1878 until 1882. He hauled freight occasionally during the 1880's, and he was a scout in 1885. He had two wives by 1881, and was also a band head. The records are inconclusive about his activities after about 1885. There are several Cheyenne Left Hand's and the important Arapaho chief Left Hand appears in the records prominently. Therefore, no determination about family or date of death is possible. (Smithsonian list. C&A Police File, 1878-1882; C&A Employees File, 1880-1885; C&A Census, 1881-1885; C&A Scouts File, 1885; C&A Freight and Transportation File, 1879-1886. OHSIA.)

"Little Chief"

Little Chief was a Cheyenne born about 1855. He was arrested arbitrarily in 1875. At Fort Marion, he was an artist. He attended Hampton as a Bishop Whipple protege. With several other students, he worked on a farm at Lee, Massachusetts, in 1879, and transferred to Carlisle. He returned to his reservation in January, 1880. On the reservation, he worked for four years as the medical assistant, and for the rest of his life he was often called

Dr. William Little Chief. He was also a policeman from 1880 until 1893. He served as a scout in 1885, 1887, 1888, a farmer and stock raiser. He took his allotment near Seger Colony. Little Chief became a Christian, and at various times belonged to the Dutch Reformed, Episcopal, and Mennonite churches. He donated money to his church congregations. He became a leading example of civilization and was cited first in a list of eminent Indians in 1909 and as a leading opponent of alcohol in 1914. Despite his progressivism, Little Chief belonged to the War Dancers' Society, and he held the "last" Sun Dance in 1907. (Smithsonian list, #20. Petersen, 1971: 236. C&A Allotment File #881, Concho. C&A Census, 1878-1909; C&A Per Capita File, 1885; C&A Indian Improvement File, Application for trust fund; Report, Ben Miles, Asst. Farmer, 5/31/1909, C&A Farmers File; C&A Churches, various; C&A Vices, 5/1/1914. Report of Returned Cheyenne and Arapaho Students, PP. Carlisle Student Records, NA. The Weekly Times Journal, Oklahoma City, 8/23/1907. The Daily Oklahoman, 9/1/1907.)

"Little Medicine"

Little Medicine was a Cheyenne born about 1842. At the time of his arbitrary arrest in 1875, he was married and had three children. His son was Making Medicine (who became David Pendleton.) Pratt argued for his release from Fort Marion in 1877. On his return to Indian Territory, he

served as Captain of the Indian police force from 1878 until 1882 when he was fired. Notations in the record books indicate that he may have been released because he had two wives. Throughout the 1880's and early 1890's, he was a band head, and he became an important leader of the conservative Dog Soldiers. Despite his conservatism, he moved to the Seger Colony area about 1888, and he took his allotment there. He did not farm, however, and at the time of his death in 1893, he was not living on his land. (Smithsonian list, #15. C&A Allotment File #189, Concho. Agent's Annual Report, 1889. C&A Census, 1878-1894; C&A Police File, 1878-1882; Pratt to Miles, 4/5/77, C&A Indian Prisoners File. OHSIA.)

"Lone Wolf"

Lone Wolf was a noted war leader of the Kiowa, born about 1822. Before the Red River War, he had already had a long career as a raider and warrior. At Fort Marion, he was not cooperative, refusing to participate in tourist activities and appearing depressed. He helped to plan the Kiowa escape attempt, and was punished by being placed in shackles and being held in solitary confinement. Pratt tried on one occasion to encourage him by taking him to a restaurant in St. Augustine to eat oysters. Pratt did not believe that he should be released from prison, however. On his return to the Kiowa-Comanche reservation, Lone Wolf left

the agency and went to the Mount Scott area. He died there in 1879 and was secretly buried. (Smithsonian list. Pratt, 1964: 147-53, 119, 125, 137. Petersen, 1971: 95, 125. Corwin, : 163-180.)

"Long Back"

Long Back was a Cheyenne born about 1824. At the time of his arrest, he was married. He was accused of the kidnap and rape of the Germain sisters, a key incident in the Red River War. At Fort Marion, Pratt argued against his release, describing him as a "bad Indian." On his return to his reservation, he never worked at the agency, and he had two wives by 1882. Apparently, he immediately resumed a traditional lifestyle, but in 1883, he wrote Pratt asking to buy a pony harness from Carlisle. He died about 1884. (Smithsonian list. Pratt to Adjutant General, 12/4/1878, WD, AGO, APC File, 6238, 1878, NA. C&A Census, 1878-1882, OHSIA. Pratt to CIA, 1/2/84, Carlisle Records, NA.)

"Making Medicine"

Making Medicine was a Cheyenne born about 1845. At the time of his arbitrary arrest in 1875, he was married and had a child. At Fort Marion, he was a prolific artist, and he served as first sergeant of the Indian Militia. He taught archery to the children of a Mrs. Larocque. By 1878, he could understand English. He attended school in New York

as the protege of Mrs. George Hunt Pendleton, wife of the senator from Ohio who later proposed the bill which created Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Making Medicine changed his name to David Pendleton in their honor. He recruited for Carlisle in 1879, returning with his own wife and child. He was baptised October 6, 1878, and confirmed October 20, 1878, and he was ordained deacon June 7, 1881. He returned to the reservation in June, 1881, and embarked on a life-long mission, helping to establish the mission at Whirlwind, Oklahoma. He sent his nephew to Carlisle in 1881, and he educated his children. He was described in 1889 as a "faithful and good man," and he lived out his life as a pious Christian minister. (Smithsonian list, #12. Miles to Pratt, 3/9/81, PP. Pratt to Mrs. Caruthers, 1/6/78, PP. Pratt, 1964: 183. Petersen, 1971: 138, 144, 146, 225-26, 179, 187-88, 189. Cheyenne Allotment File, #522, Concho. Cheyenne Transporter, 6/25/81 and 9/24/81. C&A Census, 1881-1909; C&A Churches File.)

"Matches"

Matches was a Cheyenne born about 1857. He was arrested arbitrarily in 1875. His father was probably Lean Bear, another Fort Marion prisoner. He attended Hampton, and later Carlisle, as a Bishop Whipple protege. He returned to Indian Territory in September, 1880, where he worked as an agency employee in the early 1880's, especially

as a carpenter, the trade he had studied. He was described as "thoroughly reformed, works hard," in 1880, and in that year he was married in a ceremony at the Arapaho Mission. In 1881, he toured with Pratt. Two of his brothers attended Carlisle, and his children were educated. His son Charles was christened in a religious service in 1881. Most of his life he used the name Walter. He apparently died about 1888: his wife appeared alone on the census after that time. (Smithsonian list. Carlisle Student Records, Report of Returned Students, NA. Mooney Prisoner List, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian. Cheyenne Transporter, 10/25/80, 11/10/80, 9/10/81. C&A Census, 1878-1894; Employees File, 1878-1888; C&A Freight and Transportation File, 1880-1888, OHSIA. Petersen, 1971: 132, 164.)

