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A DISSERTATION

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By

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YÌSÀUM: PARKER MCKENZIE'S DOUBLE VISION
OF KIOWA CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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Parker Paul McKenzie was first introduced to me in a way which I think he would have approved: a Kiowa language class. I met him vicariously through his orthography, but never in person. He died in 1999, while I was in my third semester of Kiowa at the University of Oklahoma. His legacy, the Parker McKenzie Kiowa Writing System, left a lasting impression on me. I was, and still am, greatly impressed with his work, and it is an honor to help perpetuate it. Therefore, I must first acknowledge my debt and gratitude to Parker. I hope you are enjoying your buffalo hunting.

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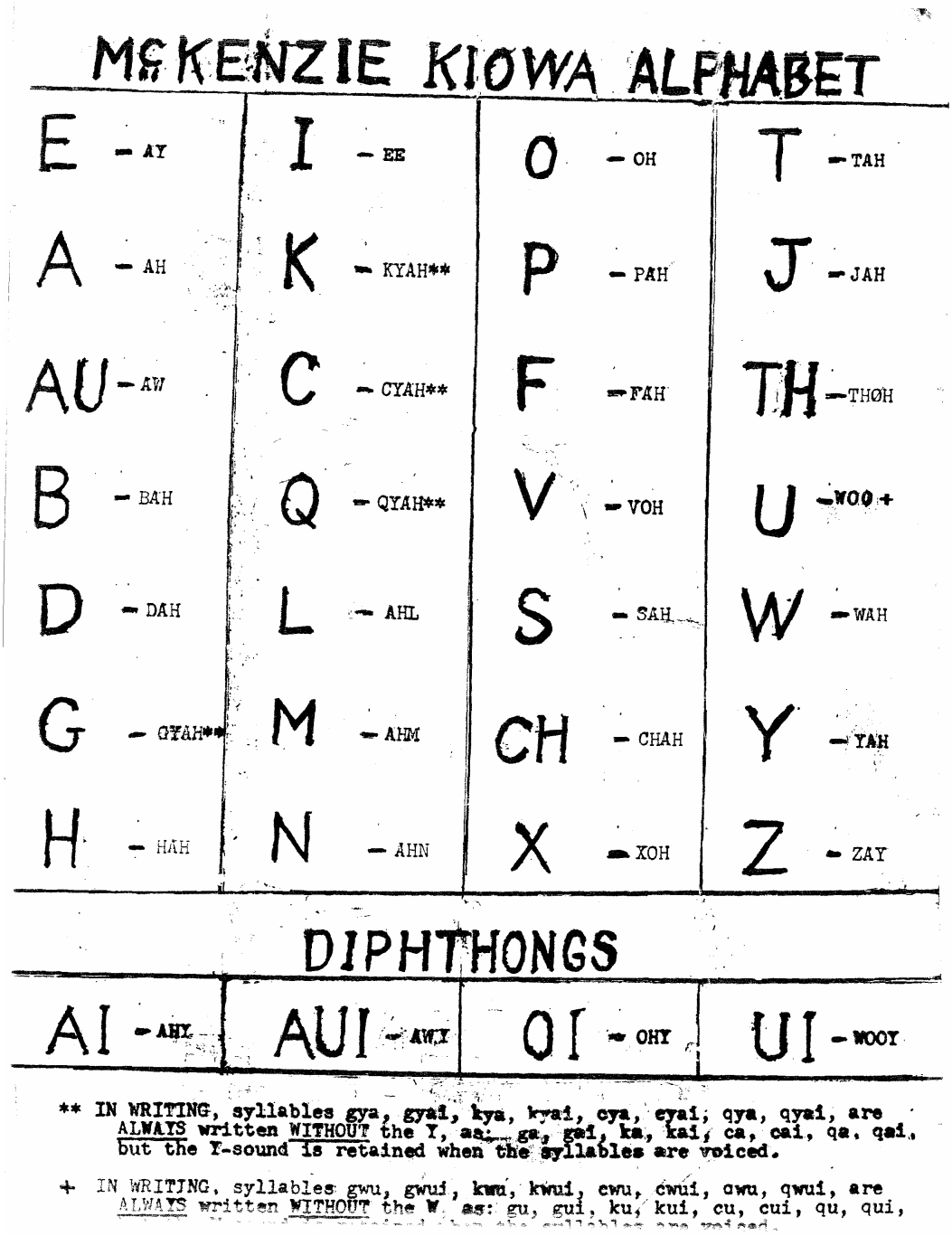

McKENZIE KIOWA ALPHABET

E - AY	I - EE	O - OH	T - TAH
A - AH	K - KYAH**	P - PAH	J - JAH
AU - AW	C - CYAH**	F - FAH	TH - THØH
B - BAH	Q - QYAH**	V - VOH	U - WOO +
D - DAH	L - AHL	S - SAH	W - WAH
G - GYAH**	M - AHM	CH - CHAH	Y - YAH
H - HAH	N - AHN	X - XOH	Z - ZAY

DIPHTHONGS

AI - AHY	AUI - AWY	OI - OHY	UI - WOOY

** IN WRITING, syllables gya, gyai, kya, kyai, cya, cyai, qya, qyai, are ALWAYS written WITHOUT the Y, as: ga, gai, ka, kai, ca, cai, qa, qai, but the Y-sound is retained when the syllables are voiced.

+ IN WRITING, syllables gwu, gwui, kwu, kwui, cwu, cwui, qwu, qwui, are ALWAYS written WITHOUT the W, as: gu, gui, ku, kui, cu, cui, qu, qui,

Figure 1: Parker McKenzie's Kiowa Alphabet.

Introduction Yí:saùm

The letter, dated February 13, 1958, came from Mae W. Murray, chief of the Near East and Africa Branch Information Service Center of the United States Information Agency. She sought a particular piece of information: "The Agency has received a request from the United States Information Center at Calcutta, India in assistance for identifying the Kiowa word, 'Doy-gei-taum.'" According to Murray, the word had been noticed by an English professor at Presidency University in Calcutta and "used in the following context: 'Sir Alexander Fleming was made Honorary Chief of the Doy-gei-taum of Kiowa tribe of Red Indians.'"[1] Vain searches through the Library of Congress and the Washington, D. C. Bureau of Indian Affairs brought no results, and a query to Arrow, Incorporated drew Murray's attention to the "Kiowa Society" in Anadarko, Oklahoma. However, the "Kiowa Society" did not exist, and the local postmaster forwarded the letter to the Anadarko office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). It passed into the hands of an accountant named Parker McKenzie, a long-time BIA employee who was on the verge of retirement. It proved to be a fortuitous choice, for Parker McKenzie was quite possibly the only person alive in 1958 who could answer the question.

McKenzie's response came quickly. On February 23, 1958, he typed out his reply on his old, battered Underwood. According to McKenzie, the first and last

[1] Letter from Mae W. Murray to the Kiowa Society, February 13, 1958. Parker McKenzie Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, hereafter known as PMC. OHSRC. Box 6, Folder 2.

syllables of Doy-gei-taum definitely appeared to be Kiowa. He explained to Murray, "The first [syllable] is a noun, and means 'medicine' or medicines.' It has just one form in both singular and plural. The other is the past tense of 'find,' 'discover,' 'solve,' etc."[2] However, the middle syllable, "gei," did not meet any known criteria of a Kiowa word. Instead, McKenzie reasoned, it must be a corruption of the pronoun "ga," which is pronounced "gya." McKenzie argued that "ga" must have been altered at one time or another and given the long "a" sound, or "ei," thus resulting in the altered "gei." He believed the term should be written "Doygyataum," without hyphens, and roughly translated to "medicines he discovered," with the pronoun "ga" making medicine plural. Rather than representing any sort of "Kiowa Society," Doygyataum was instead an honorific for Sir Alexander Fleming, the Englishmen who accidentally "discovered" the medicine penicillin. Apparently, Fleming was adopted by the Kiowa tribe and made an honorary chief with the name of Doygyataum. McKenzie added his opinion that the word should really be "Doytaunde," which framed the title in the singular.

On March 3, 1958, McKenzie received a reply from the seemingly stunned Murray. She wrote McKenzie, "Thank you very much for your detailed reply to our letter addressed to the Kiowa Society regarding assistance in identifying the Kiowa word, 'Doy-gya-taum.'"[3] It is obvious Murray only expected a terse definition in response to her request, and the "detailed reply" she received must have surprised

[2] Letter from Mae W. Murray to the Kiowa Society, February 13, 1958. PMC. OHSRC. Box 6, Folder 2.

[3] Murray spelled the word according to McKenzie's report; however, she could not resist using the hyphens.

her. Since she did not know McKenzie personally, she could not realize the passion Parker McKenzie had for his native tongue.

Parker McKenzie was, first and foremost, a Kiowa linguist. He spent more than eighty of his one hundred and one years studying the Kiowa language and devising and perfecting a workable orthography to help preserve and revitalize the rapidly dying tongue. The orthography he devised is more utilitarian than the ones formulated by skilled linguists such as John P. Harrington, James Mooney, and Alfred S. Gatschett. McKenzie's orthography, unlike Harrington, Mooney, and Gatschett, was devised so it could be written on an ordinary English language typewriter without having to use any special characters for the various Kiowa sounds. In addition, McKenzie's use of sound markers establishes on paper the tonal system which is critical to Kiowa, and is largely neglected by other writing systems. McKenzie's work is so efficient that the Kiowa tribe of Oklahoma adopted his orthography as the official Kiowa writing system. He is one of only a handful of Native American to shape his native tongue into a written language. McKenzie performed this feat with only an eighth-grade education and no formal training in linguistics.

Parker McKenzie was born in a tipi on November 15, 1897. General McKenzie, Parker's father, was a Mexican, born around 1860. He was taken captive by the Mescalero Apaches when he was about five years old, traded to the Comanches, and finally bartered to the Kiowas. Akò:dònà:, Parker's mother, born in 1878,was the daughter of F<u>í</u>:má and Queton, a Mexican captured by the

Comanches and given to a Kiowa couple in return for a mule. This captive ancestry provided Parker with some very influential models for adaptation, as both General McKenzie and Queton fit in well with the Kiowa way of life. It also provided him with added motivation in his effort to rejuvenate the Kiowa language.

Most Kiowas held a dim view concerning captives, and this is reflected by the notion of captives being "foreigners" or "trade goods." Captives were relegated to the bottom rung of a class system which did not allow much in the way of upper-mobility. This view apparently still persists, although McKenzie wrote that about three-fourths of the people who are legally enrolled as Kiowas are from a captive ancestry. Parker McKenzie thought he felt an unwarranted brunt of these prejudices. Indeed, he felt the charges of having no direct male Kiowa ancestors limited his ability to establish his Kiowa writing system, and in 1986, he complained about it:

> I always regard myself no different from other Kiowas and other "Kiowas" that fall into the same category, and there are literally hundreds. What burns me up (excuse the phrase) is why people, including hundreds of "Mexican" Kiowas, persist in tagging me with that "stigma." I regard it as a drawback for me in my desire to get Kiowas interested in their most important tradition - - their language in written form. Many others of the kind get away with it, so the saying is, and [I] am unable to. I guess I should have developed braids, took part in powwows and learned all the dances and songs. I just was too busy learning my ABC's.[4]

McKenzie's stated purpose for developing his writing system was to preserve the Kiowa language, but his captive ancestry provided underlying motives as well.

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[4] Parker McKenzie, letter to Laurel Watkins, May 27,1986. PMC OHSRC. Box 21, Folder 3.

There is no doubt Parker McKenzie suffered from the sting of these barbs, yet, he never tried to conceal his ancestry during his later life. Instead, he mentioned it in nearly every letter he wrote, including repeated notices of the facts to people he knew well. It is very likely the reason McKenzie began his preservation of the Kiowa language in a written form was to convince himself, and others, of his "Kiowaness." The orthography would establish him beyond a doubt as a Kiowa, and no one could take this away from him.

Yí:saùm: Parker McKenzie's Double Vision of Kiowa Language and Culture will investigate the notion that Parker McKenzie was so concerned about his efforts to revitalize the Kiowa language because he felt it reinforced his sense of identity as a Kiowa. Given his captive ancestry and the negative comments he received because of it, McKenzie's study of the Kiowa language became a major factor in his life.

Yí:saùm will demonstrate how the Kiowa tradition of integrating captives into Kiowa society provided not only new conflicts, but new solutions to the problem of adaptation. Parker McKenzie successfully used his ancestry as a springboard for integration and a model for his vision, despite criticism that he was not truly Kiowa because of his captive ancestry. They claimed he was really a Mexican, and did not deserve to be a member of the Kiowa tribe. This cut McKenzie deeply

The title of *Yí:saùm: Parker McKenzie's Double Vision of Kiowa Language and Culture* is an ideal representation of Parker McKenzie. Yí:saùm, which early linguists translated as "Double Vision," is McKenzie's Kiowa name, and aptly

describes his twin vision of revitalizing and preserving the language and culture of his people, while at the same time encouraging and aiding the transition of the Kiowas into American society.

Yí:saùm is an interdisciplinary examination of the reaction of Parker McKenzie to the new cultural and political landscape facing the Kiowa tribe during the twentieth century. He acted as a mediator to overcome these changes by working within the new system, while at the same time finding ways to preserve Kiowa culture. McKenzie, aware of a serious decline in the use of the Kiowa language, developed his Kiowa orthography in an effort to preserve his native tongue. The loss of the great majority of fluent Kiowa speakers during his own lifetime left McKenzie with little doubt about the perilous future of Kiowa. He believed his orthography could help ensure the survival of his beloved native tongue, and he worked diligently for over eighty years to preserve it.

Research for *Yí:saùm* is centered on the papers of Parker McKenzie. This material provides in great detail the genesis and growth of McKenzie's double vision. His correspondence with John P. Harrington is a valuable look at how McKenzie developed his orthography, as well as his thoughts on language preservation. In addition, letters to historians, anthropologists, and government officials presents a Kiowa voice to address questions about Kiowa culture and history. Parker McKenzie's papers are a gold mine of information. However, a large portion of the papers are written in the Kiowa language. Translating these papers into English is very time-consuming, but the rewards are great. Reading Kiowa

thought in an original, unadulterated state provides an insight into the culture not offered by any other resource, for language is the primary facilitator of culture.

It is important to note that Parker McKenzie's reputation as a linguist outstrips his work as an historian. Linguists such as John Harrington and Laurel Watkins relied heavily on McKenzie's assistance, and his help is duly noted by both. However, although McKenzie provides a significant number of manuscripts pertaining to Kiowa history, few historians have taken advantage of them. Anthropologist William Meadows used McKenzie as a source in his work, and William Welge of the Oklahoma Historical Society devoted a large portion of his time gathering information. Clyde Ellis used McKenzie's research in his work on the Rainy Mountain Indian School and powwow dancing, but this information is limited to some quotes. The historical observations made by McKenzie are an important addition to the field of Native American history, as they bring to light a fresh source of Kiowa memory, delivering a new perspective which compares favorably to Anglo histories.

Chapter1 Growing Up Kiowa

Yìdòáhsaùm, or Yí:saùm, grew up knowing how to be a Kiowa. He knew because Fí:má, his grandmother, told him what it was like to be a Kiowa. He knew because Ákàu:dònà:, his mother, also told him what it was like to be a Kiowa. He knew, too, because his grandfather, Queton, who was a captive Mexican and had worked his way up in status, told him what it was like to be a Kiowa. Yìdòáhsaùm learned his lesson well, and as an adult, when he was known as Parker Paul McKenzie, he used these lessons to establish himself as a man recognized for his knowledge of Kiowa history and the Kiowa language.

Yìdòáhsaùm was born during a critical time in Kiowa history, He was among the first of the Kiowas to grow up in the post-reservation period. Yìdòáhsaùm's generation faced the difficult question of whether to adapt to the American culture or retain their identities as Kiowas, or perhaps attempt to do both. It would prove to be a difficult decision for many. Yìdòáhsaùm made his choice: he would live his life as Parker McKenzie, working within the American system, while at the same time, he would strive to preserve his native tongue and as much Kiowa history as he could.

Yìdòáhsaùm was born a Kiowa on November 15, 1897, in a situation vastly different from the traditional nomadic, horse and buffalo culture of the Kiowas. Ethnologist James Mooney described the state of the Kiowas in 1898: "Realizing that a change is inevitable in the near future, the Indians are going to work, and

with the aid of the money received from their grass lands invested in houses, cattle, and improved breed of horses, the opening of small farms, and the general educational work of the schools, there is a fair prospect that at the expiration of their present treaty in 1898 they will be able to meet the present conditions."[1] However, Yí:saùm did not enter the world in one of the new houses, nor did his parents possess any of the "general education" Mooney mentions. Yìdòáhsaùm was born in a tipi in a spot next to Rainy Mountain, to parents who could not speak or understand the English language.

Yìdòáhsaùm was initially named Sépyà:dà, the Kiowa word for Rainy Mountain, the place where it always rains. It was a fitting name, for N. Scott Momaday described Rainy Mountain as "an idea, man's idea of himself, and it has old and essential being in language."[2] The name reflects the future of the new baby: the formation of an idea to save an endangered language. Later, he was given the ancestral name of Yìdòáhsaùm, shortened to Yí:saùm, freely translated as Double Vision, and which originally belonged to his maternal great-grandfather. This interpretation has nothing at all to do with a visual impairment, but rather is a commendation for brave exploits in battle. The literal translation of They Marveled at His Deeds Twice is derived from the longer, more formal rendition of the name: Yìdòáhsaùm.[3]

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[1] James C. Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Seventeenth Annual Report,* Part I. Washington, 1898), 225-226.
[2] N. Scott Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), 4.
[3] Parker McKenzie, "R. H. Pratt's List of the Twenty-Seven Kiowa Prisoners at Fort Marion, Florida, 1875-1878, and Commented upon by: Parker Paul McKenzie. Member of the Kiowa Tribe. 1989." PMC. OHSRC. Box 12, Folder 8.

It was the Anglos of the area who declared such a name to be uncivilized, and they were the ones who dubbed Yìdòáhsaùm Parker Paul McKenzie. It became the name he lived by and he describes how he received his English name:

> I was Parker all my life after it was bestowed on me by the construction supervisor of the RI [Rock Island] railroad being built across just south of our home shortly after my birth. Two young uncles with some education were ones who remembered my newly-acquired name for my parents, for, being illiterate, neither had any conception of English names and already named me Yìsaùm (as I write it). Meanwhile, our missionary lady, on her own volition, as was her practice to be sure newborns of her flock had "civilized" names, picked the Biblical name Paul for me and reported it to our BIA agency at Anadarko, and officially I became Paul McKenzie. [4]

McKenzie had no idea his official name was Paul until he reached the age of ten. He read a trust deed issued to him by the BIA for the allotment of 1901. His legal name became Parker Paul McKenzie when he began working for the BIA in 1918.[5]

Parker McKenzie spent the earliest years of his life on the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache (KCA) reservation. His earliest memories are the fleeting glimpses people conjure up of their childhood, such as the time he saw the great

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[4] Parker McKenzie, letter to Elaine L. Mills, January 17, 1986. PMC. OHSRC. Box 16, Folder 6.
[5] Ibid., 3. Names are very important to a growing child as a source of self identity, and Parker McKenzie certainly faced a confusing array of identities. However, this is not an uncommon situation for young Kiowas in the last years of the nineteenth century. Many of them found their names changed to an Anglicized version not even remotely related to their Kiowa identity. In addition, McKenzie mentions how Anglos altered even the English names of Kiowa adults by clerical errors. John P. Harrington turned Guy Quetone into Guy Quetone Kiowa by neglecting to use s comma while writing a list of tribal members. Another member of the tribe became forever Kiowa Charley, because he was wrongly identified by the BIA as a Kiowa-Apache. The mistake happened as a result of his wife, who was Kiowa-Apache, and the BIA erroneously enrolled Charley as a member of the tribe. A BIA official wrote "Kiowa" in front of Charley's name to clarify his tribal designation, but the word became attached and Kiowa Charley became a permanent name.
[11] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, n.d. PMC. OHSRC. Box 24, Folder 1.
[12] Parker McKenzie, letter to Paula Turner, June 25, 1995. PMC. OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 1.

Comanche chief, Quanah Parker, ride into McKenzie's home town of Mountain View in a stagecoach filled with agents of the BIA. [6]

McKenzie also received the foundation of his knowledge of "all matters Kiowa" from his maternal grandmother, Fí:má. Fí:má, born in 1844 and the wife of Queton, was an excellent role model and example of what it meant to be a Kiowa. She "still carried scars on her upper arms and had parts of both her smallest fingers missing" as a result of self-mutilation during times of mourning. Fí:má served as a surrogate mother for Parker McKenzie. He wrote, "I practically grew up with her, rather than my parents who focused their attention on my older brother and took him to wherever they went, while I stayed with my grandmother."[7] Fí:má nurtured McKenzie, cuddling him as an infant and feeding him with a buffalo calf horn spoon left over from the "old days." McKenzie learned Kiowa by "hearing her speak Kiowa and telling about incidents or passing to me tribal myths. There was no ABC's around, and thus it was how my early Kiowa base became structured." From her, McKenzie learned his family belonged to the Qógûl, or Elks, band of the Kiowa tribe. In addition, Queton told McKenzie the myths and tales of the Kiowas.[8] McKenzie grew up on Queton's farm, located on the bend of the Washita River where Rainy Mountain Creek empties.[9]

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[8] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, October 24, 1990. PMC. OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 1.
[9] Parker McKenzie, letter to Paula Turner, June 25, 1995. PMC. OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 1.
[9] Ibid.

Queton and Fí:má originally settled on the site in the mid-1880's. The government constructed a log cabin for the family, using cottonwood logs cut from trees growing by the river. Ten years later, the Quetons received a two-room frame house and a well lined with field stone. They kept the land following the allotment of 1901, trading a few acres on the northeast section for eighty acres to the south, which previously belonged to the Rainy Mountain Baptist Church. The combined allotments of Queton and Fí:má totaled a little more than one hundred and twenty six acres.[10]

McKenzie furnishes some interesting glimpses into the life of a Kiowa child growing up in post-reservation Kiowa country. An automobile trip to Lawton, Oklahoma, in 1989 triggered a reminiscence of a far different journey he participated in as a very young child in the summer of 1901. The allotment of the KCA had yet to take place, Lawton did not exist, and the journey took place in a caravan of six covered wagons over unfenced prairie on the old military road which ran between Camp Supply and Fort Sill. The purpose of the caravan was to join a Baptist revival meeting being held on West Cache Creek, but McKenzie's memory records very little of the proceedings. However, he did recall the impression he got when he first saw Mount Sheridan, one of the largest and northernmost mountains in the Wichita Mountain range: "It got my childhood thinking to imagine there were QOPSAUTPOTJAU (qópsáupótjàu) or mountain monsters as I now refer to them along the rocks and shadowy, timbered slopes."[11] McKenzie's 1946

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[11] Parker McKenzie, letter to Dr. Everett Rhoades, May 11, 1989. PMC. OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 2.

translation of a Bert Odlety recording describing a meeting between the Kiowa cultural hero Séndé and the qópsáupótjàu is indicative of why his imagination carried him to such a flight of fancy:

> The mountain monsters were man-like but they were woolly. They had a small cedar growing out of the top of their head and carried a big woolly sack on their back. Some children had gone out to play beyond the camp and got lost, these mountain monsters grabbed them and carried them off to where they lived in the mountains.[12]

The story is obviously one Kiowa parents tell to their children to make them behave, and it is probable the young Parker McKenzie was familiar with the story. There is little doubt he stayed very close to the camp that night.

One of his earliest memories came from what must have been an extraordinary sight, when the town of Oak Dale was disassembled and moved across the Washita River to meet up with the railroad:

> It was in August of 1903 when old Mountain View, then located two miles north of present town (we always called it Oak Dale in our family) was practically moved en masse to its present location. The buildings, being of Frame construction, were moved by horse-mule power over a makeshift bridge of rock, logs and earth that was sufficiently wide to accommodate the widest business buildings. The moving trucks were sawed segments of cottonwood, appropriately axled and equipped as undercarriages.[13]

[12] Parker McKenzie, letter to Laurel Watkins, March 31, 1997. PMC. OHSRC. Box 21, Folder 6. Bert Odlety was McKenzie's brother-in-law. He was an important source for McKenzie in Kiowa language and history.
[13] Parker McKenzie, "Early Fairs of Mountain View," n.d. PMC. OHSRC. Box 11, Folder 3.

The following year, in 1904, the town of Mountain View hosted a celebration of the new town, which, oddly enough, coincided with the disbursement of the Kiowa annuity payments. The citizens of Mountain View offered the Kiowas free beef if they would come see the fair, and the lure worked, for as McKenzie said, "Beef in those days was to the Kiowas what the dollar sign is to Anglos."[14] The Kiowas arrived in droves, camping all around Mountain View in anticipation of the fair.

The first Mountain View fair must have been a grand spectacle for a six year old boy, and Parker McKenzie remembered it for the rest of his life. He described the odd-looking carnival people who lived in tents very different than the ones familiar to him. The young boy spent a dime to watch a magician perform, and watched in wonder the different games on the midway. He indulged in lemonade and pop, but as an adult, he reminisced, "Hamburgers and hotdogs still were then not in vogue."[15] However, the event which made the most lasting impression came not from the happenings of the fair itself, but from the actions of three Kiowa men.

Big Tree and Gotebo, well known former warriors, and Saingko, a younger man, accepted the task of butchering the beef given to the Kiowas by the townspeople. Word spread through the fair about the butchering, and people eagerly gathered to watch the show. They crowded so close to see what was going on that they practically stood on Big Tree's back. The three Kiowas, who spoke only their native tongue, became annoyed at the distractions and worked up a plan to

[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.

relieve the situation. Gotebo told his brother-in-law Big Tree to let out a loud war whoop "just like we used to do when we warriors raided settlements in the Rio Grande valley."[16] Big Tree agreed to this, and told the other men to watch out after they cut the beef open.

Big Tree, a very large, overweight man, worked on the beef while sitting down. He cut the cow open and pulled out the liver, slicing off a piece. He then cut open the gall bladder, squeezing out some of the fluid. McKenzie, an eyewitness to the butchering, tells what happened next: "[Big Tree] dipped one end of the sliver into the gall for 'seasoning,' swirling it a bit, and then bellowed his famous, blood-curdling war-whoop and waved his blood-dripping knife in the air." The on-lookers stood stunned for a moment, mouths agape, and then took off running for safety. The three Kiowas continued their work, laughing to themselves.[17]

McKenzie describes the perils of life in the early twentieth century in rural Oklahoma. This can be demonstrated by an incident which occurred on McKenzie's grandparents' allotment. In May, 1905, the Quetons' home became threatened by flood waters when an earthen embankment broke during a period of excessive rain. The Washita River and Rainy Mountain Creek united to spill over their banks and wash over the homestead, driving the family from their home:

> The water was rising too fast for comfort so we had to git. All our horses were out off on higher ground across the overfilled lake west of the house, so family members - - grandfather, my parents, two uncles and wife of one, and two young, visiting Kiowas were the "horses" who pulled our wagon

[16] PMC. OHSRC. Box 11, Folder 3
[17] Ibid.

> to higher ground. Grandmother, my older brother, a baby brother and I rode atop the camp equipment, bedding, food, etc. Brother set up at the front and held a lit lantern so the "horses" would have some light, and to he and I, it was fun giddy-uppiping the "horses."[18]

McKenzie bought into Kiowa traditions as a young child, partly as a result of his mother's influence. He experienced several of them on a first-hand basis. One incident occurred when he received medical treatment from a woman whom he said practiced "household therapy."[19] He had been bed-ridden for three months when Ákàu:dònà, Parker's mother and a strong believer in the art of áu:támgà, or blood-sucking, summoned a practitioner of the art to his assistance. Parker, nearly seven years old, had been severely injured in a fall on Rainy Mountain, when he had been shoved by an older boy. The woman sliced open Parker's legs. She used a horn cone to suck out some blood, which apparently cured him, for he soon was able to walk again. However, he walked with a limp for the rest of his life, and he commented later, "I still carry some of her yí:dè [slices] scars" He believed the woman possessed a sacred individual power known to the Kiowas as "dáui." [20]

A more powerful example of the Kiowa belief system are the Tà:lyópgàu, or the Ten Grandmothers, which, along with the Sun Dance idol known as the Tá:imé, formed the basic elements of Kiowa religion. They are mistakenly called "medicine bundles" by most people, but McKenzie points out: "They take no part in the doctoring processes of medicine men. They served only as a religious

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[18] Parker McKenzie, letter to Arthur Silberman, June 14, 1989. PMC. OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 6.

[20] Ibid.

symbol." The Tá:imé is rarely seen, as the Sun Dance is no longer performed, but the Grandmothers are still in use. The Ten Grandmothers are sacred bundles thought to contain the power to protect people from harm, most notably warriors going out on a raid. The supplicant would offer gifts to the Grandmothers for their services. Initially, these gifts may have consisted of scalps. It became such a popular custom that the bundles became known as áulbéáuihà:, or "They of many scalps." Later, the gifts became more practical, such as measures of cloth or beaded pouches. These gifts were either taken for use by the keepers of the Grandmothers or distributed as gifts to other members of the tribe.[21] McKenzie, as a teenager, had a first-hand encounter with one of the Grandmothers.

One keeper of a Grandmother was Frank "Doc" Given, the medicine man son of Satank and brother of Joshua Given. Doc and his wife lived across the road from the McKenzie home, and the families would share meals together every day. Frank Given or his wife would frequently give the grace, and they would always invoke the Tà:lyópgàu. This closeness to the mystical aspect of Kiowa life played a significant role in McKenzie's life, and his first-hand experience shaped his world-view.

One evening, Parker and his older brother were subjected to what Parker described as an "ordeal." The two teen-aged boys were forced to spend the night in the tepee the Given's had erected to house the sacred bundle. McKenzie's observations reflect the mindset of a youngster steeped in Kiowa lore and aware of

[21] PMC OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 6.
McKenzie compared the Grandmother gifts to the Anglo gifts of money "for the cause." He called them "identical: former, pagaanistic, latter, "sophisticated."

the possibility of facing a negative reaction from the Grandmother by showing any sign of disrespect:

> Per instructions, we appeared at the tent at dusk, each with a measure of calico as our offerings. The keeper's wife instructed us to the observance before we entered, and when we did so we moved along counterclockwise, I qualmishly following. On reaching the bundle fastened to a tepee pole at face height on the west side, we placed our offerings upon it. We were supposed to find a small opening at a corner of the pouch opening and deeply inhale whatever scent there was to inhale. I don't remember if Brother found the opening; I know I didn't. I deeply inhaled anyway, while keeping in mind the thought I might be pòtqûm for making a mistake in the ritual. We found our prepared pallets on the south side and crawled in. It took me quite a while before dozing off, imagining I was hearing weird sounds inside the bundle. We were out of there at the earliest sign of dawn.[22]

There can be no doubt Parker McKenzie believed in the power of the dáui, and he frankly admitted it: "It was that submission to the superspirit of the Grandmothers that has been the key to my being sustained all these years." Indeed, McKenzie considered the Ten Grandmothers and the Tá:imé, as well as the Kiowa language, "the better aspects of their [the Kiowas] behavioral practices." These "better aspects" are all systems devised and practiced by native adherents with no outside actions corrupting them. It was McKenzie's greatest fear that the Grandmothers and the Táimé would be acquired by an Anglo business (he used Indian City, located in Anadarko, Oklahoma, as an example), and exploited for commercial use. He suggested that the keepers of the bundles establish a

[22] PMC OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 6. Pòtqûm means "twisted by a hex."

permanent home for the bundles at the Kiowa tribal headquarters in Carnegie, Oklahoma, to be protected and preserved by tribal members.[23]

These stories, when taken separately, may seem to be just stories, but combining them into a whole establishes a foundation for the "Kiowaness" of Parker McKenzie. His active mind readily ingested the cultural aspects of his heritage. The imagery of the qópsáupótjàu lurking in the shadows of a mountain clearly shows his immersion into the Kiowa world, and his memory of the Mountain View fair established an acknowledgement of the uniqueness of Kiowa ways compared to those of his Anglo neighbors. The fair itself would plant the seeds of his future work in the establishment of the American Indian Exposition, and would also be the basis for his later repudiation of the powwow culture. The moving of the whole town of Oak Dale to a new site located next to the railroad is an example of the post-reservation Kiowa attempt to adapt to Anglo ways. His depiction of the flood of 1905 opens a window into what must have been a close-knit family, willing to pull together for their common security. Finally, McKenzie's acceptance of the Kiowa system of dáui and his acknowledgement of the reality behind the mysteries suggests a willingness to maintain the old traditions of Kiowa spirituality. The combination of all of these factors instilled into McKenzie his idea of what it meant to be a Kiowa: culturally immersed, with a strong sense of identity and family ties, along with the ability to adapt to a changing world. It is also quite

[23] PMC OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 6.

possible his captive ancestry gave him an added ability to assimilate into the new Kiowa world

It is extremely important to address the matter of captive people who had been incorporated into the Kiowa tribe. According to Barnard Mishkin, who researched the Kiowas during the 1920's, the Kiowas rarely raided for captives. They preferred to raid for horses, and only sought captives when a woman who had lost a child wanted a replacement, or someone needed an extra laborer. The Kiowas generally preferred to obtain captives through barter with other tribes. Mishkin wrote: "Only women and children were taken as captives, never men. Men would have attempted to escape, while women seldom were so bold; children were ideal, for memories of their homes and families were soon effaced, and in time they were assimilated." [24] This is true in both Queton's and General McKenzie's cases, as both were young boys at the time of their capture and retained scant memory of their previous lives. They also became assimilated into the Kiowa tribe. Still, captives among the Kiowas never enjoyed what could be termed "full membership" into the tribe, as they could never be admitted to the upper class of Kiowa Society. The Kiowa caste system always kept them at a distance.

