HISTORIC CONTEXT FOR THE NATIVE AMERICAN THEME

MANAGEMENT REGION #7

1803 - 1938

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REGIONAL OVERVIEW

This Historic Context for the Native American Theme pertains to Management Region #7, as well as Canadian County. Chronologically it emphasizes the period from 1803 to 1938. The study region encompasses virtually the entire southwestern quadrant of the State of Oklahoma. In addition to Canadian, its includes the following counties: Beckham, Blaine, Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Custer, Dewey, Grady, Greer, Harmon, Jackson, Jefferson, Kiowa, Roger Mills, Stephens, Tillman, and Washita. Altogether the eighteen county study area incorporates 17,265 square miles, or 25 per cent of the total surface area of the state (See Map I).

Extending from Red River on the South to the North Fork of the Canadian River on the North and from the 100th meridian on the West to the 98th meridian on on the East, Management Region #7 includes diverse geographical features. Topographically it ranges from rolling prairie, to high plains, to mountainous (Wichita and Quartz). In elevation it rises from sea level along Red River in Jefferson County to 2500 feet in Roger Mills County. Vegetation in the study area is predominately mixed grass, although Blackjack Oak frames it on the East as does Shin Oak and Mesquite on the West. Rainfall varies from 24 inches to 32 inches annually. Essentially, Management Region #7 is a part of the southern Great Plains--flat, grass covered, and a bit dry. Much of

what makes Oklahoma unique historically is associated with the eighteen southwestern counties. Many of the prehistoric sites that demonstrate the antiquity of the state are located there. The first Europeans in Oklahoma traversed the area, with Spaniards Francisco Vasquez de Coronado and Juan de Onate crossing it in 1540 and 1601 respectively. They were impressed by the region's nomadic occupants and the abundance of buffalo. The French brothers, Pierre and Paul Mallet, traveled down the Canadian River in 1740. Thereafter French coureurs de bois established a buffalo hide trade with Wichita Indians first on the Arkansas River and then on Red River in Jefferson County.

Management Region #7, as well as all of Oklahoma, became United States Territory by virtue of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. Although the study area was claimed by Plains Tribes (Wichita, Caddo, Apache, Comanche, and Kiowa), American officials assigned it to southeastern tribes (in this case Choctaws and Chickasaws) who were forced to remove West in the 1820s and 1830s. Tension between the resident and emigrant peoples resulted in intertribal conflict throughout the region that the United States sought to ease through treaty negotiations, military action, and establishment of Indian agencies. In general the results were not satisfactory.

After the Civil War, the federal government implemented its well-known reservation policy among the Plains Tribes.

What is now Management Region #7 was significantly affected by this effort to confine the Indians to a specific geographical region and then "civilize" them through the fine arts of education, agriculture, Christianity, and private property. After 1867 on lands relinquished by the Five Civilized Tribes as retribution for allying with the Confederacy, the government assigned reservations to a) the Cheyenne and Arapaho, b) the Wichita, Caddo, and Kiowa-Apache, and c) the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache. For each reservation an agency was created. The tribespeople found the transformation from a semi-nomadic life to a settled one difficult to make. Some vigorously resisted. Military forces operating out of Forts Sill and Reno as well as other camps finally subdued them in the so-called Red River War. Thereafter the tribespeople accepted reservation life, albeit fittfully.

The range cattle industry so much a part of the Great Plains experience in the 1870s and 1880s did not bypass the study area. Texas cattlemen first pushed their herds north across Indian country and then later grazed them on pastures leased from the reservation tribes. A welcome source of income for the Indians, cattle operations also stimulated the interest of non-Indian agriculturalists in the use of tribal lands. This interest ultimately brought demands upon the federal government to close the reservations, to allot individual tracts to members of the tribes, and to open

surplus lands for white settlement. Congress soon responded to the pressure and passed authorizing legislation in 1889. Allotment agreements with the tribal groups a part of the study area were quickly signed.

These agreements cleared the way for two of Oklahoma's most dramatic and historic events: a land run and a land lottery. The surplus lands of the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation were opened by run to non-Indian settlement on April 19, 1892. The Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache Reservation as well as the Wichita and Caddo Reservation were opened in a great lottery during the summer of 1901. The so-called Big Pasture (now Cotton and Tillman counties) was sold by sealed bids in December 1906. Even before settlement, each area became an integral part of Oklahoma Territory, an administrative unit that had been created in 1890 and had its capitol in Guthrie. In 1907, of course, Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory were joined to form the State of Oklahoma. With non-Indian settlement and statehood, the economic profile of Management Region #7 changed rather quickly. Agriculturally, cotton, wheat, and broom corn were especially significant. By 1980, the region produced nearly one-third of Oklahoma's wheat crop. Ranching remained important throughout the area; indeed, by 1980 in most counties livestock generated more income than crops. Oil and gas production became noteworthy in the 1920s and then again in the 1970s and 1980s. Gypsum has

been mined and processed in the area since statehood.

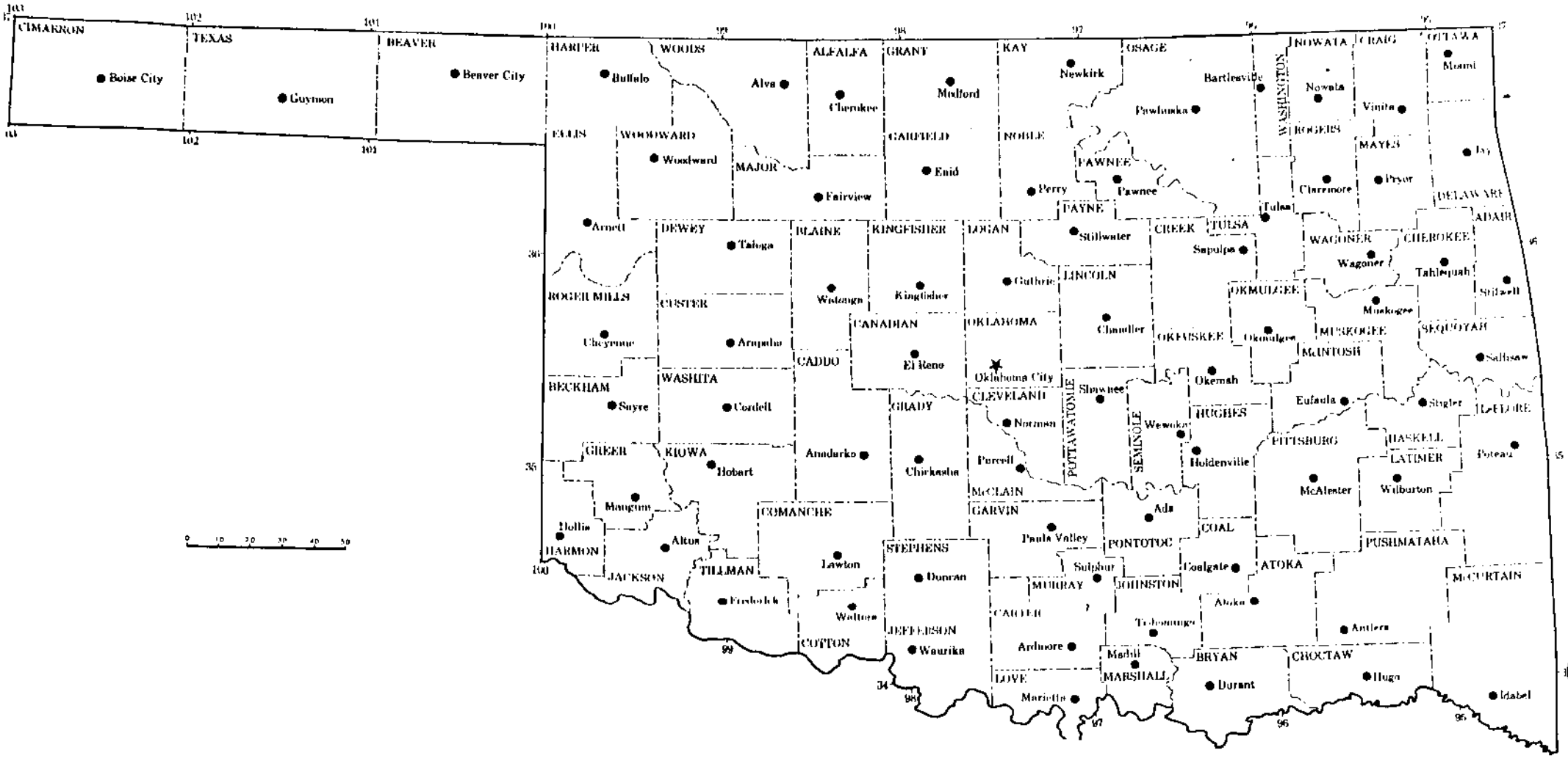
In the southwestern counties population has fluctuated significantly. In 1930 population totalled 477,627, or 20 percent of all state residents. The "dirty thirties" and mechanized agriculture engendered a mass exodus from the region. Only in the last decade have population figures matched those of the pre-dust bowl era, although thirteen counties still have less population than 50 years ago. Moreover, the 500,100 persons residing in Management Region #7 in 1984 constituted only 14 percent of Oklahoma's total population.

For this historic context it is significant that the greatest concentration of Indian population in the study region in 1980 was in Caddo County with 5548. Only Oklahoma and Tulsa counties and Adair and Cherokee counties had a higher density. Comanche County had 4625. Ironically, Jefferson County, the location of the large trading settlements of the Wichitas in the 1750s had only 63 Native Americans. And at least one half of the counties had less than 500 Indians. The eighteen counties of the study area are probably less urbanized than other regions. Lawton is the largest urban center (the third largest in the state) with a population of 80,054. Only five other towns in 1980 had a population of more than 15,000: Altus, Chickasha, Duncan, El Reno, and Yukon.

If the southwestern counties have lost ground in

population relative to other areas in the state, the same is not true economically. There was distress in the 1920s and 1930s, but there was full recovery with and after World War II. To be sure agriculture's share of the GNP in Oklahoma has decreased, but that share is divided among fewer farmers and ranchers. And in more recent times (1975-1980) the oil boom in some western counties increased personal income by as much as 200 per cent. By 1985, however, the economy had returned to normal--dependence upon agriculture--and less affluent times had returned. Per capita personal income in 1980 was highest in Dewey County ($9687, and twice that of some eastern counties) and lowest in Comanche County ($6962).

The essential prosperity of the eighteen southwestern counties, however, was not evenly distributed. The per capita personal income of Native Americans was no more than one-half of that of non-Indians.



MAP I. BOUNDARIES OF MANAGEMENT REGION #7

Historical Overview of the Comanche Tribe

Among the dozens of tribes in Oklahoma today, few can claim a greater impact on the history of the Southern Plains, or a larger role in the frontier struggles of the last century than the Comanches. This essay will attempt to provide a brief overview of that history as it pertains to Management Region #7 and, although comprehension demands some attention to early migrations and cultural characteristics, will focus on the time period between 1803 and 1938. The territory of the Comanches once stretched from Colorado eastward to Kansas, south through Oklahoma into much of Texas and parts of New Mexico. With their allies the Kiowas, the Comanches were the true lords of the Southern Plains. Superb horsemen (more than a few seasoned U.S. cavalry troopers argued that the Comanches were the best mounted fighters in the West) amd able hunters, the Comanches were then, as they are now, a formidable group. Their proud warrior tradition marked them as a hard people who were difficult to stop "when they had determined a course of action."[1] Today, in the late twentieth century, they remain a proud and independent tribe dedicated to protecting their heritage, "a realistic people who are willing to face and deal with real problems as they exist."[2]

Like their allies the Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes, the Comanches were originally a northern tribe from the

Rocky Mountain west. Once affiliated with the Northern Shoshonis, (the Comanche language is Shoshoni Proper), around A.D. 1700 the Comanches began to move east and south until they reached the Southern Plains area of present-day Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas.[3] Ethnographic evidence indicates that Comanche bands had reached New Mexico as early as 1705 and that they had, even at that early date, begun to embrace the horse-dominated culture of the Plains tribes. In the years that followed this early migration, the Comanches went through a fairly rapid transition that transformed them into one of the outstanding examples of Plains Indian culture. As they adapted themselves to the nomadic lifestyle of the Southern Plains, Comanche bands attacked and drove out local tribes (especially the Caddoan tribes of Texas) and by the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century had established themselves as the most powerful tribe on the Southern Plains.[4]

The origin of the name Comanche is not clear. As is the case with a number of Southern Plains tribes, it is possible that the name is an anglicized version of a Spanish term used to describe the Comanches. The Spanish phrase camino ancho, or "broad trail," might refer to the tribe's habit of traveling in a widely dispersed fashion. Corrupted by Anglo settlers, the phrase could easily be molded into Comanche. Other sources suggest that the name is a derivation of the Ute word for enemy that the Spanish in

turn rendered as Comantcia. The Comanches referred to themselves as Nerm, Neum, or Nimenium, a word that translates from Shoshoni into "people of people." Whatever the precise origin of the name, by the early years of the eighteenth century the name Comanche had come into common use among Spanish observers and was picked up by Americans in their wake.[5]

As with many of their neighboring tribes, the Comanches were made up of a number of autonomous bands that operated under the direction of their own leaders. Though a loose confederation was discernable, the Comanches were never a politically cohesive unit and it was not until the reservation era that band affiliations were dropped. Though scholars disagree over the exact number of Comanche bands, it is clear that two--the Penateka ("honey eaters," or "wasps") and the Quahadi ("antelopes")--were predominant. Three others may also be considered as major bands inside the tribe: the Nokoni ("wanderers"), Yamparika ("Yap eaters"), and the Kotsoteka ("Buffalo eaters"). Together these bands defined the geographical limits of the Comanche domain and provided its most spirited defense.[6]

The first recorded contact between the tribe and whites came in 1724 when the Frenchman Du Bourgmont visited Comanche people in present-day Kansas. He noted that the Comanches were accomplished horsemen and that they were widely known and respected for their military skills. In

1746 the French managed to arrange a treaty between the Comanches and Caddoes and the two tribes thus joined together in a powerful alliance. When the Comanches joined forces with the Kiowas in 1790, a truly formidable Indian barrier across the Southern Plains was created that would not be successfully challenged until after the American Civil War.

The first confirmed contact between English speaking whites and the Comanches occurred in 1815, when General Thomas James, a trader out of the Illinois country, ventured into Comanche land. In 1822 he established a lucrative trade with the tribe in what isnow Blaine County, Oklahoma. Official representatives of the United States government reached the tribe only in 1834 when Colonel Henry Dodge's Dragoon Expedition met with leaders of various Indian Territory tribes at Devils Canyon in southwestern Kiowa County to appeal for peace among and between them and with the United States. As a result of Dodge's efforts, a number of tribes, the Comanche among them (though the normally belligerent Penatekas refused to enter the negotiations), signed the Treaty of Camp Holmes in August 1835 on the Canadian River near present Lexington. Joining the Comanches were the Wichitas, Creeks, Cherokees, Muskogees, Osages, and later, the Kiowas, Kiowa Apaches, and Tawakonis.[7]

But the peace of Camp Holmes was illusory, for the

Kiowas and Comanches continued to range over the Southern Plains and raided whites, Mexicans, and other tribes. Indeed, over the next forty years--and despite several treaties between the Comanches and the American government--the tribe proved reluctant to accept the United States appeals. In 1846 Texas tried to resolve its differences with the tribes inside its borders during negotiations on the Brazos River with the Comanches, Kiowas, Caddoes, and Wichitas. The war with Mexico, however, prevented Texas authorities from establishing protective reserves until 1854. In that year, an act of the Texas legislature established two reserves--one on the Brazos River (called the Lower Reserve) where the Caddoes and associated tribes settled, and a second one forty-five miles to the west on the Clear Fork, (the Upper Reserve), where the Comanches were sent. Surprisingly, a fairly large number of Comanches agreed to come onto the reserve (including some of the Penatekas) and by 1858 United States Indian agents observed optimistically that the tribe was "advancing in civilization, raising crops, building good houses, and sending their children to school on the reservation."[8]

The Texas plan, however, did little to address the issue of Indian resistance on the Southern Plains and, in fact, conditions remained charged. A succession of events, including the annexation of Texas by the United States, the California and Colorado gold rushes, and the beginnings of a

long-term westward expansion movement through the Southern Plains Indian country worsened tensions and deepened the "fundamental distrust and hatred between the Comanches and the Texans." In 1853 troubles over the use of the Santa Fe Trail were only partially resolved by treaties and gifts. The following year, a major clash occurred between 1,500 Kiowas, Kiowa Apaches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Osages, and Comanches against an assortment of immigrant tribes to the Indian Territory that included the Sauks, Foxes, and Potowatamies.

