UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

MY FATHER'S NAME WAS ZAHTAH:
CONSTRUCTING THE LIFE HISTORY OF ALFRED CHALEPAH, SR.

A Dissertation
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

By

MICHELLE D. STOKELY

Norman, Oklahoma
2003

UMI Number: 3096340

UMI®

UMI Microform 3096340

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

MY FATHER'S NAME WAS ZAHTAH:
CONSTRUCTING THE LIFE HISTORY OF ALFRED CHALEPAH, SR.

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

Dr. Morris Foster, Chair

Dr. Jason Jackson

Dr. Gus Palmer

Dr. Sean O'Neill

Dr. Randolph Lewis

Table of Contents

List of Photographs, Maps, Tables and Charts

Introduction

It has always seemed to me that this work was driven by both accident and fate, strange partners in the telling of a man's life. I had never planned to be involved in the narration of life stories; instead, I was drawn by the faded images of old photographs, capturing the faces and activities experienced by Indian peoples since reservation days. I had assumed that my research would lead me to a photo archive, where I would analyze those snapshots. But by accident or fate, or maybe both at the same time, I was asked to work on a language revitalization project among the Plains Apaches in Anadarko, Oklahoma.

In September of 1999, I introduced myself to various members of the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma and, as it turned out, this community was no stranger to anthropologists, having regularly encountered us for more than fifty years. Fortunately, the past experiences had been generally positive and I was made to feel very welcome. This particular language program was seen by many as a last chance to salvage a few words and phrases, recording them for the future. It called for the preparation of written educational materials, including a dictionary, and the training of a few elders who had heard the language as children but did not speak on a fluent level. These individuals, it was proposed, would become skilled enough to teach the next generation and thus the language would continue in a limited form for a few more years. Leading the class would be the remaining three fluent speakers who continued to converse among themselves. Sadly, one passed away shortly after the project began and the other was too infirm to participate; she too died before the project was completed. Thus all of the work fell onto the shoulders of an elderly gentleman, Alfred Chalepah Sr., who at times seemed too frail

to bear such a load. But as I would learn, this man had often faced hard times and, drawing upon his faith in "that man upstairs", would rise to the task at hand.

Alfred was a seasoned participant in cultural programs, having taught language classes on other occasions. He had also worked with many academic scholars, providing valuable data on Apache genealogy, tribal history, religion, and the usual lines of ethnographic inquiry. He had experienced much in his lifetime and, despite his statements that he wasn't a good storyteller, his narration was in fact quite captivating. He always had something interesting to relate, tying together his own experiences with those of the tribe, expressing the pride he felt in being Apache. Sometimes it seemed no one else in the room was really listening and I began to believe that his stories were just for me. I suggested that he should record them for the benefit of his grandchildren; he replied that he had wanted to do this for a long time, but didn't have the ability to write it all down. Naively I believed that I could simply perform the secretarial tasks necessary to record and transcribe his words, and so I offered to help. With the approval of his children, we began to work.

Generally our sessions immediately followed the all day language classes and lasted one hour. At times his exhaustion can be heard on the audiotapes but he seemed to enjoy the work. Alfred, with great experience in telling stories and aiding anthropologists, traveled where his mind led him. He felt somewhat compelled to maintain a chronological order to his narratives, but just as often our work was prompted by a comment or story he had encountered earlier in the day. Alfred's diminished hearing made it difficult to ask specific follow-up questions and they disrupted his flow,

so I usually resisted the urge to any interrupt. Knowing I could sort it all out in the computer later, I felt more comfortable with this relaxed, perhaps haphazard approach.

Over the course of our work, narrative patterns were revealed. Some stories were told more than once, while others were merely alluded to. It was these untold stories that the anthropologist was most anxious to hear but, I believed, if I was truly patient he would let me in on everything. Along the way my respect and admiration grew and I began to think of him as a grandfather, partner, and *dailth ka ye*, the teacher, rather than as an informant or subject.

Like our work together, Alfred's life seemed to have been guided by both accident and fate. Through it all he is proud to be Apache, and he moves easily in two worlds, often bridging the gaps that exist between the Apache road and the white way. He seems to be both culture-bearer and culture-shaper; as head of a large and active family, owner of allotment lands, caretaker of a sacred medicine bundle, and the last fluent speaker, he is frequently sought out for traditional knowledge and guidance. But clearly his inner drive and willingness to participate in tribal affairs and programs has also helped to shape the Apache present and future. He strives to make an Apache voice heard among governmental agencies, and works to ensure religious freedom and educational opportunities for his community. Without his help and cooperation, the language and culture programs could not be maintained.

His narratives demonstrate the joys and frustrations each of these experiences and challenges generated. He generously gave of his time and attention to many projects and even let the anthropologists into his private world. For many of us, Alfred Chalepah Sr. will always be d*ailth ka he*, our teacher. This work is offered in thanks: *ni ka te dese ni*.

Chapter 1: An Introduction to Alfred Chalepah, Sr. and Anthropological Inquiry among the Plains Apache

To better understand an individual's experiences, it is often helpful to know some biographical facts such as date and place of birth, parents and grandparents, school, youth activities, employment, marriage and family, and spiritual orientation. This information helps to locate an individual in time and place, to situate him or her among family or friends, and provide a larger context of events and meaning. Anthropologists often record this type of information as they work with consultants even when their projects emphasize other issues, while additional facts can be found in governmental records and historical documents.

Anthropologists have worked with members of the Apache community for more than one hundred years. Perhaps the first scholar was James Mooney who consulted with members of the Kiowa and Apache tribes during the 1890's and into the early years of the Twentieth Century, conducting important investigations among these late-reservation communities on issues of language, social organization, artistic expression, and religion (Mooney 1898; Merrill 1997:136-154). Another early scholar was Pliny Earl Goddard who collected Apache ethnographic objects for the American Museum of Natural History sometime around World War One, although the extent of his activities is presently unknown[1]. Goddard is better known as an Athabascan linguist who worked with the Navajo, Hupa, Sarcee, and Jicarilla Apache (Godddard 1911).

A University of Chicago graduate student, J. Gilbert McAllister, conducted valuable fieldwork among the Apache in the early 1930's, taking at least 100 photographs

and publishing papers on social organization and religion (McAllister 1935; 1937; 1949; 1965; 1970). Several tribal elders still remember McAllister, occasionally telling stories about his time and work in the community. Another graduate student, Charles Brant, worked in the community in the 1940's, published journal articles and produced a short life history of tribal member Joe Blackbear (Brant 1949; 1950; 1953; 1964; 1969). However, faculty and students from the University of Oklahoma conducted the most detailed anthropological inquiry among the plains Apache, particularly during the 1960's and 1970's. These scholars assembled a large amount of information on a variety of topics, although most of the material is unpublished and found only in archival holdings (Beatty 1966; Bross 1962; Daza 1968; Freeman 1965; Jordan 1965).

Alonzo Chalepah with daughters Gertie and Irene
Photo by J. Gilbert McAllister (1933/34)
University of Oklahoma Museum of Natural History

Not all tribal members participated in these academic studies; many expressed reluctance to reveal personal or tribal information. Others contributed on a regular basis, and were subsequently identified as important liaisons between their community and academia. Members of the Chalepah family were often asked to assist in the

anthropological investigation and they served as the principle consultants on many research projects. As a result of this work, several scholars developed personal, as well professional, relationships with Alfred Chalepah Sr., his father Alonzo, mother Rose, and sisters Irene and Gertrude. Working with anthropologists has likely given Alfred great insight into the types of questions and issues that investigators have identified as important to understanding Apache culture. He is easily approached and accommodates direct questions, despite the Apache preference for indirect inquiry. This has enabled him to take the lead in our conversations, shaping this project's direction and identifying those topics he believes to be most relevant in an investigation of personal as well as community history. Alfred has a keen interest in his culture and expresses great pride in being Apache; his participation in research studies is partly motivated by a desire to acquaint the public with his community and to correct inaccuracies and misunderstandings that they may have about his tribe. He is comfortable in an interview setting, familiar with recording equipment, and possesses the confidence necessary for an open dialogue. Our work on this project, as well as the formation of both professional and personal relationships, is undoubtedly linked to Alfred's previous experiences with University of Oklahoma anthropology and history students. Thus the collaborative production of his autobiography, and the process by which this has unfolded, is in many ways the result of his own personality, the social ties he has to his community, and the relationships he and other tribal members have had with scholars over the years.

Alfred Chalepah, Sr.

Alfred was born on November 2nd, 1910 in a tent on his grandfather's allotment near Boone, Oklahoma.[2] He arrived too late to receive an allotment, the 160 acres of land

assigned to each tribal member born prior to 1906 and held in trust status by the US Government. After several years of disease and inadequate nutrition, the Apache population totaled just 165 members in 1910[3]. As a result, tribal members looked to family and friends for support and companionship, developing and maintaining close community bonds. Alfred's parents, like many other Apaches in the post-allotment period, had little wealth or property. Instead they continued the traditional residence pattern of camp life, visiting relatives for extended periods of time rather than permanently residing in one location.[4] Government officials disapproved of the gambling activities that occurred in these camps and urged that they be broken up.[5]

Alfred's father, Alonzo Chalepah, was born around 1879 near Tipi Mountain in the northwest part of the Reservation, an area generally populated by the Kiowa.[6] Alonzo's mother, was born around 1848 and her brothers, Big Man and Sidney High, took care of their nephew following her death. Alonzo received some education at the Kiowa School, located northwest of Anadarko, then spent two years at the Chilocco Indian School where he played football. Afterwards he returned home and selected an allotment southwest of Fort Cobb. On January 7, 1909 Alonzo received a fee patent title to his allotment, probably as a result of his education, removing it from trust status and making it subject to mortgage[7]. Within six months he had deeded the land to a Fort Cobb banker who employed him to work cattle and transport cash.[8] In 1904, Alonzo married Priscilla Ponetsi, the widow of Tsee-lee and mother of Henry Tsee-lee. With Priscilla's death, Alonzo inherited her allotment land and the following year he married 14-year-old Rose Its-se-nos.

Alfred's mother, Rose, was born about 1890 or 1891 to Archilta and one of his two wives, Maynahonah, who camped on one side of Archilta's land while his other wife, a Mescalero Apache woman named Me Ka, and her children camped on the other side. Rose was enrolled at the Cache Creek Mission School, but she also continued her education at home, learning traditional skills such as tipi making.[9] A distant relative, Apache Jim Witseline, arranged her marriage to Alonzo in 1904;[10] afterwards Rose and Alonzo resided with her mother in several large tents.

Alfred was born in November 1910 and, perhaps as early as 1911, he was given the name Old Man Tipi Pole during the tribe's Rabbit Dance.[11] Rose developed health problems following the birth of Gertrude in 1914 and Alfred was sent to live with the Jay family. Mrs. Jay died around 1921 and Alfred returned to live with his parents and siblings, camping with Maynahona, as well as with Alonzo's uncles near Fort Cobb.

Following Maynahona's death, her brother Captain gave Rose and Alonzo forty acres of land to establish a permanent home. Using money obtained from the sale of Lee's land, a four-room house was built for the family in 1924.[12] Alfred's youth was spent playing with cousins, exploring creeks, gathering wild foods, and riding horses into nearby towns to watch movies and play marbles. He also traveled with the family, attending Cheyenne-Arapaho Sun Dances and area pow-wows. His formal education started in "chalk class" at Boone School, located near Archilta's camp, where he began to learn English and basic writing skills. He stayed through third grade, but the family's shifting camp style made regular attendance difficult.[13] Instead of school, Alfred occasionally worked for white farmers and did chores for his relatives. He returned to school in 1927, enrolling in fourth grade at nearby Riverside Indian School where he

worked in the dairy barn and laundry, and also learned skills such as carpentry.[14] He graduated from the sixth grade in 1930 at age 19, but was unable to further his formal education.

Apache John, the tribe's last traditional headman had married Maynahona's sister sometime between 1906 and 1910 (Davenport 1980:46-47). As an aging widower, Apache John moved in with Rose and Alonzo; they cared for him and assisted in his ceremonies, learning the songs and prayers. According to Alfred, Apache John willed some of his ceremonial rights, as well as a portion of his land and property to Alfred in a formal ceremony witnessed by military officials from Fort Sill. The proceeds from this property were held in trust until Alfred turned 21. A German farmer leased this land, providing Alfred a small income that he used to purchase groceries and necessities for himself and his parents. As a result of the depression, the lease was modified to accommodate sharecropping rather than cash payments with Alfred receiving a portion of the crop, as well as livestock, that he shared with his parents.[15] Alfred supplemented this income with a variety of farm labor jobs and WPA project work, gaining valuable experience in agriculture and land preservation techniques.

As he became a young man, Alfred participated in community activities and became secretary of the Apache chapter of the Native American Church. He married Mary Auchiach, a Kiowa girl he had met at a county fair, and they lived with her family near Saddle Mountain. As a result of poor sanitation and limited knowledge of diseases, many Kiowa contracted tuberculosis; Alfred and Mary's two young daughters became infected and died in 1934. Alfred and his wife were also infected and hospitalized in Lawton, although Mary soon left to rejoin her family. Alfred remained in the hospital and

recovered, but his wife died shortly after he was discharged.[16] Alfred later married Mary's niece, Evelyn, and they began a family of their own.

In 1936 Alfred became active in tribal politics; while attending governmental hearings on the allotment and sale of reservation lands he was selected, along with Tennyson Berry, to present the Apache position.[17] Alfred also assisted his stepfather Ben Chaletsin, a community leader, and together they traveled to Washington, D.C. to meet with governmental officials on a variety of political and economic matters. Ben also worked closely with state and local officials, enabling Alfred to meet many politicians and governmental officials, as well as gaining first-hand knowledge of negotiations.

Ben Chaletsin and Rose Archilta Chalepah
Photo by J. Gilbert McAllister (1933/34)
University of Oklahoma Museum of Natural History

Unable to participate in World War II due to a hearing disability, Alfred remained at home to support his growing family and to assist his parents. He served as the Apache tribe's coordinator of the 1945 American Indian Exposition held in Anadarko and, along with the fair's other participants, celebrated the war's end with several days of dancing and ceremonies. In 1947 he took over the farming operations on his land, primarily raising wheat and feed for stock. Active in community social and ceremonial life, Alfred regularly conducted Native American Church meetings and in the early 1950's was elected Vice-Chairman of the Native American Church of Oklahoma. As a result he traveled extensively, visiting other native communities to discuss organizational matters and to attend meetings.[18] However, in the late 1950's the Apache tribe experienced increasing incidents of social disharmony, partially associated with the renewal of the Manatidie Society, resulting in factionalism (Daza 1968). Dissatisfied with this social friction, Alfred reduced his involvement in community activities and focused instead on supporting his own family.

Alfred returned to tribal politics in the late 1960's, helping to draft the tribe's constitution and to establish a roll separate from the Kiowa and Comanche. In 1976 Alfred was elected Chairman of the Apache Tribe and also served on the KCA Land Use Committee, overseeing leases and working with the federal government to preserve tribal lands. Two years later he retired from community activity, although he regularly attended his grandchildren's school and sports events.

After fifty years of marriage, Evelyn died in 1989 from complications due to diabetes. Alfred has also experienced a variety of health problems; in addition to surviving tuberculosis in the early 1930's, he had a quadruple heart by-pass operation in

1991, was treated for cancer in 1994 and kicked a 40-year smoking habit. Alfred attributes his success in meeting these and other challenges to a life spent working outside, a desire to live, and faith in the peyote sacrament.[19] Sadly he has lost several children and grandchildren to diabetes and accidents, and has outlived his childhood friends and relatives as well; he is currently the tribe's oldest member at age 92.

Too restless to sit idle at home, Alfred returned to work in 1999 serving as one of three master speakers for a two-year language revitalization project funded by the Administration for Native Americans (ANA). Unfortunately the other two master speakers passed away before the project ended, leaving Alfred as the last fluent speaker of the Naisha dialect. Community members regularly ask him to say blessings and confer names, events where the use of the Apache language is still very meaningful. Linguistic elements can be found in the biographical interviews recorded for this project, and serve as the basis for educational materials currently being prepared by the tribe.

In 2000 Alfred became keeper of the tribe's last active medicine bundle. Using the information he acquired from his mother, Alfred is now teaching his family how to care for this important symbol of Apache culture. His son Alonzo, currently the Tribal Chairman, will likely inherit the duties and responsibilities of this position, ensuring that another generation will benefit from Alfred's contributions to Apache heritage. Alfred's knowledge of his tribe's language, history, and ceremonies, as well as his commitment to preserving this information, has made him an important partner in many projects. Today he continues to work, assisting university scholars just as other members of his family have done for more than 50 years.

Anthropological Inquiry among the Plains Apache

The Plains Apache are a small community, often overshadowed by the accomplishments and notoriety of other indigenous groups with whom they have been linked, such as the Comanche and Kiowa. The existing literature base for the larger tribes is more extensive than that recorded for the Apache; however there is a considerable amount of material describing Apache culture, although much of it remains unpublished. Potential research can be challenged by difficulty in locating anthropological field notes, journals, correspondence, and personal papers that may have been assembled or collected as a result of previous investigations.[20]

James Mooney, who worked extensively with the Kiowa during the late-reservation and early-allotment periods, probably conducted the earliest anthropological investigation of the Plains Apache. Mooney began his fieldwork in 1891 and worked extensively from the summer of 1894 to the fall of 1895 researching history, language, art, and politics (Moses 1984:97-101). He consulted older Kiowa and Apache men, collected folktales and descriptions of historical events as recorded on painted hides, and also arranged the construction and display of shield and tipi models. Such models commemorated the originals that were owned by prominent leaders and decorated with important design elements (Ewers 1978:8). Mooney's tipi model collection included five Apache lodges[21] and also a number of Apache shield cover models. Additionally Mooney collected information about the position of lodges during the Kiowa's 1867 Sun Dance; his drawing of 238 tipis included almost 50 in the Apache area of the camp circle, with 10 owners identified.[22]

Mooney included some of his findings on Kiowa and Apache history and culture in a lengthy report published by the Bureau of American Ethnology (Mooney 1898). However a large amount of his material has not been published, but is available as field-notes, manuscripts, and correspondence archived in the Smithsonian.[23] Among these items are a thirty-one-page Apache folktale handwritten in both Kiowa and English; unfortunately it is extremely difficult to read either script and consequently it is unclear who related this story to Mooney. Presumably this collection includes other items relevant to a study of Apache history and culture but one scholar has noted that Mooney's material has been "virtually ignored by students of Plains Indian art and culture. The reason for this undoubtedly lies in the notes themselves. Not only are they voluminous and largely uncollated, but even after initial sifting, a researcher must contend with the anthropologist's practically illegible handwriting…" (McCoy 1995:69-70). A substantial review of these archival items may reveal much more about pre-reservation Apache history, culture, social organization and religion.

Mooney returned to southwest Oklahoma in 1918 to continue his research into the use of peyote. He supported the right of Indians to use the plant in their ceremonies and even testified to this matter before the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1915. Additionally, he helped Oklahoma natives draft a charter for the Native American Church in 1918 (Moses 1984:192, 204, 207). Local missionaries and governmental officials successfully challenged this position, forcing Mooney to leave the area in November 1918, unable to complete his research.

Pliny Earle Goddard was another early scholar whose work offers tantalizing clues to Apache social history. Goddard received the first PhD in linguistics offered by an

American university, and was well known for his work with Athabascan speakers in California. He also conducted fieldwork in the southwest, recording and translating Navajo and Jicarilla Apache material in 1907 (Goddard 1911). In 1909 he became Assistant Curator at the American Museum of Natural History in New York and two years later was appointed the Curator of Ethnology. In conjunction with these activities, Goddard obtained approximately 100 Apache objects including articles of clothing, jewelry, tools, and ceremonial items; a price list dated 1911 reveals that most were purchased for less than five dollars.[24] Goddard published several articles in the Museum's *Anthropological Papers* but he did not write about the Plains Apache, nor leave any information in the Museum's files.[25] A future search of Goddard's correspondence with Franz Boas may yield additional information on this collection and the acquisition process.

A more substantial amount of ethnological information was collected by anthropology graduate students beginning in the 1930's. University of Chicago student J. Gilbert McAllister conducted his fieldwork among the Apache in 1933-1934, renting a small house near an Apache campground; from this base, he and his wife Cora regularly interacted with community members. McAllister collected information for his dissertation on Apache social organization and kinship structure, and a portion of this work was later included in Fred Eggan's *Social Organization of North American Tribes* (McAllister 1935; 1937). McAllister also gathered data on Apache religion and folk culture, publishing some of this material after he began teaching at the University of Texas in Austin (McAllister 1949; 1965; 1970). Most of McAllister's information was acquired from interviews conducted with community elders including Ben Chaletsin and

Sam Klinekole, often translated by Alonzo Chalepah. McAllister described Alonzo as liked and respected by Apache elders, and his presence placed them at ease during the interviews; additionally, Alonzo contributed details to the materials (McAllister 1949:8-12). In conjunction with his work, McAllister took at least one hundred photographs including portraits of individuals as well as families, and also scenes of camp life.[26] Today these photos are regarded as a valuable glimpse into the recent past and are enjoyed by community members; they also serve as a beneficial component of this project.

In the winter of 1948, Cornell University graduate student Charles Brant conducted fieldwork among the Apache, collecting information for his dissertation (Brant 1951). Brant's focus was on aspects of acculturation, and he later published several journal articles on culture history and change (Brant 1949; 1953; 1964). Additionally, Brant published the life history of Joe Blackbear using the pseudonym Jim Whitewolf (Brant 1969). This work offers the historical perspective of an individual born during the late-reservation period and also provides a vivid description of Apache life during the 1940's. Some of Blackbear's material overlaps with Alfred's experiences, although the two men generally have different perspectives and interpretations. Interestingly, Brant interviewed Alfred in 1949 on the subject of Apache John's medicine bundle and collected at least one folk story from Alonzo (Schweinfurth 2002:62-63, 98).

Without question, Dr. William Bittle and his students gathered the most extensive material on Apache life and culture. Bittle's own work began in 1952, providing linguistic data for his dissertation (Bittle 1956). He later researched and published material on Apache history, religion, folk-culture, and revitalization activities (Bittle

1962; 1964; 1971; 1979; Opler and Bittle 1969). Like many other researchers, Bittle developed close personal, as well as professional, relationships with community members. As faculty member, and later Chair of the University of Oklahoma's Department of Anthropology, Bittle conducted ethnographic field schools, training many students who collected data on a wide variety of topics. It is not entirely clear how often these field schools were held or how many students participated, but many of them worked with Bittle's main informants including Ray Blackbear, Fred Bigman, Louise Saddleblanket, and members of the Chalepah family. Julia A. Jordan conducted one of the earliest and most thorough investigations resulting in her M.A. Thesis, *Ethnobotony of the Kiowa Apache* (1965). Jordan worked with Rose and her daughter Gertie during the 1963 field school, collecting plants and discussing their traditional uses. Community members still consult this comprehensive work and Ms. Jordan remains in contact with several older women, maintaining the personal relationships that developed more than forty years ago. Another early project was John Beatty's *Kiowa-Apache Music and Dance* (1966), researched during the 1965 field school. Beatty's informants included Alfred, his brother Raymond (Ace), sisters Irene and Gertie, son Alfred Jr., and daughter Ella Lou Chalepah, as well as several other community members. Beatty conducted formal interviews and also recorded Apache music that was released on the Asch Records label in 1969.[27] He too remains in contact with the community and continues his analysis of the Apache language (Beatty 1999).

Bittle last published on the Apache in 1979, although he had planned to do more work with his notes. In 1989 he turned a large amount of material over to a former student; using his notes, Kay Parker Schweinfurth has recently published a selection of

Apache religious beliefs and folk tales, as well as some information on ceremonies and healing (Schweinfurth 2002). This material was collected primarily from seven individuals, including Rose who "retained, Bittle believed, almost better than anyone else a thorough knowledge of the old way of life" (Schweinfurth 2002:4). Bittle conducted most of these interviews in the late 1950's, although his students conducted others during the 1960's field schools. A portion of the Bittle material is archived at the University of Oklahoma's Western History Library but some items, such as his photographs, are apparently missing. Fortunately, interviews conducted by the students have been transcribed and indexed, and are a part of OU's Doris Duke Collection; these include several interviews with Alfred and members of the Chalepah family. It is an impressive quantity of information, covering a wide variety of topics, and demonstrates a remarkable effort on the part of Bittle and his students to document as much as possible from elders who had experienced the transitions from late reservation life through early allotment and into the twentieth century.

Collaborative AutoBiographical Project

In the course of working with other researchers, Alfred has related his personal background and told many stories; some of this information was recorded by Julia Jordan in the late 1960's, although no biographical project was developed at that time. Life history subjects are often community elders and at the time of Bittle's field schools Alfred was in his mid-50's; today he is the oldest member of the Apache tribe and enjoys reminiscing about his youth as well as telling stories, particularly ones about his grandfathers.

Irene and Alfred discuss language, 1999
Photo by author

This collaborative autobiography project developed out of a two-year language revitalization program funded by the Administration for Native Americans (ANA). In the summer of 1999 I was offered a liaison position, overseeing a grant written by another OU anthropology graduate student who had obtained out-of state-employment. On October 22, 1999 I met with Alfred and his son Alonzo Chalepah, Director of Cultural Programs, to discuss the language program's goals and operations. The first class was held on November 24th with Alfred and his sister Irene Chalepah Poolaw as master speakers. The class sessions continued on a weekly basis and curriculum primarily consisted of vocabulary recitation, as well as instruction in the use of an Apachean alphabet system recently adopted by tribal resolution. To better acquaint class members with the pace and flow of the Naisha dialect, Alfred told a few coyote stories which students attempted to translate. During breaks he also told stories about tribal activities, recalled his own life experiences, and explained student's kinship connections. At some point I suggested that these be recorded for future generations and Alfred agreed,

indicating it was a project he had long been considering himself but needed an assistant. Naively I assumed it would be an easy task to record, organize, and present his stories.

In March 2000, I began to develop a dissertation research project that would focus on Alfred's life's experiences as situated within his community's history. To better understand both the process and the context, I assembled a growing literature base of other Native American life histories, as well as historical commentary and academic discussions of Apache life, history, and culture. Additionally I purchased recording equipment, solicited grant monies, and obtained project approval from Alfred's family, tribe, and the University of Oklahoma. On April 18th, Alfred and I met for an hour after language class; this first interview is in many ways a model for subsequent discussions and centered on stories about his parents and other relatives, his youth, and the region's agricultural economy. Later session topics would include community activities, Alfred's life-long participation in the Native American Church, tribal politics, and travel adventures. These are the principle topics that Alfred and I would return to on a regular basis over the course of more than three years.

The interview sessions were held in the tribal office immediately following language class and typically lasted just one hour each. Initially I was too unfamiliar with Alfred's life to ask specific questions and his hearing disability often made conversation difficult, disrupting the narrative's flow. Consequently he took the lead, generally selecting the day's topic although these choices were influenced by something he had seen or recently read, as well as conversations he had with family members. As the data accumulated I became more familiar with tribal history, kinship, economic activities, and tribal customs, supplementing my understandings with books, dissertations, and journal

articles. Anticipating that others might also enjoy these materials, I copied or purchased as many as possible and placed them on file in the tribe's small research library. Despite his limited formal education, Alfred is an avid reader and these reference items often prompted interview topics. Copies of old photographs were also useful in stimulating Alfred's memories of people and events. Occasionally, family or tribal members specifically requested topics, such as kinship or ceremonial activities, and would sit in on the interview. Near the end of the data-gathering phase, I composed a list of several topic possibilities and Alfred would select the one he was most interested in discussing. This was a particularly effective method for filling in data gaps and clarifying ambiguous points.

On several occasions, Alfred and I discussed the mechanics of organizing our materials. He preferred a chronological presentation of his life and generally tried to relate his experiences along a time line, but often digressed. I accepted the responsibility for editing the materials, placing them in sequence, and also creating a smooth flow to the narration while retaining the tone of his speech. Additionally, I have actively researched several archival collections, supplementing Alfred's memories with historical documents and photographs. In this collaborative effort we have both contributed to the project and to each other's understandings of tribal as well as regional history and events.

Over the years Alfred's interest in community history has increased; he believes it is important to document this information and make it available. He often references the work of Bittle, Jordan and other scholars, and regularly encourages community members to read interview transcripts kept in the tribal library. Alfred openly admits that he was not always interested in participating and was previously reluctant to reveal information

to researchers, "Apache wasn't that way, they don't want to release nothin' and uh that's what I told Doctor Bittle ya know and I was sorry that I didn't have that much talk with McAllister but I shook hand with him, I talk with him but only we talk about weather."[28] However, Alfred has come to believe that such reluctance to pass on information will leave future generations of Apache unaware of their history and culture. Previously knowledge was kept in the family and passed to the next generation, but Alfred asserts that intermarriage, outside influences, and a lack of interest are responsible for cultural erosion:

> inter-marriage that's number one killer [laughs] yeah wipin' us out and the language, that's what we tryin' bring back...but it's in a position where nobody wanna listen...yeah I think nothin' can not be brought back because don't want to listen and we as a tribe is losin', we losin' badly and if you don't know it it don't bother you, you don't care...yeah it's really important, I think ever member of the tribe should know some about relative uh descendant, should know and that's really important and see how much they know about where they descended from... they don't know nothin' 'bout what's been hand down to that family but they should, long time ago it was that way.[29]

Consequently he feels it is now time to discuss and record tribal history, personal stories, kinship data, and even some sensitive religious material.

Recognizing the role that Bittle and OU students played in developing and archiving information in the past, Alfred wants his data to be kept at OU and made available to scholars:

> my thinkin', my thoughts that I give to Judy and Tim and Dr. Bittle and other peoples that I work with and we 'preciate it ya know what they try to do for themselves and for the school [OU] and with my helpin' I like to see the school have it and I like to be identified as Apache... make sure go to the right people and we don't like get in hands somebody make a little money on it... yeah I like department of education, education department, university, that's our school and uh yeah well that's way I feel ya know... well anyway I hope it's recorded there at the school, I like for public to know ya know, be in right hands then could be used as education department ya know and uh I enjoy that and I don't want get

> rich on it… each tribe should say their own say-so and that's the way I look at it ya know and I work with Judy ya know and old Doc, Tim Baugh and Mike Davis ya know, they understand my feelin' that I don't want hurt myself or hurt anybody and so if it's used in a right cause I don't mind. [30]

Clearly the work that Bittle and his students did in the past has influenced Alfred's decision to participate in this project. He believes such work to be valuable in preserving information, educating others, and creating positive understandings about Apaches.

The following chapters present Alfred's recollections of his life experiences, as well as some of the stories that he heard from his parents and grandparents. My contributions include archival data drawn from governmental documents and previous ethnographic investigations, as well as my own observations and understandings as they have developed over three years. Together we offer a glimpse of Apache life, as we understand it to be. It is important to recognize that this is not the entire story of the Apache people, but rather a partial view developed under specific conditions. As such it is both advanced and limited by the goals and desires of the project participants, our knowledge and understandings of the other, and by the relationships that have developed over time. It is a collaborative construction, a dance if you will, between two individuals, two cultures, two unique perceptions of time, and the desire of each to tell a story that will both educate and entertain.

[1] Laila Williamson at the American Museum of Natural History noted: "Unfortunately our accession files do not have any information about Goddard's Kiowa-Apache collection except a list of objects with the price he paid for each object...Goddard published extensively in the AMNH Anthropological Papers, but nothing on the Kiowa-Apache" Personal communication dated August 21, 2001.
[2] Interview with Julia A. Jordan 4-26-67, Doris Duke Collection, T12-24.
[3] Census of the Apache Indians of the Kiowa Agency taken on June 30, 1910. However Alfred's name does not appear until the June 30, 1911 census when the Apache population had declined to 158.
[4] McAllister described the traditional Apache camp group, or gonka, as being flexible and mobile, fluctuating in both size and period of residency (1935:26-27). During his own fieldwork in the early 1930's he noted that a camp had assembled for several weeks alongside a creek (1935:11). Alfred also describes long period encampments near his uncle Henry Archilta's land in the late 1920's and early 1930's (Interview August 3, 2000).
[5] Letter from the Agency Superintendent to the Department of the Interior, January 18, 1922. Kiowa Agency Records. Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
[6] Interview with Julia A. Jordan 6-8-67, Doris Duke Collection, T8-25.
[7] Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files Box 35, Folder 584 located in the National Anthropological Archives, Southwest Division, Fort Worth, Texas.
[8] Ibid; Interview with Julia A. Jordan 11-14-68, Doris Duke Collection, T347-7, 8; Rose Chalepah Memoir, William Bittle Collection Box 1, Folder F65-5.
[9] Rose Chalepah Memoir, William Bittle Collection Box 1, Folder F65-5.
[10] Interview October 24, 2000.
[11] Interview April 18, 2000.
[12] Interview June 13, 2000.
[13] Interview June 27, 2000.
[14] Interview October 12, 2000.
[15] Interview June 27, 2000
[16] Interviews August 17 and September 18, 2000.
[17] Interview June 27, 2000
[18] Interview June 29, 2000
[19] Interviews May 3 and September 18, 2001.
[20] Fortunately, the work of many anthropologists who documented Apache life and culture in the 1950's and 1960's has been archived at the University of Oklahoma, including the Doris Duke Oral History Project materials located in the University of Oklahoma's Western History Library.
[21] These were Lone Chief's bear tipi later owned by White Man; Daveko's crescent moon lodge; Standing Among Men's tipi with figures holding an upside-down pipe; a model of Bagina's lodge made by Daha; and Spotted Thunder's bear tipi model also made by Daha (Ewers 1978:42-49).
[22] Among these are Tsel'pa (Chalepah), Daveko, Daha and Gonkon (Apache John).
[23] For a complete summary see Merrill et. al *A Guide to the Kiowa Collection at the Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology Number 40*, Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press (1997).
[24] List in possession of the author
[25] Personal correspondence from Laila Williamson, August 21, 2001.
[26] Photographs now archived at the University of Oklahoma Museum of Natural History, Ethnological Collection.
[27] Asch Mankind Series Album No. AHM 4252, reissued as Smithsonian Folkways Recordings 4252.
[28] Interview April 5, 2001
[29] Interview January 9, 2001
[30] Interview January 4, 2001

Chapter 2: Issues Relevant to Native American Collaborative Biographies

To maintain memories is one thing, what one does with them is another.

Rebecca L. Green, *Ancestral Dreams*

Introduction

Anthropology, the scientific encounter between and within communities, generally developed as Europe and its colonies incorporated others into their spheres of influence (Boas 1974). Initially anthropologists gazed and observed, transfixed by the view of people who did not behave as Europeans. Over time, these observers learned to effectively engage themselves with the locals and it is here that something, perhaps quite unexpected, happened: the observer/participant realized that Others had their own point of view. This perspective was expressed through myths, folktales and religious ideology, and served as a means of developing and organizing understandings of the past, present, and future (Boas 1940, 1974). Like the anthropological gaze, the internally created point of view is arguably directed. It has a beginning and potentially an ending; it exists in a particular time and space; it may be bounded or constrained by internal and external factors; and it can be utilized in an effort to archive an identified goal. How this point of view is developed, modified and used over time is a complex process involving personal experiences, individual goals and social relationships, as well as culturally defined expectations and philosophies.

Encounters between anthropologists and community members provide opportunities for these elements to be recognized, segregated, analyzed and discussed. How such elements come together, and how they impact a specific individual or the community at large has been the central focus of ethnographic writings, particularly the

life history and biography genres. Here, the researcher observes and records, selecting out those elements that seem particularly relevant or meaningful to the issues at hand, and then reassembles them into a form recognizable to potential readers. Throughout this process the ethnographic gaze is directed; it too has a beginning and an ending; it is bounded or constrained by the conventions of the chosen literary format; it exists in a particular time and place; and it is often used to achieve and identified goal, such as making the unfamiliar more familiar.

But what of the insider's point-of-view? Has it been shaped or modified by the ethnographic encounter? Has it been artfully constructed to achieve a desired goal? What motivates a community member to reveal their point of view, and how does the process of revelation affect the encounter itself? Does the researcher become a tool, used and manipulated by the community member in an effort to achieve a particular goal? Can there be a single articulation of understanding or point of view? Are the experiences and understandings of an individual too unique to be representative of the community or culture as a whole? Does the ethnographic encounter, and its subsequent expression, codify a particular point of view, effectively displacing alternatives? These questions and issues are grounded within poststructural theoretical inclinations that seek to better understand the practice of self-representation, agency in discourse, production of identity, location of knowledge and meaning, fragmentation and discontinuity of subjectivity, relations of power and resistance, the complex networks that exist within and between communities, and an host of other often complicated, yet illuminating concerns (Beverley 1993; Gilmore 1994; Rios & Sands 2000). These issues will be examined both

theoretically and ethnographically, using several key publications as distinctive examples.

Genres

Many scholars including anthropologists have collected, examined, and presented biographical and life history materials, in addition to other forms of cultural data, in an effort to better understand individuals, communities, societies and cultures (Kluckhohn 1945). Approximately 600 Native American biographies have been produced, with almost half by anthropologists, recording and preserving ethnographic details of native life (Brumble 1988:72). Often this material was blended into a collection of facts, ideas and understandings without differentiating the informational sources. In contrast, the Life History or Personal Narrative approach attempts to maintain the distinctions between individuals by focusing upon their own experiences, and how their role or status in society has affected their point of view (Myerhoff 1990b; Watson & Franke 1985). While the Life History genre appears to be a more recent creation, its methods and focus have been around for a considerable period of time under other identities including autobiography, biography, as-told-to narrative and others. More recent efforts to relate an individual's life experiences appear as collaborative biographies, recognizing the unique relationship between the participants and the roles each play in the process and final product. It may be helpful to briefly examine these formats and the impact they have on the presentation of life experiences.

One such genre used to relate an individual's life experiences is the autobiography, essentially an account of one's life written by oneself; here the author and

subject are the same. Methodologically, the author selects the appropriate materials, arranges them and performs all the needed editing tasks. This then is truly literary self-creation/construction; the individual produces the desired self-image. In the west, this form of personal expression has its beginnings in the confessionals produced by monks in the Middle Ages. Other cultures, however, have also produced autobiographical materials, such as the oral telling of personal exploits and the visual expression of experiences as in pictographic examples found on Native American shields, robes, and tipis (Wong 1992:31, 59).

Another genre used to convey information is the biography, an account of one's life by another. This form does not require the parties to be acquainted with one another, thus no personal relationship is needed. In fact, many such accounts are produced after the subject has died. Their life can be reconstructed from other source materials including letters, diaries, journals, newspaper stories, or the remembrances of friends and family. Often the subject of these accounts is a leading historical figure, and the production of materials may be motivated by the economics of the publishing market. Other biographies are constructed through personal interactions with oral narratives; "as-told-to" Native American biographies include Barrett's *Geronimo: the Autobiography of a patriotic Warrior* (1906), Brant's *Jim Whitewolf: the Autobiography of a Kiowa-Apache* (1949), and Lurie's *Mountain Wolf Woman: the Autobiography of a Winnebago Woman* (1961).

The collaborative biography form of life history is also an account of one's life that is prompted or elicited by another. As in the biography and as-told-to genres, the participants involved pool their resources to varying degrees: the researcher contributes

certain talents, skills, equipment, and perhaps access to publishing houses, while the consultant contributes his/her memories, stories, and understandings. The format is generally a series of oral personal narratives, anecdotal stories, and their explanations related over a period of time, and subsequently transcribed (and sometimes translated) into a written format. The distinction between this form and other biographical accounts is a more open discussion of the participants' roles and the circumstances of the encounter; an analysis of how differences were recognized and negotiated or resolved; and an increased awareness of how the experience brings different communities together. The parties attempt to balance and mediate their perspectives, blending and merging understandings into something quite new that may be best understood as a border or boundary culture (Wong 1992:11, 89, 116-118).

A collaborative biography that records and textualizes a life history, like the ethnographic encounter itself, is both process and product. Each is the result of a complex interweaving of multiple elements. It is important to note that life histories, like other anthropological writings, are historically, spatially, and relationally situated (Sands 2001:137). The relationships among the parties involved, as well as the participants' goals and motivations have a significant impact upon the development of this approach. For example, the ability of researchers to travel, elicit a life story, and return to their own community illustrates aspects of colonialism, relations of power, the commodification of ideas and experiences, and privilege. Whether community members are able to construct, modify, and disseminate personal or community narratives as a challenge to such colonial factors is an important question to consider. This issue has received much attention following the publication of *I Rigoberta Menchu: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* in

1984 (Menchu 1999:65-84). In the future anthropologists are likely to explore the impact these issues have upon their work.

Issues

As previously discussed, the focus of a life history project is the articulation of personal experiences, communicating a sense of self and expressing individual identity. Several key issues can be identified and explored by researchers examining the life experiences of individuals; some of these are general theoretical and methodological concerns, while others are particular to specific projects. Among the broader issues are questions regarding the relationship of individuals to society, interactions of peoples between cultures, and the transmission of information between project participants.

I. Relationship of Individual & Society

For Euro-Americans, emphasis is often placed upon an autonomous individual who can be set apart from his larger community and is able to construct his own identity through self-consciousness. This western perspective of self has a long and complex history, shaped by ideas often associated with the Cartesian subject of the Enlightenment (Reiss 2003:469-487). Here, humans were conceived of as unique and unified agents, possessing a rational consciousness; as man progressed through rationality and reason, he became the center of his own existence and assumed responsibility for his actions. In contrast, non-western peoples were regarded as persons enmeshed within networks of kinship relations and social obligations (Levi-Strauss 1963). For these societies, personal identity was relational rather than autonomous, focusing on the collective identity as it

was communally formed by a common history and maintained by enculturation. Such divergent conceptions of the self have led to the production of very different life histories. For western individuals it became possible to articulate unique experiences, differentially interpreted and acted upon to create a self-constructed, or at least a self-presented, identity. In the west, the rise of the author parallels the rise of the individual (Krupat 1985:10).

For non-western persons however the collective, relational self diminished the uniqueness of individuals. Knowledge, meaning, significance, and identity were acquired within the social context, producing a collective sense of self. As a result, unnamed community members represented the larger cultural whole, and their life histories reflected the group's perspectives. As non-westerners, Native American life histories offered readers a communal perspective of culture and society, essentially a "representative" point of view. This approach was highlighted by Paul Radin in one of the first Native American biographical studies produced by an anthropologist, in which the author noted "the aim being, not to obtain autobiographical details about some definite personage, but to have some representative middle-age individual of moderate ability describe his life in relation to the social group in which he had grown up" (Radin 1920:2). In essence, it was believed that an individual's life stories served to explain the tribal experience. Anthropologists often supplemented this material with ethnographic details, filling in those areas that were not personally known or articulated by the individual (Brumble 1988:77-78). This perspective can still be located; in constructing her aunt's life story, Mohegan tribal historian Melissa Fawcett noted:

> This book is not an academic research monograph. Neither is it a contemporary-style oral history based upon taped interviews conducted by an outsider or

> professional for the purpose of creating a linear evaluation of a person or group. Rather it is a life story told from the collective perspective of an indigenous nation. In Mohegan oral tradition, the life of any one leader is inseparable from the story of the people as a whole (2000:xv).

It is important to note that there is no homogeneous sense of self, rather different communities and cultures possess distinct language, religion, philosophy, and values in varying degrees. These elements come together in considering indigenous methods of articulating personal and group experiences. For some non-western peoples there does appear to exist an emphasis upon the communal, relational self, with an individual's personal partially identity subordinate to the group identity. This can be inferred from social practices that situate individuals within family genealogies or geographic place (Basso 1996), or where collective knowledge is more highly valued than individual experience (Price 1983). These are identified as being the practices and techniques of subjectification, defining and creating social relations rather than advancing the individual (Rose 1996).

One method of achieving a sense of unity is through storytelling; stories entertain but also educate, uniting the tellers and audience members. In some Native American communities, the rights to perform certain songs or dances, or to display specific artistic design patterns are held by families or clans; public display of these demonstrates the individual's relationship to larger organizational social structures. In his studies of the Kwakiutl, Boas noted that:

> Rank and social position bestow the priviledge to use certain animal figures as paintings or carvings on the house front, on totem poles, on masks and on the utensils of everyday life. Rank and social position give the right to tell certain tales referring to ancestral exploits; they determine the songs which may be sung (1966:338).

The conferring of names or titles is another example of public affirmation of an individual's position or status relative to his society. Such an event may be performed publicly or the community may be invited to meal hosted by the individual or his family celebrating this change in status, as demonstrated by potlatching on the Northwest coast (Ford 1941). A collective understanding of group history can also be produced and maintained with mnemonic devices, including pictographic calendars that document events generally experienced by the group as a whole. For example, in 1833/34 a spectacular meteoric display was recorded by several Kiowa (Mooney 1898:260), Lakota (Cheney 1998:24; Howard 1960:371; and Meya 1999:84), Mandan and Ponca calendar keepers (Howard 1960:371). In explaining this practice of recording collective history to Julia A. Jordan, Kiowa elder Guy Quetone remarked:

> Well, the way the original was recorded was about a principal event. Principal event of the year. Like we say year 1968, that that Dr. King got killed. Everybody know that. That kind of event (Doris Duke T-246:2) (emphasis mine).

In contrast to the dichotomy of individual versus collective social position, a less polarized understanding locates individuals somewhere in between autonomy and collectivity. This approach recognizes individuals as operating within social contexts; some individuals may have the capacity to exert control over social relations or larger social structures, while others may improvise or innovate using culturally available means. Additionally, it suggests that societal members possess different desires, intentions, and skills, and access cultural resources in varying ways with unequal results. Here, social institutions and structures appear as both rules and resources, constraining as well as enabling action. An example of this is the tribal membership roll that allows some individuals, and prevents others, from being able to vote in tribal elections or access

financial benefits. The ability of individuals to control or change their society or culture is historically and contextually situated; the degree to which an individual is able to access cultural resources, indeed the very existence of such resources, is the result of both internal and external conditions that are likely to change over time.

Under this approach, the individual is not entirely determined by his society but may be able to strategically manipulate those resources that are available. Sociologist Erving Goffman "saw personal identity as an intentional construction designed to secure for its bearer the greatest advantage…in his or her dealings with…others" (Cohen 1994:10). As a result, individuals fashion their self-identity by actively attempting to manage the perceptions held by others. An excellent example of this can be found in Jerrold Ley's discussion of Kiowa politics and the rise of Robert Goombi to Tribal Chairman (Levy 1959). Here Levy describes Kiowa social classes, factions, and the consolidation of political power. He concluded that although Goombi was a member of a less-privileged class, he succeeded by drawing upon grass roots support to develop a large block of voters and advance his own political goals, while increasing his social position among tribal members as well as non-Indians. As a successful politician, Goombi was able to access and use cultural resources in a way that transformed his identity and social position; he remained an important tribal leader for many years and shaped much of the political and economic landscape of southwestern Oklahoma.

The articulation of personal experiences and a self-constructed identity are not limited to western peoples; traditional forms of expression provide examples of both the process and product among Native Americans as well. One such historic example was the visual display of personal exploits, using pictographs on robes, shirts and tipis to publicly

illustrate events and accomplishments. On the Southern Plains, Kiowa men painted battle scenes on tipis, publicly expressing their accomplishments (Ewers 1978), while on the Northern Plains men's exploits were painted on war shirts and robes (Horse Capture and Horse Capture 2001). This sense of individual identity is also found in ledger art where details in clothing, weapons and physical characteristics make it possible to identify specific individuals. An example of this distinctiveness can be seen in the Kiowa calendars examined by Mooney: 1868 is illustrated by a drawing of a man with an unusual lance; this is the year that Tan-guadal, who owned an important medicine lance, was killed. Mooney observed that "although he was a young man, he was a noted warrior and the hereditary owner of a medicine lance or zebat, shaped and adorned like an arrow" (1898:325). Other examples of distinctiveness can be found in ledger drawings such as the Oberlin Ledger, made by the Cheyenne artist Howling Wolf in the late 1870s, where individual men can be identified by their shield designs and warrior society paraphernalia (Szabo 1992:11). This approach seems particularly well suited to those communities and cultures that place a higher value on individualism, such as Artic and Plains peoples.

However, individual identity is not fixed; rather it is a continuous, dynamic process of change shaped by events, community relations and geographic location (Basso 1996; Wong 1992:20). Among some indigenous peoples, individuals historically received several names over the course of their lives, publicly documenting personal accomplishments and changes in social status, illustrating a fluid sense of self (Wong 1992:53, 55). Changes in social position still occur as individuals move from child to parent and grandparent, as well as brother, sister, aunt or uncle; such changes are

typically marked by appropriate kin terms, as well as corresponding shifts in responsibilities and cultural expectations.

II. Discourse & Narrative

The term discourse generally refers to a form of language use, often verbal but also written texts. More precisely, discourse is a communication event where participants interact to convey information, knowledge, or beliefs (van Dijk 1997a). There are many different types and forms of discourse including conversation, storytelling, jokes, formal speeches, prayers and narratives. Speech and writing are modes of discourse, as are non-verbal cues such as gesture, facial expression and body movement (van Dijk 1997b:13). Each is regarded as an intentional act used to convey ideas (Ibid:8). In analyzing discourse, scholars consider the mode used, message, and the characteristics of the social situation where interaction occurred.

As with other types of social activity, communication involves complex rules and strategies. It is assumed that language users possess similar knowledge, but they use the available resources in varying ways, achieving different results. The ability to use certain forms of discourse may be regulated by local customs; constraining elements include time, location, social roles of the participants, and their intentions. In some indigenous communities, for example, the telling of certain stories was done in the evening or during winter months. Anthropologist J. Gilbert McAllister who collected Plains Apache folktales in the early 1930s (McAllister 1949) observed that "it was in the evening around the fire that the old men, the grandfathers, told stories ostensibly to their grandchildren, but everybody sat around listening…sometimes stories were told far into the night, until

even after the older people fell asleep (1949:17). Alice Fletcher, who collected Omaha tales, noted that:

> Storytelling was the delight of everyone during the winter evenings. It was then that the old folk draw on their store of memories and myths, fables…all these and actual occurrences were recited with varying intonation and illustrative gestures, sometimes interspersed with song, which added to the effect and heightened the spell of the story or myth over the listeners clustered about the blazing fire (Welsch 1981:10).

In recording indigenous stories in Oklahoma, John Swanton remarked "my Natchez informant stated that certain stories…must be told only during cold weather. Otherwise bad luck would follow" (1995:2). Some stories may not be suitable for children, while others are not told in the presence of sisters or daughters-in-law. For example, McAllister briefly described one story that was not included in his published collection, noting "the story is not given for it was…pornographic. Only Alvin and I were present when Soloman told the story and it took on smoking-car characteristics" (McAllister 1949:90).

Power and discourse are closely connected; the power relations that exist between communities or cultures can affect discourse. Among these are the ruling class' domination over ideology, symbols, and the means of disseminating information (Gramsci 1971). Dominant control over symbolic resources, including language, can be an effective means of influencing attitudes, ideologies, or behavior. Language users often rely upon suggestion, persuasion, commands, or requests to influence or control the actions of others (van Dijk 1997b:18). In some instances, subordinate individuals and groups may be able to tap into dominant discourse, obtaining social power, and disseminating their messages through a complex dance of collusion and negotiation (Ibid:20-23). This issue is particularly relevant to the collaborative life history project.

Discourse is a valuable means of obtaining information and is used by anthropologists who gather data through direct observation, natural conversation, interviews, and questionnaires (Bernard 1995). In addition, researchers attend community meetings, social gatherings and religious ceremonies, paying careful attention to communication interactions between the participants. Anthropologists may also directly experience community life by reading local newspapers, using public transportation, purchasing services or necessities from area merchants, eating in small cafes, and residing with a family. All of these experiences offer a diverse variety of communication possibilities. In considering her own work Julie Cruickshank has observed that:

> Ethnographies always begin as conversations between anthropologists and our hosts, who are also in conversation with one another. If we are fortunate some of these conversations take unexpected turns, develop into genuine dialogues, and continue over many years. Dialogues open the possibility that we may learn something about the process of communication, about how words are used to construct meaningful accounts of life experience (1998:25).

In collecting their data, researchers are likely to experience communication events that are initially verbal, but are subsequently recorded and transcribed into a written text. This process captures a fleeting moment, fixing expression and content, while transforming social interaction into an object, symbolized by a written text, that is isolated from its original social and communication context. This activity has both positive and negative connotations; a tape recording or written text can be consulted many times, long after the communication event, enabling researchers to extract much information. For example, a single paragraph, sentence or phrase can be isolated and considered at length. The researcher may replay or reread the material, capturing a specific sound or nuance. Several isolates can be compared or contrasted to one another, or to other materials. Pauses and false starts can be eliminated to produce a seamless flow

of information, enabling the researcher to focus more attention on certain aspects while explanatory details can be inserted for the benefit of the audience in a process that Dennis Tedlock refers to as embroidery (Tedlock 1971:117).Importantly, these manipulations shift attention away from the interaction context and the relationships that developed between the participants, effectively diminishing, or even eliminating, information that may be relevant in subsequent analysis.

In creating written accounts of indigenous verbal acts, the researcher occupies an editorial role, usually selecting, deleting, and modifying oral statements into a version more consistent with western preferences. Spoken language generally contains incomplete sentences, is more repetitious, less chronological, and uses filler devises (McBeth 1993:159). Historically, western editors removed such material, smoothing and reorganizing the presentation, shaping it to fit western literary genres (Brumble 1998:119). In some instances the speakers communicated in their own language; the narrative was then translated into English, French, Spanish, or German and edited. This emphasis on presenting native communication in written form, using European-based languages and shaping them to fit western expectations, demonstrates the unequal distribution of social power and control over the presentation of self. Beginning in the 1970s scholars sought to address linguistic inequality by returning attention to oral elements including changes in pitch, volume, and silence (Tedlock 1971; Basso 1972), as well as repetition, false starts, and fragmentation. Despite the increased awareness of indigenous language use, scholars still rely upon western conventions and much work remains to be done in developing models that can adequately express indigenous ideas and communicational attributes to western audiences (Krupat 1987; Mattina 1987).

Native American biographies and autobiographies are primarily crafted through the elicitation or presentation of oral and written narratives (Brumble 1988; Wong 1992). The term narrative is generally used to specify the story genre of discourse; stories, histories, and reports are often narratives of past events, while personal stories are narratives of experiences (Ochs 1997:190). In developing stories of personal experience, tellers blend the past and present, effectively bringing the past into present consciousness and providing a continuity of self (Ochs 1997:191). Like other forms of discourse, narratives are constructed and articulated in and through social interaction. As a result, participants occupy a co-author role, collaborating and challenging the presentation of experiences (Ochs 1997:201). The ability to successfully co-author a narrative depends, in part, on knowledge of the events and an understanding of how they are interpreted, as well as cultural aspects that constrain or enable the process. As with other forms of discourse, personal narratives are subject to local and outside forces. In addition to being filtered through the teller's own understandings creating a perspective narration, the teller will likely select and edit during production, elaborating and eliminating those aspects which may be considered culturally appropriate or inappropriate to relate. In considering the complicated dynamics of this phase, Rios and Sands concluded:

> Editors do not conventionally use everything they collect. To do so would probably produce an overly long, unwieldly, and unreadable book. But neither do narrators tell everything about their lives. Memory fails, sometimes words fail, and often events and recollections do not suit the narrator's sense of an appropriate public story. In these separate but related processes of redaction, two editors work, sometimes at odds with one another (2000:88).

Consequently, personal narratives offer a selective presentation of reality, one that is fragmented and incomplete.

The ability to construct and relate one's life experiences, as well as to maintain control over the dissemination of narratives, are subject to historically situated relations of power (Foucault 1977, 1978). The ability of individuals to subvert, avoid, resist, or negotiate these relations of power has become the focus of important scholarship (Beverly 1999; Scott 1986, 1990; Spivak 1988) and is finding an audience among those who produce and analyze Native American narratives. As James Scott has noted, collective resistance may not always be possible, while normal everyday individual resistance often takes the form of foot dragging and linguistic acts such as gossip, rumor, veiled complaint, guilt-provoking remarks, use of nicknames, and slander (Kaminsky 1992:63; Scott 1986:29, 1990:188). Community members are likely to continue using local customs and resources whenever possible as a way of evading outside cultural impositions; one example may be the use of folk humor to subvert the official world-view (Kaminsky 1992:39). This level of resistance is probably most effective in private spheres of discourse as individuals generally tailor their public discourse in ways permitted by the larger community (Cohen 1994:155), including that regulated by dominating structures or institutions.

Community members may also improvise by rearranging these resources that are available to them into new or unusual combinations. Such improvisational practices can alter the conditions and processes of subjectivity, thus changing an individual's identity. In considering the academic production of subaltern peasants autobiographies, John Beverely concludes that the subjects of these books acquire power by accessing institutional structures (1999:29). But in doing so, the subaltern sheds his or her disempowered status; by claiming narrative authority they may actually become part of

the hegemony itself (1999:29-30). As a result, once the subaltern speaks in a meaningful way, she is no longer subaltern.

Questions about both domination and resistance have been addressed in the production and analysis of collaboratively produced indigenous narratives (Ashley and Gilmore 1994; Krupat 1989; Rios and Sands 2000). Some have expressed concern that the use of western literary genres imposes western expectations upon the subject's narrative, diminishing the narrator's ability to tell his or her own story. These western elements include an emphasis on linear chronology and a unified sense of self, achieved by the smooth flow of a heavily edited, continuous narrative (Brumble 1988:76-77; Crapanzano1977:4). In contrast other scholars have focused their attention on the ways in which Native Americans retain traditional discourse elements, including a non-chronological ordering of the materials; emphasis on place; a co-mingling of individual and communal authorship; and the inclusion of diverse forms such as songs, speeches and folktales (Sands 2001:143-144), while consciously reworking and shaping their narratives to satisfy new conditions and audiences. This approach is well illustrated by Julie Cruikshank's work among native Yukon women in which indigenous forms of expression dominate. Despite her initial efforts, Cruikshank realized the elicitation process was "flawed by my attempts to impose a conventional academic framework...these women kept redirecting our work...the more I persisted with my original agenda, the more insistent each was about the direction our work should take" (Cruikshank 1998:46). By continuing to use traditional forms and elements, they have resisted the imposition of dominant cultural expectations and, at the same time, have tapped into a broader variety of cultural resources including access to publishing. In

working with Cruikshank, the Yukon women effectively rearranged those social relations that had operated to limit their voices. Cruikshank observed:

> I was struck by how clearly our academic narratives can be seen as only one set among many. When we listen to contemporary aboriginal people draw on oral narratives to explain the ways past connects with present, we encounter other narratives that compete with academic narratives for legitimacy (1998:117).

Through these acts of narrative resistance, native peoples continue to construct their own self-representations (McBeth 1993:155; Sands 2001; van Dijk 1997b:23).

III. Performance

One method of communicating information is through performance. Richard Bauman has identified performance as a way of speaking (1977:11), but by calling attention to the act of expression, performance creates a frame around the message and fixes the audience's attention on the performer (Ibid:16). Similarly, Erving Goffman viewed performance as a way of drawing attention to the individual, defining performance as those activities which occur in front of observers and that have some influence on them (Goffman 1997:97). Here individuals use different forms of expression to control their audience and actively manage understandings. Into this process Goffman added performance competency, "in their capacity as performers, individuals will be concerned with maintaining the impression that they are living up to the many standards by which they and their products are judged" (Goffman 1997:22). By demonstrating performative competency, some speakers are better able to manage audience perceptions and achieve their communication goals.

Like other types of discourse, performance is situated behavior, made meaningful by its context, purpose, and participants (Bauman 1977:27). Some performances are

public, highly structured, constrained by cultural expectations, or maintained by repetition and rehearsal, while others are private, spontaneous and more open to creative innovation (Fabian 1990:12, 13). Goffman describes this dichotomy by noting

> performance is socialized, molded and modified to fit into the understandings and expectations of the society in which it is presented...when the individual presents himself before others, his performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society (1977:101).

But he also sees humans as "creatures of variable impulse with moods and energies that change from moment to the next" (Ibid:101). This aspect is more highly valued in American culture where "we tend to see real performances as something not purposely put together at all, being an unintentional product of the individual's unselfconscious response to the facts in his situation" (Ibid:105). Other cultures may prefer a more structured or ritualized performance, devaluing innovation or change.

In reading Goffman, Victor Turner rejects the emphasis on social interaction as staged, readjustments to change, and instead explains social drama as being those disharmonic social processes that arise in conflict situations (1985:74). Turner observed that while much of social life involves reciprocity and orderly behavior, breaches of regular social relations often cause crises or social drama and requires a response. Such a breach can occur when an individual or group asserts power or identity; the resulting crisis contests understandings and may create new social arrangements (Ibid:74-75). Turner concluded that social reality is a fluid interplay of processes, such as rules and customs, that regulate life, as well as adjustment responses, such as behavior that exploits indeterminacies or redefines rules. Like Goffman, Turner observed that the self is presented through performance or roles, but he also concluded that it is presented through performances that alter social roles and transform society (Ibid:79).

As with other cultural resources, the ability to use performance may be unequally distributed throughout the community. Access to performance roles may be dependent upon special knowledge or training, age, or membership in a particular social group (Bauman 1977:30-31). This particular group, along with its associated privileges and responsibilities, may be created or defined by the community itself or it may be one that is imposed by an outsider. While not specifically discussed by Turner, it can be argued that anthropologists, in their pursuit of information, set into motion those forces that lead to social drama and crises. As providers of opportunity, ethnographers can be a catalysts for or producers of performances (Fabian 1990:7). The arrival of an outsider may breach regular community life and by identifying potential informants, anthropologists can artificially rearrange or threaten existing social relations. The collaborative actions of some community members may dramatically influence the resulting reorganization, producing new understandings that future community members will likely draw upon to explain their past and present.

The performative approach to self-identity has gained increased recognition by scholars working with individuals in producing life histories (Cruikshank 1990, 1998; Rios and Sands 2000). Certainly some of this new focus concerns unequal power relations that exist between indigenous narrators and anthropologists. In discussing the power relations of traditional ethnographic activity, Johannes Fabin has contrasted informative from performative ethnography, stating:

> Informative ethnography-collecting data and information about another culture-corresponds to a political situation of more or less direct control, on in which the ethnographer as the emissary of the dominant power (wittingly or not) has the upper hand; where he or she can ask the questions, determine what counts as information, control the situations in which it is to be gathered...Performative ethnography-the kind where the ethnographer does not call the tune but plays

> along-would be the approach that fits situations where our societies no longer exercise direct control (1990:19).

The elicitation of a life story narrative by an academic outsider is arguably a situation where the dominant society exercises some direct control over the event. However, by recognizing native modes and forms of discourse including song, dance, poetry and even humor, and by encouraging/allowing narrators to use such local resources, scholars can diminish inequalities and produce narratives that are more appropriate and meaningful to the participants as well as the audience.

IV. Innovation & Collaboration

If the self is not complete but open to outside influences, then hybridity and creative possibility can be found where cultures meet. Chicano and feminist writers demonstrate these possibilities by producing culturally transgressive texts, believed to circumvent traditional structures of power and providing marginal communities with an opportunity to be heard (Castronovo 1997:199; Rebolledo 1990:140). A frequently cited example of this is Ruth Behar's *Translated Woman Crossing the Border with Esperanza's Story* (1993), focusing on the life of a Mexican Indian woman, while incorporating her own reflections as a Cuban-American. In this work, all the elements of Latin American hybridity seem to be present: traditional and modern; indigenous and European; dominated and resistant (Canclini 1995). This new model has also been proposed for Native North American collaborative biographies, recognizing participants as partners in a multi-vocal and multi-reflective production (Sands 2001:143; Wong 1992:117-118). Here, traditional and modern, native and Euro-American come together

by using indigenous narrative elements, modified to fit new contexts, uniting the participants with an unseen and distant literary audience.

Interestingly, much of this innovation is found in the life histories of Native American women who obtained an education, adapted to the pressures of modern life, but also worked to balance native and non-native lifeways (Bahr 2003:159-170). In examining Native American women's biographies, Gretchen Bataille and Kathleen Sands observed that while

> the autobiographies of male narrators usually center on historical events and crisis moments in individual lives and tribal history...autobiographies of American Indian women are generally concerned with the more private and intimate aspects of their lives and cultures and with the partnership women share in the structuring and preserving of traditions within their societies (1984:9).

The authors predicted that more native women would record their stories, taking fuller control of the process and eliminating the recorder-editor, reducing outside control over the projects (134-135). It does appear that more life histories on native women are being written and published, although most have an outside collaborator, often another woman. This partnership between and among women circumvents traditional structures of power that in the past focused on men's narratives, providing marginalized subjects with an opportunity to voice their experiences.

In contrast to this literary and social optimism, borderlands can alternatively be identified as sites of conflict, domination, and resistance, rather than sites of cultural blending and creativity (Johnson & Michaelsen 1997:32). Academic collaborators are quick to diffuse the power inequities as they appear in the elicitation phase, but less frequently discussed are those relations of power that are located in the post-production stage: publication, marketing, and public consumption of the narratives. This problem is

particularly acute in modern publications of older manuscripts, long removed from the contexts that constructed them. By recording and retaining the narratives of indigenous peoples, researchers can exercise dominant power long after the subject's ability to create and control their own representation has faded. An example of this contextual distance appears in the autobiography of a Salish novelist who wrote under the name of Morning Dove (Miller 1990). Christine Quintasket prepared drafts of her autobiography in the mid-1930s but died before publication (Ibid:xxvi, xxxi-xxxii). Fifity years later Jay Miller obtained the manuscripts and edited the material noting "I rewrote each sentence to achieve agreement of subject and verb, a uniform past tense, and appropriate use of pronouns...In rewriting I attempted to apply standard English conventions of syntax, spelling and grammar...I have imposed consistency (Ibid:xxxiii, xxxiv) (emphasis mine). Quintasket may have approved these editing decisions, but the reader cannot be sure.

Another example of contextual distance appears in Jeffrey Anderson's *One Hundred Years of Old Man Sage* (2003). Anderson assembled a variety of narratives that an Arapaho man had contributed to research projects in the 1930s and 1940s; additionally Anderson conducting interviews with Sage's family members (Anderson 2003: vii, viii). Anderson noted:

> I have tried to balance a number of voices. To keep Sage's voice strong, this book includes all of his narratives that I have been able to identify in published and unpublished works. They are rendered in the original translations, for which researchers relied upon various Arapaho interpreters...I have softened the authoritarian voice of the anthropologist, which often overpowers with a preference for systemic relations and specialized terminology...I use but restrain the voice of the narrative historian, which tends to impose a singular view of the chronological sequence of regional and national events (Ibid:ix-x).

Clearly Sage's own power over the production of his life story was diffused by this long process, while Anderson's was concentrated by his own editorial decisions. In the final result, Anderson offers brief paragraphs of Sage's narrative, interspersed among pages of historical facts and analysis. Would Sage have approved the publication of his story in this form?

Critics note that dominating power is often extended into and even beyond the border zones, appropriating resistance narratives to reaffirm dominant hegemonic ideology (Castronovo 1997: 202-203, 207, 211). Relatively little attention is given to the textual material's role in challenging or even affirming dominant society's understandings of indigenous peoples. An example of this may be the continued production of a romantic and utopic Amerindia (Michaelsen 1997:221), as illustrated by the popularity of Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* (1932). This work preserved the "details of Lakota culture <u>and yet transcend(ed) them, securing a place for Lakota religion</u> in the ranks of recorded tribal traditions <u>to which people in contemporary industrial society continually look for inspiration</u> (DeMallie 1984:xviiii-xx) (emphasis mine).

Border crossing are problematic, the result of specific conditions, power relations, and the participants, as well as the fundamental understandings each has of the process. Although they are usually begun optimistically, not all collaborative projects are completed, nor all they all successful in achieving the participant's goals. These failures are discussed by Kathleen Sands in relating her own inability to see a project to completion (Rios and Sands 2000). Rejecting the notion of dominance over her native partner who "did his part" she nevertheless put the project on hold for more than twenty-five years until her own life and intellectual understandings permitted her to resume the

work (Ibid:241-244). Here, dominant power did not suppress the indigenous narrative, but it arguably controlled the time frame for its dissemination. This zone of rich potential and creative possibility remains, but perhaps not as envisioned. Parties actively work to construct new myths and identities relevant to one another, their communities, and themselves. Each participant performs a positional dance, creating and controlling as much as possible, while negotiating whenever necessary, to produce a self-serving multi-dimensional and multi-directional story.