The Kiowas were divided into four groups. The ôdè, or upper ten per cent contained the best and brightest of the tribe. This status was most often an ascribed statue, or hereditary. Some members of the lower orders could achieve ôdè rank through war exploits and the amassing of wealth, but captives or other people from

[24] Barnard Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare among the Plains Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 43-44.

outside the tribe could not advance that high. Ôdèguùfà, the second tier, represented thirty to forty per cent of the tribe. These were the most ambitious, for they were equal in wealth to the members of the ôdè but lacked sufficient war honors to achieve that lofty plateau. The third group was the commoners, or káu:àn, written as K$^{\circ\circ}$nki by Mishkin and kóon by Brooks. This group composed up to fifty per cent of the Kiowas. However, their access to power and wealth was limited by lack of opportunities to better themselves, for many of this group could not afford to provide themselves with a horse or outfit themselves for war. The fourth group, known as dàufón, consisted of from five to ten per cent of the tribe. They generally were considered lazy, shiftless, or criminals. Also, this is the group in which captives who had not been adopted were placed.[25]

It must be pointed out that the class system of the Kiowas, although real, is based on the descriptions of anthropologists who visited the Kiowas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. McKenzie addresses this situation himself, describing a "research group" from Columbia University which arrived in Anadarko in the 1930's (probably Janet Richardson). McKenzie believed the group invented the "Kiowa social system" by "taking Kiowa terms and injecting them into the 'Kiowa social order' they created." He did, however, point out that the warrior societies were real, and "are in a different category."[26]

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[25] Mishkin, Rank *and Warfare.* See also Janet Richardson, *Law and Status among the Kiowa Indians* 15, and Brooks, *Captives and Cousins,* 171-172. Brooks gives the ôdèguùfà forty to fifty percent of the Kiowa population, although he cites Mishkin as his source. See Brooks, *Captives and Cousins,* 171.The class names are written in the Parker McKenzie system, except for Mishkin's and Brooks' examples. See Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare,* and Brooks, *Captives and Cousins,* 171.

[26] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, Jr., July 19, 1997. PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 4.

Captives could move up in rank, either through achievement in war or faithful service, but they could not obtain the status of ôdè. They were never allowed to forget their foreign origins; any argument between a captive and a full-blood Kiowa always ended with the Kiowa declaring, "You're only a captive."[27] Non-adopted captives would also receive ludicrous names, such as Queton's Comanche name, "Discarded." They would also be more apt to be named for a disfigurement as General McKenzie was for his wounded hand.

Upper mobility for a captive sometimes meant marrying a person from a rank higher than their own. It was possible to obtain a spouse from another group, but on the whole only adopted captives could hope to achieve this goal. Non-adopted captives generally married other captives or a member of a poor family. Still, as Queton's example illustrates, a captive could gain enough favor to step ahead of his group.

Mishkin mentions a story concerning Big Bow and a Mexican captive named "Kuitan," which is obviously a reference to Queton. Big Bow took "Kuitan" on a horse raiding expedition, and the party of Kiowas captured thirty horses. "Kuitan," who had served as Big Bow's horse-tender and cook, was given the first pick of the horses in recognition of his services. The other Kiowa warriors grumbled about this act, but Big Bow's position as a jò:fáudô:qì, or chief, gave him the right to do this.[28] This act demonstrates "Kuitan's" upper mobility in Kiowa

[27] Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare,* 47.
[28] Ibid., 49.

society. His rise did not end here. “Kuitan” would later marry Fí:má, Big Bow’s half-sister, and the grandmother of Parker McKenzie.

However, obtaining a higher rank did not necessarily ensure a permanent position in the higher caste. Mishkin wrote:

> Those who had fought their way up to ôdègù:fà from the lower grades did not entirely lose the stigma of the newly arrived. Their ôdèguùfà position remained somewhat insecure no matter how distinguished their war record might be. The ôdè sons of ôdè fathers might have been inferior in their accomplishments to the first generation but their rank was nevertheless more exalted. The "good" families had a tendency to become crystallized and enclose themselves in the atmosphere of caste.[29]

This kind of exclusivity would not allow a captive like Queton, no matter how distinguished he became, to reach the highest status, and it was always a possibility that any kind of slip by Queton would result in his return to the lowest orders. However, James Brooks, although he agrees with Mishkin’s analysis of Kiowa rank, gives captives more latitude in upper mobility. He cites the case of Andrés Martiíínez, or Andele, as his example.

Andele was captured as a young boy by Mescalero Apaches and traded to Sétjáuâuidé, Many Bears, a powerful member of the Kiowa ôdè and keeper of the Táimé, the Kiowa sun dance idol. This was a stroke of luck for Andele, because he did not have to work his way out of the captive class. He was given to Many Bears daughter as her adopted child. His relationship to Many Bears allowed him to go

[29] Ibid.

on raids. Although Brooks says this relationship provided Andele with "real opportunity," he never permitted the status of a war leader or entered the ôdè.[30]

The difference between the status of Queton and General McKenzie may rest on two points inherent in the Kiowa social system. The first point is that Queton achieved status as a warrior, whereas General McKenzie did not. Queton's warrior exploits are well-documented, and they were sufficient to elevate him in rank. However, General McKenzie never had an opportunity to go on raids or fight as a warrior, for by the time he reached the age for raiding the Kiowas were confined on their reservation. An even more important consideration is adoption. Queton lived as an adopted son of two Mexican captives who had been incorporated into the tribe. General McKenzie became orphaned again shortly after his arrival in the Kiowa camp, and spent the rest of his childhood as an outsider. It is probable General McKenzie occupied a slot in the last group of Kiowa society. His marriage to Akò: dònà, the daughter of Queton, can be seen as an attempt by General McKenzie to improve his status. It would have been quite proper for him to marry the daughter of a captive, and use the rank of her father as a ladder to escape the last group. However, the stigma of General McKenzie's role as a captive lodged in the lowest strata of Kiowa society apparently affected the reputation of his son, Parker McKenzie.

[30] Brooks, *Captives and Cousins,* 191. See Methvin, *Andele.*

Chapter 2 Sèpyàdàj: Rainy Mountain School Days

Parker McKenzie's childhood took a drastic change in 1904 when General McKenzie delivered Parker, as well as Parker's brother, Robert, to the Rainy Mountain boarding school in Mountain View. Rainy Mountain School, established in 1893, was a typical Indian boarding school, and it played an important role in Parker McKenzie's life. Like most Indian boarding schools, Rainy Mountain School worked to achieve the assimilation of Native American youth into American society. Programs at the school included the usual basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic, but it also included the stripping away of all things Indian. The method applied by the educators of the boarding school system relied on the total immersion of the student into Anglo society, as well as the total control of the student's physical and cultural environment.[31]

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[31] Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 20. For more accounts of the Indian boarding school experience, see K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light : the Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Francis La Flesche, *The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978); K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa L. McCarty, *To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (New York and London: Teachers College Press, 2006); Amelia K. Katanski, *Learning to Write Indian the Boarding-School Experience and Native American Literature* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005); Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, eds., *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); and Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: the Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

The boarding schools pinpointed precisely the things which provide a culture identity: thought, dress, eating habits, and language. Students who did not yet possess English names got assigned one. Each child, both male and female, received a uniform and got a haircut. The students lived on campus for ten months out of the year, sequestered away from the influence of the reservation and controlled by the personnel of the school. The Kiowas openly welcomed the Rainy Mountain School, and flourished in this situation.[32]

Clyde Ellis described Kiowa parents as being very enthusiastic about what they considered to be their school, and eventually considered it to be of great importance for tribal success. The parents would visit the campus regularly, and showed tremendous pride in the school. Ellis writes, "Parental support and interest no doubt contributed to better relations and increased enrollments, which was exactly what the Indian Office wanted."[33] However, the glowing reviews offered by parents and administrators did not coincide with those of Parker McKenzie.

McKenzie's own experiences when he first attended Rainy Mountain School in 1904, at six years old, appear to have been typical for most boys entering the program, and a tongue-in-cheek account of his first day at school is probably the exact opposite of the reality:

> We were dressed in native buckskin shirts and independent buckskin leggings that reached the waist line on the outside and an independent so-called G-string for the crotch. Our faces painted with native rouge

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[32] Ellis, *To Change Them Forever*, 21.
[33] Ibid., 20.

> and streaks of black diagonally painted from below each eye to the edge of the jawbone, minus blankets as it was not cold that day as I remember faintly. Inside, we had our braids clipped off and what remained was fine-combed with coal oil – to be sure we were not importing lice from the tepee to the school. We then were scrubbed, clothed in civilian garment including ankle-length, laced leather shoes.[34]

It is quite possible McKenzie wrote this passage as a response to the widespread images of Native American children in "before" and "after" photographs. These children would arrive at boarding schools dressed in their native attire, with their hair cut in the fashion of their tribe. Photographs would be taken of them, and later photos were made after a complete transformation had been made. The Indian apparel and hair fashion would have disappeared, to be replaced by a trim-looking, short-haired youth dressed in Anglo clothes gazing solemnly into the camera. This is not the case with McKenzie.

McKenzie told Clyde Ellis his own story when he said, "The Indian was already out of us by the time we went to school."[35] He added, "I am sure I was not surprised that knives, forks, and spoons were on the cloth covered tables."[36] Although McKenzie entered the world in a tepee, he spent the first years of his life living with his grandparents in their frame house. The wife of a Baptist church official visited the Quetons' house in June of 1896, more than a year before the birth of Parker McKenzie. She described the house as "neat and clean, two beds well-made, chairs, a table, a polished cook stove, a cupboard well-arranged, pictures

[34] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, June 6, 1990. PMC OHSRC. Box 24, Folder 4.
[35] Ellis, *To Change Them Forever,* 96.
[36] Ibid., 101.

on the walls."[37] Yet, Ellis describes the experience of an Indian youth at Rainy Mountain as "the forfeiture of what it meant to be an Indian."[38] This would not be true in the case of Parker McKenzie. Since he spent the early years of his life with the Quetons, he would have been knowledgeable, although not quite immersed, in the ways of the Anglos.

Most of McKenzie's observations concerning his school days at Rainy Mountain focus on attempts by the school officials to snuff out the Kiowa language. McKenzie comments on how many students, especially beginners, would rather say nothing than be caught speaking Kiowa. Punishment for getting caught seems to have been rather harsh. Disciplinary action ranged from having to brush their teeth with yellow soap to more physical ordeals, such as carrying ladders on their shoulders up and down sidewalks for two hours. Other punishments include being banned from dances, or losing the privilege of going to Roake's Trading Post on a Saturday afternoon.[39] The worst punishments came from the loss of visiting privileges or weekend trips home.

McKenzie likened the experience of language degeneration to "a basketball team being sent to a court to practice, but being denied a ball."[40] The language problem severely handicapped the students, and McKenzie observed, "No wonder it took many of us under the old order at Rainy Mountain nine to ten years to

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[37] Ibid. Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, October 24, 1990. PMC OHSRC. Box 24, Folder 4.
[38] Ellis, *To Change Them Forever,* 101-103.
[39] Parker McKenzie, letter to Randle Hurst, November 23, 1987. PMC OHSRC Box 13, folder 3. Roake's Trading Post was a convenience store located a half-mile from the school.
[40] Ibid.

complete the grades through the sixth, providing we persisted and stayed through."[41] McKenzie's own difficulties, though troubling to him at the time, proved to be humorous later in life.

McKenzie tells a story of how he began to grasp the rudiments of the English language. He noticed some signs hanging on the walls of the dormitory he lived in. Older students familiar with the ways of the school told him the signs read

DO NOT SPIT ON THE FLOOR

TO DO SO MAY SPREAD DISEASE.[42]

His friends would read similar signs to him and explain their meaning in Kiowa. McKenzie used this method to learn basic phrases and English sentence structure.

English teachers at Rainy Mountain did not know a single word of Kiowa, so they conducted their classes with the use of placards, chalkboard, and charts. McKenzie learned English from sheer repetition. The teacher would point at a word or expression and the students would repeat it over and over. However, these methods proved to be less effective than just listening to the teacher use everyday English, as McKenzie explains: "It wasn't just the expressions we were learning; all her side remarks about the lessons were lessons in themselves, too; she was teaching us conversational English with her remarks about the lessons at hand."[43]

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, Jr., December 12, 1994. PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 2.
[43] PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 2.

The most difficult problem he faced in learning English came from remembering and using articles such as a, an, or the. The Kiowa language does not use these terms, and even writing as an adult, McKenzie frequently left them out. For example, while writing about the reasons articles could be so confusing to Kiowa speaking children, McKenzie told a story about how a teacher used a felt hat to demonstrate the use of articles. He wrote:

> When I was either in the second or third grade at Rainy Mountain School our teacher one day came up with a lesson on the articles A and THE. She tried to show us the significance of the two by placing a boy's hat on a stool and saying "Now, this can [be] A hat, or, this can be THE hat." It puzzled me, and perhaps others, too, in that she was seeing two hats, and there was obviously only one hat.[44]

He reached a point of proficiency in the English language by the fourth grade. These examples laid the groundwork for his future work in the Kiowa language. He later told Gus Palmer, Jr., "One can learn to speak and write Kiowa without the aid of English, just as we at Rainy Mountain learned English without the aid of Kiowa."[45]

Ignoring the attempts made by school administrators to eradicate Kiowa, McKenzie and others like him found ways to continue using the language. The boys would gather behind Rainy Mountain and play their games, all the while speaking Kiowa. Trips home brought the students into contact with family members who spoke nothing but Kiowa, and conversations in Kiowa kept their knowledge alive.

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[44] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, Jr., June 11,, 1994. PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 2.
[45] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, Jr., December 12, 1994. PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 2.

McKenzie even began the rudimentary development of his Kiowa writing system by sending letters written in phonetic Kiowa to his sweetheart and future wife, Nettie Odlety.[46] However, for the most part, the boys were willing to learn English, and the older boys especially used it to a great extent.[47]

McKenzie's most common complaint about his stay at Rainy Mountain concerned the quality of the food given the students. He refuted the common argument that the problem of tuberculosis, which seems to have spread to Indian boarding schools throughout the United States, was caused because "Indians had no sense of household cleanliness."[48] McKenzie believed the poor quality of food, as well as the insufficient amount given to the students, likely resulted in the weakened state which allowed tuberculosis to take hold.[49] Milk, in particular, seemed to be in short supply.

The milk situation at Rainy Mountain confused Parker McKenzie. A milking detail would go out twice each day to milk the dozen or so cows the school kept on the grounds. None of the milk found its way to the student dining hall. Instead, the milk went to the employees' mess hall, where an African-American woman, hired as a cook by the employees, would use it for their meals. Sometimes, milk found a way to the student dining room in the form of biscuits and gravy. Butter never appeared for the students.[50]

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[46] Ellis, *To Change Them Forever,* 104.
[47] Parker McKenzie, letter to Randle Hurst, November 23, 1987. PMC OHSRC. Box 13, folder 3.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid. See Lewis Merriam, et al., *The Problems of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928).
[50] Ibid.

McKenzie's concerns were justified by a report written by Indian Commissioner Robert Valentine on July 7 of 1909. The report analyzes information provided by Special Agent Robert McConihe, who investigated conditions at the school. McConihe's investigation read: "There is not enough milk at this school to even milk the coffee of the pupils in the morning and yet the employees have taken what few cows there are for their own use." Commissioner Valentine endorsed the actions of his agent, calling the practice of the employees "irregular," and limited the milk supply for employees to only what may be left over after what the students use.[51]

Breakfast at Rainy Mountain consisted of oatmeal, laced with sorghum instead of milk or sugar, two slices of bread, and "breakfast gravy." McKenzie described how students needed to clean "irregularities" out of the sorghum before they could use it. The students used quite a bit in their oatmeal to make it palatable, or else they would go hungry. The school received such an ample supply of sorghum that the excess found its way into the horses' feed. The sorghum seems to have been of such poor quality that two of the animals died after eating it. However, no students died from the effects of sorghum ingestion.[52]

The cook who prepared the food for the students was described by McKenzie as a "wispy, bossy woman" known as Miss Slappy. She lived up to her

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[51] Robert Valentine to Ernest Stecker, July 7, 1908. PMC OHSRC. Box 13, folder1. McKenzie's concerns over the milk shortage are interesting. According to the National Digestive Diseases Information Clearinghouse, up to seventy-five percent of American Indians are lactose intolerant. A recent Cornell University study argues that adult people with a history of migratory patterns living in hot climates do not retain lactase, the substance necessary to digest milk. See "Lactose intolerance linked to ancestral environment," Medical Studies/Trials, June 1, 2005.

[52] Ibid.

name, being rough with the students, but the students did not pin it on her. It was her real name. Her cooking methods are questionable, as McKenzie explains how Miss Slappy flavored her gravy by merely taking bacon rind and "swirling it awhile to give it bacon taste."

McKenzie's favorite meal by far came twice a week. "Bean day" gave the students a chance to fill up on massive quantities of navy beans, spiced with a small amount of dry-salt pork. Roast beef supplied the meat portion of the diet. The beef came to the school via the railroad, and had to be consumed quickly because the school did not have refrigeration for food. Left-over meat became Monday's chili, or sandwiches made with biscuits.[53]

McKenzie always remembered the poor quality of the food at Rainy Mountain School, and he felt the insufficiency of food to be the most grievous part of attending school. Indeed, he suspected at the time, and mentioned again as an adult, his belief the government purposefully gave the students short rations. At the age of ninety, McKenzie wrote, "Years afterwards, when I reminisced privately of Rainy Mountain days, I wondered, even suspected, if there was at the time a subtle and systematic pattern of genocide, because civilized people are prone to it!; proof: Adolph Hitler, but he was at least honest about it." Although "a subtle and systematic pattern of genocide" may be too harsh of a term, there are signs the children at Rainy Mountain suffered from neglect by the federal officials.[54]

[53] PMC OHSRC. Box 13, folder1
[54] Ibid.

McKenzie's feelings of neglect can be confirmed by the Merriam Report. The Merriam Report was an investigation of life among Native Americans. Commissioned in 1926, and headed by Lewis Merriam, the commissioners went to reservations, boarding schools, and individual Indian housing throughout the United States. The findings of the commission were released in 1928, and it provides considerable evidence to support McKenzie's claim. In their discussion of Indian boarding schools, the commissioners reported: "The outstanding deficiency is in the diet provided the Indian children, many of whom are below normal health. The diet is deficient in quantity, quality, and variety." The report also mentions that milk, fruit, and vegetables, "the great protective foods," were in very short supply at the schools. [55]

Food was not the only problem facing the students at Rainy Mountain. Special Agent McConihe's report in July of 1909 points out several hygiene and sanitary conditions. The boys' washroom and privies were in a "frightful condition." McConihe cited neglect and lack of supervision by the employees as the cause of these conditions.[56] The conditions only worsened, and James McGregor, who replaced Cora Dunn as superintendent in 1911, tried in vain to get funding for a new water system. The conditions at the rapidly deteriorating school resulted in a severe outbreak of trachoma, an infectious disease caused by unsanitary conditions, which can result in blindness. The epidemic reached crisis proportions in April of 1912, when seventy-nine of the one hundred and forty-

[55] Merriam, et al., *The Problems of Indian Administration,* 11-12.
[56] Robert Valentine to Ernest Stecker, July 7, 1908. PMC OHSRC. Box 13, folder1.

seven students contracted the disease. McGregor continued to implore the Indian Office for just eighteen hundred dollars for a new water system The Indian Office refused, and the epidemic continued. In 1916, one hundred and sixty-three out of one hundred and sixty-eight children suffered from trachoma. The only medical attention the children received came from a civilian doctor, although McGregor repeatedly asked for specialists. These conditions persisted until the school closed in 1920.[57]

McKenzie does not mention whether he personally suffered from any disease as a result of his stay at Rainy Mountain, but he does speak of a letter he received from his brother, Robert, in 1915 while McKenzie attended the Phoenix Indian School in Phoenix, Arizona. Robert was nine years old at the time, suffering from trachoma, and he wrote Parker, "Uncle Oscar and I are at the hospital for eye treatment. They cut our eyes."[58] The procedure took place at the Kiowa Indian hospital, located next to the Fort Sill Indian School in Lawton, Oklahoma. Parker called the operation "just a simple 'surgery,' requiring the use of special 'tweezers' for scraping the undersides of upper eyelids."[59] McKenzie cites his brother's case while describing the medical services provided Indian students on the KCA.

The Kiowa Indian Hospital in Lawton staffed only one doctor, a man named H. W. Langheim, and one assistant. Neither man performed major surgeries, so the hospital, working through the BIA, worked out deals with local hospitals for major medical services or farmed out the patients to hospitals in El

[57] Ellis, *To Change Them Forever,* 165-168.
[58] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, March 3, 1993. PMC OHSRC. Box 24, folder6.
[59] Ibid.

Reno or Chickasha, Oklahoma. Langheim worked at the hospital until 1939, and did not receive any assistance until the mid-1930's, when a new hospital, designed in large part by Parker McKenzie, was built.[60]

The health problems facing Rainy Mountain were emblematic of a nationwide problem. A Congressional study of the boarding school health conditions in 1912 found that out of 16,470 students studied, 4,916 suffered from trachoma, an amazing 29.8 percent. Of the one hundred and thirty-three schools studied, thirty-seven schools suffered from 50 percent or more rates. The thirty schools in Oklahoma averaged 69.14 percent. In addition, tuberculosis affected 80 per cent of the Native American boarding school students.[61]

The Indian Office, blamed by school superintendents for the crisis, passed the buck to Congress by claiming the Indian Office received insufficient funds to promote Indian health. This is certainly true, for Congress only designated 200,000 dollars in 1914 for Indian health issues, mainly for health education programs. Still, the Indian Office itself must be blamed for the atrocious conditions faced by the students of Indian boarding schools. McKenzie might have had a hard time proving "a subtle and systematic pattern of genocide," but the case can easily be made for a subtle and systematic pattern of neglect.[62]

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[60] PMC OHSRC. Box 24, folder6.

[61] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 132. A survey headed by Lewis Merriam published a report in 1928 published as "The Problems of Indian Administration." The survey, popularly known as the "Merriam Report," was an indictment of the federal government and its treatment of Native Americans. It eventually inspired the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

[62] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, March 3, 1993. PMC OHSRC. Box 24, folder6.

The Merriam Report addresses these conditions as well. The report studied the impact of crowded conditions on campus. These conditions resulted in an unsanitary environment, with a shortage of toilet facilities and an inadequate supply of soap and water. In addition, the health services were found to be "below a reasonable standard."[63]

Aside from the food problem, McKenzie's memories of his stay at Rainy Mountain are somewhat romantic. McKenzie speaks fondly of the sports and games he played, proudly boasting of his track abilities. He describes a curious game called "buzz-saws," which consisted of can tops punctured with holes and threaded with strings. The strings would be wound tight, and then released, resulting in a spinning motion very similar to a buzz-saw. The boys would vie with one another to see who could cut the string of their opponent. The boys also played rag ball, a game like baseball, in which five players on each team advanced runners by hitting a rubber ball wrapped in rags with a stick.[64]

The girls at the school amused themselves by playing jacks and kickball, but the most interesting play came in a miniature Kiowa village they constructed in a secluded corner of the campus. The girls built brush arbors, miniature tepees, and tents. The girls played a Kiowa version of "house," with hand-made dolls. They also used sardine cans for wagons, tying strings on them to pull them along.[65]

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[63] Merriam, et al., *The Problems of Indian Administration,* 12-13..
[64] Parker McKenzie, letter to Randle Hurst, November 23, 1987. PMC OHSRC. Box 13, folder 3.
[64] Ibid.
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The peak of the "Americanization" of the Kiowas at Rainy Mountain school occurred between 1912 and 1915. New school principal James H. McGregor and boys' disciplinarian Michael Wolf teamed up to organize sports teams for both boys and girls. Boys' baseball and track teams, as well as girls' basketball and track squads, were formed to compete with other Indian schools in Oklahoma. The first tournament occurred in 1912, when teams from Rainy Mountain, Fort Sill Indian School, Riverside, and St. Patrick met in an all-day tournament in Anadarko. It proved to be a success, so the tournament became a three-day affair in 1913, 1914, and 1915. Each school brought teams in baseball, track, and basketball, and the academics got into the act by promoting speech teams. The event drew large crowds of spectators, and only the transfer of McGregor and Wolf brought an end to it.[66]

It is the school fight songs and team yells which provide a clue to the degree of "Americanization" of the Kiowas. McKenzie left a list of eight fight songs and three yells. These spirit-raising ditties are very similar to the songs and yells used by sports teams of all ethnicities throughout the United States, and are even representative of spirit songs today. Still, the students could not resist placing what could be considered stereotypical imagery of Native Americans in their songs and yells.[67]

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[66] Parker McKenzie, MS, n.d. PMC OHSRC. 13, Folder 2. There are several books concerning sports at the boarding schools. See John Bloom, *To Show what an Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools*(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); and C. Richard King, ed., *Native Americans in Sports* (Armonk, New York: Sharpe reference, 2004).

[67] One song went:

1. Oh! Look I'm easy. Oh! Look I'm easy, and if you don't believe it just give up your reasons and join in the merriest crowd.
2. Fort Sill, I'm easy. Fort Sill, I'm easy, and if you don't believe it just give up your reasons and join in the KIOWA CROWD![67]

The most obvious stereotypical imagery is the use of the word "scalp." One song describes how Rainy Mountain will "get your scalp!! That makes us yell!!" Another includes the phrase, "The stroke came to-day, to take her scalps away, downwards where the Comanche s ever stay." Perhaps the most poignant use of Native American allusions came when the Kiowas would chant "Rainy Mountain" in their native tongue: "Sèpyàdàj! Sèpyàdàj! Sèpyàdàj!"[68]

These activities at Rainy Mountain School would be an indication of cohesiveness and a self-identification among the students. However, it is not the same qualities the American policy of assimilation called for. The use of the Kiowa word for Rainy Mountain in their yells demonstrates that to some degree, assimilation failed. Assimilation did not stamp out the students' idea of "Kiowaness," and it did not end their use of the Kiowa language. These were two important goals of assimilation policy, and students like Parker McKenzie did not accept them as their own.

Parker McKenzie completed the sixth grade in 1914 at sixteen years old, ten years after he entered the school. He traveled with his girl friend, Nettie Odelty, to Phoenix, Arizona, where he spent the next two years at the Phoenix Indian School. McKenzie lived on the school's campus, but he would leave to study at Phoenix Union High School, and the Phoenix Business School. McKenzie learned how to

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A team yell went:
W-E-L-L W-E-L-L W-E-L-L! We have no yell! But when we yell we yell like hell![67]
The use of the word "hell" as a profanity is truly indicative of Kiowa "Americanization." Kiowas did not have swear words in their native vocabulary, but this yell demonstrates that they readily acquired the use of Anglo epithets.

[68] Ibid. McKenzie wrote it phonetically as "Sate-yil-dah."

type and do stenographic work, but went back to Oklahoma in 1917. He traveled to Stillwater, Oklahoma and took a semester at Oklahoma A and M's prep school, but his father died early in 1918 and Parker returned home to take care of his mother and see to the farm. McKenzie would later spend a year at Central High School in Oklahoma City, but his education ended at the eighth grade level.[69]

Memories of these events, combined with what seemed to be an overall good experience of Rainy Mountain School, gave Parker McKenzie a romantic remembrance of his alma mater. The harsh discipline and bad food, as well as the attacks on his "Kiowaness," seem to have been less influential in his memory than the interaction with his fellow Kiowas. It is also at Rainy Mountain School where Parker McKenzie met his future wife, Nettie Odlety. They were married in 1918, and spent sixty years together, until Nettie died in 1978.[70]

The Rainy Mountain and Phoenix Indian School also gave Parker McKenzie a life-long respect for education. He left with the ability to read and write in English, do mathematics, and he acquired the professional skills he used in his long career at the BIA. He praised the Indian boarding schools for giving Nellie and him a "very active and fruitful life. Thanks to the good training gotten during the time our Indian world was changing."[71] It also prompted McKenzie to push his own children through school, and he wrote, "It enabled us to educate our offspring

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[69] Parker McKenzie, MS, n.d. PMC OHSRC. 13, Folder 2.

[70] The McKenzies produced five children. Wilford was the oldest, born in 1922. He was a fighter pilot in WW II and was shot down and held as a POW by the Germans. Esther was born on December 27, 1927. The McKenzie's third child was Allen Robert, born in 1929. He was followed by Henry, born in 1933, and Kathryn, 1936. The three sons all preceded Parker in death. The two daughters are still living.

[71] Parker McKenzie, letter to Mrs. Kopta, October 2, 1962. . PMC OHSRC. Box 13, Folder 2.

far beyond the limits we achieved with our handicapped start."[72] Indeed, this is the ultimate vision of a father: to see his children succeed far beyond what he did himself.

[72] Ibid.

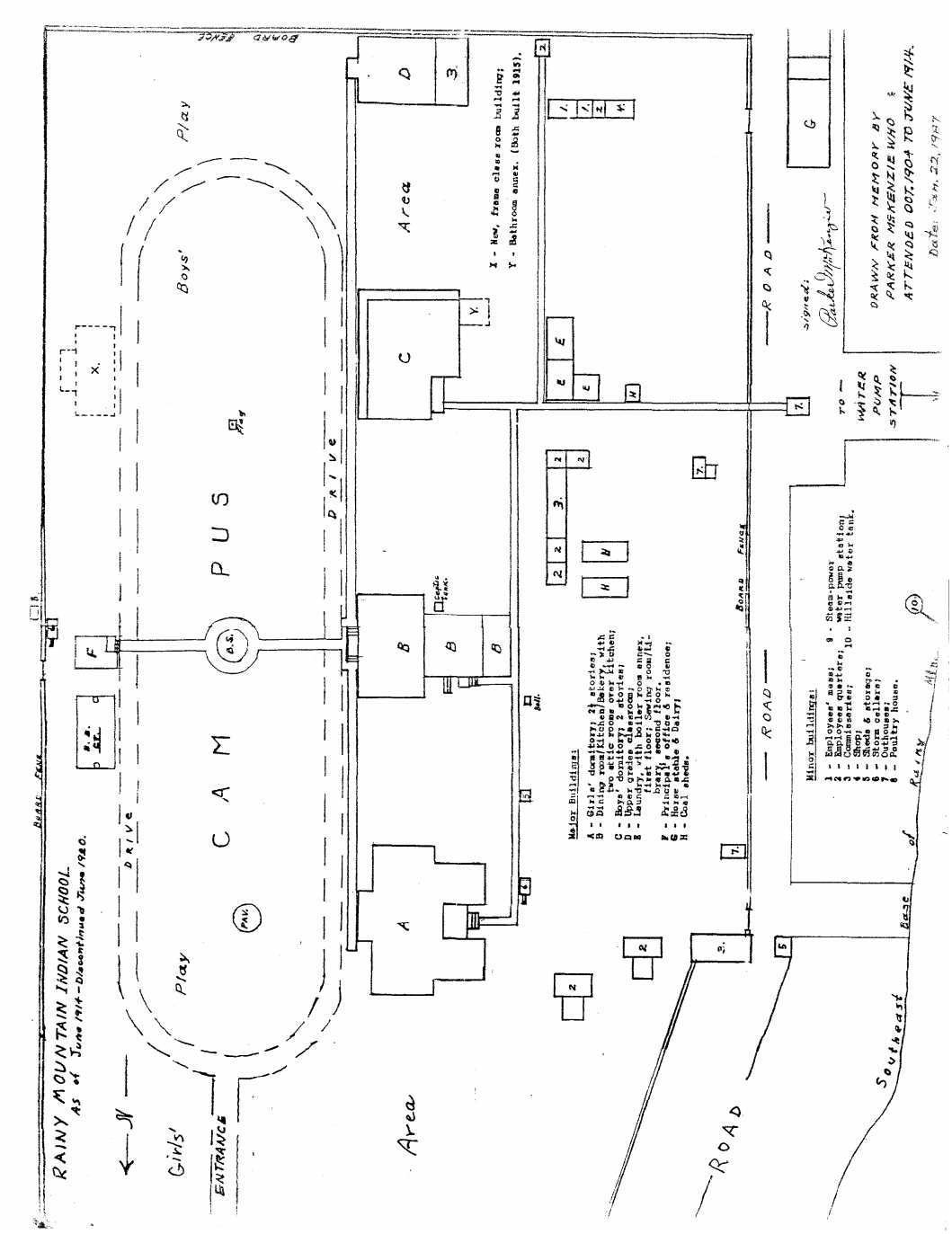

Figure 2: Map of Rainy Mountain School Campus. Drawn from Memory by Parker McKenzie.

