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TRADE GOODS ON THE PRAIRIE,

THE KIOWA TRIBE AND WHITE TRADE GOODS,

1794-1875

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CHAPTER I

KIOWA SOCIETY

In the nineteenth century North American Indians made their last stand for independence against hordes of onrushing Whites. For bravery, endurance, and cunning in this struggle no tribe surpassed the Kiowas. For over seven decades this small group held its vast and rich country against numerous peoples, both White and Indian, who wanted its land. This is the story of an element which enabled them to so tellingly fight. Trade was an important part of their activities. It brought them a richer life, added to their firepower and made these fierce people more feared as enemies and courted as allies.

The Kiowas were a tribal people who came in increasing contact with culture of European origin. For a long period of time after Whites first touched the shores of the New World they had no physical contact with the Kiowas. Elements of European culture preceded the Whites themselves and introduced changes in the Indian way of life. These operated at

first to give the Indians wider choices. Some things brought more color, as beads and cloth; others brought more convenience, as metal pots and arrowheads. At least one, the horse, brought changes which were profound.[1]

The present study concerns the means and conditions by which these Indians obtained articles of White manufacture. A principal element of contact and a fundamental to Plains nomadism was the horse. The Kiowas originally may have acquired the horse either by trade or by war with other Indians. In the period discussed by this paper they raided for horses.[2] Consequently, the obtaining of horses is outside the scope of this study. They then traded the animals to other peoples. From this viewpoint the horse will be studied, as one part of the trading activities of the Indians.

The pattern of trade reflected and reacted upon their culture. Since they were hunting and pastoral people, their principal products were those of the hunt and of the pasturelands. By the early nineteenth century they had adapted themselves to intensive use of the Plains' largest and most numerous animal, the buffalo.[3] The horse permitted the maximum

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[1]Frank R. Secoy, Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains; American Ethnological Society, Monographs, XXI (Locust Valley, N. Y., J. J. Augustin, 1953), 20-29, 61-69, 78-85. Cited hereinafter as Secoy, Changing Military Patterns. See also Bernard Mishkin, Rank and Warfare Among the Plains Indians; American Ethnological Society; Monographs, III (New York, J. J. Augustin, 1940), 5-8, 28-34, 57-63. Cited hereinafter as Mishkin, Rank and Warfare.

[2]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 28, 37-38.

[3]Ibid., 25.

use of the buffalo, and together these animals were the economic base of the Kiowas' nomadic life.

The buffalo or American bison[4] roamed over the Great Plains in countless numbers. Members of the Long Expedition in 1819-1820 observed on the Platte River "immense herds of bisons, blacking the whole surface of the Country through which we passed."[5] Later, near the Arkansas Bend, buffalo were so many as to be commonplace for they[6]

> . . . occurred in vast and almost continuous herds. This constant procession of bulls, cows, and calves of various sizes grew so familiar to us at length, as no longer to divert our view from the contemplation of other objects.

The buffalo range extended westward into the Rocky Mountains, northward into Canada, and southward into Mexico.[7] They pastured as far east as the Atlantic coastal plain beyond the Allegheny Mountains;[8] but in the early nineteenth century they were exterminated east of the Mississippi

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[4]The buffalo of the North American Plains is actually a bison. But popular usage calls it buffalo; and the writer in this paper uses the terms bison and buffalo interchangeably. Martin S. Garretson, The American Bison (New York, New York Zoological Society, 1938), 9. See also Frank G. Roe, The North American Buffalo (Toronto, University of Toronto, 1951), 3-4.

[5]Stephen H. Long, Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains . . . in the Years 1819 and '20. Edwin James, ed., 2 vols. (Philadelphia, H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1823), I, 472. Cited hereinafter as Long, Account of an Expedition.

[6]Ibid., 204.

[7]Garretson, The American Bison, 15. Compare Roe, The North American Buffalo, 204.

[8]Roe, The North American Buffalo, 204. See also 231, 242-243, and 245.

River.[9] Their greatest herds were in the grasslands of the Great Plains; those in the eastern woodlands were as stragglers from the main herd.[10] Their numbers cannot be known because estimates varied widely. One authority says that in aboriginal times there were near 60 million of them.[11]

For the Kiowas these limitless herds were principal sources of food and shelter. Buffalo meat was a year-round staple. Thomas Battey, a Quaker teacher, commented on the Indians' many uses of the animal:[12]

> When her lord has killed a buffalo the woman's work begins. She has to skin it, the meat to secure and all to pack upon ponies or mules, and carry to camp, where the meat must be cured. This is done by cutting it into thin sheets, and hanging it over poles in hot sunshine, where it is soon dried thoroughly; then it is packed fresh, in packages of about one hundred pounds each, and enclosed in a nice folding sack of thick buffalo skin, prepared especially for the purpose.

The Indians used skins that were taken in summer for tipis; while those that were taken in winter they used for robes.[13] Josiah Gregg wrote of the buffalo:[14]

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[9] Ibid., 232-233. Garretson says, "By 1820 they were practically extinct east of the Mississippi River. . . ." The American Bison, 92.

[10] Garretson, The American Bison, 19-25.

[11] Ibid., 58. For a survey of literature on the number of buffalo see Roe, The North American Buffalo, 489-520.

[12] Thomas C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians (Boston, Lee and Shepard, 1875), 186-187. Cited hereinafter as Battey, Life and Adventures.

[13] Ibid., 187-188.

[14] Josiah Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, Max L. Moorhead, ed. (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1954), 369.

> This animal furnishes almost the exclusive food of the prairie Indians, as well as covering for their wigwams and most of their clothing; also their bedding, ropes, bags for their meat, etc; sinews for bow-strings, for sewing moccasins, leggins, and the like . . .

Pottery was not durable for the wandering life, and wooden vessels were cumbersome; so that the buffalo provided the means for carrying and holding things, the stomach serving as a water jug:[15]

> When a jug is needed, a beef or buffalo is killed, the paunch is taken out and cut open, the rough inner lining is removed, the paunch is dried, and the edges are pinned together with smooth, wooden pins, which bring it together, looking, when filled with water, very much like a large, short-neck gourd. Two of these are filled with water and placed across a pack saddle and carried sometimes long distances.

The horse enormously facilitated the killing of buffalo and made available a surplus of food, hides, and robes in Kiowa society. Of the relation between horse and Indian, Mooney wrote:[16]

> Without it he was a half-starved skulker in the timber, creeping upon foot toward the unwary deer or building a brush corral with infinite labor to surround a herd of antelope, and seldom venturing more than a few miles from home. With the horse he was transformed into the daring buffalo hunter, able to procure in a single day enough food to supply his family for a year, leaving him free then to sweep the plains with his war parties along a range of a thousand miles.

Whatever may have been the method of hunting before the

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[15]John J. Methvin, Andele, Or the Mexican-Kiowa Captive. 4th ed. (Anadarko, Okla., Plummer Printing Company, 1927), 50-51. Cited hereinafter as Methvin, Andele.

[16]James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa; Bureau of American Ethnology, Seventeenth Annual Report for 1895-96, part 1 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1898), 161. Cited hereinafter as Mooney, Calendar History.

arrival of the horse, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was the principal means of hunting and chasing buffalo. After the Kiowas obtained the horse, stalking by individuals on foot was occasionally done,[17] but the buffalo's ferocity ruled this out as a general practice.[18] Otherwise, the variations in hunting depended chiefly upon the numbers of hunters involved and not upon the presence or absence of horses. In addition to using the horse in the buffalo chase the Kiowas employed it as a beast of burden. It was the means by which the Kiowas roamed over the country, and it carried their belongings. Though the wheel was unknown to aboriginal America, the Indians adapted the dog travois to horse use, making it possible to transport relatively large loads over the prairies.[19]

In their Plains environment the Kiowas were favorably situated for acquiring horses and for horse pastoralization. The source of the Plains Indians' horses had been the Spanish settlements in New Mexico and the north Mexican states.[20]

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[17]Mishkin says that in pre-horse times the Kiowas practiced the surround on foot; and that they probably drove buffalo over the cliffs and impounded them in pens. Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 20-21.

[18]Battey, Life and Adventures, 188-189. Battey stated that a wounded buffalo was a danger even to the hunter on horseback. If the horse were not fleetfooted enough, the buffalo would turn its rage upon both horse and horseman.

[19]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 19.

[20]Francis Haines, "Where Did the Plains Indians Get Their Horses?" American Anthropologist, n. s., XL (1938), 112-117. And see also Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses Among the Plains Indians," American Anthropologist, n. s., XL

In the nineteenth century this source was augmented by Anglo-American settlements in south and west Texas. Accounts in the Kiowa calendars, Thomas Battey, and the reports of the Office of Indian Affairs indicate the significance of the Texas settlements as a supply of horses. Wealthy in livestock, in 1869 this small tribe of 1,928 individuals had about 6,000 head of horses.[21]

Few in numbers and living deep in the interior of North America the Kiowas appear late in European documents. Spanish records of New Mexico mentioned them in 1732 and 1735;[22] and Joseph Antonio de Villa-Señor y Sanchez listed

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(1938), 429-432. Cited hereinafter as Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses."

[21]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1869 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1870), 462 and 470. Before 1861 both the title and printer of this series vary. In 1861 the Government Printing Office began printing the reports. Hereinafter these volumes are cited as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report, with the necessary year added.

A few months earlier the number of horses may have been greater. It is likely that the tribe lost horses in the military campaigns of the middle and late 1860's. James Pursley estimated that party of Kiowa and Paducah [Kiowa-Apache] with which he stayed in 1804-1805 consisted of about 2,000 and had 10,000 beasts [horses and mules]. Zebulon M. Pike, The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike; Elliott Coues, ed., 3 vols. (New York, Harper, 1895), II, 757. Cited hereinafter as Pike, Expeditions.

[22]Mooney, Calendar History, 148 and 156. The terms are "Cargua" and "Caigua," Spanish equivalents for the Kiowa name "Gâ'-i-gwu." Alfred B. Thomas translated some documents which concerned a Kiowa woman captured by the Spanish from the Utes in 1752. Previous to that the Utes had captured her from the Comanches. A question arises as to the term "Kiowa." Thomas does not give the original term from which he translated "Kiowa". Alfred B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778 (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, 1940), 117, 122.

them as among the enemies of New Mexico in 1748.[23] More definite information comes from a later time and a different direction. Traders on the Missouri River found the tribe in the North Plains late in the eighteenth century when Jean Baptiste Truteau, a St. Louis merchant, located them in 1795 west of the Missouri River and southwest of the Arikara villages.[24] A wandering people, they scoured the prairies and roamed along the headwaters of the Cheyenne River among the precipitous rocks of the Black Hills.[25]

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[23]Joseph Antonio de Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro Americano, 1st vol., 1st ed., 1746; 2nd vol., 1st ed., 1748 (Reprinted in Mexico City, Editura Nacional, 1952), II, 413.

[24]Jean-Baptiste Truteau, "Journal of Truteau on the Missouri River, 1794-1795;" in Before Lewis and Clark, Abraham P. Nasatir, comp. and ed., 2 vols. (St. Louis, St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952), I, 301. Truteau's name appears in various spellings. Nasatir accepts the one used here. Cited hereinafter as Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau."

[25]Jean-Baptiste Truteau, "Trudeau's [Truteau's] Description of the Upper Missouri," Annie H. Abel, ed., Mississippi Valley Historical Review, VIII (June-September, 1921), 165-167. Cited hereinafter as Abel, "Truteau's Description." There is some question how Truteau spelled his last name. Abel leaned to the theory that the original spelling had been "Truteau" but that when he moved to St. Louis local pronunciation softened the second "t" to "d" resulting in "Trudeau." Ibid., p. 157, note 30. For other information on the Kiowas' location, see letter of Loisel to Delassus, Nasatir, Before Lewis and Clark, II, 739. Loisel said the "Cayouva" were among the wandering tribes between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains. Hugh L. Scott postulated that the Kiowas were on the Canadian and Arkansas before 1681. His evidence does not entirely conflict with Truteau and Loisel, who were writing more than a century later. The evidence from which he argues can be explained by the wandering nature of a scattered tribe. An unrecorded migration from south to north cannot be entirely ruled out. At any rate available evidence agrees that by the early nineteenth century they were moving in a southerly direction from a habitat which had included the North Plains. Hugh L. Scott, "Notes on the Kado, or Sun Dance of the Kiowa," American Anthropologist,

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw the Kiowas moving south into the region where the final acts of their tribal history were to unfold. The South Plains and the foothills of the Rocky Mountains offered to the tribe, as it had to others before them, enticing prospects of a warmer climate, immense pastures, enormous buffalo herds, and the availability of horses. This move into the southern regions required either the defeat or the permission of the dominant powers, the Spanish of the Rockies and the Comanches of the Plains. The former had held their mountain fastness since the Reconquest under De Vargas in 1696;[26] and the latter had been lords of the Southern Plains for at least half a century.[27] Successful military action against either was unlikely, since both outnumbered the Kiowas and were noted for their warlike nature. Reason indicated a peaceful move to the south. Sometime in the 1790's the northern tribe came to an understanding with the Comanches.[28] The peaceful alliance with this tribe proved enduring, but vexations marked Kiowa-Spanish relations. In 1805 the northerners treated with the governor of New Mexico;[29] and though the peace established was a troubled

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n. s., XIII (1911), 372-373. Cited hereinafter as Scott, "Sun Dance."

[26] Jessie B. Bailey, Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, 1940), 246.

[27] Secoy, Changing Military Patterns, 81-82.

[28] Mooney, Calendar History, 163.

[29] Joaquin Real Alencaster to Comandante-General

one, it was workable enough to allow trade between the two peoples. The way to the south opened; and the tribe moved into the warmer regions. In 1804-05 a band wintered at South Park on the headwaters of the South Platte and Arkansas Rivers;[30] and in 1820 the Long Expedition found the Kiowas firmly established between the Red and Platte Rivers.[31]

Over their immense territory on the Southern Plains they followed the way of a wandering people. On the east their land was bordered by the timbered area of central Oklahoma and Texas; on the west by the Rocky Mountains. Geographic features did not define the northern boundary. There, habit and the pressure of other peoples limited their range to the lands south of the Smoky Hill River, though individuals paid visits to their old neighbors farther north. Although the Red River was the southern limit of tribal gatherings, hunting and raiding expeditions went much farther south into the northern states of Mexico.[32] They shared portions of this huge area with other peoples. The Kiowa-Apaches had moved with them from the north;[33] the Comanches continued living in

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Nemesio Salcedo; December 25, 1805; Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Folio 1937 (1); State Records Center, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Hereinafter this series of documents will be referred to as SANM with the appropriate document citation.

[30]Pike, Expeditions, II, 757-758. See also p. 468.

[31]Long, Account of an Expedition, II, 187.

[32]Mooney, Calendar History, 152-153, and plate LXXIII.

[33]Ibid., 246-251.

the more southerly regions,[34] while the Cheyennes and Arapahos camped in the north near the Arkansas River.[35] And village tribes of Wichitas and their Caddoan relatives dwelled along Red River and its tributaries.[36]

Rich in horses and living on the buffalo, the Kiowas by the requirements of their life could gather in numbers only a few weeks of the year, in the summer when the pastures were green and the buffalo were fat. During the rest of the year they were scattered in small groups over the Plains. Social, political, and religious activities reflected the demands of this life. For most of the year life revolved around the band which was a self-sufficient unit.[37] At the head of the band was the band leader, or topotok'i,[38] who was responsible for making decisions on where the band would camp, or when it would move, and when it would go on a hunt. A tried and proven leader, he was familiar with the country and with the habits of buffalo, and he knew where water could be found. His powers derived from the strength of his family

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[34] Ibid., plate LVII. And see also Ernest Wallace and Edward A. Hoebel, The Comanches, Lords of the South Plains (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1952), 3-7.

[35] Mooney, Calendar History, plate LVII.

[36] Ibid. And see also Elizabeth Ann Harper John, "The Taovayas Indians in Frontier Trade and Diplomacy, 1719-1768," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XXI (Fall, 1953), 271-272.

[37] Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 25-26.

[38] Ibid., 26-27.

and his own personal qualities.[39] His ability to enforce his decisions was limited by the fact that a family could move from the camp and join that of another topotok'i at will.[40] In fact the population of a band varied throughout the year as families left for hunting or as members visited relatives in other camps. A group of men, known as a council, assisted the leader.[41] They met with him at night, smoked, and discussed important events. He delivered the results of their deliberations to the camp, usually through a band-crier.[42] His relationship to the members of the camp was like that of a father.[43]

The social structure of the tribe showed well-defined ranks through which there was movement with mobility becoming more difficult towards the upper reaches. Rank was a function of wealth, personality, worth to the tribe, and proven achievements on the warpath.[44] At the top was the ongop who constituted an aristocracy in thought and deed.[45] Pre-eminent above all others its members possessed war records, having

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[39] Ibid., 38-39, 41-42. Jane Richardson, Law and Status Among the Kiowa Indians; American Ethnological Society, Monographs, I (New York, J. J. Augustin, 1940), 6-7. Cited hereinafter as Richardson, Law and Status.

[40] Richardson, Law and Status, 7, 21, 63.

[41] Ibid., 8.

[42] Ibid., and Battey, Life and Adventures, 323-324.

[43] Richardson, Law and Status, 39-41.

[44] Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 35-36.

[45] Ibid.

demonstrated daring, courage, and bravery on the warpath. Possessing many horses and other things of this life, they had leisure for war and for tribal affairs.[46] A person of ongop rank was supposed to set an example for others. He always kept a noble and serene countenance, even in adversity; he was generous and hospitable with his property, courteous in treating others, and above all he was brave.[47] All headmen of the tribe belonged to this rank.[48]

The odei, or favorite child, was an intense expression of ongop ideals.[49] As a person of recognized privilege and status, he received all the favors which his family could bestow. Significant events of his life were occasions of extensive hospitality on his relative's part. At the time of his birth his parents gave away many horses. When he first killed a bird there was a give-away, the first time he mounted a horse or when he first went on a war-party there was also a give-away. For the favorite girl child there were give-aways as upon cleaning her first buffalo hide or first participation in a scalp dance. In keeping with the favorite child's position, he did no work. Filling his every want the family constructed a special tent for the child and fed him the best food obtainable. Because of the drain upon

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[46] Ibid., 46-47.

[47] Ibid., 36.

[48] Ibid., 41-42.

[49] Ibid., 51-52. Unless otherwise noted the succeeding statements in this paragraph come from the same place.

resources entailed by the favorite child only families of ongop rank could meet the responsibilities of odei. As a carrier of values the favorite child brought tribal attention to the family and added to its prestige. Events in the child's life were celebrated throughout the camp, and his family was famous for generosity. One of the more notable of the favorite children was Set-angya's son whose death in a battle with Whites in 1870 reverberated through the tribe.[50]

Next below the ongop was the ondeigup'a who equalled the upper rank in wealth but not in war record.[51] Included in this second group were most non-military men who were outstanding in their professions.[52] Such were medicine men, hunters, artists, herders, and some war leaders whose exploits were not yet equal to those of the ongop. Differences in military achievement set these two wealthy classes apart from each other.

Below the ondeigup'a were the koon, who were the common people and the most numerous class.[53] They had few military honors.[54] Their economic needs sharply curtailed their

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[50]Mooney, Calendar History, 327-328. Methvin, Andele, 188-190. Set-angya's name appears in varied spellings, sometimes as Satank. The form used here is accepted by Mooney.

[51]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 35-36.

[52]Ibid., 36.

[53]Ibid., 36-37.

[54]Ibid., 45.

participation in the warpath.[55] War expeditions were often affairs of hundreds of miles, lasting weeks and sometimes months and causing long absences from the camp and from hunting. Possessing few horses and practically none of the specially trained war horses, they spent most of their time in the more prosaic activities of hunting, herding, and general camp duties. They sometimes borrowed horses from more fortunate relatives in return for which they gave meat, hides, or work to the relatives. Head-men valued the more industrious of this rank as worthy additions to the bands. It sometimes happened that a wealthy family would give a daughter to a hardworking koon as a wife and obtain him as a valuable acquisition for the family.[56]

Lowest in rank were the dapom, who were considered to be worthless hangers-on.[57] Lacking the honesty and integrity of the koon they had been disowned by their relatives and therefore were practically orphans. They maintained themselves as retainers in wealthy households. Captives formed another group in Kiowa society, though apparently holding no rank.[58] During their wars the Kiowas captured Pawnees, Osages, Utes and other peoples.[59] As their

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[55] *Ibid.*, 45-46. Unless otherwise noted the succeeding statements in this paragraph are from the same place.

[56] *Ibid.*, 26, 44.

[57] *Ibid.*, 35-37.

[58] *Ibid.*, 42.

[59] *Ibid.*

war-parties went more and more towards the south and southwest most of the captive population came to be Mexican by the middle of the nineteenth century.[60] There were also many Anglo-Americans among the captives, resulting from raids on Texas.[61] Since men were more difficult to control in a captive status, the warriors took only women and children as prisoners.[62] In the camp there were menials who did drudgery work such as carrying water and wood; and young captive boys helped to herd horses.[63] If they proved diligent in their work the system of ranks opened to them, though no captive reached the heights of ongop.[64] Sometimes families adopted captive children; and the one so adopted assumed the rights and obligations of a family member receiving aid from his Kiowa brothers and inheriting property from the parents.

Organized war within the tribe did not occur, though upon occasion feuds threatened to break intra-tribal peace.[65] They directed war against non-Kiowa peoples, principally to the south and southwest where greater supplies of horses were available. They were hostile towards Pawnees, Osages, Utes,

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[60] Ibid. And see Mooney, Calendar History, 173-174.

[61] Mooney, Calendar History, 181, 236.

[62] Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 42.

[63] Ibid., 43.

[64] Ibid., 42-43.

[65] Ibid., 28.

and Navajoes.[66] Hostility towards the latter tribe intensified when the United States government moved them to eastern New Mexico in 1864.[67] Though the Kiowas were more or less neutral towards the settlements in northern New Mexico, they breathed fire against Whites to the south and southwest, and their war parties visited destruction upon settlements from Matagordo Bay to beyond the Rio Grande.[68]

Kiowa methods of warfare were well suited to a small tribe whose military potential was spread over so vast an area. Rather than prosecuting long sustained battles they attacked in raids which depended for success upon stealth, surprise and mobility. Though the man heading the raid maintained strong discipline between the camp and the objective, once the attack began, fighting was individual.[69] The horse provided transportation to the objective, it allowed mobility in fighting, and it furnished a quick escape from the scene when the occasion arose.

War parties were of two types, the horse-stealing raid and the revenge party, differing in ceremonial, in beginning, in recruiting members, and in objective. The horse-stealing party was the smaller, generally of six to ten

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[66]Mooney, Calendar History, 160, 165.

[67]Ibid., 320-323.

[68]Ibid. See also ibid., 164-165, 173-174, 186-187. The Kiowas obtained Andrés Martinez from the Apache on one of their excursions to the southwest. Methvin, Andele, 37-48.

[69]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 32-33.

braves, though fewer could go. Occasionally twenty to thirty went on such raids. A warrior thinking of a horse raid would let his friends know of the project. On the night before departure he sat in his tipi and sang a travel song; those who intended to go with him would enter the tipi and join the singing. They then went outside and beat on a buffalo-hide, continuing the song. The next day they left the camp.[70]

The revenge party, an aggression outlet, differed basically from the horse raids which were primarily economic in motivation.[71] The revenge party was larger, sometimes having as many as 100 to 200 warriors.[72] It was tribal in character, occurring after the sun dance while the tribe was still together. A warrior who planned a revenge party would send a pipe around to the leaders of the military societies who, if they approved the expedition, would smoke the pipe. They then sent it to other society members, and all who wished to join the expedition smoked as well. This expedition took precedence over all others, no horse raids could take place while preparations for it were underway.[73]

It is indicative of the tribe's values that it allowed its strictest discipline to be exercised on war parties. The expedition leader had greater authority than did a band

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[70]Mooney, Calendar History, 312.

[71]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 29.

[72]Ibid., 28.

[73]Mooney, Calendar History, 282.

chief.[74] His authority on going out was complete. He selected camp sites, detailing men to special tasks as scouting, guard watch at night, and tending horses. If the raiders captured horses, he distributed them among the warriors.[75] On large revenge expeditions the leader had three or four assistants who seem to have been leaders of military societies. On the return trip the nature of the leader's authority varied: "Normally after a successful or unsuccessful raid, the distribution of horses having been made the toyopk'i [leader] relinquished his authority and the company was literally leaderless."[76] If, however, the returning group were attacked anyone could assume authority; and, if the party had taken scalps the leader retained his authority until the scalp dance in the home camp.

If the war party had been unsuccessful and had lost some of its men in battle the returning members entered the camp separately and silently, and the wail of the dead warriors' relatives filled the camp.[77] If, however, the raid was successful, the war party made a formal entry, and its return was the occasion for elaborate celebration. Before entering the camp the warriors put on full war dress and painted their faces black. The scalps, symbols of victory

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[74]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 32-33.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Ibid., 33.

[77]Mooney, Calendar History, 291.

over the foe, were placed on hoops at the end of long poles. They then entered the camp running, according to Mooney,[78] or, according to others, they rode slowly in march order singing a song of triumph.[79] In any case they gave the war whoop and shot their firearms into the air, letting the camp know of their approach. Shouting women met the successful warriors, and the people made preparations for a scalp dance.[80]

> . . . they return to camp in full war dress, including their war bonnets, and with faces painted black, to show that they have killed an enemy. They enter the camp running, to imitate a charge, firing their guns and discharging arrows to show how they met and struck the foe. . . . Their friends run out to meet them, shouting . . . and at once commence preparations for the dance.

The tribe took care that the war party's exploits circulated through the camp to become public knowledge. In the scalp dance the dancers rehearsed the details of the expedition, retelling in song and pantomime the deeds of bravery. By limiting male participation to members of the war party the society focused attention on them and their exploits. All the women could take part, and they carried the long poles with the scalps displayed as trophies of war.[81] In evaluating a warrior's deeds the Kiowas relied on the coup count, in which they ranked military achievement according to

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Battey, Life and Adventures, 223.

[80] Mooney, Calendar History, 291.

[81] Ibid., 292. Compare Battey, Life and Adventures, 223-224, and Methvin, Andele, 72-74.

bravery.[82] Speaking to a council of tribal elders, the leader gave a report of the expedition from its departure to its return.[83] In much detail he told of the courage or perhaps cowardice of the individual members. From so public and formal a presentation news of the warriors' activities ran through the tribe to receive general approval or disapproval.

Among the Kiowas there were a number of societies which gave opportunity to organized social intercourse and which expressed tribal values. Cutting across band lines, they reinforced tribal feeling and gave prominence to war honors. There were six societies for the males of the tribe, one for the boys and five men's societies. Serving as a social group and as a school for the young was the Rabbit Society. All the boys in the tribe belonged to it; and it had two adult leaders who were warriors.[84] At the feasts and dances which were sponsored by a member's parents, the boys wore buckskin clothes and painted their faces with different colors. They also usually wore a headband of elk hide with a feather standing up. During a dance all members sang, and a few, perhaps as many as ten, danced. In the dance "the Rabbits

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[82]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 39.

[83]Ibid., 30.

[84]Robert H. Lowie, "Societies of the Kiowa," American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. XI, part XI (1916), 844. Cited hereinafter as Lowie, "Societies of the Kiowa." This series discusses distribution of military societies and age-grade societies in the Plains.

jumped up and down without change of position, held up their hands to the level of their ears, moving the hands, and at the same time imitated the sound of rabbits. . . ."[85]

The leaders beat the drums, and at the end of a dance one of them arose and began a talk, the proper subject of which would be exploits of the warriors. He began by saying, "When I was young like you, I was a little Rabbit, when I got older I went and stole horses, took scalps. . . ."[86] So that the Rabbit Society impressed on young Kiowa boys that the proper Kiowa man would occupy himself with the warpath. Andrés Martinez said the society was a type of school;[87] Mooney stated that its members "were drilled in their future duties as warriors by certain old men."[88]

There were four soldier societies to which most of the men belonged: Shepherds, Tse tanma, Blackleggings and Berries. Only the most prominent warriors belonged to the fifth, the Kaitseñko.[89] These organizations were active only from the time of announcing the sun dance to the time of its performance, during which period they met frequently. Their

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[85] Ibid., 845.

[86] Ibid., 844.

[87] Ibid., 844. See also Methvin, Andele, 165-166.

[88] Mooney, Calendar History, 230.

[89] Lowie, "Societies of the Kiowa," 845-849. Alice Marriott says that this society was instituted towards the middle of the nineteenth century which would mean it was probably the most recent. Alice Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1945), 7.

meetings of dancing and feasting provided entertainment for the members as well as being occasions for expressing tribal values. The societies also served the tribe as police in the tribal hunt and when the tribe moved as a body.[90] Thomas Battey, the Quaker teacher, once gave this description of the tribal move:[91] "In moving from place to place, these soldiers marched on each side of the main body, while a front guard went before, and a rear guard behind, thus preventing any from straggling away."

The societies watched young Kiowas as they approached the age of warriors, looking for recruits.[92] If a prospective member met its approval the society "stole" him. The members approached him in his tipi, and, by force if necessary, took him to the meeting where he joined the dance and thus became a member.[93] Each had a dancing partner, the two joining at the same time. Though societies regularly "stole" members from each other, a man belonged to only one at a time. The leaders of these organizations were men with distinguished war records.[94] The ceremonials and paraphernalia of the societies varied somewhat, the Tse tanma danced with both rattles and drums, but the Blackleggings danced with only

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[90]Mooney, Calendar History, 230. Richardson, Law and Status, 9-10.

[91]Battey, Life and Adventures, 185-186.

[92]Methvin, Andele, 166.

[93]Lowie, "Societies of the Kiowa," 845.

[94]Ibid., 845, 846, 847.

rattles;[95] the latter had a hooked stick used in their meetings, while the Berries owned an arrow as long as a spear.[96] Though differing in ceremonials these organizations all focused attention on military feats. At certain times, usually the end of a dance, the leaders or the members stood up to recount their exploits. Lowie says of the Shepherds:[97]

> At the end of a song all the Shepherds sat down except one of the leaders, who would tell of his exploits. For each deed recited the drummers beat the drum once. Sometimes only one leader recited the deeds, sometimes one after the other. Sometimes some other member would follow with a recital of his own deeds.

In this way the war societies published the deeds of war.

In the fifth soldier society, the Kaitseñko, the way of the warrior had its highest expression, only the ten bravest men belonged to it.[98] The members of this society had a sash about six inches wide which they wore for ceremonies and on the warpath.[99] In battle the member fastened the lower end of the sash to the ground with an arrow. The Kaitseñko was pledged not to remove the sash nor to unfasten it, and he had to stand his ground whatever should be the course of the fighting. In case of retreat his friends could

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[95] Ibid., 846. Blackleggings is a more appropriate translation than Blackfeet. The name refers to their legwear. See Mooney, Calendar History, 230.

[96] Lowie, "Societies of the Kiowa," 847.

[97] Ibid., 845.

[98] Ibid., 847-848. The spelling is that used by Mooney, Calendar History, 230.

[99] Lowie, "Societies of the Kiowa," 847-848.

loosen the sash, permitting him to escape. Otherwise, he had to fight to a certain death. Reflecting the tribe's concept that the Kaitseñko displayed the ultimate in bravery, cowardice was not permitted. If a member was cowardly in battle, he lost his membership in disgrace and his sash was taken from him.[100] If a man became too old to go on the warpath he would resign his membership in favor of a younger man who met the standards of bravery.[101] In this case the retiring member had no loss of prestige, and the new member gave him gifts. For less important war parties a Kaitseñko could loan his sash to a non-member, usually a younger man. But if it were suspected that he did so out of fear he was forced to resign.

When inducting new members they followed a more formal procedure than did the other societies.[102] One of the two leaders would go up to a prospective member and give him a pipe, thereby forcing him to join. In the case of a voluntary resignation the retiring member gave the pipe to his chosen successor. The initiation took place at the sun dance, and because such events did not often occur in so eminent a group, "the event was always a matter of considerable consequence."[103] Further expressing their distinction, in battle

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[100]Mooney, Calendar History, 284.

[101]Lowie, "Societies of the Kiowa," 848.

[102]Ibid.

[103]Mooney, Calendar History, 285.

and in their dances they talked contrarywise. Thus, they would say, "Let us retreat," or "We do not want a feast yet," meaning the opposite.[104]

Through the ages men have appealed to the supernatural for aid in life's activities. This help may be in the nature of material benefit or it may be for an explanation of that which to the appellant is not understandable in ordinary terms. Ceremonies and practices to link man with the supernatural thus develop. Among the Kiowas religious practices were both individual and tribal as fitted a society whose members were so scattered but who yet retained a strong tribal identity. In its more individualistic aspect a person acquired a protector in a vision quest. The protector, usually the spirit of some animal, communicated with the person in dreams.[105] Occasions for contact with one's protector were those important events in life for which protection and guidance were deemed necessary. A man looking for such spiritual oversight went through a prescribed procedure to obtain the guidance. Taking only the clothes he wore, his pipe, and some tobacco[106] he went to a place where he would not be disturbed, usually on top of a mountain or a hill.[107]

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[104]Lowie, "Societies of the Kiowa," 849.

[105]Methvin, Andele, 95-96, 194. Compare Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers, 44-45. And see Mooney, Calendar History, 237.

[106]Methvin, Andele, 96. Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers, 44.

[107]Methvin, Andele, 95-96, 194. Marriott, The Ten

On this lonely eminence he smoked, thought, and fasted, taking neither food nor drink. The protector appeared in a dream and gave him directions about his power, stating under what circumstances it could be used.[108] As a symbol of the power the person wore an amulet which could be a piece of stone or bone.[109] If the owner did not follow the prescribed course of action and violated the terms of powerholding hard luck would follow him.[110]

Besides the personal amulets and medicines there were ten tribal medicine bundles. According to tradition they were the gifts of one of two tribal heroes, the Sun-Boys, who did many good and notable deeds for the Kiowas, ridding the earth of monsters so that they might not bother the Indians.[111] One of these Boys went into a lake and was seen no more; the other divided himself into ten pieces which he gave to the people to keep. These eucharistic remains were wrapped in ten pouches and were known as the Ten Grandmother Bundles.[112] Each Bundle had a separate Keeper who was the priest of that Bundle. As a type of reserved sacrament, it hung at the back

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Grandmothers, 45.

[108]Methvin, Andele, 96, 105-106. Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers, 46-47.

[109]Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers, 47-48. Methvin, Andele, 107.

[110]Methvin, Andele, 107. Compare Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers, 91.

[111]Mooney, Calendar History, 238-239.

[112]Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers, viii.

of the Keeper's lodge, and prayers and sacrifices were made to it.[113] Each Bundle had a pipe which was strong in power.[114] Supernatural sanction gave it a legal use in settling disputes. Whenever a quarrel threatened to break the peace the Keeper appeared with his Pipe and asked the disputants to smoke. Acceptance of the Pipe meant that the quarrel would no longer continue. If a person refused the Pipe for four times hard luck would follow him and he would soon die.[115] Not all disputes required the use of the Keeper's Pipe; but in those cases involving persons of high standing, or which concerned large numbers of people, or a defiance of tribal authority so that public peace was threatened, the Pipe was the means of restoring order.[116] Since there were ten of the Bundles there was the likelihood that there would be this means of settling disputes in each of the larger bands.

The most spectacular religious activity was the sun dance which took place in the summer when the entire tribe had gathered. Preceding the sun dance the tribe spent six days of preparation during which they moved into a circular camp and built the sun dance lodge in the center.[117] Buffalo

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[113]Mooney, Calendar History, 239. Richardson, Law and Status, 10-11.

[114]Richardson, Law and Status, 55, 58-59, 70, 82-83, 133-134.

[115]Ibid., 25, 55-56.

[116]Ibid., 26, 61-64, 133-134.

[117]Scott, "Sun Dance," 354-362. Compare Leslie Spier, "Notes on the Kiowa Sun Dance," American Museum of Natural

imagery and military activities were prominent in the rituals taking place in these days. At specified times military societies re-enacted the warpath, scouting the camp, assuming attack formation, and counting coup on the tree which was to be the central pole of the lodge.[118] There was a ceremonial killing of a buffalo,[119] and on the sixth day there was a "hunt" in which members of the tribe acted as buffalo and were herded into the lodge,[120] a circular structure built of trees and limbs.[121]

> The medicine house is situated nearly in the centre of the encampment, is circular in form, and about sixty feet in diameter, having its entrance towards the east. It is built by erecting a forked post twenty feet high perhaps, for a central support. Around this and at nearly equal distances, are seventeen other forked posts forming the circumference of the building.
>
> These are from twelve to fifteen feet in height, and all of cottonwood. Small cottonwood trees are tied on the outside of these, in a horizontal position, with ropes of raw hide, limbs and leaves all on them. Outside of these small cottonwood leaves are placed in an upright position thus forming a wall of green trees and leaves several feet in thickness. . . .

At the top of the central pole was the hide of a buffalo hunted especially for this occasion:[122]

> Attached to the central fork is a bundle of cottonwood and willow limbs, firmly bound together and covered with

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History, Anthropological Papers, vol. XVI, part VI (1921), 442-444. Cited hereinafter as Spier, "Kiowa Sun Dance."

[118]Scott, "Sun Dance," 356, 357-358, 360-361.

[119]Ibid., 358.

[120]Ibid., 362-363.

[121]Battey, Life and Adventures, 169.

[122]Ibid., 170.

> a buffalo robe with head and horns, so as to form a rude image of a buffalo, to which were hung strips of new calico, muslin, strouding both blue and scarlet, feathers, shawls. . . .

Further carrying out the buffalo theme, "the central post is ornamented near the ground with the robes of buffalo calves, their heads up, as if in the act of climbing it."[123]

The sun dance was the prerogative of the Taime-Keeper, who was hereditary owner of the tribe's chief medicine, the Taime, a figurine which had originally come from the Crow Indians.[124]

> This is a small image, less than 2 feet in length, representing a human figure dressed in a robe of white feathers, with a headdress consisting of a single upright feather and pendants of ermine skin, with numerous strands of blue beads around its neck and painted upon the face, breast and back with designs symbolic of the sun and moon. The image itself is of dark green stone, in form rudely resembling a human head and bust, probably shaped by art like the stone fetishes of the Pueblo tribes. It is . . . never under any circumstances exposed to view except at the annual sun dance, when it is fastened to a short upright stick planted within the medicine lodge, near the western side.

Besides the Keeper there were three groups who danced: his four assistants, appointed to their positions for four years; the taime shield owners; and the rank and file dancers who vowed to dance "with the object of becoming a better warrior and living long."[125] Women did not dance though they joined the spectators in the lodge and sang the accompanying

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[123] Ibid.

[124] Mooney, Calendar History, 240. Scott, "Sun Dance," 348-349.

[125] Spier, "Kiowa Sun Dance," 445.

songs.[126] The rank and file dancers pledged to dance for certain lengths of time or for the entire ceremony. Once they left, whether for having met their pledged time or for lack of endurance, they did not again enter the ritual.

The dance lasted four days and nights, or according to Spier three full days and nights, the preliminary day's dancing added to make four.[127] During this time the keeper and the pledged dancers remained in the lodge without eating or drinking.[128] After the first night's dancing the performance on succeeding days took place "from sunrise to the chorus's breakfast, nine o'clock to dinner, four in the afternoon to sundown, and from evening to midnight, ending in the evening of the fourth day."[129] All the dancers had bone whistles. They faced the taime, stood in place, alternately bending their knees and rising on their toes in time to the music.[130] Battey wrote a colorful description of the dance:[131]

> The musicians who if I mistake not, are the war chiefs were squatted on the ground, in true heathen style, to the left and near the entrance, having Indian drums and rattles. The music was sounding when we entered.
>
> Presently the dancers came from behind the screen. . . . They faced the medicine--shall I say idols? for it

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[126] Battey, Life and Adventures, 176.

[127] Spier, "Kiowa Sun Dance," 446.

[128] Scott, "Sun Dance," 366.

[129] Spier, "Kiowa Sun Dance," 446-447.

[130] Ibid., 446.

[131] Battey, Life and Adventures, 174-175.

> was conducted with all the solemnity of worship,--jumping up and down in true time with the beating of the drums, while a bone whistle in their mouths, through which the breath escaped as they jumped about and the singing of the women, completed the music. The dancers continued to face the medicine, with arms stretched upwards and towards it,--their eyes as it were riveted to it. They were apparently oblivious to all surroundings, except the music and what was before them.

Jumping up and down, with the noise of drums, whistles, and songs in their ears, their reason rarefied by fasting, the dancers soon entered a trance. The Taime-Keeper and his assistants hunted out those in a near hypnotic condition and waved raven tail feather fans before their glazed eyes:[132]

> . . . they move these fans through among the dancers searching for the man they want. When he is found the fans are waved at him horizontally, causing him to jump into the air. Then they are swung spirally in front of him, which makes him turn around and fall down as if he were drunk. This is done three times every day--at dawn, at noon, and just before sunset.

Thus fanned, the dancer sank into unconsciousness and dreamed. This was the point in which the ceremony reached its height. Through the dreams the Kiowas communicated with the supernatural[133] to obtain long life and guidance in life.[134] More particularly these Plains people hoped that the ceremony would insure them plenty of buffalo and success in war. Especially revealing was a prayer of one of the

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[132]Scott, "Sun Dance," 366. Spier (p. 448) implies that the keeper does the fanning. Compare Battey, Life and Adventures, 176-177. Battey says the one holding the fan pursued the other dancer until he fell.

[133]Mooney, Calendar History, 301-305. Methvin, Andele, 105-106.

[134]Scott, "Sun Dance," 347, 364-365, 366; Spier, "Kiowa Sun Dance," 437, 445-446, 471.

assistants:[135]

> May this medicine render me brave in war, proof against the weapons of my enemies, strong in the chase, wise in council; and, finally, may it preserve me to a good age, and may I at last die in peace among my own people.

Because of the scattered nature of Kiowa life authority was varied in source and diffuse in operation, public opinion being a pervasive factor which affected all activities.[136] The most intense use of authority occurred at those times when special conditions allowed, indeed required, it: the war path and the sun dance. In both cases the end to be gained required that order be kept. On the war path success depended on stealth; without central direction someone at his own whim could defeat the aim of the expedition. In the sun dance the conditions of the camp, several hundred people living in close association, were such that friction could easily develop. The tribe met these situations by two devices: the enjoinder upon everyone to be in good spirits[137] and the placing of central authority in the Taime-Keeper, who controlled the camp through the soldier societies acting as police.[138]

The recognized inter-band units, the military societies, could function only at sun dance time because it was

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[135]Battey, Life and Adventures, 179.

[136]Richardson, Law and Status, 18-19, 132-133. Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 31, 40-42.

[137]Scott, "Sun Dance," 355-356. Compare Battey, Life and Adventures, 183.

[138]Richardson, Law and Status, 9, 23-27.

then that their entire membership was present. The band during most of the year was the largest functioning unit of the tribe.[139] Presided over by the head man, it moved over the prairie as need allowed. The band leader, whose authority derived from his demonstrated ability and the position of his family, was subject to the pressure of public opinion, since his followers could move from the band at will. The stature of a band leader reflected in the weight his counsels had with the tribe and in the number of people who were attracted to his band.[140] The man who was recognized as the most outstanding of the band leaders was chief spokesman of the tribe. In this capacity Dohasan served the Kiowas for three decades;[141] after him the forces that beset the tribe did not allow further development of a stable chieftanship.

Closely attuned to the rhythms of nature, having a headman who looked out for its material welfare, and possessed of spiritual oversight through the Ten Medicine Bundle, the band wandered over the Plains as a functioning unit. Its size varied as sub-bands departed and returned and as hunting and raiding parties left and came back. The Indians followed the buffalo, camping where water and fuel would be available. In winter, as cold and scarcity of animals hindered successful

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[139] Ibid., 6. Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 26-27.

[140] Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 26-27.

[141] Mooney, Calendar History, 164, 233, 263. Dohasan's name has several variations such as Doha, Dohate, Tohasan, and Tohausan.

hunts, the tempo of life diminished.[142] The separated bands gathered along rivers and streams for the time of cold weather. In such places valleys offered protection from the wind; and game and wood were more easily obtained. When the cold season was finished the Indians left their winter camp and went on the spring hunt for the buffalo that were yet lean and looking for the green pastures in the uplands. By summer the animals had grown fat and were easily winded in a chase. In the warmer season game prospects allowed a large number of people to congregate; and it was only in the summer that the Kiowas gathered themselves as a people. In the month or so that the tribe was together its members participated in a tribal hunt and in the sun dance. After the sun dance there was a raid in which warriors of all the bands and societies took part.[143] The tribe then broke up, each band continuing its own hunting activities and subdividing into smaller groups. In the fall they engaged in hunts and food gathering in preparation for the winter season; as the year advanced towards the cold months they assembled again into their various winter camps.

For all its vigor the Kiowa way was in crisis by the middle of the nineteenth century. Elements of White culture had made the nomadic life a more productive and satisfying one, hastening the tempo of Plains life and allowing the Kiowas greater movement. Yet the fundamentals, the buffalo

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[142]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 25-26.

[143]Ibid., 25-26, 28-29.

and the horse, were threatened by White civilization. The only life the Kiowas knew, that of the wandering nomad nourished by the buffalo and sustained by war, had no promising future. Everything was change. New Indians, pushed by Whites from the East, preyed upon the buffalo. Their enemies were increasing: just as the Mexicans retreated to the south, their place was taken by White Tejanos whose numbers multiplied every year and who coveted the Kiowas' land no less than the Kiowas wanted the Whites' horses. The settled life of agriculture promised no salvation, for the life of the village Indians was a lesson in decadence to the Kiowas. The Arikaras, old friends of the north days, had declined and suffered humiliating defeat at the hands of the Whites. The Wichitas, friends and allies in the south, were also in decline and could not even protect themselves from the taunts of their Comanche allies. A settled life would surely bring the Kiowas to a similar unhappy end. The issue was joined, not only between them and the Whites, but also between the Kiowas and their destiny. The Kaitseñko expressed a fatalism which was the lot of their people. Beset by enemies on all sides, and dishonor being the consequence of retreat, they could only combat the forces which would defeat them. Everything in this life was transitory, and life itself would soon be gone. Nature alone was constant; the seasons and the heavenly bodies continued their appointed rounds. The brave must perish and the Kaitseñko, impelled by bravery, must accept his doom. In smoke-filled meetings and tied to

the battleground the warrior chanted the song of the Kaitseñko:[144]

O sun, you remain forever,
But we Kaitseñko must die.
O earth, you remain forever,
But we Kaitseñko must die.

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[144]Mooney, Calendar History, 329. Compare Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers, 121.

CHAPTER II

NORTHERN TRADE

The early movement of White goods to the North Plains followed well defined routes determined by geography. The avenues of commerce were the rivers over which boats, canoes, and pirogues made their way from the Atlantic to and beyond the Mississippi. Water travel made it possible to go around mountain ranges and through dense woodlands. Whites carried their goods to distant Indians by waterway, and when they reached the Great Plains, the home of the wandering tribes and buffalo, the Missouri River provided the main artery of transportation.[1] Farther south the Arkansas and Red Rivers later became channels of trade. Though these two rivers had enough water to float vessels only in their lower reaches,[2] their broad valleys were well marked highways for westward travel into the Rocky Mountains.

European goods reached the North Plains from two major sources. The more northerly of these originated in

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[1]Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains (Boston, Ginn and Co., 1931), 17-23. The critical element for water flow is the ratio of evaporation to rainfall. Because the rate of evaporation decreases in the north an equal amount of rain gives more runoff than in the south.

[2]Long, Account of an Expedition, II, 353-361.

Lower Canada at the mercantile centers of Quebec and Montreal, and goods were hauled up the Great Lakes to the Lake of the Woods and then by interconnected waterways into Lake Winnipeg. Other Canadian goods flowed to this point from Hudson Bay. From Lake Winnipeg trade went southwesterly over the Souri and the Red River of the North, and then it went overland to the Missouri.[3]

The more southerly flow of goods moved up the Missouri from St. Louis. The merchants of this town received much of their merchandise from New York and New Orleans. Whites who participated in this trade were of the two empires which developed this part of North America, the French and the Anglo-American. The French were the earliest traders on the Plains. Étienne Venyard de Bourgmont was among the first to travel the Missouri route in 1724. He did not reach the upper part of the river, going instead up the Kansas River. The Mallet brothers followed him into the Central Plains in 1739.[5] From the Canadian side Pierre Gautier de la Vérendrye

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[3]Joseph Jablow, The Cheyenne in Plains Indian Trade Relations, 1795-1840; American Ethnological Society, Monographs, XIX (New York, J. J. Augustin, 1951), 28-29. See also the route followed by members of the Vérendrye family whose journals and letters have been collected by Margry. Pierre Margry, comp., and ed., Découvertes et établissements des francais dans l'vest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1754. Memoires et documents inédits Recueillis et publiés far Pierre Margry; 6 vols. (Paris, France, Maisonneuve et Compagnie, 1879-1888), VI, 589-592, 598-599, 610-611. Cited hereinafter as Margry, Découvertes.

[4]Margry, Découvertes, VI, 398-417, 421-433.

[5]Ibid., 455-457.

came from Lake Winnipeg in 1738-39 and was succeeded by his sons in the early 1740's.[6]

In 1763 the fortunes of empire removed France from North America in favor of the British who had disputed the continent with them for over a century. The English had previously obtained Hudson Bay and they now controlled all the commerce entering the Plains from Canada. The United States bought the Trans-Mississippi country in 1803 and thereafter sent its goods by the Missouri from St. Louis. The changes in title caused only temporary dislocations in the trade, being merely events in the process which brought European domination to North America. Elements of the old French empire remained and became integrated into the new. French couriers de bois became the brawn of the British trading companies;[7] and as late as the American Civil War Chouteaus of St. Louis were bidding for the Indian market.[8]

Agricultural Indians had established a number of villages along the Missouri. Arikaras, Hidatsas, and Mandans

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[6] Ibid., 589-592, 598-599, 609-611.

[7] Pierre Antoine Tabeau, Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri, Annie H. Abel, ed. (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1939), 34-40. Referred to hereinafter as Abel, Tabeau's Narrative. And see also Hiram M. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, 2 vols. (New York, Press of the Pioneers, 1935), I, 86-91, 227-232.

[8] List of goods delivered by Pierre Chouteau and Company, July 11, 1861; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Letters Received from the Central Superintendency; National Archives, Record Group 75; Washington, D. C. Hereinafter this series of records and the depository will be cited as LR from Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

had built their log and earthen towns at intervals from the Cheyenne River northward to the Knife River.[9] Merchants traveling up the Missouri found these towns were natural depots where they could store their goods and obtain food and lodging for themselves. The villages of the Missouri thus became principal outlets for White goods going onto the Plains.[10] The towns were already centers of native commerce, far-away tribes coming there to barter for agricultural products. The Kiowas were among those arriving at the Arikara market.

The hunt provided the Plains Indians only with meat, hides, and bones, whether in abundance or in small quantity. The Kiowa way of life made them a likely market for products of societies which produced other and different articles. The possibility of a more varied culture was a factor of contact with different people. Of the agriculturalists this was especially true, and the tribe had an affinity for farming people in both the north and the south. They doubtless had contact with agricultural tribes in pre-history, since at various times there were sedentary peoples on the Plains and

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[9]Robert H. Lowie, Indians of the Plains (New York, American Museum of Natural History and McGraw-Hill, 1954), 19-23. And see also Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition; 8 vols. (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1904-05), VI, 91. Cited hereinafter as Thwaites, Original Journals of Lewis and Clark.

