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The Kiowa Tribe And Inter-Tribal Relations On The Southern Plains

Stephen Zimmer

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Stephen Zimmer

Candidate

History

Department

Bernard Spolsky

Dean

May 4, 1976

Date

Committee

Richard N. Ellis

Chairman

Donald C. Cutler

Paul W. Brewer

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Few scholarly studies have dealt with Plains Indians and their relations with neighboring tribes. Studies of this kind are valuable, for they tend to demonstrate the manner in which Indian tribes dealt with each other before European contact, while at the same time they help us understand Indian behavior during the subsequent historic period.

Indian relations on the Plains were determined more by economic factors rather than geographic proximity. Often neighboring tribes were bitter enemies when one tribe desired the hunting grounds and/or horses possessed by another. On the other hand, tribes with adjacent hunting grounds often hunted on each other's land and were joined in trade and military alliances. On the Plains, if a tribe was not desirous of a neighbor's buffalo or horses, and perhaps had items to trade, they drew into an informal commercial agreement and also attempted jointly to stave off other tribes who encroached onto their hunting grounds.

In the case of the Kiowa tribe, they had by 1810 taken firm hold of the southern Plains as their hunting grounds and along with their closest ally, the Comanches, were able to keep their Indian enemies from penetrating too far onto their lands. The Navajos, Utes, and Apaches from the west and the Pawnees, Sauks, and Foxes from the east all at one time or another tried to hunt buffalo on Kiowa and Comanche land. In addition, these tribes

frequently stole horses from the Kiowas and Comanches. As a result of these activities, the Kiowas and Comanches spent much time combating these inroads.

On the other hand, the Kiowas developed friendly trade relations with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, other Plains tribes such as the Cheyennes and Arapahos, and the Wichitas, Kickapoos, Delawares, Osages, and the Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory. The Kiowas were especially interested in the white goods such as guns, cloth, and knives that these tribes could offer in trade because these items made the nomadic life of the Kiowas easier and less drab.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Much scholarly attention has been given to Plains Indians and their economic, political, and military relations with the Spanish, French, and later the Anglo-Americans. However, there is a paucity of historical information dealing almost entirely with particular tribes and their relationships with neighboring tribes. Studies of this kind are valuable, for they tend to demonstrate the manner in which Indian tribes dealt with each other before European contact, while at the same time they help us understand Indian behavior during the subsequent historic period.

Kiowa Indian behavior is particularly enlightening in showing the mode of inter-tribal relations on the Plains. The Kiowas were a small tribe, never numbering more than two thousand individuals at their peak, but because they possessed horses, they were able to range widely and contact many tribes; a behavior that would seem more consistent with a much larger tribe. The Kiowas entered the historic period residing on the northern Plains near the Black Hills of South Dakota and migrated southward to the area between

the Arkansas and Red Rivers. Consequently, the Kiowas came into contact with most of the Plains tribes during their travels. With these Plains tribes, the Kiowas shared similar relations with many tribes living on the periphery of the Plains; however, while on the south Plains, the Kiowas came into contact with many tribes that northern tribes such as the Dakotas and Northern Cheyennes never had intercourse with, thus Kiowa behavior had a character distinctively its own.

A study of Kiowa culture is important in understanding the tribe's relations with other tribes for it was an adaptation to not only the physical environment but also to the human inhabitants in that environment. As a tribe, the Kiowas embodied the culture traits of typical Plains Indians. They depended upon buffalo for subsistence and by means of the horse, they followed and hunted buffalo in a highly efficient manner.[1] It enabled them to occupy the Great Plains where buffalo herds were most abundant. The horse provided Kiowas with the mobility needed to exploit the buffalo, but as they ranged farther, they often came into direct competition with other tribes over the available herds of an area. The Kiowas fought for occupation of these buffalo ranges, but when their military power was not great enough to establish their authority in a region, they were compelled to move elsewhere. Concomitantly, the Kiowas had to have a large

but continuous supply of horses in order to hunt buffalo. Natural increase of their herds was not enough to supply their demand; so Kiowas raided both red and white enemies to keep their herds at the necessary size. Other tribes reciprocally raided or traded horses with the Kiowas which assured that the Kiowas had to replenish constantly and maintain their horse herds. Therefore, Kiowa behavior toward other Indian tribes was governed by the economic concerns of acquisition and protection of both horse herds and buffalo ranges.[2]

Kiowa economics were closely intertwined with both the military complex and the rank structure of the tribe. To gain the highest rank in Kiowa society a man had to have an outstanding war record and had to be wealthy in horses. Consequently, a man who held high rank within the tribe had distinguished himself fighting tribal enemies who encroached on tribal hunting grounds. He had stolen many horses needed to hunt the buffalo on tribal lands, thus insuring the continuance of the basic Kiowa economic pattern.

The economic cycle of the Kiowas was composed of four parts and was determined by the behavior of their most important food source, the buffalo.[3] During the cold winter months buffalo herds split into small groups in order to forage better upon the sparse grass. This period saw the Kiowas also settled in small band units

camped along wooded water courses. These camps were relatively stationary and little hunting was done other than to kill occasionally a deer or other game that provided a break from the usual winter diet of preserved meat.

As spring came and the grass got better, the buffalo congregated into larger herds. Kiowas also formed into larger band units called topotogas for the hunt. The topotoga consisted of an extended family that was under the leadership of the topotok'i who was the chief man of the family. As the ponies grew stronger after the long winter of poor forage, hunting parties were intermixed with raiding parties that went in search of enemy ponies.

During the summer months hunting continued in preparation for the large feasts to be enjoyed during the Sun Dance, the chief tribal religious occasion of the year. All the bands joined together about the middle of June and preparations were made for the celebration of the Sun Dance. The Sun Dance was a time of socializing and gossiping among members of the tribe who had been separated from each other for almost a year. The different military societies met together, initiated new members, and made plans for future war operations. Upon completion of the Sun Dance, the Kiowas as a tribe went on several buffalo hunts in order to start the accumulation of meat needed for the long winter months. The fall was also

a time of large war parties organized to take revenge on enemy tribes or to assert the tribe's territorial authority on enemies that were encroaching on Kiowa hunting grounds. From late summer to December the tribe again split into band units that continued hunting until the winter snows began to fall.[4]

Seasonal changes and the resultant economic activity determined when and on what conditions the Kiowas would meet other tribes. In terms of warfare the Kiowas did not raid during the winter because of the inclement weather and the poor quality of their ponies who suffered from little forage. When spring arrived and the horses grew strong, small parties of raiders began to descend upon their enemies, and again after the Sun Dance before the Kiowas had broken into bands again, tribal expeditions took to the war trail.

The Kiowas had three motivations for making war on their enemies, two of which were economic in nature, the third being revenge. First they sent warriors to enemy camps to attempt to steal horses in order to replenish and maintain the tribes' herds. These expeditions were small in number, usually not more than six to ten warriors composing the party. These men were usually from the same topotoga or band, and the horses that they stole were for the use of their own particular band. Horse raiding parties were under the leadership of a toyopk'i, who before the expedition departed went among the members of

his band and recruited warriors to join the expedition. If a toyopk'i was considered a strong and wise leader, and if he had been successful on previous occasions, he was assured of many followers, whereas a man who had not been as successful might have more difficulty in recruiting his force. The toyopk'i was in complete charge of the expedition, deciding when the group would camp, who would scout, and who would perform camp duties. If the expedition was successful, the toyopk'i was responsible for distributing the spoils of victory, deciding the number of ponies that each man should receive in accordance with his contribution to the enterprise.[5]

While in residence on the south Plains the Kiowas sent horse raiders to the non-Indian settlements in Texas and northern Mexico where the original horse supplies for the Plains had been, and where the largest concentrations of horses were. As a result of Kiowa proximity to these horse-rich areas, they had very large herds in proportion to their size. Consequently, they were constantly raided by enemy tribes located to the north, east, and west of them who were not as fortunate to be in such a strategic geographical location. Pawnees, Osages, Dakotas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Navajos, Utes, and Jicarilla Apaches had at one time or another during the nineteenth century stolen horses from the Kiowas.

However, the Kiowas did not let these raids go unanswered. They retaliated against all these tribes in order to recover horses stolen from them. At the very least they helped assert Kiowas' authority against these tribes so that they would know that they could not raid the Kiowas with complete immunity.

Often Kiowa warriors would be killed while participating in horse raids. In that event a relative or close friend of the slain warrior took a pipe to the different military societies of the tribe as soon as the Sun Dance was over. His purpose was to recruit men for a revenge expedition against the tribe that had committed the murder. When a sufficient number of warriors had agreed to join a revenge expedition, it took precedence over all others and no other war expeditions could go against the enemy in any direction.[6] Being of a tribal nature, revenge parties were much larger than raiding parties, sometimes numbering from one to two hundred warriors.[7] No matter what band the dead warrior was from, his death was considered a tribal matter. The tribe had to avenge the death, for it was a matter of Kiowa honor.

