

KIOWA CHANGES: THE IMPACT OF  
TRANSATLANTIC INFLUENCES

by

PAUL JAMES MOORE

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ABSTRACT

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Paul James Moore, PhD.

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Supervising Professor: Dr. Kenneth R. Philp

This study uses a transatlantic interpretive framework, addressing both Euro-American and Kiowa voices to understand Kiowa reactions to changes caused by ongoing transatlantic influences. From their Paleolithic days, the Kiowas faced the challenge of new ways. On the North American continent, they evolved into small hunter-gathering family units as vast grasslands arose from their fire-drives that increasingly reshaped their surroundings. The transatlantic Columbian Exchange, following Spanish discovery, provoked massive changes to Kiowa material culture as the horse produced a cultural revolution to their social and economic practices. Those changes required continued raiding for horses between 1830 and 1874 that exacerbated their relationship with the United States and resulted in restrictive treaties that



increasingly limited their mobility. Thereafter, the Kiowa gradually became dependent upon government aid as a policy of concentration ended their nomadic horse-centered culture. During their reservation experience, Christian missionaries played an important role in assimilating Kiowa to Euro-American practices as well as religious beliefs. Although adjusted to reservation life, by the late 1890s the Kiowa were totally dependent upon rations and the will of Congress for their survival. Consequently, the federal government decided in 1901 to allot their lands to compel further change that destroyed their horse-centered culture. Economic survival demanded new paradigms that often ignored old tribal values. By the 1920s, in responses to acculturation, the challenge of economic self-sufficiency, and the inescapable allure of modernity, the Kiowa fully accepted their material integration into the non-Indian world as a second generation of Kiowa became self-sufficient. Consequently, they rejected the Indian New Deal. Nevertheless, thanks to John Collier's affirmation of Indian culture during the New Deal and the influences of World War II, a third generation of Kiowa reaffirmed their horse-centered ethos. By 1945, most Kiowa lived successfully in two worlds.

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## PREFACE

### KIOWA INDIANS: A TRANSATLANTIC PERSPECTIVE

In a 1981 Presidential address to the American Historical Association, Bernard Bailyn challenged historians to describe “worlds in motion” and study overlooked historical complexities. The crucial task for historians, he noted, was to see the past as it once existed, then “how it ceased to be what it was,” and finally, “how it faded and blended into new configurations.” Bailyn exhorted scholars to see historical development as an interconnected process of evolving interactions; each stage the product of what preceded it with often unpredictable results. He wrote that there “was no static historical unit whose elements and essential nature lie motionless before the historian. Atlantic history is the story of a world in motion.” He went on to say that that the task in Atlantic history is “to describe not the abstracted, meta-historical structural elements but the phasing of the development of this world, its motion and dynamics—to grasp its history as process.” He was convinced this approach would better help ‘understand how we came to be the way we are.’<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard Bailyn, “The Challenge of Modern Historiography,” A paper read at the 96th annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held in Los Angeles, December 28-30, 1981. *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 87, No. 1. (Feb., 1982): 1-24. See also, Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History Concept and Contours*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 65.

Bailyn pointed the way for a more inclusive approach to understand the past. He warned that national approaches to history had precluded “interpreting large-scale changes and continuities” of wide experience. He also recognized similar limitations in Western studies. He wrote, the “great proliferation of historical writing has served not to illuminate the central themes of Western history but to obscure them.” Then he went on to challenge historians to look at history in broader and interactive terms.<sup>2</sup>

Part of that broader focus was to treat the entire Atlantic rim as a “single historical unit.” For instance, in his book *Voyagers To the West*, he assessed the migration of people from the Old to the New World. Using a comparative approach, he recognized how transatlantic confrontation led to mutual cultural change. Bailyn argued that the New World experience was defined in the “borderland” of North America where “constraints were loosened” amidst the caldrons of new and challenging experiences.<sup>3</sup> Because of Bailyn’s persuasive arguments, Atlantic History

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<sup>2</sup> Bailyn, “The Challenge of Modern Historiography,” 1-24. Akira Iriye also called for “historical themes and conceptions” that were “meaningful across national boundaries.” Akira Iriye, “The Internationalization of History,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 1 (Feb., 1989): 1-10, 1. Comparative History was already in use by Sociologists and anthropologists as well as historians prior to its application in the development of Atlantic History. As early as the 1960s George M. Frederickson, Louis Hartz, Frank Tannenbaum and Stanley Elkins, *et al*, were arguing for the development of Comparative history. For an in depth backdrop see George M. Frederickson, “From Exceptionalism to Variability: Recent Developments in Cross-National Comparative History,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 82, No. 2, (Sept., 1995): 587-604. [Accessed October 9, 2007]. *Journal Storage*, (Hereafter JSTOR). <http://continuum.uta.edu:2257/> .

<sup>3</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers To the West: A Passage In the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books a Division of Random House, 1986), 5-7. Colin Calloway supported this idea by noting that: “even as the protagonists fought to preserve or impose their way of life, each way of life was undergoing substantial changes as a result of contact with the other.” Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds For all: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 14.

emerged as a “popular interpretive framework in which to understand early modern history in the western hemisphere.”<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, Bailyn’s restrictive focus was on the pre-modern period, and limited to the fringes of the Atlantic world. The Atlantic World did not focus on areas more remote from the coast areas, and did not look at the impact of historical topics beyond the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> A paper presented by Rosemary Brana-Shute at the American Historical Association illustrated this limitation. She noted the need for an expanded range of geographical foci that moved beyond the fringes of the Atlantic coast. She reasoned that cultural impact logically moved beyond strictly coastal areas. In addition, Atlantic History was limited to strictly topics of “European exploration and conquest.” She called for a broader spectrum of topical considerations and extending the subject periods of Atlantic History beyond the limits of the pre-modern age.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Definition on the Web page for the American Historical Association roundtable discussion "*The Atlantic World: Emerging Themes in a New Teaching Field.*" Sunday, January 9, 2000, at 11 a.m., at the Marriott Hotel, Chicago, Ballroom Salon D. <http://www.mtsu.edu/~jhwillia/atlantic.html>, accessed [Accessed January 8, 2005].

<sup>5</sup> Peter Coclanis, "Drang Nach Osten: Bernard Bailyn, the World-Island, and the Idea of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History*, 10456007, Vol. 13, No. 1, (Spring 2002): 1. "To be sure, most everyone working in the tradition focuses on the period between roughly 1500 and 1800, though a few—Karras and McNeill, for example — argue that the “covering idea” of *Atlantic history* is relevant through the late nineteenth century." In fact, this dissertation would not fit the boundaries of Bailyn’s initial notion of Atlantic History.

<sup>6</sup> Rosemary Brana-Shute, "The Atlantic World from Latin America" Paper presented at the American Historical Association roundtable discussion, "*The Atlantic World: Emerging Themes in a New Teaching Field.*" Sunday, January 9, 2000, at 11 a.m., at the Marriott Hotel, Chicago, Ballroom Salon D. <http://www.mtsu.edu/~jhwillia/atlantic.html> . [Accessed January 8, 2005]. Brana-Shute is a professor of history at the College of Charleston. She argued that “membership does not depend on Atlantic beach-front property, but rather on the colonial conquest and subsequent integration into... an “imperial economy.”

Because of the usefulness of this transnational perspective, by the late 1990s, historians began expanding the geographic and topical boundaries of Atlantic History.<sup>7</sup> For instance, Elliot West used a transnational perspective to deal with the history of the Great Plains in *Contested Plains*. He focused on transatlantic impact beyond the fringes of the Atlantic Basin by employing the motif of “imagination” to show the interaction of Plains Indians and Euro-Americans on the Central Plains. There, cultural players from both sides used their imaginations to gain “manipulative influence over their surroundings.” Dissimilar people perceived the same physical phenomena around them from different perspectives to fit their cultural ideas. Although he painted an impressive portrait of the transatlantic encounter on the Central plains, he did not discuss the Kiowa or the continuing consequences of interactive influence.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> In an effort to define the increasing fields of Atlantic History, David Armitage identified three separate types, Cis-Atlantic, Trans-Atlantic and Circum-Atlantic. Circum-Atlantic was that focused upon "the history of the people who crossed the Atlantic, who lived on its shores and who participated in the communities it made possible." Trans-Atlantic was focused on “the history of the Atlantic world told through comparisons.” Cis-Atlantic history was the study of “particular places as unique locations,” and sought “to define that uniqueness as the result of the interaction between local particularity and a wider web of connections. David Armitage, “Three concepts of Atlantic History,” in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds. *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*. ( New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002),16-21, 15. Also see Alison Games, “Introduction, Definitions, and Historiography: What is Atlantic History?” *OAH Magazine of History*, April 2004, 3-7. In fact Bailyn wrote , “The enlargement of scale and broadening of perspective involved in the study of the Atlantic world has been in motion for half a century, though only recently has Atlantic history been given conceptual form, or has seemed to require it.” Bailyn even recognized the importance of the perspective in time: “The idea of Atlantic history is an emerging formulation which reveals more clearly than we have seen before a transnational, multi-cultural reality that came into existence over a certain passage of years and has persisted.” David Armitage, Michael J. Braddick, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, Preface by Bernard Bailyn, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), xiv-xiv.

<sup>8</sup> Elliott West, *Contested Plains, Indians Gold seekers, and the Rush to Colorado*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998).

Alfred Crosby also moved transatlantic impact beyond the fringes. Focused on transatlantic history, he noted the interactive effects of the Columbian discovery on Native Americans in the heartland of North America. Crosby illustrated the deleterious affect of smallpox and other European diseases on indigenous populations. He also noted the negative transatlantic impact of large animals on vegetation and Indian civilizations that relied on vegetable diets.<sup>9</sup> Crosby dwelt with more immediate impacts. His contextual focus ignored the long term cultural consequences of continuing transatlantic encounters among the Kiowa and other tribes. Nevertheless, Cosby and West demonstrated effectively that transatlantic issues were important beyond the fringes of the Atlantic Basin.

The confrontation of Euro and Native American cultures illustrates the dynamics of Bailyn's "worlds in motion." Change was inevitable amidst the incessant transatlantic interaction of these two societies. As Colin Galloway recognized, what "emerged was something different, for both Indians and Europeans, from what had gone before."<sup>10</sup> This study examines the long-term cultural changes that ensued from the continuing saga of interaction between the Kiowa and Euro-Americans on the Southern Plains. It employs a Transatlantic History perspective that looks at pivotal confrontations in order to comparatively identify and comprehend outcomes of inter-

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<sup>9</sup> Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, (Westport, Greenwood Publications, 1972).

<sup>10</sup> Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds For all: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).



cultural relations <sup>11</sup> It shows how Kiowa were a product of their time as much as they were of their tribe as new ideas and practices merged with old in a symbiotic process of ongoing social and economic cultural adaptation.

### *Research Question*

Culture does not develop in a vacuum. It evolves by the ongoing interactions and relationships of people, events and circumstances.<sup>12</sup> This work focuses on culture confrontations and outcomes between the Kiowa tribe and Euro-Americans on the Southern Plains. Historical literature has tended to perpetuate the notion that the modern-day cultural worth of the tribe has tied them to their nineteenth-century indigenous past.<sup>13</sup>

Scholars of Kiowa literature have concluded that Kiowa culture, despite coercive and disastrous assimilative and land allotment policies by the United States government, persisted.<sup>14</sup> Germane to this assertion is an important question. Was there

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<sup>11</sup> Steven G. Reinhardt and Dennis Reinhartz, ed. *Transatlantic History*, (Published for the University of Texas at Arlington, College Station: A & M University Press, 2006), Preface.

<sup>12</sup> Ari Hoogenboom, "American Exceptionalism, Republicanism as Ideology," *Bridging the Atlantic, The Question of American Exceptionalism in Perspective*, ed. Elisabeth Glaser and Hermann Wellenreuther, German Historical Institute Washington D.C. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 43-65, 64.

<sup>13</sup> Paul H. Carlson, *The Plains Indians*, (College Station: Texas A & M Press, 1998), See also Preface. W. Roger Buffalohead, "Self-Rule in the Past and the Future: An Overview," *Indian Self-Rule, First-Hand Accounts of Indian-White Relations from Roosevelt to Reagan*, ed. Kenneth R. Philp, (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995, reprint of Institute of the American West, 1986).

<sup>14</sup> Michael Kraus, *The North Atlantic Civilization*, (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1957). Preface. John R. Wunder, *The Kiowa*, Indians of North America series, ed. Frank W. Porter III, General (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989). See also Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 194-200.

no cultural change during ensuing decades as new generations of Kiowa influenced by Euro-Americans took the helm of tribal leadership?

An appraisal of Kiowa changes prior to World War II provides an answer to this question. By using a comparative perspective, it attempts to bring both Euro-American and Kiowa voices to the continuing saga of transatlantic interactions. For the Kiowa, transatlantic influences were a “fusion of exploitative economic force,” that ironically proved to be “ruthless but ingenious, oppressive” yet “creative.” A progression of acculturative experiences led to shared notions of transatlantic ideals.<sup>15</sup> This study frames the interactions of Kiowa and Euro-Americans in a dynamic progression of adaptation, an experience endemic to all cultures. It looks at pivotal historical actions and events of transatlantic exchange and their impact up to World War II, by which time, the basic elements of modern Kiowa symbiotic cultural identity had developed.

Nineteenth-century scholarship focused on Kiowa aboriginal culture. James Mooney, in 1898, provided the baseline for historical studies of the aboriginal period.<sup>16</sup> This first ethno-history of the tribe, offered a glimpse of social and religious life acquired directly from Kiowas who lived during the so-called zenith period.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 111.

<sup>16</sup> Some are remarkably helpful in tracing their antiquity. See Appendix for a full discourse on Linguistic contributions to Kiowa history in particular.

<sup>17</sup> James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, Introduction by John C. Ewers, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979. Reprint of the first edition, 129 - 445, in the *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1895-96, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898).

Forty years later, in 1939, Paul Vestal and Richard Schultes published a monograph on the botany of the Kiowa that substantiated an important Mooney assertion about that Kiowas migration from Montana, via the Black Hills, to Oklahoma.<sup>18</sup>

In the 1950s, historians began addressing issues of cultural change. Bernard Mishkin's study of Plains warfare recognized the ever evolving nature of Plains culture.<sup>19</sup> Then, in a thorough study of Kiowa political organization and conflicts from the reservation period up to the late 1950s, Jerrold Levy categorically rejected static notions of culture.<sup>20</sup> He deplored the narrow parameters evidenced in Plains studies and recognized the need for a "systematic study" of the Kiowa that moved beyond their pre-history and contact experience. Nonetheless, Levy's persistent assumption of the "aboriginal system" as the all-embracing baseline for contemporary Kiowa culture revealed the difficulty of rejecting antiquated thought paradigms.<sup>21</sup> Preston Holder also recognized the evolutionary character of the Plains culture as a "compounded of intrusive ideas," yet again his focus was upon the traditional period.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Paul Vestal and Richard Evans Schultes, *The Economic Botany of the Kiowa Indians As it relates to the History of the Tribe*, (Cambridge: Botanical Museum, 1939).

<sup>19</sup> Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare Among the Plains Indians*.

<sup>20</sup> Jerrold E. Levy, "After Custer: Kiowa Political and Social Organization From the Reservation Period to the Present," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1959). 134.

<sup>21</sup> Levy, *After Custer*, 2.

<sup>22</sup> Preston Holder, *The Hoe and the Horse on the Plains, A Study of Cultural Development among North American Indians*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970.)

Despite these additions to the historical literature, no narrative moved beyond the aboriginal period.<sup>23</sup> In 1944, Coe Hayne compiled a brief history that documented the work of American Baptists among the Kiowa.<sup>24</sup> Then, in 1958, Hugh Corwin, wrote a brief history that added important data from a number of elder Kiowa informants.<sup>25</sup> Neither of these works looked at long-term cultural change. Nonetheless, though limited in scope, both Coe and Corwin attempted to take the Kiowa beyond the aboriginal period. Eventually, Mildred Mayhall's study of the Kiowa in 1962 became the definitive history of the tribe.<sup>26</sup> She argued that the horse was crucial to Kiowa development. The tribe's Plains culture evolved amidst the period of Euro-American intrusion and was greatly changed as a result of that influence. Mayhill did include a sketchy brief chapter on acculturation to the mid-twentieth century.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Isabel Crawford, *Kiowa A Woman Missionary In Indian Territory*. Introduction by Clyde Ellis. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). Also, *Joyful Journey: Highlights on the High Way, An Autobiography*, (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1951, 1953 Edition). Also Thomas C Battey, *Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians*, (Williamstown: Corner House Publishers, 1972). Also Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers, and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant*, Forward by Richard Ellis, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), (Originally published by John Winston & Company, 1899).

<sup>24</sup> Coe Hayne, *Kiowa Turning*, (New York: Northern Baptist Convention, 1944).

<sup>25</sup> Corwin, Hugh D. *The Kiowa Indians: Their History & Life Stories*, (Lawton Oklahoma, Private publication, 1958).

<sup>26</sup> John C. Ewers, Review of, "The Kiowas," By Mildred P. Mayhall, *American Historical Review*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 3, (April 1963), 825. In a critical review, ethnologists John Ewers expressed grave concern about her methodology as an anthropologist in depending purely upon literature for writing such a history. JSTOR [Accessed October 11, 2007].

<sup>27</sup> Mildred P. Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press: 1962).

Scholarship during the last half of the twentieth century has consistently emphasized the Kiowa's ties to their past.<sup>28</sup> This practice has been marked by the identification of aboriginal traits and how their meanings carried into the modern period. For instance, Benjamin Kracht's 1989 dissertation presented an intriguing and challenging argument regarding the syncretic blends of peyote religion.<sup>29</sup> Nonetheless, Kracht still anchored the adaptive modes in the modern period to archaic meanings. John Wunder also assumed the continuity of aboriginal culture as the defining point the Kiowa present. He concluded that they had "kept their culture, spirit, and sense of national identity."<sup>30</sup>

In 1996, Clyde Ellis's study of Kiowa education also fostered similar ideas of aboriginal continuity. He argued that when that government failed to provide adequate resources to meet civilizing objectives, the Kiowa were able to maintain "their cultural identity." Ellis explicitly identified "crucial elements," such as songs, language, and rituals. He emphasized the importance of the renewed performances of

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<sup>28</sup>Detailed scholarship of the horse-centered period was provided by Alice Marriott, Elsie Parsons, and Maurice Boyd, including oral traditions and myths as Lewis Spence provided for the Plains Indians in general. Mildred P. Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press: 1962), Alice Marriott, *Kiowa Years*, (New York: Macmillan, 1967), and *The Ten Grandmothers*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945), and *Saynday's People: The Kiowa Indians and the Stories They Told*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), Elsie Clews Parsons, *Kiowa Tales*, (New York: American Folk-Lore Society, 1929, reprint 1969: Kraus, NY.), Maurice Boyd, *Kiowa Voices: Ceremonial Dance, Ritual and Song*, Vol. I., (Fort Worth: The Texas Christian University Press, 1981), *Kiowa Voices: Myths, Legends and Folktales*, Vol. II, Kiowa Historical and Research society, (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1983).

<sup>29</sup> Benjamin R. Kracht, "Kiowa Religion: An Ethnohistorical Analysis of Ritual Symbolism, 1832-1987," (Ph.D. diss., Southern Methodist University, 1989).

<sup>30</sup> John R. Wunder, *The Kiowa*, Indians of North America series, ed. Frank W. Porter III, (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989).

the Gourd Clan dances to show the continuing vitality of tribal identity. Nonetheless, Ellis also admitted that the “Kiowas had changed many times during their history.”<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, he only cited a few examples of cultural survival and a minuscule number of crucial elements in the continuity of traditional Kiowa culture.

Throughout the last decade of the twentieth century, historical literature continued to perpetuate the notion that the cultural worth of the tribe has tied to their nineteenth-century indigenous past. In 1998, Luke Lassiter commemorated the persistence of the Kiowa culture as reflected in song and saw Kiowa contemporary identity critically linked to their past.<sup>32</sup> William Meadows wrote what he called a “New Indian History” that used Native voices to retell their past, which also reflected continued tribal identity amidst changes. Meadows acknowledged the realities of acculturation, but he stressed the continuity of nineteenth-century history to determine what it meant to be a Kiowa.<sup>33</sup>

In 2002, Ellis joined with Lassiter and Ralph Kotay to present the Kiowa from a cross-cultural perspective. Their work on Kiowa music illustrated change, as demonstrated by a syncretic mixture of Christian and Kiowa traditional ideas. These

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<sup>31</sup> Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 194-200.

<sup>32</sup> Luke E. Lassiter, *The Power of Kiowa Song*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1998).

<sup>33</sup> William C. Meadows, *Kiowa, Apache, And Comanche Military Societies, Enduring Veterans, 1800 to the Present.*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999).

scholars looked to the past to find tribal identity. Nevertheless, their comparative perspective suggested new trends in historical study.<sup>34</sup>

Transatlantic History “is a field of study defined primarily by its conceptual approach, which focuses on the interconnectedness of human experience in the Atlantic Basin.” Using a “interdisciplinary, transnational, and comparative” approach, it looks at “the process of encounter and interchange among the people on all sides of the Atlantic Ocean.” Nonetheless, it can focus “on whatever geographical, social or cultural field is appropriate to scholarly inquiry,” thereby moving “beyond the boundaries imposed by the concept of the national state.”<sup>35</sup> Methodologically, it assesses a wide array of historical developments and cultural concerns across national and ethnic boundaries in the process of time. The objective is to identify and understand those incidents that in the process of time have helped shape the interrelated “world community we live in today.” A vital and distinctive tool in that process is to bring all participating voices into the assessment.

Although Transatlantic History studies have focused primarily on the geographic fringes of the Atlantic Rim, this study looks beyond those bounds.<sup>36</sup> In

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<sup>34</sup> Levy, *After Custer*, , 1959.

<sup>35</sup> Reinhardt and Reinhartz, *Transatlantic History*, Preface.

<sup>36</sup> See the program present day focus at the Saint Louis University, [http://www.slu.edu/publications/gc/v5-5/news\\_11.shtml](http://www.slu.edu/publications/gc/v5-5/news_11.shtml); [Accessed January 20, 200]. The University of North Carolina has a Masters Program in Transatlantic history: “The Trans-Atlantic Masters Program (TAM) trains graduate students pursuing international careers in administration, diplomacy, business, policy-making, consulting, teaching, and research. Offered by a consortium of world-renowned universities in the United States and Europe (EAUC), TAM is a unique, intensive fourteen-month degree program providing students with the opportunity to pursue graduate study at a variety of locations on both sides of the Atlantic while earning a masters degree,” <http://www.unc.edu/depts/tam/overview.htm>,

addition, these studies tend not to look at sequential change over long periods of time.<sup>37</sup> Actually, Transatlantic History is more inclusive than present studies suggest. Accordingly, this dissertation assesses the transatlantic outcomes of interactions between the Kiowa and Euro-Americans on the Southern Plains from pre-Columbian days to the end of World War II.

As a non-traditional approach to studying the past, Transatlantic History provides a transnational perspective. Although similar to Atlantic History, it is broader in scope. The focus has not been limited to topics prior to the nineteenth century and has allowed the application of comparative perspectives across borders and Western frontiers.<sup>38</sup> In the end, this approach stresses the connectedness of society in the midst of altering human conditions.<sup>39</sup>

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[Accessed January 20, 2005]. Brown University has what they call a Transatlantic Project which they define as such: "In the Department of Hispanic Studies some of have started to work on contemporary interactions among Spain, the United States, and Latin America in literature, the arts, film, and popular culture." [http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Hispanic\\_Studies/Juliortega/Transatlantic.htm](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Hispanic_Studies/Juliortega/Transatlantic.htm), [Accessed January 20, 2005]. The Transatlantic Association at the University of Scotland, Dundee. Though formed to deal with all periods of time and any Atlantic subjects, it also is primarily focused upon contemporary issues. Note: Aims and Scope: 1) to provide focus for transatlantic area studies and bring together scholars from different disciplines in order to further research and understanding of transatlantic relations; 2) to nurture research networks and disseminate research outputs in an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary environment; 3) to generate momentum and support for *The Journal of Transatlantic Studies*; 4) to provide a forum that will bring together academics with officials and specialists from other professions; 5) The Association will embrace all aspects of transatlantic studies in all time periods. <http://www.personal.dundee.ac.uk/%7Eawparker/tsa.htm> 3:44 [Accessed January 20, 2005].

<sup>37</sup> See Alphabetical Index of Seminar Working Papers, 1996-2004, International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, 1500-1825, Director, Bernard Bailyn, Harvard University. <http://www.nyu.edu/pages/atlantic/>, [Accessed January 8, 2005].

<sup>38</sup> In the fall of 1998, the University of Texas at Arlington (UTA) launched a graduate program grounded in a transnational perspective similar in many respects to Atlantic History. Nonetheless, UTA defined Transatlantic History in much broader terms than generally acknowledged by other programs of Atlantic History.<sup>38</sup> This breadth was exemplified in the theme of the Fifth Annual Workshop on Transatlantic History held at the university: "Across Frontiers, Beyond Borders: Transatlantic History 1400-2004." Program Description, Transatlantic History, Doctoral Program, Department of History, University of



This dissertation utilizes a Transatlantic History approach to assess transformations on the Southern Plains that occurred during the encounters between the Kiowa and Euro-Americans. As Bailyn suggested, it looks at historic confrontations as part of an interconnected process of evolving changes. Each stage of development was the product of what preceded it and often with unpredictable results.

<sup>40</sup> Focused upon confrontation that effected changes, it uses a comparative perspective that respects the historical and cultural integrity of both the Kiowa and Euro-Americans.<sup>41</sup> The study identifies evidence of change in social, religious, political and economic areas related to evolving ideologies and institutions. Though employing a traditional chronological framework, it examines only those events that relate to change. This study also looks at competing ideologies and actions behind

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Texas at Arlington, <http://www.uta.edu/history/transatlantic/index.htm#Program%20Description>, [Accessed January 8, 2005]. It states that students will look at those “developments that, over time, have contributed to the making of the interconnected world community we live in today.”

<sup>39</sup> John Higham, “The Future of American History,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 80, No. 4. (Mar., 1994), 1289-1309 JSTOR [Accessed October 9, 2007].

<sup>40</sup> Bailyn, “The Challenge of Modern Historiography,” 1-24.

<sup>41</sup> There are three distinct types of comparative history. First, *macro-causal analysis*, second, comparative history as the *parallel demonstration of theory*; *and*, third, comparative history as the *contrast of contexts*. Each serves a distinctive use in historical narrative. Here the task is to “make use of comparative history to bring out the unique features of each particular case included” in the assessment “and to show how these unique features affect the working-out of putatively general social processes.” See Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somers. “The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Apr., 1980), 174-197. JSTOR [Accessed October 9, 2007]. Theda Skocpol is the Victor S. Thomas Professor of Government and Sociology, and Director of the Center for American Political Studies, at Harvard University. Margaret Somers is Associate Professor in Sociology in the Department of Sociology, the University of Michigan.

those confrontations that resulted in change. It shows how human perceptions shaped by contemporary events have accentuated the acculturative process.<sup>42</sup>

Chapters in this dissertation will identify these interactions. Each chapter sets out critical issues and events relevant to change during various historical periods. The first chapter, which focuses on the “Kiowa before Columbus” demonstrates that change was endemic to the Kiowa experience. Using archeological and anthropological evidence, this chapter illustrates that from their earliest years, the Kiowa faced the inevitability of challenge and cultural adaptation.

The second chapter, “Kiowa in the Path of Empire, 1492-1832,” studies Kiowa changes subsequent to transatlantic contact. It assesses pre-contact Columbian cultural influences such as the Kiowa acquisition of the horse, metal and firearms, as well as the drastic effects of European diseases. In the dawning hours of October 12, 1492, Christopher Columbus landed on *Guanahani* in the Bahamas, inaugurating reciprocal transatlantic exchanges that eventually changed the Old and New Worlds.<sup>43</sup> For example, the importation of Native American foodstuffs to Europe helped end famines and stimulate immense population increases that overflowed into the New

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<sup>42</sup> Martin Stuart-Fox, “The Return of Science: Evolutionary Ideas and History,” *History and Theory*, Vol. 38, No. 4, Theme Issue 38: (Dec., 1999), 33-51, 50. JSTOR [Accessed October 9, 2007]. Similar to West, Stuart-Fox recognized the critical nature of human perceptions and the role they play in cultural interaction.

<sup>43</sup> *Guanahani* was the Indian name of the Island. Columbus renamed it San Salvador. R. H. Major *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 15, No. 3. (1870 - 1871), pp. 210-211. 210. Cat Island, Samana, Mariгуana, and Grand Turk Islands have been suggested as the first landing, however, Watling's Island best fits the descriptions of Columbus. See also “The Landfall of Columbus” H. C. F. Cox, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 68, No. 4. (Oct., 1926), pp. 338-339. JSTOR [Accessed October 9, 2007].

World.<sup>44</sup> As a result, Spain, France and England contended for the resettlement of North America and the commercial windfall of that continent's immense resources. In the course of that rivalry, Old World commodities such as metal, guns and especially horses were transported to the Plains where they became indispensable elements of the Kiowa way of life, transforming their cultural and social patterns. The Columbian Exchange was the catalyst of that change.

The Third Chapter, "Kiowa Responses to Transatlantic Expansion, 1830-1874," focuses on the final years of the tribe's horse-centered culture. Their use of wild horses [t'á-tse'n̄] symbolized Kiowa resolve to maintain their independence, and played a critical role in resisting the resettlement of their lands.<sup>45</sup> Amidst growing Euro-American pressures on their traditional subsistence system, horses [Tseñko] became essential to Kiowa economics. Eventually, acquisition of horses in a transatlantic market economy brought them into a debilitating relationship with Euro-Americans. That association involved treaties, reservation programs, and military conquest. Finally, technologies and a mounting settler population forced the Kiowa into dependent relationship with the United States government.

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<sup>44</sup> Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange*, 59-78.

<sup>45</sup> Jim Anquoe, Kiowa historian and informant Telephone interview by author, November 30, 2005. Anquoe agreed that Kiowa used wild horses. See also Maurice Boyd, *Kiowa Voices: Ceremonial Dance, Ritual and Song*, Vol. 1, (Fort Worth, The Texas Christian University Press, 19 81), 54. Also Walker D. Wyman, *The Wild Horse of the West*, 181. For Kiowa words for "horses" and "wild horses," see James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 427.

The fourth chapter, “Kiowa Cultural Changes, 1874-1919,” looks at changes to Kiowa culture up to the 1920s. Assimilation was a long, gradual process. Although there were problems and failures, by the end of this period, the Kiowa met the basic objective of government policy by becoming self-sufficient as a new generation of Kiowa leaders emerged.<sup>46</sup> Bureau of Indian Affairs reports and agency correspondence reveal successful Kiowa assimilation, which scholars have focused on cultural continuity, have often discounted because it transformed their post-Columbian horse-centered culture. By the 1920s, the economic and social conditions in which the war oriented horse-centered culture evolved no longer existed. Survival demanded new ways and the Kiowa proactively adapted to that reality. Euro-American business concerns and settlers in Oklahoma pressed the government to open reservation lands for homesteads. Kiowa resistance to forced allotments left an enduring legacy of their tribal tenacity. Nevertheless, the 1901 allotment of their lands ended their epic horse-centered culture. The Kiowa adapted old traditions to new ways while using various means for self-sufficiency. The new warriors, like Norman Kau Bin and Charley Apekaum, came of age during World War I. Besides a growing appreciation for patriotism, international exposure, and integration into regular military units, the Kiowa Warrior Tradition of dedication found new transatlantic meaning.

Chapter Five, “New Things among the Old: Kiowa Life, 1920 to 1932,” addresses the dawning of a new generation of Kiowa leaders and their struggle to

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<sup>46</sup> John D. C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to J. L. Hall, Indian Agent KCW, Mar. 28, 1886. Reel KA 49, Oklahoma Historical Society. (Hereafter OHS.)

maintain a Kiowa identity. As the old horse-culture Kiowa faded into memory, so did the sagacious-enriching authority of their pre-reservation experience.<sup>47</sup> Influenced by Christianity, Euro-American schools and economic necessities, Kiowa born after 1874, never lived the pre-reservation warrior life of the transatlantic horse-centered culture. Consequently, they grappled over the margins of their culture as they confronted changes. In the early 1920s, traditional leaders who had experienced the horse-centered transatlantic culture encountered a generational divide that played out in business committee meetings. Political factions also reflected the ongoing struggle to define Kiowa cultural identity. This cultural transformation included synchronistic adaptations in the Native American Church, modifications of their traditional dances, and pragmatic responses to self-sufficiency as well as their trust relationship.

The sixth chapter, “The Flux of Kiowa Life, 1933-1945,” looks at the on-going effects of the transatlantic encounter in Oklahoma as demonstrated in the Kiowa response to the New Deal, their claims against the federal government, World War II and Termination. The generational divide and cultural crisis of the 1920s evolved into cultural change as a new generation of Kiowa took the helm of leadership in the 1930s. Elmer Rusco, in a study of Native American legislation, pointed out that even without the efforts of government officials, missionaries, teachers, and others to assimilate them, Indians by the 1930s would have been attracted to the material influences of the

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<sup>47</sup> Lonewolf II passed away in 1923, Big Tree 1929, Apeatone 1931.

non-Indian world.<sup>48</sup> The lure of the economic and material benefits of Euro-American society encouraged Native Americans to give up “aboriginal practices and beliefs.”<sup>49</sup> Despite failures of the Dawes Act policies, there were significant inroads on traditional institutions that hastened processes started at the earliest period of Euro-American contact. Although acculturation varied from tribe to tribe and from individual to individual, there is evidence that cultural change occurred. By 1945, Kiowa culture had the basic elements that would define the tribe into the next century.

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<sup>48</sup> Elmer R Rusco, *A Fateful Time: The Background and Legislative History of the IRA*, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2000), 57.

<sup>49</sup> Rusco, 57.

## CHAPTER 1

### KIOWA BEFORE COLUMBUS 13000 BP – AD 1492 Tép-dá Kwu'-da, COMING-OUT PEOPLE

Creation stories were common among Native Americans. For instance, there were stories about an “Earth Diver,” evident throughout North America, that centered on an extraordinary individual who dives to the bottom of a primordial deep to obtain a substance out of which people were formed. Then, though not widespread, the “world parent myths” looked to a celestial creator like the Zuni Sun Father. Many stories, especially prevalent in the southeast, identified two mythic individuals who worked together in creating the world. Another kind of myth evident in southern California looked to a mystical Spider creature as the creative energy. One of the most reoccurring characters in Native American creation stories was the “Trickster.” Although often characterized by “trickery, buffoonery and crude behavior,” this individual is often presented as actively involved in creation.<sup>50</sup> Finally, there were “emergence stories,”

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<sup>50</sup> The Kiowa “Trickster” is called Saynday.

like the Kiowa myth that centered on people emerging from an underworld, that were especially prevalent in the Southwest.<sup>51</sup>

According to that story, a lonely Saynday, the Kiowa mythical folk hero, groped about in the dark of a world without a sun when he accidentally bumped into something. Feeling about with his hands, he realized it was a cottonwood tree and decided to rest on it for a while. Soon after, he heard strange sounds that emanated from it. So he tapped on it and shouted: “Who is there? Who are you?” Voices answered: “We are people. We want to come out into your world. Help us.” Amazed, he put his hand through a dark hole in the trunk of the tree and held it there. Saynday told those whose voices he heard to join hands in a human chain and proceeded to pull the first one out into the world. There followed a procession of individuals pouring out like ants. In a short time, a pregnant woman became stuck in the opening, and blocking the hole thereby preventing others from entering the world. Regardless, Saynday was happy to have some people around him and taught them how to find food and take care of themselves in their newfound world.<sup>52</sup>

This story shows how the Kiowa sometimes used the simplicity of natural phenomena to explain inexplicable circumstances, such as why the tribe’s population

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<sup>51</sup> Sam D. Gill and Irene F. Sullivan, *Dictionary of Native American Mythology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 55-57. 308-310.

<sup>52</sup> Boyd, “*Saynday Brings His People Out*,” *Kiowa Voices, Myths, Legends and Folktales*, Vol. II, 14. Thomas Battey gave a different version of the creation story as told to him by Chief Kicking Bird in 1871. In that account, “The Great Kiowa” created the world, and brought the Kiowa out of a “hollow tree.” He brought two groups of adults out first, and a third group of children. This third group had done wrong so the Great Kiowa refused to bring forth any more. Battey, *Life and Adventures of a Quaker*, 106-109.



was so relatively small. It also reveals an important characteristic of the tribe. They are the “Coming-Out People” who recognized the need to adapt to change when confronted by new worlds. From their prehistoric days, the Kiowa embraced the inevitability of change amidst the harsh circumstances of nomadic existence and related martial pressures. Their ideas about the world around them were confronted, challenged and changed by a “history of dynamic adaptation.”<sup>53</sup> Regardless, the “Coming-Out People” always emerged with a strong sense of tribal identification.

Specific details of the genesis of the “Coming-Out People” have been rather elusive as have all Pre-Columbian inhabitants on the American continent. Nonetheless, anthropologist David Meltzer has argued that once “certain patterns emerge, basic facts can be assumed.”<sup>54</sup> This study has used established scholarly patterns of understanding to demonstrate that Kiowa oral traditions about their pre-history have been consistent with archaeological, linguistic, and other scientific data.

For instance, linguistic evidence has shown that the Kiowa language stood alone as a linguistic family. Language diversification has been considered proportional to the length of time people have occupied an area. For example, the Algonquian language family contained up to thirty-five diverse languages, while the Athapaskan-speaking

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<sup>53</sup> West, *Contested Plains*, 36.

<sup>54</sup> David J. Meltzer, “Clocking the First Americans,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 24 (1995), 21-45, 32. JSTOR, [Accessed October 4, 2007].

tribes included even more variations. These two language families have been in North America for a much longer period than that of the Kiowa.<sup>55</sup>

In addition, most Native Americans carry one of four mtDNA genetic markers, Haplogroups A, B, C, or D. Studies have determined that the Kiowa carried Haplogroup X. This marker represents only three percent of all Native American tribes. DNA markers that have had the longest presence on the continent demonstrate greatly increased numbers and a wide geographic distribution.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, DNA markers that lack these numbers and distribution suggest a late arrival.<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, the “Coming-Out People” must have been one of the last migrant groups to arrive on the North America continent before Beringia was submerged.

The Beringia Theory has provided the most commonly accepted historical explanation of how Native Americans got to America. With good reason, it offered scholars the most feasible explanation for human presence on the continent. The theory proposed that during the Ice Age, in geological time, throughout the latter part of

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<sup>55</sup> The Tanoan language related to Kiowa, but was a separate group.

<sup>56</sup> Sandro L. Bonatto, Francisco M. Salzano, “A Single and Early Migration for the Peopling of the Americas Supported by Mitochondrial DNA Sequence Data,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, Vol. 94, No. 5 (Mar. 4, 1997), 1866-1871, 1868. JSTOR, [Accessed October 4, 2007].

<sup>57</sup> R.S. Malhi and D.G. Smith, “Brief Communication: Haplogroup X Confirmed in Prehistoric North America,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 119: 84-86.(2002), Wiley InterScience, [www.interscience.wiley.com](http://www.interscience.wiley.com), URL: <https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/malhi/www/MalhiLab/downloads/Malhi%20and%20Smith%202002.pdf> [Accessed, February 28, 2005]

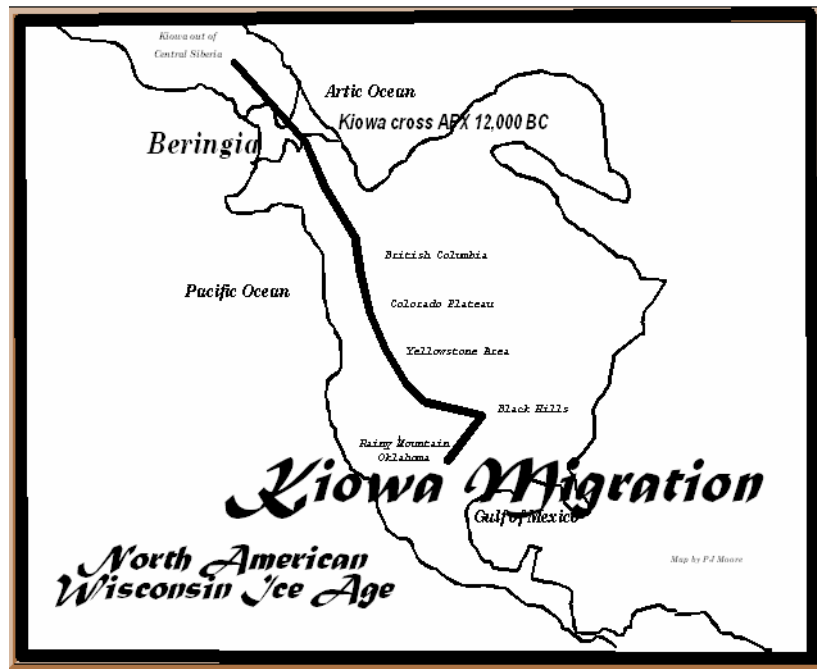


Fig. 1. Kiowa Migration Route

Pleistocene period of the Quaternary Age, from one to two million years ago, massive mountains of ice covered large northern areas of Europe as well as the North America.<sup>58</sup>

The most recent period lasted about one hundred thousand years, from approximately 111,000 to 10,000 years and was known as the “Wisconsin” in North America.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> The preponderance of archaeological, paleological, anthropological evidence, *et al*, point to a land bridge which is hard to dismiss as a viable thesis. Gilbert N. Lewis, “The Beginning of Civilization in America,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 49, No.1, (Jan.-Mar., 1947), 1-24, 2. Available from JSTOR [Accessed 1 January 2004]. See also Alan Bryan, “Early Man in America and the late Pleistocene of Western Canada and Alaska,” *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 10, No. 4, (Oct., 1969), 339-365. Available from JSTOR, [Accessed 4 October 2007]. See also, Daryl W. Fedje, Quentin Mackie, E. James Dixon and Timothy H. Heaton, *Late Wisconsin Environments and Archaeological Visibility on the Northern Northwest Coast*, (2001 draft of) in *Entering America: Northeast Asia and Beringia Before the Last Glacial Maximum*, ed. D.B. Madsen ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004), 97-138.

<sup>59</sup> “Ziryanskaya” in Seberria; the “Vurm” in the Alpes and “Wisconsin” in the USA. “The Last Glacial Epoch,” ThinkQuest, Advance Network Services, Inc, <http://land.sfo.ru/eng/1.htm>. [Accessed March 31, 2005]

Glacial formations transformed the contours of the land in unfathomable ways as ensuing changes in temperatures due to variations in earth-sun geometry caused the ice to melt, retreat, and forge anew.<sup>60</sup> While the ice mass was at its pinnacle, ocean levels fell as much as 450 feet resulting in an ephemeral land junction between the Asian and North American continents.<sup>61</sup> This Artic connection was a land mass of over 21 million square miles. It spanned from the Lena River in eastern Russia to northwestern Canada, a large area considering that Texas is only 262,000 square miles.

Between 35,000 years Before the Present (BP) and 10,000 BP, diverse kinds of Paleo-Indians crossed this land mass.<sup>62</sup> Scholars have disagreed about the exact number and size of migrations. Unfortunately for historians, a consensus among archaeologists regarding migration times or routes does not exist. Part of the problem is that Radiocarbon Dating has come under much scrutiny regarding “calibration” techniques.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Carole A. S. Mandryk, “Late Wisconsinan Deglaciation of Alberta: Processes and Paelogeography,” *Quaternary International*, Vol. 32, 79-85, 1996. 79. Mandryk noted that the maximum extent of the Wisconsin ice was between 21,000 and 20,000 BP for Alberta. *Quaternary International* <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/10406182> [Accessed October 4, 2007].

<sup>61</sup> Carol Berkin, Christopher L. Miller, Robert W. Cherny and James L. Gormly, *Making America, A History of the United States*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003), 6-7.

<sup>62</sup> David J. Meltzer, “Clocking the First Americans,” 21-4537. Also Meltzer “Linguistic Diversity and the First Settlement of the New World, *Language*, Vol. 66, No. 3, (Sep., 2990), 475-521, [http://www.smu.edu/ANTHRO/faculty/dMeltzer/pdf%20files/AnnRevAnth\\_1995\\_Clocking\\_first\\_Americans.pdf](http://www.smu.edu/ANTHRO/faculty/dMeltzer/pdf%20files/AnnRevAnth_1995_Clocking_first_Americans.pdf) [Accessed October 4, 2007].

<sup>63</sup> Tom P. Guilderson, Paula J. Reimer, Tom A. Brown, “The Boon and Bane of Radiocarbon Dating,” *Science*, Vol. 307, Issue 5708, (Jan., 21, 2005), 362-364. *Science Magazine*, UTA, Vol. 307, No 5708, 362-364, 21 January 2005, <http://continuum.uta.edu:2366/cgi/content/full/307/5708/362>, [Accessed March 1, 2005].

Though exacting data regarding the earliest people crossing the Land Bridge remains problematic, emerging scientific research methods continue to advance knowledge by offering fresh revelations previously impossible.<sup>64</sup> For instance, DNA studies have tested the Beringia Theory. Results authenticate a link between people in central Siberia and certain Native Americans.<sup>65</sup> In addition, archeological evidences on both the Asian and North American continents support those links. Consequently, scholars now concur that migrations of diverse people occurred over the course of several thousand years. This provided the fulcrum of inevitable societal confrontations and tribal adaptations on the American continent.<sup>66</sup>

The “Coming-Out People” brought important survival skills with them acquired perhaps from Altaian populations in southern Siberia. Recent studies have confirmed the presence of DNA Haplogroup X in people from that region.<sup>67</sup> First and foremost

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<sup>64</sup> Alan Boyle, “Retrace the Trek of First Americans,” MSN, Technology & Science News, <http://www.msnbc.com/news/144348.asp>. (Accessed February 23, 2003).

<sup>65</sup> Michael H. Crawford, *The Origins of Native Americans: Evidence from Anthropological Genetics*, (Cambridge University Press, 1998), Review by David L. Browman, Department of Anthropology, Washington University, St. Louis, <http://socarchsic.org/9809r.htm>, (Accessed February 22, 2003). Also, Fabrico R. Santos, Arpita Pandya, Chris Tyler-Smith, Sergio D. J. Pena, Moses Schanfield, William R. Leonard, Ludmila Osipova, Michael H. Crawford, and R. John Mitchell, “The Central Siberian Origin for Native American Y Chromosomes,” *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 64:619-628, 1999, 691. Hereafter, “Siberian Origin.” <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/AJHG/journal/issues/v64n2/980542/980542.html> [[Accessed October 4, 2007]. Also, William S. Laughlin, “Origins and Affinities of the First Americans,” *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 18, No. 3, (Sept., 1977), 526-528. Available from JSTOR, [Accessed October 4, 2007].

<sup>66</sup> J. M. Adovasio, Jake Page, *The First Americans: In Pursuit of Archaeology’s Greatest Mystery*, (New York: Random House, 2002). Elaine Dewar, *Bones: Discovering the First Americans*, (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2002).

<sup>67</sup> Siberian Origin. See also Jeffrey T. Lell, Rem I. Sukernik, Yelena B. Starikovskaya, Bing Su, Li Jin, Theodore G. Schurr, Peter A. Underhill, and Douglas C. Wallace. “The Dual Origin and Siberian Affinities of Native American Y Chromosomes,” *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 70:192-206,

among those skills was the ability to make fire. Middle Pleistocene sites studied in East Asia have provided evidence of fire makers similar to those in North America.<sup>68</sup> In addition, Paleo-Kiowa brought with them the practice of chopping and polishing stones and the construction and use of the bow.<sup>69</sup> They also had the ability to fabricate harpoon points for their arrows and notch arrowheads along with a rudimentary knowledge of working with animal skins. Furthermore, they used dogs as beasts of burden in their sojourn across the ephemeral Beringia land bridge.<sup>70</sup>

Beringia was more than just a land bridge. It was a “vast arctic steppe” that sustained human settlements from between 60,000 and 11,000 BP. Beringia was where the original population of Native Americans first settled before moving to the American continent. Ancient Kiowa lived in the massive area as they ranged after reindeer and *Bison pricus* moving toward the Alaskan entrance to the North American continent.<sup>71</sup>

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2002. <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/AJHG/journal/issues/v70n1/013099/013099.web.pdf> [Accessed October 4, 2007]. R. O. Whyte, “The Palaeoenvironment of East Asia,” *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Aug. - Oct., 1983), 509-511, 510. Ripan S. Halhi and David Glenn Smith, “Brief Communication: Haplogroup X Confirmed in Prehistoric North America,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 119:84-86 (2002). <http://www.sciencemag.org/cgi/content/abstract/287/5458/1622>, [Accessed October 4, 2007]. They report that Derenko and others found haplogroup X in Altaian populations in southern Siberia.

<sup>68</sup> R. O. Whyte, “*The Palaeoenvironment of East Asia*”, 510.

<sup>69</sup>On the bow and arrow, see Spencer L. Rogers, “The Aboriginal Bow and Arrow of North American and Eastern Asia,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 42, No. 2, Part 1 (Apr., Jun., 1940), 255-269. JSTOR, [Accessed October 4, 2007].

<sup>70</sup>Clark Wissler, “Material Cultures of the North American Indians,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 16, No. 3, Facts and Problems of North American Anthropology 1 (Jul. -Sep., 1914), 447-505, 481. Available from JSTOR, [Accessed December 19, 2003].

<sup>71</sup>Sandro L. Bonatto, and Francisco M. Salzano, “A Single and Early Migration from the Peopling of the Americas Supported by mitochondrial DNA Sequence Data,” *The National Academy of Sciences of the USA*, Vol. 94, 1866-1871, 1870. Available from JSTOR [Accessed February 27, 2005]. Also, James W. Lesueur, *Indian Legends*, (Independence: Press of Zion’s Printing and Publishing Company, 1928), 62.

Paleo-Indian passage into North America varied with time and conditions. The most convincing scholarship proposes that the earliest arrivals were forced down the Pacific coast line due to the extent of glaciers that covered much of present day Canada and the northern Middle West.<sup>72</sup> Nonetheless, the later arriving “Coming-Out People” would have taken a different route. Warmer weather conditions were already gradually melting the ice sheets causing ocean levels to elevate in the final years before the land bridge was submerged when ancient Kiowa arrived at the eastern edge of Beringia around 10,000 BP.<sup>73</sup>

Amidst warming conditions, Paleo-Kiowa probably arrived in the vicinity of Kotzebue Sound. On their new continent, the “Coming-Out People” faced the challenge of a diverse and exotic land with new flora and fauna and the possibility of

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James Q. Jacobs, “Paleoamerican Origins, A Review of Hypotheses and Evidence Relating to the Origins of the First Americans,” *Anthropology Papers*, <http://www.jqjacobs.net/anthro/index.html>. (22 February 2003), between 25 and 12.5 ka. “Port Eliza cave: North American West Coast interstadial environment and implications for human migrations.” By: Ward, B.C.; Wilson, M.C.; Nagorsen, D.W.; Nelson, D.E.; Driver, J.C.; Wigen, R.J.. *Quaternary Science Reviews*, Jun. 2003, Vol. 22 Issue 14, p1383, 6p. Also, C. Wilson, “Late Quaternary Vertebrates and the Opening of the Ice-Free Corridor, with Special Michael Reference to the Genus *Bison*,” *Quaternary International*, Vol. 32, 97-105, 98. *Quaternary International* <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/>. [Accessed October 4, 2007]. See Also Michael L. Kunz and Richard E. Reanier, “Paleoindians in Beringia: Evidence from Artic Alaska,” *Science*, New Series, Vol. 263, No. 5147 (Feb. 4, 1994), 660-662. JSTOR, Accessed March 2, 2005].

<sup>72</sup> K. R. Flandmark, “Routes: Alternate Migration Corridors for Early Man in North America,” *American Antiquity*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Jan., 1979), 55-69. <http://libproxy.uta.edu:2090/journals/00027316.html> [Accessed October 4, 2007]. Also, Gilbert Lewis, “The Beginning of Civilization in America,” 4. Also, Ruth Gruhn, “Linguistic Evidence in Support of the Coastal Route of the Earliest Entry into the New World,” *Man*, New Series, Vol. 23, No. 1, (Mar., 1988), 77-100. [http://continuum.uta.edu:2130/jstor/givevtdir/dm000215/00251496/dm993946/99p0065b\\_1...](http://continuum.uta.edu:2130/jstor/givevtdir/dm000215/00251496/dm993946/99p0065b_1...) [Accessed February 23, 2005]. Also Daryl W. Fedje, Quentin Mackie, E. James Dixon and Timothy H. Heaton, *Late Wisconsin Environments and Archaeological Visibility on the Northern Northwest Coast*, . Also Daryl w. Fedje; Tina Christensen, “Modeling Paleoshorelines and Locating Early Holocene Coastal Sites in Haida Gwaii,” *American Antiquity*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Oct., 1999), 635-652. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org> [Accessed October 4, 2007].

exposure to new and possibly dangerous pathogens. Their travel was through difficult topographic and ecological obstacles that included an often-barren landscape, and rivers swollen from deglaciation.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, recent studies have determined that deglaciation encouraged the rapid development of steppic flora that in time brought a triad of horse, bison, and mammoth into the former frozen areas.<sup>75</sup>

They could have moved through the area of the late Nenana or Denali Complex hunters. Archaeological assemblages recently discovered in Alaska's Brook Mountain Range, notably at the Mesa site, attest to a Paleo human presence. Additional sites have been found along the Valley of the Kobuk River in Alaska including the Onion Portage (PA.HR), and Trail Creek Caves which date to about 11,000 to 10,000 BP.<sup>76</sup>

For the next several millennia, Paleo-Kiowa lived in "mammoth steppe" communities in what is now Alaska and Western Canada. Out of necessity, they adopted a "subsistence technology that could be employed regardless of the specific" resources available.<sup>77</sup> One of the first important changes for these former Asiatic hunting tribes, according to paleontologist Walter Hough, was to change from primarily

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<sup>73</sup> Meltzer, "Clocking the First Americans," 21-45, 26.