[10]The Mandan villages were the object of Vérendrye's visit. Margry, Découvertes, VI, 590-591. Truteau and others from St. Louis used the Arikaras as their headquarters. See below.

on the margins of the prairies.[11] The earliest known of such contact was with the three village tribes of the upper Missouri, all of whom the Kiowas remembered as friendly traders.[12] Of these, they appear to have been in more intimate contact with the Arikaras. Geographical position would explain this, because the Arikaras were the farthest south and closer to the Kiowas. In 1794 they had a village at the mouth of the Cheyenne River.[13] Formerly, Arikara villages extended farther south where Lewis and Clark noted several abandoned sites.[14] The Sioux knew Grand River in South Dakota as the Arikara River, indicating that they had lived there for a long time.[15] This residence would have placed them in closer range to the Kiowas. The association between the two tribes was long enough and important enough that one Kiowa band was named after the Arikara (K' a t ' a, or Biters). The Kiowas stated to Mooney that the band was so called because of their closeness to the villagers and not because of descent.[16] By 1795 smallpox and wars had

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[11]Waldo R. Wedel, Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1961), 88-89, 95, 99-100, 105-110, 139-155.

[12]Mooney, Calendar History, 158-159.

[13]Abel, "Truteau's Description," 164-166 and note 56.

[14]Thwaites, Original Journals of Lewis and Clark, I, 179, 204.

[15]Mooney, Calendar History, 158.

[16]Ibid., 158-159.

substantially reduced the Arikara population.[17]

Even in decline the Arikara village must have appeared as a metropolis to the Plains Indians. Their products attracted many tribes such as the Sioux, Cheyennes, Padaux, Caminanbiches, and Pitapahotos as well as the Kiowas.[18] The Arikara fields were a matter of comment by travelers who noted their agricultural industry.[19] They had corn, tobacco, beans, and pumpkins which were available for commerce.[20] Pierre Antoine Tabeau stated that the Kiowas and other wandering tribes from the west obtained "maize [corn], tobacco, pumpkins," from the villagers.[21] Confirming the Kiowa tradition of amity,[22] he reported that they went to the Arikaras as "true friends," not demanding extortionate prices for their own goods.[23]

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[17]Abel, "Truteau's Description," 164, note 55. And see also Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 123-124.

[18]Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 304. And see also Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 137. The Arikaras moved their village somewhat farther north in 1795. It was the more northerly location to which Tabeau referred. Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, p. 69, note 29. "Padaux" and its variant, "Padouca" were applied to two groups of Indians according to Secoy. The French used it for the Apache before 1750; after which date they used it for the Comanche who replaced the Apache on the Plains. Frank R. Secoy, "The Identity of the 'Paduca,'" American Anthropologist, n. s., LIII (1951), 525-540. For further identification see footnote 33 of this chapter.

[19]Thwaites, Original Journals of Lewis and Clark, VI, 88-89.

[20]Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 131.

[21]Ibid., 151-152.

[22]Mooney, Calendar History, 158-159.

[23]Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 151.

The agricultural foodstuffs were vital to the Kiowas whose only access to them was by trade. They used Arikara tobacco for ceremonial purposes. Smoking accompanied certain activities with the intent of giving them added solemnity.[24] They were fond of tobacco, "which the Ricaras sell to them very well, because of this value."[25] And when the Kiowas approached the town in 1795 the Arikaras sent gift tobacco to them indicating they would get a peaceful reception.[26]

The Kiowas brought horses and products of the hunt to trade at the Arikara market. The nature of trade in pre-horse times is a matter of conjecture; exchange of goods would normally have occurred, though logically on a much smaller scale. The horse allowed greater movement, permitted a surplus of meat and hides by aiding production, thereby stimulated trade, and it was itself a trade article. It is not known when the Kiowas obtained horses, but Chevalier Louis Joseph de la Vérendrye in 1742 found the animals in the North Plains where the Kiowas were later located. He listed a number of tribes; some of these can be identified; some cannot. But none are clearly identifiable as Kiowas.[27] By

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[24]Mooney, Calendar History, 240. For such examples among Indians of the Upper Missouri, see Nasatir, "Truteau's Journal," 270, 292, 303-304. And see also Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 117. For use of tobacco in the legal system of the Kiowa see Richardson, Law and Status, 11, 55-60.

[25]Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 158.

[26]Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 309.

[27]Margry, Découvertes, VI, 599-611.

the 1790's, however, the tribe had enough horses to barter. Of goods of their own manufacture they brought to the Arikaras, "Deer leather, well-dressed, shirts of antelope-skin, ornamented and worked with different-colored quills of the porcupine, shoes, and especially a quantity of dried meat and of prairie-apple flour."[28] The trade pattern between the Arikaras and Kiowas shows the reciprocal relationship which existed between an agricultural and a hunting people.

Located between the Arikaras and the Kiowas were the Cheyennes who acted as middleman between their neighbors.[29] The Cheyennes were recent immigrants into the Plains;[30] they had recently been agriculturalists themselves;[31] and they had been in contact with White men and White trade longer than their friends in the Black Hills. With a sophistication which experience gave them the Cheyennes possessed the skills needed by middlemen; and to this superior knowledge the Kiowas deferred. The French traders met the more remote Kiowas through the Cheyenne. In 1795 when the Kiowas wished to go to the Arikara village it was the Cheyennes who

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[28]Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 158. And compare Abel, "Truteau's Description," 167.

[29]Truteau said they were on the Cheyenne River and its tributaries in the 1790's. Abel, "Truteau's Description," 165-167. Compare Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 301.

[30]Joseph Jablow, The Cheyenne in Plains Indian Trade Relations, 1795-1840, 7-9.

[31]Ibid., 6. Truteau indicates that as late as the 1790's a band of Cheyennes practiced farming. Abel, "Truteau's Description," 165-166.

preceded them as if to look over the situation.[32] When assured of a peaceable reception and of good trading possibilities they sent runners to the waiting Kiowas. They informed the White trader, "That the young men of their Nation had started off, carrying tobacco to the three Nations which I had named, the Cayoguas, the Caminanbiches, and the Pitapahotos. . . ."[33] The Cheyenne participation in the trade, at least in respect to the exchange of White goods, was that of guardian and price-fixer. The Kiowas appear to have benefitted from their arbitration, for in 1804-05 Tabeau complained that the Cheyenne supervision had deprived him of profits in his trade with the Plains tribes. They were stubborn in determining prices and, "This vain-glory has been conducive to my detriment in the slight trade of the Caninanbiches and others who obstinately defer to its judgement."[34]

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[32]Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 304 and 309-310. Truteau wrote, "It would be easy, by means of the Cheyennes who are their friends to extend our commerce with those nations [Kiowas, Caminanbiches, Pitapahotos] and obtain from them fine furs." Ibid., 301.

[33]Ibid., 309. "Cayoguas" was the French equivalent of the Kiowa name for themselves, "Gâ-i-gwu." Mooney, Calendar History, 148. Abel identifies the Caminanbiches as Arapaho. See Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, p. 98, note 18. The Pitapahotos are not clearly identifiable.

[34]Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 153. In the same place he added, "However it may be, it is certain that, if it had not been for the interference of the Chayennes, I should have made better use of the nations who accompanied them this year for the first time on their visit to the Ricaras." He was mistaken about the Plains tribes' first visit to the Arikaras occurring in 1804-05; for Truteau recorded such visits ten years earlier. See also Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 304-305, 309.

Since the Cheyennes were late arrivals on the Plains the question arises of whether they had obtruded between the Kiowas and the Arikaras. Connected with this is the matter of how long the latter two tribes had maintained their contact. The Kiowas lived in the Black Hills before the Cheyennes arrived in the region. Mooney placed the Kiowas there long before 1775 when the Sioux discovered the Black Hills.[35] It is reasonable to assume then that the Kiowa and Arikara contact predated the Cheyenne entrance into the trading relationship. Moreover, the fact that the Arikaras had at one time occupied villages farther to the south would have placed them closer to the Kiowas. The southern location facilitated trade more than the Moreau and Cheyenne River locations.[36]

It is difficult to say when the Kiowa-Arikara trade began. Kiowa tradition says that they moved from the Rocky Mountains eastward to the Black Hills.[37] The tradition is helpful in indicating direction of migration, but it gives no dates.[38] The Black Hills residence allowed closer contact with the Arikaras than their previous location in the west, and trade would have increased with proximity. Since tradition and documents agree that the Black Hills were the eastern

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[35]Mooney, Calendar History, 155.

[36]The Cheyenne agreed that the Kiowa possessed the Black Hills when they moved onto the Plains. Ibid., 157.

[37]Ibid., 153-155.

[38]If the tribes given by Vérendrye could be better identified it would aid in dating the groups in the North Plains. See above, note 27.

limits of tribal territory this was the nearest approach of the Kiowas to the Missouri village.[39] The contact period was long enough and important enough that the Kiowas remembered the villagers as friends long after moving from Arikara country.

White trade profoundly affected the Indian life. It created needs and wants which once awakened were persistent and growing. It was an element in war and peace, affecting the intertribal power balance. The Kiowas early appreciated its importance and throughout their subsequent history endeavored to keep the lines of White trade open to gain many conveniences, to protect themselves, and to retain their hunting grounds. Their desire for trade was related to their own way of life.

Two traders who left accounts of the Kiowas in the north were Jean Baptiste Truteau, who was at the Arikara village in 1794-95, and Pierre Antoine Tabeau, who was with the Arikaras in 1804-05. Both were of the French-American mercantile community which had St. Louis as its headquarters. The French trade offered intriguing possibilities to the Kiowas, bringing tools, clothes, ceremonial things, decorative objects, and weapons. Articles of metal were eminently desirable to a society whose tools were those of the Stone Age. In their

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[39]This statement does not mean that the Kiowas never went beyond the Black Hills. The preceding discussion would refute this. They did go to the Missouri for the particular object of trade. However, they were never there long enough to recognize the Missouri as an area of tribal residence.

pirogues the traders had knives, awls, pickaxes, hatchets, wormscrews, hammers, flints, and brass wire.[40] Clothing included blankets and cloth,[41] which would diversify that of hide and fur. Decorative articles included vermilion, combs, and glass beads.[42] Things whose use was ceremonial were tobacco, medals, and flags.[43] The traders also brought weapons, including metal for arrowheads.[44] Of even greater significance were the firearms. Guns, powder, and bullets appeared as constant merchandise of the traders.[45] The Indians wanted these to preserve their military power in the unstable relationship with neighboring tribes.

The Kiowas obtained these things by two differing means: directly from the Whites and through Indian intermediaries. It appears that the latter situation was the more important in the north. In the early period of White trade the traders were itinerant; neither Truteau nor Tabeau stayed permanently with the Indians. Their visits with the Kiowas were casual, though they expressed deep interest in

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[40]Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 271-272. Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 170-171. For the spelling of Truteau's last name, see Abel, "Truteau's Description," p. 157, note 30. Nasatir accepts "Truteau" rather than "Trudeau."

[41]Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 272.

[42]Ibid., 271. Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 170-171.

[43]Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 262.

[44]Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 170-171. In the same place Tabeau listed spears as articles of trade.

[45]Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 262. Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 158, 171.

the tribe for trading possibilities. On the other hand the articles which they brought were of abiding concern to the Kiowas. Once introduced to things of White manufacture they wanted them whether the White trader was present or not. The Arikaras and Cheyennes, being closer to the source, had a greater supply; and they were willing to trade with the Kiowas, providing the latter could give them something of equal value in return. This the Kiowas did have--horses. They were closer to the Spanish provinces than either Cheyennes or Arikaras and therefore had easier access to the horse supply.[46] Between the tribes there were two types of trade. A new pattern of White goods for horses developed alongside the older, aboriginal pattern of hunting products for agricultural produce. In July, 1795, the Arikaras sent word to the Kiowas that they had guns, powder, and knives which they would trade for horses.[47] The two patterns co-existed. Tabeau characterized the transaction as a gift exchange. There was an understanding that the gifts should be of equal value. One horse was worth "a gun, a hundred charges of powder and balls, a knife, and other trifles."[48] If one party was dissatisfied with what he received he could recall his own gift, and the transaction was annulled.[49]

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[46]Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses," 429-436.

[47]Nasatir, "Truteau's Journal," 306.

[48]Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 158.

[49]Ibid.

The exchange of goods between the White trader and the Kiowas differed from the preceding. Nowhere do the traders indicate that there was the concept of gift exchange, rather, bartering for commodities of equal value occurred. Gift giving would have happened as a matter of courtesy, but one factor marked off the traders from the Indian middlemen. The French traders had no use for horses. They traveled to their depot, the village, by boat; and there was no close White population to absorb the horses. The traders, then, had no use for one of the two principal products of the Kiowas, while the other major product, buffalo hides, was not their main object. They were interested in "peltries," the fur of the smaller animals such as beaver and otter.[50] Thus, distance and lack of mutually desired trade products limited Kiowa-White trade in the north. This strengthened the middleman position of the Arikaras and Cheyennes, and they both desired horses. By 1804 horses were the most important article of intertribal trade.[51]

The Kiowas responded to White trade articles with keen interest. When informed of the presence of Whites among the Arikaras the Kiowas sent word that they were approaching,

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[50]In his assessment of the fur trade Tabeau named the following animals as those which would give the better profit: beaver, otter, martin, lynx, wild cat, pekan, red and silver fox, and bear. These he valued above the buffalo the hunting of which he thought interfered with the more valuable peltry trade. Ibid., 163-165. Tabeau was thinking in terms of market demand. A White market for buffalo hides had not yet strongly developed.

[51]Ibid., 158.

that they needed certain articles, and that they wished to form a trade alliance.[52] Commerce in White articles promised much to a society whose tools were of stone, bone, and wood. A knife cut more easily than a bone edge; a hatchet could cut a tipi-pole better than any stone tool; a metal surface fleshed a buffalo skin more easily than an antler adze.[53] The superiority of a metal arrowtip over that of stone was obvious at the arrow's first impact. The hardware brought by the French made the hunting life more productive.

Flourishing trade requires that its channels be unhampered by war. The Kiowa-Cheyenne-Arikara trade complex was one over which its constituent members were solicitous. Disputes between the tribes undoubtedly did arise. The barter system does not readily lend itself to precise measurement and prompt agreement. However, available evidence indicates that the three tribes carefully cultivated peace. Truteau said that friendship and alliance existed between them, which was an encouraging situation for commerce.[54] Tabeau made a similar statement: "These people [Plains tribes] visit them [the Arikaras] as true friends and the

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[52]Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 304-305. See also Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 158. The tribes promised to come to the village when the corn matured.

[53]Lowie, Indians of the Plains, 55-59.

[54]Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 301. See also Abel, "Truteau's Description," 167-168.

advantage of the trade is almost equal."[55] Certainly, the connection from the Kiowa viewpoint was valuable.

Besides making the nomadic life easier and more productive the Arikara trade was useful to the Kiowas for reasons of defense. Through it they had access to firearms which were upsetting the intertribal balance of power in the late eighteenth century. The Northern Plains were in a tumultuous condition as the numerous and warlike Sioux moved from the east into the rich buffalo country.[56] The area already occupied by Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Crows was the scene of conflict in which access to firearms was crucial. The Sioux were jealous of the Missouri River trade and they objected to White traders going to the Arikaras from whom their Plains enemies would obtain guns. With some feeling they informed Truteau "that the French did very wrong to carry powder and balls to the Arikaras. That this powder would be used to kill the Sioux."[57] For their part the Kiowas found that the Sioux interfered with their trade route to the Missouri River. They told Truteau in 1795 that they hesitated to come to the Arikaras because the Sioux would kill them.[58]

Geography and numbers favored the Sioux. Their position straddled the Missouri River and their closer access to

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[55]Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 151.

[56]Ibid., 130-131, 152. Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 296, 301. Mooney, Calendar History, 167-168.

[57]Nasatir, "Journal of Truteau," 270.

[58]Ibid., 304-305.

the flow of goods gave them greater firepower. The pressure on the Kiowas' northern border was so great that they were unable to withstand it. Neither the tribe's desires nor the French expectations for the northern trade were fulfilled. Without realizing it Tabeau was describing the decline of the Arikara-Kiowa trade in 1805.[59] Even as he wrote Kiowa warriors were treading the passes to Santa Fe to investigate possibilities of a southern replacement for the northern trade.

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[59]Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 154, 158.

CHAPTER III

THE KIOWAS AND NEW MEXICO

The Kiowas had new possibilities to develop in the South Plains. They were nearer to the Wichitas, or Tayovayas, a sedentary, agricultural tribe, and this was also an area where French traders coming from the east had been active. The new Kiowa homeland was athwart trails which were to bring Anglo-American traders to the west, and their country bordered upon New Mexico with which they endeavored to maintain contact. The Upper Rio Grande had for centuries been an area of sedentary peoples with fixed abodes. Agricultural production allowed people to concentrate in towns. Contact existed between them and the Plains peoples and an exchange of goods occurred. Puebloan articles dating from 1300 to 1450 have been found along the Canadian River where it crosses the Plains.[1] In 1599 Plains Indians were selling to the Pueblos "meat, hides, tallow, suet and salt in exchange for cotton blankets, pottery, maize, and some small green stones which they use."[2] The Dismal River Indians living in Central

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[1]Wedel, Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains, 144.

[2]Herbert E. Bolton, comp. and ed., Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706 (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 226.

Nebraska in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had Puebloan pottery and turquoise.[3] The Spanish occupation of the Rio Grande gave added variety to the trade. The introduction of horses into the grasslands was from New Mexico.[4] Trade fairs were held at the pueblos nearest the Plains, commonly at Taos, Picuris, and Pecos.[5] At such times large numbers of Indians gathered to barter their goods. At one time in 1786 the Comanches brought "more than six hundred hides, many loads of meat and tallow, fifteen riding beasts and three guns. . . ."[6]

From Santa Fe trade routes followed the passes of the Rocky Mountains northward and eastward to the Plains over which the goods diffused. The movement of goods was slow because the Indians surrounding New Mexico were an absorbing market. Merchandise made its way gradually through the native population, and by 1742 Indians on the Kansas River had Spanish hatchets and knives.[7] In 1805 and probably much earlier, tribes in the Black Hills had hardware and religious articles.[8] If horses are considered as merchandise, Spanish

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[3]Wedel, Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains, 113.

[4]Francis Haines, "Where Did the Plains Indians Get Their Horses?" American Anthropologist, n. s., XL (1938), 112-117.

[5]Ibid. See also Bolton, Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706, 226.

[6]Alfred B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1932), 306.

[7]Margry, Découvertes, VI, 441.

[8]Abel, Tabeau's Narrative, 158.

products were in the North Plains in 1742.[9]

The nature of Kiowa contact with the Rio Grande peoples previous to the eighteenth century is not known. Historical evidence before the 1730's is not available, but if the theory that the Kiowa language is Tanoan be proved correct, then contact may have occurred much earlier.[10] Relations with New Mexico at that time appear as casual, limited to individuals who by happenstance were on the Rio Grande.[11] The New Mexicans thought of the tribe as living far away near the Missouri.[12] The character of relations changed upon the tribe's movement southward. They made a determined effort to open a direct line of communication with New Mexico. The shutting off of the northern trade route undoubtedly gave added force to their attempt. They appeared less willing to accept intermediary trading tribes between them and White sources. On one of the early ventures they asked James Pursley [or Purcell] to serve as their agent. They sent him ". . . into Santa Fe, to know of the Spaniards if they would receive them friendly and enter into a trade with them."[13]

Other tribes disputed their efforts. The Comanche

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[9]Margry, Découvertes, VI, 599 and 602.

[10]Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, Cornelius Osgood, ed.; Viking Fund, Publications in Anthropology, VI (New York, Viking Fund, 1946), 23.

[11]See above, Chapter I, footnotes 22 and 23.

[12]Fernando de Chacón to Comandante-General Pedro de Nava; March 23, 1801; SANM, 1533 (9).

[13]Pike, Expeditions, II, 758.

alliance protected their southern flank. But Utes and Apaches were in the mountains between the Plains and Santa Fe, and they bitterly resented the Kiowa thrust towards the Rio Grande. In August, 1802, the governor of New Mexico wrote,[14]

> Concerning the Nations of the North, it appears according to the account of the Comanches that the Tupini band have dealt the Kiowas a great blow, killing 25 of them. And having taken much of their territory they are determined to dislodge them from the Arkansas River[15] which is the place which they sought and chose in order to establish themselves in the vicinity of this province.

This was only one battle in a war. In subsequent encounters the Kiowas were more successful, as indicated by a letter of 1805:[16]

> The interpreter Manuel Mestas has returned from his trip, after having been sick and suffered many difficulties [caused] by recovering only nine animals or pack mules, by which he went to learn the results of the cruel war which the Kiowas are waging upon the Yuta Timpanagos who were beseiged by them in battle.

By 1805 they had established connection with the Spanish.

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[14]"Por lo que respecta a las Naciones del Norte, parece Segun [la] relacion de los Comanches que la parcialidad Tupini les habian dado un fuerte golpe matandoles 24 Caiguas y cogidoles mucha parte de Su Territorio, estando resueltos a desalojarlos del Rio Napeste, que es el Parage que Solicitaron y eligieron para establecerse a las immediaciones de esta prov [inci] a." Chacón to Nava; August 30, 1802; SANM, 1621 (1).

[15]For a reference which identifies the Napeste River as the Arkansas see Alfred B. Thomas, <u>After Coronado</u> (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1935), p. 263, n. 19.

[16]"El Interprete Manuel Mestas se restituio de su viage despues de haver estado enfermo y pasado muchos travajos sin recobrar mas que nueve Bestias, pues las mulas de carga de que iba a entregarse de resultas de la cruel Guerra que los Caiguas estaban haciendo a los Yutas Yimpanagos, en un choque fueron apresados por ellos." Alencaster to Comandante General Salcedo; November 20, 1805. SANM, 1925 (27).

But the Utes continued to harrass the lines to Santa Fe. The Spanish trade was at stake as well as access to the buffalo Plains. In 1809 a combined force of 600 warriors of the Utes, Paiutes, and Jicarilla Apaches sought to enter the Plains near the juncture of Fountain Creek and the Arkansas, a favorite wintering spot of the Kiowas. They were defeated by the Kiowas and Comanche ". . . because of having divided their cavalry and their infantry."[17]

Upon entering the New Mexico borderlands the Kiowas came under the watchful eye of Spanish policy. From nearly two centuries of experience the Spanish had developed a closely organized Indian strategy. They had a regular system of gift giving for the purpose of stabilizing their relations with the surrounding tribes. They gave manufactured products and food to the tribes in exchange for friendship and military alliance. This differs from the North where the French traders were not agents of the government, licensed and encouraged though they may have been. Louisiana, though a Spanish province for nearly forty years, was never Hispanized and the Spanish Majesty only dimly perceived its Missouri dominions. Truteau and his associates were Spanish citizens by an accident of history. They were entrepreneurs, traders for profit, rather than agents of official bureaucracy.

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[17]". . . a favor de haverse dividido los de a Cavallo y los de a pie. . . ." Josef Manrrique to Comandante-General Salcedo; March 21, 1810; SANM, 2304. The Spanish name for Fountain Creek was Rio del Almagre. See Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers, p. 376, n. 36.

In the South as in the North, peace facilitated the flow of goods. The governors of New Mexico were aware of the Indian desire for trade and used it to secure the borders from attack. When the Kiowas and others appeared doubtful in their friendship for the Spanish, Governor Real Alencaster wrote that it was Americans who ". . . were interfering with our peace, dealings, and commerce with the aforesaid and other nations."[18] They encouraged trade and by a system of presents sought to bind the Indians to Spanish interest. It thus developed that the Kiowas obtained supplies from New Mexico in two different ways: official gifts from the government and by trade with individuals.

Tentative dealings with the Governor achieved official approval when Commandant General Salcedo wrote to Governor Real Alencaster:[19]

> I am advised by your letter, number 474, of last August 22, that upon the return of the Carabinero Juan Lucero a chief of the Cuampe Nation and another of the Kiowa appeared before you in order to treat of peace in the names of the principal chiefs of the same Nations. What you have done in serving them having appeared good

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[18]He specifically mentioned Caiguas, Cuampes, Comanches, and Apaches. ". . . impedirnos la Paz, trato y comercio conlas referidas y con otras Naciones. . . ." Alencaster to Salcedo; November 20, 1805; SANM, 1925 (32).

[19]"Me he impuesto por oficio de U s t [ed] numero 474 de 22 de Agosto ultimo, de que al regreso del caravinero Juan Lucero se presentaron a u s t [ed] un Capitan de la Nacion Cuampe, y otro de la Caigua, a fin de tratar los pases en nombre de los principales Caudillos de las mismas Naciones, y habiendome parecido bien quanto U s t [ed] hizo en obsequio de dichos Yndios, apruebo los ofreciera serian tratado en los propios terminos que los Cumanches: lo que aviso a u s t [ed] en contestacion para que se sirva de gobierno." Salcedo to Alencaster; September 24, 1807; SANM, 2076, (1).

> to me, I approve your offer to them that they be treated on the same terms as the Comanches. I inform you of this my answer so that the ends of government may be served.

The connection between the Spanish and the Comanches was one which both parties cultivated to their mutual benefit. Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez wrote, "The interest in commerce binds and narrows the desires of man; and it is my wish to establish trade with the Indians in these provinces, admitting them to peace wherever they ask for it."[20] The Comanche and Spanish had arrived at an understanding in 1751,[21] and after some years of hostility they reaffirmed the alliance in 1786.[22] Through the rest of the century it proved durable in spite of Spanish difficulties with other tribes.[23] When entering

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[20]Bernardo de Gálvez, Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain, 1786; Donald E. Worcester, trans. and ed.; Quivira Society, Publications, XII (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, 1951), 42. Cited hereinafter as Gálvez, Instructions. Pedro Bautista Pino wrote that the system of giving presents to the Indians dated from the Comanche Treaty in 1786. He also said that "For the past four years we have also been giving presents to the Cahiaguas." Since he was writing in 1812, this would place the initial gifts in 1808. His dates are off somewhat, but his sequence is useful in indicating that the Kiowas entered the alliance after the Comanches. Horace Bailey Carrol and Juan Villasana Haggard, trans. and eds., Three New Mexico Chronicles; Quivira Society, Publications, XI (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, 1942), 135 and note. See also 253 and note.

[21]Elizabeth A. Harper John, "Spanish Relations with the Indios Bárbaros on the Northernmost Frontier of New Spain in the Eighteenth Century." (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Oklahoma, 1957), 87-89. Hereinafter cited as John, "Spanish Relations with the Indios Bárbaros."

[22]Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers, 329-332.

[23]Harper, "Spanish Relations with the Indios Bárbaros," 157-158, 178.

this alliance the Kiowas obtained access to trade articles of the Rio Grande and Spanish peoples.

By giving gifts to the Indians the Spanish government endeavored to secure their favor and to maintain its alliances.[24] When representatives of the wandering tribes went to the seat of government the governor provided them with rations for their stay and gave them articles purchased by special funds for the purpose. The journey to Santa Fe was attended by some uncertainties from the Kiowa viewpoint. For several days they had to travel through a desert and mountainous country far from their own food supply on the Plains. Most of the Spanish population was suspicious, and there was danger of conflict with them. Because of this the Kiowas as a tribe did not enter the mountains to go to Santa Fe. To keep the lines of communication open it was necessary for a few chiefs and emissaries to make the trip. It was they who received the official gifts from the government. On June 8, 1807, two chiefs entered the royal city. But they were only a vanguard of a more important delegation, for on June 24, "The Kiowa General, 2 chiefs, and 10 warriors arrived."[25] The difference in status was reflected in the presents given to the two delegations. Whereas the two chiefs received some cloth and tobacco the other party received a silver-headed

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[24]Carrol and Haggard, Three New Mexico Chronicles, 135-137.

[25]Indian Fund. Accounts, 1806-7; October 31, 1807; SANM, 2084.

cane, one large medal, two small medals, three bridles, six mirrors, one spit for cooking, one silk handkerchief, cloth, ribbons and cigars.[26] This was in addition to clothing given to the chiefs.[27] While in the capital they received meat, salt, flour, and corn from the governmental rations store.[28]

Official dealings also occurred outside of Santa Fe. Representatives of the Spanish government made trips into the Kiowa country where they gave presents to the chiefs as part of negotiations. Juan Lucero was one of these frontier diplomats who in 1805 gave two Spanish flags to a Kiowa chief:[29]

> Lucero left with the Kiowa two silk Spanish flags with spikes; and the latter showed him two fine cloth suits and scarlet trousers which showed long wear.

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[26] Ibid. See the extract of this document in Appendix A.

[27] ". . . coats and capes made of blue Queretaro, with red lapels for the big chiefs, three-cornered hats. . . ." Carroll and Haggard, Three New Mexico Chronicles, 135 and note; 253. Clothing is not listed in the schedule prepared by Governor Real Alencaster because it was of "Extraordinary Expenses . . . Besides Clothing."

[28] "Account of the consumption of 2897 [?] rations given to Indian Allies from November 1, 1806 to October 31 of the present year [1807] . . ." "Relacion de lo consumo en las 2897 (?) Raziones Subministrados a los gentiles aliados desde 1 de Nov [iemb] re de 1806 hasta 31 de Octubre del Presente ano. . . ." In Indian Fund; Accounts, October 31, 1807; SANM, 2084.

[29] "Dio Lucero en poder del Caigua dos Vanderas Espanoles Rejas de seda, y el mismo le manifesto dos vestidos de Paño fino y Pantalones de grana que manifestaban los muchos anos." Alencaster to Salcedo, December 25, 1805; SANM, 1937 (1). In 1806 and early 1807 Lucero made a number of trips to the Kiowas as an official representative of the Spanish government. See the following: Alencaster to Salcedo; August 30, 1806; SANM, 2006. Same to same, November 30, 1806; SANM, 2030 (4).

In 1807 Lucero made the following distribution: 3 dozen scabbard knives, some tobacco, beads, vermillion, 6 mirrors, a quantity of sugar, flour, mutton, and cigars.[30]

The presents given as the mark of Spanish esteem and favor were varied in their tribal use. There were several ceremonial objects: cane, medals, suits, and even tobacco. By their rarity and the conditions under which they were given they had a symbolic meaning. They were part of a formal negotiation between the spokesmen of two different groups. To the tribe, which valued its Spanish connection, the mark of one who dealt with the Spanish authority was the emblem of a man of position. By the same token it was only the more important men who went to Santa Fe. The Kiowas were scrupulous in the matter of symbols, according to a letter of Real Alencaster to Salcedo. They wanted medals of the finer sort rather than medals pounded from pesos which the Spanish sometimes gave,[31] and only those befitting their rank

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[30]Indian Fund; Accounts, 1806-07; October 31, 1807; SANM, 2084. See Appendix A.

[31]The section on medals reads as follows:

"The medals which I have granted are of altered pesos but I have information that they want only the large and finely engraved ones like those which I have prayed that Your Grace be pleased to ask for.

"Among these Indians whose friendship interests us, there are certain ideas and understandings which in order to please them I need things of better quality and of greater cost than there have been in the warehouse. . ."

"Las medallas que he franqueado son pesos fuertes adaptados, pero tengo noticia que las que ellos quieren son las grandes y bien gravadas como las que tengo suplicado a V [uestra] S [uperioridad] se sirbiere pedir a este pico.

and station would do. They used the cane and medals for their own ceremonial occasions. Documents do not state who received the cane on the above event. Likely, it was the Kiowa General, since it was the practice to give such a staff to the highest ranking tribal officer.[32] The medals went to chiefs according to their status, and the suits of clothing, likewise by virtue of their restricted distribution, had a symbolic meaning. The conditions of Plains life made cloth suits impractical for everyday, casual use. But, they were colorful, which had its attractions to a society which liked to relieve the drab cast of hidework by vermilion and dyes. Other articles of cloth, baize, ribbons, and handkerchiefs, gave variety to clothing. Beads also served decorative purposes, and mirrors were aids to personal adornment.

The foodstuffs were rations supplied to the chiefs during the negotiations. The Spanish government supplied the visiting chiefs rations from official stores, but it could not give food to the entire tribe. Its own limited

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"Entre estos gentiles, cuya amistad nos interesa, hay ciertas ideas y conocimientos que para regalarlos necesito de cosas mas finas y de maior gasto que los que hasta aqui hubo en el almacen. . . . ." Alencaster to Comandante-General; December 25, 1805; SANM, 1937 (1).

[32]For the same practice with the Comanches see Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers, 305. In this case, however, the "General", Ecueracapa, asked that the staff be transferred to "Tosacondata, second in authority." The reason for this becomes clear later in the narrative. It was Tosacondata who made the arduous journey to other Comanche camps to obtain their assent to the treaty. "In all [camps] he had announced peace exhibiting to them the cane in testimony of it and of his trust." Ibid., 311.

resources precluded this.[33] The meat, beef and mutton, was more varied than what the Indians could have had in their own camps.[34] The corn and cornmeal gave vegetal supplement to their meat-heavy diet and the sugar, a rarity, was doubtless welcome.

The Spanish gave a few tools and other equipment to the Kiowas. Scabbard knives [belduques] and bridles, and a spit were all that appeared in this series of gifts. The bridles, only three of which were given to the large delegation, were of distinct value to the horse nomads, who fashioned equipment of bone, hide, and wood. The numerous scabbard knives were doubly useful, they were ideal spearheads, and they replaced stone tools. The fire spit was doubtless of considerable value since it facilitated cooking of meat and was superior to the Indians' wooden or leather apparatus.

The Spanish strictly controlled the Indians' acquisition of firearms. Conscious of possible harmful results which an increase in firepower would give the native

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[33]". . . that only the chiefs may come to the town [of Santa Fe] in order to avoid expenses. . . ."
". . . Que solo bengan a la Villa [de Santa Fe] los principales para ebitar gastos. . . ." Alencaster to Salcedo; August 30, 1806; SANM, 1925 (26).

[34]In giving account of expenses of a Kiowa visit Pablo Lucero said ". . . it was necessary for me to kill a fat cow for them."
". . . me fue Yndis Pensable matarles una baca gorda." Pablo Lucero to Governor interino Alberto Maynez; August 16, 1815; SANM, 2619. In his expenses for 1806-7 the governor listed mutton for provisions. See Indian Fund. Accounts, 1806-07. October 31, 1807; SANM, 2084.

population, they were determined to control this factor in military superiority. In all their Indian relations they closely watched the natives' armed might; not even the Pueblos had unrestricted access to firearms.[35] Governor Cruzat y Gongora stated the policy in an edict of 1735:[36]

> It has come to my attention that some persons have sold arms to the Indians of this Kingdom and have also bartered them to the wild Indians, doing this against the Royal Law . . . which orders and commands that neither offensive nor defensive arms be sold to the Indians. I therefore order and command that no one sell or barter offensive arms to Indians incorporated to the Royal Crown nor to the wild Indians.

The scarcity of guns re-enforced the Spanish prohibition. The lack of firearms was a part of the poverty of New Mexico settlers.[37] In 1775 there were only "some six hundred guns and one hundred fifty pairs of pistols in fair condition in the province."[38] In 1812 Pedro Bautista Pino commented on the deficiency of firearms,[39] and the scarcity continued into the Mexican period. The reports of militia in the 1820's

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[35]John, "Spanish Relations with the Indios Bárbaros," 36-37.

[36]"Haviendo llegado a mi noticia que algunas personas han vendido armas a los Yndios de este Reyno y asi mismo han vendido en sus resgates a los Yndios Gentiles, ysiendo esto contra la Ley Real . . . que ordena y manda no se vendan ni rescaten a los Yndios armas ofensivas ni defensivas proybo y mando que ninguno venda ni resgate armas ofensivas a los Yndios incorporados a la Real Corona ni a los Yndios Gentiles". Gervacio Cruzat y Gongora, Bando, May 2, 1735; SANM, 403.

[37]John, "Spanish Relations with the Indios Bárbaros," 103.

[38]*Ibid.*, 112-113.

[39]Carrol and Haggard, *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, 134, note; and see pp. 252-253.

indicated that seldom more than one-third of the soldiers had firearms.[40]

Notwithstanding Spanish suspicion towards the Indians and the arms' scarcity, the Government relaxed its policy late in the eighteenth century. Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez in 1786 changed the strategy for the Nations of the North by encouraging trade in guns and ammunition to replace the bow and arrow.[41] The Indians would then become dependent upon the Spanish for firearms. And the government would regulate the amount of powder given them, thus making them further subject to its policy.[42]

> Powder should be supplied with regular abundance, in order that the Indians put the use of the firearm before that of the arrow and begin to lose their skill in handling the bow; for in this case we will have the certain advantage (assuming that they make war on us) of their lack of ammunition. Consequently, they would be forced to seek our friendship and aid.

The practice continued into the nineteenth century. When the special powder fund was abolished in 1805 Commandant General Salcedo nevertheless ordered gifts of powder to the Indian allies:[43]

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[40]See the "Reports of Militia for the various years 1821 to 1835, Mexican Archives of New Mexico; Santa Fe, New Mexico. Because Mexico became independent of Spain in 1821 the Archives of New Mexico after that date are known as the Mexican Archives. This series of documents will hereinafter be referred to as MANM with the appropriate document citation.

[41]Gálvez, Instructions, 46-49.

[42]Ibid., 49.

[43]"Respecto a que a consecuencia de ordenes de esta Superioridad se extinguio el nombrado fondo de ahorros de Polvora en que hasta aora se habia cargado el valor de la

> Concerning the consequences of orders from this superior office which extinguished the aforementioned powder fund to which the value of powder distributed as a gift to our allies the wild tribes had been charged: I inform you in answer to your letter, number 143 of last November 20, that the powder given to said Tribes be charged by virtue of your warrant to the account or special report as that used by the troops.

So that by the time that the Kiowas moved southward New Mexico had become a source of firearms for the Southern Plains, and they were not slow to take advantage of these benefits. On one of his trips Juan Lucero found it necessary to augment his gift of tobacco and powder when he found his Kiowa hosts were accompanied by a group of Orejones:[44]

> That in the [Kiowa] camp there were thirteen of the tribe known as Orejones who live near the Missouri. There were two chiefs among those who gathered at La Junta where there was some tobacco and a little gunpowder which they took to distribute. In order to satisfy them it was necessary to add to the gift from what there was among the escort.

Access to firearms was a powerful incentive to obtain and to maintain a New Mexico alliance. The Kiowas had as much need for arms in the South Plains as they had in the

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distribuida por via de gratificacion a las Naciones gentiles nuestras aliadas; prevengo a u s t [ed] en respuesta a su oficio n [umer] o 143 de 20 Noviembre ultimo, que la polvora con que se obsequia a dichas Naciones se carque en virtud de libramiento de U s t [ed] en la cuenta o relacion peculiar de este articulo en los mismos terminos que se executa con la que consume la Tropa." Salcedo to Governor Real Alencaster; December 19, 1805; SANM 1936 (2).

[44]"Que en la Rancheria havia trece Ranchos de la Nacion conocida por orejones que havitan serca del Misury de los que concurrieron dos Capitanes a la Junta en donde se rep [ostaron] [illeg.] el Tabaco y poca Polbora que llebavan para obsequiarlos haviendo sido presiso aumentar el regalo con lo que se junta entre los de la Escolta para que quedasen contentos." Alencaster to Salcedo, August 30, 1806; SANM, 2006 (1).

north. Other tribes continued to press upon them and to contest their occupation of the buffalo Plains. In the foothills of the Rockies the Utes were a constant menace. On their eastern flank other Indians made incursions into the Plains to obtain buffalo and attempted to drive the Kiowas from the buffalo range. And there was friction with the Pawnees at least as early as 1807.[45]

Private trade, in addition to the government source, supplied the Kiowas with a significant amount of New Mexico products. The exchange occurred at various places. Sometimes it was at the fairs as at Taos. Other times New Mexicans traveled to the Kiowa camps, going through the mountains and traveling northward to the Arkansas or eastward far onto the Plains. The commerce was widespread, though not varied in content. The trade might have begun with hunting expeditions which chanced upon Plains Indians, but it is unlikely that in the nineteenth century there were expeditions of New Mexicans which were exclusively either for trade or for hunting. It is hardly probable that a trade expedition forsook the opportunity of a good buffalo kill; and in view of the

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[45]"From new information it is of interest to me that there are many Kiowas, Cuampes, and other tribes living in friendship towards the headwaters of Fountain Creek and in different places as far as the Arkansas, who apparently have the idea of uniting with the Comanches in order to attack the Pawnees and to wage war upon them."
"Por las descubiertas estoy entersado existen muchos Caiguas, Cuampes y otras Naciones vecinidas en amistad acia la cabesera del Rio del Almagre y en diferentes puntos hasta el Napeste, y parece tienen la idea de unidos con los Com [an] ches atacar a los Pananas y hacerles una guerra." Alencaster to Salcedo; June 13, 1807; SANM, 2056.

possessive attitude which the Kiowas had of the South Plains, it was dangerous for a hunting expedition to go unprepared for trade.[46]

The New Mexicans who went into the Indian country were known under various names. To some they were simply Spanish or Mexican traders,[47] to others they were ciboleros or buffalo hunters.[48] Because they came to have an extensive trade with the Comanches they were also known by the term, Comancheros.[49] Representing the two ethnic communities of New Mexico, the Pueblo Indian[50] and the

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[46]Josiah Gregg said of a Mexican buffalo hunter which his party met:

> "But to return to our Cibolero. He was desirous to sell us some provisions, which, by the by, were welcome enough; for most of the company were out of bread, and meat was becoming very scarce. . . . Our visitor soon retired to his camp hard by, and, with several of his comrades, afterwards brought us an abundance of dry buffalo beef, and some bags of coarse oven-toasted loaves, a kind of hard bread, much used by Mexican travellers. It is prepared by opening the ordinary leavened rolls, and toasting them brown in an oven. Though exceedingly hard and insipid while dry, it becomes not only soft but palatable when cooked in water--or better still in 'hot coffee.' But what we procured on this occasion was unusually stale and coarse, prepared expressly for barter with the Comanches, in case they should meet any. . . ."

Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 66-67.

[47]Jacob Fowler, The Journal of Jacob Fowler. Elliott Coues, ed. (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1898), 71-72. Cited hereinafter as Fowler, Journal.

[48]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 66-67.

[49]Ibid., 257.

[50]In June, 1815, the Alcalde of Taos reported one group of Taos Indians and two other groups of Spanish New Mexicans had left for hunting and trading. Pablo Lucero to Governor interino Maynez; August 16, 1815; SANM, 2619. See footnote 56 of this chapter. And see also Lt. Amiel Weeks

Spanish,[51] they were of the lower classes.[52] They came mostly from such settlements as La Cañada, Abiquiu, and Taos in northeastern New Mexico,[53] that part of the province nearest to Kiowa territory. Josiah Gregg noted that by the 1830's trade expeditions were a common occurrence for they would ". . . collect together, several times a year, and launch upon the plains. . . ."[54] The Spanish records indicate that large numbers of New Mexicans traded with the Kiowas much earlier in the nineteenth century. In 1810 Governor Josef Manrrique mentioned that several groups had gone to the country of the wild Indians. Among them were a hunting party of 60 Taos Indians, another party of 40 men, and some 200 who went to trade with the Kiowas and Comanches. This latter group went northward towards the Arkansas River where it divided, one-half going to the Comanches the other half going to the Kiowas and Cuampes:[55]

Whipple, Report of Explorations for a Railway Route Near the Thirty-fifth Parallel in Reports of Explorations and Surveys . . . for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. 33rd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Executive Document 78; Serial 760, vol. 111, p. 34. Referred to hereinafter as Whipple, Report of Explorations.

[51]Ibid. And see also Fowler, Journal, 51-52; and Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 257.

[52]"These parties of Comancheros are usually composed of the indigent and rude classes of the frontier villages. . . ." Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 257.

[53]See below.

[54]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 257.

[55]"La otra Partida de 100 hombres de la Jurisdiccion de la Cañada, se dirigió a los Caiguas y Cuampes y haviendoles

> The other party of 100 men from the Jurisdiction of La Cañada went to the Kiowas and Cuampes and having found them on the Chato River traded with them. They noticed nothing unusual; they confirm the same account about the five foreign hunters which Esteben Garcia referred to.

In 1815 the Alcalde of Taos reported to Governor Maynez that three licensed parties had recently departed:[56]

> On the 14th of the present month the following parties of men have left this jurisdiction: Indians of this Pueblo in order to hunt buffalo, telling me they were licensed by you; and José Bixil with 20 men to trade with the Comanches, also licensed by you; and twenty three men whom I licensed to trade with the Kiowas, because they tell me the said Kiowas are near and they have no time for delay.

At another time the Alcalde informed the Governor that he could not fully meet the requirements of a levy because several men had departed for the Indian country, some of them going to trade with the Kiowas:[57]

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encontrado en el Rio Chato trataron con ellos y no advirtieron la menor novedad, quienes se ratificaron la misma noticia a cerce de los Cinco Casadores extranjeros que refirio Esteban Garcia." Josef Manrrique to Comandante-General Salcedo; March 27, 1810; SANM 2308.

[56]"El dia 14 -- del corriente han salido de esta Jurisdicion las Partidas de homvres siguientes los Yndios de este Pueblo a la caza de civolos licenciadas segun me dicen Por V[uestra] S[uperioridad] y Jose Bixil tamvien con licencia de V[uestra] S[uperioridad] a co Mercio a los Cumanches con 20 homvres y beinte tres homvres que licencie yo Para los Caiguas Por q[u]e me dicen se allan dichos Caiguas serca y no tendran maior dilacion." Pablo Lucero to Governor interino Alberto Maynez; August 16, 1815; SANM, 2619.

[57]"El Sargent de milicia Man[ue]l Sanches va con el mando de los Sesenta y sinco hombres que V[uestra] S[uperioridad] me pide de esta Jurisdicion los que algunos de ellos van algo desababos por que los de mejores cabalgadores se me hulleron sin lisensia a la Casa de Sibolo y otros con una partidita de veinte hombres que han salido hoy dia de la f[ec]ha para la Nacion de los Cayguas. . . ." Juan de Dios Peña to Governor interino Facundo Melgares; November 4, 1818; SANM, 2768.

> The sergeant of militia, Manuel Sanches, goes with the command of sixty-five men which you have asked of me from this jurisdiction. Some of them are badly equipped because some of my best horsemen left without a license for a buffalo hunt; others went with a party of twenty men which has gone today to the Kiowa tribe.

The Commerce continued into the Mexican period of New Mexico's history. In 1833 the Governor received the following report from the Alcalde of Abiquiu:[58]

> I inform Your Excellency that I granted a license to the citizen Juan de Jesús Jaquez, a resident of this Jurisdiction, to be accompanied by thirty-two men so that he may go to the Kiowa tribe to trade. He has not yet left. I advise Your Excellency of this for your information.

Though the government encouraged the commerce, exercising only the prerogative of licensing, many unlicensed trade parties traveled to the Indians. Because of their illegal activities their operations were not so well chronicled in the official documents. They endeavored to clothe their going and returning in secrecy so as to escape the rigor of the law. The nature of their work makes it difficult to exactly determine their numbers. In 1813 the Alcalde of La Cañada wrote the Governor concerning a trading expedition which had left for the Kiowas with an irregular license:[59]

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[58]"Participo á V[uestra] S[uperioridad] que concedí una licensia al c[iudadano] Juan de Jesus Jaques vecino de esta Jurisdiccion en compañia de treinta y dos hombres, para que pase a la nacion Caygua á tratar, y no ha salido todavia, lo que aviso a V[uestra] S[uperioridad]." Vicente Martines to Governor of New Mexico; January 17, 1833; MANM, 3468.

[59]"Partisipo á us[ted] que la partidita . . . que abia Salido Sin conosimiento de hesta Alcaldia ni de hese Govierno y solo con lisensia del then[ien] te del Ojo Caliente para los Cayguas. . . ." Manuel García de la Mora to

> I inform you of the party . . . that left without the knowledge of either the Alcalde or of the Governor, having only a license from the lieutenant of Ojo Caliente to go to the Kiowas. . . .

When the Alcalde of Abiquiu arrested some unlicensed Indian traders in 1827, he found them to be uncooperative:[60]

> I inform Your Excellency that I have jailed the ten men who went to trade with the Kiowa Tribe and also five men who have not yet been obedient to me. Counted together there are fifteen of them. The ten traders I have fined two pesos each. They are insulting, for they say they will pay nothing even though I keep them in jail all their lives. These men left separate from the party of Sanches with a leader that they themselves chose. It is clear that they left as fugitives since they had no license from a judge. They went without authority and of their own will; and they insult their superiors. I inform you of this and I await the result of your knowledge.

The commerce of the private trader differed from the governmental distribution of commodities. In the first place the government gifts were presents, attended by no concept of an exchange,[61] while in the private commerce the Kiowas exchanged goods for things of value. To meet this situation

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Manrrique; November 11, 1813; SANM, 2518.

[60]"Participo a V[uestra] S[uperioridad] como tengo en arresto a los dies hombres, que Salieron a tratar a la nacion, Caigua, a mas, Sinco hombres, que no nunque sido, darme obedecimento que Contados por todos Son quinze, a los d[ic]hos dies hombres les e intimado cada uno dos p[eso]s de multa, y Se allan de nuestras pues disen no dan nada aunque los tengan en arresto toda la vida; estos hombres, Salieron dispersos de la Partida de Sanches, con un Comandante que ellos de su moto pusieron, pues por lo que Se be Salieron fujitivos, pues lisencia de ningun jues, no la llevaron, Solo infundados, de su Capricho, y metidas en atropelladas sus Superiores, lo que pongo en Conocimiento de V[uestra] S[uperioridad]." Mariano Martin to Governor Antonio Narbona; February 26, 1827; MANM, 1287-1292.

[61]Carroll and Haggard, Three New Mexico Chronicles, 135, and note.

they had to produce something which the New Mexicans wanted. What they bartered was the same as they had in the north, products of the hunt and of the pastures providing their medium of exchange. They traded buffalo hides[62] and horses and mules.[63]

Though the government gave its gifts in or near Santa Fe,[64] the private traders sought out the Indians on the Plains, far from the New Mexican settlements. To the east they went across the Plains, eventually reaching the Wichita Mountains. In December of 1821 the Glenn-Fowler Expedition met some of their New Mexican counterparts on the Upper Arkansas. Colonel Glenn said they were "a party of 60."[65] In the same year and much farther to the south Thomas James encountered "about fifty Spaniards" on the Canadian River, apparently where it flows through the High Plains.[66]

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[62]Long, Account of an Expedition, II, 367.

[63]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 257.

[64]Indian Fund. Accounts, 1806-07. October 31, 1807; SANM, 2084. This document covers an entire year. Each transaction is entered separately. Most of them occurred in Santa Fe; an exception was the apportionment given by Juan Lucero in May, 1807.

[65]Fowler, Journal, 71-72.

[66]Thomas James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, Milo M. Quaife, ed. (Chicago, Lakeside Press, 1953), 136. See map opposite page 100. The clue which places the event on the High Plains is James' statement on page 140: "We once more took up our march along the Canadian and over the immense plains. . . ." This would indicate the present Texas Panhandle. Near the Texas - New Mexico border the Canadian River passes through highly eroded breaks which stretch westward to the mountains. James did not enter this broken country until after meeting the Spaniards.