At times allies close to the Kiowas such as the Comanches or Cheyennes came to the Kiowa camps after the Sun Dance and elicited their aid in avenging the death of one of their fallen warriors. In these instances Kiowa warriors were sometimes harder to recruit than if the party was to avenge Kiowa blood. The number of Kiowa

recruits to a revenge expedition initiated by an allied tribe depended upon several factors. As in a raiding party, the reputation of the man that was to lead the group was important for he had to be a proven warrior and leader who could command the confidence of all who followed him. The tribe to be fought also had to be considered. If the offending tribe was only a casual enemy, few Kiowas might join the expedition, whereas if the tribe was a hated enemy that had previously killed Kiowa warriors, many Kiowa men might join in the enterprise.

A revenge party attempted to kill at least one or more of the enemy; but if another enemy was intercepted before the one sought for was sighted, a revenge party would try to take a scalp from that enemy and still return to their camps satisfied that they had carried out their duty.[8] A revenge party tried to avoid a large enemy party and sought to locate a solitary individual or group so that success was more likely without the possibility of sustaining more losses. The Kiowas' purpose for taking enemy lives in revenge was so that their "hearts would feel better."[9] Revenge was a two sided proposition though, for members of a revenge expedition always returned to their villages with full knowledge that the enemy would come the next year set on taking back a life for the one that they had lost.

The third motivation for war was also tribal in scope, and it involved protecting the tribe's hunting grounds. This warfare was conducted to insure basic survival for the tribe, for if the Kiowas did not protect their buffalo range, they would have lost it to their enemies. Equally as important as horse stealing to the economic survival of the Kiowa tribe, expeditions against tribes that tried to push their way onto the tribal hunting grounds[10] were a major enterprise during the fall of the year.

When the Kiowas lived near the Black Hills, they attempted to keep the Dakotas from hunting buffalo in their territory. The Kiowas in this instance were not strong enough militarily to keep the Dakotas away; so they had to give way and move to other buffalo regions to the south. As they moved southward, they had to fight Comanches for the right to hunt on the rich buffalo lands south of the Arkansas River. They were successful in these wars, and after making peace with the Comanches, the Kiowas moved their camps south of the Arkansas. Together the two allies were able to protect the buffalo herds that ranged from the Arkansas to the Rio Grande and from the Cross Timbers on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west. Although Utes, Jicarilla Apaches, and Navajos on the Kiowas' western front and the Five Civilized Tribes to the east of them tried to hunt on the southern Plains, the allied power of the Kiowas and

Comanches kept them to the peripheral edges of the Plains.

Kiowas continued to fight their Indian enemies while also fighting encroaching Americans in the 1860's and 70's. To the observer today, it would seem that all Indians should have ceased fighting among themselves and instead joined together to fend off the American move westward. Such a proposition, however, would have been impossible for American Indians were completely autonomous of each other and they had no super structure that could draw them together politically or militarily to confront an adversary. Tribes were so diverse that even those tribes with similar languages were not always closely allied and were sometimes enemies.

To the Kiowas the Americans were simply more enemies who attempted to take their hunting grounds away from them. Consequently, they were fought just as another Indian tribe would have been that tried to do the same thing. The Kiowas could not afford to turn their entire attention against the Americans for the possibility of losing their hunting grounds to other tribes. The Kiowas could not have known what the eventual outcome of their struggles with the Americans would be in the early 1860's, and therefore they fought them with no thought of coming up the loser. Even when the Americans forced them to move to a reservation in southwestern

Indian Territory in the 1870's, which was small in respect to their former range, the Kiowas still sent war parties against their old enemies. Although they no longer fought to protect their territory, they continued to fight enemies such as the Utes and Jicarilla Apaches of New Mexico. Years of constant warfare had built up an intense hatred for these tribes and was responsible for the continuance of war activities against them.

In the Kiowa tribe war activity was closely related to rank within the tribe. The highest rank in Kiowa society was onde, which included the greatest warriors and leaders of the different bands. To be an onde meant that a man had to be wealthy with horses and be generous with his wealth. More importantly he had acquired a distinguished record in war activities. A man of onde rank was one who had performed numerous heroic deeds in warfare such as counting first coup, charging the enemy to cover a retreat, or rescuing a member of his party while in retreat. He had served as leader of several war enterprises and had acquired a varied experience by participating in many kinds of war operations. All Kiowas strove to attain onde rank because of the personal benefits of prestige that it carried. Rank had a major function within the tribe because of its emphasis on military prowess, thus serving to assure economic survival for members of the tribe.[11]

Members of the second rank in Kiowa society differed from the highest in that although both were wealthy and generous, those of second rank did not have a military record that could match that of onde rank. The second rank was usually composed of the non-military specialists such as medicine men, hunters, artists, and herders, or those who had not yet acquired the war record needed for onde rank. Kwwn was the third Kiowa rank and was composed of those who had neither wealth nor a war record. Because they had few or no horses at all, they had to borrow them from richer relatives when they desired to go on the war path or on a hunt. They usually were required to pay the lender a set number of horses or buffalo hides for use of the animals. Tribesmen of higher rank held the key to economic survival and access to higher ranks for the kwwn. They had to be generous with their wealth to those of lower rank who were not as fortunate, but at the same time this generosity was used to validate their own rank. Without horses the kwwn could not hunt or raid, and if he did not raid, he could never accumulate enough wealth or acquire a war record which were needed to ascend to the highest rank of Kiowa society.[12]

Rank and warfare together were basic in determining Kiowa relations with other tribes. However, the Kiowas met some tribes on strictly friendly terms. Those tribes

that did not desire Kiowa buffalo or horses, but who were in a position to trade became trade allies. Other tribes such as the Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Dakotas who were hostile to the Kiowas during certain periods of the nineteenth century, eventually made peace with the Kiowas and joined them in both trade and war alliances.

Trade and warfare were equally important to the Kiowas. Trade brought the Kiowas valuable articles that they could not procure in their own country and that enriched their lives immensely. Trade articles obtained from other Indians were of two types, either aboriginal or Spanish or American in origin. On the other hand Kiowa trade items were all connected to their economic structure and came in the forms of horses and buffalo hides. The horse was the major medium of exchange of the two, however, because it held the distinction of representing true wealth.

While residing on the northern Plains, the Kiowas traded with the agricultural Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas who had villages on the Upper Missouri River. The Kiowas obtained corn, tobacco, and other agricultural products from them in return for buffalo meat and hides and horses. When the Kiowas moved to the southern Plains, they traded with the agricultural Pueblos residing along the Rio Grande and the Wichitas who had villages near the Red River. This trade resembled very closely that with the agricultural tribes of the northern Plains.

Agricultural products were important trade items for the Kiowas, but they desired white trade articles more. Knives, hatchets, metal cooking pots, cloth, and guns made life on the Plains easier, more convenient, and less drab for the Kiowas.[13] A few of these items were obtained from the Pueblos who acquired them as a result of the Santa Fe trade, but the majority of them were traded from the tribes located to the north and east of the Kiowas. The Osages, Kanzas, and Pawnees who were closest to the American settlements frequently sent trading expeditions to the Kiowas' and Comanches' camps to trade white goods for horses. These tribes were located far away from the source of supply of horses but were able to accumulate a fair number through trade with the tribes of the southern Plains. The Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Dakotas likewise situated farther away from the horse supplies of Texas and Mexico than the Kiowas frequently traded for them on the southern Plains. Later tribes removed from the eastern United States to west of the Mississippi River brought loads of white goods onto the Plains to trade with the Kiowas. These tribes, including the Five Civilized Tribes, the Kickapoos, and the Delawares had had long dealings with the Americans and had learned many of their trading practices. These tribes made profits from the sale of surplus horses beyond what they needed for their own use to whitemen from settlements in Arkansas and Missouri. Trade in

horses and white goods was beneficial to all the tribes involved, but it proved to be the undoing of the Kiowas and their allies, the Comanches. The Kiowas entrenched themselves so far into their raiding way of life they were lost when the Americans forced them into a world without horses.

For the Kiowas the horse was also an important gift-giving item used in diplomatic relations with other tribes. It was customary among Plains Indians to exchange presents to demonstrate friendship between contracting parties in peace negotiations. The Kiowas always presented horses to their prospective allies thereby giving a gift that was doubly valuable. The horse was not only a symbolic sign of friendship, but also because it represented true economic wealth, the recipient valued it all the more highly. The most telling example of Kiowa use of the horse in diplomatic relations was in 1840 when the Kiowas consummated peace with their erstwhile enemies, the Cheyennes. One of the major reasons that the Cheyennes had fought the Kiowas had been their desire to acquire access to the horses of Texas and Mexico which the Kiowas and Comanches blocked. The gifts exchanged between the two tribes when they formally made peace demonstrated that the Kiowas were indeed aware of what the Cheyennes desired most. As the two tribes met at the Kiowa camp, the Cheyennes were seated in a long line. The Kiowas then came and gave each of them sticks that

they were to redeem for horses. Befitting their rank and position within their own tribe, the Cheyenne chiefs were given more horses than the other Cheyennes but even the unimportant Cheyenne men and women were given four, five, or six ponies. All Kiowas that had them gave horses to the Cheyennes, but the chief, Satank, gave away almost 250.[14] Through this generous gift display of horses, the Kiowas cemented their friendship with the Cheyennes and as a result, they gained both a valuable trade and war ally that they never lost.