Chapter 3 Cáuijhè:jèqì: Kiowa Historian

Parker McKenzie's role as a Cáuijhè:jèqì, or Kiowa Historian, is based on his personal family history. McKenzie traces the Kiowa path through the nineteenth century with the life stories of his ancestors. Yí:saùm, his maternal great-grandfather, lived almost the entire length of that troubled century, and he represents the best of what it meant to be a traditional Kiowa. His daughter Fí:má, born in 1844, typified the Kiowa woman, holding on to Kiowa traditions and refusing to lose her language and customs. Her husband, Queton, was a captive Mexican, and demonstrated how well so many captives integrated into Kiowa society. Finally, McKenzie's own father, General McKenzie, came to the Kiowas from the Mescalero Apaches as the result of a barter system which the Kiowas used to replenish a dwindling population.

McKenzie did his part as a Kiowa historian by providing information on Kiowa history to a large number of people. He shared his knowledge with historians, linguists, anthropologists, and genealogists alike, and he even addressed the occasional question about religion and politics. McKenzie' assistance has been credited by such scholars as John Harrington, Clyde Ellis, Laurel Watkins, and Charles Brandt.. McKenzie also provided information to several novelists writing about Kiowa life, always adding the caveat: "Do not fall into the trap of using stereotypes."

McKenzie's fame as a specialist in "all things Kiowa" reached as far as the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), located in Washington, D. C. The NMAI, addressed a letter to McKenzie on June 24, 1994, requesting an identification and Kiowa language term for a beaded pouch attributed to the Kiowa tribe of Oklahoma. The letter asked McKenzie,

> If you can not easily find some (or all) of the names, we would like to have a suggestion as to who might be able to do so – if possible we would like the name and address of a native speaker who is literate in the language. If there is probably no one who can provide us the names, please tell us that, so we won't search further."[73]

McKenzie rose to the challenge in his usual thorough way:

> The Xerox copy of the Indian pouch you sent me appears to be the kind I occasionally saw amongst Kiowa men during my youth. It was carried usually by older men who smoked a mixture of tobacco and sumac leaves. Articles carried in them consisted of the tobacco, pipestone bowl, and wood stem,(often more than one set), a bowl-stirring stick, and matches.[74]

McKenzie then proceeded to render the Kiowa word for the pouch into five different writing systems: the Parker McKenzie system, John P. Harrington's system, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Laurel Watkin's, and James Mooney's. As a bonus, McKenzie threw in the singular, plural, and triplural forms of the word. This sort of detail is one reason why McKenzie was so sought after for information.

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[73] Clara Sue Kidwell, letter to Parker McKenzie, June 24, 1994. PMC OHSRC. Box 11, Folder 6.
[74] Parker McKenzie, letter to Clara Sue Kidwell, July 14, 1994. PMC OHSRC. Box 11, Folder 6.

In addition to helping preserve the Kiowa language and history, McKenzie worked hard to help the Kiowas escape from the negative image among Americans as a result of their previous warlike and nomadic lifestyle. He often complained about what he called "Anglos" writing the history of the Kiowas and getting it wrong. McKenzie would become angry when reading or hearing of a stereotype applied to his people, and he complained in 1969 to Dewey Bartlett, the then-Governor of the state of Oklahoma, concerning a dictionary reference about the Kiowas.

McKenzie wrote the letter during the midst of Bartlett's push to legitimize the word "Okie."[75] McKenzie compared the definitions of "Okie" and "Kiowa," which he found in a twenty-five dollar dictionary he had bought. "Okie" was defined as "a migratory farm worker, especially one forced from Oklahoma by drought, farm foreclosures, etc., in the late 1930's."[76] He told Bartlett that if he found this to be offensive, then read the reference for Kiowa: "One of a predatory and bloodthirsty tribe of Plains Indians, constituting the Kiowa stock. About a thousand survivors are now citizens of Oklahoma."[77] McKenzie made a request to the Governor to "take up the gauntlet on our behalf and prevail on the lexicographers to put us in a better light before the public by way of a definition

[75] This word has a long-time stigma, dating back to the Great Depression of the 1930's, attached to it, and Bartlett's clever campaign included using the word as an acronym for "Oklahoma: Key to Industrial Expansion." The State of Oklahoma produced little lapel pins using "Okie" and sold them for one dollar. One such pin even circled the moon with Oklahoma native Thomas Stafford, commander of Apollo 10.
[76] Parker McKenzie, Letter to Dewey Bartlett, December 10, 1969. PMC OHSRC. Folder 11, Box 5.
[77] Ibid.

that would be consistent with our present, cramped niche in America's social order."[78] This statement can be examined in several different ways.

First, McKenzie was informing Governor Bartlett that the Kiowas, like the Okies, must escape from the stereotype imposed on them by a negative media. They must do this by discarding past perceptions for one of a more modern, progressive image. Second, and more subtly, he was taking a jab at the conditions which limited the Kiowas to a very small, "cramped niche in America's social order." McKenzie recognized that the Kiowas, numbering in his estimate about seven thousand people in 1969, were just a small, relatively unimportant component forced into the grand scheme of the American hierarchy. Finally, he implied that although they did appear to be only a minor entity, the Kiowas had adjusted from their previous "predatory and bloodthirsty" state to the point where they should be granted the full respect inherent to citizens of the United States of America. This one statement exemplifies Parker McKenzie and his goal of assisting Kiowa society to adapt to the dominant American culture. It also illuminates the reason McKenzie set down his views on Kiowa history: he wanted to get the Kiowa version of their history written down to counter what he perceived to be Anglo misperceptions.

McKenzie devoted a significant portion of his energy to researching and recording the history of the Kiowa people from a Kiowa perspective. He delved deep into any source available to him which concerned the Kiowas: histories, allotment rolls, census rolls, oral traditions, and any archival material he could

[78] Ibid.

collect. McKenzie, of course, did not work in a cultural vacuum. He spent his youth and early adulthood surrounded by fluent Kiowa speakers. Later, he enlisted the support of "The Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," a well-researched ethnographic work by James Mooney, as *the* bible of Kiowa history. He did not stand alone in this aspect, as McKenzie's step-father, Delos K. Lonewolf, and brother-in-law, Bert Odlety, relied heavily on the work for information pertaining to the Kiowa past. There are ample reasons for this support. Both Lonewolf and Odlety worked with Mooney during his field research among the Kiowas in the 1890's. Indeed, Mooney lived in a tepee next to the house of Heidsick, Odelty's grandfather. Each of these three Kiowa men spent a considerable amount of time assisting Mooney in his work, and Lonewolf and Odlety in turn provided Parker McKenzie with much of the knowledge he would acquire during his lifetime of study. The influence of Mooney, Lonewolf, and Odlety greatly colored McKenzie's views of Kiowa history prior to the twentieth century, and he quotes liberally from them in his letters and papers.

Kiowa history before 1833 is difficult to investigate. Their nomadic nature rarely brought them into contact with Europeans, and later, Americans. There are fleeting glimpses of them in primary sources of the era, but no detailed accounts. Much of their early history is based on oral tradition, which Mooney recorded using Kiowa informants.

Mooney describes how a "supernatural progenitor," whom the Kiowas call Séndè, allowed people to escape the underworld through a hollow cottonwood log.

Mooney wrote, "They came out one at a time as [Séndè] stepped upon the log until it came to the turn of a pregnant woman, who stuck fast in the hole and thus blocked the way for those behind her, so that they were unable to follow, which accounts for the small number of the Kiowa tribe."[79]

The Kiowas believe they once lived in the Black Hills of South Dakota. La Salle identifies a tribe similar to the Kiowas in 1682. Spanish records mention the *Cauigu* by name in 1735. They are listed as one of the tribes raiding into New Mexico in 1748.[80] Driven by Dakota and Cheyenne incursions, the Kiowa slowly retreated from the Black Hills. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Kiowas pressed south through Colorado. Encounters with the Comanches resulted in a ferocious struggle between the two tribes. As a consequence of the bitter, incessant fighting, the Kiowas named their new foes the *Câigù*, "the enemy." The Comanches fell back south of the Arkansas River headwaters. After a long period of bitter fighting, both groups suffered from exhaustion. A chance meeting of opposing bands of Kiowas and Comanches resulted in a peace being made. This peace allied the two tribes into a firm friendship.[81]

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[79] James Mooney, "The Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Seventeenth Annual Report,* Part I. Washington, 1898), 152-153. "The Calendar history of the Kiowa Indians" is the basis for the majority of historical scholarly research on the Kiowas from pre-contact to the nineteenth century. These works include James Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), Thomas W. Kavanagh, *The Comanches: a History, 1706-1875* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); Mildred Mayhall, *The Kiowas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961); Wilbur S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: the Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); and Bernard Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare among the Plains Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992),

[80] Ibid.

[81] Mooney, "Calendar History," 156-157. Mooney, using oral testimony from Kiowa elders, places this meeting in 1790. James Brooks, cites 1806 as the date. See Brooks, *Captives and Cousins,* 170. Thomas Kavanagh argues that the two tribes participated in a series of negotiations, some of which

The Kiowas eventually shared the same range as the Comanches. The Kiowas lived in the southwestern section of Oklahoma, centered on the Wichita Mountains, while the Comanches tended to roam the Texas panhandle and land south of the Red River. Their hunters and warriors patrolled as far south as Mexico and north into Colorado and Kansas. The Kiowas traded with the Spanish settlements of Santa Fe and Las Vegas, New Mexico. They also engaged in what James Brooks described as a "captive exchange system," which flourished in the Southwest between 1540 and 1880.[82] This was the exchange system which brought Queton, McKenzie's maternal grandfather, and General McKenzie, his father, to the Kiowa tribe when they were young boys.

Along with the Comanches, the Kiowas engaged in tenuous links with the Apache, Wichita, and Waco tribes, and secured a firm alliance with the Kiowa-Apaches. These groups formed a loose confederation for the purposes of trade and mutual defense. This confederation constantly warred with the Utes and Navahos to the north and west, and the Caddo and Tonkawa to the east. They also had hostile relations with the *Gu-sau-gau*, the Osages, who lived in eastern Oklahoma.[83] The Osages proved their hostility in an event known as the Cutthroat Massacre.

The Cutthroat Massacre is perhaps the pivotal event in Kiowa history, and the direct result of the incident is the first official contact of the Kiowas with the American government. The incident is also the beginning point for the Kiowa

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took place between different bands at different times. See Thomas W. Kavanagh, *The Comanches,*, 146-148.

[81] Brooks, *Captives and Cousins,* 39.

[83] Mooney, "Calendar History," 157-158.

Calendar history, an illustrated record of important occurrences in Kiowa history, as recorded by Set-an, a member of the Kiowa tribe. This calendar recorded events until 1896 (a year before the birth of Parker McKenzie). Mooney writes that the Set-an Calendar is a very close duplicate to one made by the famous Kiowa chief, Jòháusèn. Set-an took fourteen years to draw up his initial Calendar, using the narratives of older men to fill in the first six years (1833-1839). Set-an did the rest by his memory and in consultation with others. Set-an adopted a semi-annual calendar, divided into winter and summer. An upright bar delineated the winter pictograph, while a medicine lodge, representing the annual Sun Dance, expresses the summer. It was from these drawings that James Mooney established his classic work, "The Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians." Set—an personally gave the Calendar to Mooney, telling Mooney that the younger Kiowas had no interest in their history. Set-an wanted Mooney to take it to Washington, where it could be preserved and saved as a record of Kiowa history.[84] Parker McKenzie frequently used this work as a guide to his own history, and he often quotes it in his letters and manuscripts. He chose to use the Cutthroat Massacre as the starting point of his history, as Set-an did for his Calendar.

Sometime in the spring or early summer of 1833, a band of Kiowas suffered an attack by Osage warriors. A large number of Kiowas, mainly old men, women and children, were butchered. Mooney's account of the Massacre is a detailed description given by Set-an, who was born that summer and heard the story from

[84] Mooney, "Calendar History," 144- 145. Mooney does not give the date for when Set-an actually began to write the Calendar.

the men who helped him write his Calendar. Mooney wrote that four bands of Kiowas were camped at the mouth of Rainy Mountain Creek, when they heard the news of an Osage war party moving into Kiowa territory. The four bands divided, two going south, one west, and one east. The band who went east was the one which was surprised and massacred.[85] Parker McKenzie's account disagrees with Mooney's on some points.

Ákàu:dònà:, the mother of Parker McKenzie, heard the story from her grandfather, Yí:saùm, who witnessed the event.[86] Yí:saùm, who could not speak English, told his granddaughter the story in Kiowa, and she relayed it to Parker in the same manner. McKenzie wrote the story in his writing system, and gave it the title of "Events Immediately Preceding the So-called Cutthroat Massacre of Kiowa Indians by Osage Warriors in Early Summer of 1833." The document is an excellent example of Native American oral history, as it originated with Yí:saùm, one of the participants in the affair. The story is passed down to his granddaughter, Ákàu:dònà:, and she in turn handed it to a third generation. It also helps to validate McKenzie's role as a Kiowa historian, since he is able to provide a first-hand Kiowa account of the Massacre.

According to Ákàu:dònà:, three bands of Kiowas were camped on a bend of the Washita River, where Rainy Mountain Creek begins, on land which was later owned by Parker McKenzie's family. Big Bow led one of the bands, and when two Kiowa riders came into camp warning of the presence of Osage warriors, the three

[85] Mooney, "Calendar History," 257-260.

bands broke up and scattered. Big Bow's band established a secure position inside the bend of the river, throwing up an earthen dike for protection (McKenzie said the remains of the dike lasted into the twentieth century, and he used to be terrified of it as a child, since he thought it was haunted). Big Bow wanted to stay put, as his wife was well into the final stages of a pregnancy. His band escaped detection by the Osage, but later, a number of Kiowas staggered into his camp bearing the news of a great tragedy:

> They had only been camped there a short time when two men rode in and told them, somewhere eastward, Osage warriors had frightfully killed many and left the heads of the killed in traders' brass buckets, for they had beheaded their victims. Only a few men, were in the camp as most had gone away to hunt. Those there then rode to the scene of the killing to retaliate, but the Osage were already gone. The scene was so terrifying that it distracted the men from pursuing, and busied themselves with the terrifying situation.[87]

The differences between Mooney's and McKenzie's accounts are based on the number of bands and what they did after news of an Osage war party reached them. Mooney cites four bands, and they all moved from the Rainy Mountain position at once, and in different directions. McKenzie said that there were only three bands, and one stayed put. This is an interesting discrepancy, as they both came from Kiowa sources, and they were both second-hand accounts. The question about which one is the truth is an example of the difficulty of determining the accuracy of memory. Any one of the chain of narrators of the story on each side of

[87] Parker McKenzie, "Events Immediately Preceding the So-called Cutthroat Massacre of Kiowa Indians by Osage Warriors in Early Summer of 1833." PMC OHSRC. Folder 11, Box 5. One of the men in the attacked camp was Yìsaûm,

the differences could have made an error, changing the face of it forever. This would make it impossible to determine accurately whether there were three bands or four. However, the physical presence of the earthen dike with a known history, which existed into the twentieth century on McKenzie's property, would indicate that at least one band stayed at the mouth of Rainy Mountain Creek. This would be a case of memory being supported by physical evidence, and would provide a stronger case for the accuracy of McKenzie's account than Mooney's.[88]

The Cutthroat Massacre produced far-reaching results, for it brought the Kiowas to the attention of the United States for the first time. The American government sent an expedition of Dragoons to negotiate with the Kiowas and other tribes of the region. The United States wanted to secure a lasting peace to facilitate the removal of the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles from their homes in the southeastern United States to lands located near the Kiowas.

The Dodge Expedition, named for Henry Dodge, the commander of the force, left for Kiowa Country on June 21, 1834, in the middle of a typically hot Plains' summer. The troops suffered greatly from the heat, and many died, but the soldiers eventually made contact with the Kiowas. Dodge bought favor with the Kiowas by returning a female survivor of the Cutthroat Massacre, whom Dodge had purchased from the Osages, to her Kiowa father. "Kiowa chiefs and braves," he declared, "you see in order to secure your lasting peace and friendship
and do acts of kindness to you I give you your daughter and your relation without

[88] For a study on memory and the recording of history, see Michael G. Kennan, *Mystic Chords of Memory: the Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991).

money or without price."[89] This speech produced an electrifying effect on the Kiowas.

The girl's father swore eternal friendship with the Americans. Other Kiowas pressed forward and fell upon Colonel Dodge's neck, embracing him and blessing him. According to Hugh Evans, a sergeant with the Dragoons, Jòháusèn, Little Mountain, the principal chief of the Kiowas, declared, "White men and brethren, this day is the most interesting day of our existence. The Great Spirit has caused a light to shine all around us so that we can see each other."[90]

The return of the captive girl is noted in Set-tan's Calendar History. The entry is a pictograph of a girl tied by a rope to a tipi; an allusion to the return of the young girl, but it does not furnish any mention of the Dodge Expedition.[91] This incident is all the more notable because of its importance to the Kiowas, and it very aptly demonstrates the Kiowas' sense of history.

Pulitzer Prize-winning author N. Scott Momaday, a member of the Kiowa tribe, addresses the matter of the Kiowas' view of history in an essay entitled "Personal Reflections." Momaday points out that history is understood by the Kiowas to be what is important to them, either individually or as a tribe.[92] Momaday uses the events of 1876 for his example, comparing the Battle of the Little Big Horn, along with other events, to the Kiowa Calendar's entry for 1876,

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[89] Hugh L. Evans, "The Journal of Hugh Evans, Covering the First and Second Campaigns Of the United States Dragoon Regiment in 1834 and 1835." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Volume III, number 3 (1925)., 204.
[90] Evans, "Journal," 204.
[91] Mooney, "Calendar History," The first of the Kiowa calendars began in 1833, and the illustration represented a massive meteor shower.
[92] N. Scott Momaday, "Personal Reflections," *The American Indian and the Problem of History,* Calvin Martin, ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 159-160.

which only refers to stolen horses. He writes, "You and I can marvel at that, but, we cannot know what the loss of a horse meant to Set'an or to his people, whose culture is sometimes called the 'horse' culture or the 'centaur' culture." Seemingly important matters, such as the Dodge Expedition, pales in importance to the much more personal image of a captured child being returned to the tribe, especially since the Kiowas, a tribe with a small population, needed every person they could get. This is the same thought process McKenzie exhibits when he writes of "so-called" events. They are not, of themselves, directly important to him as a Kiowa. Parker McKenzie pays little notice to the Dodge expedition in his papers. He appears to shrug it off as unimportant, naming it the "so-called" Dodge Expedition. Yet, he wrote exhaustive accounts of what may be considered by many to be trivial matters. This way of thinking is certainly in keeping with the general Kiowa attitude toward seemingly portentous, at least to Anglo eyes, events.

McKenzie's history of the Kiowas continues with his work on the life of Queton, his maternal grandfather. Queton, or Esteban, was captured on a Comanche raid into Mexico. In 1924 or 1925, Queton told his story to his grandson. He recited his narrative in the Kiowa language, as he did not know enough English to make himself understood. McKenzie translated the story into English and typed it out as Queton talked. McKenzie understood the importance of Queton's story to Kiowa history. It is a rare first-hand account of a Kiowa captive and his early days of captivity. McKenzie's efforts to preserve the narrative are a testimony to his role as historian.

Queton begins his account by describing the death of his father, an officer in the Mexican army; at what he thought was the Battle of the Sacramento River. The battle, fought in January, 1847 between a detachment of American soldiers, led by Lt. Colonel Alexander Doniphan, and the Mexican army, lasted only briefly, but resulted in the American capture of Ciudad Chihuahua. Queton, known at this time by his Mexican name of Esteban (he did not remember his surname), witnessed the battle from the vantage point of a second story window in a house which overlooked the field where the two armies met. He could not see much of the fighting because of the smoke, but he recalled walking over the battleground later and seeing "great big wagons that drove unto the field and hauled away dead and wounded."[93] One of the men he saw loaded into the wagons was his father, who died later of his wounds.

Queton's mother quickly remarried, and while en route to his step-father's home, Queton's life changed forever. Queton's story is a classic example of a captivity narrative, and Parker's translation is quite interesting:

> While we were travelling, Indians began to show up, wooping and everything.. "The Comanches are on us," the men yelled. They jumped out of the wagon and headed for the wild desert plains. My mother dragged me off of the wagon and we began running for our lives. The men both had guns but resorted to running to get away. I did not see the men, but I remember seeing a coyote hole near the road a few minutes previous, so they probably crawled into the hole . My mother probably saw them go into this hole, so she also crawled in dragging me

[93] Parker McKenzie, "Partial Story of Queton's Capture, as told in Kiowa to His Grandson, Parker McKenzie, Who in Turn Translated and Typed It Simultaneously." PMC OHSRC. Box 12, Folder 10.

behind her. I remember the whoops and war cries of those savage Indians.[94]

Queton found himself being pulled out of the coyote hole by his heel. His captor, a young Comanche warrior, picked him up and began to carry him away. Suddenly, a woman ran up to the pair and took Queton into her arms. According to Queton, "This is the custom practiced by the Indians when they capture a child. It was a sign of taking possession."[95] Queton watched as the Comanches pulled his mother and the two men from the coyote hole, and the raiding party began to move out. The two men walked in front of the procession, while Queton and his mother sat on horses, closely watched by their captors. After traveling a while, the party ascended a mountain and rode into a camp, which Queton called a "regular operating point for the warriors."[96] The scene must have closely resembled Queton's worst nightmares, for even as an old man he could still picture the horrifying scene:

> The men were forced to take off their shoes and were then driven before the party across cactus, rocks, etc. I saw some horrible scenes on this mountain. Men were tied on hurriedly made crosses - - probably made of mesquite branches. They were dead. I do not know whether they were killed while on the cross, or were killed before being placed on them. They grabbed the two men that were captured in my party by the feet and hands and were tossed up and down upon rocks until they were dead. It was a horrible scene that I noticed upon this mountain and I was beginning to think my time was coming. It was like a dream to me.[97]

[94] PMC OHSRC. Box 12, Folder 10.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.

The next day, the Comanches broke camp and moved to another mountain. Queton, forced to sleep between his warrior captor and the woman who claimed him, could not find an opportunity to escape. However, his mother conspired with a captured Mexican man and escaped during the night. Queton never saw his mother again. [98] Unfortunately, Queton's first-hand explanation of his capture ends here, but McKenzie wrote a short biography of his grandfather which provides information concerning Queton's "trade" from the Comanches to the Kiowas.

Queton apparently lived among the Comanches for about five years following his capture. The young warrior who pulled Queton from the coyote hole continued his raiding and demonstrated no interest in the boy, and there is no further mention of the woman. Queton lived with the Comanche chief, Planvonit, or Big Looking Glass. His rejection by the young warrior earned him his Comanche name of Queton, which roughly means "rejected" or "discarded." The young captive adapted well to his new surroundings, and eventually became fluent in the Comanche language. Supposedly, Planvonit treated Queton like a son, but this did not prevent the chief from handing the boy over to a Kiowa couple in what might have been a trade. McKenzie believes the situation to have been a matter of convenience for both Planvonit and the Kiowa couple. Planvonit needed a horse, and the Kiowa couple, both of whom were Mexican captives, needed a son, so the situation worked out nicely for all concerned. It especially worked out well for Queton. He thrived in the Kiowa world, becoming a renowned warrior as he totally

[98] PMC OHSRC. Box 12, Folder 10.

bought in to the lifestyle. The Kiowas corrupted his name to Way-tan, and this remained his name until his death in 1931 at the age of 88.[99] The life of Queton demonstrates to a great degree how captives became immersed in Kiowa culture. Queton became a famous warrior, called by his grandson a "mean" Kiowa, renowned for his war feats.[100] He is mentioned in a number of works pertaining to the Kiowas and their days of raiding.[101]

The differences between McKenzie's Kiowa version of Queton's life and those written by Anglos illustrates the significant disparity which non-Indians can sometimes bring to print, and which becomes "real history." However, errors in Queton's recollection of his capture are also possible. He could have overestimated his age, and the battle he witnessed may not be the Battle of the Sacramento River. There are present-day scholars who argue against the validity of memory as an accurate source for history, and the case of Queton would be a candidate for their consideration. Still, the possibility exists that Queton was right, and McKenzie did find the right battle. The problem lies in the fact that there is no one who can refute or support Queton's testimony. By the same token, Anglo written history based on oral histories is affected by the same dilemma, and Queton's case is a good example.

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[99] Parker McKenzie, ""Untitled Manuscript," PMC OHSRC. Box 12, Folder 10.
[100] Parker McKenzie, Letter to William Meadows, September 8, 1996. PMC OHSRC. Box 1, Folder 3.
[101] These works include Mooney's "Calendar History," Mildred Mayhall, *The Kiowas.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), Barnard Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare among the Plains Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), Wilbur S. Nye, *Bad Medicine and Good: Tales of the Kiowas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), Wilbur S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance; the Story of old Fort Sill*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), and others.

The significance of human memory in shaping historical accounts is a topic of current exploration in the discipline of history. Why do people choose to remember, and indeed memorialize, certain events and not others? What social or cultural factors may influence the selectivity of human memory? It may never be possible to resolve the disparity in Queton's and Nye's accounts. There were no other living witnesses to the battle when Queton told his story, or at least McKenzie did not attempt to seek any out. There were written accounts that Nye could use to substantiate his dating of Queton's birth, but were they entirely accurate? Queton's story reflects not only a disparity between oral and written accounts, but it also reflects on the deeper issue in history of what people choose to remember and how closely memory corresponds to the reality of any situation.[102]

The best comparison of Queton's life with an Anglo history comes from Nye's *Bad Medicine and Good.* Nye relates a story of how Queton (Nye spells it Quiton) lost his medicine as a result of smoking in bed. The story is a simple one of how some Kiowas found Queton's hidden stash of tobacco and stole it while

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[102] For recent articles addressing memory and its role in history, see Kerwin Lee Klein, *Representations*, No. 69, Special Issue: Grounds for Remembering. (Winter, 2000), pp. 127-150; Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies." *History and Theory*, Vol. 41, No. 2. (May, 2002), pp. 179-197; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time." *History and Theory*, Vol. 41, No. 2. (May, 2002), pp. 149-162; Patrick Hutton, "Recent Scholarship on Memory and History (in Historiography). *The History Teacher*, Vol. 33, No. 4. (Aug., 2000), pp. 533-548; Patricia Dunkel; Shitala Mishra; David Berliner,"Effects of Note Taking, Memory, and Language Proficiency on Lecture Learning for Native and Nonnative Speakers of English." *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 3. (Sep., 1989), pp. 543-549.; David Rich Lewis, "Still Native: The Significance of Native Americans in the History of the Twentieth-Century American West." *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2. (May, 1993), pp. 203-227; and Randall T. G. Hill, "Methodological Approaches to Native American Narrative and the Role of Performance." *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Special Issue: To Hear the Eagles Cry: Contemporary Themes in Native American Spirituality: Part III: Historical Reflections. (Winter, 1997), pp. 111-147.

Queton lay on the ground with his clothes smoldering. It is the essential facts of Queton's life in which Nye differs greatly from Queton's own version.

Nye, using Kiowa historian George Hunt as a source, gives "Quitan's" birth year as 1852.[103] This is certainly a discrepancy, as Queton vividly remembered seeing a battle between the Mexican army and American troops during the Mexican War. This war ended in 1848, and the battle Queton witnessed occurred in 1847. Queton believed he must have been four or five years old at the time of the fight, so by 1852, he would have been nine or ten. Interestingly enough, Nye puts Queton at the same age when Queton became a Kiowa. However, Nye says Queton stayed with the Comanches for one year, while Queton said he lived among them for five years, and he certainly stayed long enough to become fluent in the Comanche language.[104] There is no doubt , despite the different renditions of Queton's name, that he is the same man in both accounts, for Nye writes Queton "was the grandfather of Parker McKenzie, a prominent Kiowa of modern times."[105] It is quite possible George Hunt, who was usually very reliable in his information, may have erred in his chronology of Queton's life.

General McKenzie, Parker's father, possibly began his life in 1860 as a citizen of Mexico, and he is enrolled as a "captive Mexican" in the allotment rolls of 1901. However, Parker McKenzie suspects his father might not have been Mexican,

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[103] Wilbur S. Nye, *Bad Medicine and Good: Tales of the Kiowas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 164-167. George Hunt was an interpreter for the Fort Sill Army Post. He also wrote several articles about Kiowa history, and, he collaborated with W. S. Nye in writing *Carbine and Lance*. Hunt was born about 1889 and died on April 12, 1942. See James W. Moffitt, ed., "Notes on Indian History," *Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Volume 20, No. 3 September, 1942.

[104] Nye, *Good Medicine and Bad,* 164; McKenzie, "Untitled Manuscript."
[105] Nye, *Good Medicine and Bad,* 164.

for he describes him as being "very fair in complexion, had straight tawny-color hair and lacked the Latin look."[106] This image, Parker writes, "belies the recorded 'Mexican' designation on him in official records."[107] Even his Kiowa name, written as San - tau - koy on the Bureau of Indian Affairs roster, and Tháukáuisân in the Parker McKenzie system (the BIA inverted his name), is intriguing, for it means "White Child."[108] The fact that Parker McKenzie thought his father may have been white brings up some interesting points.

Mexico had been colonized by the Spanish since as early as 1521, and large portions of the area were annexed by the United States in 1848. The mixture of the peoples of the region resulted in the formation of a new group of people with mixed ancestry. General McKenzie could have a fair complexion as a result of this mixture.

The account of General McKenzie's capture is sketchy. He and his elder brother were herding sheep on their parents' ranch when their lives changed forever. McKenzie's father remembered very little of the incident, except for watching the family home burn, and then a "big Indian male grabbed them and toted them to where his cronies were."[109] Parker's father, probably about five years

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[106] McKenzie, "General McKenzie," PMC OHSRC. Box 12, Folder 3. The allotment rolls are an important piece of Kiowa history. They are the result of the final breakup of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache reservation. The Kiowas were registered on rolls by the BIA and allotted acreage on a per capita basis. This action resulted in major changes in Kiowa society. See William T. Hagen, *Taking Indian Land: The Cherokee (Jerome) Commission, 1889n – 1993* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003).
[107] Ibid.
[108] Parker McKenzie, Letter to Laurel Watkins, September 3, 1996. PMC OHSRC. Box 23, Folder 1.
[109] Parker McKenzie, Letter to William Meadows, September 8, 1996. Parker McKenzie Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center Box 1, Folder 4.

old at the time, became separated from his brother, whom he never saw again. His capture by Mescalero Apaches, who ranged generally along the middle reaches of the Rio Grande River, is the only clue about where he possibly came from and lived as a young child. He did not know how long he remained with the Apaches, but stayed long enough to learn two or three Mescalero songs, which his son called "chants."[110]Eventually he was traded to a Comanche couple, and rode double on the woman's horse to the couple's village. He did remember how the landscape changed as they traveled, and he remembered his first sight of the Comanche camp, "an encampment of 'funny' homes, that he subsequently learned to be Comanche tepees of buffalo skins."[111] He did not stay there long, for he did not learn to speak any Comanche. General McKenzie wound up in the Kiowa camp as the result of barter, this time to a Kiowa couple. Unfortunately, the identity of this couple is lost, for no one bothered to find out who they were. Misfortune plagued McKenzie again, as both of his foster parents died shortly after his arrival in the Kiowa camp. McKenzie, left to fend for himself, spent the rest of his childhood drifting from one Kiowa household to another. He also stayed at the army post at Fort Sill, living off of the generosity of the soldiers and area residents.[112]

General McKenzie received his English name as the result of an accident. While still a child, he shot off the thumb and pointer finger of his left hand with a pistol. The Kiowas quickly changed his name to Máunhé: (no fingers). He became

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[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Parker McKenzie, Letter to Laurel Watkins, September 3, 1996. PMC OHSRC. Box 23, Folder 1.