"Maukopeh"

Maukopeh was a Kiowa, born about 1856, who was accused of raiding and horse theft at the time of his arrest in 1875. He was married and had one child at that time. He apparently began farming on his return to Indian Territory in 1878; he was among those "doing well" in 1879. However, he vanished from the records about 1880, and probably died about that time. In 1880, two members of his band were attending Carlisle. (Smithsonian list, #54. Kiowa-Comanche Family Record Book, Families # 161, 714, Anadarko. Kiowa

Census, 1878-1885; Hunt to Pratt, 2/12/79, KA 8, Vol. 7, LS, KCA, OHSIA.)

"Medicine Water"

Medicine Water was a Cheyenne born about 1837. He was the most notorious warrior arrested among the Cheyennes sent to Fort Marion, and was accused of several incidents of murder and kidnapping. His wife, Mochi, was also accused of murder and accompanied him to prison. After his release in 1878, Pratt commented that he was a "bad Indian" who should not have been freed. After his return to Indian Territory, Medicine Water worked as a policeman until 1880, and he infrequently hauled freight until 1886. He moved to the Cantonment area and took his allotment there, living in a band with Henry Roman Nose. He never farmed, and he was a band head during the 1880's. He lived by collecting annuities during the 1890's, and after 1905, he leased his allotment and lived with his daughter. His daughter Elva attended Carlisle from 1886-89, and another member of his band, Chester A. Arthur, attended in 1887. At his death in 1924, Medicine Water left \$145 in cash and his allotment to his heirs. (Smithsonian list, #4. C&A Census, 1878-1909; C&A Cattle, Pasture, and Grazing File, 7/20/1905; C&A Police File, 1878-1880; C&A Freight and Transportation, 1879-1887; Cantonment Farmers' Reports, 1921, 23; C&A Census, Cantonment, 1907-1914; C&A Allotment Schedule, 1890, OHSIA.

Pratt to AG, 12/4/78, WD, AGO, APC File, 6238, 1878; C&A Annuity Rolls, 1890-1899, NA. C&A Allotment File, #1878, Concho.)

"Minimic"

Minimic was a noted chief of the Cheyenne who was born about 1827. His son was Howling Wolf, another prisoner. Before his arrest in 1875, he was a member of the peace faction, and he was arrested arbitrarily essentially as a hostage for the good behavior of his people. At Fort Marion, he was a favorite of Pratt's, and he visited Pratt's home frequently. He encouraged the younger men to participate in classes and to cooperate with Pratt's programs. He spoke at prayer meetings, and he appealed for the release of the prisoners, promising correct behavior. He was converted to Christianity at the fort, and learned to speak English. In visitors' accounts, he was a recurrent example of the good of Pratt's work. On his release, he began a wood cutting and hauling business which he maintained until his death in 1881. He continued to attend church and to call for his friends and relatives to become civilized. (Smithsonian list, #3. Pratt, 1964: 148-49, 159, 164-66. Hoyg, 1980: 157-161. Pratt to Miles, 4/5/7, C&A Indian Prisoners File, OHSIA. C&A Census, 1878-1880, OHSIA. Cheyenne Transporter, 5/25/1881.)

"Nocomista"

Nocomista was a Cheyenne born about 1844. He was accused of murder at the time of his arrest in 1875. He was said to be a Northern Cheyenne. At Fort Marion, he participated in special entertainments, including a mock buffalo hunt. Upon his return to Indian Territory, he worked as a policeman in 1878 and 1879, and as a laborer in 1879 and 1881. He was a mill hand in 1880. About 1882, he moved to the Cantonment area where he eventually received his allotment. He had three wives in the mid-1880's, and two by late in the decade. He was never a farmer, and he had to sell his deceased son's land in 1917. When he died about 1917, he left a small (\$8.36) debt to a local trader. (Smithsonian list. C&A Census, 1878-1899; Cantonment Census, 1909-1914; Cantonment Allotment Sale Records, 1971; C&A Allotment Schedule, 1891; C&A Police, 1878, C&A Employees File, 1879; C&A Estates, 8/23/1907, F.C. Staley to Byron White, Supt. OHSIA. Petersen, 1971: 124.)

"Ohettoint"

Ohettoint was a Kiowa Mexican captive born about 1853. He was accused of various raids with Mahmante and Lone Wolf at the time of his arrest. At Fort Marion, he was a prolific artist. He studied under the direction of Mrs. George Couper Gibbs, who named him Charles. He attended Hampton as the protege of Mrs. Annie S. Larocque. At

Hampton, he was baptised in March, 1879, and he went with some of the other students to meet the President of the United States. Ohettoint was No. 1 on the Carlisle Student Records. He recruited for the school in 1879. He departed for his reservation in June of 1880. In Indian Territory, Ohettoint worked as a teacher and school recruiter, a clerk for the agency, the assistant carpenter, and a policeman. During his periods of unemployment, he hauled freight. Before allotment, he became a farmer and stock raiser. He took his allotment near the agency at Anadarko. All of his children were educated in agency schools, and his brother attended Carlisle. He had two wives, one of whom was the ex-wife of the prisoner Zotom. He was greatly respected by his fellow Kiowas, participating in dances and the peyote religion. He died in 1934. (Smithsonian list, #46. Kiowa Allotment File #82, Anadarko. Carlisle Student Records, Ohettoint, Report on Returned Student, 1914, NA. Kiowa Census, 1878-1893; Pratt to Hunt, 5/5/80, Kiowa Carlisle Indian School File; Kiowa Employees File, 1882-1887; Kiowa Police File, 1890-1902; Kiowa Day School, Quarterly Reports, 1897-98; Kiowa Issues, 1883-1890. OHSIA. Petersen, 1971: 161-170.)

"Onkoeht"

Onkoeht was a Kiowa Mexican captive who was born about 1849. He was one of the warriors in Mahmante's band.

Upon his return to his agency in 1878, he worked as a laborer under the name of Martin for a brief period. He then apparently began farming and was listed among those doing well in 1879. (Aunkaht) By 1890, he had an eighteen acre farm near that of another ex-prisoner, Beahko. His activities until his death are very obscure after the early 1890's, as there are several Martins and men with names similar to Onkoeht. It is clear that he died in 1931, however. (Smithsonian list, #45. Hunt to Pratt, 2/12/79, KA 8, Vol. 7, LS, KCA; Kiowa Employees File, 1878; Report of Wm. Wyatt, 6/28/90, Kiowa Farmers File; Kiowa Census, 1879-1909. OHSIA. Kiowa Allotment File #323 (Aunkoy), Anadarko.)