<sup>74</sup> Meltzer, "Clocking ," 21-45. 26.

<sup>75</sup> Michael C. Wilson, "Late Quaternary Vertebrates and the Opening of the Ice-Free Corridor, with Special Reference to the Genus Bison," *Quaternary International*, Vol. 32, 97-105, 1996, 102. *Quaternary International* <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/> (Hereafter *Quaternary*).

<sup>76</sup> Michael L. Kunz, and Richard E. Reanier, "Paleoindians in Beringia, 660.

<sup>77</sup> Robert L. Kelly, Lawrence C. Todd, "Coming into the Country: Early Paleoindian Hunting and Mobility," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Apr., 1988), 231-244, 231. JSTOR [Accessed 4 October 2007]. Also, Erland Nordenskiold, "The American Indian as an Inventor," *The Journal of the Royal*



hunting reindeer to other mammals like the Bison.<sup>78</sup> Substantiation of adaptation is noted by the finding of ancient fluted points, parallel-flaked and the Plano points, as well as notched and stemmed points.<sup>79</sup> By constantly adjusting to their environmental and subsistence circumstances Paleo-Kiowa hunters developed a sophisticated proficiency with the use of stones.<sup>80</sup> Dependence on game led to the development of mobile living quarters and unique logistics to support a nomadic life style.<sup>81</sup> While securing their daily needs, they exploited regions until depleted, and then moved on, but in time they would find even more proficient ways.<sup>82</sup>

The offspring of the initial Paleolithic Kiowa, Mesolithic Kiowa were required, as were their fathers, to move about in search of sparse subsistence resources. As a result, they were never able to stay in specific locations for long periods. Because of this, it was imperative that their bands remain relatively small in numbers and their

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*Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 59 (Jul. - Dec., 1929), 273-309, 284. also . JSTOR, [Accessed October 4, 2007].

<sup>78</sup> Walter Hough, "The Bison as a Factor in Ancient American Culture History," *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Apr., 1930), 315-319, 315. JSTOR, [Accessed October 4, 2007].

<sup>79</sup> Sergey Slobodin, "Northeast Asia in the Late Pleistocene and Holocene," *World Archeology*, Vol.30, No. 3, *Arctic Archeology*, (Feb. 1999), 484-502. JSTOR [Accessed October 4, 2007].

<sup>80</sup> Alan L. Bryan, "Early Man in America and the Late Pleistocene Chronology of Western Canada and Alaska," *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Oct., 1969), 341. JSTOR, [Accessed February 21, 2005]. Bryan argues that evidence found in tills throughout the Northwest into Canada and Alaska indicate that these technologies were not carried across the Land Bridge. Also, Thomas H. Loy; E. James Dixon, "Blood Residues on Fluted Points from Eastern Beringia," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (Jan., 1998), 21-46, 21. Available from JSTOR, [Accessed February 27, 2005]. Loy and Dixon assert the fluted point was not carried across the Land Bridge, but rather a North American derivation.

<sup>81</sup> Kelly, Todd, "Coming into the Country: Early PaleoIndian Hunting and Mobility," *American Antiquity*, 234.

<sup>82</sup> Kelly, Todd, "Coming into the Country, 238.

technology remained rather simple.<sup>83</sup> Nonetheless, studies have indicated a progression toward more proficient practices. These changes were distinguished by two major developments. First, Paleo-Kiowa learned how to exploit marginal areas to extend their supply sources. Then, the tribe began to stay near “habitually exploited resources” where particular stores were abundant such as specific types of mammals.<sup>84</sup>

In time, the “Coming-Out People” moved down through what is called the “Western interior route.”<sup>85</sup> Rather than moving down the Pacific coastal route used by previous groups of people, the Paleo-Kiowa moved into the interior of Alaska. There are four important reasons for this conclusion. First, the Kiowa language provides important corroborating evidence. As noted above, people who came early moved down the Pacific coast. These early groups accounted for the massive Native American language diversification that is now clearly indicative of a long sojourn on the continent.<sup>86</sup> Conversely, as late comers, the Kiowa language stands alone as isolate linguistic family.<sup>87</sup> Then, the minimal number of Native Americans with the mtDNA Haplotype X carried by the Kiowa has not been generally detected among those people

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<sup>83</sup> Wissler, *Material Culture*, 481.

<sup>84</sup> This includes the Mesolithic Clovis, Folsom, Mousterian, and Aurignacian peoples. Brian Hayden, “Research and Development in the Stone Age: Technological Transitions among Hunter-Gathers,” *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 22, No. 5 (Oct., 1981), 519-548, 519. JSTOR [Accessed December 19, 2003]

<sup>85</sup> This was previously referred to as the “Ice-Free Corridor.”

<sup>86</sup> David Melzer wrote: “In the absence of direct evidence of a coastal migration, it is asserted that linguistic data “strongly supports the coastal route.” Meltzer, “Clocking the First Americans, 21-45, 39. Ruth Gruhn, “Linguistic Evidence in Support of the Coastal Route of Earliest Entry into the New World,” *Man*, New Series, Vol. 23, No 1. (Mar. 1988), 77-100, 77. JSTOR [Accessed February 20, 2005]

<sup>87</sup> The Tanoan language is related to Kiowa, but is a separate group.

that moved down the coast line. On the other hand, DNA evidence found on the Columbian Plateau supports the interior route.<sup>88</sup> In addition, Kiowa oral traditions are void of any recollection of pre-historic coastal or southern experiences.

Finally, archaeological evidence also supports a late Paleo-Indian route through the “Western interior route” consistent with an ancient Kiowa presence. This is the same route that many scholars have called the “Ice-Free Corridor.” W. A. Johnston proposed an ice-free corridor between the Laurentide and Cordilleran ice sheets in 1933 in which Paleo-Indians were to have migrated into America. Nevertheless, after 60 years of study scholars concluded that an ice free corridor did not exist until after many people had already arrived. Recent field studies in Western Canada have confirmed that a complete corridor between the glacial sheets did not exist before 10,500 BP. This data indicated that earlier than Clovis arrivals on the continent could not have come through an interior route. Instead, they would have gone down the Pacific coast or used boats. These would have included the Kennewick man, the Spirit Cave mummy, and ancient pre-Clovis people that made it as far as Monte Verde, Chile. In addition, artifacts from the Chesrow Complex in Wisconsin, the Pendejo Cave in New Mexico and Cactus Hills, in Virginia also point to the presence of people before an ice-free interior corridor.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Malhi and Smith, “Brief Communication: Haplogroup X Confirmed in Prehistoric North America,” 119.

<sup>89</sup> Archeological discoveries suggested an even earlier date for a pre-Clovis people. See J. M. Adovasio, Jake Page, *The First Americans: In Pursuit of Archaeology’s Greatest Mystery*, (New York: Random

Archeological finds, however, indicate that after 10,000 BP Paleo-Indians did move through the interior.<sup>90</sup> After that date, deglaciation of the ice sheets began to open enough to allow the passage of fauna through them.<sup>91</sup> Grazing animals moved into the emerging steppe area as the deglaciation process left margins of ice in various locations. In a short time, a suitable climate developed that provided ecological conditions that could support human transit and occupation, consequently people inched their way south hunting Bison and other mammals.<sup>92</sup> A series of radiocarbon date tests on bones of extinct mammals and on wood were conducted across the Alberta province that revealed the presence of mammals and hunters in the interior route during deglaciation at the end of the Wisconsin glacier period.<sup>93</sup>

The entire corridor was capable of supporting human populations by 12,000 BP. Radio carbon date studies point to the migration of people best between 10,500 BP and

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House, 2002). Elaine Dewar, *Bones: Discovering the First Americans*, ( New York : Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2002).

<sup>90</sup> Jackson Jr., L.E.; and Wilson, "The Ice-Free Corridor Revisited," *Geotimes*, Canadian Geomorphology Research Group (CGRG), Abstract, <http://cgrg.geog.uvic.ca/abstracts/JacksonThePaleontologists.html> [Accessed February 20, 2005].

<sup>91</sup> Norm Catto, David G.E. Liverman, Peter T. Bobrowsky and Nat Rutter, "Laurentide, Cordilleran, and Montana Glaciations in the Western Peace River—Grande Prairie Region, Alberta and British Columbia, Canada," *Quaternary International*, Vol. 32, 21-32, 1996. *Quaternary International* <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/10406182> [Accessed February 2005].

<sup>92</sup> Glen M. MacDonald and T. Katherine McLeod, "The Holocene Closing of the 'Ice-Free' Corridor: A Biogeographical Perspective," *Quaternary International*, Vol. 32, 87-95. *Quaternary International* <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/10406182> [Accessed February 2005].

<sup>93</sup> James A. Burns, "Vertebrate Paleontology and the Alleged Ice-Free Corridor: The Meat of the Matter," *Quaternary International*, Vol. 32, 107-112., Jackson Jr., L.E. and Wilson, M.C. 2. Also see Norm R. Catto, "Richardson Mountains, Yukon-Northwest Territories: The Northern Portal of the Postulated 'Ice-Free Corridor,'" *Quaternary International*, Vol. 32, 3-19, 1996. *Quaternary International* <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/10406182>. [Both Accessed February 2005].

5,000 BP when grass and large grazing “open-ground fauna” were present. As the ice sheets receded, people were able to transverse through portions of Alaska, the Yukon, British Columbia and Alberta into the Columbia Plateau and the northern plains of Montana living off the emerging steppe areas.<sup>94</sup>

The “Coming-Out People” would have spent the next four millennia living, hunting and slowly progressing down through western Canada as the steppe flora and fauna expanded. Evidence indicates a route along the Porcupine River onto the Eagle Plains of the Yukon along the Richardson Mountains. They then would have passed through the Richardson Mountains via McDougall Pass into the Northwest Territories onto the Peel Plateau.<sup>95</sup> From the Peel Plateau Paleo-Kiowa would have moved eventually southward along the McKenzie River Valley onto the massive prairie lands. The temperate weather would have allowed the ancient Kiowa the opportunity to hunt

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<sup>94</sup>Mandryk, “Late Wisconsinan Deglaciation of Alberta: Processes and Paleogeography,” 84. Mandryk wrote: “When modeling human environments in the post-glacial periods it is important to understand that the presence of ice...does not preclude human occupation. That is, an inhabitable corridor need not in fact be ‘ice free’.

<sup>95</sup> Norm R. Catto, “Richardson Mountains, Yukon-Northwest Territories: The Northern Portal of the Postulated ‘Ice-Free Corridor,’ *Quaternary International*, Vol. 32, 3-19, 1996.

<sup>95</sup> Norm R. Catto, “Richardson Mountains, Yukon-Northwest Territories: The Northern Portal of the Postulated ‘Ice-Free Corridor,’ *Quaternary International*, Vol. 32, 3-19, 1996. See also Knut R. Flannery, Jonathan C. Driver and Diana Alexander, “The PaleoIndian Component at Charlie Lake Cave (HbRf 39), British Columbia, *American Antiquity*, Vol. 53, No. 2, (Apr., 1988), 371-384. *Quaternary International* <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/10406182> [Both accessed February 2005].

mammoths, horses, camels, large bighorn sheep and bison grazing on the cool steppe-tundra.<sup>96</sup>

Neolithic Folsom Kiowa, off shots of the Mesolithic Kiowa, familiar with the now extinct Pleistocene animals, adapted their subsistence practices to specific game hunting as a primary means of survival.<sup>97</sup> For instance, archeological evidence indicated Folsom people eventually learned to utilize a fire-drive to corner the now extent mammoth and large bison. Animals were driven into corral pens at watering holes where they were trapped and killed by lances that sported Folsom points and were thrown by hand, or by a spear-launching device called the “atlatl.”<sup>98</sup> Nonetheless, though unmistakably familiar with mammoths, the limited quantity of their large remains suggests Folsom Kiowa did not pursue them with the same assiduity they did other large animals. Data from excavations indicate that ancient people had more interest in the more abundant primal bison, pre-historic *Equus Tau*, camel and antelope.<sup>99</sup> The discovery of various ancient points for lances supports the evolution of

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<sup>96</sup>Michael C. Wilson, “Late Quaternary Vertebrates and the Opening of the Ice-Free Corridor, with Special Michael Reference to the Genus Bison,” *Quaternary International*, Vol. 32, 97-105, 99. Quaternary International <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/10406182>, [Accessed February 2005].

<sup>97</sup> Kelly, and Todd, “Coming into the Country: Early PaleoIndian Hunting and Mobility,” 235.

<sup>98</sup> Wissler, “Material Culture,” 492. Fred Wendorf and James J. Hestor, “Early Man’s Utilization of the Plain’s Environment,” *American Antiquity*, Vol. 28, No. 2, (Oct., 1962), 159-171. JSTOR [Accessed December 22, 2003]. E. Mott Davis, “Recent Data from Two Paleo-Indian Sites in Medicine Creek, Nebraska,” *American Antiquity*, Vol. 18, (Apr., 1953), 380-386. JSTOR [Accessed December 22, 2003].

<sup>99</sup> Davis, “Recent Data from Two Paleo-Indian Sites in Medicine Creek, Nebraska,” 380-386.

hunting practices. Paleo-Kiowa tailored their technologies to hunt and survive amidst new challenges.<sup>100</sup>

In time, Folsom Kiowa moved further south into the Peace River Region in British Columbia and Alberta where fluted points have been found that date to Paleo-Indian periods.<sup>101</sup> Oral traditions of the “Coming-Out People” put them in their earliest recollections in an area of “great cold and deep snows” near the Flathead Indians. The Flatheads were historically west of the Continental Divide. That same tradition noted a stream that flowed west on the opposite side of mountains they were near at the time. This appears to have been an upper branch of the Columbia River. Eventually, the Kiowa found their way into the region of Kootenay, British Columbia, Canada.<sup>102</sup>

Perhaps it was in the Kootenay area that events related in another Kiowa oral tradition took place.<sup>103</sup> The account indicated that they “lived on the edge of the prairies for a long time” in the north until a significant tribal split. According to that old story, two rival chiefs fought over an animal taken in a hunting expedition. The quarrel

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<sup>100</sup> Loren C. Eiseley, “The Fire-Drive and the Extinction of the Terminal Pleistocene Fauna,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Jan.-Mar., 1946), 54-59. JSTOR [Accessed October 4, 2007].

<sup>101</sup> Knut R. Flandmark, Johathan C. Driver and Diana Alexander, “The PaleoIndian Component at Charlie Lake Cave (HbRf 39), British Columbia, *American Antiquity*, Vol. 53, No. 2, (Apr., 1988), 371-384. JSTOR [Accessed February 22, 2005].

<sup>102</sup> Joel C. Janetski, *Indians in Yellowstone National Park*, revised edition, (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2002), 15 and 39. Also James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979, Reprinted from Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1895-96,) 153. Virginia Haase, “Kiowa History, ‘emuseum, Minnesota State University, <http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/cultural/northamerica/kiowa.html> [Accessed February 22, 2005].

<sup>103</sup> Earle Goddard, “The Relation of Folk-lore to Anthropology,” *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 28, No. 107, (Jan. 1915), 18-23. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

became so intense that one of the chiefs separated his band and moved in a northwest direction, while the remainder of the Kiowa relocated to the southeast, never to be untied again.<sup>104</sup> This separation may have happened in relation to an ecosystem change between 4,000 BP and 5,000 BP that essentially closed down the interior route from Alaska to the northern plains. Grazing grasslands diminished progressively as dense spruce forests sprung up throughout much of the route. As a result, bison and other grazing animals stopped migrating into the area and forced Paleo-Kiowa to move further to the south.<sup>105</sup> The genetic DNA haplogroup X was discovered in remains found on the Columbia Plateau dating to about 4,000 BP. Studies have suggested that during that period some Proto-Indian language families separated from one another off the Columbia Plateau.<sup>106</sup>

Following the separation and move to the southeast, Folsom Kiowa moved about the northern and northwestern fringes of the Colorado Plateau, perhaps ranging as far east as the Yellowstone area.<sup>107</sup> A recent archeological study at Yellowstone

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<sup>104</sup> Mooney, *Calendar History*, 154. David Glenn Smith, Ripan S. Malhi, Jason Eshleman, Joseph G. Lorenz and Friderika A. Kaestle, "Distribution of mtDNA Haplogroup X Among Native North Americans," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 110-284 (1999), 279. URL: [http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/sites/entrez?cmd=Retrieve&db=PubMed&dopt=Citation&list\\_uids=10516561](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/sites/entrez?cmd=Retrieve&db=PubMed&dopt=Citation&list_uids=10516561) [Accessed February 28, 2005].

<sup>105</sup> Glen M. MacDonald and T. Katherine McLeod, "The Holocene Closing of the 'Ice-Free' Corridor: A Biogeographical perspective," *Quaternary International*, Vol. 32, 87-95, 93. *Quaternary International* <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/10406182> [Accessed February 2005].

<sup>106</sup> Malhi and Smith, "Brief Communication," 84-86, 85. Smith, Malhi, Eshleman, Lorenz and Kaestle, "Distribution of mtDNA Haplogroup X Among Native North Americans," 279.

<sup>107</sup> Smith, Malhi, Eshleman, Lorenz and Kaestle, "Distribution of mtDNA Haplogroup X Among Native North Americans, 279.



National Park documents the existence of archaic hunters as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. Paleo-Kiowa may have frequented the Camas-Dry Creek area of Centennial Range, Idaho, west of the Yellowstone area, to obtain obsidian for their arrow points.<sup>108</sup>

### **Paleo-Kiowa Adaptations in the Fremont Culture**

In the early centuries of the Christian era, the “Coming-Out People” were ranging between the Columbia and Colorado Plateaus. By 500 A.D. they were hunting on the northeastern fringes of the Fremont Culture that resided on the Colorado Plateau between 300 and 1000 A.D.<sup>109</sup>

Linguistic evidence points to a Kiowa association with that culture. Contact between “ancestors of Northern Uto-Aztecan and roving speakers of the Kiowa-Tanoan,” Proto-Kiowa, took place when maize growing began on the Colorado Plateau.<sup>110</sup> Around 780 A.D. these groups moved their hunting base onto the Colorado Plateau where they were identified by scholars with the Eastern Basketmaker II (EBM II).<sup>111</sup> Anthropologist C. Melvin Aikens argued that the influx of predominantly northern plains archaic hunters and gatherers made up the ancient EBM II. This

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<sup>108</sup> Gary A. Wright, Henry Chaya, and James McDonald, “The Location of the Field Museum Yellowstone (F.M.Y., 90) Group Obsidian Source,” *Plains Anthropologist, Journal of the Plains Anthropological Society*, Vol. 35, No. 127, (Feb. 1990), 71-74. See also Janetski, *Indians in Yellowstone*, 2-26.

<sup>109</sup> Malhi, Smith, “Brief Communication,” 85. Also, C. Melvin Aikens, “Plains Relationships of the Fremont Culture: A Hypothesis,” *American Antiquity*, Vol. 32, Issue 2, (Apr., 1967), 198-209, 204. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>110</sup> Jane Hill, “Toward A Linguistic Prehistory of the Southwest: “Azteco-Tanoan” and the Arrival of Maize Cultivation.” *Journal of Anthropological Research*, Vol. 58, No. 4, (Winter 2002), 457-475, 462.

<sup>111</sup> Malhi, Smith, “Brief Communication,,85. C. Melvin Aikens, “Plains Relationships of the Fremont Culture, 204.

interpretation fits anthropologist R. G. Matson's proposition that the EBM II descended from indigenous groups.<sup>112</sup>

Many of the early EBM II cultures spoke a form of Tanoan, a language related to the Kiowa.<sup>113</sup> These hunter gathers, due to their superior war technology, and superior fighting abilities, limited the northern penetration of the Western Basketmaker II (WBM II) people moving up from Mexico, who brought with them, most notably, knowledge and the practice of growing corn.<sup>114</sup> Following interaction between WBM II and EBM II groups, some of the latter became maize-dependent.<sup>115</sup>

Prehistoric mtDNA samples from the Colorado Plateau might also support a Kiowa presence. Although more tests are needed to confirm this point, scholars have observed that the ancient remains did carry the common Native American haplogroups and were possibly haplogroup X.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>R. G. Matson, "The Spread of Maize to the Colorado Plateau," *Archaeology Southwest*, 13:10-11, 1999. [www.cpluhna.nau.edu/Research/spread\\_of\\_maize2.htm](http://www.cpluhna.nau.edu/Research/spread_of_maize2.htm). [Accessed February 2005]. Also Aikens, "Plains Relationships of the Fremont Culture," 201. Aikens used evidence from human skeletal remains in comparison with the southern Anasazi, and noted Tipi rings from rocks, hide shields, Pictography similarities, projectile points, moccasins, bison hunting, *et al.* All this Aikens assumes ties to the Shoshones, a hypothesis he clearly noted is not proven.

<sup>113</sup> Hill's suggestion that Eastern Basketmaker II people were Kiowa-Tanoans provides further scholarly evidence that the Kiowa were on the Colorado Plateau. Trager also hinted in 1967

<sup>114</sup> R. G. Matson, "The Archaic Origins of the Zuni: Many Possibilities," pre-published paper sent to the author in the process of discussions, dated August 17, 2001.

<sup>115</sup> R. G. Matson, "The Spread of Maize to the Colorado Plateau," *Archaeology Southwest*, 13:10-11, 1999. URL: [http://www.cpluhna.nau.edu/Research/spread\\_of\\_maize.htm](http://www.cpluhna.nau.edu/Research/spread_of_maize.htm) [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>116</sup> Smith, Malhi, Eshleman, Lorenz and Kaestle, "Distribution of mtDNA Haplogroup X Among Native North Americans," 281.

As nomadic hunters, the “Coming-Out People” may have used the Colorado Plateau as their base of operations while they ranged up and down the continental divide relentlessly pursuing their subsistence needs. These movements were limited only by the distance they could walk and the load carried by their canines. Kiowa traditions indicate they were always hunters and never dependent upon agriculture as a basis of their subsistence.<sup>117</sup> Nonetheless, it is probable that during contact with the Western Basketmaker II people, members of the tribe learned how to grow maize. Kiowa women, from time to time did practice growing foodstuff as attested in their oral tradition, which recalled a time when some Kiowa women grew corn.<sup>118</sup>

While among the Fremont People, the “Coming-Out People” formed an enduring association. During this ancient period the Gatacka, or Kiowa Apache became symbiotically related to the Manrhoat—LaSalle’s taxonomy for the Kiowa. As Athapaskan speakers, the Gatacka moved into the Fremont Culture from the Pacific coastal area, about the same time Proto-Kiowa arrived. Hugh Scott observed that neither the Kiowa nor the Kiowa Apache ever recalled a time that they were not together dating to the Fremont Period.<sup>119</sup>

A separation of the “Coming-Out People” from the Fremont Culture probably came as the result of a substantial drought that drove the Kiowa permanently onto the

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<sup>117</sup> Albert Rendahl, Interview by author with Big Tree’s Great Grand son, at Rainy Mountain, Oklahoma, November 3, 2002.

<sup>118</sup> Marriott, *Kiowa Years*, A study in Culture Impact, (New York: The Macmillan Company: 1968), 43.

<sup>119</sup> Hugh Lenox Scott, “Notes on the Kado, or Sun Dance of the Kiowa,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 13, No.3, (Jul., - Sept. 1911), 346. JSTOR [Accessed March 9, 2005].

plains east of the Rocky Mountains to find food for their survival in the twelfth-century A.D.<sup>120</sup> This departure may explain an important separation.<sup>121</sup> Tanoan speaking members of the tribe had become more involved in horticulture and did not depart from the Plateau with the rest of the tribe. Rather, they eventually migrated through the Colorado Plateau and later south into the Anasazi Pueblo culture along the Rio Grande. The Tiwa, one of the Tanoan speaking bands, was observed to have arrived in Ysleta near El Paso, by the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>122</sup>

The Tanoans were not the only people that moved south off the Colorado Plateau. Though scholars have disagreed on this point, an oral tradition of the Eastern Shoshone placed them on the Plateau, saying that Numic speaking peoples of the Uto-Aztecan language family headed southward off the Colorado Plateau for a sojourn among the Aztec. That tradition states that when they were in Mexico with the Aztecs they did not like the practice of “human sacrifices” and were eventually led back to the northern country by the “Thunderbird.”<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Dr. Jane H. Hill, Professor of Linguistics, UCLA, Telephone interview by author, February 2003.

<sup>121</sup> Hill, Telephone Interview.

<sup>122</sup> J. Walter Fewkes, “The Pueblo Settlements near El Paso,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 4, Issue 1, (Jan.-Mar., 1902), 57-75, 57. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007]. See also Edward P. Dozier, “The Pueblos of the Southwestern United States,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, and Ireland*, Vol. 90, Issue 1, (Jan.-Jun., 1960), 146-160, 146. JSTOR [Accessed April 7, 2003]. Dozier noted that the Rio Grande settlements of the Tiwa, etc., were later than the oldest tenth-century Pueblos. Also see George L. Trager, “The Tanoan Settlement of the Rio Grande Area: 335-350.

<sup>123</sup> Jeffery Hansen, “Rock Art in the West: The Petroglyphs of Dry Fork Canyon,” *American Western Magazine*, <http://www.readthewest.com/hansonJAN.html>, [Accessed February 19, 2005].

Following their separation from the Fremont Culture, the “Coming-Out People” ranged toward the head water areas of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers located in south-western Montana. During that the late pre-historic period between 1200 and 1400 A.D., the Kiowa may have played an active role in the trade of obsidian from Camas-Dry Creek west of the Yellowstone area, which has been documented to have passed throughout the Northwestern Plains.<sup>124</sup> Here, about 1300 A.D. the pre-historic Kiowa began using finer projectile points for their arrowheads based on a triangular one that found its way to the northern plains from the Mississippi area.<sup>125</sup> The “Coming-Out People” were still ranging in the headwaters area of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers when Columbus arrived in the Eastern Caribbean in 1492.<sup>126</sup>

### **Kiowa Vision of Freedom in Transatlantic Confrontation**

The Kiowa’s motive behind nomadic life was freedom to move about as they pleased. The enduring viability of the warrior way of life was based on this motive. Competition for staple subsistence resources increased, as diverse nomadic tribes grew in numbers. This rivalry became the catalyst for tribal commitment to martial concerns. The intrinsic desire for survival played a part; hunters and gathers, by necessity had to

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<sup>124</sup>Gary A. Wright, Henry Chaya, and James McDonald, “The Location of the Field Museum Yellowstone (F.M.Y., 90) Group Obsidian Source,” *Plains Anthropologist, Journal of the Plains Anthropological Society*, Vol. 35, No. 127, (Feb. 1990), 71-74. See also. Janetski, *Indians in Yellowstone Nation Park*, 2-26.

<sup>125</sup> Thomas F. Kehoe, “The Small Side-Notched Point System of the Northern Plains,” *American Antiquity*, Vol. 31. No. 6 (Oct., 1966), 827-841, 840. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>126</sup>Janetski, *Indians in Yellowstone*, 29.

go where game could be found.<sup>127</sup> John Hunter, as a young boy, was taken captive and raised by the Osage, among whom he gained a wealth of knowledge regarding the Plains Indians. Hunter observed that nomadic life demonstrated the “character of an *independent*” and “brave people,” not tied to any particular land.<sup>128</sup>

This freedom came with a price. In the early years of tribal expansion, the western Plains had numerous kinds of game animals. This led to intertribal competition and friction. In time the Kiowa lifestyle acquiesced to the harsh realities required of intertribal warfare, once difficult choices about life and death became simple as intertribal rivalry for resources demanded new values and actions. Eventually, individual warriors became captivated by the social opportunities of warfare; young men especially “courted” battle because it gave them the opportunity to earn distinction. The warrior mentality became the core of tribal social existence.<sup>129</sup>

This way of life eventually influenced Kiowa religious beliefs. Following large revenge raids, scalps were dedicated to the Taime, the “focal point” of tribal unity and the central “icon” of the annual Sun Dance.<sup>130</sup> During this yearly affair various bands,

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<sup>127</sup> Kelly, Todd, “Coming into the Country: Early PaleoIndian Hunting and Mobility,” 234.

<sup>128</sup> John Dunn Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity Among the Indians of North America*, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Ohme, Brown a & Green, 1824), 178.  
<http://www.merycoz.org/voices/hunter/HUNTER06.HTM>. [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>129</sup> Kracht, *Kiowa Religion: An Ethnohistorical Analysis of Ritual Symbolism*, 177.

<sup>130</sup> Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, 168.

or *topotógas*, gathered together and renewed social relationships amidst the backdrop of martial preparations.<sup>131</sup>

### **The Kiowa Sun Dance and Religious Practices on the Eve of 1492**

While ranging on the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers, the Kiowa befriended the Crow and enjoyed a long and impressionable association with them.<sup>132</sup> It has been assumed by many that the long relationship with the Crow initiated their veneration of the Taimé as their highest religious symbol and the annual Sun Dance.<sup>133</sup> Nonetheless, a convincing study by Erminie Voegelin revealed a closer Kiowa tie to Arapaho myths than the Crow and it is likely that the two religious practices derived from the Arapaho rather than the Crow.<sup>134</sup>

The Sun Dance became the most important tribal ceremony practiced by the “Coming-Out People.”<sup>135</sup> Social as well as religious, it was a yearly homecoming for the normally scattered bands that ranged for their daily subsistence, and relentlessly sought pasture for their increasing horse herds. In later years, there were ten to twenty of these bands made up of from 60 to 250 people. The gathering of all the various Kiowa bands in one area was only practical for a short “three to six week period in the

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<sup>131</sup> Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare Among the Plains Indians*, 30-31.

<sup>132</sup> Mooney, *Calendar History*, 156.

<sup>133</sup> Mayhall, 11; Maurice Boyd, *Kiowa Voices, Myths, Legends and Folktales*, Vol. II, (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1983), 47; Mooney, *Calendar History*, 240.

<sup>134</sup> Erminie W. Voegelin, Kiowa-Crow Mythological Affiliations, *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 35, Issue 3 (Jul.-Sep., 1933), 470-474. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>135</sup> Scott, “Notes on the Kado, or Sun Dance of the Kiowa,” 347.

spring due to food problems of so many gathered in one place.”<sup>136</sup> Nevertheless, they knew it was time when the grass was about a foot high, and the horses were getting fat.<sup>137</sup> The Taime Keeper determined the location for the dance and all members of the tribe were expected to be there.<sup>138</sup> The Kiowa, in turn, eagerly anticipated the renewal of acquaintances as well as experiencing the sacred dynamics of the Dance.<sup>139</sup>

The religious focus of the Sun Dance was primarily on the Taime. Too sacred for a Kiowa to describe, the original Taime was given to the “Coming-Out People” by an Arapaho during their years ranging on the headwaters of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers.<sup>140</sup> It came to represent the primary “spiritual medicine” of the “Coming-Out People,” a reflection of the power of the Great Mystery, *Dom-oye-alm-daw-k’hee* or “Earth Maker,” and was ceremonially hung on a pole in the medicine lodge.<sup>141</sup>

The Ten Medicines were also brought to the Sun Dance, but were not used in the ceremony. As revealed in the story of the Spider Woman, the Sun, or Pahy, blessed the “Coming-Out People” by sharing some of the power the Earth Maker. That power was represented in the ten medicine bags. Keepers of the Ten Medicines were available to

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<sup>136</sup> Levy, *After Custer*, 11-12.

<sup>137</sup> Scott, *Notes on the Kado*, 349.

<sup>138</sup> Scott, *Notes on the Kado*, 356

<sup>139</sup> Boyd, *Kiowa Voices*, Vol. II, 52

<sup>140</sup> Scott, *Notes on the Kado*, 348. Kracht noted that there have been a total of four different Taime images. Benjamin R. Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, 179.

<sup>141</sup> Nye, *Bad Medicine & Good Tales*, 49.



tribal members through out the year for physical and spiritual healing, vow making and revered advice. To the “Coming-Out People,” the Ten Medicines were a strong power from Earth Maker that antedated the Taime.<sup>142</sup>

The process of choosing the material and construction of the medicine lodge was directed by strict tribal ritual and took six days.<sup>143</sup> The completed lodge varied from forty-two to sixty feet in diameter with the entrance always from the east. The actual Sun Dance lasted for four days and nights while participants, with little food or water, danced, hoping to experience visions.<sup>144</sup>

Large and important raids commonly followed the conclusion of the annual Sun Dance. After successful war parties, Kiowa women would meet their warrior friends outside of the village and join them on a triumphant entrance before a rejoicing tribe. Smaller war parties, and the more common tribal raids, awarded their victory scalps to the medicine bundles that were maintained by different individuals in various bands, making them more widely available for such homage through out the year.<sup>145</sup> Their religious ceremonies eventually reflected the realities of warfare which had become inseparable from Kiowa spiritual beliefs.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Boyd, *Kiowa Voices*, Vol. II, 47-48. And *Kiowa Voices, Ceremonial Dance, Ritual and Song, Vol. I.*, 31. Also James Mooney, *Calendar History*, 153.

<sup>143</sup> Scott, *Notes on the Kado* , 362,.

<sup>144</sup> Mahall, 149.

<sup>145</sup> Kracht., *Kiowa Religion*, 205.

<sup>146</sup> Mishkin, *Rank & Warfare*, 248.

## **Pre-Columbian Material Culture on the Eve of Discovery**

There were important traits that typified the Kiowa and Plains Indians material culture on the eve of Columbian discovery. Most prominent, was their dependence upon the buffalo with the addition to their diet of wild berries and roots when ever they could be found. Next, the tribe generally did not fish nor cultivate the ground for seasonal crops. The portable tipi was their primary means of lodging. Finally, they used dogs for transporting the tipi with travois along with any other assorted archaic survival items.

Though all the Kiowa had the opportunity during the Fremont period to garner new technologies, it appears they rejected the practice of basketry, pottery and weaving. Rather, they continued to make their clothing from the skins of buffalo and deer while their tools of necessity came from the bones of those same animals. The Kiowa eventually developed a technique of bead decorating for their clothes and the use of distinctive rawhide on circular war shields. In the final analysis, their utilization of wood, stone and bone remained archaic.<sup>147</sup> They also used the bow and arrow, the fire-drill, and pipe smoking of tobacco as did most Indians in the pre-Columbian period. This material culture would encounter an extreme challenge from Euro-American settlers.<sup>148</sup>

In summary, the pre-Columbian ancestors of the Kiowa experienced cultural adaptation long before transatlantic contact with Euro-Americans. At some point,

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<sup>147</sup> Wissler, "Material Cultures", 449-450.

Paleolithic proto-Kiowa moved across Beringia in search of supplementary food and related subsistence resources in face of the challenge of new ways of living. In time their Mesolithic offspring evolved into small self-sustaining nomadic hunter-gathering family units and resultant associations of families. Increasing competition for subsistence resources became the catalyst for cultural focus on war and the evolution of the warrior way of life subsequent to the Columbian discovery. By the time of the Columbian encounter, the Kiowa were busy changing the ecology of terra firma. They had created massive grasslands from their hunting fire-drives and purposeful defoliation, and they reshaped the ground “via countless artificial earthworks” as they awaited another cultural confrontation of enormous magnitude.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Wissler, “Material Cultures,” 466.

<sup>149</sup> William M. Denevan, “The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 82, No. 3, “The Americas before and after 1492: Current Geographical Research,” (Sept., 1992), 369-385, 370. JSTOR [Accessed January 5, 2004].

## CHAPTER 2

### KIOWA IN THE COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE 1492-1830

In the dawning hours of October 12, 1492, Christopher Columbus landed on *Guanahani* in the Bahamas, inaugurating transatlantic exchanges that eventually changed the Old and New Worlds.<sup>1</sup> For example, the importation of Native American foodstuffs to Europe helped end famines and stimulate immense population increases that overflowed into the New World.<sup>2</sup> As a result, Spain, France and England contended for the resettlement of North America and the commercial windfall of that continent's immense resources. In the course of that rivalry, Old World commodities such as metal, guns and especially horses were transported to the Plains where they became indispensable elements of the Kiowa way of life, transforming their cultural and social patterns. The Columbian Exchange was the catalyst of that change.

Alfred Crosby's publication of *The Columbian Exchange* in 1972 initiated a

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<sup>1</sup> *Guanahani* was the Indian name of the Island. Columbus renamed it San Salvador. R. H. Major *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 15, No. 3. (1870 - 1871), 210-211. URL: <http://books.google.com/books?id=YNQBAAAAYAAJ&dq=proceedings+of+the+royal+geographical+society+of+london&printsec=frontcover&source=web&ots=56mAAaCBDG&sig=e4H-CKexlhyTwgzvdhOIKM2KEgU#PPP9,M1>. 210. Cat Island, Samana, Mariguana, and Grand Turk Islands have been suggested as the first landing, however, Watling's Island best fits the descriptions of Columbus. See also "The Landfall of Columbus" H. C. F. Cox *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 68, No. 4. (Oct., 1926), pp. 338-339. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>2</sup> Crosby, , *The Columbian Exchange*, 165-207. Also, Jack Weatherford, *Indian Givers, How The Indians Of The Americas Transformed The World*, (New York: Fawcett Columbine: 1988), 59-78.

field of study that focused specifically on the ecological and social changes that resulted from the enduring encounter of the New and Old Worlds.<sup>3</sup> Contributing to this genre, John Verano and Douglas Ubelaker argued that Native American health before the arrival of Columbus was already seriously compromised.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, the delicate condition of Native Americans further aggravated the severity of the introduction of foreign pathogens. Native American populations were devastated by the inadvertent exchange of pathogens, as Carl Sauer noted in his 1966 publication of *The Early Spanish Main*.<sup>5</sup> The Kiowa experienced cholera and small pox epidemics that resulted in depleted numbers several times during the nineteenth century, although the exact numbers cannot be known.<sup>6</sup>

Native American depopulations related to the Columbian Exchange were the subject of Russell Thornton's 1987 book, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival*. Thornton concluded that the decimation of so many Native Americans from European diseases was tantamount to a *holocaust*.<sup>7</sup> Five years later, David Stannard addressed moral issues related to Thornton's conclusion about the Columbian Exchange.

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<sup>3</sup> Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange*, Chapters 2 and 4 appeared in professional journals prior to the publication of this book.

<sup>4</sup> John W. Verano and Douglas H. Ubelaker, *Disease and Demography in the Americas*, (Washington, D.D.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> Carl Ortwin Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966). Daniel F. Austin, Reviewer, 'The Early Spanish Main,' *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club*, Vol. 119, No. 3 (Jul. – Sep., 1992), 343. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>6</sup> Mooney, *Calendar History*, 168, 173, 176.

<sup>7</sup> Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).

Stannard's monumental work *American Holocaust: Conquest of the New World*, presented profuse data documenting the role of Euro-American attitudes and institutions in the overall devastation of American tribal people.<sup>8</sup> The Kiowa faced this juggernaut of ethnocentric attitudes and institutions increasingly as trade gradually drew them into the competitive Spanish, French, and English multiple frontiers.

Pre-Columbian population demographics have been studied in attempts to approximate the impact of transatlantic contact. For instance, estimates have varied between 8 and 100 million people<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, William Denevan observed, in his 1976 book, *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492*, the impossibility of finding precise estimates since adequate demographic data does not exist.<sup>10</sup> In order to

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<sup>8</sup> Samuel R. Cook, Review of "American Holocaust," *American Indian Quarterly*, , Vol. 19 No. 2 (Spring, 1995), 241. Also, Daniel T. Reff, Review of "American Holocaust," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 1 (Feb., 1994), 189. Both JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>9</sup> Earlier "Bottom Up" methodologists like James Mooney and Alfred Kroeber suggested totals ranging only from 500,000 to 2.5 million. Daniels illustrates the evidence of various schools in the last century of study and concludes that "a century of debate has produced neither generally accepted population estimates nor consensus on the methods of obtaining them, noting the need for better evidence and more effective methods.

<sup>10</sup> William M. Denevan, editor, *The Native Populations of the Americas in 1492*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1976). Robert C. West, Review, 'The Native Population of the Americas in 1492,' *Geographical Review*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Jan., 1978), 122-123. JSTOR [Accessed June 7 2005]. Also, Don D. Fowler, "The Native Population of the Americas in 1492," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Apr., 1978), 213-214. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007]. Nonetheless, those given to fewer numbers, like Anthropologist Henry Dobyns, and sociologist Russell Thornton, envisioned the North American Population between 7 to 18 million prior to Columbus, Daniels, 317. The more copious estimates of William Denevan indicated there were approximately 53.9 million. These include 3 million in the Caribbean area; 15.7 million in the Andes with an additional 8.6 million in the low lands of South America; 17.2 million in Mexico with 5.6 million in Central America leaving about 3.8 million north of the Rio Grande. William M. Denevan, "The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 82, No. 3, 369-385, 370. JSTOR [Accessed January 5, 2004]. Also Karl W. Butzer "The Americas before and after 1492: An Introduction to Current Geographical Research," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*,

overcome the logjam over precise pre-Columbian demographics, Douglas Ubelaker urged the development of detailed tribe-by-tribe studies to better assess alterations caused by the Columbian Exchange.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile, trade was identified as an important catalyst in the Columbian Exchange in a symposium held in Phoenix in 1988. Symposium papers were published in *Ethnohistory and Archaeology: Approaches to Postcontact Change in the Americas*. Among other considerations, the study emphasized the significance of transatlantic trade and its influence on tribal people. Trade played a pivotal role in the Columbian Exchange as profit-taking drove the engines of commerce along the multiple frontiers of the Spanish, French, and English.<sup>12</sup> Growing profits in animal hides and enormous numbers of bison on the Plains drew Euro-Americans increasingly into trade and contact with the Kiowa. As Elliott West observed, while the Spanish horse gave them a new source of fundamental power, trade for European goods such as coffee, and blankets provided Kiowa daily life a little more comfort.<sup>13</sup>

The Kiowa imposed their own meanings on that trade. They used Euro-American goods in unique ways to maintain the viability of their social system in the

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Vol. 82, No. 3, (Sept., 1992), 345-368, 347, 370. JSTOR [Accessed January 4, 2004]. Butzer has minor variation of these figures.

<sup>11</sup> Marshall J. Becker, Review of "Disease and Demography in the Americas," by John W. Verano and Douglas H. Ubelaker, *American Antiquity*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (Apr., 1994), 383-384. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 20007].

<sup>12</sup> Allen Christelow, "French Interest in the Spanish Empire During the Ministry of the Duc Choiseul, 1759-1771," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 21, No. 4. (Nov., 1941), 515-537, 516. JSTOR [Accessed April 27, 2005].

<sup>13</sup> West, *Contested Plains*, 48.

face of mounting pressures for change. For example, they used strap metal, designed for use around wooden wagon wheels, for making points for their arrows and spears. Despite the perplexities to problems caused by Euro-American contact, the Kiowa developed innovative responses to the challenges facing them.<sup>14</sup>

Although they experienced a demographic catastrophe such as Stannard described, Indians in general essentially responded well to the resettlement of their land. As Axtell concluded, in his book, *Beyond 1492*, the notion of the Columbian Exchange provides an important vehicle for understanding the subtle elements in play amidst crucial cultural interactions.<sup>15</sup> Regardless of technological disparities and diminishing numbers, Native Americans responded in sensible and often ingenious ways to Euro-American challenges to their way of life, dynamically contributing to the outcome of their destinies.<sup>16</sup>

The Kiowa already had adapted to changes for thousands of years.<sup>17</sup> When Columbus landed on *Guanahani*, the Kiowa were located near the eastern Rocky

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<sup>14</sup> Daniel Rogers and Samuel M. Wilson, Editors, *Ethnohistory and Archaeology: Approaches to Post-contact Change in the Americas*, (New York: Plenum, 1993), 377. Also, Reviewer, Thomas E. Sheridan, "The Columbian Exchange," *Science*, New Series, Vol. 265, No. 5169 (Jul. 8, 1994), 270. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007]. Also Teresita Majewski, "Ethnohistory and Archaeology: Approaches to Postcontact Change in the Americas," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Apr., 1995), 376-378. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>15</sup> Axtell, *Beyond 1492, Encounters in Colonial North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 224.

<sup>16</sup> Axtell, *Beyond 1422*, 99-100.

<sup>17</sup> Axtell, *Beyond 1492*, 154.



Mountains in the Three Forks, Gallatin and Virginia City area of western Montana.<sup>18</sup>

Like other plains tribes, they had actively participated in inter-tribal trade, dealt with the challenges of migration, complex environmental considerations, disease, new ways of doing things and shifting intertribal relationships, long before the arrival of Europeans. The Columbian Exchange only exacerbated an already existing process.<sup>19</sup>

Warfare was also a familiar experience for the Kiowa. It often resulted from tribal differences or competition for resources. In scalp raids, the Kiowa and competing tribes formed lines of battle barely in the range of their long bows. Protected by large three-foot diameter rawhide shields, they fired at each other for hours with little actual contact between the contending forces. There were relatively few casualties and the battles ended at nightfall.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, the Kiowa periodically had to contend for critical subsistence resources, especially when environmental conditions were not supportive to their needs. This more rigorous variety of warfare often resulted in the complete destruction of villages and their inhabitants.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Mooney, *Calendar History*, 155.

<sup>19</sup> Mishkin, *Rank & Warfare*, 57.

<sup>20</sup> John C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, With Comparative Material From Other Western Tribes*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, 1954, Bulletin 159 309. URL: <http://www.sil.si.edu/DigitalCollections/BAE/Bulletin159/> .[Accessed January 1, 2004]. See also John C. Ewers, "Intertribal Warfare as the Precursor of Indian-White Warfare on the Northern Great Plains," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 6. No. 4, (Oct., 1975), 397-410. JSTOR [Accessed March 10, 2005].

<sup>21</sup> Douglas B. Bamforth, "Indigenous People, Indigenous Violence: Pre-contact Warfare on the North American Great Plains," *Man*, New Series, Vol. 1, (Mar., 1994), 95-115, 96-99. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

The Kiowa relied primarily on hunting for subsistence, but also made use of wild plants to assure the basic essentials for a vigorous and healthy life. Their good health was demonstrated by a relatively large physical stature. Studies have shown that the Plains Indians, including the Kiowa, were some of the tallest people in the world.<sup>22</sup> Contributing to their stature was a diet that included a diversity of plants that provided important vitamins, minerals and other important nutrients. For instance the Kiowa ate the root of the *Petalostemon oligophyllum*, (Slender White Prairie Clover). In addition, they feasted on the *Prunus americana* (American Plum) and the *P. virginiana var mclanocarpa* (Cokeberry), the *Liatris punctata* (Blazing Star) and the *Rhus trilobata* (Three-lobed Sumac). During difficult subsistence periods they also roasted the large roots of the *Ipomoea leptophylla* (the Bush Morning Glory).<sup>23</sup>

Besides food supplements, the Kiowa also found therapeutic uses for various flora. For example, they used the *Brauneria angustifolia*, the Narrow-leaved Purple Cone Flower, as a cough medicine. Then the *Rhus radicans* (Poison Ivy) leaves were helpful in treating boils and open sores or wounds, and the *Yucca glauca* (Soap Weed) was handy as a cleansing agent like soap.<sup>24</sup>

The Kiowa also traded with agricultural tribes for nutritional foods such as maize and beans. This trade included tribes such the Arikara, Mandan and Hidatasa in

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<sup>22</sup> Richard H. Steckel and Joseph M. Prince, "Tallest in the World: Native Americans of the Great Plains in the Nineteenth Century," *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 91, No. 1, (Mar., 2001), 287-294, 287. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>23</sup> Vestal and Schultes, *The Economic Botany of the Kiowa*, 71-72.

<sup>24</sup> Vestal and Schultes, *The Economic Botany of the Kiowa*, 71-72.

the upper Missouri region. The upper Missouri tribes grew maize, sunflowers, squashes and tobacco and hunted when the demands of the growing seasons allowed. Nonetheless, they were eager to obtain meat from Kiowa hunters, especially during peak periods of agricultural labors.

Trade also took the Kiowa as far as the Pueblos in the Southwest, at least a century before the arrival of Columbus. The environment on the Western Plateau of New Mexico provided food stuffs and other goods not available on the lower Plains such as maize, cotton blankets and pottery.<sup>25</sup> Juan de Oñate recorded that historic intertribal trade had taken place there for many years prior to the arrival of the Spanish.<sup>26</sup> The “dog-using” Kiowa commonly journeyed to the Rio Grande area where long standing trade between the Pueblo tribes and Plains Indians was carried on.<sup>27</sup> The Rio Grande valley was a center of trade where the Zuni were noted for trading cotton blankets, turquoise, salt, parrot feathers from Mexico and shells by the time Coronado reached them in 1540. Plains tribes often bartered flint knives, buffalo robes and animal skins.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, 11, 12. Ewers cited Herbert E Bolton, Ed, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest*, 1916, 226.

<sup>26</sup> Martha A. Works, “Creating Trading Places on the New Mexican Frontier,” *Geographical Review*, Vol. 82, No. 3 (Jul., 1992), 268-269. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007]. Ewers, *The Horse In Blackfoot Indian Culture*, 2. Also J. B. Tyrrell, Ed., *David Thompson’s Narrative of His Explorations in Western America 1784-1812*, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1916), 377-378.

<sup>27</sup> Wissler, *Material Culture*, 486.

<sup>28</sup> Works, “Creating Trading Places,” 269.

Until the late seventeenth century, the Kiowa were restricted to the dynamics of pedestrian movements. A major challenge was transporting the accumulation of material resources during frequent travels. For instance, a dog could not pull a travois over seventy-five pounds. This required the average Kiowa family to have six to twelve dogs to move their possessions. As carnivorous animals, they required protein and meat supplies that the Kiowa also needed for subsistence. In addition, dogs often could not be controlled due to their predator instincts. They commonly chased rabbits or fought with other dogs. Because of their limited size, canines also could not carry old or sick Kiowa, and were limited to traveling five or six miles a day.<sup>29</sup>

The Columbian Exchange dramatically improved Kiowa mobility.<sup>30</sup> In 1598, Juan de Oñate established the first Spanish colony in New Mexico and introduced, along with cattle and sheep, the horse to the Pueblo Indians. Although the timing and spread of horses to various North American tribes has been matter of debate, Spanish settlements at Santa Fé were the main source of horse distribution. As an historic trade area, it had been a center for obtaining intertribal needs. When Spanish settlements took root in the area, they provided Indians the necessary training on how to use horses.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> David W. Anthony, "The 'Kurgan Culture,' Indo-European Origins, and the Domestication of the Horse: A Reconsideration," *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 27, No. 4. (Aug. - Oct., 1986), 291-313, 302. JSTOR [Accessed December 19, 2003]. Also, Ewers, *The Horse In Blackfoot Indian Culture*.

<sup>30</sup> De B. Randolph Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders: A Winter Campaign on the Plains*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, reprint of 1885, 1985), 183-184. Also, Mooney, 155, 160.

<sup>31</sup> Francis Haines, "Where did the Plains Indians Get Their Horses?" *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Jan.-Mar., 1938), 112-117. JSTOR [Accessed December 19, 2003]. Also, Clark

By 1630 Apache Indians had initiated a cultural revolution that spread north. Having learned how to train and care for horses from the mission farms, many left to get away from the often harsh labor requirements driven by the Spanish policy of “*descubrimiento, pacificacion y conversion.*” Some were able to share that knowledge with nomadic tribes where they found refuge. By 1659 Navahos and Apaches were raiding Spanish settlements in Northwestern New Spain to obtain horses.<sup>32</sup>

The Pueblo Revolt in 1680 accelerated the spread of horses to Indians. Indian resentments at repressive measures of the Spanish to eradicate all vestiges of native life came to a boiling point in 1680. Native Americans in every pueblo north of El Paso suddenly rose up against those they viewed as their oppressors.<sup>33</sup> As a result, the Spanish left their livestock behind as they departed in haste for their lives. Many of the horses were traded to nomadic tribes for buffalo skins and robes.<sup>34</sup> The presence of horses along with European iron goods, fabrics and manufactured goods greatly intensified trade as well as raiding through the Rio Grande Valley.<sup>35</sup>

The Kiowa had obtained numerous horses by the late seventeenth century.

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Wissler, “The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Jan-Mar., 1914), 2. JSTOR [Accessed August 29, 2003].

<sup>32</sup> Frank Raymond Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns of the Great Plains Indians*, with Introduction by John Ewers, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953, 1992 reprint), 21. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Henry Warner Bowden, “Spanish Missions, Cultural Conflict and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680,” *Church History*, Vol. 44, No. 2, (June 1975), 217-228, 221. JSTOR [Accessed August 23, 2005].

<sup>34</sup> Francis Haines, “The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 40. No. 3 (Jul. – Sep., 1938), 430-431. JSTOR [Accessed March 10, 2005].

Members of the Crow tribe introduced the first horse to the Kiowa, which they probably acquired through trade with the Utes.<sup>36</sup> Bands west of the Continental Divide initially obtained them from New Mexico via the “Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers.”<sup>37</sup> The Kiowa quickly realized the incredible potential of horses. In 1682, La Salle, a French fur trader and explorer, observed that the tribe had already become mounted. At that time, they were provisionally camped south of Pawnee villages about “200 leagues” (600 miles) West of Fort Saint Louis in the vicinity of present Dodge City. There, it was reported, they used horses for hunting, war and sold them to the Pawnee.<sup>38</sup>

The possession of horses dramatically altered the Kiowa way of life<sup>39</sup> To fully utilize them as a “mobile food source,” they had to devise new riding techniques. Then, the Kiowa also had to change hunting strategies to take advantage of their increased

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<sup>35</sup>Works, “Creating Trading Places,” 269.

