

Adaptation and Resilience:
The Kiowa People in the Nineteenth Century

By
Walter Kerrick

A Thesis Submitted to the graduate faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

University of Central Oklahoma

2023

THESIS APPROVAL

The abstract and thesis of Walter W. Kerrick for the Master of Arts in History was submitted to the Graduate College on December 11, 2023 and approved by the undersigned committee.


COMMITTEE APPROVALS



Natalie Panther, Ph.D.

Committee Chair

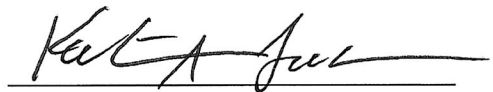
Associate Professor of History



Patrica Loughlin, Ph.D.

Member

Professor of History



Katrina Lacher, Ph.D.

Member

Professor of History

Abstract

The history of American Indians has historically been viewed through an Anglo-European lens and not from the perspective of the subject population. The aim of this thesis is to give a brief account of the Kiowa people from their perspective and to focus on their hardihood in the face of American aggression.

The literature from the late 1800s was largely constructed from observation of the Kiowa and interviews with the Kiowa. While some studies prioritized Kiowa accounts and records most relied most heavily on white observations of the Kiowa. In the 1900s this trend continued and those accounts from the late 1800s became the foundation for any research into Kiowa history and culture. It was not until the second half of the 1900s that many historians began critically evaluating those works and attempts were made to consult with the Kiowa people's own recollections more often. Since the late 1900s and through to the present more emphasis has been put on the importance of Native narratives when constructing histories about native peoples.

The Kiowa are a people who have consistently adapted to the world in which they live, acquiring and making their own elements borrowed from other cultures while retaining a strong cultural and historical identity for themselves.

This thesis is a case study, examining the survival and adaption of one people. As such the research methods utilized were qualitative. Texts written by American and European academics were evaluated and compared to as many first-hand Kiowa accounts as could be located. The resulting work reflects as closely as possible a history of the Kiowa during the tumultuous nineteenth century reflecting their own experiences and not those of the dominate white population.

This research has found that, though change was often painful for the Kiowa as the United States closed in around them, they successfully adapted to the world in which they found themselves. This was not a new process for them, as they had only acquired the Plains culture sometime in the late 1500s or early 1600s, an event that completely transformed their culture. This shift was even more radical than the one they found themselves faced with in the late 1800s as they were forced to adapt to an American way of life centered on agriculture and commerce.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my family for their support of me while I returned to school and worked towards completing this project. I would like to thank my daughter, Leila, for giving me space when I needed time to work, or had to make a trip to the Oklahoma Historical Society to visit the archives. I also want to thank her for traveling with me to several sites over the past two years while I conducted research and generally being very understanding about this project. I would like to thank my mother, Phyllis, my Uncle Charles Romick, and my Aunt Phillis McCarty for assisting me with the family history and keeping all of the particulars in order.

I would also like to thank Natalie Panther for her assistance and guidance on this project. She picked up as my advisor and committee chair when I was nearly halfway through, had just lost my first advisor, and was lost in the woods. With her shepherding this project was able to get back on track and finally completed. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Page 6 - Introduction

Page 13 – Historiography

Page 28 – Part 1 – Sovereignty and Subjugation

Page 49 – Part 2 – A People Adept at Adaptation

Page 92 - Part 3 – Resilience in a New World

Page 108 - Conclusion

Page 113 - Appendices

Page 141 - Bibliography

Introduction

Growing up I was aware that I existed with a foot in two separate worlds. One, the modern world; a world of industry, commerce, and technology. The other, an older world, a world of tradition, story-telling, and community. As a child, there always hung a trio of portraits on the wall of our living room. Two of the portraits depicted an elderly couple; the woman in her buckskin and beads, the man in a war bonnet, with his arms uplifted in prayer. Both portraits are in profile, and in the background of each is a tipi. The man was Tsate Ke, or Frank Bosin, and the woman Pe It Tone, or Emily Bosin. The third portrait was made in a formal studio and has a dark backdrop, the woman in it gazes outward at the camera with her hands on her hips, the fringe of her buckskin falling downwards past her knees, and her hair is in two long dark braids. She is the elderly couple's daughter, Ah Do Chi, or Lena Romick. She is my second great grandmother. These people were Kiowa and they lived in southwest Oklahoma. Tsate Ke and Pe It Tone are buried at the Mt. Scott Kiowa cemetery, and Lena at the Anadarko cemetery. Tsate Ke and Pe It Tone lived through the most transformative period in Kiowa history, the period in which the Kiowa ceased to be sovereigns of the Southern Plains and became a people confined to the reservation and dependent on the United States of America. During the late nineteenth century, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache that had roamed free, had raided where they please, and had followed the buffalo found themselves surrounded and outnumbered by hostile invaders to their lands. In an America which sought to expand its control from coast to coast the confederated tribes found an opponent with seemingly endless resources and man power, an opponent whose encroachment of their lands seemed inevitable. During this period the Kiowa had to abandon their traditional lifestyle and adapt to the necessity of a new American way of life.

Being born on and living on the land that was once the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Reservation instilled in me a sense of my people's history from a very young age. While this reservation only exists in history now, what was the land like before the reservation? Who were the tribes that lived here, where did they come from, and how did they live their lives? How did these people who once controlled such a large part of the Southern Plains, lose their sovereignty in fewer than fifty years? I was told stories my entire life by my mother, my grandfather, and my great uncle about our family, our people, and our history. Most of these stories were intimate ones about our family, stories that only touched upon the history of our people before the turn of the century. I knew who the people in the photographs were, but I didn't know where they came from. This helped spark an interest in me that has burned my entire life. A desire to learn more about the Kiowa, who they were before they came to Ft. Sill, and how they became the people I grew up with.

When I began my studies as an undergraduate majoring in history back in the fall of 2001, I never imagined that a line of questioning that had lain at the back of my mind for years would eventually turn into a project of this size. I enjoyed casually pursuing historical tidbits here and there, reading the works of N. Scott Momaday, and listening to my own family's stories, but that was the extent of those pursuits. When it came time to begin work on this thesis, I had many avenues to ponder before choosing one, and this is the one that seemed the most natural and, frankly, the most familiar. It is a study that in some way I have been slowly building over decades, and even if it was not articulated it was thought about often. This is the history of my own people, and in that way it is a personal history for me.

Tracing out the history of the Kiowa can be, in some ways, a tricky business. So much of our history is purely oral and because of that there are inconsistencies in anything that happened

before the Kiowa began recording the calendars in the early 1800s. For example, the date that the Kiowa and Comanche made peace is inexact at best. By examining the rough ages of witnesses and extrapolating how old they would have been around the time of the cessation of hostilities we can guess that it was around 1790, but there is no concrete documentation to give an exact date. This nebulosity of dates and places means that absolute statements are not permissible, no one can say that this event occurred at this precise location and at this exact time. If we can overlook that and accept that these events did occur and that enough witnesses recount them in roughly the same way, then we can accept that these accounts are, more or less, accurate. In this way we can know that the Kiowa and Comanche, who had fought as bitter enemies for at least two generations came together in the late 1700s and put aside their differences at the hacienda of an unknown Mexican rancher located somewhere in north eastern or north central New Mexico. The result of this peace was a long-lasting confederacy that impacted the course of history on the Great Plains for the next one hundred years and would endure hardship and change through to the present day. So, knowing the exact date and location where this alliance was compacted is less important than knowing the importance of that alliance.¹

The research for this project has led me to track down dozens of sources, both primary and secondary, looking for accounts of events from as many perspectives as possible. This was important to do because so much of American accounts of the Kiowa and Comanche are greatly biased against those peoples, and this bias has resulted in many works through the years that ascribe savage and almost inhuman traits to the Indians and portray the whites as pure and brave. In some instances, I have read ten or more accounts of the same historical scene to treat my subject with as even of a hand as possible. I did not wish to portray my people in a romantic

¹ James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 163, 164.

light, nor as victims of history. I did not want to perpetuate the myth that they were unthinking and savage brutes who only lived to kill and plunder, taking no greater joy than in burning homesteads and carrying off women and children. Neither of these perspectives is an accurate one; the truth lies somewhere in between. Yes, the Kiowa and Comanche cultivated a warrior culture that prized bravery and daring in combat, but they were not overtly bloodthirsty. Yes, when faced with the might of the US Army the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache were eventually defeated and their lands conquered, but they were not merely victims of the United States. These were and are real people with a real history, and tracing that history as faithfully as possible is a worthwhile undertaking.

The Kiowa have a history that is clouded in mystery; no one knows exactly where they originate, and no one knows exactly why they left their ancestral homelands. The Kiowa are a people whose history begins only a few centuries ago near Yellowstone. Everything before that is a mythic past, with stories of women stuck in logs, of a young woman marrying the sun, of a boy being raised by a spider woman, and that boy being cut in half to make heroic, monster fighting twins, of a boy who turned into a bear and chased his sisters into the night sky. The Kiowa are a people who are most easily understood in the legends they tell, and least understood in their factual history. As far as history is concerned the Kiowa sprung fully formed into the northern Great Plains some one hundred or more years before the United States declared its independence.

The first record of the Kiowa by a European was in 1682 by the French explorer LaSalle when he recorded that they owned many horses. At this time the Kiowa were comfortably situated in the Black Hills and had alliances with the Crow, the Cheyenne, and the Arapaho. To the south of the Kiowa the Comanche would sometimes encroach on their lands and this led to a long-running conflict that would last generations. The Sioux Confederation expanded

aggressively at this time and slowly pushed the Kiowa from their home in the Black Hills south of the Platte River. The Kiowa in turn would push the Comanche further south.² While living between the Platte and the Arkansas rivers the Kiowa were encountered by Louis and Clark in 1803.³ By this time the Kiowa and Comanche had formed an alliance and the Kiowa were ranging ever further south deep into Texas and across the Rio Grande into Mexico. In their own oral tradition, the Kiowa speak of a three-year expedition which traveled so far that they encountered small hairy men with tails, monkeys. This means that the Kiowa must have traveled at least as far south as the Yucatan peninsula to have encountered the monkeys.

In their alliance with the Comanche and the Kiowa Apache, the Kiowa became the most powerful force on the Southern Plains. They settled near the Wichita Mountains and would hold their annual Sun Dance near Rainy Mountain, between present day Gotebo and Mountain View. The Kiowa, along with their allies, raided into Texas often and would obtain horses, trade goods, and captives from there. In Texas they became feared and when Texas gained its independence the Texas Rangers were utilized to combat the Indians. During this time the Kiowa would encounter the United States for the first time during the First Dragoon Expedition. It was also during this period that the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache enjoyed the greatest extent of their power and influence. This position of power and influence on the Southern Plains would last until the end of the U.S. Civil War.

In the 1850s the United States began to expand west, beyond the Mississippi River, in earnest. The Kansas and Nebraska Act brought many settlers to lands that belonged to the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa. This infringement brought conflict to those lands. To the South

² Mildred Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 19-30.

³ William Clark, Oct. 1st, 1804, "Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu, University of Nebraska.

the annexation of Texas brought more conflict with the United States, which began to establish frontier posts to act as a counter to the Plains tribes. It was also during the 1850s that the U.S. first attempted to corral the Southern Plains Indians using treaties. While the encroachment of the United States' settlers was fast, their Army was ill prepared to deal with the Plains Indians. The Indians could travel quickly, attack at will, and fade away without a trace. The Army in turn had few effective cavalry units and relied mostly upon infantry and mounted infantry. The Army was not prepared for the logistics of building, supplying, and maintaining forts long distances from established depots and urban areas. At this time the Army proved to be highly ineffective when it came to dealing with the Indians and the in turn the Plains tribes developed a scorn for the Army. Four years of war would transform the US Army though, and when the Army returned in numbers after the Civil War it would be a highly effective fighting force.⁴

After the Civil War, the United States would, again, turn its attention to the West and the tribes that lived on the Great Plains. At this time the Kiowa, Comanche, Apache controlled much of what is today, Oklahoma, the Texas Panhandle, and Southern Kansas. The United States would prove to be a relentless foe to this confederation, and through treaties, military might, and an imperialistic pursuit of domination, it would systematically target these tribes, along with their northern neighbors, the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Over the course of a dozen years after the end of the Civil War, the United States subjugated each of these tribes and confined them to reservations in Indian Territory.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close so did an era. The American Indian tribes in the western half of the United States, who had been sovereign for thousands of years, were each, deprived of that sovereignty and assimilated into the United States. To contain this "savage" and

⁴ W.S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), 32-37.

dependent population, the US Government established reservations where the Indians would live and where the USA would attempt to rid them of their individual cultures and “civilize” them by teaching them English, converting them to Christianity, and teaching them to farm. To accomplish this, churches established missions, the US Government built schools, and sent agricultural experts to teach modern farming. In southwest Oklahoma a reservation for the once powerful Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes was established near Ft. Sill in the shadow of the Wichita Mountains. These particular Indians, like so many others across the country, would have to learn to give up their old ways and customs, and integrate into a society that was both hostile towards them and believed them to be inferior. With the loss of their sovereignty the tribes of the Southern Plains had to adapt quickly to their new circumstances in order to survive in an alien world.

Historiography of the Southern Plains Tribes

The study of indigenous peoples here in the United States and North America as a whole has gone through a long and completely transformative evolution. Today in the twenty-first century as we strive to include more voices and accept different ways of knowledge it is imperative that we give credence both to subaltern voices as they speak and the knowledge that they still hold within their communities. For the past four hundred years the histories of indigenous Americans have been largely recorded by Europeans and those of European descent. Many of these works are worth studying as they provide important accounts both within the primary and secondary, but we must acknowledge that they are not the only voices that matter. We must reexamine the ways in which we have traditionally studied indigenous history, not just on this continent but around the world, and find new ways of incorporating indigenous history, often oral history, into the mainstream of the historiography of indigenous peoples.

When examining the history of the Southern Plains tribes historians have usually examined military records, personal correspondence, and journalistic records. Notice anything missing? There is usually little to no inclusion of indigenous voices in these histories. Why ask the Indians about their perspectives when you are writing about them? In today's climate this may seem like grousing, we are currently incorporating more and more subaltern voices into the histories that are published; however, this is still a prevalent practice today. S.C. Gwynne when writing *Empire of the Summer Moon*, a book which was a Pulitzer Prize for non-fiction finalist, did not bother to consult with the Comanche tribe nor any Comanche historians when penning his book.⁵ While this is not a serious scholarly work, and should not be taken for one, the fact that it was so well received by the public as well as the Pulitzer people demonstrates that we are

⁵ S.C. Gwynne, *Empire of the Summer Moon: Quannah Parker and the Rise and Fall of the Comanches, the Most Powerful Indian Tribe in American History*, (New York: Scribner, 2011).

still not at a point where culturally we truly care about whether the voices telling the histories of indigenous peoples are representative of those peoples. And it is a disturbing thought that in 2023 we would still think that this lack of representation is acceptable. It is understandable that previous generations accepted that indigenous ways of knowing were somehow less than European ways and that it was acceptable to disregard the voices of indigenous peoples when writing about them, but today we need to do better, and hopefully moving forward we will.

Early Attempts at Understanding the Culture and History of the Southern Plains (1830s - 1868)

In the nineteenth century the US government had its first direct dealings with the tribes



that dominated the Southern Plains. In 1834 General Henry Leavenworth led the First Dragoon Expedition into what is today South Western Oklahoma where they encountered the Wichita, Comanche,

and Kiowa tribes.⁶ Along with this expedition was famed naturalist George Catlin who painted the first known images of a Comanche village and of Kiowa and Comanche people.⁷ The only

⁶ Brad Agnew, "The Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition," (Master's Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1967), 34-36.

⁷ George Catlin, *Buffalo Chase*, 1847, oil on canvas, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, OK, <https://collections.gilcrease.org/object/012175>.

other records from these encounters were the records of the Army officers in their dealings with these people. It should make sense that the first records of these tribes would come from the brush of a naturalist.

The typical American view of Indians during the period were that they were savages and little above the animals of the field. In the Antebellum period the Kiowa and Comanche signed two treaties with the United States (one in 1837 and one in 1853).⁸ The earliest views of the Plains tribes formed from these treaties, Catlin's accounts, and accounts from Texas. It is unsurprising that from these scant, and sometimes hostile accounts that Americans developed such narrow and negative views of the Plains Indians.

In this period there was little to no interest in studying the history of these peoples. This results in no formal historiography being created in this period. Studying these tribes in this period is a difficult task for the modern historian due to the meager records that pertain to the Kiowa and Comanche. Only in Texas do many records exist and those almost exclusively deal with the tribes' raids into that country. It would not be until after the Civil War and the beginning of the Indian Wars that an interest in building a formal history of Plains people would begin to form in the United States.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge and the Establishment of the Kiowa Comanche and Apache

Reservation (1868 - 1901)

In 1867, the United States government and representatives of the Southern Plains tribes signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge,⁹ which established, among others, the KCA reservation. From this period, we see many journalistic accounts and records of major events, like the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, which report on the stature, disposition, and oratory skill of indigenous

⁸ See Appendix A, "Treaty with the Kiowa, etc., 1837," and "Treaty with the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache, 1853."

⁹ See Appendix A, "Treaty with the Kiowa and Comanche, 1867."

leaders. From these journalists we also receive several first-person accounts of the speeches given at these major events, from which we can draw conclusions about the important players and their interactions with each other and the representatives of the US government. It is from these accounts that we begin to first see an interest in the tribes of the Southern Plains, several journalists that were sent to cover the Indian Wars produced a number of articles and regular columns for their readers back East. While incredibly biased for the most part these articles provide an important primary source for the time that is not military in nature.

The most prevalent source of records of this period for the Southern Plains tribes comes from the U.S. military. Regular reports and correspondence were being sent from frontier posts in Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Kansas, and orders and assessments were being sent back from the War Department. In addition to these rather regular reports there is also a great deal of personal correspondence between army officers and their wives, friends, and family. While these are again an important primary source for the period, they give a very one sided and biased view of the Southern Plains tribes that they were tasked with fighting or containing.

A more sympathetic accounting of the Southern Plains tribes, though from an incredibly paternalistic view comes from two men who worked with the Kiowa in the 1870s, Lawrie Tatum and Thomas Battey. Tatum was a Quaker and after the establishment of Grant's Peace Policy was appointed to head up the Kiowa Agency at Ft. Sill. He spent four years at the agency, from its inception in 1869 until the trial of Satanta in 1873. Disagreeing with the release of Satanta back to the reservation, Tatum resigned his post. In 1899, a year before his death, Tatum published his account of his time among the Indians, and while he was largely sympathetic to their plight his account is one which deems them not sufficiently competent to manage their own affairs. Just as the cases of the military and journalists Tatum openly displayed his biases towards the Southern

Plains tribes.¹⁰ Battey was also a Quaker and was appointed as the schoolteacher to the Wichita Agency in Anadarko, Oklahoma in 1871. In 1874 he became field agent to the Kiowa Agency and worked closely with the Kiowa and especially Chief Kicking Bird. In 1875 upon his return to Iowa, he edited and published his letter as *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians*, a book in which he also displayed a largely paternalistic view of the Kiowa, Caddo, and other tribes he worked with.¹¹

In the years following the establishment of the KCA reservation, there remained a dearth of historians clambering to study the Indians of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes; however, there was a burgeoning interest in them from another area of study. James Mooney conducted the first anthropological studies of these peoples in the 1880s. Mooney was an anthropologist from the Smithsonian, and he conducted a great deal of research and formed an important study of Kiowa calendars, which was the way in which the Kiowa traditionally kept their histories. This became the first major scholarly study of the Kiowa and was the first that heavily involved the Kiowa themselves. Mooney worked with two calendar keepers for the tribe, Settan and Ankopaaingyadete, to create this study and this would mark the first and, for the next two decades, last time that an American scholar would work directly with these Southern Plains tribes to record their histories. Mooney's work is an incredibly important one today because it gives us not only an account of the Kiowa calendars but also of two of the men who kept them. This is one of the few detailed records in which Kiowa men were encouraged to discuss their culture and their history with an eye towards preserving it. In other words, this is the beginning of a historiography on the Southern Plains.¹²

¹⁰ Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1971).

¹¹ Thomas C. Battey, *A Quaker Among the Indians*, (Santaquin, UT: Old Pioneer Press, 2021).

¹² Mooney, *Calendar History*.

In 1901 after a challenge from Kiowa principal Chief Lone Wolf was defeated before the US Supreme Court, the US government dissolved the KCA reservation and allotted a portion of the lands for Indian use and opened the rest for white settlement. While this officially ended the reservation in SW Oklahoma, it coincides with a rising interest in, and romanticism of, the West, and the people who had lived in it before the arrival of Americans.

Early Twentieth Century Interest (1901 - WWII)

In the early twentieth century, an interest in preserving the history of the tribes located in south-west Oklahoma became greater as people began to realize that the people who had made history through the mid to late nineteenth century were beginning to die off, and their history would die with them. In 1905 S.M. Barrett, the superintendent of Lawton Public Schools, obtained permission from President Roosevelt to interview Geronimo and write an account of the famous chief's life. After a year of work, Barrett published *Geronimo's Story of his Life*.¹³ This is an interesting work, primarily because Barrett chose to not editorialize too much of Geronimo's story, presenting an uniquely Apache perspective. Geronimo's account gives a very frank view of his own life, the nineteenth century, and the end of his way of life, as the US and Mexico both encroached on the lands of his people. He is bitter when talking about the murder of his wife at the hands of Mexican soldiers and forlorn when describing the promises and lies which General Miles used to get him to agree to surrender in 1886. He had always wished to be allowed to return home after his confinement in Florida, as Miles had promised him, but after Florida and then Alabama, he and his people were sent as POWs to Ft. Sill where he would die in 1909. Barrett's account gives a voice to one of the primary antagonists of the Indian Wars in New Mexico, Arizona, and across the border in Mexico, a perspective which is overwhelmingly lost to

¹³ S.M. Barrett, Ed., *Geronimo's Story of His Life*, (New York: Duffield & Company, 1906).

us today. For this reason, it is an important work to study when examining the tribes that were confined within the KCA reservation.

On Ft. Sill the base commander became interested in publishing an official history of the post in the 1930s, and Captain Wilbur S. Nye was given the task. His official history, *Carbine and Lance* provides a very romantic view of the soldiers that fought in the Indian Wars and painted the Indians they fought as fierce and ruthless warriors, that demanded to be feared and respected.¹⁴ As much as this reads as a typical early twentieth century history, one that is big on promoting the nobility of the American and savageness of their Indian adversaries, Nye seems to have had a sympathetic stance towards the Indians of the Southern Plains. After their defeat Nye speaks of their own nobility and tries to impart some of the suffering they suffered while trying to acclimate to the white ways which were imposed upon them.

While the historiography of the Plains Indians grew during this period, it is consistently marked with a streak of paternalism and fatalism, that both seem to suggest that the indigenous peoples of North America were destined to be subjugated by European powers and that this subjugation was somehow a mostly positive proposition, as it turned them from their backwards ways and introduced them to a better way to live. These paternalistic attitudes carried over from the nineteenth century and are prevalent in nearly every work written about any indigenous peoples of the Americas up until after the Second World War.

Post War Interest (1945 - 1980s)

After the Second World War, local universities in Oklahoma and Texas began to realize that the people of the Southern Plains had a history that was worth preserving, and a flurry of research was conducted in the 1950s and 1960s. Most of this work continued to be heavily

¹⁴ Wilbur Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937).

biased against the Indians in the early years, until it became popular to romanticize the noble savage trope in the later 1950s through the 1970s. Many historians during this period, like Alice Marriott, who wrote extensively about the tribes of Oklahoma and the Southwest often utilized the work of archaeologists and indigenous story tellers who made a living from telling their tales to tourists, rather relying on the factual narratives of the people they were supposedly writing about. Most of her work does not stand up to the test of time, due to its flawed approach to addressing its subject. Many of her books, like *The Ten Grandmothers* is more a work of fiction than that of serious scholarship and firmly belongs in the category promoting the “noble savage” trope.¹⁵ During this period, the University of Oklahoma Press also becomes the de facto hub for those seeking publication in this field of study.

Interestingly, in the course of his research for *Carbine and Lance*, Wilbur Nye had recorded the stories and oral histories of many Kiowa elders and though that was not included in his official history, he did publish a collection of these interviews in the early 1960s as a book, *Bad Medicine and Good*. While his earlier work is flawed in its biased approach to the history of Ft. Sill, this later work is simple and unassuming in its form. He presents the stories told to him by the Kiowa elders nearly thirty years previously in a straightforward manner with little prefacing or editorializing. In many ways, it resembles the later and much more famous works of oral history by Studs Terkel.

The one leading voice that emerged as a truly well-tempered and honestly the best Western historian to come out of the twentieth century was Robert Utley. Initially a military historian working for the Pentagon, Utley began writing about Plains tribes as antagonists but also treated them with an even hand, not casting them as ruthless savages nor as misunderstood

¹⁵ Alice Marriot, *The Ten Grandmothers*, 8th ed. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

but noble savages. Throughout his career Utley often wrote about Indians and their place in Western and Military history. His work was very well researched and since he did not treat the subject in a paternalistic way much of his work is still relevant today. His was one of the first professional and modern takes on the Plains Indian history and he continued to produce excellent work through the 2010s.

While the era started off with a new-found interest from institutions and professional scholars, this movement quickly succumbed to the “noble savage” trope and many of these works of the mid to late fifties and sixties have weak scholarship and tend towards over romanticism rather than solid scholarship. Luckily, as this era progressed, scholars began to look more critically at their sources and at their own perceptions of indigenous peoples and quit telling sad tales of a lost and broken people and began writing actual history. By the mid to late 1970s solid scholarship was on the rise in this area of study and while the majority of historians still viewed the Southern Plains tribes through their own biases they became more aware of these biases and tried to veer away from them where possible. The historiography was still heavily biased at this point due to the overwhelmingly white voices that had recorded the histories up to this point and their sometimes blatant, and sometimes latent biases towards the Indians of the Southern Plains.

In the late 1960s and 1970s general interest in American Indians became greater with the American people, and American Indians themselves began to take a more active role in defining their own stories and their own history. Authors like Vine Deloria began writing extensively about American Indian beliefs, culture, and history. These indigenous authors gave the world first-hand accounts of what it means to be an American Indian and began to shed light on the way in which American Indians view themselves and the world. Deloria and other writers like

him, were at the center of American Indian activism that began in the late 1960s and culminated in the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the 1970s. While AIM is often thought of as militant and remembered for moments like the standoff with Federal authorities at Wounded Knee and the occupation of Alcatraz, it was originally a movement aimed at helping the modern Indian find a place in modern society. As such it was very interested in the interpretation of American Indian history, and in promoting a version of history that did not relegate the Indian to a back seat in the narrative of American history. Several works like, Deloria's *Custer Died for Your Sins*¹⁶ and Dee Brown's *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee*¹⁷ portrayed Indians as a vibrant living culture while also delving into Indian history. Books like these defy categorization, but they did have an impact on the way that both Indians and non-indigenous peoples would view American Indians. This idea that Indians are still here, and still a part of the American fabric, helped create a more realistic perception of Indians in American culture. This also began to help change the way that scholars would perceive American Indians and would help redefine the way in which they should handle subaltern subjects. As we moved out of the seventy's representation began to matter to some scholars and as postmodernism would redefine the historiography of the Western world it would leave its mark on the historiography of indigenous peoples across the continent.

Postmodernism and Rewriting the History of the West (1980s - early 2000s)

As postmodernism swept through the history scene and historians began reevaluating the way in which they interpret the past, the history of American Indians was critically reexamined. Many historians attempted to interpret the history of American Indians from their perspective. But this proved to be problematic, for starters very few historians were American Indian, and

¹⁶ Vine Deloria Jr, *Custer Died for Your Sins* (New York: MacMillan, 1969).

¹⁷ Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970).

only a rather small number of historians attempted to understand the cultural perspective through which American Indians understand the world. This lack of perspective meant that even the most well-meaning historians were still interpreting American Indian history through a Western European lens, the very same problem that had plagued the study of American Indian history since the nineteenth century. How then could historians evaluate and interpret American Indian history without utilizing the biases of Anglo American and Western cultural understanding?

In the 1980s and 1990s answering this question this created works like *Major Problems in American Indian History*, which examined the issue of cultural bias in how historians have traditionally studied American Indians, as well as other issues with prior scholarship of American Indian History.¹⁸ Examining these biases became an important step for creating a historiography that was more nuanced and even more inclusive than it had been previously. In doing so, many aspects of Indian history that had previously been rejected as un-scholarly, unreliable, and therefore unusable were reevaluated. Sources like the Kiowa calendar histories, written about by Mooney, and ledger art, began to be accepted as legitimate sources to be studied by historians, and not just as anthropological or ethnographic oddities. Oral histories like those recorded by Nye began to be seen as reliable as well. While this movement did not open the flood gates to Indian knowledge, it did begin to open a window into the way in which Indians have perceived themselves and history on the Southern Plains throughout the last 200 years.

As historians and other scholars began to reevaluate the way they studied and wrote about history, they began to adopt newer techniques that included some of these cultural and ethnographic approaches to history that had often been previously overlooked and ignored. While some scholars had utilized cultural, ethnographic, and archaeological approaches to help

¹⁸ Albert L. Hurtado, and Peter Iverson Editors, *Major Problems in American Indian History*, (Lexington, MA.: Heath and Company, 1994).

understand their subjects since the very beginning the level of involvement across these disciplines began to become greater and more varied. This led to the adoption of ethnohistory in studying American Indians. Since the early 1970s the term ethnohistory had been used in Mexican history when referring to indigenous studies that combined anthropology, history, indigenous culture, and indigenous languages. It took nearly twenty years before this strategy began to be applied in the US when studying American Indians. This new approach gave historians greater insight into the world view and culture of American Indians as an understanding of indigenous knowledge and culture was encouraged in ethnohistory.

Unfortunately, this period also saw rampant dishonesty as non-Indians would occasionally identify themselves as indigenous while spreading misinformation. This was often done in order to pad one's academic resume by automatically being an expert on American Indian cultures and customs by way of self-identified indigeneity. One of the most famous examples of this type of fraud is Ward Churchill. Churchill is a former professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of Colorado Boulder, in 2007 the university fired Churchill after having worked for them under false pretenses for seventeen years. Investigations found that despite his claims, he had no American Indian ancestry, and much of his research was called into question. His entire career and his work had been built upon a fabrication and while he is now discredited, his work circulated for nearly two decades as that of an uncontested expert in his field. While this type of scandal has rocked the academic community more than once, it has yet to implement any real counter to a person claiming indigeneity without any form of documentation.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s historians continued to make progress in reevaluating the ways in which they studied and interpreted American Indian history, this has become known as the "New Indian History." This trend in historiography placed a greater emphasis on the role

of American Indians in their own history, trying to recast the Indian not as a victim of circumstance but as an active player in the history of the Americas. Patricia Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest* published in 1987 reevaluated the role of American Indians in the United States's westward expansion.¹⁹ Another important author who emerged in the "New Indian History" was Elliot West, who also challenged the traditional status quo with his book, *The Contested Plains*, which evaluated the interplay between American Indians, traders, gold seekers, ranchers, and other settlers interacted in the frontier of the American West.²⁰ This challenge to the traditional Anglo voice that saw myth of the vanishing Indian in the United States as the necessary product of expansion and progress made many historians reevaluate the ideas of the previous century. This process as well as the increasingly apparent need for greater representation of indigenous voices in the field has led to greater diversity in those that study American Indian history over the past twenty years.

Current Trends in the Historiography on the Southern Plains (2000s - Present)

Since the turn of the twenty-first century more interest has been taken in both presenting history from a Native perspective and ensuring that the voices claiming to be American Indian are, indeed, American Indian; this movement has been called 'decolonization.' While this has helped with the integrity of some scholars, it has also exposed the fact that there is still a dearth of indigenous historians. In recent years Pekka Hämäläinen has come to prominence for his work on American Indian history. Hämäläinen is the author of monographs of the Lakota and the Comanche peoples, as well as numerous articles. He is generally well respected, and has brought a fair and balanced view, though at times he has fallen into that old trap of romanticism and he

¹⁹ Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987).