General McKenzie when General Ranald McKenzie of the United States Army arrived at Fort Sill to become post commander. The Kiowas speedily noticed the American general sported exactly the same wounds as Máun - hé:. They switched the names of the two men. Ranald McKenzie became Máunhé:, and Máun hé:.won the name of General McKenzie. The Kiowas rendered the name as "Cínsé," and "McKenzie" became the family surname.[113] Unfortunately, there is no record of whether the two General McKenzies ever compared wounds.

Máunhé:, the Kiowa General McKenzie, married a Kiowa woman named Ihaddlemah.[114] Together they produced a daughter, Hattie, who became a member of the Andres Martinez family after her parents separated. Like Máunhé:, Martinez came to the Kiowas as a result of his capture by the Mescaleros, who ultimately bartered him to the Kiowas. He married Emma McWhorter in October of 1893. She was the daughter of P.T. McWhorter, a missionary to the Kiowas. They had no children, but they adopted several children including Hattie. She grew to adulthood as a permanent member of the Martinez family. Hattie is mentioned in J. J. Methvin's biography of Andres Martinez, who became known as Andele by the Kiowas: "Another interesting character reared under their care is Mrs. Hattie Lang of Oklahoma City, formerly Hattie McKinzy. She is of the Kiowa tribe but of mixed

[113] Ibid.
[114] McKenzie, " General McKenzie." Parker McKenzie left several Kiowa names in the form the Bureau of Indian Affairs wrote them into the census rolls of 1901. PMC OHSRC. Box 12, Folder 3.

Spanish blood. Both are Christians and faithful members of the Methodist church."[115]

General McKenzie and Ihaddlemah parted ways after a short marriage, and in the fall of 1893, he married Akò: dònà, also known as Bessie, the daughter of Queton and Fí:má:. They had twelve children, of which only two, Parker and Robert Allen, survived to adulthood. Yisaùm, Akò:dònà's grandfather, was Parker McKenzie's Kiowa namesake. This ancestry would seem to prove that Parker McKenzie's ancestors, both captive and non-captive, were, by any definition of the word, Kiowas.

Parker McKenzie used his "Kiowaness" to interview elder Kiowas and getting stories from them. He transcribed a wire recording he made with Wind Goomda, McKenzie's second Kiowa step-father, sometime during 1949. McKenzie wrote a transcript in Kiowa and then translated it into English.

This transcript is important for several reasons. It is one of the earliest examples of the perfected McKenzie orthography. In addition, it brings to light a Kiowa version of incidents which have previously been seen only from an Anglo viewpoint. Finally, his work on the manuscript established McKenzie's ability as an historian, as well as demonstrating his access to oral histories. It was from this period of his life that McKenzie began to seriously examine Kiowa history, and to write it in his own language. The manuscript was entitled, "The Imprisonment of the Chiefs," and it was a part of a letter sent to John P. Harrington. McKenzie did not record

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[115] J. J. Methvin, *Andele, the Mexican-Kiowa Captive: a Story of Real Life among the Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1960), 128.

where Goomda received his information, but the text is written in the Kiowa "hearsay" mode, which indicates Goomda heard it from a source close to the events.

The Kiowa image of Texas as a separate entity from the United States comes through very clearly in the opening line of the "Imprisonment of the Chiefs": "It was in the country of Texas, and just close by to the south of Red River, a group of Kiowa warriors were on a tour of adventure when they spied over-land travelers on prairie schooners."[116] Goomda, born in 1867 and living until 1957 retained the idea of Texas as an independent Republic when he described it as "the country of Texas", even as late as 1949.

Wind Goomda talked about the aftermath of the Warren Wagon Train Massacre, which occurred on May 18, 1871. Seven teamsters in the wagon train were killed by a band of Native Americans, and American military authorities wanted justice. General William Tecumseh Sherman, General of the Army, called a meeting to determine who the culprits were. The Anglo version presents Sherman as a man totally in charge of the situation.

The Anglo version of the incident began when Lawrie Tatum, the Quaker Indian agent at Ft. Sill, interrogated Satanta and other chiefs about the massacre of the teamsters. Satanta admitted his guilt freely, and Tatum quotes him as saying: "I took, a short time ago, about 100 of my warriors, with the chiefs Satank, Eagle Heart, Big Tree, Big Bow, and Fast Bear, and went to Texas, where we captured a train… killed seven men and drove off around forty-one mules. Three of my men

[116] Parker McKenzie, letter to John P. Harrington. March 27, 1949. PMC OHSRC. Box 9, Folder 6.

were killed, but we are willing to call it even. If any other Indian comes here and claims the honor of leading the party, then he will be lying to you, for I did it myself."[117]

Tatum knew Satanta to be a braggart, but this time, Tatum took him at his word. He sent a runner to inform General Sherman of Satanta's admission of guilt. Sherman brought Satanta and other Kiowa leaders, including Kicking Bird, one of the principal chiefs, to the post's headquarters, where Satanta confirmed his claim to Sherman. Sherman ordered the Indian's arrest, along with Big Tree and Satank. Satanta quickly backed down from his boasting. Now faced with arrest, he completely changed his story. He told Sherman he only went to Texas because "His young men wanted to have a little fight and to take a few white scalps." Satanta went along just to blow his trumpet.[118] Sherman taunted Satanta, calling him a coward for using one hundred warriors to attack a twelve man wagon train, and told him the soldiers would gladly fight his warriors if they wanted it. Sat anta said he would die on the spot rather than be arrested.

Twenty soldiers threw open the wooden shutters of the building and aimed their weapons at Satanta. The Indians in the room cocked their Spencer rifles and drew their pistols. Kicking Bird quickly arose and asked Sherman to release the chiefs. The General refused. The tension must have been incredible, but at this point, a strange thing happened. Sherman wrote in his journal: "Another Indian

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[117] Lawrie Tatum to Jonathon Richardson, May 28, 1871. M 234: Reel 378.

[117] J. W. Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas* (Austin: Hutching Printing House, 1889), 558. See also Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 138-141.

named Lone Wolf also rode up on a fine horse, dismounted, laid two Spencer carbines and a bow and quiver of arrows upon the ground, tied his horse to the fence, then throwing his blanket from his shoulder fastened it around his waist, picked up the carbines in one hand and the bow and arrows with the other, and with the most deliberate and defiant air, strolled up to the piazza, then giving one of the carbines to an Indian who had no arms, and the bow and arrows to another, who at once strung the bow and pulled out a handful of arrows, he seated himself and cocked his carbine – at which the soldiers brought their carbines to an aim upon the crowd – whereupon Sat anta and some other Indians held up their hands and cried no! no! no! don't shoot!"[119] The chiefs surrendered willingly, and prevented a blood bath.

Wind Goomda's version is very different. According to Goomda, the Kiowas met with a "man in authority," probably General Sherman. "Let's have a council," Sherman told the Kiowas, and they met with him under what Goomda claimed was a "misrepresentation." Sherman's expressed intention for the council was to discuss the attack on the travelers in Texas. However, his real aim was to arrest three Kiowa men: Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree. Each of these men allegedly took part in the attack on the teamsters, and Sherman wanted to make an example of them. He stationed soldiers around the council building and hid them out of the sight of the Kiowas.[120]

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[119] Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations,* 559-560. Sherman had allowed J. W. Wilbarger access to his personal daily journal, and supplied comments to Wilbarger on the text.
[120] Parker McKenzie, letter to John P. Harrington. March 27, 1949. PMC OHSRC. Box 9, Folder 1.

Meanwhile, Big Tree had gone to the Post Exchange, but quickly noticed soldiers surrounding the building. He crashed through the window and fled for the timber, but since he was on foot some soldiers on horseback caught him. The soldiers escorted Big Tree to the council, where he joined Sat anta and the other Kiowas. The arrival of Big Tree and his escort brought the concealed soldiers out of hiding. They blocked the exits to prevent any of the Kiowas from leaving. Goomda's indignation at these events can still be felt, as he told McKenzie the chiefs, "who, at the moment and at the invitation of the army man, were supposed to be just talking things over."[121]

So far, Goomda's story follows closely along the lines of Anglo sources, but this account becomes sharply different at this juncture. Nye describes Sherman as a man totally in control of the situation, bluffing the Indians into submission following a tense stand-off.[122] Goomda offers a totally different perspective. Goomda claims the Kiowa chiefs rushed the exits, blocking Sherman as he attempted to flee the scene: "The officer tried to escape, but the Indians grabbed him and would not let him leave."[123] More soldiers appeared, and at this moment Lone Wolf, a principal chief of the Kiowas, came into the building, elbowing his way through and slapping down the arms of men who tried to stop him. An army officer drew his knife and made threatening gestures with it. Lone Wolf shouted, "Let me kill him now!" but other Kiowas prevented this from happening.

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[121] Ibid.
[121] Nye, *Carbine and Lance,* 138-141.
[122] Parker McKenzie, letter to John P. Harrington. March 27, 1949. PMC OHSRC. Box 9, Folder 1.

Nye says the mayhem was settled by Sherman and his cool response to the crisis.[124] Goomda gives the credit for defusing the situation to Horace Jones, the "Comanche-speaking white man." Jones, who served as a translator, shouted, "Quiet down for the moment! Let's talk things over! You Indians are not going to be arrested!"[125] Sherman then cleared the room of his soldiers, and the council finally began.

Sherman spoke first, saying, "Well, we shall release you now, and you shall go, but you must bring back the mules you took from the travelers in Texas."[126] He held Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree hostage to ensure the return of the animals. The failure of the Kiowas to respond to Sherman's demands resulted in one of the most famous scenes in Kiowa history: the death of Satank.

The two versions presented here illustrate a decidedly different perspective of the arrest of Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree. The Anglo version shows Sherman to be bold and fearless in a tense situation, while Satanta appeared to be a coward. Goomda's account has Sherman fleeing for his life, and only the arrival of more soldiers and cooler heads among the Kiowas saved him. The difference in the stories is clearly based on the perspective of opposing sides. However, the Anglo version is the accepted one, for a number of reasons.

The first reason is obvious: the winners write the history. Sherman succeeded in his intention to arrest the chiefs, and the final suppression of the Kiowas occurred a mere four years later. The second reason is equally obvious: the

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[124] Nye, *Carbine and Lance,* 138-141.
[125] Parker McKenzie, letter to John P. Harrington. March 27, 1949. PMC OHSRC. Box 9, Folder 1.
[126] Ibid.

Goomda story has never been used as an alternative in previous histories of the incident. Although McKenzie sent the story to Harrington, neither man ever attempted to have it published. This is the big difference between written history and oral history, and it can be argued that both are the same, as the sources cited for the Anglo version of the arrest of the Kiowa chiefs come primarily from the memoirs of the participants. Memoirs are, in effect and by their nature, oral history which has been written down at a later date. This is exactly what McKenzie was trying to do when he recorded and transcribed the history of his fellow Kiowas, because McKenzie realized that in Anglo eyes, written history is "real history."

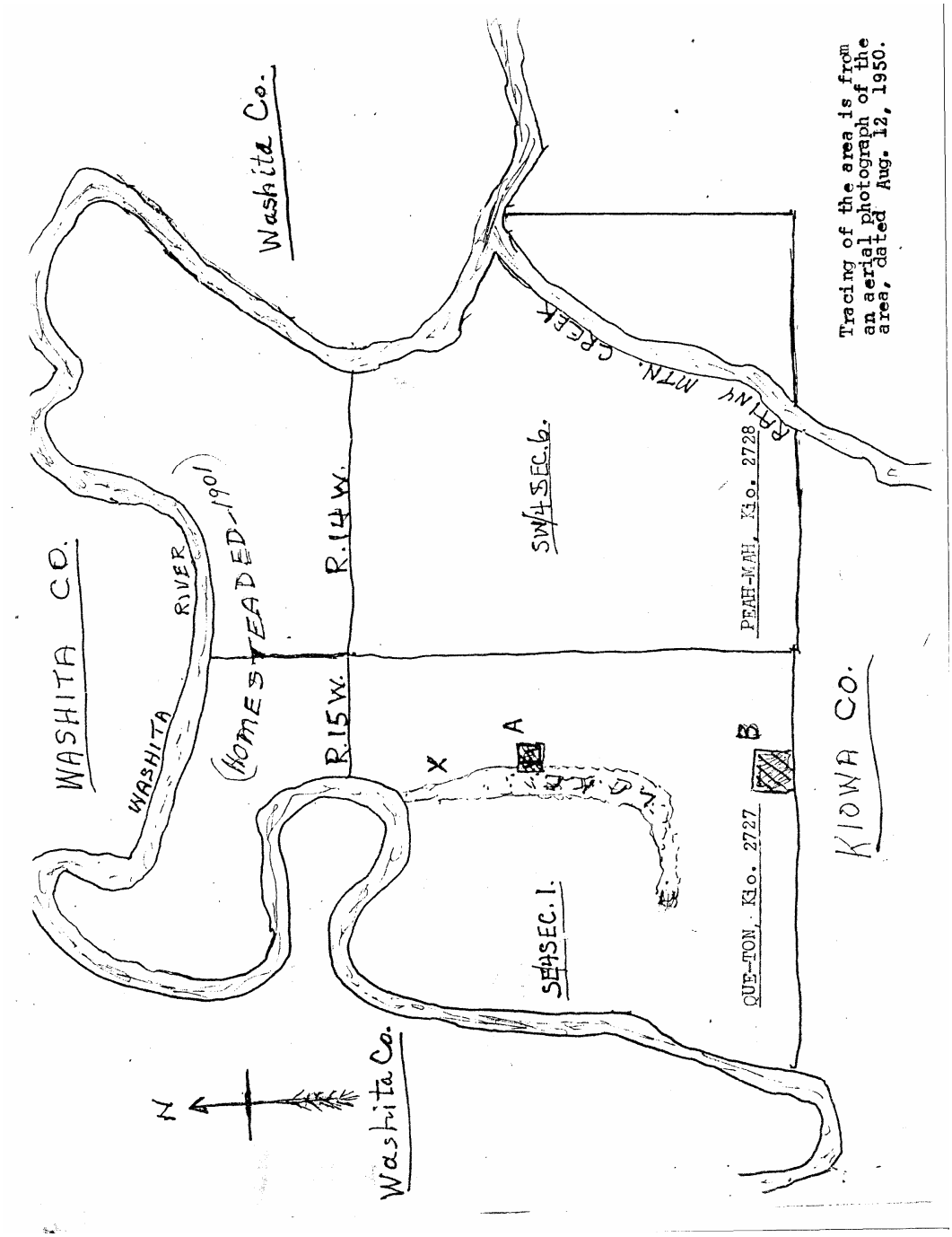

Figure 3: Map of Queton's Allotment. ***The X marks the spot of the earthen embankment thrown up by Big Bow's band before the Cutthroat Massacre. The letter A marks the site of Queton's house. Letter B marks the site of Parker McKenzie's house. The first Kiowa Feather Dance occurred at the junction of the Washita River and Rainy Mountain Creek.***

Chapter 4 The KCA

By 1874, many of the Kiowas found life on the reservation unbearable. The slaughter of the buffalo by hunters decimated their major food supply, and the failure of the United States to deliver annuity goods in a timely fashion led to an uprising. Although the majority of the 1,050 Kiowas stayed on the reservation, many left to join Comanche and Cheyenne warriors in an attempt to force a return to their old way of life. Parker McKenzie's account of the Red River War is very concise, but conveys the sequence of events well:

> Dad [General McKenzie] was too young to have been in any Kiowa war action when it ceased in summer of 1874 at present day site of Anadarko; rather the Wichita Agency (estab. 1871) across the present Anadarko. In that outbreak, four hay-bailers were killed east of the present agency and in which great-grandpa Yí:saùm was involved. The outbreak occurred when a detachment of soldiers from Ft. Sill came to find and arrest a renegade Comanche. According to reports, someone supposedly (an Indian) fired a gun and the soldiers opened fire – to begin the "outbreak." Both Kiowa and Comanche bands present fled west to Plains, their familiar ranging country. Grandma Queton was in the camp (then about 19) with the Bigbow band, her band. The Lonewolf band was the other Kiowa band. I never heard Quanah [Parker] was there, but part of his band was, and rejoined their base band in the Plains. About six months later, these renegade bands, last of the Kiowa and Comanche tribes, were induced to surrender, and were brought in to Ft. Sill where the "peace tribes" were already there.[127]

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[127] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Meadows, September 8, 1996. PMC OHSRC. Box 25, Folder 1. See also Mooney, "Calendar History, and Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain.* For Anglo accounts, see Nye, *Carbine and Lance;* Mayhall, *The Kiowas,* William Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: a Narrative of the Negro Cavalry of the West* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967); and James Haley, *The Buffalo War: the Historyof the Plains Indian Uprising of 1874* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

The agent report for 1875, written by Edward Smith, reads: "Of the Kiowas, twenty six were sent away, including Lone Wolf. Several of the others, although not chiefs, exerted a strong influence on the tribe. Many of them had doubtless committed acts of lawlessness and hostility enough to merit severe punishment."[128] The "sent away" Kiowas were bound for Fort Marion in San Augustine, Florida, The prisoners were under the supervision of Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt. Pratt's memoirs, *Battlefield and Classroom,* includes Pratt's version of the removal of the chiefs to Florida. Apparently, President Ulysses Grant did not want to try the Indian prisoners in a military court, so he sent the matter to his Attorney General. The Attorney General ruled that a state of war could not exist between a nation and her wards, and the government prepared to turn the prisoners over to a civilian court. However, it was determined that there was very little possibility of a fair trial so, as Pratt wrote, "It was therefore considered best to punish the most notorious of the recent offenders by arbitrarily sending all of them to some remote eastern fort to be held indefinitely as prisoners of war."[129] Yí:saùm's act of holding a horse's

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[127] Edward P. Smith, "Concerning Indian Tribes," *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1875* (Washington: G. P. O., 1875), 273. Hereafter refereed to as *CoIA, 1875.*

[129] Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades of Service with the American Indians, 1867-1904* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), 105. Pratt was a career soldier, enlisting in the Army eight days after the American Civil War began with the bombardment of Fort Sumter in April of 1861. He spent four years in combat units, serving well as an enlisted man before receiving a commission to second lieutenant in 1864. Pratt left the Army for a brief period following the war, but accepted a commission in 1867 in the regular Army. He served eight years frontier duty in the

bridle during the commission of a murder made him an accessory to the crime, and he found himself being taken by railroad car to Fort Marion as a prisoner of war. .Twenty-seven Kiowas, with Yí:saùm, the oldest of the group, left for Fort Marion from the railhead at Paul's Valley, Oklahoma in May of 1875.

Among the group of Kiowas was Charley Buffalo, perhaps the youngest of the POWs, and the last survivor, living until 1932. Parker McKenzie knew Charley Buffalo well, and he became the main source for McKenzie's in-depth research on the Fort Marion prisoners.[130] In addition, McKenzie used the handwritten papers of Pratt and combined the material with Charley Buffalo's information, as well as other sources, to write a comprehensive account of the lives of fourteen of the twenty-seven Kiowas. Charley Buffalo is a good example of McKenzie's work on the lives of the prisoners, because Pratt and other Anglo historians made several key errors concerning his life.[131]

Much of the confusion surrounding the details of the lives of several of the Kiowa prisoners can be blamed on the many different names by which they were called. Charley Buffalo, for instance, went by three names. The first is his Anglo name of Charley Buffalo. He had two Kiowa names: Áutthâui (Bare Head) and

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Indian Territory beginning in 1867, and it was there he began to build a relationship with Native Americans. Pratt retired in 1904 with the rank of brigadier general.[129]

[129] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Meadows, September 8, 1896. PMC OHSRC. Box 25, Folder 1.

[131] Parker McKenzie, "R, H, Pratt's List of the Twenty-seven Kiowa Prisoners at Fort Marion, Florida, 1875-1878., and Commented upon by Parker Paul McKenzie, Member of the Kiowa Tribe." PMC OHSRC. Box 12, Folder 8. McKenzie took his list of Kiowa prisoners from a photocopy of Pratt's original handwritten notes. He often complained about the difficulty of reading Pratt's near-illegible handwriting. It seems McKenzie did not realize the same list could be found in Pratt's memoirs.

Pá:dâui (Twin). The Anglo tendency to corrupt Kiowa names into something barely resembling Kiowa poses real problems for researchers, and the matter is made worse as the names pass through several different scribes. One of Charley Buffalo's Kiowa names, Áutthâui, which in actuality is only a nickname, is greatly altered by the creative pens of Anglos who possessed no ear for Kiowa tonal qualities. Áutthâui pronounced phonetically is "Aw taun ooey." Pratt's rendering of Áutthâui came out as Ohet-toint, which scarcely resembles the original Kiowa sounding. A future writer altered it to O-Hel-Toint.

Pratt listed Charley Buffalo as:

> HIGH FOREHEAD. Ohet-toint. Warrior (Mexican). Age 25. Wt.151 lbs. 8 ou. Ht. 5 ft. 9 in. Arrested at Salt Fork, Indian Territory, February 18, 1875. Was with MAH-MANTEE when he killed the men in the wagon; was with Lone Wolf killing two buffalo hunters.[132]

Pratt translated Charley's Kiowa name of Áutthâui as "High Forehead," when actually it meant "Bare Head." In addition, he made Charley two years older than his actual age of 23 in 1875. However, the key mistake is the listing of Charley Buffalo as a Mexican captive. McKenzie's concern for Buffalo's ancestry did not stem from a desire to distance Charley from being a captive. McKenzie just wanted to point out obvious errors in Pratt's records. Charley told McKenzie he was definitely not a Mexican, and McKenzie identifies him as a full-blood Kiowa. Indeed, Charley Buffalo had a twin brother named White Buffalo. Apparently, the Anglos did not catch on to the relationship, because when the time came for

[132] PMC OHSRC. Box 12, Folder 8.

picking the men destined for imprisonment, White Buffalo was excluded because he was a "Young chap. A little too young to be bad."[133]

McKenzie's interest in the Fort Marion prisoners of war stems from his family's close connection to two of the men: Yí:saùm and Woman's Heart. Yisaùm, Parker's maternal great-grandfather, is an example of the quintessential Kiowa warrior. The original Yí:saùm lived through the peak times of the Kiowa experience in what became southwestern Oklahoma. His estimated year of birth is 1813, and, although the exact date of his death is unknown, he reportedly lived until the early years of the 1880's. He does not appear to have held any position of authority, except as what Pratt designated a "petty chief." Pratt's report on Yí:saùm describes him as being sixty-two years old. He weighed one hundred and sixty pounds and stood five feet, eight inches tall. Yí:saùm was arrested on October 8, 1874, at the Cheyenne Agency in Indian Territory, and charged with complicity in the murder of Ernest Modest. The literal translation of his name implies considerable bravery. His full name of Yídòáaùmbò: means "They Marveled at His Deeds Twice."[134] Apparently, Yí:saùm twice performed remarkable deeds of bravery in full view of his comrades.

Woman's Heart also maintained familial ties with McKenzie. Be-dan-te (BIA spelling), was Woman Heart's first wife, and she was the sister of F<u>í</u>:má, McKenzie's grandmother. This would make Woman's Heart McKenzie's great-uncle, which is a very close relationship in the Kiowa family organization.

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[133] PMC OHSRC. Box 12, Folder 8.
[134] Ibid.

Woman's Heart played an important role in Kiowa history. He signed the Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867, and fought with the Cheyennes at the Battle of the Washita in 1868. In addition, Woman's Heart served as a delegate to Washington, DC, in 1872, shortly before assisting the Kiowas in their disastrous uprising in 1874. His role in the fighting consisted of a number of assaults on teamsters, as well as participating in a three-day battle with a wagon train of federal soldiers. His actions landed him in the Fort Marion group, but the Secretary of War released him on April 17, 1877, more than a year before the release of the other prisoners[135]

All of the Fort Marion prisoners obtained their freedom in May of 1878, but Pratt reported that nine Kiowas and fourteen Cheyennes chose to stay with him and improve their education. Pratt took his charges to Hampton Institute, an all African American school in Virginia. Pratt and his entourage took over an abandoned army post in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, a year later and founded the Carlisle Indian School. This school became the fore-runner of the Indian school system. Carlisle was the progenitor of the Rainy Mountain Indian School in Mountain View, Oklahoma, which McKenzie attended as a boy. [136]

The connection of Yí:saùm and Woman's Heart to the Fort Marion prisoners of war was a great source of pride for Parker McKenzie. His letters are replete with mentions of Yí:saùm's role in the uprising and his subsequent imprisonment. The presence of a family member in the group of prisoners seems to be an important status symbol among the Kiowas, much like a Texan would be

[135] PMC OHSRC. Box 12, Folder 8.
[136]Parker McKenzie, letter to William Meadows, September 8, 1986. PMC OHSRC. Box 1, Folder 1. Parker McKenzie, letter to Mara Bertoia, February 9, 1990. PMC OHSRC. Box 24, Folder 3.

proud of having an ancestor fight at the Alamo. There is little doubt that McKenzie saw this as proof of his right to be considered a full member of the Kiowa tribe, since his family was so well represented in this pivotal moment in Kiowa history. It also brought Parker McKenzie some recognition in his later life. This recognition came in the form of a sketch book made by seven Fort Marion prisoners, two whom were Kiowas.[137]

Kiowa sketch book art became wildly popular with tourists and dignitaries who visited the prisoners at Fort Marion. These books consisted of plainly drawn images of scenes from Indian life in Oklahoma and at the prison. Several Kiowas, including Charley Buffalo, participated in this art form while incarcerated. Selling the pictures became a good source of income for the prisoners, and Pratt wrote General Sherman that "the Indians had made between $3,000 and $4,000 by selling the books," as well as other hand crafted items.[138] The introduction of art to the Kiowas by Pratt is interesting, because the Kiowas had not previously been involved in it as a commercial enterprise except for religious and ceremonial purposes. There are still quite a few of these sketch books in existence, and one of them came into the possession of a woman named Mara Lerta Bertoia, of Barto, Pennsylvania.

Bertoia had inherited the sketchbook at the death of her grandfather in 1958. By 1990, she was looking for a place to donate the book, as it was beginning

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[137] Parker McKenzie, letter to Mara Bertoia, February 9, 1990. PMC OHSRC. Box 24, Folder 3.
[138] Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom,* 152-153. See also, Moira E. Harris, *Between Two Cultures: Kiowa Art at Fort Marion* (New York: Pogo Press, 1989), 14. Parker McKenzie acted as an adviser for this book.

to deteriorate and she feared for its safety. Bertoia contacted William Welge, of the Oklahoma historical Society in Oklahoma City. Welge suggested turning the book over to a descendant of a Fort Marion prisoner and he happened to know one: Parker McKenzie. The presentation was made on March 5, 1990, at McKenzie's home in Mountain View.[139]

McKenzie kept the sketch book and took it around to the Kiowa Elders Center in Carnegie, Oklahoma, to see if anyone knew anything about it or was interested in it. McKenzie discovered a peculiar lack of interest. The lack of interest is similar to McKenzie's own view of Kiowa history, as noted in the case of the Dodge expedition. The ledger book had no immediate importance to the Kiowas who saw it because it did not concern them. Apparently, no one had an ancestor who had served at Fort Marion, and that would make the ledger art some one else's history. McKenzie's realization of the importance of the ledger book to Kiowa history set him apart from the other Kiowas. He had reached a degree of sophistication in which he felt that all Kiowa history was important to all Kiowas.

The donation of the ledger books to McKenzie by an apparent non-Indian from Pennsylvania also established a vital boost to his self-identification as a Kiowa. Although members of his own tribe may denigrate his ancestry and tell him he was not a Kiowa, non-Indians did recognize him as a member of the tribe. The significance of the donation is that since Parker McKenzie was a direct descendent of Yìsaùm, a known POW at Fort Marion and a Kiowa in every sense of the term, he was worthy to accept on behalf of the Kiowa people the historical artwork.

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[139] Parker McKenzie, letter to Mara Bertoia, February 9, 1990. PMC OHSRC. Box 24, Folder 3.

McKenzie, already ninety-three years old at the time of the presentation, knew it would not be practical for him to keep the ledger book himself, so he loaned it to the OHS. McKenzie explained to Welge that he did not want to give it to the Kiowa Elders Center, because he feared for its safety. He mentioned the loss of a family manuscript he loaned the center, as well as the theft of a new color television. He also feared the frequent change in personnel as a result of constant changes in administrations.[140] Welge did not hesitate after he received McKenzie's June 6, 1990 letter informing him to come get the sketch book. Welge was in Mountain View on June 19, 1990, when Parker McKenzie signed a loan agreement form giving the OHS a ten year loan of the sketch book.[141] For Parker McKenzie, it was a reaffirmation of his Kiowa heritage.

Yí:saùm, Woman's Heart, Charley Buffalo, and the other Kiowa ex-prisoners-of-war returned to a greatly changed way of life. The buffalo were gone, and many of the Kiowa tribal traditions had been suppressed. The Kiowa Sun Dance, known as the quáujò, or medicine lodge dance, had been abolished, and the Kiowa military societies were greatly reduced in status. McKenzie's mother attended several of the last Sun Dances, and when these were banned, she became a participant in a new movement which came to the Kiowas in 1890.

The coming of the Arapaho medicine man Sitting Bull during the summer of 1890 introduced the Kiowas to the tenets of the Ghost Dance. A new Indian messiah named Wovoka spread his message of a rebirth of the dying Native

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[140] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, February 9, 1990. PMC OHSRC. Box 24, Folder 3.

[141] "The State of Oklahoma, Oklahoma Historical Society Loan Agreement." PMC OHSRC.

American world. Wovoka, the Critter, who also went by the American name of Jack Wilson, lived in the Mason Valley area of Nevada. He lived a relatively normal life, never leaving Mason, marrying at the age of twenty, and working for an American named David Wilson. Wovoka experienced his revelation during an eclipse of the sun, when he went into a trance.

God told Wovoka to teach his people a dance, and if they danced it for five days at a time at regular intervals, a new world would be born in which the dead would return and game would be plenty. Wovoka also received the power to control the elements, and he used this power to convince the people. Finally, God told Wovoka to rule the west while "Governor Harrison" ruled the east and God would reign in heaven. [142] Wovoka immediately began preaching his new religion, and quickly gained disciples.

James Mooney interviewed Wovoka in 1891, and discovered several important facts regarding the prophet. Wovoka claimed the new religion did not threaten white people; indeed, he encouraged his people to follow the white man's road. His mission from God consisted of being a prophet, preparing people for a fresh beginning. Wovoka did not declare himself the Indian Jesus.

The tenets of the Ghost Dance aroused great excitement among the Native Americans of the West. Mooney described the fundamental doctrine as "the time will come when the whole Indian race, living and dead, will be reunited upon a regenerated earth; to live a life of aboriginal happiness, forever free from death,

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[142] James C. Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and Wounded Knee* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1991), 14. "Governor Harrison" was the American president, Benjamin Harrison.

disease, and misery."[143] Although some apostles wanted to see the Ghost Dance as a springboard to stop American encroachment, the religion preached a message alien to most plains tribes but remarkably similar to Christianity: peace and good will, tolerance to fellow men, and honesty.[144] The initial date set for the coming of the new world coincided with the time normally reserved for the Sun Dance, in the late spring of 1891.

The Kiowas listened to the teachings of the Arapaho Sitting Bull. Although a warlike tribe, several of the Kiowas readily accepted the message of peace inherent in the Ghost Dance religion. This well illustrates how deep the loss of sacred power cut into their psyche. They accepted the Ghost Dance because of the immensity of the power promised to them. Their dancing would "[bring] the new earth, with all the resurrected dead from the beginning of time, and with which the buffalo, the elk, and other game upon it, will come from the west and slide over the surface of the present earth."[145]

The Kiowas thought the feathers they wear in their hair would act as wings, lifting them up and placing them safely back down again after the change. They would then sleep for four days, waking to a new land with no white men and living in the old style.[146] This kind of sacred power surpassed anything previously known to the tribe, and the promise of a new balanced world attracted many followers.