V. Age, Memory, and Performance

It can be argued that knowledge is partially located where it is produced, as well as where it may be "stored". In the past, scholars located knowledge in "cultural warehouses", looking to older community members for information. It was believed that among preliterate peoples, elders served as repositories for technical, social, legal and ritual knowledge (Amoss and Harrell 1981:17; Myerhoff 1992:102; Myerhoff and Tufte 1992:250). As a result, anthropologists often sought out community elders to become informants and the subjects of life history projects. After reviewing an extensive body of biographical materials, Clyde Kluckhohn concluded, "the different age and sex groups are unevenly presented. Almost all of the subjects were fifty years or over at the time of giving their autobiography, and the vast majority were men" (1945:103). An examination of Native American biographical materials produced in the later half of the 20th century reveals a continuing focus on the lives of older men, although recent efforts do include women. In many of these materials, a focus is placed upon those acts and events that occurred in the distant past, including deeds that established and confirmed an

individual's worth or rank (Brumble 1988:58-59). Just how far back in time such emphasis goes varies between cultures. Such emphasis may be a reflection of Euro-American stress on youthful achievement, mobility, and individuality, values not generally available to older members of society (Myerhoff 1992:114, 117). Arnold Krupat has observed that while non-native life stories begin with childhood details, many Native Americans begin their life story narratives with early adulthood, generally describing a distinguishing act (1989:153). Interestingly, Alfred seems to blur this distinction by relating a blend of personal memories and stories that he heard from his parents and grandparents.

Barbara Myerhoff has proposed that western society connects older citizens to the past, alienating them from the present and marginalizing them (1992:114, 126). To offset a decline in their physical productivity, older community members often develop other strategies to demonstrate continuing viability. For example, by controlling access to resources such as land, mineral rights, vehicle, tools, pensions and benefits, elders can compel others to provide goods and services, creating and maintaining dependent relationships (Amoss & Harrell 1981:10-11; Williams 1980:106-107). Poverty is among the many factors contributing to the diminished status of the aged (Kaminsky 1992:35), although seniors may be able to resist the imposition of marginality by controlling access to important resources including knowledge. As a result, marginalization may be qualified, with some senior groups being privileged by their intellectual specialties, effectively transforming low status old people into "elders" possessing valuable knowledge (Kaminsky 1992:30, 47; Myerhoff 1992:123-124). Myerhoff notes that by guarding accumulated knowledge and restricting access, elders are able to increase their

influence in the community (1992:123-124). Similarly Richard Price discovered that older Saramaka men retained knowledge of their community identity as evidenced by genealogies, place names, proverbs, songs and prayers (1983:7-8). This information was slowly transferred to younger men in small increments; by fragmenting this valuable resource, elders retained their social position for longer periods of time (1983:9-11). Literacy and the publication of such valuable knowledge increases access to a broader segment of the society and can undermine the elder's authority (Myerhoff 1992:124). By working with anthropologists who plan to publish, elders run the risk of reducing their role as the sole guardians of cultural information

Another way in which seniors can claim visibility in the present is through an active construction of self, providing a continuum of life from the past into the future. In examining the social processes that weave personal experience into collective memory, Michael Kenny has observed that "memory needs a place, a context. Its place, if it finds one that lives beyond a single generation, is to be found in the stories that we tell" (Kenny 1999:421). Myerhoff proposed that the performance of life history provides seniors with just such an opportunity to become visible again, and gives them the tools to write their own self-definitions (1992:233-235). In producing their life history seniors use narrative, persuasion, enactment, and storytelling to draw past experiences into the present; in this way, they entrust their life's experiences to younger members. This presentation of self can be viewed as a political process with political outcomes (Kaminsky 1992:48); Price found that among the Saramaka valued historical information is often used to generate political authority, advancing personal or family interests

(1983:65, 72, 115). Storytelling operates to renew an individual's life, while actively contesting the social history being written by others.

Older community members may also strategically control information needed for a nativistic revival of identity, a social process that challenges the dominant western devaluation of traditional, indigenous knowledge. Their participation in, and direction of, certain practices or events may be deemed necessary for legitimacy (Amoss 1981:240). By taking advantage of their unique position, elders reaffirm ideological bases for identity, actively promoting their status as keepers of knowledge through public presentations of information (Amoss 1981:244). Alternatively, they may carefully control the amount and kind of information transferred, as well as the context and audience allowed to receive such knowledge (Price 1983:10). In producing and disseminating personal narratives, community histories and sacred discourses, seniors ensure a continuing social need for themselves, even if they might otherwise have little to contribute.

The transmission of historical memory is contextual, partial, and subject to self-interested manipulation and obfuscation (Kenny 1999:425). Since such knowledge is fragmentary and the perspective relational, there exists the likelihood that other seniors will challenge these constructions by asserting inadequacies (Amoss 1981:245). Historically, the telling of coup tales required the presence of witnesses able to verify the events (Brumble 1988:26-27). Many Native American biographies collected in the early part of the 20th century maintained this continuity; narratives were generally delivered in front of other community members, often individuals of the same age set (Krupat 1989:160). In reviewing the circumstances surrounding Neihardt's work with Black Elk,

editor Ray DeMallie noted "Neihardt's interviews with Black Elk as the old man related his vision were not private. The other old men stayed around to listen and to eat, serving as witnesses to the truthfulness of Black Elk's story" (1984:39). Other personal narratives however are privately related, providing individuals with the opportunity to control the immediate dissemination of information. This likely carries greater risk of censure due to reduced community involvement, but may also present the narrator with a less obstructed presentation of self and community. An example of this can be seen in Michael Hittman's work with Corbett Mack and his revealing discussion of alcohol and substance abuse among members of the Northern Paiute community (1996). Most of Alfred's narratives were recorded in private, producing more coherent recordings but also diminishing the ability of other tribal members to challenge his version of events. Subsequent research may explore the impact of this methodological choice.

Conclusion

Social theory has enhanced our understandings of individuals as occupying multiple positions and expressing several differentially situated identities. Image of self is a product of performances generated within social situations. The production of self-identity is located at the site of discourse; thus the expression of self is a negotiated activity, with individuals utilizing socially appropriate and available methods to produce and shape their identities. As a result, individuals produce multiple narratives of self, reflecting the sites and contexts of interaction, as well as the arrangement of social relations. The construction of individual identity then is a self-representational practice, with participants acting as agents in the personal narrative discourse. Such changes in

self-identity are often performatively demonstrated, with community observation and participation serving to accept and affirm the individual's new identity. Stories may be publicly related, with audience members participating in a collaborative construction and performance, situating an individual's personal narrative within the larger community narrative (Wong 1992:18, 28).

Production of culture, including art, identity, narrative, or knowledge is a creative selection and recombination of elements and resources. Such action may reshape traditional forms by borrowing from the past or from outside sources. However, the socially constituted capacity to act may not always be available. Creative individuals may have the power to change their culture, although the direction of change can be influenced by the expectations of others, including tourists and consumers (Parkin 2001:133). Anthropologists may also impose their expectations upon culture producers. In his essay on the relationship between individual memory and collective history, Michael Kenny observes how academic focus impacts indigenous narratives:

> where once anthropologists told a story of Indian cultural disintegration and assimilation, now they are more likely to write of Native resistance and cultural resurgence...this change maps shifting political and moral commitments...interpretation means selection and in this case selection means focus on resistance, pain, and adaptation, a story that Native people have themselves come to tell because they too are immersed in...a time when political and therapeutic themes have become linked. (1999: 435).

By drawing upon their knowledge of the past, weaving in their own personal experiences and understandings, and placing such information into the present, older members actively construct cultural history as well as define and locate themselves in the stream of community life and consciousness.

Chapter 3: Apache Tribal History

Introduction

The early history of the Plains Apache, including their origins, has been the subject of several anthropological and historical inquiries (Mooney 1898; Gunnerson 1940; Brant 1969; Newcomb 1970 and Bittle 1971). Despite these investigations, a complete picture of pre-contact Apache life has yet to emerge (Davis 1996). Central to this problem is the lack of direct evidence; specific references to the Plains Apache appear only intermittently in the records of European explorers and are rarely included in early United States governmental documents. To compensate for this lack of information, scholars have drawn upon collateral sources of data including folklore, linguistics, kinship, social organization, and material culture, as well as comparing information obtained from other Plains tribes, such as the Kiowa and Sarcee, and other Apachean peoples including the Lipan, Jicarilla, Mescalero and Chiricahua (Goddard 1911; Hoijer 1938; Mooney 1898). These communities appear more frequently in the historic record, enabling researchers to identify the events and conditions that the Plains Apache may have encountered. Additional conclusions are based upon the general social, political and economic attributes of Southern Plains indigenous peoples such as the Comanche (Davis 1996). Taken together, these sources provide a background from which to consider Plains Apache history.

The Plains Apache enter the historic record in the treaty era of the mid-1800s, although they remain in the shadows cast by larger tribes such as the Kiowa and Comanche. Governmental records occasionally separate the three tribes, but usually focus attention and discussion on the Kiowa and Comanche. From these records it is possible to

postulate the Apache response to changing conditions encountered by reservation and allotment era peoples, although this may not be conclusive. The reservation and allotment eras are of particular interest to Alfred Chalepah, Sr. as they provide a context for understanding the experiences of his parents and grandparents. While Alfred's own experiences occurred during the Twentieth Century, a brief discussion of Apache history will help to situate some of his narrative in time and place.

Early Contact

Linguistically, the Plains Apache belong to the Athapaskan language family; this language classification includes speakers in western Canada, along the Pacific coast, and in the southwestern United States (Hoijer 1938). Southwestern speakers are further divided into a western division that includes Navajos and Western Apaches, as well as an eastern division comprised of the Jicarilla, Lipan, and Naisha, the latter group self-identified today as the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma. How and when Athapaskan speakers arrived in the southwest has been a matter of much speculation. John Harrington proposed that Athapaskan peoples migrated out of Canada along several possible routes: down the eastern range of the Rocky Mountains, or through the Sierra Mountains and into the Great Basin, sometime between A.D. 1100 and 1500 (Harrington 1940:520-524). Evidence of this late migration into the Basin and southern plains may be found in archaeological sites located in Utah, Colorado and Kansas; archaeologists believe Athapaskan peoples occupied such sites around 1500 (Tweedie 1968:1134).

Beginning in 1541, early Spanish explorers to the southwest and southern plains encountered Querechos, a Puebloan term for Navajos and Western Apaches, as well as

Teyas, a Jemez Pueblo word for Lipan Apaches (Newcomb 1970:1-2). Spanish accounts describe these Apaches as living in small, politically autonomous bands with some groups located in northeastern New Mexico, eastern Colorado, and western Kansas (Foster and McCollough 2001:926). Western Apachean peoples traded meat and hides for Puebloan products throughout the Spanish period and, as a result of contact with Pueblo peoples, may have adopted certain cultural traits including agriculture, pottery, and masked dances (Brant 1949:59-60; 1953:201). Despite extensive Spanish contact with southwestern peoples, few records accurately identify or place the seemingly elusive Apaches occupying the fringes of the Plains. Archaeological information helps to fill some of this gap; James Gunnerson has investigated the Dismal River Aspect, a complex of sites in western Nebraska, western Kansas, eastern Colorado, and southeastern Wyoming (Gunnerson 1960). Gunnerson attributed these mixed hunting and agricultural sites to the Plains Apache, linking their occupants to both the Southwest and the Plains (Ibid:141). He dates many of these sites to the early 1700s based, in part, on limited numbers of European trade goods such as iron axes and gun flints (Ibid:175-176, 179).

French explorers and traders also learned of Plains Apache peoples, identified by the Pawnee term Gattatcka and recorded by LaSalle in 1682. These Apaches were said to be trading horses to Wichita villagers and by 1719 were trading them to the Arikara on the north central plains (Newcomb 1970:2; Foster and McCollough 2001:928). Horses and trade also encouraged Comanche bands to move out of the Basin and onto to the southern plains in the early 1700s, displacing other indigenous peoples. This movement may have caused the Jicarilla to retreat into New Mexico, while pushing the Lipan further south into Texas and pressuring the Naisha to move north. By 1785 a group of Apache

people was reported to be on the north central plains near the Little Missouri River, exchanging meat and hides for Mandan and Arikara agricultural products; by 1796 Apaches were camped on the Platte River (Foster and McCollough 2001: 928). While wintering with the Mandans in 1804-1805, Lewis and Clark reported that their hosts located Kiowa camps on the North Platte River and Cataka on the Cheyenne River in eastern Wyoming (Newcomb 1970:6). Groups of Kiowas and Apaches began to drift south and, within a generation, were hunting bison in Kansas and the western Indian Territory. As a result of this historic association and similar migration pattern, anthropologist James Mooney concluded that Apaches:

> have not migrated from the southwest into the plains country, but have come with the Kiowa from the extreme north, where they lay the scene of their oldest traditions, including their great medicine story...It is probable that the Kiowa Apache ...have come down the eastern base of the Rocky mountains from the great Athapascan hive of the Mackenzie river region instead of the chain of the Sierras...and that, finding themselves too weak to stand alone, they took refuge with the Kiowa, as the Sarsi have done with the Blackfeet (Mooney 1898:247-248).

Many community members express a similar belief about their origins, although Mike Davis questions whether this beflief predates contact or is the result of Mooney's published conclusions (Davis 1996:75, 76). Alfred Chalepah, Sr. tells a northern origin story, describing a community who disagreed over food and subsequently split into two distinct groups with one group, believed to be Canadian Sarcee, staying in the north while the other group, ancestral Apache, came south. This story has been told by other anthropological consultants and may have influenced J. Gilbert McAllister to conduct research among the Sarcee as well as the Plains Apache.[1] Clearly this version of events

holds particular meaning to some Apaches and serves to explain traditions and relationships with other tribal groups.

Pre-Reservation

Early Americans may have believed the Great Plains to be an open sea of grass, empty and available for settlement. However, many indigenous communities occupied the area; tribal territories were established and modified through conflict, social relations, trade and migration, fluctuating as new groups arrived to exploit the resources. Apaches and other plains peoples were drawn into additional conflicts following the removal of southeastern tribes to the newly created Indian Territory in the 1830s. Raids and counter-raids conducted between southern plains tribes, primarily the Kiowa and Comanche, and the removed tribes attracted governmental attention (LaVere 2000). In May 1837 Kiowa, Apache, and Wichita representatives met with governmental officials at Fort Gibson and accepted an agreement authorizing safe passage across the region, as well as access to hunting areas (Ibid:79). Early treaties provide researchers with important evidence of Apache leadership; signatories to this agreement included Iron Shoe, One Who is Surrendered, and Walking Bear (or Leading Bear) (Bittle 1970:3). Presumably these men represented the interests of their extended family groups, although little is presently known about them.

Inter-tribal conflict continued as increasing numbers of tribes used overlapping territories, particularly for hunting activities. Throughout the early and mid-1800s Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Wichita, Caddo, Delaware, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Osage, Sauk and Fox communities faced greater pressures as resources

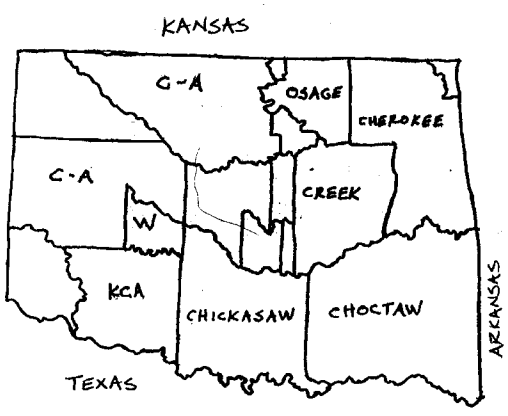
declined, while raids and incidents of disease increased (LaVere 2000).[2] During this time, the US government made repeated efforts to engage southern plains peoples in negotiations, primarily to reduce the danger along the Santa Fe Trail, and to halt raids into Texas (Bittle 1970:6-12). In the spring of 1853 a large number of plains tribes, including the Apache, met with governmental representatives at Fort Atkinson, Kansas to discuss the return of Mexican captives, construction of military posts, safe passage across native-held territory, and the United State's new political situation with Mexico following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Apache representatives Poor Bear, Poor Wolf, Prairie Wolf, and The Cigar agreed to the terms and the following spring a large number of Indians, with 1200 to 1500 lodges and tens of thousands of horses, gathered for the anticipated annuity distribution.[3] This annual distribution of goods would become increasingly important as the southern bison herds declined, although raiding settlers and travelers offered some native peoples alternative economic options.

During the late 1850s Apaches began to distance themselves from the Kiowa who were actively raiding Navajos and Texas settlers;[4] instead Apaches associated with the Cheyenne and Arapaho as they hunted for buffalo (Bittle 1970:19-20). In 1862, representatives of the Cheyenne and Arapaho signed the Treaty of Fort Wise, creating a reserve between the Platte and Arkansas Rivers. Although Apache leaders did not sign this agreement, they were included in its provisions (Bittle 1970:20, 21). Smallpox struck the southern plains in 1862 and approximately twenty percent of the Apache's 215 adults and 200 children died, while others faced starvation during an unusually hard winter (Mooney 1898:311; Bittle 1970:21). After this, Apaches resumed their association with Kiowas.

White migration across the west increased following the end of the Civil War, as did the number of violent encounters between Indians and whites in Nebraska, Kansas, and the Texas panhandle. As a result the US government negotiated the Treaty of the Little Arkansas River in 1865 with Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho representatives (LaVere 2000:178-179). Under this agreement, most of the western portion of Indian Territory and the Texas panhandle was reserved for the tribes, along with the distribution of annuities for forty years (Ibid:179). Apaches, represented by Poor Bear, Iron Shirt, Old Fool Man, Wolf Sleeve and Crow, chose to again affiliate themselves with the Cheyenne and Arapaho (Bittle 1970:25-26).[5] This strategy of shifting alliances and maintaining multiple lines of social networks likely enabled the smaller Apache community to access valuable resources, while avoiding the negative consequences of warfare.

Poor Bear and a Caddo man. Kansas, 1859
National Anthropological Archives

In October 1867, members of the Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes met with governmental officials at Medicine Lodge Creek in southern Kansas to discuss hunting and reservation issues (Jones 1996). Several newspaper correspondents attended the meeting and their accounts offer valuable information about the proceedings and the participants;[6] here the Apaches were again represented by Poor Bear, Iron Shirt and Wolf Sleeve, as well as by Bad Back, Brave Man, and White Horn. In drafted documents, the treaty commission combined the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache communities, and legally tied the Southern Cheyenne with the Arapaho. Representatives of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes agreed to give up lands in Texas for a smaller shared reservation, located between the Red and Washita Rivers. In exchange, the government promised to provide schools, teachers, blacksmiths, tools, clothing and $25,000 a year for thirty years (LaVere 2000:183-184). The Apache leaders signed the treaty on October 25th although few reporters attended the event. Alfred Chalepah often cites this treaty as the starting point for modern Apache history as many of the stories he heard from his grandparents and parents are the result of their reservation experiences.



Reservations in Indian Territory, 1876
Adapted from *Atlas of the North American Indian*, Facts on File (1985)

The Reservation Years

For several years prior to the Medicine Lodge agreement, the United States government had been planning a southern plains reservation to be supervised by the army.[7] After the Medicine Lodge Treaty had been negotiated, the army established Camp Washita in the Washita Mountains, renamed Fort Sill in 1869. Located in the southern regions of the new Kiowa Reservation, this post provided the military greater control over Texas and New Mexico, areas still used for raiding activities (Mooney 1898:327-329). The army focused its attention on the Comanche and Kiowa tribes more than it did on the Apache, curtailing movement by requiring warriors to attend Fort Sill's daily roll call (Davenport 1980:16). Governmental reports indicated that, while some Apaches continued to participate in raids with the Kiowa,

> as a tribe (or band) it is believed that they are better disposed than their associates and that the professions of friendship...may be received accordingly. I think that if they can be removed from the evil influences of the Kiowa and Comanche, they will do well (Report 1872:138).

Generally compliant with governmental requests, Pacer led the Apaches during the early reservation years and even supported Quaker efforts to build a school for reservation children. Apache John was also recognized as a cooperative leader; in 1873 Agent Richards noted:

> The Apaches are very attentive, working themselves with the hoe. Apache John, a chief, is especially deserving of mention; he worked hard, had all the weeds hoed out, and, in addition to his corn, has a fine crop of watermelons, some of which he has brought me as a present. It was a very nice sight to see one who a few months ago was regarded as a wild and dangerous man drive up in his wagon (I had given him one) and unload from it a number of fine melons of his own cultivation and raising (Report 1873:219).

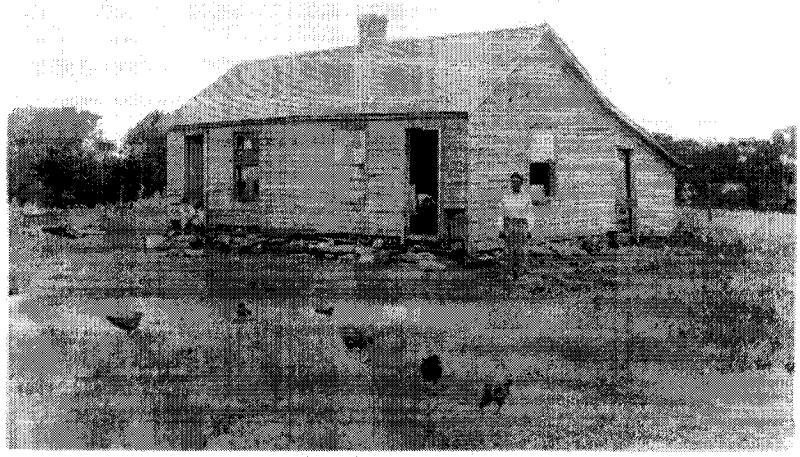
Of the Apaches in general, the Agent concluded, "they seem very anxious to settle down and become farmers. Their situation at present is unfortunate in being divided-part at the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency and part at this. Being all one tribe and kindred, they should all be at one agency" (Ibid:219-220). The following year, Agent Haworth reported that:

> The Apaches have conducted themselves very satisfactorily during the year; many of them were anxious for fields in the spring but, owing to the scarcity of funds and a wet spring, making it late for farming, I was not able to do much for them. I enlarged the field made for John last year...also had a field made for Black Hawk, an Apache Chief, who went into the work himself, helping to plant and afterward to cultivate it...I am satisfied many of the Apaches with proper encouragement will become an agricultural people (Report 1874:221).

The continuing decline of buffalo, white incursions into the region, and native raids into Texas resulted in the Red River War of 1874, featuring the Battle of Adobe Walls and a military campaign to locate and arrest the participants, primarily Kiowa, Comanche and Cheyenne warriors (Mooney 1898:338-339; Foreman 1941:138). The army selected some Kiowa and Apache men, including the Apache sub-chief Koon-kah-zah-chy, or Apache John, to be scouts from May to August 1875.[8] Scouts were used to track the Kiowa and Comanche offenders and served as interpreters during negotiations for surrender.[9] Several prominent Kiowa leaders were punished for their participation in the war and were sent to Fort Marion, Florida where they were held until the spring of 1878.[10]

Portrait of Pacer by Gardner
National Anthropological Archives

In 1875 Pacer died, passing his leadership position to White Man (Davenport 1980:33). Like Pacer, White Man was willing to work with whites, supporting the enrollment of Apache children in mission schools and occasionally attending Christian church services himself (McBurney 1948:34, 54). During these early years important reservation issues included health and sanitation; measles struck in the spring and summer of 1877, primarily affecting children (Mooney 1898:342). Housing was also an issue; the government constructed ten houses at a cost of $600 each, giving them to leading men such as White Man and Daha (Ibid; Report 1881:78). However most Apaches preferred to live in tents, tepees, and brush arbors, as they were more conducive to the traditional camp social life.



Daha's House built in 1877.[11]
Photo by J. Gilbert McAllister 1933/34
University of Oklahoma Museum of Natural History

In 1879 the government moved supervision of the three tribes from Fort Sill to the Wichita Agency in Anadarko; combining the agencies simplified administration of the southern plains tribes and reduced overall costs (Foreman 1941:139). By shifting the reservation's focal point from Fort Sill to Anadarko, the three tribes spread north and east. This movement impacted the Indians social, political and economic orientation, with an agent later concluding:

> The tribal system is surely disappearing. The change from Fort Sill to the Washita has certainly had much to do with this, by breaking up the large camps and dispersing the members of the different bands through their new settlements, thus weakening the influence of chiefs and establishing the heads of families and the young unmarried farmers in a position of independence (Report 1881:78).

The Apaches appear to have fragmented into smaller groups during this time with the agency recognizing twelve bands (or extended families) in 1875, increasing to fifteen by 1885 (Foster and McCullough 201:933). They camped in five geographic areas: Ft. Cobb, Boone, Alden, Cement and Anadarko, although by 1900 these had collapsed to three: Ft.

Cobb, Boone and Apache (Schweinfurth 2002:187). In some ways, this fragmentation and localized small group focus may have been a return to the social structure of small, politically autonomous Apache family units which allowed easier access to immediate resources and did not require strong centralized authority. Pre-reservation Apache social structure appears to have centered around four groups, based upon four tribal Medicine Bundles; a report issued by the Kiowa Reservation Agent in November 1869 listed four groups of Apache led by Wolf Sleeve, Som-se-tah, Dancer and Horse Back, numbering 322, as being absent from the reservation.[12] McAllister recorded that historically tribal members were sometimes scattered but they tried to remain in close proximity of at least one bundle whose keeper possessed leadership qualities (1965:213).

The reservation years had been difficult for the three tribes and, like other communities, Apaches often turned to spiritual guidance to help them understand and solve complex problems. In pre-reservation times Apaches had looked to various sources of supernatural power such as their four important Medicine Bundles, as well as the curing power of Buffalo Medicine and herbs. Individuals with special knowledge of ceremonies were highly respected, as were those who possessed healing abilities; such information and the necessary paraphernalia were often inherited and remained closely guarded (Davenport 1980:19, 20). Two men possessing these skills were Daveko[13] and Apache John, who used his knowledge of Buffalo Medicine for curing and also conducted bundle ceremonies as a means of maintaining the community's social bonds.

For many years Apaches had also participated in Kiowa Sun Dances.[14] Held in the spring or summer, the Kiowa Sun Dance occurred over ten days and emphasized the regeneration of buffalo and cures for illness, and it served to strengthen social bonds

(Mayhall 1961:130-133). Apaches participated in the construction of the medicine lodge, developing songs and dances that were later performed as the Brush Dance (Schweinfurth 2002:162). However a decline in buffalo, along with agency pressure to abandon tribal traditions, reduced the number of Sun Dances held by the Kiowa during the 1880's to just four. By 1888, the Agent refused to allow the annual ceremony and the Kiowa instead looked to messianic prophets for guidance.[15] In October 1890, an Arapaho prophet named Sitting Bull instructed seven Kiowas of Wovoka's vision, and they were soon joined by twenty Apaches (Ibid:356-357, 359-360). Together the group held regular weekend meetings, as well as July 4th and Christmas gatherings. The Kiowa continued this ceremony for many years, blending elements of Christianity and even patriotism (Kracht 1992), although it appears that the Apaches did not fully embrace it beyond 1891.[16]

A new decade began much as the old one had ended; between 1890 and 1892 there were over 386 infant deaths on the reservation due to outbreaks of whooping cough, measles and pneumonia (Kracht 1992:460). The Sun Dance was not held in either 1891 or in 1892, when a devastating measles epidemic spread from school children to their family's camps, killing almost twenty-five percent of the Apache tribe (Mooney 1898:252-253, 362-363). Perhaps seeking relief from their misery, some tribal members turned to the recently arrived Christian missionaries,[17] while others found comfort in the ceremonial use of peyote. Before 1880 members of the Kiowa and Apache tribes had begun to use peyote as a central element of religious ceremonies (Beals 1971:45). A Mescalero or Lipan Apache practitioner instructed four leading men including Apache John, Archilta, Saddleblanket, and Daveko in the religious use of the herb; these men then created their own roads by composing songs and conducting meetings (Ibid: 47-48).

Agent White reported on the Apache and Comanche use of peyote, initially described as mescal bean, noting that, "while under it's influence they are in dreamland and see the most beautiful visions...the Indians have even come to look upon this bean...as an oracle, endowed with the power of revelation" (Report 1888:98-99). Despite this seemingly positive remark, the Agent recommended that peyote use be banned, a sentiment that was shared by many of the Christian missionaries (McBurney 1948:23). In 1888, the reservation's agent had issued an order banning the use, sale and possession of mescal beans; offenders were ordered to appear before the Court of Indian Offenses whose judges included active peyote practitioners such as Apache John and Quanah Parker (Stewart 1987:84, 128-130). Facing governmental disapproval, Apache peyote leaders modified the ritual in 1890, eliminating shamanistic aspects and incorporating Christian elements (Beals 1971:50-51; LaBarre 1975:260; Davenport 1980:27). Despite the changes, practitioners faced opposition from religious groups, lawmakers, and even local whites; in southwest Oklahoma the Ku Klux Klan posted broadsheets condemning peyote's use (LaBarre 1975:167).

Late reservation and early allotment changes also included education. The tribes had been promised schools and teachers by the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 and many governmental officials and religious groups viewed education as the best way to achieve the "civilizing" of native peoples. Wichita and Caddo students attended school near their agency in Anadarko (Moore 1940:29) and in 1875 Kiowa students began to attend the Wichita school. Within a few years, new buildings were constructed for the growing enrollment and later this multi-tribal school would be called Riverside Indian School (Ibid:40-42; Shannon 1971). Governmental schools were partially self-financed through

agricultural activity; the Kiowa School located west of Anadarko had ninety-five acres of wheat, corn, potatoes and hay, while Riverside expenses were partially met by using 2350 acres for stock grazing and 200 acres for cultivation (Moore 1940:50).

Religious groups also opened a number of schools, offering reading, writing, arithmetic and geography, as well as religious instruction. Church affiliated schools received some of their funding from national as well as local congregational contributions. In 1889, W.W. Carithers, a Presbyterian missionary, requested land twenty-five miles southwest of the agency on Cache Creek to build an industrial school for the Apache, along with stone and timber to construct the buildings (Ibid:19; McBurney 1948). White Man supported this mission school, even offering his government house to the missionaries until more permanent quarters were built (McBurney 1948:9). The school opened the following year with four Apache boys and three girls enrolled and, by 1893, twenty-nine students were enrolled for the nine-month class session. In 1897 Alfred Chalepah's mother, Rose Archilta, was placed on the school's roster (Bolt 1988:9).

Allotment

Throughout the reservation period the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache became increasingly reliant upon the distribution of rations as other sources of food proved unreliable. For several years native hunters had been able to supplement treaty rations with buffalo meat, as well as cash or credit obtained from the robes, but by 1879 this option had all but disappeared (Rand 1998:128-131). On the southern plains, small-scale farming was often unproductive and agent reports, which had previously emphasized

agricultural activities, now focused on the possibilities of stockbreeding. By 1882, Agent Hunt concluded:

> It is a difficult matter to make farmers of Indians under the most favorable circumstances, and in this country, where the crops so often fail because of the scarcity of rainfall, it must be much more difficult. Indeed it has been a question with some whether Indians will ever be able to entirely support themselves by the cultivation of the soil in this country, which is not well adapted to agriculture. The only means by which they can subsist themselves is by the breeding of cattle (Report 1882:67).

Agent Hunt also calculated that in ten years time a tribal herd of four thousand cattle ranging over the reservation's three and one-half million acres would provide the Indians with an ample supply of meat for many years. Instead of developing tribal herds the tribes leased their reservation's grassland to Texas ranchers, although some members opposed these grass leases (Hagan 1990:152). At the urging of the charismatic and powerful Comanche leader Quanah Parker grass leases officially began in 1885, providing $55,000 in annual income for the three tribes, despite the anti-leasing faction's refusal to accept their share of per capita payments (Ibid:175). In 1891, the Secretary of the Interior approved new leases for the Texas ranchers totaling more than 1.3 million acres of reservation land at six cents an acre (Ibid:176, 181). Apaches, however, did not participate in grass leases until May 1892 when Apache John and White Man agreed to sign (Davenport 1980:33-34).

Rather than work the soil themselves, some tribal members opted to hire white farm laborers or enter sharecropping arrangements (Hagan 1990:182-183). Provisions in the Medicine Lodge Treaty allowed each family to farm 320 acres of land, although the Agent had to pay white laborers three dollars an acre to break the soil and open new fields (Monahan 1968:456; Hagan 1990:182). By 1893, several hundred whites were

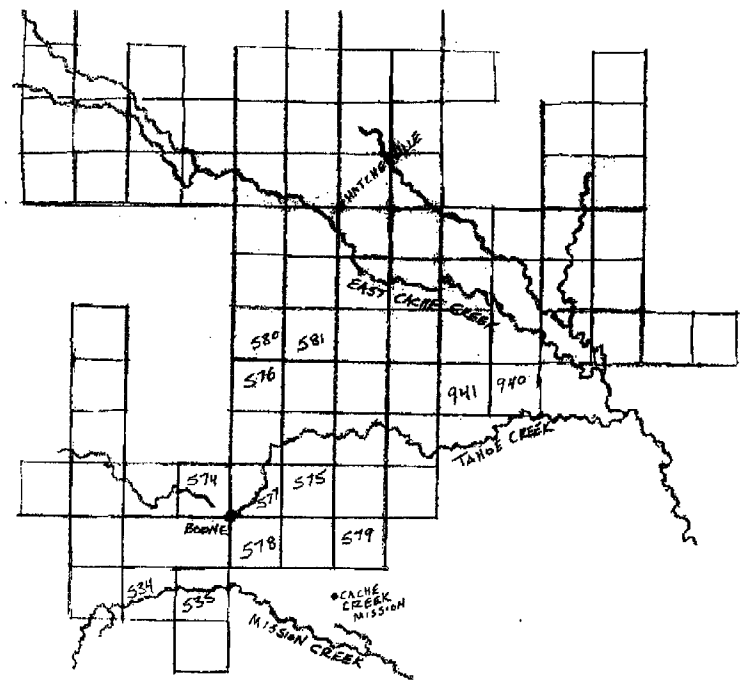
working on the Kiowa and Wichita Reservations; as a result, white farmers and ranchers became increasingly interested in lands that seemed underused by the Indians themselves. Such interest had been developing for several years, perhaps anticipated by Agent Hunt who in 1885 suggested dividing the reservation into eighty acre lots, selling the remainder and using the funds, not as an annuity, but for the purchase of farm implements (Report 1885:88). This, he concluded, would "finally settle the Indian problem and remove a great weight and responsibility from the Government" (Ibid:89).

Elsewhere in the nation, the Dawes or General Allotment Act began the breakup of native land holdings. In 1889, the US government began negotiating with the Cherokee, Sauk & Fox, Pottawatomie, and Kickapoo tribes to open lands in the Indian Territory for white settlement (Foreman 1941:139). A three-man commission headed by David Jerome met with the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes in October 1890 and the Wichita in July 1891 (Hagan 1990:204). The commission offered varying terms for the surrender of lands; three million acres of Cheyenne and Arapaho land was obtained for fifty cents an acre, while the Wichita held out for $1.25. In contrast, the commission offered the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache a lump sum of two million dollars, represented as $665 per person, or approximately eighty cents an acre (DeMallie 1977:16; Hagan 1990:206). Throughout the proceedings, many tribal members voiced their objections to the proposal and several leaders, including White Man, suggested waiting until they were more prepared to live as independent farmers. However, in October 1892, 456 Kiowa, Comanche and Apache men agreed to surrender almost three million acres, although several important leaders including Apache John did not sign the agreement (Foreman 1941:139-140; Hagan 1990:213).

Portrait of White Man by Rinehart, 1898
Omaha Public Library

White Man died in April 1899 and was buried at the newly formed Cache Creek Indian Mission (McBurney 1948:21), leaving Apache John as the principle spokesman for the Apache. Formally elected to the position in January 1899, Apache John had traveled to Washington with Quanah Parker and Ahpeahtone to again protest the allotment of reservation lands (Davenport 1980:35, 36). In 1900, Congress ratified an amended version of the Jerome Agreement, setting aside 480,000 acres in four pastures for the common use of the three tribes, and allotting 160 acres to each enrolled tribal member. Additionally, the government agreed to pay the tribes two million dollars for the surplus lands, with $500,000 to be distributed per capita and the remainder to be held in trust (Foreman 1941:140). At Quanah's urging, the tribes continued to lease their common pastureland; several bills were introduced in Congress from 1902 to 1905 to open the common pasturelands to whites, arguing that the land sale income would reduce

the need for future appropriations (Hagan 1990:283). Congress allowed 517 additional allotments to be awarded to children born after 1900 and set the sale price at five dollars an acre, adding more than four million dollars to the tribes' federal trust account (Ibid:285). In 1908 an additional allotment of 120 acres was made to those 169 individuals born between 1903 and 1908. All together, 206 Apache allotments were scattered across twenty-one townships (Brant 1964:11; Bittle 1970:28).



Map of Apache Quarter-Section (160 acre) Allotments along Cache, Tahoe and Mission Creeks near Boone, OK with Archilta and Chaletsin family selections indicated[18]

In selecting their allotment lands, tribal members identified those resources that had always been important to camp life on the southern plains: water, firewood, and shelter. As a result, the Apache selected their allotments from land along creeks and near springs. Such wooded lands offered a variety of food resources including birds, small game, fruit, nuts, and medicinal plants. Although the Agent reported "the Indians are

given their choice of the best lands which are reasonably well adapted to agriculture" the allotments usually offered only eighty to one hundred acres of tillable land (Report 1900:333; Stahl 1978:197). Family members often selected lands near one another, rather than basing their decisions on land quality. Here, they were able to continue the camp life living in tents,[19] relaxing in brush arbors, swimming and socializing together, resisting to some extent the pressures of the outside world. District agents even complained to the office that gambling occurred in these camps, but they were unable to make surprise raids due to the Indians' dogs.[20]

The most immediate impact of allotment was the reduction of a reserved land base of three million acres in 1899, to just over half a million acres granted to 2808 individual Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches, although 480,000 acres of grazing land were still held in common. From the sale of "excess" lands, the tribes shared a $500,000 cash payment, with the remaining one and one-half million dollars held in trust at four percent interest. The opening of reservation lands also brought a rush of non-Indians to the area, perhaps 50,000 to bid on 13,000 homesteads (Hagan 1985:18). The agency town of Anadarko opened for settlement on August 6, 1901 with 20,000 whites and twenty saloons, before it settled into a population of 5000 by 1917 (Shannon 1971). This influx of outsiders led to the loss of KCA stock[21] and helped to spread disease such as smallpox, reducing tribal numbers.[22]

Post-allotment reports noted that half of tribal members' income was the result of per capita payments in amounts of twenty to sixty dollars every few months, although lease money still contributed twenty-six percent of the income total (Ibid:518; Hagan 1985:21). In 1904 the Agent reported that lease and cash payments together provided

seventy per cent of tribal members' income (Report 1904:606), undoubtedly a disappointment to those who had hoped allotment would lead to agricultural self-sufficiency. While employees of the Indian Service continued to think of individual Indian farmers as the ideal model for civilization, native people on the southern plains remained relatively uninterested in the hard labor and minimal rewards of dry farming.[23] Instead, tribal members leased their allotments in growing numbers: 1200 in 1903, 1700 in 1905 and 2000 in 1906 (Reports 1903:261; 1905:301; 1906:309), with owners often receiving a share of the white tenant farmer's harvest in lieu of cash. This system allowed owners to obtain some income from the land without confining their residency, enabling many to participate in the camp lifestyle. Another important source of tribal income came from the leasing of commonly held pasturelands, producing $136, 295 a year (Report 1904:294). However, this source of long term income disappeared in 1906 when Congress allotted some lands to individuals born after 1900 and authorized selling the remainder to homesteaders.[24]

Post-Allotment

While many allottees continued to lease their land, others chose to sell inherited parcels. Land sales did provide much needed cash income, but also deprived their owners of long-term benefits such as lease money. In 1905 land sale income amounted to $8831, increasing to $34, 449 in 1906 (Report 1906:308). Unaccustomed to cash, some tribal members quickly spent all they had received; consequently the Agent required that land sale and lease money be held in trust and distributed as needed. Alfred's father, Alonzo

Chaelpah, was among those unaccustomed to handling cash. In discussing Alonzo's request for a fee patent on inherited lands, the Agency Superintendent noted:

> A few years ago this man obtained a patent in fee on his own allotment and immediately sold it. His financial transactions at that time showed him to be entirely incompetent as far as the handling of money was concerned. He run through with the proceeds of his allotment in very short time. At the earnest persuasion of this office he did deposit $2000 for safe keeping.[25]

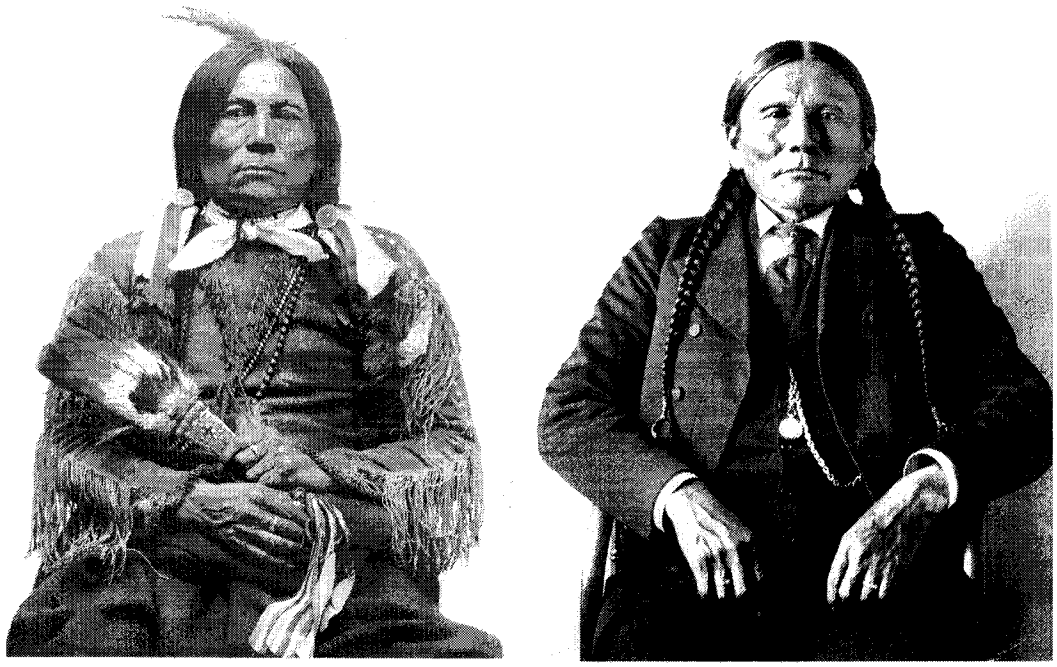
As a result of Agency controls over Indian monies, KCA accounts increased substantially until 1922, when the Agent reported $2.7 million held for individuals and then declined to just $1.5 million in 1926, when the 25 year restrictions expired on trust properties (Report 1922:53; 1926:54). As the years passed, more allotted land was sold with some of the proceeds being used to construct homes. By the mid-1920's tribal members were spending more money on houses and livestock, but less on agricultural equipment.[26]

Despite economic pressures and declining land resources, the Apache remained surprisingly close knit. In the 1920s agency reports included blood quantum in their population statistics with eighty to ninety percent of the Apaches identified as being one-half blood or greater (Report 1924:34; 1926:37). Community cohesion was likely the result of rural isolation and a fairly steady population.[27] In time however, more young people would marry outside their community as they came into contact with other groups, primarily through inter-tribal social activities and boarding schools including Fort Sill, built in 1891 primarily for Comanche children, and Rainey Mountain, constructed in 1893 to accommodate Kiowa students (Moore 1940:55, 56).

Tribal leaders and parents generally supported the schools, and student attendance was fairly consistent. Some low-income families viewed boarding school as a means of providing for their children's needs; orphans also received food and shelter that might not

have been otherwise available. However not all children wanted to attend school; some simply avoided enrolling while others ran away, although they were located by parents or authorities and usually returned to the school. Occasionally the Agent responded to such acts of resistance by threatening to cut off the family rations (Ellis 1996:780). Most of the boarding schools suffered from a lack of qualified educators, funds, and materials (Ellis 1994). They also served as a breeding ground for infections such as the eye disease trachoma[28], as well as tuberculosis and small pox that children spread into their family groups.

Students quickly discovered that boarding school life was distinctly different from home life; use of native languages was discouraged or prohibited; students received haircuts, uniforms, and English names; they practiced military drills before breakfast and marched to class as well as to meals and activities (Ellis 1996:780-782). In 1888, the U.S. government made English the mandatory language for Indian education, and schools such as Riverside offered instruction in reading, writing, and spelling, as well as arithmetic and geography. Additionally, male students were taught aspects of farming such as gardening and animal husbandry, while the girls learned how to cook and sew bed quilts (Shannon 1971). In time, many of the children became functionally bilingual, and had received enough instruction to interact more successfully with their white neighbors. After World War One, Indian boarding schools began to wane and children were enrolled in public schools closer to their homes.[29] Cache Creek closed around 1915, while Rainey Mountain closed in 1920; however Riverside continued to educate Indian children and is now the longest running Indian boarding school in America. Alfred Chalepah received his education at Fort Sill Indian School and at Riverside, where he completed the sixth grade.



Portraits of Apache John taken on visits to Washington DC in 1894 and 1898. National Anthropological Archives

Apache John led the Apache community throughout the post-allotment time period. Recognized by the tribe and the government as headman, he was formally elected principle chief in January 1898 and re-elected in October 1908 (Davenport 1980:36). Tribal chiefs also served on the Tribal Business Committee; in February 1909, the Interior Department approved the Apache's selection of Koon-ka-zha-chy and Mi-ziz-zoondy to the Committee. This intra-tribal body consisted of five Kiowas, five Comanches and two Apaches, elected to four-year terms with "full authority to represent the tribes in all matters."[30] In 1911 the Department of the Interior discontinued their previous policy of appointing or designating powerful or controversial leaders, favoring an approach "to treat with members of a tribe as individuals to the end that tribal relations may, as rapidly as possible, be broken up and the Indians be forced to assume individual responsibility."[31]

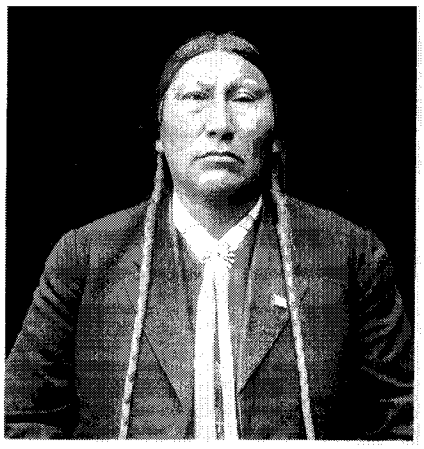
Besides acting as a liaison between the tribe and the U.S. government, Apache John also conducted important ceremonies such as naming children and directing the Rabbit Society Dances,[32] with the last one possibly held in 1915 (McAllister 1937:139-142; Brant 1969:57; Meadows 1999:197-200). As a civic and religious leader, Apache John was consulted for spiritual and heath concerns. He was the Keeper of one of the tribe's four Medicine Bundles and conducted its opening ceremony in the early spring (Brant 1969:121-123; Davenport 1980:23-25). Community members respected these bundles, using them as a focal point of prayer and then offering the keeper a small amount of cloth in appreciation (McAllister 1965:214). Apache John was also regarded as a healer, using his knowledge of Buffalo Medicine, songs and prayers, as well as herbs. An example of Apache John's flexibility as a religious leader was his support for Christian missionary activities. He may have been baptized by Reverend George W. Hicks, who held services in his arbor (Davenport 1980:56), and he provided five acres to the American Baptist Home Mission Society to construct a church that was completed in 1908 (Ibid: 29; Grant 1969:136).[33] As tribal headman, Apache John shared his resources by allowing congregation members to graze their horses in his pasture.

Apache John married four times; he and his third wife had a daughter, who later married Ben Chaletsin, enabling Ben to assume the tribe's leadership position in 1924. Apache John married his fourth wife, Ta-tah-ti-zez, in a Methodist ceremony conducted by J.J. Methvin (Davenport 1980:46-47). As his own physical health declined with age, family members assisted Apache John, enabling them to learn some of his ceremonies. In his will, Apache John bequeathed his land and peyote road to his wife's sister's grandson,

Alfred Chalepah,[34] while his brother-in-law, Captain Kosope, received the medicine bundle that Alfred would one day acquire.

As previously noted, traditional, pre-reservation customs began to wane under pressure from the Agent, missionaries, and the intrusions of outsiders, particularly after allotment. In 1907, tribal leaders including Apache John and Tennyson Berry attended the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, defending their right to use peyote and successfully repealed the Territorial ban, although anti-peyote efforts continued for several years (Davenport 1980:136-138). By 1912 peyote use had spread beyond Oklahoma, prompting the BIA to examine the issue. In 1914, a Sauk/Fox/Otoe peyote user incorporated the First Born Church of Christ at Red Rock, Oklahoma and received a charter from the state (LaBarre 1975:168). Anthropologist James Mooney testified before Congress in support of peyote use and, recognizing the innovative approach of chartering, encouraged Oklahoma practitioners. In August 1918 tribal representatives including Ben Chaletsin and Tennyson Berry met in El Reno to establish their church and to draft articles of incorporation designed to promote Christianity using the peyote sacrament. They subsequently organized the Native American Church, receiving their charter from the State of Oklahoma in October 1918 (Brant 1969:130-131; LaBarre 1975:170).

Blind and in poor health Koon-kah-zah-chey, the tribe's last traditional headman, died in December 1927. His body was interred at the Fort Sill Cemetery where other native leaders, including Geronimo and Quanah Parker, are buried.[35] In the following years, the Apache people would experience many frustrations being without a strong leader who could speak for the community as a whole. For a few years, Apache John's son-in-law, Ben Chaletsin, was regarded as the Apache's leading man.



Portrait of Ben Chaletsin, 1898
Bureau of American Ethnology

Ben Chaletsin after peyote meeting
Photo by J. Gilbert McAllister 1933/34

Born around the time of the Medicine Lodge Treaty, Apache Ben was the son of a Lipan father and an Apache mother.[36] During the 1890's he became a private in the reservation's police force, earning ten dollars a month (Report 1900:686). Later he received an allotment near Cement and farmed wheat for his cattle. As previously noted, Ben married Apache John's daughter, later Whiteman's daughter, and then a third woman, surviving all his wives and inheriting additional land that he farmed.[37] In 1908 oil was discovered on his land, from which he received $1000 a month, with additional funds held in trust.[38] In 1916, the Apaches elected Ben and Tennyson Berry to the intra-tribal Business Committee.[39] In reviewing the newly elected representatives, the Agency Superintendent described Ben:

> Apache No 534, aged 46, received meager education in reservation schools, talks and understands English, but prefers an interpreter in transacting business. Ben is a small farmer, sober and well thought of by his people. He is married but has no children. Uses peyote.[40]

In 1932 Ben married Alfred's mother, Rose Archilta Chalepah, and they remained together until his death in 1956. This was however a controversial union; using pseudonyms, McAllister described the situation writing:

> He had defied Apache morals by eloping in 1928 with Flora, the wife of Alvin Shaman. Five years later this was still the major theme of gossip and much resented. Nothing like it had ever happened before. (McAllister 1949:6).

Throughout his life Ben regularly conducted peyote meetings and attended Native American Church conferences. In 1944 the state charter was amended to create a national organization and on June 29 and 30, 1950, the Native American Church of the United States met at Ben's home where representatives thanked Oklahoma's Senator Elmer Thomas for his help in protecting peyote use (Stewart 1987:240). Alfred Chalepah regularly accompanied Ben on his travels to Native American Church meetings and also on trips to Washington D.C. where Ben met with governmental officials, occasionally providing translation services for Ben who was more comfortable speaking Apache or Comanche instead of English.

Depression Years

Like other Americans, many Indians were greatly affected by the financial depression of the 1930's, made worse by a severe drought on the Great Plains. After allotment, most Apaches had opted to lease their lands, although some supplemented this income with poultry and garden produce. For several years lease income had been held in trust by the agency, distributed according to a monthly budget or as needed for farm supplies and groceries. In 1916 the Federal Government released pro rata shares of the Apache, Kiowa and Comanche 5% and 4% Funds, interest monies from reservation land sales, to tribal members. In applying for her share of the funds, Rose Chelapah indicated a desire to build a barn, purchase furniture and have dental work performed,[41] while her father, Archilta, indicated an interest in repairing his house and purchasing farm implements including a riding plow.[42] During the 1920's landowners drew upon their

accounts, building homes, buying livestock and supporting their growing families; for example, Rose Chalepah requested that funds be used to build a storm cellar, repair her front porch and fix the well pump.[43]

Despite the availability of trust account monies, Apaches were probably better able to withstand periods of economic uncertainty than their non-Indian neighbors. As a result of governmental restrictions trust property was not taxable (Cohen 1988:258-259, 367, 368); horses, wagons and farm implements purchased by the government were not subject to mortgage (Ibid:368); family kin networks and social expectations operated to ensure the sharing of limited resources (McAllister 1937:123, 133); and many Apache may have simply learned to function outside of a cash-based economy with it's emphasis on manufactured goods. In contrast to their Indian neighbors, many non-Indian neighbors had purchased their homesteads with borrowed funds and three-quarters of American farms had a mortgage (Worster 1979:121). Their lands were subject to taxation, as were their livestock. Some farmers had also borrowed funds to purchase implements; under then-existing Oklahoma law mortgages could be taken on future crop production (Ibid). Consequently rural indebtedness increased, banks failed, savings were lost, and cash became less readily available. Farmers leasing Indian lands were often unable to make their payments with cash but some landowners, like Alfred Chalepah, accepted poultry, eggs, dairy products, or hog meat as payment. Those fortunate enough to retain their farms faced severe droughts during the 1930's; rainfall in Custer County, Oklahoma, measured forty-five inches below normal for the years 1931-1940 (Latta 1989:166) and as the heat and wind dried the soil, dust storm frequency increased from 1932 to 1937 (Worster 1979:15). The largest of these storms occurred on the southern plains, ruining

both crops and vegetation needed for stock. These conditions affected Indians and non-Indians, damaging valuable lands and demonstrating the need for effective erosion control.

In response to the nation's economic and agricultural crises, the Roosevelt administration developed several relief programs. Much of this work focused on pest control and soil erosion, improving marginal lands, reducing livestock surplus,[44] and also provided needed incomes to workers and their families. Congress authorized the government to rent farmland, allowing it lie fallow to reduce the overproduction of certain crops and stabilize prices (Stahl 1974:252-254). Governmental programs also provided employment through the Civilian Conservation Corps, later expanded to include Native Americans and known as the CCC-ID. In Oklahoma, Indian workers were paid thirty dollars a month, residing either at home or in camps located near project sites (Hanneman 1999:430-431). Projects in western Oklahoma included constructing rock dams near Riverside, eliminating prickly pear plants and prairie dogs at Rainey Mountain, and building dams near Fort Sill (Ibid: 436). Other projects included road construction, the erection of fences, and the planting of shelterbelts near Mountain View and Carnegie, providing landowners with trees for fuel and fence posts as well as nuts and fruit (Ibid: 439). Federal funds were also expended to improve the Kiowa Indian Hospital in Lawton and to build a new auditorium at Riverside Indian School (Wright 1972:354). Additionally, the CCC-ID offered educational training in carpentry, blacksmithing, poultry care, and typing classes held at Riverside and Fort Sill.

In 1933 John Collier became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, despite opposition from Oklahoma's powerful congressional delegation. Collier was a severe

critic of past Indian policy that had made nearly sixty percent of KCA members landless by 1933, with a per capita income of less than fifty dollars a year (Wright 1972:352). In proposing a new direction, Collier planned to halt the allotment process, organize tribal self-government, staff the BIA with Indians, and provide sources of economic credit (Ibid: 353-354). He lobbied for his plan at stops throughout Oklahoma, including Anadarko, where 3000 members of sixteen tribes listened to his presentation. However, native leaders such as the Kiowa's Jasper Saunkeah, rejected Collier's plan. Fearing that the Wheeler-Howard bill, or Indian Reorganization Act, would create new reservations governed by the tribes themselves, Oklahoma's congressmen excluded Oklahoma Indians from its provisions (Ibid:358). Alternatively, Senators Thomas and Rodgers proposed the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act which offered similar provisions; tribes could voluntarily organize under constitutions, have access to financial credit, and the government could obtain lands to be held in trust, exempt from state taxation (Ibid:362-363). Despite this new opportunity to take control of their own affairs, the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache all rejected their proposed constitutions (Foster 1991:113). On August 25, 1937, the Comanches rejected their constitution by a vote of 472-162; Kiowas rejected theirs on November 16, 1937 by a margin of 348-302; while the Apache rejected their proposed constitution on January 12, 1938 by a vote of 62-61 and again on May 18, 1938 by a margin of 73-62.[45]

Tribal members may have concluded that individual constitutions separating the three tribes would make each weaker in its dealings with the federal government. As a result of these rejections, the three tribes would manage their affairs for the next thirty-five years through the joint KCA Business Committee with Apaches having just two of

the twelve seats. The Business Committee had been in place since allotment abolished existing forms of tribal government. From 1901 to 1933, committee members acted as intermediaries between the government and tribal members, although they had little real political power (Levy 1959:23). The members generally were prominent, respected men who chose more effective means of exercising political power, such as appealing to governmental officials in Washington D.C., rather than the local agency (Ibid:45-46). Without individual tribal constitutions, the KCA Business Committee ostensibly acted for all three communities.

In 1935 the KCA General Council had adopted a constitution, creating the Apache, Kiowa and Comanche Council; however the Commissioner's Office did not approve the document, leaving the status of tribal government in question.[46] In 1938, at the urging of the Agency Superintendent, the tribes appointed delegates to a committee to draft a resolution creating the joint Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribal Business Committee of Oklahoma, with delegates authorized to transact business in Washington, D.C.[47] However, this effort to establish a government outside of the provisions of the Oklahoma Welfare Act was rejected by the Federal Government.[48] Despite its questionable legal status, the joint Business Committee and General Councils continued to meet and occasionally authorized delegates to confer with officials in Washington, D.C.[49] On several occasions Ben Chaletsin used this option, developing important relationships with members of Congress, as well as employees of the Interior Department.

World War II and its Aftermath

The economic crisis of the 1930's was partially reversed by World War II. Just prior to Congress' enactment of the draft, American unemployment reached fifteen percent (Bernstein 1991:17). Reservation Indians were granted citizenship in 1924, although Apaches had received citizenship upon allotment. As citizens, Indian men were subject to military service requirements; Commissioner Collier estimated there were 42,000 eligible native men, and by war's end more than 25,000 had served (Ibid: 22, 35). In Oklahoma, military activity centered around Fort Sill, and the Oklahoma National Guard included 200 Indians recruited from Chilocco Indian School (Ibid: 44). Several Apache men served in the military including Frank Red Bone who became a German prisoner of war in 1944. Families of servicemen benefited from military pay, while others found employment in war-related industries such as aircraft companies located in Tulsa and Oklahoma City, as well as those in California (Bernstein 1991:71, 72; Foster 1991:132). Before the war, most native people had remained close to home; in 1932, the Superintendent reported that 299 out of 301 Apaches lived in southwest Oklahoma (Report 1932:44-45). During and after the war, some Apaches relocated for the first time since reservation settlement (Foster and McCollough 2001:934). Like other Americans, native men and women moved from rural to urban areas in search of employment, and from 1940 to 1950 the number of Native American men farming in Oklahoma dropped from 40,000 to 22,000 (Bernstein 1991:86).

In 1944 Congress passed the Serviceman's Readjustment Act (or GI Bill of Rights) providing education and economic assistance to returning veterans. While native veterans could take advantage of the education provisions, many were unable to obtain

loans as trust-status property was not subject to mortgage arrangements (Bernstein 1991:142-143). Consequently, Indians could not get credit for the purchase of livestock, equipment or land. In an effort to overcome some of the problems and economic limitations placed upon native farmers, several Apaches including Alfred Chalepah worked with state and federal officials to organize the Washita Valley Loan Association, a cooperative farm-credit arrangement. The association obtained federal funds and then invited qualified individuals to borrow at three percent interest for the purchase of equipment, seed and fertilizer (Brant 1961:20). The association was able to finance three proposals, although only one veteran was able to repay his loan without relying upon co-signer lease money (Stahl 1978:262-263). While many of the returning veterans were unable to achieve economic success, some became community leaders. Apaches looked to Frank Red Bone, for example, whose personal prestige was likely increased by his military experiences (Daza 1968:28). Red Bone would eventually serve the Apache tribe as Chairman of the Business Committee and as a headman of the revived Manatidie or Blackfoot society.

After the war, the national economy slowed and by 1946 tribal income had declined to pre-war levels, with rural Oklahoma natives averaging $625 annually (Townsend 2000:217). Beginning in 1947 the government granted native people increased control over their own affairs, allowing landowners to negotiate their own leases. Rent payments were made directly to the landowners rather than being held in an agency account, and a typical rental for 160 acres was reported to be three to five hundred dollars a year (Brant 1961:23, 26). However, some landowners had difficulty with the new system, rapidly spending their income and remaining impoverished. Tribal

leaders such as the Kiowa's Robert Goombi turned to the Federal Government for help; in February 1950 the Business Committee requested permission to make $4000 in tribal funds available to needy members, distributing five to fifteen dollars per family, as well as arranging for the distribution of surplus commodity food.[50] But for some tribal members the preferred solution to their economic problems was a process by which leases were cancelled and renegotiated, extending the expiration date with an additional advance payment. This process caused some controversy and the agency began to require a review of the circumstances before it would approve lease cancellations.[51] Other landowners were burdened by fractional heirship and saw relatively little income from their properties; by the late 1960's it was not uncommon for more than ten individuals to split lease proceeds, with each receiving a fraction of the total (Bittle 1971:29).

An important provision of the Indian Reorganization Act was the creation of a revolving loan fund of ten million dollars, increased with an additional two million under the Oklahoma Welfare Act.[52] Given the authority to borrow federal funds, in 1949 the joint Business Committee requested $800,000 to purchase farm land, fund education and finance home improvements.[53] This tribal administration of federal funds replaced the previous system of local Credit Associations.[54] But ultimately the economic survival of the three tribes depended upon control over a resource base large enough to finance tribal operations and programs. In a blending of past and present, this resource base proved to be the reservation lands, guaranteed by the Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek but subsequently curtailed by the Jerome Agreement. Under this contested arrangement, the U.S. government acquired over two million acres of land, paying the tribes less than one dollar an acre. In 1946, Congress created the Indian Claims Commission, ostensibly to

correct the government's unfair dealings with tribes and to reward Indians for the participation in the war effort (Bernstein 1991:161) and in 1948 the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache tribes filed suit against the United States, seeking more than fourteen million dollars for lands taken under the amended Jerome Agreement (ICCD 1973a:520).

Rather than uniting the native communities, the anticipated claim money tended to divide Kiowa and Comanche into factions with one side favoring per capita or annuity payments, while the other proposed using the monies to finance tribal governmental programs and operations (Foster 1998:136-138). Some of this conflict can be traced to disagreements over enrollment used to distribute funds from the sale of 320 acres of trust lands to the City of Lawton, Oklahoma. This land sale began with allotment, when small tracts were reserved from sale by the government and used for schools, as well as sub-agencies. In 1944 the City of Lawton began negotiations for the purchase of Fort Sill School reserve land.[55] In 1946, the Federal Government asserted its authority to sell surplus lands without tribal approval, a position rejected by the General Council.[56] By 1950, the Government considered condemning the land and making it available to Lawton; forced to reconsider its position, the intertribal Business Committee reopened negotiations for the land sale[57] and in 1952 the tribes prepared membership rolls for the distribution of funds.[58] Questions over the enrollment process and conflicts over membership lingered as tribal members contemplated the best use of Claims funds; throughout the 1950s and 1960s the issue of control over tribal resources became increasingly complex and fractious. This question of control over resources was partially the result of fluctuating governmental policies and would not be resolved until a compromise settlement was reached in 1974 (ICCD 1973b:271-274).

During the 1950's the Eisenhower administration favored reducing governmental obligations to Indians (Fixco 1986), although a real need for governmental assistance persisted for families who were dependent upon lease monies from a shrinking land base or wages earned by seasonal employment, with few resources available to finance tribal programs.[59] Encouraged by Federal Governmental relocation programs, some tribal members moved to urban areas in search of employment. Kiowa Agency records show that throughout the 1950s an average of 250 individuals and 75 families relocated each year, with almost one-half returning home.[60] In 1956 members of the Comanche tribe sought to form an organization separate from the Kiowa and Apaches, citing conflicts of interest.[61] Members of the KCA Business Committee did not support this action, nor did the Comanches who rejected their proposed constitution by a vote of 487 to 394.[62] Continuing political conflicts led to the 1963 General Council dissolution of the joint Business Committee, a move supported by the BIA despite its implications for administering tribal programs and distributing Claims Fund money.[63] Comanche efforts to establish a constitutional government separate from the Kiowa and Apache finally succeeded in November 1966, while the Apache and Kiowa continued to operate under General Council meetings with the elected Interim Business Committee serving as a liaison to the Federal Government.[64]

Continuing concerns over the distribution of Claims money and control over the jointly held properties likely influenced Kiowa and Apache tribal members to prepare and approve an organized form of government. In October 1971 Alfred Chalepah, Houston Klinekole, and Claude Jay presented a draft constitution to the BIA in Washington, D.C. despite opposition from members of the Interim Business Committee.[65] Anxious for the

tribe to develop formal organization, the BIA supported the initiative and authorized an election.[66] On February 5, 1972 the Apaches approved a revised version of the proposed constitution; interestingly, absentee voters and tribal members living in Anadarko favored the measure while rural residents near Apache and Fort Cobb voted in opposition.[67] On March 18, tribal members elected a new Apache Business Committee; Frank Red Bone defeated Alfred Chalepah for the position of Tribal Chairman by a vote of 153 to 120.[68]

The KCA Indian Claims Commission case was finally settled in 1974, with the three tribes agreeing on a sum of thirty-five million dollars. Initially the three tribes obtained a judgment award in the amount of six million dollars, with an estimated per capita distribution of $400.[69] At separate meetings held in 1968 the Comanche voted to accept the settlement by a vote of 352-5, the Kiowa by 301-1, and the Apaches by a vote of thirty to zero, (ICCD 1973b:272-274). The funds remained on deposit in the U.S. Treasury, drawing four percent interest pending resolution of tribal political issues.[70] In July 1974 a compromise settlement awarded the tribes thirty-five million dollars with the intention that eighty percent, less attorney fees, be divided per capita and the remaining twenty percent retained to finance tribal operations.[71] The final award again caused political turmoil, but ultimately all three communities used the funds to build tribal complexes and finance economic development projects (Foster 1991:138). These activities were assisted by federal legislation passed in the 1970's that included the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, encouraging Indian oversight of governmental programs. Throughout the 1970s the tribes worked to restore their jointly held land base, obtain economic development grants, secure employment, improve sanitation and guarantee adequate health care for tribal members.[72] In 1976 Alfred

Chalepah was elected Chairman of the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma.[73] As a member of the KCA Business Committee he was appointed Chairman of the Land Use Committee, designed to oversee tribal properties. Here he used his CCC-ID and agricultural experiences with erosion control and pest eradication to improve KCA lands.

Today the Apache tribe is able to provide important community services through the administration of grant money, partially based upon tribal enrollment numbers. In 1987 the tribe lowered the blood quantum necessary for enrollment to one-eighth, increasing membership to approximately 2000 (Schweinfurth 2002:24). The tribe also purchased two acres of land in Anadarko where they continue to build structures as needed; the complex now includes tribal office space, a gas station, smoke shop, community hall, food distribution warehouse, and a center for vocational rehabilitation. Another important example of self-government is the tribe's ability to provide housing; in 1996 Congress passed the Native American Housing and Self-Determination Act. The tribe recently received a federal loan and has begun a million dollar housing project for low-income members with twenty-four rental units available near the governmental complex (Schweinfurth 2002:23). Despite the significant needs of community members, the Apache Tribe has been reluctant to become involved in gaming, which other Oklahoma tribes have found to be very successful in generating income. In 2002 some members of the Apache tribe attempted to operate a gaming facility in Oklahoma City, but they were found to be in violation of state and federal laws and the operation was terminated.[74] The tribe continues to look for other sources of income, and tries to offer as many community services as possible based upon the resources available. Tribal

members assist one another when necessary, partially supplying those services and resources that the tribe may be unable to provide.

For the Apache, post-allotment social divisions and differences over economic resources also led to a split in the Manatidie, a men's dance society revived in the winter of 1959 (Daza 1968). Originally one of the two warrior societies, the Manatidie policed camp movements, hunting activities and the Sun Dance (Meadows 1999:201). However the need for this function declined during the late reservation/early allotment periods and the society reportedly danced for the last time in 1909, although some members danced in 1918 to celebrate the end of World War I and at a pow-wow in 1922 (Bittle 1962:154; Meadows 1999:225-226). McAllister collected information about the old society from elderly men in the 1930's; this information was used and modified by the new group as they prepared dances, songs, and regalia (Bittle 1962:155, 156). In 1961, the Manatide Society was granted a certificate of incorporation from the State of Oklahoma, reportedly to govern the society's activities and finances, as well as to protect the songs and dances from other tribes (Daza 1968:57, 59, 60-64). Initially it was believed that this revival would become a focus for community cooperation and tribal identity; however in 1963 the society split in half, the result of personal differences as well as historic community divisions (Meadows 1999:232-234). The two groups continue to dance today with Chalepah family sponsored activities held in June and Red Bone/Tselee events presented in August, although increasingly members of either group are willing to assist the other as needed. Privately some community members have expressed a desire for the two groups to come together, a symbolic action that would represent the healing of community divisions. Despite these social divisions, the Manatide has become the

symbol for a distinctive Plains Apache identity with the image of dancer and staff used on the official tribal letterhead, youth camp booklets, cultural activity signage, and articles of clothing worn by community members.