²⁰ Elliot West, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado*, (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1998.)

has been criticized for primarily working from Europe and not being familiar enough with the cultures of the people he writes about. Within the small group of Native historians Ned Blackhawk has become one of the foremost scholars in the Nation. Blackhawk has become well established as an activist for greater Native agency within the discipline of American Indian History and has written two books upon the subject himself. He belongs firmly within the New Indian History school and is a vocal critic of the way in which American Indian history has been studied and written. Unfortunately, Blackhawk and other American Indian historians still remain a minority within the field.

In the late 1990s Clyde Ellis, began studying and writing about the Kiowa in the late nineteenth century and through the twentieth century. His work uses an Ethnohistorical approach and brings an evenhanded understanding that comes from long exposure to and interest in the Kiowa culture. During this period Benjamin Kracht began to research and publish on the subject of Kiowa religion. Utilizing a combination of ethnographic studies and oral interviews Kracht has produced some of the best work on Kiowa religion culminating in 2017 with the publication of *Kiowa Belief and Ritual*.²¹

In addition to individual scholars, several tribes have become increasingly involved in the preservation of their history and culture over the past twenty years. Since the passage of the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act in 1990, tribes have been given greater authority over artifacts, grave goods, and human remains that have been held in American institutions across the land. This authority has slowly been exerted by tribes trying to reclaim pieces of their history and the agency that goes along with that control. Sadly, the rampant looting and lucrative trade in Indian artifacts in the twentieth century has made this a difficult task, but the challenge is

²¹ Benjamin Kracht, *Kiowa belief and Ritual* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2017).

one many tribes have embraced. The Navajo and Hopi tribes have had literal tons of artifacts repatriated, while the Lakota have successfully lobbied for the return of remains of children from American boarding schools. This influx of Indian history to the tribes that it rightfully belongs to has led to the creation of and expansion of many tribal museums across the country, with many of them located in Oklahoma. This is an overwhelmingly positive development for the tribes, as it allows for the artifacts to become part of an Indigenous narrative controlled by the tribe, rather than languishing in some store room in a university or museum basement.

In the future, it seems that this prevailing trend of decolonizing history will continue, with hopefully more native representation among the scholars working within the field and more involvement from the tribes themselves. I believe that more representation from among the people whose history is being studied can only be a good development. American Indian culture, and by extension history, is best understood by those that have lived within it. This background brings with it a certain authority that is often lacking in previous work and work done by primarily Caucasian and European historians. As these current trends grow and more tribes and Native historians become involved in history, a greater number of small tribal and local histories told from the perspectives of those tribes will hopefully develop. Perhaps in another twenty years viewing American Indians as a monolith will be a thing of the past, and numerous works will have delved into the particulars of individual tribes, told from those tribes own unique perspectives.

Part 1 – Sovereignty and Subjugation

Lords of the Plains

The 1830s through the 1850s were a golden age for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache people. In a loose alliance with the Cheyenne and Arapaho, they controlled much of the Southern Plains, from the Rocky Mountains to the Cross Timbers and from the Arkansas River to the Rio Grande. Within these bounds they could roam where they pleased. They were feared in Texas where they would often raid for horses, captives, and pleasure. They were on friendly terms with traders in New Mexico and Colorado. They knew of the arrival of the Five Tribes to the east of the Cross Timbers, but did not concern themselves with them much, and other than the Dragoon Expedition of 1834, the United States was little more than a rumor to them.²²

Fighting was a way of life for the Indians of the Southern Plains, and it was integral to their culture. They were constantly at war with first the Mexicans, and then the Texans in Texas, as well as the Navajo to the west, the Osage to the north-east, and the Tonkawa to the south-east.²³ While these conflicts had lasted for generations in some cases, they were not at a state of constant war. They fought skirmishes in which warriors would prove their bravery and skill in combat, and hopefully come away with ponies, trade goods, or captives. Any traveler along the Santa Fe trail would pass through their territory.

In the 1850s, the Plains Indians would encounter the U.S. Army and an increasing number of settlers. In 1850, President Millard Fillmore signed the first railroad land grant act, which would transform how westward expansion would continue. The United States decided to make its manifest destiny a reality. The Great Plains was no longer a vast dangerous ocean of prairie for settlers to cross, now it was land to be developed by the railroads in the quest to

²² Agnew, "The Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition."

²³ Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 55 - 62.

connect the United States east of the Mississippi to the territory of Oregon and newly minted state of California. With this came a change in fortunes for the Plains Indians. Soon railroad surveyors were scouting the countryside, and on their heels would be settlers. In 1854, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act creating the territories of Kansas and Nebraska to facilitate the furthering of the railroad and encourage settlement west of the Mississippi. Suddenly the Plains Indians found their eastern ranges coming under the domain of the United States, and soon conflict arose between the two powers.²⁴

The Fort Atkinson Treaty

On July 27th, 1853, a treaty was negotiated between the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes and the United States.²⁵ Thomas Fitzpatrick, a former fur trapper and Indian agent of the Upper Platte and Arkansas River Valleys, negotiated the treaty. He was well respected by the Indians and was noted for having already helped negotiate the Fort Laramie Treaty two years previously. Representing the tribes were numerous chiefs, including Shaved Head (Comanche), Dohásän (Kiowa), Satank (Kiowa), and Poor Wolf (Kiowa Apache).²⁶ The council met at Fort Atkinson in Kansas, two miles west of present-day Dodge City. The treaty guaranteed friendship and allegiance between the three tribes in perpetuity and allowed for American travel through their lands. It also allowed the US Army to establish depots and forts as needed on the tribes' lands and that the tribes would be financially recompensed for this loss of land.²⁷

²⁴ "Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854," *Milestone Documents*, The National Archives, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/kansas-nebraska-act>, May 10th, 2022.

²⁵ See Appendix A, "Treaty with the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache, 1853."

²⁶ For clarity and for ease of understanding, the commonly used form of an Indian name shall be employed. Most often this will be an English translation, such as with Black Kettle rather than his Cheyenne name, Moke-ta-ve-to. However, there are a few Indians most commonly known by an anglicism of their Indian name, such as Satank rather than either his Kiowa name, Set-ankeah, or the English translation, Sitting Bear.

²⁷ See Appendix A, "Treaty with the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache, 1853."

Even with a treaty of friendship, between 1854 and 1860, small scale skirmishes would break out between the United States and various tribes across the Plains. While much of this initial conflict was contested in Nebraska Territory between the Army and the Lakota Sioux, fighting would be seen between the Army, Texas Rangers, and the Kiowa and Comanche. In 1858, Texas Rangers attacked Comanche Chief Iron Jacket's encampment near the Antelope Hills, and Chief Buffalo Hump was attacked by the Army at his camp near present day Rush Springs.²⁸ As settlement of Kansas continued the Kiowa and Comanche began to push back against white incursion. The U.S. Army mounted an expedition in the early summer of 1860 to restore order in Kansas territory, Major Sedwick commanded the expedition. On July 10th, 1860, Lieutenant J.E.B. Stuart skirmished with a band of Kiowa near Bent's New Fort, Colorado.²⁹ On August 6th of the same year a column from the same expedition under command of Capt. S. D. Sturgis encountered a Kiowa war party near the Republican River near the Kansas / Nebraska border. Sturgis claimed to have killed twenty-nine warriors and to have driven the party off.³⁰

The Civil War

The American Civil War changed the reality of the fight for the Great Plains. Both the Union and the Confederacy courted the Indians, encouraging them to attack their foes' resources on the Plains. Over the ensuing years, the fighting would continue in the Dakota territories as well as on the Southern Plains. The Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache exerted themselves and began to raid along the settlements in Kansas, eastern Colorado, eastern New Mexico, and west Texas. They soon found that most of the soldiers who had deployed to the Plains in the 1850s had left to fight in the East. The Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa made

²⁸ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 19.

²⁹ W. Stitt Robinson ed., "The Kiowa and Comanche Campaign of 1860 as Recorded in the Personal Diary of Lt. J. E. B. Stuart," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Winter 1957): 382 - 400, 400.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

inroads in western Kansas and began pushing their raids further into Colorado. Without the protection of the US Army, many settlers were killed, captured, or fled. The situation was one which the governor of Colorado, John Evans, and Major General Samuel R. Curtis, commanding officer of the Department of Kansas (which included Colorado), were greatly concerned with. Curtis wrote to Colonel John Chivington, commander of US forces in Colorado, to raise a force of volunteers to defend the territory from Indian “depredations.”³¹

While this was occurring within the US, the Plains tribes faced a different threat. During the winter of 1861-62 a smallpox epidemic cut its way through the tribes, killing many and weakening the tribes. This helped lead to a decrease in the number of raids for a time but did not end them.³²

The Sand Creek Massacre

Among the most respected chiefs of all the Southern Plains was Black Kettle, a Cheyenne chief. Born around the turn of the nineteenth century, he was wise and gentle, he never spoke harshly nor acted rashly. He believed that the only way the Indians of the Plains could preserve their way of life and follow the buffalo was to find peace with the United States. In 1861 he was one of the principal signors of the Fort Wise Treaty.³³ Like many treaties the Fort Wise Treaty failed in its ambitions to limit the Cheyenne and Arapaho to lands south of the Arkansas. Black Kettle and his band continued to roam eastern Colorado following the buffalo, and collecting their annuities, much to the chagrin of Territorial Governor John Evans. After so much wasted work trying to move the Indians to their rough and poor reservation, Evans perceived the Indians

³¹ Charles M. Robinson, *Satanta: The Life and Death of a War Chief* (Austin, TX: State House Press, 1997), 32, 33.

³² Mooney, *Calendar History*, 177.

³³ Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier: 1846-1890* (University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 85,86.

continued presence to have sinister underpinnings. When considering the 1862 uprising in Minnesota and the continuing trouble with the Sioux, his suspicions seemed plausible.

On November 29th, 1864, a group of volunteers under the command Colonel John Chivington attacked Black Kettle's peaceful group of Cheyenne and Arapaho at Sand Creek in southeastern Colorado.³⁴ Black Kettle's camp was set up near Ft. Learned, Colorado, at the request of the Indian Agent Colley for a roll to be taken. Over his tipi even flew a U.S. flag to show that he was under the protection of the Government. Catching Black Kettle's camp by surprise, Chivington's volunteers massacred many of his people and drove the rest from their stores and tipis onto the Plains. This unprovoked attack on Black Kettle's encampment incensed the Southern tribes and reinforced the belief that the Americans were untrustworthy.

The Civil War in Indian Territory and Texas

Along the Red River and in Texas though, things were different. Texas was an enemy of the United States, and the forts in Indian territory lay abandoned, as most of those garrisons were needed for the fighting in the East. US agents encouraged the Kiowa and Comanche to raid Texas and to cause as much chaos as possible in the settlements along the Texas frontier, a task these master horsemen were well suited to. During the Civil War the Kiowa and Comanche were able to push the Texas frontier back, in some places, over 100 miles east of where they had been in 1860.³⁵ In October 1864, Little Buffalo (Comanche) led a combined force of roughly 700 Comanche and Kiowa into Texas, where they routed a troop of Texas border cavalry, and raided settlements, killing at least eleven civilians, and capturing seven women and children.³⁶ These

³⁴ Jerome A. Greene and Douglas D. Scott, *Finding Sand Creek History: Archeology, and the 1864 Massacre Site* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 27.

³⁵ Charles M. Robinson, *The Indian Trial: The Complete Story of the Warren Wagon Train Massacre and the Fall of the Kiowa Nation* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 26.

³⁶ Robinson, *Satanta*, 35.

captives were mostly taken to the Kiowa and Comanche winter camps along the Canadian river near William Bent's old abandoned trading post, known as Adobe Walls. In November 1864, an aging Dohásän, too old to go raiding, was left in charge of camps while the younger men went raiding into Texas.³⁷

In 1861 Kit Carson, the famed mountain man, resigned his post as Indian agent for the Ute and accepted a commission of colonel in the New Mexico volunteers in order to counter any Confederate or hostile Indian threat to the territory. November 1864, found Carson leading a force of around 400 troopers, and a detachment of artillery consisting of two mountain howitzers, crossing the panhandle searching for Kiowa and Comanche camps, which his Ute and Jicarilla scouts told him were wintering in the area. Early in the morning of November 25th, Carson came upon the camp of Dohásän. He lost the element of surprise when some of the young men remaining in the camp had gone out to round up their ponies and spotted his advance troops. Being warned of the attack gave the Kiowa women and children a chance to escape while the few warriors in camp slowed Carson's advance. Dohásän mounted a horse and galloped downstream to warn the main camp some three miles away. Carson took the first Kiowa camps he encountered and made his way to Adobe Walls. There he thought he would allow his men and horses to rest before pursuing the Indians further; however, Dohásän returned with a force that Carson estimated at 1,000 warriors. Outnumbered Carson withdrew to within Adobe Walls. Eventually Carson was forced to withdraw and if not for the presence of artillery to cover his retreat, may have lost his entire command.³⁸

After the Civil War the railroads pushed West again, and along with them came the US Army, and behind them, settlers. This was a large, well equipped, and well provisioned army. It

³⁷ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 36, 37.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

was an army with battle hardened commanders and troopers. It was an army that had just won one of the bloodiest conflicts this country would ever see. It was also overconfident, and rather than quickly suppressing the Indians west of the Mississippi easily, as it thought it would, it found an enemy that was highly mobile and did not fight in a way that the army was well equipped to handle initially. The Plains Indians did not fight conventional battles against the US Army, instead they used lightning raids against vulnerable targets and tried to avoid conflict with massed troops. This was an enemy who had learned much about the Army over the previous decade and had learned how to effectively fight the numerically superior, and better provisioned US Army.³⁹ As the Army learned, its tactics changed, and much to the chagrin of the Indians, it never quit advancing. Forts were established throughout the western United States, enabling the Army to quickly dispatch a troop of cavalry anywhere a hostile band of Indians would appear. Faced with an unrelenting enemy, more bands of Indians would come into the reservations and sue for peace. Eventually all of the tribes hostile to the United States would fall before its unrelenting advance. All of the tribes had been independent and sovereign in their own lands would become subjugated by the United States. Stripped of land, culture, religion, and all other tradition, these people would endure forced assimilation as the United States set out to “kill the Indian in him, and save the man.”⁴⁰

The Little Arkansas Treaty

After the Civil War this would all change. Realizing that the threat to settlers and the travelers through the Plains, the US Government established a commission to treat with the Plains tribes. This was the first time that the US Government would send a commission to

³⁹ Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 195.

⁴⁰ Richard H. Pratt, “The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,” *Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction, 1892* (Boston: Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Nov. 1st, 1892: 45-58), 46.

negotiate the creation of a reservation with the Southern Plains tribes. It would prove to be a significant move towards containing the tribes and limiting their control over the Southern Plains. In October 1865, the government commission met with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache at a site on the Little Arkansas river, near present day Wichita, Kansas.⁴¹ The government commission was made up of General William Harney, Colonel (retired) Jesse Leavenworth (who was the Indian Agent for the Southern Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche at the time), John Sanborn, William Bent (a long-time trader, rancher, and mediator who was well trusted by the Indians), Kit Carson, along with others. The chiefs representing the tribes included Black Kettle (Cheyenne), Little Raven (Arapaho), and Iron Shirt (Kiowa-Apache). The government wanted assurances that the Indians would not molest any settlers or attack any wagon trains going west. The Indians wanted reparations for Chivington's massacre of Black Kettle's people, unrestricted lands to hunt on, and to live as they wished. One of the results of the treaty was a large reservation south of the Arkansas and north of the Cimmaron to be shared with the Kiowa and Comanche. This encompassed lands in Colorado, Kansas, Indian Territory, Texas, and New Mexico. Additionally, the Indians were free to travel through the lands between the Arkansas and Platte rivers and occupy any lands found empty. The Treaty also promised the Cheyenne reparations to be paid in the form of land grants to the survivors of the Sand Creek massacre. The treaty provided for yearly rations to be paid out to the Indians for a term of forty years from the signing of the treaty. On the Indian side, the tribes agreed to allow roads and forts to be built within the bounds of the reservation; to not attack any American travelers in their lands; to confine themselves to the areas provisioned in the treaty; not to conduct raids outside of the reservation; to subject themselves to the authority of the Indian agent in any matters requiring

⁴¹ Charles S. Kappler, "Treaty with the Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, 1865," *Indian Treaties: 1778-1883*, (New York: Interland Publishing, 1972), 891.

mediation between the tribes and the US Government. The Little Arkansas Treaty was signed on October 14th, 1865 by the US commissioners and the Cheyenne, and Arapahoe, then on October 17th, by the US commissioners and the Kiowa-Apache. The Kiowa and Comanche tribes were not present at the negotiations and had no signors to the treaty. The US Government would never live up to the promises made in the treaty, nor could it guarantee the lands the commissioners had promised in Texas (much of the modern Texas panhandle). While wholly unsuccessful, mostly due to broken promises, this was the first treaty between the US and Southern Plains tribes that established a reservation.⁴²

The Little Arkansas Treaty did not stop, nor even slow conflict between the Southern Plains tribes and the Americans. American settlers would continue to build homesteads within the bounds of the reservation and the Kiowa and Comanche continued to raid into Texas. By 1867 President Andrew Johnson's administration, exasperated with the failure of the treaty to bring peace to the Plains so that westward expansion could continue without interference, requested Congress to investigate the best means of dealing with the Indians on the Great Plains. The end result was the creation of the Indian Peace Commission on July 20th, 1867, with the aim of establishing a lasting peace with "certain hostile tribes,"⁴³ and to secure railroad routes and designate lands for future Indian reservations.⁴⁴ The Commission was made up of Nathaniel G. Taylor, the acting Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri, who was the chair of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs; Samuel F. Tappan; Major General (ret.) John B. Sanborn; Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman; Major General Alfred H. Terry; General William S. Harney; and General Christopher C. Augur.

⁴² Kappler, "Treaty with the Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, 1865," *Indian Treaties*, 891.

⁴³ Douglas C. Jones, *The Treaty of Medicine Lodge* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 17.

⁴⁴ Jesse Kratz, "The Last Attempt: The Indian Peace Commission of 1867-1868," *Pieces of History*, The National Archives. Nov. 29th, 2022

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge

Roughly seventy miles west, southwest of Wichita Kansas, near present day Medicine Lodge, Kansas, lies the site where the treaty between the Southern Plains tribes, and the United States was negotiated in the fall of 1867.⁴⁵ The Indian Peace Commission was a large affair that brought with it a contingent of cavalry troopers, and a large retinue of newspaper reporters to cover the proceedings. For the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes this would prove be the most important treaty negotiated between the tribes and the American government. Representing the tribes at the negotiations were Satank (Kiowa), Satanta (Kiowa), Kicking Bird (Kiowa), Stumbling Bear (Kiowa), Ten Bears (Comanche), Silver Brooch (Comanche), Painted Lips (Comanche). Initially the Kiowa Apache were not present at the negotiations, coming several days after negotiations had been concluded, asking to be included with the Kiowa and Comanche. Their request was honored, and they agreed to forever be confederated with the Kiowa and Comanche tribes.⁴⁶

The treaty established the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache reservation. With the following boundaries:

commencing at a point where the Washita River crosses the 98th meridian, west from Greenwich; thence up the Washita River, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to a point thirty miles, by river, west of Fort Cobb, as now established; thence, due west to the north fork of Red River, provided said line strikes said river east of the one hundredth meridian of west longitude; if not, then only to said meridian-line, and thence south, on said meridian-line, to the said north fork of Red River; thence down said north fork, in the middle of the main channel thereof, from the point where it may be first intersected by the lines above described, to the main Red River; thence down said river, in the middle of the main channel thereof to its intersection with the ninety-eighth meridian of longitude west from Greenwich; thence north, on said meridian-line, to the place of beginning.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See Appendix A, "Treaty with the Kiowa and Comanche, 1867."

⁴⁶ See Appendix A, "Treaty with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache, 1867."

⁴⁷ See Appendix A, "Treaty with the Kiowa and Comanche, 1867."

This reservation was of approximately three million acres centered on the Wichita Mountains in southwest Indian Territory. This treaty affirmed the good intentions of both parties, including provisions to keep any unwanted settlers or criminals (noted as “bad men” in the original language of the treaty) from entering the reservation, and ensuring that the Indians would give up raiding. The Indians were allowed to hunt buffalo as far north as the Arkansas River, so long as buffalo remained on the plains in large enough herds to justify it. The Army could establish forts to police the reservation, and the Indians would not challenge the establishment of these forts or the ones already established. An agent for the reservation would be appointed and reside on the reservation near Fort Sill (near Lawton, Oklahoma). A school would be built, and a teacher provided. A doctor would be provided for the use of the tribes. A specialist in farming would be provided to teach the tribes agriculture, and seed, and implements would be provided. Annuities and supplies would be provided for a term of twenty years.⁴⁸

Almost immediately this treaty began to fail. The buffalo were already dramatically diminished by 1867, and whites hunted them for only their pelts, or for sport, a point ruefully made by Satanta (Kiowa) at Medicine Lodge, “These soldiers cut down my timber; they kill my buffalo; and when I see that, my heart feels like bursting; I feel sorry.”⁴⁹ The lack of buffalo led to increasingly poor hunts, which led to an increasing reliance on the US Governments annuities. At the best of times these annuities were not enough to sustain the three tribes, and they were often late, or worse, withheld in order to coerce the tribes into behaving as the commanding officer at Fort Sill and the Indian Agent wished for the Indians to behave. The annuities were

⁴⁸ See Appendix A, “Treaty with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache, 1867.”

⁴⁹ W.C. Vanderwerth, editor, *Indian Oratory: Famous Speeches by Noted Indian Chieftains* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 180.

also subject to skimming by corrupt officials, an issue that the U.S. Government had been struggling with for as long as it had been providing annuities.⁵⁰

On the Indians' side, an end to hunting and raiding was an end to their way of life, and it was one they were not willing to completely abandon. For generations, going back beyond the collective memories of the tribes, fighting was integral to their culture. Battle was how men proved themselves, and plunder is how they supplemented their hunts and accumulated their wealth. For these tribes the horse was a sign of wealth and a man's influence could be measured by two things, his leadership and his herd of ponies.⁵¹ One of the best ways to both prove one's worth and procure ponies was to raid. The success of a raid was not measured in the number of lives taken, or lost, but in the amount of goods carried away, and how a warrior comported himself in the face of the enemy. To many of the Indians, ending raiding meant resignation to cowardice and poverty, something that many could not accept. From the beginning, some elements of the tribes refused to come into the reservation and subject themselves to what they saw as humiliation. The powerful Kwahadi band of the Comanche remained on the Staked Plains and continued to live as they always had, with them was Stumbling Bear's band of the Kiowa. Even among the Indians that had come into the reservation there was a split in feeling, especially among the Kiowa. Satank, the elderly war chief and leader of the Koitsenko, the most prestigious and feared of the Kiowa war societies, chafed at being limited to the reservation. Along with him Satanta, and Lone Wolf, two of the most influential chiefs, were restless and wished to continue to raid. Opposing them was Kicking Bird, the powerful chief, and leader of the peace faction. All these men saw that their traditional way of life was coming to an end, but only Kicking Bird was willing to try to assimilate and learn how to live in the white man's world. For

⁵⁰ Jones, *The Treaty of Medicine Lodge*, 196, 197.

⁵¹ Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 97, 98.

the most part they were content to not raid settlements in Kansas, and to leave the Santa Fe trail alone, but they were not prepared to cease their raiding in Texas.⁵²

Relations with Texas

Since before Texas had the first influx of white immigrants its residents were the enemies of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache. Much of West Texas was land claimed by the tribes as hunting grounds. To the west, the Rocky Mountains and the territory of the Pueblos and Navajo bounded this territory. To the south, the Rio Grande bounded this territory, though bands of warriors seeking to raid into the lands further south often crossed this boundary. To the east, the territory of the Tonkawa and Mexican settlements bounded this territory. Any settlers or travelers crossing the plains of West Texas ran the risk of encountering tribal warriors. Mexico claimed this area as part of the state of Texas, and after its independence Texas claimed this territory. This led to a history of strained relations and a long-running war. The Texas Rangers were originally formed to fight the Comanche and patrol the western Texas frontier.⁵³ By the time of the American Civil War, the fight for West Texas was decades old and each side reviled the other.

During the Civil War, the Union had been happy to encourage the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache to raid in Texas, but at the end of hostilities, the Government viewed raids into Texas as attacks on American citizens. This was always a sticking point for the tribes, they viewed Texas as a separate entity from the United States, and the stipulations of the Medicine Lodge Treaty did not apply to Texas. Throughout the summers of 1868 to 1870 raiding into Texas continued. The Texas government quickly grew frustrated with the Federal government and continuously asked

⁵² Mooney, *Calendar History*, 187.

⁵³ Sam Houston to Colonel N. Robbins, August 2nd, 1836, *Andrew Jackson Houston Collection*, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

Sam Houston to Capt. Cherokee Ranger, September 23rd, 1836, *Andrew Jackson Houston Collection*, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

for more military support, and for permission to cross the Red River and pursue the raiders in their home territory.⁵⁴

At this time, Lieutenant General William Tecumseh Sherman was the commander of the Military Division of the Missouri, which oversaw the Army west of the Mississippi. On March 4th, 1869, Ulysses S. Grant assumed the office of President of the United States. Grant appointed Sherman as Commanding General of the United States Army and he was promoted to General. Sherman viewed the Plains Indians as an impediment to the westward advance of American railroads and settlers. However, in his early tenure as President, Grant had adopted what was known as his “Peace Policy.” This policy was one of reconciliation between the US and the Indian tribes of the American West, it was brought to Grant by the Quakers and agreed to by the President. The Quakers were also able to successfully lobby the government to not turn over the administration of the Indians to the military, which was at that time under consideration.⁵⁵ By 1871 there were cracks in the “Peace Policy” and Sherman was becoming increasingly frustrated by the Quakers and their protection of the Indians under their care. In May 1871, Sherman would travel to Texas to speak with local officials of their petitions, and to make a tour of the forts along the frontier.⁵⁶

The Warren Train Massacre

On May 16th, 1871, Sherman concluded his tour of Fort Griffin, located halfway between modern day Throckmorton and Albany, Texas, was one of the forts built in 1867 to protect the north western Texas frontier. From Ft. Griffin Sherman and his escort headed northeast towards Fort Richardson, located in present day Jacksboro, Texas, another of the frontier forts built in

⁵⁴ W.W. Newcomb, *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1989), 357, 358.

⁵⁵ Tatum, *Our Red Brothers*, 17, 22.

⁵⁶ Robinson, *The Indian Trial*, 59-63.

1867. On the night of the 16th Sherman camped at the abandoned Fort Belknap, located near modern Newcastle, Texas. It had been built to protect the frontier in 1851, but was one of the forts abandoned at the beginning of the Civil War. The following day Sherman and his escort continued west along the road to Ft. Richardson. Along the road Sherman passed several abandoned ranches and was impressed by the extent of the desolation the raiding had created. He would safely arrive later that day.⁵⁷

On the morning of May 18th, 1871, on the same road Sherman had just crossed, a mixed band of Kiowa and Comanche attacked a wagon train contracted to Captain Henry Warren. The men of the wagon train were quickly routed and seven were killed, four survived and all the survivors were wounded. If Sherman had any lingering doubts about the severity of the situation in Texas, the Warren Train Massacre resolved that. Sherman ordered Colonel MacKenzie, commander of Fort Richardson, to pursue and capture the raiders. However, they were already well on their way back towards the Red River and the reservation. On May 25th, he arrived at Ft. Sill and went to speak to the Indian Agent, Lawrie Tatum, personally. Investigating the attack, Sherman received a confession from Satanta (Kiowa) that he, and two other chiefs, had been responsible for the raid. Tatum agreed to Satanta's arrest, and Sherman ordered that he and his accomplices be turned over to the authority of Texas for trial.⁵⁸ In turning over the chiefs responsible for the raid to the Texas civil authorities Sherman hoped to appease the Texans and to make an example for the Indians. Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree, all three Kiowa chiefs within the war faction were to be put on trial. Satank attempted an escape outside of Fort Sill and was killed by the guard. The other two chiefs were transported to Texas and put on trial.

⁵⁷ Robinson, *The Indian Trial*, 59-63.

⁵⁸ William T. Sherman to Ranald S. MacKenzie, May 28th, 1871, *William T. Sherman Papers: General Correspondence, 1837-1891; 1871, Feb. 9 – Aug. 11*, William T. Sherman Papers, Library of Congress, 1871.

After a trial Satanta and Big Tree were found guilty and sentenced to death. Responding to the question of whether or not the raid was an act of war or an act of murder, Texas Governor Davis commuted the pair's death sentences to life in prison.⁵⁹ This outraged many Texans and even Sherman who fumed that "Satanta ought to have been hung, and that would have ended the trouble."⁶⁰ With the two Kiowa chiefs in prison in Texas, and Grant's "Peace Policy" in tatters, a final conflict with the Southern Tribes was on the horizon.

The Red River War

Tensions on the reservation grew between 1871 and 1874. Accusations continued to roll in from Texas, but according to Agency School Superintendent Battey, there was a gang of whites based out of Jacksboro, Texas who had been leading the raids, dressed as Indians. While this occurred along the southern boundary of the reservation, Kansas horse thieves stole into the reservation from the north. Sensing the danger pervading the atmosphere of the reservation the Quakers pushed for the release of Satanta and Big Tree. It took several months of negotiations, but on October 8th, 1873, the two chiefs were paroled and allowed to live on the reservation again, on the condition that the Kiowa would not engage in any raids into Texas.⁶¹ In May, 1874, thieves stole forty-three horses from the Cheyenne chief Little Robe.⁶² The Cheyenne raised a war party and raided into Kansas in retaliation. It was becoming obvious that the situation on the reservation was close to boiling over.

On June 27th, 1874, a medicine man Isa-tai (Comanche) led a force of roughly 700 Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho against a band of white buffalo hunters camping

⁵⁹ Robinson, *The Indian Trial*, 112.

⁶⁰ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 147.

⁶¹ Enoch Hoag to Columbus Delano, July 29th, 1873; *Record Group 48: Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior; Special File # 8, Satanta & Big Tree Kiowa Chiefs Imprisoned in Texas 1871-73*, National Archives, Washington D.C.

⁶² Robinson, *Satanta*, 184.

within the ruins of Adobe Walls. The battle was a farce, with the handful of hunters within the walls repelling the force of hostile Indians. Isa-tai lost his command over the raiders, and Quannah Parker assumed leadership. When news of the attack reached the reservation, the Army reacted. Friendly Indians were told to report to their Indian Agents to be taken onto a roll and to remain near the protection of the Agencies and the soldiers at the forts. Any Indians found to be off the reservation would be treated as hostiles.⁶³

For the next month, the hostile bands of Indians made raids into Texas, and became so bold as to attack whites living on the reservation and near Ft. Sill. Sherman wanted to move the 6th and the 10th cavalry both to the vicinity of Fort Sill and Fort Cobb to control the Indians, but this violated the terms of the treaties with the Indians, which stipulated that the reservations were to be under the control of the Department of the Interior instead of the military. Finally, in late July, President Grant capitulated and admitted that his “Peace Policy” had failed. On July 26th, 1874, the commander at Fort Sill and the Indian Agent at the Kiowa agency both received orders that the Army would assume management over the hostile Indians both off and on the reservations.⁶⁴ On July 30th, Colonel Davidson, commanding officer of Fort Sill, rode out with three companies of cavalry to the Indian camps to conduct a roll. Any Indian not included in the roll would be considered hostile. Certain chiefs were not allowed to enter the rolls and were informed that the only way they could return to the reservation would be as prisoners.

Throughout the summer the hostile Indians would raid and disappear into the Plains. The Army was frustrated and believed that the hostiles were mixing with and receiving aid from the friendlies. On August 21st, 1874, believing that there would be trouble the next day, ration day, at the Anadarko Agency, Colonel Davidson ordered four troops of the 10th cavalry to Anadarko.