Josiah Gregg met another group in the same area in 1839.[67] In 1834 Mexican traders were at the Taovayas village in the Wichita Mountains some 300 miles to the southeast of Santa Fe.[68] In 1841 another group crossed the Llano Estacado and went even further to the south to the headwaters of the Pease River.[69] The Comanchero trade afforded a wider distribution of goods than the chieftans' visits to Santa Fe. The traders were in contact with a larger portion of the population, and the exchange took place in the Kiowa camp in view of the general population rather than among the prominent few only. This is not to say that there was an even distribution of commodities. In the dispersal of goods those people with the greater quantity of things to trade would normally have an advantage. Though the richer Kiowas had an advantage in buying foodstuffs they distributed them to relatives and guests and at well served banquets.[70]

Trade articles differed considerably from the official

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[67]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 256-257 and 258, note 6. They were on the Canadian and east of Tucumcari Mountain. Ibid., 260.

[68]"Journal of Colonel Dodge's Expedition from Fort Gibson to the Pawnee Pict Village," American State Papers, Military Affairs, V (Washington, Gales and Seaton, 1860), 378. Cited hereinafter as "Journal of Dodge Expedition."

[69]George W. Kendall, Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition; 2 vols. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1844), I, 213-214. They were in a Kiowa camp which Noel M. Loomis locates on the eastern edge of the Llano Estacado in North Texas. See Noel M. Loomis, The Texan-Santa Fe Pioneers (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1958), 59-62.

[70]Thomas C. Battey, Life and Adventures, 320-322.

gifts. The symbolic emblems of authority, the canes and the medals, were absent from the travelers' bundles. This is to be expected, for these had an official significance. Also omitted were the costly items which the poor New Mexicans could not afford. They had blankets, but they did not have expensive uniforms nor fine cloth.[71] Nor did they have guns or ammunition.[72] The things which they brought were agricultural products supplemented by certain manufactured, ornamental goods. Travelers who met the Kiowas on the Upper Arkansas in the 1820's had little doubt where the Indians obtained the vegetal element of their diet. The Long Expedition found in 1820 that the Kiowas, among others, ". . . carried on a limited trade with the Spaniards of New Mexico, with whom they exchanged dressed bison skins for blankets, wheat flour, maiz, etc. . . ."[73] In 1821 Jacob Fowler said that they supplemented their meat dishes with "Boiled Corn Beens or mush Which arteckels the[y] precured from the Spanyards."[74] At another time the Fowler journal states that the New Mexicans visiting in the camp brought corn which they were willing to sell.[75] Josiah Gregg added to the list bread

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[71]Long, Account of an Expedition, II, 367.

[72]The Comanche chief, Cordaro, complained to Thomas James that the Spanish refused to sell arms to the Indians. James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, 151.

[73]Long, Account of An Expedition, II, 367.

[74]Fowler, Journal, 52.

[75]Ibid., 72-73.

and piñole.[76] There were also a few miscellaneous articles of a decorative nature, which Anglo-American observers called variously "trinkets"[77] and "trinkets and trumperies of all kinds."[78]

A similarity between the government gifts and private goods was the scarcity of hardware. There were a few articles of this sort given by the government, but there is no mention of hardware in the traders' packs. The cost was beyond the reach of the Comancheros. Josiah Gregg summed it up in his Anglo-American way when he said that the New Mexicans ". . . launch upon the plains with a few trinkets and trumperies of all kinds, and perhaps a bag of bread and may-be another of piñole. . . ."[79]

The political authority of Spain and its successor state, Mexico, was weakened by revolution and terminated by Anglo-American occupation of New Mexico in 1846. But the trade of the lowly Comancheros continued into the Anglo-American period, just as French-Americans practiced commerce on the North Plains long after French authority had been withdrawn.

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[76]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 257. Piñole was prepared from corn: "They drink toasted pinole, which is corn toasted and ground and mixed with water." Bolton, Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706, 178.

[77]Kendall, Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition, I, 213.

[78]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 257.

[79]Ibid.

For half a century government gifts and private trade worked to introduce change in Plains Indian culture. Forces within the Kiowa tribe required that the New Mexico connection be encouraged. To satisfy the trade demands the Kiowas needed hides, meat, and horses beyond their own use. So that the New Mexicans accelerated the hunting-pastoral life, while introducing more goods. Innovations occurred in so common a thing as clothing. The Kiowas placed a high value on cloth, and accounts agree that only the well-to-do could afford the New Mexico articles. The Long Expedition noted that, "A few [of the women] are covered by the more costly attire of coarse red or blue cloth, ornamented with a profusion of blue and white beads. . . ."[80] Skin garments were also the rule for the men, ". . . but the opulence of a few has gained for themselves the comfortable, as well as ornamental, and highly esteemed Spanish blanket, from the Mexican traders. . . ."[81] About a decade and a half later the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition found the Kiowa chiefs displaying the Spanish style. Over his more ancient skin apparel one of them ". . . wore a Spanish red cloth mantle. . . ."[82] Another chief in his raiment showed a dazzling combination of Kiowa hidework and the newer Spanish adaptation:[83]

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[80]Long, Account of An Expedition, II, 181.

[81]Ibid.

[82]"Journal of Dodge Expedition," 380.

[83]Ibid.

> Another of the chiefs of the new [Kiowa] band was very showily arrayed; he wore a perfectly white dressed deerskin hunting shirt, trimmed profusely with fringe of the same material, and beautifully bound with blue beads, over which was thrown a cloth mantle of blue and crimson, with leggings and moccasins entirely of beads.

From earliest known contact with the Spanish the Kiowas had a keen interest in trade connections with New Mexico. They would not permit any tribe to stand between them and their access to trade goods. The need to negotiate with the Spanish enhanced the prestige of the chiefs and made available to them those emblems of authority which the New Mexicans bestowed upon their allies. The articles received by the Kiowas gave variety and security to the hunting and pastoral life. The trade augmented their diet with vegetables, and corn in various forms--shelled, ground, boiled, and baked--was a major product in the trade and gift giving. The few firearms available were useful to a people who had to defend their grounds against the encroachments of others.[84] Knives and other hardware found ready use in the carving and cutting which life required. Clothing and decorative articles such as beads were readily adapted to suit tribal practice, though the conditions which accompanied their acquisition, either of gift or trade, limited their use to the leaders and the economically better off.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century

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[84]That they were successful with the few arms can be explained by the fact that other tribes, as the Utes and Apaches, had just as much difficulty as the Kiowa in obtaining arms.

Kiowa relations with New Mexico were peaceful if not friendly. They valued the New Mexico trade and encouraged the flow of goods, and as in the north they sought peace with their customers. Governor Real Alencaster in 1805 said that they appeared earnest in their solicitations, that they wanted peace if only to entice traders.[85] Jacob Fowler noted that they were at war with Texas ". . . tho at Peece with new Maxeco and the Spanish in Habetance there."[86] A prolonged war would cut them off from Spanish supplies, as it did in 1820 when hostilities interrupted the flow of goods to the Upper Arkansas.[87] In the 1840's New Mexican traders dwelt among them and had acquired a knowledge of their life which

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[85]Governor Alencaster was reporting on the identity of a group of Indian attackers. He did not think they were Kiowa because of their recent expressions for peace. He appeared to believe that self-interest inclined them to friendship. The passage reads as follows:

> "In order not to believe the Kiowas [guilty] there are the previous gestures towards peace that they have made. There is also the testimony of a Yuta woman who was a captive among them and of two Comanches who on the same topic assure us that the Kiowas want to treat of peace so that many Spaniards will go to their land where they can surprise and rob them."
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> ". . . para no creerlos Caiguas hay el antecedente de las gestiones que han hecho por la Paz, y la exposicion de una Yuta que estubo prisionera y dos Cumanches en el mismo caso que aseguran quieren tratar los Caiguas la Paz para que bayan muchos Espanoles a sus tierras y Sorprenderlos, robarlos. . . ."

Alencaster to Salcedo; November 20, 1805; SANM, 1925 (32).

[86]Fowler, Journal, 56.

[87]Long, Account of An Expedition, II, 367.

only close association could give.[88] Though the tribe encouraged the commerce they treated the traveling merchants with haughtiness to impress upon them that they were outside the effective limits of New Mexico and at the mercy of Kiowa power. Fowler noted that the Indians treated the New Mexicans with disdain.[89] Gregg said that because of their unprotected state the New Mexicans were apt to be robbed.[90] One group of Comancheros complained to Lieutenant Amiel W. Whipple in 1853 that the Kiowas had taken advantage of their defenseless plight and had plundered them of their goods.[91] Amos Kendall summed up the Kiowa attitude when he wrote, "They appear to be on terms of peace with the New Mexicans so far as it suits their interest and convenience--no farther. . . ."[92] The danger was not so great as to end the commerce, which flourished until Anglo-Americans finished it. The Kiowas certainly did not wish to terminate so useful an exchange. They were careful that in the barter sharp merchants should not take advantage of them. And in their own country terror gave them the better bargaining position, a risk which the Mexicans assumed when traveling in Kiowa territory.

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[88]Kendall, Narrative of the Santa Fe Expedition, I, 212-213, and 262-263.

[89]Fowler, Journal, 72.

[90]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 257.

[91]Whipple, Report of Explorations, 31.

[92]Kendall, Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition, I, 213.

CHAPTER IV

ABORIGINAL TRADE IN THE SOUTH PLAINS

Trade with aboriginal peoples in the South Plains was as vital to the Kiowas as it had been in the north, affecting inter-tribal relations and becoming a factor in alliances. In the south the Kiowas found an agricultural tribe known variously as Taovayas, Pawnee Pict, and Wichita.[1] Located near the eastern edge of the Plains they occupied a position similar to that of the Arikaras in the north. Though Coronado visited their ancestors in his quest for Quivira,[2] their importance as intermediaries dates from a later time when French came from the east.[3] Their semi-sedentary villages were convenient depositories for White merchants.

The Taovayas lived in two different places during the period of French contact. Until about 1757 their home was in the Arkansas River valley near the border of Kansas

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[1]Elizabeth A. Harper John, "The Taovayas Indians in Frontier Trade and Diplomacy, 1719-1768," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XXXI (Autumn, 1953), 270-272, and note 9. Hereinafter referred to as Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1719-1768."

[2]Ibid., 269. See also Wedel, Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains, 104, 146-147.

[3]Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1719-1768," 270, 278-279.

and Oklahoma.[4] The other was some two hundred miles to the south on Red River, where they occupied two villages, one on each side of the stream.[5] The Red River towns were suitable markets for French traders whose point of departure was Natchitoches, a White settlement about 300 miles below the Taovayas. Though closer to Texas than formerly, the Indians continued to trade with the Louisiana French rather than with the Spanish. This preference persisted after Spain added Louisiana to its possessions.[6] Abandoning the Red River site in 1811 they followed a wandering life[7] until re-establishing their town in the Wichita Mountains at whose western edge they were living in 1834.[8]

At their grass hut villages they practiced agriculture

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[4]Ibid., 270-271.

[5]Ibid., 271-272. And see also Herbert E. Bolton, ed., Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780, 2 vols. (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1914), II, 201-202. Cited hereinafter as Bolton, Athanase de Mézières.

[6]Elizabeth A. Harper John, "The Taovayas Indians in Frontier Trade and Diplomacy, 1769-1779," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LVII (October, 1953), 192-193. Cited hereinafter as Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1769-1779."

[7]Elizabeth A. Harper John, "The Taovayas Indians in Frontier Trade and Diplomacy, 1779-1835," Panhandle Plains Historical Review, XXVI (1953), 58-59. Cited hereinafter as Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1779-1835." See also letter of Dr. John Sibley to Secretary of War, December 31, 1811; "Dr. John Sibley and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1814," Julia K. Garrett, ed.; Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLIX (January, 1946), 403. This group of documents will hereinafter be cited as "Sibley Letters."

[8]"Journal of Dodge Expedition," 377.

which furnished them a surplus of vegetables and grain. While visiting at their Red River site Athanase de Mézières noted,[9]

> Their foresight in supplying provisions shows them to be industrious, for there is no house in which at present there may not be seen four or five vessels full of maize, each one estimated at four and a half fanegas, besides a great quantity of beans and calabashes. They preserve the latter from year to year, weaving them curiously like mats. In addition, they raise watermelons and tobacco in great plenty. The abundance of the springs furnishes them fresh and crystalline water to drink, moistens and fertilizes the broad plains where they plant their crops, and offers itself to any one who may wish to irrigate them.

They continued their agricultural occupation in the Wichita Mountains. Sergeant Hugh Evans, a member of the 1834 Dodge Expedition, wrote, "their village was surrounded by large patches of corn and manny other garden vegetables common to a civilized people such as water mellons cucumbers Beans peas &c."[10]

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[9]Bolton, Athanase de Mézières, II, 202.

[10]Hugh Evans, "The Journal of Hugh Evans, Covering the First and Second Campaigns of the United States Dragoon Regiment in 1834 and 1835," Fred S. Perrine, ed.; Chronicles of Oklahoma, III (September, 1925), 192. Cited hereinafter as "The Journal of Hugh Evans." For the official account which agrees with Evans' version see "Journal of Dodge Expedition," 377. Another who was on the expedition said that,

> On the Prarie are a vast number of cornfields enclosed by fences of brush and roots of trees which have been drifted down the river. The Pawnees [Taovayas] are a much finer race of men than the Comanches they do not live a life of entire indolence but raise corn Pumpions and other vegetables.

Louis Pelzer, ed., (author unknown), "A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834-1835," Iowa Journal of History and Politics, VII (July, 1909), 354-355.

Their agricultural surplus made them a ready market for the hunting nomads. And they were a principal outlet for White products going onto the South Plains in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1719 La Harpe visited Taovayas-related tribes on the Canadian and Arkansas rivers;[11] in the same year Claude Du Tisne was with some Taovayan peoples on the Arkansas.[12] An alliance with the Comanches, urged by the French traders, strengthened the Taovayas' position as middlemen.[13] By 1800, however, they were in decline as purveyors to the Plains.[14]

Du Tisne indicated the nature of Taovayas' commerce. Though he had not gone prepared to trade, only to survey the possibilities, the Indians pressed him for European goods, especially for guns. From his meagre supplies he traded "three guns, some powder, some pickaxes, and some knives for two horses and a mule with Spanish marking."[15] Unlike their counterparts in the North Plains the French traders in the

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[11]Margry, Découvertes, VI, 287-297. Joseph B. Thoburn has prepared a map of La Harpe's journey. Joseph B. Thoburn, ed., "La Harpe's First Expedition in Oklahoma," Anna Lewis, trans.; Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (December, 1924), 331-349.

[12]Margry, Découvertes, VI, 309-319.

[13]Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1719-1768," 278. In 1719 Du Tisne expressed the opinion that the Panioussas [Taovayan] should ally with the Plains tribes. "L'on pourroit, a ce qu'il me paroist, réussir à mettre les Padoucas en union avec cette nation [Panioussas]." Margry, Découvertes, VI, 314.

[14]Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1779-1835," 43, 52-53.

[15]Margry, Découvertes, VI, 314.

south could use horses, for both La Harpe and Du Tisne traveled to the Indians on horseback.[16] Other Whites were not as successful as the French in establishing friendly contact with the Taovayas. Suspicions and mishaps hindered trade with Spanish Texas,[17] and Anglo-Americans were not welcome. In 1777 two of the latter appeared at the villages ready to trade. Their expectations were not realized, for the Indians, remembering Louisiana admonitions about the English, "took from them by force the goods that they carried, leaving to them only the privilege of retreating."[18]

Later Anglo-American efforts met with a less hostile reception. In August, 1807, and again in the spring of 1808, the Taovayas sent word to the United States Indian agent at Natchitoches that they would welcome traders.[19] In response to these friendly gestures a group of Americans went to the tribe in 1807 and was well received.[20] In the following year a party of traders headed by Anthony Glass and

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[16] Ibid., 280, 291, 314-315.

[17] Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1769-1779," 192-194.

[18] Bolton, Athanase de Mézières, II, 207.

[19] Sibley to Maj. Gen. Henry Dearborn, November 20, 1808; "Sibley Letters," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLVII (July, 1943), 49-50.

[20] Writing in November, 1808, Sibley stated, "Mr Alexander the Year before had been at the Panis [Taovayas] nation with Mr Lewis & five or six other persons, who took their departure whil General Wilkinson and Col Cushing were here [at Natchitoches] I am pretty Confident with the knowledge of the General. Mr Alexander being an Ingenuous friendly Man taught the Indians Several Usefull things & became thereby a great favorite among them." Ibid., 50.

accompanied by a Mr. Alexander set out for the villages. Glass had five or six persons "as hirelings or assistants." They took presents to the Taovayas chief, including a United States flag and a "Scarlet Uniform Coat." They were "Armed Only as hunters, or people who had to Subsist Some Months upon what game they could kill."[21] Glass spent more than eight months among the Indians and reported the Taovayas "appear particularly Attached to the Government & People of the United States."[22] The great danger which American traders ran was from the Osages who were hostile towards both Indians and Whites.

Evidence is lacking on Kiowa contact with the Taovayas while the latter were on the Arkansas. Testimony, however, indicates that both Kiowas and Comanches in their more southern habitat found the Taovayas to be a convenient and suitable, if not stable marketplace. The Kiowas became allies of the Taovayas by virtue of their Comanche alliance concluded in the 1790's.[23] John Sibley, whose information came from French traders at Natchitoches, said that the Taovayas sold to their nomadic friends "corn, pumpkins, beans and tobacco."[24]

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[21] Ibid., 50-51.

[22] Sibley to Secretary of War, May 10, 1809; "Sibley Letters," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLVII (January, 1944), 322.

[23] Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1779-1835," 54.

[24] John Sibley, "Historical sketches of the several Indian tribes in Louisiana, south of the Arkansas river and between the Mississippi and river Grande," American State Papers, Indian Affairs, I (Washington, Gales and Seaton,

They prepared the pumpkins and tobacco so that their customers could easily carry them on horseback. They cured the pumpkins by cutting and drying in strips; the strips were then woven "into large mats, in which state they sell it to the Hietans [Comanches], who, as they travel, cut off, and eat it, as they want it."[25] The tobacco, also cured by drying, was cut into a desired fineness and then put into bags of a certain size, showing some standardization in the exchange.[26]

Information on the White goods is vague; but they probably differed little from those arriving at the Arikara mart. Hardware, cloth, beads, and guns would have been as welcome on the Red River as they were in the Black Hills, or for that matter on the Upper Arkansas. The volume of goods among the Taovayas appears smaller in the first decade of the nineteenth century than it was some forty years earlier.[27] Amos Stoddard in 1812 thought the Red River Indians were not receiving their share of commerce.[28] On the other hand Pedro Bautista Pino, a New Mexico Spaniard, believed the Taovayas and Kiowa trade was too much. The Kiowas received from the Taovayas such plentiful arms that

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1832), 723. Cited hereinafter as Sibley, "Historical Sketches."

[25] Ibid., De Mézières also commented on the woven pumpkin strips. See above.

[26] Sibley, "Historical Sketches," 723.

[27] Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1779-1835," 50-52.

[28] Amos Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana (Philadelphia, Mathew Carey, 1812), 455-456. Cited hereinafter as Stoddard, Sketches.

New Mexicans were getting some of their own firearms from them. He thought that this uncontrolled Indian access to guns and ammunition was dangerous for New Mexico.[29]

The Kiowa contribution to the Taovayas' market was the same as in their other trade. Sibley noted that the wandering tribes brought to the village, "buffalo rugs, horses, and mules."[30] For their own part the Taovayas found the Kiowas were more agreeable customers than the Comanches. Lieutenant Thompson B. Wheelock of the 1834 Dragoon Expedition wrote the impressions of one Taovayas guide:[31]

> From conversation to-day with one of the Indians (Ski-sa-ro-ka, an intelligent Toyash) we learn that their nation lived formerly south; that their oldest men were born there, and that they and the Comanches have long been in habits of friendly intercourse; the Comanches exchange buffalo meat for the agricultural productions of the Toyash; the Comanches not much liked by the Toyash; they cheat them and ride away. The Kiowas, a newer acquaintance, more honest and gentle.

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[29]Carroll and Haggard, Three New Mexico Chronicles, 134-135, and 134, note.

[30]Sibley, "Historical Sketches," 723. Compare Stoddard who wrote that the Taovayas [whom he called Pawnees] ". . . raise more than double the quantity of corn and vegetables that is necessary for their own consumption, and furnish their neighbors with the surplus in exchange for peltries." Stoddard, Sketches, 456. In calling the Taovayas Pawnees Stoddard used an Anglo-American mis-application common at the time. On the preceding page [455] he indicated that these were not the Pawnee of the Platte. Compare Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1719-1768," p. 271, note 9. See also Sibley, "Historical Sketches," 723, where he says, "The French call them, Panis, and the Spaniards, Towiaches." Sibley's term for the nomads was "Hietans," by which he meant the Comanches. Since other sources indicate that the Kiowas were also in the area they undoubtedly shared in the trade. Carroll and Haggard, Three New Mexico Chronicles, 134-135; 134, note; 135, note.

[31]"Journal of Dodge Expedition," 381.

Whatever may have been the opinion of a middleman about the relative merits of his customers, the Kiowa-Taovayas relationship was strong enough to be an alliance. Lieutenant Wheelock wrote that, "Colonel Dodge learns that the Comanches, Kiowas, and the band called by us the Pawnee Picts, but correctly termed the Toyash, are friends, and to a certain degree allies."[32] Common interest of differing societies led them to an understanding which encouraged friendship. The Kiowas conducted themselves as allies in 1834, and when they learned of strangers' presence in the village they hastened there ready for war with the interlopers if the occasion required.[33] Sitting in council with the Taovayas and Comanches the Kiowas deliberated on a common policy, referring to their colleagues as friends and brothers.[34]

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[32]Ibid., 376. George Catlin wrote in a similar manner:

> They [Comanches] speak much of their allies and friends the Pawnee Picts [Taovayas]. . . . Besides the Pawnee Picts there are the Kiowas and Wicos [Wacos]; small tribes that live in the same vicinity, and also in the same alliance; whom we shall probably see on our march.

George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, Tosswill and Co., 1841-42), II, 69. Cited hereinafter as Catlin, Letters and Notes.

[33]"Here the talk was interrupted by a band of some twenty or thirty Kiowas rushing on horseback into camp . . . they ride well and were admirably equipped to-day for fight or flight." "Journal of Dodge Expedition," 379-380.

[34]Ibid., Sergeant Hugh Evans recorded that the Kiowa chief addressed the assembled dignitaries as "White men and brethren." "The Journal of Hugh Evans," 204-205. As a result of the Wichita village conference a delegation of Kiowas, Wichitas [Taovayas] and Comanches went to an intertribal conference at Fort Gibson. See the following: "The Journal of

Hostile tribes threatened the Kiowas' access to trade goods in the South Plains as they had in the north. The Taovayas' trade was no exception. The Osages, favorably placed on the Missouri and Arkansas, were able to extend their power far onto the Plains and to defy other peoples. A decisive element in their ability to do so was their superior access to firearms. They were located on or near a principal White route to the Central Plains; and as favorites of the powerful Chouteau trading family they had a ready access to trade and to firearms.[35] Thus arm[illegible] they made excursions onto the buffalo Plains to obtain meat and hides and to raid other tribes for horses. Athanase de Mézières in 1778 stated that the Osage were among the principal enemies of the Taovayas:[36]

> But even these overwhelming advantages [of the Taovayas] are offset in no small degree by the perpetual dread in which these natives live, now of the Osage, who wage bloody war against them. . . .

John Sibley in 1805 wrote that the Taovayas were "at war

Hugh Evans," 204-205; Catlin, Letters and Notes, II, 82-83; and letter of S. C. Stambaugh, August 26, 1834, in Niles Register, October 4, 1834, pp. 74-76.

[35]In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, traders found the Osages on the Osage and Arkansas Rivers. See Nasatir, Before Lewis and Clark, I, 124-125; II, 486. For records and comments on Chouteau trade with them see ibid., II, 591, 605, 623, 628. In 1822 on the Arkansas above the mouth of the Little Arkansas, Thomas James met Auguste Pierre Chouteau trading with the Osages. James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, 196-201.

[36]Bolton, Athanase de Mézières, II, 203.

with the Osages, as are every other nation."[37] Nor did the Osages confine their attention to Indians, for they committed hostilities on Whites who traded with the Taovayas. Anthony Glass who lost thirty-six horses to Osage depredations while among the Taovayas had some comments about the warfare between the Osages and the Taovayas and their allies.[38]

> Capt Glass farther Says that when he left the Panis [Taovayas] Nation a party of Panis & Hietans [Comanches] to the number of about one Thousand Warriors had gone to War Against the Ozages on the River Arkansa, with a determination to exterminate that Band of Robbers; who are Constantly stealing their Horses; a party of them stole from Capt Glass 36 Valuable Horses from Near the Panis Village, and during the last year he believes they stole from the Panis Near One Thousand head. These Ozages are regarded by all white and Red people in this quarter as a Common peste to mankind.

The Osages became so strong that they forced the Taovayas to abandon their Red River villages.[39] Sibley stated that upon the death of their chief in 1811, the tribe broke up its villages, one group joining the Comanches. The other group settled with the Tawakonis, for they "thought themselves too Weak to defend Themselves Against the Ozages."[40] When they re-established their village it was much farther

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[37]Sibley, "Historical Sketches," 723.

[38]Dr. John Sibley to Secretary of War; Natchitoches, May 10, 1809; "Sibley Letters," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLVII (January, 1944), 323.

[39]Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1779-1835," 57-58.

[40]Sibley to Secretary of War; Natchitoches, December 31, 1811; "Sibley Letters," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLIX (January, 1946), 403. The Tawakonis were a Caddoan tribe allied to the Wichitas with whom they settled in 1859. Murrel H. Wright, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1951), 246-248.

west at the western edge of the Wichita Mountains.[41] This location had two major advantages which the former did not have. It had an increased defensibility because it was farther away from the Osages and closer to the allied Comanches and Kiowas. The second advantage was its nearness to New Mexico with a corresponding access to the Comanchero trade.[42]

Having effectively contributed to the decline of the Taovayas' Red River trade route, the Osages extended their insults to the Kiowas and Comanches in the South Plains. So fearful was their power that they threatened the Kiowa-Comanche-Taovayas alliance on the High Plains, an area which the Kiowas later recognized as the heartland of their own country. Osage war parties swept from the Red River to the upper reaches of the Cimarron and the North Canadian rivers. In 1823 Comanche and Taovayas chiefs acknowledged to Thomas James that Osage warriors often appeared on the upper North Canadian River, and that the Plains Indians battled with the invading eastern Indians to possess that country.[43] Shortly afterwards, events demonstrated the truth of their assertion. James and the Comanches learned "that the whole nation of Osages was very near to us, being encamped on the Salt Fork

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[41]"Journal of Dodge Expedition," 377. Harper, "The Taovayas Indians, 1779-1835," 64.

[42]The Wichitas informed Colonel Dodge that the Mexican traders visited them. "Journal of the Dodge Expedition," 378.

[43]James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, 231, 233-234.

[Cimarron] at the distance of about a day's journey."[44]

In their analysis of the source of Osage strength the Plains Indians were precise and direct. It was due to trade, specifically trade in arms and ammunition. The Comanche chief, Cordaro, told Thomas James both the problem and the solution:[45]

> He complained that we [Anglo-Americans] traded with their enemies, but had no intercourse with the Comanches. He hoped the government of the United States would interfere and stop the depredations of the Osages upon his nation. "They steal our horses and murder our people," said he, "and the Americans sell them the arms and ammunition which they use in war upon us."

About a year later a delegation of Comanche and Taovayas chiefs called upon James at his fort on the upper North Canadian River and told him substantially the same thing:[46]

> They said they wanted the American trade, and united in requesting me to encourage my countrymen to visit them with goods and trade with them. . . . They wished the Americans to be friendly and intimate with them, and complained bitterly that we supplied their enemies, the Osages, with arms and ammunition with which they made war upon the Comanches. "The Osages," said they, "get their powder, balls, and guns from the Americans, but we can get none, or very few from them; this is wrong, very wrong."

The Osages reached the height of their power in 1833 when they attacked a Kiowa camp in the Wichita Mountains. The battle was a disaster for the Kiowas who suffered many

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[44] Ibid., 252.

[45] James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, 150.

[46] Ibid., 253.

casualties and lost their tribal religious bundle, the Taime, to the Osages.[47]

As the Kiowas had moved southward so had the Cheyennes, and the two tribes continued to be neighbors with the Cheyennes bordering the Kiowa territory on the north.[48] The Cheyennes thereby retained their position as intermediary agents between the Kiowas and the northern trade contacts. Gathering goods from the northern village Indians and from White traders they took them to the south where they met their friends. Some of the exchange with the southern Indians took place at large trading fairs attended by several tribes. In 1820 members of the Long Expedition came across a creek in the mountains where about four years previously the Kiowas, Arapahoes, and Kaskaia [Kiowa-Apache] had a grand encampment with the Cheyennes who had brought goods from the North. White traders, working for Auguste Pierre Chouteau and Julius De Mun, were also in the camp. The latter group represented a new White attempt at the overland Indian trade, using the Arkansas travel route. It was a rival, and previous to the 1820's only a rival, to the northern Indian commerce. The fair took place on "Grand-camp creek," which emptied into the Platte, a few miles above "Vermillion creek," today called

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[47]Mooney, Calendar History, 168-169, 257-259.

[48]George Bird Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," Kansas State Historical Society, Collections, XV (1919-1922), 31, 68-69. Hereinafter cited as "Bent's Old Fort." And see also Mooney, Calendar History, p. 141, plate LVII.

Cherry Creek.[49] The meeting was on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, an area which the Kiowas frequented in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The account given by the Long Expedition is as follows:[50]

> About four years previous to the time of our visit, there had been a large encampment of Indians and hunters on this creek. On that occasion three nations of Indians, namely, the Kiawas, Arrapahoes, and Kaskaias or Bad-hearts, had been assembled together with forty-five French hunters in the employ of Mr. Chouteau and Mr. Demun of St. Louis. They had assembled for the purpose of holding a trading council with a band of Shiennes. These last had been recently supplied with goods by the British traders on the Missouri, and had come to exchange them with the former for horses. The Kiawas, Arrapahoes, &c., who wander in the extensive plains of the Arkansa and Red river, have always great numbers of horses, which they rear with much less difficulty than the Shiennes, whose country is cold and barren.

The account is precise as to the reason of the gathering: "They [Kiowas, Arapahoes, and Kaskaias] had assembled for the purpose of holding a trading council with a band of Shiennes." Quite as clear are the roles of the tribes concerned. The Cheyennes brought White trade goods for which the Kiowas would trade horses, so that the old relationship which had existed in the North Plains between the Kiowas and Cheyennes continued. Though both were nomadic tribes with a similar buffalo-based economy, each could provide the other

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[49]Long, Account of An Expedition, I, 502. For comment on the present names of the streams see Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, XV (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1905). On page 279, note 131, Thwaites says that Vermilion Creek is Cherry Creek. On page 282, note 133, he says that other creeks passed that day, including Grand Camp Creek, are not clearly identifiable.

[50]Long, Account of An Expedition, I, 502.

with something which made the buffalo life a more productive and satisfying one.

The Long Account is further enlightening as to the source and character of the White goods, which came from the British traders who visited Indian villages on the North Plains. By intermediary tribes, such as the Cheyenne, the goods traveled to the more southerly tribes who had a marked preference for the English type goods:[51]

> The British traders annually supply the Minnetarees or Gros ventres of the Missouri with goods; from these they pass to the Shiennes and Crow Indians, who in their turn, barter them with remoter tribes: in this manner the Indians who wander near the mountains receive their supplies of goods, and they give a decided and well founded preference to those which reach them by this circuitous channel, over those which they receive from any other source.

George Bird Grinnell, who was among them in the latter part of the nineteenth century, found that the Northern Cheyennes had a clear tradition of an intermediary relationship between the Kiowas and the Missouri River trade. Varying somewhat from the Long Account the Cheyenne story added the Mandan and the Arikara to the Minnetarees. Since the Arikara connection was an old one it is entirely likely that the Cheyenne continued their commerce there with American goods while cultivating British trade at the more northern villages. Substantially, the Northern Cheyennes agreed with Long that the Kiowas traded horses to the Cheyennes in exchange for White goods obtained at northern markets.[52]

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[51] Ibid., 503.

[52] "The oldest Northern Cheyennes, however, have

Friendship facilitated trade in the North and South Plains. The Long Expedition found Kiowas and Cheyennes, or at least bands of each tribe, traveling and camping together on the Arkansas River.[53] In November and December, 1821, when the Glenn-Fowler Expedition was on the Upper Arkansas they were in the company of another intertribal meeting similar to that described by the Long Expedition. In the camp, which Fowler said had 400 lodges, there were Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes.[54] In this case the Arapahoes were acting as middlemen, for they had few horses, "Haveing last Sommer traided With Chians of the mesurey." On the other hand the Kiowas and the Comanches had brought to the camp "great hombers of very fine Horses--and Equal to any I have Ever Knone."[55] Their excess in horses served well in exchange for the White goods brought by the Arapahoes.

The Cheyenne movement southward in the 1820's put a

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stated that in early days some camps of their people were accustomed to procure British and American goods at the Arikara and Mandan villages on the Missouri, and to make journeys west and south to meet the Arapahoes, Kiowas, and other Indians to barter their goods for horses and Spanish goods from the south." George Bird Grinnell, The Cheyenne Indians, 2 vols. (New Haven, Yale University, 1923), I, 40-41.

[53]Long, Account of An Expedition, II, 174-188. The expedition met representatives of four different tribes. On page 176 the Account listed them as "Kiawas, Kaskaias or Bad-hearts [Kiowa-Apache], Shiennes (Sometimes written Chayenne) and Arrapahoes."

[54]Fowler, Journal, 54-55.

[55]Ibid., 65.

new aspect on their relations with the Kiowas. The valley of the Arkansas, the boundary between the Central and the Southern Plains, offered rich resources to them as it had to the Kiowas. Buffalo and the nearness of large horse herds were a powerful attraction to these people. The Cheyennes met by the Long Expedition in 1820 and the Glenn-Fowler traders in the following year were but one band of the tribe,[56] being forerunners of the main body which was still in the north. Events along the Arkansas in the 1820's made it even more attractive as a living place to nomads, for as a principal road westward it was a major dispersal area for White goods on the Plains. It had long been a route used by the Whites coming from the East, but the weakening of Spanish authority, which had intimidated trading, and the new thrust of Anglo Americans from the East increased activity along the route. It offered a broad road from the well-watered and timbered East to the Rocky Mountains. Zebulon Montgomery Pike followed it to its sources in an exploratory trip in 1806; and about a decade later Auguste Pierre Chouteau and Julius De Mun headed a trading party up the Arkansas.[57] In 1821 the Glenn-Fowler Expedition went up the river to its source for trading and trapping purposes.[58] Thereafter,

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[56]Long, Account of An Expedition, II, 186; Fowler, Journal, 54-55.

[57]"Imprisonment of Citizens of the United States," in American State Papers, Foreign Relations, IV (Washington, Gales and Seaton, 1834), 211. Referred to hereinafter as "Chouteau-Demun Imprisonment."

[58]Fowler, Journal, 1.

traffic along the Arkansas increased. Some of the travelers were fur trappers, but many of them were traders going to New Mexico.[59] To say that the Arkansas was a travelway on the Plains means that it was a guideway for land travel. Fort Gibson marked the limits of navigation, travel above that point being by land. Though the Glenn-Fowler Expedition and a few others followed the Arkansas from Fort Gibson, the St. Louis traders traveled it for a shorter distance, not hitting the river until the Great Bend.[60]

So that the Upper Arkansas now had trade as a resource in addition to the considerable herds of buffalo and horses. And the Indians who occupied this area would have ready access to firearms. The Cheyennes were alive to these opportunities, and they received encouragement to move southward from White traders, especially those of the Bent and St. Vrain Company who were on the Upper Arkansas in the early 1830's.[61] By 1834 this group of merchants had constructed Bent's Fort some fifteen miles above the mouth of Purgatory River, which served as a mercantile center for the Plains.[62] The increased numbers of Cheyennes plus the augmented trading possibilities

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[59]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 13-18.

[60]Ibid., 40-41, and note 7. See also map opposite p. 58.

[61]David Lavender, Bent's Fort (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Co., 1954), 123ff.

[62]Ibid., 386; and see LeRoy R. Hafen, "When Was Bent's Fort Built?" Colorado Magazine, XXXI (April, 1954), 116-118. Cited hereinafter as Hafen, "When Was Bent's Fort Built?"

made the Arkansas a valley of contention between the Kiowas and the Cheyennes. The first battle between the tribes is unrecorded, but by 1828 the Cheyennes were in a deadly war with their southern neighbors.[63]

The Cheyenne war had the effect of materially reducing Kiowa access to White trade on the Central and Northern Plains, and it of course ended the middleman role of the Cheyennes. The latter, in closer contact with the north, were now in the corresponding position of the Sioux a quarter of a century earlier; they could obtain firearms from the north while cutting off the supply to their former allies in the south. They thus made their power felt on the Arkansas, whose trade they dominated. Their superior access was evident at Bent's Fort with the owner of which the Cheyennes had a marriage alliance, William Bent having married a daughter of White Thunder, the keeper of the Cheyenne medicine arrows.[64] Though Bent was willing to trade with the Kiowas, Cheyenne animosity kept them away from the fort.[65]

Hostilities continued for over a decade. In 1833 the Cheyennes attacked a Kiowa band going to trade with their old neighbors, the Crows, for elk teeth and ermine, the skirmish

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[63]George Bird Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1956), 38-39. Grinnell indicates that hostilities existed as early as 1826.

[64]Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," 46-47. The Cheyennes had a special affinity for the Bents; it was said that William Bent built the fort near the mouth of the Purgatory River at the suggestion of Cheyenne chiefs. Ibid., 31.

[65]Ibid., 42.

taking place near present Denver, Colorado.[66] In the late 1830's the warfare was especially bitter,[67] events during that period appearing four times on the semi-annual counts of the Kiowa Calendar.[68] The war was likewise memorable for the Cheyennes who lost some of their best and most famous warriors. The massacre of the Bow String Soldiers in 1837 was horrendous in the Cheyenne annals. This party had gone on the warpath against the Kiowas, but the latter discovered and killed all its members on a branch of the North Fork of Red River in the Texas Panhandle.[69] Animated by this defeat, the Southern Cheyennes planned a vengeance raid against the offending tribe. The attack was noteworthy for the fierceness and audacity of the Cheyenne, because the whole tribe approached the enemy camp. In Plains warfare the more usual method of conflict was that of small parties raiding for horses or scalps; the raiding party tried to avoid having the casualties which an open attack on a village would incur.[70]

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[66]Grinnell, in The Fighting Cheyennes, p. 43, gives the date as "about 1833." Kiowa tradition stated that the Kiñep band made such a visit to the Crows in 1836. Mooney, Calendar History, 271.

[67]Mooney, Calendar History, 271.

[68]Ibid., 271-274.

[69]Ibid., 271-272. Compare Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 46-48. The Kiowas in the Calendar History, p. 272, stated that there were 48 Bow Strings; the Cheyenne in The Fighting Cheyennes, p. 46, said there were 42 men. Both accounts agree that there were no survivors.

[70]Mishkin in Rank and Warfare emphasizes the distinctions between the small raiding party for horses and the raid for tribal revenge. He says that, "Throughout most of the

The peculiar nature of this battle was due to its being a tribal vengeance raid. Moved by the massacre of 1837 which had caused great mourning, the entire camp of Southern Cheyennes went on the attack against the Kiowas. Several months of preparation preceded the raid. They looked to their alliances and persuaded the Arapahoes to join them.[71] In order to obtain more arms they went to Bent's Fort trade for "Hudson's Bay guns, flints, powder, and balls."[72] Thus fortified they marched to the very tipi-flaps of a combined camp of Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, and Comanches.[73] The role of firearms acquired in trade was important in this battle. The Cheyennes undoubtedly thought that their military force

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year companies of warriors usually numbering from five to thirty men went off against the enemy," (p. 1). The expedition going after horses was usually small; the revenge party often much larger, sometimes having 100 or 200 men." (pp. 28-29). Grinnell's narrative in The Fighting Cheyennes roughly agrees with this analysis. "Men might go off with a special purpose, one, two, or three together or a great war party of hundreds might go . . ." (p. 13). Later he says, "From this time on [1828] fighting was constantly going on between the Cheyennes and the Kiowas and Comanches, though most of the trips by the Cheyennes against the tribes to the south were made on foot and solely for the purpose of taking horses." (p. 43). In volume II of The Cheyenne Indians Grinnell says, "If injured by people of another tribe, they were eager for revenge. . . . On some occasions, when the injury was great, the whole tribe broke camp and moved toward the enemy, seeking vengeance. . . . Such a tribal war journey was made in 1838, preparatory to the fight between the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and Kiowas and Comanches and again in 1853 against the Pawnees" (p. 6).

[71]Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 51-52.

[72]Ibid., 51.

[73]For accounts of this battle see ibid., 56-62, and Mooney, Calendar History, 273. The three allied tribes were reduced to fighting from breastworks thrown up in the camp.

was superior because of their arms, otherwise they would not have attempted to risk combat where so many factors favored the Kiowas and their allies. These tribes were celebrated for their fighting qualities, and they could be depended upon to give desperate battle in defending their home camp. Moreover, the large numbers of attackers were as much a hindrance as a help, for the women and children accompanied the warriors and watched the battle from the surrounding hills. There was strong probability that so large a force would be discovered before the attack. Though the three allied tribes finally repulsed the attackers, the Cheyenne bullets fearfully impressed the Kiowas whose calendar pictured their opponents' bullets flying towards the beseiged tribes.[74]

The lessons of the Cheyenne warfare were not lost on the Kiowas. They keenly felt the cutting off of northern and Arkansas trade, and Dohasan, the Kiowa chief, at one time asked William Bent to establish a trading post on the Canadian River far from Cheyenne interference.[75] For their part the Kiowas could offer a valuable consideration if the tribes could agree on peace terms, their immense herds of horses constituting a strong bargaining point. The differential in horse-ownership between the two tribes was substantial. Whereas the southern tribe had a surplus, horses were the principal object of the Cheyenne war parties many of whom

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[74]Mooney, Calendar History, 273.

[75]Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," 42.

went on raids on foot: ". . . most of the trips by Cheyennes against the tribes to the south were made on foot and solely for the purpose of taking horses."[76] Peace had its certain attractions for the Cheyennes, once they had the right of occupancy in the Arkansas Valley conceded to them. It would restore the old relationship in which they could exchange White articles for Kiowa horses, and it would turn contentious and stubborn enemies into useful allies.

Moreover, forces outside the Plains strongly pointed to ending the war. Because of White population pressures many eastern Indians were moving into the land bordering on the Plains. The Five Civilized Tribes moved to Indian Territory west of Arkansas, the principal removals taking place in the 1830's.[77] Other eastern tribes such as Shawnee, Delaware, and Kickapoo removed helter-skelter to the prairies fronting on the Plains, thereby adding to Osage and Pawnee pressure.[78] These newly arrived tribes were better armed

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[76]Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 43.

[77]Edwin C. McReynolds, Oklahoma, A History of the Sooner State (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1954), 109-165. A principal object of the Dodge Expedition of 1834 was to persuade the Kiowas and other Plains tribes to treat the eastern Indians in a friendly manner. Addressing the council at the Wichita village, Colonel Dodge said, "The great American chief wishes also to make peace between you and the Osages; you have been at war with the Osages; and to secure peace between you and the Cherokees, Senecas, Delawares, and Choctaws. . . . ." "Journal of Dodge Expedition," 377. The first treaty between the United States and the Kiowas in 1837 had a similar aim. See Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, II (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904), 489-491.

[78]Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion, A History

than the western tribes and were possible rivals for the resources of the buffalo Plains.[79] It was in the nature of events that common interests, which could best be served by peace, ended the Cheyenne-Kiowa War in 1840.

The Arapahoes and Kiowa-Apaches, neither of whom had partaken fully in the hostilities, acted as mediators.[80] Some of the Arapahoes had abstained from the war and carried on commerce by-passing the Cheyennes.[81] Doubtless, however, the goods reaching the Kiowas by this means were limited, the Arapahoes not wanting to lose the Cheyenne alliance; indeed, they at times participated in the raids on the southern tribes,[82] so that their relationship with the Kiowas during this period was that of sometime traders and doubtful enemies.

Hospitality and gift giving marked the formal peace negotiations. The participating tribes were the Cheyennes and Arapahoes for the one part and the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches for the second part. The Kiowa chiefs were the spokesmen for the southern tribes.[83] They made clear

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of the American Frontier, 2nd ed. (New York, Macmillan, 1960). Cited hereinafter as Billington, Westward Expansion.

[79]For Kiowa collisions with Pawnees and eastern Indians see Mooney, Calendar History, 276-277, 290-292, 293-295, 297-299. For Cheyenne accounts of their troubles with eastern Indians see, Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 70-104.

[80]Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 63-64.

[81]Ibid., 48. They probably never entirely gave up their middleman role mentioned by Fowler in his Journal, p. 65.

[82]Mooney, Calendar History, 272-273.

[83]"The Comanches and Apaches did not have much to

throughout the preliminaries and negotiations what they were willing to give. As a token of friendship they would return the scalps of the Bow String Soldiers. But the gift horses were more substantial presents; the Arapahoes early had told the Cheyennes that the Kiowas "will also give you many horses--to the men, and also to the women and children."[84] According to Jablow this was stipulating what would be acceptable from the Cheyennes, for normally on the Plains White goods were exchanged for horses.[85]

The direct peace negotiations took place in two stages, both accompanied by gift exchanges. The first occurred when the chiefs of the three southern tribes went to the Cheyenne camp, bringing with them the Bow String scalps. The Kiowa delegation was made up of Dohasan, who was the main spokesman, Set-angya, Yellow Hair, and Eagle Feather; with them was Yellow Hair's son, called Yellow Boy. There were two Comanche chiefs, Bull Hump and Shavehead; and Leading Bear represented the Kiowa-Apaches.[86] They rode into the camp-circle, dismounted, and sat down in a row, placing the boy in front.[87] The Cheyenne chiefs then joined them,

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say--they let the Kiowas do the talking." Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 66. Among the Kiowas the principal spokesman was Dohasan.

[84] Ibid., 64.

[85] Jablow, The Cheyenne, 75.

[86] Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 65-66.

[87] The details are taken from the Cheyenne account in ibid., 65-69.

likewise sitting in a row. The solemn assembly having begun, the Kiowa, Eagle Feather, took his pipe and passed it to the Cheyenne chiefs, each of whom smoked. According to the Cheyennes this ceremonial smoking of the pipe was a declaration of peace. Having thereby affirmed their peaceful intentions the Kiowas announced their willingness to comply with the first condition, that they would surrender the Bow String scalps. The Cheyenne reply was both charitable and reasonable, considering the intense feeling which the massacre had caused. High Backed Wolf, the Cheyenne chief, told the Kiowas to keep the scalps for if returned they might endanger the peace: "Friend, these things if shown and talked about will only make bad feeling. The peace is made now; take the heads [scalps] away with you and use them as you think best; do not let us see them or hear of them."[88] Though the Cheyenne refused acceptance they recognized the Kiowas' good intentions, and they then complied with their part of the gift exchange. High Backed Wolf called out to the Cheyennes to bring presents: "Now we have smoked and made peace with these tribes; if any of you have any presents that you wish to give these men, bring them here."[89] At this point Dohasan interposed and restated the second condition of peace. The southern tribes had many horses which they wished to give the Cheyennes, so there was no need for the latter to give

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[88] *Ibid.*, 66.

[89] *Ibid.*

the chiefs any animals: "We all of us have many horses; as many as we need; we do not wish to accept any horses as presents, but we shall be glad to receive any other gifts. We, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, have made a road to give many horses to you when we all come here."[90] The Cheyennes brought their gifts, most of which were trade blankets. They paid honor to the child by using him as a measure:[91]

> Now the Cheyennes began to come forward, bringing their presents and throwing them on the ground before the strangers, and pretty soon all that could be seen of the boy was his head over the pile of blankets that surrounded him.

The visiting chiefs then went to a feast which ended the first part of the formal negotiations.

The second and concluding part of the negotiations was a meeting of the entire population of the tribes concerned. This mingling of the people was to ratify the peace made by the chiefs. In discussing the place for the meeting Dohasan had said that the southern tribes would need much space for themselves and their numerous horses.[92] Accordingly, the Cheyennes agreed that a wide bottom land on the Arkansas about three miles below Bent's Fort would be a fitting place for a treaty ground.[93] The Cheyennes and Arapahoes arrived at the spot first, camping on the north side of the

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[90] _Ibid_.

[91] _Ibid_.

[92] _Ibid_., 67.

[93] _Ibid_., 63.

river. The Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches arrived a few days later, camping on the south side. It would be difficult to estimate the total numbers of Indians attending this grand encampment; but it was certainly one of the largest assemblages on the Plains up to that time, involving as it did most of the Southern Plains nomads. The camp of the Kiowas and their allies entirely filled the wide bottom land on the south of the river,[94] and their herds of horses kicked up clouds of dust in the surrounding hills.[95] Before the exchange the Cheyennes gave a banquet for the southern chiefs.[96] At this time Dohasan invited all the Cheyennes over to the south side to receive their gifts:[97]

> Now, my friends, tomorrow morning I want you all, even the women and children, to cross over to our camp and sit in a long row. Let all come on foot; they will all return on horseback.

A great amount of horseflesh changed hands that day, the least important of the Cheyennes received four or five horses and the chiefs receiving many more. The Kiowas were generous; above all others was Set-angya who gave away about 250 horses. The Cheyenne account is graphic:[98]

> The next day they [the Cheyennes] all waded across the river, women and all, and sat in rows, the men in front and the women and children behind them. The first Kiowa

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[94] Ibid., 67.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid., 67-68.

> to come up was Sá tank' [Set-angya]. He had a bundle of sticks too big to hold in the hand, so he carried them in the hollow of his left arm. He began at one end of the row of men and went along, giving a stick to each. At length when all the sticks had been given away he went to some brush and broke off a good many more. Mountain [Dohasan] said: "Do not lose those sticks. We do not know your names, but as soon as we get through you must come up and get your horses." All the other Kiowas gave many horses, but Sá tank' gave the most; they say that he gave away 250 horses.

The Cheyennes received so many horses that they did not have enough halters with which to lead the animals, and they had to drive them in bunches across the river to their camp.

Undaunted by the responsibilities which the tremendous Kiowa gifts imposed upon their generosity the Cheyennes invited them over to their camp the next day, advising them to bring horses to carry the Cheyenne gifts back.[99] When the three tribes arrived in the northern camp they went to the center where they sat in rows, and the Cheyennes were again hosts in a banquet. A number of White trade foods were among the articles which they served. Choice items were rice, dried apples, corn meal, and New Orleans molasses used for sweetening. The Cheyennes said that this food "was strange to the people from the south, and they liked it."[100] In light of the evidence presented above this Cheyenne observation needs modification in only one particular. The Kiowas had obtained corn meal from Arikaras, Wichitas, and New Mexicans, though not in sufficient quantity to satiate demand.

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[99] *Ibid*.

[100] *Ibid*.

The Kiowa pleasure to have the northern route reopened was real enough, whether they were receiving delicacies never before tried or whether they were getting an augmented supply of food which they had come to regard as a staple.