Conclusion

The Plains Apache have always been a small community and even today are often confused with other better-known Apachean peoples, especially the Mescalero and Chirachua who fascinated the popular press in the late 1880's. These groups, as well as the Jicarilla and Lipan, are believed to have moved south out of Canada sometime prior to the arrival of the Spanish in the southwestern United States. While the Plains Apache shared some cultural and linguistic traits with these southwestern and Canadian Athabascan peoples, they were also transformed by life on the plains during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Here they adopted a nomadic existence in search of buffalo, participated in raids alongside their allies, and found their way of life transformed by larger forces. Ultimately they were assigned a reservation in southwestern Oklahoma, to be shared by three tribes, but broken apart by the needs of white settlers. Using the few resources that remained, all three tribes clung to a sense of community and struggled to refashion themselves in a way that met contemporary needs but also maintained elements of the recent past.

As a result of their many travels and experiences the Plains Apache developed folk stories to explain the past and present, as well as songs, rituals, dances, and social relationships binding them together as a community. These are the webs that link one individual to another, creating the understandings and expressions that make social life

visible to the researcher. Today tribal members increasingly find themselves in a modern world where indigenous languages and customs are forced to compete with those of a dominant society that both surrounds and integrates them. A few older people can recall their experiences as this new world has come into being; their memories are an important source for better understanding the past as well as the present. It is against this larger picture that the life of Alfred Chalepah Sr. can be understood. His experiences with family, health, livelihood, and spirituality, as well as his own contributions to the Apache community, are enmeshed within these historic forces, events, and facts. They have provided an outline to his life and have given him the resources and tools needed to create and reflect his own identity. Alfred's understanding and expression of these historic forces, events and facts are the result of a complex process combining the stories he heard from his parents and grandparents, his own experiences, and the academic publications he has read for many years. The following chapters present his view of Apache history, including some of the challenges and responses that have shaped his life and his community.

[1] Interview with Alfred Chalepah dated February 12, 2002; Ray Blackbear's story found in Bittle's 1961 field notes (Bittle Collection Box 2, Folder 19); Bittle 1962:155.
[2] In the late 1830s Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors repeatedly attacked Kiowa and Apache camps, and the decade ended with a smallpox epidemic (Mooney 1898:274-275; Bittle 1970:4-5). During the 1840s, regional attention was directed southward as Kiowas and Apaches raided for horses in Texas and Mexico (LaVere 200:117). Emigrants passing across the southern plains to the gold mines in Colorado brought cholera in 1849, resulting in many Kiowa and Apache fatalities (Mooney 1898:289-290; Bittle 1970:9).
[3] Before the annuities arrived however, an expedition of approximately 1500 Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahos and Osages left to engage prairie tribes, finding 200 Sauk and Fox warriors well-armed with rifles (Mooney 1898:297-299; Bittle 1970:16). The plains tribes were defeated and returned to Fort Atkinson for their annuities, while the Kiowa and Apache tribes moved south of the Arkansas River.
[4] The power vacuum created by the Civil War may explain the regional movements of southern plains tribes. In March 1861 Union troops abandoned Fort Cobb, relocating to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas allowing Texas troops to control much of the Indian Territory (Hoig 1993:187-188). However, the Confederate government was unable to provide food and supplies to the Indians and as a result, some Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa and Comanche tribal members left their agencies to hunt in Kansas and to raid settlements, encountering little resistance (Ibid: 209, 212, 214).
[5] Approximately 120 Apaches remained with the Cheyenne and Arapaho communities and, through intermarriage, were eventually transferred to their rolls, although some Apaches maintained contact with their relatives well into the Twentieth Century (Meadows 1999:184, 185).
[6] It was reported that during the proceedings the Apaches camped close to the Arapahos and that an Arapaho translated for the Apaches (Jones 1966:72, 108), indicating that a close relationship existed between members of the two tribes and may have been the result of intermarriage.
[7] In June 1859, the army selected an old Kichai village on the south side of the Washita River, now Anadarko, to erect Wichita Agency buildings and in August approximately 1500 Indians from small tribes such as the Anadarko, Caddo, Tawakoni, Waco, and Tonkawa were removed from Texas to the new agency. By October the military had established a post, Fort Cobb, a few miles west of the Agency.
[8] Memo from Major General Robert Davis to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 23, 1925. Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files Box 117, Folder 2098, National Archives-SW Region. In February 1927, Apache John was posthumously issued pension checks in the amount of $398.33 for his military service.
[9] As the various participants surrendered, their animals were either shot or sold, with the proceeds earmarked for the purchase of 3500 sheep and 400 head of cattle (Report 1876:52; Mooney 1898:340; Foreman 1941:138). In less than one year, the Indians lost 10,000 horses and, within a few years, all of the sheep had been eaten or had escaped into the Wichita Mountains (Mooney 1898:340).
[10] While there, several of the prisoners were encouraged to record scenes of camp life, military activities and domestic affairs, as well as their transformation to a sedentary life, producing a rich source of visual information often categorized as "ledger art". Such images provide a unique perspective on southern plains life and the changes experienced by native people. Occasionally Apaches were included in the Kiowa drawings, portrayed as they participated in dances and other social gatherings, but their likeness is curiously absent from the battle scenes. For many examples of this see Dunn 1969; Harris 1989; McCoy 1987; Viola 1998.
[11] Daha's two room house was the only house between Fort Cobb and Fort Sill, earning it the nickname "The Half Way House" and was used by soldiers to store horse feed and supplies (Cook 2001:47).
[12] Kiowa Agency Records, Microfilm 41, page 19. Oklahoma Historical Society.
[13] Born in 1818, Daveko had acquired power for hunting success, curing, and childbirth and was both respected and feared by community members for his knowledge, abilities and personality (McAllister 1970).
[14] As an annual event, the Sun Dance appeared on almost every pictographic Kiowa calendar, symbolized by the medicine lodge with another illustration expressing the year's most notable event (Mooney 1898:143-144).

[15] Messianic or revitalization movements are most usually developed in times of stress or crisis. In 1882 and again in 1887 Kiowa prophets predicted the return of the buffalo and the end of whites (Schweinfurth 2002:166).
[16] The last Kiowa Ghost Dance to be witnessed by an Apache occurred in 1915, and it is believed that the movement ended with the death of its elderly leader (Schweinfurth 2002:169).
[17] Christians had been working among the Indians for several years; Quakers arrived in the region shortly after the reservation had been established, providing education and religious services. Episcopalians settled in Anadarko in 1881 and were active until 1903 (Schweinfurth 2002:187-188). Methodists worked among the Kiowa beginning in 1887 and later established a school, and Catholics built a mission in 1891 (Ibid:188-190). Perhaps the most active were the Baptist who began working with the Kiowa in 1892 and the Apache after allotment. Despite the construction of churches, many missionaries found it necessary to travel to Indian encampments to preach although they were limited by their inability to speak native languages, particularly Apache (Schweinfurth 2002:193-194).
[18] Family members often selected allotments together: #534 & 535 belonged to Apache Ben Chaletsin and his wife; 574 to Archilta; 575-577 to Me Ka and her children; 579-581 to Maynahona and her children; while 940 & 941belonged to Maynahona's brother Captain Kosope and his wife. (Bittle Collection Box 2, Folder 7)
[19] Over time the numbers of families living in tipis or canvas tents declined. In 1911 600 families were recorded as residing in tents or tepees; in 1916 the agent reported 331 families were living in the traditional manner; and by 1919 the number of families listed as occupying tents was reported to be only 100 (Report 1911:150; 1916:132; 1919:143).
[20] Letter dated January 18, 1922 in the Kiowa Agency File, NA-SWR.
[21] In 1900 seventy percent of tribal income was based upon lease payments. Tribal members also owned stock including 23,236 horses, 18,559 cattle and 1843 swine (Report 1900:648, 669). Indian herds suffered from theft as non-Indians poured into the region; by 1903, native-owned stock had declined to just 9240 horses, 8552 cattle and 1090 swine, although the number of chickens rose to more than 6300 (Report 1903:539). Stock numbers fluctuated periodically; occasionally animals were sold to the government and later redistributed as beef rations. These sales provided owners with cash but also reduced breeding stock (Stahl 1978:173). Stock was also routinely butchered to supplement the family's own rations, but the reduction of reservation lands probably left too little grass available to support large herds of animals.
[22] Apaches were particularly hard hit by disease during the allotment years. Their numbers declined from 193 in 1898 to 155 by 1905 (Report 1898:237; 1905:300). By 1910 the Apache population had bottomed out at 139, but then slowly recovered (Meadows 1999:186). However precise numbers may never be known as a result of conflicting data sources (see Appendix I for Agency Report figures).
[23] In 1900 the Agent reported that 8000 acres were under cultivation by Indian farmers, increasing to 13,000 acres in 1903 and then leveling at 20,000 acres in 1904, just four percent of Indian held lands (Report 1900:668; 1903:538; 1904:624). Importantly, this amount would not change until after World War One and then declined through the 1920's.
[24] Congress also authorized making land available for town sites and six communities were proposed; among these towns were Koon ka za chey, named in honor of Apache John. Despite an initial interest in homesteading reservation lands, the town sites didn't attract many buyers and by 1908 only half of the lots had been sold (Report 1908:116). In a curious twist, the three tribes would one day reclaim these unsold acres and add them to their commonly held trust properties.
[25] Letter September 26, 1925. Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files Box 35, Folder 584, NA-SWR.
[26] This corresponds with overall tribal population growth rates from 4000 in 1908 to almost 5400 by 1929 (Report 1929:25), with a slight decrease in 1918-1919 due to the influenza epidemic. It seems likely that a declining number of landowners were spending their account money to support growing families; additional tribal members required housing and meat, but generally lacked income-producing lands and resources of their own.
[27] Compare the relatively steady Apache population figures with growing Kiowa and Comanche numbers found in Appendix I.
[28] In April 1912 Rainey Mountain reported that half of its students suffered from trachoma, while a year later the infection rate was ninety eight percent (Ellis 1994:105).
[29] From 1934 to 1940 sixty-six Apache children enrolled in area public schools (Moore 1940:88).

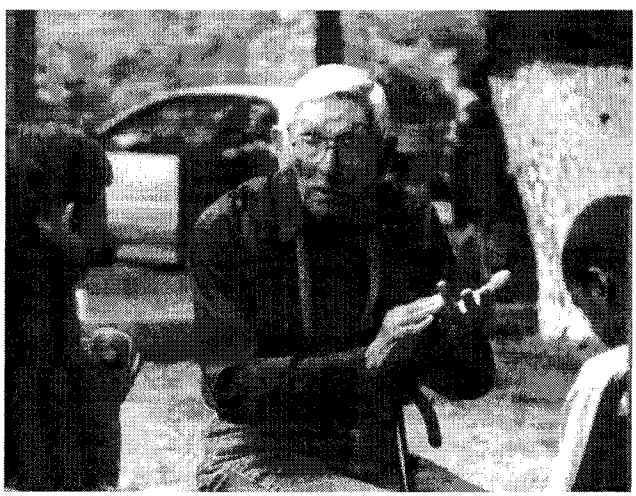
[30] Letter from Department of the interior Land Division to Ernest Stecker with attachments, March 1, 1909. Kiowa Agency Central Files Box 31, Folder 62, NA-SWR.
[31] Letter from Assistant Commissioner to Ernest Stecker, April 29, 1911. Kiowa Agency Central Files Box 31, Folder 62, NA-SWR.
[32] Sponsored by a family, the Rabbit Dance called for the community's good health and also integrated children into the tribe's social structure, consolidating its members
[33] In 1930 the American Indian Baptist Church offered to sell the five acres and buildings back to Apache John's estate for $750. (Letters from Harry Treat to Agency Superintended September 29, 1930 and November 11, 1930, Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files, Box 117, Folder 2098, NA-SWR). The church remained until it was moved in 1933, although J. Gilbert McAllister used the parsonage during fieldwork conducted in 1933.
[34] In a will dated September 1926, Apache John bequeathed all his real property to Tennyson Berry, while a subsequent will executed just three weeks before his death devised his allotment to Alfred and his one-half interest in his wife's allotment to Alfred's younger brother Ace. This will also bequeathed property to Rose Chalepah and Henry Redbone. In February 1928 Tennyson Berry contested the second will; the court apparently ruled in favor of the Chalepahs although this decree is not found in Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files, Box 117, Folder 2098, NA-SWR.
[35] Certificate of Death and an authorization for funeral expenses can be found in the Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files, Box 117, Folder 2098, NA-SWR.
[36] Interview with Rose Chaletsin June 30, 1964, Doris Duke Oral History Collection M-33, University of Oklahoma Western History Library.
[37] Interview with Rose Chaletsin June 30, 1964, Doris Duke Oral History Collection M-33, OU WH.
[38] Interview with Lyle Griffis July 11, 1963, Doris Duke Oral History Collection M-33, OU WH.
[39] Minutes of the Council Held by Apache Indians, January 25, 1916. Kiowa Agency Central Files Box 32, Folder 62, NA-SWR.
[40] Letter to Commisioner of Indian Affairs, March 2, 1916. Kiowa Agency Central Files Box 32, Folder 62, NA-SWR.
[41] Letter from the Superintendent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 17, 1919. Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files Box 34, Folder 580, NA-SWR.
[42] Letters from Superintendent to Perry Gotham September 1, 1916 and Superintendent to the Commissioner, February 8, 1917. Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files Box 34, Folder 574, NA-SWR.
[43] Letter from Danner Crabtree to the Agent, February 21, 1931, Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files Box 34, Folder 940, NA-SWR.
[44] To ease overgrazing conditions, the government purchased excess animals and distributed them to the needy; by 1935 the U.S. government had become the largest cattle owner in the world (Worster 1979: 114). Additionally, it purchased surplus sheep and goats from overgrazed Navaho lands (Bernstein 1991:18), redistributing these animals as well.
[45] Letter from the Superintendent to the Commissioner, December 19, 1938. Kiowa Agency Central Files Box 32, Folder 62, NA-SWR.
[46] Letter William Zimmerman to Felix Koweno and Delos Lone Wolf, June 10, 1938. Kiowa Agency Central Files Box 32, Folder 62, NA-SWR.
[47] Letter from the Superintendent to the Commissioner, December 19, 1938. Kiowa Agency Central Files Box 32, Folder 62, NA-SWR.
[48] Letters from Elmer Thomas to John Collier, April 5, 1940 and from Superintendent McCown to the Regional Director A.C. Monahan, April 15, 1940. Kiowa Agency Central Files Box 32, Folder 62, NA-SWR.
[49] Letter from Tennyson Berry to Elmer Thomas, March 1, 1945. Folder 16B, Box 11, Subject Files, Elmer Thomas Collection, and Letter from Robert Goombi to Elmer Thomas, June 23, 1947. Folder 43, Box 11, Subject Files, Elmer Thomas Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[50] Letters from Robert Goombi to Elmer Thomas, January 30, 1950 and from Elmer Thomas to Commissioner Nichols, February 3, 1950, Folder 10, Box 12, Subject Files, Elmer Thomas Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.

[51] Letter from Area Director Wade Head to the Commissioner, March 3, 1952, Folder 14, Box 10, Department Series, Toby Morris Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[52] KCA Business Committee Resolution of April 25, 1949, Folder 59, Box 9, Department Series, Toby Morris Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[53] Ibid
[54] Letter Toby Morris to Chebahtah, January 10, 1950, Folder 59, Box 9, Department Series, Toby Morris Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[55] Letters from Milton Keeting to Robert S. Kerr, Mat 17, 1949 and the Secretary of the Interior to Elmer Thomas, July 18, 1949, Folder 19, Box 74, Legislative Series, Elmer Thomas Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[56] Letters from William Zimmerman to Keeting, April 24, 1946 and Commissioner to Lyndon B. Johnson, August 16, 1946, Folder 4, Box 8, Departmental Series, Robert S. Keer Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[57] Letters from Albert Attokonie to R.S. Kerr, February 20, 1950 and Commissioner to R.S. Kerr, March 9, 1950, Folder 50, Box 8, Departmental Series, Robert S. Kerr Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[58] Letters from the Commissioner to R.S. Kerr, July 7, 1953 and August 24, 1953, Folder 36, Box 9, Departmental Series, Robert S. Kerr Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma. Alfred's enrollment application dated March 4, 1952 includes himself, his wife and seven children. Anadarko Agency Records. BIA Questionnaires Relating to KCA Per Capita Payments, 1952. Box 1, NA-SWR.
[59] Report to accompany H.R. 18192, September 10, 1968, Folder 19, Box 111, Legislative Series, Carl Albert Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[60] Individual participants from the Kiowa Agency in 1954 numbered 241, 210 in 1956, 294 in 1958, 153 in 1960 and only 69 in 1961. Anadarko Area Office, Records of the Relocation Specialist 1952-1960, Box 1, Folder 51, NA-SWR. Like other tribal members, two of Alfred's sons, Jake and Alfred Chalepah Jr., moved to California in the early 1960s for training and employment. Today many Apache families, including the Chalepahs, have relatives residing in California and Texas.
[61] Letter from Acting Commissioner to Victor Wickersham, Folder 58, Box 3, Victor Wickersham Collection and Letter from Fred Harris to Robert S Kerr, March 1, 1956, Folder 11, Box 11, Department Series, Robert S. Kerr Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[62] Letter from KCA BC to Commissioner Emmons, February 15, 1957, Folder 34, Box 10, Department Series, Toby Morris Collection, and Letter from Bus Hill to the Secretary of the Interior, December 10, 1958, Folder 58, Box 10, Department Series, Toby Morris Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[63] KCA BC Appeal, March 30, 1963, Folder 29, Box 44, Department Series, Carl Albert Collection; Letter from Commissioner to Alice Zenella, September 13, 1965, Folder 13, Box 12, Fred Harris Collection; and Letter from Commissioner to Fred Harris, September 19, 1965, Folder 14, Box 12, Fred Harris Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[64] Report to Accompany H.R. 18192, Folder 19, Box 111, Legislative Series, Carl Albert Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[65] Letter from Congressman Ed Edmonson to Assistant Commissioner Crow, November 4, 1971 and Minutes of Apache Meeting, November 4, 1971, Anadarko Area Office, Tribal Operations, Box 4, Folder 65, NA-SWR.
[66] Letters from Deputy Commissioner to Representative Tom Steed, November 23, 1971; to Senator Fred Harris, December 1, 1971; and to Philemon Berry December 1, 1971, Anadarko Area Office, Tribal Operations, Box 4, Folder 65, NA-SWR.
[67] Memorandum from Anadarko Agency Superintendent, February 7, 1972, Anadarko Area Office, Tribal Operations, Box 4, Folder 65, NA-SWR.
[68] Certification of Election Results, Apache Election of Officers March 18, 1972, Anadarko Area Office, Tribal Operations, Box 4, Folder 65, NA-SWR.
[69] Report to Accompany H.R. 18192, Folder 19, Box 111, Legislative Series, Carl Albert Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.

[70] Letters from the Apache Interim Business Committee to Fred Harris, March 9, 1968 and from Assistant Commissioner to Fred Harris, April 17, 1968, Folder 13, Box 113, Fred Harris Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[71] Letter from Adolphus Goombi to Carl Albert, October 14, 1975, Folder 9, Box 132, Department Series, Carl Albert Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[72] KCA BC Memo, January 13, 1973, Folder 24, Box 1, Dewey Bartlett Collection; Letter from Frank Redbone to Tom Steed, June 22, 1973, Folder 8, Box 32, Dewey Bartlett Collection; Testimony before the Interior Committee on Senate Appropriations, April 21, 1977, Folder 11, Box 32, Dewey Bartlett Collection; Letters from Ernest Hunt to Happy Camp, August 8, 1974 and from Director of Indian Health Services to Happy Camp, October 3, 1974, Folder 18, Box 36, Happy Camp Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma.
[73] Certification of Election Results, Apache Election of Officers August 28, 1976, Anadarko Area Office, Tribal Operations, Box 4, Folder 65, NA-SWR.
[74] Anadarko Daily News November 18, 2002.

Chapter 4: Telling Stories

Apache elders often tell stories. In the past, stories served as both education and entertainment; they instructed the youth on tribal customs, survival skills, and values such as respect, courage and generosity (Schweinfurth 2002:31). They also functioned as entertainment before radio, movies and television became dominant. Coyote stories were usually told at night and during the winter months, contrasting appropriate and foolish behavior, and illustrating the consequences (McAllister 1949:52-80, 136). Other stories reinforced moral values by focusing on the exploits of a poor orphan boy who successfully met life's many challenges, despite his humble beginnings (Ibid:45-51). Apache elders still tell stories but the time and place for telling has changed, and it is more difficult for them to compete with the modern technology that surrounds and entertains tribal members today.



Alfred telling a story at Youth Camp, 2001
Photo by author

In conjunction with his fieldwork, McAllister recorded several stories that he described as spontaneous, common and representative (Ibid:141). One of McAllister's informants indicated that Apaches had only three types of secular stories: Coyote,

warfare, and marriage, although there were also stories associated with peyote use and the medicine bundles (Ibid:136). Relatively uninterested in linguistic analysis, McAllister's transcriptions were heavily edited, eliminating repetition and bawdy language; he also regarded multiple versions as unnecessary, tiresome and costly (Ibid:139-141). However he did note that the telling of stories often depended on the narrator, concluding that some Apache were better storytellers than others in offering dramatic presentations that captivated their audiences (Ibid:4, 137). McAllister indicated that personality traits, age, and familiarity with white culture affected the retellings in both style and substance (Ibid:140). He noted that older men were less concerned with white values, such as monogamy and Christian teachings, and incorporated more ethnographic data into their stories (Ibid:7-8, 10-11, 140).

As a child, Alfred's favorite storyteller was Old Man Blackbear, a respected elder of Kiowa and Apache heritage who had come of age before the reservation was established. Alfred enjoyed visiting him and listening to his stories, remarking:

> ya know I told you that story how ya know he got a bunch of us boys, we make wood for him and grandma she make supper and after supper then load up his pipe and he talk ya know, like talking to somebody ya know and I listen and then he smoke that pipe ya know and when he got through he empty it, empty that pipe, he clean it, and after all that he put, he put it away, that's the way he start to tell a story.[1]

Perhaps in taking his time, Blackbear prepared his audience, placing them in the proper mood and at the same time rewarding their patience. McAllister also considered this aspect of storytelling and noted "if the narrator is worried, in a hurry, with his mind on something else, he is not going to give as good an account as he would under more favorable circumstances" (McAllister 1949:6). From a functionalist perspective, children learned the benefits of hard work knowing that they had to pay for their entertainment,

while older people such as Blackbear remained economically sufficient, exchanging entertainment and education for material necessities such as firewood. In this way, elders maintained a physical as well as social place within their community, while constructing a sense of self that bridged the past and present.

One of the folk stories that Alfred told during our interview sessions described how a young Apache man killed an enemy medicine man and he attributed this story to Old Man Blackbear. However, Alfred told a shorter version to Julia Jordan in 1969,[2] indicating that he learned it from his grandmother's brother, Captain. It is likely that different versions of these stories were told to young people by different elders, although Alfred remarked that "these kinds of stories are kind of rare. They don't hardly talk about them. Somehow they don't like to talk about them. They're kind of modest or something, our old people."[3] In contrast to McAllister's conclusions, different versions of stories are important as they provide clues to Apache culture and storyteller performance, as well as those editorial activities that affect the written presentation. Both versions of this story have many commonalities but they also offer a distinctly different tone. The first version incorporates horses and muskets, implying the events could have occurred sometime after the arrival of European goods, while the second version lacks these dating elements and may simply illustrate some time in the past.

An Apache Kills an Enemy Medicine Man[4]

At one time they met up with the enemies, they met up with the enemies, a huge crowd, and we was small tribe and that's our story. They made circle over there, our enemy circle like that and this medicine man, he come out from the crowd and we were on one side, we were on one side like west side and our enemies was on the east side, big crowd, and that medicine man

come out, he had all kinds of hide on him and he's decorated: hairdos, has earrings, and he's got equipment: shield and got bow and arrow and he's got a lance, so he come way out there, come way out there and he sit down, cross his leg, he sit down and stuck that lance in the ground, one of them straight one, stuck it in the ground and he lay on it ya know, lay backwards and put his leg across ya know and he got that quiver, he pull one arrow out of there and he got that bow, his bow. He sing and the Apaches just stand there ya know, we proud people ya know and we don't want to lose our dignity ya know and everybody then that were teenage, young mans, middle age, old mans stand in a bunch, that man over there sings, our enemy, medicine man, sing...he point at us "oooooh", painted gray, red and black, all like that "oooooh", he point at us. Now our leader look around, he said uh "we got somethin' here, this show, showin' us kind of man he is, our enemy. He's here, he wants to fight. Ok" he said "anybody want volunteer?" Menfolks standin' there, like council and grandpa's boy was standin' there ya know, and he didn't say nothin' but he already establish himself, he was already known and he's strong, was a strong young man, and they all point at him yeah, he's a new man, he's a warrior, they said let's get him, let's get him and they said "How 'bout it?" He said "you're all the boss, you're all the boss". By that time grandma over there, she lulu, lalalala, make that sound. She said "Old Man, today your work is goin' be shown". That's what she said ya know, she look around and talk, her old man's been dead for awhile ya know and she said "what you put together up here, you give to him. Today he's gonna perform the things that you taught him" and she turned around and talked to her grandson and said "alright you were selected and we poor, we poor. I don't know what language I could use to impress what grandpa has done to be where you at, so I just hope that grandpa could be with you". She said "they want you to go out there and fight that medicine man". That young man stand there, grandson stand there...so he move ya know, fix his hair ya know. Grandma went over there ya know, goin' over his body, talk "grandpa was the best in every way, his grandpa and his great-grandpa was like your grandpa, one of the best". So she said "today we got job, we got job to do". She talk like that ya know and she's rubbin' her grandson's arm like that and she fix his hair back there, so he took his blouse off ya know, his buckskin shirt, took it off so when he took it off he fix himself ya know, got knife here, took four arrow out, took four arrows out, he put four in

there and he walk out there, he walk out there ya know and he look at that medicine man. Medicine man singing...when that medicine man get through singing, he start pointin' at that grandson. Grandson walk on that side, on the north side, and that medicine man layin' over there, hittin' that bow, hit that bow, hit that bow right here and hold it up there, got that sound, got that music sound and he point at him, "I'll take care of you" sign language. That boy's standin' there ya know, took one arrow out ya know, look at that arrow ya know, had that arrow head towards him ya know, look at it then he turn it around and he look at that medicine man ya know, put that arrow in that bow, he said "I'm gonna do this, I'm gonna do it this way" that what he said ya know in the language [Apache], "I'm gonna do it this way" shot that arrow up in the air, way up there, kinda waved like that then come down, whoosh, it hit right there, that arrow, right there. That medicine man layin' down, that arrow hit right, whoosh. Then grandson walk on this side, east side, he took another arrow out, second one, he look at that arrow same way like the first one...So he put the arrow in that bow, shot it way up there ya know, then turn around, hit right here on this side, whoosh, that arrow hit right, whoosh. So he walk on that side, on south side...and he took that third arrow out, look at it same way, he use that same language "I'm gonna do it this way, I like to do it this way" he talk ya know and all our peoples standin' over there watchin' him. That medicine man was cuttin' away on his music...he put that arrow in that bow ya know, he make whirl "I'm gonna do it this way, I like to do it this way" he whirl that arrow like that ya know, shoot straight up...barely could see it up there, turn around come, had his leg crossed like that ya know, that arrow hit between his leg ya know, whoosh. That medicine man point at him, said " I get you, I get you". So grandson got on the west side ya know, got one arrow left and he done the same way ya know, said "I'm gonna do it this way, I like to do it this way". Shot straight up ya know, that arrow went out of sight, wowowo. [Claps] Went like that, that arrow hit him, that medicine man roll, medicine man roll over...that young man stood there ya know, grandson, stood there, watched that medicine man, he killed him. He went over there, when he went over there, he looked right here ya know, could see that feathers on that end of that arrow ya know, all curled up when he pulled it out, when he pulled it out kick him over, yeah cut him right here, took his scalp. Went back to his people and that medicine man's people they all turn

'round, they went back this way. Well...many years passed, our tribe began to associate, all tribe, somewhere's, tribes got together, I don't know how many tribes were then and we were as usual out there by ourself. The meeting was about over and this tribe come forward and says "hey which one of you tribe killed our medicine man, which one of you?" This young man, grandson, got up.

Several important themes are revealed in this story including the ability of honorable men to match, and possibly defeat, the power held by medicine men. The audience is also shown how Apaches balance group decisions with individual achievements and that, when asked, an individual should make an effort for his community. In contrasting the smaller Apache tribe with its larger enemies, the audience is reminded that courage, skill and effort are necessary for survival against overwhelming odds. Additionally, the story demonstrates that grandfathers have an essential role in educating young men. Finally, the listener/reader is shown how the deceased are remembered by praise, their prior accomplishments providing the community with a sense of continuity. By periodically retelling these stories, Alfred reminds his changing audiences that these values persist over time. Such lessons may be particularly important today as Apache youth are likely to be influenced by values imbedded in messages generated by dominant society institutions, such as public schools and the entertainment industry.

Another story that Alfred told during our sessions described the introduction and transmission of the peyote ceremony. As previously discussed, scholars believe that the Plains Apache learned this ceremony from the Lipan sometime prior to 1880 (Beals 1971:45), although Alfred introduced his narrative by noting that "we already acquainted with peyote because we got story about Older Brother...and Younger Brother." [5]

However, the story that Alfred related to me is almost identical to his narrative, recorded by Jordan in 1967, explaining how the Tonkawa received the sacrament.[6] At that telling Alfred attributed the story to Railroad Cisco, a Tonkawa who had married into the Apache tribe.

How We/They Got Peyote[7]

They went south to steal horses and these two brothers, the older one he's a leader and the young one he's debut, first time, and somehow they got paint horses, look alike, so the Elder Brother said that "how 'bout me ya know have yours, that way I have two alike?" Little Brother said "no", he said "you got one, I got one" ya know, so they started back with the horses that they stole and they bed down somewheres close to waterhole ya know and so they all bed down ya know and got one, he's a lookout, he sets ya know, he don't go to sleep and sometime durin' the night he hear somethin' [taps table] goin' like that ya know they were hittin' dry hide, beatin' on it [taps] like that ya know and this guy he...hear that sound ya know, so it so happen that Little Brother was layin' close, said "hey wake up", said "I hear somethin'", so the Little Brother woke up and said "what you hear?" He said put your ear against the ground, so the Little Brother he laid there listen ya know [taps] he hear somethin' like that and he got, he said "well I'm gonna go see." So he fix his horse up ya know and the rest of 'em all got up ya know, they were 'fraid and the Older Brother said "hey", he said "we'd better go" and that Little Brother said "no", he said "I'm gonna go see what's goin' on", "na" he said "they're gonna kill you", "no" he said, "that's what I come for...I take care of myself", so he said "if I don't come back, you all go on", he said "you could take my horse, that paint." So well he fix himself up ya know...then he put a quiver back there, he's got his bow and arrow and he's got flint rock over here and he put on just like vest and he tied for a fight ya know and he's got his shield, put it on the buckle on the horse ya know, so he lead it through brushes ya know towards that sound and when he got close to that sound, he tie his horse, he tied it so where in case somethin' take place he grab that leather ya know, it's like rope, so he could jump on the horse and go ya know. They inside that tipi, not tipi, inside that it was brush [wickiup] ooo hot ya know, all you smell smoke ya know and you have to crawl long

ways to get inside ya know so he look round ya know, look round, nothin' but medicine man in there, and if you're not medicine man you're not belong in there, and that leader inside that ceremony he said "we got somebody comin'", he said "y'all don't do nothin'", he said "he come see what we doin'". By that time he crawl in there ya know and it had a [smoke] hole, had fire inside there ya know and they throw little sticks in there, that blaze, and they talk sign language ya know and this young boy here he knew, talk same language but he prefer ya know he don't show his identity ya know, he said "me I come see what's goin' on in here yeah", and that leader said "good, you go back out, this right here, this kind [weapons] leave it outside". So he done that, he come back in, come back in and that leader set by the door over there and he said "we don't want set down, so I set by you". So they eat that peyote ya know that, that leader give him tobacco and got through smoking, give him sage and give him some peyote, he ate it ya know, he listen at them guys ya know and that's how we learn it. Next mornin' they disperse ya know, they went in the hills and sun go down. That young boy never talk yet. So the camp crier said "our leader said don't bother our visitor", so he went [with] that leader out in the hills, mountain, and when the sun was up there, 'bout three, four o'clock [in the afternoon] and then they got rest ya know, went in that stream there, they both got in the water ya know, bathe, and they walk up to the camp. Now he had somethin' to eat ready for them, they [the villagers] talk Apache ya know and he still not sayin' a word yet, so he talk sign language ya know, said "me, I'm gonna stay here with you, all of you, all of you" he said. "Me I'm gonna stay with y'all." Talk sign language. So he stayed. Finally they put up tent for him, by himself ya know, and he join ya know when they hunt or warpath, he join them ya know, yeah he stayed with 'em past middle age. Girlfriend they, they camp here and they camp way up towards Canada but this young boy knew where they always camp ya know so finally he goes, goes that peyote meetin' and finally he told them that I speak your language, they talk ya know and through our research we didn't know we had that many Apaches ya know but we did know we divided, all we know we divided with Sarcees ya know, we had four leaders, two come south, two went north with their group but anaway one day this old man, that grandpa [peyote leader] he pass away ya know, the one that he got acquainted with first, family all died out just new ones but he live with 'em so he said "well I'm gonna go home." So

they got together and fixed him up and new leader told the boys that gonna take him, ride with him, said "when you get over there", he said "let him go." So they give him the best horses, two, and then somethin' to eat and wardrobe, fix it all up, they put it on that second horse, come this way, well when they got to that place these young they went back and this one, by this time he said they camp over there ya know so he went that way, sure enough. Pretty [soon] sundown ya know, so he bed down, he bed down and next mornin' he got up, he put this wardrobe, what they fix him, he dressed up and when the old man brought horses to that pool to water his horses he look at him, "hey" he said, "you died long time ago" and that man said "no I didn't die", said "I didn't die", he said "tell 'em I'm back home." His girlfriend, every mornin' she gets on the hill ya know, pull her shawls out like that, watch the sun come up ya know. She stand there, sun gets so high, she puts her shawl back, go back camp, every mornin' she does that. That man had brought his horse to the water, [claps] he jump on the horse, went to the camp, he hollered ya know, "hey, that man he come back, he's back" and some of 'em said "how come he come back, he's been killed" and pretty soon they all line up like in line like that ya know, he come down that hill all dressed up ya know and he come yeah, they got his horse, he got off ya know and he hug his brothers ya know, he hug 'em, and right quick ya know they had somethin' to eat, so they fix his tent ya know but his girlfriend was still away yet and ever night his brother listen ya know, he sings peyote song and in the mornin' "hey" he said, "go wake 'em up for breakfast ya know", they go and he's gone, he goes to the thick timber, sleep it off, and finally word got out and his brother call a council together, they want ask him ya know he sings all night, now they want to know so the elders council, they got together, so they got peace pipe ya know, they load it, they got old guys special ya know so they load that peace pipe ya know, they smoke, they give it to him, said "we'd like to know you make music in there, in the morning you gone" he said "is that the one that we used to know long time ago?" "Yeah" he say "yeah, uh-huh" so he said "I'll show y'all."

More that thirty-five years separates the telling of the two versions, but they are surprisingly similar in form, detail, and conclusion. In both versions Alfred tells essentially the same story: how a young man's curiosity is rewarded with knowledge and fellowship as well as the ways that strangers are united through the peyote ceremony, returning to their own communities to spread its message. In the later version, more time has elapsed since the boy left home and his adopted father is now deceased; upon the man's return, it is the brother rather than the father that asks for an explanation. These may be viewed as relatively minor variations in detail, but in the current version Alfred incorporates elements that correspond to his own tribal history, including references to a mutually understandable language between the two tribes, camping near Canada, and the possible relationship (either real or fictive) that the Plains Apache have with the Sarcee. Most interestingly, he suggests that his tribe knew the ceremony at some time in the past and, through Little Brother's help, they learn it again. This provides an interesting counter-point to the conclusions reached by scholars regarding the origin and transmission of the peyote ceremony. In some ways the story is timeless and applicable to the many communities that have adopted the Native American Church; strangers are welcome to attend meetings, and devotees are embraced within the larger group, regardless of their tribal origins.

Railroad Cisco and Family
Photo by J. Gilbert McAllister (1933/1934)
University of Oklahoma Museum of Natural History

Folk stories are not valuable for their newspaper-like recording of actual events, but rather for the way in which they make ideas applicable to the narrator's, and possibly the audience's, own experiences or understandings. Through subtle changes, Alfred demonstrates how a story can be internalized and transformed by a retelling. Genetic and social relations mirror this organic narrative metamorphosis; members of the Apache tribe have adopted Railroad Cisco's story, just as Apache relatives have absorbed his descendants and both have been woven into the fabric of Apache life and culture. But culture, like other organic entities, can wane as well as grow; some stories that were once vital and lively may eventually diminish or drop out of the storytellers' repertoire altogether. An example of this decline can be found in the stories that were once associated with Apache medicine bundles.

The Medicine Water story explains the origin of one Apache medicine bundle and seems to be the most frequently recorded Plains Apache religious or folk tale. McAllister collected it from five informants, including Sam Klinekole; Brant received it from Ben

Chaletsin; Bittle heard it from Stewart Klineko; Jordan learned it from Ray Blackbear; and Alfred told me the story on two occasions.[8] Each narrator offered a slightly different version, although everyone essentially described how a medicine man obtained healing powers from a lake in the Black Hills. After enduring a series of challenges, this man was eventually allowed to attend a council meeting where participants shared their powers and knowledge, with the exception of curing smallpox. The medicine man was given four important stones and later put together a medicine bundle. However, when smallpox arrived on the plains he and his family disappeared into the lake, leaving the bundle behind. Apache Sam's version to McAllister is the most detailed transcription; as bundle keeper, Sam would have inherited much of the restricted information, although clearly many community members also knew the origin story. Bundles and knowledge of their use were inherited by men along family lines, but associated explanations were a part of the Apache communal consciousness. After relating the story to Brant, Ben Chaletsin noted, "it is not against the rules to tell this story. It should be told down the generations. But you are supposed to pray at the end."[9]

Ray Blackbear noted that in the past a complete retelling of this story could take several evenings, particularly as audience members offered their versions, "they just keep telling one story all different ways. But it's one story."[10] However, by the mid-1960's bundle use had declined; this particular bundle had been seriously neglected in an abandoned building, later passing outside of the community for several years. By the time Ray Blackbear's version was recorded in 1968, the story had been compared to a fairy tale.

> Q. Who told it to you?
> My grandpa. He's the one that tells it. Course he listens to the other old men in his time that he's heard that—they have different—you know their conception or their version is a little different. Course it all remains the same. It's not exactly complicated. But it's just the way a person tells a story, like—like the Three Bears. Now you tell it, and somebody else tell it and it's gonna be two different stories. And Jack and the Beanstalk, same way. And all those old stories that have contained or have certain meaning. But in this particular story, well, you might say, half of it is believe-it-or-not and the other half is just a story…it's similar to those programs on television, and radio and so forth…and we, the younger peoples, kind of rely on that for just entertainment or recreation.[11]

Alfred told me one version of this story during a break from language instruction, although this was not recorded. The recorded version is less complete and, as an unacculturated audience member, I didn't realize it was a medicine bundle origin story until much later. Alfred's version relates the story's essential elements, without the details found in McAllister's version, although more sophisticated audience members would have likely known these elements from a previous telling. Its possible that Alfred omitted these details to move the process along, rather than spending an extended amount of time in narrating the tale. Its also possible that he had not told this story for some time and, as a result, had briefly forgotten the details as well as the story's organizational structure. However, this seems unlikely given his extraordinary memory; instead it appears that as this bundle has diminished in importance, so too has its origin story declined. This diminished status is further evidenced by Apache Ben's comment regarding a prayer following the storytelling session; in neither instance of retelling the story did Alfred offer a prayer, indicating that by the time of his narrative the story had lost almost all of it's religious connotations. Significantly, the decline of this medicine bundle stands in direct contrast to the medicine bundle that is actively maintained by the

Chalepah family, and by their insistence that detailed discussions be omitted from publications (Schweinfurth 2002:xxiv).

Medicine Water Tale[12]

They talk about that Devil's Lake, they call it Medicine Water, the Apaches here call it Medicine Water...now this the reason they call it that, they said this medicine man, the one that said that when I get big enough, old enough, I'm gonna see why some of the mans they go over here by the lake and...they stay there, they want power and we Indians we know what it takes to get possession that kind. Every time somebody go over there they get chased off so this young man said whenever I get, when I get big I'm goin' over there...so that's what he did, he went over there and he made up his mind to find out what caused them get run off ya know, Apache Sam talk about that and he said animal, I think he said it was buffalo, try to chase him away from where that spot where them other mans got chased away ya know, he stuck with it, he stay with it and somehow they agree, he said alright this is the way I am, that's what...he got from that, they say it was buffalo, so he went after that, well he does ya know medicine work and uh finally there's some others but his power was ...when Apache Sam talks about ya know and I think its in that, one them books...I think *Sky is My Tipi* I think its in there, what Apache Sam talk about, that medicine man and ...well I don't know how long he exist and it could be the time...when they were puttin' them bundles together, maybe before or after...Apache Sam said this man was powerful, he said when it rains, he said that water don't touch him...now I try to cope with that ya know uh I'm normal person ya know, it takes whole lot to convince me but that's the story and finally...something told him that, they said it was geese...he said sickness is comin' uh well before that he visit that lake...yeah I think he visit that lake, he went in that water and somebody met him halfway down the bottom and took him, they got council ready, they had council ready, they knew he was comin'...when he went and they ask him to sit down ya know, they sit in circle and he set down ya know, he look ya know and somebody was talkin' you know and same time he look at...a person that way ya know, the person he is lookin' ya know that's disease and next one that's another kind disease existed here, goin' down the line like that, when he come to that

last one, huh-uh he said, that not existed, that's smallpox, they call it dirty sores, *kloo ditchri e* ...well he didn't say who was talkin' but these look like people ya know and they ain't sayin' nothing,' they just sit there with wardrobe, all kinds, hide ya know, finally...he wants be dismissed ya know, go out...so he backtrack, came the way he came in, that escort took him half-way, well I don't know I think Apache Sam said that kind of bother him and he doesn't have medicine for that small pox, call it ugly sores ya know and that's the time that geese came by, so he told his people disease was comin', that's all he said, so next morning everybody got up...his tent was gone, everything, everything in this possession was gone and you could tell somebody camp there, so men folks they got on, they follow it [trail]...they followed that to Devil's Lake, right edge of water ya know where them [tipi] poles, drag them poles, see the track in the water and...these mans was astonished ya know, Apache Sam didn't say that but the way I feel ya know, so they were sad ya know...and when they got back to the camp there what, what they gonna decide ya know, what they gonna do ya know, there's uh nothin' we can't do, that reminds me of them two boys, one of 'em eat eggs ya know, I told ya that huh? I tell ya later

MS: ok

AC: that story and this story is similar and well, years went by ya know and it still bother them so they went, they went that lake to spend the night there ya know, so when the sun went down, I don't know what part of the night...they all went to bed, I don't know what part of the night they start hearin' noise and they start getting' up and that Devil's Lake there, hear a lot of people, hear dogs bark ya know...and ...that was mentioned, that's the story that I heard from Blackbear.

Importantly Alfred attributes his story to both Old Man Blackbear's telling and to Apache Sam's version, as recorded by McAllister. Unlike the oral narrations told by elders in the past, Alfred's memory is often complimented, and even informed, by the work of scholars. This does not diminish from the value of either the story or his performance but it does help to explain some aspects of the narrative process, including appeals to multiple authorities, how a story is constructed, and how it changes in

subsequent renditions. Increasingly, Apaches are drawn into a world of literacy rather than orality, and it is possible that future generations may learn of their past through books rather than fireside storytelling sessions that take several evenings to complete. A written version standardizes the story and diminishes the audience's power to transform the narrative through their own contributions; emphasis upon a single unified narration (often favored by scholars in the past) serves to replace the dynamics of indigenous narratives, freezing the form, while isolating it's creation from the actual performance experience.

Storytelling, like other forms of cultural performance, is influenced by many factors including the time and place of the narrative event and the personalities of the participants themselves, as well as the conventions of the story genre. Most of Alfred's narratives focused on personal experience rather than tribal folk stories or religious mythology. His selection of topics was undoubtedly influenced by our project goal: the elicitation of his life story, as contextualized by the social, economic and political aspects of post-allotment tribal life. But Apache storytelling is also influenced by notions of appropriate behavior, such as the proper time and place for telling stories. In many ways the artificiality of telling stories in the middle of the day to an outsider, with recording equipment, contrasts with the proper atmosphere needed for traditional narration. Apache cultural life also features rules governing gender relations. In the past, the two genders were somewhat separated; older men educated young boys, while grandmothers instructed Apache girls (McAllister 1935:58). Additionally, Apaches observed fairly a rigid father- & mother-in-law avoidance custom (Ibid:74-77). Although many of these rules are less rigidly enforced today, ideas of social appropriateness are still expressed by

elders including Alfred. While it was never openly addressed, it is likely that these understandings prevented Alfred from discussing some topics with me, and undoubtedly there are some stories that only young men are supposed to hear.

Both the topic and the content of Alfred's narratives were likely influenced by his own personal worldview. He is a curious and practical man who generally requires a level of proof or evidence before he reaches a conclusion. For example, in explaining the history of medicine bundles Alfred described them as being a rational solution to an unseen problem rather than emphasizing the more mythic attributes found in their origin stories. He noted, "my people, our people, our tribe, they talk about survivin', they thought that somethin' that was comin' and they were assumin' that it was danger and they say we can't hide and we can't outrun it and there's no way we can go around it, so some of them they put it together, it's in there in those bundles, some other tribes they got same thing, some other tribes they don't have it." [13] While other community members have at times expressed their discomfort around the bundles, Alfred draws upon his own experiences to guide his beliefs, noting " I live around it, I slept under it and I'm not superstitious and I don't believe in black cats, clover…I'm human."[14] This pragmatic view is the result of several factors, including the Native American Church's rejection of shamanism, as well as Alfred's own sense of self and the teachings of his grandfathers:

> I'm lookin' out Apache eye and what I seen and try to pass it on, good life, you can't find it, what you learn that's yours ya know, you can't buy it but you gotta build it yourself and you can't learn nothin' from somebody helpin' you. Like my grandpa says 'pray, say something,' said 'you old enough you,' he said 'your father and your mother can not always pray for you,' that's, that's what I tell my family. [15]

As a result of this philosophy, Alfred's narratives generally focus on real issues and innovative solutions. Interestingly, McAllister reached a similar conclusion about community members in general:

> The Kiowa-Apache were not muddle-headed thinkers who were unable to make distinctions between various types of powers. They were uninterested and too busy being concerned with the present, the living...The Kiowa-Apache were pre-eminently practical and empirical. They were not theologians or much given to philosophizing (McAllister 1965:214).

However, statements regarding practical solutions to real life problems serve to underscore the socio-economic conditions in which Apaches have lived for much of the twentieth century; philosophizing is a luxury for those with sufficient resources and leisure time. Alfred's stories often center on his ability to provide for his large family and his efforts to improve the economic and political conditions for his community. Other opportunities and venues exist to discuss theology; Native American Church meetings provide participants with the appropriate atmosphere needed for reflection and prayer. It is likely that Alfred has used these moments to express his more personal thoughts, rather than discussing them during interview sessions. Julia Jordan gives some hint of this in her field notes prepared after attending a Native American Church ceremony at Alfred's place in February 1968.[16] She describes how Alfred prayed to a small peyote in a buckskin pouch, later carried by his son Richard during service in Viet Nam,

> Alfred prayed and talked Apache and made signs with his hands, in a very emotional voice. When the song had ended he continued with what he was saying. There was a brief pause when only Alfred's voice was heard...[17]

Personal interest also helps to guide the stories that we tell to one another. Alfred is genuinely interested in tribal history, particularly as his grandparents experienced it. Many of his narratives relate historical events, such as how his relatives faced the

conditions and challenges of early reservation life. These stories help to fill in the gaps of the historical record, giving an Apache voice not ordinarily found in government agents' reports that usually focus upon the Kiowa and Comanche. Such narratives also serve to humanize statistics such as birth and death counts, and illuminate how Apache culture adjusted to meet changing circumstances during the reservation and allotment years. Importantly, these stories provide a backdrop against which Alfred's own experiences can be better understood. In many instances, Alfred can identify the source of his narratives, while in others the source is unnamed and may be a blend of written and oral information. In either case, he uses these stories to explain both change and continuity, and to demonstrate those values, such as leadership and community service, which have guided his own decisions and experiences.

In the telling of his own personal experiences, Alfred recalled his youth; friends and relatives; time spent at boarding schools; marriage and family; employment and farming activities; politics and community service; and religion; as well as health and aging concerns. But surprisingly there are also a great many stories about travel and the adventures found in modern-day nomadicism. Over the course of his life Alfred has traveled from Mexico to Canada and from California to Washington DC for tribal business, personal pleasure, and to attend peyote meetings. His travel adventures began when there were no traffic signals or fuel gages inside cars, and continue to the present day with his mini-van, purchased with royalties earned from Apache Ben's oil wells. He still enjoys travel and makes regular trips to California, New Mexico and south Texas, as well as the daily wanderings between his rural home, Carnegie, Fort Cobb, and Anadarko. Of course travel requires a means of transportation and Alfred has always

been fond of cars and trucks, making freedom of movement possible; he has owned and driven a unique variety of vehicles and enjoys reminiscing about their qualities. In some ways, these travel stories seem comparable to the tales of horse raiding and adventure told by his grandfathers before cattle fences closed in the last of the Apache's historic range. Today, Alfred's grandson Harold Neconie, Jr. continues the nomadic tradition, traveling to pow-wows around the nation as a respected singer.

There are many ways in which Alfred's narrative material could be presented. One possibility is to heavily edit the transcriptions, selecting out sentences or paragraphs and then consolidating them into a seamless flow, eliminating repetition. Another method is to arrange the material according to topic and maintain some of the narratives' episodic structure; this approach more closely approximates the reality of Alfred's discussion. However, it does not offer the audience an organized, linear discussion and can be confusing. Alfred and I discussed this problem; some days he diligently tried to maintain a chronological presentation, but on other days he explored a variety of issues, diverging from one topic to another. An extensively edited and carefully organized presentation would seem to offer the best read, while a more loosely arranged presentation would more closely approximate the narrative experience. Each approach has distinct advantages and disadvantages and targets a different audience; ultimately, however, it seemed better to let Alfred's own presentation style come through. Just as certain stories required several evenings to tell, narratives about one's own life and experiences literally take years to complete. Alfred and I spent several years together, talking about those things that he has seen and considered in his 90-plus years; each day I learned something new or acquired a better understanding. Repetition led to clarification and reinforcement,

new details built upon old ones, and slowly I became aware of his world. As an audience member, J. Gilbert McAllister described a similar growth process:

> Possibly Coyote stories are the most popular, and there is no question but that one in particular is by far the most commonly told...We heard this tale almost every time stories were told. At first we were pleased and amused; a little later bored and possibly irritated; but finally, as we really came to understand the people and their problems, appreciative and highly entertained...(McAllister 1949:137).

The following chapters offer Alfred's stories, loosely arranged according to topic and chronology, and marked as to when they were presented. This approach seeks to accommodate both literate clarity and oral performance. In maintaining as much of Alfred's style and word choice as possible, some room is made for an Apache voice to illuminate the written record made by government officials and academic scholars. Elements will be repeated; ideas will digress from their original pathway; the reader will have to be patient for some of the details to emerge and will be frustrated when not all of them do; ultimately however certain aspects of Alfred's life will unfold, offering a glimpse into one Apache man's perspective.

[1] Interview May 23, 2000
[2] Interview with Julia A, Jordan 4-12-69, Doris Duke Oral History Collection T-349 pp.15-19, University of Oklahoma Western History Library.
[3] Ibid
[4] Interview May 23, 2000.
[5] Interview September 25, 2001
[6] Interview with Julia A. Jordan, 02-28-67, Doris Duke Collection T-2-1.
[7] Interview September 25, 2001
[8] McAllister 1965; Medicine Bundle Tale recorded March, 17, 1949, Box 2 Folder 17, William Bittle Collection, University of Oklahoma Western History Library; Doris Duke Oral History Collection T-332; Interview February 2, 2002.
[9] Folder 17, Box 2, William Bittle Collection, University of Oklahoma Western History Library.
[10] Doris Duke Oral History Collection T-332, 7.
[11] Doris Duke T-332, 2-3
[12] Interview February 12, 2002
[13] Interview October 10, 2000
[14] Interview September 28, 2000
[15] Interview August 23, 2001
[16] Notes dated February 29, 1968, Doris Duke Oral History Collection M-34, University of Oklahoma Western History Library.
[17] Ibid:8

Chapter 5: They call it Kiowa Reservation, Kiowa Agency.

Today it's gone and time is changed ya know.

Alfred Chalepah, Sr.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge and the Kiowa Reservation

October 12, 2000

1) Part of the tribe they do things together ya know and back then they look at their leadership ya know and he's not commander, but pretty good man that leads the right direction which they enjoy or understand and trust, and that kind of leadership we have ya know. We camp together and we council together and we have a few people that has position like our chiefs; we just got one but when the government moved in, when the government moved in they thought that more chiefs ya got makes the governments maybe feel better or what ya know, and I don't know which one was our leader back when they make these treaties. I got list on the Medicine Lodge Treaty and I haven't read it for quite a while. A person they call Bad Back, ya know his back is bad, and another one they call Pacer and Poor Bear and Wolf Sleeve, and I don't know which one was leader at that time, but some of them they died before or after we made settlement here between Anadarko and Lawton. What they put together, the government, promise is give us schooling and give us hospital and give us agency, they gonna give us ration and that's the treaty and they give us reservation, here, they call it Kiowa Reservation, Kiowa Agency...Kiowa Hospital, Kiowa Reservation. Today it's gone and time is changed ya know. From that time, 1867, things begin to change because we were put here ya know. What little huntin' we make is small games ya know and all that big games is out, buffalo huntin' and some other animals that we used to ya know, that's our livin' and only time that we see is when fruit is there ya know...like trees, brushes, vines

and they bear their fruit ya know and we know how to deal with those kind ya know and...we harvest some of these plant and we dry them and we put 'em away for winter.

2) I think about that a whole lot; we didn't have that much education and this reservation was given to us. We got boundary, west Chickasha to that Washita, straight south to Red River and that boundary runs straight to Red River, then along on the south side this Washita, on the south side of this Washita River and 'bout two miles northwest from Mount View and it runs west and it hits that North Fork, I forget the name of that lake...Ruby Dam, they call it Ruger, runs straight and it hits that North Fork and this was gave to us. They build a school, Presbyterian, and they build small one over there, Lawton, and they build Rainey Mountain and the Kiowa school over here, northwest part of this town here, Anadarko. Kiowa school, they call it Kiowa school and had a bunch of little boys and girls and some of my kinfolks that start there. Some of those guys that got their English name there and some went Chilocco and I think one went to Carlisle. And we got St. Patrick here, Catholic school, Riverside 'cross there and then Presbyterian over there at Cache Creek and they build big one over there at Lawton, they call it Fort Sill Indian School, and then Rainey Mountain and they build big school there, it's made of native rock ya know mostly rock.

3) We got newly money, I don't know what kind of money is that but I think it's kind of our pasture ya know,[1] that Jim Mars [Myers] had pretty good size piece of ground,[2] the county line over there at Comanche ya know and comes up here, let's see it's about.....'bout twelve miles I believe, twelve miles wide and it's about ten miles, that's north and south, and east and west I think it's about fourteen miles. Jim Mars had that pasture lease, some of Big Pasture, we get grass lease ya know and that money goes into tribal funds and I don't know if that money is used to buy ration or what, but we had commissary, old town, here where the agency used to be at one long building and that's where if ya got ID card ya know, family's got that, all you have to do is show that then.

4) At the beginin'...when they settled here ya know they throw some of their ration in the river. First one was rice; they thought was worms ya know, they thought was worm. That's nighttime, they throw it off a bank ya know and next one is salt meat, that salt meat it's almost green, purple ya know and ya know you see a lot of that on the farm ya know but the Indians here they didn't know and they issue out beef single family or, that I don't know, but they issue out beef so they butcher ya know out there in the grass and there's no out buildin', no sanitation, no nothin'...and if you got toothache, then you got toothache and well that, that was existed way back there at the beginning ya know.

October 24, 2000

5) We were campin' east of there 'bout seven miles[3] and somebody said how 'bout Apaches ya know. We already done two treaties ya know before that, the one we made over there at Fort Gibson,[4] it's over there somewheres round Muskogee ya know, I forget what year. So it took two days ya know, accordin' to what history they got over there, took us two days before they convince us to come over there and sit in. Well when we sit in we didn't have no interpreter and them Cheyenne-Arapaho, Kiowas and Comanches they couldn't speak our language and I think it's Mexican or somebody that came along and finally they got two sign language people together and then it's through that we talk sign language to Arapaho. I figure that was not altogether fair for the Apaches and nobody talks my language, it's hard and the sign language doesn't tell that much ya know; but anyhow this is what they said: from Woodward to Hobbs New Mexico, it's a corner of New Mexico, that line, sixty mile on east side could have that, and that's quite a ways you know from Woodward to Hobbs, New Mexico. Well I don't know how long they waited, to make that decision; these guys that done that treaty they all left ya know, so somehow the federal government they said all right we got your place over here, right here. So from that there was kinda easy ya know because we had some people from over there to here, they understood that and so

we camp across there, that little hill over there across there [north of Washita River, east of Riverside Indian School], right where that hill runs short ya know and on that side south and southeast side, that's where Apaches camp. And west of us there were Wichitas and somehow they tied us together: Wichitas and Caddos but somehow we end up with the Caddos.

6) Some of those leaders died out like Poor Back, Bad Back and Poor Bear and Wolf Sleeves and Pacer. Pacer was the youngest and when we came here just Pacer live, rest of them died out. So they took census roll first I think back in 1884 I believe, the first census roll ya know, and I don't know how they done it but the Apaches they move west here right cross from Fort Cobb when the army pulled up there ...Sherman I believe or somebody, Seventh Cavalry at Fort Cobb ya know. They put up a camp there and the Apaches across the river. All the Apaches lived there and somehow some moved back Anadarko and some move over there Hatchetville, that's northwest Apache 'bout seven mile, and east of Hatchetville 'bout a mile Taho Creek and that Cache Creek right there, and some over there where I live, I think it was 'bout seven, eight family east of my house. That's the way they camp and Keechi Hills over there at Cement, some lived over there, those people lived over there they got lands [allotments] over there and the people that live at Hatchetville they got lands there that way and right there where I live there were about seven family ya know like Apache John and Apache Stevie and Saddle Blanket and, let's see who else, Ye pa and Big Tom, but anyway some Apaches lived there ya know.

7) Apache Ben he got job as a mail carrier, yeah he carries mail to Fort Cobb but when the army moved over there they says that's better view where that Fort Sill's at now. That's one reason why they got big hill up there, used to have house up there, it's kind of a lookout and plenty water, good water. He said they don't want muddy water like Washita; I get that from Apache Ben ya know, he was a mail carrier. I don't know how long he carried that mail ya know, he makes his round and he goes to Arlington which is Fort Reno, then he goes to Seeger over there at Colony,

and he comes back to Rainy Mountain ya know and he goes Lawton Red Store,[5] makes his round. He got tired of it you know, he asked if could be uh Indian Police and well they told him that his job was good ya know and they can't get nobody to take his place. He said well I'm tired ya know, he's big, big tall guy and well finally they let him be Indian Police. So he goes out ya know, he start from his home over there Cement then he goes up there, up west ya know over there 'round west of Apache, then he comes to over there where I live, east there ya know, then he goes back to Fort Cobb. Those people that live there they got lands up the road, both side that road; there was no road and there was no fence and then finally Jim Mars [Myers] he come in with the cattle from Texas and had bunch of cattle, he rented mile west of Apache to the county line, the county line's 'bout, 'bout two mile west of Apache and two mile that way and then that line runs back west over that hill and mile west of that highway, that's where our county line runs, that highway runs south of Carnegie and right there Washita ya know, oh to Dirty Shame there that line runs back east 'bout mile west of Apache highway, that Jim Mars [Myers] got it, put his cattle in there. And over there got two names: Pleasant View and Pine Ridge and got gate up there, big gate, he build fence[6] and Apaches didn't like ya know, they like cut across from Hatchetville to Anadarko, they got road there, trail, and well when they give out lands ya know, when they give out lands, we supposed to get about three hundred and twenty acres, yeah we supposed to get...yeah 320 acres to each adult but I don't know who done it, they cut us down to 160 acres.

November 30, 2000

8) **Alonzo Chalepah**: grandpa, Apache John, what did he think about reservation? How he live in it?

AC: his job was difficult because he's chief, and tribe try to cope with what they don't understand, what the government is tryin' do. He's got good friends ya know, Ahpeatone and Big Looking Glass, and that's the favorite friends ya know and...he understand a little Kiowa and Comanche ya

know because he work with them leaders and he knew what was goin' on ya know. Pacer cope with the same, the new government, and everthin' was the government's plan ya know, that's includin' the schools too and our people could not understand the government system and the school system. We own this; Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches, we own it together. They didn't know that that one day somebody's gonna come in with plan to partition lands and get allotment. He try to work with the system ya know, the new agency that come in and he try ya know, he didn't know how much money to set up agency and how much money it takes to set up our Indian school, like Rainey Mountain and Kiowa school here. I think back in 1875 he was assistant to White Man and Pacer. White Man died, he didn't hold that chief position that long and Pacer he was in on that Medicine Lodge, Medicine Lodge to here. White Man died I think before the allotment and well Apache John was elected to be chief way back ...'round eighties, somewheres in there. But he was a scout when they got here, Apaches got here ya know, and they were told this line run from that Washita River over here west of Chickasha 'bout mile or couple miles west and that line runs straight south to Red River and the other line on north side run with this Washita River up to Mount View, I think northwest Mount View few miles then few miles west then come to that ...forget the name of that creek, I think it's...well anyway this creek run into North Fork. Red River east of that, Red River runs to this line east, east line to the Red River. They try to decide on that Red River for long time, who owns the south bank, but that was settled before anybody knew anything about that south bank.

9) This reservation here, they call it Kiowa Reservation, and first they call Kiowa Agent then Kiowa Reservation then Kiowa School, the first school they built for KCA, and after that Presbyterian and Catholic, Saint Patrick, and Rainey Mountain but over there they call Cache Creek Mission. They get funding and they have to get permission from the Bureau to set up that school and what they use. Missionaries ya know they teach the Indians; learn to work and learn to

cook and learn a better livin,' like better system, how to live in homes ya know like clean homes. Word got out that if your kids don't go to school then you not go get ration and our people was poor when they come here. This ground was too small to hunt the animals, what we eat, they were all gone and our people was poor, don't get enough to eat and the Bureau said we gonna give you ration ticket but if your kids don't go to school we're gonna take that ration ticket away from you, that's true and so little by little the government is addin' on their program.

10) This I gather from my kinfolks and my father he tells me some and my step-father and my mother, uncle, but I got most of it from my step-father. He was mail carrier for the Bureau and he carries it to Fort Gibson, that's what he don't like and from there he come back to Fort Reno, they used to call it Arlington, Fort Reno, and he comes there with mail from Fort Gibson and El Reno, west of El Reno ya know, Arlington, that's army camp and agent there too for the Cheyenne–Arapaho I think, and from there he comes back to his office here, Kiowa Agent. From Kiowa Agent he goes out to Rainey Mountain, then he goes to Red Store at Lawton. Tatum, I think uh he own that store, later on he was appointed as the Superintendent of the Agency.[7] Apache Ben he tells me about what he did ya know and what kind of people ya know he associate with and he tells me about my grandpa ya know. My grandpa was worried because new system is comin' in little at a time and Apache Ben he says "I got tired ridin' horse all day, sometime pret nearly all night, I bed down somewheres on the way where I'm goin'" He tall guy ya know, big tall guy, "and so I asked Bureau if I could be Indian police." They did yeah, they give him gun and rifle, saddle and he's got horses ya know. He was raised over there at Keechi Hills, over there Cement, and he talk about his family ya know. They try to go out see if they could get somethin' for meal and ...seasons comes like pecans, walnut, grapes, plums so womans they take care of that ya know and sometime they dry a lot of it ya know, makes patties out of plums and grapes and skunk berries, but there was

other like blue berries and cranberry ya know. They were wild but you can not preserve them ya know; they eat it while it's ripe, those kind of fruits.

11) Well finally I think Tatum asked government for some money, he wants so many horses or mules and wagon and plow. My grandpa had it, Apache John, them walkin' plows. They call that double tree, that's behind the horses; double tree is got two belt, runs to that horse and two more runs to that double tree, pull it, and outside they got third horse. That double tree's little bit longer for him ya know to balance that pullin' and well they got it and they try, they tried raise ya know, they got seeds too with the rations durin' the springtime ya know. I listen at my grandpa ya know, Apache John, and...he said it's difficult ya know, his job, and so my grandpa work with this agency. He said he [Tatum] own store, that store over there somewheres north our Indian hospital and they call it Red Store ya know and they pick him, they pick that guy because he understood the Indians. I think these people before him don't hardly get along with Indians but anyway he got permit to have a store there and it's this side of Lawton and that's the way my step-father tells me ya know. He don't know too much about Fort Sill, he said little bit; they were over here, Fort Cobb, and he said they feel you know like it's not good place 'cause all the water they have is that Washita, it's always dirty ya know, had no kind of spring around there. So the scouts that find over there, Medicine Creek, and they say that little hill there could be good place for look out and so that's the story they talk about ya know. Well I didn't hear anythin' anymore except little story from my stepfather. They were down there and they talk about our people ya know and he said our leader, was kinda hard for him to tell his people that this is gonna come in. Tatum was Superintendent ya know, he ask for whole bunch of horses and mule and plow and wagons, he said if we could modernize little bit, teach the Indians. That's the side he was and this side the school was run by missionaries, maybe you know that?

12) Our Indians began to divide, but not Apaches. Apaches didn't, well they got religious, but they didn't lose their custom or culture, they didn't leave it. Apaches live 'cross here, you cross river here east of Riverside you see that little hill on the north side, the foot of that hill, between the hill and the [Washita] river Apaches camp there, that's where *Daveko* lived and 'nother Apaches camp over there, cross from Fort Cobb, cross the river, Apaches there and over there Alden, east there, Cache Creek, that's some Apaches lived there and a place we call Hatchetville, that's northwest of Apache, 'bout eight miles. Apaches lived there and the Keechi Hills, there's some Apaches lived there. That's where Apache Ben come from.

13) They begin to intermarriage, but that started 200 years ago when maybe four or five of 'em married Pawnee and after we left Pawnee we got with Arapaho. We had some married to Arapaho, then here we married Kiowas and then we married Comanches. We had two Mexican: *Be lo* was married to *Loo ka ye* family, the other one's *Pau kune* but he never marry Apache. He live with Jay family and somehow he got kinda of not disgusted, but he's been bothered because he was old man and he was courtin' a young lady; she live in Mount View. They go over there and get her, take her to Chickasha, put her on the train, they sent her to San Antoine, she comes back. But the third time Big Whip, *Pau kune*, he hitch up his horse and he took everythin' out, I don't know he went after her or what and she was gonna have young one, so he was allotted at Cement right 'gainst the town and he move over there. He dug out cellar, dirt cellar, fixed it. He moved in there, he applied for Indian home, government home, two room. The Indian police and the city police out of Cement and the county they went down his home; they went after that woman, that's what my step-father was tellin' me. They come after her, gonna take her, send her back to San Antoine. He went in cellar, brought out double barrel, shotgun; he load it up, yeah them policemen watch him. He load up shotgun, made sign "get off my place or else I'm shoot you," Yeah he meant it, so that sheriff said "well I think we better go, I think he mean it."