Kiowa society and culture were true adaptations to the tribes' environment. Life on the prairies was not easy for the Kiowas. They had first to contend with their environment which could be very cruel to them. Although winters on the southern Plains are short, they can be very severe. The wind blows snow across the Plains with complete freedom for there are no natural obstructions that serve to block its fury. The summers are characterized by either long, hot, dry days or torrential rainstorms that swell streams to much more than average size. Some years rain barely comes at all and the grass becomes so thin that both horses and buffalo have difficulty even surviving. The Kiowas had no control over their environment and consequently they tried only to live within it and become a part of it. However, neighboring tribes were also part of their environment, and the Kiowas tried to direct their neighbors' behavior in terms of

keeping those who were enemies away from their hunting grounds. They attempted to keep those who were friends near enough so that they could draw upon their trading and military propensities. In retrospect, the Kiowas were successful in dealing with the tribes they came in contact with in that they were able to hold and protect their southern Plains homeland against all other Indian enemies. It took the much more powerful enemy, the Americans, to take their land from them, but only after the Kiowas had fought valiantly to preserve it and their way of life.

Notes

[1]Robert H. Lowie, Indians of the Plains, The American Museum of Natural History (Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1963), pp. 6-7.

[2]W. W. Newcomb, Jr., "A Re-examination of Causes of Plains Warfare," American Anthropologist, Vol. 52, No. 3 (1950): 328.

[3]Fred Eggan, The American Indian (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), p. 54.

[4]Bernard Mishkin, Rank and Warfare Among the Plains Indians, American Ethnological Society, Monographs, No. 3 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), pp. 25-6.

[5]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, p. 28-34.

[6]Mooney, "Calendar History," p. 282.

[7]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, p. 28.

[8]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, p. 29.

[9]See Wilbur S. Nye, Bad Medicine and Good (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), p. 149.

[10]Newcomb, "Re-examination of the Causes of Plains Warfare," pp. 327-28.

[11]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, p. 36.

[12]Mishkin, Rank and Warfare, p. 36.

[13]Forrest D. Monahan, Jr., "Trade Goods on the Prairie, The Kiowa Tribe and White Trade Goods, 1794-1875" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1965), pp. 163-64.

[14]George Bird Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 68.

CHAPTER II

The Plains Tribes

The Kiowa Indians were active participants in tribal movements on the western Great Plains in the latter half of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries. From an early beginning in the mountains of western Montana to a later residence near the Black Hills and a final occupation between the Arkansas and Red Rivers, the Kiowas pushed and were pushed by their Plains enemies in almost constant wars for supremacy of their range. Not until the Kiowas reached the southern Plains were they able to secure their territory against all encroachers. When in 1840 peaceful alliances were made with the larger Plains tribes, the Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Crows, and Dakotas, the Kiowas had only to defend their land from other tribes located on their periphery.

The Kiowas' earliest historic tradition places them in the mountainous area along the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers in the western part of present day Montana. They hunted with bows and arrows in the mountains and nearby plains, but according to tradition they were

without horses with which to carry on their hunting activities. The Flatheads[1] and Arapahos[2] were located near the Kiowas and were considered friends.

While residing in the mountains of western Montana, the tribe split; one part withdrew to the northwest, and the other to the southeast onto the plains of present day eastern Wyoming. Kiowa tradition states that the reason for the split was an argument between two chiefs over possession of the udder of a female antelope that had been killed on a hunt. The chief that acquired the choice piece led his follows southeastward onto the Plains.[3] It is possible that this band had more definite reasons for a move to the Plains. The Flathead tribe seems to have acquired horses between 1710-1720[4] and through trade may have put the animal in the hands of the Kiowas. Although it is impossible to assign a date to Kiowa movement onto the Plains, the horse could have been the stimulus for their first hunting expeditions to and subsequent residence there.

The Kiowas crossed the Yellowstone and continued onward until they eventually came into the country of the Crows. There they settled. The Kiowas were accepted as friends by the Crows, who taught them how to survive the rigors of Plains life. While living near the Crows, the Kiowas acquired their Sun Dance medicine or "taime" from them.[5] The manner in which the Kiowas acquired the Sun Dance medicine is an interesting case of aboriginal

cultural borrowing. According to Kiowa legend, an Arapaho who had no horses or other wealth attended with his tribe the Sun Dance of the Crows. While there he danced before the medicine in hopes that he would be favored and become prosperous. The chief priest of the Crows rewarded the Arapaho by giving him the taime medicine, notwithstanding the protests of the Crows who were angry upon seeing such special treatment shown to an outsider. With the power of the medicine, the Arapaho's fortune changed. His horse raiding adventures became increasingly more successful, and soon he had the largest herd in the tribe. Upon his tribe's next visit to the Crows, he took the taime medicine with him but was followed by the jealous Crows when it came time to leave their village. When the Arapahos camped for the night, the Crows secretly stole the taime and took it back to their camp. On discovering his loss, the Arapaho duplicated the medicine and took it with him to his tribe. Afterward he married a Kiowa woman and went to live with her tribe bringing with him the taime which became the medicine of the Kiowas.[6]

The Sun Dance was the most important ceremony undertaken by the Kiowas or any other Plains tribe. The Kiowas "believed that it warded off sickness, caused happiness, prosperity, many children, success in war, and plenty of buffalo for all the people."[7] The entire

tribe participated in the dance. It was a time of publicizing war deeds by the men and of holding meetings and initiations by the different clubs and societies of the tribe. To meet together "tended to maintain tribal and racial solidarity" and made it possible for old and new friends in the tribe to come together.[8] The Kiowas believed that "the manner in which the Sun Father would regard them for the next year" was determined by their performance of the Sun Dance.[9]

Twice the Kiowas could not perform their Sun Dance. First, in the summers of 1833 and 1834, because their enemy, the Osages, stole the taime in a raid during the spring of 1833, and then again during the summers of 1836 and 1837 when the Kiowas feared attacks on their camps by the Cheyennes. Life went on for the Kiowas even though they did not execute the vital ceremony, but considering the importance of the dance to them, the psychological and social effect on the tribe must have been devastating.

It has been suggested that the Kiowa-Crow relationship was not very strong, and that the Kiowas and Crows had been only casual acquaintances.[10] Nevertheless, when the Kiowas later moved to the southern Plains, they kept in frequent contact with the Crows which does suggest a certain intimacy. Kiowa men would often visit the Crows and leave their children with them for two or three years in order that they might learn Crow language

and customs. The Crows reciprocated these visits by venturing onto the southern Plains to renew their friendship with the Kiowas.[11] In this way both tribes perpetuated the alliance that had served them well while the Kiowas lived in the north. The Kiowas never broke their alliance with the Crows, even though their later allies, the Dakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos commonly preyed upon Crow horse herds. The Kiowas always remained as interested non-participants in these later wars, never aiding either side.

In their movement to the Plains, the Kiowas brought with them a small group of Athabascan-speaking Indians, the Kiowa Apaches. This small tribe was culturally the same as the Kiowas, having only a different language. It composed a distinct and completely equal band in the Kiowa tribal organization. The Kiowa Apaches remained with the Kiowas in their later travels to the south, enjoying the protection that the larger tribe was able to afford them. Neither tribe has any remembrance of when the two were not associated.[12]

While occupying the country east of the Crows, the Kiowas took the Black Hills as their hunting ground and from there began to make trading expeditions to the Missouri Valley villages of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara. They seem to have been most intimate with the Arikara, which perhaps denotes greater intercourse with

that tribe, as it was located on the Ree or Grand River and closest in proximity to the Kiowas. In fact, one of the Kiowa tribal divisions was called the Arikara band, because of what the Kiowas term their close relationship in former times with that tribe.[13]

Leading lives of hunters, the Kiowas were eager to trade with the agricultural Missouri Valley tribes for the maize, tobacco, beans, and pumpkins that they raised.[14] In return the Kiowas bartered horses, hides, and other products of the hunt.[15] Trading expeditions were exchanged and continued into the first two decades of the nineteenth century. A group of Arikaras journeyed to the Black Hills in 1803 to trade tobacco and maize to Kiowas and Arapahos[16] and was only one of many groups that participated in Kiowa trade on the Plains.

While Kiowas were residing in the Black Hills, the Cheyennes, at an undetermined date, settled along the Cheyenne River between the Kiowas and their trading partners on the Missouri. The Cheyennes had been agriculturalists in the Missouri Valley, but Dakota raids on their settlements had forced them to move westward and adopt a nomadic life.[17] Cheyenne tradition states that Kiowas ranged along the Little Missouri, Powder, and Tongue Rivers and that it was from them that the Little Missouri received its name, Antelope Pit River, because of the great number of that animal that the Kiowas trapped there. It was from the Kiowas that the

Cheyennes learned to trap antelope[18] and dress buffalo hides in one piece.[19] Furthermore, the Cheyennes added to their horse herds through trade with the Kiowas and Arapahos. This horse trade was crucial to the Cheyennes, for, being newcomers to the nomadic life, they welcomed and required friendly suppliers of the animal.