Having served the banquet, the host Indians then brought their gifts which consisted of White trade goods. As it was their custom to fire a gun into the air before giving it away, a Cheyenne chief warned the Kiowas not to be frightened when hearing the shots, for they were only celebrating their gift giving.[101] The Cheyenne generosity must closely have approximated that of the Kiowas, for there were so many gun shots that it sounded like a battle in the Cheyenne camp. The Cheyennes did not limit their presents to firearms, and they "brought guns, blankets, calico, beads, brass kettles--many presents."[102] This event concluded the formal treaty negotiations, the population having ratified the treaty. As magnificent as the gift exchange was it was only a preliminary to trade. The Cheyenne chief, High Backed Wolf, told the guests: "Now, we have made peace, and we have finished making presents to one another; tomorrow we will begin to trade with each other. Your people can come here and try to trade for the things that you like, and my people will go to your camp to trade."[103] The Cheyenne testimony

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[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid., 69.

is explicit: "It was so done, and this was the beginning of a great trade."[104]

The chiefs played an important role in the peace-making and subsequent trade as befitted eminent men who served as spokesmen for tribal affairs. The Kiowas were the more practiced diplomats of the southern tribes, and their chiefs conducted most of the negotiations, even when Comanches and Kiowa-Apaches were present. Because of their function they obtained more goods than others less well placed. The circumstances surrounding the preliminary negotiations were similar to those visits of the chiefs to Santa Fe. In both cases only the important men appeared. They were feasted, and they received presents fitting to their high stations. In the tribal ratification the chiefs and the wealthy could better comply with the requirements of gift exchanges because of being better supplied with such riches, and Set-angya amply demonstrated and fulfilled the demands of the chiefly office.

The pacification of the Arkansas substantially benefitted Kiowa trade. Their concern was evident in the magnitude of their presents to the Cheyenne, who were impressed that the less important people of their tribe received four or five horses while the illustrious received many more. To the exclusion of all else from the Cheyennes, the southern tribe wanted White trade goods. The Kiowa demand for White articles, especially firearms, had increased since early

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[104] *Ibid.*

contact with the French. Because the Cheyennes occupied a major trade route to the Central and Southern Plains peace with them was a key to obtaining cloth, beads, guns--whatever the Whites brought. The force of the Kiowa market demand was apparent in the Cheyenne response, the burden of their gifts and trade to the Kiowas being in White goods. At the conference of chiefs they equalled the height of the sitting Kiowa child in blankets; and at the great ratification there was not one mention of articles other than those of White trade which were given to the Kiowas. They gave so many firearms that the celebrating shots sounded as at a great battle. By introducing such new and interesting items as rice, dried apples, and molasses[105] the enterprising Cheyenne merchants created new demands among the Kiowas and re-enforced their own position as middlemen. Fully aware of what they were doing they carefully noted the Kiowa reaction to these novelties was favorable.

If the Kiowas knew what the Cheyennes wanted, the Cheyennes were responsive to what the Kiowas required. Horses for White trade articles were the basis of trade. Neither desired from the other products of the hunt, for both were

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[105]It is possible that isolated members of the tribe had seen and eaten such or similar commodities before. From evidence given in Chapter Three it is known that some chiefs had obtained sugar, but the quantity was never large, the few pellets could have served to sweeten only a few bowls of piñole. What the Cheyenne trade promised was a permanent supply, which is different from incidental and haphazard experiences a few Kiowas may have had with such articles.

buffalo hunters. The old relationship of half a century earlier, induced by the French trade, was re-established. It was Kiowa fortune that economic relations with their Cheyenne neighbors depended on Cheyenne ability to provide them with articles of White manufacture. And it was an ill augury of future events, that peace between these two Indian peoples was conditioned on White innovations to the New World.

Encouraging every possible source for White goods the Kiowas found other Indian tribes to be useful suppliers. The Taovayas and Cheyennes in this way had their worth, though offering certain contrasts. The agricultural Taovayas were in a decline as middlemen when the Kiowas came into contact with them. In the face of this deteriorating White trade supply the Kiowas were able to maintain trade on the basis of the Taovayas' agricultural yield, produce of the latter's internal economy constituting articles of trade. On the other hand the Cheyenne position of middleman gathered strength because of their improved access to White goods. Since their internal economy based on the buffalo hunt so resembled that of the Kiowas there was no reason for trade to develop on the basis of internal products of the two tribes. The similarity between the Kiowa and Cheyenne economies and rivalry over common resources helps to explain the decade and a half of conflict between them. However, the superior Cheyenne access to White goods was a telling one, and using their enormous horse herds as a bargaining power the Kiowas were able to re-open the northern trade in White

articles. It was a valuable exchange not again interrupted by intertribal warfare.

CHAPTER V

KIOWA AND ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADE

The third, and most important, White nation with which the Kiowas came in contact was the Anglo-American. These people arrived from the east, following the trails of the French merchants, whom they eventually absorbed. At first there were only a few traders and trappers on the Plains, then army explorers, gold seekers, and finally farmers, until the American people engulfed all of Kiowa territory. Because of the tribe's southern location the trade routes across the Central Plains were of more importance than the outlets of the Missouri River village Indians. Routes which followed the river valleys into the Central and South Plains conducted the Anglo-American trade just as they had the French.

James Pursley was the earliest known Anglo-American among the Kiowas.[1] His trading activities occurred in the early years of the nineteenth century, before French sovereignty withdrew from Louisiana. Typical of his times he represented the transition in White trade; though an

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[1]Pike, Expeditions, II, 756. Hiram M. Chittenden identifies Pursley as James Purcell of Bardstown, Kentucky. The American Fur Trade of the Far West, II, 492.

Anglo-American he was part of the French trading system centering at St. Louis. He first went up the Missouri and the Osage rivers, going to the headwaters of the latter.[2] Returning to the Missouri he went up this stream to the Mandan Village.[3] From that place he went onto the Plains with a band of Kiowas with whom he traded.[4] Unwillingly he found himself a part of the Kiowa migration to the south, for Sioux hostility prevented him and his hosts from returning to the Missouri, forcing them towards the headwaters of the Platte.[5]

The exact date for the beginning of Pursley's Kiowa venture is unknown, because Zebulon Pike, the source of information, is vague. He stated that Pursley left St. Louis traveling west in 1802, and that after various adventures on the Missouri and Osage rivers he went to the Mandans and to the Kiowas. It is easier to date the end of the venture for he arrived at Santa Fe in June, 1805.[6] Since he had traveled from the North Plains to New Mexico and had spent at least one winter among the Kiowas, he was with them a considerable time. Though having only a "small quantity of merchandise,"[7]

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[2]Pike, Expeditions, 756-757.

[3]Ibid., 757.

[4]Ibid., 757-758.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., 758.

[7]Ibid., 757. His having so few goods reflects the fact that he intended his trip as an exploratory one to test the Kiowa market.

Pursley must have been an important man to the Kiowas; they asked him to be an intermediary in negotiating with the governor of New Mexico.[8] The contents of his trading packages are not known, though they were probably similar to the French goods going up the Missouri at the time. Pike does not say so, but he intimates that Pursley's employer was a St. Louis Frenchman when he refers to him as "Monsieur."[9]

The Chouteau-De Mun traders also were a transition between the French and the Anglo-American trade patterns. Members of the French community in St. Louis, they began an expedition in 1815, going to Kiowa territory.[10] They took a route which followed the Missouri until the great bend to the northward. At this point they went overland to the Arkansas River which they followed into the Rocky Mountains where they traded and trapped until the spring of 1817.[11] While on the Platte headwaters they met the Indians in the great trading fair of 1816.[12] This was an organized and fairly large expedition, the Long Account saying that there were forty-five members.[13] Arrest by the Spaniards ended

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[8] Ibid., 757-758.

[9] Ibid., 757.

[10] "Imprisonment of Citizens of the United States," in American State Papers, Foreign Relations, IV (Washington, Gales and Seaton, 1834), 211. Referred to hereinafter as "Chouteau-Demun Imprisonment."

[11] Ibid., 211-212.

[12] Long, Account of an Expedition, I, 502.

[13] Ibid., De Munn also indicates there were forty-five.

its activities[14] and inhibited the zeal of other Americans for western trade.[15]

Hugh Glenn and Jacob Fowler led another major expedition. This group left Fort Smith in September, 1821, going up the Arkansas River to trap and to trade with the Indians. On the nineteenth of November they met a band of Kiowas headed by a "princeple Cheef" who put the expedition under his protection.[16] What this group had was of high interest to the Kiowas. Unlike the government expedition commanded by Major Stephen Long of the preceding year Glenn and Fowler were prepared to trade; and they had powder and bullets among their goods.[17] The Kiowas, who keenly felt the pressures of Osages and Pawnees, welcomed the traders. The initial meeting with about forty Kiowa braves caused apprehension among the Whites, for the Indians charged upon the camp with guns in hand. But they proved to be entirely friendly:[18]

"Chouteau-Demun Imprisonment," 211.

[14]"Chouteau-Demun Imprisonment," 211-212.

[15]Spanish hostility to American traders resulted also in the imprisonment of members of the Robert McKnight expedition in 1812. Ibid., p. 208. McKnight was unable to get out of prison until 1821 when the Mexican Revolution loosened the Spanish restrictions. See James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, 139, 149.

[16]Fowler, Journal, 50.

[17]Fowler, Journal, 78.

[18]Ibid., 50. The editing is by Coues. When Indians approached a friendly camp it was the practice to fire their guns at a distance to show that they did not come to the camp with loaded firearms.

> on their near aproch the most frendly disposition appereed in all their actions as Well [as] gusters--by this time We Had Some meat Cooked of Which they Willingly purtuck but Spareingly--as it after Wards appeered the Head plenty at their Camp and Eat With [us] out of pure frendship--

The traders' role in Indian life was important, because they brought goods for which the Indians had acquired decided wants. Since access to the goods represented power, friendship with the traders increased tribal influence and prestige. The relationship was reciprocal, because the Whites needed friends who could present their cause in commerce and who could take their part in disputes which could easily occur in the barter which characterized all trade activities. It was of no small consequence that the first tribe which Glenn and Fowler met was the Kiowa, for these proved constant in friendship and vigorous in defense. The Kiowas took a proprietary interest in the expedition's welfare. The very first night after meeting the Indians the chief stayed in their camp,[19] thereby putting them under his protection and sponsorship. They conducted the Whites to their own camp where they were treated to Kiowa hospitality; the chief claimed them as his own and gave them one of his lodges for the purpose of storing their goods.[20] He introduced the Whites to the tribe's principal men with whom they visited and banqueted. Fowler's entry for November 22 was typical of their stay with the Kiowas:[21] "Remained in Camp all day

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., 51.

[21] Ibid., 52.

Holding Counsels eating and Smokeing and traiding a little With Indans."

Events soon tested Kiowa friendship. The Comanches arrived in camp, among them a chief who had met Major Long the previous year; he believed that these men brought presents which Long had promised him. When Glenn refused him the gifts he in a fit accused Glenn of being a liar and a thief, saying that he would kill the Whites and take their goods. Interposing at this point the Kiowas would not allow the Comanches to harm the Whites whom they claimed as "their property and frens,"[22] notwithstanding that the Comanches outnumbered them. The Kiowas stood their ground until some Arapahoes rushed up, taking the Kiowa side of the argument. The Comanches, then outnumbered, retired to a more friendly disposition.[23] Other Indians arrived and for about a month the expedition stayed with this combined camp of Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahoes, Kiowa-Apaches, Cheyennes and Snakes.[24]

The presence of the traders was an added, and sometimes unsettling, factor in the delicate play of intertribal relations. The Kiowas and the Arapahoes found themselves rivals for White friendship and trade. The former tribe discovered that they were sharing their protector's role with the Arapahoes, which caused some friction to develop.[25] When

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[22] Ibid., 53.
[23] Ibid., 53-54.
[24] Ibid., 55.
[25] Ibid., 58-59.

the expedition proposed to move a short distance from the Indian camp to a place where they could build a log house, the Kiowa chief moved with them.[26] Others of the tribe threatened force to punish the Whites for moving but were kept from this by the chief's presence. The Comanches, taking advantage of the unsettled situation, threatened to attack the traders. The Arapahoes prevented this by surrounding the house with "from two to three hundred lodges," so close that the Comanches dared not attack.[27]

A few days later rivalry again broke out between the Kiowas and the Arapahoes, both of whom wanted the traders to camp with them. Probably remembering the risks which the latter tribe had taken to protect them, the Whites chose to go to the Arapahoe camp, which disturbed the Kiowa chief. He told the Whites they should camp with him and became angry when they refused. The traders met the difficulty with tact:[28]

> two of our men Stoped with the Kiowa Cheef till He got in a good Humor and telling Him that He aught to go With us--that it Was Him that left us and not We that left Him--With this He Was Satisfyed and one of the [men] Remained With Him all night and frend Ship Was Restored the Kiawas Came to our Camp as ushal--

Hardly was the question settled than intertribal rivalry again threatened the Whites' safety. A quarrel broke out between the families of the Kiowa and Arapahoe chiefs, the

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[26] *Ibid.*, 58.

[27] *Ibid.*, 59.

[28] *Ibid.*, 64.

two main friends and strong protectors of the Whites. Its origin had little to do with the traders, but rivalry over them and their goods heated the atmosphere. In any such dispute each group would have expected the members of the expedition to take its side, to say nothing of leaving them at the mercy of the Comanches if the Whites attempted a neutral course. Had the quarrel followed a logical course of an intertribal dispute, it would have had disastrous consequences for the Whites. Fowler's diary entry for that day was one of dark prospect: "We are now feerful of the most Seerous Consequences as We are not able to Say What may Happen betwen the two nations--as War betwen them Wold be fatel for us."[29] With some relief he recorded the next day that the Indians had settled the dispute.[30]

The Kiowas wanted to monopolize the trade without offending their allies or scaring off the traders. The chief thus was an agent in this commerce. In receiving gifts as the traders' sponsor he acted in a way where his own and the tribal interest corresponded. He saw to it that members of the expedition were respectfully introduced to the tribe; the greater the friendship between his people and the traders the more the commerce would be. From the Whites' viewpoint trade possibilities were limited, and they wished to encourage contact with other Indians without antagonizing the Kiowas.

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[29] *Ibid.*, 66.

[30] *Ibid.*, 66-67.

American disinterest in Kiowa trade articles inhibited the exchange. These Americans like the French traders before them were looking for peltries rather than buffalo hides. They were willing to take a few hides; thus, Fowler recorded that besides the expedition's main trade the employees did some trading on their own: "Some little traid for Buffelow Roabs for the benefit of the Hands on our arivel."[31] Among the several tribes with which they were camping Fowler remarked with regret that, "We have found amongest them about 20 Bever only."[32] The reason for this was that the "Habits of those Indeans Precludes them from makeing Bever Hunters as the Cuntry Which they In Habet Contains but few [beaver]--and the Indeans Hunt the Buffelow."[33] Because of this the Whites had to do their own trapping. On December 3, two weeks after first meeting the Kiowas they started trapping beaver.[34] In January, 1822, they were on Fountain Creek for the same purpose.[35]

The Americans had only limited use for horses, the second Kiowa trade product. Since they had gone up the Arkansas by horse they could employ the animals for transportation. But they did not want horses to trade in the White

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[31] Ibid., 54.

[32] Ibid., 55.

[33] Ibid. The editing is by the present writer.

[34] Ibid., 61.

[35] Ibid., 79-82; and note 77.

settlements. Shortly after encountering the Kiowas Fowler recorded that they had "nothing to traid but Horses and them We do not Want."[36] And because of this lack of commodities they "Have many Wants but no meens of Supplying them."[37] He later changed his mind about not wanting the horses; for, as the expedition tried to restock its own diminished herd it encountered opposition from the Indians. The latter feared that the Whites would leave them, ending further commerce. On December 9, Fowler recorded that [we] "yesterday gave notice that Some Horses Wold be purchased but none Has maid their appeerence."[38] The next day out of the twenty thousand at the Indian camps they were able to buy only one.[39] Four days later the Indians decided to move:[40]

> We offerd to go With them on the 15th Which Satisfyed them very much and they offered us Horses to Carry our goods but unable to make any more purchases for feer We leave them a the [as they] appeer much atached to us

The Kiowas were reluctant to provide transportation which would take such useful people away from them.

Fowler did not give a definitive statement on the amount of goods which they brought with them. At one time he did say that they began the expedition with thirty horses and mules to carry them, their goods, and their

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[36] Ibid., 55.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., 62.

[39] Ibid., 63.

[40] Ibid. The editing is by Coues.

equipment.[41] At another he indicated that one tipi was large enough to hold the merchandise, for the Kiowa chief "gave up one of His lodges for the purpose of Store[ing] the goods."[42] Concerning the type of goods Fowler did not anywhere give a listing, mentioning an item only occasionally. Since Glenn was an experienced Indian trader their goods were probably similar to those which the French had brought.[43] At one time they cached some beaver traps, tobacco, and brass wire.[44] Of a certainty they brought firearms and ammunition, for Fowler said they gave a present of powder and bullets.[45] Glenn was aware of the importance of ceremony; when he paid the Kiowa chief for the use of his tipi, in goods of unknown kind and quantity, he presented the chief a medal with the likeness of General Jackson. Fowler shed a little more light on the merchandise they gave the Comanche chief: "the Conl [Glenn] gave the Ietan Cheef a shirt medle and Small presents With the Same Cerymones and promeses as the Kiawa yesterday last Evening."[46] Presumably they gave the Kiowa chief more than they did the Comanche because they payed him for a

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[41] Ibid., 5-6. There were twenty men who started in the expedition; when they parted from the Kiowas and Arapahoes there were thirty-three horses for nineteen men and their equipment. Ibid., 69.

[42] Ibid., 51. The editing is by Coues.

[43] Ibid., 3-4, and note 8.

[44] Ibid., 9.

[45] Ibid., 78.

[46] Ibid., 68.

specific service in addition to expressing friendship.[47]

The 1820's were a time of transition, during which Anglo-American trade adapted to Kiowa Plains economy. The Glenn-Fowler expedition, though commanded by Anglo-Americans, still followed the French pattern of White goods for peltry. The two expeditions led by Thomas James and John McKnight were steps in the adjustment towards another trade pattern. The first trip began in 1821 and went to Santa Fe by way of the Arkansas, Cimarron, and the South Canadian rivers.[48] They traded with the Indians along the route only incidentally.[49] The second took place in 1823-24 and went to the headwaters of the North Canadian River with the specific objective of trading with the Plains Indians.[50] From the

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[47]Ibid., 67-68. The full account of the farewell is as follows:

> Conl. Glann Sent for the Kiawa Cheef and paid for the use of His lodge allso gave a meddle the likeness of genl Jacson Informed Him it Was not the medle of His great father but it Was given Him as a token of a great man and as the frend of the White men and Charged Him at the Same time that When ever He meet the White man to treat Him frendly to Which He agread With great Satisfaction.

[48]See the map in James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, opposite p. 100. There is an error in locating the mouth of the North Canadian River which the map indicates runs into the South Canadian, just south of present Oklahoma City near the present town of Norman. Actually the two rivers join some 100 miles farther eastward near Eufaula.

[49]The expedition had two major objectives: trade with Mexico and obtaining news of Robert McKnight, brother of John McKnight who had been imprisoned in Santa Fe in 1812. Ibid., 101-103 and 105. That trade with Indians was incidental was indicated by James when he said that he carried supplies for "trading with the Indians on the route." Ibid., 105.

[50]Ibid. See map opposite page 100. James in his

Indians' viewpoint the first expedition was not a satisfactory one, the leaders' inexperience and their determination to quickly get to Santa Fe hindering trade. Learning from their first expedition James and McKnight had a more successful trade the second time. There is a contrast between the type of goods which the two expeditions started with. When they left St. Louis in 1821, they carried biscuit, whiskey, flour, lead, powder, some hardware, vermilion, calico and "other articles."[51] However, before even getting to the Plains they found that some of their goods were more burdensome than probable return would merit. Consequently they cached the "flour, whiskey, lead, hardware, and other heavy goods"[52] on the Arkansas not far from the mouth of the Cimarron. On the second trip James said that the expedition took "every thing that my red brothers want for war or for peace."[53] This included knives, tobacco, cloth, tomahawks, wampum, guns, powder and ball, and clothes for the women.[54] Absent from the list were the heavier, less portable goods, flour and whiskey.

An untoward incident threatened the early friendship

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account did not mention the Kiowas by name, using the term, Comanche, for all the South Plains peoples. Ibid., 275-276.

[51] Ibid., 105, 119, 127. James called the Cimarron the Salt Fork.

[52] Ibid., 119.

[53] Ibid., 230.

[54] Ibid., 227, 229, 230.

between the expedition and the Plains Indians. James had obtained some horses and equipment from the hated Osages which his intended customers recognized.[55] Consequently they mistook him for an Osage spy, and further they believed that he provided guns to their enemies.[56] Incensed against him they several times threatened his life.[57] James met the challenge with perseverance, bravery, lavish gifts, and a bit of brashness. But he would probably have failed had he not acquired protectors among the Comanches. On his first trip Big Star and Cordaro were his sponsors.[58] On the second trip the influence of the powerful Chief One-eye turned a dangerous situation into one which brought a lively trade to the Americans. After adoption as the chief's brother James said, "I counted much on the benefit of his friendship, and subsequent events proved that I did not overrate its advantages,"[59] and "My powerful 'brother' put a new face on things. . . ."[60]

The Indians brought James large quantities of hides and horses,[61] which required separate transactions reflecting

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[55] Ibid., 119 and 124.

[56] Ibid., 140, 234, and 245-246.

[57] Ibid., 124, 132-134, 234, and 245-246. James' partner, John McKnight, was killed because of this. Ibid., 236-237 and 250-251.

[58] Ibid., 127, 129-132, 135-139.

[59] Ibid., 239.

[60] Ibid., 240.

[61] On his first trip the Indians promised him that if

the different occupations of the sexes. Though supervised by Chief One-eye, the women bargained over the hides, their handiwork.[62] James did his own horse trading with the men:[63]

> The One-eyed Chief spent much of his time in my trading house and assisted me by his advice and influence over the Indians. He allowed me to judge of the horses for myself, but selected the buffalo robes for me and settled their prices.

James gave definite information concerning the worth of the goods. The Indians claimed twelve articles in exchange for a horse:[64]

> I made four yards of British strouding at $5.50 per yard and two yards of calico at 62 1/2¢ to count three, and a knife, flint, tobacco, looking-glass, and other small articles made up the complement.

He paid this for only the better animals, wishing to vary the price according to the condition of the horse.[65] Using James' figures he paid goods worth $25-$30 for each animal. He said the best of them would bring $100 at the St. Louis market.[66] But the quality of horses would naturally vary and the others were worth less. He also gave information on the buffalo robes:[67]

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he would return they would trade him horses and mules; so that he understood what would be the trade objects for his second trip. Ibid., 150-151.

[62] Ibid., 227-228.

[63] Ibid., 244.

[64] Ibid., 227.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., 244.

> One plug of tobacco, a knife, and a few strings of beads, in all worth but little more than a dime, brought one of these valuable skins or robes, worth at least five dollars in any of the States.

He overbought on robes, not being able to transport them: "I bought many more of the latter [buffalo robes] than I brought back with me, and might have purchased thousands."[68] As for livestock he obtained three hundred and twenty-three horses and mules.[69]

Both Whites and Indians understood the close relation between trade and peace. Upon establishing his friendly alliance with James, Chief One-eye proclaimed to the tribe, "My brother [James] has come from afar to trade with you and brought things that are good for you; and when you have sold him your horses and got your pay, you must not take them back."[70] When he took leave of the Indians, the chiefs came to him with this message:[71]

> They said they wanted the American trade, and united in requesting me to encourage my countrymen to visit them with goods and trade with them.

Though James and McKnight understood the potentials of Plains Indian trade they were unable to solve the problems of transportation. Unlike the French traders and unlike Glenn and Fowler, James bartered for horses which he wished to trade in the American settlements. At the time, the

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid., 263.

[70] Ibid., 244.

[71] Ibid., 253.

nearest White settlements were in Missouri and Arkansas which meant that James had to take his horses and hides hundreds of miles over Plains, through dense woods, and across rivers before realizing a return. Herding and caring for the large numbers of horses proved a task; losses due to stampedes and flies were heavy. He lost all of the 323 horses and mules which he obtained from the Indians, returning home with only five horses, the same number that he started with.[72] He also lost the buffalo robes and beaver skins he had acquired.[73] His total loss in the two ventures was $12,000 and he did not again make an attempt at the Indian trade.[74]

It remained for the trading firm of Bent and St. Vrain to solve the complexities of transporting Plains products to American settlements. Establishing a permanent base of operations in the Indian country, they built the famous and substantial Bent's Fort about 15 miles above the mouth of Purgatory [or Animas] River.[75] Traveling the Missouri and Arkansas route to the Plains they represented the final stage of Anglo-American transition to Plains' productivity. Charles Bent, William Bent, and Ceran St. Vrain were the partners in this enterprise whose operations became so significant for the Kiowas and other Indians. St. Vrain was the first to go

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[72] Ibid., 264.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid., 275.

[75] Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," p. 28, and map opposite p. 89. And see also Lavender, Bent's Fort, 15.

to the Plains, going from St. Louis to Santa Fe in 1824.[76] The two Bent brothers, Charles and William, went to New Mexico in 1829 to take part in trading and trapping.[77] By 1832 Charles Bent and St. Vrain were operating a partnership.[78] Their early trips over the Santa Fe Trail were for merchandising purposes in New Mexico and for trapping in the mountains. Like Thomas James before them they saw the possibilities of the Plains commerce. In 1833-34 they built their fort on the Arkansas[79] which marked their commitment to the Plains Indian market.

The fort was headquarters for a far-flung trading empire whose influence reached across the Central Plains to the mountains, northward to the Platte, southward to the Canadian River, and southwestward into New Mexico. They systematized their activities, attempting to introduce stability into the Indian-White trade relationship. The fort served as a dispersal point for White goods. The employees of the fort were divided into three classes, each having specific duties.[80] Some remained at the fort as guards, storekeepers, and as traders with Indians passing by. Another

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[76]LeRoy R. Hafen, "When Was Bent's Fort Built?" 105. And see also Lavender, Bent's Fort, 57.

[77]Hafen, "When Was Bent's Fort Built?" 111-112. Compare Lavender, Bent's Fort, 90.

[78]Hafen, "When Was Bent's Fort Built?" 110.

[79]Ibid., 117-118.

[80]Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," 51.

group was of herders who looked after the fort's horses, mules, and oxen, and some were wagoneers and herders who traveled between Missouri and the fort. The last group were the traders who scattered from the fort in all directions, searching out the tribes and bartering with them. They had proven their ability as merchandisers in the exasperating task of separating the Indians from their horses and buffalo robes.[81] Each trader identified with a specific tribe, and he went to the tribe or tribes that he was most friendly with.[82]

Just as the fort was a dispersal point for White goods it was a gathering place for Indian products brought by the traders and the Indians themselves. Its massive walls and spacious corrals provided such safety that the James-McKnight group did not have. Well-organized and protected wagon trains, usually from twenty to thirty wagons, took the hides and horses to Missouri, some 500 miles to the east.[83]

The Kiowas eagerly responded to the Bent trading activities. It was as if the Bents had heard the entreaties given to Fowler and Thomas James. Not only were they prepared to trade with the Indians, but they intended to do so on a

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[81] Ibid., 58. Compare Lewis H. Garrard, Wah-to-yah and the Taos Trail (Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1955), 73. Cited hereinafter as Garrard, Wah-to-yah. See also William M. Boggs, "The W. M. Boggs Manuscript about Bent's Fort, Kit Carson, the Far West and Life Among the Indians," LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., The Colorado Magazine, VII (March, 1930), 48. Cited hereinafter as "Boggs Manuscript."

[82] Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," 58.

[83] Ibid., 52.

permanent basis, which would bring a steady flow of goods to the Indians. However the Kiowa-Cheyenne war made approach to the Arkansas dangerous.[84] In view of the unfriendly attitude of their northern neighbors, the Kiowas joined their voices to those of the Comanches and Kiowa-Apaches requesting that the Bents establish a trading post among them.[85] Notwithstanding the antagonism between his Indian customers William Bent was alive to the possibilities of the South Plains market. In 1835 he went to "Red River" and reported that Indians there had treated him with "great kindness," adding further that his trade at that place had been extensive.[86]

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[84]See Chapter Four of this work.

[85]"The chiefs who requested that this post be built for trade with their tribes were To hau-sen (Little Mountain) [Dohasan], and Eagle Tail Feathers, speaking for the Kiowa, Shaved Head for the Comanches, and Poor (Lean) Bear for the Apaches." Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," 42.

[86]Dodge's report is as follows: "Mr. [William] Bent of the trading-house of Bent and St. Vrain, arrived at Fort William [Bent's Fort], on the Arkansas, the day after I had held the council with these Indians. He had visited the Comanches on the Red river, and stated that he had seen upwards of two thousand, and they had treated him with great kindness, and expressed a desire to be included in the peace made by me with the Comanches last year." "Journal of the March of a Detachment of Dragoons, under the Command of Colonel Dodge, during the Summer of 1835," American State Papers, Military Affairs, VI (Washington, Gales and Seaton, 1861), 145. Cited hereinafter as "Journal of 1835 Dodge Expedition." Colonel Dodge in writing of Bent's remarks had two seeming inconsistencies in his report. Firstly, Bent had been to the Red River, but it was on the Canadian that he later established his trade branch. In Anglo-American writings of this time there is a confusion of the Red River with the Canadian, due in part to the New Mexican Spanish calling the Canadian the "Rio Colorado" [Red River]. Presumably Bent, as a long time resident and trader, knew the difference; but

The Canadian, where it passes through the Llano Estacado, became the rendezvous between the Kiowas and the Bents who set up some permanent buildings. It is not known when they built the first structure. There may have been a house there as early as 1842; Mooney says that William Bent constructed a trading post in the spring of 1844 at Red Bluff [Gúadal Dohá] near the mouth of Mustang Creek; and that he built another post in 1845-46 farther down the river two miles above the mouth of Red Deer Creek.[87] Lieutenant James W. Abert indicated that there were at least two houses on the Canadian in the summer of 1845.[88] Bent eventually

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he may have used the Spanish term which Dodge could have mistaken for Red River. Or it may be Bent did go to the Red, in which case Dodge was not mistaken. However, both rivers were frequented by the Kiowas at this time, so which is meant does not alter the discussion of Kiowa trade. The other inconsistency involves the identity of Dodge's 1835 "Comanches." The talks held the preceding year at the Wichita Village were with the Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas [Taovayas]. Dodge had conducted the treaty talks and knew at that time that he was dealing with these tribes, rather than just the Comanches. See "Journal of Dodge Expedition," 380. If Bent met 2,000 Indians in 1835, on either the Red or Canadian, it is likely that many, perhaps a majority, were Kiowas; and he surely could have distinguished between Kiowas and Comanches. Writing in 1835 Dodge seems to be using "Comanche" to refer to all the South Plains tribes. See also the report of Lt. Gaines Kingsbury in "Journal of 1835 Dodge Expedition," 142.

[87]Lavender, Bent's Fort, 405. And see Mooney, Calendar History, 283 and 403. Mooney does not say where he obtained the information on the first post, but possibly it is from Kiowa tradition. The Calendar pictograph for 1845-46 (p. 283) represents a trading post as being built then. The picture is that of a steep-pitched house with two chimneys [or possibly look-outs], indicating that it was of wood or at least partially wooden construction, though whether of planks or logs is not clear. In other words the pictograph does not represent a traditional adobe building.

[88]Lt. James W. Abert, "Journal of Lieutenant J. W.

constructed an adobe building in the area.[89] The Canadian establishment was not permanently staffed, personnel being sent there when the trading season was at its height.[90] The adobe fort gave protection in a potentially dangerous situation, something which Thomas James found was desirable on the Plains.

The Kiowas could scarcely contain their joy over the increased possibilities offered by the Bent activities. One of their favorite traders was John Hatcher, who may be the one they called "Wrinkled Neck."[91] Hatcher and a Mr. Greenwood accompanied Lieutenant Abert from Bent's Fort on the Arkansas to the "houses" on Red River in 1845.[92] He had an established relationship with the tribe, having been adopted into a Kiowa family:[93]

> We were struck with the affection which an old squaw manifested for Hatcher. She wept over him for joy when they met, and insisted on his receiving a bale of tongues

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Abert from Bent's Fort to St. Louis in 1845;" 29th Congress, 1st Session; Senate Exec. Doc. 438, Serial 477, pp. 6-7, and 44. Cited hereinafter as Abert, "Journal of 1845 Expedition."

[89]Lavender in his Bent's Fort (p. 405) assesses the information on the dating of the Bent Canadian establishments. He indicates that the Bents built a trading house as early as the fall of 1842; that William Bent and Ceran St. Vrain supervised the building of the adobe structure in the winter of 1845-46.

[90]Abert indicates as much in his "Journal of 1845 Expedition," 6-7, 42, 44, 51.

[91]Mooney, Calendar History, 283.

[92]Abert, "Journal of 1845 Expedition," 6-7, 47.

[93]Ibid., 44.

> and some "pinole" which she had manufactured from the musquit. She always calls him son, having adopted him ever since his first trading with her nation.

Hatcher did not accompany Abert through the rest of Kiowa territory, much to the regret of other Kiowas whom the expedition met. Dohasan, who had a part in encouraging the Bent trade, was solicitous of the firm's representative:[94]

> He [Dohasan] asked about Hatcher, whom he designated by imitating his habit of putting his finger in his eye and pulling down the lower lid--an action of similar import to the gyratory motion of the hand previously mentioned, and which was used by Hatcher when he thought the Indians were endeavoring to get too good a bargain in trading. He said he wanted greatly to see him, and that he loved him very much. Hatcher appeared to be a universal favorite with all the roving tribes that had ever dealt with him.

Meeting with the Americans was a happy time "for they . . . expected to obtain some memorial of the coming of the 'tab-bi-boo,' or Americans which to them is a great day. . . ."[95] As "memorials" the Bent traders had goods in variety.[96] Clothing articles, which must have been of more ordinary wear, were blankets and cloth [red calico, checked cotton, and striped cotton]. More expensive items were blue cloth, scarlet cloth, capote shirts, shawls, and hats, some

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[94] Ibid., 51.

[95] Ibid.

[96] See Appendix B. The invoice is one of goods sent by the firm of Fraeb and Sarpie from their Fort Jackson to the Bent-St. Vrain Company. Though normally the two firms were competitors, in this instance there was some cooperation. Bent and St. Vrain must have run short of goods and helped to make up the shortage by obtaining more from this nearby competitor rather than from distant St. Louis. Unless otherwise mentioned the sources for this paragraph are in Appendix B.

of which may have been gifts for important men. There were also blue and scarlet coats, pantaloons, gorgets, and swords, which were gifts for chiefs. Decorative objects were beads, of various kinds and colors, shells, vermilion, plumes, buttons and rings; combs and looking glasses were aids to personal adornment. Hardware included knives, awls, fire steels, axes, and cooking kettles. Brass tacks, though of hardware manufacture, were for decorating such wooden and leather things as saddles. The trade added to the tribes' war material: hoop iron for arrowheads,[97] firearms and ammunition, "long fusils," "short fusils," powder horns, flints, gun powder and balls. Food articles consisted of coffee, sugar, and rice, all in small quantities. The traders also carried two native American articles which the Kiowas valued, abalone shell and Navajo blankets, and which commanded corresponding high prices.[98] In truth, the Bent firm brought things which the Indians used in peace and war, in greater variety and quantity than any Whites before them.

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[97]Compare William Boggs:

> The kind of goods mostly used in the trade was red cloth, beads, tobaco, brass wire for bracelets, hoop iron for arrow points, butcher knives, small axes or tomahawks, vermilion, powder and bullets. The beads were of three different colors, red, white, and blue. The white kind were prized the most highly by all the different Indian tribes, the blue next and the red the least.

"Boggs Manuscript," 49.

[98]One abalone shell was worth four dressed robes. Ibid., 48-49. Louis Garrard has left an informative account of the Bent trader, John Smith. See Garrard, Wah-to-yah, 48-51.

The Bent and St. Vrain traders were part of an increasing number of Americans who went out to the Plains for trade. Some were agents of companies such as the Chouteau and Bent enterprises. Others were independent operators, traveling at their risk and for their own profit. Because of the life they followed, constantly moving about and subject to the wind and rain, they did little writing and kept few if any records. Many were rough frontiersmen who were not given to writing anyway. Consequently, information about their activities is scarce, knowledge coming from sketchy references and faint hints, as in 1834 when eighty traders left Fort Gibson following the Kiowa delegation to their home.[99] And nothing more is heard. There is no evidence whether these men were operating together or independently, or whether any of them were a part of the Chouteau business which shortly operated on the South Canadian. Having left Fort Gibson, these eighty men entered the mists of time and became the vanishing traders.

The treaty of 1835, an effort to pacify the South Plains, brought peace between the Plains Indians and their Indian neighbors to the east. Though the Kiowas did not themselves sign a treaty until 1837 they honored the early one signed by their Comanche and Taovayas allies.[100] This gave the Chouteau firm, allies of the Osage, the opportunity to

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[99]Catlin, Letters and Notes, II, 83.

[100]Charles J. Kappler, Laws and Treaties, II, 435-439.

extend its trade to the Kiowas. The treaty grounds, near where Chouteau Creek entered the South Canadian, were at the eastern limit of Kiowa territory.[101] On this site, known variously as Camp Mason and Camp Holmes, Auguste Pierre Chouteau established a trading post.[102] Josiah Gregg camped at the place in 1839 and found that Chouteau had built a little fort:[103]

> Upon the same site Col. Chouteau had also caused to be erected not long after, a little stockade fort, where a considerable trade was subsequently carried on with the Comanches and other tribes of southwestern prairies. The place had now been abandoned, however, since the preceding winter.

According to Kiowa tradition Chouteau also established a post farther west on Cache Creek, near present Fort Sill. A man known as Tomé-te was in charge of the latter post; but he didn't stay long.[104]

In the spring of 1839 a group of Kiowas and Comanches went to Camp Holmes, hoping to trade. They were much

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[101]Using information supplied by Gregg, Dr. Max L. Moorhead places the post on the old course of Chouteau Creek, near present Lexington, Oklahoma. Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, p. 231 and n. 10.

[102]A. P. Chouteau was the Osage interpreter during the Treaty discussions. Office of Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Records, Journal of the Proceedings of M. Stokes, M. Arbuckle and F. W. Armstrong, Commissioners to hold a treaty with the Comanche Caiaway [Kiowa] and other nations and tribes of Indians on the South western frontier of the U. States 1835, p. 259; NA, RG 75. Cited hereinafter as Camp Holmes Journal.

[103]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 231.

[104]Mooney, Calendar History, 172. Mooney suggests that Tomé-te was the Kiowa version of Thomas.

disappointed to learn that Chouteau had died the preceding winter.[105] He and his trading post left a considerable impression on the Kiowas, for they still remembered him with affection some fifty-five years later when Mooney was among them.[106] Reason for the long memory is likely due to two causes. He would have been a logical intermediary in the return of the Taime to the Kiowas, an action for which the tribe was grateful. The other explanation had to do with his role as an Indian trader. His building a small fort at Camp Holmes indicates a determination to have a permanent outlet to the Indians, thereby securing a steady flow of the goods which they so ardently desired. An 1839 Camp Holmes invoice lists kettles, firearms, blankets, and cloth [kersey].[107] The list is a sparse one, which was probably due to the uncertainty caused by Auguste Pierre's death. Kiowa apprehension about the post's future was well founded. For it was abandoned, and the firm did not make another major effort to establish a Plains trade.[108]

Another trading post in Kiowa territory was that of

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[105]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 232. The Kiowas are mentioned on p. 233. "Tabba-quena's party consisted of about sixty persons, including several squaws and papooses, with a few Kiowa chiefs and warriors. . . ."

[106]Mooney, Calendar History, 171-172.

[107]Appendix C.

[108]Joe Chadwick may have been the trader at the Camp Holmes post. In 1834 Colonel Dodge told the Indians that Chadwick would return to trade with them. This indicates that Chadwick was a Chouteau agent. Dodge, "Journal of Dodge Expedition," 380.

Holland Coffee, and about which information is even more scant than on the Chouteaus. The post was on Red River.[109] Coffee and his agents traded with the Indians for buffalo hides; and they tried to ransom White captives from the Comanches and Kiowas. Information on the post's location is lacking, but since both Comanches and Kiowas hesitated to enter the Cross Timbers it was probably west of Denison, Texas. Mooney lists it as in existence from 1834 to 1838.[110] Another trader was John Gantt, who set up a post far to the north of Red River, being a neighbor of the Bents. He established his place on the Upper Arkansas near the mouth of Fountain Creek in the early 1830's.[111] In 1835 it was abandoned and in ruins.[112]

By the middle 1830's the Kiowas were obtaining White

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[109]In 1836-37, Coffee and some of his men tried to ransom Mrs. Sarah Ann Horn from the Comanches. Sarah Ann Horn, A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Horn, E. House, ed. (St. Louis: C. Keemle, 1839), 38-40. In 1837, Reverend James W. Parker received a communication stating that the Comanches were at Coffee's Post. James W. Parker, The Rachel Plummer Narrative (Copyright, 1926, by Rachel Lofton, Susie Hendrix, and Jane Kennedy), 21. In 1835 Captain John Stewart wrote that a Mr. Holland Coffee had first gone among the Prairie Indians in the fall of 1834; that Coffee had a trading post on Red River at the edge of Cross Timbers. Copy of letter of Captain John Stewart to AAG, March 28, 1835; Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Letters Received from the Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75. Hereinafter this series of records will be cited as LR from Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[110]Mooney, Calendar History, 383.

[111]Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," 44-45. Lavender, Bent's Fort, 139-140.

[112]Hugh Evans, "Hugh Evans Journal of Colonel Henry Dodge's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1835," Fred S. Perrine, ed., Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XIV (1927-28), 210. Cited hereinafter as "Hugh Evans' 1835 Journal."

goods from several sources and at widely scattered points: the Upper Arkansas, the Upper Canadian, and at the places where the Canadian and Red rivers enter the Cross Timbers. Many of the contacts were temporary and faltering. But the Kiowas encouraged them; and they served to bring more goods to the Indians.

At the same time that Kiowa-White trade stabilized and grew, another area of trade developed along the Santa Fe Trail. The Mexican Revolution lifted the Spanish commercial regulations which had bothered Americans so long. The people of New Mexico, far away from other Mexican provinces, were anxious for traffic with the United States.[113] St. Louis merchants, who had fretted over the Spanish prohibition, now saw the road to Santa Fe opened.[114] It led through Kiowa territory.[115] From St. Louis they carried their goods up the Missouri by boat to the great bend northward, at Independence, Missouri. From the Missouri the route lay westward to the Arkansas River. It followed the north bank of this river to the Caches, or sometimes farther west to

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[113]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairie, 13, 78-80. James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, 139.

[114]See "Answers of Augustus Storrs of Missouri . . . Upon . . . Trade and Intercourse Between Missouri and the Internal Provinces of Mexico . . .;" 18th Congress, 2nd Session; Senate Doc. 7, Serial 108. Cited hereinafter as Storrs, "Answers." And see Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 11-13.

[115]Information on the route is found in Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 22-23, 49; see also the map opposite p. 58 and see Storrs, "Answers," 3. Previous to the founding of Independence boats had stopped at Franklin.

Chouteau's Island, where it divided into a northern and a southern branch.[116] From the division point the northern segment continued along the Arkansas to Timpas Creek (later the site of Bent's Fort), where it turned southward, entering the mountains and continuing to Santa Fe. From the Arkansas division point the southern branch went southward to the Cimarron River which it followed westward to its headwaters, then it turned southward towards Santa Fe.

The Santa Fe trade was one more aspect of Anglo-American culture which influenced Kiowa life. Before, only occasional trappers and traders had followed the trail; now merchants traveled it to Santa Fe. From small beginnings the Santa Fe trade soon became traffic in thriving commerce. Pack horses and mules at first carried the goods; in 1822 some wagons were in use and they entirely replaced the pack animals in the mid-20's. In 1831 over a hundred wagons went to New Mexico, carrying goods estimated at $250,000 in value.[117] Traveling in convoys for protection, the wagons left Missouri in the spring and returned with Santa Fe profits in the fall.[118] From surrounding hills the Kiowas could watch

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[116]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, p. 49, and note 1. The Caches were near present Dodge City, Kansas. Chouteau's Island was about 100 miles farther west. And see p. 47, note 14.

[117]The dates and figures are taken from Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, as edited by Moorhead. Ibid., p. 15, note 13, and p. 332.

[118]Ibid., 26-27 and 212-213. See also Storrs, "Answers," 6.

the caravans, the wagons traveling in four parallel lines. Mounted scouts and guards preceded the caravan, like heralds on the prairies. Light wagons and dearborns followed them. Heavy merchandise wagons made up the main body, with high wheels and canvas tops bent like drawn bows they were the familiar covered wagons of Anglo-American march.[119]

The wagons contained an assortment of articles. There were different kinds of cotton goods: coarse and fine fabrics, calicoe shawls and handkerchiefs, shirtings, velvet, and cotton hose; there were some woolen goods: strouding, pelisse shawls, and crapes; and some silken goods. There were looking glasses, cutlery, hardware and firearms.[120] So much White merchandise had not previously appeared on the Plains. But all this was not for the Kiowas. The Missouri merchants were not interested in the Indian market. They were taking their stores to New Mexico, or farther to Chihuahua, which promised greater return than commerce in buffalo hides.[121] Indeed the less contact with Indians the better. They thought of the Plains Indians as a menace which ought to be shunned. According to Gregg, "The Santa Fe caravans have generally

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[119]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 71-72.

[120]Ibid., 80; Storrs, "Answers," 6.

[121]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 212-213; Storrs, "Answers," 6. See also "Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of the State of Missouri upon the Subject of a Communication Between the Said State and the Internal Provinces of Mexico, with a Letter from Alphonso Wetmore, upon the Same Subject," 18th Congress, 2nd Session, H. R. Report 79, Serial 116, p. 4. Referred to hereinafter as "Petition of Sundry Inhabitants."

avoided every manner of trade with the wild Indians, for fear of being treacherously dealt with during the familiar intercourse which necessarily ensues."[122] Some went so far as to petition the Federal Government to provide a military escort which would keep the Indians at a respectful distance.[123] In 1834 Captain Clifton Wharton reported that when friendly Indians approached the caravan:[124]

> A disposition to fire on them was notwithstanding evinced by several irresponsible persons attached to the Caravan who had hastened to meet them and which I had some difficulty in subdoing, the persons concerned having insisted that these Indians should not approach the Caravan.

Later, the same people started to fire a cannon into a peaceful Comanche camp in which many women and children were present.[125]

The American distinction between soldier and trader puzzled the Kiowas. In 1820 the Kiowas were disappointed that Major Long's expedition did not have trade articles.[126] And in 1845 Lieutenant Abert's group protested to the Kiowas that they had small trade resources because they were

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[122]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 251.

[123]"Petition of Sundry Inhabitants," see especially pp. 4-5.

[124]Capt. Clifton Wharton, "Report of Captain Clifton Wharton . . . covering the Campaign of 1834," Fred S. Perrine, ed., "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail," New Mexico Historical Review, II (July, 1927), 273. They happened to be Kansas Indians. Referred to hereinafter as Wharton, "Report of 1834 Campaign."

[125]Ibid., 276.

[126]Long, Account of an Expedition, II, 177-181.

soldiers.[127] Among their own kind every man was a warrior, hunter, and trader; and every woman was a worker and a hide merchant. When Americans insisted that soldiers were soldiers and nothing else and that Santa Fe merchants were Santa Fe merchants and not Indian traders, the Kiowas must have marvelled at American simplicity. Or they suspected treachery.

The Kiowa attitude towards the Santa Fe merchants was based on the travelers' relation to them. In all their previous contact with Anglo-Americans they welcomed the Whites as traders. But these Americans were now crossing their territory in substantial numbers, they would not trade, and they refused ceremonial pipe smoking and gift giving which signified friendship. At least the poorly laden army expeditions had conducted token trade.[128] From the Kiowa viewpoint gift giving was a polite and just recognition of their territorial occupancy and trade was a type of passport. The Missouri merchants considered that gift giving was contrary to manifest destiny, that trade was unprofitable, and neither should be tolerated.[129] Since the merchants challenged Indian

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[127]Abert, "Journal of 1845 Expedition," 42-43, 51.

[128]Ibid.; and Long, Account of An Expedition, II, 177-181.

[129]The entire tone of the "Petition of Sundry Inhabitants" is one of absolute rightness. The concluding section of this petition reads as follows: (p. 5)

> In opening a new, increasing, and, permanent market for the consumption of this article [cotton] the people of Missouri mingle their interest, and divide their advantages, with the inhabitants of the most sections of the union. Other reasons for the encouragement of trade and

protection rather than accepting it, their passage was an insult to Indian supremacy. The Indians answered the stiff necked merchants by threatening them with violence and by visiting theft upon their caravans. The latter had to travel always prepared for war, to be continuously alert, and to keep arms ready. To do otherwise invited destruction.[130]

Like the other Plains tribes the Kiowas resented the caravans, and Americans counted them as a menace to the Santa Fe commerce.[131] In 1829 Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahoes, and Taovayas attacked the caravan's army escort.[132] In the winter of 1832-33 there was another collision between the tribe and a group of Santa Fe merchants. Circumstances put a belligerent aspect on the encounter from the beginning.[133] The merchants were making a return trip to Missouri. Having disposed

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intercourse between Missouri and the Internal Provinces, growing out of the policy which should promote the spread of republican principles and diffusion of knowledge are too obvious to be insisted upon, and are left, by the undersigned, to the enlightened consideration of the Congress.

[130]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 26-27, 71-72. Maj. Bennett Riley, "Report of Major Riley of the Santa Fe Expedition," 21st Congress, 1st Session, Senate Doc. 46, Serial 192, pp. 3-4. Cited hereinafter as Riley, "Report of 1829 Expedition." Storrs, "Answers," 11-13.

[131]"Report of the Commissioners" [Surveying the Santa Fe Road], Kate L. Gregg, comp. and ed., The Road to Santa Fe (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, 1952), 206.

[132]Maj. Bennett Riley, "Journal of Major Riley," Fred S. Perrine, ed., "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail," New Mexico Historical Review, III (July, 1928), 286 and 293.

[133]The two major sources for this conflict are complementary. Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 253-256; Mooney, Calendar History, 254-257.

of their goods in Santa Fe, they carried only their baggage and about $10,000 in specie. Consequently, they had little to trade should they meet Indians. Their choice of route was unfortunate. They were following the Canadian, far south of the usual American course, a circumstance which confused the Kiowas, who made a distinction between Texans and Americans. They were at war with Texas and hated Texans cordially.[134] Since the Whites refused to trade, the normal occupation of friendly Americans, and since they were far from the ordinary American travel way, they must be Texans and inclined to no possible good. A dispute occurred, and the Americans were hopelessly outnumbered in the battle which followed. After a siege of thirty-six hours they escaped under darkness, abandoning their animals and luggage. Though they buried the money the Indians later found it and used it for pendants. Of the original twelve Whites only seven survived the attack and trek through the wilderness.[135]

There were a few traveling merchants who would exchange goods with the Indians. At least one, Josiah Gregg, found that Whites could deal with the Indian menace by tact, firmness, and especially by trade:[136]

> The Santa Fe caravans have generally avoided every manner of trade with the wild Indians, for fear of being treacherously dealt with during the familiar intercourse

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[134]Mooney, Calendar History, 255-257.