Late-Reservation & Allotment

March 29, 2001

14) North Fork [Canadian River], it's kind large valley ya know and Tipi Mountain is about oh good ride and they all camp there with the Kiowas, some Kiowas, not all of 'em. After my grandma died ya know they all left ya know, come back to be with tribe and at that time they were campin' here 'cross [north side of Washita]. When we first came here they were campin' 'cross there ya know, and later on they came 'cross here, back up west over here ya know and they call that Red Hills. From there they scatter and 'cross the river from Fort Cobb, on the southwest side of Fort Cobb and way back up there around Alden ya know. There were several them that live there, they got land there and same way Fort Cobb and they were walkin' off section and they done the pickin' ya know there and it's kinda rough and sand hills.

15) When the government uh put up schools ya know and while all this event was goin' on, the settlement, they roam this territory here and visit. It's still was kinda in position where they can't hunt because everthing was kill, that's what he's telling me ya know, my grandpa, and 'round '80 or '85 there's a man come in from somewheres, he married a Comanche, and then he had a bunch of cattle. Over there west of Apache I think it's one, two, three, four...say 'bout ten, ten or twenty miles wide and ...I say from mile west of Apache to the county line, Comanche County, and up to we call Pine Ridge [Pleasant View] and with a mile west of the highway, from Apache, north of town, black highway ya know and Pine Ridge 'bout a mile, let's see...up Carnegie highway, when ya get to Dirty Shame one mile west and then that line runs to Comanche County; that area. Jim Morris had that pasture, all that, Jim Morris had all that ya know, bunch of cattle.

16) And that's the time Apaches start comin' in. They live here and there ya know and I think the Kiowas they didn't settle like they should've ya know and them Kiowas they fiddle around

Rainey Mountain west and round them hills. Things was still wild ya know and them Apaches they live with the Kiowas. Some of 'em was involve on the raids, wagon train, and ....my grandpa said somehow the Apaches and the Kiowas they met somewheres and somehow they got into fight with the army and he said Apaches tried to hold off but the soldiers won't, they keep shootin' but the Apaches didn't lose nobody, they just a lot of shootin' for nothin' ya know. I think that was last fight that Apaches was in, 'round eighty, somewheres around late eighty.

MS: where?

AC: I think...southwest here, south of Red River, somewheres in there but anyhow when that was over Apaches stayed there several days on 'count of them scouts was still out. So from there they went west to round Altus ya know, round them hills and they come to that Tipi Mountain ya know and that's where Kiowas was found ya know, but most of the Apaches went back to the Apaches. My father's folks ya know they were involve and I kinda believe it because I look at some of the interview with Doc McAllister and Doctor Bittle ya know. I was readin' it the other day, little bit 'bout some things that was kinda hard make livin' out there because there were no animals, all the buffalos was all killed out and they had some antelopes and by that time Jim Morris come in ya know with his cattle. My grandpa said was lot of stealin' goin' on cattle, killin' cows ya know. Apache Ben was mail carrier but he didn't like it, so he asked to be Indian Police, so he got it ya know and he ride the range ya know but his people is from Keechi Hill which is I think it's Caddo, Caddo name, Keechi ya know. And that's where his people select lands and some of these people that was here they came back across ya know.

17) *Daveko* died yeah, across the river. When he died it seemed like everbody come back across Washita.[8] Some of these people they got land over here 'bout four, five mile south of airport there along uh this creek here. West side of Indian City, there's a big creek down that way, I think they call Tonkawa Creek I believe, way up that way. There's some Apaches lands up that way and

they start inter-marriage with the Kiowas and some other tribe. Grandpa was tellin' me that you know somehow after the 'lotment was all takin' care of they open to the whites and they start buyin' oh I think they draw ticket or somethin' they start buyin' allotments, the allotments they prefer. I talk to one farmer that I work for, he said he bought his when no money was around and [the town of] Apache put up a bank, he say he went over there then he tried to borrow money ya know and the allotment that he picked it was 'praised, how much ya know, and he tried to get the amount ya know. This guy I work for, he's old guy, I ask him would you sell this land? Said "no", he says "I won't sell it for all the money in the world because I live my life here when I was almost a kid and I brought my wife and we had some good time and some bad times, mostly bad time, and I had to get out kill somethin' to eat and finally I got my loan and this land I stand on cost me six hundred."

MS: what did your grandpa say it was like when all of the whites were comin' in after allotment?

AC: well the one that had knowledge about treaty ya know they were disappointed 'bout our government. They give us they call this Kiowa Reservation and Kiowa Agent and Kiowa Hospital and Kiowa School over here and when they built this post office here you see it's up there it's got Kiowa on there. Well it was kinda hard to ya know live with it and there's nothin' out there ya know but lot of rabbits and few deers and that didn't last long. We get ration; everbody got ticket and if got kids ya gotta put 'em in school which that time it was one school out here: Presbyterian, west of Apache, and they start one here in town, J.J. Methvin, and Kiowa School and pretty soon 'cross there Wichitas and Caddos they put up a school, the government put it up ya know, and then Riverside then over there Rainey Mountain. Presbyterian and Rainey Mountain run out same time because I think they didn't have any funds; this run by Christianity people ya know but the Bureau wasn't puttin' up that much money for Rainey Mountain.

18) First time they come here nothin', didn't have nothin' but after the partition start givin' out allotment and no wagons. I think around Lawton that Red Store, that old mans I forget his name...his son, the bureau asked for their help because his father was Indian dealer, so he asked for wagons, bunch of wagons and buggies. That was back in seventies, 1870s, he asked the government "if ya want my help I want this many wagons and I want this many buggy and horses and harness, saddle" yeah.

19) But they get this newly money ya know from Jim Morris; got that grass ya know got stock in it, got bunch, bunch. Those people live around there always got meat to eat ya know, that's what my step-father tells me ya know. Almost same time they give out houses, they give out walkin' plow and they was still usin' it back in early thirties. Most of 'em had it and they the one ya know that plant; even they got that land lease and they reserve acre, sometime two acres and sometime five acres. There's several Apaches on Fort Cobb side and over there at Boone; yeah they work their land. Like I was tellin' you at one time poor white people live with Apaches like Henry Mason, he live with Apache John ya know. John Beck live with Bitseedys and Tennyson Berry didn't have nobody but he farm and Bill Smokey he farm, Sidney High he farm and Winner Smith he farm.

MS: so these whites that live with Apaches did they pay rent or did they work for the Apache landowners?

AC: they rent it, they rent their hundred sixty acres ya know. Back in nineteen hundred one to nineteen seven they start petition this Caddo, Kiowa and Comanche County, Tillman and here. And they lease, you could lease your land to a farmer, your wife could lease her land.

MS: would they lease out their whole allotment or just part of it?

AC: all of it. If they gonna lease their allotment they can, but that lease money goes to the office over here.

MS: it wasn't paid directly to the Apache?

AC: no, huh-uh and if they get five hundred dollars ya know for their lease that has to be budget so much a month until end of the year, five hundred dollars ya know.

MS: so would the Apaches go pick it up from the agent whenever they needed some money or did they go once a month?

AC: well they make a request, they make request and uh and they have to put how they gonna use that money and they could get cash but you could call in, we got a sub-agent at Apache and we got one at Carnegie and got one at Cache and there's one in Hobart, but certain time he comes to Rainey Mountain. You make a request through him, then he mail it to the office over here and they sent your check to him and then you could inquire see if you got your check. Now you could ask to have groceries now or else you want feed for your stock or else you want feed for your chicken or cows; they write you, they call it grocery order or feed order, it's kinda of form that you could fill out and you sign it and he will call in. So right there he give you that sheet, you could take it to grocery store or feed store or if you want buy harness or you want buy saddle put it on there, that's the one ya gotta buy, you can't buy nothin' else. Now anythin' that you buy: wagon, buggy, whatever if you buy harness out of your money the Bureau put ID on it, yeah put ID on it, Indian Department ya know, and pawn shop or any individual white man they 'fraid of that ID. We had one in trouble like that; bought a harness, his own money, and he went to jail for it and at that time the federal government was over there at Guthrie, Guthrie Oklahoma. He went trial over there and the guy that retire from Bureau, he's a councilor for the Bureau, lawyer, he was lawyer for the Bureau, he retire. He took that case, he told that Bureau "the ID here take it off that don't mean nothin'" said "that's that person's money" yeah. He serve and they didn't give him anything for time he serve.[9]

July 31, 2001

20) Ever home had chickens ya know and cows and some had hogs and horses and cows which our government gave ya know at the beginin' settlement here. Ever home's got stock and I

think right round when I was born Apaches start makin' garden ya know; they give out hoe and spade and that's about it. But at that time was no fence ya know and they try make a little garden and 'bout round...1910 to '15 they got walkin' plow ya know and they try to teach Indians to be farmer and try uh teach 'em white man's way. Sometime I set in when they talk about things like that ya know and they thought they could have done it better ya know, but they didn't know that much how get the ground ready. No fence, just open ya know, gotta watch stock if ya got garden, like you got sweet corn or squaw corn you gotta watch that ya know. Before they had row crop ya know they got watermelons, cantaloupe and onions; they didn't know anything 'bout carrots or lettuce, but 'bout round twenties they begin to realize that to do that help groceries-wise ya know, if ya got garden ya know. I remember some of the Apaches got good garden, big ones too and even Fort Sill Apaches and Kiowas. Kiowas live west of Boone ya know, that's where I was raised and Clayton always come over there to help my, I call him father ya know, Apache Jay and they make pretty good size garden spot ya know. And the government issue seeds from the beginin' 'bout round...say from nineteen five up to fifteen they use walkin' plow...and the horses has to be taught ya know. They call it walkin' plow ya know, it's lot different from pullin' the wagon. Apaches they learn by church preacher or farmer ya know, the farmers start comin' in and this is what they talk about, them elders, and there were no roads; you could cut across to find places where good place to cross creek or ditch ya know. Right by my house over there where I live it's got scar ya know, they said that road run from pecan grove way up west, south, southwest and that road runs to Fort Cobb and then somewhere on this side it runs to Anadarko here ya know.

21) So it wasn't that much business here at Agency; they have like sub-agent at Carnegie and they had one at Apache and at Carnegie, takes care of Hobart people and they send out checks, they call it newly money or pasture money. Sometime they come in Agency over here pick it up and sometime they send it to Cache Creek Mission. The agency come out ya know and 'round

1910 [the town of] Apache was just buildin' ya know, mostly tent and they establish agency at Apache and from this office here, Kiowa Agent, they 'stablish office over there at Apache and one at Rainey Mountain, they takes care of Carnegie and Mount View, Gotebo and Hobart.

22) Oh lot of people live out in country ya know and after they start buildin' the road ya know some ask for government houses, that's two room house; few Apaches got it but 'bout three, four of 'em don't like live in the house, they prefer tent like Apache Stevie. They build him first time good house, three room house, and I don't think he slept one night in it, he's got tent ya know and just house nothin' else, no chicken house, no out buildin', no barn. Apache John he had two room house; Saddleblanket, Taho, Old Man Archilta and Bi La and Captain, that's on west Apache, and up around Fort Cobb Apaches oh Big Man and Kaudle Kaules ya know, Saddleblanket, that is Homer ya know, and Redbone, Tennyson Berry got big house, big one. My parents live in wagon. Well some of 'em is that way, it was just beginin' and when my mother and father got married ya know here was still wild ya know, but only they can't find nothin' to eat like antelope, deer, white-tail ya know, buffalo, they gone. Only thing here is rabbit ya know and squirrel, things was kinda hard ya know. Mostly is pasture because most of the people own stocks ya know and very few got plowed field; farmers begin to come in lease after partition [allotment], they section the lands like roads ya know and hardly bridges, no bridges.

August 14, 2001

23) Before depression we had people farmin' ya know, they reserve their mother's or their father's or theirs ya know, say not to rent the property they own and it was alright, good. Every home had stock and the Bureau thought that was good. At that time we had lots of land, these three counties three, four, five counties that Kiowas and Comanches and Apaches live in. If you got lease money, if you want chicken feed or anything the way of feedstuff you could call them, like in

town co-op, call up and they say OK and all they do is fill out that receipt ya know, Bureau get one and you get one and the store keep for the records and you could buy groceries and stuff like that.

24) People had chickens and then they had beefs. Some they know how so they got milk then they make butter, and cottage cheese, they begin know how ya know; but they don't butcher like the farmers ya know, farmers hang up their beef and the inside they throw away ya know, but the Indians they butcher on the ground and just throw the grass away and the inside, gut, that they save ya know, intestines, liver and kidney...even sweetbread I believe, yeah sweetbread ya know.

My Grandparents

April 18, 2000

25) My mother's mother she sews tipi with her hands ya know, she use her hands and that's the way she sews tipi ya know. Her name was *Maynahonah*. Old Man *Archilta* ya know, I don't know where *Archilta* came from, I don't know, might be Apache name or I don't know, I never did find out and I should have. But *Maynahonah*, her sister *Sal ti eh* and her brother was *Kosope* and half-brother is *Na ka sha ye, Cadeso*, that's her half-brother, my grandma, my mother's mother. They believe in the culture ya know and my grandma *Sa ze eh*, she married Apache John, was Apache John's fourth wife. Captain other brother ya know, *Kosope*, they call him Captain ya know; I think that was his father's name. He married *Ish Ta Eh*, a Apache, her name was Josephine and so that my grandparents. And my mother's folks they all pow-wow people, peyote people and they culture people.

April 25, 2000

26) My mother's mother and *Sa Ze Eh*, Apache John's wife, and Captain *Kosope*, that's my mother's mother's brother and half- brother is *Cadeso*, they called him Jim White, yeah that my

grandma ya know, my grandma's half brother, might be a different father...no, different mother, I think it's a different mother.

May 23, 2000

27) I think every member of the adults was a warrior way back then and they were trained, yeah they were trained...I think it could be uncle or grandpa or father, this grandpa tried to teach you like how to make weapons yeah and what kind of material. I think the grandpas they do the biggest part because they would hand down somethin' you could be good at and how to ya know do things. Way back there were no horses and there was kind of hardship ya know and they tried to train offspring and that grandpa what he knows, experience, and he wants to make good person ya know out of you. They want you to be the best and through that grandpa brings out his knowledge and wants you to be good honor and good at things like what kind of animal is best for meal and he teach young people. At one time ya know is a grandpa wants to teach his grandson how to make flint arrowhead and what kind of wood to make arrow and what kind of feather to put on that arrow and sinew and what kind of wood is best to make bow. This old man he teach his grandson how, even how, how to dress like wintertime and springtime, summertime, fall time and when's the best time to go out and hunt and where they hunt and where they think the animals would be certain season and all that's combine. When your grandson's ready to go out, he goes with a group, he goes with a group ya know and its always a celebration in the family, somethin' that he does to be proud of him, could kill a first bird or rabbit or deer or buffalo and even human, bring his first scalp, that's the way we're taught.

28) I'm proud to say that I seen my grandpas, my mother's father and my mother's uncle, I seen 'em, they my grandpas and my grandmas. I seen *Maynahonah* and I seen *Sa Ze E* and Old Lady Big Man and that old lady, Sidney High's wife, that not my blood but it's my grandpa's wife,

that's on my father's side, Big Man, that's my father's uncle and Sidney High, that's my father's uncle, that my grandpas and my grandmas ya know.

29) Me *Ka*, that's my grandpa's other wife, Me *Ka*, she's Mescalero. My grandma couldn't hardly walk 'cause she had arthritis and its kinda join her up.[10] I was about nine years old and a little after that Me *Ka* died and then my grandma died. My grandma died over there my uncle's place and they tried, they tried peyote ya know, they tried that peyote then. They try to help her, so they got Apache John ya know and they got him to doctor my grandma but we all knew that ya know this arthritis ya know it was too far and she died, oh 'bout, 'bout two weeks after they had peyote meetin' for her ya know. I was little guy, I went in there ya know in the mornin' but my grandma she couldn't come in because on account of she can't move around, it hurt, even somethin' knock like that ya know it's kinda evaporate her body and she cries ya know. All durin' that little bit before she died she cry, cry, cry ya know, ache and there were no kind of medicine. Dr. Wiser try and Dr. Inman[11] from Apache, they try to help her and Dr. Wiser told Inman not to give her morphine, that's 'bout the biggest medication they get them days and there were no kinda medicine, no kind.

30) My grandpa, Big Man, always makin' me a bow and arrow, yeah. Even I was about fifteen, sixteen years old he makes me a bow and arrow and I kept one of the bows, little one.

June 13, 2000

31) *Bi La* and *Tavekez*, Old Man *Archita*'s sisters. I watched that old lady ya know, we all go down to cemetery for decoration, *Bi La* she takes food. First time I was curious; what she was doin' that was kinda interesting ya know. Her sister dead ya know. Talk, talk to her sister ya know about the family and what we have ya know, we still same, nothins' changed ya know, only getting' older, our brothers ya know he's alright and my sister, family, everybody. She talks that way ya know and she talk about Creator ya know, this is what I brought ya know, I want to share it with, this is what I

put together and this is what we have ya know, this is our life, our bread. She put it down, I want to share it with you and she covers it up, every Decoration she does that.

November 16, 2000

32) So I been around my grandparents and the way, the way they live ya know I thought I live that way ya know and there were no other language spoken but Apache and we all talk Apache: what's goin' on, what's gonna take place and what happened ya know. I begin to ya know realize what they do ya know, I try not to disturb what's involve like there's something important they talk about ya know and that, that's the way my grandparents was ya know.

March 15, 2001

33) I think the old Captain, the old Captain in some way he earned that from army post over there ya know. What he does ya know, what he's gonna do and everthing he does ya know like give out instructions ya know. He's a guy kinda of not pushy, but give you instruction ya know and even does that to soldiers, soldier boys ya know. When he's doin' something, he needs help, he say "hey come here" ya know, get lot of those privates ya know help him; nobody does it, he's only one and he got so where it's just like them high officers ya know yeah [laughs] and he command like officer ya know and perty soon they call him Captain ya know. So that's where it start ya know, Captain, and so when he died he got that name, Captain.

MS: the son took the name?

AC: yeah they praise him because on 'count of that old Captain, he's leader and he was good and he wants things done right not, not just any way ya know. Tell you go get somethin' you go get it and don't poke 'round about it ya know and he wants you do it right ya know, that' why the old one earned that name, it's Captain. And he's almost like him but he, he's got more sense ya know. He was good, at that time he was young man and they start with allotment and he was married one, two, three times; married to Kiowa first and he had a daughter, oh he had a son, and she died and

his son died and he got land on south side Carnegie, on the edge of town, he got land there. His first wife got land there and she died and the boy died after that, then he got all that property and next marriage was Apache, married to Apache ya know little after first one died, then he got 'nother daughter, and the third one we call Josephine, that's last wife, and they adopt my sister, Gertie.

March 20, 2001

34) Grandpa was pretty well known and he was good, good get along with ya know and he give me lot of lecture ya know, he sits over there end of the table and I sit right here ya know and after breakfast, dinner, supper whenever ya know, my grandma and my sister they wash dishes ya know. He wants us to be around and he gave my mother and my father forty acres and we move after grandma, *Maynahona*, my mother's mother, when she died all we had was what was in wagon and what we had in the home was gave away ya know. I don't know why they do that ya know, most of that belong to grandma, *Maynahona*, and that' her brother ya know and that *Sa Ze E*, that's Apache John's wife, last wife. When they get together ya know they not that close in way of communication ya know and when they talk, they don't look at each others ya know and that's respect ya know.

35) Captain ya know seem like he knows what to do ya know for the people, they try to get him be on council, he don't want do it yeah, yeah he don't be on council ya know. But he's one of the best talkers, talk good, our language, he's one of the best when he talks ya know, talks good Apache. Captain ya know, suggest that I be a man ya know when I get mate you put her under the roof with the kids, have one, he said "don't walk on the road with them," what he means ya know got no home for a family, don't do that ya know. That's kind of lecture we have. Captain told me, he said "if you don't know, if you don't know" he said, "you don't know it and don't impress and don't try to do something that you don't know."

Apache John

April 18, 2000

36) My grandpa move in when grandma died, *Sa Ze E*, when she died and Apache John move in with my parents, he took my room ya know. He made will, he wants give his land where he lives to me ya know, everything and that peyote road and well when he died ya know, he died in 27, March, lets see I think he died on the 25th I believe, March. Yeah, it shows on the stone over there, Ft. Sill. He was about 90 but its just guesses ya know, they guess on a lot Indian age, a lot of them they guess.[12]

June 13, 2000

37) Gertie and I was kinda lot of help to my grandpa, Apache John. He wants to go, go out, I go on the porch with him, I look; he's got bunch cattle and horses and he's got little dog, *koochin a*, it's kind of a buckskin color, got collar on it and he's got that, what do you call that bone, steak, ya know them bone on them steak, that's kind yeah, it's got it on that. So when the stock is around I help that little dog over that fence, chase them horses and cows away, so he goes to the out building. He's got wire stretched to that picket fence, it's got little step on both sides, he go over it and then got another wire that runs to the outbuildin' and I stay there until he comes back.

38) Sometime people comes, family...there's all kinds of family, they come there for him to ya know, doctor them. Well, they give him ya know, when he doctors, they give him seven dollars or seven anything ya know but before he doctor, do anything, he roll tobacco ya know with a corn shuck, Bull Durham. That's a lot of things he does ya know name callin', make names and yeah, he doctor you too and just seven whatever you could give him and he do it. Carbuckle, that's one of the worst disease ya know, I don't know if you know it, carbuckle, that's a boil ya know; when that top skin come off, then you could see ya know its like cancer. Yeah he put black handkerchief on it, then he sucks it. He does that out in the field and I sat there ya know on porch; has to be good day

ya know, not cloudy, and I watch him ya know. He sings ya know, got that buffalo robe, you sit on it, you both face east and he sits behind ya and he sings, got that buffalo hoof. Ooo loud, sure make lot of noise, *whoos*, *whoos*, *whoos*, *whoos,* go like that ya know, he sings. He sings 'bout four songs. When he gets through that, he start the service ya know, what he does ya know and I set on porch ya know, I watch ya know. And what grandma prepared before ya know, they prepare, fix everything out there; grandpa was blind, but before that when he had his eyesight ya know, he does it himself but after went blind well, grandma does all that for him. He got medicine pouch you know, got that yellow paint and got gray paint and he uses that ya know and no fire, nothin', but when he comes in the tipi ya know and open that bundle it's different, but out there he doctor ya know. Yeah he cover, got a black handkerchief ya know, cover wherever you ailin' yeah, he sucks it ya know and then they turn that out and show it to you ya know. Got another black handkerchief and he put that back on over that other one and then destroy the other one ya know and that's the way he works ya know. That come down from his uncles and that I don't know how far it goes back, its medicine work.

September 28, 2000

39) I watch him work ya know, what I mean doctor...so I set way away when he does that ya know and he takes that rattle and some of that same color as this here [yellow]; he mark you cross here on the ridge of your nose straight 'cross here [to cheekbone]...yeah I sit watching, I was little guy, and my grandma, my grandma she be doin' somethin' in the house ya know, when he's ready to ya know, when he's a quittin' he look up ya know, he raise his hand, I run in and say "grandpa's ready." So I go out there and I lead him and grandma she pick up what's been used ya know, she picks 'em up and put 'em in a bundle, I mean like a rag, she roll it up ya know and she puts 'em back. I go over there and get him and grandma she pull up them buffalo robes, pull them up, and then she bring them back to the house.

October 10, 2000

40) I watch my grandpa when I was a little fella so I sit on the porch; we had outhouse 'bout fifty yards kinda angle north from the house, west of the house and north, it's got a like a wire stretched, ya know he's blind, from the house to picket fence and he's got that hook this kind ya know, cane, he hooks it on but his little dog knows, little dog set on the porch, when he's barking there's stocks around, he's got cattle and horses. Got little bitty dog, it's one of them long ones I don't know what you call them and he's got round steak bone on that dog ya know; he's the only animal that is allowed in his room where that medicine bundle's at.

41) One day it snowed; when it snow my grandma roll up that buffalo robe, she took it way out there and she drag it, drag it 'round and then she push in that snow, drag that hide round in that snow and she pushes it ya know like washin' it, both side.

42) They got a Mexican there stay with 'em, his name is Pete, Pete Carr and he makes wood, he lives there with 'em and white people, Mason, live in that two room government house, and he makes wood. Old man, old man hits he hits that door like that [taps table], he's standin' at the door; Pete goes out and look, *eete* he say, none, means stock, no stock out there but when is stock out there he chase 'em off ya know, he watch. Most of the time I sit ya know, when I stay there, not all the time just some time me and my sister we visit, maybe week, two weeks, and he comes in the livin' room ya know tells story with my father, I set there ya know.

November 16, 2000

43) Apache John's ya know he's got a lot of respect from the tribe and what he does and what he do; he doesn't do anything on his own, but he listen at the people. He try to find the best solution as a leader and he was medicine man ya know and he practice medicine which was hand down to him ya know and he was old.

November 30, 2000

44) I think around '15, 1915, this Mexican boy come in. I don't know where he come from, but his name was Pete Carr, he's short ya know. He don't talk English but somehow communicate with him ya know. Yeah we get along, and he stay with my grandpa and he make wood and sometime he sells ya know a rick; you couldn't sell no wood way back there, everbody makes own wood, they make their own posts ya know, that's plentiful. When you got a creek, you got timber on it.

January 9, 2001

45) Apache John he had Henry Mason, he had a family. I don't know they come from, but they kinda on the poor side.

MS: were they white or Indian?

AC: white, white guy. Just him and his wife come there, but they have about eight; but when they had about five they left. They give Henry a cow when they first come there, Apache John give 'em a cow and they had a walkin' plow and the Bureau gave them some seeds and they planted. They milked the cows, Apache John had stock ya know, milk cows, and they get half. They had chickens and they have oh four or five hogs and they got big barn, grandpa had a big barn, they call it grain bin I guess you know grain bin, they keep oats in one place, wheat in another one. Henry he build they call it corn, corn bin, it's got lot of air ya know and they put hog wire inside and they thrown them corns in there, I guess you seen them.

MS: did the Masons live on Apache John's land?

AC: yeah uh-huh and give one cow; he had about thirty. Apace John he kill most of his ya know but Apache John he's got his own brand, AJ, and that M it's got H in the middle, that's Henry Mason. He had about thirty, well he sell ya know he sell some and when you get twenty dollars, you got good money for your cow ya know, that's top market.

March 15, 2001

46) Sweat lodge, when Apache John has it they have it 'bout twice, they have it 'bout twice because lot of guys over there ya know. It depends how big and how wide and how many rocks ya got in there; Apache John's got large one. It's made out of willow and canvas; Apache John had some of them they call it duckin' ya know. It's like canvas only it's thick, what the army use to cover ya know, it's heavy and that's one he use ya know.

MS: how big was this?

AC: 'bout eight, eight feet, ten feet wide and it's quite big ya know. You get broomweed[13] and sage, that's only what Apaches use, them two. That broomweed's got flowers on top and they hit against solid ya know, get all the leaves and flowers off it yeah. That they use ya know, dip it in that water bucket and kinda take some of that off; you put too much on it that rock will crack, when that rock crack sometime it's splash ya know, gotta take it easy ya know. Apache John he talk ya know, we set on the woodpile ya know and he talk, we listen ya know. Pretty soon we hear *swoo* go like that [laughs] and that means he's throwin' water on it and he talk ya know. They stay in there oh 'bout thirty minutes ya know and that's maybe too long but ya know ya gotta cool off before ya come out; Apache John he say kinda raise that side little bit where that air come in, but them rocks still hot, and pretty soon they raise it up ya know. Sometime they get blanket ya know, kinda cool off slow and when ya cool off you could go to a creek ya know, get in water ya know, or else you could have water out there where you could rinse off ya know. Apache John he lives 'bout oh, 'bout three, four hundred yards from Cache Creek.

MS: what would he talk about?

AC: well like talk to nature yeah, it's like he talk to the nature just like ya talk to somebody ya know. It's like subject is what's out there ya know, he name over here yeah, provider all that ya know and same way when he open that bundle, he talk same way.

My Parents

April 18, 2000

47) My father his name was Alonzo *Zahtah*. That was his name when he was a kid, *Chalethpah*. And he growed up among Kiowas; my father's kinfolks a few of them [stayed] with the Kiowas, that's after Medicine Lodge, after they brought us here, after the treaty. My fathers he's a little bit older than my mother. And my father went to school at Chilocco; he went from here, the Kiowa school here, northwest part of this Anadarko.

MS: What was your mom's name?

AC: Rose, but that's English, yeah but they called her Kate and later on they called her Rose. But her name was mail carrier, Apache name C*he chi ya whey*, mail carrier.

That was her name before she got English name. And she went to school there, Cache Creek Mission; she told a story ya know like they don't have regular books like public schools ya know.

48) After my grandma died, this is my father's mama, when she died well my father came back to uncles over here west of Ft. Cobb and he was the only child in the family, so when mother died well he lived with both of them and with a cousin. He worked in Ft. Cobb, banker and cattleman ya know, MacPherson.

April 25, 2000

49) My father was married before and that woman died, that was Henry Redbone Tseele, that's his step-son. Henry Redbone's mother was married to my father but when she died, my mother and my father got married, then had them two twins ya know. I think that was around...I think nineteen hundred and eight. I was born 1910.

June 13, 2000

50) After my grandma died we didn't have no place to go, we live in wagon, we go Fort Cobb, west of Fort Cobb, I got a grandpa livin' out there, Big Man, that's my father's uncle, my father's

mother's brother. We go over there and we stay in the wagons and we stay there so long and then we go up to Henry Redbone, that's my father's step-son, my father's first marriage and that's his step-son. Well we camp, I mean we stay in the wagon. So when I was about twelve or thirteen we were over there at my grandpa, Captain, so one morning my grandpa talked to my mother and my father, he said "why don't you sell your son's land, I give you all forty acres right here,"[14] said "I want my grandkids to live by me and I [don't] want you all move anymore, I want you all stay here and then you sell your son's land." So they went to over here Indian Agent to put in request for to sell that land over there at Pewo and my father sold that land[15] so the Bureau advertise, advertise to build my father's home and they got one ya know, four room house and a barn and outbuilding. By that time that land was approved by the Bureau, my grandpa give forty acres to my father and mother and we got home. So we began to live there; they bought wood stove ya know, at that time no electricity ya know and we had divan, ya unfold it, make hideaway bed ya know. So my room, my mother bought me furnitures ya know: bed and dresser, got 3 drawers, on top of that got little mirror, and on side of that look like little closet and that's what my mother bought for me and bought me three quilts and piller [pillow] ya know.

51) My fathers was goin' blind, that disease is pass 'round, tacomas [trachoma] ya know.[16] The Indians were all right but when they brought in wash base [basin] we didn't know ya know, we didn't know nothin' 'bout health so everybody use that one; like you visit somebody, you get up in the mornin' you use that same wash base, few homes got water pitcher. I figure that disease stays inside of that wash base and a lot of our Indians went blind on account of that. So that's what my father had, tacomas, and then it turn into cataract and he went Oklahoma City; they couldn't do nothin' for him, there were no kind of medication for eye specialists. So it was kinda like fog ya know and my father's got good heart ya know, not afraid, even he sees through fog ya know, both eyes was affected. He went and about two weeks later he come back ya know; he said "they

scrape whatever, made it worse". Got pain, pain ya know; for about a year I guess he suffered that eye pain, that's all up here, that bone up here and bottom, he suffer and finally after lost his sight ya know it quit, but still he was involved in tribal activity, he was dependable.

August 22, 2000

52) My father was Republican, my mother was Democrat; every election day we have fun. My father was blind, he was Republican, and durin' election I take him, I take him to vote and he's blind; we got Democrat, Republican and Independent and Socialist come in with us and they watch him how he vote ya know, it's that way ya know. I don't know if it's that way yet or not, so they try to send him what they call that absentee, he don't want it, so every time he's gonna vote I go with him [or] one of them out there, one of my sister or my brother go with 'em.

October 17, 2000

53) When my father came out of school he hang 'round with white guys over there at Fort Cobb ya know and he made monies with them ya know like Ward Caruth and MacPhearson and that's 'nother family, I forget their name. He hangs around with them ya know, finally he got job there at Fort Cobb, he got job, and MacPhearson and two brothers and Ward Caruth and I forget that other one. Well when he came out of school ya know, my father he help take care of the cattle ya know, he said one night they were down timber and they got bedrolls and got cold, snowin.' One of 'em was smart, said he had canvas so he put canvas under him and he put canvas on top of him and he had blanket and the quilt; cowboys they don't undress and they don't wear gowns ya know, so all they do take off their boots ya know, hat. But them cattle they start one place ya know and they look for ya know somethin' to eat, them cattle. They get one of to ya know watch 'em all night and there were lot of coyotes ya know and they had, what you call 'em, big cats, there were few around ya know, them big cats and they had to watch 'em, they after them little cows ya know.

Finally they start buildin' fence ya know. My father he work with them boys for about four or five years ya know.

54) Well my mother, my mother was about fourteen, thirteen or fourteen; Apache Jim *Witseline* went after my father and they brought my father back to his home and they got my mother, they got married. So the story goes that Apache Jim give my mother to my father.

January 19, 2001

55) My mother went to Presbyterian, she went to over there Cache Creek Mission, she talks about her schoolin', what kind of school ya know and my father came to Kiowa School, here, and I don't know how long, not that long ya know, not too long. He was already young man and he was fifth grader and there were 'bout four or five Apaches. They sent him to Chilocco, my father went to school Chilocco; he talks about ya know his schoolin' part-time assigned to work and he was about eighteen or nineteen years old. He was only child in the family and he's kind of sociable, he's easy to get 'quainted with and says people want work with him some way, he's easy.

56) He's light, my father was light, light lookin' ya know but his hair is kinda heavy ya know. Yeah his daddy died when he was baby, his folks live with the Kiowas. His uncle, that was one of his mother's brother, his name was Gourd Man and I think it was 'nother sister, her name was Prairie Dog Daughter-in-law, that was my father's aunt.

July 31, 2001

57) Communication was slow; what happen, week later we find out, sometime it takes month and that's how slow ya know, there were no telephone lines. When that came in I think it came in same time the railroad; my father worked here, that Rock Island that runs towards Gracemont, he worked to that river then he quit.

MS: what did he do?

AC: he drives team ya know, but somebody else owned that team. They got that frisno, which is scoop and it's got long handle ya know, you pick up dirt with it then build where that railroad ties. I don't know how long he said, and when this was built towards Apache they 'sposed to run it west over there I think it's 'bout three mile this side of Stecker, northeast Stecker, then cut west, but they went mile west of this highway, they went mile west and they quit. My father worked there and they change the route from Stecker to Apache and Richard's Spur and then on in to Lawton, they changed that route.[17] This is what my father talks about.

[1] Eyewitness accounts describe tribal members as camping near Anadarko awaiting grass payments; a festive atmosphere included feasting and gambling on monte (Gage 1951:303-304).
[2] Jim Myers grazed cattle on the reservation from 1872 to 1901, leasing a large area that was drained by the Mission, Daha and Cache Creeks covering several townships in total (Cook 2001:47).
[3] Newspaper reports seem to place the Apache camp on the east side of Medicine Lodge Creek, positioned between the Arapaho and Comanche camps (Jones 1966:72).
[4] A treaty was signed by the Apache in 1837 at Fort Gibson providing peace and friendship. A copy of Treaty between the United States of America and the Kioway, Ka-ta-ka and Ta-wa-karo nations of Indians, concluded May 26, 1837 and ratified February 21, 1838 is archived at the Newberry Library in Chicago, IL.
[5] The Original Red Store was established near Fort Sill in 1886 by R.A. Sneed. This trade post carried cloth, hats, parasols, beads and jewelry. In 1892 the Jerome Council met in a building behind the store used to warehouse cow hides and some Comanche referred to the meeting as the Hide Council. In 1911 the licensed Indian trader system ended and the owners moved their business to Lawton (Ouiment 1985:127-219).
[6] Believed to be the first wire fence on the reservation (Cook 2001:48)
[7] Lawrie Tatum served as Agent for the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Reservation from May 20, 1869 until March 31, 1873. For a description of Tatum's activities during the early reservation years see Martha Buntin's The Quaker Indian Agents of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Reservation in *Chronicles of Oklahoma* X:204-218 (1932) and Ashley Zwink's On the White Man's Road:Lawrie Tatum and the Formative Years of the Kiowa Agency, 1869-1873 in *Chronicles of Oklahoma LVI (4):431-441 (1979).*
[8] McAllister dates Daveko's death in either 1897 or 1898 (McAllister 1970:36).
[9] This may be a story about Joe Blackbear who in 1921 was arrested for trading three cows and three calves, purchased with his share of the KCA 4% Fund, for a used Ford. He was jailed for violating the Act of June 30, 1919 prohibiting the disposal of stock purchased with federal funds without permission of the Superintendent. L.M. Gensman Collection, Box 12, Folder 10, Carl Albert Congressional Research Center, University of Oklahoma.
[10] In the spring of 1916 the field matron reported that Maynahona was in poor health; a doctor's certificate diagnosed sciatic rheumatism. Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files, Box 35, Folder 573, NA-SWR
[11] Dr. Edward L. Inman served as a physician and surgeon in the area from 1923 until his death in 1966 (Cook 2001:161; Personal communication with his granddaughter Carol Lee Inman).
[12] Certificate of Death lists Apache John's death on December 3, 1927 at age 74 from dysentery and gastroenteritis. Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files, Box 117, Folder 2098, NA-SWR
[13] Julia Jordan identified this plant as being used to sprinkle water on heated rocks in the sweat house, as well as being used to cure skin ailments and colds (Jordan 1965:111-112).
[14] Kosope deeded forty acres to Rose and Alonzo in 1923. Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files, Box 53, Folder 940, NA-SWR.
[15] In 1915 Alonzo petitioned the Agent to sell Herbert's Allotment, appraised at $3550 and use the proceeds to build a home. The Agent denied the request, but records indicate the property was sold in 1923. Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files, Box 176, Folder 3109, NA-SWR.
[16] In 1925 Alonzo requested a patent in fee for some inherited lands, with the intention of selling them and using the proceeds for eye treatments. Based upon the severity of his condition and his inability to work, the Agent denied the request. The matter was discussed for another two years. Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files, Box 35, Folder 584, NA-SWR.
[17] In 1900 the rail line was extended from Chickasha to Mountain View with a branch line from Anadarko to Fort Sill and Lawton completed in September, 1901 (Chapman 1964:104).

Chapter 6: 'Bout Time I Begin to Remember

Old Man Tipi Pole

April 18, 2000

58) Well I was born over here west, west Apache, ya go about five mile west Apache, go around a curve, that's Old Man *Archita*'s land, that's what he got, allotment, 160 acres. Old Man *Archita*, *Too Sis Pa Da Ga*; so they lived there close and I was born right there, *ah ba cha se*, that little tree right there southeast side of his house. I was born on Election Day, state election, I was born 1910 on Election Day. Well anyway they brought gifts, they brought gifts ya know, and my grandma lived there in government house; they got government house, two-room house, and got a lumber arbor, square one, got shingle on it and on the south side of that arbor, that's where I was born. *Se Ba Qwe*, she's the one that waited on my mother, *Se Ba Qwe*, and the other one is *Be Da Klechre*, that's Blackbear's wife, it means Over There and Back, that was her name.[1]

59) Well 'bout a year later, 'bout year later, little bit east there from where I was born they had Rabbit Dance and that's where I got my name, Rabbit Dance. I told that story about that Rabbit Dance; they got songs, we only got two left. This Rabbit Dance that's for little kids, that's their culture. So Apache Johns the one that named me, so he said there's three names and you pick the one you want; he says number one is Old Man Tipi Pole and number two is Yellow Horse and that number three is Battle Twice. And well my parents took that Old Man Tipi Pole. So during that Rabbit Dance ya know, when they give me that name, and the tribe all come to that kind of ceremony and they bring back the kinfolks' name and these kind of important to the family; the tribe will know this name is brought back and that's the way our culture is ya know.[2]

MS: So this was an old name?

AC: Yeah that's my father's side, this Yellow Horse and Battle Twice, that name come from my father's side and that's, that's the way it was brought out. My name and all them names got history to it ya know. Young mans making debut ya know, they go with older mans, they go [hunting] and some times they battle, and my name was like that ya know. [Men] got together and went huntin' somewheres and they were away long time and they started back so where they camp, we don't camp the same place so long, but we know like this spring we're gonna camp certain place, that's where we camp, and this summer if we move, we know where they're gonna move, its like that and that makes it a lot easier for us not to be huntin' our people. So they bed down ya know, they bring in horses and they bring somthin' to eat back to the family; so they bed down, always be two sittin' up ya know that's the way ya know, two of 'em sittin' up and during the night this person will listen, could be my kinfolks ya know, one of my relatives. He listen, that pine, that pine makin' noise ya know, wind somewheres in the canyon waaay down there, seemed like he heard somebody like they in that pine ya know, *so das chi ahhh*, like that. This man sit up, he punches, he punch the other guy "hey, hey, hey listen to that." They listen, they listen and pretty soon they hollar again, *so das chi ahhh*, like that ya know, its like echo, then "hey" all wake up ya know, "hey, ya'll listen" right here not too far ya know, *so das chi ah,* looked like to 'em coming from the hill, says Old Man Tipi Pole. That's what he says ya know, callin' for Old Man Tipi Pole, that's what my name come from. And that's the way I got it ya know, he told the story and he told my father that's your side of the family. Apache John was a lot older, he's old man ya know and he talked to my father, says which ya want ya know, so my mother and my father they, they talk ya know, so they took that Old Man Tipi Pole.

60) So I was a year old and from that time on ya know they call me ya know, everbody, they don't call me Alfred and that's our culture ya know. We don't say, call my father's name or my mother's name or my grandparent's name, we don't call their names, the grandma or grandpa ya

know, and I see now days ya know that's the way, way communicate with our family. We don't call anybody by their name unless to draw their attention ya know and I think its good now ya know. This kind is been passed down ya know, these names they don't go outside the family and we don't name ourself. I was asked ya know who has that pride to have to name called; well the way I look at it ya know could be your grandpa or grandma, but has to have ceremony on that. People that you're gonna name, somebody you want be proud to bring back name to the family, or medicine man or the warriors when they perform some victories and they make names, you care and they tell you what kind of person this man was and who that person was ya know to your father. Well that's the way I tried to explain it ya know and if you want name ya know we could look, look at your family name ya know, could present that. I don't think we the only tribe that has that kind of thinking.

Apache Jay's Family

April 25, 2000

61) Twins was born first and one of 'em died, Herbert died and Leo got land ya know.[3] He was about two when I was born and my mother had female problem and Apache Jay and his wife took me when I was a baby and I growed up, but we visit, sometime my parents come over there, my grandparents, we visit one another. I went back to my parents, back in I think it was either 1920 or '21.

62) I called her mama, I wasn't allowed to call her name, and Apache Jay, I thought they were my parents ya know growing up.

August 23, 2001

63) When Apache Jay's wife died that's the time I left. Apache Jay he left that home too, he got married to another Apache woman towards Rainey Mountain. But they have hand games over

there where he lives ya know; I go in the house ya know, I sit in the house and sometime I lay down, got hand game goin' on outside in tent ya know. I enjoyed, I feel that you know he was, felt like he was my father ya know.

Dancing for Nickels and Pennies

August 3, 2000

64) I think 1914, 15 somewhere in there, George Gert round up the Kiowas; my father and my mother and me and my sister we got involved. Waco was havin' centennial and George Gert he communicate that doins' and George said they would like to have tipis, there was nothing like tipis and they said they got coach, the one that carries packages and mail, ya know its coach. He said he's got two, he said bring your poles, tipi poles and tipi and you beddin' and what you need, said it's gonna' be a month, one month event.[4] That's the way I understood it ya know, I'm too small ya know, but my sister was about month old and my father he had to haul the poles to town ya know; we live about mile east of Boone school house ya know on the corner, from there it's about four miles to Apache to that railroad. My father and my mother, only Apaches, and we had to load up those coaches and it took about three days to get to Waco. Yeah so we went fat, they feed us, yeah that's what my mother talks about ya know. When we got to Waco, I don't know what part of town, and we camp behind a, I think it's a board, board fence ya know and well we, we camp there. They give us ration and we had to have a show tent, they call show tent ya know, and in there we perform and the people come in. When they come in, they pay ya come in to see us say before event gonna start the performers on both side of that ticket booth, on both side ya know. Look like high table, not all of us get on there, some stay on the back ya know and the singers they stand on that platform ya know. They had George Gert to highlight the ceremony ya know or the program and he point at Silverhorn and Little Joe and Singadoty ya know, its those people that was there ya

know and Big Joe, I used to know all of them ya know, and Ahpeatone and let's see somebody else I think, gosh I forgot, Smokey family I believe. But anyway we stand on that platform, all of us, and my daddy I stand in front of him ya know. George Gert said he's our medicine people ya know and that Silverhorn he's got that buffalo robe ya know, I guess you've seen his picture? And he's got some kind of a fur cap ya know and some carry bow and arrows and I don't think anybody carry gun but when the parade ya know we walk, that's what he said ya know, we walk, walk to the main street ya know. And George had a son, he was teen age, he takes me uptown and he clap his hand like that [claps], I dance ya know and people throw their coins on the sidewalk ya know and Elmer picks 'em up and that I take home back to tent.

65) George Gert look like Custer ya know, got red hair, red beard and he's got long hair ya know.

September 12, 2000

66) I think about pow-wow ya know, ever since I was little I had costume you know and I don't know how or remember some of those days I danced ya know, I was too small to remember but one or two days that I seen in Waco ya know just like you wake up, go back to sleep. Kiowas from Stecker and west of Boone and I think it's about ten families and that's include my parents, the only Apaches that was involved. This was done by George Gert, they call him horse doctor ya know, his great grandpa and his grandpa, his daddy and then him, they didn't go to school for it. So he's the guy that put it together and he got together with Waco, Texas ya know, I don't know who over there, but one day them coaches, I thinks it's about three, yeah I think it was about three coaches and they use two for us to walk around in and one to carry our supply ya know and tipi pole. My parents, we had tipi pole and we stayed there about a month at Waco. To begin with they set one day to load up, load up our equipment which we did ya know and that's the story that my dad told me ya know, and it took us uh two days and one day and that night and next day we got to Waco

ya know on this train, Rock Island. When we got to Waco they help us unload ya know, they had wagons ya know to unload our equipment, tipi pole and all that stuff ya know and we camp there ya know. It was some kind like fair ya know, just like a centennial ya know, that went on about a month and we dance, not every day ya know, we dance on weekends and that's what I was told. But they took picture of me, I was standin' inside, inside of the tipi and I had the door like this [closed to his waist] and they took my picture, I was a little guy ya know and my sister was 'bout four or five months old. I was livin' with the Jay family ya know but my parents wanted to take me because I had costume ya know and I don't know if we were getting' paid or what. They had a big show tent ya know, they call it circus tent ya know, big one, and we dance inside of that but they got a platform outside where they interview, they introduce our dancers some men on one side, women, children on this side. George Gert he's pretty good speaker and he's got goatees, I guess that's what you call 'em, handlebar and he's got long hair yeah and it's red, yeah he's red-headed ya know. He hangs 'round Hatchetville; that time Hatchetville didn't have no stores ya know, and he likes to be around where the Apaches mans gather ya know and whatever they do he sets 'round ya know, just be among the Apaches, he was that kind ya know.

MS: did he speak Apache?

AC: no huh-uh he don't speak Apache ya know. I don't think he knows how to braid his hair, yeah womans all braid his hair and he don't have that queue up here,[5] no it's just straight braid ya know and he wears hat and he has trouser and the vests same, same color ya know. He always carry his equipment around and sometime, when they look for him, all they have to ask is where the men folks are at ya know, that's where they find him. Yeah my father and George were pretty good friends ya know.

67) I think that Old Man Silverhorn, may took picture over there, he had horns on ya know and he's got that buffalo robe, he's always dressed that way ya know when he dance ya know but he's

got costume on. Well when they narrate then they talk about ya know medicine mans and all that ya know and my father told George "no don't make it so, don't make it so ya know somebody might shoot us, his doctorin' might not work" he said [laughs]. Well anyway sometime Elmer take me up town ya know and I think they said it's not too far from street, he take me up town and Elmer he clap his hand like that [claps softly], I dance ya know and they throw nickels and pennies in front, he puts it in his hat and take it back to camp and spill it; my father and my mother they put that money up you know. It's like they gonna perform this afternoon, he takes me up town in the mornin' ya know and I don't remember that, but my father tells me ya know. So there were some other things that they done besides ya know like they come through gate ya know, to go through the camp ya know, like a tour ya know. I think they pay so much ya know and they take a look in the tipis, see how Indians are you know, what it looks like inside [laughs]. We don't, we don't mind it, us, we don't mind it ya know. I thought maybe they might have you know somethin' there, somebody might have took note, specially the news, advertise ya know, and maybe somebody took picture ya know. After that well we come back home same way ya know.

When I was growing up

April 18, 2000

68) We live in big wagon, I was about 11, we live in big wagon, my father and my mother and my sister Gertie, the two of us. Oh, we stay at Big Man's awhile and sometime we go to Redbone sometime because that was my father's step-son; my father's first wife was Henry Redbone's mama and Henry Redbone treat ya like real brother and treat me with kind of respect, we're brothers. All of us we, we talk Apache, all of us I say people my age, yeah a bunch and we all growed up at Boone and seemed liked a camp. When they left Hatchetville they, they all got allotment, they all made homes ya know and some got good money, lease money, they build good

homes and the home was cheap. The home that I live at, big house I got, 800 dollars, that's what it cost to build that house, but grandpa had a government house, two room, from across the creek where I live, had two rooms. We live ya know among kinfolks and they have doins' and they get together ya know, council and hand game and peyote meetin' and dance.

69) I help my uncle get wood, mostly we burn wood, got wood stove, no electric light and no fan and no nothing. Yeah, we live with lamps, lantern and bonfire and ya know a bunch of peoples around together ya know we had big fire, set around, tell stories ya know, it seems like somethin' come up, people come, it draws ya know. If pow-wows goin' on, Comanche country, we camp, we go in big wagon because Captain *Kosope*, my grandma's brother, he's pretty well liked, likes to sing like Alonzo, he help the Comanches and he helps the Kiowa ya know.

April 25, 2000

70) We socialize with the Kiowas and the Comanches and my parents and grandparents they pow-wow people and peyote people and we got a medicine bundle in the family. But when I was growing up ya know I had cousins ya know, we get together; like when somethin's going on ya know, we young boys not quite teen age yet ya know, we roamed the creek and, summertime we swim ya know and we get together say maybe twice or three times a month ya know, the family. We, us boys ya know, 'bout eight or ten of us we all got a ridin' horse ya know and all of us got a saddle ya know and sometime we go town, see movies. That movies got no sound, ya have to read it; we had a friend ya know, we made a friend that lives in town ya know and he got pretty good readin' so we take him to movies right there at Apache. We get this white boy ya know to go in with us, he read for us ya know what's goin' on. Different type of movies ya know, but we like cowboy shows ya know. Sometime we go nighttime ride horseback and they got a corral and its open and that night watchman sit and watch 'em. We know that town good ya know, us kids, and we play the back alley. Sometime we go down there, corral, where there Rock Island Railroad

tracks and that corrals pretty high and its got plank. We walk on them planks ya know and durin' the fall time the cotton's come in ya know and we go over there and jump right on cotton, bales of cotton ya know, we were kids ya know.

71) Sometime we get up about four and we get to town about six and we go to the livery, that stable ya know, livery stables ya know and got lot of mangers where ya put your horses and they ask ya what kind of feed ya know and then we walk to depot, come to Anadarko. I was pretty young ya know, me and my sister. Them Indians, Comanche, come from Walters in the morning and that train come by about, about seven thirty, ooo lots of Indian in that coach ya know and I think its about three, three or four coaches that Rock Island put towards Anadarko and Indians, adult, dress like they going dance, they got that blue and red peyote blankets ya know and got costume on, leggings and they got hair braided, just like ya go to a dance, and them womans they wear ya know calicos, all colors. They sell fruit inside that coach so, when you get to Anadarko just walk the town ya know. A train come from Hobart little bit I think about around eight thirty, it come to Anadarko, Kiowas ya know, they dress same way, they walk the town and the train pulls in from north, and they people they going south all get in, ooo ya ought to see that yard, that yard its just red blankets. All them people they dress their custom, culture; like the Comanches ya know, they dress good, and the Kiowas, yeah the Kiowas they come from Apache and Stacker ya know and they come from Hobart. They don't dress alike ya know, and Apaches and same way Wichitas and Caddos and Delaware, they dress their custom ya know. Ya could tell what tribe lived in this area here, ya could tell the way, the way they dress, yeah that's when I growing up.

72) We go hunt turtles summertime and we hunt tarpin, ya know them box turtle, and sometime we get grapes, we hunt grape, it was a lot of grapes, plums, and sand plums, they got little bushes ya know, sand plum and them other big plums they're pretty good size and grapes, some grapes get big ya know. Well, we play same time ya know and I lived little ways ya know,

Apache Jay's home, a couple hundred yards and when I found 'em I take mine home ya know. We got little sack ya know, all of us, even white boy, John Beck. Yeah he talks Apache ya know and when he goes town ya know the white people they listen him talk Apache [laughs]. I don't know how they view ya know seeing a white boy talk Apache ya know, boy I tell ya.

May 23, 2000

73) I was raised [by] another couple ya know, I live close to Bitseedy, that's over there southwest of Fort Cobb 'bout three or four miles and my mother, my father they live round Boone, Hatchetville. My father was married to Henry Redbone's mama, Tseely, that made it ya know like brothers. I stayed there a whole lot and I stayed over there at Big Man's and Saddleblanket and Sidney High, and as I was growin' up we do lot of things, we young people ya know. Timber there over there Fort Cobb, west of where my grandpas live ya know, they got sand rock [sandstone] and that Washita River ya know, we spend a whole lot, there's bunch of us. Yeah we go along that creek, we hunt plums and grapes, even we go to the river; there were a lot of grapes, big ones, big grapes. Sometime my folks from Boone would go to the river and we pull down grapes with our clan ya know, 'bout three or four of us. They put a canvas on the ground; we pull those grapes and we throw 'em over there ya know and my mother and my sister and my aunt, they clean that grapes and they put it in a bucket, they put it in buckets ya know. I don't know, I think we get about three, four buckets and while they were doin' that they go to that bucket and they mash it and uh they get flour ya know, bread flour, and then they put it in that grapes, they mash it and they make patty ya know, they flatten it and they put it on canvas. It put color on the canvas ya know, that grape's got strong color so they put it; it don't take long to dry during summertime and when they dry, they put it careful in the container where it won't break up and in the wintertime they bring it down ya know. They put dumplings in it ya know, it sure good, they put sugar in it. Its same way with plums and I think sour plums, they call it fall plums, they mash that too, them plums, they

mash it and they make, they put bread ya know, flour, and they make patties out of them, they dry them. Yeah we were, we were kinda helpful, us boys ya know and I get a lot of help from my cousins over there at Fort Cobb when we go after plums.

June 13, 2000

74) 'Bout time I begin to remember ya know, we go wagon and my father's is always active ya know to help. We didn't have no place after my grandma died, *Maynahonah*, she died I think around when I was about eight. She's always the only one that I was used to ya know when I came back to my parents. Well when grandma died, we live at her home and we move, let me back up a little bit, we were living with my grandpa; my grandpa had two wives and my mother and her mother live on a south side, my grandma, they camp on this side we had tent, two tents joined together and the other one, the other one [wife] lived on the north side. They had arbor which is lumber, square, a big one, its about say about thirty by thirty ya know, big one; its kitchen on the northeast side, and its all open and they got like a bunk bed and they had long table and benches. So my father and my mother and my sister, just the two of us, and we live there in that tent with my grandma, *Maynahonah* and then my grandpa live in the house. He died I think 1919 and we were up there in 1918 and oh its a little bit of everything was goin' on ya know like they play games ya know, we play sticks too Apache from north play the Apaches of south and the men folks they go down the creek, there's a creek there. The community, us kids ya know, there's a bunch of us and them cousin, whole bunch of us, I think there's 'bout round fifteen, over fifteen, sometime they come from Hatchetville, there's some Apaches live there 'round Hatchetville and everybody ride horseback. Somehow they play baseball in town and sometime we go, I go with my father ya know, horseback and sometime in buggy; we got wagon, but that stands by the tent ya know, we got some stuff in there like cookin' utensil, maybe little groceries and that double jointed tent, that's

what we stay in, and same way with *Me Ka*, that's my grandpa's other wife, *Me Ka*, she's Mescalero. My mother used to cook ya know and we got own fireplace in front of that tents.

June 27, 2000

75) A bunch of my cousins we hang together ya know, we do lot of things ya know and we live almost on the creek ya know and go to the mountains. My uncle had drum ya know and some boys older than us yeah they come, they sing and we sing with them ya know. He's got a big place there, oh he clean that place out ya know; oh they have pow wow there and they have several place where they play sticks and they play pitch, and at same time we play along the creek there, mostly we play marbles ya know. But after we got, all of us got 'round twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, my uncle put up a goal on the tree, ain't got no back board, it's just got I think it's about three inch wide iron rim so he nailed it to that tree ya know, big tree, and two of um, it's just wide enough for a basketball court and we had a lot of fun ya know. Our people camp there too sometime ya know and it's kinda popular right there ya know and they camp there sometime year round and the Apaches they live three or four miles away and they come camp there along that creek, creek bend and its, its clean, see no grass, it's just all slick ya know because there's lot of activities ya know.

76) So they camp, and we got plenty of place to swim along that creek ya know and we all growed up, boys round there, there's a whole bunch and I think it was about close to eighteen boys. Along that Cache Creek Apaches live ya know, they all come over there and some camp, some camp there. Then they have Thanksgivin' and even have Christmas there and after Christmas then there's Easter Sunday ya know and Fourth of July they dance there. Well as we all growin' up ya know we play marbles and ride horseback and we don't go town ya know, we don't go town. We climb mountains too ya know, just play 'round and well we play ball; we tear up old shirts or old dresses or canvas, we roll it up ya know and make ball out of it and we play ball with it.

We don't have this kind, no money, that's how come we make our own ya know, even that stick, not too big or not too little, just almost half size as baseball bat ya know. Yeah we, we play, have a lot of fun and we choose up and we had enough boys ya know to have two team ya know and we had a lot of fun and same way basketball ya know and same way playin' marbles ya know.

77) Then we big enough to ride horseback to movies in town, that's not talk, talk show, ya have to read it and we made a friend with a white boy live in town there, he's tough ya know, and somehow we got acquainted with him ya know. Movies ten cents ya know and we pay, we pay his way in ya know, there were no popcorn and peanuts ya know, and we go in and he sits behind us ya know, he reads, he reads with us and through that ya know we know I think Tim McCoy and Hoot Gibson, cowboy show, Tom Mix ya know and Tim McCoy ya know. Well when Roy Rogers came in ya know and I forget that other one, Hoot Gibson I believe, and somebody sing ya know we don't kinda like, we wanted a shoot out ya know. It's still was dime, ya know it still was dime, and this white boy, he was good to us ya know, and sometime special come on ya know, it still dime and they advertise it, they got flyers ya know, and then they hand 'em out ya know, sometime you get through mail, they got like outlaws they gonna show. We all ride, ride horseback to town ya know and got a corral there, a stock corral right by railroad track and ya know it was good; some got saddle, we take the saddle off and just drop it there, let 'em loose in that corral and nobody bother those, got ropes and saddle and saddle blanket and bridle just layin' there, we go to show night time and nobody bother ya know.

78) We hunt too daytime and night time and we hunt for like squirrel ya know, night time ya know we shake 'em off the trees ya know, chase 'em, we got dogs ya know, if they're, if they're not chewed up bad well they good to eat ya know. Then in daytime we go through timber and creeks, we chase cottontails ya know. Sometime cottontail go in a tree, ya know it's got hole in a tree there, we reach up there and we pull 'em out and it's kinda cruel to kill 'em ya know but we eat 'em ya

know. Sometime summertime we hunt fish with our hands ya know, yeah we kinda get the creeks cleaned on that fish, frogs and that's time I was a teen age ya know.

August 3, 2000

79) They have dance over there Apache Jim, that's one of the old dancin' place and that other place is *Bitseedy*, *Bitseedy*'s farm and I think Apache John was there the last time, when he was alive ya know. They have goats, they chase goats, they rope 'em you know like rodeo and they had calves and they let us little guys ride those calves ya know. And they have like potato race ya know, they got kinda little bitty box, they got potatoes in there ya know and they pick it up by spoon, and they pick it up by spoon, see how many you could take that other end ya know. Yeah that's kind of program they had ya know and it's run by Clayton and Winner, Winner Smith ya know, oh *Kaudle Kaule*. Boy its a lot of horses and we all ride horses ya know, everybody up then, and that *Bitseedy* had a bunch of sheeps ya know, got a corral out in the pasture. Well, we had foot race and that's boys and girls ya know and they come up with some kind program in the morning ya know for kids. Next place is over there at Henry Archilta, its west of Boone and there, there they camp pretty near all year 'round, the Apaches that live around Boone; that was back in 25 on up to about, on up to about 30, 35 they camp there ya know and well sometime they move back home.

80) Durin' the pow-wow, we war dance ya know, we war dance, and a bunch of us we dance ya know, us little guys, and I think somebody might have picture. Just nothin' but Apaches dance, and in 30's the Kiowas began to dance with us.[6]

December 7, 2000

81) Us boys over here around Boone, in that community, we all live close to each others and as we growin' up ya know we play 'round the creek and ridin' horseback and we climb mountains, there's little mountain over there, and all that kid stuff ya know. Same time on Sundays we go that Cache Creek Mission and all of us, it's'bout ten of us I believe, yeah 'bout ten of us and 'bout five

girls and we had lot of fun ya know. We play games ya know and there were several kinds of games and we play til about eight, sometime almost nine in the even' and from there we walked, we walked north 'bout mile and a half ya know so we play round and some start droppin' off their homes ya know.

August 7, 2001

82) When I come back to Boone, my kinfolks ya know, is lot of boys there and we always find somethin' to do ya know, play.

MS: what would ya do?

AC: well sometime we swim, summertime ya know, and wintertime we hunt ya know, we hunt like rabbits, kill some birds ya know. I don't think anybody owned a gun until we were uh 'bout twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two ya know, some of us we got .22 rifles and all of us got ridin' horses.

MS: how did ya hunt before you had a gun?

AC: well we use bean shooter you know and that's all we had ya know. We had dogs ya know and sometime we raise the skunks ya know, we don't bother them ya know, but when we got older we hunt because they sell furs ya know. They buy skunk furs ya know, they buy it, but ya have to try to get the smell out of it. And possum, coon and coyote; badgers they were plentiful out there ya know. Prairie dogs, there were more prairie dog towns, lots and lots of prairie dogs. Well we hand fish, us young boys ya know, and some take the skin off to cook 'em ya know, fillet 'em, some don't take the skin off, they just fry the whole if the catfish is not too big ya know.

I seen that Sun Dance

April 25, 2000

83) We go to Sun Dance ya know, we go to Sun Dance and maybe once or twice I went with Jay family see Sun Dance and when I went back to my parents ya know we go. Just about eight

wagons, maybe ten wagons go to Gary and Calumet and Greenfield and Watonga, in that area ya know along close to the river, that North Canadian, and reason why they had that Sun Dance, its close to the river, because they use some of that timber for the centerpiece and outside they build that arbor. When I got big enough ya know I watch my grandpa, Captain, and rest of the tribe ya know they look on, but my grandpa sometime he gets that night shift ya know and Big Tom too and that's up to him when he wants to get in; so they change singers 'bout 4 times, they beat that drum all day, all night, dance and they blow that whistle [blows]. Sometimes I go over there and look on cause my grandpa's over there, helping them Cheyenne-Arapaho.

MS: Do the Apache people Sun Dance?

AC: No, huh-uh.

MS: Just Cheyenne and Arapahos?

AC: Yeah, right uh-huh. Yeah we go camp, that's all and well we got friends ya know but my grandpa's wife, grandma, she's not our blood, grandma; her cousin was married to Arapaho, his name was Swapping Back and through that Swapping Back my grandpa got involved in that singing. A whole bunch of us, even my grandparents, about ten to twelve wagons would go north Fort Cobb and we spend the night and it seemed like that farmer, him and his wife, kids they know when coming through and that lady, white lady, she cook a lot of bread and cookies and pies and that old farmer sells oats and hay, eggs. Yeah we bed down on the road and that road is not graded, its just wagon trail and tall grass on both side, sunflowers ya know and we bed down there. Then we get to Bridgeport; when we get to Bridgeport there's a ferry there ya know, they pull ya across and someone on that side they pull across on this side and it takes about half day to take us across. Then we go east about not quite a mile, there's a creek come from Gary and that creek is a big place, there that's where we bed down and they cook supper ya know. Them wagons is still coming, so we bed down there and next day they had a bridge south of Watonga that North

Canadian; bridge ain't got no rail and some of those men had to reach around and lead them horses ya know by the bridle, yeah sometime boy they'd turn ya know, that horse afraid of that bridge ya know. Then we go east somewheres ya know and a big camp, yeah big camp, Sun Dance ya know. Ya hardly see a car. 1929, that's the last time we went, that's the last time I seen that Sun Dance.

October 24, 2000

84) They have Sun Dance every summer, Cheyenne and Arapaho, they have it at Watonga and Greenfield and Calumet, cross the river, north that's where they have Sun Dance. I don't know how far back Apache tribe goes over there ya know, some don't go, yeah some of them don't go and I think it was lot of help. We had one Apache woman she was married to Arapaho, his name is Swappin' Back ya know; his wife is related to my grandpa Captain's wife, they cousin, and that's how come my grandpa Cap he sings inside of that arena, Sun Dance. He gets up every mornin' 'bout four o'clock, he sings till about ten and they don't drink, they just sing ya know; they don't drink yeah water or coffee inside of that arena 'cause them guys that's dancin' they don't drink, they don't eat and they always be suckin' on that sage, they suck on that sage all to bring out moisture from their mouth. My grandpa and Swappin' Back ya know after supper they they put tobacco down [taps table], my grandpa don't smoke but he does smoke when they tell stories and in sign language, both of 'em, and that's where I pick up some sign language. Them Cheyenne-Arapaho, they kinda ya know respect my grandpa because he's a good singer, he's one of the best, even he leads songs for them. 1929, that's the last time I went and it was three of us, my cousin's name Oliver Archilta and the other ones was my, became my brother-in-law, Herbert Tselee and we went with my uncle and my aunt and their two daughters. We went in car, Model T, and we camp on the north side and no tent, we just put the car on north side and we put two poles and then tie that shade on it ya know. We build fire on east side and throw down the canvas and

that's where we bed down. Day time we go to river but that Sun Dance go on ya know, from the time they start the music they start dancin' and one got to be dancin' all the time; they take turns ya know, most of the time they dance together ya know, sometime they sit down rest or go to sleep or something.' Big storm was comin' ya know and well we didn't get scarce [leave] ya know, all we did just took down our shade, roll it up, put everything in that Model T ya know but anyway all we had to do was just put that canvas on the ground and lay down, we spent another night.

March 20, 2001

85) I think it was 'bout ten, twelve wagons and on the north side Fort Cobb there's a road east town there 'bout half a mile and then road runs north, there's a creek there 'bout a mile from across the creek there we all line up, my grandpa he's a leader. Yeah they take feedstuffs, sometime they take extra horse and they got tents, arbor and poles for their campin' ya know. Sometime they got a cookin' outfit ya know like boiler, fryin' pan and dishpan and then they got cowboy plates, them tin plates, tin cup and some of 'em they got army knives ya know and fork and spoon. I guess maybe you seen that army stuff ya know. They got fireplace ya know it stands about oh foot, foot and a half or two foot ya know, they cook on top of it ya know but it's big enough to cook and boil your water and sometime you put coffee on there. But after you through cookin' you could put your dishpan, put water in there and wash your dishes ya know. They got home-made soap ya know that brown, brown soap ya know and it's kinda popular; it don't wash very good but it's suds a little bit ya know. So while they waitin' ya know, we got about three, four more wagons come, that makes it 'round ten, eleven, twelve wagons, then we travel north straight north, then we end up over there west of Hinton. We bed down over there ya know, there's a farmer right on section line and there's timber there ya know both side of the road and they got grubbin' hole ya know, fix fireplace ya know. Some of 'em got big griddle ya know and they don't put stones around it because that's extra load ya know, but they chop round there, they watch it ya know when they

cook, they watch and they don't let grass catch on fire ya know. Somewheres down the road sometime there's a store, I don't know where at we stop ya know and from there ya know they buy like hardtacks, that's crackers, small one, you eat about four of that you full ya know, that's army crackers but stores they got 'em ya know. I think pret nearly ever store is a general store or tradin' post or somethin' like that ya know. Yeah by that road is farmer's home ya know, got a corral there ya know and you buy feed: oats and hay and bale a hay or bale of alfalfa ya know. You could get half sack oats ya know, cheap 'bout twenty-five cents ya know and your horse, your horses eat good meal and sometime they give that white guy maybe a quarter for two horses in the corral ya know, whole bunch of horses in it. They got fire goin' in the mornin' and they cookin' ya know and that white lady she's got cake and she's got cookies and she's got eggs and butter ya know, but Indians they don't go for that butter that much ya know. These white people they know ya know and they make a little money ya know. So 'bout round eight o'clock we gone, we come to Bridgeport; it's got a ferry there and it's got three horses that they drag, they pull that ferry from one bank to the other, one dollar a wagon. It take quite a while ya know and they got it fix where, they rig it up if you got horse that kinda got high life ya know, 'fraid, ya gotta hold him ya know but these guys they know how to handle it ya know and they tie him to that wagon tongue and then to that ferry ya know and that horse just sometime shake ya know. Oh it takes 'bout four or five hours to get all them wagons across ya know.