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[143] Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion,* 19.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid., 28.
[146] Ibid..

Parker McKenzie calls the Ghost Dance the À:mâdècùngh, "Feather Dance," because of the feathers the Kiowas used. McKenzie said the Kiowas tied a single, eagle tail feather to the back of their heads, aligned in an upright position. He described the dance as "the plain, so-called round dance, with ingredients thrown in of prayer, clothing designs, special songs, and unrestricted participation in contrast to the practice of the Sun Dance where only a small amount of people participated with dance proper."[147] Unfortunately, he does not elaborate on the religious aspects of the Kiowa Feather Dance. He left unanswered questions as to whether the later Feather Dances still called for the return of ancestral ghosts, as well as the buffalo. Nor did he mention whether the Kiowas danced to cleanse the world of the Anglos.

According to McKenzie, the first Feather Dance took place at the same bend of the Washita River, west of the junction with Rainy Mountain Creek, where the three Kiowa bands camped prior to the Cutthroat Massacre. This site is confirmed by James Mooney in his "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians."[148] The site is located on McKenzie's allotment a few yards north of his house.[149]

Mooney explains how the American army of occupation closely watched the rise of the movement among the Kiowas. The violent encounter between Lakota dancers and the United States cavalry in December of 1890, along with the belief calling for the disappearance of the white man, caused considerable alarm among

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[147] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, October 24, 1990. PMC OHSRC. Box 24, Folder 3.

[148] Mooney, "Calendar History," 390.

[149] Parker McKenzie, letter to Dr. Ruth Calas, December 1, 1993. PMC OHSRC. Box 24, Folder 7.

military and civilian leaders. The commanding officer of Fort Sill, located in the heart of the Kiowa reservation, ordered Lieutenant Hugh L. Scott to investigate the Ghost Dance among the Kiowas. Scott studied the situation during the winter of 1890 -91, and recommended doing nothing. He decided the furor would die out soon enough. The military took Scott's advice and did nothing, thinking the Kiowas themselves would end the Ghost Dance.[150] Mooney actually supplies a story on how the Ghost Dance supposedly ended among the Kiowas.

One Kiowa man, À:fi̲à:dàu, Wooden Lance, became so enamored of the Ghost Dance he set out to find Wovoka and ask him to bring back to life a dead son. Wooden Lance went to the Lakota, who told him to go farther west, and the Bannock, who sent him to Nevada. He finally found Wovoka, and the interview proved to be very disillusioning. Wooden Lance felt Jesus walked the earth in the form of Wovoka, and when the prophet could do nothing for the Kiowa, Wooden Lance returned home. He informed the Kiowas of his meeting, and the spell of the Ghost Dance faded. When the appointed time for the renewal of the earth came and went with out result, the Kiowas realized no power existed in the dance. By 1893, the majority of Kiowas disavowed the Ghost Dance.[151]

McKenzie, however, provided evidence that a rather large segment of the tribe practiced the dance for another twenty years. He denounces Api-ádàu, writing, "The last recognized Kiowa chief, Ah-peah-to (BIA spelling), is persistently credited with having stopped the religious practices in the early 1890's when he no more did

[150] Mooney, "Calendar History," 221.
[151] Ibid., 221-222.

so than Boat-ta-lyi stopped the sun at his command."[152] McKenzie attended many of the Feather Dances as a youngster, and he provides some insight into the proceedings:

> Weekly services, which were later outgrowths of the principal event, were held at the mother location west of Carnegie and two or three elsewhere that were determined by the spiritual head, Sitahpatah. These "churches" consisted of a large tepee, usually enclosed by boarded or grass/brush barrier to keep trespassers and the curious away. Reportedly, attendance at the "church" sessions, particularly in winter, were limited due to capacity of the "churches." It was only at the annual event, usually in association with Fourth of July, when possibly a third of the tribe gathered at the home site west of Carnegie and the afternoon dances were held outside usually for about four days.[153]

It is interesting to note that the big annual Feather Dance was held in conjunction with the acknowledged birthday of the United States. The Fourth of July is the penultimate national holiday in the United States, and holding the dance on that date would seem to indicate that the Kiowas understood their new role as members (they were not yet citizens) of the larger society. Also, the Feather Dancers borrowed some methods from the Christian section of the tribe. McKenzie compared the Feather Dance event to the Christian Kiowa gatherings at Christmas time, in which people would gather a few days before the event and linger for a

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[152] Parker McKenzie, letter to Arthur Silberman, October 15, 1989. PMC OHSRC.Box 20, Folder 6. McKenzie does not say who "Boat-ta-lyi" was." However, it means "Stomach Boy." This is another name for Sun Boy, the brother of Kicking Bird, who was a noted leader during the early 1870's. Sun Boy was reputed to have been able to make the sun go down as a result of a magic orb he possessed: a crystal door knob he kept wrapped in a black cloth.

[153] Parker McKenzie, letter to Arthur Silberman, October 15, 1989. PMC OHSRC.Box 20, Folder 6.

[153] Ibid.

[153] Ibid.

while after it was over. However, any similarities between the two groups ended here, for McKenzie said two-thirds of the Kiowas were not adherents of the Feather Dance and stayed away. The Christian Kiowas did not keep the old ways alive, but rather, "It was the Ghost Dance adherents who carried on, or tried to, the tribal religious and social traditions, not the church Kiowas."[154] Peyotists, medicine men and women, keepers of the Grandmother bundles and the one remaining Tái:mê used the occasion of the Ghost dance to practice their own rituals.[155]

Common belief among the Kiowas indicates the Feather Dance was "stamped out" by the United States government in 1916, but McKenzie's belies this belief: "The fact is, the last was held in July 1917, it was mainly because the spiritual leader [Sitahpatah], born in 1844, has gotten [too] blind and enfeebled to carry on that caused the demise of the Ghost Dance."[156] This fact, combined with the distraction of many of their sons leaving for the military during World War I, diverted the attention of the Kiowas from the Feather Dance, and "it just passed out of the Kiowa life."[157] The government used no force against the Ghost Dancers, except to "look down" on it. McKenzie feels the government acknowledged the religious aspect of the Feather Dance, and focused attention on the fledgling powwow circuit instead.[158]

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[156] PMC OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 6.
[157] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.
[157] Parker McKenzie, letter to Everett Rhoades, August 18, 1989. PMC OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 2.

There is a considerable body of evidence in McKenzie's papers to suggest the Feather Dance could have been his religion of choice. He never admits this, and his reticence is unusual, because McKenzie generally just said what he felt and believed. However, a careful investigation of McKenzie's papers will indicate a correlation to his love of Kiowa native traditions and the possibility of his participation in the Feather Dance. In addition, McKenzie does not provide any indication of the tenets of the Feather Dance. He does not say whether the Feather Dance of 1917 had the same symbolism of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Did the Kiowas of 1917 still believe that their ancestors would return from the dead, that the buffalo would return, and that the cleansing fire would scour the earth of white men? McKenzie does not say. He does, however, use the terms "Feather Dance" and "Ghost Dance" interchangeably, hinting that perhaps he did see them as the same thing. If this is true, it would appear that the dances were the same, meaning McKenzie may have harbored unspoken resentment against the Anglo society which surrounded his people and forced them to adapt to the American way. Whatever the case may be, it is certain McKenzie considered the Feather Dance as a solid characteristic of traditional Kiowa life.

McKenzie obviously could not have attended the winter services between 1914 and 1917, since he was at Phoenix Indian School at the time, but he could have attended the big annual event during the summers. Parker seems to be quite familiar with the dance, and he is obviously proud of the fact that the first Kiowa Feather Dance was held on what became his property. Indeed, McKenzie's maternal

grandparents, Fí:má and Queton, as well as Ákàu:dònà: and her brothers, attended the dances.[159] McKenzie mentioned on several occasions that everything he knew about being Kiowa came from these people, and their influence on him was considerable. It is probable that they would have brought him into the Ghost Dance world. McKenzie also stated that the Ghost Dance, along with the Ten Grandmothers, the Tá̲imé, and the Kiowa language, were the most important aspects of Kiowa tradition. McKenzie professed a strong affinity for the latter three, and actually participated in their practice. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that McKenzie would have participated in the Ghost Dance.

This supposition can be strengthened by Candace S. Greene's comment in *Silver Horn: Master Illustrator of the Kiowas.* Greene interviewed McKenzie as he neared his one-hundredth birthday, and questioned him on the Kiowa Ghost Dance. Greene wrote: "Parker McKenzie clearly remembered dances held on his family's allotment where he was still living near the banks of the Washita River."[160] In addition, William Meadows, who interviewed McKenzie frequently during the 1990's, states that McKenzie "attended several Ghost Dances."[161]

Meadows also writes that the Ghost Dance had nothing to do with powwow dancing, The rise of powwowing among the Kiowas predates the Ghost Dance. Meadows sees the Óhò̲mò Society dances, first introduced to the Kiowas by the

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[159] Parker McKenzie, letter to Arthur Silberman, October 15, 1989. PMC OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 6.

[160] Candace S. Greene, *Silver Horn: Master Illustrator of the Kiowas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 2001), 134.

[161] William C. Meadows, *Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 105.

Omaha Indians, as a replacement for the men's military societies. It became the fore-runner of the Fancy Dance, which became popular after World War I and is the centerpiece of modern day powwows.[162] Other powwow dances include the Gourd Dance, Round Dance and the Forty-nine Dance.[163] McKenzie states that only a few powwows were held each year, and just a handful were sponsored during the summer months. Still, agency officials tried hard to suppress the powwows, because they saw them as an attempt to reinvigorate the old ways of the Kiowas, especially the practice known as "give-aways." The agents wanted the Kiowas to become materialistic, and they saw giving away goods at a dance to be impractical.[164] McKenzie remembered a powwow in 1912 in which a Kiowa family sponsored a big event southwest of Carnegie. Many Kiowas, as well as Cheyennes, gathered there, but a representative of the agency showed up and took down names of the people who participated there. The agency withheld the participants' annual payments until they showed up at the Anadarko agency to sign a pledge renouncing powwows and promise not to attend any more. This tactic, of course, did not work, for the Kiowas would pocket their money and then head to Cheyenne and Arapahoe country to attend the powwows held there.[165]

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[162] Meadows, *Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies,* 107-109.
[163] Luke E. Lassiter, *The Power of Kiowa Song: a Collaborative Ethnography* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 96-97. There are a large number of books concerning powwow dancing. They include Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), Maurice Boyd, *Kiowa Voices: Myths, Legends , and Folktales* Vol. 2 (Fort Worth: TCU Press, 1983), Maurice Boyd, *Kiowa Voices: Ceremonial Dance, Rituals, and Songs* Vol. 1 (Fort Worth: TCU Press, 1983),

[164] Meadows, *Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies*, 108.
[165] Parker McKenzie, letter to Arthur Silberman, October 15, 1989. PMC OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 6.

Frank Rush, an Anglo entrepreneur, watched the rise of the powwow circuit and thought up a plan to cash in on it. Rush created an amusement park on some land he owned west of Lawton and used it to host a series of Native American exhibitions which were called the "Craterville Indian Fairs." These fairs escaped government inspections, and McKenzie wondered why "The government didn't harass Frank Rush when he started his powwow and 'fair' in the early 1920's despite the fact he was white and on that account would be faulted more so than an Indian for 'misguiding' the Indians to the old ways and disrupting the progress the government made up to then in making white men out of Indians."[166] McKenzie answered his own question by saying, "It must have been World War I that 'softened' the government towards Indians," and allowed Rush to help Native Americans "revive their culture and preserve their traditions."[167]

The fairs, designed to attract white tourists and their money, lasted from 1924 until Rush's death in 1933. Clyde Ellis described the early years as a combination of county fair, agricultural exposition, dancing, and rodeo.[168] The later fairs became showcases for powwow dancing, and the stars of the powwow circuit came to Craterville to participate for cash prizes. Luminaries like Will Rogers frequented the fair.

The success of the fairs and the boost to Indian identity prompted McKenzie to credit Rush with a significant achievement: "The idea took

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[166] Parker McKenzie, letter to Arthur Silberman, October 15, 1989. PMC OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 6.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 236.

root, and by the end of the decade, Indians were standing tall with self-confidence and no longer cringed when called 'Indian.'"[169] McKenzie believed that the government began to take the Indians into its' "confidence," rather than just "bossing them," and went so far as to say it "led to mitigating the so-called Indian problem."[170] McKenzie rarely gave this much credit to anyone, especially an Anglo. Still, because Rush *was* an Anglo, McKenzie felt a need to establish a fair organized and maintained strictly by Native Americans.

McKenzie, along with several Native American associates, combined their energies to address the problem. Jasper Saunkeah, a Kiowa, came to McKenzie and the two devised a plan to create an Indian fair. The founding committee named their organization the Southwestern Indian Fair Association, which sponsored the American Indian Exposition. McKenzie was the first secretary-treasurer, and his good friend Lewis Ware acted as president.

They began their endeavor in conjunction with the Caddo County Fair in Anadarko in 1932. The American Indian Exposition separated from the Caddo County Fair in 1933 and became an immediate success. McKenzie served as secretary-treasurer for each of the first five years of the fair, and in 1939 he was named vice-president. However, he did not serve out his year-long term, for in December of 1939 he resigned his position and never again became involved in the workings of the fair.

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[169] Parker McKenzie, letter to Arthur Silberman, October 15, 1989. PMC OHSRC.. Box 20, Folder 6.

[170] Ibid.

McKenzie did not disclose the reasons for his resignation, but a succession of events combined to make him lose interest in the fair. The first event occurred in August of 1939, when McKenzie spotted the linguist, John P. Harrington, on the streets of Anadarko. Harrington and McKenzie had worked together on Kiowa orthography in the spring of 1918, and McKenzie had developed such an interest in the project that he devised his own Kiowa writing system. McKenzie's system was well-developed by 1939. The renewal of his acquaintance with Harrington sparked an active association between the two men which lasted until 1950. McKenzie began to use all of his free time working on his orthography, leaving no room for other outside interests such as the fair.

The second event which prompted his resignation was the death of Lewis Ware in December of 1939. McKenzie's resignation followed on the heels of Ware's death. Finally, the direction of the fair began to concern McKenzie. The growing emphasis on powwow dancing contests and the steady erosion of the "county fair" atmosphere created a pessimism in McKenzie towards the powwow circuit: "Nowadays, many Kiowas have become so obsessed with just the showy segment of former Kiowa life -- like powwows, war societies, singing/drumming, arts and crafts, native attire -- that they seem to be forgetting other tribal traditions."[171] The "showy aspects" of the popular exhibits contrasted sharply with McKenzie's image of what a proper fair should be. His idea of a proper fair would

[171] Parker McKenzie, letter to Everett Rhoades, August 18, 1989. PMC OHSRC.. Box 20, Folder 2.

be based on his childhood memory of the 1904 fair in Mountain View, which he remembered fondly as an old man.

Another "showy" tribal tradition which appeared on the KCA at the turn of the century was the peyote cult. There is some speculation as to which Kiowa actually became the first to practice the new religion, but there is considerable evidence that Big Bow probably introduced it to the tribe. Big Bow, born the day after the infamous Cutthroat Massacre, was the half-brother of Fí:má, Parker McKenzie's grandmother. He lived much of his adult life among the Kwahadi Comanche, and when he returned to the Kiowas he brought the peyote ceremony with him. This feat is recognized by the tribe because they changed his name to Sé:á:dè, or introducer of peyote. This became his official name on BIA records, such as census ledgers and the allotment enrollment of 1901. However, Séá:dè is the formal rendering of the name. The Kiowas dropped the last two letters and called him Sé:á:.[172]

There is no recorded date for the introduction of peyote by Big Bow to his fellow tribesmen, but it would definitely have occurred prior to 1881. The census of that year listed Big Bow under the name of Sa-aunt, a reasonable Anglo corruption of Sé:á:dè.[173] The peyote religion became popular among the Kiowas very quickly. They already knew, from their raids into Mexico, of the hallucinogenic properties of the cactus plant, *Lophophora williamsi,* or peyote, for more than a century. The cactus contains nine alkaloids, including mescaline, which produces a

[172] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Meadows, June 7, 1996. PMC OHSRC.. Box 2, Folder 3.
[173] Ibid.

series of reactions ranging from exhilaration to depression, wakefulness, and nausea, and the user experiences colorful visions for several hours.[174] The peyote cactus grows in the Rio Grande valley and south into Mexico. The rounded top "buttons," which are the only part visible above ground, are harvested and dried for use. The Kiowas believe the peyote button, with the circular disc, bright center, and rays emanating from the center, is the vegetal representation of the sun.[175] The sun-like appearance and vision-inducing properties of the cactus fulfilled a pre-eminent need of the Kiowas to restore their sense of balance in the world: the use of the sun as a source to encourage vision seekers in their quest for sacred power.

The message and goals of the peyote ritual are familiar to the Kiowa search for spiritual power. The hallucinatory effect of the plant sends the user on a journey into his inner self, and allows him to achieve a unity with the universe while examining his own personal beliefs. Peyote also allows the user to escape the harsh realities of reservation life, as well as personal problems. The ritual replaced the vision quest of former days, and ultimately supplanted the Ghost Dance in popularity. Most importantly, peyote's symbolic representation of the sun performed the task of re-establishing the sun as a major source of power.[176]

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[174] Robert H. Lowie, *Indians of the Plains* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954), 182.
[175] Mooney, "Calendar History," 237.
[176] See Omer C. Stewart, *Peyote Religion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), and Alice Marriott and Carol K Rachlin, *Peyote* (New York: Hinterland Press, 1972) .
[176] Parker McKenzie, letter to Arthur Silberman, October 15, 1989. PMC OHSRC.Box 20, Folder 6.
[176] Stewart, *Peyote Religion*, 223.

The use of peyote as a sacrament brought the adherents into conflict with their agents and missionaries. It was banned by the new Oklahoma Territory in 1889, and looked down upon by missionaries as a sin similar to the use of alcohol. The battle over peyote continued into the twentieth century, with neither side gaining an upper hand. Oto peyotists finally decided to organize a formal religion in 1914 in hopes of achieving recognition.[177] James Mooney played a large role in the establishment of the new church. Mooney, sent by Washington in 1918 to investigate the peyote meetings, again participated in a ceremony. In August of 1918, Mooney attended an incorporation meeting in El Reno, Oklahoma. He offered thee peyotists some advice: "Mooney told us to organize, choose officers, and name our church. He said to call it the Native American Church."[178] The Native American Church, incorporated on October 10, 1918, openly endorsed the use of peyote. The founding of the Native American Church ended serious attempts to ban peyotism in Oklahoma. The organization of the peyotists provided the coherency necessary to dispel the fears of the anti-peyotists. Peyote laws changed to accommodate the new church, and as the membership became better organized, the Church obtained some political clout.[179]

Parker McKenzie opposed what he designated "the so-called peyote cult."[180] There are reasons to suspect that McKenzie did not oppose the ritual on religious or moral grounds, but instead based his opposition on the experiences of his

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[178] Beck, et al., *The Sacred*, 234.
[179] Ibid., 236.

brother-in-law, Bert Odlety. Odlety, who often went by his Kiowa name of Geikaunmah, practiced the peyote ritual as a serious devotee during his youth. Odlety estimated he began using peyote at the age of ten or twelve years old. His grandfather Heidsick, as well as his father Odlety, who gave the family its' surname, ran peyote meetings on their place just to the north of Mount Scott in Stumbling Bear Gap. James Mooney participated in some of the ceremonies, and Bert Odlety tells a story of how Mooney lost a diamond ring after eating peyote. Apparently, it just slipped off his finger and no one could find it. This did not stop Mooney from attending other ceremonies. Bert Odlety, when asked if Mooney only attended the one ceremony, replied "Oh, he go with so many people. He don't stay one place. He go here and there, here and there. Pretty hard."[181] Bert Odlety proved to be "pretty hard" himself.

Bert Odlety remained an adherent of the peyote religion until he reached the age of thirty. His support ended on an abrupt note; for he set what he believed must be the record for ingesting peyote buttons: "I ate two hundred and twenty-eight. Two hundred, twenty-eight peyote." [182] The peyote produced an obvious reaction: "And that old peyote put me in dreamland and I go~~ I go pretty near crazy. And that's where I learned peyote ain't nothing. I said, it ain't nothing. You

[181] Arthur Silberman. "Bert Odlety interview." Silberman , Arthur, and Shifra Silberman Native American Art Collection, Box 011, Folder 003, Dickinson Research Center, National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, OK.

[182] Ibid.

never get anywhere. You never learn. Yeah."[183] This emphatic denunciation of peyote certainly had an effect on Parker McKenzie.

It is obvious from the papers of Parker McKenzie that he held the utmost respect for, and possibly even idolized, Bert Odlety. Odlety knew McKenzie from birth, and helped the younger man to appreciate his Kiowa heritage. McKenzie said about his brother-in-law: "He was perhaps my best and steady informant on aspects of Kiowa life – language, history, customs, etc."[184] Odlety's renunciation of the ritual came when Parker was fourteen years old – a very impressionable age. It is not a stretch to believe that if Bert Odlety disapproved of the peyote ritual, Parker McKenzie would, too.

McKenzie's rejection of the peyote church and the modern powwows did not mean he was totally close-minded to all of the new customs rising from the old Kiowa culture. His acceptance of the Feather Dance demonstrates his willingness to adapt to the changes. There can be little doubt, however, that he did not like many of the adaptations he was witnessing. It is easy to speculate about the reasons McKenzie accepted the Feather Dance while rejecting peyote and powwows, but it comes down to how he was influenced by the people and things he respected. His mother and grandparents supported the Feather Dance, so McKenzie did, too. Bert Odlety was anti-peyote, so McKenzie sided with him. Finally, the powwow people took a turn away from what McKenzie felt was traditional, so he left the ranks. His comments on what he saw as straying from the Kiowa path are revealing: ""A lot of

[183] Ibid.
[184] Parker McKenzie, letter to Arthur Silberman, April 7, 1985. PMC OHSRC. Box 20, Folder 6.

what you now regard as old traditions are new innovations of the younger Indians, and much of it is not authentic as the world is made to believe."[185] He seems to have been very conservative when it came to Kiowa culture, yet he was more than prepared to accept assimilation into Anglo society, and his thirty-eight year career in the BIA is evidence of this fact.

The ultimate act of assimilation of the Kiowas occurred when their tribal land base was allotted to individual Kiowas and the surplus divided up and given to Anglo settlers through a lottery. The process to begin assimilation started on July 20, 1867, when an act of Congress established a peace commission to "obtain peace with certain hostile Indian tribes." The commissioners "were authorized by said act to call together the chiefs and headmen of such bands of Indians as were then waging war, for the purpose of ascertaining the reasons foe their hostility."[186] On October 5, 1867, the commissioners met with the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowa Apaches at Medicine Lodge Creek in Kansas.

The Medicine Lodge Treaty stripped the Kiowas and Comanches of all their lands outside the Indian Territory. The treaty restricted Kiowa territorial holdings to a reservation in western Indian Territory. Even more importantly, Medicine Lodge set the framework for the dismantling of Kiowa culture. As Douglas C. Jones put it, "The intention was not simply to remove the Indian from the areas whites would eventually want to settle, but to change him, to make him fit the pattern of

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[185] Parker McKenzie, letter to Arthur Silberman, October 15, 1989. PMC OHSRC.. Box 20, Folder 6.

[186] *Coia,* 26.

white civilization, to put a plow in his hand and a wooden roof over his head."[187] The Medicine Lodge treaty became the basis for the final breakup of Kiowa lands.

In 1892, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache reservation sprawled over three million acres in the southwest corner of Indian Territory. The reservation appeared to be typical of most Native American holdings throughout the United States. Rudimentary houses, built by the tribes "with their own money," as James Mooney wrote, dotted the landscape.[188] Great herds of cattle grazed on surplus lands recently leased by the tribes to Texas cattlemen for one hundred thousand dollars a year. The tribes shook off the effects of a winter time measles scare, and appeared poised to regain some of the self-sufficiency they lost as the result of sixty years of active relations with the American government. However, on September 26, 1892, a group of commissioners appeared at the Fort Sill agency to negotiate the allotment of tribal lands.[189]

A major factor setting up the commissioners' visit to the KCA derived from the General Allotment Act of February 8, 1887. Also known as the Dawes Act, named for Massachusetts Senator Henry Dawes, the General Allotment Act allowed for the dismantling of the reservations, for "The President of the United States is authorized to cause any part thereof to be surveyed and to allot the lands in said reservations in severalty to any Indian located thereon."[190] Each adult

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[187] Douglas C. Jones, *The Medicine Lodge Treaty: the Story of the Great Council as Told by Eyewitnesses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), *vii.*
[188] Mooney, "Calendar History," 224.
[189] Ibid., 223-224.
[190] "The General Allotment Act," *Documents of United States Indian Policy* Francis Paul Prucha, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 171-172. See als, William T. Hagen, *United States-*

Indian would receive 160 acres and more if the land proved suitable only for grazing. A graduated scale allowed for allotments to other tribal members. The act provided for the lands to be held in trust by the government for twenty five years, in which time the land could not be sold. Special agents would travel to reservations designated for allotment to make agreements and oversee the process. Although the bill placed the onus of allotment on the president, "nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to affect the right and power of Congress to condemn such lands to public use, upon just compensation."[191] However, the Dawes Act specifically omitted the tribes of Indian Territory. This omission would be rectified by the arrival of the Cherokee Commission on the KCA in 1892.

The Cherokee Commission, better known as the Jerome Commission, came to the KCA bearing gifts and offers of cash to sway the three tribes into agreeing to allotment. The commissioners, led by David Jerome, former governor of Michigan, induced the tribal members to meet in council. Through deceit, coercion, and outright lies, the Commission coerced the reluctant tribes into signing the Jerome Agreement. This agreement broke up the KCA into 160 acre plots, reserved for adult male Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches. The surplus lands would be purchased by Congress and opened to Anglo settlement. The affair appeared to be concluded, but a group of Kiowas under the leadership of principal chief Lone Wolf took the fight all the way to the Supreme Court. The case was

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Comanche Relations: the Reservation Years (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 166, and William T. Hagen, *Taking Indian Lands: the Cherokee (Jerome) Commission1889-1903.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.

[191] "The General Allotment Act," *Documents,* 172.

based on the terms of the Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867, which gave the Kiowas the right to vote on any issue, and requiring a two-thirds majority of adult males to pass any resolution. Lone Wolf's case failed, as the Supreme Court acknowledged the right of Congress to abrogate any treaty made with Native Americans. The decision paved the way for the allotment and distribution of the KCA lands.[192]

Parker McKenzie strongly suspected the breakup of the KCA came about in part as a result of the connivance of Quanah Parker, the famous Comanche leader. McKenzie believed Quanah "was in with the BIA."[193] McKenzie added, "Although he was the last Comanche chief to surrender to military control at Ft. Sill, he soon gained status with the government, probably because he was half-white. It gave him advantage over other Indians of high standing."[194]

William T. Hagen, in his biography of Quanah Parker, suspects the possibility of some shady dealing. However, Hagen also gives the Comanche leader some credit of recognizing the inevitability of allotment and making the most of it.[195] Raymond DeMaillie also gives some credit to Quanah. DeMaillie quotes Quanah as saying, "Now I want to know how much will be paid for one acre, what

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[192] See Blue Clark, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: Treaty Bights & Indian Law at the End of the Nineteenth Century.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), William T. Hagen, *Quanah Parker: Comanche Chief* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), and Hagen,. *Taking Indian Lands.*

[193] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, February 11, 1993. PMC OHSRC. Box 24, Folder 6. Italics are the original.

[194] Ibid. It is interesting that Quanah Parker did not go to Fort Marion.

[195] Hagen, *Quanah Parker,* 71-72.

the terms will be, and when it will be paid."[196] While DeMaillie and Hagen do not go into detail over any suspicious transactions, McKenzie does.

McKenzie points out that although the government built houses for several leading men of the KCA, none matched the size and grandeur of the house built for Quanah, and McKenzie claims: "It's obvious the government had to cater to Quanah to gain his support on the then pending the so-called Jerome Agreement, concluded in 1892 with the KCA tribes, because its ratification was being stalled in Congress by the Indians who opposed it."[197] Also, un-named Comanche sources informed McKenzie that Quanah took bribes of up to five hundred dollars to get non-Indians enrolled as allotees. The allotment rolls themselves may provide a clue to the validity of this claim, for there are almost two hundred non-Indians, not counting captives, on the Comanche rolls, compared to only seven whites and one African-American on the Kiowa roll.[198] Quanah Parker was not alone in engaging in suspicious behavior. Joshua Given, son of Satank, seems to have been in league with the Jerome commissioners as well.

Joshua Given worked as an interpreter during the Jerome Commission hearings for the Kiowas. He was one of only a few Kiowas who could speak English, a skill he acquired at Carlisle Indian School and a Presbyterian school for ministers. Given became a reviled man for the part he played in the hearings, for the Kiowas suspect he misinterpreted several key points during the hearings and

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[196] Raymond DeMaillie, *The Jerome Agreement, 1892* (Washington: Institute for the Development of Indian Law, 1977), 13.
[197] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, February 11, 1993. PMC OHSRC.Box 24, Folder 6.

[198] Ibid.

received a bonus from the Jerome Commission for his work in securing the approval of the agreement. However, the tribes fought to prevent this from happening.

The result of Given's and Quanah's behind-the-scenes machinations resulted in the allotment of the KCA lands on August 6, 1901. McKenzie's take on the allotment of the KCA is carefully hidden in his papers, for he rarely talks about it, and when he does mention it he speaks in a matter-of-fact way: "The Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache (KCA) reservation ceased to be such in 1900 when the General Allotment Act of 1887 became operative for the three affiliated tribes, and all the then-enrollees of all ages were severally allotted land parcels."[199] However, McKenzie let his true feelings be known when he addressed the matter of the surplus lands: "Several million acres were 'bought' by the government."[200] The use of the word "bought" in quotes indicates he felt like something improper may have occurred in the process of shifting title of the KCA lands from the tribes to the government. McKenzie's reticence in speaking about the allotment process is also interesting in light of the fact McKenzie uses the allotment period as a point of separation between the traditional Kiowa history and modern Kiowa history.

McKenzie's role as Cáuijhèjèqì covers the same period of the "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians." It is obvious he used Mooney's work as the frame for his history, but he used the testimony of other Kiowas to put up the siding and place a roof on it. He offers a Kiowa point of view on several of the important

[199] Parker McKenzie, letter to Blance Causey. December 5, 1970. PMC OHSRC.Box 5, Folder 1.

[200] Ibid.

events which faced the tribe in the nineteenth century, such as the Cutthroat Massacre, the captivity question, the Red River War, and the revitalization movements represented by the Feather Dance, peyote, and powwows. McKenzie's perspective of these events is different than those of Anglo historians, and even many Kiowas. His history is a unique opportunity to see a fresh point of view.

Chapter 5 My Dear Doctor...

Parker McKenzie's father died in March of 1918 and this event seemed to finally end McKenzie's formal education. He left Oklahoma A. & M. to return to Anadarko to care for his mother. Parker went to work at the Kiowa agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in May of 1918 as a clerk. He got the job on the spur of the moment, as when he went to the oil and gas department, manned by a single individual, asking about lease money. The man running the department complained about the shortage of workers, as World War I had taken most of the Agency's employees off to better-paying war industry jobs. The office needed a "steno-typist" quite badly. McKenzie, who learned how to type at Phoenix Indian School, offered his services. He got the job after a brief typing demonstration.[201]

As a bachelor, McKenzie took up lodging in the Employees' Quarters of the Club Building, an old office converted into four apartments and some studio rooms. He moved into a room on the west side of the main hallway. McKenzie called the place "very spooky," as only he and two other men lived in the very large building.[202] One day, McKenzie met a man who worked for the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE). The BAE, working closely with the Smithsonian, was sending linguists to study Native languages throughout North America. The B.AE sent John Peabody Harrington to Oklahoma to study Kiowa. Harrington arrived in

[201] Parker McKenzie, letter to Wahne Clark, September 9, 1987. PMC OHSRC.. Box 5, Folder 6.

[202] Ibid.

Anadarko several days before McKenzie took the position at the Kiowa Agency, and the two men lived in apartments down the hall from each other. They met when Harrington learned McKenzie spoke fluent Kiowa. Harrington introduced himself to McKenzie and struck up a conversation. The talk turned to why Harrington had come to in Anadarko. He informed McKenzie that he was working on a Kiowa vocabulary, and he needed informants to help him. He was already working with an elderly Kiowa named Enoch Smokey, but Harrington wanted to work at a faster pace. If McKenzie could talk to the linguist in the evenings, Harrington could continue to work with Smokey during the day. McKenzie agreed to assist Harrington, and the two men began a collaboration which lasted until 1950.[203] This relationship altered the course of Parker McKenzie's life by setting in motion the process which resulted in McKenzie's Kiowa orthography.