[135]Mooney places the site of the battle near present Lathrop, Texas. Ibid., 255.

[136]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 251.

> which necessarily ensues. This I am convinced is an erroneous impression; for I have always found, that savages are much less hostile to those with whom they trade, than to any other people. They are emphatically fond of traffic, and, being anxious to encourage the whites to come among them, instead of committing depredations upon those with whom they trade, they are generally ready to defend them against every enemy.

The Santa Fe Trail presented a dilemma to the Kiowas. It brought new opportunities for obtaining White goods, though White merchants severely restricted this opportunity when they refused to trade. But war in this quarter would frighten off the friendly merchants and Indian traders and thereby cut off the commerce whose abridgement the Kiowas felt so acutely during the Cheyenne hostilities. They welcomed and protected those who did trade, and those who refused they viewed with suspicion at the least and hostility at the most. Set-angya demonstrated their anxiety for peace in 1847, when the Comanches and Kiowas were on a joint war party against the Pawnees. The Comanches proposed instead to attack a Santa Fe caravan approaching the Pawnee Fork. Set-angya refused, stating that the Whites were Kiowa friends. Whereupon he and his fellow tribesmen withdrew, leaving the Comanches to fight the wagon train alone.[137]

White man's alcohol introduced peculiar problems to the Indians. Since the Plains' way did not allow Indians to produce alcohol, they had no personal tolerance nor cultural sanctions concerning its use. Alcoholic evidence is faltering or astonishing according to the observer's position. People

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[137]Mooney, Calendar History, 286-287.

who were involved in such blameworthy conduct as liquor traffic were not apt to advertise their activity. On the other hand Sergeant Hugh Evans and Lieutenant Gaines Kingsbury, who saw a revel on the Arkansas, leave the impression that the Indians were in a decayed state.[138]

Tradition ascribes to John Gantt the first trade use of liquor. It is more likely that New Mexicans were responsible for bringing it into the Plains, they not having to carry it over the great distances that the Anglo-Americans did; and Taos was noted for its whiskey of lightning-like qualities.[139] In 1835 Lieutenant Kingsbury found that New Mexicans were selling whiskey near Bent's Fort:[140]

> On our arrival at Messers. Bent and St. Vrain's trading establishment, or fort, we found two villages of Cheyennes encamped near them--the one upon this, the other upon the opposite side of the river. A party of Spaniards from Taos had been selling them whiskey upon the opposite or Mexican side, and we found a number of them intoxicated.

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[138]"Hugh Evans' 1835 Journal," 211-212. "Journal of 1835 Dodge Expedition," 140.

[139]Garrard, Wah-to-yah, 166, 199-200, 201-202.

[140]"Journal of 1835 Dodge Expedition," 140. Near the juncture of the Arkansas and Fountain Creek the expedition had met other peddlers: "Two Spaniards from Taos arrived at our camp. They came over for the purpose of trading with the Indians, for whom they were then looking. Their stock, which consisted of whiskey and flour, they had left on the opposite side of the Arkansas." Ibid. On the same expedition Sergeant Evans wrote, "Some Spaniards came to us this evening who had come from Touse [Taos] on a trading expedition with those Indians. They had flour, whiskey, etc." "Hugh Evans' 1835 Journal," 210. Evans' account of the alcohol soaked village is in ibid., 211-212. Captain Lemuel Ford mentioned the Taos traders but had nothing to say about alcohol. Capt. Lemuel Ford, "Captain Ford's Journal of an Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," Louis Pelzer, ed., Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XII (1925-26), 564.

Americans also traded whiskey, obtaining it from New Mexico. William Boggs stated that in 1844 there was ". . . a man by the name of Tharp, who traded the Indians whiskey and sometimes he got a robe or two from some straggling Indian from the Cheyenne village, but his trade did not amount to much."[141]

When introduced into a village liquor had a startling effect, disorienting the drinkers and upsetting normal social standards in the community. Degradation resulted; Indians noted for strict moral standards degenerated into wanton creatures.[142] Once the thirst had awakened they would "sell their horses, blankets, and everything else they possess for a drink of it."[143] The Indians, having received a little, wanted more. Grasping traders could take advantage of them in a drunken state. The immediate windfall, which alcohol induced, was too great for the more unscrupulous Whites to pass by. Responsible traders recognized the harmful results. But so insidious was its influence that the most conscientious traders turned to its use. In order to meet competition the Bents, who had much to lose from a degenerate Indian society, began to market whiskey on a regulated basis.[144] The

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[141]"Boggs Manuscript," 51. Garrard implied that Americans were responsible for upsetting Cheyenne camp tranquility: "The 'opposition traders' a mile above had conferred a present of liquor on several chiefs. . . ." Garrard, Wah-to-yah, 76.

[142]Garrard, Wah-to-yah, 76-77. Compare Sergeant Evans' experience in "Hugh Evans' Journal," 211-212.

[143]"Journal of 1835 Dodge Expedition," 140.

[144]Lavender, Bent's Fort, 150-151.

compromise, which they worked out, allowed only a trickle into the village and insured the safety of the White trader.[145] By this method a Bent trader went into the camp at certain times of the year and left his whiskey in the lodge of a chief. The trade then began, and when a transaction was completed a mark or ribbon was placed on a keg denoting the ownership. When the trader finished all his sales he left the village. After he was at a safe distance the Indians claimed their containers, and the celebrations began.

Though alcohol appeared as a trade article on the South Plains at least as early as the 1830's, two factors hindered its movement to the Kiowas: transport and the traders' own safety. It did not appear on the Plains in a substantial amount while lines of communication were so long and goods were carried by pack animal. Thomas James found the hauling problem so great that he cached his load of booze halfway to his destination and far from the Kiowas.[146] During the early period when the traders traveled to the Indian villages, when the nearest fort or post was usually hundreds of miles away, their safety depended on the maintenance of intratribal peace. The recognized authority of chiefs protected them. However, liquor deranged accepted social patterns and impaired the operation of sanctions. In such a situation the Whites' lives were at the mercy of

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[145] Ibid. And see Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort," 58-61.

[146] James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans, 119.

drunken whim,[147] and peril cooled the traders' ardor for the use of alcohol. At a later time when White-Kiowa contact would be more regular and when White habitations, in the shape of forts, posts, and stores would be all over Kiowa territory, there would be more opportunity for obtaining it. But in the first half of the nineteenth century Kiowa use of alcohol was episodic rather than continual and its effect was spectacular rather than dissolution.

The augmented trade brought by the Americans reacted on the intertribal power balance. The Kiowas were in a constant struggle to protect their territory from enemy tribes, shifting alliances bringing them only temporary relief. When Anglo-Americans entered the Plains the Osages were contesting the Kiowa-Comanche-Taovayas occupation of the buffalo Plains. Then in the middle 1820's the Cheyenne hostilities began. An uneasy peace ended the Osage menace in 1834-35.[148] A more durable Cheyenne alliance was reached in 1840.[149] But hardly had these two enemy tribes turned into friends than others took their place. The Pawnees, always troublesome, under pressure from Whites and Sioux looked to the South Plains for buffalo and horses. They were joined by new arrivals from the east: Shawnees, Potawatomis, and the Sacs and Foxes.[150]

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[147]Garrard, Wah-to-yah, 76-77.

[148]See above.

[149]See Chapter Four of this work.

[150]Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 94. And see Billington, Westward Expansion, 469-471.

The Kiowas had to defend their western borderlands also; from the mountains of New Mexico and Colorado the Utes and Navajoes looked enviously upon their Plains riches,[151] and the Apaches varied in attitude from friendship to hostility.[152]

The Pawnees were especially noted for their daring, and they raided far into the Plains. In 1816 a warparty was on the Arkansas near where the Santa Fe Trail later branched.[153] In the next two decades Pawnee warriors appeared on the South Plains, attacking Kiowas, Comanches, and Whites indiscriminately. In 1838 they menaced a Santa Fe caravan on the Cimarron River.[154] The following year the Comanche chief Tabba-quena said that the Pawnees were a constant threat along the Canadian.[155] Confirming his views, a Pawnee war party boldly appeared on the upper Canadian in New Mexico a few months later.[156] In the winter of 1846-47 the audacious

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[151]For Kiowa-Navajo encounters see Mooney, Calendar History, 165, 175, 301, 320, and 322. For Kiowa-Ute hostilities see Chapter Three of this paper; see also Mooney, Calendar History, 160, 165, 175, 306, 322-325.

[152]This statement does not include the Kiowa-Apaches whose interests were with the Kiowas rather than their Apachean relatives. Mooney, Calendar History, 156 and 165.

[153]It was at this place where they attacked the Auguste Pierre Chouteau expedition. "Chouteau-Demun Imprisonment," 211. See also Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, p. 19, note 22.

[154]Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 215-216.

[155]Ibid., 234. Tabba-quena also warned of the Osages, having in mind their previous incursions. But they were still observing the peace of 1834-35.

[156]The Pawnees attacked a Gregg caravan as it was returning to the United States in the spring of 1840 in present

Pawnees attacked a Kiowa village on Elk Creek in western Indian Territory.[157]

Since the Pawnees often traveled to the Plains on foot, the factor which made them such a menace was their superior firepower. Because of their location near the Missouri River and of their friendly contact with Whites they had better access to firearms. And just as the Sioux before them and as the Osages had so recently done, they effectively used this superiority against the Kiowas and their allies. The differential in firepower enabled bands of Pawnees and immigrant eastern Indians to easily defeat larger numbers of Plains warriors. Agent John W. Whitfield was explicit as to how one hundred Sacs, Foxes, and Potawatomis overcame a combined war party of about fifteen hundred Kiowas, Comanches, Kiowa-Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Osages. It was due entirely to firearms:[158]

> The prairie Indians were armed with the bow and arrow, while the others had fine rifles. One is a formidable weapon in close quarters, but worthless at more than about fifty yards. The rifle told almost every shot, either on rider or horse. It is easily accounted for why one hundred whipped fifteen hundred! the former had a weapon to fight with--the latter had none at the distance they were fighting.

In the years following 1840 the scenes of battle

Quay County, New Mexico. Ibid., 318-321. And see note 5.

[157]Mooney, Calendar History, 285-286.

[158]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1854, 90; see also p. 77. The Kiowa account is in Mooney, Calendar History, 297. The Cheyenne version is in Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 101-105.

against the Pawnees and eastern Indians shifted. The Cheyenne and Osage pacification allowed the Kiowas a closer approach to the Arkansas River and permitted them better access to firearms. Making effective use of their new power and alliances the Kiowas smoked for Pawnee destruction. Thomas Fitzpatrick writing from Bent's Fort in 1847 reported:[159]

> The Indians in this part of the country are quiet, and well disposed, so far as regards the Whites; but they cannot be prevented from pushing their war expeditions against the Pawnies, and for which we cannot blame them much, as the Pawnies are continually annoying them. Indeed, I find those Indians much more easily dealt with on any other subject than peace with the Pawnies who are their hereditary enemies, and will continue to be so, so long as the Pawnies prosecute their marauding expeditions all over the country.

The Kiowas moved back into the Central Plains, from which they had been excluded. The march of their frontier northward had the double advantage of chasing the Pawnees and immigrant Indians from the buffalo country and of allowing the tribe closer contact with the growing flow of White goods along the Arkansas. Both factors were related and both made the Kiowas more secure in the South Plains.

In the winter of 1849-50 there was a collision between some Kiowas and Pawnees on the Salt Fork of the Arkansas which resulted in the death of several Pawnee warriors.[160] In the

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[159]Thomas Fitzpatrick to Thomas H. Harvey, December 18, 1847, enclosed in letter of Harvey to Commissioner William Medill, February 8, 1848; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Letters Received from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75. Hereinafter this series of records will be cited as LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

[160]Mooney, Calendar History, 290-291.

1850's the Kiowas took part in vigorous campaigns to remove the Pawnees and immigrant Indians as threats. Though the latter groups put up a stout defense, they were pushed northeastward. In three successive years, 1852, 1853, and 1854, there were encounters which took place on the Central Plains, indicating that the eastern Indians had been repulsed from the South Plains. In 1852 the Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches joined the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Dakotas to attack the Pawnees on the Republican River.[161] In 1853 they took part in an expedition against the Pawnees and immigrant tribes, engaging them somewhere in northern Kansas or southern Nebraska.[162] In the following year a mighty expedition of combined Kiowas, Apaches, Comanches, Cheyennes, Osages, Arapahoes, and Sioux marched to exterminate the immigrants. It was this warparty that suffered defeat at the hands of the smaller but better armed group of Sacs and Foxes and Potawatomis, the battle taking place either on the Smoky Hill or Saline River between Fort Harker and Fort Hayes.[163] Though brought to a standstill in this fight the Kiowas did not leave the Central Plains. They had gathered strength which could endure this reversal.

The sun dance locations further reflect a movement

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[161]Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 80. Mooney, Calendar History, 294-295.

[162]Grinnell says that the expedition started out from a Cheyenne village located on the headwaters of the Republican River. The Fighting Cheyennes, 85.

[163]Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes, 101-104. Mooney, Calendar History, 297-299.

of the tribe to the north.[164] In the 1830's the sun dance was held in places generally between the North Canadian and the Red Rivers. In the next decade there was a gradual movement northward, the sun dance of 1848 occurring at Bent's Fort on the Arkansas. The shift continued in the 1850's, the celebration for 1859 taking place on Smoky-hill River near present Fort Hayes, Kansas, which must have been the farthest northern point for the dance since the 1820's.[165]

American adaptation to Plains production and the rise of the Santa Fe Trail were parallel developments. The one allowed the Kiowas a more intensive use of the Plains resources, making the nomadic life a more productive one. The Kiowas, using their own resources, could obtain articles which gave greater variety to their own life. Unlike the French and Spanish movements to the Plains the Anglo-American trade grew rapidly. In the early nineteenth century there were only a few contacts, but by the early 1840's the Kiowas were conducting business at many places on their northern and eastern frontiers, most notably along the Red, Canadian, and Arkansas rivers.

They encouraged, indeed needed, commercial contact with the Anglo-Americans. They protected the traders from assaults of other tribes, and they gave them a high status

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[164]Mooney gives the location for each year in the Calendar History, 254-309. See Appendix E of this work.

[165]The Calendar begins with 1832; it is unlikely that any of the sun dances from 1827 to 1832 took place near the Arkansas because of the Cheyenne War.

within Kiowa society. Chiefs and important persons adopted them, by which means the Whites came under a recognized pattern of behavior and received security for their persons and property. Trade articles did not essentially differ from those of the French merchants. Metal objects, as hardware, axes, kettles, and arrow-points all had greater utility than their stone, wooden, or leather counterparts. The Kiowas valued the beads for their color and decoration, and they also welcomed the clothing which relieved the drab of leather garments. But since the cloth articles wore out quickly in the nomadic life the Indians wore them only for special occasions. The Kiowas considered the food, coffee, sugar, and rice as rare delicacies which they served only at important banquets.

Greater development within the limits of Plains economic potential distinguished the American trade from the French. By the third decade of the century Americans were adapting, unsuccessfully in the case of Thomas James but successfully in the case of the Bents, to the possibilities of Plains resources; so that in the following years traders more thoroughly utilized Kiowa productivity. By the 1830's the limiting factor was no longer the traders' interest in pelts. They were looking for what the Kiowas had to offer in quantity: buffalo hides, horses, and mules. The Kiowas responded with delight, they highly esteemed such useful White people and encouraged them to return.

The Santa Fe Trail was a perplexing problem to the

Indians. A chain of commerce between Missouri and New Mexico, it was productive with present misunderstanding and prophetic of future White-Kiowa relationship; though bringing unexampled riches to the Plains, it left only trinkets and remnants to the Indians. Merchants' refusal to sell built up resentment; but the contact was too significant to cut off. Traders to the Indians used the same trail; and there were those few merchants, such as Josiah Gregg, who were willing to do some trade and to receive the Indians' friendship in return.

There were limits to Kiowa consumption of White trade articles. These limits were imposed by conditions of constant moving about. They could use flour and corn, but they could take no more than what they could carry on pack animals; such produce was liable to spoilage if cached. Their society could become saturated with White goods, as happened in 1867, but such saturation was only temporary by nature, so that the flow of White goods had to be continuous. Anglo-American contact stimulated the nomadic life of the Kiowas; it encouraged them to produce more and to enlarge their area of effective occupation. By the end of the fifth decade of the century Kiowa trade was firmly tied to American outlets, either directly or through Indian intermediaries.[166] They welcomed the commerce, because it was of high usefulness in their own life for purposes of peace and of war. They therefore invited the American traders to visit their camps and to sit down with them as sons and brothers.

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[166]See Appendix D.

CHAPTER VI

THE KIOWAS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, RELATIONS TO 1859

The United States Government reserved for itself the power to conduct Indian relations.[1] It dealt with the Indian tribes, making treaties with them, warring upon them, feeding them and sustaining them as suited its higher policy. In its conduct of Indian affairs it was sometimes contradictory in action, slow in coming to decisions, and hampered by bad judgment and wrong-headedness of its officials. Throughout all its actions ran the purpose of clearing the land and securing its title for American citizens, who in large numbers were settling the sparsely inhabited land of the Red Man.

The Kiowas, isolated till rather late from the mainstream of American migration, did not sign a treaty with the United States until 1837. Nevertheless, official government representatives were in Kiowa territory much earlier, Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike crossing their land in 1806-07. Though his journals do not say that he directly encountered the tribe, he did obtain information about their habits from

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[1]Constitution of the United States, Section 6.

James Pursley.[2]

In 1820 Major Stephen H. Long led an exploratory expedition across the Great Plains. Going up the Platte and South Platte it crossed to the headwaters of the Arkansas; it then divided, one group going down the Arkansas, the other going to the Canadian. The Arkansas portion, commanded by Captain John R. Bell, consisted of only twelve men and soon had all the Indians it wanted.[3] On July 24, 1820, Bell's small force happened upon a combined camp of Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes.[4] Entirely outnumbered the Americans spent anxious moments as the Indians charged upon them. Their relief was great to see that they were friendly:[5]

> A minute afterwards we were surrounded by them and were happy to observe, in their features and gestures, a manifestation of the most pacific disposition; they shook us by the hand, assured us by signs that they rejoiced to see us, and invited us to partake of their hospitality.

When the Whites made camp the Indians sent them "presents of jerked bison meat."[6] Hoping to establish firm friendship, they called for a conference with the chiefs, who solemnly sat on blankets in a circle:[7]

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[2]Pike, Expeditions, II, 756-758.

[3]Long, Account of an Expedition, II, 173.

[4]Ibid., 176.

[5]Ibid., 175.

[6]It was "the fattest and the best, and in sufficient quantity for the consumption of two or three days." Ibid., 175.

[7]Ibid., 176-177.

> A few presents, such as knives, combs, vermillion, etc. were then laid before the chiefs, who in return presented us with three or four horses, which terminated the proceedings of the council. We afterwards understood that our guests thought we gave but little, and it is perhaps true that the value of their presents was far greater than ours, yet our liberality was fully equal to our means.

It was soon apparent why the Indians received them so kindly; they hoped that the Americans brought articles of White manufacture:[8]

> . . . one of the natives offered to exchange an excellent mule for that [tent] in which he was sitting. And, as the commonality could not distinguish us in their minds from traders, another offered two mules, valued equal to four horses, for a double barrelled gun; and a third would willingly have bartered a very good horse for an old and almost worn out camp kettle, which we could by no means part with, though much in want of horses.

The efforts at trade had little success because the Army men had small resources. Their bundles contained equipment and specimens for researches rather than trade articles. Exchange was limited to the Whites' needs:[9]

> . . . agreeably to our wishes, which were announced in the council, the women brought jerked meat, and the men skin and hair ropes for halters, to trade with us for trinkets, and we were enabled to obtain a sufficient quantity of each, at a very moderate price. The trading being completed, we expected the crowd to diminish, but it seemed rather to augment, both in magnitude and density . . .

Although the Kiowas were disappointed in the expedition because of its small trade, this first meeting had larger consequences. Bell's command, as an official representative of the United States Government, managed to have a friendly

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[8] *Ibid.*, 180.

[9] *Ibid.*, 177.

meeting with the Indians. On the part of their Great Father, the National Government, the Whites assured the Kiowas of their good intentions and promised that traders would soon arrive among them.[10] When it came time for the Indians to continue their buffalo hunt, the Kiowa chief took friendly leave of the White visitors, giving them information about his people and the allied tribes.[11] The meeting produced good will between the Kiowas and the United States Government.

Events of the 1830's put a new light on relations between the tribe and the Federal Government. In the late 1820's and in the 1830's the Government removed five great tribes from their territory east of the Mississippi to western lands. These were the Five Civilized Tribes: Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole. The new area assigned them was between Arkansas Territory on the east, the 100th Meridian on the west, Red River on the south and the 37th Parallel on the north.[12] The western portion of this tract was within the range occupied by the Kiowa-Comanche-Taovayas alliance. The allies vigorously contested the Osage intrusions and would likewise resist any Civilized Indian pretension to the Plains. In addition to protecting its migrant Indian wards the Government wished also to safeguard its White citizens traveling the Santa Fe Trail. With these

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[10] Ibid., 176-177.

[11] Ibid., 188.

[12] Billington, Westward Expansion, 312-319. McReynolds, Oklahoma, 120-140, 150ff.

objects in view the United States extended its civil and military power to the Great Plains in three events. The Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition of 1834, the Comanche-Wichita Treaty of 1835, and the Kiowa Treaty of 1837 were all of a piece: to pacify the Plains.[13]

In 1834 the United States Government made its first major effort to bring peace between the Plains Indians and those tribes with which they warred. To achieve this purpose and to impress the Indians with the might of the Americans, it sent out the Dragoon Expedition commanded by Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth and Colonel Henry Dodge.[14] Its immediate aim was to return two girl prisoners, a Kiowa and

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[13]In 1835, Secretary of War Lewis Cass instructed the treaty commissioners,

> . . . to establish and perpetuate amicable relations between the Camanche and other predatory tribes, and between these tribes and the other nations of Indians in that region. . . . The predatory habits of those Indians are well known to you, as are the repeated injuries which they have committed against citizens of the United States, and against other Indians, entitled to the protection of the government. They might, no doubt, be subdued and even destroyed, were it necessary, by the United States. Such a proceeding however, would not only lead to great expense, but would be entirely revolting to humanity if the object of pacification can be otherwise obtained. . . .

Secretary of War Lewis Cass to Montford Stokes, Matthew Arbuckle, and F. W. Armstrong, March 26, 1835; Field Office Records, Letters Received by the Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75. Hereinafter referred to as Field Office Records; LR by Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[14]General Leavenworth became ill on the Washita River. Colonel Dodge took command at that place. Leavenworth died while attempting to follow Dodge. See "Journal of the 1834 Dodge Expedition," 374-375, 381.

a Wichita, who had been captured by the Osages. An imposing force, it consisted of about 500 soldiers, accompanied by scouts and hunters of the Osage, Cherokee, Delaware, and Seneca tribes.[15] The dragoons were a colorful marching array as described by George Catlin:[16]

> . . . the horses have a most beautiful appearance for the arrangement of colours. Each company of horses has been selected of one colour entire. There is a company of bays, a company of blacks, one of whites, one of sorrels, one of greys, one of cream colour, etc., etc., which render the companies distinct, and the effect exceedingly pleasing.

Though a showy military force, its purpose was peaceful. Attended by accident and uncertainty the expedition achieved its immediate goals: finding the Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas and impressing upon them the friendly intentions of the United States. The greatest enemies of the expedition were not the Indians, but weather and disease. The command started in July in the hottest and dryest season of the year, when streams ceased flowing and water was only in stagnant pools. Heat and disease took a heavy toll. Graves and sick camps marked the trail between Fort Gibson and the Wichita village. Of the 500 men who left Fort Gibson less than 200 reached their destination. To the assembled Wichitas, Comanches, and Kiowas, Colonel Dodge proclaimed:[17]

> We are the first American officers who have ever come to see the Pawnees [Wichitas]: we meet you as friends, not

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[15] Ibid., 373.

[16] Catlin, Letters and Notes, II, 38.

[17] "Journal of 1834 Dodge Expedition," 377.

> as enemies, to make peace with you, to shake hands with you. . . . The great American chief wishes also to make peace between you and the Osages; you have been at war with the Osages; and to secure peace between you and the Cherokees, Senecas, Delawares, and Choctaws, and all other red men, that you may all meet together as friends, and not shed each other's blood as you have done.

The conference reached its high point when the Americans presented the Kiowa girl to her people. The event made a profound impression upon the Kiowas. The girl, Gunpañdama, was captured by the Osages when they attacked and burned the Kiowa village in 1833, taking the Taime at the same time.[18] The massacre plunged the whole tribe into mourning and brought desecration to the tribal religious symbol whose absence ended the annual sun dance. The girl's return then had tribal and religious significance. Her family's joy radiated throughout the tribe:[19]

> At 10 o'clock the chiefs of the council began to assemble at the place appointed for the meeting, which was in a wood about two hundred yards from our camp. The father in a speech addressed to the Kiowas, whose numbers every moment increased, gave vent to his joy and praise of his white friends. All came mounted and armed. Many of our officers were present. There were not less than two thousand mounted and armed Indians around the council. Great excitement prevailed among the Indians, but especially with the Kiowas, who embraced Colonel Dodge, and shed tears of gratitude for the restoration of their relative. An uncle of Wa-ha-sep-ah [Gunpañdama], a man of about forty years of age, was touchingly eager in his demonstrations, frequently throwing his arms around Colonel Dodge, and weeping over his shoulders,

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[18]Mooney, Calendar History, 257-259. In the Dodge journal she is called Wa-ha-sep-ha. "Journal of 1834 Dodge Expedition," 380. Catlin calls her Wun-pan-to-mee, Letters and Notes, II, 75. The government also acquired a Kiowa boy from the Osages, but he was killed in an accident at Fort Gibson. Catlin gives the details.

[19]"Journal of 1834 Dodge Expedition," 380.

> then invoking blessings upon him in a manner the most graceful and ardent. The women came in succession and embraced the girl, who was seated among the chiefs.

Having established friendly relations with the Indians Dodge proposed that they or their representatives should confer with the White Father and with the Five Civilized Tribes. But the three tribes objected to traveling any great distance from their homes, and Dodge then suggested Ft. Gibson instead of Washington for the conference site.[20] Even a journey to Fort Gibson brought "much demurring among the chiefs,"[21] of the Wichitas and Comanches. There were excellent reasons for Plains people not going to Fort Gibson. A journey to that place required traveling for about a hundred miles through woods and brushland where a man on horseback would lose the advantage of being mounted. He would be a convenient target for a marksman hidden in shinnery bushes or behind trees. Travel through the lands of the hostile woodland Indians would be both foolish and dangerous. While he was willing to discuss peace, a Taovayas Chief said, "We do not like to pass through the thick timber country between us and the white men."[22] Dodge persisted and received support from the Kiowas who were willing to travel to the east. Dohasan, using that large mind which had brought him the principal chieftanship so early in life, weighed the factors.

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[20] *Ibid.*, 378.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*

If only he and a few councillors made the journey there would be little likelihood of a collision with the Civilized Tribes. If difficulties presented themselves, the delegation could rely on Dodge who had already showed himself to be a man of iron nerves and of peaceful intentions. Moreover, peace with the Osages could possibly lead to the Taime's return. These probable results commended themselves to the Kiowas, who readily agreed to a council.[23]

The meeting at the Taovayas' village ended with an oration by Dohasan:[24]

> The American captain has spoken well to-day; the white men have shown themselves our friends. If a white man ever comes to my country, he shall be kindly treated; if he wants a horse, or anything that I have, he shall not pay for it; I will give him what he wants.

Fifteen Kiowas, including Dohasan, decided for the trip to Fort Gibson.[25] With many doubts four Wichitas and a Waco also went with Colonel Dodge;[26] while the Comanches after considerable discussion and a false start refused altogether.[27] At the fort in August, 1834, Dohasan and his braves shook hands with White officers, hugged Civilized chiefs, endured

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[23]"Titche-totche-cha [Dohasan], chief of the Kiowas, signified his willingness to go." Ibid., 380.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid. The Wacos were a Caddoan tribe from Texas who came to be associated with the Taovayas [Wichitas]. See Wright, A guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 253-254.

[27]"Journal of 1834 Dodge Expedition," 380-381.

Osage speeches,[28] and continued negotiations which led to the return of the Taime.[29]

The conference at Fort Gibson was only preliminary to a general peace treaty for the Plains Indians. Dodge had informed them, "Peace cannot be made with all the tribes till a large white paper be written and signed by the President and the hands of the chiefs."[30] Accordingly in the early summer of 1835 the Indians gathered for the treaty council. Differences immediately arose over the council's location. The American commissioners, Montfort Stokes, Brevet Brigadier General Matthew Arbuckle, and F. W. Armstrong, wished to hold the treaty conference at Fort Gibson. The Indians, however, replied that Dodge had promised them a council on the prairie.[31] Through the summer they could reach no agreement. The Plains Indians objected to a trip through the woods to Fort Gibson with even greater reason than the year before. They were going to the treaty grounds in large numbers rather

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[28]Hugh Evans, "The Journal of Hugh Evans," Fred S. Perrine, ed., Chronicles of Oklahoma, III (1925), 212-215.

[29]The exact circumstances of the Taime's return are not known, but the Chouteaus appear to have had a hand in it. They were attempting to extend their trade activities to the Plains Indians. According to a Kiowa account one of the family, perhaps Auguste P. or P. L., persuaded the Osages to return the image. Mooney, Calendar History, 263.

[30]"Journal of the 1834 Dodge Expedition," 378.

[31]Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong to Secretary of War Lewis Cass, May 14, 1835; LR from the Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75. Because of illness Armstrong played only a minor role in the preliminaries; he died before the council took place.

than sending only a few chiefs as a delegation.[32] For so many Plains Indians to journey through country inhabited by suspicious Choctaws, Creeks, Osages, and Cherokees would increase the probability of conflict. They were willing to meet at Camp Mason established on the Canadian River near the edge of the timber country, but they would go no further.[33] After weeks of uncertainty and delay the Commission gave up hopes of bringing the Indians to Fort Gibson and set out for Mason with delegations of the Five Civilized Tribes.[34] When they arrived at the camp on August 19 they found Comanches, Wichitas, and Osages; but the Kiowas had left.[35]

The Kiowa departure gave rise to much speculation. Surgeon Leonard McPhail noted that the Osages were truculent,[36] and that the Kiowas had finally left to prevent starvation.[37] The extended visit of Indians at Camp Mason must have severely strained the resources of the surrounding prairie. Buffalo, hunted by both Indians and soldiers, were scarce. And the

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[32]Shortly after arriving at Camp Mason on July 11, Leonard McPhail wrote, "We are surrounded by Indians, Osages, Pawnees [Wichitas], Kioways and different tribes of Cumanches." Leonard McPhail, "Diary of Assistant Surgeon Leonard McPhail on his Journey to the Southwest in 1835." Harold W. Jones, ed., Chronicles of Oklahoma, XVIII (1940), 285. Cited hereinafter as McPhail, "Diary."

[33]Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong to Cass, May 14, 1835; LR from the Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[34]Camp Holmes Journal, p. 249; NA, RG 75.

[35]Ibid.

[36]McPhail, "Diary," 285.

[37]Ibid., 288.

numerous horses had cropped the grass, and the growing season was past. The Osage friction was the symptom of smouldering hostility between the tribes. The memory of the 1833 massacre and of the Taime sacrilege still burned deeply in Kiowa minds, in spite of the return of the prisoner and the image. The prospect of prolonged contact with the Osages at Camp Mason was bitter to the Kiowas, so recently in mourning. The sight of so many Osage scalps walking about could only animate vengeance in their hearts. The possibility of a conflict was a lively one. If fighting broke out, it would probably spread to the other tribes. In a showdown battle the Comanches and Wichitas, who had their own complaints against the Osages, would come to the aid of their allies. In such circumstances Camp Mason would become a battle ground rather than a treaty ground. The commissioners' delay added further uncertainty and heat to the atmosphere.[38] The Kiowa chiefs, aware of the feelings of their people, could well have decided that the interests of peace would best be served by placing many campfires' travel between themselves and the Osages whose presence they could barely tolerate. Their leaving was not due to antagonism towards the Federal Government nor to fear of its army which they had so jubilantly welcomed the year before. Their withdrawal left the Comanches, never known for oratorical abilities, in an awkward situation. They had to explain

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[38]Of this delay McPhail wrote, "The promises held out to the Indians should never be broken. They were to be met when the grass was in blade and not in the leaf. Ibid.

the absence of the Kiowas to the tardy commissioners. For once the tight-lipped Comanches found tongues to speak for their allies:[39]

> When we were left here [by the Kiowas] our people told us not to leave before you arrived, that they wanted to make a Treaty, and that they would observe it.--The Kiowas will also agree to any Treaty we may make.

The Comanches and Wichitas signed the treaty which pledged them to peace with the United States, the Civilized Indians, Senecas, Quapaws, and the Osages.[40] For the next two years the Government endeavored to persuade the Kiowas to sign a treaty and to add their name to that of the Comanches and Wichitas. For this purpose the Commissioners sent P. L. Chouteau to find the tribe, to confer with them, and to persuade them to sign a treaty.[41] The Kiowas received Chouteau with all hospitality as befitted a person who represented both the United States and the powerful trading firm.[42] They expressed friendship for the United States Government to whose interests they were attached. They also agreed to signing a treaty with the government as the Comanches and Wichitas

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[39]Camp Holmes Journal, p. 250; NA, RG 75.

[40]Kappler, Laws and Treaties, II, 435-439.

[41]Copy of letter of P. L. Chouteau to Stokes and Arbuckle, April 19, 1836; enclosed in a letter of Stokes to Secretary of War Cass, April 26, 1836; LR from the Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75. And see also copy of Instructions of Stokes and Arbuckle to P. L. Chouteau; Field Office Records, LR by the Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[42]Copy of letter of P. L. Chouteau to Stokes and Arbuckle, April 19, 1836; enclosed in a letter of Stokes to Secretary of War Cass, April 26, 1836; LR from the Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

had done. But they were in no great hurry to leave the Plains, and the Kiowa delegation did not arrive at Fort Gibson until May, 1837.[43] The delegations from two other tribes who had not signed the Treaty of Camp Mason were with them: the Kiowa-Apaches who generally adhered to the Kiowas, and the Tawakonis, a Caddoan tribe who had fled White encroachment in Texas to join their kinsmen, the Wichitas.[44] The treaty was similar to that of 1835, with minor exceptions. Its terms were of peace and friendship only, by which the parties agreed to honor and respect the other. The Government granted no annuities,[45] though the treaty did specify that the Indians should receive gifts upon signing.[46]

These negotiations of the 1830's were occasions for giving goods to the Kiowas. Colonel Dodge at the Taovayas village had given them guns and pistols, and he promised them more presents at Fort Gibson.[47] Though the Government appropriated $10,000 for the Camp Mason negotiations,[48] the Kiowas

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[43] Ibid.

[44] In the treaty the Kiowa-Apache tribe is referred to as Ka-ta-ka. The treaty refers to the Tawakoni as Ta-wa-ka-ro. For a discussion of the Tawakoni see Wright, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 246-249.

[45] In his 1835 instructions to the commission Cass had written, "It will be a treaty of peace and amity only, and no annuities or other consideration will be stipulated to be paid to them." Cass to Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, March 26, 1835; Field Office Records, LR by the Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[46] Kappler, Laws and Treaties, II, 490.

[47] "Journal of 1834 Dodge Expedition," 380.

[48] Cass to Stokes, Arbuckle, and Armstrong, March 26,

did not share in this because of their early departure. In 1837 the chiefs received gifts at Fort Gibson.[49] There was no general exchange of gifts in 1834 or 1837 as there was in the Kiowa-Cheyenne treaty of 1840. The distribution was considerably more restricted and resembled the gift giving done by the governors of New Mexico. Only the chiefs received the presents, and as fitted their high stations they got firearms, the most valued of White articles.[50]

The 1834-37 meetings did not completely produce the desired results. The southern regions of Kiowa territory, West Texas and Mexico, were not pacified. Nor did the Plains Indians suffer the Pawnee and immigrant tribes on the Missouri to enter the buffalo grounds. But the Kiowas and their allies did achieve an uneasy peace with the Osages and the Five Civilized Tribes, and the edge of the timber country became an accepted boundary. The Civilized Tribes were woodland people and did not challenge the Plains Indians in prairies where so many factors were against them. The Kiowas and Comanches for their part did not like the woodlands. By the understandings the groups recognized that each was dominant in its own area. Though minor skirmishes occurred in the borderlands, there were no more major conflicts. The United

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1835; Field Office Records, LR by the Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[49]Kappler, Laws and Treaties, II, 490.

[50]Available records do not indicate the kind of gifts received at Fort Gibson. William Armstrong said that some goods from the Camp Mason Treaty were retained for the Kiowas. William Armstrong to Commissioner C. A. Harris, February 13, 1837; LR from the Western Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

States Government was fortunate to interpose in Plains events at a critical time in Kiowa affairs. The return of the girl led to the return of the Taime and the revival of the sun dance. Its efforts at peace between the Osages, the Civilized Tribes, and the Plains Tribes helped to stabilize the eastern borders of the Kiowas. The tribe benefitted from these events, and the American Government received their goodwill.

Events of the 1840's brought a new relationship between the Kiowas and the Federal Government. The annexation of Texas, the subsequent Mexican War, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo put practically all Kiowa territory within the United States. Other than the change in jurisdiction events brought classes of Americans who were different from the traders with whom the Kiowas were acquainted. Colonel Stephen W. Kearney's column, which occupied New Mexico, marched through Kiowa territory and was followed by reinforcements and replacements. Santa Fe drew people who saw new opportunities in supplying the population there. Before the decade ended, gold-seekers traveled the Arkansas and Canadian valleys on their way to the California mines.[51] None of these people were interested in staying in the buffalo Plains. Inhospitable climate--summer heat, winter cold,

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[51]Billington, Westward Expansion, 505, 586, 587, 588-591. Captain Randolph B. Marcy led an army command which escorted a group of forty-niners. They left Fort Smith in April, followed the Canadian, and arrived at Santa Fe in June. Randolph B. Marcy, Route from Fort Smith to Santa Fe; 31st Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. 45, Serial 577, pp. 30-48.

little water, and fewer trees--made it seem a desert. But their numbers, their going to and fro, their marching and countermarching, alarmed the Indians who previously were unaware that there were so many Whites. Because of the many questions which would arise from new Indian-White contact, the Federal Government stirred itself to extend its system of Indian relations to the Kiowas. Though hampered by the Indians' remoteness, it needed to systematize what had been a casual, haphazard relationship. Accordingly, the United States appointed Thomas Fitzpatrick as agent to make its policy known to them. His province included the Kiowas, Comanches, Kiowa-Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and some Sioux, under the name of Agency of the Upper Platte and Arkansas.[52]

The Upper Platte and Arkansas Agency was a geographical expression rather than a place. The agent had no office, where he could receive his Indian charges. They were scattered over a vast area between the Rio Grande on the south, the Platte to the north, the Rocky Mountains to the west, and the timber area on the east. Once he went into the land of his Indians the agent cut himself from White civilization. In the Indian country he traveled from camp to camp, informing the inhabitants of the Government's intentions and

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[52]Thomas Fitzpatrick was appointed agent in August, 1846. Senate resolution confirming appointment of Thomas Fitzpatrick; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Letters Received from the Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75. Hereinafter this series of records will be cited as LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

listening to their own talk. His path through the Indian country was a circular route. Following the old traders' route he took the Santa Fe Trail to Bent's Fort,[53] which often served as his headquarters. From that place Fitzpatrick proceeded up the Arkansas and then crossed over to the South Platte, going down it to the Platte which he followed to the Missouri; he descended the latter to St. Louis, where his immediate superior, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, had his headquarters.

The Kiowas met their agent along the Arkansas River, the scene of contact with the Federal Government having shifted from the South Plains. As the nature of relationship changed, as the Government changed its attitude from oversight to supervision, as it assumed more responsibilities towards the tribe, so also did its role in furnishing goods augment. The early occasions for giving goods resembled the pattern of gift giving, the size of the gifts revealing the importance, prestige, and generosity of the participants. As contact became more frequent, the Federal Government drew up treaties with the tribe, which stated more precisely the relationship, and which defined more closely the duties and obligations between the Government and the tribe. Unlike the treaty of 1837, which referred only to gifts, the treaty of 1853 stated that the United States would make an annual

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[53]In 1849 William Bent destroyed his fort near Timpas Creek. In 1853 he built a new one at Big Timbers on the Arkansas about thirty eight miles below the old location. Lavender, Bent's Fort, 315, 324.

payment to the tribe.[54]

The Indians evaluated the agent and his government in terms of their own experience. One of their customs was to give presents at important meetings: "The Indians of that country on Peacemaking occasions, and all ceremonial meetings expect to give and receive large presents."[55] Moreover they had a guage by which to mark his importance, and Fitzpatrick found that he had to compete in prestige with traders:[56]

> In carrying out my instructions & prosecuting my official duties last year in that country; and having intercourse with so many tribes, I found myself at a great loss and much embarrassed for the want of Indian goods, for the purpose of making presents to the different friendly bands. This practise of making presents to the Indians of that country, has become so common & customary, that many of the tribes now demand it as a right, and is a source of embarrassment to the Agent. Inasmuch as they doubt his authority, or his having been sent by their "great father" amongst them.

Early in the Mexican War the Government provided Colonel Stephen W. Kearny with goods to pacify the Indians on his way to New Mexico. He left some merchandise at Bent's Fort which the Army handed over to Fitzpatrick.[57] These

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[54]Kappler, Treaties, II, 601.

[55]Fitzpatrick to Superintendent D. D. Mitchell, May 22, 1849; enclosed in a letter of Mitchell to Commissioner William Medill, May 29, 1849; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

[56]Copy of letter of Fitzpatrick to Medill, August 11, 1848; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

[57]Adjutant General to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 15, 1847; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Letters Received from the St. Louis Superintendency; NA, RG 75. Hereinafter this series of records will be cited as LR from the St. Louis Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

goods were the by-product of war and were insufficient for the numerous conferences and talks with the Indians. In his embarrassed circumstances Fitzpatrick deemed it wise to exercise authority which he did not have. He bought supplies from traders on Government credit, hoping that his actions would be approved: "These explanations I make in justification of my conduct and course, amongst these Indians in expending more for presents, than perhaps the Department deem necessary. . . ."[58] By 1849 the Government had sufficiently considered the Agent's actions and recommendations and it substantially increased his supply of Indian gifts. Fitzpatrick made his purchases in St. Louis and proceeded to Ft. Leavenworth, where he was to acquire an army escort. Much to his regret he found that the escort had left without him.[59] At the time he had $5,000 worth of goods for which he arranged private transportation.[60] He then made the great circular route of his agency, going up the Arkansas and down the Platte. Along the former river he met with various bands of Kiowas and other Indians, distributed the goods and assured them of the good will of the Great Father.[61]

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[58]Fitzpatrick to Mitchell, May 22, 1849; enclosed in a letter of Mitchell to Medill, May 29, 1849; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

[59]Fitzpatrick to Mitchell, September 8, 1849; enclosed in a letter of Mitchell to Commissioner Orlando Brown, September 15, 1849; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

[60]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1850, 20.

[61]Ibid.

In 1851 Fitzpatrick recorded that he again went to his agency and arrived on June 1 at Fort Atkinson, recently established at the Arkansas crossing of the Santa Fe Trail. He met the Indians gathered there, talked with them and he also gave them a feast of "bread, pork and coffee, and at the same time gave a small present of Indian goods to each band, in proportion to their numbers."[62] He asked them to attend a Council at Fort Laramie, to which the Cheyennes and Arapahoes agreed; but the Kiowas and Comanches refused, saying that it was too far away.[63]

In 1852 the question of gifts from the Federal Government became a matter of anxiety for the tribe. Kiowa interviews with the agent in 1851 had strengthened the impression that the Government would give them goods; they told him that they had peaceful intentions, and that they would continue in that attitude. Having consented to the White travelers' passage and having given the Government no cause for anger, they expected gifts for the following year. Undoubtedly the Kiowas expected presents when in February, 1852, they informed First Lieutenant Simon B. Buckner, commander at Fort Atkinson, that the tribe would arrive at his post in the spring: "I have certain information from their principal chief, Too-horce [Dohasan], that the Kioways will be here in a little more

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[62]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1851, 333.

[63]Ibid.

than two months."[64] Other tribes likewise informed the Lieutenant that they would arrive at his post. Alarmed at the prospect of his small garrison being host to so many Buckner wrote,[65]

> During several months of the summer it is very likely that there will be constantly several thousand of these wild Indians [Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Comanches, and Kiowas] within a very short distance of this post.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Under these circumstances the most that could be expected of the garrison would be to protect the post and its vicinity. . . . it would be entirely harmless in any attempt to pursue a hostile band of Indians.

In spite of this information the government did not hasten goods to the Kiowas, distracted as it was by the requirements of bureaucracy, its papers and forms. Agent Fitzpatrick was in the East explaining the Fort Laramie treaty to Washington authorities, and the need to purchase goods delayed him further.

The lonely garrison at Fort Atkinson represented the Government in the Plains. To its commander fell the task of receiving the Indians, of telling them the whereabouts of their agent, of explaining to them the absence of their goods, and in extremity to impress them with the power of the United States. Lieutenant Buckner grimly informed his superiors that his small force could not overawe the hundreds of warriors anticipated at his post. Indeed, if not reinforced its

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[64] Lt. Simon B. Buckner to Capt. Irvin McDowell, AAG, February 8, 1852; Army Records; Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received; NA, RG 94. Hereinafter this series of records will be cited as AGO, LR; NA, RG 94.

[65] Ibid.

continued existence, "would be owing to the friendly disposition of the Indians."[66] As the grass grew green, the Kiowas moved towards the Arkansas, their various camp trails pointing towards Fort Atkinson. The Indians pitched their camps nearby, and on May 9 Buckner reported that in addition to Comanches, "Large bands of Kioways, Cheyennes and Arrapahoes, and some of the Apaches are also in this vicinity."[67] The Kiowas had been told that goods would be waiting for them at the fort, but upon arriving they received only promises and explanations which they did not understand.[68] As in 1835 when there was an unseemly delay the chiefs had difficulty restraining the more rash warriors. One brave tried to enter the fort without permission, but the White soldiers disarmed him.[69] The chiefs apologized to the commander, asked forgiveness for the incident, and Buckner returned the Indian's pistol.

In this heated atmosphere a brawl between a foolish White soldier and a headstrong Kiowa brave precipitated a crisis.[70] The soldier strayed from the fort unarmed; he

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Copy of letter of Buckner to Superintendent D. D. Mitchell, May 9, 1852; enclosed in a letter of General N. S. Clark to Adjutant General, June 11, 1852; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Copy of Letter of Buckner to AAG, May 18, 1852; enclosed in a letter of Clark to Adjutant General, June 11, 1852; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94.

[70] Ibid.

chanced upon the brave who was well armed. The Indian horse-whipped the soldier, struck him in the face, and twice snapped his pistol at him. Suddenly the higher interests of the United States and the Kiowa tribe were in conflict. For the Commanding Officer to overlook this humiliating event would have compromised the dignity of the United States, whose prestige already was seriously impaired by the non-delivery of goods. It would likely lead to a series of insults which could well end in difficulties with all the Indian tribes, who would look with contempt upon a government which could not protect its own soldiers. Lt. Buckner demanded reparation, and if the Kiowas should refuse, the resulting conflict would place the garrison in peril, for he believed that the Kiowas and their allies could overwhelm the fort. Nevertheless, he determined that the interests of the United States could ill afford forbearance. He sent word to the Kiowa chiefs that they should surrender the offending brave to him or face the alternative.

For the Kiowa part surrendering the young man to the Whites would mean a loss of prestige, so painful to a proud people. War, however, would have serious consequences for the whole tribe, turning the United States Government from a benefactor into an enemy. Even should they triumph over the small force at Atkinson, the United States could be expected to seek vengeance for its dead soldiers. There were other probable results which would harm tribal interests. There would be no peace on the Arkansas at a place and a time when

the Kiowas were in a bitter contest with the Pawnees and immigrant Indians. One alternative hurt the pride, the other would mean war with the United States, the stopping of goods from it, and interrupting the trade goods from the Arkansas route. At first the Indians would not agree to surrender the man. And a delegation of worried chiefs went to the fort where for a whole day they tried to persuade Buckner from his course. But the Lieutenant was like adamant and insisted that the only sufficient proof of their friendship was surrendering the young brave. The alternative was war. Higher interests of the Kiowas won over pride:[71]

> On the following morning, after consultation with their people, a deputation of about fifty chiefs and principal men visited me, bringing with them the man who had attempted to shoot the Soldier. They surrendered him to me in council with many protestations of friendship, which I believe were sincere on the part of the principal chiefs.

When the resolute Lieutenant had made his point, he then exercised the better part of wisdom and returned the warrior to the chiefs. He told them that the mere surrender of the guilty man was sufficient evidence of their peaceful intentions and "that it was not the disposition of our people to treat with harshness a nation who displayed such a disposition of friendship towards us."[72]

Fitzpatrick set out from St. Louis in August with $6,000 worth of goods for the Kiowas and Comanches.[73] When

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[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] These were a part of the goods for the Indians who

he arrived at Fort Atkinson the Kiowas had left. They returned to pick up their goods six months later.[74]

Fitzpatrick journeyed to Kiowa territory again in 1853. But this year the government strained itself to have the goods delivered earlier than the last, so that he began his trip in June.[75] In bringing the Kiowas into its system of Indian policy the Federal Government became a significant source of goods even before it signed a treaty which promised annuities. They were already familiar with White products, and they used experience gained from the White traders in estimating the importance of their new acquaintance. In dealing with the Kiowas, the agent found that the amount and kind of goods determined his influence and the government's prestige among the Kiowas.

Anglo-American movement westward in the late 1840's brought a new dimension into the Government's relationship with the Kiowas. The Whites were crossing their territory with foreseeable results, and the Government upon sending its agent learned of alarms and misgivings among them.

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were parties to the treaty of Fort Laramie; but Superintendent D. D. Mitchell diverted this amount to the Arkansas tribes. Mitchell to Commissioner L. Lea, August 3, 1852; LR from the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75. This was an emergency measure necessitated by the delay in buying the Kiowa and Comanche goods which were not purchased until October. Charles Mix to L. Lea, October 8, 1852; LR from the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[74]Lieutenant Henry Heth to AAG, November 4, 1852; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94.

[75]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1853, 360.

Superintendent D. D. Mitchell referring to the increased White travel said,[76]

> In former times there were only a few Mexicans, and Indian traders passing through this section of the Indian Country; and they were expected to provide for their own safety: this could only be done by making liberal presents, and fair promises to any of the warlike tribes with whom they might chance to meet. For the last year, or two, the Government of the United States, assumed the right to grant free right of way to all whites -- traders, troops, emigrants, etc., to pass, and repass at their discretion.