"Packer"

Packer was an Arapaho born about 1851. At the time of his arrest, accused of the murder of an agency employee, he was married and had a child. At Fort Marion, he was an artist, and Pratt called him "one of the best I have." On his reservation after his release, he worked as a policeman during the early 1880's and as a laborer. He left the agency to live among other Arapahos near Seger Colony, and he took his allotment there. He had two wives during the mid-1880's, and may have had three by the end of the decade. One of his children attended school in 1881, and a child from his band attended Lawrence Institute in 1884. He died

in 1893. (Smithsonian list. Cheyenne Allotment File #266, Concho. Petersen, 1971: 240. Pratt to Covington, 9/14/75, C&A Indian Prisoners File; C&A Employees File, 1878-1881; C&A Police File, 1879-1885; C&A Freight and Transportation File, 1881; C&A Census, 1878-1899. OHSIA.)

"Pautausape"

Pautausape, Bull with Holes in his Ears, was a Kiowa Mexican captive born about 1832. At the time of his arrest in 1875, he was married and had a son. He was one of Mahmante's warriors. After his release from Fort Marion, he was an enthusiastic wage laborer, working as commissary watchman, brickmaker, lumber mill hand, wood cutter, and laborer. He also did freighting. In the 1890's, he sharecropped his farm (which he had begun in the 1880's) to work as a school assistant. He usually lived in a house, and paid for a new one himself in 1898. His children attended school. Late in his life, he leased all but forty acres of his allotment. He died in 1908. (Smithsonian list, #57. Kiowa Allotment or Estate Records, Anadarko. Kiowa Family Record Book, #'s 1879, 278, Anadarko. Kiowa Employees File, 1878-1890; Kiowa Freight and Transportation File, 1880-1895; Kiowa Washita School Records, 6/30/96; Kiowa Patents, Receipts, 2/9/1903; Kiowa Leases, 1901-1906, #248; Kiowa Cache Creek School Records; Kiowa Indian Houses, 12/17/98 and 6/8//1902; Kiowa Medicine Men, 1/30/96; Hunt to

Miss S.H. Mather, 2/17/80, KA 9, Vol. 8, LS; Hunt to Pratt, 2/12/79, KA8, Vol 7., LS, KCA. OHSIA.)

"Pavoorite"

Pavoorite was a Comanche Mexican captive who was born about 1835. He was accused of horsetheft and threats of murder when he was arrested. There is some confusion about whether Pavoorite survived Fort Marion. If he did so, he died almost immediately upon his release. (Smithsonian list, #72. He appears in no agency records.)

"Pedro"

Pedro was a Kiowa born about 1829. He, too, was a Mexican captive who was a warrior with Mahmante. At Fort Marion, Pratt described him as handy, and he helped in treating an imagined illness of Zotom's. After his release, he immediately began a farm, and he had twenty acres in cultivation by 1890. A house was built for him in 1879, but he apparently did not live in it: he accepted tent duck in his annual issues. He was widowed in the 1880's, and remarried about 1900. His new daughter attended Methvin Institute. Pedro died in 1920. (Smithsonian list, #59. Kiowa Allotment File #679, Anadarko. Petersen, 1971: 174. Kiowa Census, 1879-1905; Kiowa Employees File, 1878-1890; M. Farris, Report, 6/28/1890, Kiowa Farmers File; Kiowa Issues Files, 1880's; Hunt to Miss S.H. Mather, 2/17/80,

KA9, Vol. 8, LS. OHSIA.)

"Pe-eh-chip"

Pe-eh-chip was a Comanche who was born about 1852. He was described as an outcast who had shot his father and had been on the warpath ever since. His brother was Tischecoddy, another prisoner. Taawayite was his nephew. On his return from Fort Marion, he worked briefly as a policeman (1879), but soon left the agency. He had two wives by 1880 and three by 1883. He gave one of these to Tischecoddy in 1885. He may have died in 1885 or 1886, although a man with a similar name and of the right age lived until 1912. (Smithsonian list, #69. Kiowa Allotment File, #1583, Anadarko. Kiowa Issues File, 6/30/79; Kiowa Farmers, Report, 6/28/1890; Kiowa Census, 1879-1888; Kiowa Indian Houses, 6/24/98. OHSIA.)

"Quoyouh"

Quoyouh was a Comanche born about 1831. At the time of his arrest he was married and had one child. At Fort Marion, he taught Comanche to Mason Pratt, Pratt's son, and he participated in such entertainments as the mock buffalo hunt. Back on his reservation, he worked as a policeman from 1879 until the 1890's, was a scout from 1883 until 1887, and he started a farm near the old agency at Fort Sill. He received that land as his allotment. He wrote

Pratt for help in building a new house in 1899, and he handled his own correspondence when his allotment was challenged in 1901. He sharecropped his land in the 1890's. He died in 1909. (Smithsonian list. Kiowa Allotment File, #2309, Anadarko. Petersen, 1971: 123-24. Speech by Pratt, Mrs. Pratt Scrapbooks, PP. Kiowa Census, 1879-1909; Kiowa Issues, 1882; Kiowa Freight and Transportation File, 1880; Hunt to Pratt, 2/12/79, KA 8, Vol. 7, LS; Kiowa Indian Houses File, 12/23/1899; Kiowa Allotments File, 1901-02. OHSIA.)

"Rising Bull"

Rising Bull was a Cheyenne who was born about 1857. At the time of his arrest for murder in 1875, he was married and had one child. After his return to Indian Territory in 1878, he worked as a policeman in 1878 and 1879, when he was fired. He went to the Cantonment area where he remained the rest of his life. Nothing is known of his activities until his death in 1903. (Smithsonian list. C&A Allotment and Estate Records, Concho. C&A Employees and Police Files, 1878-1880, NA. C&A Freight and Transportation File, 1879-1888; C&A Census, 1878-1888; C&A Per Capita File, 1897. OHSIA.)