By 1858 there was widespread sentiment among whites on the Southern Plains in favor of exterminating the warring tribes. In the spring of that year, Texas Rangers killed 67 Comanches in one of their villages near the Wichita Mountains; in the fall U.S. Cavalry operating out of Camp Radziminski in Tillman County attacked a Comanche camp near present Rush Springs in Grady County killing 60 of the tribespeople. The following summer, rumors of a full-scale massacre on the Texas reservations caused United States agents to lead the threatened tribes into the Indian Territory where they might be safe-guarded from white attacks. A contingent of Comanches was included in the group and they, along with a sizeable number of Caddoes and Wichitas, settled along the Washita River in present Caddo County under the supervision of the Wichita Agency and the protection of the United States Army at Fort Cobb. With

that, the Indian Territory-Oklahoma phase of Comanche history may be said to have begun.[9]

If the Comanches were one of the tribes whose presence in Indian Territory was by 1859 a certainty, it is equally certain that a significant portion of the tribe still resisted attempts to bring it in. The Quahadis, for instance, remained free, and would do so until 1875. Moreover, those tribesmen on the Indian Territory reservation were restive and chafed at the limitations of a sedentary lifestyle. The American Civil War increased their anxieties, and the disruptions caused by the war were generally to the tribe's detriment. Though Confederate Indian Commissioner Albert Pike gained a treaty with several tribes at the Wichita Agency in August 1861 (including the Comanches), the tribe was not especially useful to the South as combatants or guerilla troops. The Kiowas and Comanches did, however, take advantage of the opportunity to renew their raids into New Mexico, Texas, and even into Mexico.

In October 1865 an accord between the United States and the Kiowas and Comanches produced a tentative peace. The Treaty of Little Arkansas River gave the tribes "undisturbed use and occupation" of the territory between the eastern border of New Mexico and the ninety-eighth meridian (near present-day Chickasha, Oklahoma), an area covering most of present-day western Oklahoma from the Red River north to the Cimarron River. The treaty's provisions, however, were

poorly enforced and, combined with the Indian troubles in the north with the Sioux and Cheyenne tribes, threatened to erupt into a general Indian War. In October 1867, United States representatives made a concerted effort to secure a lasting agreement between the American government and the Southern Plains tribes when they met with Indian leaders at Medicine Lodge Creek in southern Kansas. The terms of the agreement called for the Comanches to accept a new reservation in western Indian Territory of some 2.9 million acres to be shared with the Kiowas and Apaches (see Map B). Few tribespeople moved to this assigned domain until the massacre of Black Kettle's Cheyenne camp at the Battle of the Washita in November 1868. Following construction of Fort Sill near present Lawton a year later and sensing the futility of further resistance, most of the Comanches--with the notable exception of Quanah Parker's Quahadis--came onto the reservation. Only in June 1875 at the conclusion of the so-called Red River War did the Quahadis, under their leader Quanah Parker, finally leave the Texas Staked Plains to take up reservation life. The Quahadi surrender marked "the end of the old customs and habits of living on the Plains and the beginning of the reservation period in Kiowa-Comanche country." The old, free life was over.[10]

The degree to which the Comanches embraced the civilizing programs of the reservation is a point of debate. Though Muriel Wright noted that "with time and patience,

they achieved a measure of contentment and tranquility under difficult conditions," it is also true that many Comanches resisted the government's pleas to take up a sedentary, agricultural life style. By 1890, according to one source, the average Comanche male still lived in a tent or lodge, spoke little or no English, wore his hair long and dressed in traditional clothing, and refused to become a farmer. At the same time, however, the tribe showed a remarkable ability to persevere in the face of extreme conditions, and Comanche leaders figured prominently in the administration of affairs on the reservation. Comanches also played an important role in the creation of an Indian Guard on the reservation in 1878 and ten years later, when the Court of Indian Offenses was established, Quanah Parker sat as one of the three Indian judges.[11]

By and large, however, the Comanche reservation experience was a mixed one. Agents operating out of facilities situated first on East Cache Creek near Fort Sill (1868-1878) and then at Anadarko in Caddo County presided over the government's civilization program. They organized a boarding school near Fort Sill for Comanche youngsters in 1871 (and again in 1892) and then in Anadarko from 1878-1890, and welcomed Christian missionaries as preachers and teachers. By the 1890s the latter had established stations near Elgin (Methodist), west of Lawton (Baptist), Indiahoma (Mennonite), and Lawton (Dutch Reformed). Attempts to

encourage cattle raising were little more successful than ones that encouraged farming. The Comanches suffered as well from the unscrupulous dealings of Indian Agents, white merchants, and the Indian Bureau.[12]

The nadir of the reservation era experience was marked by the dissolution of the Kiowa-Comanche reservation beginning in 1892 and the subsequent allotment of 160 acre tracts to every member of the tribe was in accordance with the ruling of the Jerome Commission. Though originally assigned to individual allottees in the form of a twenty-five year trust, the security of those trusts was almost completely violated in 1906 with the passage of the Burke Act, which lifted most of the trust restrictions. As a result, most of the Comanche allotments (and those of other tribes as well) were lost to speculators, thieves, dishonest land dealers, and rapacious white trustees who defrauded their clients out of millions of dollars of land and mineral rights. By the end of the 1920s the Comanches were largely landless and politically powerless. Unable to compete in the white world for jobs and denied their legal rights, the Comanches joined Oklahoma's other tribes as the state's most destitute and neglected citizens.[13]

Relief came only in 1934 when Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes sponsored the Indian Reorganization Act, a sort of Indian New Deal that promised a return to self-determination

and the re-establishment of the relationship between the tribes and the federal government. Though the IRA was not originally applied to the Oklahoma tribes, it inspired the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936, that in turn called for the creation of tribal governments and allowed the free and open practice of traditional rites and practices. As a result of the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Tribal Business Committee was organized and has since that time operated as the governing body of the three tribes with headquarters at both Anadarko and Lawton.[14]

Though more recent Comanche history has not yet received close attention, it is possible to make some general observations about the tribe. A great many Comanches still live in the area surrounding the former reservation. Anadarko, Ft. Cobb, Apache, Carnegie, Lawton, Cache, and Hobart all claim large Comanche populations. Land leasing and private business enterprises have helped to solve some of the tribe's pressing economic hardships. Education, funded in part by the Title IV Indian Education Act, has become an increasingly important part of the tribe's programs. Traditionalists actively encourage the continuation of Comanche crafts and traditions, and there has been a resurgence inside the tribe (as with the Indian community in this country in general) of the attention given to cultural identity and ethnic pride. Many tribespeople

participate in the pagantry and ceremonials of the American Indian Exposition held every summer at Anadarko. The nearly 7,000 Comanches now carried on the rolls are not only conscious of their heritage, they remain "determined to pass these advantages on to future generations unimpaired."

NOTES

1. Joseph H. Cash and Gerald Wolff, The Comanche People (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1974), p. 98.

2. Ibid., p. 97.

3. The Comanches were the only branch of the Shoshoni family to leave the Rocky Mountain area and move to the Southern Plains. Other major tribes in the Shoshonean linguistic group include the Shoshonis, Bannocks, Utes, and Paiutes.

4. See Clark Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," American Anthropologist 16 (1914): 1-25; see also Muriel Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), pp. 118, 121; Cash and Wolff, The Comanche People, p. 3. On the general history of the Comanche see J. A. Dacus, The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch, Missouri Historical Society, Bulletin 16 (1959-1960); T. R. Fehrenbach, Comanches: Destruction Of A People (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1974); Jonathan H. Jones, A Condensed History of the Apache and Comanche Indians (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976); Mark Nackman, "The Indians of Texas in the Nineteenth Century: A Cross Section of American Indian Cultures," Texas Quarterly 18 (1975): 56-75; Rupert N. Richardson, "The Culture of the Comanche Indians," Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society, Bulletin 1

(1929): 58-73; Rupert N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to Southern Plains Settlement (Glendale, California: Arthur Clark Company, 1931); Rupert N. Richardson, "The Comanches," in Indian Tribes of Texas, intro. by W. W. Newcomb (Waco, Texas: Texian Press, 1971): 39-66; Ernest Wallace, The Comanches: Lords of the Southern Plains (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952); D. B. Shimkin, "Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations," Pacific Science Congress, Proceedings, 6 (1940): 17-25.

5. The name has also been spelled Camanche, Commanche, and Cumanche.

6. At least twelve, but perhaps as many as thirty, bands once made up the Comanche tribe. The locations of the five major bands were as follows:

Penateka: Cross Timbers to theheadwaters of the Colorado and Brazos Rivers.

Nokoni: Generally north of the Penateka.

Kotsoteka: Most northern reaches of the tribe (Colorado).

Yamparika and Quahadi: Western most limits of the Comanche, the Quahadis dominated the Staked Plains on northwest Texas and northeast New Mexico.

7. On early relations with the Comanches, see Elizabeth John, Storms Brewed In Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spain, and France in the Southwest, 1540-1795 (College Station: Texas A&M University

Press, 1975); and Edward Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, France and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962). On the Dragoon Expedition see G. K. Shirk, "Peace on The Plains," Chronicles Of Oklahoma 28 (1950): 2-41.

8. Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes Of Oklahoma, p. 122. But note that Wright's observations are not always (or usually) balanced and, if anything, tend to overemphasize the success of reservation programs aimed at civilizing the Indians.

9. Cash and Wolff, The Comanche People, p. 39. On the Comanche uprisings and troubles in Texas, see Brad Agnew, "The War Against The Comanches," Chronicles Of Oklahoma 49 (1971): 211-229. Also William H. Leckie, "The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains Indians," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1954; William B. Gannett, "The American Invasion of Texas, 1820-1845: Patterns of Conflict Between Settlers and Indians," Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1984; Odie B. Faulk, "The Comanche Invasion of Texas, 1743-1836," Great Plains Journal 9 (1969): 10-50.

10. Wright, A Guide To the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, p. 126; Cash and Wolff, The Comanche People, p. 66.

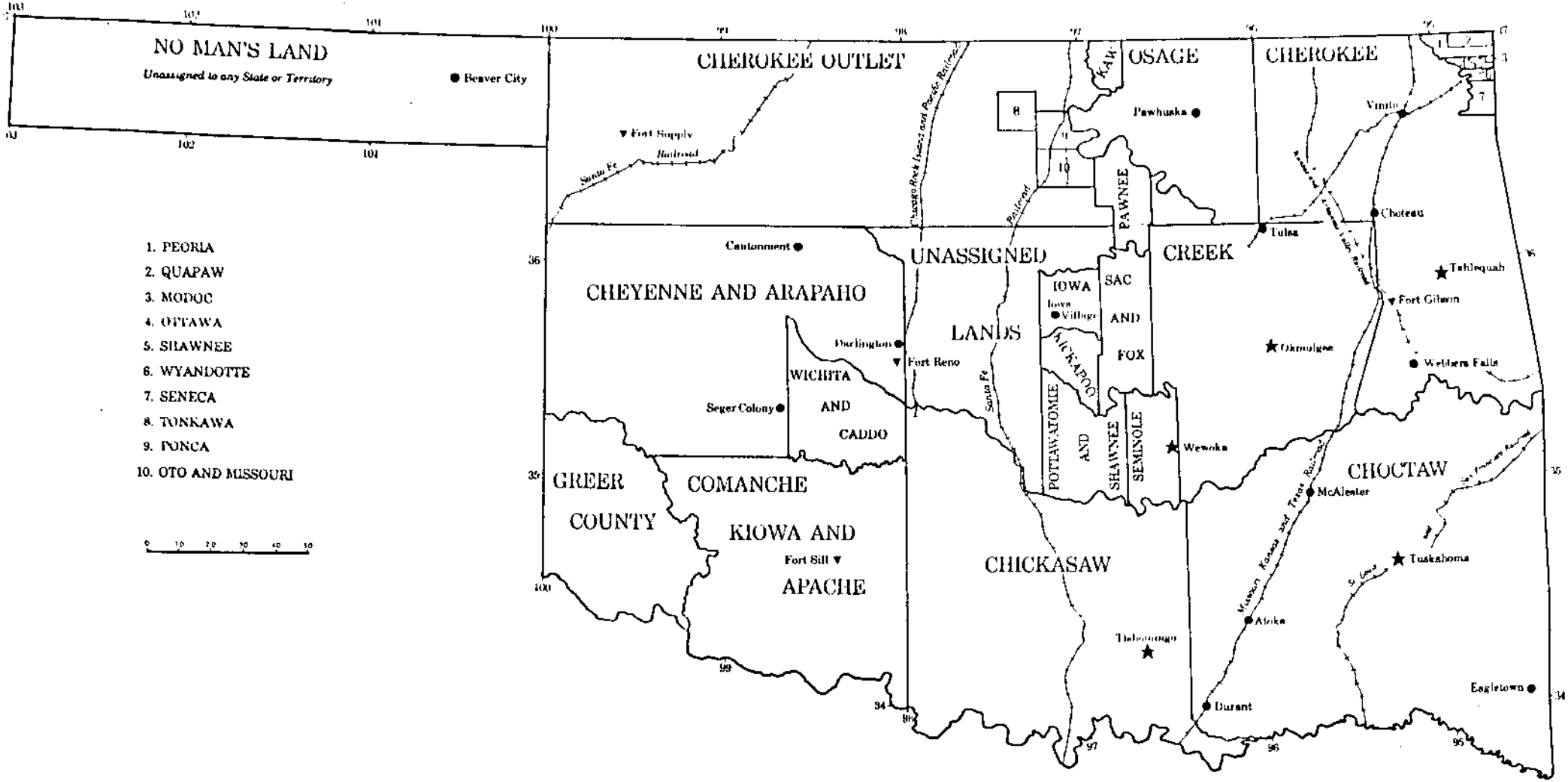
11. Cash and Wolff, The Comanche People, pp. 66-70. See also Stanton K. Tefft, "Cultural Adaption: The Case of The Comanche Indians," Ph.D. dissertation, University of

Minnesota, 1960; Hugh Corwin, "Protestant Missionary Work Among the Comanches and Kiowas," Chronicles of Oklahoma 46 (1968): 41-57; William T. Hagan, United States-Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976); William T. Hagan, "Kiowas, Comanches, and Cattlemen, 1867-1906: A Case Study of the Failure of U.S. Reservation Policy," Pacific Historical Review 40 (1971): 333-355; Martha Buntin, "History of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency," Panhandle-Plains Historical Review 4(1931): 62-78; Michael D. Green, "Acculturation Problems Among the Plains Tribes of the Government Agencies in Western Indian Territories," Chronicles of Oklahoma 44 (1966): 281-289; Forrest D. Monahan, "The Kiowa-Comanche Reservation in the 1890s," Chronicles of Oklahoma 45 (1968): 451-463. On Quanah Parker, see William T. Hagan, "Quanah Parker," in American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity, ed. R. David Edmunds (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), pp. 175-191.

12. Hagan, United States-Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years, pp. 74-75, 133-35, 160-62, 194-200, 221-24; Laurie Tatum, Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President U. S. Grant (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970); The Fort School Indian Experience (Lawton: C. & J. Printing Co., 1981); History of Elgin (Elgin: Elgin Bicentennial History Book Committee, 1976).

13. On allotment in general see D. S. Otis, The Dawes Act and The Allotment of Indian Lands, ed. with an introduction by Paul Prucha (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973). On the Comanches in particular see William T. Hagan, "Adjusting to the Opening of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache Reservation," in The Plains Indians of the Twentieth Century, ed. Peter Iverson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

14. For the Indian Reorganization Act and the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act see Kenneth Philp, John Collier's Crusade For Indian Reform, 1920-1954 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977); and Thomas M. Holm, "Indians and Progressives: From Vanishing Policy to the Indian New Deal," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1978.



MAP II. BOUNDARIES OF THE COMANCHE, KIOWA, AND APACHE RESERVATION

Historical Overview of the Kiowa Tribe

The following brief essay is designed to provide a historical overview of the Kiowa Indian tribe during the course of their residence in southwestern Oklahoma, or Management Region #7. A more complete comprehension of their story requires some knowledge of their early migrations and of their cultural characteristics as am emerging people, but the focus of the essay is primarily upon the period from 1803 to 1938. The story of the Kiowas during much of that period is really the story of the area encompassed in Management Region #7.