⁶³ Robinson, *Satanta*, 186.

⁶⁴ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 203.

The next day, the 22nd, the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware came in to draw their rations.⁶⁵ Also present was chief Red Food's (Comanche) friendly band. When Davidson and the 10th Cavalry arrived around noon, they proceeded to Red Food's camp and demanded that he and his warriors turn themselves over as prisoners and give up their weapons. Red Food, at first did not wish to concede, but seeing himself outnumbered and out gunned, he reluctantly agreed. When he went to retrieve the guns and bring his warriors for surrender, he was also told by a young officer, Lieutenant Woodward, that they would need to surrender their bows and arrows. The bows and arrows of the warriors had never had to be surrendered before, and the Comanche bridled at the demand.⁶⁶ Red Food ran for the cover of the bushes and several troopers fired upon him. In the ensuing confusion Red Food's camp quickly emptied. It was occupied by the troopers of the 10th cavalry, and soon they were fired upon from the bushes by two bands of Kiowa from Woman's Heart and Poor Buffalo's camps that had come up to assist the Comanche after hearing the firing. The 10th cavalry and the Indians fought for a while before the cavalry was forced to retreat. The Agency store was plundered, and a Delaware farm raided. The result of the "Anadarko affair" was that several bands of Kiowa and Comanche who had been suspected of not truly being friendly were forced to leave the relative safety of the reservation, and Colonel Davidson was able to confirm his suspicions that hostile Indians were hiding among the friendlies.⁶⁷ While this incident initially chased many of the Indians away from the Agency, it also impressed many with the Army's heavy handedness. The effect of this was that many Indians began turning themselves in. By the end of September 1874, the Army had at Fort Sill nearly half of all the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache under watch.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 206.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 207.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 210.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 211.

The remaining hostile Indians were thought to have retreated to the West in former territory of theirs near the Llano Estacado. Sheridan devised a plan to bring these bands in. He ordered his commanders to abandon the idea of confronting and pursuing the armed bands of Indians, and instead focus on encircling the Indians and slowly advancing upon them, never giving them time to rest, and destroying any stores or villages that the Army came across. This plan would require four different forces to converge upon the area from different directions. Colonel Nelson Miles moving south from Camp Supply, now the town of Fort Supply, Oklahoma. Major William Price moving east from Fort Union, located 110 miles east of Santa Fe, New Mexico. Colonel MacKenzie moving north from Fort Concho, located in present day San Angelo, Texas. Colonel Davidson moving west from Fort Sill.⁶⁹

The bands of Comanche and Kiowa began their trek westward to the staked plains, and towards their goal, Palo Duro canyon. The summer had been a hard one with little rain, and many of the watering holes, and creeks were dry. Now late summer thunderstorms harassed the Indians, and they could not stop, because they were not sure how far ahead of the pursuing cavalry they were. On September 9th, 1874, the hostile Kiowa bands encountered a wagon train under the command of Captain Lyman.⁷⁰ It consisted of thirty-six wagons and promised to be a rich reward if the Indians could take it. For the next three days, a fight ensued, but it was a stalemate with neither side gaining an advantage. Though the soldiers began to run low on water, on the third day heavy storms rolled in, and under the cover of the rain the Indians withdrew. Over the next two weeks more skirmishes occurred but nothing was decisive. Finally, Colonel Davidson returned to Fort Sill having covered over 500 miles chasing the Kiowa and going as far

⁶⁹ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 211.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 215.

as the edge of the staked plains before turning towards the Red River.⁷¹ The Kiowa reached Palo Duro sometime around the 18th of September. When they arrived, they found the canyon already hosted other bands of Kiowa, Comanche, and Cheyenne. On the 26th of September Colonel MacKenzie's scouts came to Palo Duro and observed hundreds of tipis in its bottom. They returned and reported what they had seen. On the morning of the 27th, MacKenzie and his regiment arrived at the edge of the canyon. Following a narrow goat trail to the bottom MacKenzie's soldiers approached the camps unnoticed. With the element of surprise on their side, MacKenzie's force all but routed the Indians. The women and children of the camps fled up the sides of the canyon seeking the top and safety while the men tried to cover their retreat. While a great number of them escaped, they had been forced to leave behind their camps and their ponies. Below, MacKenzie ordered the camps destroyed, leaving nothing behind for any returning Indians to reclaim.⁷²

Storms set in that night and the Indians were forced to sleep on the ground in the rain. The next day the bands of Comanche, Kiowa, and Cheyenne, all decided it was in their best interests to set out in different directions. Without shelter for their women and children, and without their winter stores, many of the Indians found that the fight had been taken out of them. On the 26th of October a detachment from Fort Sill encountered a large but bedraggled force of Comanche near Elk Creek, west of the Wichita Mountains. Things were going easier now for the soldiers. Reinforcements and supplies had arrived from the east, and the weather had turned clear. Some hostile Indians continued to raise issues but slowly they all came in to Fort Sill. By the end of December only a small number of hostiles remained at large.⁷³

⁷¹ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 221-224.

⁷² *Ibid*, 215-224.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 228.

On February 26th, 1875, Kicking-Bird induced the last of the hostile Kiowa to surrender. Fort Sill now contained so many prisoners, that it had to utilize its fortified corral to hold them. From the hostile Kiowa, Comanche, and Cheyenne, seventy-four of their most prominent were selected to be imprisoned in St. Augustine, Florida. Kicking-Bird was to make the selection of who should be sent, and chose Lone-Wolf, Mamanti, and White Horse, as the chiefs that should be sent along, and then the remainder were chosen from the warriors. Satanta, who had been arrested at Fort Cobb in October of 1874 was returned to prison in Huntsville, Texas, to serve out the remainder of his life sentence. He would later commit suicide by throwing himself out a window.⁷⁴

In April of 1875, J.J. Sturms was induced to travel to the staked plains and contact the last of the free Indians, the Kwahadi Comanche led by Quanah Parker. On June 2nd, 1875 Parker led the Kwahadi to Fort Sill and presented his surrender to Colonel MacKenzie, who was at this time the commanding officer at the fort.⁷⁵ This act concluded the hostilities on the Southern Plains, and from that day forward, all the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache were subject to the United States. These peoples who had controlled a territory stretching from the Platte River south the Rio Grande, and from the Rocky Mountains east to the cross timbers had lost virtually all their territory, and along with it their sovereignty.

⁷⁴ Robinson, *Satanta*, 194.

⁷⁵ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 235.

Part 2 – A People Adept at Adaptation

Everything begins somehow, and this is how it began for the Kiowa. The Kiowa came out one by one into the world, through a hollow log. At the time there were many more than there are now, but only a few were able to come through. There was a woman whose stomach was heavy with child and while coming through the log, she became stuck in the log. After that no more of the Kiowa could come through, and that is why the Kiowa are a tribe few in number. After they emerged from the log into the world, they saw that it was good, and this made them glad. They named many things, and they named themselves Kwada, “coming out.”⁷⁶

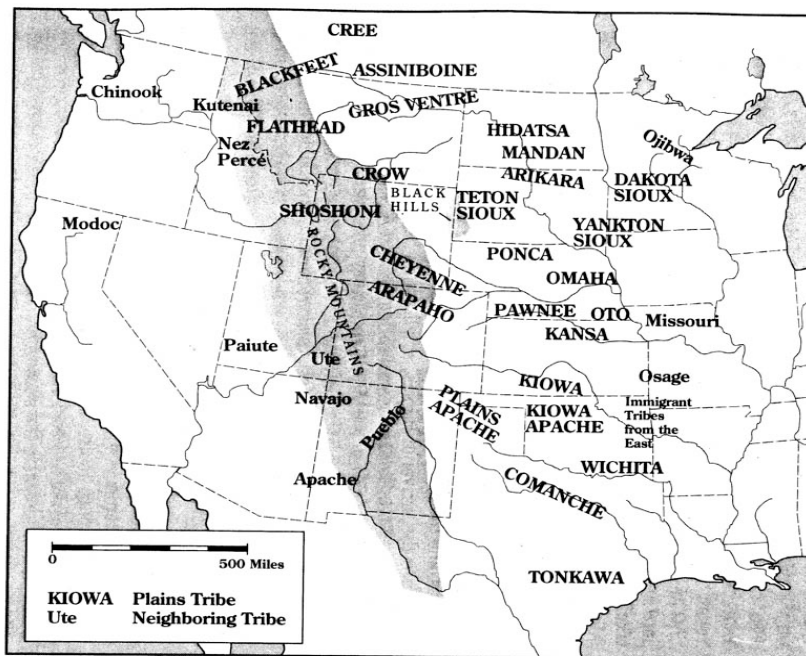
The Kiowa

The Kiowa are a Southern Plains tribe who have occupied their lands near the Wichita Mountains in Oklahoma for roughly 220 years now. Along with the Comanche, and the Kiowa-Apache, the Kiowa controlled most of western Oklahoma, southern Kansas, western Texas, and eastern New Mexico. Historically, who were the Kiowa, and how did they come to occupy this territory? After confinement on the reservation, how did reservation life alter their traditional way of living? The Kiowa descended onto the Plains sometime in the 1700s. Here they would evolve and thrive, acquiring a new culture centered on a new religion, as well as on the horse. While they and their allies would dominate much of the Southern Plains for well over half a century, the Kiowa would find themselves conquered by the US Army, confined, and their way of life shattered. Through all of this, the Kiowa would adapt to their surroundings and situation time and time again.

No one is certain of the precise origins of the Kiowa, but their oral traditions point to an ancestral homeland in the American Northwest, near Yellowstone. Linguistically, the Kiowa language is Tanoan and is distantly related to the Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa languages. This along with similarities in Kiowa mythology, such as the existence of Spider Grandmother and the War Twins, have led many anthropologists to speculate that the Kiowa were once related to the

⁷⁶ Kiowa origin legend.

Pueblo peoples of Central New Mexico.⁷⁷ Never a numerically large tribe, the Kiowa were a nomadic people, and over the course of time would travel from their historical homelands near Yellowstone to the northern Great Plains, where they would encounter Plains culture for the first time and integrate many aspects of this culture into their own. From the Northern Plains they would begin traveling south along the Great Plains and eastern Rocky Mountains until eventually they would encounter the Comanche. They established themselves in what is today the southern part of Kansas and the southeastern part of Colorado. At first the Kiowa and Comanche were enemies fighting for at least a generation before finally making peace through Mexican intermediaries in New Mexico sometime around 1790, though no exact date can be fixed.⁷⁸ Once allied with the Comanche the Kiowa moved further south, living primarily between the Arkansas and Red Rivers in present day western Oklahoma and the Texas panhandle.⁷⁹



The Kiowa would ally with not only the Comanche, but also to the north with the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, and this alliance would last until the tribes were removed to reservations in western Oklahoma. The area of

⁷⁷ Kracht, *Kiowa Belief and Ritual*, 37,38.

⁷⁸ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 162-165.

⁷⁹ This map shows the approximate location of the Plains tribes, along with their neighbors bordering on the east and west of the Plains in the mid-1800s.

influence of the allied tribes would stretch from the Platt River in Nebraska all the way south to the Rio Grande.⁸⁰

According to the oral history of the tribe, they came down from a land of “great cold and deep snows”⁸¹ near the headwaters of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, where the states of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming meet. The Kiowa give a story of a dispute between two chiefs over how the body of an antelope doe was to be split between them as the reason for the beginning of their migration away from this area. In this account, after a successful hunt conducted by the two chiefs, an argument arose over which chief would receive the udder. Unable to come to an equitable arrangement, animosity grew between the two. To stave off hostilities it was decided that one band would go in one direction and the other band would go in another. The Kiowa proper went south and east, while the other band ventured north and disappeared from knowledge. Though much of Kiowa history was oral history before American anthropologists and ethnographers began to take an interest in them and record these histories, much of what the Kiowa say about their history is substantiated by the oral histories of other tribes that remember them. The Flathead and the Nez Percé both have stories within their own oral histories that place the Kiowa near the headwaters of the Missouri in the distant past.⁸²

Beyond the mythic account, though, the true reasons for the beginning of the Kiowa migration are lost to history. As the Kiowa travelled southeast across the Yellowstone River Valley, they encountered the Crow with whom they became allied and lived to the east of for some time. When the Kiowa again began moving east towards the Plains they encountered the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Dakota, and acquired horses for the first time. By the 1700s the Kiowa

⁸⁰ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 166.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 153.

⁸² *Ibid*, 152-155.

had moved onto the Plains fully and occupied the land near the Platte River in modern day Nebraska.

Plains Culture

When the Kiowa allied with the Crow, they began to adapt to the Plains. It was from the Crow that the Kiowa obtained the Tai-me medicine and the tradition of the Sun Dance.⁸³ The adoption of this religion and the integration of the horse into their culture was the first step towards becoming a Plains tribe.

As the Kiowa came into contact with the horse and the Plains tribes, they adapted to Plains Culture, which at that time was coming into its zenith. Central to this culture was the horse, so the emergence of this culture is usually placed sometime in the late 1500s to early 1600s. The historical and archeological record supports this rough timeline, and by the 1630s it is known from Spanish accounts that the Southern Plains Indians had acquired horses both through raiding and trading.⁸⁴ By the middle of the 1750s the horse was well established on the Great Plains, and it became invariably tied to those tribes that moved to and seized the Plains. In 1682, French explorer Robert Cavelier de-LaSalle stated that the Kiowa had a great number of horses, so we know that they were established horsemen at some point in the seventeenth century.⁸⁵

During this period the Kiowa settled near the Black Hills, and for a time resided there in peace. Before long, though, they came into conflict with both the Cheyenne and the Sioux as those two tribes also came into the Black Hills. Outnumbered, and overmatched, the Kiowa removed themselves south to the North Platte River.⁸⁶

⁸³ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 155.

⁸⁴ Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 93.

⁸⁵ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 160, 161.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 162.

The French trader Pierre-Antoine Tabeau noted the Kiowa in 1803, and in 1804 Lewis and Clark noted that the Kiowa had previously been situated west of the Arikara, along the Yellowstone River.⁸⁷ Neither Tabeau nor Lewis and Clark came into direct contact with the Kiowa, and by 1800 they were residing between the Platte and Arkansas Rivers, in present day Kansas. It is thought that the impetus for this move originated due to long contested hostilities between the Kiowa and the Sioux.⁸⁸

By this time the Kiowa had made peace with the Comanche and were slowly removing themselves further south, near the Arkansas River. Peace with the Comanche, and the subsequent alliance, gave the Kiowa more land in the South to utilize, and so they began to move into present day Oklahoma and established the Wichita Mountains as their homeland. Since the time that they had first acquired horses, the Kiowa had raided south into Spanish territory, seeking captives, goods, and especially more horses. Once they were allied with the Comanche, their long tradition of raiding into Texas became ever more frequent and destructive to settlers on the Western frontier, and soon the Kiowa became known as a scourge to the Texans.⁸⁹

In the early 1800s, the Kiowa and Comanche were in a near perennial war with the Mexicans, and then later the Texans throughout western and central Texas. This war was sporadic and carried out by both sides as a guerilla war, relying heavily on lightly mounted warriors making lightning raids into enemy territory to accomplish singular goals. The Plains did not yet know the total war that would be brought to it in the late 1800s. Not only did the Kiowa and Comanche war with the Mexicans and Texans, but also with rival tribes that would encroach upon their lands. The Tonkawa, in Texas, were an enemy of both the Comanche and Kiowa, as

⁸⁷ William Clark, Oct. 1st, 1804, "Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu, University of Nebraska.

⁸⁸ Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 35.

⁸⁹ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 161.

were the Osage, in Eastern and north central Oklahoma. These conflicts often came over hunting grounds, or were raids for horses, as the horse was the most valuable commodity for the Plains tribes. The Kiowa became feared raiders in this time, raiding into Texas, raiding along the Santa Fe trail, and raiding into Southern Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah against the Utes and Navajo. In 1832 a band attacked a trade caravan along the Santa Fe trail and driving away the whites, captured many wagons and horses. Having no use for the wagons, the Kiowa looted what they could carry and took the horses. Among this loot were hundreds of silver dollars, but having no concept of coinage, the Kiowa beat them into conchos and other decorations.⁹⁰ When they encountered a band of Comanche who told them what the coins were, and that they could be used to purchase goods from traders, the Kiowa went back and secured the rest of the loot. Mexican traders later said that the Kiowa had been buying goods with American silver dollars.⁹¹ Raids like this along the Santa Fe Trail and against traders, combined with the US Government needing to provide the “Five Civilized Tribes” with new homelands meant that soon the US Army would begin moving onto the Plains to negotiate and awe the tribes that lived there.

Religion

Though each tribe interprets and expresses its beliefs differently, there is one common thread throughout Plains cultures, and that is power. This is an enigmatic force in nature that flows through the world we can see as well as that we cannot and binds all things together. In the Kiowa language this power is called *dado*.⁹² One of the primary ways of obtaining power for the Plains tribes was to seek a vision, during the vision the seeker could encounter a dream spirit which could transmit to the seeker some degree of sacred power. Since *dado* flowed through

⁹⁰ Vera-May Fredrickson ed., *A Chronicle of the Kiowa Indians (1832-1892)* (Berkeley, CA: R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, 1968), 5.

⁹¹ Agnew, “Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition,” 10.

⁹² Kracht, *Kiowa Belief and Ritual*, 58.

everything the Kiowa believed that it could be found in natural phenomenon such as winds, and storms, and it could be found within animals. This concept can still be found in modern Kiowa stories, as personification of natural phenomenon. N. Scott Momaday, in *The Way to Rainy Mountain* recounts a story in which spirits, like wild horses, inhabit tornados and because of their wild nature they are destructive and unpredictable.⁹³

To obtain power, seekers would go on quests for visions, in these visions the seeker could make contact with spirits and be directed on how to gather medicine for a bundle that would give the seeker *dado*.⁹⁴ While individuals could seek power through the construction of medicine, medicine bundles kept by select sacred medicine men protected and united the entire tribe. These tribal medicine bundles were eleven in number, ten were associated with the legendary split boy, and the eleventh was the Tai-me bundle.⁹⁵

In one of the oldest Kiowa stories, a young girl was playing one day when she followed a porcupine, this porcupine led her along, and began climbing a tree. The girl followed the porcupine into the tree and as she climbed the tree grew until its uppermost branches pierced the sky, bridging the earth and the upper world. The porcupine then revealed himself to be the son of the Sun and married the girl. Years passed and the girl had forgotten about the earth below, she bore her husband a son and was happy. Her husband told her never to pull up a pomme blanche that a buffalo had eaten the top off. One day her curiosity overcame her, and she pulled up a pomme blanche which a buffalo had grazed on. When she pulled it up exposing a hole to the world below. Suddenly she remembered her home and her lost relatives. Fastening a rope, she began to lower herself and her son to the world below. Her husband, returning from the hunt,

⁹³ N. Scott, Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1969), 48.

⁹⁴ Kracht, *Kiowa Belief and Ritual*, 138.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

could not find his wife or son, and then noticed the rope. Going to the hole he saw his wife and son far below. In his anger he threw a rock, killing his wife. The boy fell to the earth and was alone with his dead mother. Before long Spider Woman came along and adopted the boy. One day while the boy was playing he threw a gaming wheel up, and when it came down it split him in half without killing him. Now instead of one boy there were twin brothers. These brothers became legendary heroes in Kiowa mythology, fighting many monsters and overcoming many foes. Then one day, one of the brothers walked into a lake never to be seen again, and his brother turned himself into medicine, splitting himself into ten bundles and giving to the Kiowa people. In the Kiowa language this medicine is called *a dalbeahya*, or sometimes *ta'lyi-da-i*, boy medicine.⁹⁶ These bundles were entrusted to ten medicine men within the tribe and were used for the communal good of the tribe. In times of trouble the medicine men would come together and pray to the bundles for the tribe. When afflicted, a member of the tribe could seek out one of the medicine men and, in a sweat lodge, pray to the bundle for health or well-being. Unfortunately, not much is actually known about the ceremonies surrounding the ten bundles, or of the *dado* these bundles contained. Kracht attributes this to the tight-lipped nature of the keepers of these bundles with outsiders.⁹⁷

One of the most sacred rituals that the Kiowa acquired as they became a Plains culture was the sun dance. The sun dance was a celebration of life, a veneration of the sun, and a thanksgiving for what the Kiowa had. This dance would be held every summer near the solstice and would involve the entire tribe. The bands would begin gathering near Rainy Mountain in early June and would begin to prepare for the sun dance. A medicine lodge would be built and a buffalo hunt organized, in Kiowa culture the buffalo is closely associated with the sun, and a

⁹⁶ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 238, 239.

⁹⁷ Kracht, *Kiowa Belief and Ritual*, 139, 140.

buffalo skull was a necessary part of this yearly ritual. It was also at this dance that the sacred Tai-me bundle would be brought out and displayed within the medicine lodge. The Tai-me itself is a small statue, less than two feet in length and fashioned as a human figure, clad in a robe of white feathers, with a headdress consisting of a single upright feather, adorned with pendants of ermine, and strands of blue beads. The image is carved from a dark green stone and painted with images of the sun and moon upon it. It is only during the sun dance that the Tai-me would be brought out and displayed on a pole within the medicine lodge. Originally this statute was combined with two smaller ones of more simply carved stone and dressed in buckskin robes with tobacco headdresses. One of these was a figure and one a female figure.⁹⁸

While the origin of the sun dance and the Tai-me bundle lies with the Crow, the history of the Tai-me bundle possessed by the Kiowa is tied to an Arapaho. There were various Tai-me bundles throughout history, but the one that the Kiowa held at the end of the nineteenth century was brought to them by an Arapaho man, who had originally acquired the Tai-me from the Crow when he had lived among them.⁹⁹ According to Kiowa oral history, an Arapaho, whose name is lost to history, attended the Crow sun dance one year with his own people. He was destitute with no horses or other wealth of his own. Hoping to acquire good medicine through the sun dance he danced most earnestly, and this greatly impressed the Crow. He was gifted the Tai-me for his dedication, he remained with the Crow where he led many successful raids, captured many ponies, and became wealthy. Some of the Crow were jealous that an outsider had been granted such strong medicine and when the Arapaho next visited and the man departed with his own tribe some Crow conspired to steal the Tai-me away from the pole it was tied to in front of the man's tipi. When the man discovered the loss a new Tai-me was made, this bundle was carried by the

⁹⁸ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 240.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 241.

man until he eventually married into the Kiowa and his descendants became the keepers of the sacred Tai-me bundle.¹⁰⁰ By Mooney's reckoning the Kiowa would have obtained the current Tai-me bundle sometime around 1770.

The Tai-me was a powerful medicine and though it was only taken from its rawhide box during the sun dance, it would often be prayed to, and sometimes even carried into battle by its keeper.¹⁰¹ In Kiowa history, the Tai-me was captured on two different occasions. The first time by the Osage in 1833, during the Cutthroat Gap Massacre, and was returned two years later after peace was made between the two tribes. The second capture occurred in 1868 when the two smaller effigies had been taken on a raid. The war party met with a band of Ute who defeated the Kiowa, slew the keeper of the Tai-me, and took the two Tai-me, these two have not been seen since.¹⁰²

From at least 1833, the year the oldest of their calendar's began, to 1880 the Kiowa held a sun dance near Rainy Mountain. In 1880 no sun dance was held because no buffalo could be located. This would become a theme throughout the 1880s, with only a handful held during the decade. Sun dances were held in 1881, 1883, 1885, and 1887. The buffalo obtained in 1887 came from Charles Goodnight who donated the animal from his herd. In 1888 and 1889 the Kiowa were unable to stage a dance due to opposition from Indian Agent Myers.¹⁰³ In 1890, because buffalo could not be found on the reservation again, the Kiowa were reduced to using an old buffalo robe instead of the customary buffalo head. The medicine lodge was erected and the tribe was gathering for the dance despite opposition again from the new Indian agent, Adams. Wiring the Indian Commissioner in Washington D.C., Adams was ordered to stop the dance at all costs.

¹⁰⁰ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 241.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 240, 241.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 242

¹⁰³ Kracht, *Kiowa Belief and Ritual*, 263, 264.

As ordered, he requested troops from Ft. Sill to halt the dance. On July 19th, the commander at the fort sent three troops out to the medicine lodge to prevent the Kiowa from performing the sun dance. The Kiowa were initially inclined to resist the soldiers, but through the intervention of Chief Stumbling Bear bloodshed was avoided and the Kiowa peaceably returned to their homes without holding their sun dance.¹⁰⁴

Due to the position of the US Government and the Indian Commissioner Thomas Morgan, the sun dance along with the Plains culture that the Kiowa had practiced for over 100 years died. A way of life that the Kiowa had embraced passed into history and they would begin assimilating to the Anglo-American culture that they found themselves an unwilling part of. N. Scott Momaday most eloquently summarized the feelings of the Kiowa people when speaking of his grandmother, Aho, who was a young girl in 1890 and witnessed the cavalry troopers disbanding the last Kiowa sun dance, “for as long as she lived she bore a vision of deicide.”¹⁰⁵

Relationship with the Kiowa Apache

An interesting aspect of Kiowa culture and history is their association with the Kiowa Apache, or Plains Apache. These two tribes are so tightly interwoven that the Kiowa Apache told Mooney that they could remember no time in which they were not with the Kiowa. The Kiowa Apache were afforded their own place in the great Kiowa Camp Circle alongside the six Kiowa subdivisions. While the Kiowa Apache maintained their own language and identity separate of the Kiowa they did engage in the Sun Dance and with tribal politics with their chiefs sitting in council among the Kiowa chiefs.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 359.

¹⁰⁵ Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, 1969, 10.

¹⁰⁶ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 247.

LaSalle was the first European to make an observation of the Kiowa Apache. In an undated letter from either 1681 or 1682 LaSalle mentions that the Kiowa Apache, under the name “Gattacka” were living south of the Pawnee near one of the tributaries of the Mississippi River and that he considered buying some horses from them for an overland journey because they had horses in great numbers.¹⁰⁷ LaSalle makes mention of the Kiowa Apache horses likely coming from raids against the Spanish and states that they traded their horses with the Pawnee and other nearby tribes with whom they were on friendly terms. Mooney speculated that the Kiowa Apache could have easily visited the French at their fort on Peoria Lake.¹⁰⁸ The French also described the Kiowa Apache as living on the west side of the Missouri River north of the Quapaw, and in 1715 on the south bank of the Cimmaron near its junction with the Arkansas River.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly enough, neither LaSalle nor the other French sources mention the Kiowa but it can be assumed that they were living nearby considering the two tribes close ties.

The Kiowa Apache’s first official notice by the United States occurred during the Lewis and Clark expedition when they are mentioned as living near the heads of the two forks of the Cheyenne River near the Kiowa living along the North Platte. Both tribes are described as having the same affiliations and both as being avid horse traders.¹¹⁰ The close association of the two tribes would continue through nearly every treaty made with the US Government and into the reservation era when Mooney made his study of the Kiowa calendars. When the reservation was closed and parceled out the Kiowa Apache became the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma and are headquartered in Anadarko Oklahoma.

¹⁰⁷ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 248.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 250.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 251.

¹¹⁰ William Clark, Oct. 1st, 1804, “Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,” lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu, University of Nebraska.

The Cutthroat Gap Massacre

In 1833, the year the stars fell according to the Kiowa calendars, the Osage committed one of the most heinous depredations on the Kiowa.¹¹¹ While hunting buffalo the Osage had come across the trail of a band of Wichita who were also hunting buffalo. They followed this band and came into the vicinity of a large Kiowa encampment. It was late spring, and the Kiowa had come together near Rainy Mountain. A hunting party of Kiowa came across a buffalo carcass with an Osage arrow protruding from it. Knowing that the Osage had flintlock rifles which they had procured from white traders the Kiowa threw up hastily built earthen bulwarks and prepared for a fight. After several days of waiting without encountering any Osage or finding any more sign of them, the Kiowa began to let down their guard.¹¹² A large war party which was the purpose of the encampment departed to raid the Ute.¹¹³ The remaining Kiowa were primarily women, children, and the elderly. These decided to split into smaller groups for various purposes: one group went to Otter Creek near present day Mountain Park to look for wild horses; one group moved to a location roughly four miles southwest of Rainy Mountain; the last group moved southeast towards Saddle Mountain where they stayed for a few days before moving west through a gap to a glen near the head of Otter Creek. This third group was in the care of Ah-Da-Te the principal chief of the Kiowa at the time. The tipis were put up, the brass cooking kettles were set up, and the old men and young boys tended to the horses while the women went about the daily affairs of the camp. Because he believed the Osage to be long gone from the vicinity, Ah-Da-Te had set no sentries or established any kind of defense about the camp. Unbeknownst to

¹¹¹ Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 147.

¹¹² Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 4.

¹¹³ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 169.

the camp, the Osage had seen the signs of the camps passing from Saddle Mountain and had followed them.¹¹⁴

The next morning near sunrise a boy went to gather his family's ponies and spotted an Osage warrior as they were moving to the unprotected camp. The boy raised the alarm, and it was carried through the camp, groggy with sleep the camp panicked and began to run as the Osage descended upon them. Some of the Kiowa were able to escape and make their way to the camp that had been set up to look for wild horses, most though, were cut down as they were too old, too young, or too frail to run or fight. The Osage butchered the camp and when the Kiowa returned in strength, they found the brass kettles arranged in the middle of the camp and filled with the heads of those the Osage had killed.¹¹⁵ During the massacre the Osage abducted two children, a boy and a girl; one of the sacred Tai-me bundles was taken; the remaining silver dollars that the Kiowa had taken from the traders the year before were plundered. A white trader, Colonel A.P. Chouteau who was influential among the Osage and was familiar with the raid and massacre later estimated the Kiowa losses at 150 killed.¹¹⁶ The Kiowa alerted the Comanche and the Wichita, and the three tribes raised party to find the Osage, but by the time the war party arrived at the site of the massacre the Osage were nowhere to be found.¹¹⁷

In the aftermath the Kiowa found Ah-Da-Te to be responsible for the massacre and in disgrace he lost his position and influence with the tribe. In his place Dohásän became the principal chief of the Kiowa.¹¹⁸ Today the site is marked with an Oklahoma Historical Marker

¹¹⁴ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 5, 6.

¹¹⁵ According to Nye, this grisly practice was a customary sacrificial offering by the Osage to facilitate the safe passage of deceased relatives into the spirit world.

¹¹⁶ Agnew, "Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition," 19.

¹¹⁷ This is a well-known piece of Kiowa oral history and has been handed down by the Kiowa for generations. Both Mooney and Nye make note of the consistency with which the story is repeated and both cite it as accurate in their works.

¹¹⁸ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 169.

approximately two and a half miles south of Cooperon along highway 54. This is the only marker in the state to not bear the state seal, instead it has the Kiowa Tribe's seal. The reason for this being that the Oklahoma State Seal bears an Osage buffalo skin shield, and using this symbol was considered to be in poor taste for a marker commemorating a massacre committed by the Osage.

The First Dragoon Expedition

As the 1830s opened, the US Government realized that it needed to establish relations with the tribes living on the Southern Plains. There were two issues which were of paramount importance to the Government in making this decision. First was the protection of its citizens and business interests which traveled along the Santa Fe Trail, and secondly, it needed to make official contact with the tribes already living west of the cross timbers to ascertain their position on the Five Civilized Tribes relocation to a new homeland. The US Government wished to have assurances that travelers would not be molested, that the incoming Indians of the Five Tribes would be received hospitably, and that the Comanche, Kiowa, and Wichita would return any white captives. In order to accomplish this mission an expedition was sent from Ft. Gibson on October 6th, 1832. Captain Jesse Bean led this expedition and it was comprised of irregular rangers. This mission only made it as far as the eastern limits of modern Oklahoma City before turning back, never once making contact with the Kiowa, Comanche, or Wichita peoples.¹¹⁹ The following year a second expedition of the rangers was organized, this time under the command of Colonel James Many. If the previous expedition had been a failure this one would prove to be a debacle. The expedition left Ft. Gibson on May 6th, 1833, and proceeded towards the Wichita Mountains. On June 2nd, a band of Indians took one of Many's rangers, Private George Abbay.

¹¹⁹ Agnew, "Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition," 15.