The Indians became alarmed over the increased White migration. As news of the White movement spread through the Indian camps and when the Kiowas saw the numbers of Whites, uneasiness stirred among them over its meaning. They turned to the Federal Government, whose agent had assured them of the good will of the Whites, for reassurance and explanation. In the fall of 1848 they gathered to confer with the agent and hovered about the Arkansas until he returned from St. Louis. When Fitzpatrick arrived at Bent's Fort in November, he was astonished to see so many Kiowas and others of the Kiowa-Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho tribes waiting to have a Big Talk with him.[77] They wanted to confer about the Whites who were crossing and recrossing, marching and countermarching through their land--more than they had ever seen, more than they knew to exist, and certainly more than all

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[76]Mitchell to Medill, June 1, 1849; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

[77]Fitzpatrick to Mitchell, May 22, 1849; enclosed in a letter of Mitchell to Medill, May 29, 1849; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

the Pawnees, whom they would not allow into buffalo country.

The new migration grieved the Kiowas in two different ways. First, it destroyed game. Using his extensive knowledge, Fitzpatrick reasoned that since White hunters had practically exterminated fur-bearing animals by 1847 the buffalo would soon suffer the same fate:[78]

> This state of things [plenty of buffalo] is now about to close, as the buffaloe robe which is the principal, and I might say the only article of trade now left in this part of the country, are becoming so scarce that in the course of a few years, the Indians will have great difficulty in precuring sufficient for their own clothing and food; and should the buffaloe still continue to decrease in the same ratio as heretofore must become entirely extinct in the course of ten years from this time; by which all the Indians who have been living on the buffaloe all their lives, and their ancestors for centuries, and who know no other mode of subsisting must inevitably come to [a] deplorable state of destitution.

The Indians quickly recognized the threat to their principal resource, and they informed Fitzpatrick that the Americans were wantonly killing the buffalo. Nor did the cause of their murmuring diminish. In the year of the great gold rush to California and just as Captain Randolph P. Marcy prepared his Canadian River escort Fitzpatrick reported that, "These complaints are increasing yearly and the grievances of which they complain becoming more sensibly felt. . . ."[79]

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[78]Fitzpatrick's estimate of ten years for the extinction of the buffalo was pessimistic; though his assessment of the effect proved true enough. Fitzpatrick to Superintendent John Harvey, December 18, 1847; enclosed in a letter of Harvey to Medill, February 8, 1849; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

[79]Fitzpatrick to Mitchell, May 22, 1849; enclosed in a letter of Mitchell to Medill, May 29, 1849; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

Again and again they informed Fitzpatrick that the scarcity of game was due "entirely to the passing of so many Americans through their country."[80]

The Kiowas in another sense found the new migration offensive. Whereas the White traders gave gifts to the Indinas before trade began, the new immigrants were not willing to recognize the Indian supremacy by giving them presents. However, many Whites discovered that the Indians would let them pass upon payment of a passport fee, and they promised gifts on the part of the Federal Government. Some wrote out papers which stated that they had met the Indians who treated them well. Travelers informed the Kiowas that they could take these documents to the Government which would give them presents for the kind treatment. The Indians presented these to Fitzpatrick who found himself having to pay promissory notes which American citizens had liberally distributed:[81]

> In this state of expectation I found all the Indians before mentioned assembled on the Arkansas in November last [1848], and many of the Chiefs and Warriors with documents in their possession showing and explaining acts of kindness and good treatment extended by them to the writers of these various documents.

Impelled by these circumstances, to make secure the passage of the travelers, the Government decided to indemnify the Indians for their losses, paying them for the privilege of White migration. To leave the relationship to chance would place both Whites and Indians in uncertainty in which

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[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

a slight misunderstanding would lead to open warfare. To systematize the meeting of White and Indian cultures the Government turned to treaty-making. According to Fitzpatrick these conditions required a treaty which would state exactly the relationship between the Government and the Indians and which would define the Government's obligations: "Under these circumstances I respectfully advise that something be done immediately in regard to making treaties, having some sort of understanding on which to base our proceedings."[82] Superintendent Mitchell concurred with Fitzpatrick that the times called for a written treaty to compensate the Indians for buffalo losses. He hoped that this would conciliate them:[83]

> I consider it nothing more than common justice; that the Indians should-to some extent be remunerated for the losses, and sufferings occasioned by the distruction of the Buffalo--and other game in the Country--this is their only means of support. I have had personal opportunity of seeing the extent to which they have suffered from this cause.
>
> On the score of expediency, and even economy, I consider it good policy on the part of our Government to conciliate these formidable tribes. With a view of accomplishing this I would recommend that a treaty should be held--Say during the month of October--at some suitable point--to which <u>all</u> the prairie tribes should be invited to attend: I would suggest Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas as the most central, and suitable point. The Indians would no doubt readily, & willingly attend: and by kind treatment, sensible "talk," and a few presents from their "Great Father"--more good could be accomplished than could be done by half a dozen Campaigns.

Persuaded by the need to quieten the Indians and to

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[82] <u>Ibid</u>.

[83] Mitchell to Medill, June 1, 1849; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

reconcile them to the migration, the Government decided to negotiate a treaty which would obligate the United States to pay annuities to them. It originally intended to have all the wandering tribes of the Plains, North and South, to sign the treaty of Fort Laramie.[84] When Fitzpatrick made this proposal to the Kiowas, they, along with the Comanches and Kiowa-Apaches, said that they were at peace with the United States and that they had no objection to signing a paper to this effect; but they refused altogether to go to Fort Laramie because, ". . . they had too many horses and mules to risk on such a journey, and among such notorious horse thieves as the Sioux and Crows."[85] Fitzpatrick proceeded to Ft. Laramie where he concluded a treaty with the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Sioux, Crows, and other tribes of the North Plains.[86]

Two years later, in 1853, the Government authorized Fitzpatrick to sign a separate treaty with the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches.[87] He sent runners to the tribes asking them to meet him at Fort Atkinson for the council. Again the trails led to the fort, and the Indians pitched their tipis along the Arkansas. This time the agent was there. The conference began in uncertainty, because Fitzpatrick's instructions contained conditions to which the

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[84]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1851, 333.

[85]Ibid.

[86]Kappler, Treaties, II, 594.

[87]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1853, 359.

Indians objected. And events of the past year did not reassure the Kiowas who had kept the peace only at the price of actions damaging to their pride. The Government wished to include a number of conditions in the agreement: the right to establish roads and posts in the Indian country, the restatement of the right of American citizens to pass through the Plains, and peace with the Mexican provinces. The Indians agreed to the right of travel, a practice in operation for some time and which had been stated in the Treaty of 1837. But they expressed dislike for military posts because, ". . . they destroy timber, drive off the game interrupt their ranges, excite hostile feelings, and but too frequently afford a rendezvous for worthless and trifling characters."[88] The article concerning peace with Mexico also offered difficulties. The Indians refused to return their Mexican captives, for they had adopted them into the tribes.[89] The negotiators finally arrived at a compromise which stated that the Indians should return prisoners taken in the future.[90] Article Six dealt with compensation and annuity payments:[91]

> In consideration of the foregoing agreements on the part of the Camanche, and Kiowa, and Apache tribes parties to this treaty--of the losses which they may sustain by reason of the travel of the people of the United States

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[88] Ibid., 362.

[89] Ibid., 363.

[90] Ibid., and Kappler, Treaties, II, 601.

[91] Kappler, Treaties, II, 601.

> through their territories--and for the better support, and the improvement of the social condition of the said tribes--the United States do bind themseles [sic], and by these presents stipulate to deliver to the Camanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes aforesaid, the sum of eighteen thousand dollars per annum, for and during the term of ten years next ensuing from this date, and for the additional term of five years, if, in the opinion of the President of the United States, such extension shall be advisable;--the same to be given to them in goods, merchandise, provisions, or agricultural implements, or in such shape as may be best adapted to their wants, and as the President of the United States may designate, and to be distributed amongst the said several tribes in proportion to the respective numbers of each tribe.

The annuity payments became a major source of goods for the tribe. They far surpassed the haphazard Santa Fe gifts in quantity and variety. The first payment, that of 1854, brought abundant merchandise to the tribe.[92] There were enough blankets for every adult, and they were of many colors: white, scarlet, green, and gentinnella. There were yards and yards of fancy cloth and also of the more substantial drygoods. And for the three tribes there were 563 pounds of beads: white, blue, ruby, and black. Also for decorative purposes there were checks, gartering, stripes, and plaids. There were hardware goods which caught the attention of every woman. The payment brought to each family utensils which formerly had only limited distribution in the tribe. Before, only the wives of chiefs and the wealthy had owned brass kettles, now the government wagons brought enough to make kettles common in the tribe. There was also a butcher knife and awl for each tipi. There were numbers of saw files; and

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[92]This discussion is based on documents in Appendix F.

the more fortunate women got one of the six dozen scissors and four dozen basting spoons. There were packages of needles and thread for every household. For personal adornment there were almost enough looking glasses for each family but only four gross of buttons and one gross of finger rings. There were likewise a number of cowbells, which were excellent noise makers, and nine dozen frying pans which did not see their intended use.[93]

Food articles were a significant part of the annuities.[94] The food was of vegetable origin, as the Kiowas had their own meat supply. They must have had an inordinate desire for sugar since they received more of this than any other item. If the original estimates were equally divided, each family received 11 5/7 pounds of sugar, but only 6 6/7 pounds of coffee and 1 5/7 pounds of pilot [hard] bread. there was also flour, rice, and beans.

Although the first payment was closely attuned to the Kiowa life, nomadic living worked refinement upon following payments.[95] Experience showed that the Kiowas had little

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[93]They were used for arrowpoints. Since meat was dried or jerked it was difficult to keep suet in a fryable state. Frying pans were not deep enough for boiling, but their metal easily made up into arrow heads. Agent Robert C. Miller to Superintendent Cumming, November 29, 1856; Field Office Records, Letters Received by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75. Hereinafter this series of documents will be cited as Field Office Records, LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[94]See Appendix F.

[95]See Appendix G.

use for frying pans and the government dropped them from the goods.[96] The original payment had only brass kettles, which were fine for boiling but awkward for carrying water and for storage. By the latter part of the decade the tribe received different types and sizes of kettles of both brass and tin.[97] Tin cups and deep pans were included in later payments. Hatchets were also added to the lists of goods. Hopefully, but with little result, the Government sent fishing hooks and lines.

In 1856 Agent Robert C. Miller recommended that the Government stop sending fancy cloth and clothing and that it increase provisions, excepting coffee and rice.[98] The former was liable to spoilage and the Indians scattered the rice on the prairies. He suggested that the Government return to the use of clarified sugar instead of the brown. Brown sugar "especially, in damp, warm weather, loses greatly in transportation, no matter how dry it may be." He recommended that the annuity include eighteen coats and trousers ornamented with military buttons and lace to "serve as a mark of distinction" for the chiefs. The changes in annuity goods during the 1850's were mere refinements in things already

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[96]Agent Miller to Superintendent Cumming, November 29, 1856; Field Office Records, LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[97]See Appendix G.

[98]Agent Miller to Superintendent Cumming, November 29, 1856; Field Office Records, LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75. The Kiowas said that rice resembled maggots.

suitable to a nomadic life. Clothing for color and protection became more durable. Diversified utensils and tools made the chase more productive. Agent Miller was direct on this point. He wished the changes made for reasons of transport so that the goods would be of greater use in nomadic living.

The Government had hardly established its policy of annuity payments than they became a matter of contention between it and the Kiowas. In the view of the United States the annuities were both an obligation and a means to bend the tribe to its policy.[99] The latter aspect became more important as time passed. On the other hand the Kiowas emphasized the Government's obligation to pay. The first delivery of goods under the 1853 Treaty took place at Fort Atkinson in the summer of 1854.[100] It was the same summer as their disastrous defeat at the hands of the immigrant tribes. When they most needed the firearms promised by the Federal Government events worked to frustrate their expectations. Major Robert H. Chilton had observed that the Indians received arms at the treaty-making in 1853. Protesting the arms delivery he told his superiors that the Indians used them only for

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[99]See Superintendent Mitchell's thoughts expressed above. Mitchell to Medill, June 1, 1849; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

[100]When it ratified the treaty the Senate made an amendment which said that the annuity could be changed from goods to agricultural purposes. Dohason greeted the amendment with disdain, saying that the land was worthless for farming. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1854, 91.

war, more especially against Whites; he insisted that this endangered both Santa Fe travel and the Texas settlements.[101] He recommended that the Government substitute such useful implements as axes and cooking utensils for firearms.[102] This advice and the reports of depredations persuaded the Government to withhold arms and ammunition from the 1854 annuity payment and to substitute fire-steel and hoop-iron,[103] which the Indians used for arrowheads.

The refusal to provide firearms was a bitter disappointment to the Kiowas. In the following year when the Government also withheld firearms, an intra-tribal crisis developed. All members agreed on the necessity of firearms; but the Government's attitude brought a difference of opinion as to what action to follow in subsequent distributions. The opinions polarized around two leaders, Dohasan and Set-angya, who advised opposite courses. The different positions of the two men re-enforced the divergence between them. Dohasan as principal chief took the large view balancing military, economic, and geographic factors. Set-angya, leader of the Kaitseñko, was concerned with the military aspect. The tribe divided almost in half around them in the summer of 1855. Dohasan presented the view that the Kiowas should accept their

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[101]Copy of letter of Maj. Robert H. Chilton to Col. Samuel Cooper, July 27, 1853; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94.

[102]Ibid.

[103]Commissioner George Manypenny to Superintendent Alfred Cumming, May 11, 1854; Field Office Records, LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

goods without firearms so long as the Government did not make undue demands. To refuse the annual payment was no small thing. Accordingly, he led his followers to Fort Atkinson where they met the agent and received their goods on July sixth.[104] Surprised that only half the tribe was there, Agent John W. Whitfield wished to give all the goods to those present with the understanding that they would share with the other Kiowas. Dohasan positively refused to do this, saying that Set-angya "was talking bad." For him to receive all the goods would weaken the war chief's protest and further embitter relations between the two factions.

Set-angya believed that the Government should provide them with firearms. He was keenly sensitive to the military needs of the tribe. If the United States did not provide arms to the Kiowas, they ought to make their displeasure known. He refused to go to Fort Atkinson. The agent sent a messenger to inform the haughty chief of the goods' arrival. And Set-angya still refused. Not until a second messenger from the agent arrived did the chief agree to go to the Fort. It had suited his convenience to delay arrival there by a month. On August 3, he and his band received their goods at Atkinson.

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[104]The information on 1855 distribution is contained in the following letters: Agent John W. Whitfield to Superintendent Alfred Cumming, August 1, 1855; enclosed in letter of Clerk John Haverty to Commissioner Charles Mix, August 27, 1855; Whitfield to Cumming, August 15, 1855, enclosed in letter of Haverty to Mix, September 10, 1855; Whitfield to Commissioner G. W. Manypenny, November 15, 1855; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

Agent Whitfield reported the Kiowas were in an ugly mood. Some of them had killed an ox belonging to the Government contractor, the very man who had brought them their goods. The Indian country was alive with talk of Indian attacks and rumors of wars. The Kiowas threatened Whites in their country, and they voiced resentment to their agent:[105]

> The chief cause of complaint appears to be my having brought no guns nor ammunition. I have escaped for two years, but permit me to say most especially that I could not again be induced to go amongst those Indians without a strong military escort or without a large quantity of guns and ammunition.

Government officials pondered whether to have firearms in the 1856 payment. With Whitfield's experience as a guide the Indian Department worked to have the prohibition removed. On March 5, 1856, Superintendent Cumming asked that the Government put firearms in the annuities.[106] The immediate aim of the Indian Department was to pacify the tribe and to make them more amenable to the Government's agents. But supplying them with articles of war had effects beyond such immediate aims. These other effects had to do with the tribe's strategic position in frontier America. They and their allies bordered on the lands of the eastern immigrant Indians, their hunting grounds extended far southward to the White settlements of Texas and the Rio Grande, and moreover

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[105]Whitfield to Cumming, August 15, 1855; enclosed in Haverty to Mix, September 10, 1855; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75. True to his promise, Whitfield resigned before the next year's annuity payment.

[106]Cumming to Manypenny, March 5, 1856; LR from the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

they were athwart the Santa Fe Trail, now a main traveled road between the United States and its western territory. The Kiowas were in open hostility or questionable peace on all these boundaries, and collisions with Whites in Texas were frequent.[107]

Peace with the northern Whites and immigrant Indians depended on recognition of Kiowa supremacy, which the Anglo-Americans were unwilling to grant except under force. Whatever added to Kiowa military power affected their relations with White people everywhere. The army, entrusted with defense in the West, objected to an increase in Kiowa firepower. Arms in the hands of hostile Indians made its own task more difficult.[108] To meet the army's objections the Indian Department bought guns of inferior range and accuracy. They were a type made famous decades earlier by the Northwest Company of Canada, and they fired by ball and powder. Comparing the arms of the army with those of the Indian annuities Superintendent Cumming said that the former had a range of 800 yards while the latter's was 60 yards.[109] Such guns would meet two objectives, they would satisfy the Kiowa demand for arms and would not seriously affect the army's firepower advantage. The views of the Indian Department

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[107]Mooney, Calendar History, 170, 255, 292-309.

[108]Secretary of Interior Robert McClelland to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 8, 1856; LR from the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[109]Cumming to Manypenny, March 5, 1856; LR from the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

prevailed in 1858.[110] In that year the Government sent 200 flint guns and powder horns to the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches. The same shipment also included powder and bullets.

At the same time the Government reconsidered the relationship between the annuity and its policy. As a result it adopted the idea that the annuities were an instrument of policy with which to influence Kiowa behavior. If they did not conform their actions to its designs further annuity payment would cease. The Kiowas were to end all hostilities upon Whites and other Indians and to terminate their claims of goods payment from the Santa Fe travelers. Commissioner Mix wrote in 1858 that if the tribe did not reform, ". . . their annuity goods for the next year will not only be withheld, but troops will be sent among them to inflict a merited chastizement."[111] In a heated interview with the chiefs at the 1858 payment, Agent Miller presented this demand and enlarged upon it. With some force he delivered a message of terror: if the Kiowas did not cease their depredations the Great Father would send his soldiers among them to burn their villages and to capture their women and children.[112] The astonished chiefs sat in silence through the agent's talk. Then Dohasan who had heard Miller's threats with outward calm,

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[110]See Appendix G.

[111]Mix to Robinson, June 4, 1858; Field Office Records; LR by the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[112]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1858, 99.

arose and delivered himself of the most immoderate speech recorded for this even-tempered man. With wrathful disdain he compared the Kiowas and Whites to the entire disadvantage of the latter. The Kiowas were men, full of courage, not fools, and were not afraid of threats. The Whites were foolish and cowardly, given to bad judgment and childish temper:[113]

> When my young men to keep their women and children from starving, take from the white man passing through our country, killing and driving away our buffalo, a cup of sugar or coffee, the "white chief" is angry and threatens to send his soldiers. I have looked for them a long time, but they have not come; he is a coward; his heart is a woman's.

Again the issue was joined between United States policy and Kiowa interests. The Government's demands required either a change in the Kiowa way of life or a withdrawal by the Whites and immigrant Indians from the Plains. Neither change was likely. For the Kiowas it was suddenly a matter of defending their way of life, their country, and their homes. Men of little bravery have fought for less. The Kiowas, noted for courage, did not flinch before terror. The Government then found them unyielding, and in 1859 it withheld the annuity goods.[114]

In the early years of the nineteenth century Government expeditions had casual and haphazard contact with the

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[113] Ibid.

[114] Commissioner A. B. Greenwood to Superintendent A. M. Robinson, June 25, 1859; Field Office Records, LR by the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

Kiowas. These meetings were occasions for gift giving by which the Kiowas received Anglo-American goods and products. In each recorded instance the gifts were symbols of and a means to gain friendship. The tribe happily received the Americans who brought present proof of friendship and promise of future exchange. It was a prospect which the Kiowas encouraged, so useful were the White goods. When White travel increased on the Plains, the Government decided to bring the Indians into a more systematic relation and to establish an agency for them. This brought more goods to the tribe, because the agent to facilitate his dealings had to bring White goods as the traders did. Moreover, he reported that the loss of game on the Plains due to White migration was so great that the Indians should receive compensation from the Government.

By the Treaty of 1853 the Federal Government agreed to pay the tribe in goods each year for ten years. In so doing it had two ends in view: indemnification for the loss of buffalo and use of the annuity to shape tribal activity after its own policy. So that in the 1850's a new, rich avenue of goods opened to the tribe. It was all the more welcome because it promised to be a steady supply. It was a realization of hopes expressed to Major Long and Colonel Dodge many years before. The things which the Kiowas received were necessary if they were to maintain themselves on the South Plains. Firearms and tools such as knives, awls, and hatchets, stimulated and made the nomadic life more

productive. The Plains life produced none of these, but it did consume them. Each summer from 1854 to 1858 heavily laden government wagons traveled the Santa Fe Trail to the Indians waiting on the Arkansas. Their bounteous cargoes of hardware, cloth goods, and ornaments were in sharp contrast to the few trinkets and tools which early government expeditions brought on pack horses.

Indian needs and Government policy met and conflicted in the annuity payment. Conditioned by White pressure on the Plains, the dispute worsened each year. As the decade passed the Government de-emphasized compensation to the tribe. Its refusal to deliver guns in the 1854 payment indicated a change in its concept of annuities. By the latter part of the decade it had firmly decided to use the annuities as an instrument of policy. Its delivery of guns in 1858 was a mere trial to see if this accession to Kiowa requests would make them more obedient to its wishes. When they refused to comply with its demands the Government withheld the entire annuity for the following year.

CHAPTER VII

1859-1874, GOODS FROM EVERYWHERE

In 1859 there began fifteen years of turmoil for the Kiowas. With the discovery of gold in Colorado the White people for the first time settled within the tribe's northern border. This was only the beginning. Plains Indian hostility had confined the immigrant Indians to eastern Kansas, but White immigrants in the 1860's engulfed these tribes, settled central Kansas, and replaced the immigrant Indians as a threat to the Kiowas. In the far south the threat was from the Texans who were advancing up the valleys of the Trinity, Brazos, and Colorado, where the Kiowas had hunted since their arrival in the South Plains. With White encroachment on the buffalo grounds the herds diminished, yet Kiowa need for buffalo resources increased. The bison disappeared from the Upper Arkansas, a former favorite ground; Indians who went there were in want. The animals became scarce along the middle Arkansas, White migration having divided the Plains buffalo into a northern herd and a southern herd.

The Kiowas opposed these aggressions by diplomacy, threat and war. They were most warlike in the south. The Texans were implacable enemies, constant in their hatred of

Indians, and determined to have the Kiowas' hunting range. The Texan movement into the Plains threatened to cut the Indians off from Mexico, their supply area for horses. Constant war in the south conditioned Kiowa relations in the north. To support their military action they needed White articles, which came principally through the northern borderlands. Though they menaced advancing White settlement in Kansas and Colorado, they were not consistently aggressive. They protested this movement and sometimes raided settlements, but they always weighed the consequences of a northern war against tribal interests. Since there was no possibility of supplies coming from Texas, northern war would threaten all the varied suppliers which they now had: The United States Government, White traders, and Indian intermediaries.

Gold discoveries in 1858 started a rush of people who streamed from Missouri to the headwaters of the South Platte and the Arkansas. That fall they panned along Cherry Creek and Fountain Creek. So many came in the following months that one hundred thousand people had gone into the Rockies' eastern slopes, looking for the yellow metal.[1] Though many gold diggings gave out the White wave left a residue of settlements. Denver, Colorado Springs, and Pueblo grew up in the Indians' favored hunting grounds, and in 1861 the United States established Colorado Territory.[2]

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[1]Billington, Westward Expansion, 621.

[2]Ibid., 620, ff.

The invasion was highly significant for the Indians. William Bent wrote of the changed conditions: "The Emigration to the Gold Diggins this fall has been very large and they still continue to come."[3] The Indians were uneasy about their land for "the Whites are a taking possession of it verry fast."[4] Besides taking the Indians' land the White population slaughtered the buffalo herds. In September, 1861, Agent Albert Boone wrote that the Indians had to go as much as 250 or 300 miles from Fort Wise to find buffalo.[5] Indians that were in the vicinity were faced with starvation; the Kiowas and Comanches were reduced to eating their horses and mules, which they would do only in cases of extremity. And this was where Jacob Fowler had found the several tribes living and hunting well four decades previously.

Scarcely had the gold rush done havoc to the Upper Arkansas than the Civil War brought turmoil from other directions. Movements of Texan troops sent chills of alarm through South Plains camps and disturbed the eastern borderland in

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[3]William Bent to Superintendent A. M. Robinson, December 17, 1858; enclosed in letter of Robinson to Commissioner James W. Denver, January 15, 1859; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

[4]Bent to Robinson, November 25, 1858; enclosed in Robinson to Denver, January 7, 1859; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

[5]Agent Albert G. Boone to Commissioner William P. Dole, September 7, 1861; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75. Fort Wise was the name applied to Bent's New Fort which the Federal Government rented from William Bent in 1859. It was later called Fort Lyons [new]. Lavender, Bent's Fort, 345, 347-348, 417.

Indian Territory. Early in the war Confederate troops crossed Red River, occupying Forts Washita and Arbuckle in Indian Territory, and for a while they were at Fort Cobb.[6] The northward extension of Texan influence disrupted commerce at the Wichita Agency where the Wichitas and Confederated Bands were then situated.[7] To avoid this menace the Kiowas fled from the southern and eastern part of their territory, fearing the vengeance of those with whom they were at war. In April, 1861, Federal Agent Boone reported with satisfaction that the South Plains Indians had gone towards the Arkansas, preferring the Union to the Confederacy.[8] In the following summer and fall more appeared; and the Agent's satisfaction turned into alarm as their numbers grew.[9]

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[6]United States War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (129 serial volumes and an index), ser. I, vol. I, 648, 652-653. Cited hereinafter as Official Records.

[7]White traders had settled among the Wichitas by this time. Albert Pike, the Confederate Special Indian Commissioner, obtained trade goods from William Shirley at Fort Cobb in 1861. The Archives of the University of Oklahoma has a copy of the Shirley Trading Post Ledger in its L. Ross Hume Collection. The original Ledger is in the Oklahoma Historical Society. Hereinafter the copy is referred to as "Shirley Ledger."

[8]Boone to Mix, April 25, 1861; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

[9]Boone to Mix, July 22, 1861; Boone to Commissioner William P. Dole, September 7, 1861; Boone to Mix, October 17, 1861; Boone to [?], October 21, 1861; and Boone to Dole, December 14, 1861; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75. The Kiowa withdrawal from Indian Territory prevented their sharing in the only goods distribution which the Confederate Government made for the South Plains tribes. In August, 1861, Albert Pike, Indian Commissioner for the Confederacy went to the Wichita Agency to sign a treaty with the Wichitas and a few Comanches. During the negotiations he gave the Indians

The Arkansas was a natural place for distribution, recommended by past habits of the Kiowas who were accustomed to go there as a part of their homeland. Convenience also favored it, for the Missouri River and the well-marked Santa Fe Trail made it a relatively cheap route for transportation. These same factors made the Arkansas less desirable for distribution in the 1860's, for they facilitated White travel. As long as the Civil War lasted it was unlikely that the Government would move distribution to a more isolated place in the south because Indian Territory was a scene of conflict between the Union and Confederacy.[10]

Threatened in the south, displaced from the Rockies' slopes, and thrown back to the Upper Arkansas desolate of buffalo, the Kiowas faced want. They more than ever needed White supplies. Special Agent F. B. Culver was in charge of the annuities at Bent's Fort in the fall of 1860.[11] For these goods there was no single distribution. Rather, Culver doled them out to the visiting Indians until the supplies were exhausted in the following year.[12] The starving condition of

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some presents. Pike was disappointed to see no Kiowas at the Agency. Official Records, series I, vol. III, 624; series I, vol. VIII, 720. Texts of the treaties appear in series IV, vol. III, 542-554. Pike bought some Indian trade goods from Shirley's Trading Post. See the entries for August, 1861; "Shirley Ledger."

[10]Edwin C. McReynolds, Oklahoma, A History of the Sooner State, 200-223.

[11]F. B. Culver to Dole, April 18, 1861; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

[12]Ibid. And see letter of Boone to Commissioner A. B.

the Indians and the Government's desire to keep them from conspiring with the Confederacy made the Federal officers anxious to deliver the goods. In September, 1861, Boone made an agreement restating the obligations of the 1853 Treaty. The Kiowas and their Comanche allies pledged to remain at peace with the United States which in turn promised to pay the tribes' annuities.[13]

The large numbers of Kiowas along the Arkansas increased the chances for conflict with Whites. Factors which heated the air were the decline of buffalo and the Kiowa insistence that the Whites should pay them a tariff. The river was dangerous for Kiowa-White contact, and the Indian Superintendent for New Mexico urged the Department to reconsider issuing the goods on the Arkansas:[14]

Greenwood, February 22, 1861. There was much confusion over the 1860 Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache annuities. They were not distributed at once because the tribes were hostile to the Government. Facilities for storage were lacking and some goods were left in wagons. Boone in his above letter of February 22 said some goods were stolen and that the rest had been distributed to starving Kiowas and Comanches. In July he was less certain that the goods were gone, saying that some were still stored. Boone to Mix, July 22, 1861. On May 21, 1861, the Second Auditor of the United States asked Commissioner Dole to account for $21,341.73 worth of Indian goods which Bent had left at Bent's Fort the previous September. Second Auditor to Commissioner Dole, May 21, 1861; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75. See Donald J. Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1963), 148-149.

[13]Copy of a peace agreement signed by A. G. Boone and Chiefs of the Kiowa and Comanche tribes, September 6, 1861; enclosed in Boone to Dole, September 7, 1861; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

[14]Superintendent Michael Steck to Mix, February 19, 1864; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

> . . . the indians collect in great numbers on the road frequently, months before the time for the Issue of presents, to the great annoyance of travelers. . . . The immense amount of travel on this rout, drives the Buffalo from the road, the Indians therefor, when encamped upon it, during the summer live to a great extent by begging.

When the travelers would not willingly pay the Indians their just tariff, they stopped wagons and took flour, sugar, coffee, and cattle by force. The Indians were interested mostly in food. That they were willing to risk the hostility of so many White people indicates their desperation.

The 1862 annuity became a matter of dispute between Agent Colley and Captain Whittenhall, commander of Fort Larned. The Agent wished the goods brought to Fort Wise to be stored until distribution.[15] Much to his chagrin he learned that the Captain, who had his own Indian problem, also had his own Indian policy. Intercepting the goods as they passed by Fort Larned, he told the Indians that distribution would take place there.[16] This news spread among the Kiowas who began gathering at the Fort. Colley also heard this and hastened to stop Whittenhall. Shortly before the agent's arrival Whittenhall left the post, not wishing to explain his over-use of authority. Colley took charge of the

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[15]Governor John Evans of Colorado, ex officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, recommended that the annuity be distributed in the fall and winter when Indians would most need it. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1862, 231-232. Fort Lyon was near Bent's Fort. The original Lyon was Bent's Fort made over. David Lavender, Bent's Fort, 345, 347-348.

[16]Colley to Dole, August 11, 1862; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

goods in August and informed the disappointed Indians that they would not receive the annuity until later. He finally delivered the goods in the fall at Cimarron Crossing.[17] The following year Colley decided against a fall distribution and gave the annuity in July at Fort Larned.[18]

Confusion surrounded the 1864 annuity. A Missouri River boat carrying Indian goods burned.[19] In the hasty removal they became mixed without regard to type or agency. A Plains Indian war cut communication between Missouri and the West,[20] and during the war no one knew where the Kiowa goods were stored. For several months the goods were lost to official view. A long correspondence took place between the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Superintendent in Kansas, and the Special Agent sent to find the goods which, if not burned or stolen, were somewhere between the Missouri River and their destination.[21] In the following spring Agent

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[17]Colley to Evans, December 31, 1862; enclosed in Evans to Commissioner, date lacking; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

[18]Colley to Dole, July 27, 1863; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

[19]Among the letters concerning the burned river boat are two of the same date: Special Agent [?] Howells to Superintendent W. M. Albin, September 24, 1864; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[20]Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, 178-179, 182-186, 198-223.

[21]Special Agent [?] Hannah to Albin, September 27, 1864; Dole to Albin, August 23, 1864; Dole to Albin, October 24, 1864; Dole to Albin, May 31, 1865; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

Jesse H. Leavenworth partly lifted the veil of mystery. Because of the Indian war he still could not make delivery, and there was no place to store the goods at Fort Larned. Half of them were at Cow Creek Ranch, the remainder were at Leavenworth City. The Agent did not explain how or why the annuity had become divided into two shipments now separated by over one hundred miles.[22]

From the Kiowa viewpoint such treatment of their goods was haphazard. The goods were welcome enough, indeed pleaded for. But the conditions of their delivery were a source of irritation, frustration, and complaint. The disagreement between Colley and Whittenhall wrought more caprice in policy. The unsettled policy of distribution whereby the Government one year gave all the goods at one time and the next handed them out in several payments disturbed the Indians as to the Government's intent. Such erratic behavior seemed contrary to the Treaty of 1853 and the peace agreement of 1861. The tribe could not be sure that they received all that the Government had pledged to them. Nor could they be certain that the next year's payment would reach them. The annuity continued to be a matter of dispute between them and the Government and of anxiety to the tribe.

During the early 1860's there was further diversification in the annuity payment. The relative change between

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[22]Cow Creek Ranch was about 60 miles east of Fort Larned. Leavenworth to Dole, May 6, 1865; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

hardware and drygoods, evident in the 1850's, was pronounced in 1862. Whereas the drygoods of the latter year were worth about the same as in the 1850's the hardware cost was $4,040.46, or about three and one half times that of 1858.[23] There were increases in the number of kettles and pans of all kinds, though no skillets. There were also 150 dozen tin cups, an article which had not appeared in the 1850's.[24] The additional variety of metal utensils was in response to necessities of Plains life. An imaginative effort by the Government to diversify the drygoods met with mixed success. In 1860 the new element of 113 shawls was acceptable to the Indians and fitting to their needs; but the fancy blue and scarlet cloth, cottonades, satinet, varicolored calico, stripes and plaids were an overabundance.[25] The agent protested to the Indian department that so much fancy calico was useless to the Indians, and he recommended instead the purchase of more durable goods as "Hickory shirts & a larger amount of woolen goods such as Jeans & Linseys."[26]

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[23]Invoice of annuity goods bought of T. Poultney for Arkansas Indians, May 12, 1858. Receipt for goods given by Supt. Branch to Colley, August 2, 1862; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[24]Ibid.

[25]This was in addition to the regular amount of blankets, thread, gartering, and linsey. Invoice of drygoods bought of Cronin, Hurxthal, and Sears for Upper Arkansas Indians; April 7, 1860; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75. The drygoods for 1860 amount to $21,225.00, an unusually high figure. This suggests that the Government was making up for non-delivery in 1859.

[26]Colley to Gilpin, December 19, 1861; LR from Upper

The decline of buffalo brought another change in the food. Previous to this time the provisions had been supplemental to a meat diet; but the buffalo staple was now so scarce that the Government decided to add meat to the list. There were two difficulties: transportation and the Kiowas' taste. If the Government was to consult the Indians the result would have been for beef, so similar to buffalo meat. But cattle in the Plains were scarce and the transportation of finished beef from the east in hot weather was not practical. For its Indian commodity the Government chose pork which was cheap and, when cured, easily transported. The first shipment of bacon reached the Kiowas in 1860.[27] This strange salty meat was disagreeable to their taste, and most of it was wasted. They found pork so useless that the agent recommended that no more be bought.[28] In spite of bacon's bad reception the government persisted in sending pork in the following payments. It was not until after the Civil War that the Government modified its policy for meat; then the northward movement of Texas cattle provided beef on the hoof.

Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75. In 1862 the annuity had 79 expensive blue suits for chiefs of the three tribes. Receipt for goods given by Branch to Colley, August 2, 1862; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[27]Invoice of groceries and ammunition furnished by Thomas E. Tutt for Upper Arkansas Indians; May 1, 1860; Field Office Records; LR by the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75. The Indian department bought 3402 pounds of bacon for the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches.

[28]Colley to Gilpin, December 19, 1861; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

At the conclusion of the Civil War the Arkansas continued as a major outlet for goods. For three more years the Government transported its annuities to that vicinity. And two important treaties brought merchandise, since treatymaking was an important time for gift-giving. Private merchants and traders were active as well. Businessmen of Missouri and eastern Kansas sent agents to the tribes with wagons full of goods. The Government built three forts, Zarah, Larned, and Dodge, along the middle Arkansas to protect the Santa Fe Trail, and they became distribution points for Kiowa lands to the south. They attracted the usual hangers-on of any western post: guides, scouts, merchants, travelers, and licensed and unlicensed traders. Rough and independent characters, their bold actions often were burdens to the Commanding Officers and Indian Agents.

Each spring and summer Kiowa bands camped near the posts, mingling with off-duty soldiers, negotiating with the traders, and talking with the commanders. The difficulties of Fort Wise repeated themselves at the three middle Arkansas forts. Buffalo had long been scarce along the Santa Fe Trail and once the forts were established the area bare of buffalo widened. The Kiowas had to approach the posts through this barren country, and by the time they arrived at their destination they were short of supplies. Again and again the chiefs informed the commanders that their tribe was in want, that their people were starving because the White people were killing off their game. At Fort Larned in 1867 Satanta

informed General Winfield S. Hancock, "There are no longer any Buffalo around here nor anything we can live on. . . ."[29]

In these circumstances the Arkansas maintained its importance for goods exchange with the assorted Whites. Fort Dodge, the southernmost of the posts was an especial favorite of the tribe. Satanta made frequent visits there,[30] as did Stumbling Bear, Kicking Bird, and Set-angya.[31] Kicking Bird explained to General Hancock that the Kiowas wanted to make

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[29]Proceedings of Council held by Maj. Gen. Hancock . . . with Head Chief Satanta . . . at Fort Larned, Kans, May 1, 1867; in Report of Operations of Troops Comprising the Expedition to the Plains, Commencing March 25, 1867, under the Command of Maj. Gen. W. S. Hancock, File M 590, 1867. Hereinafter this report is referred to as Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94. For other references on near starving conditions see Maj. Henry Douglass to Capt. Mitchell, February 13, 1867; Douglass to Brvt. Brig. Gen. Chauncey McKeever, February 24, 1867, in which Satanta and Set-angya jointly informed Douglass that their people "were starving for something to eat." Ft Dodge Letterbook; Army Records; NA, RG 98. The Kiowas said as much to the commander at Ft. Larned: Brvt. Maj. Henry Asbury to AAG, March 19, 1867; Asbury to AAG, May 15, 1867; Asbury to McKeever, July 6, 1867; Fort Larned Letterbook; Army Records; NA, RG 98. Hereinafter the term, Army Records will be dropped from the Letterbook references. Whites who were visiting the Indians confirmed this situation: "Traders who have been with them for the last two months report them in almost a starving condition. . . ." Agent Leavenworth to Commissioner N. G. Taylor, May 4, 1867; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Letters Received from the Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. This series of Kiowa Agency letters will be cited as LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[30]Douglass to Captain Mitchell, AAG, Feb. 13, 1867; Douglass to McKeever, February 24, 1867; Douglass to Brvt. Maj. Noyes, March 19, 1867; Douglass to McKeever, March 24, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[31]Douglass to AAG, January 13, 1867; Douglass to McKeever, March 24, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98. Talk Held with Kiowa Chiefs "Kicking Bird," "Stumbling Bear," "The Man that Moves,". . . .; enclosed in Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94.

occasional trips to the fort for trade: "You can see for yourself that we are peaceably encamped on the other side of the river. . . . Now and then we have robes to trade for sugar and coffee for our women and children."[32] The opportunities at the forts for exchange were many. In the varied White population were people who were willing to trade with the Indians, as long as there was a profit.[33]

Exchange was not confined to the posts. Traders departed from them seeking out the Indian camps. In 1865 Agent Leavenworth reported, ". . . a great many persons are now passing south of the Arkansas river, near what is known as the 'Big Bend' for trade purposes."[34] Some of these went to the tribes for only short periods of time. Others stayed longer, living and trading with the Indians as they moved around. While in the tribe they resided with a certain man and his family, much as Thomas James, Jacob Fowler, and the Bent traders had done many decades previously. John Dodge at one time stated that he had been living over a month in Satanta's lodge and that he had gone there as an agent of

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[32]Talk Held with Kiowa Chiefs "Kicking Bird," "Stumbling Bear," "The Man that Moves" . . . enclosed in Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94.

[33]Douglass to AAG, January 13, 1867; Douglass to McKeever, March 24, 1868; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98. Leavenworth to Commissioner Cooley, December 1, 1865; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[34]Leavenworth to D. N. Cooley, December 1, 1865. He later asked the removal of unauthorized Whites from the Indian country. Leavenworth to Cooley, March 7, 1866; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

Charley Roth, a trader-merchant.[35] Philip McCusker had a long association with Kiowas and Comanches as interpreter.[36] Though the agents and post commanders were suspicious of these traveling White merchants, the Indians welcomed them. Satanta said, "Whenever a trader comes to my camp, I treat him well and do not do anything out of the way to him. All the traders are laughing and shaking hands with me."[37]

The trade articles show little change from the time when the Bents and Cheyennes impressed the Kiowas with the merits of Arkansas exchange. Food, utensils, and decorative objects were in the traders' wagons. The Kiowas brought horses, mules, and buffalo hides.[38] Now as before firearms

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[35]John Dodge to Major Douglass, enclosed in letter of Douglass to Leavenworth, January 18, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98. Another favorite of Satanta was John E. Tappan, the sutler at Fort Larned. Proceedings of Council Held on Medicine Lodge Creek, October, 1867, p. 107; Commissioner of Indian Affairs; NA, RG 75. Hereinafter referred to as Medicine Lodge Creek Proceedings; NA, RG 75.

[36]He wrote to Leavenworth in April, 1868, that he had lived with Comanches and Kiowas "during the past winter." Philip McCusker to Leavenworth, April 6, 1868; enclosed in Leavenworth to Taylor, May 21, 1868; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. The Agent had dark suspicions about many of these men: "I would respectfully call your attention to the fact that there are throughout the country called 'Indian Country' many White men staying with the Indians, under all kinds of pretence. . . ." Leavenworth to Cooley, March 7, 1866; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[37]Proceedings of Council held by Maj. Gen. Hancock with Head Chief Satanta. . . .; enclosed in Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94.

[38]F. F. Jones said he traded for buffalo robes and among his provisions he listed flour, sugar, rice, and apples. Affidavit of F. F. Jones, February 9, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98. Leavenworth stated the Kiowas gathered at Fort Dodge to "sell the mules, horses and other property

were a great object of trade; and as before, army officers and Indian agents differed over its purpose. It was a trade carried on both openly and in secret. For some time after the Civil War the legal status of arms trade was not clear. Traders, licensed and unlicensed, with permits and without permits, sold firearms to the Indians.[39] The regulations were so confusing that the Commander at Fort Larned asked to be informed as to whether the trade was permitted.[40] The military commanders were of the opinion that the trade, whether legal or illegal, should be stopped. Legal or illegal, it was an excellent source for the Kiowas. The flow of firearms was greater than at any time in the past and unlike the annuity arms they were of the latest type. Major Henry Douglass reported to his superiors:[41]

> The issue and sale of arms and ammunition such as Breech-loading Carbines & Revolvers, Powder & Lead (Loose & in Cartridges) & Percussion Caps continues without intermission. . . .
>
> Charley Roth, a trader, who lives at Zarah has armed

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stolen in Texas." Copy of letter of Leavenworth to Douglass January 22, 1867; enclosed in Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94. It appears that the traders had a somewhat larger variety of food than did the annuity.

[39]Douglass to AAG, January 13, 1867; Fort Dodge Letterbook. Asbury to AAG, January 14, 1867; Fort Larned Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[40]Asbury sent a copy of a trader's permit to his superiors and wrote, "I should like to be informed as to whether the permit enclosed is sufficient authority to dispose of arms and ammunition." Brvt. Maj. Henry Asbury to AAG, January 14, 1867; Fort Larned Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[41]Douglass to AAG, January 13, 1867; Fort Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

> several bands of Kiowas with Revolvers and has completely overstocked them with Powder

He concluded that they had never been better armed. Of the several hundred Indians who had visited the post all had revolvers, and many had two or three. On his own visit to the Kiowas Major John H. Page found that they had "plenty of fire Arms & Ammunition."[42]

The Kiowas were so eager to obtain arms that they gave large numbers of horses and buffalo at inflated prices: "The Indians will give ten, even twenty times its value in horses & furs."[43] The convenience and profits attracted numerous White traders. Arms and ammunition could be transported in small bulk and at little expense; and of all the articles desired by the Kiowas they brought the greatest return, excepting only liquor.

In the three years following the Civil War private trade along the Arkansas was greater than at any time in the past. The forts and augmented travel gave more opportunity for goods exchange, and border wars with Texans, Utes, and Navajos increased the Kiowas' desire for White goods, especially firearms. The nomadic life still provided the Indians

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[42]Brvt. Maj. John H. Page to Douglas, February 13, 1867; Fort Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98. The references from Fort Larned indicate the same state of affairs: "I have learned that all the traders who are with the Indians are selling or trading arms and ammunition." Asbury to AAG, January 14, 1867; Fort Larned Letterbook; NA, RG 98

[43]Douglass to AAG, January 13, 1867; Fort Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

the means of barter: buffalo and horses.[44]

Liquor was another product that flowed from the Arkansas to the Kiowas. With greater contact the opportunity for acquiring it increased. The Indians had an inordinate desire for whiskey, and the liquor trade like the arms trade promised much profit for the Whites. As with the arms, people of all sorts engaged in the trade. The Indian Bureau and the Army agreed that liquor was the one thing that should not go to the Indians. The Army officers attempted to cut off the flow, and they sometimes dealt harshly with offenders; but they were only able to moderate rather than end it.[45] Merchants, traders, and soldiers sold it to the Indians. To abolish the supply at Fort Dodge the Commander searched individuals and wagon trains coming there or merely passing by. On one wagon train alone the authorities found 1354 gallons of whiskey, one barrel of gin, and forty gallons and twelve hampers of champagne. This liquor was poured onto the prairie. The attempt at military prohibition was only moderately successful. Merchants used their ingenuity to elude discovery. They buried their booze before entering the fort and unearthed

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[44]In 1866, a licensed trader reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he had sent $10,078.70 in goods to the Kiowas and Comanches. This was not all; it was in addition to previous shipments. Frederick Ledrich to Cooley, April 25, 1865; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. This represents only a fraction of the trade; it is a mere part of one man's merchandise; as the above account shows, there were many others engaged in the same activity.

[45]Douglass to McKeever, March 24, 1868; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

it after the danger passed. Another method of introduction was through the express companies, until the Commander became suspicious of the many packages which his soldiers received. Though the evidence in drunkenness was all too apparent it was difficult to find the source. Major Douglass finally admitted human ingenuity defeated the most vigilant prohibition.[46]

Agent Leavenworth also found liquor going to the Indians. Many Whites were taking it into the Indian country: "I have reason to believe that large quantities of liquor are being taken to the mouth or near it of the Little Arkansas, for the purpose of being sold to the Indians south of the Main Arkansas river."[47] He also followed a policy of attempted prohibition, at one time banishing a trader aught with whiskey.[48] Liquor was a social problem in the Kiowa camps, much more so than twenty or thirty years before, because it was now more available and because many Indians had acquired a decided taste for it. It disrupted normal patterns of living and thought. There were cases of drunk braves beating

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[46] Ibid. Douglass complained that when caught with liquor neither Indian nor soldier would betray their sources. Ibid. On another occasion he said that F. F. Jones had "for some time" carried on a successful liquor business near the post. Douglass to Maj. John E. Gard, August 14, 1868; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98. Agent Leavenworth said that the forts as centers of liquor trade demoralized the Indian. Leavenworth to Taylor, May 16, 1867; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[47] Leavenworth to Cooley, December 1, 1865; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[48] On this occasion he had kind words for the military; the army sent a unit of soldiers to aid him. Leavenworth to Cooley, May 8, 1868; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

their chiefs, who as people of authority should have received high respect. Satanta admitted there was some trouble in his camp, while at the same time putting a good appearance on it:[49]

> When the Indians get a little liquor they get drunk and fight, sometimes, and sometimes they whip me; but when they get sober, they are all right, and I don't think anything about it.

While the Kiowas' northern commerce underwent change there were new developments in their western business. The Comanchero trade took on new and important dimensions. Added variety and quickened pace were further marks of the Kiowa fate, because they resulted from a new closeness of Americans on their western and southern borders. The Anglo-American occupation of New Mexico did not end the Comanchero traffic; rather, it stimulated the trade. New American merchandise current at Santa Fe such as cloth, sugar, coffee, trinkets, arms and ammunition[50] was added to the old Mexican articles of piñole, flour, corn, beans, and blankets. The Kiowas also had a new trade article, cattle, besides their buffalo robes

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[49]Proceedings of Council held by Maj. Gen. Hancock . . . with Head Chief Satanta . . .; enclosed in Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94.

[50]A Comanchero reported, "The Mexicans take over to trade arms, ammunition, cloth, flour, bread, sugar, coffee, & c. . . ." Brvt. Maj. Gen. John P. Hatch to Commanding Officer, Dist. of New Mexico, March 31, 1872; Fort Concho, Letterbook; NA, RG 98. The Commanding Officer of Fort Union said that the New Mexicans took "Powder, Lead, Cloth, Trinkets, and Fancy Articles." Brvt. Brig. Gen. David R. Clendenin to AAG, Dist. of New Mexico, May 31, 1871; Fort Union Letterbook; NA, RG 98. The Indians specifically asked for "soldier coats, flour or meal, sugar, ornamental silver-crosses, powder and firearms." M. Goldbaum to Brvt. Maj. Gen. James H. Carleton, June 5, 1866; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

and horses. It is not known when the first cow passed from Kiowa to Comanchero hands. It is certain that there was a lively cattle trade after the Civil War, and it fed upon the rising Texas livestock industry. The advancing Texas frontier and cattle drives to the north and west offered many opportunities for raiders.

In 1866 Agent Leavenworth mentioned that the Kiowas had sold some cattle, adding that their reported numbers were overestimated.[51] Leavenworth's own estimate seems to have been modest. The following year Agent Lorenzo Labadi, visiting the Kiowas and Comanches on the Llano Estacado, found that, "They raise much of their own stock and they now have more than one thousand cows-- They also have Texas Cattle without number and almost every day bring in more."[52] Philip McCusker, traveling with them, confirmed Labadi's testimony:[53]

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[51]"I was led to believe that they had large numbers [of cattle], but I find it is not the case. . . ." Leavenworth was especially interested in learning the legal status of Indian cattle sales: "Is there any law to permit or to prohibit the purchase of cattle from Indians?" Leavenworth to Cooley, May 1, 1866; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[52]Copy of translated letter of Agent Lorenzo Labadi to Superintendent A. R. Norton, August 18, 1867; Indian Peace Commission, Separated Correspondence; Records of the Secretary of Interior; NA, RG 48. Labadi was an Indian agent in New Mexico. Because of his contacts with Comancheros the Government sent him to get the release of White captives. He went with six New Mexicans, saying they were better guides than an army unit. Hereinafter this series of records will be cited as Indian Peace Commission, Separated Correspondence; NA, RG 48.