<sup>36</sup> Mooney, *Calendar*, 165. Clark Wissler, as did others, identified the Kiowa with La Salle’s 1682 “Manrhoat.” He concluded that the Kiowa were well equipped with horses then. Wissler, “The Influence of the Horse,” 2.

<sup>37</sup> Hugh Lenox Scott, “The Early History of the Names of the Arapaho,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Jul.-Sep., 1907), 545-560, 546. Scott suggested a 1730 date, however that seems too late. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>38</sup> Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, Rivers and Natives of the Countries Explored, (Detached Sheet in La Salle’s handwriting dated 1682/83) La Salle, Robert in English Translation of Margry II (Microfilm), 198-206, Vol. 2, 203-2004. (Bibliotheque Nationale, fonds Clairambault 1016: fol. 188. No 1 1.) [http://www.gbl.indiana.edu/archives/miamis3/M82-99\\_2a.html](http://www.gbl.indiana.edu/archives/miamis3/M82-99_2a.html). La Salle called the Kiowa “Manrhoat” and the Kiowa Apache, “Grattacka.” The latter tribe has been commonly called Grattacka and it is difficult not to identify the Kiowa with the “Manrhoat.” The Lewis and Clark Journal, Vol. 6, page 101-102, the Kiowa Apache are called the “Cataka,” probably from Gattacka.

<sup>39</sup> David J. Weber, *New Spain’s Far Northern Frontier: Essays On Spain in the American West, 1540-1821*, (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1979), 186. Also Mooney, *Calendar*, 161.

mobility. They were able to accumulate and store resources in a manner far beyond their previous imaginations. Horses allowed them to carry additional necessities further and return with more food than previously possible.<sup>40</sup> In movements between encampments, they could carry 200 pounds of dried foods and drag up to 300 pounds on a travois, four times that of a dog. Moreover, horses extended a day's journey to more than five times that of their canine predecessors.<sup>41</sup>

Horses also changed Kiowa warfare. A pre-horse war party traveled about twenty-five miles per-day. Mounted parties more than doubled that distance.<sup>42</sup> The increased mobility provided by horses exacerbated intertribal warfare.<sup>43</sup> Raids to obtain more horses initiated hostile feelings that further aggravated intertribal relations.<sup>44</sup> In preparation for horse-mounted warfare, the Kiowa shortened their long bows and downsized their war shields. Lances were also abbreviated to accommodate mounted combat. Finally, with the horse, a warrior had increased speed and augmented battlefield maneuverability as well as power.<sup>45</sup>

This new power exacted an enormous price. The use of horses raised the intensity of war as the old static and long distant form of combat became essentially

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<sup>40</sup> Anthony, "Kurgan Culture," 302.

<sup>41</sup> Anthony, "Kurgan Culture, 308.

<sup>42</sup> Ewers, *Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, 185.

<sup>43</sup> Ewers, "Intertribal Warfare, 401. Also Mishkin, 7.

<sup>44</sup> Anthony, "Kurgan Culture," 302.

<sup>45</sup> Mishkin, 19.

obsolete. Mounted charges brought the Kiowas into close quarter combat with their enemies, increasing the number and severity of casualties.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, the increased mobility encouraged the development of individual proficiency at the expense of the earlier collective action.<sup>47</sup>

Horses also affected the location and duration of gatherings. The average small Kiowa family needed ten horses, while a larger one required up to twenty. As a rule, the Kiowa averaged fifteen horses per lodge. Forage demands for large numbers of horses meant that bands could only come together during a three to six week period in the spring when grass and water were plentiful. In addition, forage requirements limited the length of time they could keep their camps in a location, forcing frequent moves that took time away from communal social needs.<sup>48</sup>

Furthermore, a social adaptation resulted from the possession of horses. They became the “new standard” of prosperity: the size of a horse herd became the gauge of a Kiowa’s wealth.<sup>49</sup> For instance, individuals were often looked down upon as being lazy or cowardly if they were deficient in horses. Furthermore, it was difficult for young Kiowas to enhance their status by effective participation in warrior functions like subsistence hunts or raids without good horses. Tribal members rich in mounts could

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<sup>46</sup> Ewers, *Horse in the Blackfoot Culture*, 309-310.

<sup>47</sup> Mooney, “Calendar History,” 161. Mishkin, 19. Also, Ewers, “Were the Blackfoot Rich in Horses,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 45, No. 4, Part 1 (Oct. - Dec., 1943), 602-610, 608-609. JSTOR [Accessed January 1, 2004].

<sup>48</sup> Mishkin, 20. Ewers, “Were the Blackfoot Rich in Horses,” 607.

<sup>49</sup> Ewers, *Horse in the Blackfoot Culture*, 9.. Mishkin, 21.



pick the best to enhance their potential for achieving greater warrior repute. In addition, Kiowas with a surplus of horses might gain prestige by sharing them with fellow tribesmen and help young warriors overcome their deficiency.<sup>50</sup> Despite that possibility, the need for horses encouraged inter-marriage among the wealthier members of the tribe, thereby intensifying social divergence and the development of a class system.<sup>51</sup>

The development of the Kiowa class system was not the only social outcome that played out in the Columbian Exchange. The multiple frontiers of European geopolitics extended to America in the late seventeenth century. From the 1690s to the 1760s, the French and British routinely fought each other on a world stage that projected into the North American heartland. The introduction of firearms to a limited number of tribal communities on the Northern Plains during that period eventually forced a change to tribal boundaries and divided Indian nations across the Great Plains. Following the beginning of the Anglo-French wars in 1689, American Indians became pawns in the power struggles between European powers and their desires to control New World commerce.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Mishkin, 21.

<sup>51</sup> Mayhall, *The Kiowas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962, 4<sup>th</sup> Printing 1987). 136, the *Onde* were the aristocracy, the *Ondegup'a* were second in rank, making up about 40% of the tribe. The *Kaan* were third in rank, the poor that numbered about half of the tribe. Finally, the lowest in rank, the *Dapom*, were very few in numbers, but were considered "no accounts or misfits." See also Ewers, 339 and Mishkin, 23.

<sup>52</sup> Donald E. Worcester and Thomas F. Schilz, "The Spread of Firearms among the Indians on the Anglo-French Frontiers," *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (spring, 1984), 103-115, 109. JSTOR [Accessed May 1, 2005]. Also, regarding trade, Arthur J. Ray, "History and Archaeology of the Fur Trade," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (Jan., 1978), 21-34, 31. JSTOR [Accessed April 27, 2005].

The French were more aggressive than the English in supplying northern tribes with firearms and ammunition in a trade battle for animal furs. French traders at Michilimakinac sold them to the Fox, Ojibwas, Ottawas and Crees. By the late seventeenth century, representatives of King Louis XIV worked selectively with the Crees to move their trade goods further west. Functioning as middlemen, for example, the Crees traded fourteen beaver hides for a gun from the French and passed it on to Northern Plains tribes for fifty furs. In consequence, guns empowered tribes, frequently stirring up intertribal warfare.<sup>53</sup>

The allied tribes of the Blackfoot, Atsina, Sarsi, Assiniboines, benefited from the late seventeenth-century Cree gun trade. As a result, they expanded their hunting grounds on the northern plains at the expense of tribes without firearms. The Alont, Kutenai, Flathead and most of the Shoshone bands were pushed westward by the well armed Blackfoot. During this time, the Kiowa were without guns. Consequently, they were forced out of the head waters of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers and relocated to the southeast in northeastern Wyoming and northwestern South Dakota.<sup>54</sup> Following their move from the Yellowstone area, the Kiowas hunted in territory east of the Big

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<sup>53</sup> Worcester and Schilz, "The Spread of Firearms Among the," 109.

<sup>54</sup> Secoy, *Changing Military*, 51-52. Also Ewers, *The Horse in the Blackfoot Indian Culture*, 172. The date for this final placement was 1770.

Horn Mountains through southeastern Montana to the Dakotas. They often made their council fires in the Black Hills.<sup>55</sup>

During this period, the Comanches separated from the Shoshone to move south into eastern Colorado north of the Arkansas River. Although Blackfoot guns played a role in this move, the Comanches moved southward to expedite trade with the Apaches in New Mexico to obtain increasing numbers of horses.<sup>56</sup> Soon after, by 1700, there was a significant increase in the importation of horses out of the trans-Rio Grande.<sup>57</sup> The Comanches played a key role along with the Utes in that business.<sup>58</sup> Both tribes benefited by commerce related to the Columbian Exchange as they traded or stole horses from Apaches in New Mexico.<sup>59</sup>

The movement of the Comanches north of the Arkansas River impeded the Kiowa route into New Mexico for horses. During that period, the Crow as well as the

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<sup>55</sup> Mooney, *Calendar*, 155. and 165. Clark Wissler, as do many others, identified the Kiowa with La Salle's 1682 "Manrhoat." He concluded that the Kiowa were well equipped with horses then. Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of the Plains Culture," 2.

<sup>56</sup> Lewis and Clark met the Shoshone in the Mountain areas of Northern Utah and Extreme Western Montana and noted they had horses but still very few guns. Lewis and Clark Journal, Aug. 24, 1805. On May 17, Lewis and Clark Journal noted war still being carried on the Blackfoot and other tribes. Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches, Lords of the South Plains*, (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 8. 11. Also see Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns*, 52. Secoy does not mention the Kiowa, but they surely were affected by this process.

<sup>57</sup> Scott, "The Early History of the Names of the Arapaho," 546.

<sup>58</sup> Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, 1777-1778*, 57. The Comanche "were unquestionably identified in New Mexico in 1705." As cited by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches Lords of the South Plains*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 8. Also, Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, 4.

<sup>59</sup> Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians," 436. Also Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns*, 33. Lewis and Clark found "Spanish riding gear and branded mules among the Shoshoni." Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, 6.

Kiowa had become intermediaries in the horse trade to the Upper Missouri tribes.<sup>60</sup> They acquired horses from the Apaches and the Comanches and then sold them to the Rickaras and Mandan for agriculture products and European commodities.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, they were unable to obtain guns in large numbers.<sup>62</sup>

In the early eighteenth century, European traders reached the Southern Plains. The French in particular were aggressive in the Mississippi Valley following the founding of New Orleans in 1718. Moving up from their enclave in New Orleans, French traders used barter in an attempt to secure a westward expansion of their boundary claims against the Spanish. They also traded some guns to the Pawnees, hoping to incite problems with the Spaniards.<sup>63</sup> By 1724 they were trading guns to the Comanches and upset the balance of power on the southern plains.<sup>64</sup> Spanish law banned the trade of guns to Indians. Therefore, the Apaches, not able to easily obtain

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<sup>60</sup> Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, 7.

<sup>61</sup> In 1724, Étienne de Veniard sieur de Bourgmont, the first known Euro-American to scientifically explore the Missouri River basin and record his findings for posterity, noted that the Paducah [Comanche] were located somewhere south of the Kansas River. Paducah : The name in which the Comanche were known by the Osage , Dakota and related tribes, per Mooney—Étienne de Veniard, sieur de Bourgmont, Bourgmont Journal, Nebraska Studies.org. [http://www.nebraskastudies.org/0300/frameset\\_reset.html?http://www.nebraskastudies.org/0300/stories/0301\\_0112\\_00.html](http://www.nebraskastudies.org/0300/frameset_reset.html?http://www.nebraskastudies.org/0300/stories/0301_0112_00.html). Also Mooney, *Calenda*, 161-162.

<sup>62</sup> Mooney, *Calendar*, 161. Mildred P. Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 191), 13. Also. See Robert Cavalier. De La Salle, in English Translation of Margry II (Microfilm), pp. 198-206/vol. 2. (Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds Clairambault 1016: fol. 188., No. 1), <http://www.gbl.indiana.edu/archives>. Also see Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, 9. Antoine Tabeau, a French trader, was with the Arikaras in 1803 and 1804 and was told by them that they traded with the Kiowa, Comanche and Cheyenne “to the foot of the Black Hills.

<sup>63</sup> Worcester and Schilz, “The Spread of Firearms, 109.

<sup>64</sup> Worcester and Schilz, 109.

fire arms, faced the threat of overwhelming Comanche firepower. In response, they moved southwest of the Arkansas River area in 1727, contracting their tribal boundaries to better defend their people from the threat. The Comanches took advantage of this development and relocated south of the Arkansas River to take control of the southeastern Southern Plains. About 1740, the Caddoan tribes of eastern Oklahoma and North Texas formed an alliance with the Comanches because of French trade with the Comanches.<sup>65</sup>

During that time, without an adequate supply of firearms, the Kiowas used their improved mobility provided by the Columbian Exchange to raid Spanish settlements in New Mexico. By 1743, the Kiowa were well mounted with horses obtained from Santa Fé and the Rio Grande Valley.<sup>66</sup> Five years later, the Provisional Governor of New Mexico, Francisco Vidauri y Villaseflor, warned local citizens to be on guard against the Kiowa, who were stealing horses in the region.<sup>67</sup> That same year, they were labeled as one of the “hostile tribes of New Mexico.”<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns*, 81-85. Mooney, *Calendar*, 162.

<sup>66</sup> Francois la Verendrye, *Journal of the Expedition of the Chevalier de La Verendry and One of His Brothers to Reach the Western Sea. Addressed to M. The Marquis de Beauharnois*, 1742-43. Document No. AJ-109. American Journeys Collection. [www.Wisconsinhistory.org](http://www.Wisconsinhistory.org). “Pioya” [Kiowa] village, on November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1742, whom were later identified by Reuban Thwaites as the Kiowa who were not far from the Crow Indians. See also Haines, “The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians,” 433. and Ewers, “Intertribal Warfare as the Precursor,” 400. Colin G. Galloway, *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 59-60.

<sup>67</sup> Mooney, *Calendar*, 160-161.

<sup>68</sup> Mooney, *Calendar*, 156. along with the Comanche, Apache, Navaho and Ute,

By 1775, the northern fur and gun trade began again to affect the Kiowa. The Sioux were involved and began to push west toward the Great Plains.<sup>69</sup> The once stationary horticulturalist Sioux obtained horses from the Rickaras in great numbers and had changed into nomadic hunting bands. Consequently, a long confrontation ensued between the Sioux and the Cheyenne with their allies, the Arapahos, east of the Black Hills. In addition, the Columbian Exchange brought epidemics of smallpox between 1772 and 1780, greatly weakening the Rickaras and other Missouri River village tribes giving the Sioux a distinct advantage.<sup>70</sup> In 1785, the Sioux expanded their conflict to fight against the Crow as well as the Kiowa.<sup>71</sup>

Amidst martial pressures with the numerous and well armed Sioux, the Kiowa made peace with the Comanches in 1790. This provided an opportunity for a move south to the Arkansas River area previously abandoned by the Comanches.<sup>72</sup> By that time the Kiowa had been transformed by the transatlantic Columbian Exchange. They were completely dependent upon horses. Their move, like the Comanche's earlier southward swing, could "not be explained altogether as the result of superior enemy

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<sup>69</sup> Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns of the Great Plains Indians*, 74. Also, , 67, 69., 70. The Dakota were transitioning from a woodlands prairie partly agriculture hunting subsistence to a plains bison hunting culture. Secoy 70-73. and 75-76.

<sup>70</sup> Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns*, 74.

<sup>71</sup> Mooney, *Calendar*, 155, 157, and 162. Mooney worked among the Sioux and was informed by an informant that they drove the Kiowa out of the Black Hills. Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Border*, 183-184. Also Mayhall, 13.

<sup>72</sup> Mooney, *Calendar*, 163. Mooney wrote "probably about 1790." Mooney, *Calendar*, 162-164. Mooney gives a detailed story of how the Comanche and Kiowa made pace through a Mexican intermediary.

pressure.”<sup>73</sup> Rather, they relocated to a more abundant supply of horses. Though obviously pressed by the superiority of Sioux in both numbers and guns, the move from the Black Hills area was among other things, a confirmation that the Kiowa were transformed to a horse dependent culture.

In addition, a mounting concern for the Kiowas had been the debilitating effect of cold weather on their herds. Many scholars call the period from A.D. 1550-1850 the “Little Ice Age.”<sup>74</sup> During that time, there were enormous increases in snowfall and severe cold weather. The Kiowa were elated to leave the more adverse climatic conditions in the north and move their horses onto the fertile Southern Plains of the Arkansas and Red Rivers.<sup>75</sup>

The Kiowas, who confederated with the Comanche and Caddoan tribes, took control of about 60,000 square miles on the Southern Plains.<sup>76</sup> That confederacy

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<sup>73</sup> Wallace and Hoebel, *The Comanches*, 11.

<sup>74</sup>Richard D. Tkachuck , *The Little Ice Age*,” Geoscience Research Institute Origins 10(2):51-65 (1983). <http://www.grisda.org/origins/10051.htm>. [Accessed September 27, 2005]. “The dates 1450 AD to about 1850 AD when, at least in the Northern Hemisphere, there appeared to be temperatures much cooler than at present, a time which some have named the “Little Ice Age.”

<sup>75</sup> Alan J. Osborn, “Ecological Aspects of Equestrian Adaptations in Aboriginal North America,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 85, No. 3 (Sept., 1983), 565-579. JSTOR [Accessed December 19, 2003]. Ewers, “Were the Blackfoot Rich in Horses,” 602-610. James, Edwin. *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819, 1820*. By Order of the Hon. J.C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the Command of Maj. S.H. Long, of the U.S. Top. Engineers. Compiled from the Notes of Major Long, Mr. T. Say, and Other Gentlemen of the Party, by Edwin James, Botanist and Geologist to the Expedition. In Three Volumes. (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1823). 3 volumes. Vol. II, 186.

<sup>76</sup> Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws And Treaties, Vol. II (Treaties)* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 977-984. URL: <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/KAPPLER>, [Accessed October 5, 2007]. Also Mayhall, 13. and Mooney, 162, North America is 9,631,418 square kilometers

stretched north to south from Smokey Hill River in the middle of Kansas to the Red River of North Texas. Then, west to east, from the headwaters of the Canadian River in Eastern New Mexico to the fork of the Arkansas and Cimarron Rivers in central Oklahoma.

Despite the apparent positive effects of the Columbian Exchange on the emergent Kiowa power, there were some grave outcomes. As early as 1801 the tribe encountered *Tä' dalkop*, or smallpox. This devastating disease was brought out of Mexico to the Plains by a Pawnee war party. An epidemic spread from the Missouri River to the Coasts of Texas, reaping terrible devastation upon the Wichita and Caddos, who lost up to half of their people. Then, again in 1816, *Tä' dalkop* returned to the Southern Plains, ravaging both the Comanches and the Kiowa.<sup>77</sup>

The spread of European diseases was to some extent related to the intensifying Euro-American commercial interest in southwestern Indian trade. Early trading contacts with Americans were considered beneficial from the Kiowa perspective. In 1805, James Pursley became the first “American” on record to have traded with the Kiowa and Comanches. Working with the French out of the Mandan country, he spent an entire season with the two tribes.<sup>78</sup> Thereafter, the Kiowa traded “furs of all kinds, dressed buffalo robes and raw deer skins, dried buffalo tongues and beeswax”

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<sup>77</sup> Mooney, *Calendar*, 168.

<sup>78</sup> Zebulon Montgomery Pike, *An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, and through the Western Parts of Louisiana, to the Sources of the [sic] Arkansas, Kans, La Platte, and Pierre Juan Rivers*, Appendix to Part III, 16-17, Doc. No. AJ-143, Wisconsin Historical Society, Digital Library and Archives. URL: <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/libraryarchives/collections/digital.asp> [Accessed October 5, 2007].



sporadically with *Tabbyboos* to obtain various items including metal, guns, powder and lead.<sup>79</sup> In those early trade years, the Kiowa and other Southern Plains tribes expressed great delight in meeting the Americans. In fact, they wanted assurances that traders would continue to trade guns and other European items with them. The Kiowa were well aware of the advantages gained by the use of European goods. They were familiar with the convenience and durability of iron for their arrow and spear tips as well as the practicality provided by iron cooking pots that made communal life a little easier. As a result, Kiowa reactions to Euro-American incursions into their traditional hunting grounds were, at the outset, positive.<sup>80</sup>

Commercial interests with New Mexico exacerbated intercultural contacts on the Southern Plains. Little notice was made of the Santa Fé trade until 1810, when Captain Zebulon Montgomery Pike published a journal of his expeditions.<sup>81</sup> His 1806 outing had taken him to the Southwest and Santa Fé. Pike wrote about an abundance of gold and silver in New Mexico and gave precise details of the advantages of trading in the region.<sup>82</sup> For instance, American trade goods sold for up to 200% of their Atlantic

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<sup>79</sup> Say, *An Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, Vol. 3, Edwin James, Doc. No. AJ-144c 50. Digital records, URL: <http://americanjourneys.org/> [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>80</sup> Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 34, 63. See Report of Sixth Regiment, U.S. Infantry, dated May 5, 1829 21<sup>st</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess Protection of Trade in Missouri, document No. 33, pg. 277. Congressional Globe, 277-280, 279.

<sup>81</sup> Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, the 1844 Edition Unabridged in two Volumes and with an Introduction by Archibald Hanna, and William H. Goetzmann, Vol. 1, (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1952), 4.

<sup>82</sup> Zebulon Montgomery Pike, *An Account of Expeditions*, Appendix to Part III, 18.

coast prices.<sup>83</sup> Pike also had contact with the Kiowa who, he wrote, possessed “immense herds of horses” and lived primarily by hunting buffalos. Thereafter, the Southern Plains became a vital thoroughfare for traders traveling to the old traditional Pueblo/Plains Indians trading sites in New Mexico.<sup>84</sup>

Increased movements of people and trade related to the Santa Fé Trail led to greater Euro-American interest in the region. Congress established the Arkansas Territory on July 4, 1819. Nonetheless, American government control was confined to east of what was called the “Osage line.” Indian Territory, west of that line, provided a province where Americans from the time of President Thomas Jefferson had envisioned a special enclave for Native Americans.<sup>85</sup> Some Cherokees and other eastern Indians had already moved to what is now eastern Oklahoma, creating tensions with the Osage Indians living there, as well as the Kiowa.<sup>86</sup> In support of government interest in the area, as well as the Santa Fé trade route, Fort Smith was built in western Arkansas in 1817.<sup>87</sup>

Two years later, President James Monroe ordered an expedition to explore and develop a topographical description of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, and their

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<sup>83</sup> Pike, Appendix to Part III, 22.

<sup>84</sup> Pike, Appendix to Part III, 17.

<sup>85</sup> Roy M. Robbins, “Preemption—A Frontier Triumph,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, (Vol 18), No. 3 (Dec. 1931), 331-349, 339. JSTOR [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>86</sup> Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days*, 26.

<sup>87</sup> James Barbour, Department of War to Hon. Wm. H. Harrison, Chairman of the Senate Military Committee. January 11, 1927. 19<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>n</sup> ses, Sec. 1827, Military Establishment, 615. Congressional Globe.

navigable tributaries.<sup>88</sup> This took elements of the expedition into the southwest, a region claimed by the Spanish, under the direction of Major Stephen Long of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The choice of Long as the commander was commensurate with the scientific purposes of the expedition. His party included several scientists who studied the geography and natural resources of the area. The expedition ran into the Kiowa, Kiowa Apaches, Arapahos and a splinter group of the Cheyenne in the Texas Panhandle along the Canadian River.<sup>89</sup> Those tribes were hunting in an extensive area between the headwaters of the Platt River down to the Red River, as they had done for years.<sup>90</sup>

Despite doing what the Kiowa had done for years, there were some changes noted in the clothes they wore. Thomas Say, zoologist on the expedition, noted that Kiowa women, with their hair at shoulder length, commonly wore a leather petticoat that reached to the calf of their legs. Over this petticoat was a gown, with or without sleeves, that was often decorated with a continuous stripe of colored beads obtained from trade with the *Tabbyboos*.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Thomas Say, *An Account of an*, 1-2.

<sup>89</sup> Mooney, *Calendar*, 172. The Kiowa did not make peace with the Northern Cheyenne Tribe until 1840  
Thomas Say, *An Account of an Expedition*, 48.

<sup>90</sup> Say, *An Account of an Expedition*, 53.

<sup>91</sup> Say, *An Account of an Expedition*, 47. Jedediah Smith carried beads, Blankets, lead, powder, Knives and Tobacco on his expeditions, 197. Harrison G. Rogers, *Journal of Explorations of Jedediah Strong Smith*, American Journeys Collection, Doc. No. AJ-112, Wisconsin Historical Society, Digital Library and Archives., [www.americanjourneys.org](http://www.americanjourneys.org), [Accessed July 2005]. 197. Also see N. Scott Momaday, *The Way To Rainy Mountain*, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), 6.

While the men were still dressed with their traditional breechcloth, skin leggings, moccasins and a bison robe, Say noted a distinct change in their weaponry. Although their principle weapons for war still consisted of “bows and arrows, lances, war-clubs, tomahawks, scalping knives, and shields,” they avidly sought Euro-American metal to make points for those weapons. They also eagerly sought manufactured knives, guns, and gunpowder.<sup>92</sup> The Kiowa had become deeply involved in the trade that accompanied the Columbian Exchange. As Axtell observed, even the most self-disciplined Indians became dependent on European manufacturers and the traders that tied them into a complex transatlantic system of commerce.<sup>93</sup>

Although the Kiowa enjoyed the conveniences offered by the use of European manufactured goods, by 1822 they were becoming aware of problems associated with the Columbian Exchange.<sup>94</sup> They were growing concerned about the actions of traders that increasingly used the Santa Fé route that passed through Kiowa hunting areas in northeastern New Mexico and western portions of what is now the Oklahoma Pan Handle. Kiowa eagerness to trade with Americans slackened as increasing numbers of traders and merchants disturbed their hunting areas.

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<sup>92</sup> S. H. Clift, “Warren’s Trading Post,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (June, 1924), 139. URL: <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/index.html> [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>93</sup> Axtell, *Beyond 1492*, 110.

<sup>94</sup> Say, *An Account of an Expedition*, 47. 54. Jedediah Smith carried beads, Blankets, lead, powder, Knives and Tobacco on his expeditions, 197. Harrison G. Rogers, *Journal of Explorations of Jedediah Strong Smith*, American Journeys Collection, Doc. No. AJ-112, Wisconsin Historical Society, Digital Library and Archives., [www.americanjourneys.org](http://www.americanjourneys.org), [Accessed July 2005]. 197.

Consequently, misunderstandings and lethal confrontations increasingly ensued on the Santa Fé Trail. Fort Gibson was established on the Verdigris River in 1824 to provide protection for traders on that route.<sup>95</sup> Because of continuing confrontations, Congress, in 1827, again considered the “expediency of providing” more protection for traders on the Santa Fe trade routes.<sup>96</sup> In addition, Washington was concerned about how the Kiowa and other Trans-Mississippi tribes would respond to Indians forced to move to the new Territory in Oklahoma.<sup>97</sup>

Although greatly challenged by the Columbian Exchange, the Kiowas had again successfully adapted to cultural change. They had spent thousands of years as hunters and gatherers, gleaned an amazing knowledge of botanic plants to supplement their subsistence living. They had also learned how to use plants to cure a diversity of human ailments. Nevertheless, the Columbian Exchange that followed the Spanish discovery of the American continent significantly increased the rapidity of that change. As a practical and rational people, the Kiowa quickly recognized and adapted to technologies and new ways of doing things that advanced their welfare.

The horse created nothing less than a revolution in the Kiowa culture. It provided them an increased mobility that greatly enhanced their capability to hunt

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<sup>95</sup> Barbour, Department of War to Hon. Wm. H. Harrison, Congressional Globe.

<sup>96</sup> James Barbour, Department of War, 615. Congressional Globe.

<sup>97</sup> James Monroe, “Plan for Removing the Several Indians Tribes West of the Mississippi River,” 18<sup>th</sup> Cong, 2d sess., American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Congressional Globe, 541. Also see C. C. Rister, “A Federal Experiment in southern Plains Indian Relations, 1835-1845, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume 14, No. 4, December, 1936. URL: <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/index.html>.

buffalo. Moreover, it fundamentally changed the social and economic structures of their society by transforming how the Kiowa lived their daily lives. The acquisition, care and use of horses required much more attention and time than their dogs did in their old pedestrian society. Their camp sites had to provide ample grass for large herds and were therefore often moved. Methods of herding, restraining and the special needs of winter care also demanded camping and daily considerations not previously thought about. Hunting methods had to change to meet the new and faster mobility and new methods had to be formulated to take advantage of the increased weight horses could carry from the hunting areas.

With increased capability came enlarged stores, allowing hunters more leisure to dedicate to warfare and social differentiation. They revamped the way they fought wars, as static warfare gave way to fast paced and more lethal maneuver and close quarter combat. Finally, The Kiowa also experienced social differentiation because of the horse. The possession of horses became the “new standard” of prosperity, and Kiowa social classes developed as a result.

By the late seventeenth century, the Kiowa were pawns in the power struggles between the French and English. Guns were selectively used to pit them against other tribes and Euro-Americans. The Kiowa had always traded for needed subsistence items and were open to new technologies and more efficient ways of doing things. The Columbian Exchange introduced the tribe to the use of metal for their war points and eventually, the power of the gun. In time, they became ever more dependent upon the products of Euro-Americans not only for war but also for the intricacies of their daily

needs. Ironically, in the end, the introduction of American foods throughout the old world initiated a population boom that eventually helped propel *Tabbyboos* to the Southern Plains in great numbers, placing the Kiowa increasingly in the path of Euro-American expansion.

## CHAPTER 3

### KIOWA RESPONSES TO TRANSATLANTIC EXPANSION 1832-1874

Acquired in the transatlantic Columbian Exchange, horses [*Tseñko*] became essential to Kiowa economics and independence. They used them successfully in wars of survival against the Osage, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Utes and Pawnees. The transatlantic horse also proved pivotal in Kiowa resistance to the resettlement of their homelands by American settlers until the late 1860s. Furthermore, horses enabled the Kiowa to continue participating in a transatlantic market economy that involved a complex and eventually debilitating relationship with Euro-Americans. That association involved treaties, reservation programs, and military conquest. Technologies and a mounting settler population forced the Kiowa into dependent relationship with the United States government. This chapter looks, at the motion and dynamics of evolving transatlantic history on the southern plains.

Wild horses [*t'á-tse'ñ*] symbolized Kiowa resolve to maintain their independence, and played critical roles in resisting the resettlement of their lands. Scholars have not adequately addressed the function played by feral horses in Kiowa



history.<sup>1</sup> Due to the recurrent demands of plains warfare, the Kiowa prized swift and durable mustang mounts. Wild horses were readily available to the Kiowa beginning early in the nineteenth-century.<sup>2</sup> By 1844, an estimated two million mustangs ranged between the Arkansas River and South Texas.<sup>3</sup>

Military correspondence, diaries and reports during the nineteenth-Century reveal that the Kiowa, and other Plains Indians, used distinctive horses for war.<sup>4</sup> These “ponies,” differed from the average American cavalry charger.<sup>5</sup> They were small,

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<sup>1</sup>Jim Anquoe, Kiowa historian, telephone interview with author, November 30, 2005. Anquoe agreed that Kiowa used wild horses. See also Maurice Boyd, *Kiowa Voices: Ceremonial Dance, Ritual and Song*, Vol. 1, (Fort Worth, The Texas Christian University Press, 1981), 54. Also Walker D. Wyman, *The Wild Horse of the West*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1945), 181. Kiowa words for “horses” and “wild horses.” Mooney, *Calendar History*, 427.

<sup>2</sup> Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Parries*, Vol. 2, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1962), 288. Wissler, “The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture,” 22. Ewers, *The Horse In Blackfoot Indian Culture With Comparative Material From Other Western Tribes*, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Dan Flores, “Bison Ecology and Bison Diplomacy: The Southern Plains from 1800-1850,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 78, Issue 2, (Sep., 1991), 465-485, 481. JSTOR [Accessed November 14, 2002].

<sup>4</sup> Wissler, *Material Culture*, 22. Wissler noted a “more or lest distinct type of Indian horse.”

<sup>5</sup> Major W. C. Schaumburg Rpt to Lt. Gen. T. H. Holmes, October 25, 1863, *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armise*, Ser. 1, Vol. 22, (Part II), 1052. (Washington D. C.: Government Printing office, n.d.), Captain James H. Whitlock to Capt. C. A. Smith, Headquarters, Camp Miembres, N. Mex., April 12, 1864, *The War of the Rebellion: Ser. 1, Vol. 50 (Part II)*. 828. Captain John Wilcox Rpt. to Headquarter Detachment Seventh Iowa Cavalry, June 21, 1865, *The War of the Rebellion*, Ser. 1, Vol. 48. (Part I), 324. Frank Wilkeson, *Cattle-Raising On the Plains*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1886), 793 Cornell Library Digital Records, URL: <http://0-cdl.library.cornell.edu.source.unco.edu/moa/browse.monographs/waro.html> Hereafter ORCORNELL Accessed October 5, 2007].



Fig. 2. Map of Kansas-Oklahoma Wild Horse Range

but very powerful with prominent eyes, sharp noses, high nostrils, small feet and delicate legs with a unique discerning temperament. Comanche and Kiowa warriors took great pains not to subdue their high strung spirits. When trained to ride, mustangs remained faithful to their individual masters alone.<sup>6</sup> The Kiowa prized and captured them because, though small in size, their temperament, performance and survivability on the plains were universally superior to grain fed American equines. Lighter and

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<sup>6</sup> George Catlin, *Catlin's Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*, Vol. 2, (North Dighton: JG Press, 1995, 66.

swifter, they consistently covered more than twice the distance of slower Army horses.<sup>7</sup>

Utilizing the feral conditions and natural resources of the southern plains, the Kiowa's natural breeding program also produced mounts similar to feral horses.<sup>8</sup> Domestic horses in New Mexico were commonly "identical to those found running in the wild on the Prairies."<sup>9</sup> Undoubtedly, Spanish horses formed the foundation stock for wild mustangs in those early years. On occasion, trade horses provided diversity in the Kiowa breeding program, Nonetheless, Spanish or American horses, taken in trades or by raids, typically lacked the feral spirit and stamina desired for Kiowa warhorses.<sup>10</sup> Rather, they were used as exchange for foodstuffs and Euro-American goods.

Kiowa social structure mirrored the independence of mustang bands. The increased mobility brought by the use of horses decentralized their tribal organization. Euro-Americans commonly assumed erroneously a more centralized political authority in treaty transactions.<sup>11</sup> On the contrary, authority was dispersed among six

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<sup>7</sup>Lucile M. Kane, translated, and edited., *Military Life in Dakota: The Journal of Philippe Regis de Trobriand*, (Lincoln, 1951), 64.

<sup>8</sup> H. Clyde Wilson, "An Inquiry into the Nature of Plains Indian Cultural Development," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 65, No. 2 (Apr., 1963), 355-369, 360; JSTOR [Accessed October 20, 2004]. See also Pekka Hämäläinen, "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 90, No. 3, (Dec., 2003), 838-862. Also *Commissioner of Indian Affairs annual Report*, Nov. 26, 1862. U. S. Department of the Interior, 1. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1862), hereafter COIA. Also, H. Clyde Wilson, "An Inquiry into the Nature of Plains Indian Cultural Development," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 65, No. 2 (Apr., 1963), 355-369, 360. JSTOR [Accessed November 13, 2005].

<sup>9</sup>Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, Vol. 1, 93-94.

<sup>10</sup> Hämäläinen, "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures," 841.

<sup>11</sup> Mishkin, *Rank & Warfare among the Plains Indians*, 13, 330. John H. Moore, "Cheyenne Political History, 1820-1894," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Autumn, 1974), 329-359. JSTOR [Accessed December 13, 2005].

confederated bands (*topadoga*), each with their own leaders (*topadok'i*), distinct territories and dialects. While authority was clearly decentralized, all bands shared the horse centered ethos and generally recognized a tribal chief for specific but limited functions. Political centralization was limited to three or at the most four weeks out of each year when all the bands were gathered for the annual Sun Dance.<sup>12</sup> For the rest of the year, basic authority for most Kiowa actions typically rested with bandleaders.<sup>13</sup>

The twilight of the Kiowa's horse-centered autonomy commenced with increased transatlantic migrations to the United States during the 1830s. During that decade, 538,381 immigrants arrived, marking a fourfold increase in immigrations over previous years, especially from Ireland, Sweden and Germany.<sup>14</sup> During that same period, eastern farmers faced soil depletion problems, causing many to see Native American lands in Georgia and Tennessee as a panacea.<sup>15</sup>

President James Monroe responded to the need for more land by presenting the idea of voluntary Indian relocation to Congress in January 1825. Nevertheless, groups such as the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, and Whig

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<sup>12</sup> Moore, "Cheyenne Political History," 330. Also Levy, *After Custer*, 11.

<sup>13</sup> Captain John Pope, "Report of Exploration of a Route for the Pacific Railroad from the Red River to the Rio Grande," in *Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad Route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, published by the War Department, 1854, 16; Making of American Books, URL: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=moa&idno=AFK4383.0002.004> [Accessed October 5, 2007], and Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 142; also Marriott, *Kiowa Years*, 148; and Mooney, *Calendar*, 228-229.

<sup>14</sup> U.S Population census <http://eh.net/databases/uspop/uspop.txt>. [Accessed March 14, 2005].

<sup>15</sup> Chad Morgan, *Planter's Progress: Modernizing Confederate Georgia*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 5.

politicians, motivated by genuine concern for compassionate treatment for Indians, held up approval until the Indian Removal Act of 1830.<sup>16</sup> Commissioners from the United States and the Choctaws that year signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, which sanctioned the relocation of the Choctaw tribe to Okalahoma in the heart of Kiowa country.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, the government needed an understanding with the Kiowa prior to Choctaw removal.

The safety of America traders and settlers on the Santa Fé Trail presented another problem. Following independence from Spain in 1821, Mexicans were eager to obtain American trade goods. Up to 3,000 wagons per year moved up and down the old Indian trail to Santa Fé. Starting at Franklin, Missouri, wagon trains hauled manufactured items like “bolts of calico, gingham, velvets, cotton goods, cutlery, firearms, tools and light hardware” into Santa Fé and Chihuahua. They often returned with Mexican silver and buffalo robes.<sup>18</sup>

Occasionally the Kiowa took advantage of caravans to obtain manufactured goods and especially trade horses. In December 1832, a few Kiowa, led by Lame-Old-

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<sup>16</sup> James Monroe, “Plan for Removing the Several Indians Tribes West of the Mississippi River,” 18<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2d sess., American State Papers, Indian Affairs, *Congressional Globe*, 541. See also C. C. Rister, “A Federal Experiment in southern Plains Indian Relations, 1835-1845,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume 14, No. 4, December, 1936. URL: <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/index.html> [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>17</sup> “On Claims to Reservations Under the Fourteenth Article of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit with the Choctaw Indians,” May 11, 1835, 24<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., No. 1523, Public Lands, 672, *Globe*. Also Morgan, *Planter’s Progress*, 5.

<sup>18</sup> Frederick Simpich, “The Santa Fe Trail, Path to Empire,” *The National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. 56, No. 2, (Aug, 1929), 213-252, 213-214.

Man, stopped a train heading back from Mexico near present day Lathrop, Texas. Twelve Americans, led by well-known Circuit Judge, William C. Carr of Saint Louis, were in the caravan.<sup>19</sup> The Kiowa inadvertently killed two men while Carr and the others escaped. Finding ten thousand dollars in silver coins, the Kiowa used them for ornamental purposes, having yet no concept of specie exchange.<sup>20</sup> When elders of the *Ko'gui* or Elks, Satanta's band, later learned of the raid, they were apprehensive concerning the deaths of Americans.<sup>21</sup> In November, those elders interpreted an immense meteoric shower, viewed throughout the Great Plains, as a bad omen.<sup>22</sup>

Because of the raid, the United States War Department dispatched an expedition to open talks with Kiowa on July 24, 1834. They met at a Wichita village, on the North Branch of the Red River near the western end of the Wichita Mountains. At that time, Satanta was sixteen years old and Santank, in his mid-thirties.<sup>23</sup> Catlin wrote that the area was "stocked, not only with buffaloes, but with numerous bands of wild horses, which we see every day."<sup>24</sup> Both of these Kiowa leaders would later play critical roles

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<sup>19</sup> Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 103.

<sup>20</sup> Mooney, *Calendar History*, 254-257; Gregg, 197-199; Foreman, 103-104.

<sup>21</sup> Money, *Calendar History* 228.

<sup>22</sup> Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin, *Plains Indian Mythology*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1975), 131.

<sup>23</sup> Charles M. Robinson III, *Satanta, The Life and Death of a War Chief*, (Austin: State House Press, 1998), 1; and Clarence Warton, *Satanta, The Great Chief of the Kiowas and His People*, (Dallas: Banks Upshaw and Company, 1935), 30.

<sup>24</sup> Catlin, 64-69.

in events that changed Kiowa life.<sup>25</sup> That initial meeting opened a relationship between the Kiowa and United States that led to the first Kiowa treaty.

Ten Kiowa leaders, including leading Chief Dohasan, signed a treaty with the United States on May 26, 1837. It focused on the issues of Indian removals and the Santa Fe Trail. This agreement allowed the tribe to maintain its hunting subsistence system; however, they were required to share their hunting grounds along the Santa Fé

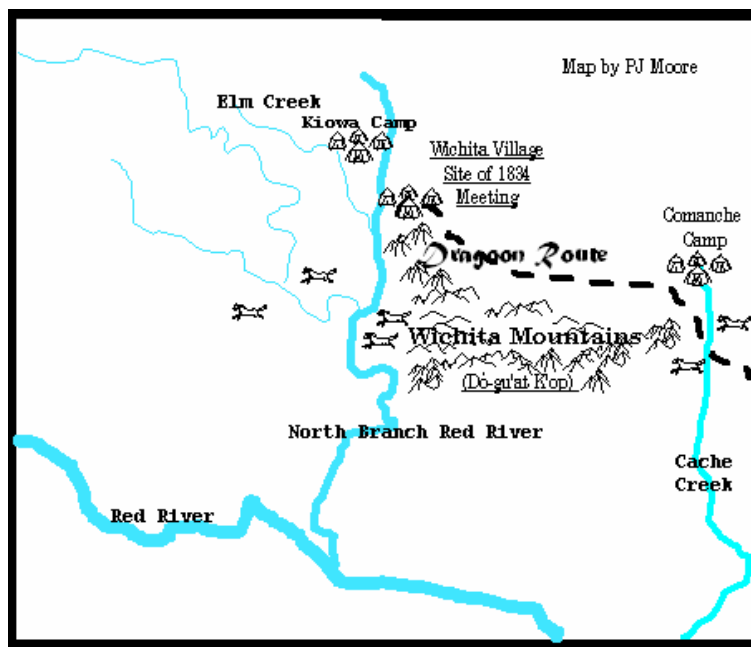


Fig. 3. 1834 Dagoon Meeting With KCA Tribes

<sup>25</sup> Treaty, of May 26, 1837; and Foreman, 224.-225; and Mooney, 169.

trail with Texans, Mexicans, new arrivals from the east and finally, their long time enemies, the Osage. Article Five, which authorized the licensing of American traders to locate near tribal lands, proved beneficial for the Kiowa.<sup>26</sup>

Before the treaty, the Wichita Indians often served as intermediaries for trade with Spanish and French traders competing for Red River commodities such as bison hides and horses via “Exchange Fairs.”<sup>27</sup> Following the 1837 treaty, William Bent received a license for a trading post on the Santa Fe Trail that allowed Americans to dominate all Native American trade south of the Black Hills for a number of years.<sup>28</sup> The horse-centered Kiowa took advantage of Bent’s services since American traders provided the bulk of manufactured merchandise.<sup>29</sup>

The tribe participated in the American-controlled transatlantic market in ways not possible before.<sup>30</sup> Transoceanic steamships and railroad systems made the success of the Santa Fe trade possible. That success required the cooperation of an international business community, which involved insurance agents, banking houses and an array of skilled tradesmen such as saddlers, gunsmiths, tailors and blacksmiths. Independence

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<sup>26</sup> 1837 Treaty, Article 5

<sup>27</sup> Daniel H. Husner, Jr., “The Frontier Exchange Economy of the Lower Mississippi Valley in the Eighteenth-Century,” *The William and Mary Quarterly 3<sup>rd</sup> Series*, Vol. 44, No.9, (Apr., 1987), 165-192 , 169; JSTOR [Accessed March 11, 2006]. Also Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas, Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 25.

<sup>28</sup> Hämäläinen, 492, 512.

<sup>29</sup> Ralph A. Smith, “Indians in Mexican-American Relationships Before the War of 1846,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 43, No. 1, (Feb., 1963), 34-64, 34. JSTOR Arts & Sciences 2, [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>30</sup> Marriott and Rachlin, *Plains Indian Mythology*, 111-115; Anderson,, 29; and Flores, 480.



Missouri became an entreport of international trade that extended from Europe across the Atlantic through the North American continent to Mexico.<sup>31</sup> Horses provided the Kiowa with a dependable market item and increased their hunting capabilities to supply Bent with a limited quantity of animal hides such as buffalo robes and deerskins. Between 1840 and 1850, the American Fur Company shipped an average of 130,000 robes east each year, many to transatlantic markets like London and Leipzig.<sup>32</sup>

The Kiowa traded for manufactured goods that increased the speed and efficiency of their daily tasks. Guns were a priority as were narrow strips of manufactured material called “hoop iron” from which they made durable arrow and lance heads. They also sought “heavy brass wire” to wrap around wrists for protection against the recoil slap of their bowstrings. Finally, they traded for iron axes and knives, which were clearly superior to their stone counterparts.<sup>33</sup> To survive, in competition with other tribes, and defray the emerging deleterious affects of Euro-Americans on their subsistence system, the Kiowa had to obtain and employ new technologies.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, the Kiowa measure of wealth and prime medium of trade remained horses. There was a consistent demand for them; they functioned as a dependable exchange

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<sup>31</sup> Patrick O’Brian, “A Celebration of Diversity,” *Preservation Issues*, Vol. 3, No. 3, <http://www.umsl.edu/blackstudies/celeb.htm>, [Accessed March 16, 2006].

<sup>32</sup> Andrew C. Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison*, (Cambridge: University Press, 2000), 99, 101, 105.

<sup>33</sup> Colonel Weaver, “Warren’s Trading Post,” *Letter Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 2. No. 2., (Jul, 1924). 129-140, 139; and Works, 274. URL: <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/index.html>

<sup>34</sup> H Clyde Wilson, “An Inquiry into the Nature of Plains Indian Cultural Development,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 65, No. 2 (Par., 1963), 355-369, 358. JSTOR [Accessed October 20, 2004].

medium to obtain manufactured goods to help sustain their horse-centered ethos. The market economy dovetailed well with their pastoral life as the socio-economic import of horses and raiding opened doors of social advancement for young warriors.<sup>35</sup>

Early Kiowa participation in the transatlantic economy often involved raiding for horses in Mexico and trading them at Bent's post. Attacks against Americans occasionally occurred, as younger warriors often were difficult to control. Nonetheless, the Kiowa usually raided people who did not have a reciprocal or economic relationship with the tribe.<sup>36</sup> As a result, raids on Americans were the exception rather than the rule.<sup>37</sup>

Obtaining horses for trade was vital to Kiowa survival after 1846. Beginning that year, the southern plains went through a decade of drought with less than 30% of the average rainfall. This caused annual mortality rates for bison to rise from 18% to 50%. Then, the discovery of gold in California brought increasing numbers of American merchants and settlers across the Santa Fé Trail starting in 1846. As they crossed Kiowa hunting grounds, they subsisted on various wild animals, sapping vital tribal food resources.<sup>38</sup> The Kiowa responded to these complications by increased participation in the market economy. This circuitously aided people passing through

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<sup>35</sup> John C. Ewers, *The Horse in the Blackfoot Indian Culture*, 336. *BAE vol. 159* <http://www.sil.si.edu/DigitalCollections/BAE/Bulletin159> [Accessed October 6, 2007].

<sup>36</sup> Anderson, 21.

<sup>37</sup> Anderson, 48.

their hunting grounds because horses obtained by raiding the Santa Fé wagon trains for trade at Bent's Fort eventually often ended up in the hands of settlers in Missouri preparing to migrate across the Santa Fé Trail.<sup>39</sup>

By 1850, Kiowa horse raids on the Santa Fé trail and in Mexico had become commonplace.<sup>40</sup> To stop the raiding, the United States again sought treaty talks with the tribe.<sup>41</sup> In the process, Indian Agent Thomas Fitzpatrick distributed \$5,000 worth of

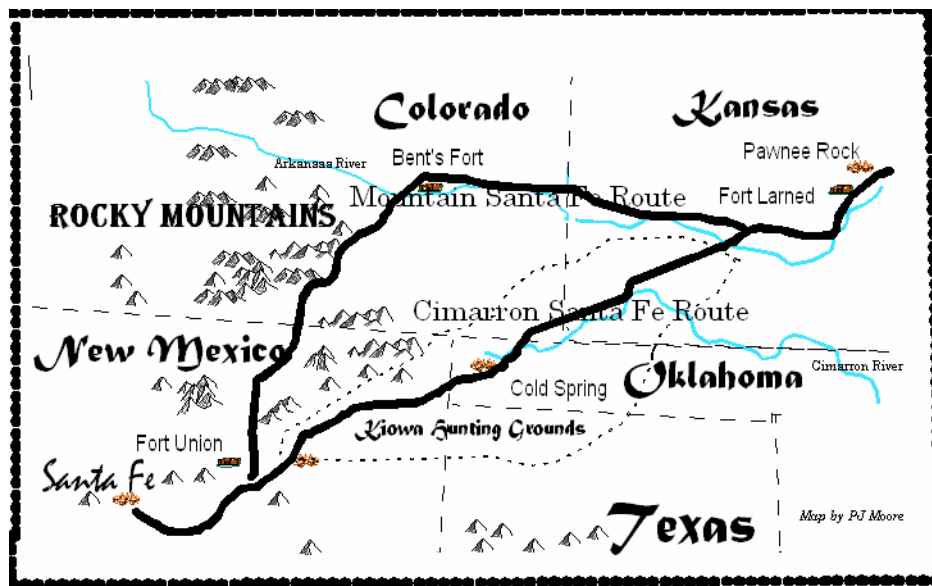


Fig. 4. Kiowa Hunting Grounds & Santa Fé Trail

<sup>38</sup> *California Gold Rush*, <http://www.inn-california.com/Articles/history/californiagold.html>, (Accessed March 4, 2005).

<sup>39</sup> Isenberg., 90. Also COIA, Nov. 30, 1852, 299. 30 November, 1848 and 1853, 251; Flores, "Bison Ecology, 482; and Leo E. Oliva, "Fort Atkinson on the Santa Fe Trail," *1850-1854, Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XL, No. 2, (Summer, 1974), 212 to 233. URL: [http://www.kancoll.org/khq/1974/74\\_2\\_oliva.htm](http://www.kancoll.org/khq/1974/74_2_oliva.htm) [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>40</sup> COIA, Sept 24, 1850, 19.

<sup>41</sup> Senate Bill, S. 157, passed March 18, 1850, 31<sup>st</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Sess., March 18, 1850.

Congressional approved presents for the Upper Platt agency in August 1852.<sup>42</sup> This alleviated some of the Kiowas' economic problems, but the commander at Fort Atkinson observed that the "poor Indians were starving."<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, Fitzpatrick's efforts opened a new dialogue between the Kiowa and the government leading to the treaty at Fort Atkinson, negotiated in Ford County, Kansas, on July 27, 1853.<sup>44</sup>

This accord prohibited Kiowa raiding in Mexican provinces. The United States already had pledged in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 to keep Indians residing in its territories from making "incursions" into Mexico.<sup>45</sup> Since the 1837 treaty had failed to halt raiding, the government tried a new approach. The new treaty added annuity payments for the first time, which totaled \$18,000 annually for ten years. From then on, deductions were to be taken from tribal annuities to pay for items taken or damaged during raids.<sup>46</sup>

The Kiowa chose to receive their allowances where they frequently restocked their herds with wild horses and hunted buffalo. That location was near Beaver Creek, in northern Oklahoma, south of the Arkansas River.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, the third article of

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<sup>42</sup> Thomas Fitzpatrick, Upper Platt Agency Report, 1852, 1846-56, RG-75, Letters Received by the office of the Indian Affairs, Micro Film No. 234, Roll 880. National Archives. Southwest Region, Fort Worth, Texas; hereafter NASRFW. Also Senate Bill, S. 157.

<sup>43</sup> COIA, Nov. 30, 1852, 299; and Oliva, 212 to 233.

<sup>44</sup> *New York Daily Times*, "News From the Plains," PHN, Oct. 15, 1852; also COIA, Nov. 30, 1852, 299.

<sup>45</sup> Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Article XI, February 2, 1848.

<sup>46</sup> Thomas Fitzpatrick, Upper Platt Agency, 1846-56, RG-75, Letters Received by the office of the Indian Affairs, Micro Film No. 234, Roll 889, NASRFW.