The expedition pursued them into the eastern Wichita Mountains but lost track of the band. With his men hungry, exhausted, alone and befuddled in enemy territory, Many returned to Ft. Gibson.¹²⁰ The U.S Government had wanted to make a show of force to awe the Indians but all it accomplished was presenting a picture of ineptitude to those Indians residing in Western Oklahoma. As a result, the rangers were disbanded and sent home, and the war department decided on utilizing regular troops, a detachment of dragoons.¹²¹

On July 21st, 1834, the First Dragoon Expedition led by Colonel Henry Dodge became the first official contact that the United States had with the Comanche and Kiowa when it arrived at the Wichita Mountains from Ft. Gibson. The expedition had had a terrible time traversing the rough terrain of the cross timbers; had battled with illness and death, including that of their commanding officer, General Henry Leavenworth; the loss of many horses during a stampede; and were reduced to one quarter the strength they had been when they had departed Ft. Gibson on June 20th. Because the mission of the expedition was to establish relations with the Plains tribes living beyond the cross timbers, the expedition had arranged for the release of several captives held by tribes in modern Kansas and Eastern Oklahoma, these included a Wichita woman, and the Kiowa girl who had been taken the previous year by the Osage.¹²² Dodge was a canny enough commander to know that in order to successfully conclude his mission he could not count on aweing the Indians with his well-disciplined but greatly weakened dragoons. He would have to rely on diplomacy. The captive Wichita woman and Kiowa girl would be instrumental in gaining the good will of the tribes and their cooperation in the US Government's aims.

¹²⁰ Agnew, "Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition," 16.

¹²¹ Ibid, 20.

¹²² Ibid, 52-65.

Beginning on July 22nd, Dodge opened negotiations with the Wichita. Dodge outlined his position that he had been sent by the President to make peace with the Indians and to establish relations. He told them that if they came to Washington they could conclude a lasting peace and that the US Government would give them supplies and arms. Knowing that they traded with the Spanish, Dodge also promised that American traders would give them better goods at better prices than the Spanish. He then pressed the Wichita for a boy they had taken captive on a raid the previous spring, and about the fate of Abbay. He learned and was satisfied that Abbay had been taken by a tribe the Wichita called the Oway and killed. However, the Wichita had the boy and they agreed to return him, for which action Dodge had the Wichita woman given back to her people. While the prisoner exchange was successful Dodge had no authority to negotiate any terms of a treaty with the Indians, so he requested that the Wichita chiefs accompany him to Washington D.C. to meet with their counterparts in Congress and enact a treaty. To this overture the Wichita declined citing a disliking of moving beyond the cross timbers.¹²³

The next day, July 23rd, Dodge worked to broker peace between the Wichita and the Osage, with whom they were at war, and between the Osage and Cherokee who were newly arrived in Indian Territory. The Wichita and the Osage were both open to ending hostilities, and the Osage accepted the Cherokee as friends.¹²⁴

That same day the Comanche chief Ta-We-Que-Nah arrived. Dodge asked him as well about Abbay and was informed that Texas Comanches had taken Abbay and had killed him. The story was similar enough to the one he had heard the day before from the Wichita that he accepted it as truth. He promised that the US Government could protect the Comanche from their enemies like the Osage, but that there was nothing to be done about the Comanche's enemies that

¹²³ Agnew, "Dodge-Leavenworth," 69.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

lived below the Red River in Mexico. The Comanche were satisfied and Ta-We-Que-Nah offered to send his brother back with Dodge to Washington.¹²⁵

Having heard of the Kiowa girl in the party Ta-We-Que-Nah informed Dodge that the Comanche and Kiowa were confederated and that he wished to buy the girl to return her to her own people. Dodge, wanting to deliver her as a gesture of good faith to the Kiowa, declined Ta-We-Que-Nah's offer. Before the negotiations could continue an armed party of Kiowa arrived, having heard of the presence of the girl themselves, and incensed at the presence of Osage in Dodge's party. Leading the party was Dohásän himself, the principal chief of the Kiowa.¹²⁶

The Kiowa party demanded that the girl be handed over and were prepared to shed blood to free her. Dodge surprised the Kiowa by readily handing the girl over to their party. Whereupon they agreed to meet in general council with Dodge, the Comanche, the Wichita, and the representatives of the Eastern tribes traveling with Dodge's expedition.¹²⁷ At this council, Dodge promised the tribes that the United States could provide better trade goods more cheaply than the Spanish, and furthermore that they could bring cattle to help supplement the buffalo herds that had already begun to dwindle. The Comanche and Wichita were eager to make peace and agreed to send representatives with Dodge back to Washington to formalize the peace. The Kiowa, however, were only partly mollified by the return of the girl, and demanded the return of the sacred Tai-me bundle that the Osage had taken the previous year. Dodge and Osage assured the Kiowa that the Tai-me would be returned and the Kiowa also consented to send a delegation with Dodge. The Dragoon expedition set out to return to Ft. Gibson with the delegation of Southern Plains tribes in tow.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Agnew, "Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition," 76.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 78.

Once they reached Ft. Gibson, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita refused to continue east and negotiations. It was decided to hold a council to establish treaties with the tribes at Ft. Gibson. Major Francis W. Armstrong, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western Territories, presided and was joined in negotiations by Dodge, and Montfort Stokes, the former governor of North Carolina. Only the Kiowa delegation had any chiefs within it, and those were hesitant to agree to any formal terms. The council was further hampered in its designs in that it did not have the authority from Congress to formalize any treaty. Armstrong asked the tribes to meet again “when the grass next grows after the snows.”¹²⁹ With this the council broke up, with the Southern Plains delegates returning to their camps near the Wichita Mountains. Though no formal peace was made, the United States government established friendly relations with the Southern tribes at this time. Back in Washington President Jackson hailed the expedition as a success:

No event has occurred since your last session rendering necessary any movements of the Army, with the exception of the expedition of the regiment of dragoons into the territory of the wandering and predatory tribes inhabiting the western frontier and living adjacent to the Mexican boundary. These tribes have been heretofore known to us principally by their attacks upon our own citizens and upon other Indians entitled to the protection of the United States. It became necessary for the peace of the frontiers to check these habitual inroads, and I am happy to inform you that the object has been effected without the commission of any act of hostility. Colonel Dodge and the troops under his command have acted with equal firmness and humanity, and an arrangement has been made with those Indians which it is hoped will assure their permanent pacific relations with the United States and the other tribes of Indians upon that border. It is to be regretted that the prevalence of sickness in that quarter has deprived the country of a number of valuable lives, and particularly that General Leavenworth, an officer well known, and esteemed for his gallant services in the late war and for his subsequent good conduct, has fallen a victim to his zeal and exertions in the discharge of his duty.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Agnew, “Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition,” 89.

¹³⁰ James D. Richardson, ed., “Sixth Annual Message, Dec. 1st, 1834,” *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1904, Vol. 3. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/11202/11202-h/11202-h.htm>)

The friendly relations established by the expedition would provide the groundwork for the first treaties between the US government and the Kiowa, and other Southern Plains tribes in the years to follow. A situation which would remain friendly up through the early stages of the American Civil War.

Warrior Societies

The Kiowa, being a tribe in which warfare was a way of life, had regimented warrior societies to which all Kiowa men belonged. During the period before the reservation these societies held an important role within Kiowa society by providing various services to the tribe. These societies emphasized a commitment to good conduct through promoting good moral qualities such as bravery and honesty, as well as generosity and community services. Some of these services included providing for widows, orphans, and the elderly. Additionally, since the Kiowa lacked dance societies, they built the medicine lodge for the yearly Sun dance. They would ensure that the different bands would behave themselves during communal gatherings, hunts, and the annual Sundance by enforcing strict social codes of conduct and maintaining good behavior throughout the tribe. Because these martial societies were the ones responsible for the organization of dances almost all Kiowa social dances were centered on warrior rites, and recognition.¹³¹ The Kiowa maintained ten warrior societies during the nineteenth century. There were eight male societies, the Polahyop or “Rabbits,” the Aljoyigau or “Mountain Sheep,” the Chejanmau or “Horse Headdresses,” the Tokogaut or “Black Legs,” the Jaifegau or “Skunkberry,” the Koitsenko or “Real Dogs,” the Cautemgop or “Kiowa Bone Strikers,” and the Ohomogau or “Omaha.” In addition to these male societies there were two female societies, the

¹³¹ William C. Meadows, *Kiowa Military Societies: Ethnohistory and Ritual* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 3.

Xalichoyop or “Calf Old Women,” and the Setchoyop or “Bear Old Women.”¹³² It is estimated that each of the societies had between thirty and sixty members and membership sometimes included Kiowa Apache.

Boys were initiated into the “Rabbit” society when they became old enough to walk and remained a member up until they became old enough to join another society. The goal of the ‘Rabbits’ was to teach boys the skills they would need as they entered adulthood. So, while they would engage in feasts and dances, their primary function was that of education. Older men who had at least one war honor would be invited to instruct the boys in various facets of Kiowa life, and to serve as role models to the boys. By giving the “Rabbits” their own camps and teaching them self-reliance, while modeling proper adult conduct the society functioned much as the Boy Scouts do today.¹³³ The next society, the “Mountain Sheep” was the largest of all the societies and was made up of young men who were unmarried and not yet experienced warriors. In this society the young men would seek to find war honors for themselves to gain invitation to one of the more prestigious societies, and as a result the “Mountain Sheep” gained a reputation for reckless bravery as well as unreliability.¹³⁴

Beyond these first two societies, membership in the other warrior societies had to be earned through bravery on the field of battle as well as behavior within the camp and towards other Kiowa. The “Horse Headdresses” society was one in which a warrior had begun to earn a name for himself in battle and so stood out from his former peers in the “Mountain Sheep” but had not yet earned the recognition of the more preminent of warrior societies. Like the “Mountain Sheep,” membership in this society was often transitory as warriors gained reputation

¹³² Meadows, *Kiowa Military Societies*, 4.

¹³³ *Ibid*, 15.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 27.

they would be invited into one of the greater societies.¹³⁵ Initiation into both the “Black Legs,” and “Skunkberry” societies brought with it prestige and authority. The men in these two societies had earned the respect of their peers and had earned many war honors in battle. Membership in these societies was often the highest any man could obtain and so, many honors were accorded to them by tribal members, but also more service was expected of them to the tribe. Members of these societies often served as leaders of war parties and many Kiowa chiefs came from these societies.¹³⁶

The last two societies, the Koitsenko, and the “Kiowa Bone Strikers” were the two most prestigious societies. The “Kiowa Bone Strikers” were originally the most prestigious of all Kiowa societies, but due to its strict nature warriors who belonged to it were never allowed to retreat from battle once engaged. This led to the eventual extermination of the society sometime before the Kiowa began recording their history in calendars and reference to this society can only be found in the oldest of Kiowa oral traditions.¹³⁷ This society was also said to be very antisocial towards the rest of the tribe, maintained stern order, and held itself aloof. Because there was a fear that the society would again meet its demise in battle if it was revived, the Kiowa never reconstituted “Kiowa Bone Strikers.” The Koitsenko, or “Real Dogs” were during the nineteenth century and until their demise held to be the highest of the warrior societies. The members of the Koitsenko were elected to it by the membership and only those with the mightiest of reputations would be elected to join the Koitsenko. Unlike the other societies the Koitsenko were almost exclusively made up of middle-aged warriors and their battle experience was unequalled in the Kiowa tribe. There were only ten members of the Koitsenko at any one time that carried a sash,

¹³⁵ Meadows, *Kiowa Military Societies*, 34.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 49, 50, 142.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, 247.

but each sash bearer had an attendant, and there were a number of younger apprentices. Often, when the sash bearer retired his attendant would succeed him. The men who belonged to the Koitsenko carried great weight within the tribe, and often acted as council to the chiefs of the tribe. In battle they were the bravest of warriors and were expected to lead by example by always being the first into battle and the last to withdraw. The sashes were approximately ten to twelve feet in length, eight inches wide, and were on one end split in order to be worn across the bearer's torso, with a long tail gathered about their waist. In battle, if they needed to rally their warriors the sash bearer would unroll the sash and fire an arrow into the tail of it, thereby staking themselves to one place, and from here there would be no retreat for the Koitsenko. They were expected to fight in rear guard actions if the Kiowa retreated in battle and would often die fighting in such actions.¹³⁸ The Koitsenko represented the greatest commitment to service, leadership, and courage. Their bravery and selflessness in defense of the tribe has led to their near canonization within the tribe up through the present.

The last of the men's warrior societies to be formed, and the shortest lived was the Omaha Society. It was adopted from the Cheyenne in 1884. It introduced the Grass and War Dance to the Southern Plains and brought the first feathered bustles, which have since become a staple of Fancy Dance. Because of its introduction after the end of fighting in 1875, the Omaha Society served a more social function than the other societies, and served as a bridge between those pre-reservation societies, and the current Pan Indian pow-wow culture which spreads across the Plains.¹³⁹

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the two women's warrior societies would emerge as crucial components to Kiowa culture. The "Calf Old Women" and the "Bear Old

¹³⁸ Meadows, *Kiowa Military Societies*, 235-240.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 253-268.

Women” served as a form of women’s auxiliary to the men’s warrior societies. They served in this role by providing good medicine for the men before a raid or battle and performing victory and scalp dances for the warriors when they returned home. These women could also carry medicine bundles, pray for supernatural protection of the warriors, and treat the wounded. In camp they acted as cooks, looked after horses, and acted as camp administrators. They acted as philanthropic organizations by helping distribute food and goods to widows, the sick, and the elderly. In the past the role of these women’s societies played was largely overlooked but modern scholarship is paying closer attention to their contributions and recognizing them as an important, if not often misunderstood component of Kiowa military culture.¹⁴⁰

Though each of these societies had their origins in warfare they contributed to Kiowa culture as a whole. Many of the greatest Kiowa chiefs were members of these societies, as well as many of the medicine men, and keepers of the sacred medicine bundles. The warrior societies permeated all parts of Kiowa life in the nineteenth century. By policing the tribe’s band during communal hunts, dances, and other gatherings, providing leadership and instruction to the youth, and providing council to the chiefs, these societies acted as guardians to the Kiowa way of life.

Notable Chiefs

Dohásän

After the massacre at Cutthroat Gap, Dohásän became the principal chief of the Kiowa. He was a member of the Koitsenko, in council his words carried great weight and his opinions were well respected by the other chiefs and members of all the bands. He would remain the principal chief for over thirty years, until his death in 1866.

¹⁴⁰ Meadows, *Kiowa Military Societies*, 308.



¹⁴¹ His reputation was cemented when he was able to obtain the stolen Tai-me bundle and the abducted girl from the Osage through the intervention of Major Dodge during the First Dragoon Expedition. Three years after that expedition, Dohásän would meet once again with representatives from the US government at Ft. Gibson. Dohásän and Indian Commissioners A.P Choteau, and Montfort Stokes, along with other representatives of the Kiowa, the Ka-Ta-Ka, the Ta-Wa-Ka-

Ros, the Muscogee, and the Osage would sign the first treaty of peace between the United States and the Kiowa.¹⁴² This treaty established friendly relations among all the involved parties, provided that none of the parties would molest or injure anyone belonging to one of the other parties, and that if any injury were done, that the offending party would recompense those injured. A similar treaty had been concluded with the Comanche and Wichita two years previously. This was an important step for the United States in ensuring that American traders could move among the tribes without fear of being attacked.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ George Catlin, *Téh-tóot-sah (better known as Tohausen, Little Bluff), First Chief*, 1834, oil on canvas, 29 x 24 in, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr., 1985.66.62

¹⁴² See Appendix A, "Treaty with the Kiowa, etc., 1837."

¹⁴³ Agnew, "Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition," 86, 87.

Much of Dohásän's tenure as the principal chief was marked by posterity for the tribe. Though Dohásän was often conciliatory and friendly with the representatives of the United States, he opposed US encroachment of his people's territory and the ever more restrictive nature of the treaties offered by the US government. During the Civil War when both the Federal and Confederate forces were occupied elsewhere, the tribes of the Southern Plains saw an opportunity to expand their territory once again and several bands of Kiowa participated in raids against both Texas and the Union. Dohásän did not oppose these raids but took an increasingly lesser role as a warrior as he aged. Sometime during the late 1850s when meeting with the Indian agent to receive goods, the agent threatened Dohásän that if the Kiowa did not cease to raid that they would not receive anymore goods from the government, and that the U.S. Army might be used against them. After listening to the words of the agent Dohásän replied:

The white chief is a fool. He is a coward. His heart is small—not larger than a pebble stone. His men are not strong—too few to contend against my warriors. They are women. There are three chiefs—the white chief, the Spanish chief, and myself. The Spanish chief and myself are men. We do bad toward each other sometimes, stealing horses and taking scalps, but we do not get mad and act the fool. The white chief is a child, and like a child gets mad quick. 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. I have spoken. Tell the great chief what I have said.¹⁴⁴

Though he was aging Dohásän refused to be bullied by any agent of the U.S. Government and he was still a forcible personality.

In 1864 the Union sent Federal troops under the command of Colonel Kit Carson of the New Mexico Volunteers to take punitive action against the Kiowa and Comanche. On November 24th, Carson found the Kiowa and Comanche winter camp near Bent's old trading post of Adobe

¹⁴⁴ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 176.

Walls. During the attack Dohásän, though aged, mounted a horse and went to warn the rest of the tribe. He gathered a great number of warriors who rode with haste to the fight with Carson. Carson was forced to flee and a massacre was averted. During the fight Dohásän comported himself with valor and when he had a horse shot out from under him found another to continue the fight upon. It would be his last battle, but one which confirmed his reputation as the greatest of the Kiowa chiefs.¹⁴⁵

When the Civil War ended the United States sought to continue its western expansion which had, for a time, been abated by the war. To this end it needed to confirm a new peace with the Southern Tribes that would protect its commerce along the Santa Fe Trail and confine the Indians to the south of the Arkansas river. In October 1865, several treaties were signed between the Southern Tribes and representatives of the United States headed up by Colonel J.H. Leavenworth, the son of General Henry Leavenworth who thirty-one years earlier had led the First Dragoon Expedition until his death. After treating with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Apache several days earlier, this commission met with the Kiowa, and Comanche tribes along the banks of the Little Arkansas River.¹⁴⁶ At the conference Dohásän complained to the commissioners of having his own ancestral lands parceled out to his people by a foreign power, yet despite this he signed the treaty which would never be fully implemented. The next spring, Dohásän died, and the last chapter of Kiowa sovereignty and freedom came to a close.¹⁴⁷ Dohásän was the last uncontested principal chief of the Kiowa, and the last Kiowa chief to live his entire life outside of the confines of the reservation. His successors would face the struggles of forced assimilation and confinement with varying degrees of success.

¹⁴⁵ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 36, 37.

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix A, "Treaty with the Comanche and Kiowa, 1865."

¹⁴⁷ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 40.

Satank



¹⁴⁸

Satank was a prominent chief within the Kiowa, and the head of the Koitsenko. Within the tribe Satank was incredibly well respected and often considered to be only behind Dohásän in importance to the tribe. His year of birth was likely during the first decade of the nineteenth century and he maintained that he had been born near Rainy Mountain Creek.

Satank was known as a man of few words, was not known to be boastful of his actions, and was often considered taciturn. So, when he spoke his words carried a great weight. He was

the leader of the war faction of the Kiowa and in this role he played a major part in the Kiowa reputation as ruthless warriors in the mid to second half of the nineteenth century.

In the summer of 1870 while raiding into Texas, Satank's eldest and favorite son was killed. His compatriots hastily buried his body and fled back across the Red River and onto the KCA reservation. When Satank found out he immediately rode to the scene where scavengers

¹⁴⁸ William Stinson Soule, *Satank (Sitting Bear), a Kiowa Chief and Signor of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1867*, 1867, Oklahoma Historical Society.

had reduced his much-loved son to little more than bones.¹⁴⁹ Satank's companions had to tie him up to keep him from committing suicide in his angst. Once he calmed, he cleaned his son's bones, and wrapped them in a blanket. The blanket was loaded onto a horse, and it became a familiar sight to see Satank leading the horse with his son's remains on its back. When Satank would establish a camp, he would erect a teepee for his son where he would bring food and water to him. It is said that Satank never recovered from the loss.¹⁵⁰

Within Satank a need for revenge was growing. During the winter of 1871 - 72 a Texan came to Ft. Sill looking for stolen livestock. Satank was spotted riding a mule with the Texan's brand and when Lawrie Tatum told Satank that he must return the mule Satank refused, saying that the Texans had killed his son, and that he was owed at least a mule by the Texans. When confronted by the Quaker, Satank suggested that he and Tatum fight to the death, and whoever lived could have the mule. Tatum backed down and Satank kept the mule.¹⁵¹ In the spring of 1871 when the Kiowa began getting ready for the summer raiding season, several chiefs came together and concluded to conduct a large joint raid. The provisions from the US Government had been scanty over the winter and the Indians of the reservation had fallen on lean times as they transitioned from sovereign people to dependent subjects of a hostile government. The chiefs felt that a good raid could bring them many much needed provisions and livestock to enrich themselves.

In May 1871, a large war party of approximately 150 Indians, comprised mostly of Kiowa but also containing many Comanche, Kiowa Apache, and even a few Caddo, crossed the Red River into Texas. On May 18th the Warren wagon train was attacked. In the following days

¹⁴⁹ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 113.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 114.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, 119.

the Indians would be pursued by US cavalry troopers from forts in Texas, but they would not catch up to the war party before it made it back to the safety of the reservation. On May 23rd General Sherman arrived at Ft. Sill and he and Tatum waited for the chiefs to come in and draw their rations. On May 27th, the Kiowa came in to draw rations from Tatum, and in his presence Satanta claimed leadership of the raid against the wagon train.¹⁵² He also named Satank, Big Tree, Eagle Heart as accomplices before being silenced by a few words in Kiowa from Satank.¹⁵³

Tatum quickly wrote to Sherman of Satanta's confession and Sherman summoned the chiefs to the house of Colonel Grierson, the commander of Ft. Sill. There Satanta repeated his claim and was arrested. It was quickly decided that Satank and Big Tree should also be arrested and that the three would be sent to stand trial in Texas for the murders of the teamsters.

Outnumbered and outgunned, the chiefs nonetheless prepared for a fight. Old Satank, though, sat calmly and surrounded by soldiers, smoking his pipe and chastised Satanta for his bravado.¹⁵⁴ Kicking Bird tried to negotiate the release of the three chiefs because he said Sherman was only sending them to Texas to be killed. Though the night was a tense one, and there was some sporadic fighting, only one Indian was killed and one trooper wounded.

On June 4th, 1871, the three chiefs were taken out of their cell and loaded into wagons to begin their transfer to Texas. As the chiefs were led to the wagons, Satank moved towards Colonel Grierson as if he were moving to shake his hand but was held back by his two companions. Unbeknownst to the soldiers escorting the chiefs, Satank had hidden a knife in the folds of his blanket and had no intentions of traveling to Texas only to be killed or imprisoned by

¹⁵² Lawrie Tatum to William T. Sherman, May 29th, 1871, *William T. Sherman Papers: General Correspondence, 1837-1891; 1871, Feb. 9 – Aug. 11*, William T. Sherman Papers, Library of Congress, 1871.

¹⁵³ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 135,136.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 139.

the Texans.¹⁵⁵ The other two chiefs sullenly climbed into one of the wagons, but Satank stood off to the side, refusing to comply with the order. One of the lieutenants ordered four men to pick him up, and he was thrown into the other wagon. Once in the wagon, Satank complained loudly that he was being treated like a dog, and that he was a member of the Koitsenko. In Kiowa, he stated that he would not go to Texas, that there was no chance for him to return to his lands in honor, and that furthermore he did not wish to leave his son's bones. After this he began to chant:

Iha hyo oya iya o iha yaya yoyo
Aheyo uaheyo ya eya heyo e heyo
Koitsenko ana obahema haa ipai degi o ba ika
Koitsenko ana oba hemo hadamagagi o ba ika
O sun you remain forever, but we Koitsenko must die,
O earth you remain forever, but we Koitsenko must die.¹⁵⁶

Horace Jones, an interpreter riding along with the wagons warned a corporal to keep an eye on Satank because he realized that he was singing his death song.¹⁵⁷ The other Kiowa and a Tonkawa scout were all aware that Satank was planning something, but the soldiers in the escort simply thought the old man was crying and bemoaning his fate. They mocked him as they rode, imitating his song and laughing at his display. A man named Caddo George was riding alongside the wagons and Satank spoke to him, saying "Take this message to my people: Tell them I died beside the road. My bones will be found there. Tell my people to gather them up and carry them away." He sang his death song once again, and then told Caddo George, "See that tree? When I reach that tree I will be dead."¹⁵⁸ Caddo George fell back away from the wagons, and what happened next was recited by Lieutenant Thurston who was in charge of the detail transporting the chiefs:

¹⁵⁵ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 144.

¹⁵⁶ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 329.

¹⁵⁷ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 145.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Almost immediately after the song ceased I heard sounds of trouble in the front wagon, it being the one in which Satank was riding; and reigning out from the rear of the wagon containing the other two prisoners, where I was riding at the head of my company, I saw Satank seize and attempt to wrench a carbine from one of the guards inside the wagon. The struggle for possession of the weapon was over almost as quick as thought, -- ending by the soldier's elevating his heels, and tumbling backwards to the ground over the tail-gate of the wagon, striking his head. Of course, he left the carbine in the hands of the Indian, who immediately sprang the lever and attempted to throw a cartridge into the chamber; and expecting every instant to see him succeed in the attempt, and knowing if he did, somebody would be hurt, I concluded that the Indian had better die, and die right speedily. I accordingly gave the order to fire and several pieces were discharged in rapid succession. The Indian fell backwards, and, supposing he was either killed or so badly wounded as to be harmless, I gave the order to stop firing, which was immediately obeyed.

I was mistaken, however. For possessing the vitality of a grizzly bear, the Indian was no sooner down than he arose again, and again seized the carbine, and attempted to use it. I immediately gave the order to fire upon him again, and drew my own pistol and fired one shot myself. Several shots were fired in rapid succession, and the Indian fell and died in about thirty minutes. He was found to have been shot through the lungs, in the head, in the wrist of his right hand and several other places.

It appears that Satank had secreted a knife so carefully that it was not discovered when he was searched by the officer designated to receive the prisoners from the military authority at Sill. He took the knife with him into the wagon. After being placed in the wagon he succeeded in slipping his handcuffs, severely lacerating his hands in doing so. I cannot imagine where the eyes of the guard could have been while he was doing this. Having gotten rid of the handcuffs, he seized the knife and stabbed one of the guard in the leg, which act he followed immediately by seizing the carbine...¹⁵⁹

The detail left Satank propped against the tree he had named to Caddo George and ordered that his body be left. He was later retrieved by soldiers from Ft. Sill and buried at the post cemetery.

Satank was a man who belonged to another time, and he seemed to understand that. Old and unable to continue his way of life, Satank understood that in Texas his life would end. Rather than die on the terms of white men, he decided to die in a way that did not dishonor him or his people. Though he lived his last few years on the reservation, Satank died on his terms, fighting as a Koitsenko, and in this way he regained his freedom in his last fight.

¹⁵⁹ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 145, 146.

Satanta



¹⁶⁰ Satanta was one of the prominent chiefs of the second half of the nineteenth century and one of the most controversial for his role in the Warren Wagon Train massacre, and his disputed role in the Second Battle of Adobe Walls. His year and place of birth are clouded and lost, but it may be assumed that he was likely born between 1815 and 1820, and quite possibly on the Great Plains between the Arkansas and Platte rivers, the Kiowas' most common grounds in the

early 1800s.¹⁶¹ Satanta was a renowned warrior, a member of the Skunkberry Society, and a member of the war faction of the Kiowa, allying himself with Satank, Lone Wolf, and Big Tree; he was present at and a signor of the Little Arkansas and Medicine Lodge treaties. Until his incarceration and death, he was held in esteem only behind Dohásän during the latter's life and was the equal of Satank and Lone Wolf.¹⁶²

Satanta grew into adulthood during the peak of Kiowa power and was used to Plains raiding, warfare, and statesmanship. He was well regarded as one of the greatest orators of the

¹⁶⁰ William Stinson Soule, *Kiowa Chief Satanta (White Bear)*, Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹⁶¹ Robinson, *Satanta*, 1.

¹⁶² Mooney, *Calendar History*, 182.

Kiowa and indeed, even of all the Southern Plains tribes.¹⁶³ He often spoke in council and his words were well respected by those that heard him speak. He could be a braggard at times, but at others he could express a deep pathos that touched upon the state of his people, especially in the ever-changing atmosphere of the second half of the nineteenth century. At the council held at Medicine Lodge in 1867 his powers of oratory were on full display. He was selected to speak for both the Kiowa and the Comanche after Senator Henderson had spoken for the US Commission and laid out the terms offered by the United States. Satanta's response was recorded by many newspapermen who had accompanied the US delegation, it was eloquent and firm:

The Commissioners have come from afar to listen to our grievances. My heart is glad, and I shall hide no thing from you... The Kiowas and Camanches have not been fighting...

The Cheyennes are those who have been fighting with you. They did it in broad daylight, so that any could see them. If I had been fighting I would have done so also. Two years ago I made peace with General Harney, Sanborn and Colonel Leavenworth at the mouth of the Little Arkansas. That peace I have never broken...

All the chiefs of the Kiowas, Camanches and Arapahoes are here to-day. They have come to listen to the good word. We have been waiting here a long time to see you, and we are getting tired. All the land south of the Arkansas belongs to the Kiowas and Camanches, and I don't want to give away any of it. I love the land and the buffalo, and will not part with any. I want you to understand also that the Kiowas don't want to fight... I hear a good deal of fine talk from these gentlemen, but they never do what they say. I don't want any of these medicine homes built in the country; I want the papooses brought up just exactly as I am. When I make peace, it is a long and lasting one; there is no end to it. We thank you for your presents...

When I look upon you I know you are all big chiefs. While you are in the country we go to sleep happy and are not afraid. I have heard that you intend to settle us on a reservation near the mountains. I don't want to settle there. 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.

Hearken well to what I say. I have laid aside my lance, my bow and my shield, and yet I feel safe in your presence... A long time ago this land belonged to our fathers, but when I go up to the river I see a camp of soldiers, and they are cutting my wood down, or killing my buffalo. I don't like that, and when I see it my heart feels like bursting with sorrow. I have spoken...¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Robinson, *Satanta*, 70-76.

¹⁶⁴ "The Indians: Meeting of the Grand Council," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 30th, 1867.

Along with most of the other chiefs of the Kiowa and Comanche Satanta did not consider peace with the US to mean peace with Texas.¹⁶⁵ He was willing to not raid in Kansas and to allow travelers along the Santa Fe Trail to travel in peace, but giving up the yearly raids into Texas was something unthinkable to Satanta. Since the 1820s the Kiowa and Comanche had been in a constant state of warfare with Texas. Texans continually pushed into Kiowa and Comanche lands, and the two tribes considered all Texans to be trespassers who could be molested in any way they saw fit. Satanta was well known and feared in Texas, he had led many raids and had participated in dozens more. In these raids he was easily identifiable by his army bugle, an article he had acquired at some point and had taught himself to play. He learned several cavalry calls on it, and would often use it to call to his warriors or to try and to disrupt the US Cavalry during a battle. Anywhere Texans heard the bugle during the raid, they knew that Satanta was among the raiders.¹⁶⁶ In 1867 the US was only two years removed from war with Texas itself, a war in which the US Government had actively encouraged Kiowa and Comanche raiders to strike deep into Texas and to sow panic and chaos. The Kiowa and Comanche considered the Texans to be a separate people from the Americans and could not conceive of a reason why the American government would concern itself with Texas. Naturally, the raids into Texas would continue and continue they did.

By 1871 things had changed dramatically, as complaints from Texas continued to swell, General Sherman himself traveled to visit the state and the frontier posts. When Satanta led the attack on the Warren Wagon Train along the same road that Sherman himself had just travelled hours earlier, the General was incensed. Sherman must have realized that he himself could have

¹⁶⁵ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 116.