[53]Philip McCusker to Superintendent Thomas Murphy, September 7, 1866; enclosed in Murphy to Cooley, September 17, 1866; see also McCusker to Leavenworth, April 6, 1868, enclosed in Leavenworth to Taylor, May 21, 1868; LR from Kiowa

> . . . these Indians are friendly with Traders in New Mexico who are constantly in their camps furnishing them goods arms ammunition and in fact anything they want In return for this the Indians go to Texas and drive off large droves of Cattle Horses Mules &c

The trade prospered in the next few years. The commanders of the Texas and New Mexico forts bitterly complained that the Comanchero business was a threat to the frontier. Among their other duties they had to protect the cattle herds and to break up the commerce. In May, 1871, a command from Fort Union captured 10 Comancheros with a pack train of 23 burros; the unit also captured 500 head of cattle.[54] General Clendenin found evidence of so much trade that it would take all his troops to break it up:[55]

> There is a large amount of trading with Indians going on, and I am of the opinion that the troops should be kept at work as heretofore upon the State [Staked] Plains.

In 1872 the commanders of the West Texas posts discovered the trade was a year round affair. From Fort Concho General John P. Hatch wrote:[56]

> Large numbers of horned cattle are driven out of the country every month. The range being extensive and the settlements far apart. The fact of the indians having been in the country is frequently known only by the disappearance of the cattle from the ranges visited.

Agency; NA, RG 75.

[54]Brvt. Brig. Gen. David R. Clendenin to AAAG, Dist. of New Mexico, May 31, 1871; Fort Union Letterbook; NA, RG 98. Clendenin reported a rumor that another herd of 3000 head was on its way to New Mexico.

[55]Ibid. See also Clendenin to AAAG, Dist. of New Mexico, June 2, 1871; Fort Union Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[56]Brvt. Maj. Gen. John P. Hatch to AAG, Dept. of Texas, February 20, 1872; Fort Concho Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

> It is known that many of the horned cattle driven out of the country are sold by the indians to traters from New Mexico, and it is supposed that some are taken to the reserve near Fort Sill.

He reported that the Indians had at one time driven off a herd of a thousand head besides taking cattle in a number of smaller raids.[57] In the summer of 1872 the Indian cattle business was on an upward trend. On June 14, the Indians took eight hundred head from a herd near the Colorado River.[58] Within a few days they had captured separate herds of 1500 and 2600 in the same vicinity.[59] And there were reports that the Comancheros had already collected 2,000 head in one bunch and were driving them to New Mexico.[60]

The Comanchero trade was so healthy that the Army commanders could not stop it, neither at the place of origin in Texas, nor at the place of exchange of the Plains, nor at the terminal point in New Mexico. The Army tried to capture the raiders in Texas and began sending escorts on cattle drives.[61] From the New Mexico forts commands went out to

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[57]Hatch to AAG, Dept. of Texas, February 20, 1872; Fort Concho Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[58]Hatch to AAG, Dept. of Texas, June 16, 1872; Fort Concho Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[59]Hatch to AAG, Dept. of Texas, July 15, 1872; Fort Concho Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[60]Hatch to AAG, Dept. of Texas, June 16, 1872; Fort Concho Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[61]Brvt. Brig. Gen. James Oakes wrote a survey of possible safe cattle routes to New Mexico in 1870. Oakes to AAG, Dist. of Texas, March 31, 1870; Fort Richardson, Letterbook; NA, RG 98. He stated escorts should travel fifteen days apart. Oakes to B. M. Farmer, April 15, 1870; Fort Richardson,

stop the Comancheros, but only occasional captures resulted.[62] Small detachments of troops were ineffective, and larger numbers accomplished very little, because the Comancheros sent spies out who watched for approaching troops. Thus forewarned the New Mexicans, thoroughly familiar with the country, easily avoided the military.[63] This flourishing enterprise could not fail to attract American capital. Several citizens applied to the Indian Bureau for permits to trade on the Staked Plains.[64] Some merchants became financiers employing the Comancheros whom they supplied with goods and equipment, and they shared the profits when the New Mexicans returned.[65] Thus, in the years after the Civil War,

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Letterbook; NA, RG 98. General Hatch also made some recommendations in February, 1872. Hatch to AAG, Dept. of Texas, February 24, 1872. For his scouts and escorts see Hatch to AAG, Dept. of Texas, April 6, 1872; Hatch to AAG, Dept. of Texas, June 16, 1872; Hatch to Sergeant Charles Morgan, June 16, 1872. On June 17 he lamented his failure to intercept the Indians, Hatch to AAG, Dept. of Texas, June 17, 1872. Hatch to AAG, Dept. of Texas, July 15, 1872; Fort Concho, Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[62]Clendenin to AAAG, Dist. of N. M., March 16, 1871; Clendenin to AAAG, Dist. of N. M., May 31, 1871; Clendenin to AAAG, Dist. of N. M., June 2, 1871; Brvt. Brig. Gen. John I. Gregg to AAAG, Dist. of N. M., June 4, 1872; Fort Union, Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[63]Gregg to AAG, Dist. of N. M., July 3, 1871; General Gregg evaluated the army action as follows: "The experience of last year's operations for this purpose has served to show the people engaged in it the impunity with which it can be carried on notwithstanding the presence of troops." Gregg to AAAG, Dist. of New Mexico, June 4, 1872; Fort Union, Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[64]Petition of Certain Residents of New Mexico to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 2, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[65]Hatch to Commanding Officer, Dist. of New Mexico,

the Kiowa-Comanchero trade increased, and both sides had new things to offer. It is high irony that this expansion, based more and more on cattle, was simultaneous with the decline of the buffalo.

As a source of supplies, the Federal Government became more important after the Civil War. Annuity goods became more and more an instrument of policy though with mixed success. The Government had three aims in Indian policy. The first was to "civilize" the Kiowas changing them into White Indians. The Kiowas thoroughly resisted this. Frustrated by the Indians' nomadic life the Government made only occasional efforts towards this end until the disappearance of the buffalo. It worked energetically to its other aims: to remove the Kiowas from their land and to make them cease their wars. It had two powerful, though often conflicting means, to obtain its will among them: the army and annuity goods. Force struck terror among the Indians, and their addiction to White goods made them sensitive to any change in Government annuity policy.

The major Kiowa war was in Texas. The difference of Kiowa behavior in the north and in the south partly explains the conflict between the Army and the Indian Bureau. Until

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March 31, 1872; Hatch to AAG, Dept. of Texas, April 15, 1872; Fort Concho, Letterbook; NA, RG 75. These two letters contain the account of Polonio [?] Ortiz, a captured Comanchero. He told two stories, admitting that he gave the wrong names in the first one. He told the second in response to a promise of freedom. The circumstances of each are alike, differing only in names of his partners and their home towns.

1868 the Indian Bureau's contact was on the northern borderland. And it heard of the south second hand, from the Army or from the Indians. It regarded the reports of Kiowa misbehavior in Texas as much exaggerated, and it acted with energy only when confronted with direct evidence as in the case of captives. Upon seeing such evidence the Bureau's first act was to cut off or to diminish the annuities until the Indians had reformed or atoned for their actions.

The Kiowas maintained an old interpretation of their annuities. To them, the goods were due them for travel across the Santa Fe Trail and the resulting destruction of buffalo and small game. They resented the tie-in between annuity and behavior. Need deepened their resentment. Though the Government severely restricted its issues of arms and ammunition, they were anxious to receive their other goods and food. Whenever the annuity was lessened they had to make up for the loss by purchase from private traders and use robes and horses for this trade rather than for buying firearms.

At the Council of the Little Arkansas,[66] October, 1865, the Government promised the Kiowas peace on the conditions that they give up claims to much of their land and cease their wars; particularly they had to return their captives.[67] The Kiowas protested. Dohasan stated that they

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[66]The Journal of the Council of Little Arkansas is published in the Commissioner's annual report. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1865, 517-535. Hereinafter referred to as "Journal of Little Arkansas Council."

[67]Brev. Maj. Gen. John B. Sanborn in his introductory

owned all the way to the North Platte and Fort Laramie, and that his people needed a big land to roam over.[68] Both the Comanches and Kiowas had prisoners from Texas but were reluctant to surrender them. They wanted the goods which had been promised them and which had already arrived on the council grounds. The White commissioners were determined that the goods should not be delivered until the captives were released, and they made delivery conditional on freeing them. Major General John B. Sanborn concluded the first day's session:[69]

> Your Great Father in Washington, who sent you the presents that have just come into camp, wants you to understand that when the treaty is made and concluded, and all the prisoners in your hands given up, then the presents will be given to you, and not before.

The Kiowas had some time to think the situation over. Controversy arose within the tribe when it developed that the captive Whites were in camps at some distance. Again reason and tribal interest prevailed. Two days after Sanborn had given his ultimatum a party went after them.[70] On October 24,

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address stated, "It is our opinion that your interests require that you shall cede all lands to the government north of the Canadian river, except that you will be permitted to get salt from the Salt Plains, and to roam over the country after game by getting permission from your agent." After warning the Kiowas and Comanches to keep the peace he further said, "It is reported to us that some band has some white prisoners; you could not expect as brave warriors and men, that the Great Father and ourselves would make a treaty with you, while you hold any of our people as prisoners; compensation will be given you for them." Ibid., 530.

[68] Ibid., 530-531.

[69] Ibid., 532.

[70] Ibid., 534.

a week after the demand, the Indians gave up five prisoners, promising to return others who were in far-away camps. The goods were then delivered to the Kiowas at a favorite camping spot on the Salt Plains to the south.[71]

The pattern was clear. The Government used the goods to obtain conformity with its own plans. The Kiowas complied reluctantly, and as it turned out, imperfectly. The structure of Kiowa society hindered the return of captives, each of whom belonged to the man who captured him. As a worker in the household he represented something of value. Captives were sold or bartered as property until such time as they in habit, action, values, and personality acted like Kiowas. When they so acted they performed their duties willingly and were accepted as members of the tribe with relative freedom of movement.[72] Such former captives would not willingly return to their old homes, nor while they were captives would their owners give them up without compensation. Tribal life conditioned a willing chief's ability to return prisoners. A chief could return those who were in his own household; he had no authority over the others. Whenever he persuaded another man to give up a captive he himself paid the owner.[73] Fairness would prompt a like compensation for the chief.

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[71] Ibid.

[72] Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, 35-37. For the social development of a captive see Methvin, Andele, especially the early chapters.

[73] Leavenworth to N. G. Taylor, July 30, 1868; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

The 1865 treaty set up a reservation for the Kiowas and Comanches which included most of Indian Territory west of the 98th Meridian, all of the Texas Panhandle, and a generous portion of West Texas.[74] This was a large area, though less than that which they occupied, and a qualifying article allowed them to hunt over all their former land to the Arkansas River. It also provided that the Government should pay annuities to the amount of $10 per person each year.

According to the treaty the annuity should be paid one-third in the spring and the remaining two-thirds in the fall.[75] The payment for spring, 1866, took place with little trouble.[76] It was different with the fall distribution which became the center of a bitter discussion between the Indian Bureau, the Kiowas and the Army. The raids into Texas had become more frequent and fierce, and while on these raids the Kiowas had taken several captives. On his way to deliver the annuity Agent Leavenworth met Lieutenant General William Tecumseh Sherman who gave a pessimistic report of Texas border affairs, confirming that the Indians had captured women and children.[77] Leavenworth decided to temporarily withhold the

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[74]Kappler, Laws and Treaties, II, 894.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1866, 247.

[77]Leavenworth to Cooley, October 17, 1866; Leavenworth to Superintendent Thomas Murphy, December 19, 1866; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. Leavenworth must already have been aware that all was not calm in Texas. During the summer he was engaged in freeing captives. The talk with Sherman was

annuity payment until he conferred with the Indians. Storing the goods, he stopped at Fort Zarah and informed the Bureau of Indian Affairs of his decision. At the same time that the agent heard the news from Texas, the Federal Government was considering these same reports and it came to the same conclusion. On October 22, the Secretary of Interior ordered that the Kiowa and Comanche annuity be withheld until they surrendered the captives.[78]

Leavenworth's actions became a matter of controversy. From Fort Zarah he sent word to the Kiowas that there would be no annuity distribution until they had met certain terms: return the captives, or if innocent give assurances personally of such innocence, and give pledges of no more raids.[79] For the Indians this meant a journey of some distance from the scattered camps to the fort. During the next few weeks a number of Kiowas including Lone Wolf, Heap of Bears, and Black Eagle visited with the Agent, gave the assurances, and received their portion of the goods.[80] This excited bitter

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the first official communication, and the General thoroughly impressed the Agent with his report that the depredations were both recent and serious. For Leavenworth's earlier actions to redeem captives see Leavenworth to Cooley, April 4, 1866; enclosed in Cooley to Murphy, April 18, 1866; Murphy to Cooley, June 25, 1866; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[78]Secretary of Interior O. H. Browning to Cooley; October 22, 1866; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. Leavenworth made his decision on October 17.

[79]Leavenworth to Murphy, December 14, 1866; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. The Box family, over whom the controversy began, had already been returned. But the Kiowas had other captives.

[80]*Ibid*.

envy among other Kiowas who refused to meet these conditions. The uneven distribution of goods heightened the rivalry between the chiefs which had broken out upon the death of Dohasan. As winter drew on and hunger tightened stomachs, discontent welled up in the Kiowa camps. Satanta, Set-angya, and others went to Fort Dodge voicing complaint that the agent was unfairly withholding their annuity and giving goods to minor and unimportant chiefs.[81] They maintained it was too far to meet Leavenworth at Fort Zarah when there was snow on the ground, no grass for their poor horses, and so far to buffalo that in the cold their women wanted to stay in camp. Moreover, Kicking Bird said that Leavenworth punished the innocent along with those who had bad in their hearts.[82] Rumors ran in the camps that the agent sold the goods for his own benefit and that he favored certain traders over others. The commanders at Fort Dodge and Fort Larned could easily see the Indians were in want, they were themselves suspicious of the Indian Bureau and willingly passed the Indians' complaints to their superiors. The officers added that at the very least Leavenworth was mismanaging the affair.[83]

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[81]Douglass to AAG, January 13, 1867; Copy of letter of John Dodge to Douglass; enclosed in Douglass to Leavenworth, January 18, 1867; Douglass to Capt. W. G. Mitchell, February 13, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[82]Douglass to AAG, January 13, 1867; Fort Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[83]*Ibid*. and Douglass to AAG, January 18, 1867; Fort Dodge Letterbook; Asbury to AAG, January 14, 1867; Asbury to

In difficult circumstances the Kiowas kept the peace during the winter and spring of 1867. Then their allies, the

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AAG, February 27, 1867; NA, RG 98; Fort Larned Letterbook; NA, RG 98. Major Douglass made the most serious charges against Leavenworth, saying that the Agent was deliberately starving the Indians by selling their goods. For evidence he relied heavily on the testimony of a trader-interpreter, F. F. Jones. It was an unreliable source. Jones and Captain John Page left Fort Dodge to visit the Kiowas in January, 1867, and returned several days later in February. Jones said that Leavenworth was trafficking in public property intended for Indian annuity and that the Indians were starving. The Indians were starving, but his charges against Leavenworth were dubious, resulting from self-interest, spite, and frustration. The grounds for impeaching his testimony are these: (1) Divergence of his and Captain Page's stories: Though they started out together their accounts are so different the most reasonable explanation is that they separated and went to different camps. Page said that he was well received and courteously treated and that the Indians were peaceably inclined. Jones said that the Indians mishandled him, pilfered his goods, threatened to kill Captain Page, and that they were on the verge of war. It looks as if after separating from Page he sold them liquor and that in a drunken condition they were indeed in a frightful mood. Jones, sensibly feeling the loss of his goods, returned breathing vengeance against Leavenworth notwithstanding that the Agent had been nowhere near the Indian camps. (2) Conditions at Fort Dodge: Jones seems to have got back to the fort before Page; his story put the place in such a turmoil that Douglass filed an official report. When Page returned telling a different version, the commanding officer, too late, realized his error. He had copies of the Captain's report and Jones' affidavit entered in the Letterbook. This was unusual procedure. Formally, the report and affidavit would have been filed in Letters Received only; the Letterbook was for letters written by the commanding officer, not for reports to him. Consequently the affidavit, though made several days previously, appears in the Letterbook after Captain Page's report. Douglass was covering his tracks and showing how he had been led into error. He later wrote to a fellow officer that Jones sold liquor to Indians; that the interpreter was a trouble maker, a liar, and a thief. (3) Indian Policy: Though Leavenworth made his initial decision to temporarily withhold the annuity before communicating with his superiors, the Interior Department and Indian Bureau came to the same decision at the same time as he. The order was transmitted to him; he acted under this order in the following months. Indians and army officers alike criticized him. He informed the Indians that if they would come to Fort Zarah, give assurances that they had no

Cheyennes, became involved in a war with the army.[84] Events

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captives, and promise that they would raid no more that they would receive their goods. During the winter many journeyed to Zarah, gave assurance, and received their goods. On the other hand many prominent chiefs including Satanta refused, believing that this was an admission of guilt which they did not feel; Satanta accused his rivals at Zarah of trading with the agent. It is difficult to see what else Leavenworth could have done. Not all the Kiowas took part in the raids. The problem was to separate the guilty from the innocent and it is here that Indian policy foundered. Many of the innocent remained away from Fort Zarah; some guilty ones went to the Fort and received goods. However questionable his actions at other times Leavenworth on this occasion acted with correctness and on high authority.

Neither Douglass nor Jones was aware of the Commissioner's instructions to Leavenworth. Douglass soon learned. After making his charges Douglass received a warm letter from the agent enclosing his instructions from the Commissioner. For his eager acceptance of Jones' story Major Douglass suffered the embarrassment of seeing the correspondence and instructions made a part of the official transaction of an Indian council.

Everyone was caught in this frontier mingle-mangle. Leavenworth followed his instructions and fed the guilty along with the innocent; Kicking Bird protested this as unjust, but could offer no workable alternative; Satanta, the spokesman for and probably one of the raiders, was well received at Fort Dodge; Major Douglass took pity on starving Indians, furthered the raiders' cause against Leavenworth, and found himself in conflict with the Government's Indian policy. It was a messy business.

Douglass to Mitchell, February 13, 1867; account of Captain John Page concerning a visit to Kiowa Camp, February 13, 1867; Copy of affidavit of F. F. Jones concerning a visit to Kiowa Camp, February 9, 1867; Douglass to Maj. John E. Yard; August 14, 1868; Fort Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98. Leavenworth to Cooley, October 17, 1866; Leavenworth to Murphy, December 14, 1866; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. Copy of Letter of Secretary of Interior O. H. Browning to Commissioner D. N. Cooley, October 22, 1866; Field Office Records, LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75. Copy of Douglass to Leavenworth, January 25, 1867; Indian Peace Commission, Separated Correspondence; NA, RG 48. Copy of Leavenworth to Douglass, January 22, 1867; Copy of Murphy to Leavenworth, October 29, 1866; Copy of Browning to Cooley October 22, 1866; Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR, NA, RG 94.

[84]For a discussion of the Cheyenne difficulties see Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, 266-288.

tried Kiowa diplomacy. They did not want to offend their old friends; and they received Cheyenne delegations carrying war proposals in their camps.[85] Neither did they want to give offense to the United States Government because they firmly did not want a war on their northern borderland. The chiefs were in a delicate situation. It was left for them to explain the Kiowa position to the skeptical Whites so that the Army would keep away from their camps. Neither concealing the Kiowa discontent nor hiding feelings of outraged justice, they protested White travel on the Santa Fe road and the destruction of buffalo. To pacify the Government they carefully informed the Army commanders the whereabouts of camps and told them the latest Indian news.[86]

In the spring the Army sent an expedition under the command of Major General Winfield S. Hancock to guarantee

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[85]Douglass to AAG, January 13, 1867; Douglass to McKeever, March 24, 1867; Fort Dodge Letterbook; Major M. H. Kidd to AAG, May 22, 1867; Fort Larned Letterbook, NA, RG 98.

[86]"Satanta said he came to tell the news and hear the news. . . . He was doing all he could to keep the peace but his young men wanted war. The bands of Sioux now on the 'Smoky' had sent him the blanket & tobacco of peace, but he had not accepted it . . . he knew they had been giving trouble, & he did not wish to be mixed with it." Douglass to AAG, February 13, 1867. Set-angya stated that the Cheyennes, Sioux and other northern Indians had invited the Kiowas to join a war against the Whites, ". . . but we say 'we do not want to fight' . . . we are trying to keep the northern Indians back--we do not want to fight, but we will be forced to do so." Douglass to McKeever, March 24, 1867; Fort Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98. At various times Black Bird, Sitamon and Timber Mountain visited Fort Larned, telling the commander the locations of Kiowa camps, all south of the Arkansas. Asbury to AAG, March 19, 1867; Asbury to AAG, May 15, 1867; Kidd to AAG, May 22, 1867; Kidd to AAG, May 25, 1867; Fort Larned Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

Whites free travel and access across the Central Plains.[87] In separate interviews Kicking Bird and Satanta urged upon him that the Kiowas had not gone to war, that they had stayed south of the Arkansas out of the way of hostile Cheyennes and Sioux. They hoped to keep Hancock from advancing south and destroying their villages as he had done a Cheyenne and Sioux camp. In an eloquent speech Kicking Bird said that the tribe had not gone to war because it would bring troubles to the people. He recalled the advice of the late Dohasan:[88]

> Our Great Chief "To-haw-son" is dead. He was a great chief for the Whites and Indians. Whatever "To-haw-son" said, they kept in their hearts. What "To-haw-son" told them in council, they remembered and they would go the road he told them; that is to be friendly to the whites. "To-haw-son" always advised the nation to take the white man by the hand and clear above the elbow. "Kicking Bird" advises the same. We live south of the river--Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahoes, and Apaches. We all in our hearts want peace with the whites. This country south of the Arkansas is our country. We want peace, and not war. . . .

He asked the General not to take his troops south of the Arkansas because it would bring the war which the Kiowas had so far avoided. Satanta also said that the Kiowas wanted peace and wanted to continue so; they had not aided the Cheyennes and Sioux in their war: "Other tribes are very foolish. They make war and are unfortunate, and then call upon the Kiowas to aid them. . . . I want peace and all the

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[87]Copy of letter of Lt. Gen. William T. Sherman to Maj. Gen. Hancock, March 14, 1867; enclosed in Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94.

[88]Talk Held with Kiowa Chiefs "Kicking Bird", "Stumbling Bear", "The Man that Moves" . . ., enclosed in Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94.

officers around this country know it."[89]

The interviews favorably impressed Hancock. The officers confirmed both Kicking Bird and Satanta. Though the Army continued operations against the Cheyennes and Sioux, it kept out of Kiowa lands.[90] Some individual Kiowas were reported aiding the hostiles;[91] tribal authority was so loose that the chiefs could not control everyone. Nevertheless, the Kiowas were so backward in supporting the Kansas hostilities that the Cheyennes refused to help them raid into Texas

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[89]Proceedings of the Council held by Maj. Gen. Hancock . . . with Head Chief Satanta . . . enclosed in Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR; NA, RG 94. A command headed by Major Cooper received instructions to distinguish between hostile Cheyennes and Sioux and friendly Kiowas and Arrapahoes. Post Adjutant to Maj. Cooper, April 17, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[90]Ibid.

[91]There were many rumors of Kiowa attacks or participation in Kansas raids in the summer of 1867. It is possible that a few individual Kiowas did so. The burden of evidence is that as a tribe they did not; moreover, in Kansas war was not in their interests. The most serious charge against them was that a band of 150 to 200 led by Satanta ran off the Fort Dodge Cavalry herd. Douglass to McKeever, June 14, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98. This testimony deserves especial weight because Major Douglass had befriended the Indians. Naming them as Kiowas hinged on recognizing the leaders. Close scrutiny casts doubt on the identification. The Chief was well known at Ft. Dodge, especially by Douglass. The latter, however, did not witness the raid, since the horses were over a mile from the camp. He depended on the herders' story; and these, entirely outnumbered, were doubtless running for their very lives and did not stop to investigate their attackers close up. Satanta though brash was no cowherd, and he denied the raid. Medicine Lodge Creek Proceedings, p. 100; NA, RG 75. It would have been out of character for him to deny an act so rich in bravery and coups. Agent Leavenworth, who had no love for Satanta, defended him. According to the Agent, Cheyennes from Black Kettle's village took the horses. Leavenworth to Taylor, July 24, 1867; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. See also Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, 288.

and New Mexico, avowing they merely returned the compliment.[92] By such means the Kiowas maintained peace in their troubled north borderland and guaranteed the flow of trade goods. They were not so fortunate with their annuity.

Because of the unsettled state of affairs the Indian Bureau delayed the spring payment, which Leavenworth finally made in August, 1867.[93] In late summer military operations came to a close, and the Government began work on a peaceful settlement of its Plains Indian difficulties. It sent runners to the tribes, asking them to a grand council in the fall.[94]

At the Council of Medicine Lodge Creek the Government

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[92]John Smith to Murphy, January 25, 1868; enclosed in Murphy to Taylor, February 20, 1868; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[93]The circumstances surrounding this payment were unusual. The Indian Bureau had delayed spring payment until it could determine Indian actions. It sent the goods in late summer; the army took possession of them and stored them at Fort Larned. The Army ordered that the goods should not be delivered until the Indian Peace Commission met. Copy of Special Orders no. 177; Hdqtrs., Dept. of Missouri, Fort Leavenworth Kans., August 15, 1867; Indian Peace Commission; Separated Correspondence; NA, RG 48. Leavenworth had already gathered his Indians for the distribution; he now found himself without goods. On his own he ordered goods and provisions from private sources and distributed these as the spring annuity on August 4, 1867. Of the goods held at Fort Larned two-thirds were given at the Medicine Lodge Creek Council as treaty gifts; the other one-third was then sent to camps in Indian Territory. Leavenworth to Mix, December 21, 1867; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. Technically the diversion of the Fort Larned goods to Medicine Lodge as gifts was illegal; both Indians and Government had distinguished between treaty gifts and annuity goods.

[94]Leavenworth to Taylor, August 18, 1867; Leavenworth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 2, 1867; Leavenworth to Mix, September 16, 1867; LR from Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75.

made another effort to bend the Indians towards its will. And as in the 1865 council its objects were the same: remove the Indians from land desired by Whites and end the Indians' warfare against Whites. The same tribes attended the council as before: Kiowas, Comanches, Kiowa-Apaches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes. The meeting began in suspense. Senator Henderson spoke for the Commission, telling the Indians that the Government had sent the commissioners to establish peace. The Great Father wanted to give them land on which they could settle down and where they would receive the comforts and benefits of White civilization such as houses, farming land, schools, and churches.[95]

The Indians' reaction to these proposals was hostile. Satanta rejected the benefits, since the Kiowas had not broken the peace he saw no reason why they should be punished. The Kiowas did not want to sit down on reservations and farms and they did not want any medicine homes to teach them the White Man's way. They wanted to do as they had always done, hunt the buffalo.[96]

> All the land south of the Arkansas belongs to the Kiowas, and Comanches, and I dont want to give away any of it. I love the land and the buffalo, and I will not part with any. . . . I love to roam over the wide prairie, and when I do it, I feel free and happy, but when we settle down we grow pale and die.

Since talk of reservation life had little prospect of success the Commission then shifted the topic to what the

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[95]Medicine Lodge Creek Proceedings, p. 99; NA, RG 75.

[96]*Ibid*., 100-101.

Indians would receive. The Indians did not have to immediately go to their reservation and give up the ways of their forefathers. They could still wander over their old hunting grounds up to the Arkansas.[97] The Government would increase annuities, a subject which Satanta had early introduced into the proceedings.[98] The Kiowas would each receive a suit of clothing every year.[99] The Indians were more interested in these terms than in the reservation life, though they still were reluctant to sign the treaty. Kicking Bird reminded the Commissioners that the 1865 treaty had promised annuities, that if these were delivered there was no need to have a new treaty. To which Senator Henderson replied that the new treaty gave more goods.[100] With these promises ringing in their ears, the Kiowas signed the treaty.

Terms relating to boundaries and to annuities were definite enough. The new Kiowa and Comanche reservation was to be bounded by the Ninety-eighth Meridian on the east, by the Washita and North Fork of Red River on the north, by the One Hundredth Meridian on the west, and the Red River on the south.[101] For each tribal member the Government promised to

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[97] Ibid., 107-108.

[98] Ibid., 106, 109.

[99] Ibid., 109.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Kappler, Laws and Treaties, II, 977. The Apaches who by the 1865 Treaty confederated with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in 1867 returned to their Kiowa and Comanche alliance. The latter two agreed to share their land and annuities

pay a suit of clothing annually, and to pay $25,000 annually to the two tribes for 30 years.[102] Though the treaty exactly stated these obligations, circumstances surrounding the council could only lead to further misunderstanding. The reservation was a mere fraction of the land occupied by the Kiowas at the time. Moreover, the Commission and the treaty said that they had hunting rights up to the Arkansas River which the Kiowas understood to mean sole right of occupation.[103] The Government put no such interpretation on the treaty, nor could it because the tide of White migration was too strong to allow the Central Plains to be permanent Indian land.[104]

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with the Apaches. The annuities were increased from $25,000 to $30,000. Ibid., 982-983.

[102] Ibid., 980.

[103] In the negotiations the Indians had stressed they wanted to protect the buffalo; where houses and posts were built buffalo would soon disappear. The distinction made by the Whites between a reservation and an area reserved for hunting rights was not clear to the Indians. They believed they had preserved all their lands south of the Arkansas, and for these guarantees they thanked the Commission. In such a mood Satanta said the Commissioners were men of the past, come to remove present grievances and to restore the past when everything was all right. Medicine Lodge Creek Proceedings, pp. 125-126; NA, RG 75. According to Major Douglass the Indians understood in the Council that Whites were not to go south of the Arkansas. Douglass to McKeever, March 1, 1868; Fort Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[104] The Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated the problem clearly:

> Another cause or hindrance [of progress in Indian relations] is the fact that the Indian has no certainty as to the permanent possession of the land he occupies. . . . The plea of "manifest destiny" is paramount and the Indian must give way, though it be at the sacrifice of what may be as dear as life.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1867, 1.

The stage for further conflict was set.

The year 1868 marked new developments in Kiowa-White relations. In this year the Kiowas withdrew from the Arkansas, and the Government began a systematic ration policy, unconnected with either annuities or gifts. Early in the year the annuity again became a matter of dispute between the Government and the tribe. The Kiowas continued to regard Texas as outside the United States, unprotected by treaty,[105] and they had acquired more White captives.[106] The Government tried to obtain these by withholding the annuity,[107] somewhat later it modified the order.[108] Before the goods were delivered the annuity question became involved in the larger one of a Plains War. The Cheyennes were directly in the path of the White migration and in the summer and fall were at war in Kansas.

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[105]"They say that country was originally theirs, that Texas never negotiated for it and that they have a right to it still." Brvt. Maj. Gen. William B. Hazen to Lt. Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, November 10, 1868; in Sherman-Sheridan Papers, typescript in Manuscripts Division, University of Oklahoma, 42. (Hereinafter cited as S-S Papers).

[106]Leavenworth to Taylor, April 26, 1868; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[107]Commissioner A. G. Taylor to Murphy, August 1, 1868; Field Office Records, LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[108]Mix to Murphy, September 18, 1868; Field Office Records, LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[109]For recent accounts see Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, 303 ff, and William H. Leckie, The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains (University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1963), 63 ff.

The Government decided to use two methods to clear the Indians from the Central Plains; force and goods. More determined than the year before that the hostiles should be punished, it turned the Cheyennes and those aiding them over to the mercies of the Army. Those who were not hostile were to go to Fort Cobb where General Hazen would supply them rations and goods.[110] Events of 1867 were repeating themselves with greater force. The Government was now willing to let the Army enter the Indian country south of the Arkansas in hot pursuit of hostiles. The Kiowas were in a dilemma again; should they aid their allies, the Cheyennes, or should they follow the traditional peace policy which had brought so much reward and profit?

The Arkansas had long been attractive to the Kiowas. They had camped along its broad valley since coming from the north. It was a bountiful land with plenty of pasture for buffalo and horses, and it had been a favorite place for sun dances. But White occupation had lessened its advantages. Since 1864 there had been continuous alarms in Kansas caused by increased White pressure and railroad construction. Troops were stationed there and more were coming, buffalo and game were scarce, and timber for lodgepoles and firewood had become scanty. With its resources depleted its only attractions were sentiment and trade; and these were not worth a war. To remain and fight with the Cheyennes would bring forlorn

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[110]Copy of Sherman to Secretary of War John M. Schofield, Sept. 26, 1868; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

consequences since it would set upon the Kiowas the wrath of the Federal Government, whose troops would harry them in their own land, and a war would disrupt their White trade which they had so carefully cultivated. To peacefully abandon the Arkansas would mean giving up old trade contacts, but they could be encouraged and renewed at Fort Cobb where traders had been active among the Wichitas and Caddoes. Regretfully, the tribe left to join General Hazen in the south.[111] A few warriors, regarded as foolish by the other Kiowas, went to help the Cheyennes.[112] The Kiowa enthusiasm for war was so moderate that it again aroused Cheyenne anger.[113]

The retreat from the Arkansas threw them upon the diminishing buffalo resources in the South Plains. The fewer numbers of the animals had already affected the Kiowas and their relations with the Government. Near the eastern border the Government set up an agency for the Kiowas, Comanches,

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[111]Captain Daingerfield Parker said that in September the Kiowas had left Ft. Larned to join General Hazen in the South. Parker to Lt. John F. Weston, AAAG, Sept. 21, 1868; Fort Larned Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

[112]Proceedings of a Council Held with Chiefs of the Kiowa Nation by General Sheridan and General Custer, at Medicine Lodge Creek, I. T., February 16, 1869; S-S Papers, p. 218. One of the last chiefs to leave was Satanta. Significantly he and his band needed food. Douglass to Capt. Samuel L. Barr, May 2, 1868; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; Asbury to Brvt. Maj. E. A. Belger, June 14, 1868; Asbury to McKeever, July 2, 1868; Fort Larned Letterbook; NA, RG 98. Tribal opinion was turning against Satanta's effort to remain in the north in the spring of 1868. McCusker to Leavenworth, April 10, 1868; enclosed in Leavenworth to Taylor, May 21, 1868; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[113]Parker to Lt. John F. Weston, September 10, 1868; Fort Larned Letterbook; NA, RG 48.

and Apaches. This Agency was first at Fort Cobb on the Washita, and in 1869 it was moved to Cache Creek near Fort Sill.[114] The establishment of the Agency signaled a change in the Government's relationship with the Kiowas. It was a permanent post where the agent would live and where the Indian goods would be kept.[115] Previous to this he journeyed to the Indians and used temporary quarters. The new arrangement afforded the Government an oversight deep in the Indians' territory, because for the first time the Government in both its military and civilian aspects was present in the Kiowa land. This was not absolute control, for the Agent was only one person and usually far from the Indians who continued their nomadic habits.

The buffalo had already gone from the reservation's eastern regions. Captain Henry E. Alvord in the fall of 1868 wrote that around Fort Cobb there were no buffalo, that the Indians had to go farther west to find them, that if they remained permanently near the agency with no food from the Government they would starve.[116] To feed the Indians and to

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[114]Leckie, Military Conquest of the Southern Plains, 111-112.

[115]Superintendent Murphy had recommended the new policy as early as October, 1867; the agent should live permanently on the reserve so as to have the Indians under close supervision; there were to be substantial and periodic distributions of food to keep the Indians from wandering. Murphy to Taylor, October 6, 1867. Indian Peace Commission; Separated Correspondence; NA, RG 48.

[116]Capt. Henry E. Alvord to Maj. James P. Roy, October 30, 1868; S-S Papers, 28-29. In this opinion General Hazen supported him. Hazen to Sherman, November 10, 1868;

keep them on the reservation the Government began a systematic ration policy for the Kiowas.[117] The Kiowas recognized their dependence on the Government for a large portion of their subsistence.[118] They diligently inquired for General Hazen, their new agent, wanting to know when he would arrive with their food.[119] The General finally got to Fort Cobb on November 10 with large stores of supplies.[120] Shortly afterward about one-half of the tribe took on a hostile attitude when Brevet Major General George A. Custer attacked the Cheyenne Village under Black Kettle. A curious event demonstrated the extent to which the hostiles depended on White goods. From the western part of the reservation they sent warm greetings to the friendly half, and encouraged their brethren to remain friendly with both the Federal Government and the hostiles; for by this means the friendlies could transmit their excess White supplies (which hopefully would contain arms) to the hostiles.[121] A few weeks later when the latter came to an agreement with General Sheridan the Kiowas

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S-S Papers, 42 ff.

[117]Murphy to Taylor, October 6, 1867; Indian Peace Commission; Separated Correspondence; NA, RG 48.

[118]Alvord to Roy, October 30, 1868; S-S Papers, 27 and 29.

[119]Ibid., 23-24. Hazen was the temporary agent assigned by the Army to the Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, and Wichitas largely for subsistence purposes.

[120]Hazen to Sherman, November 10, 1868; S-S Papers, 42.

[121]Report of Captain H. E. Alvord, December 7, 1868; S-S Papers, 82-83.

still considered the goods a major topic. Sheridan assured them the annuity would arrive soon, to which Satanta replied, "Our women and children are very poor. Their hearts will be glad and contented when they get their goods."[122]

The Government issue came to be the most important source of food, apart from buffalo. Originally it supplemented the buffalo diet but the relative importance of the two altered rapidly in the next five years. Unlike the food in the annuity payment which had come once or twice a year, and sometimes not at all, the issue was much more often, after some experience occurring every two weeks.[123] It was not given more often because the Kiowas' hunting camps were usually located two days' travel from the agency.

The early issues reflected some uncertainty, which the Government could have avoided by referring to its experience with annuity payments. Captain Alvord insisted to his superiors that the Indians did not live entirely on meat and their own food. He said that Indians were accustomed to and wanted such White commodities as bread, meal, flour, coffee, sugar, and even salt.[124] In July, 1869, the

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[122]Proceedings of a Council Held with Chiefs of the Kiowa Nation by General Sheridan and General Custer at Medicine Lodge Creek, I. T., February 16, 1869; S-S Papers, 217.

[123]". . . I issue every fourteen days . . . unless the weather is too inclement." Copy of letter of Agent Laurie Tatum to Superintendent Enoch Hoag, January 21, 1873; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[124]Alvord to Roy, October 30, 1868; S-S Papers, 27-28.

Government met some of these recommendations when it ordered that each ration should consist of one pound of fresh beef, and eight ounces of flour, and the same amount of shelled corn. In addition each one hundred rations contained two pounds of salt.[125] Agent Tatum protested that this was not enough either in variety or quantity, that the Indians had been accustomed to coffee and sugar as well. He added that they were already exasperated with White promises and if not fed would return to the Plains.[126] Finally, agreeable with his recommendations the Indian Bureau added to the rations:[127]

> . . . the change to be so made that the ration shall consist of 1 1/2 lbs fresh beef; 3/4 lb. of meal or corn; 1/4 lb. flour; 4 lbs. sugar per one hundred rations; 2 lbs. coffee per one hundred rations and salt and soap when necessary.

This was massive Government aid which provided the Kiowas a major share of their food by 1870.

Compared to the annuity food the rations resembled the Pre-Civil War payments, though they were much larger in quantity. New items were soap, salt, bacon, and beef which was the most significant. Beef had not appeared in the pre-Civil War payments, for the reason that it was not needed. The Government had made haphazard attempts to supply some

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[125]The order also stated that pork would be substituted for beef four rations out of each month. Commissioner E. S. Parker to Hoag, July 17, 1869; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[126]Parker to Hoag, August 19, 1869; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[127]Parker to Hoag, August 12, 1869; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

meat during the War but in contrast, by 1870 beef was the major item in the rations, which is another way of saying that the buffalo were going away. The rise of the Texas cattle industry made fresh meat available. Contractors brought the cattle from Texas over the Chisholm Trail to the Agency where they were herded until the Agent called for them.[128] On issue day he assigned the required number to the Indians who slaughtered and butchered them in the same manner as if they were buffalo.[129]

There were some changes in the annuity goods, largely in amount. Since the annuity payment was now relieved from food costs it was devoted to drygoods and hardware only. Firearms disappeared from the list of annuity goods after 1869. Tatum and his successor, James Haworth, were Quakers and both were in full accord with President Grant's peace policy, which they interpreted to mean that the Indians should not have weapons.[130] Otherwise the articles were

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[128]Articles of Agreement between Sept. Enoch Hoag and Joseph P. Fenlon, December 10, 1870; Fenlon to Hoag, April 5, 1871; Alex R. Ranks to Hoag, April 9, 1871; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency, NA, RG 75. For the list of recommended goods see Appendix H.

[129]In some cases the contractor paid for the herding at the Agency; in other cases the Government did. Acting Commissioner H. B. Clum to Hoag, December 20, 1870; Acting Commissioner William F. Cady to Hoag; August 15, 1870; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75. Tatum discusses Indians killing the cattle in letter of Tatum to Cyrus Beede, March 12, 1872; Kiowa Agency, Letterbook; Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Oklahoma City. Hereinafter this series of records will be cited as KA, Letterbook, OHS.

[130]Estimate of Annuity Goods for Kiowa and Comanche

similar to those which the Government had already been furnishing. There were some attempts to introduce things used in a more settled life, such as hoes for farming, a few hats, suits of coats and trousers for men, and fancy cloth for the women.[131] Such refinements hardly fitted the Kiowa life. They could not use hoes for hunting buffalo, so they did not take them. Tight fitting suits were uncomfortable, though used for formal occasions such as sitting for photographs, and only about 130 suits were given to all three tribes each year. After witnessing one issue Brevet Colonel James W. Walsh said that the stocking was useless, most of the clothing was of little value, and what the Indians most wanted and could use were blankets, muslin and calico cloth, brass kettles, camp kettles, and axes.[132] These were precisely the things which were most suitable to a nomadic life, articles which the Kiowas had wanted from the beginning of White contact. Nomadism continued to assert itself in the payments.

Indians for the year 1872; March 12, 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS. Estimate of Annuity Goods for Kiowas and Comanches for 1872; February 5, 1873; Estimate of Annuity Goods required for Kiowa and Comanche Indians for year ending June 30, 1875; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency, NA, RG 75. A search of the Central Superintendency vouchers reveals no government arms nor ammunition shipped to the Kiowas from 1869 to 1875. This contrasts with the pre-Quaker period when agents, especially Leavenworth, recommended that the Government supply them with arms and ammunition. And see Appendix I of this paper.

[131] *Ibid*.

[132] Copy of Brvt. Col. James W. Walsh to Maj. J. W. Woodward, August 7, 1869; LR from Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75.

Issues and annuities were matters of debate between the Government and the Kiowas, the latter's dependence making them sensitive to quality and irregular payments. Though needing the food the Kiowas wanted the meat only seasonally as long as there were buffalo. The summer and fall hunts supplied their favorite dish, but winter exhausted their supply. The Government had some difficulty adjusting to this seasonal demand, requiring the Indians to accept their usual beef ration when buffalo were plentiful. They felt aggrieved at having to receive what they already had in plenty, knowing they would be in want for the same article the next winter.[133] On the other hand they complained that the issues and annuities did not have enough variety. Official regulations bound the Agent to give all of the government goods and issues to the Indians,[134] and the Government was cool to Tatum's request to sell the excess food for the Indians' benefit.[135] The rule was designed to prevent speculation in Indian goods. Strictly applied to the Kiowa Agency, however, it allowed him no discretion to deal with differing circumstances as they arose. It seemed inappropriate for the Kiowas to have an excess of certain foods when they needed other articles. By

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[133]Tatum to Hoag, January 22, 1872; Tatum to Hoag, February 7, 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

[134]Parker to Hoag, April 12, 1870; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[135]Tatum to Hoag, February 7, 1870; KA, Letterbook, OHS. Superintendent Hoag argued that the agents be allowed more discretion. Hoag to Walker, February 4, 1873; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

an informal arrangement with the Indians and White traders the Agent met official objections and the Indian needs as well. He issued the excess on paper to the Indians who then went to the White trader and obtained the equivalent in goods. The Agent then gave the supplies to the trader. In this way the Indians obtained tobacco, sugar, axes, saddles, and cooking utensils for surplus corn and beef.[136]

Quality afforded grounds for other murmurings. Flour was especially troublesome. In October 1871, Tatum wrote that he had received 54,000 pounds of very poor quality, and that the Indians complained of it.[137] A few weeks later the flour sent was of such poor quality that he refused to receive it.[138] It was so bad that the Indians could not use it, nor could he or his employees. Rather than flour the sacks contained ground over millings.[139] One time when he was short of flour Tatum borrowed some from the Fort Sill

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[136]Hoag to Commissioner Edward P. Smith; April 11, 1873; LR from Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75. The Indian Bureau was suspicious of such actions; at one time the Commissioner wrote to Hoag that he did not understand how Tatum bought tobacco, sugar, axes, cooking utensils, and saddles since the Department gave him no funds. E. S. Parker to Hoag, April 12, 1870; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[137]Tatum to Hoag, October 14, 1871; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

[138]Tatum to Hoag, November 4, 1871; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

[139]Tatum to Hoag, November 11, 1871; KA, Letterbook, OHS. Agent Haworth intimated that Government inspectors were not doing their job. Smith to Hoag, July 3, 1873; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

commissary and from a private trader, William Mathewson. When the Indian shipment came in he offered to repay them in flour. Mathewson refused because it was of such poor quality, and the post commissary also refused because the flour was unfit to feed to soldiers.[140] Nor was this all. Someone in the purchasing department thought that the Indians used tobacco for chewing which they did not. They used it for smoking only. Tatum strongly recommended that the Government send "the natural leaf, or dry plugs, without molasses, liquorice" or other flavoring.[141] The sugar was badly refined and poorly packaged, so that by the time it reached them it resembled molasses and much of it leaked in transit.[142]

The Government continued its use of rations and annuities as instruments of policy for punishing past misdeeds and for changing present behavior. In the summer of 1871 two of the agency's cattle herders were killed. Tatum immediately withheld three quarters of the tribal rations, saying he would continue to do so until the murderers were given up.[143] He also withheld issues upon learning that the Indians had raided into Texas and obtained more

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[140]Tatum to Hoag, April 6, 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

[141]Tatum to Hoag, March 14, 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS. The Agent believed the Government's inspection system was faulty.

[142]Ibid. Tatum to Hoag, March 30, 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

[143]Tatum to Hoag, October 14, 1871; Tatum to Beede, March 12, 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

captives:[144] "I wish it understood that no ransom will be paid for captives by the Government, nor can a band procure rations or annuity goods, while a captive is held by a member of the band." Further, he stated that he would keep rations equally from the original owner and from the person who might buy it.[145] This course made no distinction between the original captor and a chief who for reasons of humanity or tribal interest might purchase the captive for return.

Conflict between tribal life and Government policy made successful use of issues difficult. If the Agent adhered to communal responsibility and equally withheld from all the tribe he punished innocent and guilty, in Kicking Bird's phrase the innocent along with those who had bad in their hearts. This harsh justice was productive of discontent and suspicion towards the Government. On those occasions when the Agent successfully banned the guilty party, family and tribal bonds abated the punishment. The culprit could call upon his friends and relatives for food, and in sharing their subsistence with him they took part in the penalty, which scarcely attained the ends of policy.

As unsatisfactory as were many of the articles, ill timed as were many of the shipments, and as productive of

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[144] Tatum to David Seward, April 12, 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

[145] "Should an Indian trade off a captive instead [of] delivering it to me, I shall not expect to give [him] rations or annuities until I obtain the captive. It will make no difference whether a party who held a captive stole it or traded for it." Ibid.

dispute and complaints, the Kiowas encouraged the issues and annuities because they needed them. Following their retreat from the Arkansas conditions were fast changing, the most persistent and ominous was the decline of buffalo herds, so that the very prospect of lessened issues was a dire one.

The Kiowas continued to use White trade to supplement supplies received from the Federal Government, and they encouraged this old source in every possible way and at several locations. There were two major traders at Fort Sill. The official Indian trader was William Mathewson,[146] and John S. Evans the military trader[147] was also licensed to trade with the Indians.[148] At the Wichita Agency they exchanged with a number of people,[149] William Shirley being among the more prominent.[150] White traders also visited the Kiowas, some coming from the Cheyennes, others coming from the Wichita

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[146]Tatum to Hoag, April 6, 1872; KA, Letterbook. See also Copy of License of William Mathewson, November 16, 1869; Beede to Tatum, December 2, 1871; Beede to Haworth, November 17, 1873; Kiowa Traders' Records, William Mathewson; OHS.

[147]United States, Congressional Record, 44th Congress, 1st Session, Proceedings of the Senate, Trial of William W. Belknap, 1876, p. 207. Evans' monopoly was a legal one dating from 1870. Ibid. Previous to that there were others including John C. Dent and E. H. Durfee. Ibid., 253. Cited hereinafter as Trial of William Belknap.

[148]Tatum to Hoag, January 22, 1872; KA, Letterbook and see also Hoag to Tatum, February 11, 1871; Hoag to Tatum, July 20, 1872; Kiowa Traders' Records, J. S. Evans & Co.; OHS.

[149]Tatum to Hoag, April 9, 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

[150]Kiowa Traders' Records, John Shirley. See also A. C. Farnham to Laurie Tatum, August 4, 1870; Kiowa Traders' Records, William Shirley; OHS.

Agency.[151] Among the firms who had representatives traveling with the Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Arapahoes were Lee and Reynolds and Ford and Company. The Kiowas were so successful in their various contacts that the official trader at Fort Sill protested that they were bringing only a small portion of the business to the post.[152] By his own figures this small part was substantial.[153] The Kiowas obtained the usual things from the private traders: tobacco, flour, sugar, coffee, bread, blankets, cloth, looking glasses, ribbon, combs, tin pans, buckets, coffee pots, coffee mills, and beads.[154] Since the Government did not always follow the recommendations of its agents, traders usually stocked a wider variety than that available in agency supplies. Arms and ammunition were foremost among the private goods.[155]

The Government annuity and issues freed the White trade from the bulky articles of food and utensils. The Indians did not have to look to traders to replace buffalo, and a higher percentage of the trade could then be in those

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[151]Haworth to Smith, May 15, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[152]Copy of J. S. Evans and Company to Haworth, April 27, 1874; enclosed in Haworth to Smith, May 15, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[153]Evans testified that his total business averaged $150,000 yearly. Of this about one-third was with military personnel. The remaining two-thirds was with Indians and White civilians. Trial of William Belknap, 276.

[154]See the various pages in "Shirley Ledger."

[155]Battey to Haworth, May 12, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

forbidden firearms, so desired by Kiowas. The traders were all too ready to please this market. Arms were easier to transport and brought a higher profit which removed all scruples and doubts.[156] Excepting the traders at Fort Sill, they had plentiful supplies, some possessing government permits for this traffic.[157] A few took alarm that their customers were so single-minded in their purchasing habits. Dr. Sturm remonstrated with his competitors that they ought not sell so much to the Indians. For his pains he got a curt reply from his competitor and a reprimand from his employer. The more quiet Indians also protested. The Arapahoes told the Whites they shouldn't bring so many firearms to their bellicose neighbors, but their words availed little. The Kiowas wanted arms and would have them. This was contrary to their agents' views who thought that firearms ought not be sold to the Indians and would not allow the traders at Fort Sill to sell them.[158] It was no small thing to the Kiowas that their own agency traders had neither arms nor ammunition. Agent Haworth said,[159]

> the Indians of my Agency Complained a great deal that I would not allow my traders to sell them arms and ammunition claiming that the traders of the other agencies were allowed to do it.