<sup>47</sup> *New York Times*, "Wild Horses in Kansas," PHN, January 20, 1874.

the treaty recognized the importance of continued buffalo hunting since annuities were inadequate for all Kiowa subsistence prerequisites. Although annuities helped, Fitzpatrick reported the Kiowa required much more to offset their need for horse raiding.<sup>48</sup>

In 1858, increasing numbers of emigrant German settlers exacerbated already bad conditions by staking claims closer to old Kiowa hunting grounds in Kansas as the discovery of gold in Colorado and New Mexico propelled them westward. Commercial



Fig. 5. Beaver Creek Ration Distribution Point in 1852

<sup>48</sup>Invoices for goods from Grant & Barton, Nos. 123 and 125, New York City, May 1, 1854; Invoice from Callender, Rogers and Hilton, Boston Mass., April 29, 1854, RG-75 "Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs," Microcopy No. 234, roll 889, N.

wagon trains from early March to the end of July, in 1859, included at least 2,300 men, with 1,970 wagons, 840 horses, 4,000 mules and 15,000 oxen that carried over 1,900 tons of freight across the Santa Fe Trail to New Mexico.<sup>49</sup> Meanwhile, 427, 833 emigrants arrived in America as the population of the United States increased 35% during the decade of the 1850s. Many of these emigrants pushed toward the fringes of Kiowa hunting grounds. They hoped to claim 160 acres of land for as little as \$1.25 an acre prior to public sale.<sup>50</sup> Pressed from the south by Texans, the northwest by Colorado gold seekers and from the north by Kansas settlers, destitute Kiowa found themselves surrounded in a small territory over which 60,000 emigrants traveled every year.<sup>51</sup>

In response, the Kiowa still used their swift ponies to carry out raids against soldiers and settlers residing on or near their lands. At the annual distribution of annuities in 1858, Agent Robert Millar threatened to punish the Kiowa if they did not stop this activity. In reply, Kiowa head Chief Dohasan defended the actions of his young warriors who wanted to save their wives and children from starvation and disrupt

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<sup>49</sup> W. W. Brent, Agent for Kiowa and Comanche, COIA, 1859, 505-507, Senate Executive Documents, 1, 2Pt. 1, 1023 pt., 506, . 36<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> ses.; see also Walker Wyman, "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, November 1931 (Vol. 1, No. 1), pages 17 to 27, 24. [http://www.kshs.org/publicat/khq/1931/31\\_1\\_wyman.htm](http://www.kshs.org/publicat/khq/1931/31_1_wyman.htm) [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>50</sup> Frederick C. Luebke, "Ethnic Group Settlement on the Great Plains," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4, (Oct., 1977), 405-430, 406. JSTOR [Accessed September 16, 2006].

<sup>51</sup> COIA, November 30, 1857, 296-297; and Agent W.W. Bent, Annual Report, 1859, 506; and Oliva, "Fort Atkinson on the Santa Fe Trail," 212 -233.

settlers passing through their country and taking their buffalo.<sup>52</sup>

At first, settlers moving into northwest Kansas traded with the Kiowa. During long buffalo hunts, the Kiowa and other Indians swapped dried buffalo meat with settlers for garden vegetables.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, by 1859, reported “lawless” settlers were taking advantage of the Kiowa and other Indians.<sup>54</sup> On September 22, 1859, an incident occurred near Peacock's trading post, in Barton County Kansas, on the Santa Fé Trail. Pawnee, a sub-chief and brother to head Chief Dohasan, was killed following “a squabble” with some white men “about a horse swap.”<sup>55</sup> The Kiowa retaliated by stopping a mail train and travelers on the Santa Fé Trail from whom they took horses as well as subsistence goods.<sup>56</sup> Reports in eastern newspapers in 1860 embellished the degree and severity of incidents. This reinforced racial stereotyping among settlers that the Kiowa were savages.<sup>57</sup> The *New York Times*, reported on August 4, 1860, that in Kansas “Many outrages” were committed by the Kiowas and Comanches. The same paper wrote on September 4, 1860, that the Kiowas were threatening settlers and

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<sup>52</sup>Robert C. Millar, Agent Report, Upper Arkansas Agency, August 17, 1858, COIA, 451; and Mooney, *Calendar History*, 176.

<sup>53</sup> Aug. 5, 1856, in Miriam D. Colt, *Went To Kansas*, Chapter IX, Kansas Collection Books, Kathleen Roper, Jack Coffee, Susan Stafford and Lynn Nelson. Kansas Historical Society, [http://www.kancoll.org/books/colt/c\\_chap09.htm](http://www.kancoll.org/books/colt/c_chap09.htm) [Accessed March 21, 2006].

<sup>54</sup> COIA, 1859, 380.

<sup>55</sup> *New York Times*, “Indian Hostilities on the Plains,” PHN, Oct. 14, 1859.

<sup>56</sup> Louise Barry, “The Ranch at Walnut Creek Crossing,” *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, (Summer, 1971), 121-147, 137. [http://www.kshs.org/publicat/khq/1971/71\\_2\\_barry.htm](http://www.kshs.org/publicat/khq/1971/71_2_barry.htm) [Accessed October 12, 2005].

planning to possible “destroy Denver.” As a result, Santa Fé travelers and settlers in Denver City lived in fear of Kiowa attacks.<sup>58</sup>

Despite these raids, Kiowa elders wanted peace. For instance, in 1860, Dohasan met with Colonel Edwin Vose Sumner and told the commander of the military Department of the West that it was difficult to control young Kiowas because their economic and social status had traditionally come by raiding for horses.<sup>59</sup> Consequently, Small groups of Indians, led by Satanta and Santank continued to raid the Santa Fé trail.<sup>60</sup>

In reaction to these threats, Colonel Sumner confronted the Kiowa in 1860.<sup>61</sup> Near Fort Cobb, Captain Sturgis and 300 men of the First Cavalry, had a brief encounter with Kiowa killing forty warriors. Nonetheless, the tribe took solace in the endurance and resilience of their ponies, which proved superior to their American

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<sup>57</sup> COIA, 1860, 4; also *New York Times*, “Arrival of the New-Mexican Mail,” PHN, Dec. 8, 1860; and *New York Daily Times*, PHN, July 28, 1852.

<sup>58</sup> *New York Times*, PHN, September 4, 1860; and *New York Times*, PHN, August 4, 1860; and *New York Times*, PHN, September 4, 1860.

<sup>59</sup> Barry, 132; and “Report of the Secretary of War,” *House Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 35th Cong., 2d Sess. (1858-1859), v. 2, pt. 2, p. 425; and J.E. B. Stuart, “The Kiowa and Comanche Campaign of 1860,” Edited by W. Stitt Robinson, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1957), 382-400, 285; [http://www.kshs.org/publicat/khq/1957/57\\_4\\_robinson.htm](http://www.kshs.org/publicat/khq/1957/57_4_robinson.htm), [Accessed December 1, 2005]. Also Report of the Secretary of War,” *House Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 35th Cong., 2d Ses. (1858-1859), v. 2, pt. 2, p. 425.

<sup>60</sup> *New York Times*, “From New Mexico,” PHN, June 2, 1860; and Barry, 132; and Major Scott J. Anthony to Headquarters, Fort Lyon, Colorado, September 24, 1863, ORCORNELL Ser. 1, Vol. 22, (Part II), 572. [http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/moa/moa\\_adv.html](http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/moa/moa_adv.html) [Accessed October 5, 2007].

<sup>61</sup> Sumner to Sedgwick, May 9, 1860, “Letters Sent,” Department of the West, 890; Also, “Report of the Secretary of War,” *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 36th Cong., 2d Sess. (1860-1861), v. 2, pp. 19-22 as cited in *The Kiowa and Comanche Campaign of 1860 as Recorded in the Personal Diary of Lt. J. E. B. Stuart*, 386, ed. W. Stitt Robinson, . Winter, 1957 (Vol. XXIII, No. 4), pages 382 to 400 Transcription and HTML composition by Larry E. & Carolyn, KHS <http://www.kshs.org/> [Accessed June 14, 2006].



counterparts. After the conflict ended, Sturgis was ordered to Fort Riley where he complained that his emaciated horses could not keep up with Kiowa ponies.<sup>62</sup>

The next year the United States divided over the long-standing conflict regarding slavery. The Kiowa played a minor role in the Civil War. During the early years of the war, both Federal and Confederate governments considered mustangs ill adapted for military use.<sup>63</sup> Nonetheless, young Kiowa warriors used them effectively raiding not only Texas and Mexican provinces, but also Union wagon trains on the Santa Fé Trail. By 1864, the Federal Government was loosing 500 horses a day. Consequently, it bought captured mustangs along with domestic horses to place in their remount program.<sup>64</sup> As a result, the price of all horses rose, which made them even more valuable to the Kiowa. In August 1864, Kiowa raids on the Santa Fé Trail closed down mail stations and deserted ranches for over two hundred miles.<sup>65</sup> As usual, Army horses consistently failed to catch these raiders. Lieutenant-Colonel P. B. Plumb, of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, wrote in June 1865, that cavalry horses simply could not compete with Indian ponies on rough terrain.<sup>66</sup> That same month, Captain John Wilcox

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<sup>62</sup> *New York Times*, "Two Indian Battles," PHN, September 13, 1860.

<sup>63</sup> Charles W. Ramsdell, "General Robert E. Lee's Horse Supply, 1862-1865," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 35, No. 4, (Jul., 1930), 758-777, 758. JSTOR [Accessed October 6, 2007].

<sup>64</sup> Wyman, *The Wild Horse of the West*, 120.

<sup>65</sup> COIA 1864, 167; and Mooney, *Calendar*, 176-177.

<sup>66</sup> Colonel Preston B. Plumb, June 3, 1865, CUDA, Series 1, Vol. 48 (Part 1), 306. [Accessed October 12, 2005].

of the Seventy Iowa Cavalry lost two horses, a mule and had two men injured, attempting to ford a river in pursuit of Indians mounted on their rugged ponies.<sup>67</sup>

While both sides struggled to acquire horses, continued transatlantic migrations proved fortuitous for northern recruiting during the war and increased pressures on Kiowa lands. An enormous population explosion of 32% a year occurred in the United States during the decades leading up to the war.<sup>68</sup> Between 1845 and 1860, emigrant arrivals averaged 242,570 per year. The massive war losses to the Federal Army from 1864 to 1865 were made up by European emigrants, whose population doubled from 91,000 to over 176,000.<sup>69</sup>

Despite war losses, a powerful centralized government rose out of the carnage of the Civil War with vastly improved military and technological capabilities.<sup>70</sup> During the final year of the war, fears mounted in Washington of tribal alliances against the United States on the south plains.<sup>71</sup> With increased capabilities in recruits and technology, the United States applied the doctrine of total war, not only against the Confederacy, but

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<sup>67</sup> Captain John Wilcox Rpt. to Headquarter Detachment Seventh Iowa Cavalry, *June 21, 1865, The War of the Rebellion*, Ser. 1, Vol. 48. (Part I), 324.[Accessed October 12, 2005].

<sup>68</sup> Encarta, History of Population Growth in the United States, [Accessed February 2006]  
[http://encarta.msn.com/media\\_701500684\\_1741500824\\_1\\_1/History\\_of\\_Population\\_Growth\\_in\\_the\\_United\\_States.html](http://encarta.msn.com/media_701500684_1741500824_1_1/History_of_Population_Growth_in_the_United_States.html).

<sup>69</sup> Reports of the Immigration Commission, *Statistical Review of Immigration 1820-1910*, Document No. 756, 61<sup>st</sup> Congress, 3d Session, Government Printing Office, 1911, 4. Also, The American Immigration Home Page, [Accessed February 2006],  
[http://www.bergen.org/AAST/Projects/Immigration/waves\\_of\\_immigration.html#1830-1890](http://www.bergen.org/AAST/Projects/Immigration/waves_of_immigration.html#1830-1890)

<sup>70</sup> Pauline Maier, Merritt Roe Smith; Alexander Keyssar and Daniel J. Kevles, *Inventing America, A History of the United States*, Vol. 1, Second Edition, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company), 2006, 482.

also against Indians. Government troops destroyed their subsistence resources similar to Sherman's campaign in Georgia and South Carolina. Nevertheless, only residual Federal forces were available to take offensive actions against Indians in Colorado. Consequently, in 1864, Colonel John Chivington's Colorado volunteers attacked Black Kettle's Cheyenne band near Sand Creek, in Colorado, and massacred them. Aware of this frightening attack, the Kiowa agreed to sign a new treaty with the United States.<sup>72</sup>

Tribal leaders accepted the treaty on October 18, 1865, at a council-ground located about eight miles from the mouth of the Little Arkansas River, in Kansas. It established reservation boundaries for the first time to restrict Kiowa mobility and required them to relinquish claims to Colorado, Kansas, Mexico and the region of the Staked Plains in Texas. This left them a homeland of approximately 60,000 square miles.<sup>73</sup> The Kiowa were not allowed to move outside the bounds of their new reservation. Nonetheless, they could "range at pleasure" on unsettled areas previously claimed south of the Arkansas River where they could hunt buffalo, and replenish their pony herds with mustangs. To go elsewhere, they had to have permission from their tribal agent, J. H. Leavenworth.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> COIA, 1864, 167; and Mooney, *Calendar History*, 176-177.

<sup>72</sup> Maier, Smith; Keyssar and Kevles, *Inventing America*, 482.

<sup>73</sup> Medicine Lodge Treaty, Article 2, RG75 O64-7RA205, File 2-4-4, Treaties U. S. Kiowas, Copy of Type written Treaty, NARA Fort Worth; and Allen Lee Hamilton, *Sentinel of the Southern Plains: Fort Richardson and the Northwest Texas Frontier 1866-1878*, (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1988), 50.

<sup>74</sup> 1865 Little Arkansas River Treaty with the Kiowa, Articles 2, and 3.

After the Civil War, transatlantic immigration from Europe tripled which led to the resettlement of Kansas. The ability of the Kiowa to restock their herds with wild horses and hunt bison diminished as emigrants established homesteads that literally surrounded the reservation. In 1867, the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote that the “Indian must give way” to westward expansion.<sup>75</sup> The Kiowa not only gave up massive amounts of land in the 1865 treaty, they encountered settlers who took more of their prime hunting grounds in southern Kansas, the “unsettled areas” where the Kiowa were supposedly allowed by treaty to “range at pleasure.” Young Kiowas led by Satank, Satanta and Big Tree, responded to this broken promise with horse raids in less sparsely settled areas in northern Texas.<sup>76</sup>

On July 20, 1867, in response to reported Kiowa raiding, Congress approved a peace commission to meet the tribe.<sup>77</sup> The Commission dictated the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867, which placed even greater restrictions on the Kiowa’s mobility.<sup>78</sup> During discussions, Satanta made an impassioned speech that brought him the sobriquet “orator of the Plains.” He argued that the government constantly blamed the Kiowa and Comanches for the bad actions of the Cheyenne. Satanta also pointed out that the land

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<sup>75</sup> COIA, Nov. 15, 1867. 1.

<sup>76</sup> COIA, 1866, 40. Also, 1867 2, 18

<sup>77</sup> The Commission included N. G. Taylor, President of the Commission, William S. Harney, Brevet Major-General and Commissioner C. C. Augur, Brevet Major-General Alfred H. Terry, Brevet Major-General John B. Sanborn, Samuel F. Tappan and J. B. Henderson.

<sup>78</sup> RG75 O64-7RA205, File 2-4-4, Treaties U. S. Kiowas, Copy of Type written Treaty, NARA Fort Worth, signed on the twenty-first day of October, 1867, on Medicine Lodge Creek, in Kansas.

south of the Arkansas belonged to the Kiowa. Although he ardently objected to losing his freedom and forced settlement on a reservation, Satanta, with Santank, Kicking Bird and several other Kiowas, had no choice but to sign the treaty.<sup>79</sup>

That accord reduced the 1865 reservation from 60,000 to 4,800 square miles.<sup>80</sup> General Sheridan wrote that the most important provision in the treaty “relinquished the country between the Arkansas and Platte rivers for white settlement.”<sup>81</sup> Kiowa rights to move outside of the new reservation were once again limited to their favorite mustang and hunting area, south of the Arkansas River, however, only when large numbers of buffalo were present.<sup>82</sup> Regardless of this concession, most young Kiowa opposed the Medicine Lodge Treaty and continued to leave the reservation to advance their social and economic status.<sup>83</sup> Young Kiowa warriors continued to raid for horses in sparsely settled Montague County, Texas, and along the Santa Fé trail.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> *New York Times*, “Peace Commissioners,” PHN, Oct. 26, 1867, 1867. Treaty signers for the Kiowa: Santank, Satanta, Black Eagle, Kicking Bird, Fisemore, Mayetin, Satimgear, Sapaga, Corbeau and Satamore. Satanta’s comments: *New York Times*, Oct. 30, 1867.

<sup>80</sup> Article 2, Medicine Lodge Treaty, RG75 O64-7RA205, File 2-4-4, Treaties U. S. Kiowas, Copy of Type written Treaty, NARA Fort Worth; and Hamilton, 50.

<sup>81</sup> P. H. Sheridan, *The Memoirs of General Philip H. Sheridan*, Vol. II., Part 6, Project Gutenberg, <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/5859>. [Accessed October 6, 2007].

<sup>82</sup> Article 11, Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. J. M. Haworth, KCA Agent, Annual Report, September 1, 1874, COIA, 1874, 527; and William E. Unrau, “The Story of Fort Larned,” KHS Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1957), 257-280, 259. [Accessed November 9, 2005].

<sup>83</sup> J. M. Haworth, KCA Agent, Annual Report, September 1, 1874, COIA, 1874, 527. See also William E. Unrau, “The Story of Fort Larned,” 257-280, 259.

<sup>84</sup> W. R. Potter, (Mrs. W. R. Potter) *History of Montague County Texas*, (Saint Jo: IPTA Printers, Originally published in 1913, reprint, 1958), 10; and Benjamin Capps, *The Warren Wagon train Raid: The First complete Account of an Historic Indian Attack and Its Aftermath*, (New York: The Dial Press, 1974), 13; and Sheridan, *Memoirs of General Philip H. Sheridan*, Vol. II., Part 6.

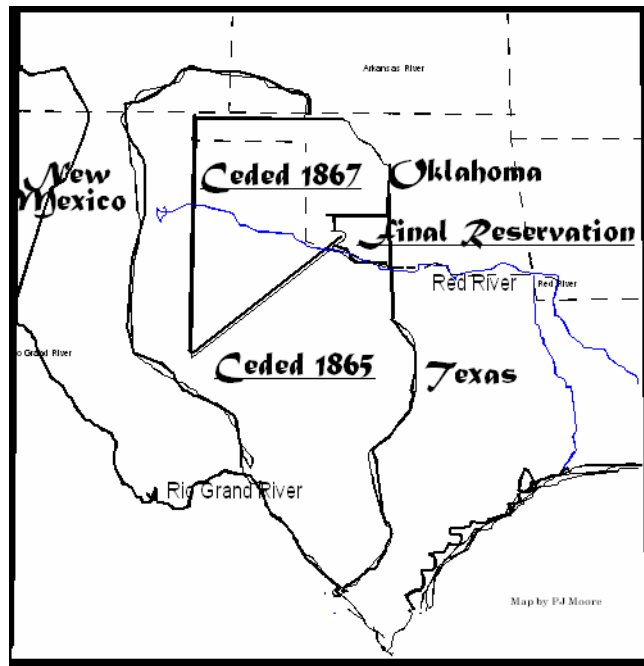


Fig. 6. Changing Kiowa Reservation Boundaries

The Medicine Lodge Peace Commission met in Chicago during early October, 1868, in response to continued Kiowa raiding. The commissioners wanted to “devise a means of securing permanent peace” with the Kiowa, Comanches and other tribes.<sup>85</sup> The Commissioners adopted two pivotal recommendations. First, the “domestic dependent nations” status should be dropped for all Indian tribes. They also recommended the use of military force to keep Native Americans on reservations.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>85</sup> John Spencer Bassett, *A Short History of the United States, 1492-1938*, Third Edition, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), 685.

<sup>86</sup> *New York Times*, “Action of the Indian Commission at their Meeting in Chicago,” Oct. 11, 1868, PHN.

Subsequently, General William Tecumseh Sherman initiated a policy of concentration. He ordered the southern plains tribes to stay on their reservations or face intense retribution from federal troops.<sup>87</sup> Sherman then ordered Sheridan to employ total war against Indians caught off their reservations.<sup>88</sup> In the winter campaign against the Cheyenne and Kiowa in late November 1868, Custer's troops shot captured ponies from the Washita village.<sup>89</sup> The durable little mounts had been the key to Indian resistance and independence and the Army wanted to destroy them.<sup>90</sup>

Soon after the Washita events, President Ulysses S. Grant instituted a "Peace Policy" in response to Native American resistance on the plains and government corruption in Indian affairs. Religious denominations asked the president to appoint Christian superintendents and agents to work with the Kiowas and other Indians. Grant then appointed a commission of unpaid philanthropists to oversee all Indian affairs and initiated the new approach of "conquering by kindness." The Quakers were assigned the Kiowa, Comanche and Kiowa Apache Reservation (KCA).

In May 1869, Lawrie Tatum became the first "Quaker" agent for the KCA Agency. He soon encountered the historic Kiowa sense of independence. Small groups

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<sup>87</sup> Sherman to Hazen, October 13, 1868, Colonel George War Nichols, "The Indian: What Should We Do With Him," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 40, Issue 239, (April, 1870), 737. Cornell, <http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/moa/browse.journals/harp.html> [Accesses October 10, 2005].

<sup>88</sup> General Sheridan: House Ex. Doc. No. 1, Pt. 2, 41<sup>st</sup> Cong. 2d Sess. Vol. 2, pt. 1, Serial 1412, 45-46.

<sup>89</sup> George Custer, *Nomad, Custer in Turf, Field and Farm*, Edited by Brian W. Dippie, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), 28.

<sup>90</sup> David D. Smits, "The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Autumn, 1994), 312-338, 323. JSTOR [Accessed November 14, 2005].

of young Kiowa continued to raid in Texas for horses and captives, to advance their social and economic status.<sup>91</sup> Young Kiowa warriors told Tatum they would continue raids despite agreements made by their chiefs.<sup>92</sup>

Meanwhile, a raid on a wagon train in Texas by Satanta, Big Tree, and Santank refocused military attention on the south plains. Following the Civil War, Federal troops were overly committed to southern reconstruction as well as the western plains. Primary Army attention went to reconstructing the South. Aware of how newspapers exaggerated reports, General Sherman made an inspection trip to the southern plains in the spring of 1871 to ascertain the extent of Kiowa and other Indian raids.<sup>93</sup> On May 18, 1871, while riding with his small escort from Fort Belknap, to Fort Richardson, Sherman passed by a large Kiowa raiding party but was not assailed because Dohate, the Kiowa Owl prophet, inspirational leader of the raid, felt it was “bad medicine.” Nonetheless, the party later attacked the Warren wagon train killing seven teamsters. This convinced Sherman of the veracity of raids and the need to deal more forcefully with the Kiowa and other Indians on the southern plains.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Lawrie Tatum to Wife Mary, March 12, 1871. Tatum Collection, Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch Iowa; and Mooney, *Calendar History*, 329,

<sup>92</sup> Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers, and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 187.

<sup>93</sup> Nye, *Carbine & Lance*, 124.

<sup>94</sup> H. H. McConnel, *Five Years a Cavalryman, or Sketches of Regular Army Life on the Texas Frontier, 1866-1871*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 268, 275; and Tatum, *Our Red Brothers*, 128-129.



Consequently, the Army thereafter refused to enforce treaty provisions against civilian hunters on Indian lands and indirectly aided the depletion of bison herds on Kiowa hunting grounds. The Kansas Pacific, Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe railroads supported this effort by transporting hunters to the west and selling their buffalo hides to eastern factories for commercial leather.<sup>95</sup> By 1874, Dodge City had shipped 4,373,730 buffalo hides east, while hunters killed a million more buffalo for other reasons. This devastated the Kiowa natural subsistence system.<sup>96</sup>

Adding to their subsistence problems, settlers also made it difficult for the Kiowa to sustain their pony herds. From 1873 and the end of 1874, another 773,137 German, Swedish and other immigrants arrived in the United States.<sup>97</sup> Many migrated west to take advantage of the 160 acres promised by the Homestead Act.<sup>98</sup> Settlers had organized every county in Kansas by 1874.<sup>99</sup> Many settlements blocked the historic

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<sup>95</sup> Smits, "The Frontier Army," 326.

<sup>96</sup> Smits, "The Frontier Army," 323; and William A. Dobak, "The Army and the Buffalo: A Demur. A Response to David D. Smit's 'The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883,'" *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Summer, 1995), 197-202, 200. JSTOR [Accessed November 14, 2005]. For Sherman's policy see Sheridan report to Congress, 1869, House Ex. Doc. No. 1, pt. 2. 41<sup>st</sup> Cong. 2d Ses., Vol. 2, pt. 1, Serial 1412, 45-46. Also see James L. Haley, *The Buffalo War: The History of the Red River Indian Uprising of 1874*, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1976), 22.

<sup>97</sup> "Statistical Review of Immigration," *Senate Document*, 62<sup>nd</sup> Cong. 1<sup>st</sup> sess, Vol. 20., March 4, 1911, 4. See also Croxton, Frederick C. *Statistical review of immigration, 1820-1910*. <http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/3067941?n=14&res=3&imagesize=1200> [Accessed October 6, 2007].

<sup>98</sup> The Homestead Act of 1862, 37<sup>th</sup> Cong, sess. 2, 1862, Chapter LXXV "An Act to Secure Homesteads to Actual Settlers on the Public Domain."

<sup>99</sup> See Map VI, 1867, Maps and text transcribed from: *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1903-1904*; ed. by Geo. W. Martin, Secretary. Vol. VIII. Topeka: Geo. A. Clark, state printer,

migration routes for bison that disrupted the Kiowa subsistence system, and their supply of wild horses. In response to this crisis, several Kiowa leaders participated in the Red River War.<sup>100</sup>

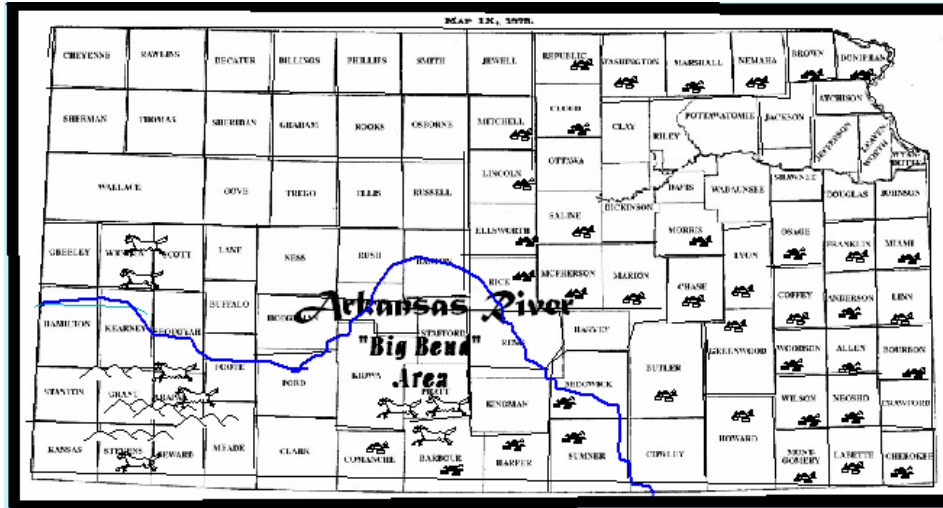


Fig. 7. Kansas Settlements 1870s & Kiowa Big Bend Hunting Area

In the spring of 1874, Kiowas and other tribes responded to the transatlantic resettlement of their homelands by attacking buffalo hunters at the Adobe Walls trading fort in the Texas Panhandle. This signaled a general Indian uprising on the southern

1904. Kansas State Historical Society, <http://skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/county/map6.html>, March 14, 2006.

<sup>100</sup> James Haworth, Agent, KCA, annual report, COIA, 1875, 273; and Mooney, *Calendar History*, 199.

plains led by Comanches, and a few Kiowas such as Lone Wolf and Satanta.<sup>101</sup> They raided parts of Oklahoma, Kansas, New Mexico and southeastern Colorado.<sup>102</sup>

The Federal government responded to these raids by sending five columns of cavalry and infantry, which pushed the raiders into a small area of the Staked Plains. Within four months, all the Kiowa, Comanches and Cheyenne involved in the war were defeated.<sup>103</sup> Following the final battle with the Kiowa and Cheyenne, at Palo Duro Canyon, Texas, in October 1874, Colonel Mackenzie ordered seven hundred of two thousand captured ponies shot, and the remainder either given away or sold. Used successfully in wars of survival against the Osage, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Utes and Pawnees, the power gained by the transatlantic horse was finally broken. The defeated Kiowa were forced to walk 273 miles back to Fort Sill where an uncertain future awaited them.<sup>104</sup>

After forty-two years of treaties, military campaigns and attacks on their subsistence system, the United States finally conquered the Kiowa. Only a fifth of the tribe actually participated in the fighting because in the dynamics of transatlantic interactions, most Kiowa had come to recognize the power of Euro-American technologies as well as the overwhelming numbers of settlers and soldiers produced by

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<sup>101</sup> There is some question whether Satanta actually participated in this battle.

<sup>102</sup> Mooney, *Calendar History*, 203, 316; also. Hamilton, , *Sentinel of the Southern Plains*, 146-147. Also, Nye, *Carbine & Lance*, 190-192; and Haley, *Buffalo War*, 78-79.

<sup>103</sup> Mooney, *Calendar History*, 210-213; and, Hamilton, *Sentinel of the Southern Plains I*, 135-160; and Nye, *Carbine & Lance*, 187-228.

<sup>104</sup> Haworth, COIA, Sept. 20 1875, 273; and Haley, *Buffalo War*, 182.

massive transatlantic migrations. Their vision and expectations for the future changed in the process of their experience when they understood the futility of further resistance. Consequently, those Kiowa remained on the reservation with peace Chief Kicking Bird.<sup>105</sup> Twenty-six Kiowa participants in the war were sent to prison at Fort Marion, Florida, including Lone Wolf, Swan, Double Vision and Women's Heart. Satanta was jailed in Texas for violating his parole. Big Tree, a sub-chief, was able to remain with the tribe and would play an important leadership role in the years to come.<sup>106</sup> Nonetheless, without their war leaders and indomitable ponies, the Kiowa were no longer independent.

Horses obtained in the Columbian Exchange were essential to Kiowa self-determination. Between 1830 and 1874, the horse-centered Kiowa tribe had participated in transatlantic trade based on their post-Columbian cultural vision. The dynamics of social and economic expectations demanded that young Kiowa continue to raid for trade horses. The resulting conflict exacerbated their relationship with the United States and resulted in restrictive treaties that increasingly limited their mobility. Furthermore, massive transatlantic migrations pushed settlers to the plains where they destroyed the tribe's natural resources and subsistence systems. Dependent upon annuities, outnumbered, hungry, deprived of their land and indomitable ponies, the Kiowa would once again face the challenge of renewal and change.

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<sup>105</sup>Haworth, *Buffalo War*, September 1, 1874, 528' and Mooney, *Calendar History*, 204-205.

<sup>106</sup> Haworth, COIA, Sept 20, 1875, 273.

CHAPTER 4  
KIOWA CULTURAL CHANGES  
1874-1919

In 1871, the United States ended the practice of negotiating treaties with Native American tribes. The Indian Appropriation Act that year established Congressional law as the principal authority in tribal relations. Restricted to a reservation following the Red River War in 1874, the Kiowa faced the mandate of cultural assimilation. Concerned with cultural continuity, scholars have generally provided critical assessments of that process. They have criticized the federal government for causing “tremendous suffering” by taking away “what made them Indian,” and deprived them of “their ancient privileges.” As a result, Native Americans lost their tribal cohesion, were impoverished and marginalized.<sup>1</sup>

Assimilation proved a long gradual process. Although there were problems and

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<sup>1</sup>Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 318-319. Wunder, *The Kiowa, Indians of North America*, 65-69. Ellis, *To Change Them Forever*, xi. Margaret King Zimmerman, *Walking in Moccasins: A Journey in Two Cultures*, (Leawood: Leathers Publishing, 2000), 6. Vine Deloria, Jr., *American Indians, American Justice*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 116. Daniel L. Boxberger, “Individualism or Tribalism?: The ‘Dialectic’ of Indian Policy,” *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 1, (Winter, 1991), 29-31, 30. JSTOR [Accessed October 6, 2007]. William D. Pennington, “Government Policy and Farming on the Kiowa Reservation: 1869-1901,” [PhD. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1972], 363, 366. Robert John Stahl, “Farming Among the Kiowa, Comanche, Kiowa Apache, and Wichita,” [PhD. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1978. 283. Benjamin Ray Kracht, *Kiowa Religion: An Ethnohistorical Analysis of Ritual Symbolism, 1832-1987*, [PhD. Dissertation, Southern Methodist University, August 12, 1989], 820. All dissertations from ProQuest Dissertations <http://libproxy.uta.edu:2117/login?COPT=REJTPNTiMGYmSU5UPTAmVkVSPTI=&clientId=89> [Accessed April 2, 2015]. Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Xii-xiii.

failures, by the end of this period, the Kiowa met the basic objective of government policy by becoming self-sufficient as a new generation of Kiowa leaders emerged.<sup>2</sup> Bureau of Indian Affairs reports and agency correspondence reveal successful Kiowa assimilation, which scholars, focused on cultural continuity, have often discounted because it transformed their post-Columbian horse-centered culture.

During the reservation period, federal appropriations and annuities were notoriously late, subject to budgetary constraints and inadequate to supply all the Kiowa needs. Despite expectations regarding assimilation, there was a long-standing government expectation that the Kiowa would hunt. Up into the 1880s, tribal leaders, such as Lone Wolf and Big Tree, negotiated with their agents for annual buffalo hunts that took them into the western portions of the reservation.<sup>3</sup>

This hunting benefited both the United States, and the Kiowa. Hunting also helped the Kiowa keep their pony herds. Following the Red River War in 1874, the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita tribes (KCW) rebuilt their herds to 8,624 horses by 1879.<sup>4</sup> Those creatures of transatlantic origin, and catalyst for the Kiowa horse-centered Culture, still grazed freely on the southern plains. In 1878, the *Dodge City Times* reported that great numbers commonly ran near the town.<sup>5</sup> As late as the 1880s,

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<sup>2</sup> John D. C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to J. L. Hall, Indian Agent KCW, Mar. 28, 1886. Reel KA 49, Oklahoma Historical Society.

<sup>3</sup> P. B. Hunt, Annual Report KCW, COIA, August 30, 1879, 64 and 65.

<sup>4</sup> COIA, 1879, 251.

<sup>5</sup> Dodge City Times, October 19, 1878, "Wild Horse," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, August, 1938, (Vol. 7, No. 3), 325-331, 325.

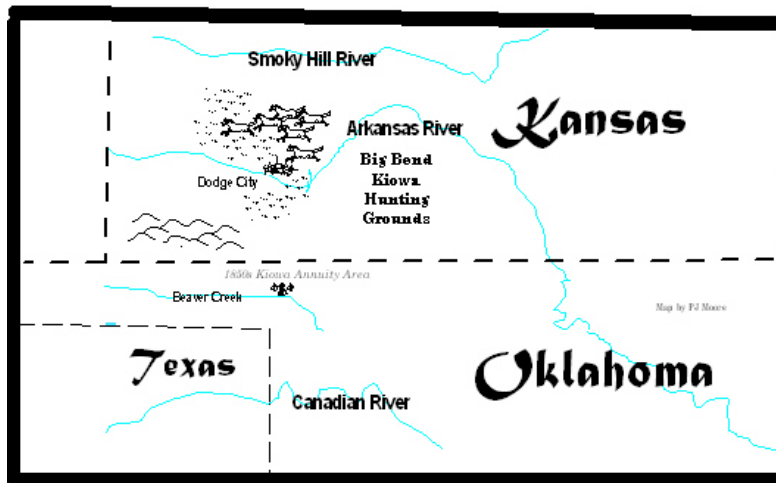


Fig. 8. Wild Horses in Smoky Hills Kansas 1870s-1880s

they were still observed by settlers “on the prairies between the Arkansas and Smoky Hill Rivers.”<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, mustangs and bison moved onto the Kiowa reservation where ranges remained open as settlers increasingly moved into the central plains of Kansas.<sup>7</sup> Buffalo hunts allowed the Kiowa to obtain wild horses as well as subsistence resources.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, the United States government worked incrementally to change

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<sup>6</sup> Susan Stafford, transcriber, “Western Kansas Wild Horses,” cited from the Lane County Gazette, California, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 3, (August, 1939), 311-321. KHS [http://kshs.org/publicat/khq/1938/38\\_3\\_bypaths.htm](http://kshs.org/publicat/khq/1938/38_3_bypaths.htm) [Accessed October 6, 2007].

<sup>7</sup>P. B. Hunt, Agent, KCW, Annual Report, COIA, Aug. 16, 1878, 60, 61; also Wyman, “*The Wild Horse of the West*,” 135-136. Also J. Frank Dobie, *The Mustangs*, (Boston: Little, Brown Company, 1952), 112.

<sup>8</sup> P. B. Hunt, Agent, KCW Annual Report, COIA, Aug. 16, 1878, 60, 61. On special permits, Towana Spivey, Fort Sill historian and director of the Fort Sill National Landmark & Museum, , Tel. con. January 5, 2005.

Kiowa culture.<sup>9</sup> The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) recommended that that they exchange their ponies for cattle, sheep, swine or poultry.<sup>10</sup> It also encouraged agents to stop the “sale of ponies to Indians” to discourage those remnants of the old Kiowa ethos.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, by moving the agency headquarters to the Washita River in 1878, the BIA hoped to end the influence of the old traditional bandleaders such as Big Tree and Lonewolf, as well as isolate the three tribes from each other.<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless, the Kiowa willingly accepted this move. They broke up into family groups and moved to places of their own choosing on the reservation where they later made homestead allotments. Kiowa who associated with the late peace chief Kicking Bird, remained in the area of Fort Sill, while, the once “hostile” bands of Satanta, Lone Wolf and Big Tree, moved toward Anadarko settling around Elk Creek, Hog Creek and Rainy Mountain, respectively.<sup>13</sup> Separated in smaller groups, they more readily found ample water and grass for their growing herds of horses, as they would have in pre-reservation days following the Sun Dance gatherings.

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<sup>9</sup> COIA, 1890, VI.

<sup>10</sup> Circular 10, Department of the Interior, Office of the Indian Affairs, March 1, 1878, Microfilm, KA-47, Kiowa Agency Records, OHS.

<sup>11</sup> P. B. Hunt, Agent, KCW Annual Report, COIA, Aug. 16, 1878, 60, 61; also, Hunt, Agent, KCW Annual Report, COIA, Sept. 1, 1880, 73; also Agent’s report COIA, Aug. 31, 1885, 84.

<sup>12</sup> P.H. Hunt, KCW Annual Report, COIA, Aug. 30, 1879, 62: see also Hunt, KCW, COIA, Sept. 1, 1880, 72. See also COIA, 1879; Also E. M. Marble, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, COIA, November 1, 1880, XXXIII-XXXIV.

<sup>13</sup> Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, 478-479. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The Untied States Government and the American Indians*, Abridged Edition, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 164.





Fig. 9. 1878 Kiowa Settlements

The year 1878 also marked the organization of an Indian police force that proved instrumental in changing Kiowa social and legal practices. The territorial government at Fort Smith, Arkansas, proved too remote to provide effective law enforcement for the reservation. Then, Federal troops at Fort Sill were ineffective in dealing with incursions by outlaws and fugitives on the KCW reservation lands.<sup>14</sup> A common problem on western reservations, the Commissioner of Indian affairs asked Congress to establish Indian law organizations.<sup>15</sup> In May of 1878, that body approved funds for thirty agencies, including the KCW Reservation.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> P.B. Hunt, KCW Annual report, COIA, August 15, 1878, 61.

<sup>15</sup> COIA, 1877 1-2; see also William Hagan, *Indian Police and Judges, Experiments in Acculturation and Control*, (New Haven: Yale University press, 1966), 24-26.

<sup>16</sup> COIA, 1878, xlii.

On October 1, 1878, KCW Agent P. B. Hunt organized an agency police force.<sup>17</sup> The Kiowa welcomed the opportunity to participate. Historically, tribal warrior societies performed police like functions, a familiarity that helped bridge this assimilation step.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, in pre-reservation days, a warrior's social status stemmed from his war record. The new organization provided an opportunity for recapturing the male warrior role and status from the old days.<sup>19</sup> Although the Kiowa provided their own horses, the government supplied guns and rifles.<sup>20</sup> The police force included thirty-five enlisted men and two warranted officers. Although Comanches served, the Kiowa initially played key roles in its operation. Kiowa *Son-Ka-dota*, served as the first Captain and I-see-o, also a Kiowa, eventually served as the senior Sergeant<sup>21</sup>

Kiowa police, supervised by the local agent, had to adapt to transatlantic notions of secular law derived from Anglo-Saxon common law.<sup>22</sup> Traditionally, Kiowa leaders

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<sup>17</sup> P. B. Hunt, KCW Annual Report, COIA, August 30, 1879, 68; also see Hunt, Annual Report, COIA, Sept. 1, 1880, 75.

<sup>18</sup> Hagan, *Indian Police*, 161.

<sup>19</sup> Jane Richardson, *Law and Status Among the Kiowa Indians*, Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. 1, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1940), 14.

<sup>20</sup> COIA, 1884, xvi.

<sup>21</sup> P.B. Hunt KCW Annual Report, COIA, 1 September 1892, 69; also see Prucha, *The Great Father*, 196; also Mayhall, 319, 304; also P. H. Hunt, KCW Report, COIA 1879.

<sup>22</sup> The term "common law" is used here to refer to "law developed and recognized only in the English Court of Chancery and its American analogues." This law had Germanic roots, but was primarily brought to North America by the English. See *Modern American Law, A Systematic and Comprehensive Commentary on the Fundamental Principles of American Law*, Vol. I, (Chicago: Blackstone School of Law), 44-45.

recognized two sources of justice, the supernatural and the secular. If an individual committed a serious violation such as murder, that person was “followed by taido,” or subject to supernatural punishment. Consequently, there was little need for further secular judgment.<sup>23</sup> In addition, traditional Kiowa Law included a sense of “variability” and “status considerations” in dealing with infractions, especially for the *Onde*, aristocracy.<sup>24</sup> Hagan recognized the problem of Indians enforcing transatlantic law and complications related to tribal social status.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, the enthusiastic participation of Kiowas in the police force indicated a successful adaptation to their new duties. Police abandoned traditional practices by cutting their braids, marrying one wife, and eagerly sent their children to the Fort Sill Indian School.<sup>26</sup>

One of the first assignments for the police was to keep stray cattle off the reservation.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, individual Kiowas and Comanches made covert deals with Texas cowmen for “bush-payments,” allowing limited numbers of cattle stealthy on tribal ranges.<sup>28</sup> In the fall of 1881, Agent Hunt, who was aware of that practice, approached cattlemen and worked out an agreement to allow stock on the KCW range

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<sup>23</sup> Richardson, *Law and Status*, 62.

<sup>24</sup> Richardson, *Law and Status*, 135.

<sup>25</sup> Hagan, *Indian Police*, 163.

<sup>26</sup> Hagan, *Indian Police*, 170.

<sup>27</sup> P. B. Hunt, KCW Annual Report, COIA, Sept. 1, 1880, 75; also see R. A. Sneed, R. A. Sneed, “The Reminiscences of an Indian Trader,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (June, 1936), 151-152. OHS : <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/index.html> [Accessed October 1, 2005].

<sup>28</sup> Sneed, *Reminiscences*, 151-152.

legally.<sup>29</sup> In return, the cowmen provided cattle to make up for a government subsistence shortfall. The venture proved beneficial to the both cattlemen and tribes.<sup>30</sup> Despite a continuing vague BIA policy on leasing, Kiowa agent conciliations allowed grass leases to continue.<sup>31</sup>

While carrying out their reservation duties, Indian police occasionally faced precarious circumstances. Charley Apekaum recalled “bad characters” coming into the reservation from all over “thinking that the long arm of the law” would not reach them.<sup>32</sup> For instance, in April 1883, an Apache named “Muchacho,” found his way to the reservation. Wanted for murder and horse stealing, he fled from the New Mexico Territory during the Mescalero uprising. Chief of police James N. Jones, with Kiowa Captain Son-Ka-dota, Comanche Lieutenant Permamsu, and a small detail of police, captured him on the reservation with eleven stolen horses. Held at the Fort Sill jail, Muchacho later returned to Santa Fe accompanied by a U.S. Marshal.<sup>33</sup> The police

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<sup>29</sup> P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indians Affairs, COIA, Aug. 18, 1879, Misc. filed, Kiowa Indian Agency, Anadarko Oklahoma, as cited by Martha Buntin, “Beginning of the Leasing of the Surplus Grazing Lands on the Kiowa and Comanche Reservation,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Sept, 1932), 373. OHS: <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/chronicles/v010/v010p369.html> [Accessed October 6, 2007].

<sup>30</sup> P. B. Hunt, Report, COIA, 1883, 71-72. On the plan: Hunt to Henry, COIA, March 20, 1882.

<sup>31</sup> COIA 1886, XVII; XIX; COIA 1888, XXXIX; 1889, 31; COIA 1893, 29; COIA 1895, 36; COIA 1899, 55; COIA 1903, 56; Sneed, “The Reminiscences of an Indian Trader,” 152.

<sup>32</sup> Apekaum, *Autobiography*, Card 1, 16.

<sup>33</sup> P. B. Hunt, KCW Annual Report, COIA, 1883, 72; Also Diron Ahlquist, *Tumbleweeds & Dust Devils*,. Telephone interview with Towana Spivey, Museum Director, referenced this document at the Fort Sill Army Museum, [September 16, 2006].

force received frequent praise for their persistent contributions to law and order on the reservation from their agents, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as well.<sup>34</sup>

That same year, the Bureau of Interior expanded the role of the police. The formation of a court and law code to assist the police force helped place judicial, legislative and executive authorities in accord with American law and customs.<sup>35</sup> Following the assimilative demise of tribal chiefs, during the reservation period, Indian councils initially functioned in all three of those areas.<sup>36</sup> In 1882, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Henry Teller, drafted rules to deal with Indian traditional practices, as well as law and order on reservations.<sup>37</sup> The next year, the Secretary of the Interior unilaterally, without Congressional action, sanctioned the Courts of Indian Offenses and Teller's code to guide it. This action was "rationalized under general powers that were lodged in the office of the commissioner of Indian affairs."<sup>38</sup>

The code proscribed traditional Kiowa practices such as polygamy and certain dances.<sup>39</sup> Judges would receive \$10.00 a month to carry out their rather demanding

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<sup>34</sup> COIA 1880, IX, noted its "value and reliability." COIA 1890, XC, "their service indispensable;" P. B. Hunt, KCW Report, COIA, 1880, 75; also Hunt KCW, Annual Report, COIA, 1881, 81; also Hunt KCW, Annual Report COIA, 1882, 69; Annual Report KCW, COIA, 1888, 99; Annual Report KCW, COIA, 1889, 190.

<sup>35</sup> Deloria, and Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice*, 114.

<sup>36</sup> Deloria, and Lytle, *American Indians*,, 114.

<sup>37</sup> COIA 1882, VII; COIA 1883, XIV, Rules for the Court of Indian Offenses set forth.

<sup>38</sup> Deloria, and Lytle, 115.

<sup>39</sup> COIA 1883, XIV; also see Clyde Ellis, "We Don't Want Your Rations, We Want This Dance": The Changing Use of Song and Dance on the Southern Plains," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Summer, 1999), 133-154, 137 JSTOR [June 14, 2006]. Also Prucha. *The Great Father*, 118.

duties.<sup>40</sup> It took the KCW agents several years to persuade Indian leaders to serve on a court using transatlantic forms of law that banned traditional practices. Agent E. E. White finally organized a court on the KCW reservation in July 1888. He argued that it was better to try their own people on the reservation than have them hauled off to places like Texas, where they were left to the mercy of strangers. White selected Comanche Quanah Parker, Kiowa Lone Wolf, and Jim Tehnacana, a Kiowa Apache, as the first judges.<sup>41</sup> Symptomatic of the cultural dilemma, Lone Wolf soon resigned; he did not feel comfortable serving in an organization that dissuaded traditional practices. Black Goose, another Kiowa, was appointed in Lone Wolf's place.<sup>42</sup>

The court illustrated syncretic outcomes of assimilation. It functioned as an educational and disciplinary instrumentality for adapting Kiowa practices to tenants of Anglo-American social values and law.<sup>43</sup> Cases commonly dwelt with theft, manslaughter, rights of property, drunkenness, and issues related to multiple marriages.<sup>44</sup> There were no juries; judges heard cases and rendered judgments based on a combination of traditional justice as well as Tellers' code.

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<sup>40</sup> E. E. White, KCW Annual Report, COIA, 1888, 98; see also Indian Courts, Letters Sent and Received Microfilm KA-48, OHS.

<sup>41</sup> E. E. White, KCW Annual Report, COIA, 1888, 98.

<sup>42</sup> Indian Court, Letters Sent and Received, 47 Kiowa Agency *Records* Microfilm KA-48, Oct. 10, 1888. OHS.

<sup>43</sup> Deloria, and Lytle, *American Indians*, 114-115.

<sup>44</sup> Indian Courts, 47 Kiowa Agency *Records* Microfilm KA-48, theft, Mar, 16, 1891, manslaughter Jun 6, 1891, property, June 20, 1891, drunkenness, Sept 6, 1891, marriage Dec. 18, 1891. OHS.

For instance, in June 1891, the court heard a Kiowa case where a defendant was charged with “casting off his wife” and living with another woman. The court fined the man ten dollars and required him to provide “one well broken pony” to his estranged wife.<sup>45</sup> This requirement exemplified a Kiowa tradition that continued into the late reservation period.

In December, that same year, a Kiowa woman, charged with abandoning her husband, came before the court. The plaintiff demanded that the wife return to him and the court essentially agreed. Age-old obligations of wives to their husbands, called for traditional justice. Nevertheless, the man had a second wife, who was ill at the time. The judges, aware that the BIA Code prohibited polygamy, required the women to return only until the second wife recovered from her illness. After that, she was free to depart.<sup>46</sup>

The code also proscribed the traditional Kiowa Sun Dance. Despite the prohibition, a dispensation of conciliation between KCW agents P. B. Hunt and J. Lee Hall with tribal leaders allowed the Sun Dance to continue. With their efforts focused on economic issues, those agents chose to ignore practices not directly important to that goal. Although not aware of it at the time, the Kiowa held their last Sun Dance the summer of 1887 on a tributary of the Washita called Oak Creek close to present day Mountain View and Rainy Mountain Creek. The families of Sitting Bear, Apiatan, Big

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<sup>45</sup> Indian Courts, 47, Kiowa Agency *Records* Microfilm KA-48, June 20, 1891, OHS.

Tree, and other Kiowa attended. Although the agents would have allowed it, failure to find a buffalo precluded the event the next summer.<sup>47</sup>

Nevertheless, conciliation changed to confrontation when W. D. Meyers became the agent in 1889. The Kiowa requested permission from agent Myers to have the annual Sun Dance. Instead of granting approval, as did his predecessors, Myers wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he felt it was “demoralizing and degrading and should not be permitted.” He asked the BIA for authority to deny the Kiowa request.<sup>48</sup> The Commissioner wrote back “you are instructed to peremptorily prohibit the dance.”<sup>49</sup> When informed of this state of affairs, some Kiowa, particularly young men, intended to hold it anyway.<sup>50</sup> Meanwhile, Myers was reassigned from the agency before the summer event and Charles Adams reported as the new KCW agent. Because of the Commissioner’s strong admonition to Myer, Adams had little choice but to stop the dance. That summer, while constructing a Sun Dance Arbor, reports of Agent

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<sup>46</sup> Indian Courts, 47, Kiowa Agency *Records* Microfilm KA-48, Dec. 18, 1891, OHS.. In a telephone conversation, September 5, 2006, Towana Spivey, noted the Jail in Anadarko, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

<sup>47</sup> John H. Oberly to W. D. Myers, Agent June, 4, 1889, KA-47 Kiowa Agency *Records*, OHS; also W. D. Myers, *KCW Annual Report*, COIA August 17, 1889, 190. also *Mooney Calendar History*,, 355. See also W. D. Meyers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 16, 1889, KA-47, OHS.

<sup>48</sup> W. E. Myers, *KCW Annual Report*, COIA, 1889, 190.

<sup>49</sup> COIA to Myers, June 4, 1889. KA-47, OHS.

<sup>50</sup> W. D. Myers, *KCW Annual Report*, COIA, Oct. 1, 1889), 188-192.



Adams' intent to use military force, if required, brought the last Kiowa efforts for a Sun Dance to an end.<sup>51</sup>

The BIA's fears about dancing were exacerbated by events that began in 1888, by the preaching of a Paiute holy man from Nevada, called Wovoka. Greatly misunderstood, he claimed a divine revelation that all Indians should love one another, not quarrel and live in peace with whites. Furthermore, the day would come when Indians would be reunited with all those that had passed away, and would live with them forever being "happy and forever young." By performing a certain dance at "intervals for five consecutive days," participants would receive immediate joy as well as hasten the coming of the prophesied reunion.<sup>52</sup>

Many southern plains tribes, including the Kiowa, participated in prophetic dances prior to Wovoka. Two Kiowa diviners made similar predictions. In the summer of 1881, there was vast dissatisfaction regarding rations, and government officials feared of an outbreak. A Kiowa medicine man called Dátekâñ exacerbated the situation by predicting the return of bison and a revival of the old Indian life, none of which obviously happened. Again, in the spring of 1887, another Kiowa medicine man, called Pá-iñgya, revived the Dátekâñ predictions. In addition, he claimed the ability to

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<sup>51</sup>Mooney, *Calendar History*, 358-359; see also Benjamin R. Kracht, "Kiowa Religion in Historical Perspective," *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Special Issue: To hear the Eagles Cry; Contemporary Themes in Native American Spirituality: Part III, Historical Reflections. (Winter, 1997), 15-33, 23: JSTOR [Accessed April 1, 2005].