Because of their geographical position, the Cheyennes quickly took up roles as middlemen between the Kiowas and the Missouri Valley tribes. This status was a result of a new French desire to trade with tribes located west of the Missouri Valley villages. Having had more experience with white men and their trade, the Cheyennes naturally became middlemen, evidently with Kiowa consent.[20] By 1795, the Cheyennes had acquainted the Kiowas with trade possibilities to be had in knives and ammunition with Frenchmen at the Missouri villages.[21]

In order to continue their trading activities with the Cheyennes and Arikaras, the Kiowas recognized the importance of acquiring enough horses not only to supply their own needs but also to use in trade. This was principally accomplished by raiding the large herds of their neighbors to the south, the Comanches.[22] The Comanches, located in eastern Colorado, were closer to the Spanish settlements of New Mexico, where they either traded or stole horses in great quantities. Although the Kiowas themselves had been making raids on the Spanish settlements as early as 1740[23] in order to procure

horses,[24] the Comanches presented a much closer target. Thus began a long series of wars between the two tribes which lasted up into the first decade of the nineteenth century.

By 1750, the Kiowas and Crows had begun to send out raiding parties against the Comanches, which drove that tribe south to the North Platte River. It seems that at around this time a portion of the Kiowas followed their enemies, continually raiding and forcing them southward. The remainder of the tribe, referred to as the Northern Kiowas or "Cold Men" stayed in the Black Hills until they were pushed out by the Dakotas, probably around 1800.[25]

From the east and behind the Cheyennes came the numerous Dakotas, arriving in the Black Hills area around 1775. Desiring the rich game of the region and the abundant horses of the occupants, they exerted strong pressure on the Kiowas.[26] Although the Kiowas obtained the aid of their friends, the Crows, they were finally forced out of the Black Hills, while the Crows were pushed further westward.[27] In the early years of fighting, the Dakotas destroyed an entire band of Kiowas, known as the Kuatos. Kiowas' tradition says that the entire tribe while camping together was attacked by the Dakotas. The Kiowas were overcome and fled except for the Kuato band, which remained in the battle against hopeless odds. In the end, all the Kuatos were killed, excepting one woman survivor.[28]

From the Black Hills, the Kiowas moved south to a range in between the North and South Platte Rivers, where they were drawn into greater conflict with the Comanches. Probably the resultant move was as much a matter of Kiowa desire to be closer to the supply of Spanish horses as it was Dakota pressure. The Cheyenne also were driven by the Dakotas, and they located in the Kiowas' former range, the Black Hills.[29]

After leaving the Black Hills, the Kiowas continued to return (for several years) to their former home to trade with tribes of the area. They exchanged horses and items acquired from the Spanish of New Mexico to the Missouri Valley tribes as they had in former times.[30] In addition, they attended large trade or horse fairs at which the Crows, Arapahos, and Cheyennes were also present. They obtained such valuable merchandise as guns, ammunition, British goods, and eagle feathers among many other items.[31] Unfortunately for the Kiowas and all tribes involved, these trading operations were eventually broken up by the Dakotas. In 1813 a horse fair was held at a Comanche camp on Horse Creek near the present Wyoming-Nebraska border. It was attended by Kiowas, Kiowa Apaches, Arapahos, Cheyennes, Crows, and a band of Teton Dakotas. A fight broke out between a Kiowa and Dakota, in which the Dakota split the Kiowa man's head open with his tomahawk. Consequently, the Dakotas attacked all the members of the trading session and sent them fleeing into the mountains

to the west.[32] The Kiowas were again defeated by the Dakotas in 1815 when they tried to cross the Platte on a trading excursion, thus effectively ending Kiowa movement in that area.[33]

The Kiowas kept their camps between the Platte and Arkansas Rivers and engaged in seemingly endless battles with the Dakotas to the north and the Comanches to the south. However, peace was finally arranged with the Comanches when, according to tradition, both sides were "about worn out with fighting."[34] Peace was of great benefit to both sides. Not only did the Kiowas lose a formidable enemy, but they were then also able to move south of the Arkansas River where they were in closer proximity to their source of horses. Furthermore, they had an opportunity to locate in a more moderate climate with the advantage of having numerous herds of buffalo to hunt.

Ethnologist James Mooney, who did fieldwork with the Kiowas in the 1890's, set the date of the Kiowa-Comanche peace around 1790.[35] However, a letter from a Spaniard, Fernando de Chacón, to the Commandante-General of the Provincias Internas, Pedro de Nava, dated August 30, 1802 reported that Comanches had recently killed twenty-four Kiowas and had captured many others. The letter alleged that the Comanches desired to make the Kiowas retreat to their old territory.[36] Therefore, the two tribes must have made peace between that time and 1805, since

a New Mexican document of that year established that the Kiowas offered to bring the Comanches with them to parley with Spanish officials of the province.[37] Furthermore, Major Zebulon M. Pike mentioned in his journal that the Kiowas were "at war with both the Pawnees and Ietans /Comanches/, as well as with the Sioux."[38] Pike did not contact the Kiowas during the course of his explorations. His information concerning them came from an American trader, James Pursley (Purcell). Pursley was active among the Kiowa in 1805 and before[39] and had helped them open official relations with the Spanish of New Mexico. Consequently, Pursley may not have been aware of the Kiowa-Comanche peace when he advised Pike about the Kiowas and their enemies. The Kiowa-Comanche peace was never broken; and united together in diplomatic alliance, the two tribes were able to stem the onslaught of northern tribes that would later try to move into their jointly held territory.[40]

In their new territory the Kiowa made enemies with the Cheyennes who had long been their friends and trading allies. The Cheyennes had followed the Kiowas southward and had remained their neighbors to the north, still engaging in friendly trade with them at the large horse fairs.[41] Although, according to Cheyenne tradition, the Cheyennes and Dakotas were responsible for expelling the Kiowas from the Black Hills,[42] other evidence seems to negate that tradition. Not only were the Kiowas and

Cheyennes trading partners in the 1820's, but also both the Stephen Long and Glenn-Fowler expeditions found the two tribes camping and trading amiably together in 1820 and 1821.[43] Nevertheless, the two were fighting by 1826. In that year a confederated group of Cheyennes, Arapahos, Gros Ventres, and Blackfeet raided the Kiowas and Comanches camped near the Red River and stole some horses.[44]

The reason for the start of the war evidently was the Cheyennes' desire for the large horse herds and rich buffalo lands possessed by the Kiowas and their Comanche allies.[45] The Cheyennes had fewer horses, being situated farther away from the original source of supply. They may have opted for raiding the Kiowas for horses which was more dangerous, but less expensive than trading for them.

Upon first being raided, the Kiowas retaliated by sending horse raiders of their own against the Cheyennes. As an example, the Santa Fe trader, Alphonso Wetmore camped with a small Kiowa raiding party in 1828. The Indians had come into his camp on foot. They had been on a "gentlemanlike horse stealing expedition against the Chicans, in which they were at first successful, but when they believed that they had escaped with their booty, the Chians were down upon them and retook the cavalry and a few scalps."[46]

By 1835 the Arkansas River separated the territory of the Kiowas and Cheyennes[47] as the Kiowas kept their

camps south of the river to separate themselves from their enemies. The Kiowas and Comanches were pr ented from approaching Bent's Fort on the Arkansas and trading because of fear of meeting the Cheyennes.[48] Consequently, the Bents had to send men into Kiowa and Comanche country to obtain their business.[49]

In 1837 some forty-eight Cheyennes, members of the Bow String military society, were wiped out by a group of Kiowas and Comanches. This defeat was the causative factor for a tribal revenge attack conducted by the Cheyennes the following year. The Cheyennes, upon receiving news of the defeat of the Bow String warriors, held war councils to organize the entire tribe in the revenge raid. In the spring of 1838 all of the Cheyennes moved against the Kiowas and Comanches and attacked them at their village on Wolf Creek in present Ellis County, Oklahoma. After an initial success, the Cheyennes were repulsed by the Kiowas and Comanches who fought desperately to defend their homes, women and children.[50] Raids continued on both sides for some two years following the battle on Wolf Creek, but never again did they occur on such a large scale.

The Kiowas and Cheyennes finally made peace during the summer of 1840, both groups being tired of fighting a war so costly in terms of both human lives and horses. Kiowa tradition credits the Cheyennes with making the first overtures of peace, while Cheyenne tradition states

that the Kiowas and their allies, the Comanches, came to them suing for an end to hostilities.[51] In this instance, tribal traditions are of little consequence since the fact remains that peace was decided upon. The two tribes and their allies met near Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, where the Kiowas and Comanches gave a large number of horses to the Cheyennes as presents and received in return many white trade goods, including guns, blankets, beads, and brass kettles.[52] As evidenced by the presents given, both tribes received items which they greatly desired. The Cheyennes received many horses with as many as four or five horses going to the least important Cheyennes, while principal men received many more.[53] On the other hand, the Kiowas were given white trade goods, items that they seldom acquired because up to that time few whites had ventured to their camps to trade.[54] The peace established, was never broken, as both again became useful trade allies. From that date they joined on frequent occasions to make war upon their mutual Indian enemies and later, the encroaching Americans.