"Roman Nose"

Roman Nose was a Cheyenne born about 1856. He was

arrested arbitrarily in 1875. At Fort Marion, he was an artist. He attended Hampton as the protege of Mrs. Horace Caruthers after the Caruthers decided not to keep him at Tarrytown, New York. He was baptised Henry Caruthers in March, 1879. He transferred to Carlisle in October, 1879, and recruited for the school. At Carlisle, he studied tinning, and after an unsatisfying stay on his reservation from 1881 to 1883, he returned for additional study. On his reservation, he worked as a laborer, sawmill hand, policeman, herder, and scout. Late in the 1880's, he left the agency permanently, and moved to a farm, where he remained the rest of his life. Much of his income derived from leases of his land to the Roman Nose Gypsum Company. Roman Nose became a prominent man, rising to be Chief of the Southern Cheyennes. He participated in several delegations to Washington, and he wrote many letters in behalf of his people. He belonged to the peyote religion, and died at one of its services in 1917. His son Jonathan was educated. Roman Nose complained of his poverty to Pratt several times, declining to visit Carlisle because of lack of funds. At his death, he left \$4.17 in the bank. For most of his life, he had two wives. (Smithsonian list, #17. Cheyenne Allotment File, #2071, Concho. C&A Census, 1881-1909; C&A Employees File, 1882-1889; C&A Scouts File, 1885; C&A Cattle, Pastures, and Grazing File, 7/20/1905; C&A Indian Dances File, 1919; C&A Federal Relations File, 4/10/1923.

OHSIA. Daily Oklahoman, 4/18/1915. Carlisle Student Records, NA. C&A Cantonment Individual Indian Files, Henry Roman Nose, OHSIA. Petersen, 1971: 242. Petersen, 1964: 458-478.)

"Sa-a-mi-a-da"

Sa-a-mi-a-da was a Kiowa who was born about 1829. He was accused of murder when he was arrested. At Fort Marion, he requested that Woman's Heart's wife bring him a wife if and when the families of the prisoners were sent to join them. He was on the list of returning prisoners in 1878, but he immediately disappeared from all further records. (Smithsonian list. Pratt, 1964. Hunt to CIA, KA7, Vol. 5, LS, KCA, OHSIA.)

"Shave Head"

Shave Head was a Cheyenne born about 1855 who was arrested arbitrarily in 1875. He was an artist at Fort Marion. He received religious education at Paris Hill, New York, as a protege of the Central New York Episcopal Diocese. He was baptised John Wicks October 6, 1878, and confirmed October 20. He left for his reservation in September, 1880, because of his illness, and he died there November 10 of tuberculosis. (Smithsonian list, #16. Petersen, 1971: 132, 176, 177-78, 244. Pratt to CIA, 4/23/78, PP. Cheyenne Transporter, 11/26/80.)

"Soaring Eagle"

Soaring Eagle was a Cheyenne who was born about 1852. He was accused of murder at the time of his arrest. At Fort Marion, he was an artist, a participant in church and English classes, and a gardener. He attended Hampton as a Bishop Whipple protege. He did not finish his course of study and left for his reservation in October of 1879. There he worked as a policeman until 1881, when he was fired. He left the agency and lived in the Cantonment area. He died in 1887. (Smithsonian list, #24. Petersen, 1971: 246-47. C&A Census, 1879-1887; Pratt to Miles, 1/3/76, C&A Indian Prisoners File. OHSIA. C&A Police, NA. Pratt to Adj. General, 7/19/1875 and Pratt to CIA, 4/23/78, PP.)

"Sogauser"

Sogauser was a Kiowa born about 1815. He was arrested for murder in 1875. At Fort Marion, he participated in the Kiowa escape attempt, and Pratt argued against his release. The records are unclear about his actual return, and he did not appear in any agency records after 1878. (Smithsonian list. Petersen, 1971: 119, 125.)

"Squint Eyes"

Squint Eyes, Tichkematse, was a Cheyenne born about 1858. He was arrested arbitrarily in 1875. At Fort Marion, he was an artist. He attended Hampton as a protege of Mrs.

A.E. Psrall. He was among a delegation of students who visited the President. In 1879, he went to work for the Smithsonian Institution, serving as a guide, taxidermist, and collector. After his return to his reservation in 1880, he made an expedition to Arizona for the Smithsonian. On the reservation, he worked briefly as a laborer, and he was a scout for most of the 1880's. He received his allotment near Cantonment, but was #29--very early. After his wife's death in 1891, he moved to the Montana reservation of the Northern Cheyenne. There he was a policeman and member of the U.S. Cavalry. He farmed lands in Montana. His brother, Rutherford B. Hayes, attended Carlisle. He was baptised a Mennonite in 1929. His estate records indicate attempts by his second wife to manipulate him to inherit his lands: she remarried a former husband three days after his death in 1932. His Oklahoma lands were always leased. (Smithsonian list, #19. Smithsonian Annual Report, 1881: 40. Cheyenne Allotment File #29, Concho. Pratt to CIA, 8/20/79, PP. C&A Employees, 1879-1889; C&A Allotments Records, Receipts for trust patents, 1903, NA. Carlisle Student Records, #93, NA. C&A Scouts, Fort Supply, 1885; C&A Census, 1885-1888; Pratt to Miles, 1/20/80, C&A Indian Prisoners File; C&A Per Capita File, 1894-1897; Cantonment Heirships, 1917: OHSIA. Petersen, 1971: 193-206. Cheyenne Transporter, 2/25/1882.)

"Star"

Star was a Cheyenne who was born about 1852. He was arbitrarily arrested in 1875. At Fort Marion, he became the head baker. Later in his life, he claimed to have attended Hampton Institute, although no record of that has been found. On the reservation, he worked as a policeman, laborer, fireman, and assistant carpenter. He was also the agency tinner. He served often as a scout in the late 1880's and into the 1890's. After allotment, he began to farm. In 1905, he travelled with Kennedy's XIT Ranch Wild West Show. Late in his life, he did not farm, but did various odd jobs. He leased his inherited land, but not his own. Star had two wives during the 1880's and 1890's. Some of his children attended school. He died in 1924. (Smithsonian list, #10. C&A Allotment File #2178, Concho. Pratt, 1964: 124. C&A Census, 1878-1909; C&A Police File, 1878,; C&A Employees File, 1885; C&A Farmers File, 1923; C&A Indian Lands, Cantonment Allotment Sale Records, 1915: OHSIA. C&A Employees, 1878-1889, NA. C&A Cantonment Indian Files, Star and Locust, OHSIA.)