The Kiowa people have long been regarded as one of the preeminent tribes on the Southern Plains. Today the Kiowas are recognized as a leading force among the Oklahoma tribes and are especially well known for their interest in protecting the cultural heritage of Oklahoma's Indian people. The tribe is also highly regarded for its political and economic strength.[1] Mildred Mayhall, whose book The Kiowas is a standard account of the tribe's history, has written that the "courage, strength, and resolute will" that characterized the tribe in the nineteenth century holds true in any discussion of the tribe during this century as well. Muriel Wright has correctly observed that today the Kiowas "are considered one of the most progressive Indian groups in southwestern Oklahoma."[2]

Despite their modest numbers, the Kiowas have attracted a good deal of attention from historians, anthropologists, and ethnologists. This is due, in part, to the fact that the Kiowas were an extremely visible tribe that successfully resisted white encroachment until late in the last century. That they enjoy a reputation as some of the fiercest and most capable fighters on the Southern Plains no doubt contributes to the attention given them. Fortunately, the body of material on the Kiowas is both large and diverse, though it is of uneven quality. As is the case with most of the Oklahoma Indians, however, the more recent history of the Kiowas has been neglected and the time seems ripe for a full-scale reassessment of their history.[3]

The Kiowas represent something of an anomaly in the history of the Southern Plains tribes. Unlike the Apache, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho people, the Kiowas are not part of a larger linguistic or cultural family of tribes. As far as can be told, their language is unique and is not spoken in any other form or dialect (though Kiowa legends mention the existence of another Kiowa-speaking tribe in the American northwest). And though the tribe shares with its neighbors a common Plains Indian culture, its rituals, ceremonies, and legends do not tie it in any formal way to other Plains groups.

The earliest history of the Kiowas places them in the north country of the Yellowstone River, in present day

Montana. Tribal historians, relying on oral traditions, speak of Kiowa ancestors among the Sarsi and Cree Indians, and the earliest known Kiowa hunting grounds were located between the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers.[4] Here they were in the company of the Kiowa-Apaches, an Athapascan-speaking tribe often mistakenly taken to be direct relatives of the Kiowas.[5] Though closely allied with the Kiowa Apaches during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Kiowas maintained a distinct and separate identity and heritage.

Tribal legends explain that a dispute between two Kiowa factions over a prized talisman (the udder of a slain antelope, considered to possess considerable spiritual power) led to a permanent split and prompted the tribe to move from the Yellowstone country. One faction moved westward out of recorded history. The other, from whence came the modern day Kiowas, moved eastward to the Black Hills of present day Wyoming where they met and allied themselves with the Crow people.[6] Most authorities place this move at about AD 1700.

While in the company of the Crows, the Kiowas began to take on the lifestyle and culture typical of the Plains tribes. During this period they took up the use of the horse and assumed other characteristics of the Plains culture. As a result, their patterns of living were fundamentally changed. "The Kiowas...would come to exploit

this predatory way of life to the fullest," wrote Mayhall. "It would not have been possible without the horse," she continued, "nor could they have adapted themselves to the complete area of the Southern Plains without the horse."[7] Of special importance is the fact that the Crows introduced the Kiowas to the Sun Dance sometime around 1765. It was from the Crows that the Kiowas obtained the sacred Tai-may, a talisman representing the powers of Pahy, the sun. The traditions and importance of the Sun Dance (which the Kiowas practiced without the self-torture common to a number of other Plains tribes) survive to this day. Though the Sun Dance was last actually performed in 1890, its rites and symbolism are represented by the Tiah-Pah, or Gourd Dance, Society of the Kiowa tribe. The Kiowa Gourd Dance Clan holds an annual celebration in early July at Carnegie in Caddo County to commemorate the traditional importance of the dance and to reaffirm the tribe's cultural heritage.[8]

The Kiowas' stay in Crow country was relatively short-lived, however, for by the mid-1770s bands of the Sioux began to drive the Kiowas southward to the forks of the Platte River in present day Nebraska. Eventually, the Kiowas moved even farther south to the Washita River in present day western Oklahoma. Unlike many other tribes, the Kiowas have been "Oklahoma Indians" for some time. In 1790, the Kiowas and the Comanches concluded an alliance making them the dominant force on the Southern Plains. Working in

concert, these two tribes, joined by the Kiowa Apache, possessed the military strength necessary to control most of present day Texas, Oklahoma, parts of Kansas and Colorado, and portions of New Mexico. To the northeast, they pushed back the Wichita confederacy; to the west the Utes, Navahos, and Apaches. They met considerable resistance from the Osages, who in the summer of 1833 attacked a Kiowa camp in northwestern Comanche County, cut off the heads of their enemies and stuffed them into copper trade kettles. Thereafter the campsite was known as Cut Throat Gap. The following year the Kiowas made peace with the powerful Osage as well as the Sioux and Pawnee tribes. In 1840 they settled differences with the Cheyennes. Though a formal Indian alliance did not exist on the Southern Plains by the mid-nineteenth century, there was a certain degree of unanimity among the more powerful tribes with the Kiowas and Comanches in the van of that movement.[9]

The social and political organization of the Kiowas was quite complex. Six divisions made up the tribe, and each division was directed by its own chief. One or more extended families comprised a band, which was the primary political and economic unit of the tribe. (Divisions were thus made up of a collection of bands that were defined by kinship.) Social stratification was present in the form of four ranks that represented a loose sort of social class structure. Societal organizations existed for both sexes

and possibly served to stabilize social positions. In the main, Kiowa cultural institutions of the pre-reservation era suggest a decentralized tribal organization in which band and family affiliation served as the primary means of identification and organization. This scheme, moreover, is consistent with that of many other Plains tribes.[10]

The ability of the Kiowas and Comanches to control much of the Southern Plains was largely uncontested through the 1850s. By that time, of course, the Kiowas had been in contact with whites for several decades. The United States government, moreover, had gone to some lengths to secure agreements with the tribe in order to decrease the possibility of military confrontations. The first official contact between the American government and the Kiowas came in the summer of 1834 when Kiowas were among a collection of tribal leaders from the Indian Territory who met with Colonel Henry Dodge's Dragoon Expedition at the junction of Elk Creek and the North Fork of the Red River in Devil's Canyon in southwestern Kiowa County. Though not a formal treaty session, the meeting produced an accord between the tribes in attendance aimed at quieting inter-tribal hostilities. In August of 1835 the Treaty of Camp Holmes, negotiated at a site near Lexington, Oklahoma, formally established peaceful relations between the Comanches, Wichitas, Creeks, Cherokees, Muskogees, and Osages. The Kiowas, Kiowa Apaches, and Tawakonis, who had left Camp

Holmes before the agreements were finalized, subsequently accepted terms at Fort Gibson on May 26, 1837. Despite the treaty's provisions, however, Kiowa parties continued to raid into Texas and Mexico.[11]

By the 1850s United States military and government authorities expressed growing alarm over the Kiowa-Comanche Indian barrier on the Southern Plains. A series of military forts appeared along the Texas frontier and officials treated with the Kiowas and neighboring tribes. On July 27, 1853 the Fort Atkinson Treaty, to which the Kiowas were signatories, secured the protection of settlers moving onto the Southern Plains via the Santa Fe Trail and other overland routes.[12] Annuities were promised to the Kiowas, Kiowa Apache, and Comanches in return for safe passage of settlers and the establishment of roads and military posts. Despite the apparent significance of the treaty, none of the Kiowa calendars recorded it and in any event, the treaty did little to actually improve the situation on the Southern Plains.

Following the Fort Atkinson treaty, in fact, hostilities escalated. Under the leadership of Dohasan, the Kiowas stepped up raids into Texas against whites and neighboring tribes. Efforts by government representatives in 1857 and 1858 to relieve tensions with the Kiowas and Comanches were not fruitful. Relations in Texas between whites, Kiowas and Comanches, and other tribes deteriorated

so badly that in late 1859 the Wacos, Tawakonis, Caddoes, and Tonkawas were relocated on the Washita River in present Caddo County, Oklahoma. An agency and a fort were promptly established just east of the present town of Fort Cobb.

The coming of the American Civil War only worsened conditions. By 1863 a general state of war was considered to exist between the United States government and the tribes on the Southern Plains. Notable engagments between the two groups occurred at Sand Creek, Colorado, in the autumn of 1864, and at Adobe Walls, New Mexico, in the summer of the same year. In the fall of 1865, Kiowa emissaries met with government agents at the mouth of the Little Arkansas River near present day Wichita, Kansas. There, on October 17 and 18, the Kiowas, Kiowa Apaches, and Comanches "agreed to give up their claims in Colorado, Kansas, and New Mexico, and to remove south of the Arkansas to reservation lands in present day Oklahoma, north of the Red River."[13] But the death shortly thereafter of Dohasan, who had promoted peace at the Little Arkansas negotiations, split the tribe into two factions--one led by Kicking Bird, the other by Lone Wolf and Satanta. Under Satanta's leadership, bands of Kiowas resumed raiding.

In the fall of 1867 the government made a final attempt to secure peace on the Southern Plains when it brought together representatives from all of the major tribes at Medicine Lodge Creek, Kansas. There, the Kiowas, Comanches,

Kiowa Apaches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes once more accepted terms. According to the treaty's provisions, the Kiowa and Comanche people were given a reservation on lands leased from the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes west of the ninety-eighth meridian, between the Washita and Red Rivers (see Map B). Near what is ~~not~~ now Anadarko the federal government established an agency for them. "As usual," wrote Mayhall, "the Kiowas maintained their independence and were reluctant to take up reservation life."[14] Indeed, the Kiowas proved extremely unwilling to enter the reservation, and it was only after the disastrous attack upon the Cheyenne and Arapaho--Battle of the Washita--near present Cheyenne in Roger Mills County in November 1868 that the Kiowas were induced to come onto the reservation.

Once on the reservation, the Kiowas remained restive. Under Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree, raiding parties crossed into Texas. Only after Satank was killed in the spring of 1871, and Satanta had committed suicide while being held in a military prison in Huntsville, Texas, in 1878 did the Kiowas grow more complacent. The death in late 1875 of Kicking Bird contributed to the loss of the tribe's leadership and probably helped to lessen its defiant stance.

As was the rule on the Indian Territory reservations, the government encouraged the Kiowas to adopt a sedentary lifestyle, to become agriculturalists, to accept Christian mission workers, and to enter schools. Success was limited

and the Kiowas, like those tribes around them, resisted whole-sale acculturation. Thomas C. Battey, a Quaker, opened the first school on the Kiowa reservation in 1873 near present Anadarko. The government later established boarding schools attended by Kiowa youngsters at Riverside (Anadarko), Rainy Mountain (south of Mountain View in Kiowa County), and Fort Sill Indian School (Lawton). Mission work began in 1881 under the auspices of the Episcopalians. Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Catholics came onto the reservation in the late 1880s. They established five mission schools: St. Patricks, near Anadarko (Roman Catholic); Methvin, at Anadarko (Methodist); Mautame, east of Anadarko (Presbyterian); Cache Creek, south of Meers (Reformed Presbyterian); and Saddle Mountain, west of Meers (American Baptist). In 1879 the Kiowa-Comanche Agency was moved from Fort Sill to Anadarko, where it was consolidated with the Wichita Agency.[15]

In 1892 the Kiowas found themselves in the midst of a crisis when the Jerome Commission (also called the Cherokee Commission) arranged for the allotment in severalty of their reservation according to the provisions of the Dawes Act (1887). Allotment, the latest in a series of government programs aimed at hastening the acculturation of the Oklahoma tribes, provided one hundred and sixty acre tracts to every tribal member, the remainder to be sold to white homesteaders and settlers. Though legal protests went as

far as the United States Supreme Court, on July 4, 1901 the Kiowa-Comanche reservation was allotted and the surplus lands were put up for sale. 2,759 Kiowas received allotments; some two million additional acres in present day Tillman, Cotton, Comanche, Stephens, Jefferson, Caddo, and Grady counties went to white settlers.[16]

Until the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 restored a measure of sovereignty to the Kiowas, the tribe faced difficult odds. Unprepared to live in the white world, the Kiowas had neither the economic nor political resources to protect themselves. Poverty and discrimination hobbled the tribe. Traditional ceremonial rites were discontinued and the tribe's cultural heritage threatened to go into a serious decline. A partial remedy was secured in 1918 when Mrs. Susan Peters, a matron for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and a staunch advocate of the Kiowas, provided five aspiring Kiowa artists with formal training and support at the University of Oklahoma. In the late 1950s, after a lapse of some thirty years, the Kiowa Gourd Clan resumed its annual celebration. Today the Kiowas are widely regarded as an outstanding example of cultural revitalization. They have also rebounded in the last thirty years from the poverty and political impotence of the post-allotment era. Headquartered at Carnegie and organized in 1968, the Kiowa Tribal Council governs tribal affairs in health, education, and economic development. A tribal housing authority is

working to solve problems of inadequate or sub-standard housing among the Kiowa people. The Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Intertribal Business Committee works with local and federal authorities on matters of concern to the tribe. The nearly 6,300 Kiowas now carried on the rolls (most of whom reside in and around Carnegie) face a relatively bright future. They have proven that "the prospect of a bright future of accomplishments and advances for the entire tribe" is fast becoming a reality.[17]

NOTES

1. The Kiowa Historical and Research Council at Carnegie, Oklahoma, for example, represents an important effort to protect and preserve the tribe's history and culture. Similarly, the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Intertribal Business Committee reflects a serious attempt to ensure the tribe's financial and commercial well-being.

2. Muriel Wright, A Guide To the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951): p. 171; Mildred P. Mayhall, The Kiowas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962): p. xi. Readers should note, however, that since late 1986, political infighting has virtually paralyzed the Kiowa tribal government. At the time of this writing (March 1988), an immediate solution does not seem at hand.

3. The standard account of the Kiowas is Mayhall, The Kiowas. Mayhall did not, however, make much use of Kiowa informants. Her treatment, moreover, is not particularly balanced and does not accurately reflect the willingness and ability of the Kiowa to manage their own affairs. Her suggestion that the Kiowas "are a resigned people uncertain of the future...rather than a forceful and dynamic minority" is an extremely fatuous one. Students should also see Maurice Boyd, Kiowa Voices, 3 volumes (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1981); Hugh Corwin, The Kiowa

Indians, Their History and Life Stories (Lawton, Oklahoma: 1958); Stanley Crocchiola, Satanta and the Kiowas (Borger, Texas: Jim Hess Printers, 1968); Jerrold E. Levy, "After Custer: Kiowa Political and Social Organization From The Reservation Period to The Present" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1959); Alice Lee Marriott, Saynday's People: The Kiowa Indians and the Stories They Told (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963); Alice Lee Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965); James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898): Part 1, pp. 129-445; Wilbur S. Nye, Bad Medicine and Good: Tales of the Kiowa (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Wilbur S. Nye, Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Ft. Sill (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969); Elsie Parsons, Kiowa Tales (New York: G.E. Stechert and Sons, 1929); Jane Richardson, Law and Status Among the Kiowa Indians (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1940).

4. Boyd, Kiowa Voices, pp. 6-7; Mayhall, The Kiowas, p. 8.

5. James Mooney, for instance, thought that the Kiowa Apache were a sub-group of the Kiowas. This argument was challenged by J. G. McAllister, "Kiowa Apache Social Organization," in Social Anthropology of North American Tribes, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago: University of Chicago

Press, 1955): pp. 99-172; and in Charles S. Brant, "The Kiowa Apache Indians: A Study in Ethnohistory and Acculturation," Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1951. The Kiowa Apache, wrote Branch, "had preserved many cultural characteristics from a common earlier heritage shared with the southwestern Apaches" that clearly aligned them with the Athapascan tribes and not with the Kiowas.

6. This schism, called the "Pulling-out Band Legend," is recounted in Boyd, Kiowa Voices, pp. 9-10. See also Mayhall, The Kiowas, p. 9.

7. Mayhall, The Kiowas, p. 11. See also Clark Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," American Anthropologist 16 (1914): 1-25.

8. See Boyd, Kiowa Voices, chapter XIV, "Tian Paye (Tiah-Pah): The Goon-gah or Kiowa Gourd Dance,"; see also H. L. Scott, "Notes on the Kado, or Sun Dance of the Kiowa," American Anthropologist 13 (1911): 45-379; Leslie Spier, "Notes on the Kiowa Sun Dance," American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers 16 (1921): 433-450.