MS: do you remember what families would go with you?

AC: Captain's got wagon and my parents and my uncle, Henry Archilta and Homer Saddleblanket and Sidney High, that's family wagon. I think Apache Jay made two trips before he died. So when we all cross from that ferry almost a mile and that Geary Creek, almost three acres clear ya know so they camp kinda around ya know and it's got place where to put the horses ya know. Got a pump on west side the bank there, womans they bring their ya know bring their buckets, us kids we

pump it slow ya know and we try to be ya know respect ya know and we all take turns ya know. My grandpa he carries heavy, look like canvas, what the army use for water their horses ya know, it's canvas, kinda square ya know and it's got handle on it ya know. Some they lead the horses to that little stream there and it's good stream ya know; them days all the creek boy they got good runnin' water, I don't know what happened to it, today you can't even get your feet wet crossin' the creek. But we spend the night there and next day we go up there Geary and some buy supplies, some don't ya know, so we go 'bout four, five miles north and then go east past that North Canadian then go few miles, we spend the night there. That's where that Arapaho, his name was Swappin' Back ya know, and that's my grandpa's brother-in-law, ya know they marry cousins and nighttime they put that tobacco, put it over there, and they got lantern up here ya know and they talk sign language ya know. Ooooh they get kick out of it too; I lay there and watch ya know I watch all. When my grandpa talks sign language he talks Apache ya know and that's where I learned ya know; I never practiced them, but I know biggest part of it. When somebody talk to me I still ya know I could talk it ya know; we don't use our hands close together when we use our sign language, our sign language gotta have a lot of rooms ya know.[7] Yeah I talk that. My grandpa ya know he was highly respect by people that sings ya know, I seen that ya know.

I Tend School Kinda Poorly

April 18, 2000

86) My father went, enrollment and all that, and all they need to know is my name. Miss Hodaffil was my first teacher ya know; sometime her father brings her out and sometimes she comes herself in a buggy from town, Apache, and she was real helpful. I was pretty good size for beginners, I was about ten, eleven years old and I wasn't wild ya know, I was taught ya know I had manners for my teacher but I was little bit shaken ya know, afraid, and well I went to school there

awhile. Well I went to school ya know at Ft. Sill in 1924, September 1924, I went to school there and I stayed there until December. I didn't like that school. I went back to Boone, I was fourth grade and gosh I don't know how long I've been missin' out on school and Miss Hoedaffil was still there, I don't know how long she was there. So well, I wait awhile; I went back to school Boone and had a lot of fun ya know and I tried, I try learn ya know but still I feel like Apache ya know.

May 2, 2000

87) First time I went to school, my teacher's name was Miss Hodaffil and every time I look at her ya know, kinda afraid ya know; she's kind but me ya know I seen them sticks in the corner over there, dogwood ya know, switch, and then she's got few rulers on the table ya know. She's got bun up here ya know, only skin I see is her hand; she's got high button shoes and her dress way down to her ankle and every time she look at me I get the shakes ya know. I was afraid but that guy settin' over there ya know, he's high grade, and he talk to me ya know, he's kind to me and he wants me to feel ya know not to be afraid and he talk to me ya know, "any way you want my help, just let me know". Tell you why, he like it for my sister. He liked it for my sister, that's why he feels that way ya know.

88) Well he said teacher said that tomorrow, tomorrow we're gonna try arithmetic; boy I said I don't know straight up about arithmetic and that guy over there, he said "I half decent just watch me" and I said OK. Next day ya know I was still nervous and our teacher was comin' up the aisle ya know, talkin' about arithmetic ya know, add and they call it take-away at that time ya know, addition and take-away. When she come to me ya know and say "Alfred" that guy over there took out a geography, big book ya know, geography, yeah they were big books ya know; he kinda slide down his seat like that ya know and put that geography away, he look at me ya know and [she] said "Alfred if Stecker had five apples and he give you three, how much apples Stecker would have

left?" My brother-in-law he slid down, he went this way [held up his fingers], his finger was cut off, I said three and a half.

89) When I was goin' to school there ya know, ya know like I said at the beginin' my parents were poor, we stay over there and then we stay over here and we live in a wagon. Grandpa give me pony and they got me a saddle. Yeah from right there to Boone its nine miles and every morning I get up, we get up about six o'clock, and there's two of us, I was about twelve and he [Edgar Nonie] was about sixteen, seventeen, we both ride ya know, we both got horses ya know and rain or shine, cold, snowing. I don't know why he lives there ya know, his folks live east of Boone 'bout four miles but he stayed over there at Apache John ya know. So we got gunnysacks, what they call it toe sack too, we put feed in there; sometime we take oats and sometime we mix it with corn. There's a schoolhouse over here, they call it Possum Trot, Possum Trot and I could've went to school there but instead that I went Boone. I tend school kinda poorly, on count of we stayed here little while and we stay there little while.

June 27, 2000

89) First time I start to go to school and I was about nine or ten years old or eleven, I don't exactly know but I think it was 1919 or 1921, that's when I start school. My first time seeing inside of the school ya know and my teacher, her name was Miss Hodaffil, and my first day ya know my father we walk over there. We were livin' on the hill south of Boone, 'cross the creek there's a little hill there, that's where my grandpa live, Old Man Archita, and we were campin' out up there and we camp on southeast side of that old house ya know. It was early mornin' and then they told me that they gonna' put me in school ya know and I didn't kinda want to ya know, but there's nobody to play with ya know, everybody was in school. Well my father said you could come out ya know class and they play ball and they got things to do, recess ya know, he didn't say recess but he say they turn out in the mornin' before noon. Well, I went ya know and they call it chalk class ya know, that's

the beginners, like today ya know home start, head start. It's a little different from home start or head start ya know, it's a little different and we use slate, you hear about that? Little, little square look like little plate and they give you chalk ya know and eraser. They told me scratch around and so that's, that's what we do ya know. That teacher comes around and they talk to us ya know; I wasn't only one but I was kinda the oldest one and I talk Apache ya know, very little English, and I was kinda afraid ya know on account of that. Well my dad, my dad said be careful, he said, when you talk don't act like you know full English ya know, talk Apache ya know and be careful. He said you could get help from your cousins, yeah I had some cousins there older than I was and they in higher grades. But I begin to learn a little bit ya know, enough to get by. Miss Hodaffil she was nice ya know. Well they treat me good, they treat me good and it seem like everybody knew that ya know. We live up there, my grandpa's, that's through the fall and the winter and the spring; we camp there 'til following June when the school was out and from there we come back to Fort Cobb and well anyway we go back and forth ya know. I begin to learn and I went there 'til the forth grade, yeah I was fourteen in fourth grade.

October 12, 2000

90) I went school Fort Sill and Riverside and I work in the kitchen. My job was take care of the fire for bakery, kitchen and the diner, three of us; on our time we got to go to wood pile, prepare to start fire in the morning, get kindlin' and I got two matches and the other two got two matches apiece, now two matches I got build that fire, that's or else ya know. On weekends Company A and B they go to timber, that's that Cache Creek over there Fort Sill, and they go and make wood. They make wood enough to last. I think it's about a mile long, that creek, that was enough and that's cut down trees and get some old woods ya know, dry wood, and it look like a city park ya know our creek there because we cleanin' that timber out to use up there. Somehow our dormitories is hook up with gas, I said why not kitchen, bakery and the diner. But when I left I stayed at Boone awhile

ya know and in 27, 26 I went school Riverside ya know, I liked it. That supervisor he's Arapaho, his name Mr. John Green, and he asked me what, what kind of work I could do ya know and I told him that I work ya know farm. He said you want work on the farm? "Hey" he said "it's good, that dairyman needs help, he said how many can you milk?" "Oh I don't know, I never did try" but I do milk cows over there, I got two grandpas and they got cows I milk, so they put me on dairy. I was dairy boy ya know and it was ten of us and we milk 'bout hundred Holstein; I guess maybe you know that kind, Holstein, they black and white ya know. I was dairy boy and we got room, we got special room, sleepin' room ya know because we get up 'bout four o'clock and we milk all them cows ya know. I got so where six to eight, sometime I milk that many; one of dairy boys sick we divide it up ya know. We got one, two that go to feed bin ya know, where they got mix like cotton seed and oat seed, it's mix ya know; and school kids they kinda getting' where they don't like that milk because they start usin' alfalfa ya know, I didn't know, and when milk is left on table, you not allowed to do that, and some got punish ya know. They say that milk taste funny because they didn't know we was feedin' them cattle alfalfa. Yeah I milk in the mornin' ya know, early mornin.'

91) When I was there I like that school and I showed 'em that ya know I could help anywhere and I was sixteen and they begin to know that I could do anything ya know. So 28 I believe or 29, I begin to work uh laundry and in the boy's buildin' you know issue out wardrobe; now these wardrobe all got numbers on them, ya know got numbers on insides, you can't see them. They bring me basketful of clothes and we get help from older boys ya know, we get help, help foldin' and put 'em in that we call it pigeon holes ya know, they got numbers, same numbers as the wardrobe. We make sure that if they need [something] they come in our office there and they ask ya know, so we got few pens like for what we need, bathroom or where or bedroom, we got pads like that ya know; soap, got one pad for those and another pad for our laundry stuff like that ya know and uh if they need shoes, we got pad for that too. We got examine that shoes, we got a

person could resole your shoes and we got machine there, big machine, could stitch those top, top of the shoes you know and same way with the sole, could sew them on there. They teach that class, they teach that, everything that was involve in that, in the school ya know they teach it. The girls they got roles, they not goin' be girls always ya know, they be womanhood and they teach in the kitchen and even in the girls buildin' they got program ya know for the girls like the boys ya know. Gosh I'm always busy and Sunday afternoon I get clippers, I got clippers ya know, I cut hair, I learn to cut hair...even I got in contest cuttin' hair.

MS: did you win?

AC: yeah [laughs] yeah I practice on them Riverside boys ya know, I said "what ya want?" Ya know flat pompadour ya know, got little hair up here, look like flat top ya know, so I take them clippers and some of the big boys ya know they, they don't want, they want this kind ya know. I think I cut, me, and three of us ever Sunday afternoon ya know. Them clippers it's, it's not 'lectric, I guess maybe you seen them yeah, I got that clippers and I got scissors ya know and comb and I got that cover, what ya cover ya know and it's not barber chair but it's big enough ya know, made out of wood, they set on it ya know. But we got boys to pick up ya know, everybody's got assignment ya know and we got farm boys take care of their work in the morning, go to school in the afternoon and me same way, but I do boy's building,' same time I go to dairy boy in the mornin' and even I try for carpenter, yeah I done some of that. Yeah I improve several home ya know. I use my money then I bring my bill to the Bureau, like somebody wants screens, door. One family they want picture window and that buildin's made with concrete block and they want picture window you know, big one, so I went over there and look at it ya know; gosh I don't know how I'm gonna do it, I got the job ya know, so I gotta help. We didn't know how, but we can on lumber, but this one is block, concrete, concrete blocks ya know. We done it, but we done a little patchin' on it. Another place I put a porch ya know and I done that ya know.

92) Well this Indian school was kinda little harsh ya know and regulation and I didn't 'gree with 'em but I was goin' school there; not one time, I went there three years, I didn't get punish ya know. I'm helpful, just like out here, I enjoy it, I try to put in extry, that's what makes me feel good.

MS: so what did ya learn in school?

AC: how to live with the people, students ya know, and you recognize their character. They got respect just like anybody else but they always say you find bad apple in the barrel ya know, we had 'em and they get punish. I sleep by one, he likes to run off, likes to run off so he's got a shackle to a sixteen pound like shot, shot football ya know, sixteen pound. Riverside is what ya make, yeah that I find. I was fourth grade over there [Fort Sill Indian School] and fourth grade over here and I was sixteen, fourth grade. I'm not the only one, there's some boys that older but they left. Well seem like the school didn't make any difference; what program they had ya know I enjoy it ya know. I get up early mornin', that don't bother me, go milk cows and we drill like army before we go breakfast. We drill, girls too, we drill like army ya know. We got three companies: A and B and C; C they're small, smaller people ya know and they drill just as good as bigger people. I feel sorry for these little, little ones here specially when it's cold, they have to take out their quilt out there clothesline, they want them little, little people do that themselves, I don't 'gree with that, I help 'em. Yeah that I pretty nearly got punished for it, but I went to the superintendent on that, I said I care for those little ones and besides they can't reach those lines. 'Bout six, seven of 'em, on weekends they have to change their beddin' and durin' the wintertime it's hard for somethin' to dry ya know. We had steam, steam heat, heat ya know you seen them heaters? And you could hear ya know hissin' and these kids not allowed put their quilts or blanket against it and that I disagree ya know. Down basement we got that furnace ya know, they took all the wood stuff out and that furnace it's warm in there and they can make a clothesline in there; I put some in there to dry some of these kids wet stuff and that bother me, that bothered me ya know.

November 28, 2000

93) We live like soldiers in the domatories [dormitories] and they give us fire drill or any kind of activity that's on the program and in the mornin' 'bout six they get us up and we got little tots ya know, little guys. I felt sorry for the little guys ya know, bed-wetters ya know, and I asked the matron you know could change, well they said turn it [mattress] over, well I said it's got odor ya know. I [almost] got in trouble for that ya know and the matrons says go on your way and that bother me ya know. Them little guys hang out their sheets; in winter time they go down the basement where the furnace is at, they got a little bitty scaffold where they put their sheets and noon-time they gotta check on it and after supper they gotta check on it ya know, see if it's dried enough to put it back on the mattress. I didn't agree with that ya know; first year I went and what bother me ya know is that well when I came back to school, same mattress. That bother me ya know, yeah.

94) We got details, the size you are, farm boy and you could be laundry boy and chapel and school ya know, brooms, you sweep, keep it clean, and even the boys buildin' and girls buildin' they got same kind of chores we have ya know. I work in the office and clothin department ya know, and the same time I'm a dairyman. It's about ten of us, we take care of over a hundred cows, Holsteins, I guess you know what kind they are? Yeah, they big ya know and well we got separator in our dairy barn and we keep that neat ya know, it's really neat, clean. We got one for skim milk and the other one for cream ya know, they come out same time ya know and skim milk and buttermilk ya know. Yeah boy it sure makes that sound ya know and it takes us little over a hour; I milk four or five, six, sometimes I milk eight cows, depends on ya know maybe somebody sick or [something is] wrong ya know, somebody got cold or somthin' like that. Our dairyman don't let 'em come to barn ya know. We had big dairy barn, big one, and we rotate like when we go into milk

cows and we got a grainery inside and our dairyman, just he prepare that ya know, sometime it's got cotton seed with oats and maybe sometime with chop alphalfa and that we don't like. The second year I was there we get a lot of complaints about that. Yeah we, we keep everything clean ya know and winter time, oh boy cold; we got separate place from students and our disciplinary he, he hit, hit the door like that [knocks on table] we jump up ya know, we don't hesitate, we all put on our clothes. I work carpenter too ya know and plumber, see that's what they teach us ya know and we learn a trade ya know. We drill like for army; we got three company, yeah we got three companies, 'bout forty students: A, B, and C ya know, C that's small, A's the big, all the sixth grade, that's the highest it was, sixth grade, and we had some old ones ya know. When we drill we got a corporal and we got a sergeant and we got lieutenant and captain's highest one, he's the one that watch. It's good ya know, some of these boys went to war they already know how to drill and some told me ya know it was good that they learn before he hit the army ya know. We had right close to three hundred students at Riverside and the girls they play basketball, that's the only one they play, no track and no other activity, but the boys got baseball, football, basketball and track.

MS: what kind of food would they have?

AC: well it's what vegetable is at that time like navy beans or pinto and cabbage ya know, some of those stuffs that we planted at springtime. Girls go out to garden, we got big garden right there at Riverside. We got feed like corn, capricorn and maize, corn, that's chicken feed ya know and little wheat, not that much, and got hay, prairie hay and then we got alfalfa that goes to horses.

June 26, 2001

95) The government school, boardin' school, they were kinda careful about their administration how teach Indin to be like white citizen, they were strivin' [for] that ya know. When I went school at Fort Sill Indin School I started September and I quit in December and I didn't like it ya know.

MS: do you remember what about it you didn't like?

AC: we were Indins ya know and they try hard ya know not touch anythin' like any of our culture or our Indian way and our language, songs. They try to teach us self-dependant ya know. We work, we go to school half-day and work half-day to support school; boys that go to school there at Fort Sill, big boys, they help with the farmin' and cattle and poultry and hogs but we get other supplies from I don't know where they come from, might come from the grocery store or through some commissary.

96) We didn't have Halloween like we wanted [at Fort Sill]; when I went school Riverside ya know, we make like mask ya know and paint our face ya know and somebody wanted dress like Indin ya know and one of the matrons says "go ahead" ya know so not just one, everbody! I don't know where they got turkey feathers ya know, we had chickens, lots of chickens, and so they stuck up them feathers behind their head ya know and they paint up like warriors. Few girls they dress like Indins ya know, put on paint then some got yarns, I don't know where they got those yarns, course we got commissary, we keep everthing ya know and they made like long hair ya know from the yarn.

MS: they weren't wearing buckskin costumes?

AC: no, we do what we could ya know, there's no kind of material but somehow we manage ya know. Some of those employees had lipsticks ya know and we use ink [laughs] when that ink kinda dry up it give you chaps ya know. Well we had lot of fun ya know and we wear blankets; it's little over a yard wide and some of 'em got US print on it. Yeah they let us have party ya know and followin' year was wide open, we got mask ya know and we got some material that they sell five and ten cent store, that's kind of stores we had. Some of 'em had mask and they bought false hair, yeah and it turned out good.

MS: so everybody made their own costume. What kind of costumes would they make?

AC: well we got stuff like the stuff they give us to wear ya know and sometime discarded ya know; we got place where before they haul it off ya know, even shoes ya know, we wear down to where it just bust open, it's only time we get new pair of shoes yeah and we got a commissary, great big one, and we got all our stuff in there. We got sheets and pillowcase ya know. Some of them big boys they ask the matrons see if they could get boy's advisory to go over there and open that commissary and get material that's can not be used any more ya know and they use mop sticks and then tie rags on them like feathers ya know and we found a way to dress ourselves to be funny ya know.

MS: so what was the party like?

AC: well we had chaperone, we don't mix with the girls but we have like a program ya know like we march around like one person don't get his seat ya know, I forget what they call them ya know. Yeah we had few but we don't mix with the girls ya know, boys one side and the girls one side ya know.

97) We get up in the mornin' clean up in our dormitory, fix our bed and sweep and all that and it takes a few minutes. We had one big bell between boys dormitory and diner, great big one, bell, and it's built got a hammer there ya know; we got one boy his name was Justin Gaoi, ya know he's the one keep time ya know, he goes out there and hit that bell ya know, that's to get up.

MS: what time would that be?

AC: oh bout seven and we got thirty minutes to clean up and whistle, like referee whistle ya know, they blow that then all run out; when it's cold it's in the play room, and we got about hundred and fifty kids, boys, and same way with girls, and we drill. We march if the weather's alright ya know, even it's cold or hot we get out there. When they blow whistle we all fall in line like the army and they give a command ya know and the one that's highest is a major ya know and next one is captain and lieutenant and we didn't have no sergeants. They train us to take care of our own

drillin' and we got A Company and B and C Company. A Company they got ya know let's see I think they call 'em Corporal, he's one carry the flag. When we come to town to like armistice ya know National Guard they drill through the street so we drill same time and we come in truck like flat truck and they march down ya know and we drill from nine til twelve, then we go back to school and we have army clothes on, uniform. Yeah it's wool, winter times alright but summer time's hot and our shoes got to be spit shined ya know. Then we got bull hides, wear that to our school and work and I like that part ya know.

98) We begin to have picnic, it's not holiday or anything, both the boys and the girls have picnic or social ya know, show what we learned there at school. We get together and we have social; if you got good grades they put you on list, say ten boys from A and ten boys from B and ten boys from C, same way with the girls, and that's only time I [laughs] see my sister ya know, she was in that C, she small ya know.

MS: so boys and girls could mix together?

AC: yeah uh-huh we play games, but we got chaperone in each corner.

99) All time I was there sometime the boys they raid on bakery. We got boys work in the bakery ya know and girls they work in the kitchen and we got waiters; we gotta do what we were told ya know, they pick us out ya know that's our assignment and they change it ya know. It changes, I think 'bout ever two months I believe they change. Yeah just like over there at the laundry; I work on that boiler ya know, that engine, big one, it's made like tractor engine only it's got pipes inside of that build that steam and hot water for our laundry ya know. Each girl's got long basket ya know and they assigned to that washer, it's big round one, it's agitator inside ya know and that's first one I ever did see ya know, all I see is washboard. I work on the north side, got big boiler there and I set inside when it's cold; I set there, I watch that glass and I watch them pipe lines and the belt, just like water pump on the car, I watch that ya know, and that fan on top it spins,

it just spins long as that engine's runnin' and I gotta watch that gas blow in there ya know. They want teach the Indians to be like whites, self-dependent, self-supportin' so me, I enjoyed it, I liked it and I had no problem.

MS: why did you like it?

AC: I done that at home, I work and they call me buttinski [laughs], I like to help ya know [laughs] "hey buttinski" they said [laughs] I heard that, well I try to be helpful ya know. Some boys they get punish ya know [laughs], it's bout three always be on punishment roll, they mop the hall or shine the hall or dust the windas, they got duster ya know made out of feathers and they got cloth and they wipe the windas and winda sill and when they get punish that's the way it was ya know.

July 31, 2001

100) Missionaries they brought in these holidays ya know and when I was goin' school Fort Sill and Riverside ya know somebody say today is Halloween ya know and we make our own ya know: old clothes ya know, sometime we get bigger trousers, shirt ya know and stuff 'em with whatever we can and mark our face ya know. At Riverside second year I was there ya know Miss Purdy she kinda mention that somebody could dress like Indin ya know, boy all at once we had whole bunch dress like Indin. We had blankets, army blankets, some just got stripes on it and some's got USA on it, some got US on it and they use yarn, we had plenty, plenty yarn in commissary [laughs] and we celebrate, we dress Indian but before that anything we say or do we gotta keep our culture out. We get punish, our Superintendent use belt or switch, some kind of sticks ya know and that's our punishment, it's harsh and you can not leave the campus, sometime they put you up in the buildin' you can not come out and play, they put you in play room and make you sit down, you stay sit and got demerits, you know what that is, demerits? I think one demerits, I think it's five minutes, two you got ten minutes, three you got fifteen minutes but you could wipe it out through moppin' or do some kind of assignment and if you get fifty you can not come to town, you can not come to town

and if you come close to Thanksgivin' you can not come to diner, got to stay up in buildin' but they take you somethin' to eat.

MS: what would you eat for Thanksgiving dinner at Riverside?

AC: regular turkey but that's all taken apart ya know and we got bakery takes care of all cakes, pies, cookies and that bakery shop they make buns, light bread, they got bunch of girls there work half-day ya know. And for Christmas we have plays ya know, when I first got there well they dress like angel ya know but made out of white sheets yeah and what you call those wise men ya know [laughs] they put uh powder on their head ya know and oh sometime they cover 'em with white sheet ya know, wise men ya know. Yeah we got program ya know and that's all at chapel. We enjoyed ya know, we don't have that kind at home.

MS: did you get to go home for the Christmas break?

AC: yeah, yeah I go home and some stay ya know 'cause family can't afford it or alcoholic ya know involve too, separation, divorce; now it's never change, it's still [that way].

[1] McAllister noted that new mothers were assisted by older women, known for their experiences and helpfulness (1935:90)

[2] He also described Apache names, "some old man who had a reputation for giving good names was called upon to name the child. The old man selected a name himself or gave a family name" (Ibid:91).

[3] Alfred is not alone in being confused about family genealogy; Bittle collected information from Rose indicating that Herbert died at age fourteen months although allotment records state he was two years old at his death on March 17, 1908. Bittle recorded that Lee was two and that twins Benedict and (?) died at age two weeks, sometime between 1918 and 1926. Chalepah Genealogy, Box 1, Folder 64, William Bittle Collection, University of Oklahoma Western History Library; Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files, Box 176, Folder 3109, NA-SWR.

[4] In November 1912, 42 Indians including some Wacos were brought to Waco, Texas from Anadarko by Clint Padgitt for a fair held at the Cotton Palace. Photographs taken by Gildersleave and published in Roger Conger's *A Pictorial History of Waco*, Texas Press (1964) feature many of the participants. Reports indicate they returned home in two rail cars. It seems likely that this is the same trip as Alfred describes.

[5] small braid on top left, typical hairstyle for Plains Apache men during the late-reservation and allotment periods.

[6] McAllister observed an Apache dance, probably in the Summer of 1933, attended by Kiowas. He noted the two tribes camped apart and rarely interacted (1935:11-12).

[7] For an early discussion of Southern Plains sign language use and gestures, see Mallery (1881/2001).

Chapter 7: When I Began to Realize I was Livin' Person

Grandpa talk ya know, he made will

April 18, 2000

101) Grandpa died ya know and the will was contested[1] ya know and finally a lawyer, he used to be councilor for the Bureau, he retire, so he come to my mother's says I take your case. Yeah he did and he won it. Bureau made lease because the lease was out, my grandpa died ya know and that's the Bureau's responsibility until the estate is settled, so we went in ya know to change that contract and John Unruh, he's a German ya know; he's tall, he's big bony guy, his family's that way ya know, you could tell in profile ya know and he's hard worker ya know. That community: Gents, Unruh, Bidenhill, Schmidt and Deitricks, oh several of them ya know, they community and they build a church, Mennonite.[2] Them people dress, you seen them how they dress, and they dressed like that. So when the bottom fell out ya know John says "I can't ya know, I lost my money and I can't get my money no way." We not the only ones, throughout the country was like that and the Bureau understood it ya know. So I start with share croppin.' "Fine" he says, "what I owe you this year" that's from January to October, he says "I pay you for at least the pasture and whatever has to be paid" and he said "I got my grain storage and I got insurance that ain't worth nothing." He said "I catch up, right now" he says "I owe you two hundred and I got some stuff out there. Maybe we could make a deal what I owe you, maybe we could talk about it." At that time nobody got car ya know, everybody got horses and cows and even my grandpa he got about fifty head of pigs, sows, hogs ya know and he gives share cropper like that and on my land they take care of his cattle and horses, feeds them and I sell my wheat ya know, but anyway I way ahead. Get back to my teen age and somehow ya know when somebody's doin' something ya know I help em, and I start during the Depression, I was about 19. I could see Nate Brown, he's my neighbor, and I went

'cross the creek where my father lived, went across, "hey" I said "got somethin, somethin I could do" ya know. "Yeah" he said "clean my chicken house out ya know, no money but I give you something, give you something to eat [to] your family." So he had equipment ya know, got a scoop and got brush, hog brush, broom and got wheelbarrow. So he's got about three chicken house, he said "you could help" said "you could help my wife look out there for eggs." So I help, I clean that chicken house out ya know, I cleaned it good and he said "you come back" and I went back, I went back. I cleaned his barn; whoo he had big loft, he's got board fence ya know, loft, one place where that water and he wants me throw dirt in there ya know. Them cattle ya know they keep, keep getting' ya know smells ya know and I clean up 'round barnyard and I fix his hog fence ya know, pasture fence ya know.

May 23, 2000

102) My grandpa died in '27. [I was] goin' school over here, Riverside; they took me out but before they brought me back to school. My father told me that the BIA and Apache Ben and two ladies, Helen Sunrise and Della Two Whiskey, them two interpret for my grandpa.[3] The army department send, I forget what rank he had, I didn't see him, but my father was tellin' me there were three from army, Fort Sill. They come over there with army car, my grandpa told 'em come over, and the BIA came [to] my father's new house ya know. So they filled that room, that sittin' room; they filled it up and my grandpa talk ya know, he made will: Today, what I got, I want pass this on to my grandson, Old Man Tipi Pole he said, that's my name ya know.[4] That medicine bundle was in my room and that I didn't take, my grandpa, my mother's uncle, he took it after my grandpa died; but anyway my grandpa was talkin' about what he had. His horses and his cattle was sold [by] the BIA, and the family didn't like it; we didn't have no say so, that's after my grandpa died. He will land to my mother and Henry Redbone Tseele, right joinin' where I live, at next quarter, and the third one over there Hatchetville, east of Hatchetville, that belong to uh my grandma *Sa Ze E.* Now

that land, I was just wonderin' how he got it, they didn't have no children but he got all that land and he gave eighty acres, its undivided, gave that to my brother ya know.

June 27, 2000

103) Durin' depression was tough, everything slowed up and I was about, I was about eighteen when depression hit and bottom fell out, everything, and at peoples home their shelf empty, nothin', and kitchen ya know they got a pantry, they call pantry where they keep the groceries, empty. Even shell was hard to buy, pretty every home had shotgun but no money, ya can't buy shells. We got bean shooters and bow and arrow and wintertime ya know, snow time, we kill lot of rabbits along the bank. Ya walk on frozen creek, ya walk on the ice ya know, walk on the bank ya see cottontails goin', ya got that bean shooter and sometime ya lucky ya get some ya know, but durin the spring and the summer it was tough. They got like early maturity stuff like plums, grapes and see lot of people along the creek and landholders they have hard time keeping peoples out, even pecan season in the fall.[5] Pecan was so cheap but ya don't have much to say about it because ya got to sell it in order to buy you somethin' to eat; pecan was cheap but people survive ya know, nobody starve. Durin' that depression some of the banks close because the mortgage and I come in to inherit [Apache John's] land and I wasn't old enough, I was twenty. I got to be twenty-one in order to sign any kind of document and I wasn't old enough to vote, I was twenty. When I got my land it was through probate ya know, when that probate was approved they pay the bills ya know, funeral bills and debt, and the balance that was my account and I had quite a bit. I don't know, I never did ask question why is it ya know, and the government says well he got money, security; federal government got your money, its protected. They was havin' dance, little ways from where I live, close to me, and my mother and that white German they come to over there, pow-wow ground, and my mother said "your estate is approved." This fella got that lease, he's a tall German, he said he lost his money in a bank two years and he said can't pay because he ain't got no money

and he said everything is still tied up and he can't do nothin.' He's got stock, it's mortgaged, but he can't sell it. Well I said "let's butcher some" and he said let's go office. My mother was with my grandparents, that's my mother's mothers brother, so we went. I rode with this guy had my lease, me and my wife ya know, we went and my mother rode with grandparents, and then we went in Superintendent's office, McCown.[6] Two of 'em takes care of account, that was C.W. Jewlett and the other one was [Parker] McKenzie ya know; McKenzie he's a Kiowa and Jewlett he's white and they talk ya know, they talk about my mothers supposed to sign debt ya know and I can't sign because I wasn't twenty-one. So my mother paid that, they already got it separate, and that money's in my account and they done that, all that was settled in the office and so my mother sign what my grandpa owed, the funeral.[7] They took him to Fort Sill Gate. Fort Sill took care of the casket and a plot over there and some doctor bills and grocery, that's all, and the rest of the money went in my account. So they had checks for me, fifty dollars, and he said that's gonna be your budget, fifty dollars a month, but anyway if ya want clothin', groceries, he said we can order on that and that is good as cash anywhere. You could use that grocery orders in Caddo, Kiowa, and Comanche County, all the merchants they know. So he said "here's fifty dollars here" and that was in my name, first check that had my name on it, and he said "whats ya need?" I said I'd like to have what ya said, grocery order, for my mother and my grandpa. Said OK, say how much? Fifty dollars apiece, OK. So that's, that's beginin' my ownin' land, that was back in '30.

November 14, 2000

104) Before he died I watch him, I wasn't only one present, there was my father and my mother and me and my sister, and the outsider was Craig Bitseedy, and Apache Ben, and they had a Sergeant from Fort Sill, and they had a driver with him ya know. I think grandma died about two or three years before grandpa died and well when he was makin' this will ya know; he talk and Apache Ben kinda took his position, that's his son-in-law, and same time he was Indian Police and

he knows what he does because that's father-in-law and son-in-law. I think it was McCallun [McCown] and Miss Brennan,[8] she represent the Bureau; Miss Brennan, she's a nurse and at same time she's the government official and McCallun [McCown] he's the superintendent. They all listen when my grandpa was talkin' and oh there was Henry Archilta and my aunt Lena and Jim White, Cadeso, that's my mother's mother's half-brother, and they were there ya know. We got a little room, was pack, and I forgot who interpret for him, that I forgot, it could be Della Toohisky, it could be her but I'm not gonna say that ya know. Grandpa had a interpreter and he was talkin' to superintendent and master sergeant from Fort Sill and tellin' him that this will is makin' there for them to stand by and they brought a flag, two flags. Grandpa was in northwest room and that flag runs plumb to the ceilin' and it's already touchin' the floor and 'bout foot away from baseboard and then cover that west window. That room was ten by twelve, almost reach northeast corner of that room, and that's what the army brought. It's never a regular flag, it's big one, and that was fold up and put it in my grandpa's lap, that was after the will ceremony ya know. They all spoke ya know and Craig Bitseedy and Apache Ben ya know they witness then and they say that they gonna stand by his will ya know. They talk to him ya know; grandpa was blind ya know, he's blind I think about six years, he was blind for about six years.

105) He wasn't sick, he just died. I don't know, might be loneliness or what ya know, and well they took his body. The Apache they fixed him up, buckskin, they dressed him up in buckskins.

Alonzo Chalepah: who dressed him?

AC: oh my mother and Lena.

Alonzo: and what kind of bonnet?

AC: the one you see straight up and got the horn on it. Now when they got him ready they took him to Apache Gate [Fort Sill], you know what that's at? That's where they took his body out of that hearse and they put him on a wagon; they had a pony tied to back to that wagon, white

horses. So me and my mother and my father, we were in a Oldsmobile I believe, or Buick, with the top down ya know, but in front of us was band, an army band then us. Yeah they didn't play 'til they got close to that cemetery ya know. They give my mother another flag ya know, that's forty-eight stars at that time, and that burned up, the flags, when my house burned back in eighties. So that's way they buried my grandpa, like they bury army ya know; they got in line and they shoot and they play tap. That same sergeant that came up at home he asked my mama, said "you got that ticket, ration ticket" and my mama said yeah. "Ok", he said, "you could get what you want at the commissary." It's by that railroad track ya know, got all kinds of groceries, it's commissary, and they got bakery there too. So maybe two weeks after we went down there see that sergeant and she asked him to show her and yeah they took us to that commissary. First thing I noticed was hardtacks, them crackers which they give us at Fort Sill Indian School and Riverside, that hardtack ya know you eat, you eat 'bout four or five you full. Yeah it's not thick, but its ingredient in there that you know fill you.

November 30, 2000

106) Well my grandpa died in March but he made his wills ya know. Yeah he was alright and he ask I think McAllen, Superintendent, yeah and lease clerk, I don't know I think Nichols, she works in lease department. He told them to come out where my father live ya know and he asked Fort Sill, so top sergeant came and field matron for KCA, yeah she came, and Apache Ben and Clayton Bitseedy and my grandpa Captain and Henry Redbone and, let's see who else, he had a house full yeah. My grandpa talk ya know and he got part of my grandma's property, *Sa ze e* ya know, and other part went to grandma's nieces and nephews, there's five of them. Well he said this is my share, eighty acres, my wife property, said I want will that to my grandson Raymond, he means Yellow Horse, *Kli chi zhowe* he said, Yellow Horse. It's eighty acres, grandma's property, and over there where I live he said I want will that home everything I got to my grandson, me, Old Man Tipi

Pole. That's what he call me ya know, *Si hash chi ah.* So when he died well it took while, it took long time for that probate to come up; I think it took about four years, took about four years. He had bunch of horses and a bunch of cattle, so that money went into account. My grandpa said that what I have that go to my grandson, that me, when that will is prove from there on they could collect from the land that I will, and 'bout three years later depression hit and dust storm.

We play ball

May 2, 2000

107) I didn't go church but I went over there to be part of the ya know teen-age and Mr. Crothers [Reverend W.W. Carithers] he's the one that start that, Mr. Crothers. Bunch of us teen-age, say from six years on to about thirteen, fourteen years old, we go down there play basketball and tennis, volleyball, and inside we got sandbags and monopolies and some kind of Japanese game ya know. When Adams came in, he was sportsman and he organize, there were four, five Comanches and about ten Apaches, then we had two from Fort Cobb and yeah he organize us. Then he got somebody in that community, they had three cars, and was about eighteen of us, young boys, and we play ball. We play ball with the Comanches, mostly we play ball with the Comanches. He take us around ya know and I don't know where he gets his money ya know, every time we go he's got basket, we carry lunch ya know if we go Walters. And over there at Faction we got caught in storm, that was either '29 or '30. But anyway at one time we went to Faction and we were playin' ball ya know, there's little bitty clouds ya know that started buidin.' We didn't pay much attention to it and there's a big house, bungalow house, porch facing east ya know and right by there's a car garage and chicken house behind it and a big stock barn, big barn, had corral around it and cellar that's on the north side of that bungalow. We were playin' ball ya know, all at once people start pointed up here, coming down like bowl ya know, yeah goin' this way ya

know. All look up and the umpire raise his hand up, said "let's, let's pause" and pretty soon it come down, dirt come up. Oh boy got big in a little while, 'bout block wide ya know, 'bout block around, little while, and its about mile from us, north kinda north and west. It start comin' towards us, could hear ooo boy just like freight train bouncing: whup whup whup whup. You could hear ya know and you couldn't go that way because it's comin' and they had few cars, mostly wagons, big wagons and buggies, buckboards and single buggy, which it means one horse drawn buggy ya know, and the people they all run to their wagon ya know. We run to our car ya know, we had three cars, we didn't know what to do. It's comin', boy makin' that noise, and was about five womans, they round up babies, nothing but babies, they took 'em in cellar, nothing but babies. That house is just packed and that barn was packed, chicken house; our ball club run in that garage, had Model T in there, new one. This one woman she run way out there, she run way out there ya know; she lulu, you heard, ever hear a woman lulu? Yeyeyeye, yeah she had a blanket ya know, one like that [shawl], talk Comanche. We were still out there lookin' at it, boy just bumpy ya know that cloud, mean, and it turned little bit. The Indian womans ya know, another one went out there, two of them, they raise their, they're twisting their shawls like that ya know, they talk Comanche. Pretty soon it move, it was about quarter mile east side of Boone, you could hear rocks, big rocks, picks it up ya know, could hear bounce. That air was dead ya know, the oxygen, and we had one boy ya know, he's healthy but he don't like stuffy places ya know yeah. "Hey" he said "I can't breathe". Quarter mile from us, boy ya could see it, then he hit, hit that town like this way, hit it sideways. Then he turn and the creek over there, that creek and road on west side of that creek, and that's bridge down there ya know, that bridge it span, well that was alright. When he went that way, when he hit that town, [claps 3 times] the house, house they pop. We were, we were 'bout mile and a half southwest part of that town, they went through that town; he hit that timber, when he got close to that bridge he knocked down, knocked down three cottonwoods, cottonwood trees, so we were

closed in. But I don't know neighbors or somebody, community, they went out there with their saw, yeah well some Indian mans they got in the axe ya know, and sun was goin' down and so we close the ball game ya know. We're all shaken ya know, ooo it makes you, makes you think ya know, makes you think and we talk about it for awhile, that was up here [points at head] ya know, what if ya know they turn ya know, what if...how many of us could've survived, that ground's like that ya know [scrapes table]. Yeah, that's closest I ever did [come] to one.

Whatever They Have, I Help With It

April 25, 2000

108) When I was young ya know, I was about twenty, I auctioneer, this was my first involved in public. I auctioneer a box supper and well, I do some things that ya know they want me to do, and we had the same thing over there, Boone. We had the same thing ya know and I auctioneer and some time I help with program. Whatever they have, I help with it. Guy Quoeton, he's a Methodist yeah and he come to homes, Apache homes, and finally he put us together, people around Boone, pretty near everybody got involved. We camped, we had a good-sized camp; my uncle had arbor and each family furnished canvas and they sewed together and they covered that arbor and they used that church.[9] We had gas light ya know, gas light, and we had this barrel, oil barrel ya know fifty-five gallon, we converted to heater. Every night we had something going ya know and we have church. About a month before Christmas we started ya know preparin' and we organized who, who's gonna do what ya know like get wood, and who's gonna go get cedar ya know, cedar tree, and who's gonna be Santa Claus and we're getting' everything together ya know. Somehow a missionary got involved ya know; we got some toys for little tots ya know and yeah we had enjoyment and start talking about see we could get a building, if we rake up enough ya know through the benefit, donation, and Methodists gonna match it, so they done more than match it.

They change our pastor ya know and they got Claude Jay ya know and those missionaries they came down and we went to Fort Cobb; northeast of Fort Cobb about a mile and a half they had building there, them Caddos, that's a big building used to be dormitory ya know. Yeah we bought that and we got some blocks ya know and then we got some rocks to put under that building, so later on we put foundation under it. They change our pastor again and this time we got Cecil Horse ya know, Kiowa.

June 27, 2000

109) I wasn't afraid of nothin' ya know and I try to be active ya know and I talk to strangers ya know, I wasn't shy. We have box supper and they have pies there ya know; in our box supper we have some type pie and cake ya know. So I started "OK, give me a bid on it" ya know and when they give me a bid on it I start off and they raise their hand up ya know, I was auctioneer. There was no problem ya know and that's something that's in you and you enjoy doin' it and that's where I began. So the fellow that does that ya know, he was kinda middle age, and he come there ya know one time. "Hey" he said "I heard ya nice one, go ahead." Ya know I'm kinda a person that don't say no ya know and I like doin' it. Sometime well we got whole bunch ya know, whole bunch and my mothers got one, my sister, both of my sisters ya know and in our family we got about five boxes ya know. I don't know how, we kinda poor in money, but somehow they get it together and they make sandwich, they put it in that box and sometime they cook chicken. If they don't buy well they can go out in the yard, chicken house, get one chicken and its like that ya know, and they make a cake or doughnut ya know and pop was nickel, that was no problem ya know and that's the way ya know it was. Sometime they got special ya know and that sell at last, that brings good money ya know. Sometime ladies they got extrey [extra] ya know, that's one I get ya know; yeah I don't charge ya know and I don't make money on it ya know. What they do is a benefit ya know, they strivin' for something they want to do ya know and they don't do it for personal use, what

money they make out of that box supper and later on things like cake walk ya know. They sing war dance songs ya know and we have good gatherin', we have good gatherin' and just like covered dish ya know, where everybody share in that box supper, its plenty, and sometime uh they make extrey [extra] covered dish, and what person don't buy well they go over there and donate and get somethin' to eat out of it. Most time they have benefit is when cotton, cotton pickin' season and they make money ya know and the pecan season ya know; they pick so much pecan, take it to town and sell it ya know. So maybe like Friday night or Sunday night, that's when benefit is good. Yeah, if somebodys gonna have birthday, like peyote meetin' or somethin' ya know, I got involved.

I was married over there at Saddle Mountain

August 17, 2000

110) I got married before I was twenty-one, I think right 'round October, I don't know I think it's 'bout first week and I turn twenty-one in November [1931]. We go places like church mostly around where my wife lived ya know, my first wife, 'round Saddle Mountain area ya know, lot of Indians live there, Kiowas. I got acquainted and I'm good company ya know and I make effort, I'm sociable. Well over there were four sisters, I married one of 'em and my cousin married, we got married same time. To begin with we didn't know these girls and here, Anadarko, was a County Fair; we was walkin' down the street on Broadway goin' back to the camp and her people were campin' too, they from Saddle Mountain. I didn't know these girls ya know and they were walkin' in front of us 'bout oh say 'bout fifty yards ya know and my cousin said "ask 'em for tobacco," they were smokin' ya know. So I caught up, we caught up with them and I talk to them ya know, and she was the oldest, and we talk ya know and the youngest one [laughs] says "you men, you ought to have tobacco" [laughs]. Yeah well that brought us together. Well after the fair we all left ya know and that was in early part of September, the county fair here. Then I got letter from her ya know, she

was tellin' me 'bought they gonna have dance over there, they call Zotom ya know about fourteen miles southwest of Carnegie. We didn't know the country at that time and well I asked, I asked my uncle that I could use car ya know, and he said get us some kerosene ya know, bring it, I said OK. So I got it ya know, I got kerosene and bring it and so they let me use the car. We went Fort Cobb and there's a person I knew over there, he's half Apache and half Kiowa; I stop over there and I ask him ya know where this dance was. Big camp of Otoes, they come from Red Rock, and they were all camp there ya know. We stop on the hill ya know and a bunch of camps there, them havin' dance way down the bottom and we turn, we turn the car around ya know. That was a Model A Ford, got rag top ya know, and well we park it on the hill; we put rock under that wheel so that way we don't have to crank it. We walk to that concession and I talk to one girl, went school together at Riverside; so while we were talking there my wife came there, pulled me away. Me and my cousin Oliver were together, [she] said "my daddy wants to see you", so we got up there and my cousin's name Oliver, they stayed outside, they stayed outside, they didn't say as much as hallo. I went in there, that tent, and they talk Kiowa ya know; he asked me, her father, he said "whose boy are you?" I said "Alonzo, Alonzo Chalepah", eeh said *cha tat ni ta se*, sit down right here and *ha topah bichi ni ni?* said you want coffee ya know. Him and my father was playmate over there 'round Elk Creek when they were small and he talk Apache to me ya know. He said where you live ya know, I said I live with my aunt, my uncle and they talk Kiowa again. That's the time they said, "go ahead ask him" ya know; that's what my father-in-law was tellin' my wife, said "go ahead ask him" and that they was arguin' over that [laughs]. My father-in-law was sayin' she wants to go home with you, he said all right. I look at her, I said "you let your daddy propose for you?" That's what I told her ya know and he said they got money ya know, both got money ya know. He said we supposed to cash it, said you take her home and said "what you say?" [laughs]. I ask her, I said "wanna go?" Yeah, alright, that's all, no proposal nothin' and that old man got her check out ya know and we went out.

They were talkin', Oliver and his wife, and she talk Kiowa to my wife ya know. He said yeah, said we're gonna get married ya know, right there they decide to get married too. Later one of my kinfolks, his name Ernest, Ernest White ya know, he took us to Anadarko and our parents went with us, we weren't old enough, you have to be twenty-one. Yeah I wasn't quite twenty-one but two weeks later I was twenty-one. So that's how I got my marriage ya know. We stayed there with my uncle, then they took us over there her home and so we live there. We walk up that mountain, 'bout three miles that Big Boone Mountain, and they find a spring ya know. We walk up there, we find some berries, I forget what they call them, big ones, they're blue, berries ya know and first time we put 'em in my hat and next time we went up there we took buckets.

111) I think TB broke out, that was early part of '31. TB broke out and had a lot of peyote meetins' around there. They had Indian doctors ya know but still people were dyin' so their mother died, but I wasn't there yet when the mother died, and three brothers and then we both took sick. Before we got sick we went to Craterville ya know, fair over there like this Indian Fair [American Indian Exposition], and we camp over there. My father-in-law he was a leader of that Kiowa camp over there. 1932, that's when that TB broke out but we move back to Boone and we were gettin' sick, so we went back to Saddle Mountain. We had two little ones, two girls, and both died [of] TB. Before they died ya know first time we went to Craterville; my little daughter was two years old and she won baby contest and I ran my last foot race. They had same thing like over here: horse race and rodeo and they had dance and while gettin' horses to run they dance ya know, maybe one song, maybe two song. They [had] round rag ball, they kick it ya know; they had contest with it and my wife and her three sisters, my wife and my cousin's wife and their younger sister and their cousin, four of them, they kick that ball, skip ya know move, they good. So next was baby contest ya know, so my wife enter my daughter, our daughter ya know, she won ya know. The schoolboys they come from all over Oklahoma and it was twenty-six of us: two Apaches, me

and Buster Otis, and 'bout five Kiowas and 'bout five Comanches, rest of 'em eastern tribe. I didn't know I was gonna run and we pick numbers, my number was nineteen ya know and Buster Otis his was twenty-two ya know. Boy, gun [claps] went like that; boy, I got on outside, way outside ya know, so I come third yeah. So we went back and our kids got sick, it didn't take long that TB ya know, it didn't take long. So after that last one died, after the last one died I decide to go hospital ya know.

March 15, 2001

112) My father-in-law, Mark Osaiya ya know, he lives right by Saddle Mountain Creek, he lives right by it. Everbody that been there knows that place ya know. Northeast of the house, down there it's a playground and it's clean place but got lot of trees there, shade trees ya know, big ones. They got basketball court down there and when basketball's not in season he has his peyote meetin' over there. It's, it's a nice place and it's flat, I say 'bout almost a acre and that creek comes this way and it kinda bow back that way and that water comes from the hills over there, mountain. I say it's been between two foot and three feet wide and I say it's 'bout foot and a half deep, clear, runs, it's swift. We dig earthworm, lot of it up there, big as my little finger and they ten to fifteen inches long, we dig over there but that creek it's not good to fish.

MS: was that his allotment?

AC: that's his first wife and, let's see, he's got Emma and Thomas, Henry, Sammy, Jeff, Mary, Hattie, Merle, Ethylene. Nine of 'em. I'm married to Mary; let's see, she's sixth one. I'm two months older than her and he come from Saitaide, that's his father. We had two kids, two girls; Mary Ella she was born January 16, 32 and 33 Rose Helene. Mary Ella she won baby contest at Craterville, yeah she won a baby contest.

113) I was married over there at Saddle Mountain I think round late, late twenties and from there on I say 'bout 1940 they have Holiness. I hitch up them white horses, we travel maybe couple

miles in buggy. Sometime they ask maybe [bring] utensil, bucket or whatever ya know; my wife's tie it with dishtowel ya know, clean one, and we go, we go wherever they have it ya know.

MS: is this like a camp meeting or a revival?

AC: just revival yeah and they have it 'round there. Colored people come from Hobart and I don't know if they brothers or what but anyway ya know they call each others brother, two mans and three womans. Ya know them peoples begin to know me ya know because my father-in-law was pretty well known.

114) At Craterville [Fair] Frank, he's the one own Craterville and he give buffalo to Comanches and he give buffalo to the Kiowa, then he give buffalo to Cheyenne and Arapaho. Frank Rush, that's his name, he gives buffalo to Comanche and Kiowa and Cheyenne-Arapaho, they butcher. They got carnival one side ya know and they got concession and they got skatin' rink and midway and grandstand. It's clean, big place, I think it's about five acres and that they camp under those trees. We camp this way, the Kiowas on south side of that road that runs to grandstand. Frank Rush he bring buffalo in ya know so they got their knife, equipment, everthin' ready; same way my father-in-law. Bunch of people there with my father-in-law, old guys even middle age and young guys, and he take it over there ya know. [claps] Go like that, he kill it; then they come around this way, Cheyenne-Arapaho. [claps] They got high powered rifle ya know, kill it, then they come to the Kiowas ya know [claps]. Kiowas all ready ya know, they got wagon there and I think they got about three or four; they process, cut it up ya know and womans they get the inside, that they just strip that too, and then my father-in-law he butchers ya know. I know how to butcher. I guess them Kiowas was makin' fun of me because I was holdin' back leg ya know, my father-in-law's was butcherin' and that's what my wife told me ya know. The Kiowas were makin' fun of me; my father-in-law give me that knife ya know "go ahead." Boy I went at it and I notice them Kiowas they quit talkin' ya know. Them Kiowa, Kiowa mens they quit. Yeah I butcher when I was pretty young, I help

my grandpa. I watch him, he explain it ya know. Well I know how to butcher, yeah I know how to butcher.

They tell you got TB

August 17, 2000

115) I begin to spit, had blood in it, and that spit was rotten ya know. Inside my lung was rotten, begin to get rotten. Then my wife, we went together, so we talk to Doctor Lineham [Langheim][10]. Doc says we don't have ya know, we don't have facilities, he said they got at Albuquerque or over here by Shawnee, they got sanatorium there, and they got one south of Clinton. He said "would you like go there?" "No I want here." "Well we don't have nothin' but we gonna, we'll try." So I move; big buildin', hospital, great big one and second floor that's for men folks and third floor for womens ya know. They put me on east porch, got lot of windows ya know, and they move me on the last bed north side. No piller [pillow], so I lay down flat; give me gown and somethin' to spit in, this look like little tray ya know, look like banana ya know. I lay there ya know, they took my x-ray, yeah said you got it and my wife got it too; well we stay there month and I was isolated by myself back there. Well they give me milk and cod liver oil and seasick pill, that's move the bowels, and I lay there. First month they brought in light, big one, two of 'em, change it everyday and cheesecloth, they cover me. They cover me and them lights under there, them lights under that ya know it's warm. I lay there, no visitor, no visitors. Doctor come in there 'bout twice a week but them nurses ya know they come and go, come and go and they check on me ya know, take my temperature and what they do ya know. I lay there ya know, and twice a week they sponge me off ya know. I had a belt tied, four of 'em, from the top of my knee here, tied down like they don't want me to move, more 'round. So I got tired ya know, I get tired, and they push me one side and massage me, nothing but powder ya know, they put powder on me and they change my sheet

once a week. I drink lot of milk and I lay there. My wife 'bout every two weeks she go, she go, boy she was tough; it took 'bout twenty-three months,[11] she had it ya know, last eight months she didn't come but they bring news to me ya know, say your wife gettin' bad off. I don't move 'bout twenty-three months and well doctor come to me ya know, he said we gonna set you up. They had them walnut chairs ya know and they put me on there, ooo that room goes this way ya know, I vomit and they lay me back down. That spit and that smell is gone, but they take the x-ray 'bout every two weeks. Well they try that 'bout three, four days, set me up, but the room twist ya know. Finally I set up, let my leg hang down; boy hurt, blood run down, it hurt. So boy three, four of 'em they rub my legs ya know and my, my skin's like that [knocks on table] under my feet ya know. They done that 'bout two weeks and they stand me up, oh my legs went this way. They walk me, they walk me 'bout four beds then I walk back. Pretty soon I begin, began to walk and I begin to walk up the hall and back yeah, but they hold me at the beginning. I weighed a hundred and eight pound [laughs], that's a lot of weight [laughs] and they begin to feed me. My in-laws they come there, they talk to the doctor but doctor told me that I'm all right, that's gone; doctor came in there and said we gonna dismiss you tomorrow, that's all he said ya know, gonna dismiss you. Sure enough my in-laws came and I went back with them Saddle Mountain; I went in the house ya know gah, yeah my wife don't look like herself yeah 'cause gone, everything. Yeah about two weeks later she died, so I went home from there. I begin to build myself ya know, I do a lot of walkin.' I went home to my parents and I stay about a month then I went back to my in-laws, I stay there.

October 5, 2000

116) I smoke lot ya know. I smoke Camel and Raleigh and I forgot the other one but anyway I smoke three brand. 'Bout the most I smoke Camel and I got so where I smoke almost two pack a day yeah.

MS: when did you start?

AC: when I was 'bout twenty twenty-four, twenty-five [1934/1935]

MS: how come?

AC: ooh I don't know, everybody smoke [laughs]. Yeah I didn't smoke, I don't know why ya know. There's things I didn't do when teenage ya know and [slower paced speech, lower tone, less volume] when my wife died, first wife died, I start drinkin' ya know.

May 3, 2001

117) Well back in the thirties there's a disease broke out in all our communities Indins, non-Indins. Where this disease come I don't think anybody knew where, but when it began just like Asiatic Flu ya know, First War; they brought flu back in twenties lot of our people died, not only the Indins. I remember that ya know and some of my tribal members, Apache Tribe, they died flu and well we didn't have facilities, we didn't have no medicine like other places ya know. Early thirties another kind of disease came ya know, tuberculosis. I think we have three places: Tucumse [Tecumseh, OK] had sanatorium there and they had 'nother one south of Clinton 'bout two, three miles, they had 'nother center, sanatorium, there for TB and they had 'nother one at Albuquerque, New Mexico. When I got it ya know I was married to a Kiowa and we both got it same time and our kids got it around 32. First one she died, TB, and well we thought it just ya know sickness, but we didn't know that that kind of disease is ya know contagious. Our second child died with same tuberculosis; now me and my wife we didn't know we had it. So we had social service from BIA and the county, Kiowa County, they visit and they take our spit ya know. Well they, they take our like blood pressure, they don't take our blood ya know. They listen at our lungs and they got little stick to hold your tongue down, look down your throat ya know, and look at you eyes ya know and they tell you got TB. They'll ask you what ya gonna do and well me, I told 'em that ya know I don't know, don't know nothin' about that disease. Well they told me that ya know it's gonna make you sick and it's gonna take your life and you do somethin' about it early, they says, you may get well but that

you got poor chance. That's the way they told me ya know. He said on one side my lung is 'bout half-way that disease, 'cause I was spittin' up and it began to smell ya know, my wife too. So I told this lady that come from Hobart, it's a white lady, yeah she's nice, and she's wearin' rubber glove ya know; she told us that not to use same cup [with] the people [that] don't have it. So they lineup over there ya know, these people don't have it, and it's best for y'all to try to have your own and don't go in the kitchen use the same dishpan. At that time no water works, no electric, it just wood pile out there. I still help ya know even though I had it. I begin to bring up lot of that spit ya know and it don't smell right ya know, smell like my lung is rotten, and I told my wife I said let's got Indin Hospital, Lawton. So we went and when Doctor Lyndham [Langheim] tell us that they don't have facilities, he said you could go over here. He talk like that disease was kinda early around there and that's what he was tellin' us ya know.

MS: did you know any other people that had it?

AC: at that time I didn't know. Yeah it was spreadin' out there, but I didn't know that, but I was told I had it. Well Tucumse, he said, they got sanatorium there; they could write a referral for me. I could stay over there or go Clinton, they got one there, or go Albuquerque, that's where my sister-in-law, two of the youngest, they went there after they caught it ya know. I told Doctor Lyndham I said I don't think I want to spread it to my in-laws, I said we got it and we lost two kids; well he said we don't have the facilities, but if you want to stay he said you welcome. He said we could put you out there porch, that's double decker you know bottom and upper, they got eight beds and eight beds up there. He said I don't know what we could do for you but see if I could get information for how to but you gotta stay. I told him yeah I'll stay. So they put me in the east, it's built like porch all windows, and they put me way on north side, and same way with my wife up there. So bed I got it's not soft, put sheet on it and no piller, didn't have no piller. I think it was March or April, let's see nineteen thirty-three I believe. Yeah I think it was thirty-three, early. They put me on that bed ya

know and they put belt on my knees ya know, they don't want me to move. I cough a lot; every time I cough here comes a nurse and they give me moon-shaped spit cup, I call it spit cup. I don't move my head ya know, they wipe it off and I laid there ya know. I was shy and I told them nurses but I got used to ya know, I use bedpan and all that ya know. They all cover their face and they got hood on ya know and they got rubber gloves and it's tied around the wrist. Their wardrobe reach down to their ankle ya know. They take my temperature 'bout four or five times a day ya know and got on liquid diet. Pretty soon they brought in two big lights, round one, it's just soft light, two of 'em and I laid there on my back. They give me cod liver oil and they shoot me with, I don't know, I see brown over my eye when they shoot me with that; they shoot that stuff once a week in my blood and I taste it in my tongue ya know. I laid there and my wife she comes down, she comes at the door said you go home, I said no, I don't want to go. I am she said, but I be back on weekends. She goes and she comes back and then go back upstairs ya know. Then Doctor Lyndham told her that ya know she was wasted time and not helpin' herself, said your husband over in there her might make it, he might not, but you ya not gonna make it and they told her that stuff is going over to the other lung. So I lay there second months, yeah I didn't mind it.

MS: do you know why she didn't want to stay?

AC: oh I don't know, I don't know, she's a home life type ya know. Well she's the oldest in the girls and when her mother died she was goin' school Fort Sill, her and her other sister. When their mother died they come home to take care of other two sister and the brother and that's how come ya know she, she didn't go back to school, take care of her father. She's tall ya know, nice looking. I met her over here at the county fair, we all camp, Kiowas and Apaches camp. But anyway second month, third months, forth months, pretty soon Thanksgivin' and pretty soon Christmas ya know; they come in there said Easter Sunday [laughs] and I was improving. It's not easy, that disease is

a killer and I got scar in there [lungs] right now. Yeah, evertime I take X-Ray everbody notice it ya know, it's on there.

MS: do you think you survived just because you were lucky or did you really want to?

AC: I fought it, I fought it. Yeah I fought it. I made up my mind I want live and I love my wife just like any other husband ya know. We lost two kids and she had it, she got so where she couldn't come, nobody comes, my mother came 'bout twice that's all, no one, no visitor. Yeah I could tell you about those lines on my ceiling ya know, I could close my eyes I could see direction ya know and lots of thoughts, no planning, just think about survivin' and I don't want die. This stuff that was comin' out began to slow up and pretty soon I smell my own breath, smell like milk, and I thought to myself I like baby, had baby breath ya know. So they come in, said tomorrow we want you to prepare, tomorrow we're gonna set you up. OK. So when they came they got pillers and they put it on that chair back here, ooo that ceilin' start spinnin' and I start vomit 'cause I lay too long. 'Bout two minutes they took that chair off and I lay back down; they come back in same way all day back and forth set me up, next day same way. Whole week they done that, set up and pretty soon alright and I set up eatin. So they come in one mornin' to move my leg off bed and my feet was brown, my skin was brown and I hung my legs down off the bed, ooo boy hurt was pretty big. 'Bout a week and I finally stayed there, so one mornin' they come in again, gonna make me walk. Oh I walk like baby began to just begin to walk ya know and finally I start walkin' myself, took a whole month. I stay about twenty-three months in hospital layin' on my back; they took a whole month to set me up and stand me up and walk, took a whole month. I was alright and I began to take care of myself. They come, in-laws came, said better come home, your wife's not gonna make it. So I went home, yeah she don't look like herself. I never seen her 'bout eight months, never seen her, she quit comin.' She was bedfast ya know, can't get out when I walk in ya know. Good to see you, too late, said too late for my wish, that's what she told me. I'm glad that you alright, yeah I'm alright. Yeah,

'bout week my wife die, made all that arrangement and I think they burn everthin' she had and after the funeral I went home. I stayed 'bout a week then I went back to hospital. I talk with Doctor Lyndham, I said I like to stay here 'nother week, see if give me once over maybe make sure that I'm ok. Yeah I stayed, I stayed about two weeks and Doctor Lyndham ya know said you alright, you could go. So I went back out there, in-laws ya know, I didn't feel good, don't feel good, nothin's good and lost my kids and lost my woman and I felt terrible. I bought me a car and pretty soon I bought me another one and I bought motorcycle. I begin to drink, I hit it pretty heavy.

We got married September the seventh

October 16, 2002

118) I start drinkin' ya know. My wife died in August and I started drinkin' in October, I drink and drink and drink and March I bought motorcycle. I trade my Chevrolet for Model D, Ford, and I had that Durant and I had that motorcyle, three of 'em. So I drink and I drink and drink. So one evenin' I went Longview, a guy named Bill Pullits is bootlegger, a Comanche man killed him with shotgun. I went over there ya know, he's got little bitty garage. They were shootin' dice there ya know, that's after dark, so I park by Bill Pullits' garage ya know. They shootin dice and I was drinkin' same time. Boy I was brave ya know; ever time I get a pot I stick it in my pocket ya know. Pretty soon it gets kinda bright red and it was rainin' and Bill Pullits said "Hey, hey Al" said "you better get out of here, you getting' drunk." He knew I had money in ever pocket ya know so I went out there; I start up and I made it to the Indian Hospital and I passed out. Next morning oh my hip pocket ya know full. I took 'em out and I put 'em on the front seat ya know, I didn't count 'em, had bunch of coins. I stop at Richard's Spur; Pete, he's a bootlegger too, his name Pete. I told him I want hot tonic ya know, he give it to me. I drank it and from there I went home. So we went town ya know; I bought some groceries and after I eat I went back town to drink some more. I find Isaac, Isaac Klinkoe, me and

him we come to town here, Anadarko, and then we park on the street. Yeah we park on the street, this three ladies was comin' down the street ya know. I know them ya know so they stop and we talk, we talk ya know and my second wife was with 'em ya know. So that State Bank here, Anadarko, used to be Pastime, beer joint; they all went in there and Evelyn, my wife, said she don't want to come in, said I can't go in. I said go back car ya know, she went back to car and we forgot about her. Then Isaac say "hey they're havin' dance over there Hineyville", he said "south of Hineyville about a mile they're havin' a white man dance." So we went over there, go over there; ooo the firecrackers ya know, forty-nine was goin' on, plenty everbody was drunk ya know, you could buy beer while you stand in one place ya know. Yeah it was wide open. I went back to the car and my wife was asleep, she wasn't even my girlfriend ya know, and I went back to crowd to look for Isaac and them two girls. They were gone, so I was stuck with her ya know. "Hey" I said "you want to go home?" She didn't say nothin' ya know and I said "you wanna go home? Well I guess I'll take you home" ya know, so I took her home. 'Bout three days later my mother said you gonna go to jail, said better take her home. Alright, so I took her ya know; took her to her grandpa's and her uncle said hey her mama wants to see you. So I went over there ya know, she look at me; we shook hands ya know, said "what's ya gonna do? Ya wanna keep her?" I said "you let me, you make paper?" "Yeah I make paper." "When?" "Anytime." That was September the seventh ya know, that's the day we got married. So I pick her up, come back pick mother-in-law up went to Hobart. We got married September the seventh and three weeks later she was fourteen.

MS: what year is this?

AC: 1935. I didn't stop drinkin.' I was still drinkin' but almost by myself but I work, I work. Finally we find a place to live ya know; my aunt said you grandma's house up here, Old Man Archilta's sister, my aunt said why don't you get that house, it's empty. Two-room, the government house. So we move over there ya know, me and her, and we got my father, my father stay with us for about a

year. From there we move back to my father's house and that's where Ella was born. When Junior was gonna be born we went to my mother-in-law's over there on south side of Longhorn, that's where Junior was born. Yeah from there we move back, same place, to my grandma's, I call her grandma. We live there about three years and from there we move to Hatchetville, Old Man Taho's house ya know. We live there about three years ya know and we had four then, then we move to Anadarko, here East Main. Yeah we live there 'bout two years and I took over the farm. That lease man I had, we had sharecrop, but he went bankrupt drinkin' so I fired him. So I took over the farm then we moved back out there back in Forty and by that time we had eight, eight of 'em.

September 27, 2001

119) I was on sick list [TB] ya know and I fought, I fought that off ya know. After I came out well I didn't behave myself like I should've ya know, but I got good help from my step-father and my mother and my father. He say now people depend on you ya know, what you do for them is really important. He said what you doin' is not important and well I made up my mind ya know, I thought to myself it's not that hard and I think I'd better leave it 'lone, which I did ya know. So my mother and my father they, they talk to me about ya know, what I been doin'; told me that it was dangerous for takin' my boy round ya know, that's Junior ya know, everwhere I went ya know. At that time my marriage ya know wasn't, wasn't that good ya know and I realize what's causin' it. So my mother said you gonna loose that little guy somewheres, might get hurt; I had car ya know, I drink but sometime I turn off, people were good way back there ya know, they leave you alone. When I wake up my boy'd be playin' in the back, doin' somethin' and sometime he's on the ground ya know. That's what my mother was talkin' about, so I decide ya know ok I try.

We, the Indian farmers

October 5, 2000

120) I start farmin' 48, 48 to 59, I quit; I couldn't get up there where combine to come in ya know. You know we were not discriminated but we, the Indian farmers, we couldn't get because we ain't got that much money to buy combine. Some farmers they get together ya know they co-op and I think that's the way, co-op; start their business like the Germans over there where I live, they work, they work together, nobody gets paid.