John Peabody Harrington, born on April 29,1884, seemed to have an ear for linguistics. He attended Stanford University from 1902 until 1905, graduating at the head of his class in linguistics and anthropology. Harrington worked as an interpreter of Russian for the San Francisco immigration office, while assisting students as a tutor in French and German. In January of 1905, Harrington left for Europe to study language as a graduate student. However, he could not wait to get in the field to study the languages of the California Indians, so he returned to the United States in 1906 and went to work. He never finished his doctorate, but

[203] Parker McKenzie, letter to Elaine L. Mills, January 17, 1986. PMC OHSRC.Box 16, Folder 6.

managed to receive an honorary title from the University of Southern California in 1934.[204]

Harrington's field work dominated his life. After a short stint at Santa Ana High School in California, he went to work full time for the Bureau of American Ethnology, and his idea of full time consisted of eighteen hour days. Looking at a list of the peoples he studied demonstrates his tireless energy. In California, he studied the Chumash, Yuma, and Mojave Indians. While living among the tribes, he picked up intestinal diseases which would have leveled lesser men.[205] He moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1909, and specialized in the Shoshonean, Yuman, and Chumasan linguistic stocks. In 1910, John Harrington introduced the notion that Kiowa is a Tanoan language, which includes Southwestern languages such as Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa. These languages survive in the pueblos of Taos, San Juan, San Ildefonso, and Santa Clara in New Mexico. Most linguists agree on the similarities of the tongues, but sufficient doubt exists to prevent any possibility of a positive identification aligning Kiowa with the Pueblo langauges.[206] He spent time in the

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[204] M. W. Stirling, "John Peabody Harrington, 1884-1961" (*American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 65, No. 2 April 1962), 370-371.

[205] Ibid., 371. john Harrington stood six feet two inches tall, and seemed to have been a man with a remarkable constitution.

[206] Lyle Campbell. *American Indian Languages: the Historical Linguistics of Native America* ((Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 138. The alignment of Kiowa with the Pueblo languages clashes with the traditional Kiowa memory of their ancestral homeland. The Kiowas believe they once lived in the Black Hills of South Dakota, before being driven out by the Lakota in the late seventeenth century. After journeying south, they met the Comanches, whom they befriended after a long running war resulted in a peace. The two tribes remained allies when they reached land in present-day southwestern Oklahoma and the panhandle of Texas, where they flourished This memory appears to be incompatible with the theory that Kiowa is a Tanoan language. However, there is a simple explanation for this discrepancy. The Kiowa language is calculated to have split off from the other Tanoan tongues some three thousand years ago.[206] This is ample time to move a people north and adapt to a new culture. Indeed, this could explain the divergence of the Tanoan languages. The Kiowa move to Oklahoma simply brought them full circle.

Pacific Northwest working with the tribes there, and then spent time among the Maya, Aztec, and Quechua, preparing lengthy monographs on each of them. Linguistic work was not enough; he also studied cultural anthropology among each of the tribes he lived with. He produced a voluminous quantity of monographs, and he remembered what he learned. M. W. Stirling, Harrington's friend and colleague, would suddenly ask him to give a word in some obscure language, and "He would not only respond immediately with the word, but give a dissertation on its derivation and connection with related words in other groups."[207]

Harrington appears to have been one of those absent-minded individuals who totally immersed himself in his work without bothering with the mundane items of every day life. For instance, he wrote so many field notes he lost track of where he cached many of them. Once, he left a cache of a dozen or more large boxes of notes, marked with his name and the address of the Bureau of Ethnology, at a post office. Twenty years later, a postmaster informed the Bureau the boxes had been discovered when the old post office was demolished. Harrington would open a bank account in a location where he worked and then leave town on another assignment, totally forgetting the money at the bank. Some of these accounts reached the sum of three thousand dollars.[208] However, the most dramatic aspect of his idiosyncrasies may have been his secretive nature.

McKenzie often mentioned Harrington's secretive nature. Harrington never revealed to McKenzie he had been married when McKenzie worked with him

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[207] Stirling, "John Peabody Harrington, 373-375.
[208] Ibid. 375.

in 1918. McKenzie did not learn this until after Harrington's death in 1961[209] M. W. Stirling wrote, "He was a mystery man to the great majority of his colleagues." He did not own a telephone, and allowed only a few close friends to even know his address. He would move if too many people became aware of it.[210] Harrington would disappear in the field for months at a time to avoid contact with the bureaucracy of the BAE. He would only come out when he needed money to continue his research, and even then he would get his own rather than apply for funds through the office, because this method would preserve his anonymity.[211]

Harrington's secretive nature can be credited with the genesis of the Parker McKenzie Kiowa orthography. Harrington showed McKenzie a writing system for Kiowa he developed, but refused to teach him the method. Since Harrington did not use the current phonemic orthographies, he devised an over-sized typewriter which used characters of his own design to represent the different sounds he found in other languages. His orthography is very difficult to transcribe without using the special characters, and even a modern computer does not have these characters readily available. This difficulty inspired McKenzie to begin the work of forming a syllabary which could be used on an English language typewriter.

The collaboration between McKenzie and Harrington set in motion McKenzie's elaborate study of the intricacies and nuances of Kiowa, and the influence of Harrington on McKenzie can not be overestimated. It also made him

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[209] Parker McKenzie, letter to Elaine L. Mills, January 17, 1986. PMC OHSRC.. Box 16, Folder 6.
[209] Stirling, "John Peabody Harrington," 370.

[211] Ibid., 374.

aware of the possibility of the eventual loss of Kiowa as a living language. One reason Harrington worked so feverishly was his awareness of the fragility of the languages he studied, and he specialized in "last survivors," or languages on the verge of extinction.[212] Although in 1918 the majority of Kiowas still spoke the language, the work of assimilation and the boarding schools began to take a toll on it. The numbers fell off radically as the elder Kiowas began to die, especially in the 1930's, when many of the pre-reservation Kiowas went, as McKenzie called it, "buffalo hunting." McKenzie estimated in 1984 only four hundred fluent Kiowa speakers survived, and that number gets slimmer with each passing year.[213]

McKenzie and Harrington only worked together for a short period of time in 1918, only May and June, and the men went their separate ways. Harrington went on to new assignments, while McKenzie ended his stint at the BIA. He headed to Muskogee, Oklahoma, where he began a job as "steno-typist" at Bacone College, where he made sixty-six dollars a month. He did not stay long, as he disagreed with his employer on the terms of employment. On September 1, 1918, he moved to Oklahoma City to enroll in Central High School. McKenzie rented a room at a private house at 24 W. 8th, just two blocks from the school's location on Robinson Street. He worked part-time in the evenings from three until five and on Saturdays at the Electric building on Broadway, near the Skirvin Plaza Hotel. In mid-September, McKenzie registered with the Selective Service, as World War I still raged in Europe, and a few weeks later received his induction notice. He took his

[212] Stirling, "John Peabody Harrington," 372.
[213] Laurel Watkins, *A Grammar of Kiowa* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984),

physical and was classified 1A, which made him prime draft material. His orders would have sent him to report to Camp McClellan, Alabama, on November 15, 1918, McKenzie's 21st birthday. However, at 5:30 A. M. on the morning of November 11, McKenzie awoke to the cries of newsboys shouting, "Extra! Extra!" He knew the meaning, because for the previous month it had become apparent the Central Powers of Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, and their allies were on the verge of collapse. World War I was over, and a huge party was beginning. McKenzie arose, got dressed, and went downtown to see what was happening.[214]

Some ten thousand people had gathered at the Lee-Huckins Hotel at the southern corner of Broadway and Main to celebrate the end of the war. Flat bed trucks loaded with screaming people drove slowly through the throng, and street cars clanged their bells to gain passage. Robert Lee Williams, the governor of Oklahoma, lived at the hotel, and the huge crowd shouted "Come out! Come out!" Finally, the governor appeared on the second floor balcony, but by then nobody cared. They ignored his speech, and Williams stood on the balcony waving his arms to get the attention of the crowd. McKenzie ducked into a cafe to eat breakfast, while the din increased to a tremendous level. McKenzie' part in the festivities ended early, for before long he went down with influenza, one of the last people in Oklahoma City to be stricken by the great flu epidemic of 1918.[215]

The end of the war left McKenzie in a temporary state of limbo. He did not know what his draft status would now be, and he wondered whether he should

[214] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, November 11, 1992. PMC OHSRC. Box 25, Folder 2.
[215] Ibid.

report to the courthouse in Oklahoma City for induction and transport to Camp McClellan. He received his answer just a day before he was due to report when a letter reached him, informing him his orders were rescinded. McKenzie missed the war by just four days.[216]

McKenzie's willingness to serve in the military of the nation which had placed his people on a reservation and then took even that away is typical of the attitude of many Kiowas, and indicated their acceptance of the situation. Kiowas volunteered as scouts and Indian police during the reservation days. A scout organization formed during the winter of 1875, just a few months after the end of the Red River War, consisted of a detail with Big Bow as Sergeant and Gotebo as Corporal. Santiago, a Mexican captive, also served in this detail. On June 30, 1891, Hugh L. Scott, an officer at Fort Sill, formed Troop L of the Seventh Cavalry. Troop L included many Kiowas in its ranks.[217] Both World Wars had many Kiowas participate in them, including McKenzie's oldest son, Wilford, who flew a fighter plane in World War II.

Parker McKenzie worked on the farm General McKenzie left him during the summer of 1919. He plowed sixty acres with the equipment and horses of his father and seeded them with wheat. He also worked at a variety of jobs to earn money harvesting wheat, picking cotton, milling broomcorn, baling hay. Parker

[216] PMC OHSRC. Box 25, Folder 2.
[217] Parker McKenzie, Manuscript, n.d. PMC OHSRC.Box 12, Folder 5.

made plans to return to Central High School, but "Dan Cupid came on the scene and before I knew I was a married man."[218]

Nettie Odelty spent five years at the Phoenix Indian School, receiving her diploma in1919. When he heard his Rainy Mountain School sweetheart had returned to Oklahoma, McKenzie said, "I was waiting with my lariat, and we were married August 29. That ended my schooling."[219] The newlyweds settled in Mountain View, Oklahoma, living off of annuities and lease money. However, Akò:dònà, McKenzie's mother, became ill and went to the hospital in El Reno. The McKenzies went to the hospital to visit her, and on their return stopped in Anadarko to check on some lease money at the Kiowa Agency. Strangely enough, in a situation similar to the one the previous year, Chief Clerk Dooley needed help in the office, and hired McKenzie on the spot. Since Ákàu:dònà: had wasted very little time following General McKenzie's death in marrying Delos Lonewolf, McKenzie could leave his mother with a clear conscience. The couple went home, packed all of their belongings in two suitcases and two trunks, and moved to Anadarko. McKenzie began work the next day, March 2, 1920, and he stayed with the agency until he retired on June 30, 1958.[220]

McKenzie worked at the Kiowa Agency as an accountant, and received pay raises on the average of once every three years. For example, he got a raise from $1800 per annum to $1860 per annum on February 16, 1936, or from one

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[218] Parker McKenzie, letter to William Welge, March 5, 1989. PMC OHSRC.. Box 24, Folder 5.

[219] Parker McKenzie, letter to Wahne Clark, September 9, 1987. PMC OHSRC.Box 5, Folder 5.

[220] Ibid.

hundred and fifty dollars a month to one hundred and fifty-five dollars.[221] His next raise came on July 1, 1939, when he jumped to $1920 per annum, an extra five dollars a month.[222] However, the McKenzies received money from oil and gas leases, as well as lease money for renting land to tenant farmers. They lived very well for the times, considering the Great Depression was then at its height.

Parker McKenzie began to labor seriously on a Kiowa writing system shortly after he began his job at the Kiowa Agency. Inspired by his glimpse of Harrington's orthography and concerned about the future of Kiowa, McKenzie began a slow but steady progress in his work. Since he did not have any training in linguistics, McKenzie labored with much difficulty. McKenzie describes his start:

> The study of Kiowa as to its structure, how it moves in expression, and how it can be written in simplified form began with me in my early twenties and eventually became my hobby. At first, my efforts in that direction was sporadic, and was more on the "hot-and-cold" basis, for I had to make a living for my then-growing family. Also, Kiowa was the only language Mrs. McKenzie and I knew when our schooling regularly began in 1914 after age 7. I am not a trained linguist, and I am handicapped educationally. Written Kiowa, as I write it, in comparison with other systems, is simple in appearance, for many words are very short and unusually long ones are used only sparingly.[223]

The only example of Kiowa writing at his disposal was the "Calendar History" of James Mooney. This book caused McKenzie to say, "Despite my

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[221] Guy Aumbers, letter to Parker McKenzie, February 15, 1936. PMC OHSRC.Box 16, Folder 4.
[222] Mrs. J. Atwood Maulding, letter to Parker McKenzie, June 20, 1939. PMC OHSRC.. Box 16, Folder 4.

[223] Parker McKenzie, letter to Mrs. Blanch Causey, December 7, 1970. PMC OHSRC.Box 5, Folder 4.

knowledge of and familiarity with Kiowa, I am often baffled as to exact pronunciation to determine meanings of many words contained in the otherwise splendid work. The reason is obvious."[224]

According to McKenzie, Mooney's system lacked the use of four of the eight "native" Kiowa consonants, "and it is on that account it is often difficult to determine the exact Kiowa pronunciations of his recorded names and words or to make out the exact meanings of his recorded expressions, so it is obvious he had a very poor ear for Kiowa"[225]. An even more serious flaw in the Mooney alphabet was the complete omission of several of the tonal markers necessary to differentiate Kiowa words. McKenzie points out this situation by writing, "Mooney apparently failed to 'catch' the tonal aspect of Kiowa."[226] In addition, Mooney uses a considerable number of apostrophes following individual letters, a device McKenzie found "difficult to comprehend."[227] These factors forced McKenzie to devise his own orthography.

It took nearly twenty years of effort, but by 1939, the Parker McKenzie Kiowa Writing System existed largely in the form in which it exists now. He sums up his work:

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[224] Ibid. Mooney worked with a number of Kiowa informants between 1891 and 1895, including McKenzie's step-father, Delos K. Lonewolf, and future brother-in-law, Bert Odlety. Mooney lived in a tepee next to the house of Heidsick, Odekty's grandfather. However, as McKenzie acknowledges, these and other informants lacked competent skills in the English language, "for it was yet at a time only a handful of them had a knowledge of written and spoken English, say, on the lower, grade school level." McKenzie elaborates on this technical difficulty by explaining, "None of his principal informants on Kiowa history, culture, and language understood or spoke English, so his only reliance in obtaining information on the Kiowas was on his mentioned translators; rather, interpreters." McKenzie cites this as a reason for the serious flaws evident in Mooney's Kiowa orthography. See Parker McKenzie, letter to Dr. Ruth Calas. December 1, 1993.
[225] Parker McKenzie, letter to Dr. Ruth Calas. PMC OHSRC.Box 11, folder 6.
[226] Ibid. McKenzie used what he called "the handy underscore" for this important marker.
[227] Ibid.

> The systems introduced in other works fell far short of what the language actually has in its intricate makeup, and I myself have been baffled on many aspects of it – and I am still baffled occasionally. I do not pretend to know every angle about it, but I believe the base I hope to leave to future Kiowa-language students and investigators would help them, and even lead them to new discoveries for refining it in future works.[228]

All McKenzie needed now was to refine his orthography, and a splendid opportunity arose when John P. Harrington showed up unexpectedly in Anadarko during the summer of 1939. He spied McKenzie on the street and called to him in Kiowa. McKenzie did not recognize Harrington at first, but quickly realized who he was. The two men spent the day together, talking and reminiscing. Harrington had to catch a train, as he was en route to Alaska, so the meeting was short, but he promised McKenzie he would write. Harrington kept his promise, and they corresponded until 1949, and this ten year period supplied McKenzie with the finishing touches of his orthography. Much of this correspondence has survived, and it illustrates a strange exchange of thoughts and ideas. It is difficult to tell who the teacher is and who the student is in the letters between Parker McKenzie and John P. Harrington. The two men exchanged a great deal of information, with McKenzie providing Kiowa words and history in exchange for lessons in linguistics.

Harrington was an energetic writer, frequently spicing his letters with comments like, "Hooray!" and "that's the cat's ankle." He wrote letters constantly, sometimes dashing off two or three a day just to McKenzie. The letters were always

[228] Parker McKenzie, letter to Mrs. Blance Causey, December 7, 1970. PMC OHSRC.Box 5, folder 5.

much disorganized, with Harrington often changing track in mid-paragraph and going off to explore some other tangent of the Kiowa language, completely forgetting about the original intent of his letter. This would prompt another letter to address his original thought, and perhaps even a third to clarify the points in the previous two. Harrington also posed a patronizing air to McKenzie, never criticizing him for errors, but gently chiding him. Harrington would frequently get stuck on a point, and the two men would go over it for months.

Harrington pressured McKenzie relentlessly, using every opportunity to goad McKenzie into working more and faster. When Delos K. Lonewolf, McKenzie's stepfather, died in March of 1945, Harrington wrote McKenzie a letter stating, "Oh do let us make a quick resolve before fate overtakes us to get this Kiowa language, so rich, and has so many things in it which not even the best of us understand."[229] Harrington, who was pushing seventy years old, used Lonewolf's death as a chance to prod McKenzie, already in his forties, into working harder: "I have been laboring under the opinion that we are all going to live 200 years. I am suddenly waking up to the fact that we aren't."[230]

Harrington also used the prospect of death to get McKenzie to find the Kiowa words for Devil's Tower. The two men had corresponded about the meaning for nearly a year, and could never agree. Finally, the name of a Kiowa named Hunting horse came. Hunting Horse was an elderly man (Harrington thought him

[229] Parker McKenzie, letter to John P. Harrington, March 20, 1945. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 3.
[230] John P. Harrington, letter to Parker McKenzie. October 25, 1945. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 1.

to be near one hundred years old) who knew the Kiowa language very well, as it was the only language he spoke. He also had been an informant for both Mooney and Harrington, and had a good reputation. On February 7, 1946, Harrington implored McKenzie, "Do go to him, rush to him, even if you have to forgo personal matters, and write down from him the Devil's Tower story, just as he tells it."[231] McKenzie was facing financial difficulties at the time, and balked at spending the money to take the trip to Lawton, Oklahoma, where Hunting Horse lived. Harrington bushed this off, telling McKenzie he would give him fifty dollars for the trip, and appealing to McKenzie's sense of preserving the Kiowa language and history, wrote:

> If Old Man Horse is really still alive, you should try to run down there whenever it is at all convenient for you to do so. . to get from him word for word in Kiowa that Devil's Tower story. There may be others that know it, but surely not as well as he does. My interest in the matter is purely unselfish; I want you to have it just for the sake of having it preserved. He is likely to die at any time, and the loss would really be deplorable. So try to make the grade, Parker, really truly, you owe it to yourself.[232]

The appeal to McKenzie's "Kiowaness" worked. He went to Lawton and got the story. Harrington gushed in relief: "Let us thank God, yes, let us all thank God, that you have seen Tsatoke [Hunting Horse]."[233] However, it was not what

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[231] John P. Harrington, letter to Parker McKenzie. February 7, 1946. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 1.

[232] John P. Harrington, letter to Parker McKenzie. February 26, 1946. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 1.

[233] John P. Harrington, letter to Parker McKenzie. March 16, 1946. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 1.

Harrington wanted, and he reneged on the fifty dollars. He told McKenzie to translate the story immediately, but wait until he finished writing some other stories down.

The Devil's Tower incident is not only an example of Harrington's pressure tactics, but also illustrates the difference in the viewpoints of the two men in regard to the Kiowa language. Harrington, as an employee of the Smithsonian, wanted to preserve the language, to place it in a museum for all to see. This is highlighted in his letter of March 16, 1946, when he told McKenzie he wanted the Devil's Tower story "for the sake of having it preserved."[234] He did not appear to be interested in revitalizing the language and making it accessible for actual everyday use. However, revitalization is precisely the reason McKenzie went to work on his orthography. He was not against preservation, but he wanted a viable, living, working language he could reintroduce to the members of his tribe. This difference in opinion would eventually cause a split between them.

McKenzie's letters to Harrington were always long, well-planned manuscripts and organized into sections. McKenzie wrote only about a third of the number Harrington did, and McKenzie almost always addressed Harrington as "My Dear Doctor." It is possible that for McKenzie, the correspondence with a man who was as well known in the field of linguistics as John Peabody Harrington was the highlight of his professional life. McKenzie always explained his relationship with

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[234] PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 1.

Harrington in great detail to people with whom he corresponded, and he often quoted a remark Harrington wrote on March 1, 1945:

> I am more ashamed of the Kiowa book [*Kiowa Vocabulary*] than anything else. We could do much better now. It has a lot of idiosyncrasies in it which are absolutely ignorant. They [the Smithsonian] forced me to publish and so I did –much to my chagrin.[235]

The initial correspondence between McKenzie and Harrington was generally a bevy of words to be translated from English into Kiowa. Harrington asked McKenzie to write some stories about Séndé, a supernatural figure who resembled the trickster figures in other Native American stories. Alice Marriott, an anthropologist, had gathered up a number of these stories during her work among the Kiowas in the mid-1930's.[236] They were published in English in a much toned down form, but Harrington wanted some authentic Sèndè stories written in Kiowa and in as pure a state as possible, but he added, "Such a story should not be too dirty."[237] McKenzie obliged with three stories, including Séndé and the Mountain Ghosts, the very story he had imagined as a child when he first saw Mount Sheridan. Harrington published these stories in the *International Journal of American Linguistics*, giving "Paul McKenzie" due credit for his work. The stories were written

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[235] John P. Harrington. letter to Parker McKenzie, March 1, 1945. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 3.
[236] Alice L. Marriott, *Saynday's People: the Kiowas and the Stories They Told* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973). See also Alice Lee Marriott Collection. Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma.
[237] John P. Harrington. letter to Parker McKenzie, October 25, 1945. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 3. Sèndè stories are somewhat explicit in details concerning the human anatomy.

in Harrington's Kiowa alphabet, for Harrington had only recently been introduced to the Parker McKenzie Kiowa writing system.[238]

It took Harrington a while to decipher the PM alphabet. McKenzie sent him a copy of "Séndé gàu Qóp-sáu-pót-jàu" (McKenzie called it Séndé and the Mountain Monsters), but Harrington was at a loss: "Try hard as I can, I can not understand the Sende story."[239] He requested a translation of the story, and this began the use of the PM system in their letters. Harrington picked up on the system very quickly. Indeed, McKenzie was later able to report: "Toward the latter years, we were using the system I had developed almost exclusively in the form I now use."[240]

McKenzie must have been thrilled when he received a letter from Harrington which stated, "Your alphabet is a great advance over the one in the Kiowa dictionary, and its using otherwise unused letters for Kiowa strikes me as the cat's ankles."[241] This passage was underlined with wavy lines by McKenzie, and it is possible he considered it the validation he sought for his orthography. However, in the sentence following this applause, Harrington detracted from McKenzie's achievement by explaining to McKenzie, "You know as I get older I care less and less about this matter of alphabets and am becoming more interested in the

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[238] John P. Harrington, "Three Kiowa Texts," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 12, No. 4. (Oct., 1946), 237-242. Harrington writes Mountain Ghosts as "kow' pøw'phow't-tw," as compared to McKenzie's "qóp-sáu-pót-jàu." For Kiowa story-telling, see Gus Palmer, Jr., *Telling Stories the Kiowa Way.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003.

[239] John P. Harrington. letter to Parker McKenzie, December 31, 1945. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 3 Harrington did not place tonal markers on Séndé.

[240] Parker McKenzie, letter to Mrs. Blance Causey, December 7, 1970. PMC OHSRC.Box 5, folder 5.

[241] John P. Harrington. letter to Parker McKenzie, March 15, 1945. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 3.

STRUCTURE of the language."[242] This statement indicates Harrington was deflecting the importance of McKenzie's alphabet by minimizing his own interest in all alphabets in general. There is no indication in McKenzie's later papers thatMcKenzie realized Harrington's apparent indifference. This is not an isolated event in Harrington's dismissal of the Parker McKenzie Kiowa writing system. Other instances are more obvious and were acutely felt by McKenzie. The publication of the *Popular Account of the Kiowa Vocabulary* is one case in point.

The *Popular Account of the Kiowa Indian Language* was to be a reward for the hard work McKenzie was putting in on the Kiowa language. Harrington informed McKenzie that they would share authorship of a new monograph on the Kiowa language to be published by the Museum of New Mexico. The manuscript would be written in McKenzie's orthography, or so McKenzie thought. He had reason to believe this as Harrington wrote him a letter stating, "About the grammar we'll have JOINT AUTHORSHIP and I'll help you to the very best of my ability."[243] This statement seems to imply McKenzie would be doing the writing and Harrington would act as an editor.

It is not difficult to understand why McKenzie would react favorably to Harrington's proposition. A scholarly monograph on the Kiowa language written in the McKenzie system, with a linguist as noted as Harrington stamping his seal of approval on it, would be the ultimate validation of McKenzie's work, and as an

[242] John P. Harrington. letter to Parker McKenzie, March 15, 1945. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 3.
[243] John P. Harrington. letter to Parker McKenzie, December 23, 1946. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 4.

extension of this, his Kiowaness. In addition, McKenzie constantly mentions the long hours he put in answering Harrington's many and diverse questions. Once, McKenzie went so far as to walk a mile-and-a-quarter from his house in Anadarko to the Kiowa Agency on Christmas Day, 1946, in bitter cold temperatures no less, to work for four hours on a particular question about grammar Harrington wanted answered.[244] The monograph would repay him for his efforts. It would also fulfill a long-standing dream of McKenzie to craft a Kiowa grammar. McKenzie wrote in his Christmas Day, 1946, letter:

> About the Grammar. I had the same idea long before I started my correspondence with you, and, in fact, I started one (very unorthodox no doubt), but after our long correspondence I decided much of my original material was clear off the beam and I decided it had better wait. Now, by getting together, I know we can do a lot better job, especially with your knowledge as a linguist and a writer, and your knowledge of how such a book could be arranged and written.[245]

This statement hints that McKenzie was thinking of a book in the same line as the *Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language,* only written by him in his alphabet. There can be nothing farther from the truth.

McKenzie should have been suspicious when Harrington submitted the grammar to the editors of the Museum of New Mexico in early 1947, without McKenzie having even seen it. On April 16, 1947, McKenzie received a letter requesting an autobiographical account of his life. McKenzie did not consult

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[244] Parker McKenzie, letter to John P. Harrington, December25, 1946. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 4.

[245] Ibid.

Harrington about submitting his life story, and he wrote a four page summary about his birth and school days. McKenzie then furnished an explanation of the development of his orthography, and a brief description of how it worked. The editors were very pleased with his efforts, and promised McKenzie an article in one of their publications:

> Here is what I would like to suggest: That we use, in the foreword to the Kiowa monograph, a brief summary of the main points (your forebears, education, and subsequent experiences, contact with Dr. Harrington); and that we be permitted to use the entire story, given in your notes, regarding your parents, grandparents, etc., in the form of an article in our monthly publication, EL PALACIO. If we may do this, then we could refer in the foreword to the EL PALACIO article, thus making accessible, to those who are interested, fuller information, and also preserving in the published record these biographical details which ought to be made a matter of record, even though there is not sufficient room for them in the foreword.[246]

It is obvious the people at the Museum of New Mexico were very impressed with McKenzie's accomplishments. However, they did not mention that the monograph would not be published in McKenzie's orthography, even though McKenzie clearly thought so. It seems Harrington misled McKenzie from start to finish and all points in between on the *Popular Account* project, because the evidence suggests Harrington knew all along the monograph would be written solely by him, in a new Kiowa orthography of his devising.

The first bit of evidence of Harrington's duplicity arrived in Parker McKenzie's mail box even before the typewriter ink dried on his autobiography.

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[246] Hilda R. Hobbs, letter to Parker McKenzie. April 24, 1947. PMC OHSRC. Box 8, folder 5.

Harrington excitedly requested McKenzie to not send the autobiography to New Mexico, and if he had, to recall it. Harrington told McKenzie the monograph was a minor thing, and he would give McKenzie "bigger and better" projects.[247] Harrington did not explain his reasons, but McKenzie promptly wrote the museum: "I have decided to withdraw the manuscript of my life history, recently sent to you, from publication. Please send this manuscript back to me, preferably using airmail in the enclosed stamped envelope."[248] This startling turn of events left McKenzie somewhat perplexed, and he wrote Harrington on April 25,

> I was in the dark on the matter to begin with. I did not know whether the proposed monograph is to be printed in the "Vocabulary" style or in the style that I use. I was puzzled whether to mention the latter or not, in my story. I finally decided to do so, in the belief the monograph is to be in that style – a kind of a brief, introductory issue.[249]

McKenzie did not receive the answer to his question of orthography choice until the *Popular Account of the Kiowa Indian Language* was published on January 1, 1948 – in a new Harrington orthography. There is no indication anywhere in the monograph that a Kiowa orthography, written by Parker McKenzie, even existed. As a matter of fact, Harrington, who McKenzie later said wrote the entire monograph, made light of the situation in the foreword: "Kiowa is more or less of a written language, in that communications are written in Kiowa, these employing

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[247] John P. Harrington. letter to Parker McKenzie, April 22, 1947. PMC OHSRC. Box 8, folder 5.

[248] Parker McKenzie, letter to Hilda R. Hobbs, April 25, 1947. PMC OHSRC. Box 8, folder 5.

[249] Parker McKenzie, letter to John P. Harrington, April 25, 1947. PMC OHSRC. Box 8, folder 5.

naturally the same sound systems that is encountered in the writing of English. Kiowa people like the privacy which writing and talking in their native language gives. Inadequacies of the English system of writing are more than made up for by the knowledge of the Kiowa language possessed by the reader. Kiowas regard as a fad the writing of their language by a white man with erudite pedantry, and have the attitude of anxiety as regards such work."[250] These statements completely omit any mention of the eight native Kiowa consonants which are different from English, or the importance of the tonal qualities of the language.

McKenzie reacted unfavorably to the publication. He wrote: "He used therein a writing system (probably for the benefit of expert linguists) that was entirely different from his Vocabulary alphabet, and to say the least, it was bizarre. He was in a hurry (for reasons of his own for which I couldn't even guess) to get the account published, so he by-passed the 'co-author,' and I didn't get a chance to review his work." McKenzie felt so bad about the account he would seldom "publicize" his contribution, except for giving Harrington some "in the rough" Kiowa material.[251]

Although McKenzie had no input on the finished product, it is possible to see evidence of his work in the list of words Harrington used as examples. Most of the words in the *Popular Account* are the very ones McKenzie and Harrington discussed in their long series of letters. In addition, Harrington used a system of

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[250] Parker McKenzie, letter to Blanche Causey, December 5, 1970. PMC OHSRC. Box 5, folder 5. See also: Parker McKenzie and, John P. Harrington, *Popular Account of the Kiowa Indian Language* (Santa Fe: School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, 1948), 2-3.
[251] Parker McKenzie, letter to Blanche Causey, December 5, 1970

accent markers McKenzie had worked out with him. However, the word forms Harrington used are totally alien to the examples McKenzie provided, and it is easy to understand why McKenzie thought the system Harrington used was "bizarre." For example, McKenzie wrote the Kiowa word for water as "tó." A person familiar with the Parker McKenzie system would easily recognize the nasalization and high accent, and know it to be pronounced "tone." Harrington wrote the same word as "thowŃ," which is perhaps more appealing to linguists, but not as simple as McKenzie's, and could be easily misidentified as "thone." Another word which is totally dissimilar is the word for "eye." McKenzie uses "já," pronounced "taw." Harrington writes it as "tǽ," employing a symbol unavailable on the keys of an English language typewriter.[252]

These examples illustrate why McKenzie was so intent on having the *Popular Account* published with his alphabet. He felt the simplicity and easily manageable format of his system would make written Kiowa more accessible to a broader range of people, for in 1948, the only two people who knew it were Parker McKenzie and John Harrington. The *Popular Account* was to be McKenzie's grand entrance into public awareness of his orthography, and Harrington took it away from him.