9. The Kiowas kept recorded calendars of the events of this era. These remarkable documents, kept only by one other Plains group--the Sioux--were the basis of James Mooney's history of the Kiowas, see Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowas."

10. A good account of Kiowa social and political organization is Levy, "After Custer: Kiowa Political and

Social Organization From the Reservation Period to the Present." See also Harold B. Simpson, "The Kiowas," in Indian Tribes of Texas, introduction by W. W. Newcomb, Jr., (Waco, Texas: Texian Press, 1971): 99-123; Mayhall, The Kiowas, pp. 112-145.

11. Mayhall, The Kiowas, pp. 61-77; "Indian Treaties and Councils Affecting Kansas," Kansas State Historical Society, Collections 16 (1923-1924): 746-772.

12. Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," 173.

13. Mayhall, The Kiowas, pp. 205-206; Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," 180-181.

14. Mayhall, The Kiowas, pp. 211-212. A good account of the hostilities of the entire era is Robert M. Utley, The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), especially chapters III, IV, V, and VI.

15. See Hugh Corwin, "Protestant Missionary Work Among the Comanches and Kiowas," Chronicles of Oklahoma 46 (1968): 41-57; Thomas C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968); Michael D. Mitchell, "Acculturation Problems Among the Plains Tribes of the Government Agencies in Western Indian Territory," Chronicles of Oklahoma 44 (1966): 281-289; Forrest D. Monahan, "The Kiowa-Comanche Reservation in the 1890s," Chronicles of Oklahoma 45 (1968): 451-463;

William D. Pennington, "Government Policy and Farming on the Kiowa Indian Reservation, 1869-1901," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1972.

16. See Martha Buntin, "History of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency," Panhandle-Plains Historical Review 4 (1931): 62-78; William T. Hagan, "Adjusting To The Opening of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa Apache Reservation," in The Plains Indians of the Twentieth Century, edited by Peter Iverson, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985): 11-30.

17. Marian Hansson, "The Kiowa," U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Art and Crafts Board, Southern Plains Museum Crafts Center," no date, no page.

Historical Overview of the Kiowa Apache Tribe

In a 1971 essay on the Kiowa Apache, anthropologist William Bittle neatly summed up the scarcity of material on that tribe when he observed that "the simplest data on tribal numbers, distributions of house-holds and their composition, the nature of the modern kin group, and the organization and function of summer pow-wows are, in the main, unavailable."[1] Noting that research on American Indian tribes has been regarded in some quarters as relatively unimportant, Bittle pessimistically wrote that anthro-pologists, historians, federal and state agencies, and the public at large "know essentially nothing about this large and historically immensely important American minority." This sad state is especially prevalent with regard to the smaller, less well known tribes, among whom the Kiowa Apache are to be included. "This small tribe," remarked Bittle, "has received remarkably little attention in the ethnographic literature." With the exception of a handful of interpretative works, moreover, recent accounts of the tribe are virtually nonexistent, and a full treatment of their tribal history remains to be written.[2] Of necessity rather sketchy, the essay that follows deals with the Kiowa Apache during their residence in Management Region #7 from 1803 to 1938.

The early history of the Kiowa Apache is, in Bittle's

telling phrase, "opaque." Part of the confusion over the tribe's origins and traditions has been the result of the misguided and historically incorrect tendency to consider the Kiowa Apache an appendage of the more well known Kiowa tribe. James Mooney's opinion that such was the case held considerable currency until the appearance in 1935 of J. G. McAllister's work on the Kiowa Apache. "Although McAllister did not specifically address Kiowa-Kiowa Apache cultural differences," wrote Bittle, "it was more than evident from his work that significant differences did exist."[3] Charles Brant's studies amplified McAllister's findings and revealed fundamental cultural differences between the two tribes. The Kiowa Apache, according to Brant, had "preserved many cultural characteristics from a common earlier heritage shared with the Southwestern Apaches" that clearly aligned them with the Athapascans, and not with the Kiowas.[4]

The Kiowa Apache are members of the Athapascan family of tribes of the American Southwest that are identified under the general rubric of Apache. Unfortunately, our precise knowledge of the early history of the Apachean tribes remains somewhat clouded. Winfred Buskirk's observation in 1949 that "there are lacunae in our data on [the] material culture and economic life" of the Apaches points out the relative scarcity of published information about the Apachean tribes.[5] Forty years later, our knowledge of their ethnology and early history continues to

be relatively limited, but we have a better understanding of Apachean cultural patterns than ever before. The Apachean tribes formed the Southern division of the great Athapascan family. One of the most widely scattered of the North American Indian linguistic families, the Athapascans formed three great geographic groups: the Northern, reaching as far north as the Arctic; the Pacific Coast; and the Southern, or Apachean, group. The Apachean division was further separated into seven distinct tribes whose names have been long familiar in Southwestern Indian history: Navaho, Jicarilla, Kiowa-Apache, Lipan, Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Western Apache. The tribes were loosely joined into two geographical divisions, a western one comprised of the Navaho, Western, and Chiricahua Apaches, and an eastern one made up of the Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache tribes. Each individual tribe occupied separate domains defined by territorial limits, and cultural and linguistic differences. Generally speaking, the Apachean tribes originally ranged from southern Colorado south into Mexico, and from central Arizona east to the Great Plains. The territory of the Kiowa Apache was generally eastward from that of the other Apachean tribes. Located in Texas, Oklahoma, and as far north as Kansas, the Kiowa Apache ranged through the country in the company of the Cheyenne, Comanche, and Kiowa tribes.[6]

The outlines of Apachean pre-history are not entirely

clear. Anthropological and archaeological findings suggest an Athapaskan migration from Northwest North America to the American Southwest sometime between A.D. 1000 and 1600. The most reliable and significant evidence of prehistorical Apachean culture are the remains of hogan-type dwellings in Colorado, dating from around A.D. 1000, and a collection of ruins in Governador, New Mexico, dated at around A.D. 1540. Anthropologist Jean Tweedie has summed up the difficulties facing those in search of Apachean culture by noting that "compared with the majority of Amerindian tribes, relatively little is known about this group, specially about their life prior to the arrival of Europeans in the seventeenth century."[7] Moreover, the Apaches themselves offer conflicting versions of origin myths and tales, prompting one writer to note in exasperation that the Apaches "wandered everywhere and dwelt nowhere."[8] By the time of Spanish contact, however, the Apachean tribes were widely regarded by neighboring tribes as fiercely independent, tough, resourceful, and quite warlike.

The name Apache is probably a derivation of the term apachu, the Zuni word for enemy which they used to describe the Navaho. Another possibility, though less likely, might come from a derivation of the Spanish word axwa (duo-plural axwa ta), taken from the Yavapai term for man or people. The Apache called themselves N'de, or Tinde, a form of the term Tinneh, meaning people. The name Apache seems to have

been first used by Juan de Onate, founder of the colony of New Mexico, who encountered Apache tribesmen in 1601 during an expedition through western Oklahoma's Antelope Hills. The tribe's first recorded contact with Europeans came in 1540 or 1541, when Coronado passed through Apache territory on his expedition to the Southern Plains. Early Spanish explorers noted the tribes' warlike habits, but also found the Apaches to be "a gentle people...faithful in their friendships."[9]

All of the Apache tribes were more or less nomadic, a characteristic accentuated by pressure from Spanish settlements and from surrounding tribes, notably the Comanche, and by the seasonal migration of the buffalo herds that constituted the Apaches' main source of food and supply. Early Spanish records describe the rancherias, or small villages that dotted the Apache territory, and which could be moved with remarkable speed. The Apaches also carried on an extensive and profitable trade with neighboring tribes, especially the Pueblo people of New Mexico, with whom they traded buffalo meat, hides, tallow, and salt in return for pottery, corn, and cotton blankets.[10]

Next to their more well known Apachean kinsmen, the Kiowa Apache have remained an enigmatic, sometimes shadowy group. There is "a complete absence of direct testimony as to their whereabouts in the mid-sixteenth century," when Spanish explorers were coming into contact with many of the

tribes on the Southern Plains. Early Spanish adventurers, particularly from the Coronado expedition, met and identified Apachean tribesmen whom they identified as "Querechos," but failed to establish firmly that the Kiowa Apache were among those so visited. Muriel Wright observed that La Salle met the Kiowa Apache in 1682 and called them "Gattakca," or "cedar people." La Salle, moreover, noted that the Kiowa Apache possessed horses and traded with neighboring tribes, notably the Pawnee, who also called the Kiowa Apache "Ga' ta 'ka." J. B. Bernard, Sieur De La Harpe probably encountered the Kiowa Apache in Oklahoma during his expedition of 1719 and called them "Quataquois." Even the Lewis and Clark expedition reported in 1805 that it had visited a tribe whom they called the "Catacka," in the Black Hills of northeastern Wyoming.[11] Yet even after the Kiowa Apache appear in recorded histories, concrete references to them remain sparse. Occasional references to the tribe more often than not lumped it in with the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche tribes.[12]

Contact between Americans and the Kiowa Apache came relatively late. The first official contact between the tribe and United States officials probably occurred in 1834, when Kiowa Apache spokesmen are thought to have been among a delegation visited by the Dodge-Leavenworth Expedition at Devil's Canyon now in southwestern Kiowa County, Oklahoma.[13] In May 1837 the Kiowa Apache joined the Kiowas and Tawakaros

and signed a treaty of "amity and peace" at Fort Gibson in the Indian Territory. Though no binding agreements were made, the treaty promised peace between the tribes and the United States, the Republic of Mexico, and the Republic of Texas.[14] The treaty actually did little to limit raiding by the tribes over the Mexican and Texan borders. Though depredations against American citizens were few, the Kiowa Apache were little affected by United States attempts to control them. The Kiowa Apache also continued to raid neighboring tribes, especially the Cheyenne and Arapaho, whom they considered to be their traditional enemies. Working in concert with the Kiowas and Comanches, the Kiowa Apache continued to range at will over the Southern Plains until well into the nineteenth century.

One of the reasons for our limited knowledge of the tribe throughout the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s comes from the tendency of the Kiowa Apache to dwell apart from, and to generally avoid close contact with, neighboring tribes. Even among the Kiowas and Comanches the Kiowa Apache displayed a reticence to participate fully in meetings. When they did join in with other tribes, the separate identity of the Kiowa Apache tended to get lost, a fact that led Mooney and others astray in their investigations of the tribe. Throughout the 1840s, government attempts to treat with the Kiowa Apache met with partial success at best, and the tribe continued to resist attempts

to control it. Accounts by agents and others who witnessed treaty negotiations often mention the difficulty of convincing the Kiowa Apache to join large encampments. In 1853 the Kiowa Apache did agree to join the Kiowa and Comanche tribes as signers to a treaty between the tribes, the United States, and the Republic of Mexico. Once again, the tribes generally disregarded the treaty and the United States failed to meet its obligations to protect and defend the three tribes. The fact that this seemingly important agreement was not mentioned on the Kiowa calendar lends some weight to Bittle's observation that the treaty made "a slight impression" indeed among that tribe's leaders.[15]

As the 1850s closed, a new era in Kiowa Apache history unfolded. Events soon began to limit the ability of the tribe to remain free from white contact and control. Small pox and cholera epidemics, the ever increasing influx of white settlers, the independence and, later, statehood of Texas, and an escalation of United States military operations all across the Southern Plains combined to limit severely the tribe's freedom of movement. In 1862 small pox ravaged the tribe (fully one-sixth perished) and government observers noted that the Kiowa Apache were facing virtual starvation. Destitute, starving, and increasingly hemmed in, the Kiowa Apache entered into negotiations with the government in 1865. At the same time they broke their traditional ties with the Kiowa and Comanche in favor of a

new partnership with their former enemies, the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Two years later the tribe signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek and along with the Kiowas, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, accepted protected reservations in the western end of Indian Territory. The Kiowa Apache, then numbering about three hundred, confederated once more with the Kiowas and Comanches and moved onto their three million acre reservation (See Map B).[16]

From administrative centers near Anadarko, government agents encouraged Kiowa Apache to adopt a sedentary, agricultural lifestyle. With few exceptions, success was quite limited. Hampered by what Bittle bluntly (but correctly) called the "inept and culturally inappropriate administrative mandates" of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Kiowa Apache struggled simply to survive, much less to retain any semblance of their cultural identity. A mission by the Reformed Presbyterian Church at Cache Creek must south of Meers in Caddo County had virtually no impact upon them. By 1900 a government agent was moved to observe that like other tribes in the region, the Kiowa Apache had by and large failed to make notable progress, such lack of progress being marked up to the intransigence and indolence of the Indians.[17] Allotment in severalty of the tribe's domain between 1900 and 1908, the government's latest program to assimilate and civilize the western tribes, did little to abate the tribe's sorry circumstances. Between 1900 and

1936, the Kiowa Apache and, indeed, all of the Oklahoma tribes struggled to survive in an environment which they did not understand, against whites who were unprepared and unwilling to assist them. Though the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 offered some relief, by that time the Kiowa Apache had lost much ground in their struggle to maintain their identity.[18]

Since the reorganization of the tribe under the provisions of the OIWA, the Kiowa Apache have faced difficult odds. Widespread discrimination directed against Indians in general has limited opportunities for the Kiowa Apache now residing near Apache in southern Caddo County. Though the tribe's members own fairly large amounts of land, multiple inheritances on allotments has made the sale or even the leasing of such properties almost impossible. Industry has not, as a rule, been attracted to western Oklahoma, and such opportunities as exist are extremely limited. A down turn in Oklahoma's oil revenues in the 1980s has hurt the state's citizens and the loss of the already scarce jobs has been especially felt among low income Indian groups. Public assistance is the largest single source of income for most of the Kiowa Apache people. Though there have been attempts to revive the tribe's traditional culture, progress has been slow. The Blackfeet Dancing Society, formed in the winter of 1959-1960, helped to revitalize a portion of the tribe's heritage, but a split

among two factions has hindered the society's effectiveness. Other revitalization movements, particularly the Native American Church, however, have had some impact inside the tribe.[19]

NOTES

1. The best account of the history of the Kiowa Apache is William Bittle's "A Brief Account of the Kiowa Apache," Papers in Anthropology 12(1971): 1-34. Published by the University of Oklahoma.

2. Ibid., 1-2. Though sparse, the limited body of work on the Kiowa Apache cuts a fairly wide swath. See Timothy G. Baugh, "Revitalization Movements Among the Kiowa and Kiowa Apache," Papers in Anthropology 11(1970): 66-83; Kenneth Beals, "The Dynamics of Kiowa Apache Peyotism," Ibid. 12(1971): 35-89; William Bittle, "The Manatidie: A Focus For Kiowa Apache Identity," Plains Anthropologist 7(1962): 152-163; William Bittle, "The Position of Kiowa Apache in the Apachean Group," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1956; Charles S. Brant, "The Cultural Position of the Kiowa Apache," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 5(1949): 56-61; Charles S. Brant, "Kiowa Apache Culture History," Ibid. 9(1953): 195-202; Charles S. Brant, "Peyotism Among the Kiowa Apache and Neighboring Tribes," Ibid. 6(1950): 212-222; Charles S. Brant, "Kiowa Apache Culture History: Some Further Observations," Ibid. 9(1953): 195-202; Charles S. Brant, "White Contact and Cultural Disintegration Among the Kiowa Apache," Plains Anthropologist 9(1964): 9-23; Charles S. Brant, "The Kiowa Apache Indians: A Study in

Ethnohistory and Acculturation," Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1951; J. G. McAllister, "Kiowa Apache Social Organization," in Social Anthropology of North American Tribes, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 99-172. (Also McAllister's Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1935).

3. Bittle, "A Brief Account of the Kiowa Apache," 2; McAllister, "Kiowa Apache Social Organization," James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898): Part 1, 129-445; see also Mooney, "Kiowa Apache," in Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30, ed. Frederick W. Hodge (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907): 701-703.

4. Bittle, "A Brief Account of the Kiowa Apache," 2. See above, note 2, for Charles S. Brant's works. See also Muriel Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951): 177-178.

5. Winfred Buskirk, The Western Apache: Living With the Land Before 1850 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986). See pp. 4-14 for a good ethnographic summary.