October 21, 2000

121) When our boys came back from the Second War they went to FHA, I think it's about three program, and our boys went over there. They said no, you go back to the Bureau, BIA. Well they fought the same war but, I don't know, our boys were denied by the county and the state. So we didn't have any money ya know, we didn't have any money; only thing we got trust funds, we got lots of money in that. Well we got together, me and Tennyson Berry ya know, he's old guy, and we set down; that time Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches still together and we talk about profession, not higher education, just labor. We done some research like application; well we sit down, then we form, we form Loan Board. Kiowas [and] Comanches already set up, and they keep on askin' us "hey get one, we need one from Apache Tribe." That's the way it always been, we always [get less representation] through the head count. Well me and Tennyson we talk ya know, we look at out tribe; I know who's got what and who's got higher education, and we didn't have nobody. We had one or two went college, but they were not ya know qualified. So one morning ya know we met, KCA: Kiowas, Comanche, Apaches, and Kiowas asked us, they said "we ready to apply ya know, already got proposal made, we want one from you all." Tennyson said "hey how about Jose Paukune?" Yeah he went to business college and he went to that college over here at Chickasha, then he went to business college two places in Oklahoma City. Got lots this kind [money], got land

at Cement. Paukune [Big Whip] was his father; he's captive, Mexican, and he married Jose's mother, she's Mexican. So "yeah" I said "all right I'm gonna go see him." So I went Chickasha ya know, I went over there I sit down with him and I had that proposal and that application. I call a meetin' over there, Fort Cobb side, 'bout three mile west Fort Cobb; there's a school house that we use for our meetins and I talk to these boys, three ya know, they made application. These three, one of 'em got his own property and the other one his father reserve 160 acres, and the other one's mother she reserve 160 and eighty acres, he wants to farm and be cattleman. So I had that application ya know, and I told that Jose to be here; so when he come in he was selected as secretary and treasurer, he was good. Well the money came we, we ask for three hundred thousand, we done that. So I brought this application there and I explain it, but anyway they sent through this our proposal and application; it covers you experience, what little profession you had before the war, you could be barber or you could be cleaner or you could be a bakery and farmer but no education, higher education. So we turn these application in and I approve it; me and Tennyson sign for these three, you know it's kind a channel, you follow routine on a paperwork and that's what we did, me and Tennyson. So the Loan Board went to allotment people ya know, we can't mortgage our land, we can't, but income off our land that's mortgage, that's what we use; they tabulate that in case it take that many years to pay out your loan. I was farmin' same time and I know how to work with the county on triple A [Agricultural Adjustment Act], soil people ya know. I'm allotted with those principle crop like wheat, cotton and mill, all that stuff ya know but my land just require two: wheat and I could plant alfalpha, it's good, it's good for that, but I had to plant ya know what it would require. The county and the state cut down on my wheat allotment. We had challenge and the boys was doin' good; insects come in and the third year drought come in, and forth year they got extension, fifth year they got expense and there had to be some adjustments on their loan. Our Indians tried to incorporate, to get combine and get bailer and get somethin' else,

but we were denied. Yeah we were denied and I was one of 'em. The system that our community live on, we rotate cuttin' our wheat; I begin at last and I work up followin' year and I work up another one, finally it's like that, we rotate that combine. We had three in our community, one of 'em drag type and drag type was four feet, and that other type that six foot cutter you know. I don't know how many peoples he had in line, that drag type was my neighbor but still I'm in line and that's what our handicap, not only me, all the boys that was farmin.' We got extension on our ya know loan and some adjustment where they think we can make it; we don't get that if they don't think we can make it ya know, that's a gamble on the farmin,' and it was bad year. Well finally our boys couldn't make it, we boys give up. Took about fifteen years, they all give up, and they were facin' same thing I face. Some, maybe few, they bought cattle because they got pasture; they reserve their property, the elders, and they made it and they paid off their loan. The best word to use is we exhausted, that means we don't see ahead on our loan, so those people they went to the Loan Board to collect on our leases and they begin ya know, they begin.

January 9, 2001

122) **MS**: so [is] the relationship between an Indian and a lease man different today than it used to be?

AC: well yeah I think at that time we got pride, I think both Indians and whites they got pride and dignity ya know; shake hand, that's just as good as a contract. I seen that, my grandpa was that way and ya know it's not hundred percent within the people, but some are ya know respect one another. Now when I begin to look back, my thoughts go back how the lands used to look. The farmers at that time they own the farm, the land that they bought or rent and there's no big money involved. Mostly it's pasture and they got little for growin' the feed like corn, Capricorn, cane. Alfalfa was rare because sometime the farmer they mow their pasture, have that ya know grass, they bail grass. They bail it, square bail; they got machine, that horse walk 'round, walk 'round that bailer

and you gotta rake out there, push rakes ya know. Two horses that push that grass and lift it up and they drop that grass right close; this guy he picks it up with a pitchfork and a little hopper there, he stuffs that grass in there. It takes about five person, sometimes six to bale ya know, someone stuff it and one tyin' it, one pullin', pullin' the bale out and one stackin' them.

MS: would neighbors all get together and do this together?

AC: yeah they all do it same time because you gotta keep movin' you know, you can't stop. We all we same wages, nobody special, we do it and any one of us we could stuff that hay or tie.

MS: what kind of wages were you gettin?

AC: we give twenty cents, hour, yeah we get about twenty cents. That was when I was about sixteen, seventeen years old [1926/1927]. That's what I look back at ya know and I begin realize ya know that there were almost all pasture and what was most needed ya know for the stock, but there were some garden ya know. There's some good garden, some cannin' stuff ya know like corn ya know, sweet corn and cabbage ya know. A lot of that stuff is growin' and they cannin.' They can that stuff ya know, jars, and they got dirt cellar, they makes dirt cellar and they put shelfs in there.

123) When I was about twelve I guess one Apache man ya know he brought bale cotton to Fort Cobb. I was over there with my grandpa; he was talkin' about need help, get word out I need people come over there pick cotton, not full boles just cotton. That time they don't want no boles ya know, just cotton, and I asked him. "Yeah come on." So I went home with him; I stayed there 'bout two weeks and give me some money for helpin' him pull the boles. That's when I began to look for work 'cause ya know springtime they would chop cotton ya know. I borrowed my grandpa's hoe ya know, I borrowed his hoe, and it was dull ya know and only file they got is in town ya know. Seem like they get out there 'bout daylight and they quit 'bout time it gets kinda warm. We take our own water, bucket of water ya know, and sometime you lucky you take your lunch but mostly we have

what they call salt meat ya know and biscuit, put mustard on there and boy that's what I take for my lunch ya know, it's good.

March 29, 2001

124) Pickin' cotton, yeah pickin' cotton was cheap. I think five pound one cent and that's you pick it without the hull, just that cotton that's all. That didn't last long, pretty soon ya pick the hulls too ya know and well everthing was by hand, no machine, just thresher and balers. One time it was 'bout five of us and they were kinda short hand on balin' so 'bout five of us and that this little boy he's our boss ya know, little guy and he watches ya know. He tells do this and he sit there on the bale of hay ya know. Mostly it was feed stuff way back there and very little cotton; most of it was feed stuff because pret near every farmer's got stock, more than twenty-five head of cattle. Some prefer mules, some prefer use mule, and they got walkin' plow and then they got we call it one-bottom, plow ya know, sometime use three horses. Yeah use three horses to plow. Ever year they plow, way back there boy they take out slabs ya know and that's how come they have good crop. We live around German people, around west of Boone, round Alden lots of Germans ya know and when that depression hit seems like they wasn't even hurt because most of the stuff they raise they can 'em. Even when they kill beef, they can 'em and they put 'em in dirt dugout, they put 'em in there.

August 14, 2001

125) I came in 46 I believe, 47. I had to go to triple A office and they cut me down because I'm not taxpayer. I had seventy acres agriculture and that was all in wheat durin' my sharecroppin' and then they cut me back to forty-seven acres of wheat, that's all they allot me and seven acres of cotton and little oats, I forgot how much. I had I think thirteen acres of shrub, I could put in alfalfa or clovers or anythin' that ya know upgrade the soil. We had live with the changes, there's lot of changes that existed from farm program.

126) That dust storm and depression up north corner of Oklahoma, that dust is about from one feet on up to about five feet deep, and some places you can't see fence post. That's how bad it was. At Boone we couldn't see 'bout three days, we couldn't see out the window, and inside the house I'd say about one-eighth inches, dust. My aunt's got tablecloth, got design on it; you can't see that design. We got well 'bout hundred yard from the house, we didn't have no well pump, we had to go well. I went after water ya know, I was figure I might get lost; I couldn't see, I couldn't even see two, three yards in front of me. I went down there, I come back to the house, part of that was mud so we drain it ya know, we drain it and I went back. This time I cover, I cover that bucket with a cloth and I pump it and I kept that cloth on it. My aunt torn up lot of sheets, then we dress like outlaws, put that cloth over our nose ya know. Yeah it was awful, it was bad ya know besides didn't have nothin' cabinet, we s'posed to have food in it, nothin' in it. We not the only one, I think people all over United State was like that. There were no money, I don't think I seen money; I was 20 years old, nobody knew what money looked like 'bout two years. Well they blame Hoover, they blame Hoover but I don't blame him because we overstocked and bottom fell out, couldn't sell nothin' they were overstocked. The banks they went bankrupt and my lease man come in he said "I can't pay you, I got no money in my bank, I lost it 'bout everthing. I lost all my money and we come over here get sharecroppin' so I give you beef." That's what he told me and he said "anytime you want eggs, I could give you some eggs." He was German, yeah he was a German. They went bankrupt so we come over here [to the BIA office], we change sharecroppin.' I had it for eighteen years until I took over back in 46 to 47, somewheres in there, and I farm for 'bout nine years but I had to work with triple A, the county. Bureau set it up, they set mine up, so they transfer me to the Bureau and I was allowed forty-seven acres wheat. The wheat was twenty-four cents a bushel and oats was fourteen cents a bushel, corn you can't give it away, and cotton, oh I went bankrupt on cotton. My soil can not make cotton, it's a hard soil, so I trade one guy from

somewheres up north; I had to come to county and I had seven acres and he had eleven acres of wheat and they want give me seven acres. "Oh no hey" I said "I'm not tradin.'" I got it [laughs] yeah.

August 23, 2001

127) Unruh was German ya know, and I seen 'em operate ya know; the community they kinda bind together and no money exchange. They work each other's farm, but anyway he was on that lease eighteen years sharecrop. Well 1947 I got it; I bought tractor and plow and disc and harrow and rest of it, I had eleven implements. I bought we call it buzzer, that's mounted on the tractor to cut wood, buzz saw ya know and some other, whole bunch of stuff ya know.

MS: one of the problems that Indians have had in farming their own land is that they couldn't afford to buy tractors and implements, how were you able to get your own?

AC: well I got money, I had money in office, that's when I save and I had enough money to buy. I bought my tractor and I get credit so I buy gas. Unruh, the guy that had my lease, we worked it this way: I told him I couldn't pay him but if you wanted I could supply what we need to operate this together and end of the crop season, I said we could pay my expense. I want my expense back, but we could divide what we made; for three years we done that, we made good money. Every chance I get I work it and I borrow big tractor from my stepfather, he had big tractor, I plow with it and I get Unruh to harrow. From his brother-in-law I borrow to plant my wheat. Our problem, I wasn't only one that try, binder was goin' out of style ya know and that machine come in; we had in our community we had three and that's about ten of us. We rotate, rotate it [laughs] 'bout time I got up front I quit farmin' [laughs].

MS: did you ever run stock?

AC: yeah we had 'bout 200, 300 chickens and three big chicken house and what I raise ya know maize and capricorn and corn, I take corn to town every grind and mix it with maize.

MS: how long did you have chickens?

AC: we move out there 48; 51 we went to Chickasha and we got 300 white leggin' and they were good but around chicken house and around the field it's like snow, feathers here and there [laughs]. Kids get tired of pickin' 'em up so we decide to sell 'em, get brown leggin' and that's what we got ya know.

[1] Contested by Tennyson Berry, Frank Methvin and Lucy Sah La Za, heirs under a will dated September 15, 1925 but rescinded on February 24, 1927. Kiowa Agency Land Use Files, Box 117, Folder 2098, NA-SWR.

[2] For a brief history of Mennonite farmers and missionaries in Oklahoma, including the Post Oak Mission among the Comanche see Kroeker (1989).

[3] James Towho is certified as interpreter during the execution of the will document.

[4] It seems likely that this event happened apart from the actual execution of the will document.

[5] According to the Agency record's Apache John asked his lease man to allow tribal members to collect pecans on his land as long as half were set-aside for him. Letter from the Superintendent to W. T. Truitt, September 25, 1926, Kiowa Agency Land Use Files, Box 117, Folder 2098, NA-SWR.

[6] At the time John A. Buntin was District Superintendent, succeeded by McCown.

[7] Apache John's final expenses included seventy-five dollars for a casket, twenty-five for embalming and twenty-five for hearse service to Fort Sill, paid out of his trust funds. Authorization for Expenses, December 5, 1927, Kiowa Agency Land Use Files, Box 117, Folder 2098, NA-SWR.

[8] Field Matron Allie H. Brennan witnessed the execution of Apache John's will

[9] Mulkehay Methodist Mission began under a grass arbor on Christmas Day, 1943. Julia Mulkehay and Freddie Archilta enclosed the arbor to create the first church building. Families...attended the meeting, camping around the arbor (Tonteigh 2001:58-59).

[10] Dr. H.W. Langheim was the Medical Officer in Charge of the Lawton PHS Indian Hospital from 1916 to 1937 (Hall 1985)

[11] Alfred's details concerning the length of his illness do not correspond to an earlier version given to Julia Jordan where he indicates he was hospitalized for just two months. Interview with Julia A. Jordan, 4-26-67, Doris Duke Oral History T 12, p. 28, University of Oklahoma Western History Library.

Chapter 8: That's the Way My Life is Ya Know

Wherever tipi goes up, I'm there

June 27, 2000

128) I was about twenty or twenty-one, I was already doin' auction and the three of us were elected to be head of Native American Church, so I was their Secretary. We call it Company and at that time we were ya know, not isolated, but we kind of people that we had old ways ya know and so we called ourselves Company. So I had pencil and pad and I give that to my cousin while I auctioneer, while I'm doin' something he write it down for me ya know.

June 29, 2000

129) I was elected secretary ya know, I start with that but 'round late, late 30's I was elected to local chapter, Apache Chapter, chairman and ya know. I was kinda glad and happy. Mack Haig he was chairman at the beginning of this charter, way back there in 1918, and I got acquainted with him through Apache Ben. I worked with him and I went to his meetings round Calumet and I met some of their leaders ya know. I begin to get acquainted with Cheyenne-Arapaho and the Kiowas and Comanches ya know, and I work from early 30's up to 'bout 'round 80, 85 almost in that same position. I make acquaintance with the Comanches and the Kiowas and the Cheyenne-Arapaho. I know quite a few of those people and even Poncos, Otoes, and Osage, Shawnees, Kickapoos and Winnebagos and Pottowatomans [Pottowatomi] ya know by going to their chapters' meeting. Most of the time they ask me to say ya know a few words; they give me that honor and encouragement ya know, the members ya know. I try to find language which means our culture ya know, our belief, and through that ya know I got elected to Vice-Chairman in Native American Church of Oklahoma. Yeah, I work in that position and that's the time I make my visit to these tribes; I get letter, they want me to participate and sometimes they ask me about our program ya

know. I try to run our program, which is fund drive ya know, and that's expense within our local chapter. We had a nice one ya know which I fund that myself and the tribe supported me like when we have a fund drive ya know; we have a box supper and have a little singing and no dance, just sing. Wherever the group gather for any activity we pass a hat around and that goes to our chapter and if we gonna have a meetin,' peyote meetin,' we solicit the members, we put items like who's gonna buy the meat, who's gonna furnish bread, fry-breads ya know, the meal menu. Somebody bring corn and cornmeal and whenever lunch we gonna have for dinner ya know, that's all draw out of box. What ya draw out, that's what you gonna bring to that dinner, dinner meal ya know. What money we make through soliciting members, we put that in the treasure, and that's our expense and donation to the state is ten dollars ya know. The state operates like secretary gotta have pencil and paper and envelope ya know and we in charge to write letters to all these tribes here in Oklahoma and that's expense money which we donate to central office at El Reno. Every two years we select a new representative ya know and I help mine about six years and my term expire ya know; I didn't go for it anymore, but still I visit, still I visit Cheyenne-Arapaho and the Kiowas. Kiowas got a lot of members ya know, they have meetings in homes, same way 'round Apache and Cerill, Fletchers, Cement, I mean Elgin, Geronimo and Walters up that way. I been down that way and around Meers, Mount Scott, Kiowas, Comanches and here at home ya know and west of Fort Cobb. Boy pert near every week I go peyote meetin' and I enjoyed it.

August 24, 2000

130) Back in thirty-seven, I read it, we run into that Navajo problem. They was havin' problem with Native American Church and one community it's kinda isolation the way, the way I understood it ya know and in that community it's somethin' like a little reservation, and if anybody's gonna go out has to have some kind of a release or you know like permit to go out. These Navajos they come to Calumet and they had a Native American Church meeting west of town; it's out in the

open and they had few benches out there and table and my step-father [Apache Ben Chaletsin] he was at the table with them, executive ya know. I interpret for him and these Navajos came down and they took care of their last minute report and what was on agenda so they made it short, they want listen at these parties that came from uh New Mexico. They give him that time and this fellow he was talkin' his language and he had interpreter; he said my leaders they don't want no other church be in our reservation and that's the reason why, he said, our small community is kinda against the law for me go Native American Church which I want be member. He said we got just one or two [peyote members] is a member of the Council and the hands tied, they can't change regulation so we here for help. So I tell my my step-father and my step-father shake his head ya know and well I don't know how we're gonna help him ya know. I interpret that too and he said you out there and us here. We got line between us, you got leaders over there, got that line there, said I don't see where ya know, you're under their regulation you're not under ours even though we got a charter here, Native American Church, you don't have that but this charter here it's good only in Oklahoma.

131) I went out there 1950, I went out there and I conduct a meetin' ya know; I was little bit ya know, little 'fraid, is still wasn't 'stablished fully. I learn things like that ya know and same way the business, tribal leaders ya know, and through them I get involved ya know. I don't know why ya know, I be just sittin' myself, enjoyin' myself [laughs] and they point at me [laughs] and I don't turn it down. I don't care, if it's good I'll help so when I went out there ya know I talk about religious you know. Each home should have one and me, my home's like that, I got boys and I got girls, I don't tell 'em you go to Catholic, you go to Baptist you know; its up to them to decide. I love all my grandkids ya know and I keep out of the way, whatever they want, whatever they do that's their business you know and if they enjoy it it's good, well OK. So that's the way my life is ya know and here, at home, I do the same thing; here at home ya know I conduct the meeting and I was

selected as the spokesman for Native American Church, when I get invited my subject is promote it to the best.

132) When was organized back in 1918 and the Apaches was involved ya know and after that they just point, point at somebody to appear to central headquarters at El Reno and they appoint 'em as a delegate ya know. We allot two to each chapter, each tribe has two; no matter how big is your tribe you allowed just two delegates. In '32, '31 my cousin, his name is Ward, Ward Archilta and my father were chosen to raise funds to buy poles or donate poles, tipi poles, and to buy canvas to make tipi. So that was put together you know and same time we were involved with depression and Oklahoma went dry, dust bowl. I was elected to take list ya know like secretary ya know, I make list of what is donate and what we done and what we gonna do. I had little bitty notebook ya know and I put 'em down. Membership come up like social security card ya know, got your name on it and tribe and we pretty well divided on that. I was one of them agin it because I thought I had reason [laughs] and sure enough that went on for I don't know several years. I think back in the 40's we had meetin' at El Reno city hall and somebody was concerned, told Oklahoma City Police Department bring those little bitty cards, membership cards. Well they were nice about it ya know, our leaders, and they didn't criticize or ya know no harsh word about it and they try to say that ya know they know, they should leave if they use that alcohol, they should leave it at home, them cards, so that was top subject on that day [laughs]. Some of those members they get throwed in [jail] and then they take them cards ya know, and I was afraid ya know because majority young ones, they member Native American Church, they use that alcohol, even the elders. Well finally we got through it ya know where we should have it [identification cards] and that what Texas want and that's when I change my mind, so Texas says that if you member, you must register the agency and tribal member, what tribe you're on.

133) I been in that tent long time, I hear, I eat it, I think up here try to find the way that's best for that road, peyote road, to go on ya know. Some of our songs is sold so and some they pass, peyote road, which they don't know how to pass it. So that was biggest part of things that I like to do with Native American Church. Me and my boy talk, me and Alonzo ya know, I tape a lot peyote songs, I tape lot of it and we, me and Alonzo said well we hate to see these tape get wrong hands even my grandsons ya know I'm afraid of them ya know, they like trade ya know. Yeah I hope one day that I could get together with my young boys that goes, I don't know how they sing them songs ya know, I hear some of it ya know, they don't sing it right. I don't pretend ya know, what I seen in here, and my grandparents they been in here and they talk to me ya know and they try to guide me ya know in there; I look at what they said way back there ya know is true ya know. Don't bother what other peoples got, its not yours, what you got its yours, that's kinda ways that they tell you ya know.

September 5, 2000

134) I went in peyote meetin' when I was about sixteen and I was told that my grandpa Apache John left me his property and even that peyote, peyote road. I begin to listen ya know about the old guys and they talk about this peyote. When I first went in ya know they all knew that Apache John left me that peyote, peyote road. After my grandpa died, I forget what year he died, but anyway I think he died in March and that summer I went peyote meetin' and 'course in our family we all members, all of us. They had that meeting over there at Apache Ben's place and my father, he went first ya know to that place where they're was havin' this meeting; somehow I walk about five miles I guess ya know and already they start that service. My uncle, Clarence Star, he was taking care of the fire and I was standin' outside by the woodpile ya know and he comes out and maybe pick up two, three sticks, take it back in, keep the fire going. I was out there ya know and he looked at me ya know, we call him *pa te* ya know, means uncle, and he calls me *pa te* ya know, all of us,

the family, we call him that ya know and he said "you comin' in?" I said "yeah" "OK" he said "let me fix it and I'm gonna tell 'em" so he fixed that fire where could see inside ya know. He told 'em that I was outside ya know. Yeah when I went in Joe Blackbear, he was helpin, helpin' them out with that drum ya know; he drums for the Old Man Chebato ya know. Clarence Star's my uncle, he's takin' care of the fire, and I come in ya know, I sit, I sit down, squat down ya know. Old Man said "set him down somewheres and it's good that you came." He knew that my grandpa left me his road so I sit down ya know, I listen all that night. That's my beginning and wherever tipi goes up, havin' peyote meetin', I'm there ya know.

136) But anyway in 1931 Ward Archilta and my father they kinda got in charge, they got members together and kinda form get together ya know. They got two peoples to take care of donation ya know and that time they have to borrow; some people don't have tipi ya know, don't have tent and so they thought might be good idea to get tipi and poles so that people if they gonna have peyote meetin' ya know, they could have ya know rights to use that, even some dishes what we use in the mornin' ya know, to eat in there ya know inside that tipi, it's custom. It didn't take that long even though money was hard. They got my father, Ward and his brother Bill, and me and I forgot who was that other one; we were told that they was sellin' canvas other there and it's kinda great big like tradin' post or warehouse, they got everything, even got post office inside. Even they got market, beef they sell ya know like if you want sell somethin' your chickens or eggs, kinda like poultry ya know, all in that same buildin' and they got clothin' and anything you want its in that buildin' yeah. They ask for canvas, how much ya know, I think the canvas was uh I think it's thirty-two inches wide ya know, I'm not sure, I think it was less than yard ya know. It's a pure canvas ya know, I think it was number eight I believe, its not too heavy or not too light and that was the best. They got almost hundred and twenty-five yards, but they didn't use all of it ya know. They got my mother and Old Lady Blackbear and somebody else, those three womans, and they cut 'em out ya

know, they got somebody's pattern what I mean somebody's tipi, they use that ya know, so they got it together ya know. Well we bought it, we bought that canvas and we brought it home 'cause we already made the schedule and ask those womans. We felt like ya know we should put it up and break it in ya know, so that was the idea ya know. So they put it together ya know and they got my father to run that meetin' and they got Ward to beat drum for my father ya know and they work good together 'cept my father was goin' blind ya know. Ward he's 'bout one of the best talk Apache, he talks good Apache, and he's 'bout year older than I am. Well we got it together, so we put it up and we had meetin', peyote meetin', that night and next day ya know everybody felt good about it. So anytime anybody wants have peyote meetin' you're free to use it, but bring it back where where you got it ya know. Yeah them poles too, ropes and those pots and pans and all that ya know, and they wrap it up in the canvas and it's kept anywhere just like last place where they had meetin' so they keep that poles there and utensil and that's the way we operated ya know. Finally thirty-seven they asked me if I could run meetin' on a Mother's Day and the fella that's gonna beat drum for me wants to have mama and the lady that's supposed to bring water in had mama ya know and the fella that's gonna take care of the fire gotta have mama; we done that on Mother's Day and that was thirty seven, that's first time ever I run a peyote meetin' ya know.

137) After that we organize it through going back to central office, headquarters, in El Reno and we took our donation ya know and I was appointed ya know just go ahead take ten bucks over there. We don't use that money, just for expense. Now if we gonna have peyote meetin' the way we do it ya know to fill like cover dish ya know we write, write down three items for instance like coffee, these three people could buy that coffee, next three people could buy flour and next three people could buy lard, just like that ya know. We write 'em down on a slip and then we put it in box, the members they pick 'em out, that's include meat, we call breakfast meat or dinner meat ya know, and when you put that together through this solicit ya know it gets plentiful. We got cooks

already, volunteers ya know, and at that time there were no gas stove, no electric stove, everybody had wood stove because the Rural never come in with electric yet. That was back then ya know but some mens they volunteer, they get together make wood cook or heat, heatin' wood. So it was pretty good ya know; within our organization it seems like it's got a lot of morale in it ya know and got a lot of effort. I was kinda proud when that start takin' place ya know, so they said why not pick leader like chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, and treasurer and delegate-at-large. So we organize; so they put me up there and they put my brother-in-law Frankie [Redbone], they got him vice-chairman ya know and got Bertie Mae's father [Ray Blackbear] for our secretary and treasurer and then we got a couple old mens like delegate. I don't know why they give them that position 'cause they don't go nowhere, but anyway we don't solist [solicit] we just volunteer ya know donation and that cash, what we get, we don't use it but if we're gonna have meetin' we use that list. The womans they got a lot of effort, they're willin' to ya know serve ya know and that was good. I got invited, Kiowa tribe ya know they ask me ya know what kind of things that we put together and they were kinda interested, so I visit them. Yeah I visit them and I explain it ya know what a organization means ya know, that's the main way you can put it together but the people have to ya know if they like it ya know they put lot of effort in it. I told 'em that's the kind of people you should select and don't pick him because he's got lots of money, don't pick him because ya know he dress good ya know, what he must know somethin' up here [points at head], how to conduct, do the service for his member. In 60 I got elected to state, I was elected vice-chairman and yeah I got invited through them, I made lot of effort. I take boys, 'bout four or five boys with me to go to where they invite me, like Cheyenne-Arapaho, Poncas, Pawnee and Shawnees and Miami. We go ya know maybe once a month ya know. We don't go every month ya know, just when they write to us. They write to me, they want me even after my term expire ya know, they still want me. In the morning, inside that tipi during the meeting ya know, they ask me ya know say word or somethin'

ya know and I enjoy that, yeah I enjoy that. The way I feel ya know when I do somethin', go and do somethin', I try to put myself in it ya know, enjoy, and through that I enjoy doin' it. That's somethin' that sometime you doin' somethin' you like it ya know, that's the way I feel towards whatever I'm doing and can't do it yourself, you got to have a companion ya know. She helps me, my wife, yeah she goes too. Sometime I take her ya know and I take four or five boys ya know, but at home when I have meetin' she brings water in the morning ya know and she talks like I do ya know. That's the kind of a morale to your home, it's something like program ya know, everyday it's routine ya know and that's kind of life that everybody lives ya know and what we do, we do best we can. That's what me and my wife believe in; to me that what makes a philosophy, that make you a man you know because I give her home, my home ya know, and grandpa say that be a man and your position is man of the house. Yeah, said don't sleep, said don't sleep 'til noon, I get a lot of that ya know and it's true ya know, if ya got little ones, if you have little ones you got to look at that, you are responsible man. So that's the kind of life I live ya know.

September 27, 2001

137) My stepfather he was Native American Church ya know; evertime he goes I drive for him. He come lookin' for me ya know drive for him, so we go Calumet and El Reno's the Central Office; they got meetin' place there, City Hall at El Reno. That's place they pick out when Native American Church was organized. We had charter ya know 'stablish back in 1918 with Mooney; over here they call Cat Spring ya know, it's over here west of Boone and that's where Mooney he went in that tipi, in that tent. They had peyote meetin' so there were several tribes there in that and Mooney was in there with 'em ya know.[1] He want see what the rumors about, Native American Church, so he didn't see anything that where it hurt anybody. Even this peyote was sent to laboratory ya know see what was in there; it's got it's own ya know feelin' and it's not like drug or marijuana ya know. This has got different, make you feel more faith in life and kinda on the religious side. All the

members here in Oklahoma they're good people, sociable, sociable and they help you anaway you want help, they nice. We got maybe over a thousand members here in Oklahoma and each tribe got two representative like Apaches we had two and the Kiowas had two and the Comanches had two, Cheyenne-Arapaho; it's on that charter and it's got it's own organization.

I thought a whole lot about our property

April 25, 2000

138) 1936 we went to the meeting in Lawton; there was Tennyson Berry and Joe Blackbear and his son Ray and my uncle Howard Soonte and my uncle Henry Archita ya know. They was havin' a hearing on that thirty-six million acres of land and we applied for thirty-six million dollars. So the Comanches givin' testimony, old ones and the Kiowas; so the second day the same bunch ya know, us, we wait over there and Guy Quoetone said "Hey, they're sayin' tomorrow you Apaches gonna testify," so Tennyson said "we try." Tennyson was the oldest, oldest one there and I was the youngest one; so we stay in that hall, we didn't go eat and we talk and we talk about the elders and well Tennyson said "I don't think we could make anybody move" and I said its just us here and what we gonna testify is ta verify the treaty. He said "that's, that's not much to it."

May 2, 2000

139) They got Tennyson, what went on back in 1900 up to 1907 and he says "I was young man and I went to school in 1907" and he said "Apache John was our chief and I interpret for him ya know and what I learned a little from when I came back from Carlisle." I think its 1909 or 1910 he went to school over there, Tennyson, Carlisle. Him and his wife when he came back they, they more like Christian ya know and well anyway Tennyson won't let go of culture, he won't let go. Well anyway, Tennyson says alright let's see what we could come up with, so after that he come over here, that [BIA] office there. Tennyson went over there, "hey" he said "we had election over there"

ya know, he said "we ain't got no business committee except us." He was talking to McCallen [McCown] who was our Superintendent and McCallen says "alright" cause he knows Tennyson. Well I served with him four years, two terms ya know, I served with him. I was young, yeah I was about twenty-six ya know. It didn't take me long to learn and yeah we worked on it since 36 and I forgot when we got payment ya know, I think its around 50, 50 or 60. Yeah we got payment.

140) I run for office 77 or 78. Yeah I done lots of work, just a Business Committee member. Me and Claude was a member and Huston was our Secretary/Treasurer and Truman Berry and Frankie Redbone; Truman was our Chairman, Frankie was Vice-Chairman, but they quit ya know. I think back in late fifty up to 66, 70, somewheres in there I'm just guessin' we didn't have no Business Committee, [BIA] office had to stand in for us. The Comanches and the Kiowas, they had their Business Committee, they had chairman, I think they got five and Comanches got five and Apaches of course had two, but we were without it. When I got in ya know, I was in for first year on Land Use Committee ya know and the second year was my turn, they rotate that Chair. Yeah the second year was my turn and I asked ya know Land Use Committee that I like to look at ya know our property: Apiatan, and Quanah and Isadore, Koon ka za chy, and Rainy Mountain and them cemetery. That's our property ya know, so I brought in Harold Sanders, got that Soil Conservation and yeah I asked him ya know "can we?" "Yeah sure." Yeah that's the first thing I asked for, look at our property. So me and Harold Sanders, he call down there to the people that got that lease ya know, he call them; so first one he was waitin' on us over there Apiatan ya know, that's a five acres there, used to be school and we walk around that school, got big gym, and he use that gym for to stock his feed, hay. That land is twenty-one acres that was sold public, auction it off, they gonna make town; they sold lot and survey went in for alley and street and it didn't take place. Some move, some died, those that bought lots, and that old man that had that lease from beginning he knew and he buy what he could. Finally that young man took that lease because the

old man was too old to work anymore, farmin.' So we looked at Quanah and Isadore ya know, then we come home and the following week we went west. Took us about a month to look at cemeteries. I write down what has to be done with our property and meantime I suggest that we negotiate with that farmer that got that our lease. I talk to Land Use Committee and I think we could find a way without spending any money to get those lots back, which we did. We work it through lease, give 'em a credit ya know; what we did is made our estimates on appraisal how much property could make on the acre ya know, wheat or any other like cotton and soybeans, all that ya know. So we talk to that young farmer ya know and finally we come up with a plan. So I come back ya know, I meet him I explain it and I work with the Soil and the Bureau and Land Use Committee, its got little advantage but its gonna worth somethin' to us to get that land back. So they all agree ya know. Next one Quanah, same way, and Isadore; that Isadore its got Army cemetery on it now. Just about the time I got through it, my term expired and the same time I retire.

141) Ya know I thought a whole lot about our property and I look at it just like where I live ya know. I learned a lot ya know. It seemed like my intention is what I got and how to look at it and how to take care of it, so when I got on that Land Use Committee I done all I can. I got boys that need job and got a lot there to cut those cactus, prickle pears ya know, haul em off and we contract bulldozer from Hobart to mow down those mesquite, mesquite tree. I had a hard time getting a bridge cause we got a gap almost one corner of our property, every time someone gets lease has to go way 'round get in that field. I asked for bridge and my term expire. I thought maybe somebody ya know could take it over, that way be at least farmer could have access to cross that bridge and could plow both sides ya know.

June 27, 2000

142) In '36 we had this claim for this thirty-six million acres of land which amount up over thirty-six million [dollars]. Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches they selected three lawyers and they was havin' a hearin' over there. They had Comanches elders, Kiowa elders, and we didn't have no representative. I don't know how many days we stand in the hall, five of us, five of us we stand in the hall. There was Joe Blackbear and Ray and Howard Soontay and then me and Tennyson Berry, five of us. We stand in the hall ya know and the Kiowas and the Comanche they were inside that hearing room, federal court. We peeked in and seen lawyers and I don't know how it begin but when my time came ya know I look ya know. I didn't know I was gonna get involved ya know. Guy Quoetone ya know he's got little education, he help survey, he help survey allotment; he help when they start givin' out allotment, he's one of the survey. He went with the company and like land was chosen and he writes it down, this number; he's got numbers on the allotment, like Apache allotments got numbers on there, and so he put that number down when he writes it down. He come out, come out in the hall, "Hey, hey you Apaches" he says "y'all gonna testify, ya got somebody?" He knew that we been havin' problem and that's how come we don't have any leader, but that's before my time. "Y'all gonna have to get somebody testify." Yeah Guy Quoetone said "it's gonna be your time, any time now." He said "y'all better select one of your elders" Well we have few but these people, the elders, never was involved in their community or their tribe, in the council, they just members of the tribe. So we, us there, knew that so Tennyson spoke up ya know, that language ya know he always use, "My goodness" he said "we should pay more attention to something like this" but he said "we ignore it." He said "we, we shouldn't be like that, look they're waitin' on us" and "look at this here, it's interesting, what's goin' on in there." He said "word is out among our people, word is out, everybody know that, that's gonna take place, it's goin' on now." Tennyson Berry he was about eighty, he was old, and kept on sayin' my goodness ya know. He

said "I'm gonna ask y'all, we could do it here, I select somebody here," he said "everybody knows out there we should have somebody ready for that." He was good in words, and he said "Let's do it right here." Them guys spoke up and said "I don't want it, I don't want it" and my uncle said "you two there." My uncle knew that you know I was kinda active and he said "you two there" and I told him I said "Hey, I don't know about." He said "what ya need to know?" Said "you could, you could work with him," meant Tennyson ya know. He said "you learn off of him and he be good to testify for us" So that's all ya know, we was appointed there and we went in there next day; we sit down and [laughs] they all look at me ya know, I was young, yeah. Well we listen at the Comanche elders, some old ones ya know, and they had interpreters yeah and the Kiowas too, but Tennyson he talk ya know, he talk about what he knew about agreement with the Bureau Indian Affairs ya know. Well I was put on the list there and I got up after the meeting and I kinda stand behind Tennyson ya know {laughs}. They look at me like ya know, well anyway yeah I got acquainted with him.

143) Around '70 or '71, somewheres in there, we got payment, we got it, we won that. So after payment we had doins over there; Congressman Mike Maroney [Monroney] come to Apache, that was our doins, KCA. I wasn't active at that time and my cousin came there early in the morning. They supposed to start that activity at nine, that morning he come "Hey they want you to do it." Oooh boy. "Gosh" I said and my wife look at me long time. Well ok, I jumped the car, I come over here pawn shop, Erma Tingley, she owns that pawn shop. "Hey Erma" I said "we supposed to have doins over there and people come to me ya know. I wasn't selected to be in that party but my people backed out. I don't know why" I said "but that's why I'm here, I'd like to rent a bonnet, rent it." I said "how much?" "Twenty Five bucks. Make sure ya know you bring it back." No deposit. I know her ya know, she know my family, my parents. I got that bonnet and I went home, I changed clothes, I got over there just about time they opened that ceremony {laughs}. Yeah so we got

together with Bertie Mae's daddy [Ray Blackbear] and then Houston [Klinekole] and his father, four of us. I said "they told me to pick name," ok call him Breastplate. We put my uncle, that's my mother's half-sister's husband, and we put words in his mouth. When he got up there boy big crowd ya know. I told him nobody understand Apache, no Apaches here, I said. Yeah, there were no Apaches. And so I said him just talk anyway, I straighten [translate] it [laughs]. So he talk ya know and he talk ya know, he talk about ya know weather and who he was and he lives so far out here; not prepared, I changed all that. I thank the lawyers and support my Senators and Congressman and we participate in today's party and today we gonna put bonnet on him. My uncle got bonnet, put it on Mike Maroney, bonnet yeah. And yeah that's the way it happened.

August 22, 2000

144) I serve on the Land Use Committee and when my time came to be Chairman of the Board I asked for some things that ya know. I would like to look at adjoinin' property and I asked soil conservation department if they could assist ya know, look at those locations and the contracts, what we have on those properties. So I got pretty good help from Harold Sanders, he was the chief of Soil Conservation Department here in Anadarko. Ya know I was happy to serve in that 'cause I had land. I work ya know a long time on the Business Committee and I try to represent my tribe and I didn't know that they could ya know help me with what I wanted to tour the adjoinin' lands ya know, our trust lands. So Harold said "our first trip might be south and followin' that we go west." He took out a map ya know, one time they call Kiowa Reservation includin' Big Pasture, and so we went west to Ahpeatone. Yeah they call it town site and I think the state took five acres to build school. They build a school there and they build a bungalow for that superintendent or principle. Later on they build auditorium ya know but before they done that well they sold lots and I think it was about twenty-one acres which was planned out ya know, the lots and the alley and the streets and merchants. So they auction it off ya know, the people bought lots, and somehow that town

never [laughs] I don't know what happened, they didn't build so it was just left that way, but the school was built there ya know. That community they make use out of that school and they build big auditorium, they build a gym there, and well it was like any other public school. Well we stop there, that young man had that lease and we met him there ya know. He told us about what was on his contract and show us reservoir ya know, this pond, and windmill and well there ya know and fence. So we put down what has to be improved in the next lease, and we talk about that twenty-one acres that they supposed to ya know build town there. We got through there then we went to Quanah and the same way like that but it just farm and pasture and we looked over it. We was kinda runnin' against time then we went to Isadore, we went to Isadore and we met this fellow that had that lease. On the east side of that was cemetery which way back there, I forget what year those army boys sure was buried there and I don't know why they were buried there. Well we come back this way and we made another appointment to go other places. Then we went north to see Koon ka za chy, that's my grandpa, that ground there ya know that was 320 acres and five acres is school. Well we went to Rainy Mountain, so we drove around this nineteen hundred and twenty acres and we look around.

145) At that time we had a program which we got some boys ya know cut those cactus, pickle pears [prickly pear] ya know, boy there's a lot of it. They stack it and when they stack it then they put it dry, so after it got dry they burn it ya know. We got a contractor from Hobart, we put it up for bid, so he brought his bulldozer down knock down those mesquite trees ya know. Yeah I went out there and I think they took my picture. Then we talk about the cemetery ya know, improvements, put a fence like a cyclone fence ya know so we put that up for bid ya know. Some family didn't want come in on it and we couldn't do it ya know. That's durin' the time when I serve one year on that land use committee and [laughs] when my term expire, I retire.

146) We tour, I ask for that too, we tour to look at our adjoinin' property and wherever it become noon we had bar-b-que from Lawton. Yeah we tell 'em where we gonna stop for lunch yeah. I think we average about fifty people every time we tour ya know and I don't know what happen after I retire, but still my concern ya know. Ya know even though you retire it's always somethin' on your mind ya know, what was important, what has to be looked at or have it you know, that's the way I felt.

October 12, 2000

147) I got elected [Chairman, Apache Tribe] in '76, two years, but my term expire. I missed it ya know, sometime I come here just look around and it's in me ya know you can't, you can't get it out. It's hard to get out of your system ya know, you get lonely with it ya know. I begin to feelin' that [laughs] I'm no more useable [laughs].

November 9, 2000

148) In thirties I kinda got interested ya know and claim come up, that was our last claim. KCA: Kiowas, Comanches and Apache they selected attorneys to have that hearin' in thirty-six. Kiowas and the Comanches they was havin' interview with the elders, the old guys, the old Kiowas and the old Comanches, what happen to Big Pasture and the land. Well we didn't have no business committee, I don't know what cause that, we don't select ya know like we should. Second day the Kiowas come out in the hall, "hey" he said "y'all gonna testify tomorrow." So we stood there ya know and Tennyson Berry he said "we better do somethin'" he said "we better do somethin.'" He said "somethin' goin' on in there, we got claim in there for thirty-six million acres and that they talkin' about it." Once in a while we look in ya know and we listen at testimony, the old Kiowas and old Comanches and they're tryin' find what cause this treaty, the promise, what they 'sposed to give us broke down. So next day same, we went over there again ya know, we stand there and they don't want it ya know, they point at Tennyson and we had our election [laughs]. We had our

election right there in the hall, so they got me in there with Tennyson so in afternoon they introduce Tennyson Berry and me ya know. So they got Tennyson Berry up there ya know and he was talkin' about what was on the record ya know. When that was over, first hearin' Tennyson called meeting so we all met there ya know, we all met there and I got elected with Tennyson Berry. I work with him and that's the time we were together, KCA ya know, and well we work with each others ya know, we figure we were one people ya know. Gosh it took almost thirty years, yeah took long time, took long time and finally we got it ya know. I got elected again with Tennyson Berry and I served two terms with him and it's kinda hard life ya know when you workin' for the people ya know. Some don't take no for answers [laughs] and then we don't have that kind of money and they get sore and we not the only one was that way, Kiowas and Comanches was that way.

November 14, 2000

149) Durin' our claim ya know we kinda stay close together: Kiowas and Comanches and Apaches. That's from 1936 to somewhere in sixty we got our payment; it look long time.

150) Apaches got together ya know, I don't know what I was doin' that time, and Bertie Mae's father came there in the morning. He says they sent me over here, they want you do it today. I said do what? He says put bonnet Mike Maroney ya know, he was our congressman, he help on this claim, last claim. Since I knew them ya know I didn't want to miss it because I got respect. So Ray told me ya know what was on, what on that day, what we gonna do to show our appreciation for the service they have with our claim. My wife settin' there [laughs] she look at me ya know long time ya know, well alright I said. OK I said, I want you to arrange my Uncle Stewart ya know up there and Houston you know, get them to come over there, so I'm gonna go Anadarko get bonnet. So I come to the pawnshop over here ya know, got a lot of bonnets ya know, all kinds of Indian stuff, and I talk with her ya know. I rent, twenty-five bucks; so I took it back ya know, I took it home. I went Apache, I got over there ooo big crowd, so Ray and Houston and Stewart was there ya

know. So we got the one side and we kinda tried put words in my uncle, he don't talk English very good. Me and Ray, we talked to him ya know what to say and I told him you could say anything, I pick words up [laughs]. So Kiowas they get up there; they talk about from the beginin' of claim back in thirty-six and they kinda summarize it ya know, took while ya know. So some of these people died out and we won that case, but still got some other things has to follow to get the payment. Comanches they doin' their thing ya know; over here we try to put words in my uncle's mouth ya know. Finally said OK Apaches, we got up there ya know and got this kind [microphone] to my uncle. He talk Apache ya know [laughs], he said "what y'all talk about, I lost it." I told him, I said ain't no Apaches here, go ahead talk about anythin' I said I fill it in [laughs], so yeah he start talkin' about ya know today and what he did last week and where he live and who he is. He makes it up ya know so I punch him like this, I said cut it, let me interpret what you said ya know. So I talk about beginin' of what we were involve, me and Tennyson, and so after we got through well I said now we gonna give Mike name. My tribe, I said, they use seashell; they tie them together to make breastplate, so today we like for Mike to be know as Breastplate ya know, *ba si de a* ya know. That's what I said, *ba si de.* Today I talk Apache this way and that's the way we feel and when we give names we hope that ya know these people would know Apache name, Breastplate ya know, *ba si de.* So after we got through well [laughs] they got in line, well they got somebody to pray ya know, somebody to pray ya know.

151) We Apaches got together and we start talkin' about what has to be done and set up roll, Apache roll. At that time we didn't have ya know, so we got selected, me and Tennyson, then they brought all that list of name, KCA, Kiowas, Comanches, Apache. They brought it down there post office basement, we use that for conference, and got table like this, long one, and I set over here and the Comanches set over there, then Kiowas set over there. We had two people, both of 'em's lease clerk, both of them, Mary Lasser the other one Nicholson I believe, Nicholson. They both

work on our land, but they help us in that roll. So when they brought those rolls, census rolls, first we start dividin' the names: Kiowas, Comanches, us Apaches. We get help from Mary, oh she's good, she's good, she knows who's who and Gillet he's accountant, he takes care of money and Parker MacKenzie, them two. It took while, yeah it took while. I got three dollars a day, that's big salary; we don't do it daily, we done it 'bout twice a week for quite a while. After we finished up and gosh I forgot who was superintendent, we didn't have no area director that time, but anyway he approve it. Then we sent that list to Washington until one day Robert Goombi come by my house ya know, he left word there with my wife, said told me to come in, he said we may have to make corrections. He said some peoples been taken off, he says not us, the Comanches. So we went basement and Miss Lasser and Nicholson come down there ya know and that they show us the list and we goin' over it ya know. They give us the list, see two family were taken off and I don't know how long it took us to 'stablish ya know that roll. So one day there's a fella come stormin' in and we didn't do it ya know, we didn't take 'em off and boy he come in and then got on to Miss Lasser. Miss Lasser said I'm just helpin' here, I'm here to help Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches and boy he got rough. That Nicholson he got up ya know, he standin' in front of Mary and he put his coat on, under that coat he had gun ya know; then he reach in his pocket, got US Marshall [laughs], he put his pin on there, he pin that badge on himself. So he after he done that that guy still goin' after them, he hit that table [taps lightly] he said "you don't get out of here we gonna carry you out." Yeah he was a Mexican. Now he said we didn't take ya off, we tryin' to straighten out somethin' here and we goin' get benefit out of it. So he went out, so right there we, we quit right there ya know for 'bout two weeks and then I got call, they said y'all come back in and finish up our roll. So we finish and that money wasn't ready yet ya know, wasn't 'propriated yet but we got names and that came 1978.

152) Me and Tennyson, we were in there from 36 until they paid us off and I think we put together, I forget what they call it, but anyway we got us elected to grievance gatherin' ya know. We been meetin' and he says later on we're gonna select five people, we're gonna have somethin' that we could call ya know our Business Committee. We put it together ya know just like a corporation and we told Bill Grissom, he was our Superintendent. My daughter Rachel she called me ya know, said "how y'all getting along with your referendum?" Well I said we're gonna mail it; I told Bill that we gonna take it and he call over there, Indian Department, he call over there so we start Friday mornin' 'bout four o'clock in the morning. I went over there picked up Claude [Jay] and I picked up Houston [Klineko]. Monday was Labor Day ya know and I said" where y'all want go? Y'all want go to the zoo or Smithsonian?" They said "let's go Smithsonian." I told 'em that got my mother and some our kinfolks bust and I said let's go ask, so we all went ya know. Caretaker, they call him, so he took us down basement and ever things storage in the basement and on the shelf they had I think six Apaches, three womans and three mans. Well Tuesday mornin' we headed for Indian Department ya know and Bill Grissom our Superintendent call over there, yeah call over there and they were expecting [us] [laughs]. We walk down the hall ya know, what I seen in there it's gone, them AIMs they destroyed a lot,[2] a lot, even paintin.' These five Kiowas over here ya know they paint over there in those buildins, all that was destroy, a lot of antique ya know. Yeah we went in there ya know, went in there and that back room is the boss, the Commissioner; we went in there ya know, we set down, we shook hand with him and warm up stuff ya know, we talk about Oklahoma ya know. Finally Houston he present that referendum ya know, so we got to first article which is name ya know, Apache Tribe of Oklahoma, and telegram came [laughs]. When that telegram came he just he read it ya know, throw it over there, he said Philmon Berry said not to recognize you people, but I recognize y'all. Little bit after that telephone ring ya know and he was on the phone with the Commissioner and they talk ya know. He told Philmon that we here and we

writin' this up, he said we hope you cooperate, so he hung up. So we start on the by-laws ya know, on that constitutions ya know, first paragraph article one, two like that ya know and that telephone rang again [laughs], Philemon. He said Mr. Berry, he said you got to excuse us, yeah we're busy in here writin' out this articles of incorporation. He hung up and it rang again, he took a deep breath ya know like that and said leave us ya know, don't disturb us. He hung up, then he dial our Superintendent; he said "what the hell is goin' on down there?" He said they tell me that they already got constitution and that's not constitution but they got somethin' written, they're organized and that they were elected and he said we workin' here, tryin' to get this together so the Apaches could have election on it [laughs]. Bill Grissom he says I don't know, Apaches never give me nothin.' So he told that secretary "no more calls." We worked till noon and they took us to eat and they brought us back and when they brought us back ya know we finish it. So he said I'll let the Superintendent know, I will notify him to set up election for the Apaches for this year. He said I told Mr. Berry that if he don't want this one here I like to see his, that's what he told our Superintendent, so that's what happened. He give us a copy of that original one, he said I sent this to our superintendent and I'm gonna ask him to call me and see what day we could, maybe October or November, to vote on this, whenever is convenience to the tribe. So after we got back ya know, few days, then we went to see our Superintendent ya know so we let Bureau start our election. So Claude and Houston select me to run for chairman ya know and I run against [Frankie Redbone]; he beat me three vote.[3]

153) Same time Bureau was workin' on puttin' Kiowas on one list and the Comanches same way and Apaches [separate enrollments]. We found out seventy-four young ones was adopted out and you know at that time was a law that [adoption] could destroy your identity, so these unwed mothers lost their young ones, seventy four of 'em. We talk about that ya know and we decide to set that 'mount of money aside so the Bureau gave us five years and I disagree with it ya

know, that's our money. That's those people's money and it come along ways, but the Bureau says no, five years.

MS: five years to find those children?

AC: within five years if one come back could prove [identity] ya know. Yeah I disagree with that ya know and yeah we talk about it ya know, I'm interested in the future of young people. We got invitation [to conference on adoption issues] so I went, I told Tennyson Berry I'm goin' so I went. I went in ya know and nothing but social service people: Texas, Louisiana, New Mexico and Arkansas and Oklahoma. I sign in and I look around ya know, big hall, I seen some peoples standin' there in corner over there. I went over there ya know, I introduce myself. Where you sign in on over there if you want say somethin' you go over there, you sign name and they give you card; these people over here they told me you the oldest. Well I said uh how 'bout us help each other, no he said you get five minutes, we prefer you. I went over there ya know, I sign, they give me card, my number was sixteen. We all went in, I thought they was gonna sit with me, they sit way back there ya know. They give you five minutes, they call numbers ya know and I was third one call; I got up ya know and I introduce myself ya know, Apache Tribe Chairman ya know. I said I don't think I can explain we deeply involved now and you give me five minutes, I don't think I can tell you anything. I said you go back to Washington DC, you find all the records up there, why you want to come down here, give me five minutes, can't tell you nothin.' I have some people been 'dopted out, no trace. I'm concerned because not only chairman, I'm on membership roll and I'm concerned 'bout the lady that was social worker for the Bureau, BIA, took the kids away from unwed mothers. I don't like that, that's my blood; you people up there don't feel like me, I'm Indian, I don't like to see my kinfolks bein' takin' away. I don't think it's good because you got badge on there and you got pistol right here and I don't like it, you kick in my doors and you drag out my young ones. That's not right. Some of our young mans died for this country, I said why is it you think it's good? I talk on

that line, [laughs] my five minutes was gone about four times [laughs]. While I'm talkin' [other attendees] said my number's this I want that gentleman take my number, I got five more minutes ya know. Yeah it takes effort, it takes effort ya know be honest about it ya know. That's kind of position I was in ya know, still at that time it was kinda harsh to our Indian people, social service ya know, even now if they get by with it they gonna get by with it. I think it's best the kids should be transferred to next of kin or relative, otherwise you hurtin', you hurtin' our people ya know. I pray before ya know I go and this one that I really want it. Yeah I got up there ya know [laughs] I start movin' away from my seat ya know, I said how ya gonna look at it you kids or your grandkids bein' pulled way from you? I said you don't hear that kind of noise, we did, kids cryin' bein' taken. Yeah that's what I told 'em, I don't think any human could think that way to break in your house and take your young ones. I want you guys to know that ya know we Indians got feelin.' Yeah I like that challenge ya know, I like that challenge ya know.

August 7, 2001

154) I just wonder why we can't see eye to eye ya know, we divided and there's no need for that. We small tribe, most of us we related and this is not our people wants. My grandparents, they wasn't like that, they were lookin' at Apache John and they're lookin' Apache Ben. After that the government change our program, this they want us to select, at that time two representative without a title, just representative. But Comanches and the Kiowas they got five apiece and the BIA let us to select our chair, vice-chair and secretary, that's all. We just can't muster up enough vote to make our way up to the chair [of KCA Business Committee], never. We always stay below what ever.

August 23, 2001

155) Ever since 36, 1936 I watched the elders when they meet and my step-father and my grandpas, our leaders ya know. I don't try to be like one of 'em, I want be myself and I try to find

the best, best I can. I volunteer lots of times on my own expense specially when I began we don't meet that much. I work with Tennyson Berry, I was young; at that time Kiowas and Comanche, Apache were together and I work with them. We work on census roll like make payment, per cap payment; we had nine since 78, we had nine per cap payment, not countin' newly money, which is pasture money ya know. Well I participate with elders, people that were elected were older than I was they, they were old enough to be my grandpas [laughs] but I enjoy workin' with them.

MS: who were the leaders then?

AC: first time I got in with Jasper Saunkeah, he's a Kiowa, and Apaches was Tennyson Berry and Comanches Albert Attocknie and Wilber Pewo. There's another old Comanche man, I forgot his name, and there were top leaders; course there were five Comanches and five Kiowas and two Apaches and we never was top man, like chairman. The Bureau let us select our own chair; we were kinda poor on votin', we never did get up there as a chairman of KCA until Land Use Committee come in and I made my suggestion ya know that we should rotate chair. I got it, the third term I got up there, chairman, and that's two years before I retire. So when I got on as a chairman first thing I wanna do is I want talk to Soil Conservation people which they uh kinda watchin' our trust property, our allotments and our lands and adjoined lands together ya know. First thing I did was look at lands which we share together.

MS: how much land was it back then?

AC: well Ahpeatone, town site, they was gonna build town but it didn't make it, I don't know why. The Bureau went out there and through advertise they sold lot and the street already was marked out and the alley that was all marked out and five acres went to the school. That became real, they build a school there, I don't think it was any Indins out there, but anaway they build a school there but somehow we got that land back except those lots, twenty-one acres of lot. So that I looked into first and since I owned the land I make leases and I had sharecroppin' and I learned the business

through bank how to build, get loan and credit, I learned all that ya know at Apache and Fort Cobb. So first thing I got with soil boys and I ask the Business Committee if I could get Harold Sanders, he's head of that Soil Conservation, that I could go see these places: Ahpeatone and Quanah and Isadore, Koon ka za chy and Rainey Mountain and some of these cemeteries. Land Use Committee said OK so I got with soil boys and what I would like to do is first look into contract and see where it's at ya know, what's in it. Yeah I was provided with that, I look them over and I said I would like to contact these fellas that got these leases and see the shape. We notify the fella that had that lease so we got over there and yeah he met us ya know, so we went, we look at what he had, he showed us things that he improve. I come back to Land Use Committee, I explain [repairs and costs] so I went to the next one, Quanah ya know, same way, then I went to the Isadore and same way. Our final week we went to Koon ka za chy, we talk with that farmer there ya know, then we come back to Rainey Mountain, there's sixteen hundred and twenty acres ya know but it's partitioned off, fence and agricultural land and we had CETA program ya know. We had mesquite trees there and then we had pickle pairs [prickly pair], cactus; that CETA program I though maybe we could use it, we did and we contract, and we had some school kids come out there shovel and they dig they cut those cactus and they pile 'em and when they got dry they burn 'em and we fix fence and ponds. So I got that through CETA program ya know, I was proud of what I did.

We play ball at home ya know

June 29, 2000

156) I done some things in my younger days ya know like I auctioneer and I play ball ya know. I think round 41 that's about the time I got Indian team, ball team; course there were lot of ball clubs, Indians, baseball. They had one at Walters and then they had one over there at Porty Hill west and

Kiowa had team there too over there at Mount Scott. Saddle Mountain had team and Rainey Mountain had team, Kiowas teams, and Hobart had team, Indian team, and Carnegie had two Indian teams. Anadarko had one and the Apaches we had one, that's lot of ball clubs. Durin' my involvement there were about fifteen years I guess I was manager of club back in late, late '30s up to '50s. Somewheres in '50s well it dissolved, them ball club, like Walters and Porty Hill, Mount Scott ya know, Rainey Mountain, Hobart, they begin to diminish. Carnegie had two ya know and our team we begin to taper off too. The white boys at Carnegie they want me to be their manager, white boys, they got Alden, Carnegie and Alfalfa, Hinkly and Fort Cobb. Boys, white boys that graduated from high school ya know, and we had about fifteen I believe, about seventeen white boys. I manage two years and that was back in '50s; round '30s, '40s and '50s I was in baseball.

December 7, 2000

157) We get team from Hobert, Kiowa team, Elk Creek and sometime we get a team from Saddle Mountain and then we get one team from Carnegie. We play the Comanches too; Comanches they got a team at Walters and Faction and west of Porty Hill. I was manager [laughs], well I play sometime yeah I play left field. Sometime I play first base at school, Riverside, I play first base. Forties we had benefit and we bought ball suit [uniforms], fourteen of 'em. Some of our folks had they made some big oil leases so it sure helped ya know.

158) One evenin' Guy Quoetone come over there after the ball game ya know and we talk me and my brother-in-law Tubby Kadeso, me and him ya know run that ball club and we talk ya know. Guy want us to come to church, well I said I'll ask them, I'll ask 'em, I ask the club. I said I'm not boss of them [laughs softly], so one night durin' our benefit ya know I talk ya know about our community ya know, all of us, and that's nobody new that come into our community, our grandparents and our parents, us and our kids ya know. So boys says OK, Sunday came [laughs] we fill that church. So he pick some people that bring covered dish and yeah he worked it out perty

good program and it was good. I was down there 'bout thirteen, fourteen, fifteen years there and I move 'bout two places over there with my family. When I move here [Anadarko] ya know I let that ball club go and I live here 'bout a year, then I move back home [Apache John's allotment] where I live now. My lease man's sons' neighbors they knew that I was manager of baseball so one night, one evenin' boys came ya know. They come from Eakly and Fort Cobb, said they would like a club in town, he said we want you to come over there so I went ya know. I went and we talk, nothin' but white boys ya know, and well I said I try. First we tried softball, we played nighttime over there at Binger, Eakly. At that time there's hardball ya know, baseball, was still out there and Apache and Cyril and Fletcher and Fort Cobb, Mount View, white team. So we got together ya know and I still had my ball equipment and so we got organized. We play two season and that third season I had too much do, that was in seventies, early seventies. Well our first time we started playin' ball on Sundays ya know my neighbor, they go to Mennonite church ya know, so he come to me ya know, them boys father. Yeah we talk about ya know preliminary ya know, finally he asked me ya know about yeah we could change, not play on Sundays [laughs]. True enough that's what happened, but they didn't quit, they didn't quit, we play on, play ball.

December 21, 2000

159) I manage Carnegie for two season, yeah all white boys. They have funds ya know and them boys ya know they chip in and this barber he takes care of our finance, expense. All I do is you know manage and match games. Me and that white guy we coach; he coach the infield which is you know catcher, first base, second base, short stop and third, and me I got the outfield ya know left field, center field and right field. We knocked them balls around ya know and we work hard at it ya know. But anyway there was two other clubs there, Indian club, but we didn't play them Indians. We played Eakly and Binger and Apache, sometime Mount View ya know.

MS: was there a reason why you didn't play Indian teams?

AC: well we could've but you know they all schedule ya know and we don't like to break in ya know. We all get together ever Sunday ya know and right after lunch I run to Carnegie ya know; we practice and we had pretty good club. [One boy] his father ya know he's the one that said can we play any other day [than] Sunday ya know, but the boys ya know they insist ya know. They work ya know and that's what they said, they said they work hard and they should ya know relax. They work six days and they go church, but if we go distance they don't go church [laughs]. They good people where I live, mostly Bohemians ya know, that's German and they nice people. Mennonites ya know and they got church and these boys like them Gents boys ya know and Schmidt and Dietrichs, they got culture ya know. But these other boys they were all right ya know, they alright ya know, and they try to keep their culture ya know and they don't want no intermarriage ya know, but that didn't work. Well we have lot of fun, these boys they good ball players.

160) They want me to empire [umpire] ya know after I didn't want run no more ball, ball club. Coach came from Alden school ya know, he come to me, asked me he said why don't you get permit ya know, you might make expense money ya know. So he give me address, so I wrote, I wrote; 'bout week later I got two books, rulebooks. They give me ten days to read those books ya know, but ya know I been playin' ball most, most of ya know my kid, kid days ya know and I know the rules. I fill out that form ya know, took me 'bout forty five minutes ya know, maybe it's got about oh twenty or twenty-five questions on there and I fill it out. So 'bout week later I went to mailbox I got my round sticker over here [umpire's patch] and it says that I got to get black uniform and you must have shin guard and breast protector and mask ya know. Well I done had them and all I need is cap, got's little short bill ya know so I got that ya know. Four of us, we start callin' play off ya know and district and regional and that's far as I went. So one day I went Hobart and they was havin' state tournament and I went in; I got me a sodi and a popcorn, I went in, I set way up there. They was ready to play, two groups gonna play and guy that's s'posed to come from east didn't

show up, he call, he can't make it. Well I said I got my stuff at home, oh he said we fix ya up [laughs softly], so they fit me up shin guard, breast protector and mask and give me indicator. Well they told me come back in the mornin' so next day I went ya know. It's good money in it, empire. Yeah but I don't empire for Indins, just high school. Yeah I empire for the high school and I still got my breast protector.

161) Yeah I gave that up; one day I got hit too many times and next, next time I got back there behind that plate, I got hit 'bout six, seven, eight times one game and I didn't have no shin guard ya know. So next game I went I got back there and I begin to duck and thought to myself I'm gonna quit, so I quit the baseball then but still I go, I go to ball game. Now I still go and ever night I watch some kind of game.

MS: do you ever come over to Norman to see a game?

AC: yeah, yeah went to football over there several times and I went one time to Dallas, Cotton Bowl.

MS: [did you] teach your kids how to play baseball?

AC: well we used to play at home, I play with my kids ya know. Yeah I chase Betty 'bout quarter mile to put her out [laughs]. We play ball at home ya know, we have lots of fun; so all my kids they all play ball, my boys and my girls they all play basketball. Yeah they, they play baseball, all of 'em, and I travel with 'em. I see all my kids play sport and now my grandkids. All my kids they play sports and it's lot of fun, I enjoy ya know. Sometime parents they get proud see some of their young ones doin' somethin' what you did ya know.

Every Chance I get, I go Fishing

October 5, 2000

162) I done a lot of fishin' when I was living here. Every chance I got, I go fishin' and I walk that railroad track here on the east side of town here, I walk railroad track to that Randlett Park[4] ya know. I make me a little bit dough bait ya know, I make it myself ya know, dough bait, I use brown sugar ya know. I get three way hooks and I put that dough on, you can't throw it hard ya know because that dough will break up. So I set right against that dam there; I get on the west side of that dam, had little place there ya know somebody dig out dirt from bank, I set there. I catch a carp, carp they, they're pretty good size ya know. Yeah I catch maybe 'bout four, five of 'em, heavy; I throw them little ones back ya know. I take the big one and walk back on that railroad track, go back to East Main ya know and the colored, colored guys they come out ya know "what ya want for it?" Fifty cents, yeah I make pool money or show money. That time no TV ya know, so I play pool a whole lot. Every chance I got I go fishin', go ball games and I play pool. Same time I work for tribe too ya know and my mother and my step-father, they moved over here on east Main so he asked me ya know if I could drive every now and then. I like baseball and basketball, I like go fishin', and I like football too and I go to pool hall. Every chance I get I play, I play pool.

October 24, 2000

163) Henry Achilta and Freddie and Jonathon Toohiskey, he's Mescalero, and Frank Taho go fishin' over there at the Latonka. That's the time that that lake wasn't that big ya know and they take wagons and buggies ya know. I go with them, I was little guy ya know, I go with them and we camp by the lake ya know. They fish ya know and I just follow around ya know, carry fish. One night it rained ya know and my father fixed me bed in the buggy and in that tent they had two lanterns hangin' up inside; they play pitch ya know, they use matches ya know to keep scores ya know, there was no money involved. Just them bunch there settin' round tell stories ya know; when

that rain came my father took me in that tent and put two bales together ya know, fix my bed on it and I watched them guys play pitch for awhile ya know. Oh it was a lot of laughs ya know, I guess I don't know too much about pitch ya know, and next morning after that rain they all went down out to that lake, it's not too far. After the water went ya know, water went down, there's some kind of a place where water puddles ya know and they got some fishes out of there ya know and that we had for breakfast. Them Biehler brothers they good cook ya know, they bachelors, and they nice ya know, they're nice guys ya know. It seems like they part of us ya know; my uncle hangs around them ya know a whole lot and I think John and Leo and my uncle they serve together, the army. Yeah they hang around a whole lot together and so we stay at the lake about three, four days ya know. Store wasn't that far, I think store was about, 'bout couple miles ya know and when ya run out of somethin' somebody get on one of them work horses, ride horseback over there and get supply ya know, like coffee ya know, nobody use sugar in their coffee ya know. Yeah every mornin' they cook breakfast and they all go down to the lake and fish all day ya know and they come in evenin' and they cook what they catch ya know. It was like that ya know, seems like every year ya know the same bunch always go to that lake and fish. Well when we ready to come home that's when it's best for me ya know but I like fishin' ya know, 'course my father's fish man.

January 18, 2001

164) One time when I was teenage George Gert round up Apache mans, bunch of 'em. Took three cars to Cache Creek and there's water hole there, it's about three hundred yards long and it's pretty deep. So I went with my father ya know and I think it's about six of us teenagers went with the elders, like my father and my uncle and Homer Saddleblanket and Fred Big Man and Henry Archilta and Freddie and Ray and Henry Whitseline. Anyways it's bunch of us, took three cars ya know but Old Man Gert he took his own car ya know he didn't have no top and he had roadster. He's a horse doctor ya know, George Gert, and he take all that out and he put fishin' equipment in

there. He made angate, he made hook out of it, this was pretty good size ya know. That goes behind the big wagons ya know, yeah he bent that and made a hook out of it so he took window sash rope, got weights on it ya know, it's cotton, it's strong. So he put that on that rod and it's long one, I figure it's 'bout fifty yard long. He was told that fish might weigh hunder'd to hunder'd fifty pound. There was some people comin' from both towns, Walters and Temple, and what we did was swim 'round first; we swim 'round, whole bunch of us even some white kids ya know, white boys they swim, and that bank was loaded with people. Finally they feel 'round ya know and they swim along the bank like that both sides. My uncle's on this side and my father and Homer Saddleblanket and somebody else, three of them, and I was close to my father, pretty deep. Down there it was cold, I think it's about eight feet deep that water, it's long water hole. Pretty soon Homer come up "hey" he said "right here" ya know. Everbody stop ya know, so him and my father they went down, they went down, they feelin' ya know. My father told Homer "put it here, put that rod through here and then hook it to that rope, that sash rope" and 'stead of that he hooked it on his mouth. When he hooked it on his mouth [claps] he went out, he went out and they were holdin' that, it's fifty yard long that sash rope, they couldn't hold it, that rope. We swim 'round, we find that rope and he's goin' down that way and this way and well we try to corral him ya know. Finally they got that rope ya know, they put it round little bitty tree ya know, they pull on it and just 'bout time they got it up whew a head about that big ya know, had big eyes ya know, went like that [claps] got loose. He straightened out that rod and well everybody just stand there, look at each others ya know and we swim, we try to get him back in that place. Under that bank had place there where he stays and we give up, yeah we done everything, we all swim from over there together, make a line ya know like that, we all got tired [laughs]. Yeah finally we give up, well I don't think he ever was caught.