"Taawayite"

Taawayite was a Comanche born about 1856. He was unmarried at the time of his arrest for horsetheft in 1875. He went to Paris Hill for religious education in 1878, and he transferred to Carlisle in 1880. He left for the

reservation in June, 1881, with the other missionary students to help found a mission for the Kiowa. He worked as a missionary with Zotom until Rev. Wicks left Anadarko in 1884. He then abandoned the work, working as a policeman in 1885-86. He left the agency and began a small farm. By 1910, he had a small house and substantial cash, as well as his allotment. Taawayite had only one wife at a time, and his children were educated. At his death in 1917, he left \$140 in the bank. (Smithsonian list, #68. Kiowa Allotment File #824, Anadarko. Petersen, 1971: 176-80, 184. Kiowa Police Rolls, NA. Carlisle Student Records, Reports of Returned Students, 1910, NA. Kiowa Census, 1885-1893; Kiowa Estates, 1917; Kiowa Issues File, 1881-1890; Kiowa Farmers File, Report, 6/28/90; Kiowa Police File, 1892; Pratt to Hunt, 5/5/80, Kiowa Carlisle Indian School File; Pratt to Adjutant General, 7/19/1875, Kiowa Indian Prisoners File. OHSIA. Wicks to Pratt, 3/21/82; "Rev. J.B. Wicks and His Work in the Territory," Morning Star, Vol, II, No. 9, PP.)

"Taneti"

Taneti was a Kiowa born about 1834 who was a noted warrior and leader at the time of his arrest in 1875. He had already been prison seven months when he was sent to Florida. Upon his release, he did not work for the agency, but did some freighting. He also began a farm, and by 1891 had fifteen acres cultivated and a herd of forty-five

horses. He did not live in a house. He was a band head in the 1880's. His agent described him as doing well in 1879. Although he accepted his share of the grass lease money in the late 1880's, he signed a protest of the Jerome Agreement for the allotment of the reservation. He had one wife, and several of his children were educated. He may have died about 1888, but a man with a nearly identical name and of the right age and residence lived until 1905. Because his land was sold, no allotment record exists which would permit verification. (Smithsonian list, #40. Kiowa-Comanche Family Record Book, #271, Anadarko. Kiowa Census, 1878-1900; Kiowa Freight and Transportation File, 1881-1888; Kiowa Farmers File, Report, 7/31/91; Kiowa Issues File, 1882-1890; Kiowa Patents, 1903; Hunt to Pratt, 2/12/79, KA 8, Vol. 7, LS; KA 48, Kiowa Councils, 10/17/92; Kiowa-Comanche Allotment or Estate Records. OHSIA.)

"Tischecoddy"

Tischecoddy was a Comanche, born about 1846, who was a member of Black Horse's band. He was accused of horsetheft and raiding when he was arrested in 1875. As soon as he returned from Fort Marion, he began a farm; by 1890, he had twelve acres in corn and a small herd of cattle--twenty head. He continued to expand his cattle herd, and in 1896 entered a partnership with the squaw man E.L. Clark to raise a much larger herd. Throughout the

1880's and 1890's, Tischecoddy had two wives. He had three in 1885, but one ran away. His attempts to get her back are recounted in Chapter 5. Tischecoddy took progressive positions on leasing the reservation and accepted his share of the lease money. His children were educated, mostly at the Fort Sill Boarding School. Tischecoddy, whose name meant Always Sitting Down in a Bad Place, died in 1913. (Smithsonian list, #70. Kiowa Allotment Schedule, 1891; Kiowa Census, 1879- 1909; Kiowa Deaths File, Report of Deaths, 1913; Kiowa Issues File, 1886-1889; Kiowa Farmers File, Report, 6/28/90; Kiowa Leases File, 1901-1906, #115; Kiowa Patents, Receipts, 1903; Kiowa Cache Creek School and Fort Sill Boarding School Files, 1890-1915; Hunt to Pratt, 2/12/79, KA 8, Vol. 7, LS; Kiowa Divorces File, 1895. OHSIA. Kiowa Allotment File #799, Anadarko.)

"Tonekeuh"

Tonekeuh was a Kiowa born about 1859 who was arrested for theft and raiding with Lone Wolf. He was an artist at Fort Marion. He attended Hampton as a protege of Bishop Whipple, and transferred to Carlisle in October, 1879. He left Carlisle in March, 1880, after having asked Pratt several times to allow him to go. He worked a few days at his agency in 1880, but quit, saying he was tired. (See Chapter 6.) His agent wrote his friend Ohettoint asking him to try to convince him to come back to the

agency. He never did. He lived for two years as a "camp Indian", and he died in June, 1882. (Smithsonian list, #52. Kiowa Census, 1880-1882; Kiowa Employees File, 3/31/80; Pratt to Hunt, 2/27/80, Kiowa Hampton File; Kiowa Issues File, 1881-1882. OHSIA. Petersen, 1971: 164-66, 248. Pratt to CIA, 4/23/78, PP.)

"Tsadletah"

Tsadletah was a Kiowa born about 1848. At the time of his arrest for various murders and raids, he was married and had a child. At Fort Marion, he was an artist. He attended Hampton in 1878 and 1879, and he was baptised in March, 1879. He became ill with tuberculosis on the Goodspeed farm, Lee, Massachusetts, in the summer of 1879 and died October 6 at the home of Alexander Hyde. He was buried at Lee. (Smithsonian list, #49. Petersen, 1971: 142, 250. Pratt to Adjutant General, 7/19/75, Kiowa Indian Prisoners File, OHSIA.)

"Tsaitkopeta"

Tsaitkopeta was a Kiowa born about 1853. He was accused of murder, theft, and horsetheft at the time of his arrest. At Fort Marion, he was an artist and made various crafts for sale. He went to Tarrytown to live in the home of Dr. Horace Caruthers for his education. He was baptised Paul Caruthers in 1879. At Tarrytown, Paul made crafts for

sale and made enough money to send some home to his family. He stayed for his full three year course, leaving for his reservation in July, 1882. At Anadarko, Paul worked variously as a wood cutter, government school employee, policeman, and scout. He was also an assistant to the Methodist minister J.J. Methvin. (See Chapter 6 for an account of the harassment he faced.) He also had a small farm. In the late 1880's Paul gave up his Christianity and belonged to the peyote religion. He had two wives, and many children, most of whom were educated. (The author counted at least eighteen.) Late in his life, Paul's health deteriorated--he had contracted tuberculosis in New York--and he did little farming, but he always was handy at the agency for witnessing documents or serving as a signatory. Tsaitkopeta was probably another of the Mexican captives represented in this group. He died in 1910. (Smithsonian list, #58. Petersen, 1971: 252, 263. Kiowa Allotment File #307, Anadarko. Carlisle Student Records, including Pratt to CIA, 5/30/81 NA. Kiowa Census, 1882-1910; Pratt to Adjutant General, 7/19/75, Kiowa Indian Prisoners File; Tsaitkopeta to Hunt, 12/17/79, Kiowa Indian Prisoners File; Indian Pioneer History, Vol. 36: 200-202; Kiowa Carlisle File, 3/13/1900, 6/22/1904, 2/12/1904; Kiowa Vices File, 3/21/86; Kiowa Farmers File, Report, 6/28/90. OHSIA. Pratt to CIA, 4/23/78 and Tsaitkopeta to Pratt, 12/16/81, PP. Miscellaneous documents, Kiowa Heirships File, Estates File,

etc., OHSIA.)