¹⁶⁶ Robinson, *Satanta*, 38.

easily died that day, and his resolve was iron, those that took a part in leading the raid would be punished. Sherman quickly rode to Ft. Sill to inquire at the Kiowa Agency and attempt to locate the culprits.¹⁶⁷

While coming in to obtain their rations from Lawrie Tatum, Satanta boldly took the credit for leading the raid on the Warren Wagon train. Satank silenced him before he could implicate too many of those who were involved, but the damage was already done, Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree were all implicated by Satanta's boast.¹⁶⁸

When Sherman was informed, he called the Kiowa to Colonel Grierson's house where he was staying. Kicking Bird and Stumbling Bear came to the house where they found Satanta on the porch with two soldiers. Satanta was already under arrest even if he did not realize it. As Sherman spoke, Kicking Bird realized that he intended for the chiefs to be drug away to Texas and attempted to intervene, using his reputation as a peace chief, he told Sherman that he would personally see to it that the Henry Warren's stolen mules were returned and that any further recompense that needed to be made would be, so long as the chiefs remained on the reservation. Sherman demurred stating, "Today is my day, and what I say will have to go; I want those three men. I am going to take them with me as prisoners to the place where they killed those boys. There they will be hung and the crime will be paid for."¹⁶⁹ Losing his temper, Kicking Bird replied, "You have asked for those men to kill them. But they are my people and I am not going to let you have them. You and I are going to die right here."¹⁷⁰ Before this confrontation between Kicking Bird and Sherman could escalate any further, shots fired in the distance brought both

¹⁶⁷ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 133.

¹⁶⁸ Lawrie Tatum to William T. Sherman, May 29th, 1871, *William T. Sherman Papers: General Correspondence, 1837-1891; 1871, Feb. 9 – Aug. 11*, William T. Sherman Papers, Library of Congress, 1871.

¹⁶⁹ Robinson, *Satanta*, 133.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 133, 134.

men to the porch. A fight had erupted between Satanta's father, Red Tipi, and soldiers guarding the parade ground as Red Tipi with a band of Kiowa attempted to bring weapons to the chiefs at Grierson's house. Big Tree appeared muddy and bedraggled after having run from a patrol of soldiers looking for him and was taken into custody. Now, instead of a handful of Kiowa chiefs firmly under his control Sherman was faced with an angry mob on the parade ground and cavalry with itchy trigger fingers guarding the chiefs. In this confusion, Kicking Bird spotted Lone Wolf on his horse and motioned for him to join himself and the other chiefs on the porch. Shamed by his rival, Lone Wolf came through the crowd bringing a carbine and a bow and arrows. The bow and arrows he gave to Stumbling Bear while the carbine he cocked and leveled at Grierson.¹⁷¹

Stumbling Bear took control at this point, telling his cousin, Kicking Bird, that he had tried his best to keep everyone out of trouble but now that bloodshed was unavoidable that he, Stumbling Bear, would strike first. He drew an arrow and aimed it at Sherman, but as he let the arrow fly, one of the Kiowa nearby struck his elbow and the shot went wild. In the momentary confusion Grierson tackled Lone Wolf and the pair fell tumbling into Kicking Bird. Sherman ordered the soldiers present to present arms to the crowd and ordered the guards covering the chiefs to lower their weapons. He then invited Kicking Bird, Lone Wolf, and Stumbling Bear to sit, promising them as one soldier to another that no harm would come to the three of them.¹⁷²

Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree were taken into custody, manacled, and led away to the guardhouse. Sherman decided that they should be sent to Texas to stand trial, and after the confrontation on the porch of Grierson's house Kicking Bird, Lone Wolf, and Stumbling Bear knew that they could not be saved in the face of the cavalry's overwhelming manpower and

¹⁷¹ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 141, 142.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

firepower. After Satank ended his own life along the dusty road from Ft. Sill Satanta and Big Tree traveled alone to Texas to face the white man's justice.¹⁷³

The trial was held in Jacksboro, Texas, in July 1871. Both Satanta and Big Tree were found guilty by an exclusively white jury and sentenced to death. Tatum, and the presiding judge, Judge Seward, as well as many in Washington, disagreed with the wisdom of executing the two prisoners. Seward wrote the governor of Texas, Edmund Davis, urging clemency. It was believed that executing the prisoners would incite the Kiowa to violence and both Tatum and Seward believed that could be avoided if the chiefs were not killed. Governor Davis agreed and on August 2nd, 1871, commuted Satanta's and Big Tree's death sentences to life in prison.¹⁷⁴

The two chiefs were sent to the penitentiary at Huntsville, where Satanta began to fall into a depression when it became obvious that his release was not something he was going to be able to effect through the power of his personality. He had tried to persuade the superintendent of the Central Superintendency in charge of Indian Affairs, Enoch Hoag, that he alone could unite the Kiowa in peace if he were released, and while the superintendent was willing to believe him, when consulted, Tatum informed him that Satanta did not have that kind of authority within the tribe.¹⁷⁵ When they had worked on a chain gang for about a month Satanta and Big Tree were taken away to meet a delegation of Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache chiefs who were traveling to Washington D.C. It had been arranged that the two incarcerated chiefs would be allowed to meet their fellows to show that the Texas government was treating them hospitably in prison. The U.S. government hoped that Satanta could use his eloquence and sway to help convince the Comanche and Kiowa to abandon their raids into Texas, and in to obtain his assistance he had

¹⁷³ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 189.

¹⁷⁴ Robinson, *The Indian Trial*, 112, 113.

¹⁷⁵ Robinson, *Satanta*, 153.

been promised his parole if the raiding ceased. Satanta tried his best to persuade his fellow chiefs:

Comanches, take pity on me. Work for me. Quit raiding on the Texans; it don't pay, it don't pan out well; it's a fraud, a delusion, a snare. I, Satanta, say so, for I am in a position to know. Abandon the war-path, give it up and listen to your white teachers...

Look to Washington and the Governor of Texas. To-day we have met under the eye of the Great Spirit. I have thrown aside my bad ways and ask you to do the same. I am a man whom you all know. No chief on the prairie has a better record than Satanta. You all know him. I want you to listen to my words and make friends with the Texans.¹⁷⁶

Satanta and Big Tree were returned to the penitentiary at Huntsville, where they were sent to work at the workshops. Big Tree took to the labor and reportedly produced fine work, but Satanta scoffed at the menial labor as beneath him and simply languished. Occasionally, when a visitor would arrive to see the infamous chief, Satanta would regale the visitor of past deeds of daring, and his former greatness. For the most part though, Satanta was becoming a shell of the man he had once been.¹⁷⁷

Through the end of 1872 and the first part of 1873, as the Army captured Comanche women and children and held them as captives against the warring bands good behavior, the Kiowa chiefs and Hoag worked to obtain Satanta and Big Tree's release.¹⁷⁸ Then in March 1873, the Secretary of the Interior wrote to Governor Davis about the possibility of the chiefs' parole. Davis was reluctant, and as events unfolded in California with the Modoc, the President and Secretary of the Interior were not in the mood to pressure Davis any longer. Superintendent Hoag continued to correspond with Governor Davis about the parole of the two chiefs. In a letter to the Secretary of the Interior written in June, Governor Davis, still reluctant to grant the two chiefs

¹⁷⁶ Robinson, *Satanta*, 162,163.

¹⁷⁷ Robinson, *The Indian Trial*, 124-126.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 133.

pardons, agreed to deliver them over to Federal authority. Furthermore, Davis acknowledged that they should not have been given up to the jurisdiction of Texas initially.¹⁷⁹ On September 4th, 1873, Satanta and Big Tree arrived at Ft. Sill where they were placed in confinement at the guard house. A month later Davis arrived and on October 6th the council began. Opening the negotiations Satanta addressed his fellow chiefs:

Lone Wolfe, Kicking Bird and all and want them to pick up a good road; to the other Comanches now raiding in Texas I want them to quit it and stay here on the reservation. This Chief (Mr Smith) has come from Washington to tell them what the Great Father wants them to do... I mean what I say. I take my Texas father by the hand and hold him tight... Whatever the white man agrees in, that is what I want my people to do. Strip these things off of me that I have worn in prison, turn me even to the Kiowas and I will live on the white man's road forever. Turn me over to my people and they will do as the white man wants them.¹⁸⁰

Over two days Governor Davis, Superintendent Hoag, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Edward Smith, Lone Wolf, and other Kiowa and Comanche chiefs negotiated. Davis was firm in his position that Satanta and Big Tree were only under the jurisdiction of Texas and that to secure their release all Kiowa and Comanche raiding must cease and all those who had participated in raids turned over to stand trial, and that each tribe must move near Ft. Sill and take up agriculture. Hoag and Smith both believed that the chiefs should be restored to their people as an act of good faith and as insurance against future raiding.¹⁸¹ The chiefs all believed that Satanta and Big Tree should be immediately released as that is what they had been led to believe by communications from the US Government and Hoag. On the 7th Red Tipi, Satanta's aged father, made a personal plea to Davis to release his son: "I am an old and poor man, and I ask that you

¹⁷⁹ Edmund Davis to Columbus Delano, June 4th, 1873; *Record Group 48: Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior; Special File # 8, Satanta & Big Tree Kiowa Chiefs Imprisoned in Texas 1871-73*, National Archives, Washington D.C.

¹⁸⁰ "Satanta's speech at the Negotiations Concerning Satanta and Big Tree, October 6, 1873." *Texas Indian Papers Volume 4, #224*, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

¹⁸¹ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 174.

take pity on me and give me my son...I love my children as well as you love yours, and I want my son.”¹⁸² The plea of the old man fell on deaf ears and Davis retired that evening determined to force his restrictive and punitive terms on the Indians. Smith spoke with Davis attempting to get him to give up Satanta and Big Tree as a sign of good faith. While in their camps, the Indians, especially Lone Wolf, felt that they had been betrayed and prepared to free their fellow chiefs by force the next day. In the morning, however, Smith announced his acquiescence to the US government’s request and paroled Satanta and Big Tree, on the condition that they be returned to Texas’ custody if they took part in any raiding.¹⁸³

Satanta was a changed man when he returned to the Kiowa Agency. No longer was he the brash and boastful war chief of old; after seeing what the white man’s justice offered to those in its grasp, he was subdued. He gave up the warpath, gave up his lance and shield, and retired. The next summer, during the Sun Dance, Satanta gave away his medicine lance to A-to-tain “White Cowbird,” signaling his retirement and his resignation as a war chief.¹⁸⁴ On June 27th, only a few days before Satanta gave up his medicine lance, the Second Battle of Adobe Walls had taken place. Reportedly an Indian had been heard to blow a charge on a bugle but there was no concrete evidence to say if this really happened. The rumor was enough that many whites believed that Satanta had taken a part in the battle. On August 5th Satanta enrolled as a friendly Indian at Ft. Sill in accord with orders from the Indian Agent to distinguish between those on the warpath and those who were abiding by the Government’s terms. On August 13th, however, he missed a roll call. He was seen at the Wichita agency when the fight of the 22nd of August broke out, and like many other Kiowa and Comanche, he fled to the Staked Plains. When Satanta came

¹⁸² Robinson, *Satanta*, 175.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, 179.

¹⁸⁴ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 338.

in to the Cheyenne Agency and asked to return to the friendly camp at Ft. Sill he was arrested, and returned to prison in Texas on Sherman's orders.¹⁸⁵ Though his presence at the Second Battle of Adobe Walls was dubious, his presence at the fight at the Wichita Agency and subsequent flight was seen as a violation of his parole terms, despite there being nothing but circumstantial evidence against him.

Satanta arrived in Huntsville on November 8th, 1874 and at first attempted to obtain his parole a second time. With the end of hostilities at the conclusion of the Red River War in the summer of 1875, there was no longer anything Satanta had to bargain with. Additionally, he no longer had any influential supporters on the reservation, Kicking-Bird had died mysteriously on May 5th, 1875, and Lone Wolf was being held as a prisoner in Florida.¹⁸⁶ Alone and largely forgotten, Satanta wasted away, becoming a mere shadow of his former self. On October 11th, 1878, after nearly four years of imprisonment and with no hope left to him, Satanta threw himself from a window in the penitentiary hospital. Within hours Satanta was dead.¹⁸⁷

Satanta's imprisonment and death was indicative of the changes the Kiowa tribe experienced in the late 1800s. Old ways would have to be allowed to die, and new ways would to be adopted. The Kiowa history had always been one of adaptation and change, and now their adaptability would be more important to their survival than ever. With the end of the Red River War and confinement to the reservation the Kiowa had no choice but to quickly adapt to a new way of life, or, like Satank and Satanta, die. Their old ways: following the buffalo, raiding, the Sun Dance, were all dying. They would have to adapt to new, white ways of living if they were to survive. Unlike when the Kiowa had acquired the Plains culture and religion, this

¹⁸⁵ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 209.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 216.

¹⁸⁷ Robinson, *Satanta*, 194.

transformation would be brought on by outside influences beyond their understanding and beyond their control. Between 1875 and 1900, in a scant twenty-five years the Kiowa would undergo a total transformation in order to survive in the white man's world.

Part 3 – Resilience in a New World

Reservation Life

Since the signing of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1867, The US Government had tried to ensure that the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache people lived on the reservation. Some influential chiefs, such as Kicking Bird, had decided that peace with the US Government was the best way to move forward, while others in the war factions of the tribes thought that continuing their traditional way of life was best. For the first several years after the signing of the Medicine Lodge Treaty there had been tension on the reservation between the peace and war factions. After the Red River War, the deaths of many of the prominent war chiefs, and the defeat of the war faction, the tribes were effectively confined to the reservation, and they began the process of adapting to this new reality. Life on the reservation was very different from the nomadic life these Indians had previously known. The reservations had largely Quaker governance due to their interceding with President Grant and a general view in the east that the Quakers were particularly well suited to dealing with the Indian problem. To counter the Quaker Indian agents however, Grant reserved some agencies to be run by US Army officers.¹⁸⁸ As their world continued to shrink around them, the Kiowa and their confederates would have to quickly adapt to the American way of life.

Agriculture

One of the prime objectives of the US Government was to get the Indians to adopt farming as their main means of subsistence. The prevailing thought was that if they learned to farm and would give up hunting, they would be less likely to engage in raids. To encourage the tribal members to become farmers, one method employed used the Dawes Severalty Act, which

¹⁸⁸ David Sim, “The Peace Policy of Ulysses S. Grant.” *American Nineteenth Century History* Vol. 9, no. 3 (September 2008): 241-268, 246.

broke the reservation up into 160-acre allotments for each adult male. Land ownership was unknown to the Southern Plains tribes up until this point and the U.S. Government hoped that by teaching the Indians about land ownership it would encourage them to put down roots on their property and farm. This was of the utmost interest to the Department of the Interior and is often referenced in the reports that went back and forth between Washington and the reservation. By 1908, crop yields were being annually recorded and farmers from the Department of the Interior were teaching Indians the most advanced farming techniques of the day.¹⁸⁹

As early as 1874 the Apache chiefs, seeking peace within their tribe, worked their own fields to set an example to their people. Among the Kiowa, however, even those disposed towards friendly relations with the whites advocated farming as an alternative to hunting. Kicking Bird, though a great peace chief, who believed that the Kiowa must acclimate to the white way of life, was not a farmer, and refused to become one. Stumbling Bear, Lone Wolf, and many others similarly eschewed the practice of farming deeming it beneath their dignity to dig and toil in the soil. It would not be until children who were educated in industrial schools came back to the reservation and took up farming for themselves in the mid-1880s that the Kiowa would embrace farming.¹⁹⁰

While few Kiowa and Comanche took well to farming, cattle ranching was something they could better understand, and the land of the KCA reservation was well suited to raising cattle.¹⁹¹ Quannah Parker became a very prosperous cattleman, and was well respected by many white ranchers with whom he became friendly with after settling on the reservation and

¹⁸⁹ “Section X -Kiowa Indian Improvement (1877),” *Kiowa Agency Records (1868-1933)*. Oklahoma Historical Society.

¹⁹⁰ Henrietta Tongkeamha and Raymond Tongkemha, *Stories From Saddle Mountain: Autobiographies of a Kiowa Family*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), 2.

¹⁹¹ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 258.

establishing his own ranch. While none were as successful as Parker, many Kiowa took to ranching and established small ranches where they would often raise thirty to fifty head of cattle. Working cattle allowed the Kiowa to retain much of their horsemanship skills, and from horseback they were able to remain lordly in their disposition. Additionally in 1885 the Comanche began to lease some of their excess lands to cattlemen from Texas for the fattening of their herds.¹⁹² The next year the Kiowa and Apache agreed to lease their lands as well. By 1892 a formal lease was made renting the land south of the Kiowa Agency to Texas cattlemen for approximately \$100,000 a year. This money combined with other income primarily went to building houses and buying better stock. This led to many of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache to having houses built from this money by the turn of the century.¹⁹³ By finding an agricultural enterprise that the Kiowa were suited for, ranching, and leasing excess pastureland the tribe had begun to transform into an agrarian based economy, as the US government had wanted.

Army Service and Police

Through their experience as warriors and horsemen many within the US Army felt that enlisting an Indian contingent for each cavalry and infantry regiment serving in the west was appropriate, and in 1891 the Secretary of War authorized such contingents. On the KCA reservation Troop L of the 7th cavalry under the command of Lieutenant H.L. Scott was formed. Of this troop two thirds were Kiowa with the rest being made up of Comanche and Apache. Though this experiment produced unsatisfactory results for the US Army and was discontinued within a short period, the Kiowa troop was the longest serving and maintained the best record of any of the Indian troops in the Army at that time.¹⁹⁴ The War Department attributed this success

¹⁹² Mooney, *Calendar History*, 219.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, 224.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 223.

to Scott's understanding of the Kiowa temperament, he was acquainted with the Kiowa language as well as their sign language. The Kiowa thought highly of Scott and largely accepted his command. The one way in which the Kiowa did not do well in the cavalry, was that they still believed in the necessity of war council with each warrior getting his say.¹⁹⁵

While using Indians as regular Army troopers and infantry did not work, one area in which many Indians from the Kiowa excelled at was in police work. In 1878 Congress authorized the organization of Indian Police to be used on the reservations. On the KCA reservation Agent Hunt organized this police force. The chiefs were given the authority to arrest anyone committing a crime on the reservation and the police assisted the chiefs in apprehending those who committed crimes.¹⁹⁶ The author's own 3rd great grandfather, Tsate Ke, is listed in both the 1890 Dawes roll, as well as the 1900 census as a policeman. In his memoir, *The Names*, N. Scott Momaday refers to his own grandfather, Mammedaty and his habit of carrying a revolver from his time as a tribal policeman.¹⁹⁷ Perhaps it was due to the structured warrior societies, and their role in maintaining order in the tribe that made the Kiowa well suited to police work. Whatever the reason though, records from the Agency indicate that the bulk of the police force was made up of Kiowa with only a handful of Comanche and Apache becoming police.¹⁹⁸ Though incorporating Indian units into the US Army in the 1890s did not work, beginning in the First World War and continuing through the present Kiowa have served in the US military with many becoming highly decorated veterans. Pascal Poolaw, the US Army's highest decorated Indian soldier, was Kiowa. During his service in the Second World War, Korea, and Vietnam he earned the Distinguished Service Cross, the Silver Star four times, the Bronze

¹⁹⁵ Mooney, *Calendar History*, 224.

¹⁹⁶ Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 273.

¹⁹⁷ N. Scott Momaday, *The Names* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 33.

¹⁹⁸ "Indian Improvement (1870-1926)," *Kiowa Agency Records (1868-1933)*, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Star five times, and the Purple Heart three times. He was killed in action on November 7th, 1967 while attempting to pull an injured comrade to safety.¹⁹⁹

Missions

One of the prime motivations for the Quakers to get involved with the reservation system was to try to gain converts. They viewed the native religions of the Indians as a form of devilry and found the Kiowa's Sun Dance to be especially pernicious. Christianization programs were very popular both with Americans, as well as politicians and generals who felt that the Indians would be less difficult to deal with if they converted to Christianity and began assimilating other white ways of life.²⁰⁰

The tribes of the Southern Plains, especially the Kiowa, had traditionally been known to partake in the yearly Sun Dance every summer around the end of June or beginning of July. The Kiowa venerated the Tai Me bundle which was only taken out once a year during the summer Sun Dance. The Kiowa calendars, and especially Black Bear's calendar often reference the Sun Dance as the most important event for each summer recording. The buffalo was a central figure in the annual Sun Dance and as the number of buffalo dwindled so did the Sun Dance, some years, when no buffalo could be found for the making of the medicine lodge, the Sun Dance would have to be skipped altogether.²⁰¹

Both the Quakers and the US Government frowned upon the practicing of religious ceremonies that they considered to be heathen, but initially the belief was that if the Indians saw that if teachers and missionaries worked with the Indians that they would see that Christianity was superior on their own and freely convert. This did not happen though, and the Sun Dance

¹⁹⁹ Meadows, *Kiowa Military Societies*, 74.

²⁰⁰ Sim, "The Peace Policy of Grant," 252.

²⁰¹ Michelle Stokely, "Black Bear's Calendar: Picturing Southern Plains History." *Great Plains Quarterly* Vol. 34, no. 4 (Fall 2014): 341-363, 356.

continued through the 1870s and 1880s. Taime had been with the Kiowa for a very long time and giving up it and the Sun Dance was too much to ask, as both were central tenets of the Kiowa culture. Throughout the 1880s it became harder for the Kiowa to find a buffalo bull to sacrifice for the Sun Dance, so the annual ceremony was held sporadically. As the numbers of buffalo dwindled perhaps so would the Sun Dance. However, the Kiowa were persistent in their beliefs and in 1887 asked Agent Hunt permission to travel to the Goodnight ranch to obtain a buffalo for the dance. Hunt agreed on condition that this would be the last dance and would not be “of a barbarous nature.”²⁰² Three years later though, in 1890, the Kiowa gathered once more to hold their sacred ceremony. Hunt ordered them not to hold the ceremony, but they persisted, and upon consulting with Hunt’s superiors in Washington and the military commander at Ft. Sill, soldiers were sent to stop the Kiowa, by force if necessary. Stumbling Bear and Quannah Parker successfully interceded with the Kiowa before a conflict could erupt and from that moment on practicing any Native religion was deemed illegal and the practitioners could be imprisoned. Native religion was seen as a stumbling block to assimilation by the Quakers and the US Government, so it had to end.²⁰³ The Kiowa reluctantly turned away from Taime.

Throughout the 1880s missionaries had visited the reservation off and on, but not consistently. In 1879 Agent Hunt reported that there were no permanent missionaries on the reservation but that several had visited during the preceding year three had occasionally visited the Kiowa and Comanche.²⁰⁴ By 1883 the Reverend J. B. Wicks, who had been visiting the reservation for two years, permanently moved Anadarko and established a church there. Though

²⁰² Mooney, *Calendar History*, 355.

²⁰³ Steve Talbot, “Spiritual Genocide: The Denial of American Indian Religious Freedom, from Conquest to 1934,” *Wicazo Sa Review* Vol. 21, no. 2 (Autumn, 2006): 7-39, 13.

²⁰⁴ Benjamin Kracht, *Religious Revitalization Among the Kiowas* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 33.

Wicks primarily served the Wichita and Caddo he would also minister to the Kiowa and Comanche. In 1885 illness forced him to retire, and the reservation would be without a resident clergyman until 1887. In 1887, spurred by the allotment of the reservation under the Dawes Severalty Act, several denominations placed bids to open missions on the KCA reservation. Within a year three missionaries had established themselves on the reservation, and by 1895 there were a total of nine missions that included churches and schools.²⁰⁵

Children were a prime target for the missionaries because their views and beliefs were so much more malleable than their adult relations. This made schools an important part of Christian conversion from the outset of the KCA reservation. In addition to teaching children to read and write, and develop a marketable skill, these schools promoted Christianity. The first of the schools in the Kiowa agency was run by a Quaker teacher, Thomas Battey, who came to the agency on October 1st, 1871, and was very popular among the Kiowa for the nearly four years that he worked on the reservation.²⁰⁶ After Battey left, the Kiowa school fell into disrepair and attendance fell off. The Caddo school near Anadarko remained in constant use but the education and conversion of Kiowa children was left in the hands of the agent. Each of the Indian Agents in charge of the Kiowa Agency sent children away to boarding schools to continue their education and conversion.

To better facilitate assimilation, it was a common practice to take children away from their parents and send them to be educated in Indian schools. After Battey left the Kiowa agency, it became a common practice to send Kiowa and Comanche children to schools located around the country. On the KCA Reservation there were two government schools built in 1888, the Kiowa School built near the Kiowa Agency just south of Ft. Sill, and the Wichita Industrial

²⁰⁵ Kracht, *Religious Revitalization*, 39.

²⁰⁶ Battey, *A Quaker Among the Indians*, 19.

Boarding School which was built north of the Medicine Bluffs. These two schools could only accommodate 200 of the 550 school age children on the agency, so the Government planned for a Comanche school at Ft. Sill and a second Kiowa school at Rainy Mountain.²⁰⁷ Until then the practice of sending children to schools in other parts of the country continued. By 1890 the US Government was spending over \$2,500,000 annually on 148 boarding schools across the country. In these schools forced assimilation was practiced with the children being given new names and forced to only dress and act as whites and forced to only speak English.²⁰⁸ Not only were the children forced to assimilate but at the Carlisle School, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the practice of “outing” became popular. In outing a Native student would be placed with a local white family for breaks rather than be allowed to return home. This simply reinforced the assimilation process. By the time many children had completed their education away from their families; they could no longer speak their language, were ignorant of their own culture, and behaved and dressed as the whites did. The boarding school system was the single most effective means of stripping Indian culture from Native children in the United States and Canada. The Kiowa children that were sent to these schools returned greatly changed, and often returned as missionaries themselves.²⁰⁹

In 1887 as the missions began moving onto the reservation, the building of mission schools began in earnest. In addition to the school at Anadarko, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian missions and schools sprouted up across the reservation. By 1890 the US Government had established residential schools on the KCA Reservation. At each of these schools Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache children were enrolled. By this time the tribes had

²⁰⁷ Kracht, *Religious Revitalization*, 67.

²⁰⁸ Talbot, “Spiritual Genocide,” 15.

²⁰⁹ Kracht, *Religious Revitalization*, 43.

concluded that they must all adopt the white man's customs and ways to secure stable and prosperous futures for their people. To help matters along tribal leaders actively encouraged the building of schools so that their children could learn agriculture, arithmetic, and how to read and write.

Initially the Kiowa living on the western and northern side of the Wichita Mountains were forced to send their children to Ft. Sill or Anadarko to attend one of the schools there. These schools were already unable to house and educate the children sent to them and they were far out of the way for most of the Kiowa tribe. The tribe petitioned the U.S. Government for one nearer to their own homes and in 1891 the Indian Office ordered a survey of suitable sites near to present day Mountain View. The site selected would become the Rainy Mountain School. The school had a rocky start, taking a full two years before officially opening its doors on September 5th, 1893.²¹⁰ Once open the children enrolled at the Rainy Mountain School underwent largely the same experience that children at the other schools on the KCA reservation underwent. They were initially exposed to formal schooling in the form of kindergarten before moving on to the traditional three 'Rs' of reading, writing, and arithmetic.²¹¹ Once the children became a little older both the boys and the girls received a practical education, one aimed at maintaining a household after the white custom. Boy would learn agriculture, how to keep books, and all the other necessary skills for operating a successful farm. Girls would learn to sew, do laundry, cook, and how to raise a family.²¹² These skills were seen as essential to co-existing with whites, and parents actively encouraged their children to learn them. Within a decade of opening its doors the Rainy Mountain School boasted a student body of over 130 students.²¹³

²¹⁰ Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 55-59.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, 74.

²¹² *Ibid*, 118-120.

²¹³ *Ibid*, 59.

Not all the experiences at the schools on the KCA reservation were positive. Rigid military style discipline was maintained at the schools, students were required to wear uniforms, students were segregated by age and sex, the rules were plentiful and order was to be kept at all times. Students were discouraged from using the Kiowa language at Rainy Mountain but this was an unsuccessful strategy as children would often carry on conversations in Kiowa behind the backs of the school staff despite the very real threat of punishment. Many children did not like the harsh discipline and would runaway to their families. Runaway students were subjected to several forms of punishment including whippings, being forced to wear a ball and chain, paddlings, kneeling on 2x4s for extended periods, etc.²¹⁴ Disease was epidemic among the students at the KCA schools with tuberculosis and trachoma affecting huge numbers of students. When faced with these outbreaks the schools, which were always understaffed, were often overwhelmed. At Rainy Mountain alone, 163 of the 168 students were listed as infected with trachoma in 1916.²¹⁵ Despite these hardships, though, the Kiowa remained strong supporters of education and of adapting to the prevalent white culture. It was a change viewed not so much as assimilation, but as a means of survival. The Kiowa and Comanche were not interested in the U.S. Government's ideas of "wholesale cultural change,"²¹⁶ but they were interested in gaining as much of an advantage in the white world as they could, and they saw education as the key to that.

The schools built during this period would outlast the reservation, but nearly each one would close its doors over time. Despite protests from the Kiowa the Rainy Mountain Boarding School closed in 1920 due to budget cuts. In 1980 the Ft. Sill Indian School closed its doors for

²¹⁴ Ellis, *To Change Them Forever*, 106, 107.

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, 167.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, 96.

the last time. Today, only the Riverside Indian School in Anadarko remains open and is only one of four such Government institutions in the United States to survive into the twenty-first century.

In 1896 while establishing the Saddle Mountain mission, Baptist missionary Isabel Crawford encountered Lucious Aitson (Killed Him on the Sly), his wife, and children. Lucious and his wife, Mabel, had both been sent to the Carlisle School after the departure of Battey. They met there, married, and returned to the reservation where they were a part of the Saddle Mountain community. Aitson became instrumental in helping Crawford, first by providing her with a place to live, and then helping her missionary work and assistance in building a church on his property. By 1903 the Saddle Mountain church boasted sixty-four members.²¹⁷ Crawford's success was replicated across the reservation and by the close of the nineteenth century the majority of Kiowa and Comanche had converted to Christianity.

Through conversion of many Kiowa and Comanche to Christianity, a strong streak of Native ideas remained and emerged in the late nineteenth century in the form of peyotism. At some point in the mid-nineteenth century the Kiowa and Comanche acquired peyotism from the Mescalero and Lipan Apache. Peyotism is the practice of using psychedelic peyote buttons in vision seeking ceremonies. The practice is one that continues in the Native American church to this day. The earliest recorded instance of peyote's use by the Kiowa and Comanche comes from around 1850 when Big Horse ate peyote buttons to prophesize the success of war parties.²¹⁸ Peyote rituals had their origins in the Kiowa's pre-Christian history, but they evolved and adapted during the 1870s and many Christian precepts were incorporated into the peyote rituals. It is quite possible that the resurgence of peyotism in this time period can be traced to bands of Mescalero Apache who had been living on the Staked Plains in 1871. These bands made

²¹⁷ Kracht, *Religious Revitalization*, 60.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, 69.

overtures to Lawrie Tatum to come into the KCA reservation and live peacefully with the Apache already on the reservation. Tatum received permission from the Department of the Interior to “take the matter in hand” bringing these Mescalero onto the reservation.²¹⁹ It was around this time Quannah Parker was the first and most important of the early practitioners and was largely responsible for its spread on the reservation and eventually beyond.²²⁰ From this fusion of shamanistic ritual and vision seeking, and the dogma of Christianity a new church, the Native American Church emerged and has spread across the country and is the largest Indigenous led religion today.

With the end of the Sun Dance, the warrior societies of the Kiowa disappeared as well. Their role in Kiowa society left a void, and during the early 1900s there were attempts to revive two of the societies. The Black Leggings and the Skunk Berry societies held gourd dances in 1912 for the first time since 1890. The societies met annually in July to hold a dance until 1928.²²¹ Since 1957, though, the Black Leggings and the Kiowa Tia-Piah Society (formerly the Skunkberry Society) have met and inducted new members. Today, the societies’ focus is on honoring veterans and promoting Kiowa culture through traditional dance and song. The Kiowa War Mothers and Carnegie Victory Club both emerged during the Second World War and persist to this day.²²² Though these modern societies lack the religious component they once carried, they are nonetheless a central part of modern Kiowa culture and a connection for modern Kiowas to their past. The dances held by these societies also provide the largest form of socialization within the tribe and help to promote continued cohesiveness among tribal members.