We call it Gutter

May 2, 2000

165) I like work with the tribe ya know and since '63 I got with this Blackfeet Society[5] and they turned all that over to me. Every year, June, we got it on Father's Day, we got it on Father's Day.

October 17, 2000

166) We got along pretty good and there's no kinda difference in the tribe, but when that Blackfeet came in that's when we all want to be chief. At the beginin' they had that meetin' at my home, outside, out there in the yard ya know and Doctor Bittle and Julie Jordan were out there with my mother, my sister and brother and the kinfolks. They out there, whole bunch, and Doctor Bittle and Judy they're recordin' but me I was in the house watchin' TV ya know.

167) Well Tennyson Berry mentioned that around fifty-five; we talk ya know, we're on the council together first time ya know, we talk about politics ya know and things that we need to do ya know. He mention it ya know, he said "your mama and your step-father they know them songs." My grandpa, Captain, he's good, he knows all of 'em, my mother too. That's when it started ya know, we just mention it. Fifty-seven they been talkin' about it, young guys ya know, they begin to talk about it, me I set back and listen ya know. Round fifty-six and fifty-seven, they begin to bring it together and Doctor Bittle and Judy Jordan they got interested. They had several meetins at my home, out there ya know, lots of room, had big lights out there ya know. They had three tape recordin and they had about five lights out there and my mother she practice, she sings for them ya know, Blackfeet songs.[6]

September 25, 2001

168) I inherited that whip, that Blackfeet Society whip. Blackfeet Society [Manatiide], Ma Na, its northern name, Ma Na tribe. I don't know why, maybe that's the way it begin. Later when the horses came in that made it two groups: the warriors and the horsemen.[7] They put it together but

the whip man was first, they 'stablish whip man first because they want him to conduct whatever the way it's supposed to be, like when you dancin' with that staff that whip man will pause to interpret about this here in the family and he say this is a weapon and we fought with it. It's gutter, it mean you gut out human and that's what we call it, gutter. Well he puts in Society history ya know; when they began and they pick out the whip man, they picked out whip man to interpret what's inside that Society because he's brave, he fights with it ya know.

169) My grandpa had two [staffs], Captain, he had one straight one which is braided, braided beads wrap 'round and he dance with it. It's kinda of a weapon but this is a staff which we kept, and he's only guy; he dances with it because he was authorized from the beginin' cause it was his. When he died, they broke it. Springtime they fix new staffs, they fix 'em up, replace and have big feast and they dance. There's just the clan there, just that clan, only one that dance and when they start that ceremony they don't stop until it's over. Somehow when the horsemen came in, they got songs ya know, dance this way ya know and they got shuffle song too. That came in because they used to run.

[1] Mooney first attended a Kiowa peyote meeting sometime before 1892. In 1895 he traveled to Mexico, returning with a quantity of peyote for scientific analysis (Bass 1954:254-255, 259).
[2] The American Indian Movement occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs building from November 1st to the 9th, 1972. Alfred may have seen the damage on another trip to Washington, D.C.
[3] Frank Red Bone won by thirty-three votes; Alfred won the Apache district, while Frank won the Fort Cobb district. Certification of Election Results, Apache Election of Officers, March 18, 1972, Anadarko Area Office Files, Box 4, Folder 65, NA-SWR.
[4] Located in Anadarko
[5] For a history and description of the Apache Blackfeet Society, see Bittle (1962); McAllister (1935:107-111); and Meadows 1999:177-250).
[6] Most of Bittle's interviews with Rose on the topic of the Blackfeet Society took place in June 1961, presumably these recording were made at that time; by November 1961 the Society was incorporated and in 1963 the Chalepah family established their own Blackfeet Society. William Bittle Collection, Box 1, Folders 15, 37, and 38, University of Oklahoma Western history Library.
[7] For information on this warrior society, the Klintidie, see McAllister 1935:111-114.

Chapter 9: They don't want give up nothin' ya know

When Mooney came down

November 28, 2000

170) I walk [to the] Smithsonian, it was quite a ways from Congress Hotel, that's where I stayed, and I walk to Smithsonian, ya know it's quite a ways. First I had to cross some streets and they different from our streets here and I walk to Smithsonian ya know. I went up information, I want see the Apaches if they got Apaches. So the information [assistant] he went to his books and he found it, said you go down this way certain number ya know; I walked and I got over there and that number was up there. They was in glass case, young man and that lady and the son and the daughter; it's built like Indian, I think it's a wax or somethin' ya know and yeah I seen it. I walk around and I see the history and I forgot what I read ya know and I look. I spent...oh 'bout maybe ten, fifteen minutes ya know, walk around there and I went to where they had busts, different place ya know. I walked and walked, walked, pretty soon I come to that place where not only us, some other tribes ya know.[1] Mooney, yeah it's got his name on that ya know. He's got that, what you call that copyright ya know, can't duplicate ya know. I know those people and it was I think three womans I believe, one of 'em was my mother, and 'bout four mans. Yeah was Apache Ben and Noble Star, Apache Stevie...I forgot the other one, the four of them. That was back in fifty, fifty-two I believe.

January 4, 2001

171) When Mooney came down I think he picked out four or five Apaches; I think he used mudpack or somethin' or clay to make bust. That's my mother's, she was one of 'em yeah, *It sen os*, that was her name, *It sen os.* I think it's on that bust and she look like one of her niece, not

herself. She was young when took that and there were Apache Stevie, Apache Ben and Big Tom, G*lo izha*, and my mother...it's in the Smithsonian.

MS: do you know when that was done?

AC: that was 'round nineteen...say 1910 through 1920, somewheres in there, when Mooney came down, but he was around longer, 'round 1918 because he helped set up charter for Native American Church. That was back in 1918 and he supported [on] behalf of federal government, that's how come we got charter, Native American Church. But might be little earlier 'cause I could tell my mother was young ya know, you could tell. She don't look like herself but it's got her name on it. I seen it twice, first time I went well I knew about it and that was 'round late thirties. I was over there with a group and that's before they start remodlin' that institution; next time well we seen it, they were still workin' on that Smithsonian, kinda enlarge it ya know. But some, like Apache tribe ya know, was man, woman, boy and a girl, dog; they were in cage, glass cage [display case] ya know and they had fire there and that man's standin', I forget what they was goin' on. That was way back there and it's got it on there, Kiowa-Apaches ya know, so that's the time I seen my mother's ya know. Evertime they talk about it they call it mud, mudpack ya know, they put mud, mud on these peoples' face. Yeah I guess Mooney set that up ya know because that was that many people involve I 'sume it take more than one day. So it was neat, yeah those people their profile ya know the way I know them except my mother's little and you could tell she was young and these other people were lot older. I was just wonderin' why he didn't take Apache John's ya know, but he took Big Tom, *Ba izronde.*

We were to told not to tell anything

September 12, 2000

172) When [J. Gilbert] McAllister came ya know there's a school house, Boone school house, and on the section line they had native rock bridge there, it's kinda oval shape but it washed away and on the west side of that bridge that's section line. The school house there on the north side and my uncle live on the south side of road, he lives on south side of that road and it's pretty good size, I say about ten acres ya know. That's his father's place and they have pow-wow there and when McAllister came ya know he see that camp ya know. So there were four interpreters ya know, four: two womans and two mans. He find one that was accepted by Apache people there was my father and the other one was Howard Sontay and Della Mulkehay and Helen Sunrise ya know. My father he works both side, on Fort Cobb side and Apache side, 'cause on Fort Cobb side most of those people are his kinfolks. So that's how my mother and my sister they got involved; they make trips ya know look for roots, herb, plants all kinds ya know. My sister [Gertie Chalepah] she never went to school, she was handicap, and she learn English by, you know, her own way ya know and she speak little. She work with McAllister, she was young you know and they go out, my father and my sister. McAllister he work and he even come in Native American Church ya know; they cut off chair legs ya know, just like seats you see in football game, portable seats ya know. They make one like that for him to set in and he put his workbook, I don't know what you call it, sketchbook or what, and he took it in ya know, he take notes. He ate, ate some of that herbs [peyote] ya know and they give him some of that juice too and all them Apaches was in there ya know, all of us. He listen and later he told us that ya know he read some of the books that was writ ya know, and he set there and he's taking notes ya know. In the mornin' he look around ya know, he said "I'm sorry" ya know. "I'm real sorry" ya know, "I shouldn't come in with my books and my

pens and my papers" he said, he pushed 'em out back way [laughs] and he sent his chair out ya know durin' the night. He set down like rest of us and he 'pologize ya know by what he was doing ya know, puttin' notes on each person, action, what he sees in there ya know. Yeah, well my cousin Ray told him said it's all right ya know and we understand ya know and I wants know see anything different from what you read? "Yeah" he said, "a whole lot and it's wonderful" said "what I see, what I see in here is kind of hospitality and you're concerned about my inexperience in this, your philosophy, in this spiritual way ya know." He talk nice ya know. "I don't think anything is sin or anything wrong in here, but I'm gonna apologize again" he said "I think you pretty close to nature." That's what he said, pretty close, and "I read all the books and I think I enjoyed it and what I learn and I support you in this way and anytime you want my assistant" he said "just let me know and I'll help you. If it takes a trip or what, that taught me last night" he said "what I see here, you got wonderful but" he said "it's your way, the way you understand it ya know the way you believe in ya know" and said "you're pretty close to nature."

MS: so how did Apaches feel about anthropologists comin' around?

AC: they welcome McAllister [but] we were to told not to tell anything. I was that way but in respect my father ya know, I have lot of respect for my father, not only when he was blind but even before he went blind. When I was 'bout forty my father died, he was 71, and my mother she was 70, 76 I believe when my mother died. What McAllister and my father done that day he talks about it ya know and when my sister went too they both talk about where they find these plants ya know and what they did. Well ya know I kinda sorry I didn't go like my father and my sister went ya know and well I'm not careless, but somehow I didn't agree [with revealing cultural information] ya know. But I brought my mother from Apache to over here where Doctor Bittle, Judy Jordan was workin' and well I say "hello, goodbye" ya know, that's how much I was involved ya know. Same time I had others things I was doin' ya know and kept me busy but anyway...well when McAllister worked with

these people like this Sky is My Tipi ya know, what he wrote in there ya know most of it's all right, some of it I disagree with it ya know. I don't think that kind of language should be written. Maybe you read it? Wish you read it, maybe you know; reason why I disagree with the person, that storyteller, and what he said about some people: I know these people and, to me, I think the alcohol was involved. McAllister wrote, just like Dr. Bittle, what they say ya know. He writes it just like some of these here ya know [binders with Bittle's notes kept in Culture Program Office].

December 26, 2000

173) Well I think it's good when you know where you come from ya know, that's what we been strivin' for ever since McAllister came. He come to Boone ya know from Chicago and 'bout quarter mile from where my father stays ya know to that Boone schoolhouse. They got parsonage there ya know he rent that from the church, Baptist Church, that church gone now and that's where McAllister made his home there for awhile. West there, 'bout quarter mile, Apaches camp almost year round, sometime year round, and got about...'bout ten, twelve tents and some elders live there. So he come there, he come up there himself ya know; nobody knew him and then one day he said I like somebody to interpret for me and this is my assignment, Kiowa-Apaches. I think I come to right place because I see lot of camp here. I don't know why he didn't take pictures of that camp and well one day he came; me and my sisters, we were there with our dad ya know and I got chair and my uncle brought some benches out ya know. They had arbor, they had big bungalow and the schoolhouse here, Boone schoolhouse, big one and it's got four room. That church right here and this is the parsonage where that preacher's s'posed to live

MS: just a little bungalow?

AC: a little bitty one, three room I believe, and that's where McAllister stayed. Then one day he come over ya know, he just show up ya know nobody knew him and he introduce himself. So he talk with 'em, see if we could get all of Apaches and he told 'em that he's writin' and research about

a life of the Apache tribe ya know, anthropologist yeah. He told like what he needs ya know, so when that day came boy that little brush arbor was full. First he talk about who understand English, 'cause the elders they all set there and listen at him ya know. Most of 'em was backwards ya know, that's the way the Apaches was ya know; they don't want tell nothin' to nobody 'specially stranger. Well in thirties things was slow, slow communication; nobody read paper, daily paper, nobody, no radio, no nothin.' But anyway they told him, that's four interpreters they use at council for the elders and church, these four: two ladies and two mens. These two ladies they were good and both of 'em worked with the Bureau on cases like church property and they interpret for our leaders, these womans, and Howard Soontay, yeah he was one of 'em ya know. He interpret in church, Apache Church ya know, Baptist. My father there, but he don't interpreter but he's handy man for the elders that have activities ya know peyote, any other. I guess he find out that my father was getting' more ya know people involved because they know him ya know, so my father was with him all way since he come there.

174) When McAllister gave us some pictures ya know we took it to place where they develop copies and so they give us that kind of filim [negatives]. I don't know how that Kenneth [Parker?] got hold of McAllister's work, maybe he was his assistant; he come from Texas, come to my home early fifties and he brought some of what you call these here [binders] yeah, brought several of 'em and had all them Apaches pictures in there.[2] He showed it to us, me and my wife, and he said he [McAllister] talk about your father so much. He said I thought I'd come down this way ya know meet you, so when he came to the house well we spent full day, just be with him ya know. He ate what we ate ya know and so I think he went back Texas. At that time I think he was workin' there, he just come down here to show us those photos. I don't think they copyright or what and we not in the market, [but] we like to make a book. Yeah well we like to have plain ones, see if we could put [to] our own use.

August 23, 2001

175) When McAllister came he had four interpreters, end up with my dad. My dad was pretty well respected by tribe because he's volunteer in culture and even outside of culture, he work with farmers and he work with Boone D. Hyde [Hite], he's grocery man and assistant banker at Fort Cobb.[3]

MS: so what did Apaches think when McAllister came around and asked questions?

AC: they were 'fraid you know. Well they tell us not, not to talk about ya know anything.

MS: other than Mooney, was McAllister the first anthropologist to come here?

AC: yeah

MS: so Apaches hadn't talked to very many [anthropologists]?

AC: they didn't talk to Mooney. McAllister came to Apaches, just Apaches only, that was his assignment 'cause he was out in Hawaii first and next time he went to Saskatchewan and that's where he met them Sarcees. Then he was with us for awhile and he told my father he said there's some Indians over there in Canada talk their language.

MS: how did McAllister explain what he was doing here?

AC: well he said he was on assignment ya know, he wants learn the history and well that's what he got ya know. These other three [interpreters] went out to community, they couldn't get nothin' but when he took my father out ya know they kinda open up a little bit.

September 13, 2001

176) **MS**: so tell me more about McAllister bein' out here, did people like workin' with him?

AC: he's kinda of a guy that's ya know he's no stranger and they he talk to you right now ya know. He's got way yeah to pick up some kind of subject ya know and he's nice guy, he's nice. Well the

people, our tribe, is kinda modest ya know and if you offer somethin' ya know they ain't gonna take it ya know, but if you put it on table well they take it. So he's nice guy, him and his wife.

MS: what were some of the stories your dad told about him? When your dad worked with him what would they do?

AC: well first they plan want go see somebody or they want say maybe two, three days from now we go out in the country 'cause at that time the tribe had land ya know, whole bunch of land, some elders still had allotment. All they do is just drive up to farm and tell lease man that look for somethin' ya know and most the farmers at that time they were polite ya know and show you hospitality. They all sons of the pioneers ya know and they still kinda way of hardship ya know, but most of the farmers is pretty well equipped with daily meal ya know.

MS: so McAllister and your dad would make arrangements to go talk to somebody?

AC: yeah, yeah. Well sometime it's right there at the camp, sometime it's right there at the camp. McAllister go over there and pick him up and they come back over here to my uncle's and somebody, well peoples always there ya know. Sometime they visit at the camp, like we seen where my mother and Big Ben settin on table.[4] My mother and my father they divorce ya know, she married Big Ben, and that did not interfere with McAllister and my father; sometime they go over there at my mother and step-father's tent. He use that table sometime and they talk to the elders right there and I think most of his work was there except when they take field trip. Sometime they go out take pictures like Apache Sam's family[5] and sometime they go Fort Cobb and take pictures over there like Old Lady Big Bear. She's 'bout the last Apache live on the west side where the Apaches all lived ya know and he goes talk to Tennyson Berry. He doesn't know that much, but he's interpreter because he knows the language ya know, went school Carlisle and he interpret for Apache John ya know. They try pretty hard on Black Bear [laughs], he's kinda hard man ya know and they don't want give up nothin' ya know. That's the way they think ya know, don't tell nothin'

and even me ya know, 'bout three or four of us, we were like that ya know. That's why you don't see me in McAllister's pictures.[6]

Doctor Bittle he work with the tribe for quite a while

June 29, 2000

177) I think late, late 50's this is when that Society come in ya know, Blackfeet, *Mana*, 'bout 'round that time Dr. Bittle and Judy [Julie Ann] Jordan and Blanche, I forget her name, and yeah well I got acquainted with Dr. Bittle's staff and students. That's the time Tim [Baugh] and John Beatty them guys was goin' school and Mike Davis. Yeah I met Mike Davis' father, they're from Louisiana I believe.

September 28, 2000

178) Blackbear's sister she got [his medicine bundle] and he had a brother, Blackbear had a brother, *Zolta*. He, he didn't insist, he didn't want it, I don't know why, so Rebecca took it. When Rebecca died her daughter, that was Captain's daughter, she got it and she live here [Anadarko] somewheres...and that bundle hunged up in that, in that home. I don't know how long, it got so where door, doors was broke out, windows was all broke out and what was in there was all 'terioratin.' [Ray Blackbear] went and got it and he didn't take it out home, he met Dr. Bittle somewheres. Dr. Bittle he come over here to my sister's, he wanted to know somethin' and he told my sisters that that bundle was hangin' in one room, Dr. Bittle's room. He said "every time I go in there I hear crickets, loud, I back off" he says "I took my wife, I took my wife in there, I hear" he said "I asked my wife hear anything?" Said "no, I don't hear nothing.'" Well he said "I'd like second opinion" ya know, got his daughter they went in that room, hear that noise. Asked his daughter "you hear anything?" "No, don't hear nothing.'" That's the reason why he came over here, wanted to know what's best way. He said "I put you in my will if it's alright." He said "that bundle, anything go

wrong, you could take it" ya know, that's what he said ya know. Finally he call me and he call Frankie [Redbone]; he said "I want give it back," said "I want give it back." We met, that big building [tribal gym] right there at tobacco shop, we had this kind [taps table], it's our council room, and the family was there, three family, and I sit in. He said "I'm leavin'" he said "I want one of you family come get it" and "I want you all to have it back." I talk ya know, what we believe in ya know, our people, how much it means to them. I respect it ya know, we got one, I live around that. The one he wants give back, I live around it, I slept under it and I'm not superstitious and I don't believe in black cats, clovers. I says I'm human ya know and that's way I talk to them but one of the family says our mama told us that ya know keep away from it. I don't believe that ya know, I don't believe that ya know. They just don't want it, don't want, so Dr. Bittle left, he left. We had three meetins right there over that. Finally Harry Kaudle Kaule he went over there, got it, and he took it home. So that was kinda the end to that what I was involve with that bundle and that's what I experience ya know.

October 17, 2000

179) Somehow Doctor Bittle, ya know he's good friend of mine, he told me he got it and well I don't know. He kept it awhile, kept it awhile ya know and from Apache to Norman, that's where that bundle went. Doctor Bittle livin' in Norman ya know. Doctor Bittle he, he work with the tribe for quite a while and he's good friend of Apaches. He knew that we had two sides [community factionalism] and they didn't take sides, even Judy [Jordan]. My mother work with him, with Doctor Bittle ya know and Judy and for quite awhile ya know. He said he made his will...and he wanted to know if it was alright will me that bundle. Well, I said might have little catch in it [laughs] because kinfolks, I said it's three, Doc I says you know them. So he notify me and Frankie [Redbone] yeah, he notify me and Frankie, my brother-in-law. This big buildin' over here, that gym and that tobacco shop, that used to be our council room so we had table like this here [taps table]

a double 'cross that room. Three of those families come there and Doctor Bittle came and he talk to me ya know what he would like to do ya know to release this bundle to the family, give back to the family. He said I'm retirin', he says I'm leavin', talk to me ya know it's crowd there. He says Alfred ya know what we talked about ya know and I think the family should know ya know, should get it back. Well Frankie he talk ya know, and somebody ya know said we were told that not to get in that area, that's what we told. I said wait a minute, I said don't get superstitious. I think you're tryin' to talk horseshoe, four-leaf clover and black cat superstitious. I said that's gone, in my book that's gone, it's away. I said I lay around that bundle, I slept many nights under that bundle and I been around Apache John's. I'm gonna tell y'all I'm not superstitious, I know who you talkin' about, I said not telling it the right way. I said that bundle come from long, long ways, come long ways, that's what they didn't tell you. I don't know why, I said it is a job when you're around that, you just gotta know how live with it. Well that was first session; he try it again second session, he came and second session no luck...and even the third session. He came down three times and he said well...he said I'm leavin', I'm leavin' and I wanna leave this bundle with my daughter and gonna be in good hands and I want you all to know that it's gonna take good care of it but anytime y'all feel like it, come get it because I'm leavin' now. That's what Doctor Bittle said so he left, yeah he left. Finally I heard that Harry he got it and he had it. I don't know what he does ya know and course it's not my business ya know.[7]

January 4, 2001

180) Back in time what we were workin' on this what material we got, artifacts ya know, yeah this kind subject was involve. There was Tim Baugh and Judy and me and Frankie was consulter and ever time they have meetin' they brought up what they put on agenda and put that in resolution and proposal for funds. Tim and Judy and Blanche and somebody else, 'bout five of them, we talk about what has to be needed and how to approach it like they divide work. Tim says he's gonna

send out letters to the museums which he's gonna look at and Judy said I'm gonna ask for artifacts. We write to those people and somehow Judy end up in New York; she went New York and got two, I think it was fan and somethin' else, ooh boy quiver. She find that it's got Apache names on it, all these artifacts it's got Apache names on it, back. So that's on the table ya know that's the way we worked at it and we thought was nice ya know. So me I set in ya know, I put in few words ya know and I thought that was the only way that some of our people would ya know would appreciate it. So I got piece of that program;[8] I make that quiver, and I make [breast] plate but I didn't put that in, just that quiver ya know.[9]

[1] The Smithsonian collection includes sixty-two facial casts of individuals imprisoned at Fort Marion, Florida and were made 1875-1877. Among these are the representations of twenty-one Kiowas (Merrill 1997:8-9).

[2] Alfred has Xerox copies of these pictures and the tribe has a similar set as slides. All have written notations; presumably these prints were McAllister's, although their present location is unknown. The University of Oklahoma Museum of Natural History has a set of negatives and prints without written notations.

[3] The exact relationship between Alonzo and Hite is not entirely clear. However Alonzo did receive a fee patent to his allotment on January 7, 1909 and Hite obtained several mortgages prior to receiving the deed: 5/10/09 $2000; 5/13/09 $375; 5/18/09 $125; 6/7/09 $112. The deed was executed on June 23, 1909 for $3000. It appears that Hite was a source of several loans made to Alonzo and in return received the deed to the land. Letter from the Superintendent to Alonzo Chalepah, January 23, 1913, Kiowa Agency Land Transaction Files, Box 35, Folder 584, NA-SWR.

[4] McAllister photographs M-4 to M-7, University of Oklahoma Museum of Natural History.

[5] M-12 to M-20.

[6] Alfred's brothers can be seen in M-71.

[7] In a brief description of the bundles, McAllister noted that "the Apaches say that a long time ago religion was just for the family, just close relatives; outsiders don't come in" (McAllister 1935:34). Alfred's remarks imply that this social distance from another family's bundle was still adhered to, even beyond McAllister's time.

[8] *From Generation to Generation: The Plains Apache Way*, sponsored by the University of Oklahoma's Stovall Museum of Science and History, 1982. Apparently this exhibit traveled to local libraries but little information, beyond the printed booklets, is available.

Chapter 10: Reflections

I like to be myself, I 'm a human

October 10, 2000

181) I was asked who you pray to ya know and well we were put here, not only us, there are several other tribes and that's what I was asked ya know who you pray to and I hear what I was told that every livin', every livin' things that's on this earth they got their own communication. We, we try to keep this kind, what I'm talkin' about, away from outsiders and what we do and what is ours is ours and we don't have other tribe ceremonies, what we got is ours, and it bothers when I hear ya know some other tribes they copy one another. They, they getting' complete away from their culture; some they just complete, they got away. Now what we tryin' to do today [language work] is try to put, put 'em down on the tape and write and listen at the language and I'm proud.

182) Now I made the statement yesterday to my family now...the kind of person I am, I said, y'all know what kind of person I am. I work hard when I'm on some kind job, program, whatever I try to do my best, extry best. I want the people to know that I'm makin' all efforts to do the work. I tell 'em be nice, be sincere and be honest, in public I tell the people don't take anything that don't belong to you ya know and don't copy. I know my tribe...I know what kind of home they got; I slept in every home except two. I earn my breakfast, I earn my dinner, I earn my supper and you make people feel ya know you helpful. I work, start when I was fourteen and my grandpa, my mother's uncle...my mother's mother's brother, *He ah*, he tells me that ya know one day you gonna have to be a man...and if you get woman, make a home for her and support your children. 'Bout fifty years later inside our ceremony I talk to my wife, this is what my grandpa want me to do for you and our children...and with very little income with that my big family. The land I live on brought 600 dollars a year, how far can you get with six hundred, with a dozen kids besides we had two from her sister

and we had two from my brothers live out there with us. I try to be good husband and I try to be good leader.

August 23, 2001

183) [With peyote use I] get the jitters ya know, after that I'm alright ya know, I settle down and I better understand it and feel more religious and better understanding what it means to your life ya know. I listen, that's how come I know a lot of peyote songs. I don't know if my grandpa he predicts things ya know, Apache John; I don't want to be like him, but I try to be part of that ya know belief. We got some nice songs ya know; it's like you listen ya know it's kind of like that you makin' design in the music and it's like you beadwork ya know, imagination ya know. Through that I got better understandin' with life and I use it. I respect human and any livin' thing except insects, snakes [laughs] and sorry for some things that ya know handicap even humans. I like to show my appreciation and volunteer and I tell 'em I said when I talk about my belief I said white folks told me there's a man up there named God and I like to suggest this: if it's true I said what I'm talkin' about is true. I don't want make no kinda oh want to be, wannabies, I don't want be like that, I'm Apache and this way I look at my grandpas what they did ya know and what they believe in ya know and that's reason why they don't want pass it on to non-Indians, that's why you don't hear that much about Apaches, they pretty tight.

MS: how can you be Christian and a member of the Native American Church and traditional with your bundle, how do you work all those ideas together?

AC: well number one I like to be myself, I 'm a human and the way I hear it I come from Mother Earth. My grandpa said ever livin' things, I don't care how little, they got way, just like us, they got way. He said that little red ants goin' that way. He said he's not lazy, he's preparin' and he's got way, they got communication they own way. Everthing on this soil here, he said, that's what my grandpa said ya know. We ain't no different from each others but we still we kinda enemies too in,

in places because ya know it's been that way, they got their life to live we got our life to live and that's way I seen it ya know.

MS: why is your family different [from some other Apache families]?

AC: I think, I think communication, effort and belief. They didn't get that. I don't know just how to word that it's not careless, they didn't have what their parents or grandparents, they didn't have culture belief and it's kinda how much interested ya know, how much care about their parents or grandparents belief. I don't think they got that message and people that was my age we all not same and the way I looked at it ya know I growed up myself and what I see and my experience, I got respect even though I was away from my father and my mama and I thought those people that [laughs] took care of me was my parents until I got old enough but still ya know I respect my father and my mother.

MS: but you were also baptized

AC: yeah

MS: how old were you?

AC: I was 14

MS: did you understand what it was all about?

AC: well not, not all of it, not all of it. I didn't know what I was ya know gettin' into but I lived a good life, I live good life and I was fair and honest and I don't lie and I'm proud of that and my family knows it ya know.

MS: do you think you put those values in your own kids?

AC: I tried, I tried up to teen-age, when they got age well they're on their own ya know but still they come home.

All of us we got a certain talent

September 27, 2001

184) Well I'm proud ya know bein' Apache and we were not known and what I see up here ya know [in Bittle's field notes], that's mostly like gossip and McAllister he try ya know, he try. Now it's gone, it's gone now and some of our ceremonies is, we use like what we see in the other tribe which it don't belong to us, but we use it and all that pride, dignity it's gone. We were told not, not to bother what belongs to the other tribe and that's theirs; what we got is ours and that's lost.

MS: who do you think will read this?

AC: I don't know

MS: do you think your grandchildren will be interested?

AC: well I don't push on 'em [laughs]. If they want learn, well they can. I been tryin' it for 'bout forty years; we work on Title IV when that Title IV was first brought in we apply for it and we had good turn out but it vanish like any other things ya know. It's not...quitter, but seem like we fail to appear or ya know [be] interested.

MS: why aren't people interested?

AC: I don't know. Some middle age outside they ask me ya know, say you know my daddy? "Yeah I knows your daddy, know your momma, I know your grandparents" ya know, so everytime I get a chance I talk about ya know. I don't know, when I go it's too late. Because my grandpa was blind and I didn't want leave him over there where visit, council; whatever's goin' on, I set by him ya know and my father was blind, I don't leave. So what they talk about ya know I [absorb] that ya know, I set there ya know, it was kinda interestin' to me what they talk about. It's all that in language, Apache language, nobody spoke in English. I listen what they talk about ya know and I had pride the way that they think ya know and the way they live ya know and they respect one

another ya know. They visit and they hardly talk about anything that's 'timidate somebody ya know and old ladies they sit way out there ya know, if somebody get out of line ya know they tell the people in nice way ya know not ya know bring out anything that's already done, past ya know. Yeah I like, I like this work.

MS: do you see yourself as a leader?

AC: [laughs] oh not that much, not that much. Well I don't try make big deal out of it ya know, I'm just myself, I'm human like anybody else ya know. I don't compare myself better, but I like to be same with everbody and that's way I feel ya know and that's way I growed up. I listen at my grandpa, he said be yourself and don't do things that will ya know embarrass ya know. I believe in God but my own way ya know, I pray mostly ya know I just find Mother Earth, why we here together ya know like what food we got on table, we together, I'm part of you that's, that's way I listen at the old ones ya know and in my prayers it's that way and I pray for everbody.

MS: do you see yourself as a bridge between the old ones and the ones today?

AC: well I feel, I feel same as way back there. I feel that I'm Apache and I enjoyed yeah, I speak the language. I listen ya know, that's way I learn ya know but I'm happy to do my job, always like to do that ya know. I like put in little extry what I'm doin.'

October 7, 2002

185) What each one of us experience as we growin' up, what we view, and what we see ya know and some of that is told to us. It depends on parents, grandparents and what kind of people they are; every home is a little different from one another ya know. The things that I talked about in past is where you come from.

MS: why do you think some families talk about that more than other families do?

AC: What is hand down, the history, how much they were involve in tribal history and how much attention for instance now our chiefs, sub-chiefs, camp crier and things like that ya know.

Sometime you got somebody practice, practice medicine in you family and how much you learn and what kind of life you live and uh...uh mostly its about our leadership. Somebody's in there that sometimes it turn important to the, to the tribe on 'count of what kind of person or reputation and that's, that's kind of a person that tribe look at ya know and that's been hand down from the past. As a leadership ya know they look forward; he's the one take care of the future.

MS: so why is your family kept up with this kind of tradition, why is your family done it and maybe someone else has [not]?

AC: well it's, it's kind of how much you interested in. Now we all, we not all alike ya know and some of us we got talent. These leaders, they the one that the tribe is dependent on, that's go way back ya know and as a leader that's kind of a person they look at ya know. He's guide, guidance ya know and as a leader he's got talent, bravery, and he's got good knowledge. He's respected, also he respect the tribe ya know...that's what I talk about ya know, all of us we got a certain talent.

Chapter 11: Collaborating and Understanding

As discussed in Chapter Two, collaborative biography is both process and product; in analyzing this particular project, it will be useful to consider these aspects separately. Alfred's participation in this project provides an opportunity to consider many of the facets of discourse, including the elicitation of a narrative; construction and performance of identity; the roles of innovation and collaboration in producing texts; and the impact of age and memory in articulating life's experiences. Such questions and issues exaine the temporal and spatial grounding necessary for reflection and understanding. This is by no means an exhaustive list; many other possible avenues exist to contemplate how and why one person's life may lead to a better understanding of both self and community, past and present. This chapter also examines Alfred's point of view, considering how it shaped the ethnographic encounter and served to direct the project towards a particular goal. This work partially codifies his perspective, as channeled through an academic collaborator/partner and demonstrates the complexity of cultures, individuals, social experiences, articulations of meaning, and relations of power, as well as the networks that develop between people and groups. Ultimately his reflection of personal experiences contributes to the discussion of individuals as being both culture-bearers and culture–shapers.

To assist the reader in understanding how Alfred uses narrative to construct and present his sense of self, the analysis of significant features such as social roles, economic and political activities, and individual characteristics is tied to individual passages presented in Chapters Five through Ten. These narrative passages are cited in a bracket system similar to that used for the citation of scholarly materials, enabling the reader to

return to the full text for a more complete review of his remarks. In some cases Alfred makes an explicit statement, while in others his point is implied or contextually qualified by surrounding materials. The reader is encouraged to consider his performance as well as his words; distinct ideas are often embedded within larger presentations, framing them to enhance or diminish their impact upon the audience. Many qualifiers such as tone, pitch, volume, pacing and gesture do not travel with text, limiting the narrator's intent and ability to effectively communicate. Whenever possible, these notations have been incorporated into the transcribed narrative. Additional features such as the shift between English and Apache (represented in italicized font) have also been indicated in the materials; this aspect of language use is particularly noticeable in Alfred's retelling of his community's past and of his own youth. Here, Apache language use provides a subtle temporal marker; it is less evident in those passages that describe contemporary events and activities. Advanced research and analysis on this phenomenon is outside the scope of this project, but provides yet another example of the complexity encountered in the construction and articulation of Native American life histories.

Constructing a Biography

Central to the process of constructing a collaborative biography are the identities and roles of the participants. Additional factors include the actual mechanics, such as the methods and forms of discourse; time and place of interactions; techniques of recording and transcribing oral narratives; acts of editing and selecting the "desired" texts, ultimately transforming the encounter and performance into something completely

different. Each of these elements has an impact upon the end result and will be considered in closer detail.

In this particular project both Alfred and I can be identified as the primary participants. Other less obvious parties include his family and other community members who occasionally sat in on the interviews, as well as those who may one day read the texts or listen to the tapes. Additional participants include those elderly Apaches that related stories to Alfred in the past; whenever possible, Alfred attributes his stories to them as a matter of respect and authentication. For my part, governmental officials and anthropologists have all contributed to information that supplements Alfred's accounts. The perceived expectations of faculty and colleagues have also found their way into the project, from conception through production and now into the written text. All of these participants, past and present and even future, have affected the construction in different ways and to varying degrees. However, Alfred remains the central focus; this is his story, balanced against my telling of his story. His narrative presents experiences, perceptions and understandings as they developed within his social world but it is important to note that this world is not exclusively Apache; rather it involves members of other native communities as well as non-Indian neighbors, educators, bankers, politicians and academics. At times Alfred is able to articulate his motives and intentions for participating in this project {173, 174, 181, 184} and can identify the sources of his ideas {10, 16, 102}, but he is also vague {16, 61, 64} and even contradictory {102/104} and there are noticeable gaps as well. For example, there is almost no discussion of his second wife or his brothers and relatively little information about his children. A closer

examination of what was said, as well as what was omitted, may shed light upon the internal and external forces that influenced this particular collaborative biography.

I. Community Identity & Individual Sense of Self

This work has provided Alfred with an opportunity to relate his sense of self and community to a broader audience. In doing so, he draws heavily upon his identity as a member of the Apache tribe {59, 75, 167}; his multiple roles as grandson {28, 32, 37, 39, 183, 184}, son,[1] brother {68}, husband,[2] father {119, 133, 161, 182, 183} and grandfather;[3] real and fictive kinship with other native peoples {61, 179}; his economic, religious and political activities {109, 121, 128, 129, 136, 140, 142, 144, 148, 150, 152, 153, 155}; and his own perceptions of being a source of historical and cultural information {85, 134, 174, 180, 181}.[4] Such multiple identities have provided Alfred with a variety of resources to direct his life and overcome challenges; it will be useful to explore these social roles as they appear within the narrative text, and to consider how he has used them in meaningful ways.

Alfred's narratives confirm the understanding of individuals operating within social networks; for him these networks extend backwards in time as well as into the present and future {59, 68, 76, 110, 129, 136, 172}. Alfred feels very connected to his tribe's past; in describing the pre-reservation period he consistently references the experiences of his ancestors in the first-person plural "us" and "we," linguistically incorporating himself into his own community's history {105}. For example, when commenting on the creation of the reservation in 1867 he noted "we camp together and we council together…the government promise is give us schooling and give us hospital

and give us agency, they gonna give us ration…and they give us reservation here."[5] Whenever possible, Alfred attributes historical information to a grandparent or parent, but he also credits relatives in general, his kinfolks. This referential action has the effect of essentially positioning his narrative within larger community stories. "This I gather from my kinfolks and my father tells me some and my step-father and my mother, uncle but most of it from my step-father…Apache Ben he tells me about what he did ya know and what kind of people he associate with and he tells me about my grandpa ya know."[6] Interestingly, many of Alfred's own stories mirror this pattern by describing his activities, identifying the people he encountered, and discussing his grandparents. Importantly, Alfred's narratives provide a sense of connection between time, place, and family. For example, he asserts that while other tribes were divided by outside forces, Apaches had maintained an internal cohesiveness that is only now being threatened by inter-marriage {12, 13, 181}. He noted, "our Indians began to divide, but not Apaches. Apaches didn't, well they got religious, but they didn't lose their custom or culture, they didn't leave it."[7] Today however Alfred wonders, "why we can't see eye to eye ya know, we divided and there's no need for that. We small tribe, most of us related…my grandparents they wasn't like that…"[8] This shift in both time and perception illustrates Alfred's evolving understandings of community cohesion, suggesting that social positioning includes renegotiation as circumstances change and networks become more diffuse.

Alfred's social networks extend beyond his own community and into a non-Indian world that includes scholars. He is an avid reader of newspapers, fiction, and anthropological writings, and partially attributes his understanding of Apache history and culture to academic materials, particularly those produced by McAllister and Bittle {16}.

Of the Kiowa and Apache involvement in the Red River War, Alfred remarked "My father's folks ya know they were involve and I kinda believe it because I look at some of the interview with Doc McAllister and Doctor Bittle ya know. I was readin' it the other day..."[9] (emphasis mine). Alfred respects the work of these early ethnographers, but this is not to say that he accepts their conclusions without some commentary. In discussing their work he occasionally critiques the source,

> When McAllister worked with these people, like this Sky is my Tipi ya know, what he wrote in there ya know most of its alright, some of it I disagree with it ya know. I don't think that kind of language should be written...reason why I disagree with the person, that storyteller, and what he said about some people, I know these people and to me I think the alcohol was involved.[10]

Importantly, such meta-narration illustrates the process by which identity is crafted from internal, as well as external, elements and forces. It also demonstrates how alternative understandings are developed through challenge and negotiation. This aspect of community dialogue is not usually included in biographic texts, although it reveals some of the dynamic processes at work and also helps the reader to better understand how individual and group identity, as well as history, can be rewritten.

Alfred draws upon multiple sources of authority in constructing and verifying his narratives. His own experiences are the most frequently indicated {28, 31, 32, 37, 39, 40, 87, 107, 110, 182, 187} and he also references traditional sources of history and community information, particularly his grandparents, parents and Apache Ben {10, 13, 34, 35, 102, 167}. As previously noted, academic sources are accepted but can be challenged as unreliable or as gossip {16, 172, 184}. This diminished level of reliability is partially due to the community's historic unwillingness to participate in research {172, 173, 175, 176}; if Alfred and other members had participated more, he likely would make

greater use of scholarly materials. Instead, academic publications are generally used by Alfred to fill in the gaps when direct knowledge is unavailable. Ultimately, Alfred seems to question even the worth of his transcribed narratives by doubting that his own grandchildren will read them {184}, although many of them have already heard the stories firsthand. Such a ranking of relative worth stands in contrast to the preferences of historical scholars who generally valued the written record over the oral, using oral traditions to supplement the written record (Trigger 1982:10). Increasingly however scholars are according more weight to oral information (Trigger 1986:261), although a bias in favor of the written record likely persists. This contrast in perceptions and preferences operates to create multiple histories, indigenous and outsider. For Alfred, the internally constructed history appears to have greater validity and usefulness; here his story is told and retold in a manner that satisfies the needs of himself and his family, and perhaps his tribe as well.

Alfred's stories place great emphasis on his family relationships; he possesses extensive knowledge of tribal genealogy and is regularly consulted by others in the community {184}. In describing his ancestors' experiences, Alfred is careful to position these persons in relation to others, and is then able to situate himself within the larger community structure. He is clearly proud that his family has maintained a traditional focus and demonstrates this by mentally and verbally working through genealogies and associative family characteristics: "*Maynahonah*, her sister *Sal ti eh* and her brother was Kosope and half-brother is *Na ka sha ye*, Cadeso, that's her half-brother, my grandma, my mother's mother. They believe in the culture ya know...my mother's folks they all pow-wow people, peyote people and they culture people."[11] He consistently remarks

upon the values and teachings of his grandparents and credits his maternal grandmother's brother, Captain, for important advice: "he give me lot of lecture ya know…suggest that I be a man ya know…"[12] In listening to their oral narratives, Alfred learned how his ancestors had suffered from demoralization, hunger, disease, and loss, and how they managed to survive. Throughout his life, Alfred has drawn upon these connections, experiences and memories, offering examples of how such lessons have helped him in times of personal crisis. I asked him why he thought he had survived the tuberculosis that took his first wife and he replied, "I fought it, I fought it. Yeah I fought it. I made up my mind I want to live…"[13]

Apache kinship contains referential terms that are applied to same age sets, thus Alfred had many "grandfathers" and as McAllister concluded, "any old person is a grandparent" (1955:112). In our conversations Alfred would use both the referent and a name, enabling me and any other listeners to sort out the specific relationship {25, 26, 28, 31, 34}.[14] Alfred's most important social connection is to his non-biological grandfather, Apache John, from who he inherited land and religious rights that have important meaning and influence today. He and several of his family members currently live on Apache John's allotment land and it also provides them with some lease income. Alfred's narrative implies that Apache John's will signing was an important event, witnessed by several community members as well as by representatives from Fort Sill who brought several American flags: "they filled that room, that sittin' room. They filled it up and my grandpa talk ya know, he made will. Today what I got I want pass this onto my grandson, Old Man Tipi Pole he said, that's my name ya know." [15] Alfred asserts that his right to access valuable and important ceremonial rights was publicly acknowledged by other

community members: "I went in peyote meetin' when I was about sixteen and I was told that my grandpa, Apache John, left me his property and even that peyote, peyote road...when I first went in ya know they all knew that Apache John left me that peyote, peyote road."[16] However, I have heard a few tribal members contest Alfred's exclusive right to Apache John's road, demonstrating that assertions of identity and control over valuable resources are not always accepted by community members. But many community members do recognize Alfred's close ties to Apache John, and this narrative provides Alfred with an opportunity to strengthen his position. It is likely that Alfred will pass these inherited rights and properties on to some of his children, providing them with a resource to construct and articulate their own identity and place within the larger Apache community. Some community members may subsequently challenge the Chalepah family's claims to these resources, further demonstrating how social position is continually negotiated.

Alfred's narratives also reveal Apache values such as respect for parents, as well as an interesting social distance that McAllister described as a "feeling of formality" between the generations (1935:51). Alfred's own personal experiences of separation from his immediate family at an early age may be unique, though he and his parents later reunited with some difficulty. Although he spent some amount of time with surrogate parents, Alfred rarely discusses Apache Jay and his wife except to note, "I thought they were my parents ya know growing up"[17] "I...felt like he was my father ya know."[18] For a child, these were likely confusing circumstances and perhaps they attributed to Alfred's emotional distance from his father Alonzo, who did not have a clearly identified father of his own.[19] In his early forties, Alonzo was older than Rose when Alfred returned from the

Jay family; perhaps he was too old to connect with his young son. Fortunately for Alfred, extended family relations undercut many of these emotional tensions and uncertainties. Alfred was rarely alone; he had several adults to look after him and plenty of cousins to play with: "I had cousins ya know, we get together...we, us boys ya know, 'bout eight or ten of us we all got ridin' horse..."[20] "I stayed over there at Big Man's and Saddleblanket and Sidney High, and as I was growin' up we do lot of things, we young people ya know."[21] Importantly, Alfred learned how he was related to the other members of his community, negotiating complex social networks.

McAllister also noticed that there existed a closer, more intimate bond between Apache mother and child and that grown sons received favorable treatment from their mothers (1955:117, 118). Alfred admitted to me that "I have lot of respect for my father, not only when he was blind but even before he went blind"[22] but in reality he was much closer to his mother who survived her first husband by forty years, giving Alfred and Rose time to develop an adult relationship. These circumstances may have influenced Alfred's relationships with his own children and perhaps help to explain his somewhat limited discussion of them, although other factors such as Apache gender roles and men's activities outside the home may also clarify this omission. Of the twelve children from his second marriage, only two or three are briefly mentioned in Alfred's stories {119, 133, 161, 182}. He talks more openly of his first two daughters, but perhaps their early deaths from TB has isolated them in time, freeing Alfred from Apache social restrictions on discussing the deceased {111, 112}.[23] Despite this openness, some of Alfred's grandchildren were surprised to learn about these daughters.

Clearly some social roles and relationships have greater significance than others and are likely the result of community values, as well as personal preferences. McAllister noted there was a surprising degree of intimacy between the grandparents and grandchildren, and that Apaches love their grandparents more than their parents (1955:120, 121). Linguistically, this closer relationship is revealed by the Apache term *tsoyan* applied to both grandparent and grandchild. Alfred's narratives include stories of his grandchildren and his involvement in their education {185} and sports activities, perhaps a reflection of his relationship with his own grandfathers and the important role they played in his development {27, 35}. Several of Alfred's grandchildren and great-grandchildren live in his home and he is particularly close to one grandson, Beau, who assists Alfred with many of his daily activities. Alfred's narratives describe how he assisted Apache John, particularly as his grandfather's eyesight failed {37, 39}. This relationship is mirrored by the closeness between Alfred and Beau; as his own health declines it is likely that Alfred will depend more on Beau, maintaining traditional patterns of social behavior and organization. Presently, Alfred continues his roles as father, grandfather and provider, generously assisting with multi-generational family finances.

Despite the lack of discussion I believe that one of Alfred's most important roles has been as a husband. He has provided very little information on either of his two marriages, but does describe how they began. Structurally, both marriage narratives feature a similar starting point: how they met and how their relationship began in a relatively casual manner, with the more formal, legal marriage occurring later in time. In describing his first marriage, Alfred said "I asked her, I said wanna go? Yeah all right, that's all. No proposal, nothin...and we went out."[24] A similar process occurred with his

second wife, "Hey I said, you wanna go home? She didn't say nothin' ya know, and I said ya wanna go home? Well I guess I'll take you home ya know, so I took her home."[25] However, in both cases in-law approval of the relationship was needed {110, 118}. In recounting the end of his first marriage and its impact upon him, Alfred said "My wife die...and I think they burn everthin' she had and after the funeral I went home. I stayed 'bout a week, then I went back to the hospital...I stayed about two weeks...I didn't feel good, don't feel good, nothin's good...I began to drink, I hit it pretty heavy."[26] Alfred's drinking continued into his second marriage, but he quit upon the advice of his mother and stepfather {119}. He gives some interesting detail about his first marriage and is comfortable discussing his first wife. On several occasions I tried to direct the interviews toward his second wife Evelyn but Alfred was often reluctant to discuss her and was occasionally overcome with emotion. They had been together for more than fifty years and clearly he missed her very much. His narratives provide almost no details of this union and it seemed disrespectful to push the issue. This is one of the few topics that were too sensitive to discuss and as a result we generally avoided it, demonstrating that active omission is a part of the narrative construction process. However Alfred did admit the importance of his wife's support for him, noting "can't do it yourself, you got to have a companion ya know. She helps me, my wife...that what makes a philosophy, that make you a man you know because I give her home, my home ya know, and grandpa says that be a man and your position is man of the house."[27]

Such a long marriage was unusual and he struggles with his role as widower, but the death of Evelyn seems to have propelled Alfred out of retirement and back into community activities. He often expresses concerns about growing old and being alone;

these concerns have prompted him to remain active and to be around young people, including university students. Myerhoff's analysis of elders (1992) provides a very useful framework in understanding Alfred's concerns and activities. She found that seniors actively asserted their place in the present, resisting efforts to marginalize them into a remote past (1992:233-235). Alfred regularly participates in daily events, manages the family resources, and continues to assert his identity as a contributing member of his community. While many of his stories are about the past, he relates them in the present and incorporates them into contemporary events, suggesting how they can help to guide future behavior and decisions.

Alfred is generally recognized as being a knowledgeable elder and source of cultural information; this aspect of his identity is both imposed and self-asserted.[28] He has served as a consultant on many tribal projects including language revitalization programs, and has been interviewed by a number of scholars. One important identity marker is the use of language; Alfred's continuing use of the Apache language reinforces his place in Apache culture. I once asked if he thought of himself as a bridge between the past and present and he replied "well I feel, I feel the same as way back there. I feel I'm Apache and...I speak the language."[29] He is regularly asked to say a blessing in Apache or to confer a name, opportunities that reinforce and demonstrate his personal, as well as tribal, identity. Apache names symbolize personal characteristics and remind community members of significant accomplishments or important moment's in the tribe's history,[30] but today many tribal members are without an Apache name. Apache John conferred Alfred's name during one of the last Rabbit Dances, establishing an important symbolic

connection with the tribe's past. When Alfred received his name, it created a public and Apache identity apart from his English name:

> So during that Rabbit Dance ya know, when they give me that name, and the tribe all come to that kind of ceremony and they bring back the kinfolks' name and...the tribe will know this name is brought back and that's the way our culture is ya know...from that time on ya know they call me ya know, everbody, they don't call me Alfred and that's our culture ya know.[31]

Alfred remembers many of his relatives' names and, on occasion, transfers them to young people; such action mirrors Apache's John's role as ceremonial leader. It should be noted however that this is not Alfred's role alone; elders in other families perform similar functions and some effort is made to keep names within family lines. Interestingly, Alfred has even used his knowledge of language and names to advance tribal economic and political goals. Alfred's narrative includes a very humorous story of how the Apache honored Oklahoma Senator Mike Monroney for his role in the KCA Indian Claims Commission award by renting a feather bonnet from an area pawnshop and publicly giving him an Apache name {143, 150}. Alfred recalled the event:

> I said now we gonna give Mike name...breastplate, so today we like for Mike to be known as Breastplate ya know, *ba si de a* ya know, that's what I said...that's the way we feel and when we give names and we hope that ya know these people would know Apache name ya know...[32]

Alfred is extremely interested in his tribe's history and enjoys discussing it with community members, as well as with scholars. Here he has found a receptive audience; my own particular interest in allotment-era life likely influenced the elicitation and production phases of this project. Alfred routinely selects books, photocopies of academic journal articles, and other materials from the Culture Office shelves, reading them during breaks.[33] He often remarks on the importance of community members knowing their history and traditions; emphasizes the value of historic photographs {173};

and openly wishes more tribal members would participate in cultural events {184}. Here he breaks from previously held attitudes that limited some Apaches, including himself, from revealing cultural information to outsiders {172, 173, 176}. Now Alfred actively works to record as much as possible: "I think its good to know where you come from ya know, that's what we been strivin' for ever since McAllister came..."[34] In another interview session Alfred discussed photographs and copyright laws; he returned to the subject of tribal history stating "we like to make a book about our tribal leaders...well we like to...see if we could put our own use...we like to have 'em in our office or our complex..."[35] It was Alfred's own interests and his concern for tribal members that led us to this work, demonstrating that he is indeed a unique individual who draws upon a diversity of social networks, as well as his own characteristics, to construct his identity as both culture-bearer and culture-shaper.

II. Broader Social Networks

Alfred's social world extends beyond the Apache community as a result of economic, political, and religious interactions with members of other tribes, as well as non-Indians. This is an aspect of indigenous life that receives little attention in some Native American biographies; many of these texts instead present tribal life as being isolated from the larger American experience or they offer a top-down perspective where governmental agents interact only with community leaders. Today, as in the past, Indian people exist within complex, multi-cultural social worlds. The Apache have encountered the Other throughout their history; such interactions have, to some extent, shaped and transformed the Apache culture and genetic base. Historical records hint at interactions

and relationships with Arapaho and Pawnee, as well as more detailed associations with Kiowa, Comanche, Caddo and Wichita. Alfred's narratives illustrate how he and his relatives developed and maintained relationships with many different communities; as a result of such encounters, additional social positions have been were created for Alfred and his family.

From an early age Alfred interacted with both Apaches and non-Indians and learned to distinguish relatives from outsiders, developing different interaction skills and strategies. Some of his earliest memories include non-Indians, particularly white and Mexican farmers, who were among the first settlers in the newly opened reservation lands. Curiously, agency reports barely mention white farmers working on Indian lands {42, 44, 45}. From Alfred's narratives we gain a better understanding of this relationship: "like I was tellin' you, at one time poor white people live with Apaches, like Henry Mason. He live with Apache John ya know; John Beck live with Bitseedys..."[36] As a tribal leader, landowner and healer, Apache John looked after these poor farmers and also provided occasional health care: "Apache John he had Henry Mason, he had a family, they kinda on the poor side...they give Henry a cow when they first come there, Apache John give 'em a cow..."[37] Alfred played with these children, acquiring some English and they learned Apache. Apache John also had a Mexican laborer who assisted with various chores, "They got a Mexican there stay with 'em. His name is Pete, Pete Carr and he makes wood. He lives there with 'em and white people, Mason, live in that two room government house."[38] This perspective of non-Indian dependency on the Apache offers an interesting glimpse into reservation life. Some of these relationships persisted through time; Alfred's mother Rose cared for Pete as he aged until she placed him in the Indian

Hospital located in Lawton, Oklahoma. Many years later Alfred helped Jose Paukune, the son of a Mexican captive, obtain an agricultural loan to use on his father's allotment land.

Alfred's stories demonstrate an acceptance of whites, and offer strategies that were negotiated to mutual advantage. An example of this can be found in his account of attending silent films with a local non-Indian boy; Alfred and his Apache friends paid the boy's dime admission fee in exchange for his reading the English subtitles aloud {70, 77}. Presumably someone would then translate into Apache, making this an remarkable communication event. Alfred's narratives of his agricultural experiences illustrate how adult Apaches and non-Indians also worked together to maximize opportunities. As a young man during the Great Depression, Alfred sought employment from farmers in the area, exchanging labor for food {101}. Later these roles were reversed when his lease man paid the lease debt with produce {126} or exchanged labor for a share of the harvest. Alfred describes such reciprocal relations as being positive, informally sealed with a simple handshake: "at that time we got pride, I think both Indians and whites they got pride and dignity ya know. Shake hand, that's just as good as a contract."[39] Yet despite this perception, formal lease arrangements did exist and were supervised by the BIA. Efforts to modify or change such arrangements required some negotiation followed by agency approval. Initially Alfred wasn't well informed and relied upon agency personnel, "when I got my land it was through probate ya know. When that probate was approved they pay the bills ya know, funeral bills and debt, and the balance that was my account and I had quite a bit. I don't know, I never did ask why it is ya know..."[40]

After World War II however, Apache land-owners and farmers experienced a significant shift in social and economic relations with non-Indians. Farming activities

became more regulated as landowners were brought into agricultural program requirements {121, 125, 126}; Apache farmers found it difficult to secure loan money and were unable to purchase needed equipment {121}. Alfred's resources enabled him to purchase some equipment and he occasionally hired out his labor to neighboring white farmers, but eventually he sold his machinery and leased his land {127}. Today Apache land owners deal directly with their lease man, occasionally turning to more experienced relatives to help with disputes or negotiations rather than relying upon agency personnel. But it's clear from his remarks that Alfred preferred the reciprocal arrangements of the past; these more closely matched Apache values of reciprocity and created friendships not often found in today's cash economy.

Alfred's integration into a larger social world dominated by whites was through his boarding school experience. His narratives indicate both fear and respect for white teachers and dissatisfaction with their efforts to suppress indigenous culture. In describing his early school experiences, Alfred noted that "I wasn't wild ya know, I was taught ya know. I had manners for my teacher but I was a little shaken ya know, afraid..."[41] "My teacher's name was Miss Hoedaffil and every time I look at her ya know, kind afraid ya know. She's kind but to me ya know I seen them sticks...every time she look at me I get the shakes ya know."[42] Alfred's fear was partially due to his limited English,

> "I talk Apache ya know, very little English and I was kind afraid on account of that. Well my dad, my dad said be careful. He said when you talk don't act like you know full English ya know, talk Apache ya know and be careful."[43]

Alfred's narratives indicate that he understood the government's goals in educating Indians, although he was frustrated by their prohibitions on cultural expression: "they

were kinda careful about their administration, how to teach Indian to be white citizen…they try hard not to touch anythin' like any of our culture or our Indian way and our language, songs. They try to teach us self-dependent."[44] Despite such prohibitions, Alfred's stories demonstrate that students wanted to express their identity as Indian. He genuinely enjoyed telling the story of how Riverside students received permission to wear Indian costumes one Halloween making wigs from yarn, using chicken feathers, and painting their faces with lipstick and ink {96, 100}. Sadly it seems to be one of the few times they were allowed to express their heritage, "we celebrate, we dress Indian but before that anything we do or say we gotta keep our culture out."[45]

Alfred enjoyed his school experiences, particularly the farm work and the opportunity to be involved in various projects, a character trait that continues today {92, 99}. He noted that

> "when I was there I like that school and I showed 'em that ya know I could help anywhere…they begin to know that I could do anything ya know…I'm helpful just like out here, I enjoy it. I try to put in extry, that's what makes me feel good."[46]

Additionally, his narratives hint at early leadership qualities and a concern for the younger students who faced difficult transitions. Generally the staff regarded Alfred as responsible and even allowed him to hold the key that unlocked the ball and chain punishment used on truant students {92}. However, Alfred openly challenged the school administration in regards to young bed-wetters:

> "I feel sorry for these little, little ones specially when its cold…they have to take their quilt out there, clothesline, they want them little people do that themselves. I don't 'gree with that, I help 'em. Yeah I pretty nearly got punished for it but I went to the superintendent on that. I said I care for those little ones…that bother me, that bothered me ya know."[47]

In addition to describing Apache experiences with non-Indians, the narratives illustrate how Apaches interacted with other tribes, including the Mescalero Apache and the Cheyenne-Arapaho. Through Ben Chaletsin, Alfred and his family developed an association with Mescalero Apache residing in New Mexico,[48] while kinship with the Arapaho was extended through Captain's wife Josephine {83, 84}. Alfred's stories help us to better understand the historic social relationship that existed between the Arapaho and Apache communities early in the Twentieth Century: "we had one Apache woman she was married to Arapaho, his name was Swappin'Back ya know. His wife is related to my grandpa Captain's wife, they cousins and that's how come my grandpa Cap he sings inside that arena, Sun Dance."[49] Alfred described how Captain and Swapping Back overcame language barriers by the use of plains sign talk {85}, "they tell stories and in sign language, both of 'em, and that's where I pick up some sign language."[50]

> "Nighttime they put that tobacco, put it over here, and they got lantern up here ya know and they talk sign language ya know. Oooo they get kick out of it too. I lay there and watch ya know, I watch it all. When my grandpa talks sign language he talks Apaches ya know and that's where I learned it ya know. I never practiced them but I know biggest part of it. When somebody talk to me I still could talk it ya know."[51]

This type of communication event, combining oral speech and performed hand gestures, illustrates yet another way in which Alfred's knowledge connects him the Apache past. Tribal members still use hand gestures but few are fluent in sign talk, although some have expressed interest in learning. Alfred told me that he found sign to be a very useful means of communicating with older relatives; today he and his son Alonzo and grandson Beau regularly exchange information through gesture, demonstrating continuity between the past, present and future. Alfred's knowledge and use of sign language offers us an interesting example of a fairly limited communication resource, one that few are able to

access or use. In contrast, Alfred and his family tap into this opportunity and use it to their advantage. As a result of prolonged contact with Alfred, I too have found hand gestures to be a valuable communication tool.[52]

Historic reciprocal relations between tribes became more fully developed with the Native American Church, an early pan-Indian movement that supplemented the efforts of white missionaries. In less than one hundred years the Native American Church has spread throughout the United States and Canada, increasing opportunities for members of diverse tribal groups to come together for peyote meetings as well as social gatherings. Alfred's narratives demonstrate how Apaches draw upon multiple spiritual paths to create and organize understandings. Like Apache John, Alfred was baptized even though his family was very active in the Native American Church {29, 132, 134}. Later he and his wife participated in local Methodist and Baptist Churches, along with other tribal members where they experienced a sense of community {108}. Alfred is a deeply spiritual person and stresses the importance of religion noting, "each home should have one…I got boys and I got girls, I don't tell 'em you go to Catholic, you go to Baptist ya know. Its up to them to decide."[53] He sees no conflict in being a Christian, medicine bundle keeper, and a member of the Native American Church {183}. When I asked how he navigated these philosophies, he simply replied "I'm human and the way I hear it I come from Mother Earth."[54] For Alfred and his family these diverse religious practices and ideas complement others, enabling them to worship in a variety of ways. Using Bittle's materials, Schweinfurth has reached similar conclusions about Apaches in general (2002:200-201). Curiously, this accommodating perspective stands in stark contrast to the attitudes of early missionaries who viewed traditional indigenous beliefs as

well as the Native American Church as competition, preventing Indians from truly finding salvation.[55] Alfred notes that while some missionary activities benefited the Apache: "they teach the Indian, learn to work and learn to cook and learn a better livin' like better system, how to live in homes ya know, like clean homes"[56] he is also deeply critical of their efforts to devalue indigenous culture.[57]

Alfred's social world was significantly expanded by his participation in peyote meetings, as well as his involvement in the Church's organizational structure. This system features local chapters, grass-roots groups, providing leadership opportunities separate from the Business Committee or church deacon positions. In the early 1930s Alfred, his father, and several cousins coordinated a local chapter by organizing fund-raising activities, acquiring necessary supplies, and running peyote meetings {127, 128, 132, 135}. Local chapters also sent delegates to the state-level organization for religious and political discussions, as well as meetings with governmental officials {136, 137}. Participants gained valuable experience in accessing formal and informal decision-making mechanisms, using them to assert indigenous religious and political rights. In 1960 Alfred was elected Vice-Chairman of the Native American Church of Oklahoma and traveled extensively, discussing organizational structure as well as running meetings {129}. As a result of his involvement in the Native American Church for more than fifty years, Alfred became acquainted with many tribal leaders and non-Indian politicians {137}. Friendships with local and state politicians were subsequently tapped for other tribal matters, such as constitutional recognition and economic development.

Throughout the elicitation process Alfred repeated several stories, emphasizing his contribution to politics and community life. Alfred's introduction to tribal politics

came as a result of his participation in the KCA's Indian Claims Commission hearings in 1936; his narrative of this event reveals the informal way that Apaches recognized leaders and made group decisions. At that time the Apache had no elected Business Committee; consequently Tennyson Berry volunteered to participate. Other older men present declined, but selected Alfred to assist {142}. Alfred remembered "my uncle knew that ya know I was kinda active and he said...you could work with him...you could learn off him..."[58] Berry informed the BIA of this selection and Alfred served four years as a tribal representative {148}, noting "its kind hard life ya know when you workin' for the people ya know. Some don't take no for answers and then we don't have that kind of money and they get sore..."[59] With limited financial resources available, tribal leaders had to find or create innovative solutions and strategies, as well as cultivate personal skills to deal with governmental representatives. Alfred's narratives show how he used his pleasant demeanor to negotiate community complaints with local BIA personnel; it appears that polite conversations and occasional threats to take matters to the Washington offices were effective skills in dealing with the Area Director. In 1970 Alfred was selected to serve on a committee drafting a tribal constitution for a referendum vote {152}. Bypassing local agency input, he and two other committee members drove to Washington D.C. and met with BIA officials to write the document, despite some opposition from tribal members. The Bureau supported the committee's efforts and together they prepared a constitutional document formally creating the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma. Alfred's colleagues urged him to run for the position of Tribal Chairman but he lost to Frank Red Bone. In 1976 Alfred was elected Tribal Chairman; he also served as one of the two Apache delegates to the joint KCA Business Committee and became Chair

of the KCA Land Use Committee {140, 141, 144-146, 155}. Alfred attributes his experiences as a farmer, owner of leased allotment lands, and family provider in dealing with banks and the federal government on tribal matters. He explained:

> "Ya know I thought a whole lot about our property and I look at it just like where I live ya know. It seemed my intention is what I got and how to look at it and how to take care of it, so when I got on that Land Use Committee I done all I can."[60]

Alfred enjoys retelling stories about his efforts to protect and restore tribal lands and probably regards this as one of his most significant contributions to his community. Today he maintains an interest in these properties, noting:

> "I don't know what happened after I retire, but still my concern ya know...Ya know even though you retire its always somethin' on your mind ya know, what was important, what has to be looked at...that's the way I felt."[61]

Alfred was also involved in the creation of an Apache tribal membership roll needed to distribute the Indian Claims litigation awards among the three tribes {151} and his extensive knowledge of family relationships and genealogies likely assisted in this important task. A difficult component of the work involved making provisions for seventy-four children adopted out of the three tribes; Alfred attended a regional conference on this issue and spoke on its importance to the Apache community {153}. As his narratives reveal, Alfred is an effective public speaker; many of the other conference attendees appear to have recognized his leadership skills and donated their time to him.

> "I talk...my five minutes was gone about four times. While I'm talking [another] said my numbers this, I want that gentleman take my number. I got five more minutes ya know. Yeah it takes effort, it takes effort ya know, be honest about it ya know."[62]

This unresolved issue still bothers Alfred today. He is particularly vocal about the importance of keeping Apache families together, allowing relatives to care for children rather than removing them to the custody of the Department of Human Services. In his

own family Alfred has cared and provided for several grandchildren and great-grandchildren when their parents were unable to do so. In this and many other issues, Alfred draws upon his own personal experiences and uses those understandings to make a contribution to his family and community.

III. Power and Control in the Collaborative Process

Alfred truly enjoys relating his life's experiences and does so often; his audiences include family, friends and neighbors, as well as scholars. Although the recitation of such narratives to an outsider with recording equipment is an unusual communications event, Alfred has had many opportunities to participate and is very familiar with the process. In contrast to other forms of discourse, interviews are generally more structured and bounded. All of our interviews were conducted in the tribal offices, lasting an hour or two on a fairly regular schedule. Alfred was extremely comfortable with the recording equipment and accommodated my needs; his experience and patience mitigated any possible tensions and made the process more successful than I could have imagined. As a result, several more projects are planned for the extensive amount of information he has generously provided.

In the past, the non-Indian partner played a greater role in the interview; today indigenous participants may assert more control over both topic selection, as well as the presentation style. For this project, Alfred's interests and performances influenced both the narrative content and its presentation. He seemed to know where he wanted the sessions to go, and often used a chronological structure to guide his narrative. As previously noted, the topics were drawn from Alfred's extensive repertoire of experiences

and stories and I was consistently amazed at his ability to weave a narrative over such a wide range of ideas, bringing it back to the starting point just as the tape was about to end. Likely this was the result of both planning and practice; many of his stories were ones that he had told before, perhaps several times, enabling him to develop both their structure and outcome. His control over the process was aided to some degree by his hearing disability; he seemed genuinely unable to hear my questions and minor interruptions were so disruptive that I learned to avoid them, allowing him to proceed unhindered. Additionally, my own lack of knowledge limited my participation in the beginning; Alfred's assertion of control proved more effective for him when I offered less resistance. Initially I knew so little about the topics that I tried to sit quietly, not really knowing how to participate. Later, as stories were repeated and as I read more of the academic literature, I began to understand some of his narratives. Near the end of our work together I began to write specific questions, presenting him with a list of five or six to select from, with the express purpose of addressing omissions and clarifying conflicting points. In essence, my needs and behavior supplemented Alfred's choices and helped to direct and regulate the elicitation process. Note, for example, the greater amount of interaction in the discussion of Alfred's personal philosophies {183-185}, as I attempted to direct his responses with specific questions. I did not do this in the beginning of the work nor during the narration of his life experiences; a direct line of inquiry became more available as our friendship developed and I felt more comfortable asking about topics that we had not been able to explore.