"White Bear"

White Bear was an Arapaho born about 1853. He was accused of the attempted murder of an agency employee at the time of his arrest, and he was married in 1875. At Fort Marion, he participated in the entertainments for visitors, including the mock buffalo hunt. He was also an artist. He attended Hampton in 1878 and 1879 and transferred to Carlisle in October, 1879. He returned to his reservation in March, 1880. On the reservation, he became a farmer/stockraiser, and he also served as a scout. By 1885, he was living among the other farming Arapahos near Seger Colony. He sent a child to White Institute in 1884, and his daughter Kate attended Carlisle in 1882. His other children were also educated. He died in 1892. (Smithsonian list, #35. Petersen, 1971: 122-23, 164, 227, 254. Cheyenne Allotment File # 1540, Concho. C&A Census, 1880-1893; C&A Per Capita File, 1898; Pratt to Adjutant General, 7/19/75, Kiowa Indian Prisoners File. OHSIA.)

"White Horse"

White Horse was a well-known raider and warrior at the time of his arrest in 1875. He had two wives at the time. His brother-in-law was Mahmante, another prisoner. At Fort Marion, he was one of the principle leaders of the

Kiowa escape plan, and he was severely punished for his efforts. He nevertheless participated in the entertainments and was an artist. Back on his reservation, he began a very small farm late in the 1880's, having continued to raid early in the decade. His agent described him as having entirely reverted to Indian life. After 1890, the records are unclear about his activities, but it seems clear that he died in 1892. (Smithsonian list. Petersen, 1971: 111-. Kiowa Census, 1878- 1893. Kiowa Freight and Transportation File, 1879; Kiowa Farmers File, Report, 7/1/91; Kiowa Indian Houses File, 1/9/93. Agent's Annual Report, 1879, 1880.)

"White Man"

White Man was a Cheyenne born about 1854. At the time of his arrest in 1875, he was married and had a child. He was accused of murder. At Fort Marion, he was an artist. He attended Hampton and was baptised Ahsit in March, 1879. He transferred to Carlisle in October, 1879, and returned to his reservation in January, 1880. Back on his reservation, he worked as a laborer, teamster, and herder until the agent had to fire him for lack of funds. He then became a farmer and stock raiser. He lived near Cantonment, but always had only one wife at a time. His children were educated. He changed his name to Hail. In his old age, he lived by farming his wife's allotment and from lease income on his own land. He died in 1931. (Smithsonian list, #6.

Petersen, 1971: 256. Cheyenne Allotment File #1901, Concho. Pratt to Adjutant General, 7/19/75, Kiowa Indian Prisoners File; C&A Census, 1880-1914; C&A Freight and Transportation, 1880-1885; C&A Employees File, 1881; Pratt to Miles, 1/20/80, C&A Indian Prisoners File. OHSIA. Miles to Pratt, 2/16/84, PP. C&A Farmer's Report, 1923, OHSIA.)

"Wohaw"

Wohaw was a Kiowa (perhaps a Kiowa Apache) who was born about 1855. He was accused of murders at the time of his arrest and had a wife and a child. He was an artist at Fort Marion. In the first few years after his return from prison, he worked as a policeman and attended school, but by the early 1880's he left agency employment to found a small farm. In the 1890's, besides raising stock, he was a member of the cavalry. He usually lived in the Saddle Mountain area, a relatively conservative region, but he had a house built there and his children were educated. He accepted grass money in the late 1880's. As he grew older, he grew more conservative, participating in dance societies and the Ghost Dance and later joining the peyote religion. He stopped farming and leased his land. He lived with his son. Wohaw died in 1924. (Smithsonian list, #39. Petersen, 1971: 207-09. Kiowa Allotment File, #2537, Anadarko. Kiowa Census, 1878-1924; Kiowa Leases File, Record Book 1904-1906; Kiowa Police File, 1879-1881; Hunt to Pratt,

2/12/79, KA 8, Vol. 7, LS; Kiowa Freight and Transportation File, 1882; Kiowa Cattle, Pastures, and Grazing, 9/5/1892; Kiowa Councils, Lime Creek, 5/3/1895; Kiowa Farmers File, 9/15/1911; Kiowa Indian Houses File, 3/6/96. OHSIA.)

"Woman's Heart"

Woman's Heart was a Kiowa war chief well-known for his raiding before the Red River War. At the time of his arrest, he was married and had a son. At Fort Marion, he was described as depressed and withdrawn and was observed praying "in the Indian way." He participated in the Kiowa escape attempt, but because of his depression and apparent poor health he was not punished. He was released in April, 1877, at Pratt's urging and over the objections of General Hatch. Back on the reservation, he resumed his old raiding, leading a war party off the reservation in 1879. In 1882, he demanded that he and other chiefs be paid for children they might place in Carlisle and other schools, and Pratt responded with a bitter remark that he should have kept him in Florida. He probably died in 1882 or 1883. (Smithsonian list, #37. Kiowa Family Record Book, Family #16, Anadarko. Pratt, 1964: 158. Petersen, 1971: 119. Kiowa Chiefs File, 1878; Kiowa Census, 1879-1883; KA 8, Vol. 7, 4/1879--Reports of warparties off reservation; Pratt to Hunt, 8/2/1882, Kiowa Carlisle File. OHSIA.)

"Wyako"

Wyako was a Comanche Mexican captive who was a member of Black Horse's band . He was arrested for raiding and horsetheft. At Fort Marion, he was uncooperative and may have assisted the Kiowas in their escape attempt. He was punished for his threats and refusal to be searched. Back on his reservation, he never worked for the agency and apparently did not found a farm, although he received a few agricultural issues. He was married, but his sons died as children. He accepted the grass money in the late 1880's. He died in 1893. (Smithsonian list. Kiowa Census, 1878-1893; Kiowa Issues File, 1880-1890. OHSIA. Pratt, 1964: 149-51.)

"Zonekeuh"

Zonekeuh was a Kiowa who was born about 1858. At the time of his arrest, he was accused of various murders. At Fort Marion, he was an artist. He attended Hampton as protege of Dr. Horace Caruthers where he contracted tuberculosis. He was moved to Carlisle in March, 1880, and he died there in April. (Smithsonian list, #50. Petersen, 1971: 102, 258-59. Carlisle Student Records, NA. Pratt to CIA, 4/23/78; Tarrytown Argus, 4/27/78, PP.)