²¹⁹ Enoch Hoag to Lawrie Tatum, Oct. 5th 1871, *Kiowa Agency Records*, Oklahoma Historical Society.

²²⁰ Meadows, *Kiowa Military Societies*, 99.

²²¹ *Ibid*, 145.

²²² *Ibid*, 365.

Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock

In 1892 there was mounting pressure to open the reservation to white settlement. Due to this the US Government sent Commissioner David Jerome to negotiate with the tribes in Indian Territory to open their reservations under the terms of the Dawes Severalty Act. Jerome and the commission met with resistance within each tribe that he negotiated with. Facing this resistance, he employed a tactic of informing the Indians that there was little room for negotiation, either they could come to terms with the commission, or the reservation would proceed to be allotted under the Dawes Act. If the reservation was divided under the Dawes Act, then members of the tribes would receive smaller allotments than if they negotiated with Jerome and his commission. This tactic had the desired effect on the Kiowa and some Kiowa members signed agreements with the commission. This agreement would give each enrolled member of the Kiowa, the Comanche, and the Apache 160 acres with all the remaining land to be sold for \$1.25 an acre, with the proceeds to be held in trust by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Almost immediately this agreement was challenged, as the Indians claimed the commission had obtained consent under fraudulent terms, and that the commission had not obtained the consent of three-fourths of the adult males enrolled in the tribes, which was required under Article Twelve of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in order to alter the terms of that treaty in regard to the size and disposition of the reservation.²²³

The terms of the Jerome commission had to be ratified by Congress, and in 1894 Congress was ready to vote on the matter. The Indians by this time had found friends in the form of Army officers, ranchers, and those within Congress itself, that wished to block the vote. For several years the Indians were able to block ratification. In 1899 they petitioned Congress stating

²²³ Mayhall, *The Kiowas*, 273, 274.

that they had been defrauded by Jerome and the Commission and that the agreement violated the terms of the Medicine Lodge Treaty. Congress listened and with the support of Senator Matt Quay of Pennsylvania the ratification was blocked due to the agreement having eighty-seven less signatures than the necessary three fourths majority. The senator would face political problems at home though, and he was unable to continue his support of the Indians.²²⁴

By 1900 the prevailing belief was that Indians were a part of history, and would soon cease to exist as an ethnicity, culture, or polity. In this view Congress saw little reason to continue with the reservation system in Oklahoma and Indian Territory. In June, Congress voted to ratify the Jerome Agreement. The territory was moving towards statehood and modernity, and the KCA reservation occupied prime real estate in Oklahoma's southwest. Congress voted to dissolve the reservation and raffle off all lands not allotted to tribal members.²²⁵

On July 4th, 1901, by a proclamation from President McKinley the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Reservation opened for homesteading.²²⁶ In response, Lone Wolf the Younger sued Secretary of the Interior Ethan Allen Hitchcock to halt the allotment process. The case eventually made its way to the US Supreme Court, where the court ruled in favor of Hitchcock. In its majority opinion, the Supreme Court asserted that the US Congress acted in the best interests of the Indians living on the reservation, and Congress had:

Plenary authority over the tribal relations of the Indians has been exercised by Congress from the beginning, and the power has always been deemed a political one, not subject to be controlled by the judicial department of the government. Until the year 1871, the policy was pursued of dealing with the Indian tribes by means of treaties, and, of course, a moral obligation rested upon Congress to act in good faith in performing the stipulations entered into on its behalf.

²²⁴ Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 304-307.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Benjamin Kracht, "Kiowa – Comanche – Apache Opening," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, Oklahoma Historical Society, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=KI020>.

The power exists to abrogate the provisions of an Indian treaty, though presumably such power will be exercised only when circumstances arise which will not only justify the government in disregarding the stipulations of the treaty, but may demand, in the interest of the country and the Indians themselves, that it should do so. When, therefore, treaties were entered into between the United States and a tribe of Indians, it was never doubted that the power to abrogate existed in Congress, and that, in a contingency, such power might be availed of from considerations of governmental policy, particularly if consistent with perfect good faith towards the Indians. In *United States v. Kagama*, (1885) 118 U. S. 375, speaking of the Indians, the Court said (p. 118 U. S. 382): "After an experience of a hundred years of the treaty-making system of government Congress has determined upon a new departure -- to govern them by acts of Congress. This is seen in the Act of March 3, 1871, embodied in section 2079 of the Revised Statutes: 'No Indian nation or tribe, within the territory of the United States, shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty; but no obligation of any treaty lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe prior to March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-one, shall be hereby invalidated or impaired.'"²²⁷

The court's ruling stripped what little sovereignty that the Indians believed they still held and stated that they were wards of the state. As such, Congress could unilaterally act on behalf of the Indians. The case was decided on January 5th, 1903, and the reservation the Kiowa had called home for thirty odd years ceased to exist.²²⁸

Though their time on the reservation was fairly brief for the Kiowa people it was a pivotal time. They had entered the reservation broken and subjugated. A people who the US Government had waged war against and who it had defrauded when they treated with it. During their years confined on the reservation they had learned the white man's ways and how to survive in his world. They remade themselves and became ranchers, farmers, policemen; their children went to schools, and though they suffered many indignities and were forced to acculturate they learned trades and skills they wouldn't have otherwise. Many converted whole heartedly to Christianity

²²⁷ See Appendix B, "Lone Wolf v Hitchcock."

²²⁸ Ibid.

while a few preserved some of their own sacred beliefs and ceremonies and formed a new church. Most importantly the Kiowa survived in a hostile world to them, and learned how to thrive in it.

Slowly, the old ways of life became memories and the Indians assimilated to the ways of the Anglo-Americans. Some things die slowly though and through a small number of people, the language, the rituals, and the culture were preserved. While the loss of an independent culture was a great travesty for those who were forced onto the reservation not all those who became reservation Indians suffered equally. Some withered under the supervision of the US Government while some Indians even managed to thrive in the white man's world. Through it all the Kiowa as a people survived and adapted to the new way of living. Even though the Kiowa were forced to abandon much of their own culture in the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century, they have preserved much of who they were and have consistently maintained a unique tribal identity to the present.

Conclusion

It has been over one hundred years since the reservation period of the Kiowa people ended. In that time the Kiowa people have maintained their culture while adapting to the world around them, much as they have for the entirety of their history. Long ago the Kiowa gave up their old way of life in the deep valleys and high mountains near Yellowstone and set out for a new life. They arrived on the Plains some three hundred years ago where they adapted to the culture of the horse, took up the sacred Taime and Sun Dance, and became warlords on the Plains. They drifted south and over two hundred years ago made peace with the Comanche and formed an alliance that ensured they became the most powerful force on the Southern Plains. For nearly one hundred years this remained true until faced with the might of a relentless foe in the form of the US Army. They fought until they were driven from Palo Duro Canyon and onto the Staked Plains. Cold and hungry the Kiowa surrendered at Ft. Sill, and here they began another transformation into the people they are today.

Throughout the twentieth century, the Kiowa adapted and survived in a world that, at first, was alien to them. As the tribe acquired the customs, and religion of the Anglo-Americans they also decided to maintain their own identity. The language never died out and the legends, and stories of the tribe were never lost. The Kiowa themselves do not victimize themselves in their own history, instead they view their history as one of survival. When examining the tribulations of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache what emerges is the image of a resilient people. Though the United States conquered these tribes they have never lost a sense of themselves.

During the First World War, despite not being US citizens, and enjoying the rights of that citizenship, Indians from across Oklahoma, including fourteen Kiowa, joined the war effort and

served in Europe. The first code talkers were Choctaws serving in the 142nd Infantry in France. In the Second World War, 300 Kiowa enlisted to serve in combat, including code talker Leonard Cozad. Cozad and several others fluent in the Kiowa language developed a code for use by the Army, and while smaller than the similar Comanche program these code talkers were an important element for victory in Europe.²²⁹ This martial involvement was like a homecoming for the Kiowa recalled Atwater Onca, “It was just like they used to, because the warriors, the soldier boys that went into service, were just class(y) and were treated like they were going on a Kiowa war party years ago...”²³⁰

In 1957, when the Black Leggings were reintroduced, the Kiowa gourd dance returned to a place of prominence within the tribe. My great grandfather, Phil Romick Sr., who had served in the US Navy during the Second World War, was a gourd dancer. Today the Kiowa, and other tribes, perform the gourd dance to honor those who have served in the military. He lived on the north side of Mt. Scott, across Lake Lawtonka, and every summer he would drive to Carnegie where he would participate in the gourd dance. In the 1980s, he was considered for membership in the Black Leggings but died in 1988 before he could be inducted into the society. I was young when he died, and I have few memories of him. In my living room hangs a photo of him dancing, he is an old man, white haired. He is wearing sun glasses against the Oklahoma summer sun, and is looking towards the camera. He wears a blue dance shirt, a skunk berry and bone bead bandolier across his chest, a red and blue blanket across his shoulders, in his left hand he holds an eagle feather fan, and in his right a gourd rattle. This and a photo of him in uniform taken when we returned home in 1946 is how I picture him in my memory.

²²⁹ Meadows, *Kiowa Military Societies*, 350.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, 61.

I grew up attending the pow wows with my mother and dancing in them. My mother danced for years, throughout my youth, and though she has quit now she has taught my daughter how to dance. Though I do not attend every dance, I participate in the gourd dance myself. In recent years the Kiowa Tia-Piah Society have built a permanent dance ground in Carnegie for their annual pow wow.

Throughout the twentieth century the Kiowa became famous for their skill as artists. During the Great Depression, the Kiowa Six (Jack Hokeah, Monroe Tsatoke, Spencer Asah, James Auchiah, Stephen Mopope, and Lois Smoky) developed what became known as the “Kiowa Style” of painting. They became the first important Indian artists of the twentieth century and their painting would become hugely influential on those that followed. Today, some of their paintings can be viewed on the walls of the Anadarko Post Office where they were commissioned to paint sixteen murals under the Public Works Art Projects.²³¹



232

These artists’ work was painted in traditional Kiowa style, using flat figures with bold colors, and blank backgrounds. This style grew out of the traditional ledger art that many Kiowa practiced in the late 1800s and early 1900s. In this style, painted or colored on the discarded

²³¹ David Wishart editor, "Kiowa Six". *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*, (University of Nebraska–Lincoln), <http://plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/doc/egp.art.042>

²³² Stephen Mopope, *Buffalo Hunting Scene*, 1937, mural, west wall of the Anadarko Post Office, OK (photo: USPS)

pages of ledgers, the figures were stark, two dimensional, and colorful. They served as an intermediate medium for the Plains Indians, and were often a visual record of what the Indians experienced or remembered.²³³ The Kiowa style expanded on this, keeping the flat figures, and empty backgrounds, and drawing the viewers' eye to the bold figures and action of the scenes. This style would become influential in Native art, and is the predominant style utilized by Indian artists today. In addition to the Kiowa Six, other important Kiowa artists include T.C. Canon and Francis, "Blackbear," Bosin.

Kiowa storytelling has also lived on through the works of N. Scott Momaday, who in 1969 became the first American Indian to win the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction for his novel, *House Made of Dawn*. Momaday is acknowledged as one of the preeminent indigenous authors and has been influential for scores of other authors. He has published nineteen books, including novels, plays, and poetry, and has won, in addition to the Pulitzer, ten awards including being named the Oklahoma Centennial Poet Laureate, and the National Medal of Arts in 2007. Today another Kiowa author, Oscar Hokeah, is being recognized for his novel, *Calling For a Blanket Dance*, which won the 2023 PEN/Hemingway Award, awarded annually for the best work by an author not previously published.²³⁴

Today the Kiowa still reside in Southwest Oklahoma with tribal headquarters in Carnegie. They operate many business ventures including a casino, construction firm, and farming and ranching enterprises. The Kiowa numbered around 1,000 in the 1870s, today the tribe maintains an enrollment of approximately 12,000 members. The tribe maintains a housing authority that sees to it that tribal members can find affordable housing. The tribe also maintains programs that

²³³ Martina Smith, "The Ledger Art Collection," The Milwaukee Public Museum, 2006,

<https://www.mpm.edu/research-collections/anthropology/online-collections-research/ledger-art-collection>

²³⁴ "Oscar Hokeah," oscarhokeah.com, <https://www.oscarhokeah.com/about>.

provide food for tribal members in need. The tribe has a language program to ensure that any who want to learn Kiowa can. Through the Kiowa Tia-Piah Society, the Black Leggings, The Kiowa War Mothers, and the Carnegie Victory Club traditional culture and dance are preserved. Through the gourd dance practiced by the Black Leggings and the Tia-Piah an element of the Sun Dance is preserved. Every summer around the 4th of July these societies meet and hold pow wows, and have done so since 1957. Even though such gatherings were outlawed in 1890, the memory of the dances was not lost by the Kiowa and during the two revitalizations of the dance in the first half of the twentieth century they were preserved for future generations.

As a child my grandfather and uncle would tell me stories about our family and about our tribe. I learned much from them. The Kiowa are a people who are at once rooted in the past and preserve the memory of that past while simultaneously looking forward to the future. We acclimated to the predominate Anglo-American society, but never fully acculturated. Instead, we chose to blend our traditions into our modern lifestyle. We have a deep running pride in who we are and where we came from. Our sense of history is strong, and we perpetuate our culture through this day. We do not only belong to the past but are a living and vibrant people. Not only have the Kiowa survived in the white man's world, but they have adapted to it superbly and today our culture mixes the best of our traditions and those of the Americans who once waged war against them. Kiowa history is one that shows the adaptability of humans to their environments and the indomitability of the human spirit.

Appendix A: Treaties between the United States and the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Tribes
1835 - 1867

Treaty with the Kiowa, etc., 1837²³⁵

May 26, 1837. | 7 Stat., 533. | Proclamation, Feb. 21, 1838.

Treaty with the Kioway, Ka-ta-ka and Ta-wa-ka-ro, Nations of Indians.

Whereas a treaty of peace and friendship was made and signed on the 24th day of August 1835, between Montfort Stokes and Brigadier General Matthew Arbuckle, commissioners on behalf of the United States on the one part; and the chiefs, and head-men and representatives of the Comanche, Wicchetaw, Cherokee Muscogee, Choctaw, Osage, Seneca and Quapaw nations or tribes of Indians on the other part: and whereas the said treaty has been duly ratified by the Government of the United States; now know all whom it may concern, that the President of the United States, by letter of appointment and instructions of the 7th day of April 1837, has authorized Colonel A. P. Chouteau to make a convention or treaty between the United States and any of the nations or tribes of Indians of the Great Western Prairie; we the said Montfort Stokes, and A. P. Chouteau, commissioners of Indian treaties, have this day made and concluded a treaty of peace and friendship, between the United States of America, and the chiefs, headmen and representatives of the Kioway, Ka-ta-ka, and Ta-wa-ka-ro nations of Indians, on the following terms and conditions, that is to say:

ARTICLE 1st.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States of America and all the individuals composing the Kioway, Ka-ta-ka, and Ta-wa-ka-ro nations and their associated bands or tribes of Indians, and between these nations or tribes and the Muscogee and Osage nations or tribes of Indians.

ARTICLE 2d.

Every injury or act of hostility by one or either of the contracting parties on the other, shall be mutually forgiven and for ever forgot.

ARTICLE 3d.

There shall be a free and friendly intercourse between all the contracting parties hereto; and it is distinctly understood and agreed by the Kioway, Ka-ta-ka and Ta-wa-ka-ro nations, and their associated bands or tribes of Indians, that the citizens of the United States are freely permitted to pass and repass through their settlements or hunting ground without molestation or injury, on their way to any of the provinces of the Republics of Mexico or Texas, or returning therefrom, and that the nations or tribes named in this article further agree to pay the full value of any injury their people may do to the goods or property of the citizens of the United States, taken or destroyed when peaceably passing through the country they inhabit or hunt in, or elsewhere.— And the United States hereby guarantee to any Indian or Indians of the Kioway, Ka-ta-ka and Ta-wa-ka-ro nations, and their associated bands or tribes of Indians, a full indemnification for any horses or other property which may be stolen from them, Provided That the property so stolen

²³⁵ Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 489.

cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the United States, and within the limits thereof.

ARTICLE 4th.

It is understood and agreed by all the nations or tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, that each and all of the said nations or tribes have free permission to hunt and trap in the Great Prairie west of the Cross Timber to the western limits of the United States.

ARTICLE 5th.

The Kioway, Ka-ta-ka and Ta-wa-ka-ro nations and their associated bands or tribes of Indians agree and bind themselves to pay full value for any injury their people may do to the goods or other property of such traders as the President of the United States may place near to their settlements or hunting ground for the purpose of trading with them.

ARTICLE 6th.

The Kioway, Ka-ta-ka and Ka-wa-ka-ro nations and their associated bands or tribes of Indians, agree, that in the event any of the red people belonging to the nations or tribes of Indians residing south of the Missouri river, and west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, not parties to this treaty, should visit their towns, or be found on their hunting ground, that they will treat them with kindness and friendship, and do no injury to them in any way whatever.

ARTICLE 7th.

Should any difficulty hereafter unfortunately arise between any of the nations or tribes of Indians, parties hereunto, in consequence of murder, the stealing of horses, cattle, or other cause, it is agreed that the other tribes shall interpose their good offices to remove such difficulties; and also that the Government of the United States may take such measures as they may deem proper to effect the same object, and see that full justice is done to the injured party.

ARTICLE 8th.

It is agreed by the commissioners of the United States that in consequence of the Kioway, Ka-ta-ka and Ta-wa-ka-ro nations and their associated bands or tribes of Indians having freely and willingly entered into this treaty, and it being the first they have made with the United States, or any of the contracting parties, that they shall receive presents immediately after signing, as a donation from the United States; nothing being asked from the said nations or tribes in return, except to remain at peace with the parties hereto, which their own good and that of their posterity require.

ARTICLE 9th.

The Kioway, Ka-ta-ka and Ta-wa-ka-ro nations, and their associated bands or tribes of Indians, agree, that their entering into this treaty shall in no respect interrupt their friendly relations with the Republics of Mexico and Texas, where they all frequently hunt and the Kioway, Ka-ta-ka and Ta-wa-ka-ro nations sometimes visit; and it is distinctly understood that the Government of the United States desire that perfect peace shall exist between the nations or tribes named in this article, and the said Republics.

ARTICLE 10th.

This treaty shall be obligatory on the nations or tribes, parties hereto, from and after the date hereof, and on the United States, from and after its ratification by the Government thereof.

Done and signed and sealed at Fort Gibson, this twenty-sixth day of May one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven and of the independence of the United States the sixty-second.

M. Stokes, Commissioner of Indian treaties.

A. P. Chouteau, Commissioner Indian treaties.

Kioways:

Ta-ka-ta-couche, the Black Bird,
Cha-hon-de-ton, the Flying Squirrel,
Ta-ne-congais, the Sea Gull,
Bon-congais, the Black Cap,
To-ho-sa, the Top of the Mountain,
Sen-son-da-cat, the White Bird,
Con-a-hen-ka, the Horne Frog,
He-pan-ni-gais, the Night,
Ka-him-hi, the Prairie Dog,
Pa-con-ta, My Young Brother.

Ka-ta-kas:

Hen-ton-te, the Iron Shoe,
A-ei-kenda, the One who is Surrendered,
Cet-ma-ni-ta, the Walking Bear.

Ta-wa-ka-ros:

Ka-ta-ca-karo, He who receives the Word of God,
Ta-ce-hache, the One who Speaks to the Chief,
Ke-te-cara-con-ki, the White Cow,
Ta-ka, the Hunter of Men.

Muscogees:

Roly McIntosh,
Alex. Gillespie,
Samuel Miiler,
Samuel Perryman,
John Randam,
To-me-yo-hola,
Efi-emathla,
Chis-co-laco-mici,
Encotts Harjo,
Ufalila Harjo.

Osages:

Clermont, the Principal Chief,
Ka-hi-gair-tanga, the Big Chief,
Ka-hi-gair-wa-chin-pi-chais, the Mad Chief,

Chan-gais-mon-non, the Horse Thief,
Wa-cri-cha, the Liberal,
Ta-lais, the Going Deer,
Chonta-sa-bais, the Black Dog,
Wa-clum-pi-chais, the Mad Warrior
Mi-ta-ni-ga, the Crazy Blanket,
Wa-ta-ni-ga, the Crazy,
Hec-ra-ti, the War Eagle,
Tan-wan-ga-hais, the Townmaker,
Ha-ha-ga-la, the One they Cry For,
Chongais-han-ga, the Learned Dog,
Man-pa-cha, the Brave Man,
Joseph Staidegais, the Tall Joseph,
Tais-ha-wa-gra-kim, the Chief Bearer,
Sa-wa-the, the Dreadful,
Ca-wa-wa-gu, the One Who Gives Horses,
U-de-gais-ta-wa-ta-ni-ga, the Crazy Osage.

Witnesses:

Wm. Whistler, Lieutenant-Colonel Seventh Infantry, commanding.
J. H. Bailey, assistant surgeon.
B. L. E. Bonneville, captain, Seventh Infantry.
G. K. Paul, first lieutenant, Seventh Infantry.
Francis Lee, captain, Seventh Infantry.
S. G. Simmons, first lieutenant, Seventh Infantry.
Jas. R. Stephenson, captain, Seventh Infantry.
J. G. Reed, second lieutenant, Seventh Infantry.
P. S. G. Bell, captain, First Dragoons.

J. M. Wells, second lieutenant, Seventh Infantry.
W. Seawell, captain, Seventh Infantry, and secretary to the commissioners.
R. L. Dodge.
S. W. Moore, first lieutenant and adjutant, Seventh Infantry.

F. Britton, lieutenant, Seventh, U. S. Army.
Th. H. Holmes, first lieutenant, Seventh Infantry.
S. Hardage, Creek interpreter.
R. H. Ross, first lieutenant, Seventh Infantry.

(To the Indian names are subjoined marks.)

Treaty with the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache, 1853²³⁶

July 27, 1853. | 10 Stats., 1013. | Ratified Apr. 12, 1854. | Proclaimed Feb. 12, 1855 [4].

Articles of a treaty, made and concluded at Fort Atkinson, in the Indian Territory, of the United States of America, on the 27th day of July, anno Domini eighteen hundred and fifty-three, between the United States of America, by Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent, and sole commissioner, duly appointed for that purpose, and the Camanche, and Kiowa, and Apache tribes or nations of Indians, inhabiting the said territory south of the Arkansas River.

ARTICLE 1.

Peace, friendship, and amity shall hereafter exist between the United States and the Camanche and Kiowa, and Apache tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, and the same shall be perpetual.

ARTICLE 2.

The Camanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes of Indians do hereby jointly and severally covenant that peaceful relations shall likewise be maintained amongst themselves in future; and that they will abstain from all hostilities whatsoever against each other, and cultivate mutual good-will and friendship.

ARTICLE 3.

The aforesaid Indian tribes do also hereby fully recognize and acknowledge the right of the United States to lay off and mark out roads or highways—to make reservations of land necessary thereto—to locate depots—and to establish military and other posts within the territories inhabited by the said tribes; and also to prescribe and enforce, in such manner as the President or the Congress of the United States shall from time to time direct, rules and regulations to protect the rights of persons and property among the said Indian tribes.

ARTICLE 4.

The Camanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes, parties as before recited, do further agree and bind themselves to make restitution or satisfaction for any injuries done by any band or any individuals of their respective tribes to the people of the United States who may be lawfully residing in or passing through their said territories; and to abstain hereafter from levying contributions from, or molesting them in any manner; and, so far as may be in their power, to render assistance to such as need relief, and to facilitate their safe passage.

²³⁶ Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 600.

ARTICLE 5.

The Camanche, and Kiowa, and Apache tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, do hereby solemnly covenant and agree to refrain in future from warlike incursions into the Mexican provinces, and from all depredations upon the inhabitants thereof; and they do likewise bind themselves to restore all captives that may hereafter be taken by any of the bands, war-parties, or individuals of the said several tribes, from the Mexican provinces aforesaid, and to make proper and just compensation for any wrongs that may be inflicted upon the people thereof by them, either to the United States or to the Republic of Mexico, as the President of the United States may direct and require.

ARTICLE 6.

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 through their territories—and for the better support, and the improvement of the social condition of the said tribes—the United States do bind themselves, 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.

ARTICLE 7.

The United States do moreover bind themselves, in consideration of the covenants contained in the preceding articles of this treaty, to protect and defend the Indian tribes, parties hereto, against the committal of any depredations upon them, and in their territories, by the people of the United States, for and during the term for which this treaty shall be in force, and to compensate them for any injuries that may result therefrom.

ARTICLE 8.

It is also stipulated and provided, by and between the parties to this treaty, that should any of the Indian tribes aforesaid violate any of the conditions, provisions, or agreements herein contained, or fail to perform any of the obligations entered into on their part, then the United States may withhold the whole or a part of the annuities mentioned in the sixth article of this treaty, from the tribe so offending, until, in the opinion of the President or the Congress of the United States, proper satisfaction shall have been made, or until persons amongst the said Indians offending against the laws of the United States shall have been delivered up to justice.

ARTICLE 9.

It is also consented to and determined between the parties hereto, that the annuities to be given on the part of the United States, as provided in the sixth article of this treaty, shall be delivered to the said Indian tribes collectively, at or in the vicinity of Beaver Creek, yearly, during the month of July in each year, until some other time and place shall have been designated by the President of the United States, in which event the said Indian tribes shall have due notice thereof, and the

place of distribution which may be selected shall always be some point within the territories occupied by the said tribes.

ARTICLE 10.

It is agreed between the United States and the Camanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes of Indians, that, should it at any time hereafter be considered by the United States as a proper policy to establish farms among and for the benefit of said Indians, it shall be discretionary with the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to change the annuities herein provided for, or any part thereof, into a fund for that purpose.

In witness whereof, the said Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian Agent, and sole commissioner on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and headmen of the Camanche and Kiowa, and Apache tribes or nations, have hereunto set their hands, at Fort Atkinson, in the Indian Territory of the United States, this twenty-seventh day of July, A. D. eighteen hundred and fifty-three.

Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian Agent, and
Commissioner on behalf of the United
States.

B. Gratz Brown, Secretary.
R. H. Chilton.
B. T. Moylero.

Wulea-boo, his x mark (Shaved Head) chief
Camanche
Tah-ka-eh-bool, his x mark (The Bad
Smelling Saddle) headman
Wa-ya-ba-tos-a, his x mark (White Eagle)
chief of band
Che-koon-ki, his x mark (Black Horse)
headman
Hai-nick-seu, his x mark (The Crow) chief
of band
On-ti-an-te, his x mark (The Snow Flake)
headman
Paro-sa-wa-no, his x mark (Ten Sticks) chief
of band

El-bo-in-ki, his x mark (Yellow Hair)
headman
Wa-ra-kon-alta, his x mark (Poor Coyote
Wolf) chief of band
Si-tah-le, his x mark (Poor Wolf) chief
Apache
Ka-na-re-tah, his x mark (One that Rides the
Clouds) chief of the southern Camanches.
Oh-ah-te-kah, his x mark (Poor Bear)
headman
To-hau-sen, his x mark (Little Mountain)
chief Kiowas
Ah-zaah, his x mark (Prairie Wolf) headman
Si-tank-ki, his x mark (Sitting Bear) war
chief
Kootz-zah, his x mark (The Cigar) headman

Witness:

B. B. Dayton,
Geo. M. Alexander,
T. Polk,
Geo. Collier, jr.

We do hereby accept and consent to the Senate amendments to the treaty aforesaid, and agree that the same may be considered as a part thereof.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and affixed our seals, this 21st day of July, A. D. 1854.

Camanches:

To-che-ra-nah-boo, (Shaved Head,) his x
mark.

Wa-ya-ba-to-sa, (White Eagle,) his x mark.
Hai-nick-seu, (Crow,) his x mark.
Ty-har-re-ty, (One who runs after women,) his x mark.
Para-sar-a-man-no, (Ten Bears,) his x mark.

Kiowas:

To-han-seu, (Little Mountain,) his x mark.
Ti-sank-ki, (Sitting Bear,) his x mark.
Ko-a-ty-ka, (Wolf outside,) his x mark.

Executed in presence of—

Aquilla T. Ridgely, assistant surgeon, U. S. Army.
A. H. Plummer, brevet second lieutenant, Sixth Infantry.
Paul Carrey.
John Kinney, United States interpreter.
H. E. Nixon, clerk.

I certify that the foregoing amendments to the treaty of 27th day of July, 1853, was read and explained to the chiefs, and that they consented to, and signed the same on the 21st day of July, 1854.

J. W. Whitfield, Indian Agent.

Treaty with the Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, 1865²³⁷

Oct. 17, 1865. | 14 Stat., 713. | Ratified May 22, 1866. | Proclaimed May 26, 1866.

Whereas a treaty was made and concluded, by and between the undersigned commissioners on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of the Cheyenne and Arrapahoe tribes of Indians, on the part of said tribes, on the fourteenth day of October, A. D. 1865, at the council-grounds on the Little Arkansas River, in the State of Kansas; and, whereas, the Apache Indians, who have been heretofore confederated with the Kiowa and Comanche tribes of Indians, are desirous of dissolving said confederation and uniting their fortunes with the said Cheyennes and Arrapahoes; and whereas the said last-named tribes are willing to receive among themselves on an equal footing with the members of their own tribes, the said Apache Indians; and the United States, by their said commissioners, having given their assent thereto; it is therefore hereby agreed by and between the United States, by their said commissioners, and the said Cheyenne, Arrapahoe, and Apache Indians, by the undersigned chiefs and head-men of said tribes respectively, as follows, viz:

ARTICLE 1.

The said Cheyenne, Arrapahoe, and Apache tribes, henceforth shall be and they are hereby united, and the United States will hereafter recognize said tribes as the confederated bands or tribes of Cheyenne, Arrapahoe, and Apache Indians.

ARTICLE 2.

The several terms, stipulations and agreements to be done and performed on the part of the United States for and with the said Cheyenne and Arrapahoe tribes of Indians, and by the said Cheyenne and Arrapahoe tribes of Indians, for and with the United States, by the provisions of said treaty of October 14th, A. D. 1865, shall be done and performed by the United States for and on behalf of the said confederated tribes or bands of Cheyenne, Arrapahoe, and Apache Indians,

²³⁷ Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 891.

and on their part shall be done, observed and performed to, with and for the United States in the same manner, to the same extent, and for like objects, to all intents and purposes, as would have been the case had said treaty been originally made and executed with the said confederated tribes of Cheyenne, Arrapahoe, and Apache Indians.

In testimony whereof, the undersigned, Commissioners on the part of the United states, and the chiefs and headmen of said tribes, have hereunto set their hands and seals at the council-ground on the Little Arkansas, in the State of Kansas, this 17th day of October, A. D. 1865.

John B. Sanborn,
Wm. S. Harney,
James Steele,
Wm. W. Bent,
Kit Carson,
Thos. Murphy,
J. H. Leavenworth, Commissioners on the
part of the United States.

Kou-zhon-ta-co, or Poor Bear, head chief,
his x mark.
Ba-zhe-ech, or Iron Shirt, his x mark.
Az-che-om-a-te-ne, or the Old Fool Man,
chief, his x mark.
Karn-tin-ta, or the Crow, chief, his x mark.
Mah-vip-pah, or The Wolf Sleeve, chief, his
x mark.
Nahn-tan, or The Chief, his x mark.
On the part of the Apaches.

Moke-ta-ve-to, or Black Kettle, head chief,
his x mark.
Oh-to-ah-ne-so-to-wheo, or Seven Bulls,
chief, his x mark.
Hark-kah-o-me, or Little Robe, chief, his x
mark.