The *Popular Account of the Kiowa Indian Language* disaster cooled considerably the relationship between McKenzie and Harrington. The letter-writing ebbed to a trickle, and the tone of the letters was more reserved. McKenzies wrote Harrington on April 1, 1948, to address his silence, stating that the reason he quit

[252] McKenzie and Harrington, *Popular Account,* 8.

writing was because he thought Harrington was sick. In addition, McKenzie claimed his work at the BIA had kept him too busy to correspond since July of 1947, although McKenzie had spent a considerable amount of time helping Harrington get Kiowa words in order.

Another example of Harrington's attempts to suppress McKenzie's alphabet was his constant admonitions to keep quite about it. McKenzie was implored to remain silent any time a linguist, anthropologist, historian, or any other investigator came to visit, being told, "And do not tell anything to anyone -- mum is the word, now remember!"[253] McKenzie adopted this secretive tactic, and on one instance, he wrote Harrington about a visiting linguist: "I didn't divulge my system of Kiowa writing to her and gave her just meager information, mostly about things she already knew." Indeed, McKenzie turned the table on the linguist, and he told Harrington, "I was very curious myself, wanting to know how much Kiowa she already knew. I have been hearing from the Kiowas that she really had the language down pat, but my interview, if it can be called that, convinced me that she had a long, long way to go yet."[254] This pleased Harrington a great deal, and he dashed off a note to his friend to not tell the linguist anything, and Harrington would give McKenzie "something big" as a reward.[255]

Although Harrington seemed intent on keeping McKenzie's orthography a secret, he did supply some helpful suggestions to improve it. The key element he

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[253] John P. Harrington. letter to Parker McKenzie, December 28, 1946. PMC OHSRC. Box 8, folder 4.
[254] Parker McKenzie, letter to, John P. Harrington, April 17, 1949. PMC OHSRC. Box 8, folder 3.
[255] John P. Harrington, letter to Parker McKenzie. April 20, 1949. PMC. OHSRC. Box 8, folder 3.

helped develop was the placing of accent markers. Harrington and McKenzie constantly argued over this topic, mainly the number of accents the Kiowa language has. At first, Harrington claimed that there were three high markers and two lows, while McKenzie insisted on only one of each. McKenzie, in a case of the pupil teaching the teacher, won his point, as Harrington finally agreed on the one high and one low accent. Both Harrington and McKenzie considered the matter to be of the utmost importance, and Harrington told McKenzie, "That Kiowa accent is the 'cat's ankles,' a perfectly useless thing to write if you know the language, and yet you have to know it in order to write Kiowa right."[256] The defining of the system of tonal markers provided the last bit of tuning up for the Parker McKenzie Kiowa Writing System.

The April 20, 1949 letter from John Harrington promising "something big" was the last letter McKenzie ever received from his mentor. However, the abrupt parting of the ways may have been a mutual, though unspoken departure. McKenzie's last letter was dated April 17, 1949, three days before Harrington sent his. In it, McKenzie assured Harrington, "Don't worry that I shall associate myself with anyone else; I count you a very close friend and I won't let you down. My biggest worry is that I can't seem to get my stuff to you fast enough. I'm putting in every spare moment on it; you can count on that."[257] The last phrase may be the key to the reason the correspondence ceased. The pressure produced by nine years

[256] John P. Harrington. letter to Parker McKenzie, October 31, 1946. PMC OHSRC. Box 8, folder 1. Tonal markers are extremely important in the Kiowa language. There are 550 syllables in Kiowa, and each one can be written in up to seven different ways, with each form having a different meaning. The Kiowa disyllable "qaudau" can be written in 100 different ways. See Appendix B.
[257] Parker McKenzie, letter to, John P. Harrington, April 17, 1949. PMC OHSRC. Box 8, folder 3.

of constant work on the Kiowa language could have brought both men to the point of over-saturation. McKenzie points out:

> He was well up in years in 1949; probably pass 70. All this, coupled with the fact that he had mentioned on several occasions that he was ailing, led me to believe that he had problems, but would write eventually. A year passed by, then another, and another. No letters came. I finally concluded, perhaps rightly, that the (Grim) Reaper had cut him down quickly and suddenly. I never heard from him again.[258]

McKenzie was fifty-two years old at the time, and only nine years away from retirement. He may have been relieved the pressure was off, and he could pursue his work in a less hectic manner. It is interesting that after Harrington ceased writing, McKenzie appeared to make no effort to re-establish contact.

Parker McKenzie remained at the BIA until he retired on June 30, 1958, at the age of sixty. He had served at the BIA for thirty-eight years, achieving the rank of supervisor. His second career as a Kiowa historian and linguist lasted even longer. McKenzie spent the last forty-one years of his life working on his orthography and history. McKenzie also became a well-known Kiowa genealogist, supplying many inquirers with their family trees.

Shortly after the interruption of McKenzie's correspondence with Harrington, he became aware of a new attempt to produce a written Kiowa orthography. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) had moved to the University of Oklahoma campus in Norman, Oklahoma, in 1942. The Institute was

[258] Parker McKenzie, letter to Blanche Causey, December 5, 1970. PMC OHSRC. Box 5, folder 5. McKenzie found out in 1986 that Harrington had died in 1961.

interested in developing methods to instruct linguistics teachers how to translating the New Testament into indigenous languages. It began to address Native American languages of the United States, and the University of Oklahoma proved to be in a perfect location for this endeavor. One of the tribes the SIL chose to participate in the experiment was the Kiowas. In 1951, the first group of eleven bi-lingual Kiowas arrived at OU to take part in a ten day Kiowa language lesson. Parker McKenzie did not participate in the sessions, but he knew several of the Kiowas who did. One was his very good friend, Charley Redbird.

Redbird, who only achieved a fifth grade education at Rainy Mountain School, became very proficient in the new system. He, in turn, taught it to Parker McKenzie. McKenzie decided the system was "too bulky," denouncing the way the system portrayed vowels and nouns. In addition, he blasted the use of the letter "y" after every second letter (the "y" sound in McKenzie's orthography is implied, creating a sleeker alphabet). McKenzie compared a verse of the Bible written in Kiowa by the SIL in their orthography to the same verse written in the PM system. The SIL version had eighty-six "y's" in it; the PM system only used four.[259]

McKenzie also criticized the practical purpose of the SIL's work. The only reason the SIL wanted to develop a Kiowa orthography was to write the New Testament in that language. McKenzie argued, "I'm puzzled as to what Kiowas would be reading Bible translations originating there, because not too many now speak the language, let alone reading written Kiowa – unless it be those connected

[259] Parker McKenzie, letter to Blanche Causey, December 5, 1970. PMC OHSRC. Box 5, folder 5.The verse was Mark 8, chapters 1-9.

to the Institute each summer. Not too many younger Kiowas speak it now, just very few."[260]

This is a curious statement written by a man who devoted more than eighty years of his life in developing a written Kiowa orthography. It seems McKenzie should be happy that an effort was being made to write Kiowa. However, the statement above explains his reasons without being too blunt about them.

The first reason is that only the people trained at the SIL would be able to read the new writing. The students were all older than McKenzie, who was in his fifties at the time. They were from a generation who did not teach their children Kiowa, and probably could not be expected to teach them the new orthography. Second, the only stated purpose the SIL had in mind for their orthography was to get the New Testament into Kiowa. They were not interested in a Kiowa language revitalization. Finally, the younger generation did not speak the language at all, and they would hardly be interested in learning to write it. McKenzie's orthography was developed to address these factors.

McKenzie planned to teach his alphabet to people interested in the language and have them help spread it among the tribal members. His alphabet was not made to present only one thing, and he meant for it to be a tool for revitalization. Although he despaired of the younger generation learning the language, he thought future generations would be more amenable to the idea. This is the foremost reason for McKenzie's strenuous efforts to achieve a precise reconstruction of spoken Kiowa in written form. It *had* to be perfect for future

[260] PMC OHSRC. Box 5, folder 5.

generations, who had never heard spoken Kiowa before, to relearn the language in its historic form. It is also the reason McKenzie denounced the written systems of Mooney, Harrington, and the SIL. They were *not* precise enough to foster a recreation of McKenzie's beloved tongue.

McKenzie believed he had created a system amenable for easy learning. He had taught Charley Redbird his system and the two wrote letters to each other using the PM system. McKenzie later wrote: "One doesn't need a college education to learn the Kiowa-writing system. Desire to learn it is the only prerequisite."[261] McKenzie also worked as a mentor to several people who were interested in his work. A long-lasting working relationship began when a young doctoral student named Laurel Watkins was referred to McKenzie by Dr. Yves Goddard of the Smithsonian Institution. Watkins arrived at the McKenzie's home in Mountain View, Oklahoma, in October of 1977. They worked well together, and by 1984 Watkins had been taught enough Kiowa to publish *A Grammar of Kiowa.* Watkins gave McKenzie credit as "a true collaborator in this grammar."[262]McKenzie had hoped his system would be used by Watkins, but he was again disappointed. However, Watkins did publish for the first time samples of the PM Kiowa Writing System. She included the PM alphabet in an appendix comparing four different orthographies. These included the phonemic, which Watkins used for her book,

[261] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, Jr. July 15, 1994. PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 4.
[262] Laurel J. Watkins, *A Grammar of Kiowa* (Lincoln: Univeristy of Nebraska Press, 1984), xvi.

the PM system, Harrington's, and the SIL.[263] The Parker McKenzie Kiowa Writing System had finally made it into print.

McKenzie saw his orthography reach the classrooms at the University of Oklahoma. Gus Palmer, Jr., a Kiowa-speaker who learned the PM system from McKenzie, brought his knowledge to OU and began teaching courses in Kiowa. McKenzie suggested Palmer use the same methods that McKenzie has been taught to learn English. Words written on placards and blackboards could be repeated over and over again to get the tonal qualities correct. Simple, everyday words used in a family setting in a home should be the first words introduced to the students. McKenzie emphatically stated the purpose of his orthography: "What we are now trying to preserve (God help us) is what the language was at the end of the nineteenth century." McKenzie denounced the use of any words coined during the twentieth century. He told Palmer that only one word, é:ámgá (slang for inebriated), had been added to the Kiowa vocabulary since 1900.[264]

McKenzie received numerous visitors to his house on his acreage by the bend of the Washita River. He would hold court in his living room, as a steady stream of people passed through. McKenzie left an account of a typical day in a letter he wrote. His first visitor came by to interview him for an article on the Kiowa language for *The Sooner Catholic Magazine.* The article, published on September 18, 1988, praised McKenzie "as the one who knows most everything about everything having to do with the Kiowas." McKenzie received praise for his

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[263] Watkins, *A Grammar of Kiowa*, 262-263.
[264] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, Jr. December 12, 1994. PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 4. The Kiowa language is still being taught at the University of Oklahoma, as of 2007.

attempts to save the Kiowa language, and his work on Kiowa history.[265] The second visitor was a man claiming to be the great-grandson of Thomas C. Battey. Battey was a Quaker teacher who worked with the Kiowas in 1873, and his great-grandson wanted some information concerning Battey's life among the Kiowas. McKenzie had no information to give him, however.[266]

The next visitors were a couple seeking information on the Fort Marion POW's. That had a ledger book of artwork by a man named Wo-haw. They wanted McKenzie to interpret the meaning of the drawings from a Kiowa standpoint. McKenzie, who never claimed to know anything about art, said he could not help them, and added, "Besides, the drawings didn't seem much different from those we did in third grade at old Rainy Mountain School." The final visitor for the day was a surprise for McKenzie. William P. Willis, former Speaker of the House of the Oklahoma state senate, showed up with his wife to talk about genealogy. Willis had dropped by to have McKenzie assist him in ascertaining his Native American ancestry. This is a task McKenzie was up to. Willis, who thought he was a Cherokee, but suspected he may be a Kiowa instead, found out that he was, indeed, a Kiowa.[267]

This one day in the life of Parker McKenzie demonstrates the range of what people perceived to be Parker McKenzie's expertise, as well as his reputation. His visitors sought information on the Kiowa language, history, art, and genealogy. his

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[265] David Monahan, "Language Vanishing, but Parts of Culture Remain." *The Sooner Catholic.* September 18, 1988.
[266] Parker McKenzie, letter to Blanche Causey, October 23, 1988. PMC OHSRC. Box 11, folder 5.
[267] Ibid.

reputation was such that many people, including non-Kiowas and people from outside the state of Oklahoma, came to visit him. McKenzie was somewhat stunned by the attention (he was almost ninety-one at the time, and he said, "[They] made me feel like I was someone important."[268]

McKenzie received an honor for his work on the Kiowa language and history in 1991 that made him feel even more important. A letter written by the president of the University of Colorado brought him some exciting news:

> It is with great pleasure that I write to inform you of the action of the Board of Regents of the University of Colorado in voting to confer upon you the Honorary Degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, honoris cause at the commencement exercises of the University.[269]

McKenzie would be awarded the honorary doctorate at the August 10, 1990 ceremony at the University's Boulder campus. He wrote back: "The letter surprised and thrilled me beyond explanation." He had to excuse himself form attending the ceremony because he was ninety-three years old and facing several medical problems. However, there may have been another reason for missing the ceremony, as he suggested to a friend: "I got to imagining my little me in the presence of intellectuals, and with my faulty hearing. I just couldn't imagine I belonged there." He added: "Am quite sure the whole deal is on my development of a writng system for the Kiowa language, and it saddens me that my own Kiowa people do not seem

[268] PMC OHSRC. Box 11, folder 5.
[268] Ibid.
[269] William H. Baughn, letter to Parker McKenzie. March 4, 1990. PMC OHSRC. Box 5. folder 3. The letter was actually written on March 4, 1991, but the date is listed as March 4, 1990.

to see it that way."[270] It appears the old prejudices against t McKenzie still existed, even when he was ninety-three years old.

McKenzie had been engaged in a "death watch" for the greater part of the 1990's. He counted down the number of Kiowas older than him until he at last became the oldest living Kiowa and the only one left who had lived in the nineteenth century. As his health started to fail, McKenzie began to face the imminent prospect of his death. His first concern was the future of the Kiowa language: "There are aspects about Kiowa that need to be clarified, but for me, it is not likely that they will be clarified for my time can now come to an end most any time. It will be up to some new blood to carry on."[271]

It would not be his sons who would carry on for him. None of them had any interest at all in the Kiowa language. Wilford, or Bill as he was called, was quite unimpressed with his heritage: "Bill is much like the rest of the Kiowas in the matter of showing interest in their language: it bores him."[272] Not only did the three sons not bother to learn the language, but their father suffered the worst fate a parent can face: he outlived his children.

The closing years of McKenzie's life began with what the Kiowas consider to be a bad omen:

> We really had a Kiowa visitor. I know it had to be a Kiowa in the guise of the biggest horned owl sitting atop a post at the east end of the house. If it were closer, maybe I would have recognized him or

[270] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, Jr. March 4, 1991. PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 4.
[271] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, Jr. February 26, 1997.. PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 4.
[272] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, Jr. April 19, 1991. PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 4.

her. Ha! From Kiowa thinking, such a visitation is regarded to be a sign of an impending event of a sinister nature. It scares me![273]

Parker McKenzie still believed in the Kiowa mysteries even as he neared his ninety-eighth birthday, just as he did as a small boy looking for Qópsáupótjàu lurking in the bluffs of the Wichita Mountains. He knew bad things would happen as a result of his "Kiowa visitor," and they did. A year later, his sons began to die.

His three sons, Wilford, Henry, and Robert, all died in a two year span. Wilford, who McKenzie called his "star son", died in September of 1995, followed by Henry and Robert in August of 1997. Wilford had been McKenzie's chief caretaker, and his death left McKenzie with fears of being sent to an "elder's center." Henry stepped in and cared for his father, but his death left McKenzie alone again. McKenzie wrote a friend, "I had never spent a night alone." His fears were finally eased when his eldest daughter moved in with him and cares for him for the rest of his life.[274]

The loss of his sons took the zest out of his life. His one-hundredth birthday party, held on November 15, 1997, was a bittersweet affair. Many notables were present, and he received a birthday card from then-President Bill Clinton and his wife , Hillary. He also received some sixty birthday cards from friends and well-wishers from around the country. His party was emceed by his nephew, but McKenzie said he remembered very little of what happened. Although he had eagerly looked forward to the celebration as the years went by, the death of his sons

[273] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, Jr. June 11, 1991. PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 4.
[274] Parker McKenzie, letter to Stubby (Blanche Causey), February 25, 1998.. PMC OHSRC. Box 5, folder 4.

was too overwhelming, and his heart was not in it. He commented, "I was so bewildered."[275]

McKenzie began to lose interest in living, and suffered terrible physical discomfit. He thought several times he would die right then and there, and on one occasion he left a poignant letter:

> Am very, very convinced now the end is very, very close. I had a horrible night. It's 4 AM and I had to get up. The mind is OK, but for a brief period awhile ago, I began to think it was going too like the body is. I'm sure now there will be no more letters. I'm just as sure life is leaving too. I think he's ready to call me home.[276]

Death did finally come for Parker Paul McKenzie on March 5, 1999. McKenzie had wanted to make it to the year 2000, so he could have lived in three centuries. He missed it by less than nine months.

[275] Parker McKenzie, letter to Stubby (Blanche Causey), February 25, 1998.. PMC OHSRC. Box 5, folder 4.
[276] Parker McKenzie, letter to Laurel Watkins, July 16, 1995. PMC OHSRC. Box 22, folder 1.

Conclusion *Going Buffalo Hunting*

Yìdòáhsaùm, or Yìsaùm, knew what it meant to be a Kiowa. He knew because he lived his entire life as a Kiowa. Yìdòáhsaùm knew what it meant to be a Kiowa even when his name was changed to Parker Paul McKenzie to fit Anglo needs. McKenzie knew even when he went to Rainy Mountain School and refused to surrender his native language. He held on to being a Kiowa through thirty-eight years of work at the BIA. He remained a Kiowa when members of the Kiowa tribe claimed he was not a Kiowa at all. He also knew because he had a vision of what it meant to be a Kiowa. He spent his entire life working to preserve, and most importantly, revitalize what it meant to be a Kiowa. He made his vision a double vision of Kiowa language and culture.

Saving the Kiowa language was the most important facet of McKenzie's vision. His development of an easy-to-use, typewriter accessible orthography made the Kiowa language available for the first time in written form in a manner the average person could use. However, McKenzie faced some opposition to his work from fellow Kiowas. Some of his detractors did not consider him Kiowa at all because of his captive ancestry. This accusation hurt McKenzie deeply. His desire to prove his "Kiowaness" is an important reason for putting in writing the most important aspect of a culture's heritage: its language. His detractors also denounced his orthography as being "too technical." McKenzie replied that they were only "scared stiff" at the thought of learning the language.[277] Gradually, other Kiowas

[277] Parker McKenzie, letter to Janet Lee Jones. July 7, 1981. PMC OHSRC. Box 6, folder 3.

came to see the importance of his orthography, and in 1999, the Kiowa tribal council made it the official writing system of the Kiowa tribe.

McKenzie had to dilute his vision of Kiowa language, however. He came to realize that present-day Kiowas were not interested in saving their native tongue, and as he neared his one-hundredth birthday, he acknowledged the fact that he was writing for future generations:

> Since the Kiowa language is now a written one, it can be passed on, not only to Kiowas, but any other interested persons. Those tribal members who speak the language will pass on, but now that the Kiowa language is written, it can be learnt, and because of that fact, the Kiowa language will not be classed as a dead Indian language. [278]

McKenzie had faith that other people would pick up where he left off and continue his work.

The second part of McKenzie's double vision was his attempts to revitalize Kiowa culture. The American Indian Exposition was his first attempt to try to save Kiowa traditions. He formed a partnership with several other Kiowas in 1933, and helped form a platform to demonstrate Native American talents. The fair was fashioned after the old county fairs he had witnessed as a youth, and he wanted to keep it that way. However, the fair turned into a showcase, and a springboard, for powwow dancing. The popularity of the dances began to outstrip the traditional fair that McKenzie had in mind, so he resigned his position on the fair's board of

[278] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, jr. February 26, 1997. PMC OHSRC. Box 18, folder 5.

management to concentrate on the Kiowa language. McKenzie had a negative image of powwow dancing, and he claimed it was not a real Kiowa tradition.

McKenzie did accept several facets of the old Kiowa life as "traditional." He considered the Tà:lyópgàu, the Ten Grandmothers, as well as the Feather Dance, the Sun Dance, and the Tá̲i:mê as the backbone of Kiowa culture. New "traditions," such as powwow dancing and the peyote cult, had no –place in his Kiowa world.

Kiowa history provided McKenzie with an excellent opportunity to preserve Kiowa culture. He used his family as a model for tracing Kiowa history from 1833 to the beginning of the twentieth century. The use of oral histories gave McKenzie a unique view of what it meant to be a Kiowa in pre-reservation days, and a glimpse at the difficulty the Kiowas had as they began to function in an Anglo-dominated world.

McKenzie's own life history is a glimpse into what it meant to be a Kiowa in the twentieth century. His life was a parable for adaptation, as well as survival, in a totally new environment for the Kiowas. McKenzie managed to get through an Indian boarding school with his native language intact, and even used the experience to gain a determination to revive the Kiowa language. He also worked for the BIA for thirty-eight years, and continued to keep his "Kiowaness" alive. John Harrington's entry into McKenzie's life offered him the opportunity to achieve his dream of devising a Kiowa orthography, and he succeeded in making the most of the chance. Finally, McKenzie used his retirement years to spread the

news about how to be his version of what it meant to be a Kiowa. He talked to anybody who would listen, and many did. He managed to get his alphabet into circulation, and even saw it become the official writing system of his tribe.

The house at the juncture of the Washita River and Rainy Mountain Creek became a Mecca for people who were interested in everything from history, to language, to genealogy, or even to what it meant to be a Kiowa. After Parker McKenzie had finally "gone buffalo hunting" after a long life of one-hundred-and-one years, his obituaries were filled with the praise of individuals who had known him. Parker Paul McKenzie knew what it meant to be a Kiowa.

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Appendix A Language Genocide

The steady erosion and corruption of many Native American languages over the past five centuries have left Indian languages in a position of great peril. Indeed, many languages have already been forced into extinction. The important question facing many Native Americans is whether their languages can be revived. Have the laws of the United States aided or impeded any attempts to forestall extinction, or has government policy quickened the pace of obliteration? Most important, is there any interest in Indian Country to preserve the languages of their forefathers?

The restoration of a native language to the fullest extent possible may be of the greatest importance to the retention of cultural identity. It will be interesting to examine the methods being used to refresh these languages, especially the education of children, and to observe whether their saving is even possible. The position of the United States Government on this topic may be explored by scrutinizing the most recent legislation which passed through Congress, most notably the Native American Language Act of 1991, and amendments of 2000, as well as the Native American Language Preservation Act of 2006, also known as the Esther Martinez Act. These laws will go a long way to determine the position of the Federal government. The problem is a real one, and must be addressed now, or Native American languages may become faint memories.

To demonstrate the dangers facing native speech, it would be useful to determine the seriousness of the problem. Dr. Michael E. Krauss, Director

Emeritus of the Alaska Native Language Center at the University of Alaska, studied indigenous languages of the United States and prepared a table listing the surviving languages on a state-by-state basis. Dr. Krauss discovered only one-hundred-and-seventy-five of the three-hundred-and twenty pre-contact languages still exist, these numbers are declining at an alarming rate.[279] He separated the existing languages into four separate classes. These four classes range from successful, still-vibrant languages to those on the verge of extinction.[280] The vast majority of Native American languages are in the near-extinction class, and Kiowa is included in that class. Dr. Krauss informed the United States Congress Committee of Indian Affairs in July, 2000, "Unless there is radical changes and reversal of language shift, the next sixty years will see the extinction of one-hundred-fifty-five languages, all but twenty of the remaining one-hundred-seventy-five."[281]

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[279] Michael E. Krauss. "Statement of Dr. Michael E. Krauss, July 20, 2000, at hearings on S. 2688, the Native American Language Act Amendments Acts of 2000." *Native American Amendments Acts of 2000* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 2000), 103. Dr. Krauss's numbers are the most up-to-date of any other statistics found.

[280] Ibid. The four classes are: Class A: Spoken by all generations, including children; Class B: Spoken only by parental generation and up; Class C: Spoken only by grandparental generation and up;

Class D: Spoken only by the very eldest, over age seventy, usually only ten speakers or less, nearly extinct. The numbers in each category are disquieting, both for the scarcity of languages in Classes A and B, and the large numbers of languages teetering on extinction in Classes C and D. Class A contains only twenty languages being spoken by children. Twelve of these are in Arizona and New Mexico, and are largely Pueblo. California, with the largest number of extant tongues with fifty, does not have a single Class A language. In Oklahoma, which stands second with only twenty-one surviving languages, only Cherokee is still being spoken by children. Most of the twenty-nine states which maintain native speakers have no Class A languages. Add this to the thirty-five Class B languages, and the light becomes even dimmer[280]

The largest figures are for Classes C and D. Seventy Class C and fifty Class D languages testify to the perilous status of native tongues in the United States. The fifty languages which have ten speakers or less are in danger of extinction within thirty years.

[280]Ibid.

The recognition of the problem leads to the examination of the cause. These must be recognized and dealt with, if possible, to begin the resurrection of indigenous speech. There are several reasons which may be pinpointed as origins of the problem. Alien diseases, such as smallpox, measles, and malaria and introduced by European invaders, wreaked havoc on a population with no immunity to Old World viruses. This fate befell the Arawak-speaking peoples of the Caribbean. These peoples met the initial onslaught of the Europeans, and within a generation of Christopher Columbus, most of them disappeared.[282] Alternating programs of genocide and removal imposed additional strains. Policies practiced by the United States Government to facilitate assimilation to the "white man's road" by stripping native peoples of their self-identity through the elimination of languages made serious inroads into the ability of tribes to continue to speak in their own tongues. Finally, many languages died out through neglect and lack of interest by tribal members themselves.

Of these causes, the damage incurred by disease, genocide, and removal cannot be undone. The extinction of the Arawak languages demonstrates the devastation which can be inflicted on speech. These tongues disappeared with no record made of them, and their loss must be considered permanent.

The purposeful genocide of native languages began in the early nineteenth century with the establishment of the first Indian boarding schools. The United States began a serious program of assimilation following the American Civil War.

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[282] James Crawford. "Endangered Native American Languages: What is to be Done, and Why?" (April 5, 1994 American Educational Research Association), 6.

President Ulysses S. Grant, through his peace policy, charged Quaker peace commissioners to find a way to eliminate hostilities between the Indian tribes and the Americans. The commissioners felt language differences played a key role in the misunderstandings, and therefore:

> ...by educating the children of these tribes in the English language, t hese differences would have disappeared, and civilization would have followed at once. Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment, and thought; customs and habits are molded and assimilated in the same way and thus in process of time, the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated.[283]

These thoughts became the foundations of the Indian boarding school movement. Parker McKenzie's tenure at the Rainy Mountain School in the early twentieth century demonstrates how the process worked. The attempt of school administrators succeeded to some extent. Although children still spoke Kiowa at home, many of them, maybe most, eventually forgot their native tongue. In addition, the children found it easier to communicate with members of other tribes in English. Intermarriage with these people also increased the use of English. However, there existed a core of students who refused to surrender this symbol of their culture, and this refusal marked a clear fact: although the school inflicted severe dents in the survivability of the Kiowa language, enough speakers remained to keep the spark alive, with Parker McKenzie the most notable of this group.

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[283] *Report of the Indian Peace Commissioners,* January 7, 1868), House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 2d Session, Executive Document No. 97, (Serial Set 1337, Vol. 11, No. 97).

The devastation imposed on the Kiowa language is significant. Kiowa is currently a language in which only the grandparental generation and up is still fluent. The 1990 Census lists only one-thousand-and-thirty speakers out of a total population of six thousand Kiowas.[284] However, Parker McKenzie speculated in 1984 only four-hundred Kiowas still spoke their native language, and the great majority of these were well advanced in age. [285] Also, the 1990 Census only employed a box which read, *Language Other Than English.* This does not ask about fluency or ability. The four hundred figure is especially insightful. Since the vast majority of these speakers are fifty years of age and older, it can be predicted the Kiowa language will be extinct by 2050.

The third factor affecting the erosion of language is the tribes themselves. Some tribes ascribed to the theory of the superiority of the English language, perhaps thinking opportunities may be more readily available to them. These tribes:

> ...sometimes "decides," for reasons of functional economy, to suppress part of itself... [T]here comes a point when unilingual parents no longer consider it necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low prestige language variety, and when children are no longer motivated... the languages... retreat from ever increasing areas,,, until there is nothing left for them to be appropriately used about.[286]

Although driven to the point of near-extinction, it is possible to revive a faltering language. A case in point is Hebrew. Although used only as religious ritual

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[284] 1990 Census.
[285] Watkins. A *Kiowa Vocabulary,*6.
[286] Norman Denison. "Language Death or Language Suicide?" *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 12. 21.

and scholarly research for two thousand years, Hebrew benefited from a massive revitalization program engineered by the Israeli Government. There are now several million speakers, and it is once again a flourishing, vital language.[287]

There are quite a few Native American languages which staggered into the twentieth century before their expiration. Linguists recorded these languages, many on tape. Parker McKenzie's work is an example of the progress which can be made.

It will cost money to revive or save languages. There are few, if any, tribes with the resources necessary to launch a full-fledged language program. Spending the amount of money necessary to provide schools, teachers, and books would dig deep into programs such as child welfare, street maintenance, and other social projects which are under the auspices of tribal governments. These issues must be weighed, and decisions made. The decision to revive a dead language for cultural and sovereignty reasons brings little comfort to the people who scrape by on a day-to-day basis.

There has been some assistance from Federal and state governments. Some states, such as Oklahoma and New Mexico, allow the teaching of native languages in public schools. In 1990, the United States Congress passed an act which recognized the viability of indigenous languages, and followed this up with the Native American Language Act of 1991. This act acknowledged the right of Native Americans to exercise their own languages, and even more importantly, provided for the financing of the projects to support the revival. Although the monetary

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[287] Krauss. *Native American Language Acts Amendments,* 108.

amount is relatively slight, averaging about one million dollars per grant, it does signal a significant change in the attitude of the United States Government.[288]

Amendments to this act, legislated in 2000, provide even more. The Amendments call for the establishment of Survival Schools, allowing scholarships for eligible children, and intensifying the training of teachers and setting standards. Immersion programs, in which tribal members are in situations in which they can speak only their native tongue, are also allowed. The act also provides technological support, such as computers.[289] No monetary figure has been established yet.

The establishment of Survival Schools and immersion programs may go a long way towards ensuring survival of native languages. Is it enough? The erosion of languages has reached a point where Native American languages may not be able to rebound. There are too many elderly speakers and not enough children willing to learn their native language. It will require a powerful effort at all levels: tribal, state, and Federal, to revive these languages. Politics may rear up and remove what has

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[288] Crawford. *Endangered Native American Languages,* 13.These funds are issued by the Administration of the Native Americans, a branch of Health and Human Services.

[289] *Native American Language Acts Amendments,* 9-17. The Native American Language Act of 1991 provides for six means of aid:

1. The construction of new facilities or the conversion of existing facilities into centers for the preservation and enhancement of Native American languages;
2. The establishment of community language programs to bring older and younger Native Americans together to facilitate the transfer of language skills from one generation to another;
3. The establishment of training programs to train speakers of Native American languages to teach such languages to others;
4. The development, printing, and dissimilation of materials to be used for the teaching and advancement of Native American languages;
5. The establishment or support of training programs to produce or participate in television or radio programs to be produced in the native languages; and
6. The compilation of oral testimony to record or preserve Native American languages.[289]

The act also allows for the funding of ninety percent of these projects, "providing the remaining ten per cent of the cost of these programs... be paid by the grant recipient."

been given. This has happened many times before. The future of Native American languages is bleak, and this should provide the inducement for Native Americans to make a stand. If they do not, then another step is taken on the road to cultural and sovereignty oblivion.

The Native American Language Preservation Act of 2006, also known as the Esther Martinez Act, is the latest act to address the problem of language survival. The Act passed on December 5, 2006, guarantees that children under the age of seven can be given instruction and child care through the use of a Native American language for at least 10 children under the age of 7 for an average of at least 500 hours per year per student. It also provides classes in a Native American language for parents (or legal guardians) of students enrolled in a Native American language nest (including Native American language-speaking parents); and

ensure that a Native American language is the dominant medium of instruction in the Native American language nest.[290] This new act is a far-reaching effort to revitalize the use of Native languages, and it starts with the best place to begin: children.