"Zopehe"

Zopehe was a Kiowa Mexican captive who was born

about 1832. At the time of his arrest, he was married and had two sons. He was accused of murder and raiding. He participated in the Kiowa escape attempt at Fort Marion. After his return to his reservation in 1878, he disappeared from all records and may have died. (Smithsonian list, #48. Pratt to Adjutant General, 7/19/75, Kiowa Indian Prisoners File; Hunt to Hoyt, 5/2/78, KA7, Vol. 5, LS; Hunt to Pratt, 2/12/79, KA8, Vol. 7, LS. OHSIA. Pratt, 1964.)

"Zotom"

Zotom was a Kiowa who was born about 1854. He was accused of raiding with Mahmante at the time of his arrest. At Fort Marion, he was at first insubordinate, but later became the post bugler. He danced in the various entertainments, studied in the classes, and was an artist. He went to Paris Hill to study religion with Rev. Wicks in 1878. He was baptised Paul Caryl in 1878 and ordained deacon in 1881. (See Chapter 6.) He left for the reservation to found a mission in 1881. (See also Taawayite, David Pendleton.) He was an active missionary until about 1885, when Rev. Wicks left Anadarko. Zotom then became a medicine man, and later a farmer. He experimented with the religions current among the Kiowa at the time, first the Ghost Dance, then the Baptist Church, and finally the peyote religion. He had problems with drunkenness and indebtedness during the 1890's. His

children were all educated, and his brothers Otto and Owen attended Carlisle. He was an informant for James Mooney. He died in 1913. (Smithsonian list, #44. Kiowa Allotment File, #1403. Petersen, 1971: 171-192. Kiowa Deaths File, 1913; Kiowa Census, 1881-1903; Kiowa Employees File, 1883, 1885; Kiowa Courts File, 1896, 1897; Kiowa Celebrations and Dances File, 10/31/98; Kiowa Farmers File, 6/28/90. OHSIA. Pratt, 1964: 137, 185-86, 188-89.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Materials

Anadarko Agency (Anadarko, Oklahoma)
 Kiowa and Comanche Allotment Files.
 Family Record Book.

Concho Agency (Concho, Oklahoma)
 Cheyenne and Arapaho Allotment Files.

Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis, Missouri)
 Indian Drawings by Wohaw.

Oklahoma Historical Society (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma):
 Indian Archives

Card Index.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Agents and Agency File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Allotments File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Annuities File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Cantonment Individual
 Indians File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Carlisle File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Census.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Churches File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Courts File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Deaths File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Employees File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Estates File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Fairs File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Farmers File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Federal Relations File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Field Matrons File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Foreign Relations File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Guardianship File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Hampton Institute File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Indian Dances File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Indian Houses File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Indian Improvement File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Indian Murders File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Indian Prisoners File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Issues File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, John H. Seger File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Land Sale File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Lawlessness File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Leases File.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letterbooks.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letterbooks, Cantonment.
 Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Per Capita File.
 Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Police File.
 Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Schools File.
 Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Scouts File.
 Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Vices File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Agents and Agency File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Allotments File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Annuities File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Blacksmith File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Carpenters File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Carlisle File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Cattle, Pastures and
 Grazing File
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Census.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Chiefs File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Churches File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Councils File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Dances File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Deaths File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Divorces File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Employees File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Estates File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Farmers File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Federal Relations File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Foreign Relations File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Guardianship File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Hides File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Indian Houses File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Indian Prisoners File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Issues File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Land Sales File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Leases File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Letterbooks.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Medicine Men File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Military Relations File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Patents File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Per Capita File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Police File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Scouts File.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Vices File.
 Grant Foreman Collection, Indian Pioneer History.

Smithsonian Institution:

Office of Anthropology Archives

Bureau of American Ethnology Collection

M.S. Field Notebooks of James Mooney.

Photograph collection.

National Archives:

Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs
 Carlisle Indian Industrial School Records.
 Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Classified Files.
 Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received.
 Indian Census Rolls, Cheyenne and Arapaho and
 Kiowa and Comanche Agencies.
 Kiowa and Comanche Agency, Classified Files.
 Statistics Division
 Record of Indian Police.
 Roster of Agency Employees.
 War Department
 Adjutant General's Office
 File 2815-1874.
 ACP File 6238-1878.

Yale University (New Haven, Connecticut), Beinecke Rare
 Book and Manuscript Library:

Western Americana
 General Richard Henry Pratt Papers.

Government Documents**1. Congressional**

Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. 1875-1905.

Senate Report: 39 Cong., 2 sess., No. 165.

2. General Documents

Congressional Record. 1875-1907.

Kappler, Charles J., comp. and ed. Indian Affairs: Laws and
 Treaties. Vol. II.

United States Statutes at Large. Vols. 15, 26, 31.

Newspapers

Argus, Tarrytown, New York.

Cheyenne Transporter, Darlington, Indian Territory.

Daily Herald, El Reno, Oklahoma.

Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Morning Star, Carlisle Indian School.

Weekly Times Journal, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Theses and Dissertations

Gilcreast, Everett A. "Richard Henry Pratt and American Indian Policy, 1877-1906: A Study of the Assimilation Movement" (Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1967).

Ryan, Carmelita S. "The History of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School" (Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, 1962).

Books and Articles

Barth, Fredrik. Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston, 1969.

Bennett, John W. Northern Plainsmen. Chicago, 1969.

Berthrong, Donald J. The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal: Reservation and Agency Life in the Indian Territory, 1875-1907. Norman, 1976.

----- . "Cattlemen on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation," Arizona and the West, Vol. XIII, No. I (Spring, 1971), 5-32.

----- . The Southern Cheyennes. Norman, 1963.

----- . "White Neighbors Come Among the Southern Cheyenne

and Arapaho," Kansas Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 4 (Fall, 1971), 105-15.

Blu, Karen I. The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People. Cambridge, 1980.

Braroe, Niels W. Indian and White: Self-Image and Inter-Action in a Canadian Plains Community. Stanford, 1975.

Broom, A. and Kitsuse. "The Validation of Acculturation." American Anthropologist, 57: 44-48.

Cohoe. A Cheyenne Sketchbook. Commentary by E. Adamson Hoebel and Karen Daniels Petersen. Norman, 1964.

Corwin, Hugh D. The Kiowa Indians: Their History and Life Stories. Lawton, 1958.

Dorsey, George A. The Arapaho Sun Dance: The Ceremony of the Offerings Lodge. Field Columbian Museum Publication No. 75, Anthropological Series, IV. (Chicago, 1903.)

----- The Cheyenne: The Sun Dance. Field Columbian Museum Publication No. 103, Anthropological Series. Vol. IX, No. 2. (Chicago, 1905.)