Moke-tah-vo-ve-ho, or Black White Man,
chief, his x mark.
Mun-a-men-ek, or Eagle's Head, headman,
his x mark.
O-to-ah-nis-to, or Bull that Hears, headman,
his x mark.
On the part of the Cheyennes.

Oh-has-tee, or Little Raven, head chief, his x
mark.
Oh-hah-mah-hah, or Storm, chief, his x
mark.
Pah-uf-pah-top, or Big Mouth, chief, his x
mark.
Ah-cra-ka-tau-nah, or Spotted Wolf, chief,
his x mark.
Ah-nah-wat-tan, or Black Man, headman,
his x mark.
Nah-a-nah-cha, Chief in Everything,
headman, his x mark.
Chi-e-nuk, or Haversack, headman, his x
mark.
On the part of the Arrapahoes.

Signed and sealed in presence of—
W. R. Irwin, Secretary.
D. C. McNeil.

Treaty with the Comanche and Kiowa, 1865²³⁸

Oct. 18, 1865. | 14 Stat., 717. | Ratified May 22, 1866. | Proclaimed May 26, 1866.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at the council-ground on the Little Arkansas River eight miles from the mouth of said river, in the State of Kansas, on the eighteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, by and between John B. Sanborn, William S. Harney, Thomas Murphy, Kit Carson, William W. Bent, Jesse H.

²³⁸ Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 892.

Leavenworth, and James Steele, Commissioners on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of the several bands of Comanche Indians specified in connection with their signatures, and the chiefs and head-men of the Kiowa tribe of Indians, the said chiefs and head-men by the said bands and tribes being thereunto duly authorized.

ARTICLE 1.

It is agreed by the parties to this treaty that hereafter perpetual peace shall be maintained between the people and Government of the United States and the Indians parties hereto, and that the Indians parties hereto shall forever remain at peace with each other and with all other Indians who sustain friendly relations with the Government of the United States.

For the purpose of enforcing the provisions of this article, it is agreed that in case hostile acts or depredations are committed by the people of the United States, or by the Indians on friendly terms with the United States, against the tribe or tribes or the individual members of the tribe or tribes who are parties to this treaty, such hostile acts or depredations shall not be redressed by a resort to arms, but the party or parties aggrieved shall submit their complaints, through their agent, to the President of the United States, and thereupon an impartial arbitration shall be had under his direction, and the award thus made shall be binding on all parties interested, and the Government of the United States will in good faith enforce the same.

And the Indians parties hereto, on their part, agree, in case crimes or other violations of law shall be committed by any person or persons members of their tribe, such person or persons shall, upon complaint being made in writing to their agent, superintendent of Indian affairs, or to other proper authority, by the party injured, and verified by affidavit, be delivered to the person duly authorized to take such person or persons into custody, to the end that such person or persons may be punished according to the laws of the United States.

ARTICLE 2.

The United States hereby agree that the district of country embraced within the following limits, or such portion of the same as may hereafter from time to time be designated by the President of the United States for that purpose, viz: commencing at the northeast corner of New Mexico, thence south to the southeast corner of the same: thence northeastwardly to a point on main Red River opposite the mouth of the North Fork of said river: thence down said river to the 98th degree of west longitude: thence due north on said meridian to the Cimaron river: thence up said river to a point where the same crosses the southern boundary of the State of Kansas: thence along said southern boundary of Kansas to the southwest corner of said State: thence west to the place of beginning, shall be and is hereby set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the tribes who are parties to this treaty, and of such other friendly tribes as have heretofore resided within said limits, or as they may from time to time agree to admit among them, and that no white person except officers, agents, and employés of the Government shall go upon or settle within the country embraced within said limits, unless formally admitted and incorporated into some one of the tribes lawfully residing there, according to its laws and usages. The Indians parties hereto on their part expressly agree to remove to and accept as their permanent home the country embraced within said limits, whenever directed so to do by the President of the United States, in accordance with the provisions of this treaty, and that they will not go from said country for hunting purposes without the consent in writing of their agent or other authorized person, specifying the purpose for which such leave is granted, and such written consent in all cases shall be borne with them upon their excursions, as evidence that they are

rightfully away from their reservation, and shall be respected by all officers, employés, and citizens of the United States, as their sufficient safeguard and protection against injury or damage in person or property, by any and all persons whomsoever. It is further agreed by the Indians parties hereto, that when absent from their reservation, they will refrain from the commission of any depredations or injuries to the person or property of all persons sustaining friendly relations with the Government of the United States; that they will not while so absent encamp, by day or night, within ten miles of any of the main travelled routes or roads through the country to which they go, or of the military posts, towns, or villages therein, without the consent of the commanders of such military posts, or of the civil authorities of such towns or villages, and that henceforth they will and do hereby, relinquish all claims or rights in and to any portion of the United States or territories, except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid, and more especially their claims and rights in and to the country north of the Cimaron River and west of the eastern boundary of New Mexico.

ARTICLE 3.

It is further agreed that until the Indians parties hereto have removed to the reservation provided for by the preceding article, in pursuance of the stipulations thereof, said Indians shall be and they are hereby, expressly permitted to reside upon and range at pleasure throughout the unsettled portions of that part of the country they claim as originally theirs, which lies south of the Arkansas River, as well as the country embraced within the limits of the reservation provided for by the preceding article, and that they shall and will not go elsewhere, except upon the terms and conditions prescribed by the preceding article in relation to leaving said reservation: Provided, That the provisions of the preceding article in regard to encamping within ten miles of main travelled routes, military posts, towns, and villages, shall be in full force as to the privileges granted by this article: And provided further, That they, the said Indians, shall and will at all times, and without delay, report to the commander of the nearest military post the presence in or approach to said country of any hostile band or bands of Indians whatever.

ARTICLE 4.

It is further agreed by the parties hereto that the United States may lay off and build through the reservation, provided for by Article 2 of this treaty, roads or highways as may be deemed necessary, and may also establish such military posts within the same as may be found necessary, in order to preserve peace among the Indians, and in order to enforce such laws, rules, and regulations as are now or may from time to time be prescribed by the President and Congress of the United States for the protection of the rights of persons and property among the Indians residing upon said reservation, and further, that in time of war such other military posts as may be considered essential to the general interests of the United States may be established: Provided, however, That upon the building of such roads, or establishment of such military posts, the amount of injury sustained by reason thereof by the Indians inhabiting said reservation shall be ascertained under direction of the President of the United States, and thereupon such compensation shall be made to said Indians as, in the judgment of the Congress of the United States, may be deemed just and proper.

ARTICLE 5.

The United States agree that they will expend annually, during the period of forty years, from and after the ratification of this treaty, for the benefit of the Indians who are parties hereto, and of

such others as may unite with them in pursuance of the terms hereof, in such manner and for such purposes as, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior for the time being, will best subserve their wants and interests as a people, the following amounts, that is to say, until such time as said Indians shall be removed to their reservations, as provided for by article two of this treaty, an amount which shall be equal to ten dollars per capita for each person entitled to participate in the beneficial provisions of this treaty; and from and after the time when such removal shall have been accomplished, an amount which shall be equal to fifteen dollars per capita for each person entitled as aforesaid. Such proportion of the expenditure provided for the by this article as may be considered expedient to distribute in the form of annuities shall be delivered to said Indians as follows, viz: One-third thereof during the spring, and two-thirds thereof during the autumn of each year.

For the purpose of determining from time to time the aggregate amount to be expended under the provisions of this article, it is agreed that the number entitled to its beneficial provisions the coming year is four thousand, and that an accurate census of the Indians entitled shall be taken at the time of the annuity payment in the spring of each year by their agent or other person designated by the Secretary of the Interior, which census shall be the basis on which the amount to be expended the next ensuing year shall be determined.

ARTICLE 6.

The Indians parties to this treaty expressly covenant and agree that they will use their utmost endeavors to induce that portion of the respective tribes not now present to unite with them and accede to the provisions of this treaty, which union and accession shall be evidenced and made binding on all parties whenever such absentees shall have participated in the beneficial provisions of this treaty.

In testimony whereof, the said Commissioners on the part of the United States, and the chiefs and headmen of the said bands of Camanche Indians and of the Kiowa tribe of Indians, hereinbefore referred to, and designated in connection with their signatures, have hereunto subscribed their names and affixed their seals on the day and year first above written.

John B. Sanborn,
Wm. S. Harney,
Kit Carson,
Wm. W. Bent,
James Steele,

Thos. Murphy,
J. H. Leavenworth,
Commissioners on the part of the United
States.

Signed and sealed in presence of—

W. R. Irwin, secretary.
Wm. T. Kittridge.
D. C. McNeil.
Jas. S. Boyd.

Tab-e-nan-i-kah, or Rising Sun, chief of
Yampirica, or Root Eater band of
Camanches, for Paddy-wah-say-mer and
Ho-to-yo-koh-wat's bands, his x mark.

Bo-wah-quas-suh, or Iron Shirt, chief of De-
na-vi band, or Liver Eater band of
Camanches, his x mark.
Esh-e-tave-pa-rah, or Female Infant,
headman of Yampirica band of Camanches,
his x mark.
To-sa-wi, or Silver Brooch, head chief of
Pennetaka band of Camanches, his x mark.

A-sha-hab-beet, or Milky Way, chief Penne-taha, or Sugar Eater band of Camanches, and for Co-che-te-ka, or Buffalo Eater band, his x mark.

Queil-park, or Lone Wolf, his x mark.

Queen-ah-e-vah, or Eagle Drinking, head chief of No-co-nee or Go-about band of Camanches, his x mark.

Wah-toh-konk, or Black Eagle, his x mark.

Ta-ha-yer-quoip, or Horse's Back, second chief of No-co-nee or Go-about band of Camanches, his x mark.

Zip-ki-yah, or Big Bow, his x mark.

Pocha-naw-quoip, or Buffalo Hump, third chief of Pennetaka, or Sugar Eater band of Camanches, his x mark.

Sa-tan-ta, or White Bear, his x mark.

Ho-to-yo-koh-wot, or Over the Buttes, chief of Yampirica band, his x mark.

Ton-a-en-ko, or Kicking Eagle, his x mark.

Parry-wah-say-mer, or Ten Bears, chief of Yampirica band, his x mark.

Settem-ka-yah, or Bear Runs over a Man, his x mark.

Bo-yah-wah-to-yeh-be, or Iron Mountain, chief of Yampirica band of Camanches, his x mark. Kaw-pe-ah, or Plumed Lance, his x mark.

To-hau-son, or Little Mountain, his x mark.

Sa-tank, or Sitting Bear, his x mark.

Pawnee, or Poor Man, his x mark.

Ta-ki-bull, or Stinking Saddle Cloth, chief of the Kiowa tribe, his x mark.

Treaty with the Kiowa and Comanche, 1867²³⁹

Oct. 21, 1867. | 15 Stats., 581. | Ratified, July 25, 1868. | Proclaimed, Aug. 25, 1868.

[NOTE BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE - The words of this treaty which are put in brackets with an asterisk are written in the original with black pencil, the rest of the original treaty being written with black ink.]

Articles of a treaty and agreement made and entered into at the Council Camp, on Medicine Lodge Creek, seventy miles south of Fort Larned, in the State of Kansas, on the twenty-first day of October, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, by and between the United States of America, represented by its commissioners duly appointed thereto, to wit, Nathaniel G. Taylor, William S. Harney, C. C. Augur, Alfred S.[H.] Terry, John B. Sanborn, Samuel F. Tappan, and J. B. Henderson, of the one part, and the confederated tribes of Kiowa and Comanche Indians, represented by their chiefs and headmen, duly authorized and empowered to act for the body of the people of said tribes, (the names of said chiefs and head-men being hereto subscribed,) of the other part, witness:

ARTICLE 1.

From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease.

The Government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is here pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to maintain it. If bad men among the whites, or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City, proceed at once

²³⁹ Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 977.

to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also re-imburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indians, subject to the authority of the United States and at peace therewith, the tribes herein named solemnly agree that they will, on proof made to their agent and notice by him, deliver up the wrong-doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws, and in case they wilfully refuse so to do, the person injured shall be re-imbursed for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States. And the President, on advising with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article as, in his judgment, may be proper; but no such damages shall be adjusted and paid until thoroughly examined and passed upon by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior; and no one sustaining loss, while violating or because of his violating, the provisions of this treaty or the laws of the United States, shall be re-imbursed therefor.

ARTICLE 2.

The United States agrees that [the*] following district of country, to wit: commencing at a point where the Washita River crosses the 98th meridian, west from Greenwich; thence up the Washita River, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to a point thirty miles, by river, west of Fort Cobb, as now established; thence, due west to the north fork of Red River, provided said line strikes said river east of the one hundredth meridian of west longitude; if not, then only to said meridian-line, and thence south, on said meridian-line, to the said north fork of Red River; thence down said north fork, in the middle of the main channel thereof, from the point where it may be first intersected by the lines above described, to the main Red River; thence down said river, in the middle of the main channel thereof to its intersection with the ninety-eighth meridian of longitude west from Greenwich; thence north, on said meridian-line, to the place of beginning, shall be and the same is hereby set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the tribes herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as, from time to time, they may be willing [with the consent of the United States*] to admit among them; and the United States now solemnly agrees that no persons except those herein authorized so to do and except such officers, agents, and employés of the Government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservation in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation, for the use of said Indians.

ARTICLE 3.

If it should appear from actual survey or other satisfactory examination of said tract of land, that it contains less than one hundred and sixty acres of tillable land, for each person, who at the time may be authorized to reside on it under the provisions of this treaty, and a very considerable number of such persons shall be disposed to commence cultivating the soil as farmers, the United States agrees to set apart for the use of said Indians, as herein provided, such additional quantity of arable land adjoining to said reservation, or as near the same as it can be obtained, as may be required to provide the necessary amount.

ARTICLE 4.

The United States agrees at its own proper expense to construct at some place, near the centre of said reservation, where timber and water may be convenient, the following buildings, to wit: A warehouse or store-room for the use of the agent, in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not exceeding fifteen hundred dollars; an agency-building for the residence of the agent, to cost not exceeding three thousand dollars; a residence for the physician, to cost not more than three thousand dollars; and five other buildings, for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, miller, and engineer, each to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; also a school-house or mission-building, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school, which shall not cost exceeding five thousand dollars.

The United States agrees further to cause to be erected on said reservation, near the other buildings herein authorized, a good steam circular saw mill, with a grist-mill and shingle-machine attached: the same to cost not exceeding eight thousand dollars.

ARTICLE 5.

The United States agrees that the agent for the said Indians in the future shall make his home at the agency-building: that he shall reside among them, and keep an office open at all times, for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by and against the Indians as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined on him by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property, he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with his findings to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision, subject to the revision of the Secretary of the Interior, shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

ARTICLE 6.

If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians, or legally incorporated with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within said reservation, not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land book" as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it. Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may in like manner select and cause to be certified to him or her, for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon, be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above directed. For each tract of land so selected, a certificate, containing a description thereof and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate indorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it, by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Kiowa and Comanche land book." The President may, at any time, order a survey of the reservation, and, when so surveyed, Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of settlers, in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws, on the subject of alienation and descent of property and on all subjects connected with the government of the said Indians on said reservations, and the internal police thereof, as may be thought proper.

ARTICLE 7.

In order to insure the civilization of the tribes, entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially by such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservations: and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages, who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education, shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than twenty years.

ARTICLE 8.

When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year not exceeding in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm for a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements as aforesaid not exceeding in value twenty-five dollars. And it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instruction from the farmer herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil a second blacksmith shall be provided, together with such iron, steel, and other material as may be needed.

ARTICLE 9.

At any time after ten years from the making of this treaty the United States shall have the privilege of withdrawing the physician, farmer, blacksmiths, carpenter, engineer, and miller herein provided for; but, in case of such withdrawal, an additional sum thereafter of ten thousand dollars per annum shall be devoted to the education of said Indians, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall, upon careful inquiry into the condition of said Indians, make such rules and regulations for the expenditure of said sum as will best promote the educational and moral improvement of said tribes.

ARTICLE 10.

In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians, herein named, under the treaty of October eighteenth, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, made at the mouth of the "Little Arkansas," and under all treaties made previous thereto, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency-house on the reservation herein named, on the fifteenth day of October of each year, for thirty years, the following articles, to wit:

For each male person over fourteen years of age, a suit of good substantial woollen clothing, consisting of coat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, hat, and a pair of home-made socks. For each female over twelve years of age, a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woollen hose, and twelve yards of calico, and twelve yards of "domestic."

For the boys and girls under the ages named, such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed, to make each a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woollen hose for each; and in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the agent, each year, to forward him a full and exact census of the Indians on which the estimates from year to year can be based; and, in addition to the clothing herein

named, the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars shall be annually appropriated for a period of thirty years, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles, upon the recommendation of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper; and if at any time within the thirty years it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing under this article can be appropriated to better uses for the tribes herein named, Congress may by law change the appropriation to other purposes, but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named; and the President shall, annually, detail an officer of the Army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery.

ARTICLE 11.

In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty and the many pledges of friendship by the United States, the tribes who are parties to this agreement hereby stipulate that they will relinquish all right to occupy permanently the territory outside of their reservation, as herein defined, but they yet reserve the right to hunt on any lands south of the Arkansas [River,*] so long as the buffalo may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase, [and no white settlements shall be permitted on any part of the lands contained in the old reservation as defined by the treaty made between the United States and the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Apache tribes of Indians at the mouth of the Little Arkansas, under date of October fourteenth, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, within three years from this date;*] and they, [the said tribes,*] further expressly agree—

1st. That they will withdraw all opposition to the construction of the railroad now being built on the Smoky Hill River, whether it be built to Colorado or New Mexico.

2d. That they will permit the peaceable construction of any railroad not passing over their reservation as herein defined.

3d. That they will not attack any persons at home, nor travelling, nor molest or disturb any wagon-trains, coaches, mules, or cattle belonging to the people of the United States, or to persons friendly therewith.

4th. They will never capture or carry off from the settlements white women or children.

5th. They will never kill nor scalp white men nor attempt to do them harm.

6th. They withdraw all pretence of opposition to the construction of the railroad now being built along the Platte River and westward to the Pacific Ocean; and they will not, in future, object to the construction of railroads, wagon-roads, mail-stations, or other works of utility or necessity which may be ordered or permitted by the laws of the United States. But should such roads or other works be constructed on the lands of their reservation, the Government will pay the tribes whatever amount of damage may be assessed by three disinterested commissioners, to be appointed by the President for that purpose; one of said commissioners to be a chief or head-man of the tribes.

7th. They agree to withdraw all opposition to the military posts now established in the western Territories.

ARTICLE 12.

No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described, which may be held in common, shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians, unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying the same, and no cession

by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him as provided in Article III [VI] of this treaty.

ARTICLE 13.

The Indian agent, in employing a farmer, blacksmith, miller, and other employes herein provided for, qualifications being equal, shall give the preference to Indians.

ARTICLE 14.

The United States hereby agrees to furnish annually to the Indians the physician, teachers, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmiths, as herein contemplated, and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time, on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior, as will be sufficient to employ such persons.

ARTICLE 15.

It is agreed that the sum of seven hundred and fifty dollars be appropriated for the purpose of building a dwelling-house on the reservation for "Tosh-e-wa," (or the Silver Brooch,) the Comanche chief who has already commenced farming on the said reservation. And the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three years from date, shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribes who in the judgment of the agent may grow the most valuable crops for the period named.

ARTICLE 16.

The tribes herein named agree, when the agency-house and other buildings shall be constructed on the reservation named, they will make said reservation their permanent home and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere, but they shall have the right to hunt on the lands south of the Arkansas River, formerly called theirs, in the same manner, subject to the modifications named in this treaty, as agreed on by the treaty of the Little Arkansas, concluded the eighteenth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five.

In testimony of which, we have hereunto set our hands and seals on the day and year aforesaid.

N. G. Taylor, President of Indian Commission.

Wm. S. Harney, Brevet Major-General.

C. C. Augur, Brevet Major-General.

Alfred H. Terry, Brigadier and Brevet Major-General.

John B. Sanborn,

Samuel F. Tappan,

J. B. Henderson.

Attest: Ashton S. H. White, secretary.

Kioways:

Satank, or Sitting Bear, his x mark.

Sa-tan-ta, or White Bear, his x mark.

Wa-toh-konk, or Black Eagle, his x mark.

Ton-a-en-ko, or Kicking Eagle, his x mark.

Fish-e-more, or Stinking Saddle, his x mark.

Ma-ye-tin, or Woman's Heart, his x mark.

Sa-tim-gear, or Stumbling Bear, his x mark.

Sit-par-ga, or One Bear, his x mark.

Corbeau, or The Crow, his x mark.

Sa-ta-more, or Bear Lying Down.

Comanches:

Parry-wah-say-men, or Ten Bears, his x mark.
Tep-pe-navon, or Painted Lips, his x mark.
To-sa-in, or Silver Brooch, his x mark.
Cear-chi-neka, or Standing Feather, his x mark.
Ho-we-ar, or Gap in the Woods, his x mark.
Tir-ha-yah-guahip, or Horse's Back, his x mark.
Es-a-nanaca, or Wolf's Name, his x mark.
Ah-te-es-ta, or Little Horn, his x mark.
Pooh-yah-to-yeh-be, or Iron Mountain, his x mark.
Sad-dy-yo, or Dog Fat, his x mark.

Attest:
Jas. A. Hardie, Inspector-General, U. S. Army.
Sam'l S. Smoot, U. S. surveyor.
Philip McCusker, interpreter.

J. H. Leavenworth, United States Indian agent.
Thos. Murphy, superintendent Indian affairs.
Henry Stanley, correspondent.
A. A. Taylor, assistant secretary.
Wm. Fayel, correspondent.
James O. Taylor, artist.
Geo. B. Willis, phonographer.
C. W. Whitaker, trader

Treaty with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache, 1867²⁴⁰

Oct. 21, 1867. | 15 Stats., 589. | Ratified, July 25, 1868. | Proclaimed Aug. 25 1868.

Articles of a treaty concluded at the Council Camp on Medicine Lodge Creek, seventy miles south of Fort Larned, in the State of Kansas, on the twenty-first day of October, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, by and between the United States of America, represented by its commissioners duly appointed thereto to-wit: Nathaniel G. Taylor, William S. Harney, C. C. Augur, Alfred S. [H.] Terry, John B. Sanborn, Samuel F. Tappan, and J. B. Henderson, of the one part, and the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, represented by their chiefs and headmen duly authorized and empowered to act for the body of the people of said tribes (the names of said chiefs and headmen being hereto subscribed) of the other part, witness:

Whereas, on the twenty-first day of October, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, a treaty of peace was made and entered into at the Council Camp, on Medicine Lodge Creek, seventy miles south of Fort Larned, in the State of Kansas, by and between the United States of America, by its commissioners Nathaniel G. Taylor, William S. Harney, C. C. Augur, Alfred H. Terry, John B. Sanborn, Samuel F. Tappan, and J. B. Henderson, of the one part, and the Kiowa and Comanche tribes of Indians, of the Upper Arkansas, by and through their chiefs and headmen whose names are subscribed thereto, of the other part, reference being had to said treaty; and whereas, since the making and signing of said treaty, at a council held at said camp on this day, the chiefs and headmen of the Apache nation or tribe of Indians express to the commissioners on the part of the United States, as aforesaid, a wish to be confederated with the said Kiowa and Comanche tribes, and to be placed, in every respect, upon an equal footing with said tribes; and whereas, at a council held at the same place and on the same day, with the chiefs and headmen of the said Kiowa and Comanche Tribes, they consent to the confederation of the said Apache tribe, as desired by it, upon the terms and conditions hereinafter set forth in this supplementary treaty: Now, therefore, it is hereby stipulated and agreed by and between the aforesaid commissioners, on the part of the United States, and the chiefs and headmen of the Kiowa and Comanche tribes, and, also, the chiefs and headmen of the said Apache tribe, as follows, to-wit:

²⁴⁰ Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, 982.

ARTICLE 1.

The said Apache tribe of Indians agree to confederate and become incorporated with the said Kiowa and Comanche Indians, and to accept as their permanent home the reservation described in the aforesaid treaty with said Kiowa and Comanche tribes, concluded as aforesaid at this place, and they pledge themselves to make no permanent settlement at any place, nor on any lands, outside of said reservation.

ARTICLE 2.

The Kiowa and Comanche tribes, on their part, agree that all the benefits and advantages arising from the employment of physicians, teachers, carpenters, millers, engineers, farmers, and blacksmiths, agreed to be furnished under the provisions of their said treaty, together with all the advantages to be derived from the construction of agency buildings, warehouses, mills, and other structures, and also from the establishment of schools upon their said reservation, shall be jointly and equally shared and enjoyed by the said Apache Indians, as though they had been originally a part of said tribes; and they further agree that all other benefits arising from said treaty shall be jointly and equally shared as aforesaid.

ARTICLE 3.

The United States, on its part, agrees that clothing and other articles named in Article X. of said original treaty, together with all money or other annuities agreed to be furnished under any of the provisions of said treaty, to the Kiowa and Comanches, shall be shared equally by the Apaches. In all cases where specific articles of clothing are agreed to be furnished to the Kiowas and Comanches, similar articles shall be furnished to the Apaches, and a separate census of the Apaches shall be annually taken and returned by the agent, as provided for the other tribes. And the United States further agrees, in consideration of the incorporation of said Apaches, to increase the annual appropriation of money, as provided for in Article X. of said treaty, from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand dollars; and the latter amount shall be annually appropriated, for the period therein named, for the use and benefit of said three tribes, confederated as herein declared; and the clothing and other annuities, which may from time to time be furnished to the Apaches, shall be based upon the census of the three tribes, annually to be taken by the agent, and shall be separately marked, forwarded, and delivered to them at the agency house, to be built under the provisions of said original treaty.

ARTICLE 4.

In consideration of the advantages conferred by this supplementary treaty upon the Apache tribe of Indians, they agree to observe and faithfully comply with all the stipulations and agreements entered into by the Kiowas and Comanches in said original treaty. They agree, in the same manner, to keep the peace toward the whites and all other persons under the jurisdiction of the United States, and to do and perform all other things enjoined upon said tribes by the provisions of said treaty; and they hereby give up and forever relinquish to the United States all rights, privileges, and grants now vested in them, or intended to be transferred to them, by the treaty between the United States and the Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes of Indians, concluded at the camp on the Little Arkansas River, in the State of Kansas, on the fourteenth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and also by the supplementary treaty, concluded at the

same place on the seventeenth day of the same month, between the United States, of the one part, and the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Apache tribes, of the other part.

In testimony of all which, the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals at the place and on the day hereinbefore stated.

N. G. Taylor, President of Indian Commission.
Wm. S. Harney, Brevet Major-General, Commissioner, &c.
C. C. Augur, Brevet Major-General.
Alfred H. Terry, Brevet Major-General and Brigadier-General.
John B. Sanborn.
Samuel F. Tappan.
J. B. Henderson.

On the part of the Kiowas:

Satanka, or Sitting bear, his x mark,
Sa-tan-ta, or White Bear, his x mark,

Wah-toh-konk, or Black Eagle, his x mark,
Ton-a-en-ko, or Kicking Eagle, his x mark,
Fish-e-more, or Stinking Saddle, his x mark,
Ma-ye-tin, or Woman's Heart, his x mark,
Sa-tim-gear, or Stumbling Bear, his x mark,
Cear-chi-neka, or Standing Feather, his x mark,
Ho-we-ar, or Gap in the Woods, his x mark,
Tir-ha-yah-gua-hip, or Horse's Back, his x mark,
Es-a-man-a-ca, or Wolf's Name, his x mark,
Ah-te-es-ta, or Little Horn, his x mark,
Pooh-yah-to-yeh-be, or Iron Mountain, his x mark,
Sad-dy-yo, or Dog Fat, his x mark,

On the part of the Apaches:

Sa-pa-ga, or One Bear, his x mark,
Cor-beau, or The Crow, his x mark,
Sa-ta-more, or Bear Lying Down, his x mark,
Mah-vip-pah, Wolf's Sleeve, his x mark,
Kon-zhon-ta-co, Poor Bear, his x mark,
Cho-se-ta, or Bad Back, his x mark,

On the part of the Comanches:

Parry-wah-say-men, or Ten Bears, his x mark,
Tep-pe-navon, or Painted Lips, his x mark,
To-she-wi, or Silver Brooch, his x mark,
Nah-tan, or Brave Man, his x mark,
Ba-zhe-ech, Iron Shirt, his x mark,
Til-la-ka, or White Horn, his x mark,

Attest:

Ashton S. H. White, secretary.
Geo. B. Willis, reporter.
Philip McCusker, interpreter.

John D. Howland, clerk Indian Commission.
Sam'l S. Smoot, United States surveyor.
A. A. Taylor.
J. H. Leavenworth, United States Indian agent.
Thos. Murphy, superintendent Indian affairs.
Joel H. Elliott, major, Seventh U.S. Cavalry.

Appendix B: US Court Cases

Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock, 187 U.S. 553 (1903)²⁴¹

APPEAL FROM THE COURT OF APPEALS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

No. 275 Argued October 23, 1902 - Decided January 5, 1903

Syllabus

The provisions in article 12 of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 with the Kiouasa and Comanche Indians to the effect that no treaty for the cession of any part of the reservation therein described, which may be held in common, shall be of any force or validity as against the Indians unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying the same, cannot be adjudged to materially limit and qualify the controlling authority of Congress in respect to the care and protection of the Indians and to deprive Congress, in a possible emergency, when the necessity might be urgent for a partition and disposal of the tribal lands, of all power to act if the assent of three-fourths of all the male Indians could not be obtained. Congress has always exercised plenary authority over the tribal relations of the Indians and the power has always been deemed a political one not subject to be controlled by the courts.

In view of the legislative power possessed by Congress over treaties with the Indians and Indian tribal property, even if a subsequent agreement or treaty purporting to be signed by three-fourths of all the male Indians was not signed and amendments to such subsequent treaty were not submitted to the Indians, as all these matters were solely within the domain of the legislative authority, the action of Congress is conclusive upon the courts.

As the Act of June 6, 1900, as to the disposition of these lands was enacted at a time when the tribal relations between the confederated tribes of the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches still existed, and that statute and the statutes supplementary thereto dealt with the disposition of tribal property and purported to give an adequate consideration for the surplus lands not allotted among the Indians or reserved for their benefit, such legislation was constitutional, and this Court will presume that Congress acted in perfect good faith and exercised its best judgment in the premises, and as Congress possessed full power in the matter, the judiciary cannot question or inquire into the motives which prompted the enactment of such legislation.

In 1867, a treaty was concluded with the Kiouasa and Comanche tribes of Indians, and such other friendly tribes as might be united with them, setting apart a reservation for the use of such Indians. By a separate treaty, the Apache tribe of Indians was incorporated with the two former-named, and became entitled to share in the benefits of the reservation. 15 Stat. 581, 589.

The first named treaty is usually called the Medicine Lodge Treaty. By the sixth article thereof, it was provided that heads of families might select a tract of land within the reservation, not exceeding 320 acres in extent, which should thereafter cease to be held in common, and should be for the exclusive possession of the Indian making the selection, so long as he or his family might continue to cultivate the land. The twelfth article of the treaty was as follows:

"Article 12. No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described which may be held in common shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying the same, and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him as provided in article III (VI) of this treaty."

The three tribes settled under the treaties upon the described land. On October 6, 1892, 456 male adult members of the confederated tribes signed, with three commissioners representing the United States, an agreement concerning the reservation. The Indian agent, in a certificate appended to the agreement, represented that there were then 562 male adults in the three tribes. Senate Ex.Doc. No. 27, 52d

²⁴¹ Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock, 187 U.S. 553 (1903).