6. Buskirk, The Western Apache, 4-14; Greenville Goodwin, "The Southern Athapascans," in Western Apache Material Culture: The Goodwin and Guenther Collections, ed. Alan Ferg (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), 165-

174. Sound overviews of Apache culture and history are James L. Haley, Apaches: A History and Culture Portrait (Garden City: Doubleday, 1981); Keith Basso and Morris Opler, eds., Apachean Culture, History, and Ethnology (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971). See also Frank Lockwood, The Apache Indians (but be aware of Lockwood's narrow interpretation of Apachean culture which has serious racist overtones); Henry Dobyns, The Apache People (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1971); Thomas F. Mails, The People Called Apache (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974); John Terrell, The Plains Apache (New York: Crowell, 1975); Jonathan H. Jones, A Condensed History of the Apache and Comanche Indians (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976); Donald Worchester, The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979). For a good bibliography on the Apache see Michael E. Melody, The Apaches: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979).

7. M. Jean Tweedie, "Notes on the History and Adaptation of the Apache Tribes," American Anthropologist 70 (1968): 1132-1142; also Jack Forbes, "The Early Western Apache, 1300-1700," Journal of the West 5 (1966): 336-354.

8. Lockwood, The Apache Indians, 5.

9. Muriel Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 35; Lockwood, The Apache Indians, 4, 6. On early relations

between the Spanish and the Apache tribes see Jack Forbes, Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard: A History of the Southern Athapascans with the Spanish Empire, 1540-1698 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960); and Edward H. Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962).

10. Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 36.

11. Bittle, "A Brief Account of the Kiowa Apache," 2; Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 177-178. See also Anna Lewis, "La Harpe's First Expedition in Oklahoma, 1718-1719," Chronicles of Oklahoma 2(1924): 331-349; Mildred M. Wedel, "J. B. Bernard, Sieur De La Harpe: Visitor To The Wichitas in 1719," Great Plains Journal 10(1971): 37-70.

12. Bittle, "A Brief Account of the Kiowa Apache," 2-3.

13. An account of the tribe's early history can be found in Mooney's "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians." See above, note three.

14. Bittle, "A Brief Account of the Kiowa Apache," 3-4.

15. Bittle, "A Brief Account of the Kiowa Apache," 16. See also Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," 173.

16. Arrell M. Gibson, The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath Company, 1980): 408-410. See also Bittle, "A Brief Account of the Kiowa Apache," 20-28; Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 178.

17. Bittle, "A Brief Account of the Kiowa Apache," 28. Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 178. Note that Wright strenuously disagrees with this account and writes that the Kiowa Apache "settled peaceably on the reservation and were highly commended by the authorities for their industry and their efforts to make their own living."

18. See Bittle for a good appraisal of more recent Kiowa Apache history, 28-34. The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 was partly the product of Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier's "Indian New Deal." For a good assessment of Collier's Indian policy, see Kenneth M. Philp, John Collier's Crusade For Indian Reform, 1920-1954 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977).

19. Bittle, "A Brief Account of the Kiowa Apache," 32. See also Timothy G. Baugh, "Revitalization Movements Among the Kiowa and Kiowa Apache"; Kenneth Beals, "The Dynamics of Kiowa Apache Peyotism"; and Charles S. Brant, "Peyotism Among the Kiowa Apache and Neighboring Tribes," all above, in note two.

Historical Overview of the Apache Tribe

The following historical overview focuses upon the Apache people who played a dramatic role in the settlement of what is now southwestern Oklahoma, or Management Region #7. Although that role did not capture the imagination of Americans until the latter decades of the nineteenth century, here we are concerned with the period between 1803 and 1938. A full appreciation of the Apaches, however, depends upon some knowledge of their early migrations and cultural characteristics.

Of the various tribes that formerly ranged over the American Southwest, none seems to have suffered the lingering effects of stereotyping more than the Apache. Regarded as unusually fierce, a hard-scrabble people who held out against white encroachment until the last possible moment, the Apaches have been unjustly labeled as truculent savages, "the original `bad man' of the Southwest."[1] One authority, writing at the close of the last century, went so far as to say that the Apache "had nothing to attend to but his purposes of murder, rapine, and theft, which were his means of subsistence."[2] More recent accounts have done much to correct the distorted reputation of the Apaches, but historical investigations of the tribe have only begun to broaden our knowledge. Though they have not gone without attention, the Apaches represent a significant research

opportunity. For "more than any other force," commented one historian, they "changed the ethnological map of the Southwest.[3]

Winfred Buskirk's observation in 1949 that "there are lacunae in our data on [the] material culture and economic life" of the Apaches points up the relative scarcity of published information about the Apachean tribes.[4] Forty years later, our knowledge of their ethnology and early history continues to be relatively limited, but we do have a better understanding of Apachean cultural patterns than ever before. The Apachean tribes formed the Southern division of the great Athapascan family. One of the most widely scattered of the North American Indian linguistic families, the Athapascans formed three great geographic groups: the Northern, reaching as far north as the Arctic; the Pacific Coast; and the Southern, or Apachean, group. The Apachean division was further separated into seven distinct tribes whose names have been long familiar in Southwestern Indian history: Navaho, Jicarilla, Kiowa-Apache, Lipan, Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Western Apache. The tribes were loosely joined into two geographical divisions, a western one comprised of the Navaho, Western, and Chiricahua Apaches, and an eastern one made up of the Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache tribes. Each individual tribe occupied separate domains defined by territorial limits, and cultural and linguistic differences. Generally speaking, the

Apachean tribes originally ranged from southern Colorado south into Mexico, and from central Arizona east to the Great Plains. The territory of the Chiricahua, ancestors of the present-day Oklahoma Apache, ran from the Mogollon Rim in western New Mexico, west through southeastern Arizona, and south into the present-day Mexican states of Chihuahua and Sonora.[5]

The outlines of Apachean pre-history are not entirely clear. Anthropological and archaeological findings suggest an Anthapaskan migration from Northwest North America to the American Southwest sometime between A.D. 1000 and 1600. The most reliable and significant evidence of prehistorical Apachean culture are the remains of hogan-type dwellings in Colorado, dating from around A.D. 1000, and a collection of ruins in Governador, New Mexico dated at around A.D. 1540. Anthropologist Jean Tweedie has summed up the difficulties facing those in search of Apachean culture by noting that "compared with the majority of Amerindian tribes, relatively little is known about this group, specially about their life prior to the arrival of Europeans in the seventeenth century."[6] Moreover, the Apaches themselves offer conflicting versions of origin myths and tales, prompting one writer to note in exasperation that the Apaches "wandered everywhere and dwelt nowhere."[7] By the time of Spanish contact, however, the Apachean tribes were widely regarded by neighboring tribes as fiercely independent,

tough, resourceful, and quite warlike.

The name Apache is probably a derivation of the term apachu, the Zuni word for enemy which they used to describe the Navaho. Another possiblity, though less likely, might come from a derivation of the Spanish word axwa (duo-plural axwa ta), taken from the Yavapai term for man or people. The Apache called themselves N'de, or Tinde, a form of the term Tinneh, meaning people. The name Apache seems to have been first used by Juan de Onate, founder of the colony of New Mexico, who encountered Apache tribesmen in 1601 during an expedition through western Oklahoma's Antelope Hills. The tribe's first recorded contact with Europeans came in 1540 or 1541, when Coronado passed through Apache territory on his expedition to the Southern Plains. Early Spanish explorers noted the tribes' warlike habits, but also found the Apaches to be "a gentle people...faithful in their friendships."[8] All of the Apache tribes were more or less nomadic, a characteristic accentuated by pressure from Spanish settlements and from surrounding tribes, notably the Comanche, and by the seasonal migration of the buffalo herds that constituted the Apaches' main source of food and supply. Early Spanish records describe the rancherias, or small villages that dotted the Apache territory, and which could be moved with remarkable speed. The Apaches also carried on an extensive and profitable trade with neighboring tribes, especially the Pueblo people of New

Mexico, with whom they traded buffalo meat, hides, tallow, and salt in return for pottery, corn, and cotton blankets.[9]

The Chiricahua, from whose numbers came the Oklahoma, or Fort Sill, Apache, were comprised of three bands--the Eastern, Central, and Southern. One of the largest of the Apache tribes, the Chiricahua produced a number of well known leaders including Mangas Colorado, Victorio, Nana, Cochise, and the legendary Geronimo. The notoriously long and hard-fought campaigns against the Chiricahua, which did not end until the surrender of Geronimo in 1886, formed much of the backdrop for Indian-white relations in the American Southwest between the 1850's and the end of the 1880's and led ultimately to the relocation of the Chiricahua to Oklahoma. Primarily hunters and gatherers, the Chiricahuas ranged over a fairly expansive territory in loosely united groups. The tribe's principal social and economic unit was the extended family. Local autonomy was the rule and little in the way of formal ties linked the various bands together. "The mode of life, the loose social and political structure, and the extensive territories," commented Morris Opler, "combined to stimulate a marked spirit of independence.... No people were less well prepared for the constrictions and subordination of reservation life."[10]

The Chiricahua had little contact with Americans until the establishment of the Overland Mail Route to San Francisco in 1858. Shortly thereafter, government and

military officals began to press for increased control of the Chiricahuas in order to encourage settlement in the Arizona and New Mexico areas. Efforts to subdue the tribe had begun as early as 1855, but with the American Civil War, efforts were redoubled and a thoroughgoing campaign was mounted to bring the Chiricahuas onto a restricted reservation.[11] The well known and highly respected Chiricahua leader, Cochise, steadily refused to accept any proposal for a reservation that would not allow his people to remain in or near their traditional territory. Finally, in 1872, a reservation established in southeastern Arizona for Cochise and the Central Chiricahuas was approved, and by the next year, over 1,600 Chiricahuas from various bands had come in. Progress toward convincing the tribesmen that resistance was futile seemed to be making headway until 1875, when an influx of Eastern Chiricahua and White Mountain Apaches caused complications on the Central Chiricahua reservation. Fearful of losing control of the situation, army officials formulated plans to consolidate the Chiricahua bands at San Carlos Reservation in New Mexico. Though the move was accomplished after much trouble and delay, discontent among the Chiricahuas was widespread and deeply felt. In September 1877, some 300 Chiricahuas left San Carlos. Most were recaptured and later returned to San Carlos or to Fort Wingate in Navaho country.

The September 1877 incident at San Carlos ignited a

series of intermittent conflicts that continued for nearly a decade and which concluded only with the capture of Geronimo in 1886. The final episode in the on-going attempt by the Chiricahuas to break free of military control began in May 1885, when Geronimo and Naiche (a son of Cochise) fled San Carlos after hearing rumors of their impending arrest. Taking with them only forty-two men (along with wives and children), the fugitives struck out for the Mexican border. Making use of Apache scouts, General George Crook managed in March 1886 to persuade the Chiricahuas to surrender, though they did so under terms dictated to Crook. Geronimo and Naiche, however, bolted again, and took with them seventeen men, and nineteen women and children. General Nelson Miles placed an army of five-thousand soldiers in the field against Geronimo's handful of men and began an earnest campaign. Despite his superior numbers, Miles managed to meet and arrange terms with Geronimo only after two Apache scouts, who had relatives among the fleeing Chiricahuas, were allowed to enter Geronimo's stronghold and speak. On September 3, 1886, Miles accepted Geronimo's surrender.[12]

The recaptured Chiricahuas were immediately shipped to Forts Marion and Pickens in Florida, where they were held as prisoners of war. Eventually, some five-hundred Chiricahuas were incarcerated in Florida. Overcrowding was so bad, and sanitation so lacking, that by the time of the tribe's move to Alabama, nearly twenty-percent of the Chiricahuas held in

military prisons in Florida had perished. The plight of the Chiricahuas attracted a great deal of attention from the Indian Rights Association and other humanitarian groups; vigorous protests were lodged against the tribe's treatment in the Florida prisons. The outcry continued until the Chiricahuas were allowed to move to Mount Vernon Barracks, near Mobile, Alabama between April 1887 and May 1888. Conditions there were little better. Finally, after seven years in Alabama, the surviving 296 members of the tribe were transfered to Fort Sill in the Indian Territory in 1894. Still considered prisoners of war, the Chiricahuas organized themselves into small groups reminiscent of their traditional living patterns, and under the careful but humane direction of Captain Hugh Scott and Lieutenant Allyn Capron began to rebuild their numbers and to create a new life for the tribe.[13]

On land a part of the Fort Sill military reservation, seventy Chiricahua families labored to win back a measure of the independence so important to their sense of identity. They were not subjected to especially harsh treatment and in fact, as time went on, began to gain considerable freedom in order to build their double bin homes and to tend their crops and herds. Tribesmen were employed by the army as scouts. Other Chiricahuas performed seasonal work for the military by cutting hay, raising and selling crops, and managing the tribe's highly regarded herd of beef cattle.

Though there was a certain amount of discontent, much of it the result probably of the onerous fact that the Chiricahuas were still held as prisoners of war, the general atmosphere at Fort Sill between 1894 and 1913 seems to have been relatively calm. Mission work began in 1899, when the Reverend Frank Hall Wright organized a Dutch Reformed church (which Geronimo later joined). Educational facilities followed soon after.[14]

In 1913, after twenty-seven years as prisoners of war, the Fort Sill Apache were officially released. An act of Congress provided for the allotment of their lands and gave the Chiricahuas the choice of remaning in Oklahoma, or moving to the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico. Eighty-four chose to remain at Ft. Sill, 187 moved on to live among their Mescalero kinsmen on the land which had been their traditional home. The Apache herd was sold and pro-rata shares were used to buy eighty acre homesteads from the Comanche and Kiowa. The new settlement formed along the railroad by those who remained in Oklahoma was named, appropriately, Apache (in southern Caddo County).[15]

Since their release in 1913 and the subsequent division of their tribe, the Fort Sill Apaches have managed to maintain their numbers, but the tribe is not a major one in terms of size or power. About two-hundred Fort Sill Apaches are carried on tribal rolls. The tribe has no charter, by-laws, or constitution. A tribal council handles various

affairs, but there is no formal tribal organization. Their tribal officers are under the jurisdicion of the Indian agency at Anadarko.

NOTES

1. Frank Lockwood, The Apache Indians (New York: MacMillan and Company, 1938), 5.

2. A. F. Bandalier, Final Report on Investigations in the Southwest, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series III, 1890.

3. Lockwood, 6.

4. Winfred Buskirk, The Western Apache: Living With the Land Before 1850 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986). See pp. 4-14 for a good ethnographic summary.

5. Buskirk, The Western Apache, 4-14; Greenville Goodwin, "The Southern Athapascans," in Western Apache Material Culture: The Goodwin and Guenther Collections, ed. Alan Ferg (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), 165-174. Sound overviews of Apache culture and history are James L. Haley, Apaches: A History and Culture Portrait (Garden City: Doubleday, 1981); Keith Basso and Morris Opler, eds., Apachean Culture, History, and Ethnology (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971). See also Frank Lockwood, The Apache Indians (but be aware of Lockwood's narrow interpretation of Apachean culture which has serious racist overtones); Henry Dobyns, The Apache People (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1971); Thomas F. Mails, The People Called Apache (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974); John Terrell, The Plains Apache (New

York: Crowell, 1975); Jonathan H. Jones, A Condensed History of the Apache and Comanche Indians (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976); Donald Worchester, The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979). For a good bibliography on the Apache see Michael E. Melody, The Apaches: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979). The best account of Chiricahua culture is Morris Opler, An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of The Chiricahua Indians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

6. M. Jean Tweedie, "Notes on the History and Adaptation of the Apache Tribes," American Anthropologist 70 (1968): 1132-1142; also Jack Forbes, "The Early Western Apache, 1300-1700," Journal of the West 5 (1966): 336-354.

7. Lockwood, The Apache Indians, 5.

8. Muriel Wright, A Guide To the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 35; Lockwood, The Apache Indians, 4, 6. On early relations between the Spanish and the Apache tribes see Jack Forbes, Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard: A History of the Southern Athapascans with the Spanish Empire, 1540-1698 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960); and Edward H. Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962).

9. Wright, A Guide To the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 36.

10. Morris Opler, "The Indian Consolidation Policy and the Chiricahua Apache," Papers in Anthropology, University of Oklahoma Department of Anthropology 17 (1976): 43. For a discussion of Chiricahua culture and social organization, see Opler, An Apache Life-Way; and Opler, "An Outline of Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," in Social Anthropology of North American Tribes, ed. Frederick Eggan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937): 171-239.

11. A good brief discussion of the effort to control the Chiricahua is Opler, "The Indian Consolidation Policy and the Chiricahua Apache"; see also Ralph Ogle, Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886, New Mexico Historical Society Publications 9 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970); Ogle, "The End of Apache Resistance," in The Western American Indian: Case Studies in Tribal History, ed. Richard N. Ellis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 90-96; Paige W. Christiansen, "The Apache Barrier," Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal 2 (1966), 93-108.