<sup>52</sup> Mooney, *The Ghost Dance, D Religion*, "Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology: 1892-93, Part 2, 772. Quesita, <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=29174816> [Accessed October 6, 2007].

resurrect the dead and destroy his enemies by a lighting bolt. Nonetheless, when the time came for the fulfillment of his predictions, they also failed.<sup>53</sup>

As a result, in the early summer of 1890, the Kiowa were skeptical of Wovoka and sent an emissary, Apiatan, to visit him in Utah. The thirty-year old Apiatan grieved over a recently lost child. If Wovoka was a true prophet, he might provide a reunion with his departed child. Nevertheless, after just one meeting with Wovoka, Apiatan concluded that the prophet was deceptive and held no hope for the Kiowa. On his return, he reported this to the tribe.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, Setzepetoi (Afraid-of-Bears) a blind Kiowa prophet held a Ghost Dance in September 1894, for four days on the Washita River. Another took place the next fall.<sup>55</sup> Demonstrative of continuing resistance to assimilative practices, hard-core adherents to the dance opposed wearing “civilized” clothing, living in houses and attending Christian churches.<sup>56</sup>

With the Sun Dance, and Ghost Dance forbidden, the Kiowa adapted traditional practices by refocusing their annual social gathering around their Gourd Dance. Led by one of the oldest tribal Warrior societies, the Gourd Dance continued annually until

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<sup>53</sup> Mooney, *Calendar History*, 220. see also see also Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 906.

<sup>54</sup> Mooney, *Calendar History*, 360; See also Mooney, James Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion*, 911.

<sup>55</sup> “Kiowas Arranging for a Ghost Dance,” Sept. 28, 1895, *New York Times*, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. [Accessed October 6, 2007].

<sup>56</sup> Mooney, *Calendar History*, 221; See also Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion*, 898, 903, 913-914. Charles Apekaum attended a ghost dance with his uncle west of Carnegie about that time. Apekaum, 16. See also Kracht, “Kiowa Religion in Historical Perspective, 24.

1927, when most of the old warriors had died.<sup>57</sup> The dance first began for the Kiowa in 1838 following a victory in a four-day battle against a combined group of Cheyenne and Arapaho raiders on a Skunk berry bush covered battlefield. The Jáifègâu Society [“Skunkberry people”] formed following the battle.<sup>58</sup> The society played a role in policing Annual Sun Dances alternating with other military groups.<sup>59</sup> Although not as elaborate as the Sun Dance, the Gourd dance was a vestige of the old warrior ethos.

Agent Adams received a reprimand from Commissioner of Indian Affairs, T. J. Morgan, a Baptist minister and educator, for allowing the Gourd Dance.<sup>60</sup> Adams replied to Morgan by arguing that the dance was not like the Sun Dance. He understood that the BIA was concerned about other dances that might keep old superstitions alive, and discourage more “civilized pursuits.”<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, as did, P. B. Hunt and J. Lee Hall, Adams was willing to risk censure for allowing the Kiowa the right to practice commemorative vestiges of their old culture such as traditional dances and songs. This concession helped the Kiowa deal with the perplexities of cultural change.

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<sup>57</sup> Clyde Ellis, “Truly Dancing Their Own Way”: Modern Revival and Diffusion of the Gourd Dance,” *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Winter, 1990), 19-33, 21. JSTOR [Accessed January 28, 2006]. The T’ăñpéko Society for Gourd Dancing was re-instituted by the Kiowa in the 1950s, and continues as a very important practice.

<sup>58</sup> Ellis, “Truly Dancing Their Own Way:” 19-33, 20-21.

<sup>59</sup> Meadows, *Kiowa, Apache, And Comanche Military Societies*, 70.

<sup>60</sup> COIA T. J. Morgan to Charles E. Adams, July 10, 1890, KA-47, OHS. Also see Ellis, “We Don’t Want Your Rations,” 138.

<sup>61</sup> Charles A. Adams to COIA T. J. Morgan, July 16, 1890, KA-47, OHS.

Nonetheless, agents maintained concerns about the sizeable pony herds on the reservation. Annual reports during the 1880s and early 1890s show that horses consistently outnumbered KCW cattle. Agent P. B. Hunt characterized Kiowa pastoral life on the reservation as “the last of their savage customs.” He believed their ponies kept them from farming and self-sufficient homesteading.<sup>62</sup> In reality, the Kiowa had adapted their practices to changing realities, as they had generations before during the Columbian Exchange by adopting horses. The Kiowa clung to their horse-centered culture as KCW horses in 1889 numbered 10,650.<sup>63</sup> Frederic Remington visited the reservation that year to see the last vestiges of the old Kiowa culture. He noted the importance of keeping reservation lands to maintain that ethos.<sup>64</sup> Although in 1890, they began selling some of their ponies to horse enthusiasts throughout the country for breeding and saddle purposes, they were content to continue their adapted transatlantic horse-centered culture.<sup>65</sup>

Nonetheless, they found it increasingly difficult to maintain that culture. Politicians, taking into account growing numbers of Euro-American immigrants, focused upon transatlantic principles of proportionality and private property to take

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<sup>62</sup> COIA, 1885, 1.

<sup>63</sup>W. D. Myers, Annual Report of KCW Agency, COIA, 1889, 519. George D. Day, COIA, August, 30, 1892, Annual Report, KCW, 386, 811.

<sup>64</sup> Frederic Remington, “On Indian Reservations,” *The Century Quarterly*, Vol. 38, Issue 3, (July 1889), 403. CUDA. [Accessed November 12, 2005].

<sup>65</sup> Chase E. Adams, KCW Annual Report, Sept. 16, 1890, 186. See also Wyman, *The Wild Horse of the West*. 183. On the tents, see Sneed, 141 and 144.

Kiowa lands.<sup>66</sup> The KCW Reservation set up by the Medicine Lodge Treaty, of 1867, included 2,968,893 acres. This allowed 1000 acres for each Native American inhabitant at a time when growing numbers of people came to the United States for farmland.<sup>67</sup> Between 1880 and 1890, 5,851,890 transatlantic immigrants arrived in the United States.<sup>68</sup> The provisions of the 1862 Homestead Act, and advertisements promoting settlements along railroad lines moved numbers of them westward. Many of these people assumed that the three million acre KCW reservation was “lying idle” and therefore a potential source for homesteads.<sup>69</sup>

Indian rights sympathizers envisioned the allotment process as a way to protect Indians from losing all their lands in the westward rush of Euro-Americans. Groups such as the Boston Indian Citizenship Association, Women’s National Indian Association and the Indian Rights Association joined with members of the House and Senate. They concurred that it was to the Indians’ benefit to end tribal organizations and bring them into the main stream of American society by allotting their lands.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Griffith, Cathryn P., *Enduring Political Ideas*, (Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 1983), 120-121. Englishman John Locke, (1632-1704), popularized theories of the importance of private property. Swiss philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau, (1712 – 1778), promoted the "right proportion" between the quantity of people and the sum of land needed to sustain them.

<sup>67</sup> P. B. Hunt, KCW Annual Report, COIA, 1885, 83.

<sup>68</sup> *Report of the Immigration Commission, 1820-1910*, 61<sup>st</sup> Cong, 3d ses., Document No. 756, 4.

<sup>69</sup> *Mountain View: 1899-1999, The First Hundred Years*, by the Main Street Association, (Weatherford: Schoonmaker Publishers, 1998), 8-9.

<sup>70</sup> *Eighth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association*, 1891, 9, and *Tenth Annual Report*, 1893, 11; see also Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Assault on Indian Tribalism: The General Allotment Law (Dawes Act) of 1887*, (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1975), 5-8; also Prucha, *The*

Allotments were a crucial step in helping Indians become farmers. Charles Mix, Acting Indian Commissioner, wrote in November 1867, that one of the obstacles to Indian farming was they have “no certainty as to the permanent possession of the land” for which they are persistently urged, “to improve.”<sup>71</sup>

The Dawes Act, which passed Congress in February 1887, forced Euro-American customs of land tenure on Native Americans. Due to an administrative oversight to exclude the Five Civilized Tribes, Kiowa lands were also overlooked.<sup>72</sup> Nonetheless, through the years, agents persistently advised the Kiowa about the inevitability of losing their surplus lands to white settlements.<sup>73</sup> In his 1889 annual report, Agent Myers noted that all the Indians of his agency “oppose to a man the allotment of their land in severalty.” He told BIA officials they were not ready for land allotment and argued it would not be fair to force them into such a system. Even so, Myers made it clear that the Kiowa realized that the time would eventually come when they would have to take allotments.<sup>74</sup>

On March 2, 1889, Congress authorized commissioners to negotiate with the various tribes, including the Kiowa, concerning the allotment of their lands. Those

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*Great Father*, 164; also William T. Hagan, *The Indians Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years, 1882-1904*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1985), 167-168.

<sup>71</sup> Charles E. Mix, Acting Indian Commissioner, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Annual Report on Indian Affairs by the Acting Commissioner, COIA, November 15, 1867*, 1.

<sup>72</sup> Sec, 8, *An Act to Provide for the Allotments of Land in Severalty to Indians on the Various Reservations*, (General Allotment Act or Dawes Act), Statues at Large 24, 388-91.

<sup>73</sup> C. E. Adams, KCW Annual Report, COIA, 1890, 188.

meeting the KCW tribes were Alfred M. Wilson, Warren G. Sayre and David H. Jerome, who served as the chair.<sup>75</sup> The “Jerome Commission” as it was called, met with members of the KCA tribes, between September 26 and October 17, 1892.<sup>76</sup>

The meetings revealed the coercive character of Federal assimilative policy. Content with the adaptation of their horse-centered culture to reservation life, the Kiowa were in no hurry for allotments.<sup>77</sup> They made this point clear throughout the meetings. On the second day, Kiowa leader Stumbling Bear told the commission “we are not desirous of selling our country now, but may be in four years.”<sup>78</sup> Two days later, Lone Wolf announced to the commission that following a council of all the KCW tribes, they had “decided not to sell the country,” and wanted to wait for the four years when the Medicine Lodge Treaty agreements expired. Chairman Jerome responded that the accord “had nothing to do with this” process and “the country must be opened.”<sup>79</sup>

Nonetheless, the Kiowa persisted in the understandings of the Medicine Lodge Treaty. The next day, September 29, Kiowa Iseeo said, “a long time ago the great father at Washington fixed a good road for us ... still the Kiowa are holding on to that

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<sup>74</sup> W. D. Myers, KCW Annual Report, COIA, 1889, 192.

<sup>75</sup> T. J. Morgan, COIA, 1891, 49.

<sup>76</sup> Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*: 499.

<sup>77</sup> Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, 499.

<sup>78</sup> Verbatim of Jerome Meetings with KCW Tribes, RG 75, Box 29, 062, Treaties, National Archives and Records Administration, Fort Worth, (hereafter, NARAJM), Sept 26, 1892.

<sup>79</sup> NARAJM, Sept 28, 1892.

treaty.”<sup>80</sup> Kiowa Komalty warned, “if we should agree to sign the contract and each one take 160 acres you must remember that we have horses and cattle. These will in a few years die of starvation.”<sup>81</sup> Kiowa Big Bow agreed saying “the content of the treaty tends to destroy our stock and everything we have.”<sup>82</sup> Big Bow did not miss the irony of the allotment process, though articulated as a benefit; in reality, it would destroy their horse-centered culture.

As the meetings continued, hopes of negotiation and understanding faded. On October 5, Big Tree suggested that the commissioners seemed impatient and were “pressing” too hard for an agreement. He lamented that when “chiefs make speeches and say that they are ready to trade in the course of four years from now,” the commissioners “get up a tell them that it is no use.”<sup>83</sup> On October 11, Apitone stood up and reminded the commissioners that they had “voted against the contract,” all the Kiowa wanted to wait until the Medicine Lodge Treaty expired.<sup>84</sup>

Nevertheless, Jerome insisted that they “give it up.” On October 15, Komalty, again reminded the commission that under the Medicine Lodge Treaty the federal government promised “that we should not be disturbed, and “no allotments should be attempted.” Jerome responded, “the President can order you to take allotments

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<sup>80</sup> NARAJM, Sept 29, 1892.

<sup>81</sup> NARAJM, October 5, 1892.

<sup>82</sup> NARAJM, October 11, 1892.

<sup>83</sup> NARAJM, October 5, 1892.

<sup>84</sup> NARAJM, October 11, 1892.



tomorrow if he wants to.” He argued that it was better at that time to make an agreement. If the tribes waited until the treaty expired, they would come under the Dawes Act, which gave them half as much land and offered no personal money.<sup>85</sup>

On the final day of meetings with the Kiowa, Big Tree, Lone Wolf and Apitone intended to argue their case again to the commissioners. Nevertheless, after the meeting began, they were denied that opportunity. Big Tree told Jerome that it was “not right that the Commissioners should have the floor all the time.” He then asked the chairman “to sit down” and allow the Kiowa to speak. The governor reacted by ordering Big Tree and other Kiowa leaders out of the meeting.<sup>86</sup>

The commissioners then obtained enough signatures to allot the KCW lands. As the meetings ended, Lucious, a Kiowa signatory, complained that the commission deliberately failed to make it clear that they planned to allot the reservation right away.<sup>87</sup> Controversy followed as other complaints arose that the Kiowa were “defrauded outrageously” and “deceived by the commissioners.”<sup>88</sup> For instance, the government negotiators violated section 12 of the Medicine Lodge Treaty. KCW Agent G. D. Day failed to take a general census in 1892, so the Commission used one from the

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<sup>85</sup> NARAJM, October 15, 1892.

<sup>86</sup> NARAJM, October 17, 1892.

<sup>87</sup> NARAJM, October 14, 1892.

<sup>88</sup> *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, COIA, 1894, 36; also see Mooney to Welsh, Oct. 17, 1893, *Indian Rights Association Papers*, Reel 10, as cited in Hagan, *The Indian Rights Association*, 167.

previous year. Nonetheless, there was an annuities census for that year which showed 725 men over 18 years old. Based on that more recent count, the Jerome Agreement acquired 87 less votes than needed to account for three-fourths of the KCW tribes as required by the treaty.<sup>89</sup>

Not wanting to give up the last vestiges of their horse-centered culture, the Kiowa resisted the findings of the Commission. John Methvin, a local Methodist missionary, helped the Kiowa put together a petition and gather affidavits to present to Congressmen and Indian Rights groups. In addition, Captain Hugh Scott, who had commanded L Troop of 7th Cavalry, made up of Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians, at Fort Sill, wrote to the Secretary of the War protesting the commission's actions.<sup>90</sup> Charles Painter, field worker and Washington D. C. lobbyist for the Indian Rights Association (IRA), arrived in Oklahoma on October 25, 1892, soon after the Jerome meetings. Nevertheless, he was there to assess problems at the Cheyenne Arapahoe agency in Darlington, not to help the Kiowa.<sup>91</sup> It would be another year before the IRA took any action in behalf of the Kiowa. James Mooney, an ethnologist at the Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology in Washington D. C., requested that assistance in November 1893. Mooney had spent the spring of 1891 studying their language while

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<sup>89</sup> *Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association*, Twenty-First Annual Report, 1903, 20; Also see Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, 515-520. Blue Clark, *Lonewolf v Hitchcock*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 67-76. Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock, 187 U.S. 553, Docket Number: 275, (1902 U. S. Supreme Court Session), 1, 3.

<sup>90</sup> Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, COIA, 1894, 36; also see, in Clark, Scott Letter to Daniel S. Lamont, 11 May, 1893, Sen. Doc. 77, p. 5.

<sup>91</sup> Painter to Welsh, Oct. 26, 1892, *Indian Rights Association papers*, (26 Reels), Reel 19.

visiting the reservation where he became acquainted with Hugh Scott. The Captain no doubt kept the ethnologist informed about conditions in Oklahoma.<sup>92</sup>

Furthermore, Texas cattlemen, wanted to protect their profitable grass leases. E. C. Sugg, C. T. Herring, Samuel B. Burnett, Daniel Waggoner and J. P. Addington, joined with Senator O. H. Platt and Matt Quay of Pennsylvania to help the Kiowa.<sup>93</sup> Quay played a critical role in blocking approval of the agreement in congress. Chairman of the Republican Party and elected to the Senate in 1887, he persistently fought off attempts to pass the Jerome Agreement.<sup>94</sup>

While the Jerome meetings were going on, the Kiowa opened their own government school. Indian schools played a critical role in assimilating young Indian children to Euro-American practices. From the days of their defeat in 1874, the Kiowa realized the importance of learning the white man's ways. As a result, they sent proportionally more of their children than other tribes did to the Fort Sill School.<sup>95</sup> In 1892, Kiowa children began attending their own school at Rainy Mountain in the northern part of the reservation. There, all Kiowa students learned to read and write

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<sup>92</sup> John C. Ewers, Introduction to James Mooney, *Calendar History*, viii.-ix.

<sup>93</sup> Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 304. See also William T. Hagan, *Kiowas, Comanches, and Cattlemen, 1867-1906*: See also, "A Case Study of the Failure of U. S. Reservation Policy," *Pacific Historical Review*, 40, (1971), 333-355, 348

<sup>94</sup> *Nineteenth Annual Report, of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association*, (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1901), 43; see also Matthew Stanley Quay, Biography, <http://www.bookrags.com/biography/matthew-stanley-quay/> [Accessed October 6, 2007].

<sup>95</sup> James Haworth, KCA Annual Report, COIA, 1877, 88.

English. Girls focused on homemaking, while boys studied farm-vocational related education.

The year 1892 also marked the commencement of significant Kiowa religious changes. Laretta Ballew and Maryetta Reeside began work among the Kiowa as Baptist missionaries.<sup>96</sup> Both played a significant role in bringing transatlantic religious ideas to the once “hostile bands” near Rainy Mountain.<sup>97</sup> According to Charlie Apekaum, various Kiowa religious ideas adapted well to Christianity.<sup>98</sup> Key to Kiowa religion was the notion of *dwdw* “power,” a spiritual force that permeated the universe. This *dwdw* was evident in plants, animals, and natural phenomena like thunder, lightning and whirlwinds.<sup>99</sup> The Kiowa story of the Spider Woman and *Tah’lee*, the Sun, or *Pahy*, revealed how the Kiowa shared some of that power via *Tah’lee* whose manifestation in the Kiowa Ten Medicine Bags represented. The Kiowas, then, saw themselves as the chosen “keepers of “*Tah’lee’s*” power, which indirectly derived from *Earth Maker*.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>Mary G. Burdette, *Thirty-Two Years’ Work among Indians, 1877-1909, Part II work and Workers Among Uncivilized Tribes 1892-1909*, Published by Woman’s American Baptist Home Mission Society, Chicago, Illinois, (1909-1919), 33. For the date of her reporting see Benjamin R. Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, 661.

<sup>97</sup> Burdette, *Thirty-Two*, 4. Also see *The Women’s Baptist Home Mission Society, 1893*; See also Minutes of Annual and Special meetings and Annual Reports of Corresponding Secretary during the first five years. American Baptist Historical Society, Philadelphia, 61.

<sup>98</sup> Apekaum,, Card 2, 49.

<sup>99</sup> Benjamin R. Kracht, “Kiowa Religion in Historical Perspective,” 16.

<sup>100</sup> Maurice Boyd, *Kiowa Voices*, Vol. II, 47-48. And *Kiowa Voices, Ceremonial Dance, Ritual and Song, Vol. I.*, 31. Also Mooney, *Calendar History*, 153.

Because of similar basic beliefs about God, the Kiowa adapted easily to various traditional ideas in the Christian faith. Although an individual Indian might obtain *dwdw*, it was always considered a very tenuous process.<sup>101</sup> An attractive feature of Christianity was its connection to *Dwk'i*, “God,” with opportunities for obtaining power or *dwdw*.<sup>102</sup>

Furthermore, testimony meetings adapted well to old gatherings around campfires where the Kiowa once told stores of victories while “fighting” white men and enemy tribes, then the forces of spiritual and moral evil.<sup>103</sup> Eventually, two Kiowa mission churches were established in 1893 at Elk Creek and Rainy Mountain, and a fourth at Saddle Mountain in 1898.<sup>104</sup> Former Kiowa leaders Saingko, Big Tree, Chileanon and Gotebo, were the first elected deacons at the Rainy Mountain church.<sup>105</sup>

Another important religious change centered on peyote. Agent Hall reported in 1886 that “the Comanches and some of the Kiowa” were using the tops of cactus plants in a ceremony. The plants, which came from Mexico, produced effects somewhat like opium. Hall wanted the practice outlawed due to apparent negative effects on

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<sup>101</sup> Kracht, “Kiowa Religion in Historical Perspective,” 16.

<sup>102</sup> Kracht, “Kiowa Religion in Historical Perspective,” 15-33, 20.

<sup>103</sup> Hayne, *Kiowa Turning*, 29.

<sup>104</sup> Isabel Crawford, *Joyful Journey, Highlight on the High Way, An Autobiography*, (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1951) 77.

<sup>105</sup> *The Women's Baptist Home Mission Society*, 1895 Annual, (Chicago: R. Donnelley & Sons, 1895), 60 at the American Baptist Historical Society, Philadelphia.

practitioners.<sup>106</sup> Although there is no consensus on the origins of peyote religion on Plains Indians, many scholars believe that the peyote practice evolved from a much older mescal religious ceremonial use among pre-Columbian Indians.<sup>107</sup> That practice centered on individual use of peyote for vision quests and healing purposes. When used collectively, peyote was a component to tribal dances.<sup>108</sup> During mid-nineteenth-century raids into Mexico, the Kiowa learned about peyote from the Mescalero, Tonkawa, Kawakawa, and especially the Lipan Apaches.<sup>109</sup>

The Kiowa illustrated their pragmatic ability to link “continuity and change” by incorporating both Christian and tribal symbols into a syncretic peyote religious rite later adopted by the Native American Church.<sup>110</sup> The Kiowa introduced the consumption of peyote as a sacramental ritual, similar to the Roman Catholic

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<sup>106</sup> J. Lee Hall, KCW Annual Report , COIA, 1886, 126-131.

<sup>107</sup> Alice Lee Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin, *Peyote*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971), 4. See also Weston La Barre, *The Peyote Cult*, New Enlarged Edition, (Hamden: The Shoe String Press, 1964), 7; also see Omer C. Stewart, *Peyote Religion, A History*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 18-30.

<sup>108</sup> James Sydney Slotkin, “Peyotism, 1521-1891,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 57, No.2, Part 1, (Apr., 1955), 202-230, 210-211 JSTOR [Accessed March 9, 2005]; see also M. E. Opler, “The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, The Mescalero Peyote Rite,” *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 49, No. 191/192, (Jan–Jun., 1936), 143-166, 148 JSTOR [Accessed September 10, 2006].

<sup>109</sup> Apekaum, Card 1, 32; see also Stewart, *Peyote*, 45-53.

<sup>110</sup> Charley Apekaum reported that James Mooney stayed with his family in Oklahoma and recommended the incorporation of a peyote church and suggested the name “Native American Church.” Card 2, 32; see also Peter Iverson, “*We Are Still Here*,” *American Indians in the Twentieth Century*, (Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1998), 29.

Eucharist.<sup>111</sup> The eating of the sacrament could provide divine power, *dwdw*, since peyote was considered an “incarnation of the Sun God”<sup>112</sup> The practice of the Kiowa rite included an all-night tipi meeting gathered around a crescent-shaped mound with a ceremonial fire. Worshippers used a distinctive drum along with gourd rattles and a special carved staff while singing four unique “peyote songs.”<sup>113</sup> The ceremony provided a traditional healing focal point lost by the prohibition against the Sun Dance.<sup>114</sup> The Kiowa also adopted Christian beliefs about morality, sobriety, and charity, with core teachings about Christian faith in God and Jesus Christ. These beliefs were later set forth in the charter of the Native American Church.<sup>115</sup> There were enough “traditional elements in the peyote ceremony—the mention of ancient holy beings, visions for Plains Indians—to preserve a sense of Indianness.” Yet, the emphasis on Christian doctrine, and a “Protestant work ethic” helped the Kiowa walk in two worlds.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>111</sup>Ruth Shonle, “Peyote, the Giver of Visions,” *American Anthropologists*, New Series, Vol. 27, No. 1, (Jan-Mar, 1925), 53-75, 54, 56 JSTOR [Accessed September 3, 2006]; see also J. S. Slotkin, “Peyotism, 1521-1891,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 57, No.2, Part 1, (Apr., 1955), 202-230, 210-211. JSTOR [Accessed March 9, 2005].

<sup>112</sup> Slotkin, *The Peyote Religion*, 23.

<sup>113</sup> La Barre, *Peyote Cult*, Edition: Enl. ed. (New York, Schocken Books, 1969), 7; La Barre reproduced James Mooney’s description of the Kiowa Cult on pages 22-27.

<sup>114</sup> La Barre, *Peyote Cult*, 43.

<sup>115</sup> Iverson, “*We Are Still Here*,” 30.

<sup>116</sup> Kenneth M. Roemer, *The Obsolete Necessity: America in Utopian Writings, 1888-1900*, (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1976), 179.

In 1898, peyote meetings were conducted on Saturday nights near Rainy Mountain. According to a government employee, some of the participants were recent converts to Christianity.<sup>117</sup> Peyote and Christian beliefs became unifying entities as well as sources of comfort and healing to help the Kiowa deal with the exigency of their assimilative experiences.<sup>118</sup>

As they worked among the Kiowa, Reeside and Ballew saw significant advancement toward self-sufficiency. Numerous Indians resided in small homes with adjacent corrals for “wild horses” and cows.<sup>119</sup> Big Tree farmed, as did many others, including We Ton and Lone Wolf.<sup>120</sup> By 1897, all Kiowa families maintained at least ten acres in cultivation.<sup>121</sup> They raised corn, wheat, oats, Kaffir corn, millet, sugar cane and “nearly every kind of vegetables.”<sup>122</sup> Tribal proceeds from leases, stock sales, and other activities, came to \$127, 204.86. KCW horses and mules numbered 23,194.<sup>123</sup> Agent Baldwin reported that it was very seldom that an Indian came to his office

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<sup>117</sup> J. W. James, Agency Farmer, to Major F. Walker, Oct. 12, 1898, KA-50, OHS.

<sup>118</sup> Stewart, *Peyote Religion*, xiii.

<sup>119</sup> Burdette, *Thirty-Two Years*, 4. Also see *The Women’s Baptist Home Mission Society, 1893*, 61. Also see Crawford, *Joyful Journey*, 70. Crawford also worked in the 1890s with the Kiowa and observed that Kiowa Paudlekeah had “many wild ones” in 1893.

<sup>120</sup> *Investigation of Affair at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian Reservations*, In response to Senate Resolution of April 5, 1897, 5<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., Senate Document No. 34, 161; also Burdette, *Young women*, 20.

<sup>121</sup> *Investigation of Affair at the Kiowa*. 161.

<sup>122</sup> Frank D. Baldwin, KCW Annual Report, COIA, Aug 28, 1897, 1897.

<sup>123</sup> Agent report, COIA, 1895, 252. and Agent report, COIA, 1896, 545.



“asking for anything . . . that he has not earned.” The old horse-centered culture, though modified, continued as the Kiowa moved toward economic self-sufficiency by cultivating the soil, raising stock and leasing their land.<sup>124</sup>

As the Kiowa adapted to their new way of life, they also restructured their political organization. In 1897, Euro-Americans settlers arrived in great numbers to the Wichita Mountains to mine gold. The Kiowa soon realized the need for a central coordinating organization of business-oriented leaders for business transactions with them. This organization brought Kiowas together as the annual Sun Dance once did. On April 8, 1899, the KCW tribes voted to set up a “business council” made up of members from each tribe. This was an historic step for the autonomous oriented Kiowa who recognized the importance of restructuring their tribal organization to meet the exigencies of transatlantic economics.<sup>125</sup>

While their new political organization was an important assimilative step, the Kiowa continued to hang on to their horse-centered culture. Nevertheless, as Kiowas Komalty and Big Bow warned during the Jerome meetings, allotments were a threat to their huge horse herds: the core of that ethos.<sup>126</sup> By 1899, settlers who migrated onto the Great Plains encircled the KCA reservation. This caused reform groups to press Congress to ratify the long pending Jerome Agreement to protect at least a vestige of

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<sup>124</sup>Baldwin, KCA Annual, COIA, Aug 28, 1897, COIA, 1897, 232.

<sup>125</sup>Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, 530.

<sup>126</sup>NARAJM, October 5, 1892; also NARAJM, October 11, 1892 and Big Bow.

Indian lands through allotments.<sup>127</sup> That October, the KCW Indians held a council where 571 adult men voted to protest “the execution” of the Jerome Agreement of 1892, and forwarded it to the Secretary of the Interior.<sup>128</sup> The federal government did not listen, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported that the “westward course of population is nether denied nor delayed for the sake” of Indians, “they must yield or perish.”<sup>129</sup>

A month later, Senator Quay, the spearhead of Kiowa resistance in the Senate, was defeated in a reelection bid. In his absence, on June 6, 1900, pushed by the Rock Island and Pacific Railroad lobbies, Congress hastily passed legislation that approved the allotment of lands for all the Indians who lived on the KCW Reservation.<sup>130</sup> That included 160 acres for each family head, and 80 acres for children.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> *Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association*, Eighteenth Annual Report, 1900, 57; also see Roger Daniels, *Coming to America, A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, Second Edition, (New York: Perennial Harper and Collins; 2002), 186. Grant Foreman, “Historical Background of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 19, No.2, (June, 1941), 140. OHS Chronicles [Accessed December 29, 2005]. Also see Benjamin Ray Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, 567-572. See also Frederick C. Luebke, “Ethnic Group Settlements on the Great Plains,” *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4, (Oct., 1977), 405-430, 406. JSTOR [Accessed September 16, 2006]. Immigration Peaking in 1907. See also Randlett, KCW Annual Report, COIA, 1900, 332.

<sup>128</sup> *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*, 187 U.S. 553, Docket Number: 275, (1902 U. S. Supreme Court Session). FindLaw, <http://caleslaw.findlaw.com>. 3.

<sup>129</sup> COIA, Sept. 30, 1899, 3.

<sup>130</sup> *Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association*, Nineteenth Annual Report, 43; see also “Indian Lands Controversy,” Oct. 20, 1902, New York Times, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

<sup>131</sup> W. A. Jones, COIA, 1900,54. see also Randlett, KCW Annual Report, COIA, 1900, 332.

Still opposed to allotments, Chief Lone Wolf took unilateral action because the BIA refused to provide legal council for Indians. He consulted with Texas Cattlemen, such as Burnett, and Waggoner who had powerful lobbyists in Washington and were concerned about keeping their lucrative grass leases. Previously, they had given financial support to KCW Indians for trips to Washington to fight the Jerome accord.<sup>132</sup> Supported by the cattlemen, Chief Lone Wolf led Black Goose, Big Tree, Quanah Parker and Delos K. Lonewolf, to Washington D. C. in the spring of 1901 to fight land allotment.<sup>133</sup> In Washington, they met with attorney William M. Springer and complained about “iniquitous dealing with the Indians” by the Jerome Commission.<sup>134</sup> They received no support from KCW Agent, James Randlett. He criticized the delegation’s efforts to undermine the Jerome agreement, and reported that most KCW “head chiefs,” were not in agreement with Lone Wolf’s initiative.<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, Randlett’s annual report was critical of Lone Wolf’s attorney Springer. Nevertheless, an exceptionally competent lawyer, Springer had served from 1875 to 1895 nine terms as a Representative from the state of Illinois.<sup>136</sup> President Cleveland then appointed him as a judge of the northern district of Indian Territory where he served from 1895 to 1900.

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<sup>132</sup> Hagan, “Kiowas, Comanches, and Cattlemen, 355.

<sup>133</sup> Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, 529.

<sup>134</sup> Randlett, KCW Annual Report, COIA, 1903, 264.

<sup>135</sup> Randlett, KCW Annual Report, COIA, 1903, 264.

<sup>136</sup> Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, Commented on Randlett’s bad relationship with the Lone Wolf faction, 534.

In his last three years of life, he practiced law in Washington where he took on one of the most important cases in modern Indian history: *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*.<sup>137</sup>

Springer filed a request for an injunction against the allotments for Lone Wolf in the District Court of Washington D. C. on June 6, 1901. On June 21, 1901, the District Court turned down the request for an injunction. Concerned about the “revolutionary” and “unjust” doctrine evolving in the case, the Indian Rights Association, in the person of Hampton L. Carson, the Attorney General for the State of Pennsylvania, joined Springer in presenting an appeal. They petitioned the Court of Appeals, but before the appeal was decided, President William McKinley issued a proclamation to allot KCW lands on July 4, 1901.<sup>138</sup>

On October 23, 1902, the Appeals Court concurred with the District Court and the issue passed to the Supreme Court. Finally, on January 5, 1903, that body sustained the lower courts decisions. Associate Justice Edward D. White delivered a landmark opinion based upon the premise that Indians were a dependent people subject only to the will of Congress. Pivotal in this case was the understanding that former treaties agreed to by Congress could not remove the authority of that body over the tribes. Consequently, despite overwhelming evidence of wrong in the Lone Wolf case, the

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<sup>137</sup> Clark, *Lone Wolf v Hitchcock*, 57-60.

<sup>138</sup> *Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association*, Twentieth Annual Report, 1902, 9. President William McKinley, “Proclamation, Kiowa, Comanche,” *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior*, COIA, June 30, 1902, Indian Affairs, Part 1, Report of the commissioner , 546.

issue was not up to the courts to decide. The legislative process could not answer questions between Congress and the Indians.<sup>139</sup>

White's opinion expanded the trilogy of Indian cases by the John Marshall Court: *Johnson v. McIntosh* recognized an Indian right of land possession; *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* determined that tribes were not foreign but domestic nations. *Worcester v. Georgia* guaranteed a federal relationship with tribes against states. As recognized by the Indian Rights Association, the *Lone Wolf* decision enshrined another fundamental principle in American Indian law: the plenary power of Congress over Indians that touched all Native Americans.<sup>140</sup> For the Kiowa, this was a monumental loss to their horse-centered culture and legal protection of their land.

Kiowa lands were allotted on August 6, 1901. In total, 2759 KCW Indians received allotments totaling 443,338 acres. The remaining 2,033,583 acres of the KCW homeland opened for white settlement. That year the KCW tribes made 5% interest on the land sales, and \$136,000 from 863 grazing leases.<sup>141</sup> Cattlemen and the KCW tribes wanted to continue that program. With the concurrence of the Agent, Congress set aside the 505,000 acres as pasture reserves for the tribe common use.<sup>142</sup> The largest was

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<sup>139</sup> *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*, 224 U.S. (1912), 187 U.S. 553 (1903).

<sup>140</sup> Clark, *Lone Wolf Vs. Hitchcock*; also For a brief summary of this process, see Foreman, "Historical Background of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation,"

<sup>141</sup> Foreman, "Historical Background of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, 140.

<sup>142</sup> Randlett to the Commissioner of Indians Affairs, April 13, 1901, RG75, Tribal Organization, NARA Fort Worth; see also Randlett, KCW Annual Report, Sept 1, 1901, COIA 1901., 321.

480,000 acres of land called the “Big Pasture,” 29 miles in depth, and 36 miles wide, on the southern portion of the reservation.<sup>143</sup>

Nevertheless, Representative B. R. Stephens of the 16<sup>th</sup> Texas Congressional District, at Vernon, Texas, led three legislative attempts to open Big Pasture to American settlers. The Congressman considered the rich and fertile KCW land important for economic growth in the area. Agent Randlett noted that the Kiowa were “disturbed” by the “injustice” of these Congressional efforts, which ignored their interests. Stephens’s third effort was successful.<sup>144</sup>

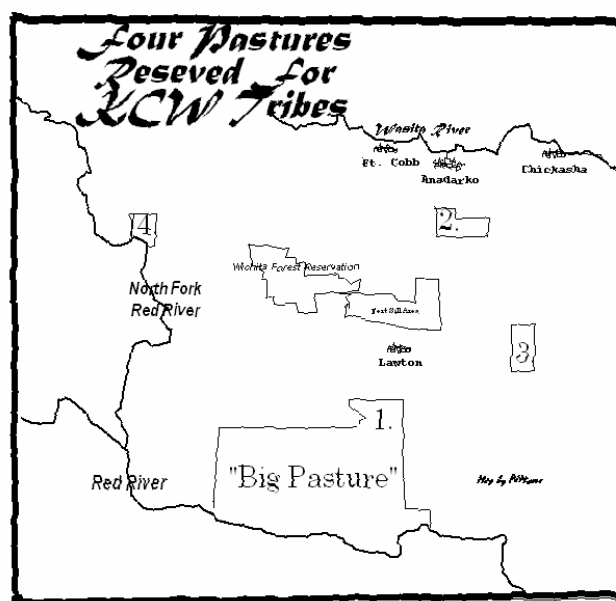


Fig. 10. 1901 “Big Pasture” and Other Lands Set Aside for KCA Tribes

<sup>143</sup> Charles M. Cooper, “The Big Pasture,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 35, No. 2, 1957, 138-146, 138. OHS, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/v035/v035p138.pdf> [Accessed October 6, 2007].

On June 5, 1906, a few months before Oklahoma became a state, President Theodore Roosevelt approved the opening of the KCW tribes remaining surplus lands to settlers.<sup>145</sup> Congress assigned 3,445 acres from those pastures to KCW children born after the first allotment in 1901.<sup>146</sup> The remaining 396,000 acres opened to Euro-American settlers. Loosing the KCW reserve pastures led to the final demise of the Kiowa horse-centered ethos. When their pastures shrank, and fences proliferated around new allotments, the Kiowa had to reduce their herds.<sup>147</sup> Charley Apekaum later recalled a huge dispersal sale when people came from all over to buy Indian ponies.<sup>148</sup>

Following allotments, government annuities and rations ended.<sup>149</sup> Subsequently, the only money received by the Kiowa from the government came from the sale of surplus tribal lands. They were on their own, except for the twenty-five years restrictions on their patent rights.<sup>150</sup> Even that changed on May 8, 1906, when Congress gave the Secretary of the Interior power to make exceptions and grant patent fees to

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<sup>144</sup> Randlett, KCW Annual Report, COIA, Nov. 4 1904, RG75, File 062, NARA Fort Worth, vi-viii.

<sup>145</sup> COIA, Sept. 15, 1906, 309; see also Cooper, "The Big Pasture," 138-146, 139.

<sup>146</sup> Cooper, "The Big Pasture," 140.

<sup>147</sup> *Jim Whitewolf, The Life of a Kiowa Apache Indian*, Edited by Charles S. Brant, (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 60; also notice of "Fences" RG75 Box 36, File 110. NARA Fort Worth. Nov 16, 1907, Oklahoma became a State—State law required fences around their properties.

<sup>148</sup> Apekaum, Card 2, 44.

<sup>149</sup> Randlett, KCW Annual Report, COIA, Sept 1, 1902, 287; also Article 9, Treaty Between the United States of American and the Kiowa, October 21, 1867, RG75 NARA Fort Worth, 064-7RA205, File 2-4-4, Treaties, U.S. Kiowas; also on continued annuities and rations see COIA 1900, 6, 10.

<sup>150</sup> Randlett, KCW Annual Report, 1902, COIA 1902; also Apekaum, 143.

competent Indians before the expiration of the 25-year trust period.<sup>151</sup> The next year, on November 16, 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt signed a proclamation making Oklahoma the forty-sixth state. Consequently, Kiowa property became subject to property taxes when restricted patents expired.

The BIA quickly enacted regulations to protect Indians from tax problems and unscrupulous persons by making the Agency Superintendents the co-coordinator of personal business affairs during the trust period. For instance, the local superintendent coordinated leases, sales of allotments and other major financial issues. Individual Kiowa drew monies deposited into credit accounts on a monthly allowance.<sup>152</sup>

The Kiowa responded variously for self-support. Some served in government positions as did Charley Apekaum as a Game Warden for the state of Oklahoma.<sup>153</sup> Most, like Tso-odle and Gei-mau-saddle farmed a portion of their allotments for growing self-sufficient foodstuffs.<sup>154</sup> They leased out the remainder of their land to nearby settlers for farming as well.<sup>155</sup> Superintendent Ernest Stechter reported in 1910 that agriculture was a “leading industry,” the KCW tribes made good money from corn

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<sup>151</sup> *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association*, 72; see also Felix S. Cohen, Harold L. Ickes, Nathan R. Marigold, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, (Washington D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1948), 25.

<sup>152</sup> Randlett, KCW Annual Report, COIA, October 31, 1905, 301.

<sup>153</sup> Apekaum, Card 4, 132-133.

<sup>154</sup> George Hunt, Kiowa Agency district 3 Farmer Report Allotment No. 1245 Oct. 8, 1909 and Allotment NO. 1417, Oct 13, 1909, KA 49, OHS.

<sup>155</sup> Gotebo Gazette, Oct. 2, 1908, “Indians Getting Grass Money,” OHS, Newspaper Collections.



and wheat crops.<sup>156</sup> Funds obtained from farming, leases, along with annual per capital payments for interest on land sales, and periodic field labor for their Euro-American neighbors, provided much needed income for self-sufficiency.<sup>157</sup>

Farm reports for the Kiowa Agency in 1915 revealed wide spread activity. Apeatone from Carnegie harvested fifty bushels of corn from fifteen acres and Jack Bointy, also from Carnegie, obtained 900 bushels of corn from 60 acres, and took in 400 tons of prairie hay. In addition, Willie Bert, also of Carnegie, took in 100 bushels of corn from 45 acres. Then, Oliver Tenadorah of Mountain View harvested 800 bushels of oats from 20 acres and gathered a ton of hay. Finally, Tahsohsenah of Fort Cobb planted 8 acres of corn and harvested 105 bushels.<sup>158</sup>

The entry of the United States into the First World War in April 1917 expanded Kiowa farming even further. The Commissioner of Indians Affairs called for “every tillable acre of land on Indian reservations be intensively cultivated” to supply food demands for the war.<sup>159</sup> Kiowa and Comanches doubled their agricultural acreage from approximately 20,000 acres to over 40,000, working only with horses since neither tribe owned tractors.<sup>160</sup> A number of Kiowa were farming their entire allotments, as did Ethel

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<sup>156</sup> Ernest Stechter, Sept. 1, 1910, Kiowa Agency Annual Report, Reel 70, RG75, NARA Fort Worth.

<sup>157</sup> COIA, September 12, 1912, 5.

<sup>158</sup> Survey of Farming among the Kiowa, “Indian Farmers,” KA-49, OHS.

<sup>159</sup> COIA, Annual Report 1917, 25.

<sup>160</sup> R. J. Stahl, *Farming Among the Kiowa, Comanche, Kiowa Apache and Wichita*, [PhD. Dissertation for the University of Oklahoma, 1978], 223-224, 226. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.[Accessed April 2, 2005].

Curtis by the end of the war.<sup>161</sup> Farm produce made a “significant contribution to Indian income” until 1919. Most Kiowa continued subsistence farming while leasing large portions of their allotments. Families averaged per-capita payments of \$100 an acre per year from grass allotments, while making \$300 to \$400 for farming allotments despite limited equipment, and often-inclement weather.<sup>162</sup> In 1917 the KCW tribes made \$305,240 in crop sales. They picked up an additional \$507,098 from land leases. The interest on their trust funds gave them another \$140,056. Wages for miscellaneous labor added another \$7,011. In addition, they made \$4,920 for Native Industries. Finally, they obtained \$80,577 for lands sold. The combined income for the KCW tribes from June 1916 to June 1917 was \$1,067,675.<sup>163</sup>

America’s entry into the World War again provided an opportunity to recapture the traditional Kiowa warrior role. It also fostered a change to that tradition. One of the most important attributes of that tradition was “dedication to a cause greater than oneself.”<sup>164</sup> Historically focused to defend the Kiowa tribe, the tradition broadened to embrace all Americans. As early as 1874, Kiowa participated in a separate Indian unit,

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<sup>161</sup> District 3 Farmer R. R. Hickox, Binger to Ethel M. Curtis, Anadarko, Oklahoma Mar. 20, 1919. KA 49, OHS.

<sup>162</sup> John M. Brewster, “Farm Technological Advance and Total Population Growth,” *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 37, No. 1, (Feb., 1955), 120-121. JSTOR [Accessed August 9, 2006]. Farming peaked in 1920 and fell thereafter each decade: 120; see also Apekaum, 145.

<sup>163</sup> COIA, Annual Report, 1917, 118 ; see also Stahl, *Farming Among the Kiowa*, 223.

<sup>164</sup> Devin, Grover, Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, “Revive the Warrior Tradition: Putting Children First Will Ensure a Future for the Next Seven Generations.” *Native Peoples*, Vol. 12, No. 1, (Fall, 1998), 7, 8.

troop L, of the 7<sup>th</sup> United States Cavalry at Fort Sill.<sup>165</sup> In 1918, they were integrated into regular military units where they shared the “rights and duties” of their Euro-American counter-parts. The government hoped wartime service would give Indian service members a “clearer conception” of democracy while instilling a sense of national patriotism.<sup>166</sup> After the Selective Service Act passed Congress on May 18, 1917, seven Kiowa were drafted. Seven others volunteered for service.<sup>167</sup>

Norman Kau Bin volunteered for the Army on August 18, 1918 and reported to the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) in France on October 6, 1918. Assigned to the 146<sup>th</sup> Field Artillery at Blacourt, his unit served in support of the First American Army and was involved in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, the largest battle for the AEF of the First World War. In a six-week campaign, between September 6 and November 11, 1918, the AEF helped defeat the German Army. Following the Armistice of November 11, 1918, American troops moved across the German border for occupation duties. Kau Bin entered Germany on January 1, 1919 where he spent the next five months as part of

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<sup>165</sup> Department of the Interior, Allie M. Breumier, to J. A. Buntin, October 27, 1931, , RG 75, E4, Central Files, File 610, “Indians in WWI, NARA Fort Worth.

<sup>166</sup> Cato Sells, COIA, to Henry M. Tidwell, February 4, 1918, RG 75, E4, Central Files, File 610, “Indians in WWI, NARA Fort Worth.

<sup>167</sup> 3x5 Card Files & *Questionnaire List of Indians In the World War*, RG 75, E4, Central Files, File 610, “Indians in WWI,” NARA Fort Worth. See also Franklin K. Lane, December 3, 1917, to Heads of the Bureaus and Offices, RG 75, E4, Central Files, File 610, “Indians in WWI, NARA Fort Worth.

the Third Army Occupation Force. He was honorably discharged after his return to the United States on June 30, 1919.<sup>168</sup>



Fig. 11. Private Kau Bin in Koblenz Germany WWI

Charley Apekaum also volunteered for the Navy on April 9, 1917. His ability to type and use shorthand, learned in an Indian school, helped him earn a third Class Yeoman rating. After graduation from the Naval Training Center in New Orleans, he served on the staff of Rear Admiral E. A. Anderson, the Commander of the Caribbean Fleet and patrolled the Caribbean aboard the U.S.S. Dolphin. Eager for action in the war, he requested a transfer and eventually ended up on the U.S.S. Pocahontas, a troop carrying ship. Apekaum made sixteen perilous trips across the Atlantic with convoys between New York and Brest, France. After the war, on January 18, 1919, he

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<sup>168</sup> Norman Kau bin, Kiowa, 3x5 card, List of Indians in WWI, The Kiowa Agency E4, Central File, File 610, RG75, Stack A, Row 21, Compartment 52, NARA Fort Worth; see also Alfred E. Cornebise, "Der Rhein Entlang: The American Occupation Forces in Germany, 1918-1923, A Photo Essay," *Military Affairs*, Vol. 46, No. 4. (Dec., 1982), 183-189, 183-184. Also see Harold Camp, Sergeant, *Journal*.

transferred to the Naval Station in New Orleans where he was honorably discharged on February 9, 1919.<sup>169</sup>

Glen White Fox also volunteered for the Army on June 1, 1918 and served with the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in France. Assigned to Battery C of the 72<sup>nd</sup> Coast Artillery Regiment, on September 4, 1918. Herbert DuPont also joined the Army in July 1918 and served in Battery G in the same Regiment. That unit participated in the first independent campaign of United States forces at the Saint-Mihiel salient between September 12 through 14, 1918.<sup>170</sup>

In addition, eleven other Kiowa served on active duty in the Army during the war. They included John A. Bosin; Joseph Kauley; Joseph To Poie; Pine Zddle; Thomas Oyebi; David Frizzlehead; Homer Buffalo; Frank Doyeto; Edward (Moses) Poolaw; David Poolaw and Freddie Bomepatah. When these young Kiowas returned to their homes in Okalahoma, their fellow tribesmen held powwows and Peyote meetings to honor their new warriors.<sup>171</sup> The irony was that young Kiowa set out to recapture their traditional warrior roles, but returned home with a greater attraction for Euro-American social life.

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<sup>169</sup> Charles Apekaum (Emerson), Kiowa, 3x5 card, List of Indians in WWI, The Kiowa Agency E4, Central File, File 610, RG75, Stack A. Row 21, Compartment 52, NARA Fort Worth; see also Apekaum, Card 1, 3, 4, 5.

<sup>170</sup> Glen "White Fox" To Kope, Kiowa, 3x5 card, List of Indians in WWI, The Kiowa Agency E4, Central File, File 610, RG75, Stack A. Row 21, Compartment 52, NARA Fort Worth.

<sup>171</sup> Apekaum, Card 1, 5.

By 1919, dramatic changes differentiated the Kiowa from their warrior ethos and horse-centered practices of 1874. Following their defeat in 1874, they adapted their horse-centered culture to the limits of their reservation. Tribal leaders refocused their energies to economic survival with government support. The Kiowa continued to utilize rudiments of their horse-culture as long as possible by constant adaptation to the realities they faced. They sent their children to the reservations schools to learn the white man's way, even while they hunted to ensure their survival due to inadequate government support. Although they had adapted to transatlantic religious, social and political influences, by the turn of the century, the Kiowa continued to practice their horse-centered ethos.

Nonetheless, Euro-Americans business concerns and settlers in Oklahoma pressed the government to open reservation lands for homesteads. Kiowa resistance to forced allotments left an enduring legacy of their tribal tenacity. Nevertheless, the 1901 allotment of their lands ended their epic horse-centered culture. The Kiowa adapted old traditions to new ways while using various means for self-sufficiency. The new warriors, like Norman Kau Bin and Charley Apekaum came of age during World War I. Besides a growing appreciation for patriotism, international exposure and integration into regular military units, the Kiowa Warrior Tradition of dedication found new meaning. The war accelerated assimilation for the Kiowa who eagerly farmed and joined Euro-Americans in settling their differences with other nations. Returning warriors gave renewed meaning to tribal traditions of honor and service.

Charlie Apekaum said it best in his autobiography. He observed, “our ways of thinking have changed considerably.”<sup>172</sup> During his father’s time, there were wars, war parties, constant dangers of attack, and persistent concerns about the availability of bison for their subsistence and need for clothing. This was no longer true because his people had “taken the white man’s way.”<sup>173</sup> Scholars have acknowledged those changes, but in negative terms. By the 1920s, the economic and social conditions in which the war oriented horse-centered culture evolved no longer existed. Survival demanded new ways and the Kiowa proactively adapted to that reality.

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<sup>172</sup> Apekaum, Card 2, 50.

<sup>173</sup> Apekaum, Card 2, 50.

## CHAPTER 5

### NEW THINGS AMONG THE OLD: KIOWA LIFE, 1920 - 1932

You have to have new things. You have to have new springs to make the grass grow. But grass grows out of the old earth. You have to have old things for new things to have roots in. That's why some people have to keep old things going and some people have to push new things along. It's right for both of them. It's what they have to do. Kiowa, Eagle Plume.

Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers*

Much of her life Kiowa Spear Women hoped “there would be an end to changing so that you could sit still and let life happen.” Regardless, the inevitable nature of change continued slowly to transform the Kiowa in the 1920s. As the old horse-culture Kiowa faded into memory, so did the sagacious enriching authority of their pre-reservation experience.<sup>1</sup> Influenced by Christianity, Euro-American schools and economic necessities, Kiowa born after 1874, never lived the pre-reservation warrior life of the transatlantic horse-centered culture. Consequently, they grappled over the margins of their culture as they confronted changes. Eventually they salvaged what they could of the horse culture as chronicled by Kiowa scholars. For example, Clyde Ellis, demonstrated how Kiowa at Rainy Mountain School, despite government efforts to end traditional practices, manipulated the system and continued at times in secret to

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<sup>1</sup> Lonewolf II passed away in 1923, Big Tree 1929, Apeatone 1931.



dance and speak their language. Then, K. Tsiamina Lomawaima, focused on similar efforts at Chilocco Indian School.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, as anthropologist Luke Lassiter pointed out, studies of “salvage ethnography” do not elaborate on “cultural diversity in all its meaningful complexities”<sup>3</sup> Using a transatlantic perspective, this study assesses actions and interactions of both the Kiowa and Euro Americans.<sup>4</sup> First, it looks at the role played by the trans-Atlantic influences of Euro-American Christianity and education as instruments of change. Then it illustrates how those changes contributed to the cultural identity struggle. Finally, it shows how those changes helped the Kiowa survive by means of economic self-sufficiency during the 1920s. Official records, newspapers, and secondary works provide an interpretative framework, while Kiowa informants, auto biographies, oral histories from the Doris Duke Indian Oral History collection, and secondary source tribal accounts supply a distinctive Kiowa voice to this assessment.