Congress, second session, page 17. Four hundred and fifty-six male adults therefore constituted more than three-fourths of the certified number of total male adults in the three tribes. In form, the agreement was a proposed treaty, the terms of which, in substance, provided for a surrender to the United States of the rights of the tribes in the reservation, for allotments out of such lands to the Indians in severalty, the fee simple title to be conveyed to the allottees or their heirs after the expiration of twenty-five years, and the payment or setting apart for the benefit of the tribes of two million dollars as the consideration for the surplus of land over and above the allotments which might be made to the Indians. It was provided that sundry named friends of the Indians (among such persons being the Indian agent and an army officer) "should each be entitled to all the benefits, in land only conferred under this agreement, the same as if members of said tribes." Eliminating 350,000 acres of mountainous land, the quantity of surplus lands suitable for farming and grazing purposes was estimated at 2,150,000 acres. Concerning the payment to be made for these surplus lands, the commission, in their report to the President announcing the termination of the negotiations, said (Senate Ex.Doc. No. 17, second session, 52d Congress):

"In this connection, it is proper to add that the commission agreed with the Indians to incorporate the following in their report, which is now done:"

"The Indians upon this reservation seem to believe (but whether from an exercise of their own judgment or from the advice of others the commission cannot determine) that their surplus land is worth two and one-half million dollars, and Congress may be induced to give them that much for it. Therefore, in compliance with their request, we report that they desire to be heard through an attorney and a delegation to Washington upon that question, the agreement signed, however, to be effective upon ratification no matter what Congress may do with their appeal for the extra half million dollars." In transmitting the agreement to the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs said: "The price paid, while considerably in excess of that paid to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, seems to be fair and reasonable, both to the government and the Indians, the land being doubtless of better quality than that in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation."

Attention was directed to the provision in the agreement in favor of the Indian agent and an army officer, and it was suggested that to permit them to avail thereof would establish a bad precedent. Soon after the signing of the foregoing agreement it was claimed by the Indians that their assent had been obtained by fraudulent misrepresentations of its terms by the interpreters, and it was asserted that the agreement should not be held binding upon the tribes because three-fourths of the adult male members had not assented thereto, as was required by the twelfth article of the Medicine Lodge treaty. Obviously, in consequence of the policy embodied in section 2079 of the Revised Statutes, departing from the former custom of dealing with Indian affairs by treaty and providing for legislative action on such subjects, various bills were introduced in both Houses of Congress designed to give legal effect to the agreement made by the Indians in 1892. These bills were referred to the proper committee, and before such committees the Indians presented their objections to the propriety of giving effect to the agreement. (H.R.Doc. No. 431, 55th Congress, second session.) In 1898, the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives unanimously reported a bill for the execution of the agreement made with the Indians. The report of the committee recited that a favorable conclusion had been reached by the committee "after the fullest hearings from delegations of the Indian tribes and all parties at interest." (H.R.Doc. No. 419, first session, 56th Congress, p. 5.)

The bill thus reported did not exactly conform to the agreement as signed by the Indians. It modified the agreement by changing the time for making the allotments, and it also provided that the proceeds of the surplus lands remaining after allotments to the Indians should be held to await the judicial decision of a claim asserted by the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes of Indians to the surplus lands. This claim was based upon a treaty made in 1866, by which the two tribes ceded the reservation in question, it being contended that the lands were impressed with a trust in favor of the ceding tribes, and that,

whenever the reservation was abandoned, so much of it as was not allotted to the confederated Indians of the Comanche, Kiouasa, and Apache tribes reverted to the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

The bill just referred to passed the House of Representatives on May 16, 1898. (31st Cong.Rec. p. 4947.) When the bill reached the Senate that body, on January 25, 1899, adopted a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Interior for information as to whether the signatures attached to the agreement comprised three-fourths of the male adults of the tribes. In response the Secretary of the Interior informed the Senate, under date of January 28, 1899, that the records of the department "failed to show a census of these Indians for the year 1892," but that "from a roll used in making a payment to them in January and February, 1893, it appeared that there were 725 males over eighteen years of age, of whom 639 were twenty-one years and over." The Secretary further called attention to the fact that, by the agreement of 1892 a right of selection was conferred upon each member of the tribes over eighteen years of age, and observed:

"If 18 years and over be held to be the legal age of those who were authorized to sign the agreement, the number of persons who actually signed was 87 less than three-fourths of the adult male membership of the tribes, and if 21 years be held to be the minimum age, then 23 less than three-fourths signed the agreement. In either event, less than three-fourths of the male adults appear to have so signed."

With this information before it, the bill was favorably reported by the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, but did not pass that body.

At the first session of the following Congress (the Fifty-sixth), bills were introduced in both the Senate and House of Representatives substantially like that which has just been noticed. (Senate, 1352; H.R. 905.)

In the meanwhile, about October, 1899, the Indians had at a general council at which 571 male adults of the tribes purported to be present, protested against the execution of the provisions of the agreement of 1892, and adopted a memorial to Congress praying that that body should not give effect to the agreement. This memorial was forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with lengthy comments, pointing out the fact that the Indians claimed that their signatures to the agreement had been procured by fraud, and that the legal number of Indians had not signed the agreement, and that the previous bills and bills then pending contemplated modification of the agreement in important particulars without the consent of the Indians. This communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, together with the memorial of the Indians, were transmitted by the Secretary of the Interior to Congress. Senate Doc. No. 76; H.R.Doc. No. 333; first session, Fifty-sixth Congress. Attention was called to the fact that, although by the agreement of October 6, 1892, one-half of each allotment was contemplated to be agricultural land, there was only sufficient agricultural land in the entire reservation to average thirty acres per Indian. After setting out the charges of fraud and complaints respecting the proposed amendments designed to be made to the agreement, as above stated, particular complaint was made of the provision in the agreement of 1892 as to allotments in severalty among the Indians of lands for agricultural purposes. After reciting that the tribal lands were not adapted to such purposes, but were suitable for grazing, the memorial proceeded as follows:

"We submit that the provision for lands to be allotted to us under this treaty are insufficient, because it is evident we cannot, on account of the climate of our section, which renders the maturity of crops uncertain, become a successful farming community; that we or whoever else occupies these lands will have to depend upon the cattle industry for revenue and support. And we therefore pray, if we cannot be granted the privilege of keeping our reservation under the treaty made with us in 1868, and known as the Medicine Lodge treaty, that authority be granted for the consideration of a new treaty that will make the allowance of land to be allotted to us sufficient for us to graze upon it enough stock cattle, the increase from which we can market for support of ourselves and families."

With the papers just referred to before it, the House Committee on Indian Affairs, in February, 1900, favorably reported a bill to give effect to the agreement of 1892.

On January 19, 1900, an act was passed by the Senate entitled "An Act to Ratify an Agreement Made with the Indians of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation in Idaho, and Making an Appropriation to Carry the Same into Effect." In February, 1900, the House Committee on Indian Affairs, having before it the memorial of the Indians transmitted by the Secretary of the Interior, and also having for consideration the Senate bill just alluded to, reported that bill back to the House favorably, with certain amendments. (H.R.Doc. No. 419, 56th Congress, first session.) One of such amendments consisted in adding to the bill in question, as section 6, a provision to execute the agreement made with the Kioussa, Comanche, and Apache Indians in 1892. Although the bill thus reported embodied the execution of the agreement last referred to, the title of the bill was not changed, and consequently referred only to the execution of the agreement made with the Indians of the Fort Hall reservation in Idaho. The provisions thus embodied in section 6 of the bill in question substantially conformed to those contained in the bill which had previously passed the House, except that the previous enactment on this subject was changed so as to do away with the necessity for making to each Indian one-half of his allotment in agricultural land and the other half in grazing land. In addition, a clause was inserted in the bill providing for the setting apart of a large amount of grazing land to be used in common by the Indians. The provision in question was as follows:

"That in addition to the allotment of lands to said Indians as provided for in this agreement, the Secretary of the Interior shall set aside for the use in common for said Indian tribes four hundred and eighty thousand acres of grazing lands, to be selected by the Secretary of the Interior, either in one or more tracts as will best subserve the interest of said Indians."

The provision of the agreement in favor of the Indian agent and army officer was also eliminated. The bill, moreover, exempted the money consideration for the surplus lands from all claims for Indian depredations, and expressly provided that in the event the claim of the Choctaws and Chickasaws was ultimately sustained, the consideration referred to should be subject to the further action of Congress. In this bill, as in previous ones, provision was made for allotments to the Indians, the opening of the surplus land for settlement, etc. The bill became a law by concurrence of the Senate in the amendments adopted by the House as just stated.

Thereafter, by acts approved on January 4, 1901, 31 Stat. 727, c. 8, March 3, 1901, 31 Stat. 1078, c. 832, and March 3, 1901, 31 Stat. 1093, c. 846, authority was given to extend the time for making allotments and opening of the surplus land for settlement for a period not exceeding eight months from December 6, 1900; appropriations were made for surveys in connection with allotments and setting apart of grazing lands, and authority was conferred to establish counties and county seats, townsites, etc., and proclaim the surplus lands open for settlement by white people.

On June 6, 1901, a bill was filed on the equity side of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, wherein Lone Wolf (one of the appellants herein) was named as complainant, suing for himself as well as for all other members of the confederated tribes of the Kioussa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, residing in the Territory of Oklahoma. The present appellees (the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Commissioner of the General Land Office) were made respondents to the bill. Subsequently, by an amendment to the bill, members of the Kioussa, Comanche, and Apache tribes were joined with Lone Wolf as parties complainant.

The bill recited the establishing and occupancy of the reservation in Oklahoma by the confederated tribes of Kioussas, Comanches, and Apaches, the signing of the agreement of October 6, 1892, and the subsequent proceedings which have been detailed, culminating in the passage of the Act of June 6, 1900, and the act of Congress supplementary to said act. In substance, it was further charged in the bill that the agreement had not been signed as required by the Medicine Lodge treaty -- that is, by three-fourths of the male adult members of the tribe -- and that the signatures thereto had been obtained by fraudulent misrepresentations and concealment, similar to those recited in the memorial signed at the 1899 council. In addition to the grievance previously stated in the memorial, the charge was made that

the interpreters falsely represented, when the said treaty was being considered by the Indians, that the treaty provided "for the sale of their surplus lands at some time in the future at the price of \$2.50 per acre," whereas, in truth and in fact "by the terms of said treaty, only \$1.00 an acre is allowed for said surplus lands," which sum, it was charged, was an amount far below the real value of said lands. It was also averred that portions of the signed agreement had been changed by Congress without submitting such changes to the Indians for their consideration. Based upon the foregoing allegations, it was alleged that so much of said act of Congress of June 6, 1900, and so much of said acts supplementary thereto and amendatory thereof as provided for the taking effect of said agreement, the allotment of certain lands mentioned therein to members of said Indian tribes, the surveying, laying out, and platting townsites and locating county seats on said lands, and the ceding to the United States and the opening to settlement by white men of two million acres of said lands, were enacted in violation of the property rights of the said Kiouasa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, and if carried into effect would deprive said Indians of their lands without due process of law, and that said parts of said acts were contrary to the Constitution of the United States, and were void, and conferred no right, power, or duty upon the respondents to do or perform any of the acts or things enjoined or required by the acts of Congress in question. Alleging the intention of the respondents to carry into effect the aforesaid claimed unconstitutional and void acts, and asking discovery by answers to interrogatories propounded to the respondents, the allowance of a temporary restraining order, and a final decree awarding a perpetual injunction, was prayed, to restrain the commission by the respondents of the alleged unlawful acts by them threatened to be done. General relief was also prayed.

On January 6, 1901, a rule to show cause why a temporary injunction should not be granted was issued. In response to this rule, an affidavit of the Secretary of the Interior was filed in which, in substance, it was averred that the complainant (Lone Wolf) and his wife and daughter had selected allotments under the Act of June 6, 1900, and the same had been approved by the Secretary of the Interior, and that all other members of the tribes excepting twelve had also accepted and retained allotments in severalty, and that the greater part thereof had been approved before the bringing of this suit. It was also averred that the 480,000 acres of grazing land provided to be set apart, in the Act of June 6, 1900, for the use by the Indians in common, had been so set apart prior to the institution of the suit, "with the approval of a council composed of chiefs and headmen of said Indians." Thereupon an affidavit verified by Lone Wolf was filed in which in effect he denied that he had accepted an allotment of lands under the Act of June 6, 1900, and the acts supplementary to and amendatory thereof. Thereafter, on June 17, 1901, leave was given to amend the bill and the same was amended, as heretofore stated, by adding additional parties complainant and by providing a substituted first paragraph of the bill, in which was set forth, among other things, that the three tribes at a general council held on June 7, 1901, had voted to institute all legal and other proceedings necessary to be taken, to prevent the carrying into effect of the legislation complained of.

The Supreme Court of the District, on June 21, 1901, denied the application for a temporary injunction. The cause was thereafter submitted to the court on a demurrer to the bill as amended. The demurrer was sustained, and the complainants electing of appeals of the District. While this appeal was pending, the President issued a proclamation, dated July 4, 1901 (32 Stat.Appx. Proclamations, 11), in which it was ordered that the surplus lands ceded by the Comanche, Kiouasa, and Apache and other tribes of Indians should be opened to entry and settlement on August 6, 1901. Among other things, it was recited in the proclamation that all the conditions required by law to be performed prior to the opening of the lands to settlement and entry had been performed. It was also therein recited that, in pursuance of the act of Congress ratifying the agreement, allotments of land in severalty had been regularly made to each member of the Comanche, Kiouasa, and Apache tribes of Indians; the lands occupied by religious societies or other organizations for religious or educational work among the Indians had been regularly allotted and confirmed to such societies and organizations, respectively, and the Secretary of the

Interior, out of the lands ceded by the agreement, had regularly selected and set aside for the use in common for said Comanche, Kiouasa, and Apache tribes of Indians four hundred and eighty acres of grazing lands.

The Court of Appeals (without passing on a motion which had been made to dismiss the appeal) affirmed the decree of the court below, and overruled a motion for reargument. 19 App.D.C. 315. An appeal was allowed, and the decree of affirmance is now here for review.

Mr. William M. Springer and Mr. Hampton L. Carson for the appellants.
Mr. Assistant Attorney General Van Devanter for appellee.

Mr. Justice White, after making the foregoing statement, delivered the opinion of the Court.

By the sixth article of the first of the two treaties referred to in the preceding statement, proclaimed on August 25, 1868, 15 Stat. 581, it was provided that heads of families of the tribes affected by the treaty might select, within the reservation, a tract of land of not exceeding 320 acres in extent, which should thereafter cease to be held in common, and should be for the exclusive possession of the Indian making the selection so long as he or his family might continue to cultivate the land. The twelfth article reads as follows:

"Article 12. No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein in described, which may be held in common, shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying the same, and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him as provided in article III (VI) of this treaty."

The appellants base their right to relief on the proposition that, by the effect of the article just quoted, the confederated tribes of Kiouasas, Comanches, and Apaches were vested with an interest in the lands held in common within the reservation, which interest could not be divested by Congress in any other mode than that specified in the said twelfth article, and that, as a result of the said stipulation, the interest of the Indians in the common lands fell within the protection of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and such interest -- indirectly, at least -- came under the control of the judicial branch of the government. We are unable to yield our assent to this view.

The contention in effect ignores the status of the contracting Indians and the relation of dependency they bore and continue to bear towards the government of the United States. To uphold the claim would be to adjudge that the indirect operation of the treaty was to materially limit and qualify the controlling authority of Congress in respect to the care and protection of the Indians, and to deprive Congress, in a possible emergency, when the necessity might be urgent for a partition and disposal of the tribal lands, of all power to act, if the assent of the Indians could not be obtained.

Now it is true that, in decisions of this Court, the Indian right of occupancy of tribal lands, whether declared in a treaty or otherwise created, has been stated to be sacred, or, as sometimes expressed, as sacred as the fee of the United States in the same lands. *Johnson v. McIntosh*, (1823) 8 Wheat. 543, 21 U. S. 574; *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, (1831) 5 Pet. 1, 30 U. S. 48; *Worcester v. Georgia*, (1832) 6 Pet. 515, 31 U. S. 581; *United States v. Cook*, (1873) 19 Wall. 591, 86 U. S. 592; *Leavenworth &c. R. Co. v. United States*, (1875) 92 U. S. 733, 92 U. S. 755; *Beecher v. Wetherby*, (1877) 95 U. S. 525. But in none of these cases was there involved a controversy between Indians and the government respecting the power of Congress to administer the property of the Indians. The questions considered in the cases referred to, which either directly or indirectly had relation to the nature of the property rights of the Indians, concerned the character and extent of such rights as respected states or individuals. In one of the cited cases, it was clearly pointed out that Congress possessed a paramount power over the property

of the Indians by reason of its exercise of guardianship over their interests, and that such authority might be implied, even though opposed to the strict letter of a treaty with the Indians. Thus, in *Beecher v. Wetherby*, 95 U. S. 525, discussing the claim that there had been a prior reservation of land by treaty to the use of a certain tribe of Indians, the Court said (p. 95 U. S. 525):

"But the right which the Indians held was only that of occupancy. The fee was in the United States, subject to that right, and could be transferred by them whenever they chose. The grantee, it is true, would take only the naked fee, and could not disturb the occupancy of the Indians; that occupancy could only be interfered with or determined by the United States. It is to be presumed that in this matter the United States would be governed by such considerations of justice as would control a Christian people in their treatment of an ignorant and dependent race. Be that as it may, the propriety or justice of their action towards the Indians with respect to their lands is a question of governmental policy, and is not a matter open to discussion in a controversy between third parties, neither of whom derives title from the Indians."

Plenary authority over the tribal relations of the Indians has been exercised by Congress from the beginning, and the power has always been deemed a political one, not subject to be controlled by the judicial department of the government. Until the year 1871, the policy was pursued of dealing with the Indian tribes by means of treaties, and, of course, a moral obligation rested upon Congress to act in good faith in performing the stipulations entered into on its behalf. But, as with treaties made with foreign nations, *Chinese Exclusion Case*, 130 U. S. 581, 130 U. S. 600, the legislative power might pass laws in conflict with treaties made with the Indians. *Thomas v. Gay*, 169 U. S. 264, 169 U. S. 270; *Ward v. Race Horse*, 163 U. S. 504, 163 U. S. 511; *Spalding v. Chandler*, 160 U. S. 394, 160 U. S. 405; *Missouri, Kansas & Texas Ry. Co. v. Roberts*, 152 U. S. 114, 152 U. S. 117; *Cherokee Tobacco*, 11 Wall. 616.

The power exists to abrogate the provisions of an Indian treaty, though presumably such power will be exercised only when circumstances arise which will not only justify the government in disregarding the stipulations of the treaty, but may demand, in the interest of the country and the Indians themselves, that it should do so. When, therefore, treaties were entered into between the United States and a tribe of Indians, it was never doubted that the power to abrogate existed in Congress, and that, in a contingency, such power might be availed of from considerations of governmental policy, particularly if consistent with perfect good faith towards the Indians. In *United States v. Kagama*, (1885) 118 U. S. 375, speaking of the Indians, the Court said (p. 118 U. S. 382):

"After an experience of a hundred years of the treaty-making system of government Congress has determined upon a new departure -- to govern them by acts of Congress. This is seen in the Act of March 3, 1871, embodied in section 2079 of the Revised Statutes: 'No Indian nation or tribe, within the territory of the United States, shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty; but no obligation of any treaty lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe prior to March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-one, shall be hereby invalidated or impaired.'"

In upholding the validity of an act of Congress which conferred jurisdiction upon the courts of the United States for certain crimes committed on an Indian reservation within a state, the Court said (p. 118 U. S. 383):

"It seems to us that this is within the competency of Congress. These Indian tribes are the wards of the nation. They are communities dependent on the United States. Dependent largely for their daily food. Dependent for their political rights. They own no allegiance to the states, and receive from them no protection. Because of the local ill feeling, the people of the states where they are found are often their deadliest enemies. From their very weakness and helplessness, so largely due to the course of dealing of the federal government with them and the treaties in which it has been promised, there arises the

duty of protection, and with it the power. This has always been recognized by the executive and by Congress, and by this Court, whenever the question has arisen."

*

*

*

*

"The power of the general government over these remnants of a race once powerful, now weak and diminished in numbers, is necessary to their protection, as well as to the safety of those among whom they dwell. It must exist in that government, because it never has existed anywhere else, because the theater of its exercise is within the geographical limits of the United States, because it has never been denied, and because it alone can enforce its laws on all the tribes."

That Indians who had not been fully emancipated from the control and protection of the United States are subject at least so far as the tribal lands were concerned, to be controlled by direct legislation of Congress, is also declared in *Choctaw Nation v. United States*, 119 U. S. 1, 119 U. S. 27, and *Stephens v. Choctaw Nation*, 174 U. S. 445, 174 U. S. 483.

In view of the legislative power possessed by Congress over treaties with the Indians and Indian tribal property, we may not specially consider the contentions pressed upon our notice that the signing by the Indians of the agreement of October 6, 1892, was obtained by fraudulent misrepresentations, and concealment, that the requisite three-fourths of adult male Indians had not signed, as required by the twelfth article of the treaty of 1867, and that the treaty as signed had been amended by Congress without submitting such amendments to the action of the Indians since all these matters, in any event, were solely within the domain of the legislative authority, and its action is conclusive upon the courts. The Act of June 6, 1900, which is complained of in the bill, was enacted at a time when the tribal relations between the confederated tribes of Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches still existed, and that statute and the statutes supplementary thereto dealt with the disposition of tribal property, and purported to give an adequate consideration for the surplus lands not allotted among the Indians or reserved for their benefit. Indeed, the controversy which this case presents is concluded by the decision in *Cherokee Nation v. Hitchcock*, 187 U. S. 294, where it was held that full administrative power was possessed by Congress over Indian tribal property. In effect, the action of Congress now complained of was but an exercise of such power, a mere change in the form of investment of Indian tribal property, the property of those who, as we have held, were in substantial effect the wards of the government. We must presume that Congress acted in perfect good faith in the dealings with the Indians of which complaint is made, and that the legislative branch of the government exercised its best judgment in the premises. In any event, as Congress possessed full power in the matter, the judiciary cannot question or inquire into the motives which prompted the enactment of this legislation. If injury was occasioned, which we do not wish to be understood as implying, by the use made by Congress of its power, relief must be sought by an appeal to that body for redress, and not to the courts. The legislation in question was constitutional, and the demurrer to the bill was therefore rightly sustained.

The motion to dismiss does not challenge jurisdiction over the subject matter. Without expressly referring to the propositions of fact upon which it proceeds, suffice it to say that we think it need not be further adverted to, since, for the reasons previously given and the nature of the controversy, we think the decree below should be

Affirmed.

Mr. Justice Harlan concurs in the resolution.

KCA Thesis Bibliography

Primary

- American Indian and Alaskan Native Documents in the Congressional Serial Set: 1817-1899. Oklahoma Historical Society.
- Andrew Jackson Houston Collection. Texas State Library and Archives Commission.
- Battey, Thomas C. *A Quaker Among the Indians*. Santaquin, UT: Old Pioneer Press, 2021.
- Brant, Charles S. ed. *Jim Whitewolf: The Life of a Kiowa Apache Indian*. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1969.
- Catlin, George. *Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*. New York: Random House, 1995.
- Custer, George. *My Life on the Plains: Personal Experiences with Indians*. Barnes & Noble, 2006.
- Deloria, Vine and DeMallie, Raymond. *Documents of American Indian Diplomacy: Treaties, Agreements, and Conventions, 1775-1979*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.
- Fredrickson, Vera-May, ed. *A Chronicle of the Kiowa Indians (1832-1892)*. Berkeley, CA: R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, 1968.
- Greene, Candace. *One Hundred Summers: A Kiowa Calendar Record*. Lincoln, NE: University of Lincoln Press, 2009.
- Hurtado, Albert L., and Iverson, Peter Ed. *Major Problems in American Indian History*. Lexington, MA.: Heath and Company, 1994.
- “Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854.” *Milestone Documents*, The National Archives. May 10th, 2022.
<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/kansas-nebraska-act>. Accessed 12/28/2023.
- Kappler, Charles. *Indian Treaties: 1778-1883*. New York: Interland Publishing, 1972.
- Kiowa Agency, 1864-1880. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives.
- Kiowa Agency Records (1868-1933). Oklahoma Historical Society.
- Lehmann, Herman. *Nine Years Among the Indians*. Monee, Illinois: Big Byte Books, 2016.

- Mooney, James. *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979.
- Momaday, N. Scott. *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969.
- Nye, Wilbur S. *Bad Medicine and Good*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.
- “Oscar Hokeah.” *Oscarhokeah.com*. <https://www.oscarhokeah.com/about>.
- Pratt, Richard H. “The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites.” *Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction, 1892*. Boston: Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Nov. 1st, 1892: 45-58.
- Prucha, Francis Ed. *Documents of United States Indian Policy*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1975.
- Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior 1826-2009. National Archives.
- Richardson, James D. ed. *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*. Washington, Vol. 3, 1904. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/11202/11202-h/11202-h.htm>
- Robinson, W. Stitt. ed. “The Kiowa and Comanche Campaign of 1860 as Recorded in the Personal Diary of Lt. J. E. B. Stuart.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Winter 1957): 382 - 400.
- Stanley, Henry M. *My Early Travels and Adventures in America and Asia*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 2001.
- Steinbach, Robert H. “The Red River War of 1874-1875: Selected Correspondence between Lieutenant Frank Baldwin and His Wife, Alice.” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* Vol. 93, no. 4 (April 1990): 497-518. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30240123>.
- Stokely, Michelle. “Black Bear’s Calendar: Picturing Southern Plains History.” *Great Plains Quarterly* Vol. 34, no. 4 (Fall 2014): 341-363. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24465585>.

Tatum, Lawrie. *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1971.

Texas Indian Papers. Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

“The Indians: Meeting of the Grand Council.” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 30th, 1867.

Thwaites, Ruben G. Ed. *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: Vol. VIII, Atlas*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1905.

Tongkeamha, Henrietta, Tongkeamha. *Stories from Saddle Mountain: Autobiographies of a Kiowa Family*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2021.

Upper Arkansas Agency, 1855-1874. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

Vanderwerth, W.C. Ed. *Indian Oratory: Famous Speeches by Noted Indian Chieftains*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.

Wilkerson, Charles F., and Miklas, Christine Editors. *Indian Tribes as Sovereign Governments: A Sourcebook on Federal-Tribal History, Law, and Policy*. Oakland, CA: American Indian Resources Institute Press, 1988.

“William T. Sherman Papers: General Correspondence, 1837-1891; 1871, Feb. 9 – Aug. 11” *William T. Sherman Papers*. Library of Congress, 1871.

Secondary

Agnew, Brad. “The Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition.” Master’s Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1967.

Baker, Lindsay, and Harrison, Billy. *Adobe Walls: The History and Archeology of the 1874 Trading Post*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2002.

Brant, Charles S. “The Cultural Position of the Kiowa-Apache.” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* Vol. 5, no. 1 (Spring 1949): 56-61. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3628745>.

Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.

- Deloria Jr, Vine. *Custer Died for Your Sins*. New York: MacMillan, 1969.
- Ellis, Clyde. *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003.
- Ellis, Clyde. *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.
- Graber, Jennifer. "Religion in Kiowa Ledgers: Expanding the Canon of American Religious Literature." *American Literary History* Vol. 26, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 42-60.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/43818703>.
- Green, Jerome A., and Scott, Douglas D. *Finding Sand Creek: History, Archeology, and the 1864 Massacre Site*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.
- Graybill, Andrew. "Rangers, Mounties, and the Subjugation of Indigenous Peoples, 1870-1885." *Great Plains Quarterly* Vol. 24, no. 2 (SPRING 2004): 83-100. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23533883>.
- Ferris, Robert Ed. *Soldier and Brave: Historic Places Associated with Indian Affairs and the Indian Wars in the Trans-Mississippi West*. Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 1971.
- Hämäläinen, Pekka. "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures." *The Journal of American History* Vol. 90, no. 3 (December, 2003): 833-862. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3660878>.
- Hurtado, Albert L., and Iverson, Peter Editors. *Major Problems in American Indian History*. Lexington, MA.: Heath and Company, 1994.
- Janda, Lance. "Shutting the Gates of Mercy: The American Origins of Total War, 1860-1880." *The Journal of Military History* Vol. 59, no. 1, (Jan 1995). ProQuest Central.
- Jones, Douglas C. *The Treaty of Medicine Lodge*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.
- Jordan, H. Glenn, and Holm, Thomas M. Editors. *Indian Leaders: Oklahoma's First Statesmen*. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1979.

- Kenner, Charles. "The Origins of the 'Goodnight' Trail Reconsidered." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* Vol. 77, no. 3 (January 1974): 390-394. <https://www.jstor.org/stable.30238283>.
- Kinbacher, Kurt. "Contested Events and Conflicting Meanings: Mari Sandoz and the Sappa Creek Cheyenne Massacre of 1875." *Great Plains Quarterly* Vol. 36, no. 4 (Fall 2016): 309-326. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44685691>.
- Knight, Oliver. *Following the Indian Wars: The Story of Newspaper Correspondents Among the Indian Campaigners*. Norman, OK.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.
- Kracht, Benjamin. "Kiowa – Comanche – Apache Opening," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*. Oklahoma Historical Society, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=KI020>. Accessed 12/28/2023.
- Kracht, Benjamin. "The Kiowa Ghost Dance." *Ethnohistory* Vol. 39, no. 4 (Fall 1992): 452-477. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/481963>.
- Kracht, Benjamin. *Kiowa Belief and Ritual*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017.
- Kracht, Benjamin. *Religious Revitalization Among the Kiowas: The Ghost Dance, Peyote, and Christianity*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2018.
- Kraenzel, Carl Frederick. *The Great Plains in Transition*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955.
- Kratz, Jesse. "The Last Attempt: The Indian Peace Commission of 1867-1868." *Pieces of History*. The National Archives. Nov. 29th, 2022. <https://prologue.blogs.archives.gov/2022/11/29/the-last-attempt-the-indian-peace-commission-of-1867-1868/>. Accessed 6/22/2023.
- Lassiter, Luke Eric. "'From Here on, I Will Be Praying to You': Indian Churches, Kiowa Hymns, and Native American Christianity in Southwestern Oklahoma." *Ethnomusicology* Vol.45, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 338-352. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/852678>.

- Limerick, Patricia Nelson. *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987.
- Marriott, Alice. *The Ten Grandmothers*. 8th ed. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.
- Mayhall, Mildred. *The Kiowas*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.
- Meadows, William C. *Kiowa Military Societies: Ethnohistory and Ritual*. Oxford University Press, 2022.
- Newcomb, W.W. *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1989.
- Nye, W.S. *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937.
- Oman, Kerry. "The Beginning of the End: The Indian Peace Commission of 1867-1868." *The Great Plains Quarterly* Vol. 22, no.1 (Winter 2002): 35-51. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23532701>.
- Robinson, Charles M. *The Indian Trial: The Complete Story of the Warren Wagon Train Massacre and the Fall of the Kiowa Nation*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.
- Robinson, Charles M. *Satanta: The Life and Death of a War Chief*. Austin, TX: State House Press, 1997.
- Sim, David. "The Peace Policy of Ulysses S. Grant." *American Nineteenth Century History* Vol. 9, no. 3 (September 2008): 241-268.
- Smith, Martina. "The Ledger Art Collection." Milwaukee Public Museum, 2006.
<https://www.mpm.edu/research-collections/anthropology/online-collections-research/ledger-art-collection>.
- Smits, David. "The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883." *Western Historical Quarterly* Vol. 25, no. 3 (Autumn, 1994): 312-338. <https://jstor.org/stable/971110>.

- Talbot, Steve. "Spiritual Genocide: The Denial of American Indian Religious Freedom, from Conquest to 1934." *Wicazo Sa review* Vol. 21, no. 2 (Autumn, 2006): 7-39.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/4140266>.
- Utley, Robert M. *The Indian Frontier: 1846-1890*. University of New Mexico Press, 1984.
- Utley, Robert M. "Red River War: The Last Uprising in the Texas Panhandle." *The Quarterly Journal of Military History* Vol. 20, no. 1 (Autumn 2007): 74-83. ProQuest Central.
- Wishart, David J, Editor. "Kiowa Six." *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*. University of Nebraska—Lincoln. <http://plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/doc/egp.art.042>
- Wissler, Clark. *The American Indian: An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World*. London: Oxford University Press, 1931.