12. Angie Debo, Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), chapter 12-14.

13. Opler, "The Indian Consolidation Policy and the Chiricahua Apache," 46-48; Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 38-39. See also Opler, "A Chiricahua

Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," New Mexico Historical Review 13 (1938): 360-386; Herbert Welsh, The Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1887); David M. Goodman, "Apaches As Prisoners of War, 1886-1894," Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Christian University, 1968.

14. On the Fort Sill experience in general see John A. Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, 1894-1914," Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1978; Michael L. Tate, "Apache Scouts, Policy, and Judges as Agents of Acculturation, 1865-1920," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toledo, 1974; Charles R. McBurney, "Cache Creek Indian Mission: A Study in Religious Education Among the Comanche, Apache, and Kiowa Indians," Masters Thesis, University of Kansas, 1948.

15. Ibid.; Debo, Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place, chapters 12-14.

Historical Overview of the Wichita Tribe

Of all the Indian peoples associated with Management Region #7, the Wichitas have been a part of the history of the region longer than any other tribe. The following essay address that history briefly and focuses upon the period between 1803 and 1938, although in the interest of fully comprehending the significance of the Wichita people it gives some attention to their early migrations and cultural characteristics.

It is worth noting at the outset that the Wichitas are one of a number of tribes whose role in American history has been neither well-told or remembered. Once an important power on the Southern Plains with dozens of villages and close connections to a number of important tribes, since the middle of the last century the Wichitas have become increasingly obscure. Unable to resist white encroachments, or to cope with their changing environment, the Wichitas lost control of their own affairs fairly early in the last century. Like the Caddoes, their linguistic and cultural kinsmen, the small number of Wichitas who survived the wars, disease, and dislocation which accompanied white settlements in their territory found themselves virtually helpless to retain any degree of sovereignty. By 1835, when they signed the Treaty of Camp Holmes, the Wichita were well on the way toward being reduced to a remnant of their former

confederacies.

The Wichita were members of the large Southern Caddoan family, which encompassed most of east Texas and southwestern Oklahoma. The Southern Caddoan confederacy represented what Herbert Bolton once described as "the highest form of native society between the Red and the upper Rio Grande rivers." Unfortunately, as one recent scholar has noted, "the history of the Wichita Confederacy has been little explored and has been relegated to a minor position within the context of Southern Plains history."[1] According to James Mooney, the Wichitas were composed of a number of confederated groups who shared the dialects and cultural patterns common to the Southern Caddoan tribes. The most prominent of the bands to which we have attached the name Wichita were the Tawehash (or Taovayas), the Tawakoni, the Waco, the Yscani, the Kichai, and the Wichita proper.

In the mid-nineteenth century the term Wichita came into general use as a label for the remnants of the various Wichita bands.[2] The term itself is of indeterminate origin. Muriel Wright suggests that it originated from the Choctaw term wia chitoh, or "big arbor," an apparent reference to the thatched houses and platforms commonly used by Wichita tribesmen.[3] It also appears to be an anglicized form of several French words from the eighteenth century. When Bernard de la Harpe led his expedition among the Southern Caddoans in 1719 he labeled certain of the tribes as

Ouisitas and Ouicasquiris, terms which were eventually changed to Wichita. Moreover, the Ouisitas on the Brazos River were also known as the Ouedsita, Guachitas, Guichitas, and Huichitas. (These bands eventually came together in the area of the Wichita Mountains where they became commonly known as the Wichita Indians.) The precise etymology of the name is unknown, but the connection between the French, Spanish, and English terms seems quite plausible.[4] The Wichita called themselves Kitikiti'sh (or Kidi-kit-tashe), translated as "raccoon-eyed," a reference to the Wichita habit of tattooing or painting the eyelids of males. To differentiate them from the neighboring Pawnee, the French called the Wichita Pani Pique or "Tattooed Pawnee."[5]

The origins of the Wichita are also shrouded. As for the Southern Caddoan peoples in general, opinion about the precise origins of the Wichita is a point of debate. Linguistic ties to other Caddoan tribes indicate a southeastern origin. John Swanton observed that cultural similarities between the Caddoan and certain southeastern tribes pointed decisively toward southeastern origins. Archaeological evidence, however, indicates a more westerly origin. One Wichita tradition in fact holds that the Wichita and Pawnee once "originally inhabited the Red River area of southwestern Arkansas and northwestern Louisiana. From there they migrated northwesterly, separated in the vicinity of the Platte River."[6] Whatever their origin, by

the time the French and Spanish came among them in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Wichitas had been long-term residents of the central Southern Plains.

The Wichitas practiced the same sort of agriculture common among most of their neighbors. They lived in fairly large semi-permanent villages which were easily distinguished by the dome-shaped, thatched houses and platforms. From these villages, tribesmen cultivated nearby fields of corn, squash, melons, pumpkins and tobacco. The Wichita also engaged in hunting, notably the buffalo, and in doing so displayed a combination of Plains and Woodland culture unique to the Southern Caddoan. Their society was matrilineal, so one's position in the tribe was determined by descent through the female line. Early accounts describe the Wichitas as hospitable, reliable, and industrious. They tended to move about more than their neighbors and were more aggressive and warlike as well. Population estimates place their numbers at between 15,000 and 30,000 by the middle of the sixteenth century.[7]

The first contact between the tribe and whites occurred in 1541 when Coronado met several Indian groups in central Kansas whom he called Quivirans. Subsequent investigations by modern scholars indicate that the Quivirans were definitely a band of the Wichita.[8] For the next two centuries the tribe continued to be identified as the Quivirans, or alternately, as the Jumanos or Panioussas.

The next recorded contact came in 1542 when a Franciscan missionary named Fray Juan de Padilla marched from New Mexico to Kansas in the company of a Portuguese adventurer and two Mexican Indians. Padilla busied himself teaching the Quivirans but lost his life when he committed the indiscretion of offering his services to a neighboring tribe, the Guyas. The Wichita, greatly offended, killed Padilla.[9]

Little is known of the tribe during the seventeenth century, for contact with whites were few. In the latter half of the century, the Wichitas apparently acquired greater numbers of horses than ever before and, presumably, began to adopt some of the hunting practices more widely known to their neighbors to the west. It was also in the latter part of the century that the French reached the Wichita country. Marquette's maps of 1673 placed the tribe southwest of the Missouri River in present Kansas. A decade later, La Salle visited among them and found them below the Missouri River, southeast of the Pawnee, with whom early travelers sometimes confused the Wichita. A 1718 map of Louisiana showd them south of the Kansas River and west of the headwaters of the Osage River.[10]

These early visits were important ones, for they appear to have prepared the way for a lengthy trade and diplomatic relationship between the tribe and their French visitors. The French exerted great influence over the tribes in the

Southern Caddoan region which was not broken until well into the eighteenth centruy. The pivotal event in the history of early Wichita-white relations was Bernard de la Harpe's 1719 expedition. His visit to the Wichita in the Arkansas River valley in what is now eastern Oklahoma established friendly relations with the tribe and according to one historian, was "a milestone in the history of French activities on the Plains."[11] De la Harpe's expedition also had important ethnographic implications for it marked the first identification of several individual Wichita bands and gave the French an idea of the scope and nature of the Wichita Confederacy. One of the Frenchman's most memorable discoveries came probably near the conjunction of the Cimarron and Arkansas rivers, when he came across a settlement "consisting of several adjoining villages of grass houses inhabited by 6,000 dark complexioned, tattooed people." With great fields of vegetables and other foodstuffs, and familiar with the surrounding territory, the tribe represented an important potential ally in the French push into the lower Mississippi Valley. The French lost little time in establishing relations with the tribe's various bands and by mid-century enjoyed a profitable and secure relationship with them. French-Wichita trade centered first a site on the Arkansas River near present Newkirk in Kay County and then on Red River in southeastern Jefferson County. In 1746, the French even managed to

secure a treaty between the Wichita and their traditional enemies the Comanche, an achievement of significant importance.[12]

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 brought the Wichitas under the control of the United States, but formal relations were not established until 1834. In that year, the American government made its first overtures to the tribe when Colonel Henry Dodge led his Dragoon Expedition from Fort Gibson to meet with and promote peace among the tribes of the Indian Territory. At a three day council held that summer in Devils Canyon in present southwestern Kiowa County, several thousand Indians listened as Dodge urged an end to the region's intertribal wars. He also suggested a friendly alliance with tribes in eastern Indian Territory. The Wichita chief, We-tar-ra-shah-ro, was instrumental in convincing his kinsmen to accept Dodge's proposals. The result was the Treaty of Camp Holmes signed the next year in August near what is now Lexington, Oklahoma. The agreement promised peace and friendship among the tribes in the region and was signed by delegations representing the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Osage, Seneca, Quapaw, Comanche and Wichita.[13]

In 1850, the Wichitas moved from the area of the Red River to the Wichita Mountains in southwestern Indian Territory. Principal villages were established near present-day Fort Sill and, later, near present-day Rush

Springs. The Wichita migration reflected the tribe's increasing difficulties. Harrassed by other tribes in the region (who were themselves feeling the effects of American expansionism on the Southern Plains), and buffettted by disease and dislocation, the various Wichita bands consolidated themselves in an attempt to safeguard their dwindling numbers and to protect their cultural identity. The situation worsened dramatically in 1858 when a United States army unit attacked a nearby band of Comanches who were suspected in a series of raids. Drawn unwillingly into the so-called Battle of Rush Springs (or Wichita village) in Grady County, the Wichitas saw their fields and houses destroyed, and their horses lost. Terrorized by the Comanches, who accused them of complicity in the attack, the Wichitas fled to Fort Arbuckle near present-day Ardmore in south-central Oklahoma.

The following summer, in 1859, the Wichitas, along with nine other tribes, requested permission to relocate on a permanent reservation west of the 98th meridian in the Leased District near the Choctaw domain. The government authorized the establishment of a Wichita reservation south of the Canadian River in western Indian Territory. In August, the Wichitas were joined by the remnants of the Caddo tribe which had been forced out of Louisiana and, later, Texas. To accomodate the administration and protection of the Wichita-Caddo tribes, the government

established the Wichita Agency (the first in western Indian Territory) and Fort Cobb in present Caddo County.[14]

The relative security of the Wichita-Caddo reservation dissolved when the American Civil War erupted. In August 1861, Confederate General Albert S. Pike moved into the Indian Territory where he managed to conclude treaties of friendship and alliance with eleven separate tribes, including the Wichitas and Caddoes. When the Confederacy failed to protect them adequately, most of the Wichitas fled to Kansas and the security of federal troops. They took refuge in a village they named Wichita, the site of the modern Kansas community of the same name.

When the tribe returned to Indian Territory in 1867, the Wichita Agency was relocated near present-day Anadarko. At the encouragement of government agents, the various minor tribes of the area consolidated, and as a result, the Wichitas and Caddoes were joined by the Tawakonis, Wacos, Anadarkos, Kichais, and small numbers of Delawares and Shawnees. Reservation boundaries were established in 1872 by an agreement that was never ratified by the United States Congress (See Map B). Thereafter government programs aimed at civilizing, educating, and christianizing the tribes on the Wichita-Caddo reservation were put into operation. Officials open the Riverside Indian boarding school in 1872 across the Washita River from Anadarko, while mission stations established by Baptists (Rock Springs just north of

Anadarko), Methodists, and Catholics (both in Anadarko). By this time, however, the Wichitas were not only numerically devastated, they were impoverished as well. The war years left them without food, supplies, or tools. Epidemics ravaged them. It seems no surprise that when the Ghost Dance swept across their reservation in 1890 they, along with the Caddoes, were among its most ardent supporters.[15]

As the nineteenth century came to a close, the Wichitas faced an uncertain, bleak future. Unable to protect themselves, the Wichitas declined in number and witnessed the steady erosion of their culture. When allotment in severalty to 965 tribespeople was completed in mid-1901 among the residents of the Wichita-Caddo Reservation, the end of the Wichitas and their traditions seemed immenent. The remainder of their domain was open to white settlement by lottery on August 6, 1901. Part of the damage was reversed in 1936 when the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act returned a measure of self-determination and sovereignty to the Oklahoma tribes.[16] For the Wichita whose population and tribal headquarters center at Anadarko, the resurrection of their traditional culture has been difficult. Significant progress has come only recently, influenced by the surge in Indian pride and ethnic identity which began in the 1970's with the Red Power phenomenon. Our knowledge of the Wichitas in the twentieth century is quite limited. They remain a relatively obscure tribe, overshadowed by more

well-known and prominent neighbors. Nonetheless, the small number of Wichitas now carried on tribal rolls are part of an ongoing effort to protect their tribal identity merit attention.

NOTES

1. Bolton quoted in W. C. Nunn, "The Caddoes," in Indian Tribes of Texas, Introduction by W. W. Newcomb, Jr. (Waco, Texas: Texian Press, 1971), 19; Earl H. Elam, "The Origin and Identity of the Wichita," Kansas Quarterly 3 (1971): 13.

2. James Mooney, "Wichita," in Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, ed. Frederick W. Hodge (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 2: 947; Elam, "The Origin and Identity of the Wichita," 13. The great Caddoan confederacies were geographically divided into three groups: a northern one in which the Arikara of North Dakota were most prominent; a middle one where the Pawnee Confederacy was of great importance; and a southern one, in which the Wichita were found. The issue is clouded further by the fact that the terms Caddo and Caddoan are used to describe a linguistic stock, a group of tribes, and a cultural area.

3. Muriel Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 255.

4. Herbert Bolton, ed., Athanase de Mezieres and The Louisiana Frontier, 1768-1780, (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1932), 1: 294; Elam, "The Origin and Identity of the Wichita," 17.

5. Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma,

256; Elam, "The Origin and Identity of the Wichita," 17. Arrell Gibson also noted that the Caddoan habit of tattooing led to their being called "picts;" see The American Indian: Prehistory to Present (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath, 1980), 73.

6. John Swanton, Aboriginal Cultures of the Southeast, Bureau of American Ethnology, 42nd Annual Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1924), 673-727; Swanton, The Indians of The Southeastern United States, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), 98-100. See also W. W. Newcomb, The Indians of Texas From Prehistoric to Modern Times (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), 248; Charles H. Lange, "Plains-Southwestern Intercultural Relations During the Historic Period," Ethnohistory 4 (1957): 150-173; Billy M. Jones, "The Wichitas," in Indian Tribes of Texas, 169-178; James R. Mead, "The Wichita Indians in Kansas," Kansas State Historical Society Transactions 8 (1903-1904): 171-177; W. W. Newcomb and W. T. Field, "An Ethnohistoric Investigation of the Wichita Indians in the Southern Plains," Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological Society 29 (1958): 240-331; Mildred M. Wedel, "The Ethnohistoric Approach To Plains Caddoan Origins," Nebraska History 60 (1979): 183-196.

7. Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 256; Elam, "The Origin and Identity of the Wichita," 13.

For more detailed accounts of early Wichita life and culture, see Waldo Wedel, An Introduction to Kansas Arhaeology, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, 174 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), 60-67; Frank Watt, "The Waco Village and its People," Texana 6 (1968): 195-243; Elizabeth John, "Portrait of a Wichita Village, 1808," Chronicles of Oklahoma 60 (1982): 412-437; Mildred M. Wedel, "The Wichita Indians in the Arkansas River Basin," in Plains Indian Studies, A Collection of Essays in Honor of John C. Ewers and Waldo R. Wedel, ed. Douglas Ubelaker and Herman Viola. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, #30 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982), 118-134.

8. George P. Winship, ed., The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542 (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1922), 217-219.

9. Adolph F.A. Bandelier, "Fray Juan de Padilla, The First Catholic Missionary and Martyr in Eastern Kansas, 1542," American Catholic Quarterly Review 15 (1890): 551-565.

10. Raphael N. Hamilton, "The Early Cartography of the Missouri Valley," American Historical Review 39 (1934): 648-656. See also David Bushnell, Villages of The Algonquin, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes West of the Mississippi, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 77 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 179-

181.

11. Ralph A. Smith, trans., "Account of the Journey of Bernard de la Harpe, Discovery Made by Him of Several Nations Situated in the West," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 62 (1959): 231-252.