Long before the inauguration of the Kiowa reservation, Eagle Plume, son of Santank, dreamed about “a new belief” for the Kiowa. It encompassed an exclusive message of religious faith “without dancing,” and focused on individuals, but included things familiar to the Kiowa.<sup>5</sup> Many years later, during the late reservation period Spear

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<sup>2</sup> Ellis, *To Change them Forever*. K. Tsiamina Lomawaima, *The Story of Chilocco Indian School; They Called It Prairie Light*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> Luke E. Lassiter, *The Power of Kiowa Song*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1998), 6.

<sup>4</sup> Axtell, *Beyond 1492*, 257.

<sup>5</sup> Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers*, 144, 217-218.

Woman attended a service at Saddle Mountain Baptist Mission. Afterwards, she told her husband Hunting Horse that what she heard from the preacher “was the same kind of good things she could always remember the old people saying to younger ones.”<sup>6</sup> The next week, Hunting Horse went with Spear Woman to hear for himself. After the service, he agreed that most of what the preacher spoke were “simple things” they had known all their lives: to “do good. Help one another. Be kind. Be generous. Live together in peace.” Nevertheless, Hunting Horse could not understand the preacher’s comments about “conversion” or “taking the Jesus Road.” He grasped common notions of good deeds, but did not comprehend the exclusive nature of the Christian faith.<sup>7</sup>

As noted in the previous chapter, during the 1890s, the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics carried that exclusive message to the Kiowa. Clyde Ellis suggested that it was tempting to “dismiss Christianity as a force that duped unwitting Kiowas into selling out their culture and their identity.” Nonetheless, many Kiowa families accepted the irreconcilable tenor of that faith. Ellis indicated that one of the reasons was “the influence of leading Kiowa figures.”<sup>8</sup> They included members of the peace bands that followed Kicking Bird who settled near Mount Scott, as well as the 1874 war participants who followed Lone Wolf and settled in the northern part of the

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<sup>6</sup> Hunting Horse was a Kiowa warrior before the reservation period and later one of the informants for Nye’s *Carbine & Lance*, xviii. Also the father of Cecil and Albert Horse became Methodist ministers and Monroe Tsatoke, one of the “Kiowa Five.” Corwin, *The Kiowa Indians*, 31-44.

<sup>7</sup> Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers*, 217-218.

<sup>8</sup> Clyde Ellis, Luke Eric Lassiter and Ralph Kotay, *The Jesus Road, Kiowas, Christianity, and Indian Hymns*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 50, 53.

old reservation along the Washita River. Kiowa leaders that accepted the new belief included Kicking Bird, Lone Wolf II, Delos Lone Wolf, Komalty, Big Tree, Lucius Aitsan, Gotebo, Kicking Bird (son of the Peace Chief), Apekaum, Jimmy Quoetone, Paul Zotom, Spotted Horse, George Hunt, Luther Sahmaunt and eventually Hunting Horse.

Beginning with the Presbyterian ordination of Joshua Givens, “a long line of Kiowa men accepted pulpits in the Kiowa Baptist and Methodist churches.”<sup>9</sup> These religious leaders included Kicking Bird the Younger, Guy Quoetone, Cecil Horse, Albert Horse, James Horse, Andele Horse. In addition, two sons of Hunting Horse were ordained Methodists, while Lucius Aitsan and Sherman Chaddlesone became Baptist ministers.<sup>10</sup>

With so many Kiowa leaders affirming Christian faith, churches became ardent agencies of cultural change. Ellis noted how scholars’ accounts have stressed that missionaries had a “corrosive effect on Native culture” that led to antagonistic attitudes by tribal people. Nonetheless, he pointed out that this experience was not true of missionaries and religious workers at the Kiowa agency. Rather, the Kiowa were in the “company of missionaries whose personal devotion to the Indians’ welfare was both genuinely and openly expressed.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ellis, Lassiter and Kotay, *The Jesus Road, Kiowas*, 57.

<sup>10</sup> Corwin, *The Kiowa Indians*, See also Ellis, Lassiter and Kotay,, 57.

<sup>11</sup> Ellis, Lassiter and Kotay, *The Jesus Road*, 57-58.

In 1923, Superintendent J. A. Buntin reported that out of the agency population of 4,849 Indians, 2,143 were involved in Christian churches. Of those numbers, 1137 were Baptists; 408 Roman Catholic; 308 Methodists; 206 Reformed Presbyterians and 84 Mennonites.<sup>12</sup> That same year, a survey by missionaries indicated that a “particularly large number of the Kiowas” were “enrolled as church members.”<sup>13</sup> Twenty years later, church participation at the Kiowa Agency totaled 2177 individuals.<sup>14</sup>

Kiowa converts accepted transatlantic notions of an irreconcilable faith that left little room for other beliefs. For example, Cecil Horse stopped attending peyote meetings in 1926, after he joined the Methodist Church. Horse concluded that the Native American Church engaged in “idol-worship,” and he wanted to worship God “the Bible way.” Horse eventually became a Methodist minister and an active opponent of peyote.<sup>15</sup> Parker McKenzie told Clyde Ellis “the Indian was already out of us by the time we went to school” because of the work of missionaries and the churches.<sup>16</sup>

Along with Churches and missionaries, education also played a significant role in Kiowa changes. Commissioner Cato Sells wrote in 1920 that “the promise of the

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<sup>12</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, 1923, 3-4. M1011, Roll 71, NARA Fort Worth (Hereafter: M1011 NARAFW).

<sup>13</sup> G. E. E. Lindquist, *The Red Man in the United States, An Intimate Study of the Social, Economic and Religious Life of the American Indian*, (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923), 190.

<sup>14</sup> Buntin, Annual Report, Kiowa Agency, 1932, Statistical Section, 5. M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>15</sup> Cecil Horse, T-27-10-15 see also Cecil Horse, T-27-12, Kiowa Interviews, Doris Duke Collection, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma. (Hereafter: DDCOU). <http://digital.libraries.ou.edu/whc/duke/browse.asp?sid=5>, [Accessed June 3, 2007].

<sup>16</sup> Parker McKenzie to Clyde Ellis interview August, 1, 1990, in Clyde Ellis, *To Change them Forever*, 96.

Indian race lies in the education of its children.”<sup>17</sup> Most Kiowa began their education in boarding schools. Studies of those schools have focused primarily on salvage motifs. For example, Lomawaima emphasized that despite the intent of the “federal agenda of transformation,” students made boarding school environs into centers for the continuation of traditional practices.<sup>18</sup> Ellis indicated that process enabled Kiowa students to “endure the world around them” by easing “the transition from the life their parents” lived and “the very different one” they faced. These studies stressed that although the Kiowa faced incessant change, they were able to maintain their “cultural base.”<sup>19</sup> Accordingly, boarding schools provided centers of “social order” and “identity” continuity.<sup>20</sup> Rather than capitulate “to a foreign culture,” Kiowa students manipulated the system to maintain their cultural base. In essence, boarding schools became a “stabilizing function” of cultural continuity in difficult times.<sup>21</sup>

These observations about failed acculturation have ignored important successful outcomes of Kiowa education. Clearly, the land allotment program under the 1887

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<sup>17</sup> Cato Sells, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, COIA, 1920, 13.

<sup>18</sup> Lomawaima, *The Story of Chilocco Indian School*, xi.

<sup>19</sup> Ellis, *To change them Forever*, 196.

<sup>20</sup> Ellis cited Bruce David Forbes, “John Jasper Methvin: Methodist ‘Missionary to the Western Tribe’ Oklahoma, *Churchmen and the Western Indians, 1820-1920* , (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 41-73, and Howard L. Harrod, *Mission Among the Blackfeet*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

<sup>21</sup> Ellis, *To Change them*, 97.

Dawes Act enabled Euro-Americans to use education to interpose their cultural values on tribal people. Although Kiowa students did salvage important elements of their traditional life during their school experiences, historians should not overlook the important changes that occurred in the process of their education.

Many Kiowa adults during the 1920s began their Euro-American education at J. J. Methvin's school in Anadarko. Not all Kiowa students became successful farmers, but it was not necessarily, because they did not understand the intricacies of husbandry. Training at boarding schools concentrated on teaching agricultural skills by hands-on practice. In 1920, Commissioner Cato Sells indicated that Indian progress should not be measured by the clothes they wore or the style of their hair, but by learning how to become self-sufficient.<sup>22</sup> To accomplish that goal, Kiowa student Guy Quoetone recalled learning important farming skills. Working under the School Farmer, they were taught how to harness horses, plow, and raise various crops like hay, sorghums, wheat, corn, oats radishes, turnips, onions and potatoes. Furthermore, they ran machinery to harvest those crops. Students also were required to round up cows and milk them, then plant and cultivate various crops. According to Quoetone, students did all the "hard work," using first hand experience to acquire farming skills.<sup>23</sup>

Although farming was the core of instruction, the Kiowa learned other things at the Methvin School. Albert Horse and Charley Apekaum recalled "readily" learning

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<sup>22</sup> Charles Burke, COIA, 1920, 9.

<sup>23</sup> Guy Quoetone, T-28, DDCOU.

English with the aid of picture charts and singing. Apekaum recalled constantly memorizing things like the Gettysburg Address.<sup>24</sup> Later, when Apekaum joined the Navy, he became a Yeoman Second class (E-4 enlisted Navy rank) because of shorthand and typing skills acquired during his school experience.<sup>25</sup>

Kiowa students also attended Saint Patrick's, a Roman Catholic school in Anadarko, which was renamed Anadarko Boarding School in 1911.<sup>26</sup> There, six young Kiowa boys used their budding artistic skills to draw pictures of Kiowa ceremonial dancing regalia. Their creativity impressed their teacher who put them in touch with Susie Peters, at the Kiowa Agency office in Anadarko. She then enrolled the students in an agency art program designed to memorialize traditional Kiowa practices.

Eventually Peters showed their work to Oscar Jacobson, head of the Art Department at the University of Oklahoma. Fascinated by their unique style, Jacobson asked James Auchiah, Spencer Asah, Jack Hokeah, Stephen Mopope, Monroe Tsatoke and Louis Smokey to come to the university as special students to hone their skills. While there, Jacobson provided them a monthly stipend for living expenses and promoted their work. Western art patrons praised their art following an exhibition at the Denver Art Museum, in Colorado. They soon enjoyed international fame when the 1928 International Art Congress in Prague, Czechoslovakia, included an exhibition of

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<sup>24</sup> Albert Horse testimony from Corwin, 149; See also Apekaum, 85, 142.

<sup>25</sup> Apekaum, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Lindquist, *The Red Man in the United States*, 188.

their art.<sup>27</sup> The “Kiowa Five,” as they were called, painted murals on public buildings all over Oklahoma. From the old ground of fading reminiscences arose new and brilliant monuments to their transatlantic horse-centered culture.<sup>28</sup>

Before Euro-American contact, Kiowa drawings were essentially two-dimensional “*monochromatic stick figures*” that involved a simple process of sketching outlines, not unlike petroglyphic rock art, but with colored enclosed areas. Stick profile figures of warriors, horses and other animals were commonly painted on animal hide tepees.<sup>29</sup> After 1840, due to the influence of artists like George Catlin, the Kiowa increasingly adopted European techniques and styles that increasingly depicted anatomical details. This was demonstrated by the use of more colors as well as increased depth stratagems. Euro-American paper, ledger books, crayons and pencils facilitated further artistic development.<sup>30</sup>

Art Scholar Gere Anne Ruggles noted that the “*Kiowa Five*” used a flat decorative style” that included “authentic’ stylistic and iconographic markers” that defined Southwest Native American art.<sup>31</sup> A comparison of Kiowa art at Fort Marion

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<sup>27</sup> William F. O’Brien, “The Kiowa Five,” *Altus Times Frederick Leader*, Sunday, January 28, 2007. <http://altustimes.com> [Accessed March 1, 2007].

<sup>28</sup> *The First 100 Years: Southern Plains Painting and Drawing*, January 28, 2007, <http://www.tfaoi.com/aa/6aa/6aa331.htm> [Accessed January 28, 2007].

<sup>29</sup> Zo-Tom, Howling Wolf and Dorothy Dunn, *Plains Indian Sketch Books of O-tom & Howling Wolf*. Intro by Dorothy Dunn, (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1969), 9.

<sup>30</sup> J. J. Brody, *Indian Painters & White Patrons*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1971), 24-26.

<sup>31</sup> Gere Anne Ruggles, *An Art of Survivance: Angel DeCora at Carlisle.*, By: Gere, Anne Ruggles, *American Indian Quarterly*, 0095182X, Summer/Fall2004, Vol. 28, Issue ¾. Project Muse



during the 1870s with the work of the Kiowa Five reveals important differences. The Kiowa Fort Marion art illustrated the tribe in a transatlantic context of transition to Euro-American culture.

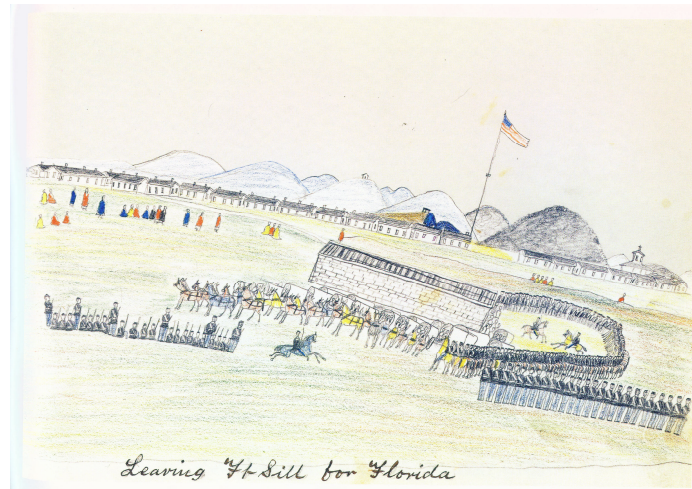


Fig. 12. Zotom's drawing of "Leaving Fort Sill for Florida"<sup>32</sup>

The *Kiowa Five*, on the other hand, focused on commemorate traditional practices. The simplicity of the technique of two-dimensional painting of the Marion art also is stark in comparison with the decorative style of the *Kiowa Five*. For example, a comparison of Kiowa Zotom's drawing of "Leaving Ft Sill for Florida," in the 1870s, with Stephen Mopope's drawing of a "Kiowa warrior and wife," in 1929, illustrates indelible transatlantic influences.

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[http://libproxy.uta.edu:2420/journals/american\\_indian\\_quarterly/v028/28.3gere.pdf](http://libproxy.uta.edu:2420/journals/american_indian_quarterly/v028/28.3gere.pdf) [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>32</sup> Herman J. Viola, *Warrior Artists, Historic Cheyenne and Kiowa Indian Ledger Art*, (Washington D. C., National Geographic Society, 1998), 69.

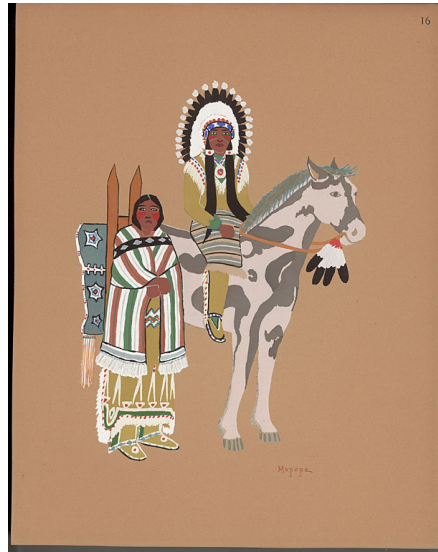


Fig. 13. Stephen Mopope -Pochoir print of Drawing of Kiowa Warrior and wife, 1929<sup>33</sup>

Religious schools such as Methvin and Saint Patrick played an important role in Kiowa education, but the majority of adult Kiowa during the 1920s attended Rainy Mountain School. Contrary to the customary government practice, Rainy Mountain students remained in close proximity to their families. James Silverhorn remembered that parents commonly camped just east of the school. He said there were “two or three hundred camps...pretty near every month.” Some families just camped there all of the time because they wanted “to be close to their kids.”<sup>34</sup>

Ellis recognized that students who attended Rainy Mountain School “gained invaluable experience and skills.” That included not only “fluency in English,” but also

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<sup>33</sup> Mopope, Stephen, “Pochoir print of drawing of Kiowa Warrior and wife,” 1929, 09065800, Smithsonian Institution, Archives, Manuscripts and Photographs, <http://www.siris.si.edu/> March 8, 2007.

<sup>34</sup> James Silverhorn, T-46-5, DDCOU.

vocational training that “made it possible for them to make their way in the world that lay outside the campus.”<sup>35</sup> Kiowa attended classes part of the day and worked the other half.<sup>36</sup> This educational experience helped “mold” students “into the stream of American life.”<sup>37</sup> For instance, Kiowa Lewis Toybe recalled how the Rainy Mountain experience helped his people make “rapid progress from the tipi to the halls of higher education,” such as Haskell Institute, Bacon College, and the Oklahoma University.<sup>38</sup>

Rainy Mountain School closed in June of 1920. Subsequently, Kiowa students attended three different boarding schools. Riverside School in Anadarko averaged 159 KCW students per year during the 1920s until the depression when numbers increased slightly. At the same time, Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, averaged 29 KCW students per year.<sup>39</sup> At Chilocco School, between 1920 and 1925, there was an average of twelve Kiowa students per year.<sup>40</sup> Educational instruction included industrial as well as academic skills.<sup>41</sup> Although the curriculum focused primarily on farming it also offered training in other vocational areas such as printing, auto-mechanics and in trades

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<sup>35</sup> Ellis, *To Change Them Forever*, 196.

<sup>36</sup> James Silverhorn, T-46-5, DDCOU.

<sup>37</sup> Ellis, *To Change Them Forever*, 120.

<sup>38</sup> Ellis, *To Change Them Forever*, 130.

<sup>39</sup> Kiowa Agency Annual Statistical Reports, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1927, Roll 71, 1921-1929, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>40</sup> Miscellaneous Records of Chilocco School, 1884-1952, RG 75, Records of the BIA, 7RA-79, Roll 1. M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>41</sup> Cato Sells, COIA, 1920, 13.

such as blacksmithing, harness making and carpentry. From the government's perspective, the overall goal was to equip Kiowa to become self-sufficient and free from government support.<sup>42</sup>

Regimentation was an inherent characteristic of government education. A Kiowa who attended Riverside during the 1920s recalled that their mornings usually began with calisthenics at 6:00. Then military style drill occurred with a flag-raising ceremony. A keen competition existed between different student companies that prepared them for the annual review by an officer from Fort Sill. Students "marched everywhere" in military fashion. They also were required to make their beds with tucked sheets and squared corners, and inspected every Sunday. Students also were assigned numbers, which appeared on everything they owned.<sup>43</sup>

Kiowa students had "a lot of good memories in spite of the harshness of the environment and discipline." A female Kiowa student recalled the military order at Riverside and Chilocco from a mixed perspective. She remembered that "they had to drill and wear uniforms and all of that crap." Nonetheless, "drilling was neat."<sup>44</sup> Another Kiowa complained that the discipline was too strict and students had no room

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<sup>42</sup> Memorandum for the Press, April 17, 1929, Box 36, 75-117.0, Press Releases, RG75, NARAFW. Rhoads wrote: "The fundamental aim of the Bureau...shall be to make the Indian...self-sustaining."

<sup>43</sup> Sally J. McBeth, *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma American Indians*, (Washington, D.C. : University Press of America , 1983), 102-103.

<sup>44</sup> McBeth, *Ethnic Identity*, 102-103.

for “questioning or asking why.”<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, another student did not “regret the military regimen.” That experience, he concluded, made Kiowas aware of the importance of “rules and regulations.” By learning to “follow them,” they had a better chance for success and survival.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to the survival benefits of regimentation, boarding schools helped relieve financial problems during hard times.<sup>47</sup> James Silverhorn pointed out that at boarding schools “the government furnished everything” including clothes, beds, and food.<sup>48</sup> This pleased Kiowa Ray Kopepassah who attended Riverside during the Great Depression to help his parents get through financial difficulties. Although the initial separation from his family was difficult, he eventually learned basic carpentry skills, which led to a very successful career in the construction business.<sup>49</sup> Another Kiowa student who attended at Riverside during the depression wanted to go home and be with her family. Nevertheless, she remembered her mother’s words: “if you come home, we’ll only be eating one meal a day.”<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> McBeth, *Ethnic Identity*, 105.

<sup>46</sup> McBeth, *Ethnic Identity*, 104.

<sup>47</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Statistical Report, 1921, Education, 1. Roll 71 M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>48</sup> James Silverhorn, T-146-4, DDCOU; See also J. A. Buntin, Annual Statistical Report, 1921, Education, 1, Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>49</sup> Ray Kopepassah, Telephone interview with author, January 9, 2007.

<sup>50</sup> McBeth, *Ethnic Identity*, 109.

Anthropologist Sally McBeth argued that Kiowa experiences in boarding schools had the “potential to incorporate a variety of disparate meanings.”<sup>51</sup> In a comparative study of the boarding school experience of Irish and Native American children, Michael Coleman documented many commonalities such as unfamiliar language; syncretic outcomes; varied responses; gang formation; inadequate facilities; as well as diverse coping strategies and punishments. Despite these problems, there were many cases of “mind-enlarging, even joyous discovery” that took place in boarding school environments.<sup>52</sup> Kiowa students did not expect the government to teach them tribal traditions. Instead, they attended government boarding schools to learn Euro-American values and skills “that would enable them to survive in the new world.”<sup>53</sup>

Boarding school attendance peaked in 1915. From that time on, the policy of the BIA was to close boarding schools and use local public education wherever possible.<sup>54</sup> By 1923, 980 Kiowa Agency students attended public schools in Carnegie, Anadarko, Gotebo and Mountain View while only 588 attended Indian boarding schools.<sup>55</sup> These

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<sup>51</sup> McBeth, *Ethnic Identity*, 139.

<sup>52</sup> Michael C. Coleman, “The Responses of American Indian Children and Irish Children to the School, 1850s-1920s: A Comparative Study in Cross-Cultural Education,” *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 3/4 , (Summer-Autumn, 1999), 83-112, 93. JSTOR [Accessed November 22, 2006].

<sup>53</sup> Coleman, “The Responses of American Indian Children,” 94.

<sup>54</sup> Cato Sells, COIA, 1920, 13.

<sup>55</sup> A.L. Buntin, Annual Report KCW, 1923 , , Roll 71, 10-11. M1011 NARAFW.

figures remained constant throughout the decade.<sup>56</sup> In order to reduce the financial impact on local communities, the government paid schools fifteen to twenty-five cents a day per Indian student. As a result, there was very little opposition to Kiowa students attending local town schools.<sup>57</sup> Kiowa parents had the option to send their children to whatever school they desired.

Superintendent Buntin reported that Indian children assimilated faster by associating directly with Euro-American students in public schools.<sup>58</sup> For example, Kiowa Carl Kickingbird attended a consolidated public school in Washita, Oklahoma, between 1926 and 1930. It amazed him how fast he learned English. The second semester of his first year, he was conversing regularly with the “white kids.” Not only did he learn English, but he competed well academically. He remembered studying hard and was in the top three percent of his class in scholastic achievement. In the fifth grade he participated in a countywide mathematics and a spelling bee where he beat 8<sup>th</sup> graders that included both Indian and white students.<sup>59</sup>

Nonetheless, the Kiowa public school experience had varied outcomes. For instance, Ioleta Hunt McElaney attended the Mountain View public school. She lived with her father, a retired government farm agent, three miles outside of the town. There

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<sup>56</sup> A.L. Buntin, Annual Report KCW, 1929 , , Roll 71, 15. M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>57</sup> A.L. Buntin, Annual Report KCW, 1922 , Roll 71, 11, M1011 NARAFW; see also, Circular 1694, Tuition Payments, 1923, Roll 71, 11, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>58</sup> A.L. Buntin, Annual Report KCW, 1923 , Roll 71, 13, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>59</sup> Karl Kickingbird, T-302- 1-2, DDCOU.

were “no buses in those days,” so Ioleta used “a horse named Brown,” which pulled her in a buggy “to and from school.” She subsequently attended Keuka College in New York, and returned to Oklahoma to teach at the special Indian School at Vian. Later, she served as a missionary with her husband among the Arapahos, and then as pastor’s wife at the Little Mission Church in Geary, Oklahoma.<sup>60</sup> Kiowa Helen Boyiddle Blackbear also attended public schools in Mountain View through the eighth grade. Later she became known among the Kiowa for promoting traditional practices.<sup>61</sup>

The BIA saw some of those practices in direct conflict with their assimilation goals. As noted in the previous chapter, the government stopped the Kiowa Sun Dance in the 1880s. Nonetheless, the Kiowa incorporated many of the songs and rituals from that tradition into their Gourd Dance and continued to dance.<sup>62</sup> This became clear in 1917 when Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum identified 109 Indians at the Kiowa Agency who were dancing. That list included: Humming Bird, Kiowa Bill, White Buffalo, Bert Geigaumah (Crow Lance), White Horse, Frank Givens, Red Buffalo, Charley Buffalo, Silver Horn, Guy Quoetone, Conklin Humming Bird, Max Frizzlehead and Kiowa Jim Tongkeamha.<sup>63</sup> According to Stinchecum Kiowa dancers left their “corn fields uncultivated in May or June to attend dances” for a week to ten days at a time.

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<sup>60</sup> Ioleta Hunt McElaney, T-198-, DDCOU.

<sup>61</sup> Helen Boyiddle Blackbear, T-53-2, DDCOU.

<sup>62</sup> Clyde Ellis, “There is No Doubt...the Dances Should Be Curtailed: Indian Dances and Federal Policy on the Southern Plains, 1880-1930,” *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 70, No. 4. (Nov., 2001), 543-569, 567. JSTOR [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>63</sup> Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, 844--845.



This undercut the BIA's principal objective, of helping Kiowa become self-sufficient farmers and ranchers.<sup>64</sup>

The Indian Rights Association, the Board of Indian Commissioners and missionaries agreed that tribal dances undercut their efforts to assimilate tribal people.<sup>65</sup> These groups supported an extensive survey of Native Americans conducted from 1919 to 1921 by missionaries and social workers that condemned the Kiowa "Forty-Nine" dance as a source of "demoralization and degeneracy."<sup>66</sup> They also endorsed the BIA's criticism of on a Hopi dance that an Interior Department field inspector reported violated "moral and legal restraints." In response, Commissioner Burke, on April 26, 1921, issued Circular 1665 that, among other things, outlawed dances that lasted for long periods, involved the use of intoxicants, or promoted superstitions dangerous to a person's health.<sup>67</sup>

The Oklahoma "Forty-Nine" dance started during the Caddo County Fair in 1911. A group of young Native Americans wanted to see a sideshow exhibition entitled the "Days of Forty-nine" or the "Girls of Forty-nine." They did not have the money for

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<sup>64</sup> C. V. Stinchecum, Annual Report, Oct 28, 1919, 3, Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>65</sup> Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1981), 56-57. See also Iverson, *We Are Still Here*, 56-57.

<sup>66</sup> Lindquist, *The Red Man in the United States*, 68-69. See also C. V. Stinchecum, Annual Report, Oct 28 1919, 3, M1011, NARAFW. Also Kiowa Agency, Annual Report, Feb 1, 1921, 3, Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>67</sup> Philp, *John Collier's Crusade*, 56-57.

admittance, so they decided to hold their own “Forty-nine” dance in a remote area.<sup>68</sup> Kiowa Guy Quoetone said that the actual dance performed, as the “Forty-Nine,” was adapted from one used when young warriors in the past prepared to go on war party to Mexico for Spanish horses. The night before participants departed, they drummed and chanted around fires. Girls then joined in these festivities. Love songs prevailed through the night while young Kiowa pondered the mortal dangers of the warpath.<sup>69</sup>

Quoetone noted that originally, drinking was not part of this dance tradition, because the Kiowa did not have alcohol before transatlantic contact. That changed when a new generation of Kiowa introduced it into the Forty-Nine dance. He also said that participants often arrived at dances after spending time “drinking” elsewhere. This led to “pretty bad” conditions at the dances at times.<sup>70</sup>

In 1914, Superintendent Ernest Stecker tied the births of illegitimate children to traditional dances such as the Forty-Nine.<sup>71</sup> Three years later, government officials reported that twenty percent of the births on the reservation were from unwed mothers. Unfortunately, dances like the “Forty-Nine” provided young women and men the “opportunity to do things they normally would not do.”<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, it was reported

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<sup>68</sup> Norman Feder, “Origin of the Oklahoma Forty-Nine Dance,” *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 8, No. 3, (Sept., 1964), 290-294, 290-291. JSTOR [Accessed December 8, 2004].

<sup>69</sup> Guy Quoetone, T-151, DDCOU.

<sup>70</sup> Guy Quoetone, T-151 DDCOU.

<sup>71</sup> Ernest Stecker, Annual Report, 1914, Roll 70;. See also Annual Report of C. V. Stinchecum, 1916, 5. M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>72</sup> C. V. Stinchecum, Annual Report, Feb.1, 1921, 2, and 4, Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

that the dance contributed to the spread of venereal disease among people in the agency.<sup>73</sup>

Kiowas held differing opinions about the controversy. For example, Chief Ahpehtone agreed with government officials that the time individuals spent away from their homes was a “drawback” to Kiowa farming progress.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, James Silverhorn, the son of a noted Kiowa artist, believed that Ahpehtone went too far siding with the superintendent’s decision to disallow dancing.<sup>75</sup> Kiowas who attended Christian churches often criticized dancing. For instance, Eugenia Mausape, who was a “member of the Methodist Church almost all of her life,” did not participate in dancing.<sup>76</sup> Charley Apekaum, raised as a Methodist, supported his father who opposed dances.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, Cecil Horse and his wife Jenny Haumpy, alumni of Methvin’s school danced and went to pow-wows.” Nonetheless, they stopped those practices after their involvement in the Methodist church.<sup>78</sup>

In addition to church opposition, the BIA threatened to cut off trust funds of dancers to dissuade the practice. On April 26, 1921, Commissioner Charles Burke issued Circular 1655, which forbade, among other things, dances that involved practices

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<sup>73</sup> C. V. Stinchecum, Annual Report, Feb 1, 1921, 9, Roll 71 M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>74</sup> Ahpehtone, “A Talk Made to the Superintendent,” 192, 067 Business Committee, RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>75</sup> James Silverhorn, T-18-31, DDCOU.

<sup>76</sup> Eugenia Mausape, T-37-1, DDCOU.

<sup>77</sup> Apekaum, 140.

<sup>78</sup> Cecil Horse, Jenny Haumpy, T-20, DDCOU.

considered immoral by Christian standards and those that contributed to the neglect of farm crops. Burke reinforced this policy on February 14, 1923, with a supplement to Circular 1655.<sup>79</sup> It allowed the superintendent to withhold per capita payments to Indians that danced in violation of the policy.

Burkes orders swayed Kiowa dancers. Superintendent Buntin reported later that year that “less people danced”<sup>80</sup> By 1925, he reported that only about 15% of the agency Indians “followed their old customs of assembling and having dances.” Even then, there were unmistakable syncretic changes to their dancing practices. Dancers limited the practice to Christmas, and Fourth of July celebrations, a reflection of the merging of their traditional, Christian and patriotic identity.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, instead of a week to ten days, gatherings were limited to four days.<sup>82</sup> Subsequent agency reports noted few problems related to dancing after these changes occurred.

Another point of intra tribal contention was the practice of “give aways,” forbidden by Circular 1655. Generosity was an old Kiowa tradition stemming from social and economic rank validation.<sup>83</sup> The custom demonstrated “love for a family

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<sup>79</sup> Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father, The United States Government and the American Indians*, Vol. II, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 801.

<sup>80</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, Nov 14, 1923, 3, Roll 70, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>81</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, Dec 28, 1925, 6 and 7, RG 75, Roll 70, , M1011 NARFW.

<sup>82</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, 1930, 6-7, RG 75, Roll 70, M1011 NARFW.

<sup>83</sup> Mishkin, *Rank & Warfare Among the Plains Indians*, 36.

member, relative, or friend by giving away material things of value.”<sup>84</sup> Guy Quoetone, observed that Kiowa “generosity and hospitality,” and “customs were deeply implanted in life,” and hard to change.<sup>85</sup> Apekaum recalled this during the late reservation period and the advent of land allotments, Kiowa gave “each other horses and cattle” during visits, or at dances and Christmas time.”<sup>86</sup>

Chief Ahpehtone believed that problems occurred when Kiowa recklessly gave “things away which” they could not afford.<sup>87</sup> Although Circular 1655 Circular forbade this practice, forms of the traditional give-aways continued. Fewer items were given away and class validation, as practiced in the former transatlantic horse-culture tradition, was no longer necessary. Quoetone indicated that the modern give away was emblematic of Kiowa generosity.<sup>88</sup>

A third intra-tribal contention focused on the use of peyote. Native Americans from six different tribes had incorporated the Native American Church (NAC) in 1918, at El Reno, Oklahoma. One of them was Kiowa Charley. The NAC incorporation charter stated their intention was to promote Christian religion “with the practice of the

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<sup>84</sup> Boyd, *Kiowa Voices, Ceremonial Dance, Ritual and Song*, Vol. I, 119.

<sup>85</sup> Guy Quoetone, T-4, DDCOU.

<sup>86</sup> Apekaum, 142.

<sup>87</sup> J. A. Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 13, 1922, Business Committee, File 067, 1922, RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>88</sup> Guy Quoetone, T-4, DDCOU.

Peyote Sacrament.”<sup>89</sup> As noted in the previous chapter, their conception of the “Sacrament” and “Christian religion” were clearly adaptations of trans-Atlantic Christian beliefs and practices.

Nonetheless, the use of peyote was controversial. After 1912, the Board of Indian Commissioners and BIA had condemned its use.<sup>90</sup> Superintendent Buntin reported in 1924 that “peyote” was used “by a considerable number of Indians” at the Kiowa Agency. Because the use of this stimulant was so pervasive, he questioned Indian claims that the practice was only “for religious services.”<sup>91</sup> Three years later, J. J. Methvin noted a prevalence of peyote use among Kiowa Agency tribes. He also was skeptical of allegations that the practice reflected old tribal religions.<sup>92</sup>

Kiowa Christians repudiated peyote because of the harmful consequences associated with its use. G. E. E. Lindquist’s report on an Indian survey in 1923, by missionaries and social workers, illustrated that point. It cited a study conducted in Leipzig Germany, which argued that peyote contained alkaloids that produced “peculiar cerebral excitement attended with an extraordinary visual disturbance.” Strychnine and morphine caused similar effects. Furthermore, it destabilized “the power of resistance and particularly of the heart action.” That study also noted that peyote users who were

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<sup>89</sup> Iverson, *We Are Still Here*, 30.

<sup>90</sup> Cato Sells, COIA, 1913, 14, “The bureau has taken a firm stand against the introduction of the use of peyote.” See also Prucha, *The Great Father*, 786.

<sup>91</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, July 22, 1924, 6, RG 75, Roll 70, , M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>92</sup> J. J. Methvin, “Reminiscences of Life among the Indians,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (June, 1927), 166-179, 177. OHS Chronicles [Accessed February 13, 2007].

brought to hospitals for emergency aid, related to irregular heart problems, did not respond to even the most powerful treatments. Finally, the report concluded that peyote induced insanity, and caused “dullness” in the children of adult users. Lindquist reported that the “verdict of science” was clear that peyote use was extremely hazardous.<sup>93</sup> On January 14, 1923, the *New York Times* carried that report with the headline: “Peyote Used as Drug in Indian Cult of Death.”<sup>94</sup>

Representative Harry L. Gandy from South Dakota responded to these concerns by introducing a bill to outlaw the use of the Peyote. Commissioner Burke, the Federal Council of Churches, the Anti-Saloon League and the Women’s Christian Temperance Union supported this legislation. They wanted to end a “seductive and entrancing habit” that harmed Native Americans. Although the Senate favored this prohibition, Congressional House members from western states defeated the measure to secure the votes of Native Americans.<sup>95</sup>

Kiowa leaders did not prohibit the activities of the Native American Church, but they responded to Burkes’ directive by preventing peyote users from serving on the tribal Business Committee during the 1920s.<sup>96</sup> Records of that Committee shed light on

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<sup>93</sup> Lindquist, *The Red Man*, 71. Recent studies at Harvard-affiliated McLean Hospital and a study of Navajo Native American Church Peyote users have repudiated the old German study. They “convincingly show that there are no measurable negative impacts” of the sacramental use of peyote. Heffter Research Institute, [Http://www.heffter.org/pages/research.html](http://www.heffter.org/pages/research.html). [Accessed February 13, 2007].

<sup>94</sup> “Peyote Used as Drug in Indians, Cult of Death,” *New York Times*, Jan 14, 1923, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. [Accessed January 18, 2007].

<sup>95</sup> *New York Time*, Jan 13, 1923; ProQuest, 3. [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>96</sup> Apekaum, 131.

the ongoing struggle to define Kiowa culture as older men confronted a younger generation.<sup>97</sup> By the early 1920s, horse-centered Kiowa such as Azote Boyiddle, Bob Koomese, Boatpeople, Enoch Smoky, Haumpo, Hovaka, Kahgem, Kaubin, Kausah, Peammah, Peattaw, Popi, Quopahko, Queton, Saingko, Tanequodle, Titauhau, found it increasingly difficult to influence their tribe.<sup>98</sup> Because of transforming Kiowa educational and Christian experiences, many of the elders were worried that younger Kiowa did not know or appreciate the Kiowa language or tribal traditions of generosity mirrored in practices such as give-aways and dances. Instead, former students tended to look after their own “selfish interests.” Furthermore, young Kiowa girls “bobbed their hair” and wore clothes that showed “too much” of their bodies, like their white peers.<sup>99</sup>

Apekaum suggested that the old leaders had been marginalized due to their inability to communicate proficiently in English with nearby settlers and businessmen. The only thing they had left was “their peyote religion.”<sup>100</sup> This generational divide, provided Superintendent Stinchecum with an opportunity to discredit the tribal Business Committee that included important traditional leaders. He believed that an organization focused on tribal, rather than individual business, worked against the government’s

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<sup>97</sup> Kracht, *Kiowa Religion*, 530.

<sup>98</sup> Kiowa names from burial lists of Kiowa warriors who were old enough to have participated in the 1874 Red Rivers war that died during the decade or so following the First World War. From Rainy Mountain C and Elk Creek Kiowa Tribal Burial Grounds. <http://rebelcherokee.labdiva.com/kiowacemetery.html> [Accessed February 24, 2007].

<sup>99</sup> Apekaum, 127, 129, 148, 185.

<sup>100</sup> Apekaum, 127, 129, 148, 185.



stress on “individual” progress. Consequently, he was able to obtain approval from the Commissioner in 1921 to disband the Business Committee.<sup>101</sup>

Meanwhile, initiatives to expanded citizenship to include all Native Americans gained momentum. In the past, some Native Americans had acquired citizenship by marrying Euro-American citizens. Others obtained the right by taking allotments or breaking with their tribes under treaties or special statutes. Some Native American veterans who participated in World War I also gained citizenship after Congress passed a citizenship bill in November 1919.<sup>102</sup> That same year, Representative Charles A. Carter, from Oklahoma, introduced legislation to make all Native Americans citizens.<sup>103</sup> Congress finally granted that right, on June 2, 1924.

Three years earlier, Kiowa leaders had reaffirmed their economic and political rights. Multiplying oil and gas revenues, as well as massive land leasing and efforts to heal generational differences were behind a bold move.<sup>104</sup> A delegation of Kiowa Agency Indians, including Ahpeahstone, Delos Lonewolf, Lonewolf II and George Hunt,

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<sup>101</sup> C. V. Stinchecum, Annual Report, 1921, 29-30, Roll 71, NARAFW. See also Ernest Stecker, Annual Report, 1912, C. V. Stinchecum Annual Report, July 23, 1918, 35; J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, 1922, 41. M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>102</sup> Lacy Maddox, *Citizen Indians, Native American Intellectuals, Race & Reform*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005). Arthur Parker, of the Society of American Indians (SAI) led the fight to grant citizenship to all Native Americans.

<sup>103</sup> John Walker Harrington, “Native Race Proposed for Full Citizenship in a Bill Now Before Congress,” *New York Times*, Aug 10, 1919, ProQuest. [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>104</sup> Rusco, *A Fateful Time*, 38. The future value of Business Committees was not commonly understood or appreciated by the government. Netlibrary, <http://libproxy.uta.edu:2089/Reader/> [Accessed October 7, 2007].

insisted on the reestablishment of their tribal business committee by contacting Republican Congressman Lorraine M. Gensman from Oklahoma's Sixth District.<sup>105</sup> Gensman, with the Kiowa delegation, then called on Commissioner Burke and insisted that he authorize the reestablishment of their Business Committee to honor their citizenship and self-determination rights. When John Buntin arrived as the new Superintendent of the Kiowa Agency in the late fall of 1921, he was greeted with a letter from Burke that advised him to reconstitute the Business Committee.<sup>106</sup> The Commissioner's response underscored the Kiowa's emerging political power. Tribal leaders had successfully gone over a superintendent's head to influence BIA policies.<sup>107</sup>

It also exemplified the power of the Business Committee to decide whether to continue traditional practices. The revived Business Committee included five members, two Kiowa, two Comanches and one Apache.<sup>108</sup> Individual tribes chose their committee members in separate councils of tribal leaders. For the Kiowa this involved fifty-eight area representatives.<sup>109</sup> On December 8, 1922, the Kiowa council met near

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<sup>105</sup> Record of May 25, 1921 council of the Kiowa to select an Attorney, RBIA, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>106</sup> Charles Burke COIA to John A. Buntin, May 25, 1921, KCW Business Committee, File 067, 1921. RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>107</sup> Charles Burke COIA to John A. Buntin, Dec. 12, 1922, 1922, KCW Business Committee, File 067, 1922. RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>108</sup> Superintendent's Annual Report, 1923 Kiowa Agency, "Annual Report of the Kiowa Agency," Superintendent's Annual Narrative & Statistical Reports From Field Jurisdictions, 27, RG 75, 011, Roll 70, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>109</sup> Kiowa Council Minutes, May 25, 1921, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW.

Carnegie to select their Business Committee representatives.<sup>110</sup> There, Howard Sankadota, a leader delegated from Hog Creek and Stecker, announced that his constituents did not want him to “vote for anybody that was against drinking liquor, gambling or any Indians doings.”<sup>111</sup>

During that meeting, candidates Jasper Saunkeah, Delos Lonewolf and George Hunt had to answer whether they would support traditional practices. Saunkeah, who worked as an assistant game warden, was “a bright, well educated” man who had been “always loyal to the government.” He responded by saying he was “unfavorable” toward those practices.<sup>112</sup> Delos Lone wolf had achieved national recognition as a fullback on the Carlisle Boarding School team that defeated highly rated football teams from schools such as Princeton, Harvard, and Yale.<sup>113</sup> After graduation, he returned to farm around Fort Cobb, Oklahoma. A member of the Methodist Church, Lonewolf was licensed to preach at the Cedar Creek Indian Methodist Church. He disagreed with Saunkeah by indicating he would not attempt to stop traditional practices.<sup>114</sup> That reply

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<sup>110</sup> J. A. Buntin, Superintendent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 12, 1922, , 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>111</sup> Chief Ahpeahitone, 1924 Statement, RG 75, Business Committee 067, RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>112</sup> J. A. Buntin to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec 3, 1924, RG 75, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924, RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>113</sup> Hugh D. Corwin, “Delos K. Lonewolf, Kiowa,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 39, No. 4, (1961), 433-436, 433. [Accessed June 19,2007]

<sup>114</sup> Corwin, “Delos K. Lonewolf, Kiowa,” 436.

was not unexpected because at Carlisle his goal was “to be head of his tribe and lead them in the old tribal ways.”<sup>115</sup>

George Hunt, a charter member of the Saddle Mountain Baptist church was a noted authority on Kiowa history, and the Sun Dance.<sup>116</sup> The council chose Lonewolf and Hunt because they both supported traditional cultural practices.<sup>117</sup> This council meeting, based on the majority of fifty-eight Kiowa, sent a clear message that dances and peyote made up an important part of their identity. Furthermore, it was clear that not all Kiowa Christians opposed traditional practices.

Business Committee meetings also revealed concerns about the reordering of Kiowa politics. Apekaum recalled that too many Kiowa had adopted Euro-American partisan politics by supporting either the Democrat or Republican parties. As a result, they often would not associate with people who disagreed with their politics.<sup>118</sup> In 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt had visited the Kiowa Reservation to hunt near Hackberry Flat in the old "Big Pasture." That visit encouraged older Kiowa leaders such as Bob Koomeese, Enoch Smoky, Ned Brace, Lewis Ware and Delos Lonewolf to

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<sup>115</sup> Mark Pernor, Anadarako OK, on Delos Lonewolf, Student Information Resources, Carlisle Indian School Research Pages, *Genevieve Bell database*, <http://home.epix.net/~landis/lonewolf.html> [Accessed February 25, 2007].

<sup>116</sup> Corwin, *The Kiowa Indians*, 134; see also Zimmerman, *Walking in Moccasins*, 56.

<sup>117</sup> J. A. Buntin, Superintendent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 13, 1922, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>118</sup> Apekaum, Card 1, 14.

support the Republican Party.<sup>119</sup> On the other hand, many of the younger educated Kiowa become Democrats, and participated in local county politics. Apekaum remembered “hard feelings” between these political groups that made it difficult “to transact any business.”<sup>120</sup>

Partisan politics played a divisive role in the 1923 when only forty-five Kiowa leaders were able to attend council elections due to “bad weather.”<sup>121</sup> During this meeting, Guy Quoetone introduced a motion to elect three representatives instead of two. That motion passed and the delegates proceeded to elect their committeemen. After nominating six candidates, they began the balloting. It was initially understood that council members had one vote for each committee position. After voting on the first three candidates, it was announced that council members could vote twice for each position. Consequently, the last three candidates received the most votes.<sup>122</sup> The council approved the election of Jasper Saunkeah, George Hunt and Iseeo. Seventy-five years old at the time, most Kiowa considered Iseeo too old to serve effectively on the committee. Superintendent Buntin later noted that he was selected by the younger and

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<sup>119</sup> Jasper Saunkeah to Elmer Thomas, Jan 8 1924, RG 75, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>120</sup> Apekaum, 127.

<sup>121</sup> Kiowa Council Minutes, May 25, 1921, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG 75 NARAFW.

<sup>122</sup> Ned Brace to J. A. Buntin, Jan 8, 1924, RBIA, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW.

middle aged voters to give the impression to older Kiowa that they would have a committee member that represented their interests.<sup>123</sup>

Ned Brace, who chaired the council meeting and was a peyote practitioner, refused to sign the minutes of the proceedings. He also wrote the superintendent to protest the outcome of what he considered an unfair election.<sup>124</sup> A few days later, Kiowa Bill, a traditionalist from Hobart, publicly supported Brace by calling on Superintendent Buntin to lodge his disapproval of the election.<sup>125</sup>

Apekaum wrote in his autobiography, that “Saunkeah was at the head of the tribal faction” of “mostly younger men,” who supported Democrats.<sup>126</sup> Saunkeah worked for the re-election campaign of Democrat Congressman Elmer Thomas. In addition, he wanted to “break into the stronghold of the Indian republicans” at the Kiowa Agency. He boasted had to Thomas that in the next election, “we can easily get half of the Indian votes.”<sup>127</sup>

In response, to Saunkeah’s efforts with Thomas, Brace contacted S. A. Lacer of the local county Republican Party Central Committee. Lacer then wrote to GOP Senator J. W. Harreld, from the 6<sup>th</sup> District of Oklahoma and arbitrarily proposed that 95% of

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<sup>123</sup> J. A. Buntin to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Feb 7, 1924, Investigation of the Dec 15, 1923 council election, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>124</sup> Apekaum, 105

<sup>125</sup> Ned Brace to John Buntin, January 4, 1924, RG 75, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75NARAFW.

<sup>126</sup> Apekaum, 128.

<sup>127</sup> Jasper Saunkeah to Hon. Elmer Thomas, January 8, 1924, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW.

the Kiowa were Republicans and wanted a “new Council.”<sup>128</sup> Both parties also brought pressures to bear on Commissioner Burke and Superintendent Buntin<sup>129</sup>

After an investigation, Superintended Buntin invalidated the results of the December 15, 1923 election. In a subsequent vote, Delos Lonewolf, who represented the Republican faction, displaced Saunkeah and the Democrats.<sup>130</sup> A later election in 1925 revealed the range of the political divide when Brace was elected to the Committee by a vote of 119 to 88.<sup>131</sup> These activities exemplified how Kiowa leaders sometimes abandoned tribal community welfare for partisan concerns.

Against the backdrop of this political turmoil in the Business Committee, the Kiowa also grappled with the issue of economic self-sufficiency. Government support for Native American tribes varied based on specific treaties and congressional laws. In 1898, Congress decided that most trust fund payments would no longer be made to

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<sup>128</sup> S. A. Lacer, Chairman Republican County Central Committee to Senator J. W. Harreld, January 23, 1924, , 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>129</sup> Commissioner Burke to J. A. Buntin, Jan 14, 1924, 1924, , 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW. Burke noted that “The Hon. Elmer Thomas” had been in touch with him. See also Superintendent Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Feb. 7, 1924, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW. Buntin indicated that the “Honorable J. W. Harreld” and S. A. Lacer had been in communication with him.

<sup>130</sup> J. A. Buntin to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Feb 7, 1924, RG75 NARAFW. Investigation of the Dec 15, 1923 council election, RBIA, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924. RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>131</sup> Minutes of the Kiowa Council Held at Carnegie, Oklahoma, Dec 7, 1925, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1925. RG75 NARAFW.

tribal governments. Instead, “per capita payments” would be made to individual Indians to encourage assimilation.<sup>132</sup>

Following land allotments, August 1901, the Kiowa had to survive economically on an individual basis. They had subsisted on government rations during the reservation period. Nonetheless, Indian Commissioner W. A. Jones reported that same year that it was a consensus of opinion among scholars and Indian rights advocates, “that the gratuitous issue of rations, except to the old and helpless” was “detrimental” because it encouraged “idleness.” Nonetheless, he concluded that the system had to continue until Native Americans were able “to support themselves.”<sup>133</sup> The last reported issue of rations to the Kiowa Agency was in 1910 when the government provided 87 rations to Kiowa Agency people unable to work.<sup>134</sup> After that, individuals at Kiowa Agency subsisted primarily from their own labors.<sup>135</sup> As Guy Quoetone observed, the Kiowa lived on their individual income, not by “government money.”<sup>136</sup>

One source of their incomes came from trust funds established following the sale of allotted lands. The 1892 Jerome agreement, as ratified by Congress, required the government to pay the Kiowa Agency tribes \$2,000,000 for their ceded lands. Per

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<sup>132</sup> Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws, Vol. I, Laws* (Compiled to December 1, 1902), (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 97. [Accessed October 7,2007].

<sup>133</sup> W. A. Jones, Annual Report, COIA, Oct 1, 1900, 9.

<sup>134</sup> Superintendent Ernest Stecker, Annual Report, 1910, total amount of rations: \$4,445. M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>135</sup> C. V. Stinchecum Annual report, 1920, 36; see also J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, 1931, Statistical Report, 49052, 1.Rool 71. M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>136</sup> Guy Quoetone, T-4, 6, DDCOU.



capita payments were made from \$500,000 of that money to help individual Indians to settle and farm their allotments. After that, annual per capita payments followed from accruing interest of 5% for the \$1,500,000 trust funds that remained in the trust account.<sup>137</sup> In 1906, the sale of the four hundred and eighty thousand acres of pasture land, set aside in the Jerome accord, gave the tribes an additional trust fund. The sale grossed slightly over four million dollars that was put in trust for the Kiowa agency at 4% annual interest.<sup>138</sup>

The government withdrew interest funds from both trusts and provided one annual per capita payment to tribal individuals. For example, in 1910, per capita payments derived from accrued interest for that year from a combined principal of \$5,500,000 amounted to \$495,000. With an agency population of 4028 Indians, per capita payments should have been \$122.89 for each Kiowa Agency Indian. A family with three children would have received \$614.45.<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, Congress determined each year how much money Indians would receive from trust funds. For that year, it

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<sup>137</sup> Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. I, Laws*, Jerome Agreement as ratified by Congress, June 6, 1900, 708-713. [http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol1/HTML\\_files/SES0704.html](http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol1/HTML_files/SES0704.html) [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>138</sup> Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. I, Laws*, 184-185; see also, Charles M. Cooper, "The Big Pasture," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 35, No. 2, (1935), 138-146, 142. <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol1/Images/v1p0138.jpg> [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>139</sup> Ernest Stecker, Annual Report, 1910, 5, Ernest Stecker, Annual Report, 1914, RG 75, Roll 70, M1011 NARAFW.

approved \$250,000 for per capita payments, which lowered individual payments to \$62.07. Consequently, a family of five's annual trust was only 310.35.<sup>140</sup>

Congress refused to pay all of the interest to tribes because it had decided to use Indian trust funds "for the support of the agency and pay of employees maintained for their benefit."<sup>141</sup> Although Congress protected the Kiowa Agency 4% fund from those support withdrawals, it took \$25,000 dollars a year from the 5% trust funds, which by 1931 had grown to \$60,000.<sup>142</sup> Meanwhile, Congress continued to approve \$250,000 annually for Kiowa Agency trust payments until 1925 when the amount dropped to \$200,00.<sup>143</sup> In 1923, Kiowa Agency per capita payments, for a population of 4849 people, amounted to only \$51.56. For a family of five, that amounted to only \$257.79 a year. Three years later, with \$150,000 authorized and a population of 5,698 people, each per capita share had shrunk to \$23.33 giving a family of five only 131.63.<sup>144</sup>

Additional revenues for trust funds came from the sale of trust resources such as oil, gas and timber. In 1919, the Kiowa Agency leased 24,449 acres for \$31.00 an acre

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<sup>140</sup> Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws, Vol. III, Laws*, 414.  
<http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol1/Images/v1p0414.jpg> [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>141</sup> Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws, Vol. I, Laws*, 414.