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[156] Haworth to Smith, May 15, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[157] Hoag to Jonathan Richards, January 18, 1874; Kiowa Traders Records, William Shirley; OHS.

[158] Haworth to Smith, May 15, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[159] Ibid.

They objected to this as unwarranted discrimination, singling them out for special and unwanted treatment. They proceeded to trade with those who brought firearms, more especially with those who came from the Cheyennes and Caddoes. One Comanche warrior informed the Evans' company trader that "he felt very sorry for these 'poor Traders'" with no ammunition for they would get no business from his people.[160] The Kiowas and Comanches had their own withholding policy, refusing to trade with those traders who had no firearms.

Agent Tatum objected to the extensive Kiowas' trade away from the Agency because it was not under his supervision.[161] For the same reason the Indians and their Agent disagreed over the presence of White traders in the camps. The Kiowas were indeed anxious to have the Whites with them during the buffalo robe season but Haworth commented that this would "remove the necessity of their visiting the Agency during that time . . . which would take them from under my influence and control."[162] In 1872 Agent Tatum estimated that the Kiowas traded barely a fourth of their robes at Fort Sill.[163]

In the next two years the Fort Sill trade declined.

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[160] Ibid.

[161] Tatum to Hoag, April 9, 1872; Tatum to Agent Jonathan Richards, April 12, 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

[162] Haworth to Secretary of Interior Columbus Delano, December 15, 1873; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[163] Tatum to Hoag, April 9, 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

Haworth estimated that during the 1873-74 robe season, "My traders only got about Five Thousand Robes while the Wichita Traders got almost double that Amount the Cheyennes' traders getting over thirty thousand."[164] The Indian embargo policy was so effective that the Agent modified his rule and allowed the Evans company to send merchants to the Kiowa camps.[165]

The Evans traders set up business in the camp of Chief Kicking Bird, who had shown a favorable opinion of Whites.[166] In this benign climate their chances of sales were no better than at Fort Sill. Repeatedly, Indians came to their store with packages of robes only to pick them up and leave when learning that the firm had no arms nor ammunition.[167] One such young brave came back displaying his success elsewhere:[168]

> . . . on the following Tuesday he returned with a new pistol and about 50 cartridges on his person and said that back of the Lodge he had a mule loaded (his own language) with ammunition all of which he stated he purchased at the Wichita Trading House.

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[164]Haworth to Smith, May 25, 1875; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. Haworth's figures are open to question in terms of exactness; but they illustrate a real enough trend.

[165]Copy of letter of J. S. Evans to Agent Haworth, April 27, 1874; enclosed in Haworth to Smith, May 15, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[166]Battey to Haworth, May 15, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[167]Ibid.

[168]Copy of letter of J. S. Evans to Agent Haworth, April 27, 1874; enclosed in Haworth to Smith, May 15, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

Some warriors took all their trade in ammunition, leaving other articles in the trading house.[169] The Kiowa insistence on trade terms brought them an unprecedented supply of firearms in the early 1870's. They got powder, lead, caps, and cartridges in unlimited quantity as well as pistols and rifles of the latest design.[170] By the spring of 1874 every camp was an arsenal.

The year, 1874, was a dreadful one. The Kiowas living then went through the most frightful of human experiences, being witnesses to their own destruction. Their time of independence ended in fire and terror. The bases of nomadic life, horses and buffalo, disappeared and with them the Kiowa way. Starvation compounded the crisis. The buffalo hunt of winter, 1873-74, was rather good, but it had all been upon one herd, thus hastening their disappearance. In the spring the Indians battled White hunters over the remnants of once vast herds.[171] Hundreds of White men were in the Plains shooting the animals for a profitable robe market.[172] The

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[169]Haworth to Smith, May 15, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[170]"Dr. Sturm . . . informs me that under the instructions of his employers he sold ammunition, including Powder Lead Caps and Cartridges in unlimited quantities. . ." ". . . a great Many of My Indians are armed with the latest improved Pistols and guns. . . ." Ibid.

[171]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1874, 220. Mooney, Calendar History, 203.

[172]Roe, The North American Buffalo, 426-439. There were still some buffalo on the South Plains after 1874. They were too far away and too few to sustain the Indians. Ibid., 442-444.

Kiowas protested strongly. Kicking Bird said that the Whites were killing the Indians' one great resource, given to them by Heaven, and which provided them with money, food, and clothing.[173] Living without buffalo was unimaginable. The protests brought no results and the attack on White hunters failed. The decline of buffalo had long been clear but the final disappearance was swift and terrible, allowing no time for the Indians to adjust nor for the government to adequately feed its charges.

The spring hunt largely failed.[174] Government issues suddenly had to support the full Kiowa diet. The Indians, leaving their winter camps, faced a dismal prospect. Instead of going to the empty Plains they turned towards the Agency. Haworth reported that large numbers came in February.[175]

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[173]"Kicking Bird said their Buffalo was the same to them [as] the White man's money, their only resource, with which to buy what they needed and did not receive from the Government the robes they could prepare and trade, they loved them just as the white man does his money and just as it made a white man's heart feel to have his money carried away, so it made them feel to see others killing, and stealing their Buffalo, which were their cattle, given them by the Great Father above, to furnish them meat to eat, and means to get things to wear." Copy of letter of Haworth to Hoag, June 6, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[174]This is based on Haworth's comments in which he noted the unusually large numbers of Indians coming in for rations. See especially copy of Haworth to Hoag, February 16, 1874; enclosed in Beede to Smith, February 20, 1874; and Haworth to Hoag, May 9, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith, May 13, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[175]Copy of Haworth to Hoag, February 16, 1874; enclosed in Beede to Smith, February 20, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. On February 28, only one steer constituted the Agency herd. KA, Return of Provisions, OHS.

Even more arrived in the following weeks.[176] Before these unexpected demands the Agency supplies lowered to an alarming point. By the last of March there was practically no beef or flour, and the issue was down to one-half rations.[177] It seemed peculiarly inappropriate to Haworth that food should be so low when it was most needed:[178]

> Our supply of subsistence is getting very low. It is certainly very important at this season of the year, That all necessary supplies should be furnished, and that, without unnecessary delay.

Indeed, partial rations were the rule during the spring and summer. Throughout those months the agent reported his shortage again and again.[179] The Government did send some supplies,[180] but not enough to meet the demand. In April and May he said that his supplies were so low that it hindered Indian policy.[181] The stocks continued meagre into June and

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[176]Haworth reported that in the first May distribution, ". . . we had a very large issue every band in my books being represented excepting only one or two." Copy of Haworth to Hoag, May 9, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith, May 13, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75.

[177]Copy of Beede to Hoag, March 30, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith, April 3, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[178]Copy of Haworth to Hoag, April 13, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith, April 17, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[179]Shortage of supplies was the rule rather than the exception.

[180]See the returns of provisions for the first six months of 1874. KA, Return of Provisions, OHS.

[181]Haworth to Smith, April 8, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith, April 16, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. Copy of Haworth to Hoag, April 3, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to

July.[182] Haworth was compelled to borrow from other agencies and from private sources, all of which were not enough to meet full issues.[183]

With the failure of Government issues starvation's shadows settled over the Kiowa camps. In May the entire tribe gathered at the Agency, drawn there by hunger. When they requested food the Agent could only point to empty bins.[184] The alarmed chiefs asked Haworth for a council and requested the Kiowa-Apache chiefs to join and support them. They told Haworth that their people were hungry. They needed

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Smith, April 17, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[182]". . . being almost out of rations I had one hundred and twenty five bus [bushels] of corn ground and issued the meal." Haworth to Smith, June 1, 1874; enclosed in Beede to Smith, June 8, 1874. "As yet no tidings of the sugar and coffee. . . . The present prospect is, we will have to suffer another disappointment. . . ." Copy of Haworth to Hoag, July 23, 1874; enclosed in Beede to Smith, July 27, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[183]"My teams are gone on the hunt of sugar, and coffee. I hope to have them back by issue day, with enough to give my people a little." Copy of Haworth to Hoag, April 20, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith, April 28, 1874. "Mathewson's team came in with flour, of which I got two and fifty sacks, which is about 2/3 issue." Copy of Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith, May 12, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. See also returns of provisions, KA, Return of Provisions, OHS.

[184]A few days previous Haworth had written of his straitened means: ". . . they feel that their rations are being kept back from them, which is aggravated by a great many false reports, which added to the fact that this is the restless time of year, for them, makes it a very unfortunate circumstance that the commissaries are empty." Copy of Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith, May 12, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. It is significant they were at the Agency when normally they would be away on the spring hunt.

food, without issues they would starve. Big Bow stated their case:[185]

> . . . their hearts would all feel better, if when they came here, they found plenty; said they came in from their camps on issue day to get their rations only, found a little here, would carry that home, divide around among their people, it was soon gone, and then their women and children would begin to cry with hunger, which would make their hearts feel a little bad, said a white man's heart would soon get bad to see his wife, and children crying for something to eat, when he had nothing to give them.

Hungry stomachs hindered the agent's fulfilling his duties. He found it difficult to keep the Indians near when staying there meant starvation: "Our scarcity of supplies is one of our greatest in fact the greatest draw back we have to contend with, in governing these people."[186]

Events pointed to a crisis. In the summer their allies, the Comanches and Cheyennes, were in difficulty with the Federal Government because of raids and attacks on Whites,[187] and a minority of the Kiowas led by Lone Wolf had raided into Texas.[188] These were affronts which the Federal

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[185]Copy of Haworth to Hoag, May 9, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[186]Copy of Haworth to Hoag, May 25, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith, May 30, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[187]Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, 383-391. Leckie, Military Conquest of the Southern Plains, 187-197.

[188]The immediate cause was Lone Wolf's desire to revenge the death of his son, who had been killed in Texas. The chief had much sympathy in the tribes; he was able to play upon the Kiowas' deep sense of frustration. See Haworth to Hoag, May 9, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith, May 13, 1874, in which Haworth learns of Lone Wolf's leaving the reservation to hunt for his son's remains. His brooding was a matter of deep tribal concern. The chief personified all

Government was no longer willing to overlook. It could not ignore the cries and complaints which went up from the settlements. It would no longer allow a disorderly frontier to hamper settling nor threaten the safety of Whites. The Government turned the Southern Plains over to the Army who with fire and sword advanced into the hitherto privileged sanctuary of the reservations.[189] The military had instructions to punish the hostiles, destroy their property, and to take their horses.[190] This was a final solution of White-Indian conflict.

To protect the friendly Indians from the general ruin the Government decided to segregate them from others. It set apart a segment of the reservation near the agencies where the Army would not harm them. The Kiowas' place of shelter was near Fort Sill on the east side of Cache Creek.[191] They

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their frustrations. His high station was no warrant against grief. His personal loss made him a bitter enemy of Whites. His very presence was a reprimand against all those who advocated peace, seemingly in dishonor. See also Copy of Hoag to Haworth, July 21, 1874; enclosed in Hoag to Smith, July 24, 1874. Lone Wolf led an encounter against Texas rangers. Haworth to Hoag, July 23, 1874; enclosed in Beede to Smith, July 27, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. Leckie, Military Conquest of the Southern Plains, 196-197.

[189]For two recent works on military actions against the Indians see Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, 389-397, and Leckie, The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains, 193-199.

[190]Hostile Indians were to be "disarmed, dismounted, received and to be treated as prisoners of war." Copy of Report of Brvt. Maj. Gen. John W. Davidson to AAAG, Dept. of Texas, August 15, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. See also Telegram of Commissioner Edward P. Smith to Haworth, July 20, 1874; KA, Military Relations; OHS.

[191]"They will establish their camps on the east side

were to go there and to stay there, leaving upon pain of treatment as hostiles. To be sure that they would not go to the aid of the hostiles they were to be enrolled, and since issue day was now weekly on each Thursday, they were to answer the roll then.[192] If they were not present for roll-call they would get no rations and would be considered as enemies. The Government set August sixth as the final date of enrollment.[193] Complying with these arrangements most of the tribe were enrolled, and they set up their camps on Cache Creek. Under the leadership of Lone Wolf, Red Otter, and Big Bow a minority stayed on the Plains as hostiles.[194]

Though Cache Creek was outside the war area it was a dismal place. The Kiowas were hungry and so were their horses. Crowded into a limited pastureland, the horses soon cropped short the available grass.[195] Then nature added to

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of Cache Creek, the Commanding Officer having issued an order declaring that side to be peaceable ground, desiring all friendly Indians to go upon that side to prevent their becoming involved in trouble in case of a raid by the bad." Copy of Haworth to Hoag, July 18, 1874; enclosed in Beede to Smith, July 22, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[192]". . . owing to the impracticability of a daily roll call arising from the care their large herds of stock required the roll would be called each Thursday, issue day." Copy of Davidson to AAG, Dept. of Texas, August 15, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[193]The first date was August third which was changed to August sixth. Ibid.

[194]Haworth to Smith, August 17, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. Haworth said that about four-fifths of the tribe followed Kicking Bird to Cache Creek. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1874, 220.

[195]Davidson commented on needed pasture for the Indian

their disasters with a drouth. When no rain fell in the summer, the grass, seared by hot dry winds, turned brown, as though deadened by autumn's frost.[196]

Compelled to stay at their agency as if they were prisoners, always hungry, and watching their horses slowly starve, a number of Kiowas began to think of their industrious farming neighbors, the Wichitas and Caddoes, whose agency was on the Washita about 30 miles away. The melons in the Caddo gardens were about ripe, and it was near time for Wichita issue day. Those Indians were always hospitable and would be willing to share their plenty with the hungry Kiowas.[197] Disobedient to the Government's instruction, four bands, including Satanta and Woman's Heart, slipped away from Cache Creek and went to the Wichita Agency.[198] They could not have made a worse decision. A number of hostile Comanches had encamped at the Wichita Agency, and General Davidson had gone there to disarm them. Into this uncertain atmosphere the Kiowas blundered. A shot was fired, and the Kiowas were there to shoot and to be shot at. Their actions brought the

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stock in copy of Davidson to AAG, August 15, 1874. Haworth also made several comments as for example: "The scarcity of water and grass makes it impracticable to camp them near the Agency." Haworth to Smith, August 3, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[196]Haworth to Smith, August 8, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

[197]Haworth wrote two long reports on this affair. Haworth to Smith, August 4, 1874; Haworth to Smith, November 14, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75.

[198]*Ibid*.

destruction then spreading over the Plains to the entire Kiowa tribe.[199]

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[199]They had entirely misjudged the Government's intent and power. General Davidson had written ". . . they cannot or will not understand that this is not to be the same patched up peace that has taken place every year." Copy of Davidson to AAG, Dept. of Texas, August 15, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

The Wichita Agency outbreak was a skirmish in the war of 1874-75 which was the last Indian war on the South Plains. Thoroughly defeated the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes were confined to reservations. Their arms and most of their livestock were taken from them. See Berthrong, The Southern Cheyennes, 372-405, and Leckie, The Military Conquest of the South Plains, 201-235.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

> In the far distant past, there was no suspicion among us. The world seemed large enough for both the red and the white man. Its broad plains seem now to contract and the white man grows jealous of his red brother. He once came to trade, he now comes to fight. He once came as a citizen, he now comes as a soldier. He once put his trust in our friendship, and wanted no shield but our fidelity; but now he builds forts and plants big guns on their walls. He once gave us arms and powder, and bade us hunt the game, we then loved him for his confidence.[1]
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> Satanta at Medicine Lodge Creek Council

The Kiowa tribe at the end of the seventeenth century was a nomadic pastoral people living in the North Plains. Though far removed from centers of White civilization they had begun to feel its influence. White trade reached over the continent, taking to the Indians things manufactured in the cities and towns of America and Europe. In turn the business picked up articles of Indian handiwork and took them over the original trade routes, though in reverse order, to the White business centers.

Trade, once introduced into the Plains, had profound influence, hastening changes already in process, reversing

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[1]Medicine Lodge Creek Proceedings, 124-125; NA, RG 75.

others, altering the way of life, and affecting the inter-tribal power balance. The story of Kiowa-White contact is one in which a near unitary economy acquired things by intensive marketing of its own yield. The Kiowa internal economy produced only animal products.

The things desired by the Kiowas were a constant: tools which made their work easier, firearms for war, and decorative objects for color. White commerce was a valuable thing making them a richer and more powerful people. Placing a high value on trade they encouraged it in every possible way, and they fought over it with other tribes.

The commerce in White articles grew up alongside and eventually affected exchange with other Indians. At the time of earliest White contact aboriginal barter already existed, growing out of their needs and desires. The Kiowa-Arikara trade was between two differing, though complementary societies. The agricultural Arikaras furnished the hunting, pastoral Kiowas with corn, pumpkins, and tobacco for buffalo hides and horses.

As the eighteenth century closed there was another attraction at the Arikara villages: French trade. Though it was a mere trickle of what would become a great stream of goods, the Kiowas had a keen interest in it. Metal tools and knives were clearly more useful than those of stone, wood, and bone; colorful beads attracted their eyes; and firearms were of high importance to this people always defending their hunting grounds against others. The White trade for the

Kiowas meant success in hide production and in warfare.

The Kiowa-French trade was hindered by geography and by lack of mutually desired products. The French wanted mostly beaver pelts, having no use for the Kiowa buffalo robes and horses. In these circumstances the Arikaras, and the Cheyennes to a degree, became middlemen. Obtaining things from the French they traded them for horses to the Kiowas, thus augmenting the native commerce. The Missouri trade did not reach expectations because of the Sioux invasion. In large numbers this latter tribe was crossing the Missouri River and with superior access to firearms it pushed other tribes to the south, the Kiowas going far into the South Plains.

With the northern experience fresh in their minds the Kiowas made strong effort to have direct contact with White suppliers, rather than through middlemen. The Spanish contact in New Mexico was welcome to both the Kiowas and New Mexicans. While not a rich source it was a constant one, lasting as long as there was Kiowa power on the Plains. The limiting factor in the commerce was the poverty of New Mexico, the Kiowas never becoming saturated from that direction.

Commerce with other tribes continued and developed in the south, reflecting the economy of the particular tribe. The Taovayas were an agricultural people with French, and later American trade, contacts, a position resembling the Arikaras'. When the Kiowas moved south the Taovayas were in a decline from their former high place. Nevertheless, the

Kiowas cultivated this contact and found it useful. At the villages they got agricultural products as corn, pumpkins, beans, tobacco, and also White trade goods: hardware, cloth, beads, and guns. In return the nomads brought their standbys, buffalo hides and horses.

Trade developed between the Cheyennes and the Kiowas, both of whom were buffalo hunting nomads, not on the basis of buffalo but rather on the terms of White goods for horses. War developed between these two tribes when they quarrelled over the occupation of the Arkansas, by that time rich in buffalo, horses, and trade. Again the Cheyennes contributed White articles, while the Kiowas brought horses. From the Kiowa viewpoint the White articles, especially firearms, were a most valuable consideration. Thus, commerce was a major factor in peace and war between the tribes.

The Anglo-American nation was the last and most important of the three White peoples with whom the Kiowas traded. The earliest traders had more promises,than immediate results, for they still followed French practices which were unsuited for the South Plains. By the middle 1830's Anglo-Americans had adapted to the Kiowa economy, trading for buffalo robes and horses, thus allowing the Kiowas to obtain trade goods on a hitherto unequalled scale. At widely scattered places, as the Arkansas, Canadian, and Red Rivers they exchanged with Bents, Chouteaus, and their like. The American trade was greater in variety and quantity than either the French or Spanish. There were more firearms, kettles, tools, beads,

and cloth; coffee, sugar and rice were delicacies.

When the Americans began their trade the Kiowas and their allies were in a desperate war against Utes, Osages, Pawnees, and for a while the Cheyennes. Firepower was an important factor in this contest and access to arms was fundamental. Scarcely was the American trade in full bloom than the Kiowa need for arms increased. Pushing on their eastern borders were new enemies, the migrant Indians; Potawatomis, Shawnees, Sacs, and Foxes all coveted the South Plains buffalo, and the Five Civilized Tribes were just as interested, though less warlike.

In addition to the traders the Federal Government became a major source of goods as a result of White migration. By the late 1840's Anglo-American movement was in full flow across the Plains. Blighting the buffalo and game the migration caused the Kiowas much complaint. To protect its citizens from Indian wrath the Government agreed to pay the tribe an annual indemnity. Whereas trade benefits went to those who had the most property to exchange the annuity payment brought wealth to all the people. It brought enough kettles, tin cups, and tools for each household. There were also great lots of blankets, cloth, and beads, and there was enough flour, sugar, coffee, and beans to provide for several tribal feasts. By the middle 1850's trade and annuity provided them an enormous amount of goods. The Kiowas were wealthy.

Nomadism exerted its influence over the annuity, no less than in the trade goods. The Government sent a few

things which it hoped would lead to a more settled life, such as fish hooks and hoes; but the Kiowas either threw these away or adapted them to something else, such as arrowheads. When the agents and Army commanders recommended that certain goods not be sent because the Indians could not use them they recognized the overriding influence of the nomadic life.

Though valued by the tribe, the annuities were also a source of grievance because the Government attempted to use them for policy. Making delivery conditional on Kiowa good behavior, it aroused high anger; and withholding guns, it created deep suspicions. The Civil War added to the uncertainty, the annuity payments becoming deranged by military requirements. So that the annuity while adding to Kiowa strength was not constantly delivered and gave the tribe much complaint.

Pressure on the Kiowa land continued. By 1860 it was rapidly increasing and it was due to a different type of people. The White settlers were now the principal threat, engulfing the migrant tribes in Kansas, settling in Colorado, and moving up the Texas rivers. They came from all sides excepting the West, where deserts discouraged them, and the east, where Indian reservations prohibited settlement. The Kiowas were as determined to resist this aggression as any other, conditioned always by tribal interest. Their northern borderland along the Arkansas was the main trading area, and therefore the principal source for guns. The Cheyenne conflict had taught them the shattering effect of war upon trade,

so that they made major efforts to preserve peace along the Arkansas while continuing an angry war in Texas. The two extremities were related; the Texas war consumed the fire-power obtained at the Arkansas.

In the Post Civil War time there were rapid changes in White goods acquisition. Geographically, the scene of major Kiowa-White exchange moved from the Arkansas to their reservation. The Government, reacting to White pressure, dictated the change, and the Kiowa need to preserve trade ordained a peaceful move. Far to the west the Comanchero business had an interesting development. Cattle were added to the usual horse and buffalo line of merchandise, being the only addition since the beginning of White contact. So that trade prospered and grew.

Impelled by scarcity of buffalo the Federal Government began its issues of food to the tribe. Though bringing the Kiowas unprecedented supplies it also caused them much anxiety and distress. The Government attempted to incorporate issues into its policies of ending nomadism. In fact rations merely allowed the Kiowas to trade a higher proportion of their buffalo hides for firearms. The issues were not enough to fully replace the diminishing buffalo; so that though the Kiowas had access to an hitherto unequalled supply of White food, hunger's spectre haunted their camps.

Trade and government supplies increased the power and prestige of chiefs. When White traders entered the camps they adapted to recognized patterns of behavior. In this

tribal society they received the protection of people of authority, staying with the chiefs and storing goods in their tipis. The chiefs often supervised exchange to see that all parties got a fair trade. The Federal Government in both its annuity and issues adapted to chiefly authority, allowing the important men to distribute the goods and food.[2] In distribution the band leaders had yet another responsible activity which showed that they were leaders and fathers of their people.

Confounding the Kiowa way, White goods hastened the tempo of the wandering life, just when nomadism was becoming less possible. Satanta's lamentation expressed the hope and disillusion of White contact. Anglo-American migration was encroaching on Kiowa lands and would soon close their best hunting grounds; buffalo, the ancient basis of food and trade, were fast disappearing. In the 1870's the Federal Government had decided to end Indian depredations on Texas which brought in a constant supply of horses and cattle. And the Government had the power to work its will. Those Kiowas encamped near Fort Sill in the summer, 1874, pondered their unhappy lot. Their friends and allies were harried and hunted on the Plains; they themselves were hungry; their camp was dusty and hot; their horses were starving; Cache Creek

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[2]Secretary of Interior O. H. Browning to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 8, 1868; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; Copy of Haworth to Hoag, July 18, 1874; enclosed in Beede to Smith, July 22, 1874; LR from Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75.

seemed a hell. Those disobedient Kiowas who left, going to the Wichita Agency, did not recognize the danger of their action. Their folly brought vengeance upon themselves and destruction to their people.

Kiowa trade was utterly destroyed.

> O sun, you remain forever,
> But we Kaitseñko must die.
> O earth, you remain forever,
> But we Kaitseñko must die.[3]

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[3]Mooney, Calendar History, 329.

Appendix A

Indian Fund. Accounts 1806-7. October 31, 1807.[1]

List of Extraordinary Expenses: for Expeditions, and for Particular Gifts and Presents to the Indians Besides Suits and Other Effects Given to Each Class According to the Tariff.

. . .

On May 22 so that the Carabinero Juan Lucero could give presents to the principal men of the Kiowa tribe. Expense approved by the Commanding General in letter of July 22 of the present year.

3 dozen scabbard knives
1 [box] [?] of tobacco
1 bundle of glass beads
1 package of vermilion
6 mirrors, 20 sugarloaves
1 fanega of meal, 1 mutton for provisions
4 pesos of cigars.

On June 13 in order to give presents to 2 chiefs of the Kiowa tribe according to report number 14 which expense is approved by the cited letter July 22.

4 yards of baize
1 [box] [?] of tobacco

. . .

On August 3 in order to give presents to the Kiowa General and to 2 chiefs and 10 warriors of said tribe according to report number 18; which expense the Commandant General was pleased to approve in letter of last September 17, which is herein cited.

1 silver headed cane, 1 yard of ribbon
1 large medal and 2 yards of ribbon
2 small medals and 3 yards of ribbon
3 bridles
6 mirrors, 1 spit, 1 silk handkerchief
6 yards of baize
12 [Ponchi] [?]
110 Zigarreras

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[1]SANM, 2084.

Appendix B

Receipted bill of Bent St. Vrain & Co. to Fraeb & Sarpie.[2]

1838
April 22
Fort Jackson

Subject:

Invoice of goods sent by James C. Robertson from Fort Jackson to Arkansas River for trade with Indians during winter.

4 prs 3 point Red Blankets---------	$11.01	$44.04
3 prs 3 point Green Do----------	9.63	28.89
3 prs 3 Do Blue Do----------	6.90	20.70
5 prs 3 Do White Do french------		34.50
5 prs 3 Do Do Do English-----	7.59½	37.97½
3 prs 2½ Do Do Do Do---------	6.44	19.32
4 2 Do Do Do Do---------	3.84½	15.38
5 1 Do Do Do Do---------	2.77½	13.87½
2 prs Save (?) List Blue Cloth-----38 yds	1.54½	58.65
2 prs Scarlet Cloth----------40.	1.55½	62.20
5 green Blanket Capotes----------	7.35	36.75
9 Red flannel Shirts----------	1.47½	13.27½
9 Domestic plaid and check Shirts--	.77	6.93
7 Woolen caps----------	.40	2.80
5 Scarlet Chiefs Coats----------	8.25	41.25
5 Blue Do Do ----------	7.70	38.50
2 prs Red ground Calico----------59 yds	.26½	16.52
1 pr Cotton furniture check--------46¼pr	.17	7.86¼
1 pr Cotton Stripe----------43	.13¼	5.69 3/4
1 pr Bleached Domestic Sheeting----30	.14½	4.32
1 pr 8/4 Cotton Shawls----------8[?]	.96[?]	7.68
3 prs Sattinett Pantaloons Avge [Average]	3.15	9.45
2 Fur Hats----------	1.92	3.85
10 Masses white Barleycorn Beads---	.90¢	9.00
7½ Do Do Agate Do ---	1.80	13.50
6 Do Blue Do Do ---	1.68	10.08
1 Do Red Barleycorn Do ---		1.20
10 Do White small Do Do ---	.15¢	1.50
8 bunches spotted Itallian Do ---	.60	4.80
52 lbs Blue and White seed Do ---Avge	.38½	20.02
3 setts wampum moon Shells---------	1.50	4.50
150 Toquois [?] Shells----------Say	.10¢	15.00
4 Doz Fox tail plumes----------		3.60
½ Doz Red Cock Do ----------	3.30	1.65

[2]Pierre Chouteau-Maffitt Collection; Missouri Historical Society; St. Louis, Missouri

4 pr woolen Socks----------	.32½	1.30
1 lb [?] linen thread----------		.91
6 Leather Belts----------	.46	2.76
9 packs playing Cards----------	.15	1.35
23 Doz assorted Knives----------Avge	2.28	52.44
1 gross Indian Awls----------		1.49
1 Doz fire steels----------		.60
1½ groce gilt coat Buttons---------	2.10	3.15
4 packs small [ ] Bells----------	.45	1.80
4 packs large Do Do ----------	.72	2.88
1 nt Brass Tacks----------		.60
Transferred		$684.54½

[page 2]

Amount brought forward		$684.54½
4 Doz paper covered Looking glasses	.46¢	1.84
6 large Britiannia Looking glasses-	.33	1.98
6 assorted Do Do Do -	.25	1.50
2 groce finger rings----------Avge	.90	1.80
8 Doz combs----------	.60	4.80
16 Assorted files----------	.14½¢	2.32
5 Battle Axes----------	1.92½	9.62½
25 Squaw Axes----------	.82¢	20.50
15 Common Hoes----------	.36¼	5.44
6 Long Fusils----------	5.10	30.60
6 Short Do ----------	4.95	29.70
7 Powder Horns----------	.82½	7.78
Flints and gun worms----------		1.00
50 lbs Powder----------	.33¢	16.50
100 lbs Trade Balls----------	.08	8.00
7 Brass Kettles, assorted sizes----30 lbs	.62½	18.75
2 Jappaned [?] Kettles----------	1.92	3.84
3 Sheet Iron Do ----------20 lbs	.27½¢	5.50
1 frying pan for use----------		.37
4 Tin cups----------	.05¢	.20
15 gallons Alcohol----------	1.10	16.50
90 lbs Common Tobacco----------	.11[?]¢	9.11
5 House [?] Bells----------	.15	.75
50 Sleigh Do ----------		2.50
7 polished Do ----------6 lbs	.51½	3.09
12 lbs Vermillion----------	1.32	15.84
5½ lbs Brass [marked out in original] wire	.55	3.02½
3 lbs Iron wire----------	.15	.45
3 Collins Axes----------	1.70	5.10
2 Calico Shirts----------	1.21	2.42
1 pair silver wristbands----------		1.50
1 Silver Half moon gorget----------		3.00
1 Small Sword----------		2.25
35 lbs. Coffee----------	.16½	5.77½
60 lbs. Sugar----------	.13½	8.10
10 lbs. Rice----------	.05½	.55
20 lbs Lead for use----------	.07	1.40
Total		$937.95

Fort Jackson April 22 1838
E Excepted

Appendix C

1839
March 12
Camp Holmes

Statement of Merchandise and Property,[3] a part of the Estate of A. P. Chouteau, deceased, left in charge of Major P. L. Chouteau at Camp Holmes 12th March 1839 viz:

5 Ox Wagons		100	500.	
1 Horse Do			75.	
1 Mule Do (at Saline)			75.	
12 Log Chains		700	81	
19 Yoke Oxen		50.00	950.	
2 Dearborns (at Saline)		30.	60.	
House furniture Valued at			150.	
Blacksmith & Carpenter Tools			110.	
Farming Utensils			100.	
98 lbs Steel		.28	27.64	
2 Coils Manilla Rope		800	16.	
½ Box Window Glass		450	1.50	
115 lbs Bees Wax		16	18.40	
14 Boxes Lead	1008	6¼	63.	
4 Brass Kettles	6.	50	3.	
14 Old Shot Guns & Rifles		500	70.	2306.34
Bale 1 12 pair 3 point Blankets		850	102.	
" 2 11 " 3 " "		850	93.50	
1 " 2½ " "				
" 3 14 " 2½ " "			92.40	
" 4 12 " 3 " "		850	102.	
" 5 17 " 1½ " "		317	53.89	
1 [ ]Grey Woolen Kersey	37	63	23.31	
1 " Towel Kersey	35	31¼	10.93	
			484.63	
30 per cent advance on $484.60			145.35	630.01
				2936.35

[3]A. P. Chouteau Papers; Missouri Historical Society; St. Louis, Missouri.

Appendix D

BUFFALO ROBE PRODUCTION FOR UPPER ARKANSAS AND UPPER PLATTE IN 1849

In 1849 agent Thomas Fitzpatrick made the following statement on buffalo robe trade:

> However this year the trade has been unusually good there not being sufficient merchandise in the country to furnish the Indians with what they were even able to purchase, and therefore the traders set a high price on all their goods. On the Arkansas and South Fork of the Platte were sold by two separate firms goods to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars, at St. Louis cost, for which both firms together returned about thirteen thousand Buffalo robes which will average about three dollars each making a total of thirty nine thousand dollars. This would seem to be a heavy profit, but when all risks and expences are counted up the profits are by no means as much as imagined.[4]

Statistics can be misleading, especially in Indian affairs where many of the relevant factors can only be guessed at. To make a reasonable estimate of the Kiowa share of Fitzpatrick's figures it is necessary to interpolate figures from widely divergent areas. The tribes using the Upper Arkansas and Upper Platte markets were mostly Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches; the Comanches usually stayed farther south. The populations for the four tribes in 1877 were as follows:[5]

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[4]Agent Fitzpatrick to Superintendent Mitchell, May 22, 1849; Enclosed in a letter of Mitchell to Commissioner Medill, May 29, 1849; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

[5]Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report for 1877 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), 292.

Southern Cheyennes	2,299
Southern Arapahoes	1,766
Kiowas	1,090
Kiowa-Apaches	343
Total	5,498

Assuming that the population ratio in 1849 was the same as in 1876 and that the Kiowa trade corresponded to their population [a fearless assumption] I estimate the Kiowa share of Fitzpatrick's figures to be one-fifth. The following computations are purely mathematical. The Kiowas then sold at those two places 2,600 robes worth $7,800 on the St. Louis market and received $3,000 worth of goods. See following table.

Fitzpatrick's Figures for Buffalo Robe Trade on Upper Arkansas and Upper Platte in 1849

Buffalo Robes	13,000
Value per Robe (St. Louis Market) .	$3
Total Value (St. Louis)	$39,000
For Which Indians Received in Goods	$15,000

Kiowa Share of Above; Figured at one-fifth

Buffalo Robes	2,600
Value Per Robe (St. Louis Market) .	$3
Total Value (St. Louis Market) . . .	$7,800
For Which Kiowas Received in Goods .	$3,000

Production of Robes Per Lodge

To estimate production per lodge I have used the following formula. First to find the number of lodges. Thomas Battey stated that each lodge contained about six people.[6] Estimating the 1849 population at 1500,[7] the number of lodges for 1849 was 250. By dividing the latter figure into the above 2,600 robes, the result is 10.4 robes per lodge which the Kiowas provided for the Upper Arkansas and Upper Platte trade only.

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[6]Battey, Life Among the Indians, 193.

[7]Mooney, Calendar History, 236.

Appendix E

Sun-Dance Locations[8]

1833--No Sun-dance.
1834--No Sun-dance.
1835--On North Canadian, 30 miles west of Fort Reno.
1836--Wolf Creek Fork of North Canadian.
1837--Scott Creek [Walnut Creek], a branch of North Fork of Red River.
1838--Apparently no Sun-dance.
1839--Washita River below mouth of Walnut Creek [in future reservation area].
1840--On South Canadian, near mouth of Mustang Creek, Texas Panhandle.
1841--No Sun-dance.
1842--In vicinity of North Canadian and Medicine Lodge Creek, near where North Canadian crosses 100th Meridian.
1843--Near same place as in 1842.
1844--Near same place as in 1842.
1845--Near same place as in 1842.
1846--Near same place as in 1842.
1847--No Sun-dance.
1848--On Arkansas River, near Bent's Fort.
1849--On Mule Creek, between Medicine Lodge Creek and Salt Fork of the Arkansas.
1850--On North Canadian, a little above mouth of Wolf Creek.
1851--On North Canadian, a little below mouth of Wolf Creek.
1852--No Sun-dance.
1853--Near same place as in 1851.
1854--On site of future Medicine Lodge Treaty Grounds [Kiowa term is Timber Mountain Creek] in Southern Kansas.
1855--No Sun-dance.
1856--On Arkansas River, about 10 miles below Bent's Fort.
1857--On Salt Fork of Arkansas, near mouth of Elm Creek, in present Oklahoma.
1858--On Mule Creek, near where it enters Salt Fork of Arkansas, in present Oklahoma.
1859--On Smoky-hill River, near present Fort Hays, Kansas.
1860--No Sun-dance. Tribe camped in summer on both sides of Smoky-hill River.
1861--On Upper Walnut Creek, which enters the Arkansas River near Great Bend, Kansas.
1862--Near same place as in 1858.
1863--Near mouth of Walnut Creek, near present Great Bend, Kansas.
1864--Near same place as in 1858 and 1862.

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[8]Extracted from Mooney, Calendar History, 254-327.

1865--Near juncture of Walnut Creek and Washita River [in future reservation area].
1866--Near mouth of Medicine Lodge Creek, present Oklahoma.
1867--On Washita River, near Texas-Oklahoma line.
1868--On Medicine Lodge Creek [Timber Hill River] near where Medicine Lodge Council was held.
1869--On North Fork of Red River, near mouth of Sweetwater Creek.
1870--On North Fork of Red River, in present Greer County.

Appendix F

Annuity Goods in 1854

The estimate of goods per family again requires use of some elusive figures. In August of 1855 Agent Whitfield made estimates of population and households of the tribes under his jurisdiction. Compared with later counts they seem inflated. Nevertheless they are a careful estimate of the Indians before they were in the border wars of the 1860's and 1870's. He used information gained from such knowledgeable people as the Bents and other traders. The estimated number of lodges were as follows:[9]

Comanches	400
Kiowas	300
Kiowa-Apaches	40
Total	740

The estimated populations were as follows:

Comanches	3200
Kiowas	2400
Kiowa-Apaches	320
Total	5920

The totals for the 1854 goods can be taken from the invoices. The Grant and Barton firm provided the drygoods. Their invoice listed 1,131 pairs of blankets which totals 2,262 single blankets or about one per adult for the three tribes. Most of the drygoods, whether plain or fancy, were

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[9]Whitfield to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 15, 1855; enclosed in letter of Whitfield to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 5, 1856; LR from Upper Arkansas Agency; NA, RG 75.

impractical for everyday use. They nevertheless added color for festive occasions. The company of Callender, Rogers, and Hilton provided the hardware; Waterman and Ryan supplied lead, powder, and the foodstuffs except sugar; Belcher and Brother furnished the sugar.

Appendix F-1

Duplicate of Invoice of Annuity Goods Furnished by Grant and Barton for Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches in 1854.[10]

71	Pairs	3 pt Scarlet Mackinac Blankets			7.50	532.50
50	Pairs	3 " Gentinella " "			6.50	325
50	Pairs	3 " Green " "			6.50	325
70	Pairs	2½" Scarlet " "			5.50	385
15	Pairs	2½" Gentinella " "			5	75
15	Pairs	2½" Green " "			5	75
360	Pairs	3 " White " "			6.50	2340
350	Pairs	2½" " " "			5.00	1750
100	Pairs	2 " " " "			2.82	282
50	Pairs	1½" " " "			2.50	125
44		Wrapper Blankets			2.50	110
1200¼	Yards	[ ] List Blue Cloth			1.50	1800.37
118¼	Yards	Fancy " " "			2.10	249.37
899¼	Yards	[ ] " Scarlet"			1.75	1573.69
14350½	Yards	Calico			9	1291.54
3344	Yards	Blue Drillings			10	334.40
10	Doz	8/4 Cotton Shawls			7.00	70.00
6½	Doz	8/4 Wool "			15.00	97.50
170		Calico Shirts			50	85
260		Flannel "			1.	260
148½	pounds	Vermillion			2.00	297
125	pounds	Linen Thread			30	37.50
300	pounds	White Beads	50	150		
205	pounds	Blue "	75	153.75		
30	pounds	Ruby "	75	22.50		
28	pounds	Black "	50	14.00		340.25
3202 3/4	yd.	Checks, Stripes & Plaids			10	320.27
2041½	yd.	Linsey			20	408.30
2223¼	yd.	Ticking			12	266.79
		Amt. carried over				$13,756.48

[10]Duplicate of invoice for annuity goods which Agent Whitfield bought from Grant and Barton for 1854 annuities, May 1, 1854; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

		Amount Carried over			13,756.48
1692	yds.	Unbleached Shirting		4	67.68
10	gro.	Garting		1.50	15.00
9		Blue Cloth Coats			90.00
18	Dz.	Hatchets	c 3.75	67.50	
10	Dz.	Half Axes	c 7.00	70.00	137.50
		Boxes and Strapping			34.75
					$14,101.41

Appendix F-2

Duplicate of Invoice of Annuity Goods Furnished by Callender, Rogers, and Hilton for Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches in 1854[11]

200	doz	Butcher Knives	1.50	300.00
20	gro	Squaw Awls	1.00	20.00
20	[packages]	Gross Flints	1.75	35.00
942½		Brass Kettles	35	329.88
9	doz	Scissors	1.40	12.60
504		Hand Saw Files	7	35.28
4	gro	Looking Glasses	7.50	30.00
3	"	" "	6.00	18.00
15	[packages]	Needles	75	11.25
12	doz	Frying Pans	3.00	36.00
8	"	Redding Combs	40	3.20
4		Cards [?]	3.00	12.00
4	gro	Agate Buttons	1.50	6.00
2	doz	Cow Bells 3300 2225		10.50
4	doz	Basting Spoons "	87½	3.50
1	gro	Finger Rings	4.50	4.50
4	Boxes	" "	42	1.68
3	doz	Cow Bells 5	4.50	13.50
8	"	[?] Combs	40	3.20
		12 Casks 8 Cases & Hooping		12.50
				898.59

[11]Duplicate of invoice of annuity goods which Agent Whitfield bought from Callender, Rogers, and Hilton for 1854 annuities; LR from Upper Platte Agency; NA, RG 75.

Appendix F-3

Provisions Furnished by Waterman and Ryan for Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches in 1854[12]

4,700 pounds	Superfine flour
5,000 pounds	Rio Coffee
1,200 pounds	Pilot Bread
2,000 pounds	White Beans
980 pounds	of Rice
2,500 pounds	of Tobacco
475 pounds	of Powder[13]
900 pounds	of Lead Balls

Appendix F-4

Sugar Furnished by Belcher and Brothers for Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches in 1854[14]

8,600 pounds	of Sugar

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[12]Written Contract between Superintendent Cumming and firm of Waterman and Ryan to supply Arkansas Indians with certain provisions in 1854; LR from Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[13]Substitutes were later made for the powder and lead balls on grounds that these were articles of war. Commissioner Manypenny to Superintendent Cumming, May 11, 1854; Field Office Records; LR by the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[14]Written Contract between Superintendent Cumming and firm of Belcher and Brothers to supply Arkansas Indians with sugar in 1854; Field Office Records; LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

Appendix G

Annuity Goods in 1858

Documents on the 1858 payment are more plentiful than for any other pre-Civil War year. By them the packages can be traced from the original order in the east to the agent's listing on the prairie. They include orders, invoices, and receipts. To give a complete list of goods only a selection of these documents is presented here. Compared with the 1854 payment the major change is the addition of firearms. Other alterations were minor; experience showed them desireable to make the annuities more adaptable to Kiowa life. Cronin, Hurxthal and Sears furnished the drygoods; the firm of T. Poultney supplied the hardware; H. E. Leman sent the firearms; Ryan and Louthan furnished the foodstuffs, powder bullets and hoop iron; Lewis, Perry and Company supplied the tobacco.

Appendix G-1

Invoice of Annuity Goods Furnished by Cronin, Hurxthal, and Sears for Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches in 1858[15]

350	pr	3 pt White Mackinac Blankets	5.90	2065.00
450	"	2½ " " " "	4.60	2070.00
40	"	1½ " " " "	1.20	48.00
34	"	1 " " " "	1.10	37.40
100	"	3 " Scarlet " "	7.00	700
50	"	2½ " " " "	5.00	250.00
50	"	3 " Green " "	6.00	300.00
50	"	3 " Gentianella " "	6.25	312.50
50	"	2½ " " " "	4.70	235.00
1033¼	yd	Saved [?] List Blue Cloth	1.46	7498.21[?]
527¼	"	" " Scarlet "	1.75	922.69
82	lbs	Linen Thread	.40	32.80
9	gro	Wursted [?]	1.25	11.25
5952¾	yd	Calico	.09	535.75
4333	"	Blue Drilling	.11	476.63
3911¼	"	Ticking	.13	508.46
1582¼	"	Plaids Linsey	.17	268.98
1731¼	"	Checks Stripes & Plaids	.12	207.75
33	lbs	Cotton Thread	.30	9.90
216	"	American Vermillion	.30	64.80
419		Flannel Shirts	1.12½	471.38
333		Calico "	.50	166.50
8	doz	Canadian Belts	12.00	96.00
3642	yds	Brown Drilling	.09	348.84
240	lbs	and Black & White Beads	.50	120.00
180		Ruby & Blue "	.45	135.00
		46 pair	2.50	115.00
		12 Rugs	.75	9.00
		Boxes & Strapping		33.16
				$12050.00

[15]Invoice of annuity goods bought of Cronin, Hurxthal, and Sears for Arkansas Indians; May 13, 1858; Field Office Records; LR by the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

Appendix G-2

Invoice of Annuity Goods Furnished by T. Poultney for Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches in 1858[16]

# 1	50	lbs	Brass Kettles	.37		189.07
2	90		Tin Kettles	.75		67.50
3	80		" "	.75		60
4	20	packages	Gun Flints	2.30		46
5	20	"	" "	2.30		46
6	75		Camp Kettles	.75		56.25
7	36		Drawing Knives	.50	18	
"	22	doz	Hand Saw Files	.50	11	
"	25	"	Basting Spoons	.75	18.75	
"	84	"	Table	.25	21	
"	6½	Gro	Gun Worms	2.00	13	
"	8½	doz	Fire Steels	.60	5.10	
"	70	Gro	Needles	5	3.50	
"	22	doz	Square Awls	1.00	22.00	112.35
8	25	Gro	Fish Hooks	.30	7.50	
"	96	doz	Fish Lines	.18	17.28	
"	15	"	Coarse Tooth Combs	.30	4.50	
"	10	"	Fine " "	.50	5	
"	5	"	Scissors	1.50	7.50	
"	24	"	Zinc Mirrors	1.00	24.00	65.78
9	6	nest	Jap[ane]d Kettles	7.50		45
10	30	doz	Tin Cups	1.00		30
11	4	"	6 qt Pans	2.50	10	
"	8	"	4 " "	2.00	16	
"	9	"	2 " "	1.60	14.40	40.40
12	20		Camp Kettles	.75		15
13	4	nest	Jap[ane] "	7.50		30
14	4	"	" "	7.50		30
15	20		Camp Kettles	.75		15
16	4	nest	Jap[ane] "	7.50		30
17	2	doz	Half Axes	8.00		16
18	2	"	" "	8.00		16
19	6	"	" "	8.00		48
20	6	"	" "	8.00		48
21	6	"	" "	8.00		48
22	4	"	" "	8.00		32
23	48	"	Butch Knives	1.60		76.80
	23	pkgs	Pkg Strpg Carpts &			140.35
						$1303.50

[16]Invoice of annuity goods bought of T. Poultney for Arkansas Indians, May 12, 1858; Field Office Records; LR by the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

Appendix G-3

Invoice of Annuity Goods Furnished by H. E. Leman for Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches in 1858.[17]

200	flint guns	$6.50	$1,300.--
21	Boxes	1.75	36.75
200	Cases	.20	40.--
8 4/12	Doz Powder Horns	4.55	29.38
8 4/12	" " "	3.90	32.50
2/3	" " "	6.15	4.10
			$1,442.73

[17]Invoice of goods bought of H. E. Leman for Arkansas Indians, May 22, 1858; Field Office Records; LR by the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75. There is a mistake in figuring the total price of the first group of powder horns. The total should be $37.82 rather than $29.38.

Appendix G-4

Provisions Furnished by Ryan and Louthan for Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches in 1858[18]

Arkinsas	175	Sacks	Flour	175	00	2.00	350.00
Indians	72	"	Rice	71	79½	4 7/8	350.00
Fort	211	"	Coffee	26	08 2/5	11½	300.00
Atkinson	811	"	Sugar	79	48½	9 3/4	775.00
	79	Boxes	Pilot Bread	84	61½	3¼	275.00
	27	11/32	Kegs Powder			6.40	175.00
	48	7/10	Bags Bullets			2.45	100.00
	500	lbs	Hoop Iron			5	25.00
							$2350.00

[18]Receipt of Superintendent A. M. Robinson to Ryan and Louthan for Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches, June 9, 1858; Field Office Records; LR by the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

Appendix G-5

Tobacco Furnished by Lewis, Perry and Company for Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches in 1858[19]

20 cases of manufactured plug Tobacco
3611 1/9 pounds at 18¢ $650.00

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[19]Receipt of A. M. Robinson to Lewis Perry and Co. for Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches, May 31, 1858; Field Office Records; LR by the Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

Appendix H

Estimate of Subsistence Stores Required for Issue to Indians of Kiowa & Comanche Agency for the year ending June 30, 1873[20]

	Amount Required	Probable Amount on Hand June 30, 1872	Amount to be Supplied
Bacon, Pounds	78,000	65,000	13,000
Beef, Pounds Gross	4,063,000		4,063,000
Flour, Pounds	730,000		730,000
Coffee, Pounds	58,400	9,000	49,400
Sugar, Pounds	106,300	57,000	49,300
Soap, Pounds	10,600[?]	1,600	9,000[?]
Salt, Pounds	14,600	4,600	10,000
Tobacco, Pounds	7,300	2,300	5,000

The above is based upon an estimate of 4,000 Indians

Laurie Tatum
U. S. Indian Agent

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[20]Estimate of Subsistence Stores . . . January 27, 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

Appendix I

Estimate of Annuity Goods for Kiowa & Comanche Indians for the Year 1872[21]

1,750	Pairs	Blankets
875	Yards	Blue Cloth
875	"	Scarlet Cloth
17,500	"	Brown Muslin
8,750	"	Calico
875	"	Meltons
3,150	Pairs	Stockings
130		Coats
130		Pants
13,500		Needles
2,000	Bunches	Beads
60	lbs	Thread
1,750		Cups
1,050		Butcher Knives
480		Iron Kettles
480		Half Axes
480		Fry Pans
280		Hoes
440		Hats
1,150		Red Shirts
220		Hickory Shirts
440	lbs	Tobacco

The above is based upon an estimate of 3500 Indians

Laurie Tatum
U. S. Indian Agent

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[21] Estimate of Annuity Goods for Kiowa & Comanche Indians for the year 1872; KA, Letterbook, OHS.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

AAAG - Acting Assistant Adjutant General

AAG - Assistant Adjutant General

AG - Adjutant General

AGO - Adjutant General's Office

KA - Kiowa Agency

LR - Letters Received

MANM - Mexican Archives of New Mexico

NA - National Archives

OHS - Oklahoma Historical Society

RG - Record Group

SANM - Spanish Archives of New Mexico

S-S - Sherman-Sheridan Papers