The Kiowas also secured a peace with the Dakotas about the time that peace was made with the Cheyennes. The date is uncertain, but it could have resulted because of the Kiowa-Cheyenne truce. The Dakotas were allied with the Cheyennes and may have simply followed the

Cheyennes' lead. It is true that the Kiowas now lived far away from Dakota territory; thus, there was little to be gained on either side in making further war. As with the Cheyennes, peace brought trade and a war alliance that benefited both. From the time of the peace, the two tribes exchanged friendly visits, so that they might trade. For example, in 1844 the Dakotas visited the Kiowa summer Sun Dance. There they acquired many horses from the Kiowas that went to replenish their herds.[55] The Kiowas say that they learned to wear eagle feathers in their hair from the Dakotas during a later visit to their Sun Dance. A large party of Dakotas had come to visit the Kiowas and during their stay, they taught the Kiowas a feather dance in which wands decorated with eagle feathers were used. The Kiowas have ever since called this the Dakota or Sioux dance.[56]

The Kiowas were suspicious of the Dakotas notwithstanding their peace. They suspected that the Dakotas would take any opportunity to steal horses from them if given a chance. Therefore, in 1851, the Kiowas refused to treat with the United States government at Fort Laramie, Wyoming "stating that they had too many horses and mules to risk on such a journey, and among such notorious horse thieves as the Sioux."[57] As late as 1872, forty-two ponies and two mules, stolen by the Dakotas in the spring of that year, were returned to the Kiowas by United States troops, who had recaptured them from the Dakotas.[58]

However, incidents such as this were rare, and the two tribes remain friends to this day.

Kiowa relations with Plains tribes were more important than with any other group of tribes. The Kiowas learned to live on the Plains from other Plains tribes, and they were helped in protecting their hunting grounds by Plains Indian allies.

When the Kiowas came eastward out of the mountains of Montana to live on the Plains, they were helped and perhaps protected by their friends, the Arapahos and Crows. They learned and adopted many of the ways of the Arapahos and Crows. Once the Kiowas were fully horse-using Indians, they set about protecting their Black Hills hunting grounds against encroaching tribes. They were not strong enough to hold off the Dakotas who pressed from the east and were forced to move southward. Finally they settled south of the Arkansas River and in alliance with the Comanches were able to fend off any attempts by other Plains tribes from moving into their hunting grounds. They warred with the Dakotas and Cheyennes until the early 1840's, but upon making peace with them, the Kiowas had only to worry about tribes located on their periphery that tried to hunt their buffalo.

From peace came war and trade alliances with tribes like the Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Dakotas

that were both beneficial and useful. The Kiowas' war allies not only helped keep enemy Indians from moving too far out onto the Plains but also helped prolong the fight with the Americans over control of the Great Plains. Without help, particularly from the Comanches and Cheyennes, the Kiowas may have been dispossessed of their land much sooner than they were.

Notes

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[26]Hyde, Life of George Bent, p. 22.

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[28]Mooney, "Calendar History," pp. 157-58.

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CHAPTER III

The New Mexico Tribes

As early as the 1740's, the Kiowas had traveled extensively through New Mexico in search of horses and trade with the Spanish population. As they did, they encountered aboriginal tribes of the area, most of whom resented the intrusion of the Kiowas. The Kiowas found the Pueblo tribes of the Rio Grande to be amenable trading partners, but the Utes and Jicarillas were obstacles to free movement through the Spanish province. Consequently, they were forced to fight those mountain tribes along with the Navajos to gain access to the area. After settling south of the Arkansas River, the Kiowas developed a very possessive attitude over the buffalo range east of New Mexico. Therefore, along with their southern Plains allies, they continued to fight the Utes, Jicarilla Apaches, Navajos, and Mescalero Apaches in an effort to keep them off their buffalo plains.

Although Kiowa tradition places the earliest homeland of the tribe in western Montana, there is linguistic evidence that the Kiowa language is closely

related to the Tanoan languages of the Pueblo tribes of New Mexico.[1] This possibly indicates some early association between these people and might place the Kiowas at one point in their history much to the south of their legendary homeland. It has been suggested that the Kiowas had a southern origin but "temporarily moved north, and then south again," while their legends retained only the last of these events.[2] Nevertheless, once the Kiowas had settled on the southern Plains, they engaged in trade with the Rio Grande Pueblos, either in their villages or on the open plains where the Kiowas roamed.

Trade with the Pueblos was much like that with the Missouri River tribes in the north. The Pueblos traded agricultural products such as pinole, flour, corn, beans, with the addition of blankets[3] for which the Kiowas bartered buffalo robes, dried meat, horses, and mules.[4] Mexican lower classes also joined in the trade, sometimes allied with Pueblos, sometimes on ventures of their own. These Mexican and Indian traders were commonly known as Comancheros because of the vast amount of trade they carried on with the Comanches, as well as the Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos.

Groups from New Mexico that went east onto the Plains frequently went to hunt buffalo but always judiciously carried along trade items, for it was dangerous to hunt

on Kiowa range without being both willing and capable of carrying on commerce.[5] Many Pueblo tribes took part in the trade, which was going strong by 1815. In August of that year, for example, twenty-three Taos Indians met a group of Kiowas that were camped near their pueblo.[6] Trade continued up into the 1870's and was reported by many white travelers as they journeyed through Kiowa territory. Lt. Amiel W. Whipple, while exploring a proposed railroad route along the 35th parallel, met a group of New Mexico traders in September of 1853. Together with a number of Mexicans, there were Pueblo Indians from Santo Domingo, with flour and bread, to barter with the Kiowas and Comanches for buffalo robes and horses. They were mounted on mules, and wore serapes, or Mexican blankets, headdresses, beads, and other Indian ornaments. There were six to eight of their party scattered over the prairie in search of Comanches. They had thus far been unsuccessful because the majority of the Indians had not returned from a northern hunting trip.[7]

In the 1860's New Mexican traders were able to offer the Kiowas highly desirable American goods such as cloth, sugar, coffee, trinkets, arms, and ammunition along with the traditional items. On the other hand, the Kiowas had a new trade item, cattle, which were stolen from settlements on the Texas frontier.[8] The

Comancheros had well defined cattle trails that originated on the upper tributaries of the Red and Brazos Rivers,[9] and along these they drove stolen cattle traded from the Kiowas and Comanches westward to New Mexico where they sold them to local cattle buyers or kept them for their own consumption. Later, while confined on their reservation in Indian Territory, the Kiowas and Comanches had a trail up the Canadian River, "where they drove cattle, horses, and mules stolen from Texas, to New Mexico, and traded them for guns, ammunition, blankets, etc."[10]

Responding to complaints from Texas cattlemen, the United States Army worked hard to break up this trade in stolen animals but with little success. Occasionally, however, their efforts met with success, such as in 1871, when twenty-one Isleta Indians were apprehended with a large herd of stolen cattle traded from the Plains Indians.[11]

The Comanchero trade continued up into the time that the Kiowas were placed on their reservation in southwestern Indian Territory. One of the last visits made by Mexicans and Pueblos to the Plains was in the winter of 1872-73, when the Kiowas traded horses and buffalo robes for biscocho or Pueblo bread and eagle feathers, while the tribe was encamped on the Washita River near Rainy Mountain. The Kiowas liked the Pueblo bread very much and would willingly give "a pony for a small bag of it."[12]

It is interesting to note Kiowa business ethics in dealing with the Pueblo and Mexican traders and the manner in which they regarded them. Trade was obviously very beneficial to the Kiowas for they acquired food items that enriched their diet and guns and ammunition that aided them in their hunting and raiding activities. Nonetheless, the Kiowas were quite haughty with the Comancheros and were notorious for even killing Pueblo and Mexican traders.[13]

Oftentimes, the Kiowas and Comanches exchanged their livestock for Comanchero goods and retook it before the traders could reach their homes.[14] The Kiowas were hunters and warriors, and they viewed agricultural Pueblos as "inferior beings" because the Kiowas believed that any labor spent outside of making war, love, or carrying on the chase was wasted. The Pueblos' lifestyle was less warlike; therefore, the Kiowas and their allies took every opportunity to bully them without fearing retaliation.[15] But while Kiowas occasionally committed hostile acts, they never went so far as to drive Pueblos and Mexicans from the trade.