<sup>142</sup> Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws, Vol. I, Laws* 409.  
<http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol1/Images/v1p0409.jpg> [Accessed October 7, 2007]. See also Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. V, 97. <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol1/Images/v1p0409.jpg> [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>143</sup> Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws, Vol. I*, 409. See also Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. IV, 431.  
<http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol1/Images/v1p0431.jpg> [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>144</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, 1926, 1, RG 75, Roll 70, M101 NARAFW.

with a reported income of \$750,000.<sup>145</sup> The next year, they leased 81,472 acres for oil which returned \$454,875 in royalties and bonuses.<sup>146</sup> These funds were initially placed in individual Indian accounts, and dispersed to the tribes by the BIA. Subsequently, Oil companies such as the Magnolia Petroleum Company, of Lawton and Ingram Oil Corporation of Oklahoma City, extracted 250 barrels of oil per day from the bed of the Red River.<sup>147</sup> Oil revenues derived from that source were the focus of a lawsuit between Texas and Oklahoma. Nonetheless, the Supreme Court decided in that case that the Kiowa Agency Indians were riparian owners of those mineral rights.<sup>148</sup>

In June, 1926, a joint resolution of the House and Senate authorized a trust fund for Red River oil revenues for the Kiowa Agency.<sup>149</sup> This allowed the Kiowa Agency to collect \$130 per acre with an estimated 3000 acres leased along the river bed.<sup>150</sup> By

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<sup>145</sup> COIA, 1913, Cato Sells, 28; COIA, 1919, 52.

<sup>146</sup> C. V. Stinchecum, Annual Report, 1920,27, RG 75, Roll 70, , M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>147</sup> Magnolia Petroleum Company to Mr. H. E. Bretschneider, Anadarko, June 5, and July 27, 1919; also see Ingram Oil Corporation to W. F. Shew, Lawton Oklahoma, Dec, 20, 1918, RG75, 064-TRA205, RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>148</sup> Kappler *Indian Affairs: Laws*, Vol. IV, Laws, 558.  
<http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol1/Images/v1p0558.jpg> [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>149</sup>Forty-fourth Statutes at Large, page 740, COIA, 1924, 42.

<sup>150</sup> Eugene Cittadino, "Expert Testimony and the Red River Boundary Dispute," *ISIS, Journal of the History of Science in Society*, Vol. 95, Issue 2, (Jun., 2004), 183-219, 212. JSTOR [Accessed September 11, 2006]. See also J. Prickett, Acting Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 20, 1918; also Kiowa Agency to Senator J. Elmer Thomas, State Senate Jan. 29, 1919. 064-7RA205, RG75 NARAFW.

1930, the Kiowa had over 126,968 acres under oil leases that brought a total oil and gas income of \$233,911.05.<sup>151</sup>

Nonetheless, instead of increasing per capita payments, Congress authorized even less money. For instance, in Fiscal Year 1927, \$100,000 was authorized from the allotment trusts, and \$100,000 from the oil trust while Congress took \$50,500 to support and pay the salaries of agency employees.<sup>152</sup> A combination of the Kiowa Agency 4%, 5%, and oil trusts funds amounted to \$905,329 in 1929, \$740,964 in 1930 and \$456,558 in 1931.<sup>153</sup> Meanwhile congressional authorizations for per capita payments remained low. Consequently, Kiowa self-sufficiency required more than annual trust payments.

Besides trust money, the Kiowa used revenues from Individual Indian Money (IIM) unrestricted accounts. Separate from trust funds, unrestricted IIM accounts usually contained income made by individual Kiowa for business ventures such as leasing allotment lands for farming and grazing and in some cases oil leases. In the early reservation days, the Kiowa Agent acted as a banker and advisor to individual Kiowa, to manage this money. In March 1883, Congress revised this policy by directing

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<sup>151</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report 1930, 71, RG 75, Roll 70, NARA Fort Worth. M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>152</sup> Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws*, Vol. IV, 914, 915 and 926.; [http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol4/html\\_files/images/v4p0914.jpg](http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol4/html_files/images/v4p0914.jpg) [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>153</sup> Statement of Tribal Funds of the Kiowa, June 30, 1929, 1930 and 1931. RG 75 067, Business Committee, 1930-1932, RG75 NARAFW.

that receipts from farm and pasture leases, sales of timber, coal or any other minerals had to be deposited in the United States Treasury.<sup>154</sup>

Nevertheless, after that date, the BIA continued to maintain numerous IIM accounts. During the reservation period, all lands were tribal and revenues from the land belonged to the entire tribe. After the allotments, IIM accounts continued, but they were primarily for the benefit of individual Kiowa. Unrestricted IIM account distribution amounts and timing were at the discretion of the individual Kiowa who owned them. Individual leases of allotted lands accounted for the most significant revenues held in IIM accounts. Guy Quoetone remembered that his family “existed on” their “individual income” from the rentals of their allotment lands.<sup>155</sup> By 1901 the Kiowa Agency Indians held a total of 671 square miles of land allotments, the last of their one time 60,000 square mile southern plains homeland.<sup>156</sup> Nonetheless, they used what was left of their land assets to survive.

Many Kiowa leased the bulk of their lands to white farmers who owned farm machines. They kept a small portion for subsistence living and other needs.<sup>157</sup> In addition, they leased pastures to white ranchers to graze cattle. In 1920, individual Kiowa Agency Indians leased over 45,134 acres of their allotted lands for farming, with

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<sup>154</sup> COIA, J.D. C. Atkins, Sept 28, 1886, xxxvi-xxxvii.

<sup>155</sup> Guy Quoetone, T-4, 5-18-67 5.DDCOU.

<sup>156</sup> James F. Randlett, Annual Report, Sept 1, 1901, 320. COIA. See also Jerome Agreements, Article II, “Jerome Agreement” as approved by Congress June 6, 1991. Kappler, Vol. I, 708. <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol1/Images/v1p0708.jpg> [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>157</sup> Ray Kopepassah, Telephone interview with by author, January 9, 2007

returns of \$53,000, while letting out 138,620 for grazing which provided an additional \$2,288 in lease money for IIM accounts.<sup>158</sup> In 1927, farm-leasing revenues grew to \$684,637 and grazing leases to \$136,927.<sup>159</sup> Oil and gas leases for that same year, under trust control, came to only \$62,214. Consequently, leases for agriculture purposes and grazing provided individual Kiowas more funds than trust funds.

In addition to leases, revenues from farming were also deposited in IIM accounts. Kiowa students that attended boarding schools learned farming skills. J. A. Buntin reported in 1924 that 99% of the boarding school graduates that returned to the reservation farmed.<sup>160</sup> Some of these individuals worked with white farmers or helped fellow Kiowa farm the homesteads.

A significant number of Kiowa agency Indians utilized farming as an essential component in their efforts to accomplish self-sufficiency. For instance, in 1922, Jim Ahtone farmed 40 acres, with corn and cotton. This enabled him to support three children and wife. Another Kiowa, Zate Kou Kaukoman, planted corn and Kaffir on 50 acres. Kiowa Clara Mopope, also made a living with 37 acres of corn, 37 acres of cotton.<sup>161</sup> Superintendent Buntin's annual report in 1927 indicated that 640 Kiowa

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<sup>158</sup> C. V. Stinchecum, Annual Report, 1920, 28, RG 75, Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>159</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, 1925, 76b, RG 75, Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>160</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, July 22, 1924, 14, Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>161</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, July 27, 1922, Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

agency Indians actively farmed 30,600 acres of land.<sup>162</sup> In 1931, he reported on the leading farmers from the several Kiowa Agency districts, although there were others that farmed.<sup>163</sup> Buntin included the names of 153 Kiowa Agency Indians, of which 77 were Kiowa Together their crops and livestock values amounted to \$339,499 for that year. Not all Kiowa farmed, nor were many of them successful commercial farmers. Nonetheless, most Kiowa pragmatically employed farming skills to survive.

Two studies conducted in the 1920s, which assessed the economic and social status of Native Americans, confirmed this point. The Inter-church World Movement survey directed by G. E. E. Lindquist and endorsed by Commissioner of Indians Affairs Charles H. Burke noted that Kiowa, health conditions were “fairly good.” There were a few instances of tuberculosis and trachoma but these cases were effectually treated at the Indian Hospital at Fort Sill. Furthermore, housing was also considered “fairly good” as most Kiowa Agency Indians lived in three or four room houses. Lindquist noted that although oil and gas money provided part of their revenue, their “principal industry” was effectually “farming.”<sup>164</sup>

The Institute for Government Research conducted Secretary of the Interior Herbert Work’s 1926 survey. It again assessed the social and economic conditions of American Indians. Lewis Meriam, Henry Roe Cloud, E. E. Dale, Herbert R. Edwards, F.A. McKenzie and R. B. Stambaugh visited the Kiowa Agency from November 23 to

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<sup>162</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, 1927, 17, RG 75, Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>163</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, 1931, Statistics, 55-59, Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

November 26 1926.<sup>165</sup> After inspecting the agency, they told Superintendent Buntin that a “great number” at the Kiowa Agency had made “splendid efforts toward self-support.”<sup>166</sup>

Seven months after that meeting and other field studies, the Institute submitted its findings in “The Problem of Indian Administration.” This critical study of Federal Indian policy concluded that most Indians were not yet “supporting themselves through their own efforts.” It down played Indian successes at self-sufficient farming, and belittled “spasmodic labors” such as fishing, hunting, trapping and woodcutting. Furthermore, the report criticized the practice of selling allotments so Indians could live off the proceeds.<sup>167</sup>

Nevertheless, the Meriam report indicated that the Osage and Kiowa Agencies, contrary to most “jurisdictions,” had built a number of “modern homes and bungalows.”<sup>168</sup> That construction continued during the latter part of the 1920s. Kiowa trusts funds authorized by Congress for agency support were used to construct an average of 73 new houses a year. By 1931, Superintendent Buntin reported that the

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<sup>164</sup> Lindquist, *The Red Man*, 184-190.

<sup>165</sup> Lewis Meriam to John A. Buntin, Nov. 11, 1926, RG 75, 099-117.0 (pt), File 099, Research Meriam Survey. RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>166</sup> J. A. Buntin to F. A. McKenzie, Survey of Indian Affairs, Aug. 12, 1927. RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>167</sup> Lewis Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration, Report of a Survey made at the request of Honorable Hubert Works, Secretary of the Interior and submitted February 21, 1928*, (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), 4-8.

<sup>168</sup> *The Problem of Indian Administration, Summary of Findings and Recommendations*, (Washington D. C.: Institute for Government Research, 1928), 4, RG 75 Meriam Files, NARAFW.



**Carnegie District**

<u>Kiowa Name</u>	<u>Value of Crops/livestock produced</u>
Carl Toipi	\$ 2726.00
John Queton	2730.00
Joe Kaulaity	3075.00
Mark Sadongkei	2645.00
Ralph Ahpeahto	2015.00
Frederick Satepeahtaw	1565.00
Linn Pauahty	1447.00
Joseph Kaudlekaule	1178.00
Lee Calisay	1110.00
Hicks Boyiddle	1081.00
Abner Coosewoon	1069.00
Edgar Guoladdle	1070.00
Joel Sahmaunt	1011.00
Richard T. Randolph	1074.00
Fred Botone	910.00
Francis Autaubo	935.00
John Pahdongkei	970.00
Tonemah and two sons	887.00
George Hunt	825.00
Quay Tonemah	773.00
Lewis Toyebo	695.00
John Aunko and son	699.00
Maunakei (Conklin)	817.00
Poauty and son	680.00
Norman Kaubin	565.00
William Bointy	645.00

**Total \$33,199.00****Fort Cobb District**

Herbert Guy	2556.00
Dora Keys	2698.00
Nutta (Stella Arnold)	3560.00
Cynthia Williams	3655.00
Samuel Walker	3334.00
Frank Snake	2439.00
Samuel Chisholm	1832.00
Henry Hunter	2466.00
Frank Butler	1740.00
Frank Caddo	2118.00
Joseph Caddo	1619.00
Henry Harry	1767.00
John Lawrence	2263.00
Matthew Botone	3219.00
Tennyson Berry	1577.00
Charles Akoneto	2379.00
Charles Toyebo	2278.00
Mark Keahbone	917.00
Miles Ware	2221.00
Frank Henry	1680.00
Glen Stumblingbear	804.00
Jack Nestell	1203.00
Edgar Keahbone	807.00
Bill Palmer	1185.00
Nekiesh	1243.00

**Total \$37,445.00****Gotebo District**

<u>Kiowa Name</u>	<u>Value of Crops/livestock produced</u>
Mammedaty	3919.00
Bennie Thompson	1702.00
Tully Morrison	1960.00
Carl J. Reid Dussome	1190.00
Milton Toyebo	1427.00
Maukolauno (Mark)	3643.00
Robert Spotted Horse	1255.00
Stephen J. Tahome	1222.00
Joe Doyeto	2485.00
Kauhquo	2557.00
Frank Satepauhoodle	1735.00
James Tsonetokoy	1415.00
Charles Tanequodle	1169.00
George Kauyedaity	878.00
Tsonetokey	959.00
Satoo	607.00
George Geimausaddle	685.00
Edward Tsotigh	757.00
Dunn B. Toahty	1100.00
Price Popetsaitke	1035.00
Robert Goombi	690.00
Dave Poolaw	428.00
Goomdo	754.00
Moses Tineyuyah	1178.00
Moses Hunt	942.00

**Total: \$36,533**

Fig. 14. Kiowa Farming 1931

“Indians of this reservation are so well housed new construction work will be much lighter in the future.”<sup>169</sup>

In 1926 when a male weaver at a Textile mill averaged \$ 1,095 per year and a chassis assembler in the automobile industry in Detroit made \$1,815, many Kiowa families averaged between \$1,500, to \$2,500, from farming, IIM lease funds, trust funds, and learned occupational skills.<sup>170</sup> After the advent of the Great Depression, the Kiowa would continue to use those resources to survive. In 1931, Superintendent Buntin reported that only 125 Indians were not working for “self-support,” and only five of those did not have “individual incomes sufficient to cover” their needs. The other 3300 residents residing at the Kiowa Agency successfully used a variety of economic resources to survive under difficult circumstances.<sup>171</sup> They were better prepared than many other tribes to endure the economic calamity of the Great Depression.<sup>172</sup>

By 1932, almost all of the Kiowa that participated in the pre-reservation horse-culture had passed away. Without the experiential authority of those that lived that life,

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<sup>169</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, 1930, also Buntin, Annual Report, 1931, Statistical section 97. Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>170</sup> *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1926, Forty-ninth number, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Julius Klein, Director, 329, 332, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/statab1901-1950.htm>. [Accessed August 10, 2006]. See also, Nov. 23, 1926, report on a Kiowa family by the Meriam Field workers, RG75, Meriam Report, NARAFW.

<sup>171</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report 1931, Statistical Section, 1. Roll 71, M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>172</sup> Statement of Tribal Funds of the Kiowa, June 30, 1929, 1930 and 1931. 067, Business Committee, 1930-1932, RG75 NARAFW.

their children born during the reservation period and after allotments faced an identity crisis. Stories and practices from that pre-reservation culture provided light from the past, as the Kiowa salvaged what they could of their horse-centered culture. Meanwhile, the transatlantic influence of the church brought an exclusive message to the Kiowa that clashed with practices that many Kiowa felt were important to their identity. Led by Delos Lone Wolf and Kiowa Bill, many Kiowas believed that traditional dances like the Gourd dance, give-away and Native American Church practices represented important defining elements of their identity. On the other hand, Kiowa, Jasper Saunkeah, the Horse brothers and Carl Dussome, sought a definition influenced by church teaching and government education that affirmed changes often at the expense of traditional ways.

Anthropologist Darrel Montero studied the dynamics of generational changes and concluded that greater assimilation occurred “for each succeeding generation.”<sup>173</sup> Kiowa born after the reservation period faced vigorous inducements for change. Contrary to their grandfathers, the generation of the 1920s lived in newly constructed houses and used their educational skills and to meet their daily subsistence needs. They were trained in boarding schools with a Euro-American curriculum, and attended public schools where they adapted rapidly to the values and practices of the white society. In many ways, they grew up experiencing influences similar to their Euro-American peers.

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<sup>173</sup> Darrel Montero, “The Japanese Americans: Changing Patterns of Assimilation Over Three Generations,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 46, No. 6, (Dec., 1981), 829-839, 835. JSTOR [Accessed March 4, 2007].

These changes made the Kiowa cultural identity crisis more intense. In the early 1920s, those traditional leaders who had experienced the Horse-centered transatlantic culture encountered a generational divide that played out in Business Committee meetings. Political factions also reflected the ongoing struggle to define Kiowa cultural identity. This cultural transformation included synchronistic adaptations in the Native American Church, modifications of practices as illustrated by changes to traditional dances practices and Kiowa pragmatic economic responses to their trust relationship and successful self-sufficiency.

Some Kiowa who came of age during the early New Deal continued to dance, believed in the cultural importance of generosity in give-aways and found meanings in the Native American Church. Others adapted readily to Euro-American social and religious conventions without regard to those traditional practices. All Kiowa survived this tumultuous period in their history while remaining proud of their tribal heritage. Eagle Plume's bywords framed Kiowa struggles during the 1920s in prophetic fashion. *You have to have old things for new things to have roots in. That's why some people have to keep old things going and some people have to push new things along. It's right for both of them.*

## CHAPTER 6

### THE FLUX OF KIOWA LIFE: 1933-1945

Indians through the ages demonstrated capacity to change and still remain Indians.  
Guy Quoetone, Kiowa

Historian Graham Taylor observed that, “while forty-odd years of reservation life and assimilation had not eradicated Indian cultural identity, it had not strengthened the sense of tribalism either.”<sup>1</sup> Although Kiowa literature is replete with the failures of assimilation, this chapter will show that Kiowa culture appreciably changed during that period and remained malleable amidst subsequent social and economic influences. Following the allotment of their lands, the challenge of economic necessity and the inescapable allure of modernity, the Kiowa had become dependent on the material influences of the non-Indian world.<sup>2</sup> Comparatively speaking, Kiowa lifestyle by the 1930s reflected Euro-American influences vastly different from their venerated horse-centered ancestors. They wore contemporary clothing, purchased popular consumer goods, listened to radios, and enjoyed sports such as baseball, and football like other American citizens.

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<sup>1</sup> Graham D. Taylor, *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1943-1945*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 65.

<sup>2</sup> Rusco, *A Fateful Time*, 57.

More importantly for this study, Kiowa responses to pivotal legislation, such as the Wheeler Howard Act, the Oklahoma Welfare Act and Indian Civilian Conservation Corps, mirrored Euro-American stratagems and values that set them apart from their nineteenth-century ancestors. For example, during the Great Depression they demonstrated acumen in tribal management that mirrored years of successful Euro-American education and business interactions. The Kiowa focus on individualism as opposed to tribalism also played a fundamental role in Kiowa rejection of Indian New Deal reforms.

These responses helped set in motion the federal policy of termination in the early 1940s that prompted the Kiowa to rethink the nature of their relationship with the government following the creation of an Indian Claims Commission in 1945 and efforts by Congress to terminate federal trusts. By that time, a new Kiowa ethos had evolved that conformed to the norms of the popular mass culture, which distinguished them from their horse-centered ancestors, yet set apart them from the non-Indian world. That identity placed their horse-centered culture in commemorative perspective by practicing “traditional” rituals. Collier’s Indian New Deal reforms and threats of termination greatly accelerated that development.

During this period, actions of Kiowa leaders in tribal council and business committee meetings played a pivotal role in the drama of this cultural adaptation.

Leaders of Kiowa factions played important roles in that epic. Both praised and criticized by BIA officials, their varied actions were indicative of culture in motion.<sup>3</sup>

Jasper Saunkeah and Delos K. Lone Wolf headed these two factions. Both were well-educated charismatic leaders who reflected their different assimilative experiences. As noted in the previous chapter, Saunkeah was often readily willing to set aside traditional ways for cultural change, while Lone Wolf stressed a more cautious approach.<sup>4</sup> These two leaders represented the two extremities of possible responses to cultural loss.<sup>5</sup> Scholars have frequently categorized leaders during this period as either “traditionalists or progressives.”<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, those terms do not adequately describe the varied responses of Kiowa leaders who dealt subtly with tribal matters in the context of their own economic, social, and political experiences. In his study of Native Americans, Charles Wilkinson noted that most Indians, before World War II, were “ineffectual in dealings with the majority society.”<sup>7</sup> This was not true of the Kiowa, who consistently demonstrated acumen gleaned from long years of assimilative Euro-

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<sup>3</sup> C. V. Stinchecum, Annual Report, 1921, 29-30, Roll 71, NARAFW. See also Ernest Stecker, Annual Report, 1912, C. V. Stinchecum Annual Report, July 23, COIA, 1918, 35; J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, 1922, 41. M1011 NARAFW.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. Buntin to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec 3, 1924, RG 75, RBIA, 067, Business Committee, AKC, 1924, RG75 NARAFW.

<sup>5</sup> Trudy Heller, “Changing authority Patterns: A Cultural Perspective,” *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1985), 488-495, 493. JSTOR [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>6</sup> Rusco, *A Fateful Time*, 59.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations*, (New York: W. w. Norton & Company, 2005), XII.

American education as well as high-level political and social interactions with non-Indians.<sup>8</sup>

Lone Wolf and Saunkeah served for many years on the KCA Business Committee, which functioned as an advisory group to tribal general councils of all the KCA tribes. Although subordinate to those assemblies, the Business Committee played a vital role in setting agendas for council meetings by having made informed recommendations on important tribal issues for assemblies to adopt or reject.<sup>9</sup>

One of their most serious economic and social concerns was the Great Depression, which had devastating affects on the KCA economy. Cotton prices, which made up 75% of their farm income, dropped in half by November 1929. Consequently, many lease rental payments were not paid. Local merchants responded by limiting credit to Indians. This created a crisis because Kiowa and other Indians needed money for food, clothing for their children, farm, and livestock feed as well as other incidental expenses. In November 1929, the Business Committee, led by Saunkeah Democrats, petitioned Commissioner Charles Rhodes to ensure that their per-capita payments came at different times, rather than the single payment planned by Superintendent McCown.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Paul R. Abramson, "Generational Change in American Electoral Behavior," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 68, No. 1. (Mar., 1974), 93-105, 102, 105. JSTOR [Accessed April 14, 2007].

<sup>9</sup> Meeting of the KCA Business Committee, Jan 16, 1937, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, 6-19-47, NARAFW.

<sup>10</sup> J. A. Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 9, 1929, enclosed Petition of Tribal Business Committee, Chairman Ned E. Brace. RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, 6-19-47, NARAFW.



To press that issue, Saunkeah wrote to Senator Elmer Thomas, Democrat from Oklahoma, who persuaded Rhodes to grant their request.<sup>11</sup>

Nevertheless, by early 1932, the three tribes continued to face a financial crisis. Kiowa farmers needed funds to purchase seeds for planting. They also required money to maintain their properties and cover educational expenses. Unfortunately, farm produce prices had plummeted and numerous land-lease rents continued in arrears.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, oil royalty revenues dropped more than fifty-percent from over \$49,000 in 1931, to less than \$19,000 one year later. Consequently, the Red River Trust Fund could have been exhausted by the end of 1933 if per capita payments continued as previously practiced.<sup>13</sup> Superintendent McGown reported in 1932 that out of the KCA population of 5,700 tribal members, only 2,423 were “entirely self-supporting.”<sup>14</sup>

Congress contributed to that crisis by continuing to appropriate trust money to pay government expenses to administer the Kiowa Agency and the Indian hospital at

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<sup>11</sup> C. J. Rhodes to Hon. Elmer Thomas, Nov. 20, 1929; see also C. J. Rhodes to John A. Buntin, Nov. 20, 1929 granting approval of the disbursement. RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>12</sup> Saunkeah to J. A., Buntin, May 5, 1931, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW. C. J. Rhoads to Ned Brace, Dec 28, 1931. See also J. A. Buntin circular, Dec. 30, 1931 Announcement for Business Committee meeting “to organize and transact” business. See also, Acting Superintendent to Commissioner, June 10, 1932, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>13</sup> Superintendent McCown to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Jan. 14, 1932, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>14</sup> Superintendent McGown, 1931, 10, see also 1933 *Annual Report*, Section I, Industries and Economics, 1, M1011, Roll 71, NARAFW.

Fort Sill.<sup>15</sup> A general council of the three tribes met December 11, 1931 to address this problem. They agreed on a resolution drafted by Saunkeah that criticized the Department of the Interior for misusing their trust funds.<sup>16</sup> When the bureau ignored this resolution, Kiowa Democrat Ned Brace, Chairman of the Business Committee, wrote to the Sub-Committee of the House Appropriations Committee and explained their peril.<sup>17</sup> The Kiowa also worked with Senator Thomas, who filibustered in the Senate in mid-February for five hours claiming that congress had permitted an “injustice” to Kiowa Agency Indians by failing to act.<sup>18</sup> Stung by this high-level criticism, officials at the BIA stopped appropriating money for agency expenses from the tribal trust fund.<sup>19</sup>

Tribal leaders also took steps to ensure the availability of money from the fund “for industrial assistance, support and education” for individual KCA members. In early 1932, following a general council meeting of the three tribes, the Kiowa and Apaches agreed to establish a \$75,000 reimbursable fund from trust monies.<sup>20</sup> To

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<sup>15</sup> Commissioner Rhodes to KCA Tribal Business Committee, Jun. 9, 1931, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>16</sup> Resolution, General Council Meeting December 11, 1931, Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>17</sup> C. J. Rhoads to Ned Brace, June 9, 1931, Ned Brace to the Sub-Committee was dated April 21, 1931, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>18</sup> “Senate Filibuster Delays Relief Vote,” *New York Times*, Feb. 14, 1931, ProQuest [Accessed October 7, 2007].

<sup>19</sup> C. J. Rhoads to Ned Brace, Dec. 28, 1931, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>20</sup> Jasper Saunkeah to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Jan. 11, 1932, See also Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Jan. 14, 1932, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

accomplish that objective, they worked with Senator Thomas, who introduced Senate Bill 3010, on January 15, 1932, to authorize the \$75,000 from the Red River Trust Fund. Congress approved this legislation on March 17, 1933.<sup>21</sup> Saunkeah then represented the Kiowa on a loan application committee that included a member from each of the three tribes.<sup>22</sup> That committee successfully managed a loan program that was a harbinger of the Indian New Deal.

The Business Committee was also the focus of partisan political rivalries between Lone Wolf Republicans and Saunkeah Democrats to control tribal business. For instance, in December 1933, Saunkeah, the outgoing Chairman of the Business Committee, led a drive to elect party slates, not individuals, for Kiowa representatives to the Business Committee. He believed this would be more “conducive to harmony in the Committee and that more could be accomplished for the interest of the tribe as a whole.” Thirteen Republicans responded by walking out of the meeting in protest. This did not influence the remaining 152 Kiowa who approved Saunkeah’s procedure and slate of Young Democrats with one exception.<sup>23</sup> Because of his stature, the Kiowa also elected Lone Wolf to the Committee. Furthermore, the Kiowa people continued to place both political leaders on important council committees, as well as on the Business

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<sup>21</sup> Acting Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 10, 1932, see also Superintendent McCown to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 23, 1932. RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>22</sup> Motion, June 16, 1933, Jasper Saunkeah selected as representative of the Kiowa Tribe on the Loan Application Committee. RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>23</sup> Wesley Callaher, to McCown, Feb. 26, 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW. See also Apekaum, 128.

Committee, because they provided a broader spectrum of ideas on various concerns.<sup>24</sup>

This arrangement worked well as tribal leaders led the Business Committee in organizational reforms. The committee had functioned since 1899 and obtained limited “advisory” authority in 1919 granted by Commissioner Charles Burke.<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, the tribes had never produced a formal written constitution. Saunkeah’s Democrats, led by Committee Chairman Ned Brace in 1931, established a precedent for John Collier’s New Deal Indian reforms. They drafted their first written constitution that a general council approved on January 28, 1932.<sup>26</sup>

Those efforts predated other government initiatives to help tribes organize. A short time later, to confront the Great Depression, Senator Lynn Frazier of North Dakota, collaborated with Collier, who headed the American Indian Defense Association, on Senate bill 3668. This Tribal Council bill was introduced a month after the KCA tribes had approved their constitution. Written by Collier, the bill recommended procedures for setting up other tribal councils with written constitutions.

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<sup>24</sup> General Council Meeting, March 12, 1938, RG 75, see also Meeting of Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes, March 25, 1935, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>25</sup> Commissioner Burke to J. A. Buntin, Dec. 12, 1922, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW; Commissioner Charles H. Burke to Albert Attocknie, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW. Senate Bill 2427 (1919) set forth rules on Tribal Business Committees which stated that members could only be elected for 2 years, and allowed from 4 to 7 members to be elected from each tribe to serve a term. Kiowa Indian Council, December 15, 1923, see Mr. Cizek comments on page 1. RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>26</sup>C. J. Rhoads to Ned Brace, Dec 28, 1931. See also J. A. Buntin circular, Dec. 30, 1931 Announcement for Business Committee meeting “to organize and transact” business. RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW. Jasper Saunkeah, Chairman, to Superintendent W. B. McGown,

Nonetheless, Indian Commissioner Rhoads and numerous Department of Interior officials objected to the bill because it worked against assimilationist policies by perpetuating tribal ways. Because of this opposition, the legislation never made it to the hearing stage.<sup>27</sup>

Kiowa responses to New Deal relief efforts further illustrated their successful assimilation to the non-Indian world. Following the inaugural of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Congress quickly appropriated funds to provide economic relief to needy Americans. Collier reported that about sixty of every hundred Indians in the Kiowa Agency were “totally landless” and all but a few of those individuals lived “in poverty.”<sup>28</sup> When Congress passed the Emergency Relief Act, in May 1933, \$500 million of Federal funds were made available for unemployment relief. The following month, public works accounted for \$3 million of those funds.<sup>29</sup>

Collier used that money to set up a separate Indian Civil Conservation Corps. Indian CCC activities centered on irrigation, range development and soil erosion control. In the summer of 1933, young Kiowa men began working on flood control.

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Oct. 30, 1933, Kiowa Comanche and Apache Tribal Council. Also see, Indian Field Service Document, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, 6-19-47, NARAFW.

<sup>27</sup> Rusco, *A Fateful Time*, 173-174.

<sup>28</sup> Ben Dwight to Monahan, January 27, 1938, See also, Zimmerman to Congressman Jed Johnson, Nov 12, 1940, RG 75, Anadarko Office; see also File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW. Per capita payments from tribal trust funds were not authorized by Congress from 1935 to 1940. John Collier, *Indians at Work*, Vol. 23, No. 6, (June, 1934), 261.

<sup>29</sup> William Zimmerman to D. K. Lone Wolf, July 22, 1939, 2, see also, Superintendent McCown to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 2, 1940, also, Zimmerman to Congressman Jed Johnson, Jul. 13, 1940, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

They erected check dams and terraces to aid the conservation of top soil from water runoff areas and planted trees for shelterbelts to prevent wind erosion. They also fenced 5,400 acres of land, and eradicated toxic plants such as the *larkspur*, that frequently proved lethal for cattle.<sup>30</sup> Kiowa CCC workers lived at home and reported from Monday through Friday at predetermined locations to work.<sup>31</sup> The program expanded in Oklahoma as participants increased from 30 in June to 461 by the end of September.<sup>32</sup>

In addition, the 1933 Civil Works Administration (CWA), and later the 1935 Works Progress Administration (WPA), provided individual wages for projects such as roadwork and the rehabilitation or construction of homes for other KCA members.<sup>33</sup> The Business Committee worked with the superintendent and assigned needy KCA individuals to those projects.<sup>34</sup>

Roosevelt's Indian policy also focused on preserving, rather than destroying Indian cultures. For years, the government had attempted to eradicate many tribal practices as demonstrated by Superintendent Stinchecum's efforts in the late teens with

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<sup>30</sup> Collier, *Indians at Work*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (Summer, 1933), 12, 19-20. See also, *Poisonous Plants, LARKSPUR - Delphinium species*, <http://cal.vet.upenn.edu/poison/plants/pplarks.htm>, [Accessed September 13, 2007].

<sup>31</sup> Donald L. Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1., (Feb., 1971), 93-56, 45-46. JSTOR [Accessed March 26, 2007].

<sup>32</sup> Collier, *Indians at Work*, Vol. 2, No. 8, (November, 1933), 22.

<sup>33</sup> William Zimmerman to Lone Wolf, Jul. 22, 1939, 2, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>34</sup> Superintendent McCown Memo Announcing Meeting, Dec 29, 1934. See also, Superintendent McCown to Members to the Kiowa Business Committee, Jan. 31, 1935, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

the Kiowa and subsequent BIA efforts, in the early years of the 1920s, to discourage tribal dances. Nevertheless, in 1932, Superintendent J. A. Buntin reported that some Kiowas continued to dance despite suppressive government policies. Collier's new approach meant an end to this forced acculturation, and assault on traditional practices.<sup>35</sup>

The Indian New Deal also ended the land allotment program associated with the 1887 Dawes General Allotment Act. This was a response to the social and economic failures of government Indian policy set forth in the 1928 Meriam report: *The Problem of Indian Administration*. It was also a reaction to the activities of Collier, who had led the American Indian Defense Association's ongoing criticism of government Indian policy and played a key role in a 1931 Senate investigation of Indian Affairs.<sup>36</sup> The dire affects of Great Depression also provided the impetus for sweeping reforms during the New Deal to restore Indian community life.<sup>37</sup>

Kiowa notions of tribal sovereignty during the New Deal were different from Colliers. Ongoing cultural adaptation continued to play a pivotal role in the drama of Kiowa history during this period. Collier understood that when he spoke at Bacone College in Oklahoma on March 22, 1934 concerning Euro-American and Indian interactions. He observed, "the tide of modern life is brought to the gates of your mind,

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<sup>35</sup> J. A. Buntin, Annual Report, 1932, 6-7, M1011, Roll 71, NARAFW. See chapter 5.

<sup>36</sup> Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1977),103.

<sup>37</sup> Lawrence C. Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 375. See also, Rusco, *A Fateful Time*,, 85.

and where the European and Christian fertilization and guidance are made yours.” Nonetheless, he emphasized, “at the same time, and as part of the same movement of life, the buried portions of your own deep racial hopes are once more permitted to flow.”<sup>38</sup> This idyllic view of Indian culture was the heart of Collier’s Indian New Deal.<sup>39</sup>

Collier endorsed a “tribal alternative” to assimilation that reaffirmed the legal right of Native American societies to exist under treaties and federal Indian law.<sup>40</sup> He wanted to “preserve the right of Native Americans to be different because “cultural diversity” has always been “a dynamic force in history.”<sup>41</sup> Collier also understood the affect modernity had on Native American cultures.<sup>42</sup> Consequently, he envisioned a form of group assimilation that integrated traditional and modern values to strengthen Indian communities, but allowed tribal self-determination under federal control.<sup>43</sup>

Collier’s emphasis on a tribal alternative to assimilation was based on flawed assumptions about the Kiowa and many other contemporary Indian societies. Years of

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<sup>38</sup> John Collier, “Talk to the Students of Bacone College, Oklahoma, March 22, 1934, “Indians at Work, Vol. 1, No. 18, May 1, 1934, 30.

<sup>39</sup> John Collier, *The Indians of the Americas*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1947), 15, 169.

<sup>40</sup> Taylor, *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism*, x. Rusco, *A Fateful Time*, 115.

<sup>41</sup> Rusco, *A Fateful Time*: 135. See also Philp, *John Collier’s Crusade for Indian Reform*, 243.

<sup>42</sup> Rusco, *A Fateful Time*, 189.

<sup>43</sup> Collier, *The Indians of the Americas*, 261, see also Philp, *John Collier’s Crusade for Indian Reform*, 127.



government emphasis upon individualism and private land tenure caused them to view federally sponsored tribal self-rule as a form of forced tenantry that limited their freedoms.<sup>44</sup> Transatlantic influences had incrementally altered Kiowa life. By the 1930s individual land tenure had become a vital element in their tribal identity.

In 1933, Anthropologist Ralph Linton, from the University of Wisconsin, warned Collier that many tribes had adapted well to transatlantic Euro-American culture and were content with their status under the allotment program. Linton believed that in a short time many tribes would become self-sufficient. Therefore, he cautioned against employing tribal approaches to remedy modern political and economic concerns.<sup>45</sup> Collier ignored this advice because he believed that the New Mexico Pueblos provided a model for restoring a “reverence and passion for the earth and its web of Life” which he felt the Euro-American world had lost.<sup>46</sup>

On January 20, 1934, the Commissioner sent out a circular based on input from anthropologists, friends of Indians and his own personal experience with Native Americans entitled “Indian Self Government.” It announced plans to reorganize the BIA and alter the Dawes allotment program by transferring individual control of allotted lands to a central tribal organization. In return, individual Indians would receive “a proportionate interest in the entire land holdings of the community.” This

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<sup>44</sup> Collier, *The Indians of the Americas*, 15, 169.

<sup>45</sup> Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 137.

<sup>46</sup> Collier, *The Indians of the Americas*, 15.

Circular also requested that tribal counsels gather to discuss Collier's alternative to the Dawes program and plans for expanding their powers of self-government powers.<sup>47</sup>

Despite strong Indian opposition, Collier sponsored legislation in the middle of February 1934 that Representative Edgar Howard of Nebraska, and Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, introduced in Congress. This bill rejected the Indian Bureau practice of "direct rule," for a form of "indirect rule" that envisioned tribal institutions as vehicles "for progressive social change." Provisions in the bill called for the creation of incorporated tribal governments with municipal powers, a controversial Federal Court of Indian Affairs, and reforms intended to rebuild tribal land holdings. Under this bill, the Secretary of the Interior could confiscate restricted allotments, and heirship for tribal use.<sup>48</sup>

The bill faced opposition from many Native Americans. In late January 1934, the KCA tribes met in a general council to discuss Collier's ideas. They quickly concluded that the Commissioner did not understand their advanced state of affairs. The three tribes had a tribal government, which for a number of years had effectively worked with state and federal government officials to their advantage. Furthermore, the Kiowa had not lived on a reservation for more than thirty-five years. Their allotted lands were scattered among non-Indians over an area eighty square miles that encompassed five counties. Content with the status quo, Kiowa leaders feared Collier's

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<sup>47</sup> Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 138.

<sup>48</sup> Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 140, 145, 156.

plan would take away their private land holdings and isolate them from their neighbors. Consequently, they were skeptical of Collier's ideas and asked the commissioner to visit them in Oklahoma "to better acquaint" himself with their situation.<sup>49</sup>

Delos Lone Wolf led opposition to Collier's Indian New Deal.<sup>50</sup> A member and officer in the Society of American Indians, which formed in 1911 to address important issues facing Native Americans, such as health, education, civil rights, and government. Furthermore, Lone Wolf associated with Joseph Bruner and the American Indian Federation (AIF).<sup>51</sup> A successful business executive and full blood member of the Creek tribe, Bruner was on a national crusade to abolish the BIA and defeat the Wheeler-Howard bill. He believed the bill was an "emergency" measure that focused only on landless Indians. Unfortunately, this legislation "increased, not lessened, federal supervision over Indians."<sup>52</sup> More importantly, its stress on tribalism reversed Indian progress in assimilating into mainstream society.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, both Bruner and Lone

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<sup>49</sup> Jasper Saunkeah to Senate and House Committees on Indian Affairs, March 12, 1934, 62, *Native American Legal Material Collection*, Microfiche, 835W4589, Central State University, Edmond Oklahoma. See also, Hand written memorandum from KCA Tribal Council to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW. Also Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-195*, 139.

<sup>50</sup> McCown to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 2, 1940, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>51</sup> *Papers of the Society of American Indians*, Vol. I, editor John W. Lerner, National Historical Publications and Records Commission, Juniata College, Wilmington Del, Scholarly Resources, 1986. See also, Laurence M. Hauptman, "The American Indian Federation and the Indian New Deal: A Reinterpretation," *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 52, No. 4. (Nov., 1983), 378-402, 383. JSTOR [Accessed March 14, 2007].

<sup>52</sup> Hauptman, "The American Indian Federation and the Indian New Deal," 390-391.

<sup>53</sup> Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954*, 171-172.

Wolf championed the right to tribal self-expression and the preservation of beneficial tribal traditions, which did not encumber the modernity they had come to appreciate.<sup>54</sup>

In response to that opposition, Collier and BIA officials met with various tribes in series of nationwide meetings called “Indian Congresses” to promote support for a new approach to Indian affairs. To the Commissioner’s bewilderment, those meetings revealed that by 1934, the Kiowa and many other Native Americans had adjusted well to land allotments.<sup>55</sup> They valued private property, Euro-American social relationships and individual self-sufficiency.

On March 20, 1934, Kiowa Agency delegates met with other Western Oklahoma tribal representatives at Anadarko, Oklahoma. Aware of the KCA tribes’ opposition to the Wheeler-Howard Bill, Collier spent most of the morning criticizing the land allotment system and promoting positive aspects of the Wheeler-Howard Bill. This included provisions to obtain “more land to supply landless Indians,” and the revocation of the power of the President or the Secretary of the Interior to remove the trust over tribal property.<sup>56</sup> Various tribal representatives asked if they would be forced to come under the new bill. In response, Collier promised freedom to maintain the status

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<sup>54</sup> Wayne Sampson, “Joseph Bruner.” <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=5722862> [Accessed May 15, 2007].

<sup>55</sup> Vine Deloria, Jr., *The Indian Reorganization Act: Congresses and Bills*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), viii.

<sup>56</sup> Deloria, *The Indian Reorganization Act*, 261-262.

quo.<sup>57</sup> Then he addressed issues that particularly troubled Lone Wolf Republicans. He noted that there was no plan to take lands belonging to individual Indians and making it communal tribal property against the will of the owners. In the afternoon session, the Commissioner went through each section of the bill and explained the impact it would have on the KCA tribes. Finally, he ended his presentation in the late afternoon by saying again that no tribe would be forced to accept the provisions of the Wheeler-Howard bill. He left it up to individual tribes to decide whether they would come under the new bill.<sup>58</sup>

Collier then placed Dr. Henry Roe Cloud, head of Haskell Institute, in charge of a question and answer period. Morris Bedoka, a Kiowa Agency Indian, then asked pertinent questions about individual rights related to tribal corporation failure, condemnation proceedings, and private mineral assets. Bedoka also asked about membership in cooperative marketing associations and the jurisdiction of tribal courts.<sup>59</sup> Following those questions, Roe Cloud and Collier spent the rest of the afternoon again talking about the benefits of New Deal reforms such as Indian preferential employment at the BIA, education scholarships, activities and benefits of the Indian Conservation Corps, and the jurisdiction of the proposed Indian Court.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Meeting of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hon. John Collier with the Indians of Western Oklahoma at Anadarko, March 20, 1934, Deloria, *The Indian Reorganization Act*, 258—293, 268.

<sup>58</sup> Meeting, March 20, 1934, Deloria, *The Indian Reorganization Act*, 270.

<sup>59</sup> Meeting, March 20, 1934, Deloria, *The Indian Reorganization Act*, 270, 271-272.

<sup>60</sup> Meeting, March 20, 1934, Deloria, *The Indian Reorganization Act*, 270., 285.

Later that evening, Jasper Saunkeah told Collier that the Kiowas opposed to the Wheeler-Howard bill because they did not want to “re-establish reservations that had been dismantled for almost fifty years.”<sup>61</sup> Collier’s idea of returning allotted lands to tribal control as communal property challenged transatlantic land tenure. This land confiscation, as the Kiowa saw it, would have ended their heirship rights to pass family estates on to their children. Comanche James Otippoby supported Saunkeah by emphasizing that, “we love our allotments and we value them and we want to hold to them.”<sup>62</sup> When the Anadarko meeting was over, Collier had found “no wide spread demand” by Western Oklahoma Indians to relinquish their land allotments. They “favored the policy of assimilation” because transatlantic land tenure had led to self-sufficiency via lease and farming revenues and personal pride in land ownership.<sup>63</sup>

Furthermore, Collier’s belief that Native American communities should be “different from the surrounding, non-Indian society,” was an affront to leaders such as Lone Wolf and Robert Coffey who had grown to appreciate relationships with their

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<sup>61</sup> Meeting, March 20, 1934, Deloria, *The Indian Reorganization Act*, 270, 285. See also Kenneth R. Philp, “Oklahoma Indian Reform in Crisis: John Collier & the Thomas-Rogers Act,” *Hard Times in Oklahoma, The Depression Years*, Edited by Kenneth D. Hendrickson, Jr., (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1983), 167.

<sup>62</sup> Meeting, March 20, 1934, Deloria, *The Indian Reorganization Act*, 285.

<sup>63</sup> See chapter 5; Oklahoma Indians: Kiowa, Comanches, Kiowa Apaches, Wichitas, Caddos, Kaw and Otoe Indians. See Philp, *John Collier’s Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954*, 240.

white neighbors.<sup>64</sup> Comanche James Otippoby complained that Collier's idea of "community life," was more like being "segregated" from mainstream society.<sup>65</sup>

Two weeks before the Anadarko Congress, the Kiowa had met in general council and rejected Collier's tribal alternative to assimilation.<sup>66</sup> They then sent Lone Wolf, Chairman of the KCA Business Committee, to Washington D. C. to explain why the Kiowa Agency Tribes opposed the Wheeler-Howard Bill.<sup>67</sup> In response, Oklahoma Senator Thomas who headed the Senate Committee on Indians Affairs gave a letter to Lone Wolf that stated he planned to exclude "Oklahoma Indians" from problematic provisions of the Wheeler-Howard bill.

Senator Thomas disagreed with Collier's idyllic plans to encourage Oklahoma Indians to "revert to their ancient ways of life."<sup>68</sup> He disliked Section 2 of the Wheeler bill because it created a problem for Kiowa who had received or hoped to receive trust fees. Another problem was Section 4, which prohibited the sale of restricted lands. The Kiowa and other Oklahoma Indians did not want to loose their private rights to sell

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<sup>64</sup> Rusco, *A Fateful Time*, 135.

<sup>65</sup> Meeting, March 20, 1934, Deloria, *The Indian Reorganization Act*, 286.

<sup>66</sup> "Minutes of Kiowa Council, Called for the purpose of disusing the bills S-2755 and HR 7902 sponsored by Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier." Native American Legal Materials Collection, Microfiche 83504589, Central State University Library, Edmond, Ok, 59.

<sup>67</sup> Resolution of the Comanche and Apache Tribal Council, May 7, 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, 6-19-47, NARAFW.

<sup>68</sup> Elmer Thomas to Walter B. McCown, Superintendent, Oct. 16, 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

those lands.<sup>69</sup> Thomas also believed that Section 7, which gave the Secretary of Interior power to proclaim new reservations and Section 16 permitted the incorporation of separate tribes on the same reservation, did not apply to western Oklahoma Indians. Finally, Section 18, which required an election to decide whether to accept or reject the IRA, was redundant if a tribe was excluded from most provisions of the legislation.<sup>70</sup> Senator Thomas reassured the Kiowa that their “property” would be safe. This included funds from leases, personal IMF accounts from private oil and farming leases, as well as royalties received from those lands.<sup>71</sup>

Thomas also told the KCA tribes that they would get all of the “benefits of the legislation” but would not be “required to suffer from any of its objectionable features” such as possible confiscation of private property.<sup>72</sup> He then promised to meet with Native American constituents before approving any legislation that dramatically affected their lives.<sup>73</sup> Subsequently, he amended Collier’s bill by adding section 13,

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<sup>69</sup>Proceedings of Meeting by Senator Elmer Thomas and Mr. A.C. Monohan with Indians of the Kiowa Reservation relative to the Wheeler-Howard Law at Anadarko, Oklahoma, October 23, 1934, 1. Elmer Thomas Collection, Box 9, Folder A-74, 4, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma, Monnet Hall, University of Oklahoma 11. (Hereafter: Elmer Thomas Collection).

<sup>70</sup> Proceedings of Meeting by Senator Elmer Thomas and Mr. A.C. Monohan with Indians of the Kiowa Reservation relative to the Wheeler-Howard Law at Anadarko, Oklahoma, October 23, 1934, 1. Box 9, Folder A-74, 4, Elmer Thomas Collection.

<sup>71</sup> Minutes of Meeting, Council of the Kiowa Indians, June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, 6-19-47, NARAFW.

<sup>72</sup> Minutes of Meeting, Council of the Kiowa Indians, June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, 6-19-47, NARAFW.

<sup>73</sup> Proceedings of Meeting by Senator Elmer Thomas and Mr. A.C. Monohan with Indians of the Kiowa Reservation relative to the Wheeler-Howard Law at Anadarko, Oklahoma, October 23, 1934, 1. Box 9, Folder A-74, 4. Elmer Thomas Collection,



which exempted Oklahoma Indians from controversial sections of this proposed legislation. Nevertheless, the Kiowa did come under other provisions such as the extension of trust restrictions, tribal ownership of surplus lands, and preference hiring for government jobs in Indian Service.<sup>74</sup>

A rewritten Wheeler-Howard Act passed Congress on June 16, 1934.<sup>75</sup> Signed into law by President Roosevelt on June 18, 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) included four main provisions. First, it ended the allotment system and returned remaining surplus lands to tribal control. It also continued the trust system for many allotted lands indefinitely because of uncertainty about the impact of local taxes. Furthermore, tribes were encouraged to engage in self-determination by drafting constitutions for local self-government and adopting business charters to promote economic development. Under these charters, tribes could borrow and lend money as well as purchase or transfer property. Finally, the IRA included funds to consolidate allotted lands or form new reservation boundaries and funds for education.<sup>76</sup>

Thomas met with the Kiowa Indians at Anadarko on October 23, 1934 to discuss the exclusion of Oklahoma Indians from the IRA. This meeting was part of a second

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<sup>73</sup>Proceedings, October 23, 1934, 1. Elmer Thomas Collection, Box 9, Folder A-74, 4, Elmer Thomas Collection.

<sup>74</sup> Proceedings, October 23, 1934, 1. Elmer Thomas Collection, Box 9, Folder A-74, 6. Elmer Thomas Collection.

<sup>75</sup> Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 156.

<sup>76</sup> "The Howard-Wheeler Bill," *The Indian Reorganization Act, Congresses and Bills*, ed. Deloria., xi-xvi.

series of Indian Congresses to discuss new legislation that the Senator hoped would meet the particular needs of Oklahoma Indians.<sup>77</sup> At this Indian Congress, A. C. Monahan, a Regional Coordinator, from Oklahoma City represented the BIA.<sup>78</sup>

Lone Wolf, spoke for the Kiowa.<sup>79</sup> He stated that they were “strongly against” Collier’s Indian New Deal because its provisions were “about 60 years behind the times as far as the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians were concerned.” His experience with assimilation to Euro-American ways was foremost in his mind. Lone Wolf testified that the Kiowas enjoyed being citizens of both the nation and the state. He believed it would “not be right and proper to go back” and try to reconstruct their horse-centered transatlantic culture.

Lone Wolf then praised his people for taking on the “ways of the white man,” which had led to “wonderful progress.” He feared that the Senator’s new bill might “undo all that work” they accomplished during the land allotment period. Lone Wolf believed that an old tribal focus in the modern age tended to separate Indians from their responsibilities as citizens. He would rather pay taxes as an American citizen “than be a useless Indian forever” trying to live an outmoded way of life.<sup>80</sup> None of the Kiowa supported, what they thought were Collier’s efforts to turn back the clock. Not even

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<sup>77</sup> Proceedings, October 23, 1934, 1, Box 9, Folder A-74, 2, Elmer Thomas Collection.

<sup>78</sup> Proceedings, October 23, 1934, 1, Box 9, Folder A-74, 1, Elmer Thomas Collection.

<sup>79</sup> Jasper Saunkeah, Resolution adopted by the Kiowa Tribe, May 8, 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>80</sup> Delos K. Lone Wolf, Proceedings, October 23, 1934, 1, Box 9, Folder A-74, 20, Elmer Thomas Collection.

Jasper Saunkeah, the leading Kiowa Democrat activist supported the proposed legislation because the transatlantic right of private property had become an essential component to Kiowa identity and self-sufficiency.

Robert Coffey, a Comanche delegate, also registered his opposition “to the consolidation of Indian lands and the establishment of reservations.” Since the KCA tribes already had a reimbursable loan fund open to individuals, he thought the subsequent Thomas initiative should not only include loan provisions for organized tribal communities, but also individuals.<sup>81</sup> Thomas responded to these concerns by amending the final version of the Oklahoma Welfare Act to include provisions for individual loans.

John Loco, a Mescalero Apache representative, supported Lone Wolf, Saunkeah and Coffey in opposing Collier’s tribal alternative to assimilation. For years, they had been taught to reside near Euro-Americans, and follow their occupational patterns. He was confused; why then did the government want them to “go back” to what he felt was tantamount to a segregated life.<sup>82</sup> Out of the “hundreds of Indians”, Senator Thomas talked with during these Oklahoma meetings, only two elder Seminoles actually “wanted to give up their allotments, leave their homes and go back to a reservation.”<sup>83</sup> The ability to raise subsistence foods as well as lease money during the Great

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<sup>81</sup> Collier to W. B. McCown, Feb 6, 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>82</sup> Proceedings, October 23, 1934, 1, Box 9, Folder A-74, 25, Elmer Thomas Collection.