The duty to save or revive a native language must rest on the shoulders of the younger generations. Educating children is the only true way to ensure survivability. Parents, although they may be illiterate in their native speech, must encourage their offspring to learn their ancestral languages. All of the programs,

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[290] GovTrack.us. H.R. 4766--109th Congress (2006): Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act of 2006, *GovTrack.us (database of federal legislation)* <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bill.xpd?bill=h109-4766>

money, and effort applied to saving the languages of Native Americans will be of no use if the children refuse to learn.

Appendix B Cáuicùt: Kiowa Writing

"It's unfortunate there are Anglos who are ignorant of Indians and their languages but pose as authorities about them and write up material and somehow get it into print, often as books. There is not a thing those of us who understand the situation can do to stop the practice. It's frustrating and it goes on and on.[291]

The Kiowa writing system developed by Parker McKenzie is based on the English language typewriter. This makes the ability to write the language accessible to anyone, and as such, it is brilliant in its simplicity. Unlike the odd characters used by linguists, the symbols McKenzie uses are readily at hand. McKenzie points out the flaws of his own early writing system, calling it "cumbersome," but workable.[292] His early alphabet consisted of fourteen Kiowa consonants – B, D, G, H, K, L, M, N, P, S, T, W, Y, Z, - which closely resemble the English sounds represented by those letters. However, McKenzie discovered that the other seven English consonants - C, F, J, Q, R, V, X - did not in any way identify with a Kiowa sound. In addition, four English consonants - K, P, S, T – are related to two Kiowa variants, which English has no counterparts. These discrepancies left McKenzie, with his limited knowledge and training in linguistics, with the problem of finding characters to correspond with the missing Kiowa sounds. He decided to solve the problem by using what he called "digraphs" and "trigraphs": "To fulfill the void, digraphs were devised for each of the first variants and trigraphs for each of the

[291] Parker McKenzie, letter to Arthur Silberman, July 6, 1989.
[292] Parker McKenzie, "How Written Kiowa came into Being," 9-10.MS provided by Laurel Watkins.

second variants, with English symbols that somewhat matched the Kiowa consonants soundwise; e. g, GK and KCH, respectively, for the first variant and the second variant of K; DT and THD, respectively, of T, etc."[293] He even considered using some Gregg shorthand symbols, which he learned form a correspondence course he took in 1914, to "fulfill the void."[294]

The matter became simpler in 1928, when John Harrington's *Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language* came out. McKenzie received a volume from Delos K. Lonewolf, who picked up a copy during a visit to Washington, D. C. for his stepson. Parker began to master the intricate Harrington alphabet. McKenzie immediately realized the alphabet's impracticality, noticing that Harrington had the same difficulty with the eight unique Kiowa consonants. Harrington attempted to simplify the task by using three variants of the Kiowa consonants. K, for instance, became K, K', and a figure of Kˆ. P and T both were represented in the same way, but the S variants became what McKenzie called the "proverbial TS." Thus, the figures for S became S, TS', and TS with the convex loop.[295] However, studying Harrington did provide McKenzie with the inspiration he needed to streamline the PM writing system.

McKenzie's moment of truth came while comparing his orthography with Harrington's: "It suddenly occurred to me that maybe the English consonants that do not occur in Kiowa; viz., C, F, J, Q, R, V, X, could feasibly replace my multiple symbols, rather than letting them 'go to waste.' In consequence of that idea, C and Q became the respective Kiowa variants of K; F and V of P; digraph CH and X of S;

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[293] Ibid., 10.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Parker McKenzie, "How Written Kiowa came into Being," 9-10. Ms. provided by Laurel Watkins.

and J and digraph TS of T."[296] McKenzie originally assigned R as the first variant of S, but it proved to be too dissimilar to work, and it is the only English consonant McKenzie did not use. He adopted the CH digraph in place of the R because it appeared more likely to possess an S sound. Finally, he used TH for the second T variant simply because he ran out of English consonants.

The first sound of each variant is a "soft" sound, and the second is a "plosive." Soft sounds are unaspirated, or spoken without puffs of air in the mouth. The soft sounds are represented by C for the soft K, F for the soft P, CH for the soft S, and J for the soft T. The English F and P sounds do not occur in Kiowa, and McKenzie points out the letters C and Q are superfluous in English, as any syllable beginning with C or Q has a K sound. In addition, any syllable starting with a sibilant C possesses an S sound. The diphthong CH is used for the soft S because the two letters do not appear in tandem in Kiowa, and the CH sound only appears at the beginning of a syllable. The sound is comparable to the TS of linguists. The TS letter is difficult to use in Kiowa for the soft S, because it does occasionally occur, a situation which may cause some confusion. The example McKenzie uses to demonstrate this is the English word CATSUP. If CATSUP was a Kiowa word, it could appear as either CA TSUP or CAT SUP.[297] Although McKenzie used CH as a member of the soft Kiowa variants, the present Kiowa system indicates that it stands alone, now considered a different Kiowa sound.[298] They are also much more representative in McKenzie's system as a symbol than the ones used by James

[296] Ibid., 11.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Willis, *Our People, Our Kiowa Language*, 5.

Mooney, who used G, B, Ts, and D for the Kiowa sounds. These letters were already in use, and caused great confusion. Harrington used his own symbols for the letters, but they are difficult to reproduce and err to some degree on their exact use.

The plosive sounds are corresponding to Q for K, V for P, X for S, and Th for T. Again, none of these letters have an equivalent English sound in Kiowa. These letters are spoken with a pop when used.

The incorporation of the eight variants completed the Parker McKenzie consonant alphabet, using twenty-two consonants as compared to the English language's twenty-one. The consonant alphabet of Parker McKenzie in final form is:

B, D, G, H, K, C, Q, L, M, N, P, V, S, CH, X, T, J, TH, W, Y, Z

The makeup of Kiowa vowels proved to be an easier task for McKenzie to address. First of all, he needed to replace Harrington's use of the Greek letter α, which Harrington used for lower case a. There are one hundred variants of Kiowa vowels, represented by ten basic characters and altered by suprasegmental elements. The ten basic vowel characters and their sounds are:

I (ee) pronounced ee as in teeth

E (ay) pronounced ay as in say

A (ah) pronounced ah as in father

U (oo) pronounced oo as in scoot

O (oh) pronounced oh as in soap

Au (aw) pronounced aw as in naught

Ai (ahy) pronounced ahy as in wise

Ui (ooy) pronounced ooy as in gooey

Oi (owy) pronounced owy as in boy

Aui (awy) pronounced awy

Each vowel can be affected by a marker, of which there are three groups. The first marker is length, described by McKenzie as a line above the vowel but later altered to a colon following the vowel to facilitate Kiowa writing on a computer. Xó: (stone) is an example of length. The second marker is a nasalization symbol indicated by underlining the vowel, such as fígá (food). The last marker is tone, which uses three symbols to demonstrate pitch: high (acute), low (grave), and circumflex (up and down).

A simple phrase can be used to indicate the use of each of these markers. The English equivalent of "Yes, the two men came," is, in Kiowa, "Hà:u qáhî è chán." The à: in Hà:u (yes) is both long and low, while the á in both qáhî (two men) and chán (came) are high. The î in qáhî has both a circumflex and is nasalized, and è (a prenominal) is low pitched and nasalized. These markers are imperative to Kiowa for the very meaning of the word can be altered by only a slight variation in pronunciation. This can lead to very embarrassing situations.

The delicacy and difficulty of the Kiowa language can be best demonstrated by a story. The Kiowa Apaches are a tribe associated with the Kiowas for more than two centuries, yet they have not quite mastered the inflections and sounds of the Kiowa language. A slight change in the pronunciation of a word can change the meaning of the whole structure. This story is about a young Kiowa Apache attempting to warn his father-in-law of an imminent danger. It is a custom in the Kiowas for a son-in-law to not mention any thing sexual in front of his father-in-law. Here is what the young Kiowa-Apache said:

"Yák qà, má bé álbádé; ágà hárò, régùn péhótcá é béjàu." What he meant to say was:

"Yák qà, má èm álbádè; ágà hárò, régùn píhótcá èm béjàu."

The two sentences look quite similar, but the markers above the words álbádé and álbádè, as well as one different vowel sound in péhótcá and píhótcá, marked in red, are different enough to alter the meaning. The first sentence reads:

"Father-in-law, do stick out the head (of your penis); there. In the crowded area of the vulva (péhótcá), and for some cause, the dog is pulling back the foreskin of his penis."

Here is what he meant to say: "Father-in-law, do stick out your head (from the tepee), there by the bend in the river the dog is barking for some cause." Not only is this an embarrassing moment for the Kiowa-Apache, but it could also have

led to a disaster, as the story concerns some enemies of the Kiowas sneaking up on the camp.[299]

However difficult the language appears, in some cases it is quite simple. There is no way to spell a Kiowa word wrong. It is a phonetic language, and can be written as it sounds. For example, there are no words in Kiowa in which the word is spelled differently than it sounds, such as the English words rough (ruff) or wrought (rot). Like Latin, Kiowa does not use articles, such as "a," "an," or "the." In addition, McKenzie found only a total of five hundred and fifty syllables in use in Kiowa. However, these syllables can have as many as seven different meanings and pronunciations. McKenzie uses as an example for this with the Kiowa disyllable "qaudau."

There are six possible pronunciations and meanings for "quadau." Five of these words are verbs, and there is one noun. They are:

qá:udà:u v /adj to feel chilly

qá:udá:u v / adj steep like a cliff

qâ:udà:u v / adj cut, slit, or gash, as with a knife

qâ:udà:u v / adj make a dent or a mark, like with a knife

qá:udà:u v / adj smeared or soiled with grease

qâudàu n tomato[300]

[299] Parker McKenzie, letter to John P. Harrington, February 16, 1946. Parker McKenzie Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center. Box 8, folder 4.
[300] Parker McKenzie, "Kiowa Disyllables: Column Nos. 1-22 Incl. of Kiowa Syllabary Compiled and Arranged by Parker McKenzie 1991." Column 10, pages 3-4. MS 7535, Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

According to McKenzie, the use of the five hundred and fifty syllables, such as "qau" and "dau," is the best tool to teach the Kiowa language to students. He wrote, "It's the whole Kiowa language in a nutshell. I use it a lot for drawing out words that am not able to draw out from my memory store."[301] McKenzie points out on a number of occasions that it is not possible to misspell Kiowa words. All a person needs to do is to think of the language in syllables. It is possible to link these syllables together to form long compound words, and McKenzie and Charlie Redbird used to play games to see who could make the longest.

This sample came from a 319 page manuscript typed by McKenzie on 8.5x14 inch legal paper, and contains over twelve thousand Kiowa disyllables It is the culmination of over eighty years of exhaustive research and dedication to his vision of saving the Kiowa language.

[301] Parker McKenzie, letter to Gus Palmer, jr., December 30, 1994.

XIV (b), contd.:

TWO-SYLLABLE WORD-FORM VARIATIONS
OR PRONOUNCING PATTERNS

Note: Q represents the sound of it found in: qâu (knife); qī (wood; husband); qóp (mountain/s); qáptàu (old man); qūdàum (camp ground); qúndàu (hurried); qídàu (frozen). Vowel "au" is the same as "aw."

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A -	qàudàu	qàudáu	qàudàu	qàudáu	qàudâu	qàudàu	qàudáu	qàudàu	qàudáu	qàudâu
B -	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudâu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudâu
C -	qāudàu	qāudáu	qāudàu	qāudáu	qāudâu	qāudàu	qāudáu	qāudàu	qāudáu	qāudâu
D -	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudâu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudâu
E -	qâudàu	qâudáu	qâudàu	qâudáu	qâudâu	qâudàu	qâudáu	qâudàu	qâudáu	qâudâu
F -	qàudàu	qàudáu	qàudàu	qàudáu	qàudâu	qàudàu	qàudáu	qàudàu	qàudáu	qàudâu
G -	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudâu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudâu
H -	qāudàu	qāudáu	qāudàu	qāudáu	qāudâu	qāudàu	qāudáu	qāudàu	qāudáu	qāudâu
I -	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudâu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudàu	qáudáu	qáudâu
J -	qâudàu	qâudáu	qâudàu	qâudáu	qâudâu	qâudàu	qâudáu	qâudàu	qâudáu	qâudâu

Note: No two of the indicated pronouncing markings are the same. In the series, only six accepted words are identified by being underlined. Each has a different pronouncing pattern and definition (see below). Rest of the forms are meaningless patterns; i. e., they do not represent accepted words in Kiowa, although each is pronounceable by the markings it bears.

The letter-numeral guides in the table are intended for use when need arises to direct attention to any particular variation or pronouncing pattern.

The six accepted words out of the series of one-hundred are as follows:

D/3 - qaudau (qáu-dàu), v/adj., chilled; feeling chilly.

D/4 - qaudau (qáu-dáu), v/adj., precipitous or steep like a precipice.

E/3 - qaudau (qâu-dàu), v/adj., cut, slit or gashed, as with a knife.

E/8 - qaudau (qâu-dàu), v., made a dent or a marked effect upon, as with a knife in wounding or piercing.

I/3 - qaudau (qáu-dàu), v/adj., smeared or soiled with grease.

J/1 - qaudau (qâu-dàu), n. (s) tomato; (t) tomatoes. The (s) and (t) forms are the same. This is a rare instance where the (d) term is independent; i. e., qaun (qâun). Normally, (d) term for nouns is either like the (s) or the (t) term. The (d) term is generally used in the collective in this instance.

Figure 4: Parker McKenzie's Chart of the One Hundred Ways to Spell the Disyllable "Qaudau."

Appendix C Séndé gàu Qópsáupótjàu

"Séndé gàu Qópsáupótjàu," or "Séndé and the Mountain Ghosts," is a story recorded in the Kiowa language by Bert Odlety, the brother-in-law of Parker McKenzie. McKenzie wrote the story down in Kiowa in his Kiowa Writing System, and then translated it into English. It is one of the stories that McKenzie supplied John Harrington for his article, "Three Kiowa Texts," which was published in the *International Journal of American Linguistics.* However, the story was not published in McKenzie's writing system.

SÉNDÉ GÀU QÓPSÁUPÓTJÁU

Séndé ěhêl nàu Qópsáupótjáu é bǒhèl gìgáu é àlhèl.

Qópsáupótjáu qāhícho è dāumê né è pàuhólsàudè. Àuhísàn jànjàutái bé qíádāumè gàu bímkàuibìn gà pàuhóldāumèdè ét màdòdè.

Sâdàu jòtáupoàu ét yàiàihyèl qàut è váuihyèlè ěhàugàu qópsáupótjáu ét jêhèl qàut áupoàu qópoú è cídédéèm àn ét âhàfè.

Châu hègáu Séndé é jàuāhèl nàu hábé gôm èm gúnhèl nàu hègáu é qàujèà-hèl. Hâyá thấu thấu gìgáu pāuhèl nàu bé jēgáihyèl.

"Á, Sègídàu!", cháigájōhèl. "Nấuál àn qāhyóp dè hânmàu; áugàu ámál àn bé hânmàudéchò.

"Bé áusàu gàu bà hāugùthàu nàu hègáu augàu à qāhídàude bát cáumjấu bôt nấuál qāhífì a dấu," jōnê.

Hègáu châu á ấucòpjè gàu á hāugùhèl nègáu Séndé jōnê, "hét jēpàui bé hîjè; qāhíqàugà zólcù cūyáu gàu óbáuiqàhyòp á dấu -- qāhífìgàu."

Yàugútcàu hàgà ét qāhíchòtjàu gàu hègáu è álấumdéhèl gìgáu ét hîjē. Séndé èm zólāumè qàut háun èm hîjâuhèl bôt qòmbáâlgà háun àn gà áumgâu. Sáuàulcà máunhépjèhèl gàu qâudàudècì máu gûi bét qîlê.

"Á, Sègídàu," jōnê, hábé án hāukùtjèhèl gàu "bé jâpòbèdòdèdèchò bé hîcì; zólgà gà qāudèdò háun gá bòmàu."

Àkô, áugàu xōóbà ét zóljàpòbèdòdè qópsáupótjáu nàu hègáu Séndé áugàu áugâudéqàu dàu áu dāumê gìgáu chó bét qūgùyì zólcù. Àkô, âungàu qāhíqàu-gà bé hâfè qàut áugâudézòlcà qūlê. Án māugáihyèl gìgáu jōnê, "bé kójàkàupèl!", nàu hègáu ét jákàupèlhèl gàu hégáu hágâizòlcù jāgàu bét hòtgûyì.

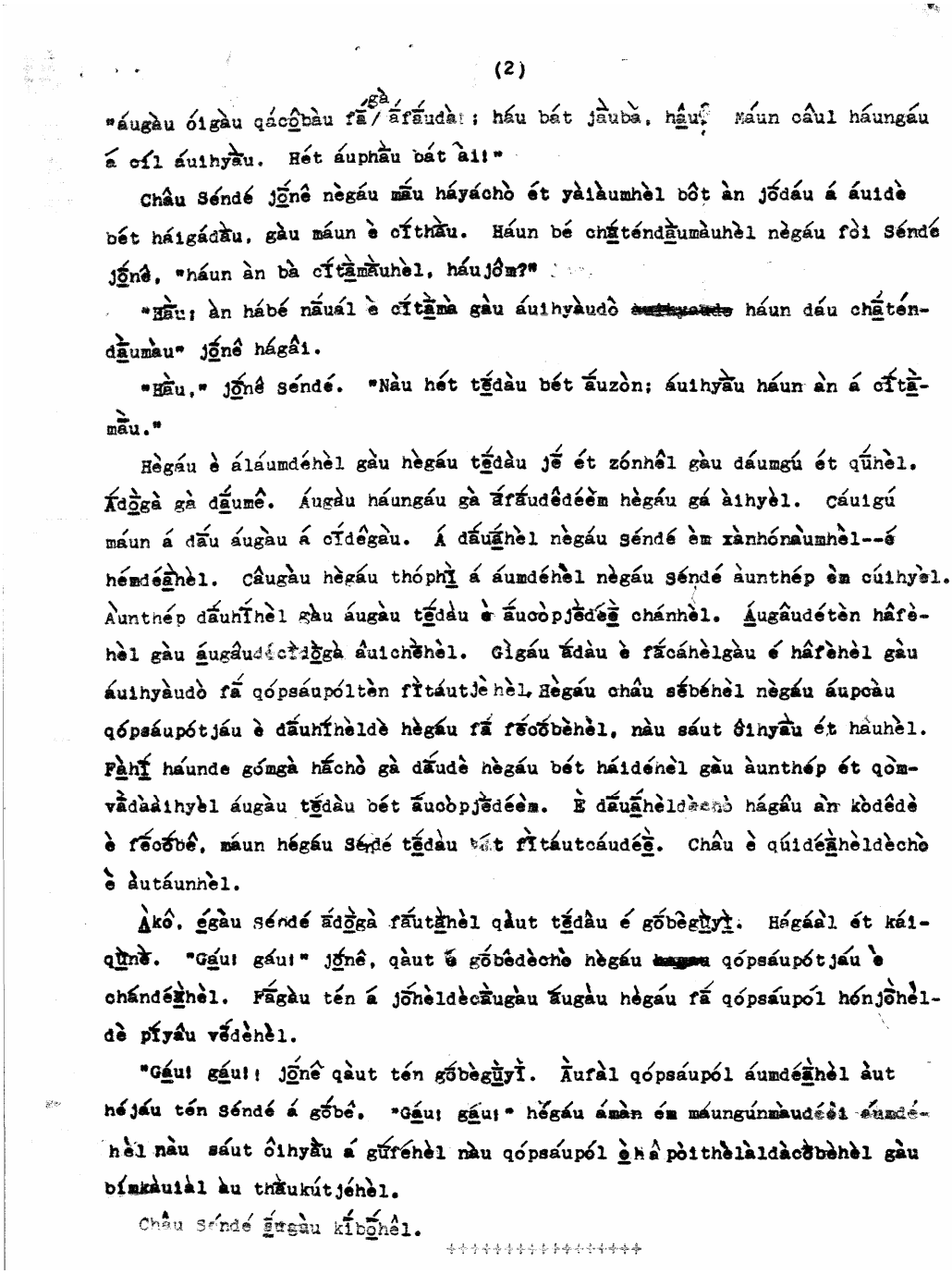
Fā jōnê, Háun cấul qâudàu hágá dé mâhānàu gàu âungàu fā zólcà náu qúl."

"Nấuál fā náu qúl," jōnê gûijè.

"Gàu nấuál!", fāàl jōnê.

"Á-nà-nà-nà-nà-nà!, gàu nấuál náu qúlqûdàu," jōnê Séndé; "yal qāhífì-gàu qâun á fàutjàu!"

Hègáu qópsáupótjáu mîn ét hâuyì nègáu Séndé fòi háyáchò xànjōhèl,



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"áugàu óigàu qácôbàu fā gà ā́fā́udà; háu bát jàubà, hâu? Máun câul háungáu á cíl áuihyàu. Hét áuphàu bát ài!"

Châu Séndé jōnê nègáu mā́u háyáchò ét yàiàumhèl bôt àn jōdáu á áuidè bét háigádàu, gàu máun è cī́thàu. Háun bé chā́téndàumàuhèl nègáu fòi Séndé jōnê, "háun àn bà cī́tàmàuhèl, háujôm?"

"Hàu; àn hábé nā́uál è cī́tàmà gàu áuihyàudò ~~[illegible]~~ háun dáu chā́téndàumàu" jōnê hágâi.

"Hàu," jōnê séndé. "Nàu hét tēdàu bét ā́uzòn; áuihyàu háun àn á cī́tàmàu."

Hègáu è áláumdéhèl gàu hègáu tēdàu jḗ ét zónhêl gàu dáumgú ét qū́hèl. Ā́dògà gà dā́umê. Áugàu háungáu gà ā́fā́udêdéèm hègáu gá àihyèl. Cáuigú máun á dā́u áugàu á cī́dêgàu. Á dā́uā́hèl nègáu séndé èm xànhónàumhèl--é hémdéàhèl. Câugàu hègáu thóphì á áumdéhèl nègáu séndé àunthép èm cúihyèl. Àunthép dā́uhī́hèl gàu áugàu tēdàu è ā́ucòpjèdéè chánhèl. Áugâudétèn hâfèhèl gàu áugâudécìdògà âuichèhèl. Gìgáu ā́dàu è fā́cáhèlgàu é hâfèhèl gàu áuihyàudò fā́ qópsáupóltèn fìtáutjèhèl. Hègáu châu sēbéhèl nègáu áupcàu qópsáupótjáu è dā́uhī́hèldè hègáu fā́ fēcōbèhèl, nàu sáut ôihyàu ét hàuhèl. Fàhī́ háunde gómgà hā́chò gà dā́udè hègáu bét háidéhèl gàu àunthép ét qòmvàdààihyèl áugàu tēdàu bét ā́ucòpjèdéèm. È dā́uā́hèldèchò hágâu àn kòdêdè è fēcōbê, máun hégáu Séndé tēdàu bét fìtáutcáudéè. Châu è qúidéàhèldèchò è àutáunhèl.

Àkô, égàu séndé ā́dògà fā́utàhèl qàut tēdàu é gōbègùyì. Hágáàl ét káiqùnè. "Gáu! gáu!" jōnê, qàut é gōbêdèchò hègáu ~~[illegible]~~ qópsáupótjáu è chándéàhèl. Fā́gàu tén á jōhèldècàugàu ā́ugàu hègáu fā́ qópsáupól hónjòhèldè pī́yâu vēdèhèl.

"Gáu! gáu!! jōnê qàut tén gōbègùyì. Àufàl qópsáupól áumdéàhèl àut héjáu tén Séndé á gōbê. "Gáu! gáu!" hégáu ámàn ém máungúnmàudéèi áumdéhèl nàu sáut ôihyàu á gū́féhèl nàu qópsáupól è hâ pòithèlàldàcòbèhèl gàu bímkàuiàl àu thàukútjéhèl.

Châu Séndé ā́ugàu kī́bōhêl.

++++++++++++++++++

Figure 5: Sèndè gàu Qóp-sáu-pót-jàu. A Story Written in the Kiowa Orthography of Parker McKenzie.

Translation of "*Séndé* gàu Qópsáupótjàu"

Séndé was coming along, and mountain monsters saw him and chased him. The mountain-monsters were man-like but they were wooly. They had a small cedar growing out of the top of their head and carried a big wooly sack on their back. Some children had gone off to play beyond the camp and got lost.
These mountain monsters grabbed them and carried them off to where they lived in the mountains.

So they were chasing Séndé and along somewhere he glanced back and they were coming up to meet him. There was nothing to be done so he stopped and they managed to grab him.

"AAA, Nephews," he said with alarm. "I too, devour men, just as you also eat them."

"Let's sit down awhile and catch out breath, and I will show you the kind of man I am for I too am a man-eater," he said. So they sat awhile and caught their breath, and Séndé said, "Let's all vomit; human skin is lying around in the vomit and they are real men – man-eaters!"

These gullible ones perhaps believed he was a man and they agreed and they were vomiting. Séndé made himself vomit but he didn't throw anything up because he couldn't do an imitation. He stuck his fingers in his mouth to pull out something and only pulled out tomatoes.

"AAA, Nephews," he said as he caught his breath. "Keep your eyes closed as you vomit, because vomit is unpleasant, people shouldn't look at it."

Well, the mountain monsters kept their eyes tightly shut, and Séndé placed his own tomatoes around in the vomit pile. Then he went back and picked up their human skin and put it in his own vomit pile. He had gotten prepared, and then he said, "Open your eyes wide now!" and they opened their eyes and looked around at all the vomit piles.

One said, "I certainly didn't eat any tomatoes but there it is in my vomit pile."

"I too have some in mine," said another.

"And I too," one also said.

"An;na;na;na;na;na. And I too have some tomatoes in mine," said Séndé. "Let's hope man-eaters eat tomatoes!"

Then the mountain monsters were about to catch on and Sèndè again tried to deceive them, "Over there is some smoke rising from living things; are you watching it, huh? Probably someone is camped there. Let's head over there." They didn't want to go, so Séndé again said, "You're not afraid, are you?"

"Yes, we too are sometimes afraid, and that is why we don't want to go," said one of them.

"Yes," said Séndé. "So let's remove our hearts for awhile; that way we won't be afraid."

So they agreed and removed all their hearts and laid them on the ground. It was in the woods. Then they went off to where some people were making smoke. It was probably Kiowas who were living there. They were moving along and Séndé pretended to get there last – he limped along. The others had gotten way ahead and Sèndè headed back. He was moving back and arrived at where the hearts were temporarily lying. He picked up his own heart and put it back down into his own body. Then he picked up a sharp stick and with it he speared one of the mountain monster's hearts. So that way he stabbed it and one of the mountain monsters who were moving off fell over dead, and just then they caught on. They realized that clearly something was wrong and they rushed back to where their hearts were. As they were coming back, one would fall over suddenly dead, probably when Séndé stabbed its heart. Thus they gradually disappeared as they fell on their way back.

Well, Séndé was tired in the woods, and he was missing the hearts and they were jumping around everywhere. "Ga. Ga." he said, but as he missed them the mountain monsters were getting closer. With one heart left, the last remaining mountain monster appeared over the hill.

"Ga. Ga." Séndé said, and he kept missing the heart. The mountain monster was drawing neared and still Sèndè was missing the heart. "Ga. Ga." and then as he was flailing around and the monster got there and right then Séndé hit him and the mountain monster tumbled over backward somersaulting and his neck was snapped. That is how Séndé saved himself.[302]

[302] Parker McKenzie, letter to Laurel Watkins. March 31, 1997. PMC OHSRC. Box 23, folder 3.

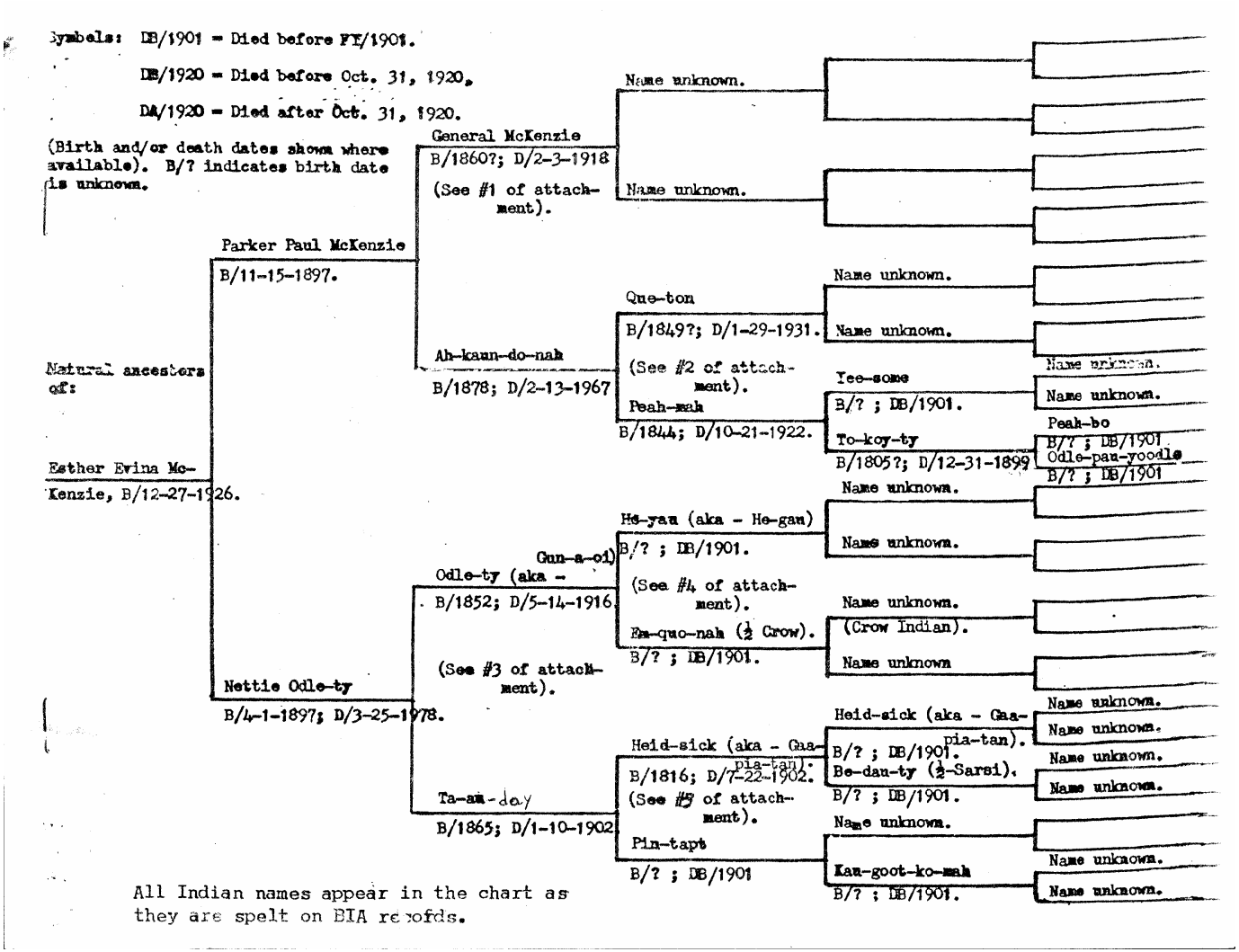
Appendix D Parker McKenzie's Genealogy

Parker McKenzie's genealogy is a somewhat confusing maze e of names and dates, at least on his mother's side. McKenzie's father was General McKenzie, a Mexican captive who did not remember anything about his natural family, having been captured as a very young child. However, Ákàu:dònà:, his mother, traces her family back to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Ákàu:dònà:'s maternal great-grandmother was named Fí:bò. Her husband was Olpànùl. Their dates of birth and death are unknown. Their daughter, Tokoyty, was married to Parker McKenzie's namesake, Yí:saùm. Their daughter, Fí:má, was married to Queton, a Mexican captive who did not know his ancestry. Their daughter was Ákàu:dònà:, born in 1878. She married General McKenzie, and the couple had twelve children, of which only two lived to adulthood. Parker McKenzie was the second born child. General McKenzie had been married previously to Ihaddlemah. Together they produced a daughter, Hattie, who became a member of the Andres Martinez family after her parents separated.

The family of Nettie Odelty McKenzie, McKenzie's wife, also played a large role in McKenzie's life. Bert Odelty, Nettie's brother, was an informant for McKenzie. Heidesick, Nettie's grandfather, was an important informant for James Mooney. The illustration is Parker McKenzie's genealogy, which he drew.[303]

[303] Parker McKenzie. PMC OHSRC. Box 11, folder 11.



All Indian names appear in the chart as they are spelt on BIA records.