The Pueblos considered the Kiowas more treacherous than the Comanches. The reasons are evident. In the early 1860's Kiowas attacked a group of forty San Juan Indians who finally repulsed them after the Kiowas had stolen their entire herd. On another occasion,

a party of Cochiti traders enroute to barter with the Comanches was stopped by the Kiowas and asked to trade with them. During the night, the Kiowas surrounded the Cochiti camp and accused the Cochitis of bringing a group of Texans who killed some Kiowas. The Kiowas demanded goods as reparation for those supposedly killed. The Cochitis refused, and just when the situation looked as if it would degenerate into a fight, a group of Comanches rode in to break up the affair causing the Kiowas to ride away.[16] In May 1872, the Kiowas attacked a hunting party of eighteen San Juan Indians and a few Mexicans camped on Currumpaw Creek in northeastern New Mexico. The fight lasted all day, and ended only when the Kiowas withdrew at nightfall, taking along several dead and wounded.[17]

Before the Kiowas and Comanches moved to the southern Plains, the Pueblos frequently traded with the Mescalero Apaches. The Mescaleros roamed the southern Plains at will until the Kiowas and Comanches began to pressure them from the north. The Kiowas and Comanches wanted the rich buffalo lands of the south Plains, and therefore joined in a war to move the indigenous Mescaleros out. They were successful, moving the Mescaleros to the south and west, where the latter were confronted with a war of extermination with the Spanish and later Mexican population of New Mexico and northern Mexico.[18] However, by 1847 the Comanches, who were

closest to the Mescaleros, had made an alliance with them,[19] and together, they began to raid into Mexico and Texas. The Kiowas also made an uneasy peace with the Mescaleros. The apparent reason that the Kiowas and Comanches made this alliance was because they had already moved the Mescaleros out of the southern buffalo range; and furthermore, it was desirable to have an ally on their southern border to consort with them on their raiding activities. Nevertheless, the Kiowas were always suspicious of the Mescaleros to some extent, never displaying the unity with them that they did with either the Comanches or Cheyennes. The Kiowas sometimes purchased Mexican captives from the Mescaleros and during these contacts were always careful not to be led into a trap. They made a point of displaying their superiority, which the Apaches, as one Kiowa Mexican captive put it, were "too prudent to resent...and endeavored to take everything in perfect good humor."[20]

In 1862 the Mescaleros were placed on a reservation at Bosque Redondo in southeastern New Mexico. Upon arrival there, they expressed a fear of being attacked by the Kiowas and Comanches, demonstrating their lack of trust in the Plains tribes. Therefore, James H. Carleton, commanding the Department of New Mexico, suggested that the Mescaleros encamp near the garrison at Fort Sumner so that they might feel more secure.[21]

In 1864, after the Navajo tribe was defeated by Kit Carson at Canyon de Chelly, they, too, were located on the Bosque Redondo reservation with the Mescaleros who were their enemies. Unrest between the two arose immediately. The Mescalero agent at Bosque Redondo, Lorenzo Labadie, reported that he had been instructed many times by his charges that they desired "more to live with the Comanches, Kiowas, etc., than with the Navajos," and that "a deadly hatred" existed between the two tribes.[22]

The Mescaleros were not granted their request but instead were offered a chance to accompany Kit Carson on his expedition to chastise the Kiowas and Comanches for their raids on whites. They were told that they could get better horses from the Kiowas since all the Navajo ponies were in poor condition.[23] The Mescaleros declined the offer, probably not wishing to incur the wrath of the Plains tribes. The Mescaleros became so dissatisfied with the Navajos that they left the Bosque Redondo reservation in November of 1865, and hid in the mountains south of Fort Stanton, from whence they sent out raiding parties that ravaged the surrounding countryside.[24]

Ironically, in 1870 an Apache chief visited the Kiowa-Comanche Indian agent, Lawrie Tatum, and requested the right to move his tribe from New Mexico Indian

Territory to live with the Kiowas and Comanches on their reservation. Nevertheless, before arrangements could be made, the Mescaleros decided to remain in New Mexico[25] and no more was heard of their intentions to live with the Kiowas and Comanches.

The Utes who lived in the mountains around the sources of the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers, like the Mescaleros, prevented the Kiowas from having easy access to the trade available in New Mexico and challenged them for the buffalo herds of northeastern New Mexico.[26] Therefore, when the Kiowas moved to the plains south of the Arkansas, they became involved in a long, violent war with the Utes and their allies, the Jicarilla Apaches. This war lasted until the Kiowas had been confined to their reservation for several years.

The Spanish of New Mexico first recognized that the Kiowas were fighting the Utes in 1805.[27] Later, in 1809, a group of six hundred Utes and Jicarillas tried to enter the plains near the Arkansas, but were defeated by a combined force of Kiowa and Comanches.[28] From that time onward, the Kiowas and Comanches were able effectively to keep the Ute and Jicarilla villages close to the mountains and not on the plains where they would have had an easier avenue to the buffalo herds.

After the Kiowas established their authority on the southern Plains over the Utes and Jicarillas, they

continued to fight them, simply because of the violent hatred they had for those tribes. They made raids against the Utes and Jicarillas to steal horses, but they always endeavored to kill or capture as many Utes as possible in any raid sent against them. In October 1851, a large party of Kiowas and Arapahos attacked a Ute village located about thirty miles from Taos. They stole fifty horses and captured two women and four children. Later in the same month the Kiowas and Arapahos again attacked the same band of Utes this time within eighteen miles of Taos and stole their remaining stock. Ute agent John Greiner implored New Mexico Governor James S. Calhoun for military aid in protecting his charges,[29] but none was available at the time. Consequently, a year later the Utes and Jicarillas allied with the Navajos in a joint effort to strike back at the Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos.[30] They gathered a large group of warriors and raided a Kiowa and Arapaho village, but all in all, they were ineffective in curtailing the Plains Indians' raiding activities.

The Kiowas realized their superiority over the Utes and Jicarillas and continued to raid them at will, sometimes sending several war expeditions against them during the same year. In 1856 Governor David Meriwether of New Mexico reported that the Kiowas had made several expeditions against the Utes and killed a number of them.[31] Occasionally, the Kiowas sent large war parties,

while at other times only a few warriors would participate. A Kiowa war chief, Satanta, led a small group in the fall of 1858 that located a single Ute tipi on the Upper Canadian and succeeded in killing one Ute and wounding several others.[32]

The Ute and Jicarilla population was declining by 1865, because of their continual warfare with the Kiowas and their allies.[33] The reason is simple. Ute and Jicarilla raiders rarely dared to venture too far onto the plains to attack an enemy village, for fear of being overcome by the Plains tribes. The Plains tribes, however, moved freely in Ute and Jicarilla territory, whether on their way to raid, hunt, or trade. This caused the Utes and Jicarillas to maintain a defensive stance in their own territory in order to protect their homes, horses, women and children. Consequently, they lost not only warriors but also women and children, who were either killed or carried off as captives.

Because of their hatred for the Kiowas and Comanches and the great number of people and horses that they had lost at Kiowa and Comanche hands, the Utes and Jicarillas were easily recruited to join Colonel Kit Carson's expedition against the Kiowas and Comanches in 1864. The Utes and Jicarillas were given rations, ammunition, and a blanket apiece to accompany the expedition, but

more importantly, they were granted the right to any plunder and horses that might be obtained from the Kiowas and Comanches.[34] The mountain tribes saw Carson's expedition as a wonderful opportunity to take revenge on their enemies and also acquire valuable war plunder.

Seventy-two Utes and Jicarillas joined Carson. At the end of each evening on the march toward the Kiowa and Comanche camps, the Utes and Jicarillas performed their war dances to prepare themselves for the upcoming battle with their enemies. When finally the enemy was sighted on the Canadian River in the eastern Texas Panhandle, Colonel Carson attacked and routed a Kiowa village. A battle ensued, but Carson broke it off when he determined that enemy warriors from villages farther down stream had joined the battle. The Kiowa village was then destroyed, and many buffalo robes were taken. The Utes and Jicarillas rounded up a large number of Kiowa ponies and the column headed back to New Mexico. Although the Utes and Jicarillas seized buffalo robes and horses for plunder, they took no scalps. They had to purchase the only scalp taken in the battle from a Mexican soldier in order to perform their scalp dance on the return march.[35]

The most memorable Kiowa fight with the Utes occurred in the summer of 1868. In this battle the Kiowas lost two of their three Sun Dance medicines. The battle

precipitated a flurry of revenge raids on the part of the Kiowas that lasted until the two tribes stopped fighting in 1873.

During the winter of 1867-68 a Kiowa war party encountered some Navajos on the Canadian River. A fight followed, and one Navajo and one Kiowa were killed. The Kiowa man's father, saddened by the loss of his son, sought revenge and organized a large war party. The party, including some Comanches, departed after the summer Sun Dance. To insure success, the group carried along the two smallest taime figures. The Sun Dance medicine was taken as a needed spiritual aid that the party felt was necessary to insure success on this important revenge raid.

The war party set out for the Navajo country, but from the outset was beset with ill fortune. For the taime medicine to be powerful, it was never to come into contact with such things as bears, skunks, rabbits, or looking glasses. At the beginning of the trip the party became alarmed when a skunk crossed its path. Later the Kiowas found that the Comanches had brought along their looking glasses which added to the feeling of impending disaster. To seal their fate, the Kiowas discovered that the Comanches had killed a bear and were eating it in their camp. At this time several Kiowa warriors left th party, feeling that the power of the

taime had surely been broken. Nevertheless, the leader, although fearing the consequences, continued the march.

At the Salt Beds of the Canadian, the war party met a smaller force of Ute warriors, and a fight commenced. Possibly because the Kiowas felt that they had lost the power of their medicine, they did not fight with their normal confidence, and the Utes quickly put them to flight, killing seven. Two of the slain Kiowas carried the taime medicine, which the Utes reaped as the harvest of the battle. Back in their own country, they gave the medicine to Lucien Maxwell at his Cimarron ranch and told him if the Kiowas were ever to come for it, to give it to them for a specified number of ponies. The Kiowas never came to claim their medicine, but they asked army officials in Kansas to help them recover it. The Kiowas promised to pay the Utes any number of ponies they demanded and further said they would make peace with the Utes and even stop their raids into Texas if the taime was returned to them safely. There is no record of any attempts by the army to recover the Kiowas' taime for them. However, as late as 1893 a group of Kiowas visited the Utes in New Mexico hoping finally to locate it, only to find that it had been given to Maxwell and had probably been lost.[36]

The bad luck of the defeated Kiowas continued, for on their return a number of them encamped with the

Cheyennes on the Washita River and were among those attacked by Lt. Colonel George A. Custer in November of 1868.[37] Upon hearing the news of the defeat of their warriors by the Utes, the rest of the Kiowas sent out two separate revenge parties, one led by Kicking Bird,[38] and the other by Stumbling Bear. Stumbling Bear recovered the bodies of the slain Kiowa warriors and buried them in a safe place. His party continued westward to kill some Utes, so that the Kiowas' hearts would feel better.[39] There is no evidence as to how successful Stumbling Bear and Kicking Bird were fighting the Utes, but the following summer another war party under Big Bow came back with a war bonnet taken from a Ute they had killed.[40]

The war between the two tribes continued even as the Kiowas were confined to their reservation. The Kiowas seem to have desired continuation of the old pattern of raiding the Utes for horses and scalps even though they were somewhat limited in reference to their former range.