<sup>83</sup> Proceedings, October 23, 1934, 1, Box 9, Folder A-74, 5, Elmer Thomas Collection.

Depression further tied the Kiowa to their lands. They, as well as many other allotted Indians in Oklahoma were not only content with their allotments, they prized them as private possessions.

Following that meeting, in April 1934, the Business Committee began working on a modification of its constitution to clarify methods of elections and the makeup of the committee in an attempt to strengthen their tribal organization outside of the Oklahoma Welfare Act. On October 2, 1935, the tribes approved those modifications.<sup>84</sup> The superintendent then forwarded this amended constitution to Washington for BIA approval.<sup>85</sup>

Aware of KCA fears and concerns about land tenure, Senator Thomas and Congressman Will Rogers, Chairman of the House Indian Affairs Committee, worked with Collier to draft new legislation. Known as the Oklahoma Welfare Act, it became law on June 26, 1936.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, many Kiowa continued to believe that legislation promoted tribal, rather than individual rights. For example, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to acquire lands for Oklahoma tribes “in proportion to the respective needs” of tribes or individuals including restricted lands. It recognized that tribes or

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<sup>84</sup> Superintendent, Kiowa Agency, Memorandum to Tribal Business Committee, April 13, 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, 6-19-47, NARAFW. See also Forrest D. Monahan, Jr. “Constitutions for the Indians: Trial and Tribulations for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache,” *Hard Times in Oklahoma*, ed. Hendrickson, 179.

<sup>85</sup> William Zimmerman, Jr. Acting Commissioner, to McCown, June 10, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>86</sup> The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act (Public—No. 816—74<sup>th</sup> Congress, S. 2047). See also <sup>86</sup> Kenneth R. Philp, “Oklahoma Indian Reform in Crisis: John Collier & the Thomas-Rogers Act,” *Hard Times in Oklahoma*, ed Hendrickson, 162-163.

bands in Oklahoma had the right to organize with constitutions and by-laws approved by the BIA. Tribes also could draft charters of incorporation for communal activities. Then, ten or more Indians, on tribal rolls, could form credit associations. Although individual Indians were authorized to obtain loans from a \$2,000,000 federal fund, the focus was enabling communal actions in credit associations. In addition, certain funds from the IRA were also available to Oklahoma tribes. Finally, this law ordered the Secretary of the Interior to set forth rules and regulations necessary for carrying out its provisions.<sup>87</sup> Consequently, the Kiowa saw the Oklahoma Welfare Act as a veiled threat to their Euro-American individual property rights and land tenure as well as their rights as citizens to self-determination.

Partisan politics also played a role in Kiowa rebuff of Collier's tribal alternative to assimilation. Comanche Albert Attocknie, a Democrat, recalled that during heated national election campaigns, tribal committee members tended to focus on party agendas, rather than tribal priorities.<sup>88</sup> Democrats wanted the Kiowa to support their party's initiatives, while the Republicans found it easy to reject them. KCA Field Agent Ben Dwight wrote that among some Kiowa Indians there was a "political antipathy to anything sponsored" by the Roosevelt administration.<sup>89</sup> Saunkeah Democrats,

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<sup>87</sup> *The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act*, (Public—No. 816, 74<sup>th</sup> Congress, S. 2047). Approved June 26, 1936.

<sup>88</sup> Albert Attocknie to Hon. Will Rogers, Feb 18, 1937, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>89</sup> Ben Dwight to Mr. Monahan, Jan 27, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

encouraged by national party successes, enjoyed increasing tribal support, but faced continued challenges from Lone Wolf Republicans.

After the Oklahoma Act passed, Lone Wolf worked with many older traditional minded Kiowa who did not trust what they called Saunkeah's "trickery," "steam rolling" and "false information" spread by Democrats.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, a number of Kiowa still harbored general "ill feeling against the Government" because of perceived "mistreatments in the past." Chairman of the Business Committee Lone Wolf capitalized on those fears and Republican loyalties to oppose Kiowa participation in the Oklahoma Welfare Act.<sup>91</sup>

Disappointed by Lone Wolf's obstructionism, Senator Jed Johnson, Democrat from Oklahoma, asked the Commissioner, in December 1937, to give Superintendent McCown "authority to handle the affairs of these Indians without an interference on the part of the members" of the Republican led Business Committee. Collier categorically denied Johnson's proposal by responding, "over a period of years we have recognized this council and its authority to speak for the Indians in certain matters." The Commissioner stood by the Republican focused Business Committee to remain

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<sup>90</sup> Ben Dwight to Monahan, January 27, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW. See also Apekaum, 127-128.

<sup>91</sup> Albert Attocknie to Hon. Will Rogers, Feb 18, 1937, See also Memorandum to Mr. Monahan, by Ben Dwight, Jan 27, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

consistent with his “policy” of self-determination as set forth in the IRA and Oklahoma Welfare Act.<sup>92</sup>

Tribal attorney Edward Hirsh saw Kiowa reactions in a partisan context. He wrote to Senator Thomas in February 1937, that Lone Wolf’s Republicans were trying to get a new constitution and by-laws approved by the BIA so newly elected Business Committee officers, with Lone Wolf at the helm, would serve four year, rather than two-year terms.<sup>93</sup> Consequently, Hirsh asked Thomas to make sure that document remained on hold.<sup>94</sup> Collier agreed with that recommendation.<sup>95</sup>

The commissioner then initiated a measure to terminate the Republican led KCA Business Committee to curb the influence of Lone Wolf and other Republican tribal leaders. In January 1937, the Commissioner and BIA officials spent the remainder of the year trying to convince the Kiowa, and other Indians to divide into separate tribal organizations.<sup>96</sup> On January 27, 1938, the three tribes voted to “submit separate tribal

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<sup>92</sup> COIA Collier to Hon. Jed Johnson, Jan 5, 1937, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, 6-19-47, NARAFW.

<sup>93</sup> Article III, Section 1, hand written changes to 1932 document, 1935, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>94</sup> Edward Hirsh to Hon. Elmer E. Thomas, Feb. 5, 1937, Elmer Thomas Collection, Box 9, Folder A-70, 2, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma, Monnet Hall, University of Oklahoma.

<sup>95</sup> William Zimmerman, Jr. Acting Commissioner, to McCown, June 10, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>96</sup> John Collier to Hon. Jed Johnson, Jan. 5, 1937, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, 6-19-47, NARAFW.

Constitutions for the respective tribes.”<sup>97</sup> Saunkeah Democrats looked positively at this initiative, while Lone Wolf Republicans were still apprehensive that Collier intended to “dispossess them of their lands and compromise their proprieties.” This deep-seated mistrust convinced the majority of the tribes to reassess their earlier vote and reject separate constitutions.<sup>98</sup> Lone Wolf was not against separate organizations. He did, however oppose New Deal officials who used constitutional law to change individual Indian land tenure and place it under tribal control.<sup>99</sup>

While Collier, Monahan and McCown worked to prevent the three tribes from organizing outside of the Oklahoma Welfare Act, the idea of an autonomous KCA tribal organization found new support.<sup>100</sup> McCown had reported in 1937 that the KCA tribes had no tribal government because the Oklahoma Welfare Act had invalidated the old Business Committee. Acting Solicitor General Frederick Kirgis wrote to Commissioner Collier that McCown was wrong. The BIA never approved the 1935 Constitution, which set forth limitations. Consequently, the last elected representatives of the

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<sup>97</sup> Dwight to Monahan, Jan 27, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>98</sup> Dwight to Monahan, Jan 27, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, 6-19-47, NARAFW.

<sup>99</sup> Lone Wolf attempted to get a Kiowa Business Committee set up in late April, 1938, but was opposed by Saunkeah Democrats. See April 23, 1938 meeting of the Kiowa Tribes, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, 6-19-47, NARAFW.

<sup>100</sup> Superintendent McCown to D.K. Lone Wolf, Jan. 8, 1938; Monahan to COIA Collier, Feb 3, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.



Business Committee were legally still in “continuation” since the 1932 approved Constitution did not set forth terms of office.<sup>101</sup>

Persistent in their efforts to promote self-determination, representatives from the three tribes traveled to Washington in June 1938 to convince the Commissioner to approve a tribal organization outside of New Deal legislation. Since they had “refused to organize under the so-called Thomas-Rogers Act,” delegates asked if their previous Business Committee organization was still in effect and if they could continue to operate under their old Constitution.<sup>102</sup>

Assistant Commissioner Zimmerman told Lone Wolf that the tribes would have to come up with a constitution approved by the BIA.<sup>103</sup> Zimmerman’s action was consistent with an earlier decision by Solicitor Felix Cohen who agreed that the government could not object to the establishment of “unofficial Indian organizations,” but if the KCA tribes wanted “legal authority” to represent the tribes, they would have to follow procedures established by the Oklahoma Welfare Act.<sup>104</sup>

The following December, after receiving permission from Superintendent McCown, representatives from the Kiowa, Comanche and Kiowa Apache tribes met at

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<sup>101</sup> Frederick L. Kirgis, Acting Solicitor, to COIA Collier, March 9, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>102</sup> Delos K. Lone Wolf and Felix Koweno to COIA Collier, June 4, 1938. RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>103</sup> Zimmerman to Delos K. Lone Wolf & Felix Koweno, June 10, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>104</sup> Felix Cohen, Assistant Solicitor, memorandum concerning establishing “Indian organizations.” January 9, 1936, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

Fort Sill Indian School to form a permanent tribal organization that met the requirements of federal law. They were required to officially indicate whether or not they desired to organize under the Oklahoma Welfare Act. In response, the tribes reiterated again that they wanted “to have an organization which would be recognized by the Commissioner and the Indian Bureau,” but did not want it under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. Finally, on October 10, 1940, the KCA tribes approved a constitution that gave them “legal authority” for the transaction of tribal business.<sup>105</sup>

While they labored to reinstate their 1932 constitution, the Kiowa also pressed long-standing claims against the government. This represented a pivotal episode where their special trust relationship with the government took on new meaning. Kiowa claims against the government began with the Lone Wolf suit in 1901 that ended with the Supreme Court decision that established the doctrine of the plenary power of Congress over Native Americans. Then, in 1921, Kiowa delegations traveled to the nation’s capital where they hired an attorney to represent their riparian claims for oil revenues. Superintendent Buntin gave credit to the Business Committee for handling

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<sup>105</sup>Special Meeting, October 10, 1940, Motion made by K. D. Lone Wolf approved by unanimous vote, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW. See also Ben Dwight to Monahan, January 27, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

“nearly all of its business in connection with the Red River Claim.”<sup>106</sup> Those efforts led to the establishment of the Red River Trust Fund on June 12, 1926.<sup>107</sup>

In light of that success, Lone Wolf initiated another important claims action two months later. At a general council meeting, he recommended that the tribes establish a “special committee” to consider a lawsuit against the government for claims related to the 1892 Jerome agreements. The tribes were forced to accept those accords, which were later changed by congress without KCA tribal consent.<sup>108</sup> During the next five years, the KCA tribes continued to pursue a claims settlement before a federal Court of Claims.<sup>109</sup> Each tribe had to obtain special jurisdiction from Congress to present its claims because courts had consistently held that the United States government, as a sovereign entity, was immune to law suit. The only remedy for historic wrongs required Congressional approval for the Kiowa to sue the federal government.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> J. A. Buntin to Elmer Thomas, Jan. 7, 1926, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>107</sup> Council of KCA tribes, May 16, 1921, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW. See also Public Resolution: No 36-69<sup>th</sup> Congress [S. J. Res. 71].

<sup>108</sup> Minutes of the General Council of the KCA Tribes, August 15, 1927. RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>109</sup> Superintendent J. A. Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 2, 1932, Also Superintendent to Commissioner, Dec. 6, 1932; RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>110</sup> Act of March 3, 1863, U. S. Stat. at L. 765, 767; 28 U. S. Code par. 1502. See also Thomas Le Duc, “The Work of the Indian Claims Commission under the Act of 1946,” *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 26, No. 1., (Feb., 1957) 1-16, 1-2. JSTOR [Accessed May 28, 2007]

In 1934, the KCA tribes asked Congress to authorize \$10,000 of their own tribal funds to pay expenses to initiate that legal action.<sup>111</sup> Congress approved the funding request in June of that year.<sup>112</sup> The first order of business was to hire an attorney to represent the tribes.<sup>113</sup> Saunkeah and members of the Comanche and Apache tribes wanted Attorneys Edward Hirsh and his son Leon who resided in Oklahoma City.<sup>114</sup> Lone Wolf and other Kiowa Republicans, on the other hand, wanted a lawyer less politically allied with Democrats. The tribes considered nine law firms at a general council meeting. On November 19, 1934, Lone Wolf lost his battle for a more independent counsel when 177 voters out of 205 chose the Hirsh firm.<sup>115</sup>

Hirsh was convinced that the KCA claim would be of historic significance.<sup>116</sup> He unilaterally worked on a plan for a settlement of claims that circumvented the Bureau of Budget opposition to funding jurisdictional bills before the court.<sup>117</sup> Hirsh

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<sup>111</sup> Superintendent J. A. Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 2, 1932, Also Superintendent to Commissioner, Dec. 6, 1932; RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>112</sup> Public No. 364; 73<sup>rd</sup> Cong, June 16, 1934, McCown to Hamley, telegram, May 9, 1934, and Zimmerman to McCown, Jun 13, 1934, , RG 75, Anadarko Office; see also File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>113</sup> Zimmerman to Superintendent McCown, Jun. 13, 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>114</sup> Zimmerman to Hirsh, June 24, 1936, also, Elmer Thomas to Edward Hirsh, July 24, 1934, also, T. P. Gore to John Collier, July 24, 1934, See also, report of Special Committee, Investigating Qualifications of Attorneys, Sept 28, 1934. RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>115</sup> Superintendent McCown to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nov. 20, 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>116</sup> Hirsh to McCown, Nov. 26, 1934, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>117</sup> Hirsh to Business Committee, April 18, 1935, , Box 9, Folder A-74, 2, Elmer Thomas Collection.

focused on obtaining \$2,332,000 from appropriated funds to purchase lands for landless KCA members. Following the settlement of their claims, the government would end its trust relationship with the Kiowa and they would take their place along side other self-reliant American citizens.<sup>118</sup>

Hirsh totally misconstrued Kiowa aspirations. He assumed from their responses to Collier's tribal alternative to assimilation that they were ready to discontinue what he called "governmental dole" and "excessive government supervision."<sup>119</sup> To his astonishment, most Kiowa did not like idea of "land instead of a cash settlement."<sup>120</sup> Land options were too similar to Collier's tribal alternative initiatives. Many Kiowa worried the government would take some of their land, and give it to landless Indians.<sup>121</sup> The Kiowa also opposed the termination of their federal trust because they began to see more clearly the benefits of their special relationship with the government. They were not ready to surrender their unique legal position, which freed them from the burden of paying property taxes. They also had grown to appreciate government schools where they enjoyed an Indian focus on education, and had become more aware of

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<sup>118</sup> Hirsh to McCown, March 7, 1935, RG 75, Seen enclosure "Proposed Settlement," Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>119</sup> Hirsh to W. B. McCown, March 7, 1935, RG 75, Seen enclosure "Proposed Settlement," Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>120</sup> Superintendent to Commissioner, April 2, 1935, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>121</sup> Hirsh to W. B. McCown, Box 9, Folder A-74, 2, Elmer Thomas Collection.

benefits related to tribal treaty rights. Furthermore, they appreciated federal assistance in job placement.

Consequently, KCA leaders sent wires to Congress that criticized Hirsh's plan. He responded by asking the tribes to present a united front in order to be successful with their claims adjudication.<sup>122</sup> Unfortunately, Hirsh contradicted his own advice when he worked closely with Saunkeah, but refused any association with Lone Wolf, whom he referred to despairingly in private communications with Senator Thomas.<sup>123</sup> KCA opposition to this partisan approach to claims forced Hirsh to give up plans to work outside of the Claims Court. In 1937, the Senate passed a Kiowa jurisdictional bill, but the House failed to approve that legislation.<sup>124</sup> Subsequently, two more jurisdictional bills were introduced, but never acted upon because of tribal factional fighting.<sup>125</sup>

Lone Wolf led opposition in 1938 during the claims controversy because of provisions in Senate Bill 149, and House Bill 3901, that conflicted with his individualistic values. He disliked the provision that the government could use funds recovered from claims to purchase property for landless Indians. He also did not like offset practices where the government could subtract monies from claims awards to pay

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<sup>122</sup> Hirsh to Business Committee, April 18, 1935, , Box 9, Folder A-74, 2, Elmer Thomas Collection.

<sup>123</sup> Hirsh to Elmer Thomas, Feb. 5, 1937, Box 9, Folder A-74, 2, Elmer Thomas Collection . See also, Hirsh to Elmer Thomas, Feb 6, 1937, Box 9, Folder A-74, 2, Elmer Thomas Collection.

<sup>124</sup> Memorandum for Mr. McCown, Jan. 30, 1937, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>125</sup> Thomas to Hirsh, February 25, 1937, , Box 9, Folder A-74, 2, Elmer Thomas Collection

previous expenses for Indian services.<sup>126</sup> Furthermore, Lone Wolf and other Individual Kiowa had learned through years of dealing with the United States government the often-disappointing outcomes of Congressional legislation. Consequently, the Kiowa rejected the Hirsh land plan.<sup>127</sup>

Senator Thomas doubted that any jurisdictional bill would pass Congress without those features.<sup>128</sup> Saunkeah's Democrats along with Comanche Albert Attocknie sided with Thomas and favored a Senate claims bill with the two controversial provisions.<sup>129</sup> At a council meeting with Hirsh at Fort Sill School, March 26, 1938, Saunkeah Democrats drafted a resolution that the tribes support the Senate Bill with the offset and land provisions. Nevertheless, the resolution did not pass because Lone Wolf had convinced the majority of the Indians that this bill threatened their individual rights.<sup>130</sup>

Kiowa Democrat Luther Brace called the failure of the resolution a "cheap political" trick that kept them from "constructive" action. He complained that "older

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<sup>126</sup> McGown to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 12, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>127</sup> Monahan to Zimmerman, March 29, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW

<sup>128</sup> Meeting of the KCA Business Committee, Mar. 1, 1937. RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>129</sup> Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 12, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>130</sup> Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 20, 1938, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

and non-educated Indians” had no understanding of the issues.<sup>131</sup> Nonetheless, the Kiowa rejection of the tribal resolution reflected the complexity of generational change. The “older and non-educated” Kiowa supported Lone Wolf based on values that echoed from transatlantic influences, which had separated them from their horse-centered ancestors.

Nonetheless, at the same time, a new generation of young Kiowa Democrats was forming a cultural synthesis based on different educational and socio-economic experiences. That generation came of age during the Second World War. The magnitude of that conflict overshadowed the influence of New Deal programs. According to Army historian Thomas Morgan, “the war caused the greatest change in Indian life since the beginning of the reservation era.”<sup>132</sup>

During this historic transatlantic event, the Kiowa historic warrior identity reemerged. Kiowas supported the war against totalitarian governments that threatened their land and the American flag. Annual enlistments for Native Americans increased from 7,500 in the summer of 1942 to 22,000 by the beginning of 1945. The Selective service reported in 1942, that 99 percent of all eligible Indians, aged 21 to 44, had registered for the draft.<sup>133</sup> Dorothy White Horse remembered seeing Blue Stars

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<sup>131</sup> Luther Brace to W., B. McCown, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.

<sup>132</sup> Thomas D. Morgan, “Native Americans in world War II,” *Army History, The Professional Bulletin of Army History*, No. 35, (Fall 1995), 22-27. [http://www.shsu.edu/~his\\_ncp/NAWWII.html](http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/NAWWII.html) [Accessed October 8, 2007].

<sup>133</sup> American Indians in World War II, <http://www.defenselink.mil/specials/nativeamerican01/wwii.html>, [Accessed September 16, 2007].



everywhere in the windows of the small Kiowa homes where she lived during the war.<sup>134</sup> Members of the tribe fought around the globe. For example, Marine, Louis Toyebo, fought on Iwo Jima in the Pacific where he witnessed the famous flag raising over Mount Suribachi, on February 23, 1945.<sup>135</sup> Kiowa Chester Silverhorn, serving with the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne Division, participated in the D-Day, June 6, 1944, invasion of France. Later, he fought in the historic December 1944 Battle of the Bulge, the last German offensive in the war. Dixon Palmer served with the 45<sup>th</sup> Army Division in Italy, while his brother, Wilson Palmer, fought in the Battle of Tarawa, during November 1943. Then, another brother, Gus Palmer, flew 22 missions over Europe as a waist gunner in a B-17.<sup>136</sup>

The war united all Kiowa. They patriotically supported the United States and its banner. The perilous nature of that transatlantic undertaking bolstered the Kiowa spiritual ethos. Dorothy White Horse remembered watching busloads of Indian volunteers leaving Anadarko for induction centers and later to unknown places all over the globe. Prior to those departures, the Kiowa held honor dances for their warriors servicemen. For instance, during the summer of 1944, Kiowa Lyndreth Leon Palmer, along with others, were honored in a war dance near Clinton, Oklahoma. During a

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<sup>134</sup> Dorothy White Horse, Kiowa Story Teller/Historian telephone interview with author, September 19, 2007.

<sup>135</sup> Kiowa Veterans Day Celebration, T-641, 2, DDCOU.

<sup>136</sup> Journey of a Lifetime, *Southern Living*, <http://www.southernliving.com/southern/printerfriendly/0,14260,1551036,00.html>, [Accessed September 22, 2007].

victory dance, Lyndreth sang, “Listen you people, I am going over the ocean, I am stingy for my land and my flag, which I will defend with my life.”<sup>137</sup>

Lyndreth eventually joined Headquarters Company, of the 21<sup>st</sup> Tank Battalion, attached to the 10<sup>th</sup> Armored Division. After arriving in France in late September, the Battalion entered combat for the first time on November 1, near Mars-la-Tour to support the 20<sup>th</sup> Corps, assigned to General George Patton’s Third Army. The Third Army soon attacked the ancient forts at Metz and captured over six-thousand German prisoners.<sup>138</sup> Following that battle, the 10th Armored Division pierced the "Siegfried Line" and led the Third Army into Germany on 19 November 1944.<sup>139</sup> Corporal Palmer, who fought amidst a belt of tank obstacles, barbed wire, pillboxes, and fortified buildings, was killed on 5 December 1944.<sup>140</sup>

Dorothy White Horse recalled hearing news of Lyndreth’s death, and found comfort in her sorrow from traditional values. Her father, a Kiowa elder, immediately sang Santank’s “death song” to honor Corporal Palmer. “*O sun you remain forever, but we Ko-eet-senko must die, O earth you remain forever, but we Ko-eet-senko must*

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<sup>137</sup> Dorothy White Horse, telephone interview by author September 25, 2007.

<sup>138</sup> Francis Trevelyan Miller, *War in Korea and the Complete History of World War II*, (Ann Woodward Miller, 1955), 767.

<sup>139</sup> *10th AD Tigers Missed Credit For Valiant Fight at Bastogne*, from *Armor Magazine*, July-August 1992. Transcribed from *Armor Magazine*, July-August 1992 <http://www.tigerdivision.com/armormagart.html>, [Accessed September 21 2007].

<sup>140</sup> *The Lorraine Campaign*, Combined Arms Research Library, Command and General Staff College, <http://www-cgsc.army.mil/carl/resources/csi/gabel3/gabel3.asp>, [Accessed September 20, 2007].

die.”<sup>141</sup> Grief stricken Dorothy learned first hand how traditional Kiowa practices helped heal the pains of bereavement.

Kiowa parents of service members composed songs about the hardships and battles being fought by their sons<sup>142</sup> They prayed that the Great Spirit would return them safely to their homes. In addition, a War Mothers’ chapter was organized to encourage support for the war and to honor their sons and daughters. Later, songs composed by veterans like Louis Toyebo, and others, were used at various dances and meetings. These songs helped them connect with loved ones and their historic cultural identity.<sup>143</sup>

The war also reshaped the daily life of many Kiowa. It greatly increased opportunities for jobs away from reservation communities. Approximately 40,000 Indian men and women, between 18 and 50 years old, left reservations to find jobs in the American defense industry during the war.<sup>144</sup> Many Indian women worked in war plants as riveters, inspectors, sheet metal workers and machinists.<sup>145</sup> Kiowa and other Indians trained for these jobs in government schools such as Chilocco, Haskell and

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<sup>141</sup> Nye, Carbine & Lance, 144, 36 note footnote 4, The *Ko-eet-senko* was a warrior society of the Kiowa, made up of the ten bravest warriors.

<sup>142</sup> Lassiter, *The Power of Kiowa Song*, 5.

<sup>143</sup> Kiowa Veterans Day Celebration, T-641, 2, DDCOU.

<sup>144</sup> Thomas D. Morgan, “Native Americans in World War II,” *Army History: The Professional Bulletin of Army History*, No. 35 (Fall 1995), 22-27, 25. <http://www.shsu.edu/~his/ncp/NAWWII.html>, [Accessed June 4, 2007].

<sup>145</sup> *Indians in the War, 1941-1945*, (Department of the Navy, Naval Historical Center, Washington, DC 20374-5060, 1945), 49. <http://www.history.navy.mil/library/online/indians.htm> [Accessed October 8, 2007].

other special training programs such as one established during the war in Mangum, Oklahoma. Aircraft companies in Oklahoma City and Tulsa hired Indians who participated in those programs.<sup>146</sup> Boeing, Solar, Douglas and Thompson Aircraft companies all welcomed Kiowa in their shops.<sup>147</sup> For example, Rita Creeping Bear attended the Mangum program where she became a riveter and worked in an aircraft factory.<sup>148</sup> Furthermore, Harriet and Kathleen Doyeto worked as riveters at the Boeing plant in Wichita, Kansas near Tinker Air Base.<sup>149</sup>

World War II also started a migration movement away from Kiowa communities in Oklahoma that disrupted tribal social and economic security they once enjoyed.<sup>150</sup> To overcome this problem, Kiowa, in cities such as Dallas, began to seek out other Indians. These war workers appreciated the economic aspects of city life, but wanted to preserve their Kiowa heritage. Consequently, they carried on traditional practices such as dances and songs with Kiowa and Indians from other tribes.

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<sup>146</sup> Allison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and WWII: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 71-72.

<sup>147</sup> Bernstein, *American Indians WWII*, 74.

<sup>148</sup> Rita Creeping Bear, Interview, Jan 7, 2007, Carnegie Tribal Headquarters.

<sup>149</sup> Dorothy White Horse, September 19, 2007.

<sup>150</sup> Thomas D. Morgan, "Native Americans in World War II," *Army History: The Professional Bulletin of Army History*, No. 35 (Fall 1995), 22-27, 25. [Http://www.shsu.edu/~his\\_nep/NAWWII.html](http://www.shsu.edu/~his_nep/NAWWII.html), Accessed June 4, 2007]. See also Kathleen Miller, *From Reservation to City: The Bureau of Indian Affairs' Relocation Program in Dallas, 1957-1972*, Paper for History 5322, Professor Robert Fairbanks, 10 May 2004, 31.

After the war ended, many Kiowa veterans took advantage of the G.I. Bill of Rights. They received loans to attend schools such as Haskell where they acquired skills to become mechanics, carpenters, bakers, cooks, masons, and printers.<sup>151</sup> Kiowa Veterans also were eligible for low interest loans to buy houses near their jobs or schools.

The Kiowa also honored their veterans by Scalp and Victory dances, with give-aways that further solidified Kiowa traditional practices. For example, Cecil Horse honored his son John, who had been awarded a Bronze Star and Purple Heart for bravery in combat. Horse presented his son with a war bonnet at such a dance where he cooked a whole beef in a give-away for numerous Kiowas in attendance.<sup>152</sup>

Kiowa practices of generosity and hospitality continued after the war, but the form of dances changed. For instance, the Kiowa “War Dance” was adapted from a Pawnee dance, and costumes changed to a generic pan-Indian type.<sup>153</sup> All dancers wore feathers, where in the “old days,” according to Guy Quoetone, “only champion warriors” wore them. Dancers also no longer carried flutes, tomahawks and bows.<sup>154</sup> Nonetheless, these new dances commemorated Kiowa ties to their transatlantic warrior

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<sup>151</sup> Bernstein, *American Indians WWII*, 71-74. See also *Indians in World War II*, Naval Historical Center, 1945, 58.

<sup>152</sup> Cecil Horse, T-25, 20-21. DDCOU.

<sup>153</sup> Guy Quoetone, T-4-12, , 215-220, 215, DDCOU.

<sup>154</sup> Guy Quoetone, T-151-12-13, DDCOU.

horse-centered ethos. They provided Kiowa elders with an opportunity to give meaning to their warrior heritage, helping to forge a new cultural solidarity.

With a focus on winning a global war, Congress threatened that newfound solidarity with termination. The BIA indicated that 25 percent of the total Indian population migrated away from reservations during the war. Support for the war was not the only reason. Many Native Americans were disillusioned with the government's mismanagement of their affairs and departed to cities to survive. Termination had gained credibility "because the Indian New Deal had failed in the critical area of tribal economic development."<sup>155</sup>

The broadening experience of World War II motivated many Native Americans to seek advanced education and training for work in industry. In the process of that experience, they began to push the government to resolve their tribal claims. For instance, the National Congress of American Indians, organized in 1944, focused on historic treaty rights. It pressed Congress to settle tribal claims quickly.<sup>156</sup>

Furthermore, the Kiowa and other acculturated Indian's rejection of the Indian New Deal caused politicians in Washington to conclude that they no longer needed the BIA. Members of a Senate Indian Affairs Committee, such as Senator Thomas, had been critical of the BIA for a number of years. Consequently, while the country focused

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<sup>155</sup> Kenneth R. Philp, "Termination: A Legacy of the Indian New Deal," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 2. (Apr., 1983), 165-180, 174.

<sup>156</sup> Kenneth R. Philp, *Termination Revisited: American Indians on the Trail to "Self-Determination, 1933-1953,"* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 10-13. JSTOR [Accessed November 28, 2006.].

on winning the war, in May 1943, Thomas helped write Senate Report 310. It recommended the abolition of the bureau, and ending government education, health and other social services to Native American communities. The Senate report also called for dismantling the reservation system and terminating the federal trust protection over all Indian lands.<sup>157</sup>

The House Indian Affairs Committee also conducted an investigation to assess “the changed status” of the Indians.<sup>158</sup> Critical of Collier’s programs, the House report concluded that a “communal” approach did not encourage self-sufficiency. It pointed out problems on various crowded reservations, and suggested that a “voluntary migration” to cities would better encourage assimilation and help alleviate Indian poverty.<sup>159</sup> This report, however, did not fully address important issues facing the Kiowa and other allotted tribes.

The Kiowa response to congressional efforts to end the federal trust was revealing. They responded to this threat by reassessing their “special relationship” with the United States government as an important element in their continued tribal

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<sup>157</sup> Report 310, 78<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> ses, *Survey of Conditions Among the Indians of the United States, Analysis of the Statement of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Justification of Appropriations for 1944, and the Liquidation of the Indian Bureau*. RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW, 17.

<sup>158</sup> House Report No. 2091, An Investigating to Determine Whether the Changed Status of the Indian Requires a Revision of the Law and Regulations affecting the American Indian, 78<sup>th</sup> cong. 2<sup>nd</sup> sess, House of Representatives, December 23, 1944, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW. See Also Philp, “Termination,” 166.

<sup>159</sup> House Report No. 2091, An Investigating to Determine Whether the Changed Status, December 23, 1944, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW. 2, 18.

existence.<sup>160</sup> Influenced by Collier's policies, younger Kiowa, led by Luther Brace articulated a Kiowa identity that included a continued trust relationship. This new generation of Kiowa leaders, realized the importance of their unique relationship with the government. Despite their rejections of Indian New Deal, the Kiowa did not want to give up the benefits of their wardship status.

For instance, at a tribal council meeting on September 20, 1944, the Kiowa responded to a Congressional questionnaire. They stated that no government programs at their agency could be reduced or eliminated "without retarding the *progress*" [italics added] of tribal members. The Kiowa desired ongoing government supervision with their money accounts because they wanted to avoid the burden of state taxes and related administrative expenses. Tribal leaders also requested that Indian schools such as Haskell and Chilocco offer regular college courses that included vocational training and upper level academic courses.<sup>161</sup>

While Americans confronted the austerity of the Great Depression and mobilized to fight a global war, the Kiowa exercised their rights as citizens. Kiowa lifestyle by the 1930s had been changed by Euro-American influences. Kiowa responses to the Wheeler Howard Act, Oklahoma Welfare Act, constitutional tribal government, claims lawsuits and termination clearly set them apart from their

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<sup>160</sup> See *Morton v. Mancari*, 417 U.S. 535, 552 (1974), the first Supreme Court case that used the term "special relationship" in reference to the association between the Federal government and Indians.

<sup>161</sup> Luther Brace, Response to the House Committee on Indian Affairs Questionnaire, Investigation, June 10, 1944, Voted as the tribal response at Sept 20, 1944 Kiowa Council Meeting, RG 75, Anadarko Office, File 062, Box 31, Business Council, NARAFW.



nineteenth-century ancestors. Their tribal management during the Great Depression reflected years of interactions with Euro-Americans. Lone Wolf's focus on individualism during the New Deal legislative battles also was a transatlantic influenced outcome. The political infighting between Saunkeah and Lone Wolf was part of contemporary democracy in the United States where citizens took "for granted the centrality of conflict among group interests."<sup>162</sup>

Collier's Indian New Deal, the broadening transatlantic experiences of World War II from the Atlantic to the Pacific, as well as threats of termination led to the development of a new Kiowa cultural identity. The spirit of Collier's reaffirmation of Indian culture during the Indian New Deal encouraged them to reassert elements of tribalism from their earlier horse-centered life.<sup>163</sup> Government affirmation of that ethos also made it easier for elders to share traditional practices with their sons and daughters in patriotic support of the war. On the other hand, migrations of Kiowa to cities to work in war industries accelerated assimilation into the main stream of society. Furthermore, Kiowa veterans returned with an appreciation for their tribal identity, while accepting government assistance from the GI Bill to move to cities to find jobs. As Peter Iverson has argued that during the 1940s and 1950s, "Indians in growing numbers tried to identify and take advantage of their own economic resources and tried to affirm their identities as members of tribes." They rejected "conventional wisdom"

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<sup>162</sup> Rusco, *A Fateful Time*, 60.

<sup>163</sup> William T. Hagan, "Tribalism rejuvenated: The Native American since the Era of Termination," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 1, (Jan., 1981), 4-16, 8. JSTOR [Accessed March 5m 2006].

that education and urban life would make them “less Indian.”<sup>164</sup> The Kiowa experience reflected this mixed outcome. They remained apart from the non-Indian world by placing their horse-centered culture in commemorative perspective. The Kiowa practiced “traditional” rituals and dances to preserve their tribal traditions. They had learned that they could “walk successfully in two worlds.”<sup>165</sup>

Despite John Collier’s failure to consider the impact of assimilation on many tribes, the Indian New Deal allowed allotted tribes like the Kiowa to broadly define and openly practice what they perceived as tribal community. Community had always been a key element to their culture, but due to government assimilative influences, they struggled for a generation to define its bounds. Although that experience brought them to the brink of rejecting community all together, they did not. Instead, they took advantage of the opportunity to redefine their culture, work for a claims settlement, participate in WWII and reaffirm a form of tribal Indian self-determination.

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<sup>164</sup> Peter Iverson, “Building toward Self-Determination: Plains and southwestern Indians in the 1940s and 1950s,” *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Apr., 1985), 163-173, 164. JSTOR [Accessed November 22, 2006].

<sup>165</sup> Morgan, “Native Americans in world War II,” 22-27.

## CHAPTER 7

### EPILOGUE

This study has responded to Bernard Bailyn's challenge to present the realities of motion in history.<sup>1</sup> It uses a transatlantic interpretive framework, to focus on Kiowa reactions to trans-Atlantic-European contact. The narrative has used both Euro-American and Kiowa voices to better understand these interactions. Kiowa outcomes of transatlantic experiences have included both symbiotic as well as outright cultural transformations.

From the days when Paleolithic proto-Kiowa moved across Beringia in search of supplementary food and related subsistence resources, Kiowa people had faced the challenge of new ways of living. On the new continent, Kiowa progeny evolved into small self-sustaining nomadic hunter-gathering family units. There the increased competition for subsistent resources was the catalyst for the evolution of a warrior way of life.

In time, the Kiowa and other Native Americans changed the ecology of the world around them. Enormous grasslands arose from their hunting fire-drives and

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<sup>1</sup> Bailyn, "The Challenge of Modern Historiography," 1-24. Bailyn, *Atlantic History Concept and Contours*, 65.

continued defoliation reshaped the ground “via countless artificial earthworks.”<sup>2</sup> Following thousands of years as hunters and gatherers, they had gleaned an amazing knowledge of botanic plants to supplement their subsistence living and cure a diversity of human ailments.

The transatlantic Columbian Exchange that followed the Spanish discovery of the American continent provoked momentous Kiowa changes. As a practical and rational people, the Kiowa quickly recognized and adapted to new technologies and resources that advanced their welfare. The horse, acquired from the Spanish, proved one of the most significant influences. These animals produced a Kiowa cultural revolution by changing the social and economic structures of their society. The possession of horses became the “new standard” of prosperity. Consequently, Kiowa social classes evolved as horses became vital to Kiowa economics, independence, and their survival in warfare.

The Kiowa social and economic expectations that evolved out of the Columbian Exchange required continued raiding to obtain trade horses. Between 1830 and 1874, the United States government sought safe routes to California, and new lands for Eastern Indians removed by force to the west side of the Mississippi River. During this period, events on the Santa Fe Trail focused national attention on the Kiowa. Raiding on the trail not only exacerbated the tribal relationship with the United States, it resulted

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<sup>2</sup> William M. Denevan, “The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 82, No. 3, “The Americas before and after 1492: Current Geographical Research,” (Sept., 1992), 369-385, 370. JSTOR, [Accessed December 8, 2004].

in restrictive treaties that increasingly limited their mobility. Furthermore, massive transatlantic migrations to North America pushed thousands of settlers to the Great Plains where they destroyed the tribe's natural resources and subsistence systems.

Outnumbered, hungry, and dispossessed from their homelands, the Kiowa became increasingly dependent upon government aid, once their nomadic horse-centered culture ended. Tribal factions responded differently to this momentous development. Some chose peace, while others decided on war. The ensuing Red River conflict in 1874 brought the end of the Kiowa-Comanche dominance on the southern plains. Defeated by the United States Army with superior technologies, the Kiowa could no longer leave their reservation without special permission and military escort. Many who took part in the fighting were confined inside the fortified walls of the Fort Sill horse corral, while key leaders were sent to prison at Fort Marion, Florida. That policy of concentration ended their free nomadic lifestyle. The Federal government then focused on assimilating them into Euro-American culture.

Assimilation was a slow and perplexing process for the Kiowa. They struggled during the reservation period to balance the practices and values of their ancient ethos with transatlantic influences within the limits of their reservation boundaries. Initially, the Kiowa were allowed to hunt buffalo and wild ponies in their old hunting grounds south of the Canadian River and in the Texas Pan-handle. That practice ended by the mid-1880s when Euro-American settlements encircled their reservation. Furthermore, at that time, the BIA began restricting their traditional practices by prohibiting their annual Sun Dance.

During the reservation era, Christian missionaries played an important role in assimilating Kiowa to Euro-American practices as well as religious beliefs. Kiowa ancient beliefs reflected in ceremonial practices revealed deep feelings about mortality and religion. For instance, the ancient Kiowa Ten Medicine bundles beliefs were not unlike Christian guardian angels or protecting saints.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the Kiowa believed in an Earth Maker that continually demonstrated compassion, and guided their daily lives. These beliefs made it easier for Kiowa to affirm similar Christian beliefs. Tribal leaders, such as Lone Tree, Hunting Horse and Big Tree joined Christian churches and many Kiowa followed their example. Missionaries taught Kiowa children to wear Euro-American clothing, and speak English as opposed to Kiowa. Students were also taught how to farm, as well as religious instruction.

Although pressured by missionaries and the BIA officials to become self-sufficient farmers, the Kiowa continued to practice rudiments of their horse-centered culture as they moved about the reservation with their pony herds. While adjusted to reservation life, by the late 1890s, the Kiowa lived completely off government rations and were dependent upon the will of Congress for their survival. Consequently, the federal government decided to allot their lands to compel change. Congress approved the terms from the Jerome meetings in 1889 that set forth so-called understandings that became the basis for allotting KCA Agency lands. Nevertheless, because of coercive and unilateral actions taken by Congress, Kiowa leader Lone Wolf took the allotment

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<sup>3</sup> Nye, *Bad Medicine & Good Tales of the Kiowas*, 49.

issue to the Supreme Court. The decision in the *Lonewolf* case was a huge setback for not only the Kiowa, but also all Native Americans. It established the doctrine of the plenary power of Congress over Indian lands and the power to disregard treaties.

For the Kiowa, the allotment of their lands in 1901 led to disruptive economic and social conditions that destroyed their horse-centered culture. Consequently, children born after allotments faced a cultural identity crisis because they could no longer sustain large herds of ponies with which they moved about their reservation to maintain. Nevertheless, oral histories about their horse-centered transatlantic culture provided a sense of continuity. They salvaged what they could of that ethos by covertly practicing traditional dancing and singing at boarding schools. They also carried on these activities at encampments during special Euro-American holidays such as Christmas and the Fourth of July. This generation of Kiowas lived in houses and used new skills from their Euro-American educational experiences to meet their subsistence needs. Furthermore, they were influenced by Euro-American food, clothing, mass media and entertainment.

Economic survival now demanded new paradigms that often ignored old tribal values. During the late teens and 1920s, a second generation of Kiowa had met the basic objective of government policy by becoming self-sufficient.<sup>4</sup> They accomplished that by using with transatlantic land tenure for subsistent farming, profitable leases to nearby Euro-American farmers, and the sale of minerals, such as oil.

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<sup>4</sup> John D. C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to J. L. Hall, Indian Agent KCW, Mar. 28, 1886. Reel KA 49, Oklahoma Historical Society.

During that period, public school attendance became a common experience for young Kiowa who interacted daily with Euro-American students. Preoccupied with the prevalent economic and social concerns of their times, the new generation of Kiowa paid only passing attention to tribal practices. At that time, the BIA repressed tribal dancing and discouraged give-aways and prevented the use of the Kiowa language in schools. These pressures marginalized traditional practices forming a generational gap between younger and traditionalist Kiowa. Historian Marcus Hansen, who studied the assimilation of European immigrants to the United States, concluded that the second generation of those people tended to play down their ethnic ties.<sup>5</sup>

By the early 1930s, almost all of the Kiowa leaders who had participated in the pre-reservation transatlantic horse-culture had died. Without their influence, Kiowa elders were further marginalized, and unable to share openly their values and cultural practices.

Churches also played a role in discouraging those practices. Each year, many Kiowa camped near churches between Thanksgiving and New Years. They also attended church sponsored retreats and conferences in the summers. Christian teaching at those encampments encouraged Kiowa such as Jasper Saunkeah, the Horse brothers, and Carl Dussome to discard many of their traditional practices. Those meetings also encouraged them to value individual land tenure above tribal ownership.

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<sup>5</sup> Marcus L. Hansen, "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant," Augustana Historical Society, Rock Island, Illinois, 1938, as cited by Eugene I. Bender and George Kagiwada, "Hansen's Law of



The Kiowa response to the Indian New Deal was not surprising if looked at in light of those changes. Following years of acculturation, the challenge of economic self-sufficiency and the inescapable allure of modernity, the Kiowa became dependent on the material influences of the non-Indian world.<sup>6</sup> That second generation of individualistic Kiowa rejected the communal tribal property provisions of the Wheeler Howard, bill and Oklahoma Welfare Act. Instead, they reasserted the benefits of their transatlantic experience.

Nevertheless, the more secure third generation of Kiowa tended to reaffirm their horse-centered ethos.<sup>7</sup> Collier's affirmation of Indian culture during the New Deal allowed Kiowa elders to practice openly traditional dances and songs that reflected their historic horse-centered past. By the early 1940s, World War II gave elders an opportunity to share and teach young service members those dances and songs. This initiated a renaissance of Kiowa traditional practices. These experiences helped the third generation Kiowa integrate their horse-centered heritage into the framework of their modern existence.<sup>8</sup>

They also upheld their cultural existence by rejecting termination and expressing their desire to continue their trust relationship. By 1945, most Kiowa lived

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'Third-Generation Return' and the Study of American Religio-Ethnic Groups," *Phylon* (1960), Vol. 29, No. 4, (4<sup>th</sup> Qtr., 1968), 360-370, 360. JSTOR, [Accessed October 9, 2007].

<sup>6</sup> Rusco, *A Fateful Time*, 57.

<sup>7</sup> Hansen, "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant, 360.

<sup>8</sup> Trudy Heller, "Changing Authority Pattern: A Cultural Perspective," *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 10, No. 3. (Jul., 1985), 488-495, 492. JSTOR, [Accessed October 7, 2007].

successfully in two worlds. They conformed to the norms of the Euro-American culture, yet still remained apart from non-Indians.

World War II also initiated significant changes to Kiowa demography. Many individuals migrated to cities to live near and work in war industries. Furthermore, returning military Kiowa veterans added to that process when they used the GI Bill for educational training and employment. Consequently, tribal membership rolls required new ways of communicating tribal business and allowing voting to members in distant cities.

That process accelerated in the early 1950s under the government's Voluntary Relocation Program. Many Kiowa relocated to cities such as Dallas, Oklahoma City and Tulsa. There, they lived near other Indians from different tribes and cultivated new Pan-Indian identities.<sup>9</sup> Eventually, so many lived away from Kiowa communities in Oklahoma that scores of absentee ballots had to be used for tribal elections.

During the postwar era, Kiowa continued to affirm ideologies of individualism and capitalism. Yet, they maintained their sense of tribalism.<sup>10</sup> They held periodic powwows and Indian dances at fairs in urban areas, as well as back in their

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<sup>9</sup> Kenneth R. Philp, "Stride toward Freedom: The Relocation of Indians to Cities, 1952-1960," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 2. (Apr., 1985), 175-190. 175. JSTOR, [Accessed April 7, 2007]. Kathleen Miller, *From Reservation to City: The Bureau of Indian Affairs Relocation Program in Dallas, 1957-1972*, Paper submitted, 10 May 2004, to Professor Fairbanks, History 5322, University of Texas at Arlington., 10.

<sup>10</sup> Kenneth R. Philp, "Dillon s. Myer and the Advent of Termination: 1950-1953, *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 1, (Jan., 1988), 37-59, 40.

communities in Oklahoma. In 1955, the Gourd Dance Clan was officially organized.<sup>11</sup> It sponsored annual Gourd Dances each July at Carnegie. According to historian Steven Schnell, this was ‘the single most important annual event for the Kiowa people.’<sup>12</sup> Then in 1958, Gus Palmer Sr. reestablished the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior society that helped preserve and commemorate stories that focused on the Kiowa transatlantic horse-centered ethos.<sup>13</sup>

During the 1950s, the Court of Claims also agreed with Kiowas that Congress had not paid enough money for their surplus lands when they were allotted in 1901. The three tribes sought over sixteen million dollars in compensation. In 1957, after offset deductions by the court, they received a claims settlement of \$1, 626,166.00.<sup>14</sup>

During the next decade Kiowa notions of tribal sovereignty merged with new economic and political concerns. This caused the KCA tribes to separate into individual tribal governments.<sup>15</sup> In the spring of 1970, the BIA approved a Kiowa constitution and

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<sup>11</sup>Zotigh, “History of the Gourd Dance,” <http://www.powwows.com/gathering/gourd-dance/19958-history-gourd-dance.htm> [ Accessed August 18, 2007].

<sup>12</sup> Steven M. Schnell, “The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma,” *Geographical Review*, Vol. 90, Issue 2, (Apr., 2000), 11. JSTOR [Accessed October 9, 2007].

<sup>13</sup> “Kiowa Tribe Society Reviver Dies” *The Oklahoman*, 11/21. <http://www.newsok.com/article/2974832/>, [Accessed October 9, 2007].

<sup>14</sup>*Transcript of Hearings of the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes of Indians vs. the United States of American*, , Vol. II, Findings, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), 193, 195. See also Edgar E. Witt, chief commissioner, *The Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes of Indians, v. the United States of America*, Docket No. 32, March 12, 1957.

<sup>15</sup> Betty Bell, Administrative Officer with the BIA Anadarko Agency during the early 1960s. Telephone interview by the author on September 25, 2007.

Bylaws that revealed important changes.<sup>16</sup> Under this constitution all Kiowas on the tribal roll were considered four-fourths (4/4) Kiowa. This change ensured that future generations would continue to receive economic, educational and health benefits provided by the government.<sup>17</sup> Under this constitution, Kiowa leaders also began to set money aside for tribal land acquisitions, one of the key issues that caused the Kiowa to reject the Indian New Deal.<sup>18</sup> With the “cultural persistence” of their tribe assured, Kiowa leaders once again used non-Indian business strategies to secure their future. Chairman Billy Evans Horse, first elected in 1982, persuaded the Kiowa to pursue “aggressive economic ventures” that focused on education and hard work based on solid planning and goal setting. Under Horse’s guidance, Kiowa assets increased by several million dollars as tribal-owned business helped stimulate the economy in southwestern Oklahoma where unemployment ran as high as 50%.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, because of persistent employment problems in the tribal areas of Oklahoma, Kiowa migrations continued to distant cities. By 2000, only 645, or 6.3% of the residents, of Kiowa County, were listed as Native Americans.<sup>20</sup> In Caddo County,

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<sup>16</sup> Constitution and Bylaws of the Kiowa Indian Tribe, from Kiowa Home Page, <http://www.kiowaok.com>, 16.[Accessed October 9, 2007].

<sup>17</sup> *Constitution and Bylaws of the Kiowa Indian Tribe*, March 13, 1970, 5.

<sup>18</sup> Constitution, 1970, 21,4.

<sup>19</sup> Luke Lassiter, “Who Am I? I Am the One Who Sits in the Middle,” *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 23, Issue 2, (Spring, 1999). JSTOR, [Accessed October 9, 2007].

<sup>20</sup> *A Summary of Economic Conditions in Kiowa County*, Oklahoma, from the Rural Development Oklahoma Cooperative Extension Service, Oklahoma State University, (Nov. 2002), Origins, <http://origins.ou.edu>.Appendix, 32, [Accessed October 9, 2007].

the location of the Carnegie tribal complex, only 9% or 2,440 people were of Kiowa ancestry.<sup>21</sup> Over 12,000 Kiowa were on tribal rolls but almost two-thirds of them lived outside of “Kiowa Country.”<sup>22</sup> The concerns of urban Kiowas were not always the same as those who resided in the homeland area. Consequently, Kiowa business matters became complex and difficult because all official Kiowa elections required absentee balloting.<sup>23</sup>

In response to the need for local employment, the Kiowa Business Committee, led by chairman Horse, proposed plans in August 2000 to construct a \$27 million, 95,000 square foot casino. In the spring of 2007, that casino was finally opened near Randlett, Oklahoma. It provided Kiowa with jobs and an estimated annual tribal income of \$1.4 million.<sup>24</sup>

Despite all of the changes noted in this study, scholars of Kiowa history have generally concluded that their culture has persisted despite the policies imposed by the United States Government.<sup>25</sup> Kiowa Guy Quetone’s declaration that *Indians through the ages demonstrated capacity to change and still remain Indians*, must be qualified

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<sup>21</sup> Caddo County population by racial groups, <http://www.epodunk.com>, Caddo county, [Accessed August 23, 2007].

<sup>22</sup> Martina Minthorn, Program Coordinator, Comanche Museum, telephone interview by author, August 23, 2007.

<sup>23</sup> *Constitution and Bylaws of the Kiowa Indian Tribe*, March 13, 1970, 9.

<sup>24</sup> Mary Pierpoint, “Kiowa Look at Building New Casino,” *Indian country Today*, August 16, 2000, <http://continuum.uta.edu;2204/libweb/elib> [Accessed September 25, 2007].

<sup>25</sup> Michael Kraus, *The North Atlantic Civilization*, (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1957). Preface. Wunder, *The Kiowa*, and Ellis, *To Change Them Forever*, 194-200.

with an understanding of generational changes that have impacted what “Indian” means.<sup>26</sup> The Kiowa were often on the cutting edge of Native American issues. Nevertheless, those issues changed for members of each succeeding Kiowa generation.<sup>27</sup> New ideas merged with old social and economic cultural practices from generation to generation.

Economic survival, as revealed in their use of land allotments, claims, and the building of a casino, often proved the vital motive for change. That process illustrated Bailyn’s axiom concerning the power of economic forces in history. From a Kiowa perspective, economic transformation was often ruthless, and oppressive, yet in the end, from a transatlantic perspective, it helped the Kiowa survive as individuals and a people.

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<sup>26</sup> Guy Quetone, Kiowa, T-4-2, DDCOU.

<sup>27</sup> Bailyn, “The Challenge of Modern Historiography,” 1-24. See also, Bailyn, *Atlantic History Concept and Contours*, 65.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Paul Moore received his undergraduate degree from the Grand Rapids Baptist College, [now Cornerstone University], (June 1965). He also received a graduate degree from Grand Rapids Baptist Seminary, (M.Div., 1968). In addition, he received an MA in history from Midwestern State University (August 1997 ). His academic interests include mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to present day American history, especially, Native American and military history.