12. See Mildred M. Wedel, "J. B. Bernard, Sieur De La Harpe: Visitor To The Wichitas in 1719," Great Plains Journal 10 (1971): 37-70; Mildred M. Wedel, "Claude-Charles Dutisne: A Review of His 1719 Journeys," Great Plains Journal 12 (1972): 4-25, 147-173; E. A. Harper, "The Taovayas Indians in Frontier Trade and Diplomacy," Chronicles of Oklahoma 31 (1953): 268-289; Harper, "The Taovayas Indians in Frontier Trade and Diplomacy, 1769-1779," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 57 (1953): 181-201; Harper, "The Taovayas Indians in Frontier Trade and Diplomacy, 1779-1835," Panhandle-Plains Historical Review 26 (1953): 41-72; Robert E. Bell, "Wichita Indians and the Frontier Trade on the Oklahoma Frontier," Bulletin of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society, #30 (1981): 11-18.

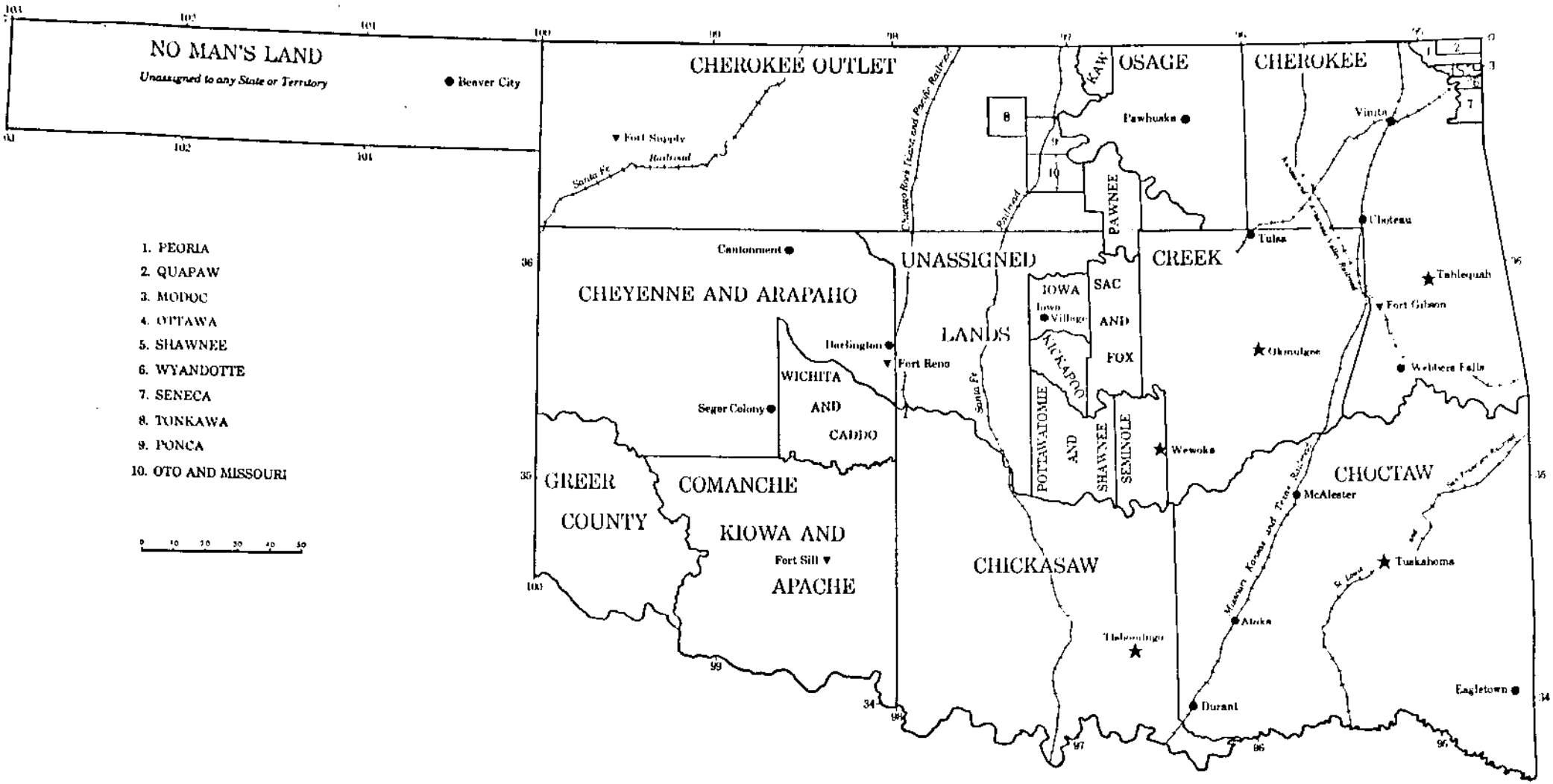
13. Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 257-258.

14. Jones, "The Wichitas," 176-177.

15. Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 258-260; also James Mooney, "The Caddo and Associated Tribes," in The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, Bureau of American Ethnology, 14th Annual Report

(Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), pt. 2, 1092-1110.

16. Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 258-260; also James Mooney, "The Caddo and Associated Tribes," in The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, Bureau of American Ethnology, 14th Annual Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), pt. 2, 1092-1110.



MAP III. BOUNDARIES OF THE WICHITA AND CADDO RESERVATION

Historical Overview of the Caddo Tribe

Of the various Indian tribes now residing in Management Region #7, the Caddoes are among the least well known. They have attracted the attention of only a handful of ethnologists, historians and archeologists in this century and in fact represent a major research opportunity in the area of tribal history. Most lacking are materials on contemporary Caddoan history; we know a good deal about the tribe into the mid- and late-nineteenth century, but following the allotment of their lands in 1902, the tribe's small numbers became so dispersed that picking up the thread of their history through the first half of this century becomes difficult indeed. These difficulties aside, this essay will provide a brief overview of the history of the Caddo people in Management Region #7, focusing upon the period between 1803 and 1938. To provide the proper setting, however, early migration and cultural attributes of the tribe will be noted.

As Dee Ann Story has observed, most of the published work on the Caddo tribe is based on "brief visits and few informants. It has also tended to be narrowly focused, emphasizing only certain aspects of cultural behavior." There is no "detailed well-balanced ethnology," she continues, or "intensive, first-hand observation and interview by a trained professional."[1] Other than John

Swanton's seminal Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians,[2] the best general effort on the tribe is Elsie C. Parsons' Notes on the Caddo. Parsons' information, obtained during the 1920's in Oklahoma and from a Caddo living in New York City, remains the most comprehensive available. Moreover, it demonstrated even in 1941, when it was published, how little of Caddoan culture has survived in the twentieth century.[3]

The reasons why the Caddoes have attracted so little attention not only tell us something about their relative obscurity, but also help to illustrate the limitations facing ethnographers and historians with interests in Caddoan affairs. Swanton observed in 1942 that the Caddoes were once a tribe of the "very first importance, but one which has been almost lost to sight by our ethnological students and its significance seriously underrated." Three factors, suggested Swanton, help to explain our limited knowledge: the tribe's prominent role in American history came prior to its control by the United States; records of its history are not easily available, are not generally translated into English, and are not widely known to American students of the tribe; and finally, when ethnologists and historians finally got to the Caddoes, the tribe had been uprooted and broken up, its rites and dialects disrupted, and its culture only partially preserved. Moreover, the Caddoes as we know them today did

not emerge as a cohesive socio-political entity until after the 1850's, when the factors listed above had begun to have a profound effect on Caddoan culture and traditions.[4]

Despite the paucity of material on the tribe's more recent history, what we do know of Caddoan culture and tribal organization illustrates clearly that between the seventeenth and ninteenth centuries the tribe exerted an extraordinary level of influence on neighboring tribes as well as on the earliest European settlers in the east Texas-Louisiana region where the Caddoan people had lived, wrote one historian, "from time immemorial." "There can be little doubt," noted Swanton, "that [the Caddoes] played a part in the history of the area before white contact even more important than their role after the advent of Europeans."[5]

Early accounts of the Caddo by French and Spanish settlers give us a good indication of the tribe's size, importance and general lifestyle. The De Soto expedition met Caddoan tribesmen in 1541 in what is now the state of Arkansas and found the people generous, industrious, prosperous, skilled in agriculture and adept craftsmen. It is not unlikely that Coronado encountered bands of the Caddo when he ventured onto the southern Plains between 1539 and 1541. When La Salle visited them in 1686, the Caddoans were thought to comprise some twenty-five separate tribes numbering over three thousand souls including the Pawnee, Arikara, Wichitas, Tawakonis and Wacos. The tribes were

collected into three great confederacies known as the Kadohadacho (Caddo proper), Hasinai, and Wichita. (Swanton added a fourth, the Vatasi.) Though not the largest of the confederacies, the Kadohadacho were regarded as being superior to the others. Their name, from whence comes the name used to describe the modern Caddo, was translated roughly as "real chiefs," or, according to one authority, as "fathers."[6]

The origins of the Caddoan tribes are not clear. Archeological evidence in eastern Oklahoma, from the Arkansas River valley south to the Red River, seems to indicate a prehistoric mass migration from the present-day southwestern United States. Some ethnologists and arecheologists, however, are convinced that the migration was westward, coming from the Gulf States of the American southeast to the Texas-Louisiana region. Swanton suggested that striking similarities of dress, speech, agriculture, economy, and social and ceremonial life (especially regarding the importance of corn in Caddoan culture) pointed toward eastern origins. Caddoans themselves point out that insofar as their origin myths cast any light on the issue, they indicate the American southeast, and not the southwest, as the place of their beginning.[7] Whatever the precise point of their origin (and the debate continues), by the time of white contact in the seventeenth century, the Caddo were firmly established in Louisiana and Texas where they

had developed a series of communities linked by common social, religious, economic and cultural patterns.

In the early eighteenth century the principal southern Caddo settlements were located in the bend of the Red River in southwest Arkansas, in northeast Texas, and in northern Louisiana. The Caddoes were agricultural people who lived in fairly large farming villages where they grew varieties of corn, beans, pumpkins and squashes. In time, they undertook livestock raising and took part in a lively trade with neighboring tribes. Though primarily a woodland people, the Caddoes possessed horses a century before Europeans settled the lower Mississippi valley and in fact adopted certain aspects of Plains Indian culture, especially those related to hunting.[8]

With the founding of the Louisiana colony of Biloxi in 1699 by D'Iberville, the Caddoes came under French influence. In 1714 the French strengthened their ties with the tribe when they established a post at the Caddoan village of Natchitoches (site of the present-day Louisiana city of the same name). Five years later, in 1719, Bernard de la Harpe was commissioned to lead an expedition among the tribes to encourage friendly relations and encourage Caddoan loyalty to the French. That loyalty was called into question in 1770, however, when a Spanish emissary named Athanase de Mezieres managed to gain both a treaty agreement and a land cession from Caddoan groups in Texas.[9]

The entrance onto the scene of the Spanish and, later, of the Americans, noted Helen Tanner, points up the changing political jurisdictions in the Caddoan territory, an important part of the difficulty in examining Caddo-white relations. From the time of sustained contact with Europeans in the early eighteenth century, the Caddoes were buffeted by conflicting demands of loyalty as the colonial powers vied for control of the Mississippi valley. Following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 by the Jefferson administration, the Caddoes came finally under the jurisdiction of the United States. By that time, however, the tribe had begun to feel the effects of disease and increasingly severe territorial dislocations. The Caddoes fared poorly in the face of American expansionism and began to lose control of their tenuous grasp on tribal affairs. "Even in bare outline," notes Tanner, between 1804 and 1859 "the wars and civil disturbances affecting the Caddo area were so frequent, and population changes so massive that it is difficult to follow the thread of Caddo history through the course of these historical sequences."[10]

With their territory dwindling and the prospects for improvement dim, the Caddoes agreed to a general removal treaty with the United States government in July 1835. Under the treaty's provisions the tribe ceded all of its Louisiana lands and agreed to move beyond the territorial limits of the United States. In return the Caddoes received

$40,000 in goods, provisions, and annuities.

The agreement left the tribe effectively landless for it had not been guaranteed a reservation in exchange for the cession of its lands. Many tribesmen moved into Texas and joined other bands of Caddo people. Still others ventured north into Indian Territory where they found refuge among the Choctaws. In Texas, where a large Caddo population gathered, a treaty between the tribe and the Texas government in May 1846 at Council Springs on the Brazos River offered some relief to the harrassed Caddoes. But owing to Texan internal troubles, a reservation called for under the terms of the 1846 agreement was not established until 1854. That year, on a reservation of over thirty-thousand acres near Fort Belknap, the Caddoes finally settled and began the slow process of rebuilding their numbers.[11]

The Caddo found only a brief respite in Texas from their troubles. Violent confrontations between Texans and other tribes (notably the Comanches and Kiowas) and depredations by whites and Indians alike kept tensions high. Though peaceful, the Caddoes were thrust into the storm of the Texas Indian problem when a group of whites attacked a Caddoan camp in late 1858. Fearful of reprisals, Texan and federal authorities agreed to move the tribe to Indian Territory, where a new reservation was to be laid out in the Leased District west of the ninety-eighth meridian in the

Choctaw domain. Before plans could be finalized, however, rumors of a white uprising and massacre of the Caddoes prompted federal officials to move the tribe ahead of schedule. In August 1859, after a fifteen day march, 1,400 Caddoes arrived at the Washita River in Indian Territory, where they were allowed to remain. A new agency, the Wichita Agency, was established on Leeper Creek four miles west of the present-day town of Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, and the Caddoes wearily settled down once more.[12]

The coming of the American Civil War in 1861 soon disrupted the relative calm in Caddo camps. In August of that year, General Albert Pike of the Confederate States of America met with Caddo leaders (just as he had met, or would meet, with representatives of virtually every major tribe in the Indian Territory) and signed a treaty aligning the tribe with the South and its other Indian allies. Though the greater part of the tribe remained loyal to the Union (many fled north to Kansas and federal protection), a number remained behind and formed the "Caddo Battalion." Its members served as scouts and rangers for Confederate forces inside Indian Territory and the battalion was one of the last of the Confederate units to retire its colors in 1865.[13]

Following the war and their return to the Indian Territory, the Caddoes united with their kinsmen the Wichitas (and with the Delawares as well), with whom they

moved to a new reservation in 1872 (see Map C).[14] Although the agreement creating the reserve was never ratified by Congress, an agency was established near Anadarko. Thereafter the Caddoes successfully went about the business of establishing the stability and prosperity which had been so elusive since the turn of the century. In the early 1870's Quaker and Baptist missionsary work began on the reservation and Riverside Indian School, a government boarding school just north of Anadarko, was opened. Observers commented on the industrious nature of the tribe and applauded its advancement. To the dismay of local agents, however, the Ghost Dance swept through the Caddoes in 1890 and they were for a brief time among its most earnest adherents. "Not withstanding the fact that they were regarded as the most advanced of all the tribes in that part of the country," wrote James Mooney in 1896, "it may be that their history had led them to feel a special need for a messiah."[15] In the wake of the Ghost Dance, the Episcopal Church opened a mission in 1891, joined by the Roman Catholics in 1894, both in Anadarko. As the nineteenth century neared its end, the Caddoes seemed finally on the verge of peace and prosperity.

In 1902, government officials implemented the Dawes Act (1887) in the Indian Territory and the Caddoes, like their neighboring tribes, saw their tribal lands liquidated. The six-hundred or so Caddoes who were given allotments in 1901

found themselves thrown suddenly into a world with which they were unprepared to cope and about which they knew very little. Their sovereignty gone, their reservation erased, the Caddoes struggled to survive in the white world and yet maintain what little of their culture they still possessed.[16] Like other Oklahoma Indians, between 1900 and 1936 the Caddoes lived in an environment which discouraged any manifestation of Indianness or cultural identity. Relief came only in 1936 when the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act restored to the tribes a measure of the self-determination and sovereignty they had lost. Under its provisions the Caddo Indian Tribe of Oklahoma was officially organized and lands set aside for tribal use. In January 1938, the Caddoes ratified their constitution and by-laws and assumed their place as a recognized tribe.[17]

Since their reorganization in 1936, the Caddoes have faced an up-hill battle in the restoration and preservation of their culture. Tribal traditionalists have organized at least two known dance grounds (one at Binger, the other at Hinton), where various Caddo groups seek to maintain traditional songs and dances.[18] A tribal headquarters is maintained just southeast of Binger. Of the 2,116 tribesmen carried on the rolls in a 1974 survey, 1,600 lived within the jurisdiction of the Anadarko Agency--an indication, perhaps, of community awareness. Ten percent were listed as native speakers. But despite the encouraging progress made

by the Caddo people in recent years, they do not yet show a widespread knowledge of the history or anthropology of the tribe. "They have not yet searched Caddoan literature," notes H. F. Gregory, "for relevant items which they could use for self-maintenance and development."[19] Many questions have yet to be asked about Caddoan history, especially in the modern era, by non-Indians or by the Caddoes themselves. Despite their relatively small number and the fact that they are a minor tribe, the Caddoes merit attention. And the investigation should not go forward simply to fill the historical record, but, as Dee Ann Story reminds us, "to understand the Caddo as a viable segment of contemporary society."[20]

NOTES

1. Dee Ann Story, "Some Comments on Anthropological Studies Concerning the Caddo," in Texas Archaeology: Essays Honoring R. King Harris, ed. Kurt House (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1978), 49-50.