Kiowa agent Lawrie Tatum was the last to report a Kiowa raid on the Utes when Black Eagle led a war party against them after the Sun Dance was concluded in 1870.[41] However, it was not until January of 1873 that the Kiowa chief, Kicking Bird, made a special request of Agent Tatum for some white man to accompany the Kiowas, so that

they might meet the Utes in council and make a peace with them.[42] It is unclear if the two tribes ever drew up a formal peace, or if war was simply ended when the military power of the Kiowas was crushed by the United States Army in the outbreak of 1874.

The Kiowas were also hostile toward the Navajo Indians, although they experienced only slight contact with them before the Navajos were placed on their Bosque Redondo reservation in 1864. By the 1850's the Navajos had made a common practice of crossing the mountains from their homes in northwestern New Mexico to hunt buffalo and steal horses on the southern Plains. The Kiowas and Comanches resented these inroads and periodically sent raiding parties into the Navajo country in an effort to stop them. According to Kiowa tradition, one of the tribe's first raids against the Navajos came in 1852 and was led by the war chief, Big Bow.[43] Later, in 1856, while the Kiowas were encamped at Bent's Fort with the Cheyennes and Arapahos, Big Bow with Stumbling Bear again led Kiowa warriors against the Navajos.[44]

The two tribes continued to raid each other sporatically until the Navajo moved to Bosque Redondo. The Navajos were placed there without needed food supplies that the United States Government had promised them; therefore, they were forced to turn to the Kiowa and

Comanche buffalo country for subsistence.[45] The Kiowa were determined to protect their buffalo lands, and consequently stepped up their raids against the Navajos. Attacks began immediately. Interestingly enough, the commander of Fort Bascom, New Mexico was ordered in the fall of 1864 to tell any Kiowas and Comanches who came to his post that they were not to go to "visit" the Navajos on the reservation or make a treaty with them until their injuries done to whites had been atoned for.[46] The army seems not to have been aware of the true situation concerning the Navajos and the Kiowas and Comanches. They were not to be left in the dark for long, however, for in the summer of 1866 the Navajos, after sustaining an attack by a band of Comanches in which the Navajos lost one hundred horses and four killed, complained to their agent, Theodore H. Dodd, that they were dissatisfied with their reservation. They explained that they wanted to return to their old country and were convinced that they could never live in peace located on land that belonged to the Comanches and Kiowas. Dodd assured them that the reservation was actually theirs and that the Plains Indians would be punished.[47] However, the United States Army was not able at that time to stop Kiowa and Comanche raiding, and the Kiowas and Comanches continued to show the Navajos that they were not welcome in their country.

The Navajos fought back when they could. A party of Navajos stole a herd of Kiowa ponies during the summer medicine dance of 1867. Upon discovering their loss, the Kiowas, with the help of the Cheyennes, organized an expedition to the Navajo reservation and succeeded in capturing a large herd of horses, including the stolen animals.[48] Another war party of some three hundred Kiowas and Comanches went against the Navajos later that summer.[49] The purpose of this raid was to gain revenge for a Comanche whom the Navajos had killed. A relative of the slain man took the war pipe around to both the Comanches and Kiowas and recruited a large number of warriors. Great care was given to make sure that the expedition was well armed and equipped before it set out. Nevertheless, the war party was repulsed after being outnumbered by the Navajos.[50]

The Navajos persisted in their efforts to return to their old country so as to be rid of Kiowa and Comanche raids.[51] They were eventually relocated on their present reservation in northwestern New Mexico in 1868. This effectively ended the war with the Kiowas and Comanches. The Kiowas and Comanches subsequently were then able to concentrate their war efforts in New Mexico almost solely against the Utes until those eventually ceased also.

Excepting the Pueblo Indians living along the Rio Grande, the Kiowas continuously fought the tribes of

New Mexico up into the 1870's. The Kiowas and their Comanche allies were bound economically to the Pueblos in trading alliances that precluded any war between them, whereas the Utes, Jicarillas, and Mescaleros represented threats to the normal execution of this commerce. The Utes and Jicarillas in northeastern New Mexico and the Mescaleros on the Llano Estacado tried valiantly to keep the Kiowas and Comanches from taking over their plains hunting grounds where they traded with the Pueblos and Mexicans. Nonetheless, the Kiowas and Comanches proved to be superior in fighting these Indians and effectively kept them backed up against the northeastern and southwestern mountains of New Mexico respectively.

In the 1840's the Kiowas and Comanches made peace with the Mescaleros but continued warring with the Utes and Jicarillas whom they hated with great passion. On the other hand, the Utes, Jicarillas, and their friends, the Navajos, raided not only the Kiowas, but also their Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho allies to steal horses and take scalps. It was far more advantageous for the Utes and Jicarillas to go directly to Kiowa and Comanche camps in search of horses than to try to cross their territory and steal horses from the Texan and northern Mexican settlements and then attempt to bring them back across alien territory without detection.

Notes

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CHAPTER IV

The Eastern Plains Farmers

On their eastern borders the Kiowas had as neighbors various Caddoan and Siouan speaking Indians that farmed along the river valleys up and down the eastern margins of the Plains. These Indians carried out buffalo hunts to the Plains that brought them into contact with the Kiowas. On the Plains they also bartered their agricultural produce and white trade goods to the Kiowas and their allies for horses and mules stolen from Mexico and Texas. With tribes such as the Osages, Kanzas, and Wichitas, the Kiowas cultivated friendships, allowing them to hunt on the buffalo plains with complete freedom. On the other hand the Kiowas remained bitter enemies with the Pawnees until the 1870's because of that tribe's inclination to steal Kiowa horses rather than trade for them. The Pawnees suffered numerous attacks on their villages and hunting parties by the Kiowas and their Plains allies who hated them with an unrelenting passion.

The Pawnees could be termed an outlaw tribe because they had no real allies on the Plains except those that

they had conquered and held by fear. When the Kiowas reached the southern Plains, the Pawnees began to raid them from their villages in eastern Nebraska. The Pawnees wanted horses and by 1806 were sending war parties south of the Arkansas River to steal horses from unsuspecting Kiowa or Comanche villages.[1] It has been suggested that the Pawnees only raided their enemies to take horses and not scalps, rarely sending warriors to avenge fallen kinsmen. When the Dakotas or other enemies raided a Pawnee village, perhaps killing several men and stealing horses, the Pawnees, instead of striking back, immediately sent war parties to the south to replenish their stolen herds from the Kiowas and Comanches. These new ponies were frequently stolen in turn by the Dakotas or Cheyennes.[2]

Pawnee raids against the Kiowas and Comanches followed a regular pattern. As was the custom of many Plains tribes when going on horse raids, the Pawnees departed from their villages on foot hoping to return on stolen animals. Occasionally this strategy proved their undoing when they were caught by their enemies on the open plains. Edwin James, chronicler of the Stephen Long expedition, reported such an incident in 1820. A group of ninety-three Loup Pawnees headed south from their villages on foot to steal horses from the Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos. The Pawnees were

discovered by Kiowas and their allies before they could carry out the raid. The Kiowas charged the Pawnees and quickly surrounded them. The Plains tribes, having the advantage of being on horseback, routed the Pawnees who fled in such haste that they left fifty-three dead or disabled on the battleground.[3]

Whenever the Kiowas discovered horse raiders, it was their practice to pursue them immediately, hoping to recover their horses and count coup on their enemy. The Pawnees were persistent in their annoying raids on Kiowa horses, and thus several times became involved in pitched battles with the Kiowas as they tried to escape with the stolen animals. The Kiowa calendars kept by Set-tan recount several Kiowa-Pawnee battles that occurred under these circumstances.