----- and Alfred L. Kroeber. Traditions of the Arapaho. Field Columbian Museum Publication No. 81, Anthropological Series. Vol.V. (Chicago, 1903.)

Dozier, Edward. "Forced and Permissive Acculturation." The American Indian, 7: 38-45.

Eastman, Elaine. Pratt, The Red Man's Moses. Norman, 1935.

Freed, S. "Suggested Type Societies in Acculturation Studies." American Anthropologist, 59: 55-60.

Fritz, Henry E. The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890. Philadelphia, 1963.

Grinnell, George Bird. The Cheyenne Indians. 2 vols. New York, 1962.

-----. By Cheyenne Campfires. New Haven, 1926.

Guillemin, Jeanne. Urban Renegades: The Cultural Strategy of American Indians. New York, 1975.

Hagan, William T. United States Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years. New Haven, 1976.

-----. "Kiwias, Comanches, and Cattlemen, 1867-1906: A Case Study of the Failure of U.S. Reservation Policy," Pacific Historical Review, XL (Aug. 1971), pp. 333-55.

-----. "Squaw Men on the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Reservation." In The Frontier Challenge, ed. by John G. Clark. Lawrence, 1971.

-----. Indian Police and Judges. New Haven, 1966.

-----. "Private Property, The Indian's Door to Civilization." Ethnohistory, III (Spring 1956), pp. 126-37.

Hallowell, A. Irving. Culture and Experience. Philadelphia, 1955.

Hicks, George and Philip E. Leis. Ethnic Encounters: Identities and Contexts. Belmont, California, 1977.

Hodge, Frederick W., ed. Handbook of Indians North of Mexico. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin No. 30. 2 Vols. Washington, 1910.

Hoebel, E. Adamson. The Cheyennes, Indians of the Great Plains. New York, 1960.

Hoyg, Stan. The Peace Chiefs of the Cheyenne. Norman, 1980.

Indian Rights Association, Annual Reports. Philadelphia, 1880-1900.

Jablow, Joseph. The Cheyenne in Plains Indian Trade Relations, 1795-1840. American Ethnological Society Monograph No. 19. New York, 1950.

Jones, David E. Sanapia: Comanche Medicine Woman. New York, 1972.

Jones, Douglas C. The Treaty of Medicine Lodge. Norman, 1966.

Kroeber, Alfred L. The Arapaho. American Museum of Natural History Bulletin 18, Vol. XIII. New York, 1902-07.

La Barre, Weston. The Peyote Cult. Hamden, Connecticut, 1964.

Leckie, William H. The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains. Norman, 1963.

Linton, Ralph, ed. Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes. New York, 1940.

Llewellyn, Karl N. and E. Adamson Hoebel. The Cheyenne Way. Norman, 1941.

Lowie, Robert H. "Societies of the Kiowa," American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. XI, Pt. II. New York, 1916.

Mardock, Robert W. The Reformers and the American Indian. Columbia, 1971.

Marriott, Alice. Saynday's People: The Kiowa Indians and the Stories They Told. Lincoln, 1963.

----- The Ten Grandmothers. Norman, 1945.

-----and Carol K. Rachlin. Dance Around the Sun. New York, 1977.

-----. Peyote. New York, 1971.

McFee, Malcom. "The 150% Man, a Product of Blackfoot Acculturation." American Anthropologist, 70: 1096-1107.

Mayall, Mildred P. The Kiowas. Norman, 1962.

Monahan, Forrest D., Jr. "The Kiowa-Comanche Reservation in the 1890's." Chronicles of Oklahoma (Winter 1967-68), pp. 451-63.

Montgomery, David. Beyond Equality. New York, 1967.

Mooney, James. The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. Fourteenth Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D.C., 1896.

-----. Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians. Seventeenth Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, 1898.

-----. The Cheyenne Indians. American Anthropological Association Memoirs, 1. Lancaster, 1905-07.

Nye, Wilbur S. Plains Indian Raiders. Norman, 1968.

-----. Bad Medicine and Good. Norman, 1962.

-----. Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill. Norman, 1938.

Opler, Marvin K., ed. Culture and Mental Health: Cross Cultural Studies. New York, 1959.

Otis, Delos S. The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands, ed. Francis P. Prucha. Norman, 1973.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. Kiowa Tales. (Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, XXII.) New York, 1929.

Petersen, Karen D. Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion. Norman, 1971.

-----. Howling Wolf: A Cheyenne Warrior's Graphic Interpretation of his People, intro. by John C. Ewers. Palo Alto, 1968.

-----. "The Letters of Henry Roman Nose," Chronicles of Oklahoma, 1964.

Powell, Peter J. Sweet Medicine. Norman, 1969.

Pratt, Richard H. "Catalogue of Casts Taken by Clark Mills, Esq., of the Heads of Sixty-four Indian Prisoners of Various Western Tribes and Held at Fort Marion, Saint Augustine, Fla., in Charge of Capt. R.H. Pratt, U.S.A." Proceedings of the U.S. National Museum, 1878 (1880.)

-----. Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904. Ed. by Robert M. Utley. New Haven, 1964.

Priest, Loring B. Uncle Sam's Stepchildren. New Brunswick, 1942.

Prucha, Francis P. Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian," 1880-1900. Cambridge, 1973.

-----. American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900. Norman, 1976.

Richardson, Jane. Law and Status Among the Kiowa Indians. American Ethnological Society Monograph No. 1. New York, 1940.

Richardson, Rupert N. The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement. Glendale, 1933.

Seeger, John H. Early Days Among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Ed. by Stanley Vestal. Norman, 1934.

Slotkin, J.S. The Peyote Religion. Glencoe, Illinois, 1956.

Spicer, Edward H., ed. Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change. Chicago, 1961.

Spindler, George. "Experimental Design in the Study of Culture Change." Southwest Journal of Anthropology, 8: 68-83.

Spindler, George and Louise. Dreamers Without Power: The Menomini Indians. New York, 1971.

Social Science Research Council. "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation (Summer Seminar on Acculturation.) American Anthropologist, 56: 973-1002.

Stone, Lawrence. "Prosopography." in Historical Studies Today, ed., by Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard. New York, 1972: 107-40.

Sweezy, Carl. The Arapaho Way: A Memoir of an Indian Boyhood. New York, 1966.

Trenholm, Virginia Cole. The Arapahoes: Our People. Norman, 1970.

Wallace, Ernest, and E. Adamson Hoebel. The Comanches, Lords of the South Plains. Norman, 1952.

Webb, Walter Prescott. The Great Plains. New York, 1931.

White, Leslie A. The Science of Culture; A Study of Man and Civilization. New York, 1948 (1969.)

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293010702029