2. John Swanton, Source Materials on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 132 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), 1-332.

3. Elsie C. Parsons, Notes on the Caddo (American Anthropological Association, Memoirs, 57, 1941). See also Stephen Williams, "The Aboriginal Location of the Kadohadacho and Related Tribes," in The Southern Caddo: An Anthropology, ed. with an introduction by H. F. Gregory (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), 545-570.

4. Swanton, Source Materials on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians, 1-2; Story, "Some Comments on Anthropological Studies Concerning the Caddo," 51. See also Helen Tanner "The Territory of the Caddo Tribe in Oklahoma," in Caddo Indians (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 4:14.

5. Swanton, Source Materials on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians, 2; William B. Glover, "A History of the Caddo Indians," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly 18 (1935): 875.

6. Muriel Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 47-49; George E. Hyde, The Pawnee Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 15.

7. Swanton, Source Materials on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo, 234-239; Hyde, The Pawnee Indians, 7-31. See also Mildred Wedel, "The Ethnohistoric Approach to Plains Caddoan Origins," and Waldo Wedel, "Some Reflections on Plains Caddoan Origins," Nebraska History 60 (1979): 183-196, 272-293; Jack I. Hughes, "Prehistory of the Caddoan Speaking Tribes," Ibid., 9-158; Don G. Wyckoff, "Caddoan Culture Area: An Anthropological Perspective," Ibid., 1:25-279; Williams, "The Aboriginal Location of the Kadohadacho and Related Tribes," 545-570.

8. Arrell M. Gibson, The American Indian: Prehistory To The Present (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath, 1980), 73; Hyde, The Pawnee Indians, 18-19; Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 48.

9. Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 48-49; Tanner, "The Territory of the Caddo Tribe in Oklahoma," 14; Mildred Wedel, La Harpe's 1719 Post on Red River and Nearby Caddo Settlements (Austin, Texas: Texas Memorial Museum, Bulletin 30, 1978).

10. Tanner, "The Territory of the Caddo Tribe in Oklahoma," 83.

11. G. W. McGinty, "Valuating The Caddo Land Cession of 1835," Louisiana Studies 2 (1963): 59-73; Glover, "A History of the Caddo Indians," 897-932; Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 49-51.

12. For a description of Caddo relations in Texas, see Glover, "A History of the Caddo Indians," 933-943; also Anna Muckleroy, "The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 25 (1922): 229-260 and 26 (1923): 1-29, 184-206.

13. Wright, A Guide To The Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, 52.

14. Grant Foreman, The Last Trek of the Indians

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), 284.

15. James Mooney, The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, Bureau of American Ethnology, 14th Annual Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), pt. 2, 1092-1110.

16. On allotment in general see D. S. Otis, The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands, edited with an introduction by Francis Paul Prucha, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973). See also, John Swanton, Indians of the Southeastern United States, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), 99.

17. The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act was directly influenced by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The IRA was the centerpiece of then Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier's Indian New Deal. Under Collier, assimilationist doctrines were laid aside in favor of self determination among many tribes. For an able discussion of Collier's policy see Kenneth Philp, John Collier's Crusade For Indian Reform, 1920-1934 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977). For the Constitution and By-Laws of the Caddo Tribe, see "Constitution and By-Laws of the Caddo Indian Tribe of Oklahoma, Ratified January 18, 1938," in Charters,

Constitutions, and By-Laws of the Indian Tribes of North America, Part Five: Indian Tribes of Oklahoma, ed. George E. Fay (Greeley, Colorado: Colorado State College, 1968), 10-14.

18. H. F. Gregory, Introduction to The Southern Caddo, xv. In 1978 I attended a Caddo dance near Lawton, Oklahoma where there was much evidence of a growing interest in Caddo traditions and culture. Ten years later, at various dances around the state of Oklahoma, the revival of Caddoan heritage appears to be continuing to make progress.

19. Gregory, Introduction to The Southern Caddo, xviii.

20. Story, "Some Comments on Anthropological Studies Concerning the Caddo," 53. Population statistics from Directory of Tribes and Tribal Leaders of The Anadarko Area (n.p., 1974).

Historical Overview of the Cheyenne Tribe

In Management Region #7, the modern descendants of a people Adamson Hoebel once called "the most notable of the western tribes who inhabited the Great Plains" may be found. Exemplars of the Plains Indians culture, the Cheyennes are remembered for the remarkably effective defense of their territory and for the strength and resiliency of their people in the reservation and post-allotment eras. Along with their allies the Arapahoes, with whom they are often grouped, the Cheyennes represent an important link in the history of the Plains tribes and an important part of the history of Oklahoma. What follows is a brief historical overview of those proud people during the period of 1803 to 1938. To make their story more comprehensible as it pertains to Management Region #7, some reference to their early migrations and cultural characteristics is also included.[1]

Though many historians lump the Cheyennes and Arapahoes together (especially in the modern era), the Cheyennes have a separate and distinct heritage from the Arapahoes. Like the Arapahoes, the Cheyenne tribe is composed of two divisions (Northern and Southern), and its tribal organization in the years preceding the reservation era displayed the loose, band-oriented organization that

typified most Plains tribes. Though the tribe's earliest history is shadowy, it is certain that the Cheyennes once inhabited the area of present-day Minnesota, where they were sedentary agriculturists. They lived in permanent earth lodges and practiced a mixed economy based on farming and hunting. Their first recorded contact with non-Indians came in 1680 when a group of Cheyennes visited La Salle's Fort on the Illinois River. In the years after 1680, pressure from othertribes--notably the Sioux--pushed the Cheyennes west to the Black Hills region of present-day South Dakota where they began to come under the influence of the horse and buffalo culture of the Plains tribes. Cheyenne legends speak of how the tribe "lost the corn" as it embraced the mobile, nomadic lifestyle of the horse dominated Plains culture. Like their kinsmen the Arapahoes, and their eventual allies the Comanches and Kiowas, the Cheyennes underwent a fairly rapid cultural transformation as a result of their migration.[2]

The Cheyennes are culturally and linguistically connected to the Algonquian family of tribes, a group that includes the Arapaho, Blackfoot, Cree, Delaware, Kickapoo, Shawnee, and Sac and Fox tribes. The name Cheyenne is a derivative of the Sioux term shai'yena, or sha hi ye na, which translates roughly into "people of an alien speech," or "to speak a strange language." The Cheyennes call themselves Tsistsistas (from the Cheyenne word itistau--

"alike"), meaning "people who are alike," or, "our people."[3]

It is probable that the tribe's first meeting with Americans came in 1804, when the Lewis and Clark expedition travelled through Cheyenne country. A popular Cheyenne story recounts the performance by the tribe of a dance that is a well known staple at modern pow wows. But the tribe did not remain long in the north country, for continuing pressure from the Sioux people caused it to move further south until it reached the Platte River area of present-day Nebraska. (One of the consequences of this ongoing migration was the pushing southward of the Kiowas, who had also once inhabited the Northern Plains and had felt the pressure of the Sioux.) For the first three decades of the nineteenth century contact with whites was relatively limited and the Cheyenne domain was not particularly threatened. During that period Cheyenne tribesmen engaged in a flourishing intertribal trade between sedentary villages of the Upper Missouri tribes and the nomadic peoples of the Plains.[4]

The first treaty between the Cheyennes and the United States came in 1825 when an agreement was signed at Teton River, Montana. Among the treaty's provisions were stipulations for the protection of the tribe, and the acknowledgement by the Cheyennes of the American government's right and intention to build a military fort on the Central Plains. As a result, several years later Bent's

Fort was established on the Arkansas River in southern Colorado for the express purpose of dealing and trading with the tribes inhabiting the Southern and Central Plains. As a direct consequence, a large portion of the Cheyenne tribe, attracted to the trade opportunities offered by Bent's Fort, located permanently in eastern Colorado and western Nebraska and Kansas.

Known since as the Southern Cheyenne, it was the remnants of this group that formed the greater part of the Indian Territory Cheyenne tribe later in the century. A separate band, the Northern Cheyenne, settled around the headwaters of the Platte and Yellowstone Rivers in Northern Colorado and central Wyoming. Some scholars dispute the firmness of this break and point out that the two bands were not definitely established until much later in the century when the flight of Dull Knife's followers to Montana from Indian Territory in 1878 helped lead to the establishment of a Northern Cheyenne reservation at Tongue River, Montana. Indeed, it is possible to overemphasize the importance of the tribe's division and it is well to remember that that split produced no internal political or social dissent. To this day the Northern and Southern bands show a keen interest in the other's activities and participate in the rites and ceremonials of one another.[5]

Through the 1840s and 1850s, the Plains tribes witnessed the gradual but unstinting American westward

expansion movement that edged closer and closer to their domains. The California and Colorado gold rushes, the Mexican War, the opening of the Santa Fe, Mormon, and Oregon Trails, and the coming of the railroads all heralded significant changes on the Great Plains. Military alliances between the Cheyennes, Comanches, Arapahoes, and Kiowas provided temporary barriers to expansion, but by the eve of the American Civil War it was clear that resistance meant destruction. Throughout the 1850s increasing numbers of treaties were signed between the American government and the various tribes, and the trend toward restricted reservations was clear for all to see. In February 1861, the Cheyennes were signatories to the Treaty of Fort Wise, Kansas. The treaty not only marked the beginning of a common history for the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes (in its wake, the two tribes were considered a single entity by federal Indian agents), it forced both tribes to cede all land claims in adjoining portions of Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming, and to accept a reservation in eastern Colorado near the Arkansas and Purgatory Rivers. Significant groups of tribesmen in both camps, however, rejected the treaty's terms and resisted government efforts to herd them on to the reservation. As a result, relations between the Cheyennes and the United States were sorely tested.

Relations fell to a low point in 1864 following the wholly unjustifiable and widely condemned massacre of a

friendly Cheyenne camp at Sand Creek, Colorado by a United States army group under the command of Colonel John Chivington. As tensions escalated and fear of a general Indian War grew, United States agents made a last attempt at peace in 1867 at a meeting on Medicine Lodge Creek in southern Kansas. Here they met with leaders of virtually every major tribe on the Southern and Central Plains and concluded a far-reaching treaty intended to solve the Indian problem by creating protected reservations. The Medicine Lodge Treaty created a Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation in western Indian Territory bounded on the north and east by Kansas, and on the east and south by the Cimarron River in an area known as the Cherokee Outlet.

But the peace of Medicine Lodge Creek was illusory. When conditions on the Southern Plains continued to worsen, Cheyenne parties were among those that took part in the raiding of white settlements and military installations. Though a full-scale Indian War was generally avoided, numerous depredations on both sides kept tempers high. Among the more memorable events was the massacre in 1868 of Black Kettle's camp of Cheyennes and Apraphoes on the Washita River just west of present Cheyenne in Roger Mills County. The attack produced an uproar that was not quieted until the surrender seven years later of Quanah Parker and his Quahadi Comanches (allies to the Cheyennes), an event that marked the end of organized resistance on the Southern

Plains.

In 1869 a presidential proclamation created a new joint Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation south of the one established by the Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek that was bounded on the north by the Cherokee Outlet, on the south by the Washita River and the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache reservation, on the west by the Texas border, and on the east by the Wichita-Caddo reservation (see Map D). The new Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation was directed by Brinton Darlington, a Quaker Indian agent who was part of President U. S. Grant's Peace Policy, a reform and civilizing program under the direction of civilian and not military officials. The agent the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency across the Canadian River from present-day El Reno in 1870 naming the site, Darlington. Five years later a boarding school opened for Cheyenne and Arapaho youngsters at the agency, followed in 1879 by another one at Caddo Springs (now Concho). The latter was for Cheyenne children, while the former enrolled Araphoes. The much beloved John Seger organized the Cheyenne-Arapahoe Manual Training School at Colony in Washita County in 1893. A fourth reservation school, Red Moon, opened near Hammon in 1898.

As with other Indian Territory reservations, agents at the Cheyenne-Arapaho agency attempted to transform the two tribes into agricultural, sedentary peoples. Mission work and education continued apace, with major efforts undertaken

by the Mennonites at Darlington and Cantonment (in Blaine County), by the Dutch Reformed Church at Colony (in Washita County), by the Baptists just east of Greenfield (also in Blaine County), and by the Episcopals southwest of Watonga. But the success of the missionaries was measured. As Muriel Wright has observed, it was a painful process that was never fully accomplished. "The Cheyenne, of all the reservation tribes in the Indian Territory," she wrote, "were bitter, resentful, and hard to manage."[6]

One of the more memorable episodes on the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation came in 1876-1877 when the federal government relocated nearly one thousand Northern Cheyennes to the Indian Territory in the wake of the Custer debacle. Deplorable conditions brought repeated pleas for a return to the North. In September 1878, a group of 353 Northern Cheyennes under the determined leadership of Dull Knife left the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation and started north. Remarkably, they informed agency authorities at Ft. Reno and Darlington of their plan, telling them that they would pose no threat to the whites along the way and that they did not wish to stir resistance. Nonetheless, the alarm spread through Indian Territory, Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado. United States military units skirmished with the runaways several times, but did not halt the group. Dull Knife's party eluded capture and once they reached the north country of Montana surrendered. Obdurate government officials

ordered the group returned to Indian Territory where a second breakout in January 1879 ended disastrously when sixty-four Cheyennes were killed and seventy-eight were recaptured. Only about thirty escaped. Shortly thereafter, however, the government established a Northern Cheyenne reservation in Montana on the Tongue River and by 1883 most of the exiled Cheyennes had been allowed to return home.

It should come as no surprise that when the Ghost Dance phenomenon reached the Indian Territory the Cheyennes and Arapahoes were among its most earnest adherents. Interest reached a high point in 1890 when a Ghost Dance meeting near Darlington on the Canadian River attracted several thousand Indians, including nearly all of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Interest in the Ghost Dance among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes waned not long after.[7]

At about the same time as the appearance of the Ghost Dance religion among the Indian Territory tribes, United States commissioners visited the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation to seek an agreement with tribal leaders for the allotment of reservation lands. Allotment in severalty, given substance by the Dawes Act of 1887, represented the latest in a long line of civilizing programs through which the government hoped to break down the resistance of the Indian Territory tribes and force them into accepting white cultural models. General guidelines called for 160 acre tracts to be allotted to every member of the tribes,

regardless of age or sex, with the remainder to be sold off to white homesteaders. Ultimately, 3.5 million acres on the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation were sold as surplus, and, on April 19, 1892, that land was opened to white settlement.

The Allotment of the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation marked the nadir of the reservation experience. It threw the Cheyennes into a society with which they were unfamiliar and in which they were unable to muster any political or economic power. Though their allotments were originally issued with a twenty-five year trust restriction that theoretically protected the title to the land, most of the Cheyenne allotments were lost to unscrupulous land agents and settlers when the Burke Act (1906) lifted many of the trust restrictions.[8]

Relief came finally in 1934 when Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes sponsored the Indian Reorganization Act, an Indian New Deal that re-established the relationship between the federal government and the various tribes and reaffirmed the right to self-determination for any tribe wishing it. Though not directly applicable to the Oklahoma tribes, the Indian Reorganization Act led to the passage in 1936 of the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, which in turn allowed the same kinds of reforms created by its predecessor. The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act officially established the "Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma" and by-laws and a constitution

were approved in September 1937. Since that time the governing body of the Cheyenne-Arapaho tribes has been the Cheyenne-Arapaho Business Committee, composed of seven elected members from each tribe and headquartered at Concho. Today, the estimated 7,000 Cheyennes and Arapahoes carried on the tribal rolls represent a dynamic part of Oklahoma's Indian heritage. Large Cheyenne populations can be found in Thomas, Clinton, Weatherford, El Reno, Watonga, and Kingfisher. Nearly 109,000 acres of land are under the control of individual tribesmen, many of whom are successful ranchers, farmers, or cattlemen.[9]

ENDNOTES

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