Eliciting information is just one aspect of the biography construction process. Other important tasks include locating and reviewing archival materials; recording and

transcribing interviews; selecting and arranging the various items; and finally assembling it all into a complete form. I am responsible for much of the editorial work but I have discussed many of these tasks with Alfred, seeking his advice on how best to proceed. Previously, the researcher did most, if not all of this work by assuming an editorial role; this had the effect of shifting power away from the narrator. Conversely, power is returned when we consult with our partner on the necessary decisions and editorial tasks. Each project is different and the extent and type of collaboration will depend in part upon the participants as well as the goals. In this project Alfred was more involved with some aspects of the work than with others, essentially sharing as well as abdicating power, depending upon the task. His level of involvement was generally a pragmatic decision based upon his health, access to information, my willingness to volunteer, and his previous experiences with researchers. Likely he knew what he was willing and able to contribute, leaving the rest up to me.

Initially neither of us was sure how to proceed or where to start. As a way of stimulating our discussions I made copies of journal articles, books, dissertations and photographs.[63] I gave a copy of each to Alfred or placed it on file in the tribe's Cultural Program office where he likes to read between interview sessions. Some of these materials were specific to the Apache tribe, giving Alfred an opportunity to comment upon or critique prior ethnographic work. Others focused on Kiowa culture and history, enabling Alfred to fill in the Apache side of the story. Sometimes we would discuss these items in detail, other times they served to remind Alfred of an experience. Occasionally he would bring in his own materials and they would prompt the narrative direction; these contributions were particularly interesting as they often covered matters that I had not

anticipated. An example of this is Alfred's discussion of Land Use Committee activities, supplemented by his own photographs. In general, we both proposed topics for discussion and shared our materials with one another; Alfred generously allowed me to make copies of his documents and I gave him copies of our jointly produced documents.[64]

When I first approached Alfred's family to discuss this project, his son Alonzo asked what they would receive in return for Alfred's participation. Initially I was surprised by this question, but later realized that reciprocity involved more than copies of transcripts and consultation fees paid from research grants. In an effort to give something to the community in general I made photocopies of almost everything I found, creating a small research library in the tribal office. I also provided duplicate prints of each photograph I took, giving them to individuals or placing them in an album kept in the Culture Programs office.[65] The tribe has used some of my photos in their annual youth camp booklets and also in their 2002 calendar. Apaches recognize the value in research materials and are interested in them; while most archival facilities are open to the public, exploring their collections can be a specialized task. Several tribal members, including Alfred, have expressed interest in visiting local facilities but in fact they almost never do.[66] In this they rely upon scholars to locate and retrieve historical materials. It can be argued that such reliance effectively diminishes indigenous control over the past, limiting the ability of tribal members to produce a counter-version of recorded history. Alternatively, some may view this as a means of acquiring valuable materials with minimal effort while researchers, wanting to make a positive impression, willingly oblige. By opening themselves up to scholars, indigenous communities create a relationship that can offer mutual advantages. In essence, scholars are a resource to be

tapped and managed. Researchers that violate Apache expectations are not welcomed back; during my fieldwork I know of two individuals who collected information but failed to give anything in return, and the tribe has since terminated their work. Some community members understand the academic process and participated out of friendship, satisfying internally identified goals.[67] Others however remain guarded and have made it clear that they believe it is inappropriate to share community information with outsiders.

In this project Alfred contributed not only his words, but also his beliefs, understandings, memories and concerns. He relied upon me to record and transcribe the interviews and I assumed this would simply be a secretarial task. Surprisingly, he offered little input into this phase of the project and expressed no interest in getting copies of the transcriptions. By removing himself from this process, Alfred effectively transferred some power and control to me. After experimenting with several possibilities, I decided that the raw transcriptions should contain as much information as possible including false starts; references to gestures; notations on changes in pitch or volume; and Alfred's own word choice.[68] These raw transcriptions appear as an almost endless stream of words, separated by moments of silence, with almost no punctuation or sentence structure. As such, they are quite difficult to read. The selections offered in this paper are a compromise between Alfred's oral performance and a tightly structured text emphasizing proper word selection, sentence and paragraph organization, and appropriate punctuation. Hopefully this compromise creates a space for Alfred's words among an audience of readers. This approach follows the suggestions of Tedlock (1971) enabling indigenous voices to be heard, or more accurately read, while reducing the effects of outside authority and expectations. Such mediation balances control over Alfred's words, making

them available to a broader audience but also retaining as much of the oral performance as possible.

In arranging the narrative, I have followed Alfred's preference for chronology. Here Alfred challenges the assumption that chronological structures are imposed upon indigenous narratives from the outside or that he has rejected an indigenous understanding of time as cyclical. I would suggest that Alfred does indeed see time as a linear process; when using hand gestures he indicates the past as occurring behind his back, while hands moving away from the front of his body illustrate future action. It is unclear whether this is an Apache concept of time or Alfred's own perception; additional inquiry into sign talk, Apache linguistics, and Alfred's understandings may help to clarify this issue.[69] Another issue relevant to the arrangement of narrative materials concerned categorization; Alfred's conversations often ranged over several topics, and some ideas easily transitioned into others. Generally life histories are divided into discrete categories such as youth, education, employment, marriage and religion. Interestingly, Alfred's narratives revealed alternative organizational possibilities; I have selected the categories and determined which components to include and exclude. These acts suggest a collaborative blending of ideas and expectations, diffusing power and control. In reality however I made most of the decisions. I consciously made an effort to balance the amount of material offered with six chapters attributable to me and five to Alfred, but that I made this choice again demonstrates how much authority I possess relative to Alfred, despite my attempts to generate an illusion of balance. Most of the organizational and editorial decisions were made to accommodate my vision and meet my dissertation

needs; but a different project, a manuscript intended for a general audience, would generate other possibilities and be enhanced by greater consultation with Alfred.[70]

This analysis chapter particularly shifts power away from Alfred; his words serve to bolster my arguments and illustrate my conclusions. It was written without his advice or consent and I suspect that he might find it to be an inappropriate use of his materials. One of Alfred's real concerns is the theft of property, both real and cultural: "I tell the people don't take anything that don't belong to you and don't copy."[71] Alfred's intention was to record tribal history as well as his own experiences, not necessarily to participate in a discussion of power or the construction of identity although he understood that the work was being conducted as part of my university education. This analysis and discussion can be understood as my assertion of control over the process, demonstrating the unequal access to power that scholars continue to have, even in collaborative projects. Alfred was never forced to reveal anything but probably did so out of friendship, as much as from a desire to record specific facts and understandings about himself and his community. Alfred regulated the information, editing ideas and omitting material. Sometimes he would specifically indicate when he was doing this, other times he would allude to people or concepts without clearly identifying them. I also noticed that he expected me to know and understand some aspects without any further comments from him. I have intentionally omitted some information that might offend tribal members and limit my ability to continue working in the community on other projects; this is a strategy that other anthropologists working with the Apache have pursued. Alfred remarked that Bittle did not appear to take sides during community conflicts {179}, although a review of Bittle's field notes locates personal comments concerning his informants and various

issues. Keeping these observations and impressions relatively private allowed Bittle to work with several factions, developing multiple perspectives of Apache culture.[72] Ultimately social encounters require each of us to devise interaction strategies. Alfred actively uses both indigenous and dominant culture to shape and disseminate his presentation of self, while I work to create, and maintain, a place for myself among tribal members.

Collaborative Biography as Product

Over the years anthropologists have collected and examined various types of information in an effort to better understand individuals as well as their communities. Much of what we know about the Plains Apache, for example, is drawn from historical records, examinations of other Southern Plains native communities, and a limited amount of academic research, most of it unpublished. Together these sources create a framework to better understand the Apache community; such a picture can then be filled by the personal life stories of tribal members such as Alfred and Joe Blackbear.

Like other ethnographic materials, biographies provide valuable insight on community history, organization, social status, and individual attributes, along with the construction and presentation of identity. In addition to cultural data, personal narratives also provide scholars with a unique focus upon individual experiences and accomplishments, presenting the narrator's point of view. This has the effect of humanizing ethnographic facts (Brumble 1988:57), adding an important perspective to our understanding of individuals in society. This particular project shares continuities with previous life histories, and also draws upon more recent critiques, in an effort to

address as many aspects of one man's life story as possible. As in traditional biographies, Alfred's narratives present historic tribal information, detailed genealogies, discussions of his various social roles, and examples of his own personal attributes and understandings. Like Cruikshank's partners, Alfred demonstrates how elders draw the past into the present, creating an influential space for themselves from which to continue making contributions to their community. Together these materials offer us an opportunity to better understand not only Plains Apache history and culture, but also how experience and personality combine and direct community life in certain ways.

I. Uses of Life History Materials

One of Alfred's explicitly stated reasons for participating in the project was the recording of Apache cultural history. This history is less well known than those of other Southern Plains tribes, such as the Kiowa and Comanche. As McAllister concluded: "In all this material available for the Plains, the Kiowa Apache are merely a name. To use the oft-repeated phrase, they are conspicuous by their absence" (1935:2). Such an absence may be the result of several factors including low population, few well-known leaders, language complexities, and the limited number academic materials available to the public.

Historically, the Plains Apache had a small population relative to other tribes. Agency records illustrate that from reservation times until World War II tribal population was below 300 (see Appendix I). Historical accounts generally cite a similar population; such low numbers probably limited contact with outsiders and likely influenced community strategies to maintain a low profile, avoiding potentially disastrous conflicts.

Tribal enrollment is still low in comparison with Kiowa and Comanche. Consequently, the Apache hold only two of the twelve KCA Business Committee seats, diminishing both their visibility and political power. The Plains Apache also lacked colorful and dynamic leaders such as Quanah Parker, Santanta, and Geronimo, later popularized by the press. The life stories of these leaders have been written and rewritten, and even disseminated to the public through movies and television. Additionally, the Apache language is reputed to be more difficult to learn, effectively preventing outsiders from developing a linguistic foothold into the community. Some Apaches learned Kiowa as well as Comanche, but it is unclear how many of their neighbors knew or used the Apache language. As a small, closely-knit community the Apaches have a long-standing reputation of being closed to outsiders; early in my fieldwork I heard this from other scholars as well as from tribal members. This attitude seems to have been more prevalent in the past, although it continues today. As Alfred noted on several occasions: "they welcome McAllister [but] we were told not to tell anything. I was that way..."[73] "Most of 'em was backwards ya know, that's the way Apaches was ya know. They don't want tell nothin' to nobody, specially stranger."[74] "They were 'fraid ya know. Well they tell us not to talk about ya know anything."[75] Such attitudes have effectively limited the amount and kind of information available to scholars and the general public. Some topics, such as the medicine bundles, are less openly discussed with outsiders, and the preferences for gender separation are still maintained by some community members. These factors effectively shield the Apache from public view.

It is possible to acquire a general understanding of Apache life from military, agency, and missionary records although these accounts usually focus upon other tribal

groups, particularly the Kiowa and Comanche. Likely the Apache faced similar challenges as their reservation co-occupants and may have even employed similar strategies, but this is not always clear from the available evidence. Apache oral histories are particularly valuable in supplementing the historical record and filling information gaps. It appears that McAllister, Brant and Bittle all collected oral histories, although their complete files are not available; a brief review of Mooney's Kiowa materials archived at the Smithsonian also hints at possible contributions (Merrill 1997:136-170). McAllister actively interviewed elders in the early 1930s, focusing on social organization and kinship structure. Fortunately he published fairly extensively, using the materials he had gathered during his fieldwork; these academic journal articles are a valuable source of ethnographic data and insightful analysis. McAllister probably recorded a large amount of other materials including individual as well as community history; unfortunately his field notes are unavailable and may have been destroyed after his death.[76] These materials would likely provide a great deal of information about the Apache life and their absence makes subsequently collected narratives even more important; among these are the materials collected by Brant during his fieldwork in the 1940s.

A valuable source of information describing late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century Apache life and culture is Brant's life history of Joe Blackbear (Brant 1969), based upon information collected over a five-week period in the late 1940s. Blackbear was born in 1878, the son of a respected warrior, army scout, and community historian/story-teller. Blackbear experienced the late-reservation and allotment periods and his narrative describes conditions and events that Alfred's grandparents and parents

may have also experienced. Like Alfred's narrative, Blackbear's includes folk stories and community histories he heard from his relatives. Despite these valuable contributions, the book suffers from what it fails to provide. Among the text's limitations is its emphasis on past events, rather than contemporary life. It offers little information about the world beyond the Apache community; Blackbear does not discuss, or at least Brant does not present, information on how outside political and economic forces impacted the tribe. Brant indicates that Blackbear's narrative covers early childhood up to the late 1940s, but it really seems to end sometime in the early 1920s. Curiously there is no discussion of the economic Depression of the 1930s, although Blackbear suggests that he worked on WPA projects in the area (Brant 1969:107). It is a slim publication and likely does not include all the information given to Brant; a follow up to Brant's notes would enhance the materials. The book should also be considered in light of the textual conventions of Brant's time; the material is heavily edited, uses Standard English and features little analysis. It also lacks a description about how the information was collected and assembled, and provides no discussion of Blackbear's narrative performance. Importantly, both McAllister and Brant offer extensive details on Apache kinship and social organization, and their work is particularly useful in understanding traditional customs and values. An expanded reprint of this work could feature information collected by Bittle and his student's from Blackbear's son, Ray.[77] Despite its limitations, Blackbear's narrative adds unique personal details to the historical record, and offers a glimpse into one man's life and experiences. These are in many ways quite different from Alfred's perspective, but together they help us to better understand some aspects of Apache culture.

William Bittle and his students continued to research Apache life and culture during the 1950s and 1960s. Bittle published several important journal articles based upon his findings, although much of it deals with cultural continuity rather than change. An exception to this is his discussion of the revived Blackfeet Society, providing an interesting view on how some traditions endure and change to meet new circumstances.[78] Schweinfurth's recent publication (2002) on Apache religion draws upon Bittle's materials, presenting a vivid picture of traditional beliefs but, like Bittle, she avoids matters of conflict and controversy, forces that often drive change and produce innovation. Ultimately the materials collected by previous scholars enhance our understandings of Apache culture and history, but also create the need for supplementary information. In many ways Alfred's narratives maintain this focus upon the past, but his stories also present a changing view of community life.

An important critique of many Native American ethnographic and biographic projects is their presentation of indigenous communities as either frozen in time, or as being timeless and unchanging. Life histories can contribute to our understandings of changes in both community life and structure. Like other indigenous populations, Apaches rapidly integrated into the dominant society after the Second World War as a result of intermarriage, employment, relocation, and boarding school experiences. Consequently, some of the older customs have been modified, while others have been maintained. Alfred's narratives offer interesting examples of both continuity and change. Like Apache youth in the past, Alfred received a family name and participated in the Rabbit Society {59}. This youth group inducted Apache children into the community, but had ended approximately twenty years before McAllister arrived to conduct fieldwork.

Today most tribal members do not have an Apache name and are, arguably, disconnected from the social mechanisms that define and integrate individuals into their society. Much of Alfred's youth was spent interacting with cousins {70, 75, 76, 79}; while Apaches are still socially close to their relatives, they do not camp together for extended periods. Instead, the tribe organizes periodic youth group functions, enabling children to camp and socialize for a few days at a time during the summer months. Alfred regularly participates in these youth camps, telling stories and praying in the Apache language before meals. Such activity provides continuity between the past and present, as well as between elders and tribal youth.

Apache social structure continues to emphasize the close bonds between grandparents and grandchildren, although some of Alfred's children and grandchildren have moved away to pursue educational and economic opportunities among non-Indians, returning only once or twice a year to visit. Several of these children and grandchildren have married non-Indians, and none speak Apache. These trends appear throughout the community and while the Chalepah family is quite unique, it is also representational of other families. Succeeding generations may develop fewer connections to their community and come to know their family stories through books, rather than personal encounters with elders. Publications, such as the internally produced youth camp booklets, regularly feature materials on tribal history, language, political leaders, the Native American Church and include historic photographs. These booklets are seen as an important resource for adults, as well as tribal youth who receive little information on Apache culture or history in the area's public schools.

Importantly, Alfred's own personal characteristics and understandings have set him on a distinct road. Unlike his parents, Alfred enjoyed his formal education {92}, married outside the Apache tribe {110}, and used English as the family's *lingua franca*. While Alfred's father, Alonzo, was involved in many community projects he did not participate in the political institutions such as the Business Committee; in contrast both Alfred and his son, Alonzo, have been politically active as members of the Business Committee, Apache Tribal Director for the American Indian Exposition Board, and Apache Tribal Chairman. With access to improved transportation, Alfred has undoubtedly traveled more extensively than his parents; a great many of his narratives describe these journeys in considerable detail {64, 66, 71, 83, 85, 152, 170} and although he is in his nineties, Alfred still loves to travel.[79] Some of these adventures are used to maintain distant kinships and friendships, while others are to obtain peyote or conduct tribal business. In this regard he continues with aspects of the Apache's semi-nomadic past. Similarly, Alfred's grandson, Harold Neconie, Jr., also enjoys travel and wanders the pow-wow circuit with other young men from the area.

Biographical materials illustrate social roles and status, demonstrating how they change over a person's lifetime. Additionally, they can reveal community expectations and how individuals behave to meet or reject these conventions. Alfred has occupied a variety of social positions throughout his life including schoolboy, farmer, teacher, and tribal leader. He has also been a friend, brother, uncle, widower, grandfather and many more. These positions ebb and flow with time; some end, while others begin or change under new circumstances. While occupying each of these places Alfred has drawn upon his own personal characteristics, as well as aspects of Apache culture, to do the best that

he could. But he also innovates and makes new roads when necessary. An early example of this appears in the Riverside stories; although just a student himself, Alfred displayed leadership and negotiation skills when he arranged for young children to dry their soiled sheets inside the warm basement rather than being left out in the cold, open to public ridicule {92}. Another example can be found in his discussion of KCA Land Use Committee activities when he arranged for individual and group field trips, paid for by the Soil Conservation Department, to inspect tribal properties {146}. By tapping into alternative resources and using innovative methods, Alfred has made a new place for himself and his community. A third example of this ability to negotiate and use personal relationships to advance his own goals is in his participation with academic research. By accessing dominant forms of discourse to spread his messages Alfred has positioned himself and his community into a larger social world; through such actions Alfred has constructed new social positions, modified previously held attitudes, and established the boundaries for future interactions. The collaborative production of academic writings, such as this one, enables him to reach a broader audience, situating himself in the near- and perhaps distant-future, effectively creating yet another place for himself and the Apache tribe.

Biographies provide narrators with an opportunity to step beyond the ethnographic details of community life and to demonstrate individual characteristics. Early examples of Native American biography minimized these personal attributes, focusing instead on representative features (Radin 1920); alternatively, other projects presented the memoirs of chiefs or great men (Neihardt 1932). Contemporary projects mediate these approaches, presenting a variety of community members who are neither

great nor representative, using their experiences to demonstrate individual characteristics and responses. One example of this is Alfred's openness with family, friends, and even strangers. He readily admits that he is not shy, enjoys interacting with the public, and often volunteers to help with a project, paying his own expenses when necessary {99, 108, 109, 131, 182, 184}. These characteristics appear to be slightly unusual for Apaches, who are generally reserved among community members as well as outsiders. For Alfred, his interest and willingness to participate have proven invaluable in achieving many important personal and tribal goals, particularly when dealing with dominant cultural institutions where these characteristics are seen as appropriate leadership attributes.

It is important to note that the recognition of individual achievement is not solely a western action; indigenous communities had, and continue to have, mechanisms for public display of an individual's life. Historically Apache men demonstrated their achievements through pictographs or personal ornamentation.[80] Today personal accomplishments are recognized by honor dances and tribally issued certificates; Alfred regularly receives such recognition and often uses the opportunity to publicly talk about his life. By framing his personal remarks within community-based paradigms he uses culturally available resources to disseminate his understandings and to situate himself in the present.

A valid critique of anthropological research is its predominant emphasis on men, resulting in less information about the lives of indigenous women (Bataille and Sands 1984). As previously noted, much of the existing Native American biographic literature focused upon the experiences of older men. Here narrative topics often centered upon personal achievements, often publicly acknowledged, rather than personal characteristics.

This seems to provide textual continuity with traditional narratives, such as warrior's coup stories. In contrast, it was assumed that women's narratives link identity with family rather than personal attributes and accomplishments.[81] Alfred's stories seem to follow along this traditional line, suggesting that men's identity is linked to observable public action rather than private thoughts and reflections. At the same time his narratives demonstrate that men do in fact draw upon their own inner strengths to meet challenges and construct understandings {92, 116, 117, 183}. For men however, such admissions seem to come out of crisis, such as illness, death or loss, and from religious discussions. It may be that men's communication practice includes fewer opportunities to express such thoughts, while women's communication offers greater possibilities. However, this approach suggests that a gender-specific analysis may be less useful than one that examines each person's story on its own merits. In the past, such limitations may have been the result of audience preferences, anthropological suppositions, or the relationship between participants. Contemporary projects have benefited from theoretical discussions that seek to reveal more complex social processes, helping us to see men and women in multiple dimensions. Subsequent research projects will need to incorporate information obtained from women, as well as men, to craft a balanced understanding of culture and society.

Alfred's narrative takes us beyond the Apache community, illustrating the rapid pace of life experienced by Americans throughout the Twentieth Century. His stories explore changes in technology from a time before radio, to the American fascination with cars, and today's life saving medical technologies. Each of these have touched Alfred's life and contributed to his worldview, but they are not unique to Apaches as Alfred

regularly concludes. It is interesting to note how members of the Apache community in general, and Alfred in particular, have responded to such historic changes in the American experience. During much of his youth, residents of southwest Oklahoma farmed with mules or teams of horses {20}. Transportation was often pedestrian, although some used horses, wagons, buggies and occasionally the railroad {66, 70, 71, 83, 85}. Communication was slow, keeping families isolated unless they camped together {57, 69}. Alfred's narratives reveal that health care was also limited; local white doctors and BIA field matrons visited the sick, but had few medications to dispense {51, 117}. Some Apache, including Alfred's mother and grandmother, continued to use herbal remedies or consulted Apache John for his Buffalo Medicine and peyote road {29, 38, 46}. Farmers stored their garden produce in cool cellars and smoked butchered meat, and Apaches used traditional sun drying techniques for meat and fruit {73, 82, 124}.

According to Alfred, changes in technology, social orientation, clothing and even hairstyles became more noticeable in the 1920s and 1930s {77, 91}. Tennyson Berry and Alfred's uncle Henry Archilta were among the first Apaches to buy cars; increased access to improved transportation enabled the Apache to visit relatives more frequently and to socialize with other tribal groups {84, 110}. It also brought them into more contact with non-Indians {118}. Like many Americans, Alfred enjoys automobiles and has owned several including a Durant, Ford Model B, Chevrolets, a 1950 red Lincoln Mercury, pickup trucks and an Indian brand motorcycle, purchased in 1934 for thirty-five dollars {118}. While not visible in the printed text of his tornado story {107}, Alfred's oral performance reveals his passion for vehicles and is highlighted when the team seeks shelter in a garage and he discovers a new Model T.

Limited communication and technology isolated rural Apaches, as well as non-Indian farmers, during the early years of the Twentieth-Century. Alfred described this slower way of life:

> we Indins we kinda little bit slow ya know but the white folks they slow too ya know ...you gotta have pretty good market from your farm to have a car or truck and telephone. It's one of those telephone that ya have to wind ya know and you have to hollar and in order to echo, go down the line ya know and it was that way ya know. I think that was kind of a change in way of little bit faster than what it was; still we wasn't that much acquainted with communication and it's still slow ya know. Most the white, white folks they got kinfolks in the next county ya know and that telephone they think it was little bit more expensive ya know, and they write letters ya know. Through that ya know its communication and we Indins way out there ya know...we, we kinda slow in way but still we know our kinfolks ya know. Everday life is ya know almost same routine everday, everday ya know like nothin' [laughs].[82]

In 1927 Alfred's uncle purchased a battery-operated radio; like other Americans, Apaches listened to the radio for entertainment and news of an impending war in Europe and Alfred tells of listening to broadcasts of Adolph Hitler's speeches in the early 1930s. According to Alfred, Tennyson Berry and Ben Chaletsin were the first Apaches to acquire telephones. Apache Ben also experimented with electrical service using a gas-powered generator to light his dance grounds in 1933:

> yeah nighttime he run that engine ya know and it's always a good light, bright, but when you kill the engine everthing goes out... he got that snow cone machine and it work, yeah it work... that snow cone machine, it's a nice one... and that's, that's the first electric...[83]

Later rural cooperatives brought electricity to farm homes; Houston Klinekole, who had learned electrical work at Fort Sill Indian School, wired Alfred's home. By the 1960s federal governmental programs had improved sanitation at rural Apache homesteads and today all the homes that I have visited have modern conveniences.

With the development of tribally administered housing projects, some Apaches are able to live in brand-new homes and slowly the older rural houses used by their grandparents are being torn-down. Reliable transportation however remains a problem for many Apaches and few are able to afford a new car or truck; instead most drive older vehicles that often need repair, while many borrow a relative's car or arrange to share a ride. Here, social networks that continue to operate overcome economic and technological limitations, providing Apaches with the necessities of life. Importantly, these networks also extend beyond the Apache community; in a story not featured here, Alfred related how he experienced car trouble in New Mexico during a blizzard. He tapped into his extensive circle of friends and a non-Indian wired him enough funds to replace his battery, pay his expenses, and return home safely. This kindness has been remembered for many years, providing a lesson in sharing and the importance of developing positive social relationships with both Indians and non-Indians.

In some ways Alfred resists the faster pace of modern life; he prefers to read quietly at night, avoids talking on the telephone, and does not yet own a computer. His personal pleasures are the simple things in his life: attending basketball games, eating hamburgers, seeing family and friends, and reminiscing about the past. But clearly he has embraced some of the modern conveniences; Alfred now travels the countryside in his Ford minivan, while his grandchildren listen to Native American Church songs on compact disc or watch satellite television service. Alfred and his children have benefited from advancing medical technology; he underwent a quadruple heart bypass in 1991 and receives MRI exams, enabling him to live into the Twenty-First Century. Recently he

indicated that he plans to trade his minivan for a newer model, continuing his travels to Mexico, California, and throughout southwest Oklahoma.

II. Evaluations

Life history materials can serve many purposes, offering readers a sense of the past as well as the present. They can add detail to existing understandings, or they can challenge them and produce new ideas. Biographical projects can illustrate changes at the local level and beyond, and they offer individuals an opportunity to express a sense of self. In his discussion of life histories and other biographical materials, Kluckhohn (1945) offered several criteria for evaluating projects. He proposed that we consider whether the information presented is trustworthy; is it integrated with other research materials; are the interpretations coherent; and whether the document develops a comprehensive view of an individual's life (1945:91). To this list we should also add whether the materials offer a richer understanding of events and social connections; do they identify those forces and institutions that have influenced our perceptions of a community; do they discuss how these understandings are challenged; what will be the impact of the biography upon community members and other scholars; and does a new picture emerges from the materials. Kluckhohn anticipated, and more recent scholars have also proposed, that many of these issues can be examined in light of the elicitation process. Knowing how and why the information was assembled helps the reader to address questions of validity, authenticity, and coherence. To consider other issues, Kluckhohn suggested a balance of materials including an accounting of events, the narrator's own conclusions, and an extensive amount of raw data such as the interview transcripts. He also proposed

comparing life histories within the same culture (1945:103); for some communities this will be easier to accomplish while others, such as the Plains Apache, offer fewer opportunities.

In applying Kluckhohn's criteria it is hoped that this work meets his challenge and enhances our understandings of Plains Apache life and culture, as it has been experienced by one man. As one scholar has concluded: "history is not merely the chronicling of events, but rather of meaningful events; thus how people see the world will affect what they perceive as significant, how they act and react, and therefore what they record" (Hassig 2001:52). Angela Cavender Wilson, a Lakota historian, described the importance of Naïve American oral histories noting that

> they provide detailed descriptions about our historical players-information such as our motivations, our kinds of decision making processes-as well as how non-material, non-physical circumstances...have shaped our past and our understanding of the present...ours are not merely interesting stories or a simple dissemination of historical facts, but more importantly, they are transmissions of culture... (Wilson 1997:111).

Materials drawn from the historic record offer readers the contexts in which to situate Alfred's stories, while my own discussions illuminate some of the forces and institutions that operate upon the construction and dissemination of identity. Alfred's narrative provides details of historic events, community social life and individual achievement. His stories humanize the historical records produced by government agents and others, giving them additional dimension and demonstrating what one Apache man regards as meaningful. Just as the narratives of his grandparents and parents helped Alfred to find his place within the Apache community, his stories will transmit aspects of Apache culture including history, values, challenges and innovative solutions to future

generations. Together these materials are intended to present an expanded and enhanced view of Apache life, as experienced by one community member.

In some respects the lack of material on the Plains Apache has both advanced and hindered these stated goals. The almost overwhelming quantity of information provided by Alfred and other tribal members helps to fill gaps in the historic record and increases our knowledge of community life and culture. Materials generated by this project supplement those collected by Bittle, Jordan and others in the 1960s, now archived at OU's Western History Library; together they present a substantial contribution. But clearly much more work needs to be done; additional tasks include collecting information from other archival facilities, reviewing the field notes kept by previous researchers and gathering the life histories of more tribal members. For the present however, Alfred has met Kluckhohn's challenge by presenting trustworthy and coherent information. Despite the passage of time and the possibility that his memory has faded, the written records appear to support Alfred's versions of events. More importantly, they offer details not otherwise found in the written records. My own contributions have established a context in which to view his experiences, and to better understand how Alfred uses both internal and external resources to construct and disseminate his message. I have suggested ways in which the Apaches will use, as well as challenge, Alfred's ideas to create other presentations of self and community. As both process and product, life history enriches our understandings of experience, innovation, complex social interaction, and the dynamics of performance.

Conclusion

With few publications available, the Plains Apache are a relatively unknown indigenous community and remain in the shadows of other Native groups. While some scholars will locate and read the academic materials that are archived in government facilities and university libraries, many others will not. Life histories however have the ability to reach a broad audience; many are used in general humanities classes, while others are printed in mass quantities. Such is the power of printed words, particularly as they are imbedded within dominant society institutions and communication mechanisms. As a result, Alfred's understandings may come to represent the Apache community in a way that was not intended. Importantly this opens a space for other community members and scholars to construct and disseminate alternative views, contributing to the dynamic presentation of individuals and cultures. Future biographical projects will likely explore these ideas in greater detail, examining social complexities and individual contributions as they are used to shape indigenous community life.

Alfred's material bring the Apache community story, as well as his own, into the present. Here it is complicated by Twenty-First Century social, economic, political and religious challenges. Unlike works that isolate native people in an unchanging past, his narratives identify some of the issues that he and other tribal members encounter in the present. These modern challenges include the decline of the Apache language and other traditions; a continuing reduction in tribal land base; intermarriage with other tribal groups; youth out-migration; and the influence of technology upon the community. His narratives also hint at the strategies that individuals and community leaders (including his son Alonzo, the current Tribal Chairman) are employing to solve today's problems.

While life histories offer readers only a small piece of the overall cultural puzzle, they bring more personal details to the written record, providing readers an expanded opportunity to understand the contexts of individual experiences.

Alfred Chalepah Sr. lives in several cultural worlds, interacting through diverse and complicated social networks, while using tools, resources and strategies to accomplish personal as well as community goals. He has applied his own interests and personal attributes to resolve issues and direct Apache social, political and economic life towards identifiable goals. He is proud of his involvement in the KCA land claims issue, his efforts to improve tribal properties, and his participation on the Apache Business Committee. Such activities have enabled him to make a contribution to his community and to work with governmental officials, demonstrating his persuasive skills. Like other Americans, Indian people recognize political, religious and economic concerns and actively work through or around the established bureaucracy in an effort to satisfy their interests. Alfred's experiences demonstrate that tribal members use both indigenous and dominant cultural resources in varying ways, to affect change and assert identity. Examples selected from his narrative illustrate continuity in the public lives of Apache men, past and present, as they provide for their families and protect valuable resources. But the stories also demonstrate how one man has used his own values and goals to shape his social and cultural world. Through it all he asserts his identity as an Apache. When I asked Alfred if he saw himself as a leader he laughed before he replied,

> oh not that much, not that much. Well I don't try make a big deal out of it ya know. I'm just myself. I'm just human like anybody else ya know. I don't compare myself better but I like to be same with everbody and that's the way I feel ya know…I pray for everbody.[84]

[1] This was a confusing social position for Alfred {61, 62, 63, 183} but Apaches consider uncles and aunts as standing in the place of their parents providing him with other adults to bond with {69, 75, 134}.
[2] Another unclear social place for Alfred, twice widowed. He describes how he met his wives but provides relatively little discussion on his role as a husband.
[3] Alfred is close to his grandchildren and several live with him. He talks about them casually, but almost never did during the interviews, with a few exceptions {131, 184}
[4] But see also his rejection of this social position {172, 176}
[5] October 12, 2000
[6] November 30, 2000
[7] Ibid
[8] August 7, 2001
[9] March 29, 2001
[10] September 12, 2000
[11] April 12, 2000
[12] March 15, 2001
[13] May 3, 2001
[14] In actual conversation with these elders however, Alfred would never have used their name.
[15] May 23, 2000
[16] September 5, 2000
[17] April 25, 2000
[18] August 23, 2001
[19] The identity of Alonzo's father is a matter of some speculation. In a 1961 interview with Bittle, Rose Archilta claimed that Alonzo's mother was half Kiowa and half Apache, while his father was white (Bittle Collection, Box 1, Folder F65). McAllister notes that rumors persisted of Alonzo's father being a wandering white cowboy (1949:9) and Alfred's own stories seem to hint at this as well, although Alfred prefers not to speculate too closely on the issue except to say that his dad's skin tone was light (January 19, 2001). One of his grandsons told me this is a matter that is generally avoided in their family.
[20] April 25, 2000
[21] May 23, 2000
[22] September 12, 2000
[23] Apaches traditionally practice name avoidance (Sanford1971:111-112), but it is unclear how long this occurs.
[24] August 17, 2000
[25] October 16, 2002
[26] May 3, 2001
[27] September 5, 2000
[28] Alfred often remarked that after he is gone important cultural information, particularly language, will also be gone. However some community members dispute this notion, quietly remarking that they possess extensive cultural knowledge as well. A more comprehensive social history project will actively seek out and explore such alternative possibilities.
[29] September 27, 2001
[30] For a more detailed discussion of how Apache language generates mental images, see Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996)
[31] April 18, 2000
[32] November 14, 2000
[33] Occasionally he asks me to locate certain books or other materials, hinting that his reading stack at home is getting low.
[34] December 21, 2000
[35] January 4, 2001
[36] March 29, 2001
[37] January 9, 2001
[38] October 10, 2000
[39] January 9, 2001

[40] June 27, 2000
[41] April 18, 2000
[42] May 2, 2000
[43] June 27, 2000
[44] June 26, 2001
[45] July 31, 2001
[46] October 12, 2000
[47] Ibid
[48] An expanded presentation of Plains Apache social life will examine the connections between Lipan, Mescalero and Naisha communities.
[49] October 24, 2000. Dr. Loretta Fowler's genealogy work with the Arapaho includes information further revealing the social connections between the Apache and Arapaho (personal communication).
[50] October 24, 2000
[51] March 20, 2001
[52] Gesture use, like the Apache language, is a learned tool and I have only limited knowledge.
[53] August 24, 2000
[54] August 23, 2001
[55] For a valuable glimpse of early missionary life and activity on the Kiowa Reservation see Isabel Crawford's *Kiowa: A Woman Missionary in Indian Territory* (1998).
[56] November 30, 2000
[57] Once we observed Later Day Saints walking around Anadarko and I asked if they ever came out to his rural home to witness; he said they had. When I asked if there was any chance that he might join their organization, he smiled slyly and said he didn't think so.
[58] June 27, 2000
[59] November 9, 2000
[60] May 2, 2000
[61] August 22, 2000
[62] November 14, 2000
[63] Photographs proved particularly stimulating; I ordered some from archival facilities and took many on my own. I had hoped to include Chalepah family photos but sadly all of Alfred's photos were destroyed in a house fire, limiting his ability to contribute to the visual record. However an expanded version of this project would likely incorporate photos held by his children and grandchildren as well as those owned by other tribal members.
[64] These were also placed on file in the tribe's Culture Program office with extra copies given to interested tribal members.
[65] These albums have become an object of increasing interest and will hopefully lead to a community-wide photo archival project.
[66] Much of the old Kiowa Agency records are archived in Oklahoma City and Fort Worth, Texas. I gathered material from both locations and made copies for Alfred. Additional materials were found at the University of Oklahoma; copies of these items were also provided to Alfred, as well as other members of the tribe.
[67] Among these are gaining access to materials that feature family members. An interesting example of this can be found in the surprisingly large number of Schweinfurth books that I exchanged for beadwork and other craft items.
[68] I gave a set of these raw transcriptions to Alonzo Chalepah who remarked that they accurately captured his father's presentation style.
[69] In reviewing other Athapascan language materials, Dr. Sean O'Neil has suggested this may be an interesting topic to explore.
[70] We have continued to meet and work, even as I prepared this dissertation. An additional thirty to forty hours of interview tape have yet to be transcribed and analyzed. Many of these tapes feature versions of stories presented here, while others have captured additional memories and experiences.
[71] October 10, 2000
[72] Today these notes are archived at the University of Oklahoma and are available to tribal members, scholars, and the public.
[73] September 12, 2000
[74] December 26, 2000

[75] August 23, 2001
[76] Personal communication with Sally Baulch-Rhodin, Texas Memorial Museum, January 11, 2001.
[77] Archived by the Doris Duke Oral History project of the 1960s.
[78] William Bittle Collection, Box 1, Folders 15, 37, and 38, University of Oklahoma Western History Library
[79] In September 2001 Alfred purchased a 1998 Ford Windstar van using a portion of the oil income derived from Ben Chaletsin's allotment land. He has since traveled to Mexico on several occasions as well as New Mexico and California.
[80] See Ewer's discussion of Kiowa and Apache heraldic tipis.
[81] Compare for example Radin's biography of Crashing Thunder with his sister's account found in Lurie's Mountain Wolf Woman.
[82] September 4, 2001
[83] September 6, 2001
[84] September 27, 2001

Conclusion

North American anthropologists have been privileged to work among diverse indigenous communities. We use a variety of data gathering tools and techniques to assemble information on biology, history, philosophy, aesthetic expression, language, economy, politics, life ways, and social organization. Some of this information is acquired through observation; participation in community events and activities; direct inquiry; or through an examination of historic documents. Much of our work requires the development of personal relationships with community members and leaders who often hold differing opinions on our work and its impact. Such skepticism can be very beneficial; by encouraging us to rethink our goals and methods, as well as requiring us to adequately explain our work, the community becomes a partner with a vested interest in the project's outcome. This approach represents a fundamental shift in the institutionalized mechanics and unequal power relations that have existed between anthropologists and Native Americans for many years.

Collaboration is one method of mitigating this inequity. Here, the participants each bring something to the project: information, financial resources, access to technology, transportation, and a variety of other important assets. Working together, the partners learn from one another and develop a hybrid understanding. This technique requires time and patience; familiarity and trust develop slowly but partners are rewarded with a richer understanding of one another and of their work together. This is the philosophy behind collaborative biographies, productions that explore the life experiences and understandings of individuals, as they have been revealed and crafted by the participants.

Anthropologists have long used the life history method as a means of soliciting cultural information, as well as personal attributes and experiences. Hundreds of life histories have been collected from Native Americans, often in conjunction with other information gathering methods. Depending upon the project goal and existing theoretical inclinations, some of these life histories stand alone as biographies or are incorporated into larger social analysis. As Battaille & Sands (1984), Brumble (1988), Kluckhohn (1945) and Wong (1992) have observed, the Native American biographical genre has presented the lives of men and women from a variety of communities for more than one hundred years. In some cases, these works have become a standard component of American education and the development of social as well as spiritual consciousness. Among the best known are Barrett's *Geronimo* (1906), Radin's *Crashing Thunder* (1920) and Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* (1932), all produced at a time when it was believed that American Indian culture was disappearing under the weight of military, political, and religious forces, while European immigrant cultures were being blended together to form a truly unique American society.

Effectively isolated by poverty and rural locations, many indigenous communities have maintained a low profile while adjusting to changing economic and social circumstances. As communally-held reservations were broken into individually allotted farms, Native Americans, such as the Plains Apache, turned to one another for education, economic assistance, health care, and religious comfort, maintaining a sense of community through language use and kinship. Here parents and grandparents integrated their children into native society, informing them of the expectations of tribal life, providing them with role models, and entertaining them with stories that conveyed

morals and values. Community elders presented a different world-view than that represented by competitive wage labor, Christianity, boarding schools, and technological innovations. However, tribal life was increasingly transformed as members adjusted to meet new circumstances, taking advantage of some opportunities, such as automobiles, while rejecting or ignoring others.

Alfred Chalepah, Sr. was born into this complicated and changing world in 1910. The allotment of the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Reservation had just been completed but family and friends continued to camp together, sharing resources and enjoying games, meals, and stories. Much of Alfred's worldview developed within these conditions, strengthening his sense of self as a community member with kin connections and obligations. Like other Apache youth, Alfred looked to his grandparents, both real and fictive, for instruction and entertainment. From Apache John, Captain and Blackbear he learned tribal history, folktales, values and strategies for survival. But like all humans, western and non-western, Alfred developed unique individual characteristics and experienced life on his own. He survived physical and emotional crises by drawing upon his own inner strengths as well as the philosophies that he learned from his grandparents. He now has more than ninety years worth of personal growth, development, experiences and adventures to relate to family, friends and strangers.

Anthropologists, such as Mooney and McAllister worked in southwestern Oklahoma, collecting tribal history, folktales, and material objects but some Apache, including Alfred, were reluctant to participate in the research. Over the years Alfred watched as other family members worked with McAllister (1935), Bittle (1962) and Jordan (1965); later he became involved, recognizing it as an opportunity to preserve

cultural information for future generations of Apaches. Working with Bittle's students, Alfred discussed tribal history, social organization, religion, politics, and material culture. This information was subsequently archived, available to the public but hardly visible. In 1999, Alfred and I began to work on a more comprehensive collection of memoirs, blending together discussions of tribal genealogy, narratives of personal experience, historic photographs and information stored in archival facilities. This dissertation is the result of that work. Before beginning the project I, like most non-Apaches, knew little about the community. Over time my understandings have grown and developed, enabling my inquiry to become more sophisticated. Alfred likely saw some of this development and, being an Apache grandfather, used the opportunity to educate me with cultural history, stories, and his own experiences. He has contributed so much to this project: philosophy, understandings, reflections, and narratives. I too have made a contribution: archival materials, financial support, the mechanics of recording and transcribing his words. Together we've made a good team and are both quite satisfied with the results.

As an academic work, however, this is more than a mere assemblage of interesting stories. Anthropological analysis requires the integration of theory and data to develop a better understanding of dynamic social processes. Such analysis produces a heightened awareness of the interactions between individuals, societies, institutions, and the mechanisms that broadcast ideas. It also opens a space in which to consider how constructed and transmitted understandings can be challenged, deconstructed and replaced. This changing use and manipulation of resources and representations is increasingly being considered as a component in the construction of selves, identities, communities and intellectual paradigms (Beverley 1999).

Post-structural theory offers us a way of seeing individuals not as discrete beings nor as completely enveloped within social networks; rather it offers a mediated position as persons who dynamically use, negotiate, and challenge social relations and structures to satisfy their own desires (Cohen 1994). Such a middle position recognizes that humans identify different goals; possess different skills and attributes; and have unequal access to cultural resources. Importantly, these conditions are not static; variable circumstances contribute to changes in personal and community identity. Opportunities may exist, or be created, to strategically manipulate resources to construct and present an identity. Such presentation of self can be achieved through communication, particularly dialogue and performance. As Erving Goffman (1997) noted, performance draws increased attention to the speaker and his message. The storytelling genre offers a chance to perform community and personal narratives; Alfred is a good storyteller and uses the opportunity to both inform and entertain. But as Victor Turner (1985) observed, performance opportunities may develop in moments of conflict and produce social change. In creating the opportunities for dialogue, anthropologists enable some community members to access valuable communication resources.

Life history projects traditionally have focused upon the life stories of seniors; here elders are able to weave their own experiences into tribal history and produce an identity located in the present. Through improvisation and innovation, Alfred Chalepah, Sr. has produced a version of self and community located in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries. By accessing dominant institutions, such as public universities, and some of the mechanisms that disseminate ideas, he is able to demonstrate the ways in which individual attributes and social connections come together to maintain, as well as alter,

Apache social, political and economic life. Narrators can also use life history projects to craft a version of self and community that challenges other versions; this work gives Alfred the opportunity to construct and disseminate ideas about himself, his family and community that likely challenge those held by others. In an oral culture, ideas are contested in a dynamic process of retelling but by fixing Alfred's narratives in writing, his stories will be more permanent and less open to challenge. In this form however they may be able to more effectively compete with written records produced by non-Apaches, producing an Apache version of tribal history.

Plains Apache culture is neither fixed nor isolated in the past; rather it is being dynamically produced and reproduced by its members as they identify culturally-appropriate goals, and adjust themselves to meet the changing circumstances created by outside pressures. Subsequent life history projects will likely offer alternatives to Alfred's version as other community members access and manage communication resources. Together they will offer an Apache view of history and culture, filling gaps in our understandings of individuals and societies.

Bibliography

Amoss, Pamela T.
1981 Coast Salish Elders. In *Other Ways of Growing Old: Anthropological Perspectives*, Pamela T. Amoss and Steve Harrell, eds. 227-247. Stanford: University of California Press.

Amoss, Pamela T. and Steve Harrell
1981 Introduction: An Anthropological Perspective on Aging. In *Other Ways of Growing Old: Anthropological Perspectives*, Pamela T. Amoss and Steve Harrell, eds. 1-24. Stanford: University of California Press.

Anderson, Jeffrey, D.
2003 *One Hundred Years of Old Man Sage: An Arapaho Life*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Ashley, Kathleen, Leigh Gilmore and Gerald Peters, eds.
1994 *Autobiography & Postmodernism*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Bahr, Diana Meyers
2003 *Viola Martinez, Californian Paiute Living in Two Worlds*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Barrett, S. M.
1906 *Geronimo's Story of His Life Taken Down and Edited by S.M. Barrett*. New York: Duffield & Co.

Bass, Althea
1954 James Mooney in Oklahoma. *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume XXXII, number 2:246-262.

Basso, Keith
1972 To Give Up on Words: Silence in Western Apache Culture. In *Language and Social Context,* Pier Paolo Gigioli, ed. New York: Penguin Books, pp. 67-86.

1996 *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Bataille, Gretchen M. and Kathleen Mullens Sands
1984 *American Indian Women Telling their Lives*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Bauman, Richard
1977 *Verbal Art as Performance*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.

Beals, Kenneth
1971 The Dynamics of Kiowa Apache Peyotism. *University of Oklahoma Papers in Anthropology*. Volume 12, Number 1:35-89.

Beatty, John Joseph
1966 *Kiowa-Apache Music and Dance*. M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma.

1999 Naisha Dene Creativity with Monsters. *Plains Anthropologist* Vol. 44, Number 167:74-77.

Behar, Ruth
1993 *Translated Woman: Crossing the Border with Esperanza's Story*. Boston:Beacon Press.

Bernard, H. Russell
1995 *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altimira Press.

Bernstein, Alison R.
1991 *American Indians and World War II: Towards a New Era in Indian Affairs*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Betty, Gerald
2002 *Comanche Society Before the Reservation*. College Station: Texas A & University Press.

Beverley, John
1999 *Subalternity and Representation: Arguments in Cultural Theory*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Bittle, William E.
1956 *The Position of the Kiowa-Apache in the Apachean Group*. PhD dissertation, University of California Los Angeles.

1962 The Manatidie: A Focus for Kiowa Apache Tribal Identity. *Plains Anthropologist* Vol. 7, Number 17: 152-163.

1964 Six Kiowa Apache Tales. *University of Oklahoma Papers in Anthropology*. Volume 5, Number 1: 8-12.

1971 A Brief History of the Kiowa Apache. *University of Oklahoma Papers in Anthropology*. Volume 12, Number 1: 1-34.

1979 Kiowa Apache Raiding Behavior. *University of Oklahoma Papers in Anthropology*. Volume 20, Number 2: 33-47.

Boas, Franz

1966 *Kwakiutl Ethnography*. Helen Codere, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1968 *Race, Language and Culture*. New York: Free Press. [1940]

1974 *The Shaping of American Anthropology 1883-1911: A Franz Boas Reader*, George W. Stocking, Jr., ed. New York: Basic Books.

Bolt, Helen Deister

1988 *Kiowa Agency Mission Schools of Oklahoma 1881-1914*. Lawton: Southwest Oklahoma Genealogical Society.

Bordieu, Pierre

1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Branaman, Ann

1997 Goffman's Social Theory. In *The Goffman Reader*, Charles Lemert and Ann Branaman eds, xlvi-lxxxii. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Brant, Charles S.

1949 The Cultural Position of the Kiowa Apache. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* Vol. 5: 56-61.

1950 Peyotism Among the Kiowa-Apache and Neighboring Tribes. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* Vol. 6: 212-222.

1951 *The Kiowa Apache Indians: A Study in Ethnology and Acculturation*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.

1953 Kiowa Apache Culture History: Some Further Observations. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* Vol. 9, No. 2: 195-202.

1964 White Contact and Cultural Disintegration Among the Kiowa Apache. *Plains Anthropologist* Vol. 9, No. 23: 8-13.

1969 *Jim Whitewolf: The Life of a Kiowa-Apache Indian.* New York: Dover Publications, Inc.

Bross, Michael Grantham
1962 *The Kiowa Apache Body Concept in Relation to Health.* MA thesis, University of Oklahoma.

Brumble, H. David III
1988 *American Indian Autobiography.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Buntin, Martha
1932 The Quaker Indian Agents of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Reservation. *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume X: 204-218.

Canclini, Nestor Garcia
1995 *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Castronovo, Russ
1997 Compromised Narratives along the Border: The Mason-Dixon Line, Resistance, and Hegemony. In *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*, Scott Michaelsen and David E. Johnson, eds. 195-220. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Chapman, Berlin B.
1964 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company Historical Record and Notes. *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume XLII, Number 2: 103-105.

Cheney, Roberta Carteek
1998 *Sioux Winter Count: A 131 Year Calendar of Events.* Happy Camp, CA: Nature Graph Publishers.

Clements, William M.
1996 *Native American Verbal Art: Text and Contexts.* Tucson: University of ArizonaPress.

Clifford, James
1988 *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cohen, Anthony P.
1994 *Self Consciousness: An alternative anthropology of identity.* New York: Routledge.

Cohen, Felix
1988 *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*. Buffalo: William S. Hein Company [1941].

Cook, Evert
2001 History of Boone Township of Caddo County. In *Apache Area Centennial History: 1901-2001*. Rich Hill, MO: Bell Books, pp. 46-49.

Cooper, Charles M.
1957 The Big Pasture. *Chronicles of Oklahoma* Vol. 35, No. 2, Summer: 138-146.

Crawford, Isabel
1998 *Kiowa: A Woman Missionary in Indian Territory*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Cruikshank, Julie
1990 *Life Lived like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

1998 *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Davenport, W. L.
1980 *Koon-Kah-Zah-Chy [Apache John] Last Principle Chief of the Kiowa-Apache*. M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma.

Davis, Michael G.
1996 *Ecology, Sociopolitical Organization and Cultural Change on the Southern Plains*. Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson University Press.

Daza, Marjorie M.
1968 *Factionalism Among the Kiowa-Apaches*. M.A. thesis, University of Arizona.

DeMallie, Raymond J.
1977 *The Jerome Agreement between the Kiowa, Comanche & Apache Tribes and the United States Government*. Washington DC: Institute of the Development of Indian Law.

1984 *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John Neihardt*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Dunn, Dorothy
1969 *1877: Plains Indian Sketch Books of Zo-Tom & Howling Wolf.* Flagstaff: Northland Press.

Ellis, Clyde
1994 "A Remedy for Barbarism": Indian Schools, the Civilizing Program, and the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation, 1871-1915. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 18 (3): 85-120.

1996 Boarding School Life at the Kiowa-Comanche Agency, 1893-1920. *The Historian* 58, no. 4:777-793.

Ewers, John C.
1978 *Murals in the Round: Painted Tipis of the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache Indians.* Washington, D.C. Smithsonian Institution Press.

Fabian, Johannes
1990 *Power and Performance: Ethnographic Explorations through Proverbial Wisdom and Theater in Shaba, Zaire.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Farnell. Brenda
1995 *Do You See What I Mean? Plains Indian Sign Talk and the Embodiment of Action.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Fawcett, Melissa Jayne
2000 *Medicine Trail: the life and lessons of Gladys Tantaquidgeon.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Fixco, Donald
1986 *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Ford, Clellan S.
1941 *Smoke from Their Fires: The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Foreman, Grant
1941 Historical Background of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation. *Chronicles of Oklahoma* XIX, 129-140.

Foster, Morris
1991 *Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Foster, Morris and Martha McCollough
2001 Plains Apache. In *Handbook of North American Indian*, Volume 13, Part 2. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 926-940.

Foucault, Michel
1977 *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.

1978 *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume 1*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Freeman, Patricia Anne
1971 Kiowa Apache Concepts and Attitudes Toward the Child. *University of Oklahoma Papers in Anthropology*. Volume 12, Number 1:90-160.

Gage, Lucy
1951 A Romance of Pioneering. *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume IXXX: 284 -313.

Gilmore, Leigh
1994 The Mark of Autobiography: Postmodernism, Autobiography, and Genre. In *Autobiography & Postmodernism*, Kathleen Ashley, Leigh Gilmore, and Gerald Peters, eds. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, pp. 3-18.

Goddard, Pliny Earle
1911 Jicarilla Apache Texts. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Volume VIII.

Goffman, Erving
1997 *The Goffman Reader*, Charles Lemert and Ann Branaman eds. Malden, MA:Blackwell Publishers.

Gramsci, Antonio
1971 *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds. New York: International Publishers.

Green, Rebecca L.
2001 Ancestral Dreams: Re-Living the Past, Re-Creating the Future. In *Memory and Representation: Constructed Truths and Compelling Realities*, Dena Elisabeth Eber and Arthur G. Neal, eds, 21-54. Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press.

Gunnerson, James H.
1960 An Introduction to Plains Apache Archeology-The Dismal River Aspect. *Smithsonain Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 173, Anthropological Papers No. 58:131-260.

Hagan, William T.
1985 Adjusting to the Opening of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache Reservation in *The Plains Indians of the Twentieth Century*, Peter Iverson, ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, pp.11-30.
1990 *United States -Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press [1976].

Hall, Carol
1985 Lawton PHS Indian Hospital. *In The History of Comanche County, Oklahoma*. Lawton: Southwest Oklahoma Genealogical Society, pp. 72 -74.

Hanneman, Carolyn G.
1999 Baffles, Bridges and Bermuda: Oklahoma Indians and the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division. *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 77, no. 4:428-449.

Harrington, John P.
1940 Southern Peripheral Athapaskawan Origins, Divisions and Migrations. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Volume 100:503-532.

Harris, Moira F.
1989 *Between Two Cultures: Kiowa Art from Fort Marion*. Pogo Press

Hassig, Ross
2001 *Time, History and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hittman, Michael
1996 *Corbett Mack: the Life of a Northern Paiute*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Hoig, Stan
1993 *Tribal Wars of the Southern Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hoijer, Harry
1938 The Southern Athapaskan Languages. *American Anthropologist*, vol. 40:75-87.

Horse Capture, Joseph D. and George P. Horse Capture
2001 *Beauty, Honor and Tradition: The Legacy of Plains Indian Shirts.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Howard, James H.
1960 Dakota Winter Counts as a Source of Plains History. *Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 173, Anthropological Papers No. 61: 335-416.

Indian Claims Commission
1973a Decisions, Volume 1. Boulder: Native American Rights Fund, pp. 263 -286.

1973b Decisions, Volume 34, Boulder: Native American Rights Fund, pp. 271 -274.

Johnson, David E. and Scott Michaelsen
1997 Border Secrets: An Introduction. In *Border Theory The Limits of Cultural Politics*, Scott Michaelsen and David E. Johnson, eds. 1-39. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Jones, Douglas C.
1966 *The Treaty of Medicine Lodge: The Story of the Great Treaty Council as told by Eyewitnesses*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Jordan, Julie Ann
1965 *Ethnobotany of the Kiowa-Apache*. M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma.

Kaminsky, Marc
1992 Introduction. In *Remembered Lives The Work of Ritual, Storytelling, and Growing Older*, Marc Kaminsky, ed., 1-97. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kenny, Michael G.
1999 A Place for Memory: The Interface between Individual and Collective History. *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History* : 420-437.

Keyser, James D.
2000 *The Five Crows Ledger: Biographic Warrior Art of the Flathead Indians.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Kluckhohn, Clyde
1945 The Personal Document in Anthropological Science. In Robert Angell, Louis Gottschalk, and Clyde Kluckhohn, *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology*, Social Sciences Research Bulletin, no. 53, pp. 77-173.

Kracht, Benjamin R.
1992 The Kiowa Ghost Dance, 1894-1916: An Unheralded Revitalization Movement. *Ethnohistory* 39(4): 452-477.

Kroeker, Marvin E.
1989 Mennonites in the Oklahoma Land Rushes. *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume LXVII, Number 1: 76-97.

Krupat, Arnold
1985 *For Those Who Come After: A Study of Native American Autobiography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

1987 Post-Structuralism and Oral Literature. In *Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature,* Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat eds, 113 -128. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lasko, Steven B.
1997 *A Strong and Humble People: An Ethnicity Study of the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma*. M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma.

Lassiter, Luke Eric
2001 From "Reading Over The Shoulders of Natives" To "Reading Alongside Natives," Literally: Toward A Collaborative and Reciprocal Ethnography. *Journal of American Research*, vol. 57: 137-149.

Latta, Maurice, C.
1989 The Economic Effects of Drouth and Depression upon Custer County, 1929-1942. In *Hitting Home: The Great Depression in Town and Country*, Bernard Sternsher, ed. Chicago: Elephant Paperbacks, pp.163-180.

LaVere, David
2000 *Contrary Neighbors: Southern Plains and Removed Indians in Indian Territory*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Levi-Strauss, Claude
1963 *Structural Anthropology*. New York:Basic Books, Inc.

Levy, Jerrold E.
1959 *After Custer: Kiowa Political and Social Organization from the Reservation Period to the Present*. PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago.

Lugo, Alejandro
1997 Reflections on Border Theory, Culture and the Nation. In *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*, Scott Michaelsen and David E. Johnson, eds. 43-67. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lurie, Nancy Oestreich
1961 *Mountain Wolf Woman Sister of Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Mallery, Garrick
2001 *Sign Language Among North American Indians*. Mineola: Dover Publications [1881].

Mattina, Anthony.
1987 North American Indian Mythography: Editing Texts for the Printed Page. In *Recovering the Word Essays on Native American Literature,* Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat eds, 129-148.

Mayhall, Mildred
1962 *The Kiowas*. Norman: University pf Oklahoma Press.

McAllister, J. Gilbert.
1935 *Kiowa-Apache Social Organization*. PhD dissertation, University of Chicago.

1937 Kiowa-Apache Social Organization in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, Fred Eggan, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 99-169.

1949 *The Sky Is My Tipi*, ed. Mody C. Boatright. Austin: Texas Folklore Society.

1965 The Four Quartz Rocks Medicine Bundle of the Kiowa-Apache. *Ethnology* 4 (2): 210-224.

1970 Daveko, Kiowa-Apache Medicine Man. *Bulletin of the Texas Memorial Museum* 17:28-61

McBeth, Sally J.
1983 Indian Boarding Schools and Ethnic Identity: An Example from the Southern Plains Tribes of Oklahoma. *Plains Anthropologist*, Vol. 28, No. 100: 119-128.

1993 Myths of Objectivity and the Collaborative Process in Life History Research. In Caroline B. Brettell ed., *When They Read What We Write The Politics of Ethnography*. Westport CT: Bergin & Garvey, pp. 145-192.

McBurney Charles Reed
1948 *Cache Creek Indian Mission: A Study in Religious Education Among the Comanche, Apache, and Kiowa Indians of Southwestern Oklahoma*. M.A. thesis, University of Kansas.

McCoy, Ronald
1987 *Kiowa Memories: Imaginations from Indian Territory, 1880*. Santa Fe: Morning Star Gallery.

Meadows, William C.
1999 *Kiowa, Apache and Comanche Military Societies: Enduring Veterans, 1800 to Present.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Menchu, Rigoberta
1984 *I Rigoberta Menchu: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, Elizabeth Burgos, ed. New York: Verso.

Merrill, William, L.
1997 *A Guide to the Kiowa Collections at the Smithsonian Institution.* Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, Number 40. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Meya, Wilhelm Krudner
1999 *The Calico Winter Count 1825-1877: An Ethnohistorical Analysis*. M.A. thesis, University of Arizona.

Michaelsen, Scott
1997 Resketching Anglo-Amerindian Identity Politics. In *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*, Scott Michaelsen and David E. Johnson, eds. 221-252. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Miller, Jay, ed.
1990 *Morning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Mooney, James
1898 Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians in *17th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part II.* Washington DC: Government Printing Office.

Monahan, Forrest D.
1968 The Kiowa-Comanche Reservation in the 1890's. *Chronicles of Oklahoma* XLV: 451-463.

Moore, Ila Clea
1940 *Schools and Education Among the Kiowa and Comanche Indians (1870 -1940).* M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma.

Myerhoff, Barbara
1992a Aging and the Aged in Other Cultures: An Anthropological Perspective. In *Remembered Lives The Work of Ritual, Storytelling, and Growing Older*, Marc Kaminsky, ed., 101-126. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

1992b Life History among the Elderly: Performance, Visibility, and Remembering. In *Remembered Lives The Work of Ritual, Storytelling, and Growing Older*, Marc Kaminsky, ed., 231-247. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Myerhoff, Barbara and Virginia Tufte
1992 Life History as Integration: Personal Myth and Aging. In *Remembered Lives The Work of Ritual, Storytelling, and Growing Older*, Marc Kaminsky, ed., 249-255. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Neihardt, John G.
1932 *Black Elk speaks; being the life story of a holy man of the Oglala Sioux as told through John G. Neihardt (Flaming Rainbow).* New York: W. Morrow and Company.

Newcomb Jr., W. W.
1970 A Summary of Kiowa-Apache History and Culture. *Bulletin of the Texas Memorial Museum* 17:1-28.

O'Brien, Lynne Woods
1973 *Plains Indian Autobiographies.* Boise: Boise State College.

Ochs, Elinor
1997 Narrative. In *Discourse as Structure and Process*, Teun van Dijk, ed., 185 -207. London: Sage.

Opler, Morris E.
1939 The Kinship Systems of the Southern Athabaskan-speaking Tribes. *American Anthropologist* 38, No. 4:620-633.

Opler, Morris E. and William E. Bittle
1961 The Death Practices and Eschatology of the Kiowa Apache. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* Vol. 17, No. 4: 383-394.

Ouiment, Billye June
1985 The Original Red Store. *In The History of Comanche County, Oklahoma.* Lawton: Southwest Oklahoma Genealogical Society, pp. 127-129.

Parkin, David
2001 Escaping Cultures: The Paradox of Cultural Creativity. In *Locating Cultural Creativity*, John Liep ed., 133-143. London: Pluto Press.

Price, Richard
1983 *First-time: the historical vision of an Afro-American people.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Radin, Paul
1920 *The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian Life, Ways, Acculturation, and the Peyote Cult.* University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Volume 16, No. 7.

Rand, Jacki Thompson
1998 *Negotiating the New Country: The Cultural Politics of Exchange in the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Reservation and Allotment Periods, 1867 -1910.* PhD Dissertation, University of Oklahoma.

Rebolledo, Tey Diana
1990 Narrative Strategies of Resistance in Hispana Writing. *Journal of Narrative Technique*, vol. 20, no. 2: 134-146.

Reiss, Timothy J.
2003 *Mirages of the Self: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rios, Theodore and Kathleen M. Sands.
2000 *Telling a Good One The Process of a Native American Collaborative Biography*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Roemer, Kenneth M.
1983 Native American Oral Narratives: Context and Continuity. In *Smoothing the Ground Essays on Native American Oral Literature*, Brian Swan ed, 39-54. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rose, Nikolas
1996 Identity, Genealogy, History. In Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, eds. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 128-150.

Sands, Kathleen M.
2001 Cooperation and Resistance. In *Native American Representations: First Encounters, Distorted Images, and Literary Appropriations*, Getchen M. Bataille ed., 134-149. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Sanford, Margaret Sellers
1971 Present Day Death Practices and Eschatology of the Kiowa Apache. In *University of Oklahoma Papers in Anthropology*. Volume 12, Number 2: 81-134.

Schweinfurth, Kay Parker
2002 *Prayer on Top of the Earth: The Spiritual Universe of the Plains Apaches*. Boulder: University of Colorado Press.

Scott, James
1985 *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press

1990 *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Shannon, Ruby W.
1971 *Friends for the Indians: 100 Years of Education at Riverside Indian School, Anadarko Oklahoma*. Anadarko, OK: Riverside Indian School.

Spivak, Gayatri
1988 Can the Subaltern Speak? In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 66-111.

Stahl, R. J.
1978 *Farming Among the Kiowa, Comanche, Kiowa Apache and Wichita*. PhD Dissertation, University of Oklahoma.

Stewart, Omer C.
1987 *Peyote Religion: A History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Swanton, John R.
1995 *Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press [1929].

Szabo, Joyce M.
1992 Howling Wolf: An Autobiography of a Plains Indian Warrior-Artist. *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, Volume XLVL, Number 1: 4-87.

Tedlock, Dennis
1971 On the Translation of Style in Oral Narrative. *Journal of American Folklore* 84: 114-133.

Tonteigh, Bertie Mae
2001 Mulkehay Methodist Mission. In *Apache Area Centennial History: 1901 -2001*. Rich Hill, MO: Bell Books, pp. 58-59.

Townsend, Kenneth William
2000 *World War II and the American Indian*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Trigger, Bruce G.
1982 Ethnohistory: Problems and Prospects. *Ethnohistory* 29(1): 1-19

1986 Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice. *Ethnohistory* 33(3): 253-267.

Turner, Victor
1985 *Anthropology of Performance*. New York: PAJ Publications.

Tweedie, M. Jean
1968 Notes on the History and Adaptation of the Apache Tribes. *American Anthropologist*, vol 70:1132-1142.

Van Dijk, Teun
1997a The Study of Discourse. In *Discourse as Structure and Process*, Teun van Dijk, ed, 1-34. London: Sage.

1997b Discourse as Interaction in Society. In *Discourse as Structure and Process*, Teun van Dijk, ed., 1-37. London: Sage.

Viola, Herman J.
1998 *Warrior Artists: Historic Cheyenne and Kiowa Indian Ledger Art drawn by Making Medicine and Zotum.* Washington DC: National Geographic Society.

Watson, Lawrence C. and Maria-Barbara Watson-Franke
1985 *Interpreting Life Histories: An Anthropological Inquiry.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Welsch, Robert L.
1981 *Omaha Tribal Myths and Trickster Tales.* Chicago: Swallow Press.

Williams, Gerry C.
1980 Warriors No More: A Study of the American Indian Elderly. In *Aging in Culture and Society: Comparative Viewpoints and Strategies*, Christine L. Fry, ed., 101-111. New York: Bergin Publishers.

Wilson, Angela C.
1997 Power of the Spoken Word: Native Oral Traditions in American Indian History. In *Rethinking American Indian History*, Donald L. Fixco, ed., pp. 101-116.

Wong, Hertha Dawn
1992 *Sending My Heart Back Across the Years: Tradition and Innovation in Native American Autobiography.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Worster, Donald
1979 *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Wright, Peter M.
1972 John Collier and the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936. *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. L, Number 3:347-371.

Zwink, T. Ashley
1979 On the White Man's Road: Lawrie Tatum and the Formative Years of the Kiowa Agency, 1869-1873. *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume 56, number 4:431-441.

Appendix I

Tribal Populations by Year (Source: Agency Reports)

	Apache	Kiowa	Comanche
1898	193	1126	1553
1900	173	1136	1499
1903	158	1170	1401
1904	156	1160	1399
1905	155	1195	1401
1906	155	1219	1408
1909	160	1310	1441
1912	167	1430	1513
1914	168	1493	1529
1915	177	1500	1523
1916	184	1548	1568
1917	183	1564	1596
1918	181	1577	1600
1919	169	1566	1619
1920	172	1596	1635
1922	191	1655	1691
1923	187	1679	1697
1924	194	1699	1718
1925	199	1725	1754

1926	203	1782	1790
1930	299	1921	1920
1931	303	1977	1970
1932	301	1978	1956

Appendix II

Alfred Chalepah, Sr. Genealogy