During the winter of 1846-47, the Kiowas were camped on a tributary of the North Fork of Red River and were raided by a band of Pawnees who got away with a few horses. The Kiowas followed the Pawnees northward and finally caught them on the Washita River when they recovered the stolen horses after a long fight.[4] Again, three years later the Kiowas were camped in two groups on the Arkansas River, and Pawnees came to steal their horses. The Pawnees split and one group went to the first Kiowa village, stole the camp's horses, and were quickly followed. The other Pawnees stole horses

from the other village and were pursued by the Kiowas of that village. The first group of Pawnees were overtaken by their pursuers and attacked. The Kiowas had dismounted to fight the Pawnees and as they did, the second group of Pawnee thieves came up from behind and took off with their horses. But the second Kiowa group, upon arrival at the battle, immediately attacked and recovered nearly all of the horses killing four Pawnees.[5]

The Pawnees' desire for horses was insatiable. Starting in the 1830's, the Pawnees sent traders with loads of their government annuity goods south of the Arkansas to trade with the Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas for horses.[6] Hostilities between the tribes would cease long enough for Pawnee traders, laden with newly acquired firearms, to approach the Kiowa and Comanche camps and barter the weapons away for horses. It was a strange practice, for the Pawnees armed their enemies and later were killed by those same weapons when they fought their enemies.[7]

The Kiowas were never sure what behavior they could expect from the Pawnees. At times the Pawnees came as friendly traders, and at other times they came as thieves to steal horses. After their summer Sun Dance of 1851, the Kiowas discovered a party of Pawnees outside their camp. The Pawnees stated that they had come with presents and goods to make peace and to trade with the Kiowas. As the Kiowas escorted the Pawnees to their camp, they

carried the Pawnees' skin bags because they were on foot. The Pawnees said that the bags contained presents and trade goods. Being suspicious of the Pawnees' intent, the Kiowas opened several of the bags and found them to contain arrows and other war materials instead of trade goods. Consequently, they attacked the Pawnees, put them to flight, and killed one of their chiefs.[8]

In the 1850's the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Dakotas frequently banded together to fight Pawnees that came onto the Plains to hunt buffalo. The first recorded expedition of this kind came in 1852. The Pawnees had gone hunting on the plains and had established a camp on the Solomon Fork. This camp was directly in the path of a large war party of Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Brule Dakotas. These Indians had gathered on the Arkansas for the express purpose of attacking any Pawnee hunters they might find. When discovered by the Plains tribes, the Pawnees were scattered over the plains hunting buffalo. They immediately headed for their camp where they were successful in repelling their attackers.[9] During the next summer, a group of the same Plains tribes again went to fight the Pawnees and were also driven away. In this battle the Pawnees had the assistance of the Pottawatomies who were well armed and fought on their horses like disciplined cavalrymen. The Kiowas and their allies fought hard but eventually

broke off the engagement after sustaining several losses.[10]

Although the prairie tribes were unable to keep the Pawnees from hunting buffalo and stealing horses on the Plains, they continued to launch offensive attacks on them to avenge deaths incurred in previous battles. In June 1854, Kiowas, Comanches, Dakotas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Osages assembled at a large camp on the Arkansas near the mouth of Pawnee Fork. The majority of the Indians took off to fight any eastern emigrant Indians that could be found on the buffalo plains, but a large body of Kiowas and Cheyennes split off from the main group and went in search of Pawnees. They located a Pawnee village and cut off some 113 from it, killing most of them.[11]

In 1855 the Kiowas camped with the Cheyennes on Smoky Hill River, and the two tribes made plans to raid the Pawnees. Before they could set upon their raid, however, the Pawnees surprised them and raided their village, stealing a large number of horses.[12] The Pawnees again raided the Kiowas in the winter of 1857-58 while they were camped on Two-Butte Creek, a tributary of the Arkansas below Bent's Fort. The Pawnees stole six bunches of horses from the Kiowas and were followed for the next three days as they tried to escape. They, however, made good their escape when a snowstorm stopped the Kiowa pursuit.[13]

In the late 1860's the Pawnees tried to end the fighting with the Kiowas. They attempted to accomplish this through the auspices of the Wichitas who had recently become their ally. Previous to 1860 the Pawnees and Wichitas had been enemies, but upon discovering that they were distant relatives, both speaking dialects of the Caddoan language, they made peace.[14] In 1866 the Pawnees approached the Kiowas and Comanches through the Wichitas seeking to end the long drawn out wars that the two had had. The Kiowas and Comanches were unreceptive to the Pawnees' proposition,[15] and the fighting continued.

The Kiowas and Pawnees remained enemies until the fall of 1872 when a large party of Pawnees on foot came again to the village of their Wichita relatives who announced their peaceful intentions to the Kiowas. After debating the matter for some time, the Kiowas agreed to accept the Pawnees' peace overtures. They invited the Pawnees to their camps and after the visit sent them to their homes with many horses as a token of their goodwill and friendship.[16] Later in March of the next year, another delegation of Pawnees came to the Kiowa reservation, this time staying in Chief Kicking Bird's village. The Pawnees evidently desired further to cement friendly relations with the Kiowas and acquire more horses during this visit. The Kiowas complied with their

wishes.[17] On their return to their villages the Pawnees were so enthusiastic about the reception given them by the tribes of Indian Territory that the entire tribe decided to move south. Their villages in Nebraska had been constantly harrassed by the Dakotas, and the tribe was desperately seeking relief. Upon approaching the government, the Pawnees were given a new reservation in Indian Territory where they removed in the spring of 1875.[18]

Culturally similar to the Pawnees with villages in eastern Kansas, the Osages were even closer to the Kiowas' buffalo range. They were a formidable tribe. bolstered by firearms acquired from white traders early in the nineteenth century. They ranged freely in the buffalo country and frequently fought the Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas who tried to protect and hold on to their buffalo range. Like the Pawnees, the Osages sent regular expeditions to the Kiowa and Comanche camps to steal horses from them.[19]

The first Osage raid recorded against the Kiowas occurred in the spring of 1833. The Kiowas were camped on Rainy Mountain Creek in present day southwestern Oklahoma. The majority of the Kiowa men were off fighting the Utes, and the village was mainly composed of old men, women, and children. The Kiowas discovered an Osage war party coming on foot and quickly fled in four

groups. Three of the groups escaped, but the fourth was eventually overtaken by the Osages and attacked. Many of the Kiowa women were killed, and the Osages cut off the heads of those slain and placed them in brass buckets that the Kiowas had obtained from the Pawnees.[20] In this raid the Osages captured the Kiowas' Sun Dance taime. The Kiowas regained the taime from the Osages two years later, but because of its importance to the successful completion of the ceremony, the Sun Dance was not performed until the medicine was returned.

Fighting between the Kiowas and Osages ceased in the summer of 1834 when the two tribes concluded a peace with the help of the United States Government. Colonel Henry Dodge led a dragoon expedition to the Wichita villages located near the Wichita Mountains in southwest Indian Territory with the express purpose of arranging a treaty that would allow the incoming Five Civilized Tribes to hunt on the Kiowa and Comanche buffalo range,[21] but the Osages had accompanied the expedition in hopes of forming a peace with the Kiowas and Comanches.

The Kiowas were not present at the Wichita village when Dodge arrived. When they did come in, they rode into the village threatening to fight the Osages for the massacre of their women and children two years previously. Colonel Dodge managed to calm the Kiowas

and promised them that the Osages desired peace and were willing to return a young girl that they had captured in the massacre. Upon the return of the Kiowa girl, the Kiowas talked with the Americans and were pursuaded to call a truce with the Osages.[22]

Later the Kiowas journeyed to an Osage village located either on the Cimarron or Salt Fork of the Arkansas and purchased the stolen Sun Dance medicine from the Osages. The price was one pony. Dohasan, head chief of the Kiowas, offered several ponies for the return of the medicine, but the Osages, demonstrating their friendship, only requested one pony.[23] The Kiowas were again able to perform their Sun Dance.

The Kiowa-Osage peace was permanent. The Osages now hunted buffalo on the plains with no fear of being attacked by the Kiowas. They frequently traded their annuity goods, including guns, to the Kiowas and Comanches for horses and mules.[24] They also purchased guns, blankets, powder, lead, and other items from their traders and took these items and traded them to the Kiowas and Comanches. This trade brought them rich profits. A gun that cost the Osages twenty dollars from a trader was traded for one or two horses or mules from the Plains Indians. The livestock would then bring a return to the Osages of from forty to sixty dollars.[25]

After the Kiowas and Comanches signed the treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek in 1853, the Osages tried to

dissuade them from accepting the government annuties that they were to receive. They told the Kiowas and Comanches that bad medicine had been put in the goods that would kill them. The Osages feared losing the uninterrupted and profitable trade that they had thus far enjoyed with the prairie tribes.[26]

Although the Kiowas and Osages remained strong friends, even to the point of joining together to fight their mutual enemy, the Pawnees,[27] the Osages were on very uneasy terms with the Kiowas' strongest ally, the Comanches. These two tribes were trading partners, but the Comanches sometimes treated the Osages roughly. While the Osages were hunting buffalo during the summer of 1852, they met a party of Comanches who treated them in a very unfriendly manner. The Comanches would not trade with the Osages and did not allow them to enter their village. They even went to the point of entering the Osage camps and taking back horses that the Osages had traded from them the year before.[28] Actions like this sometimes made buffalo hunting on the Plains difficult for the Osages who in the 1850's and 1860's relied more on buffalo meat than the raising of their crops.

Kiowa relations with the Kanzas or Kaws were much the same as with the Osages. The Kiowas allowed the Kanzas to hunt buffalo freely on the plains, and the

Kanzas, like the Osages, made yearly visits to the plains to trade goods and exchange presents. In this way they cemented their friendship with the Plains tribes.[29] The Kanzas also joined the Kiowas in some of their war expeditions. In 1852 a large war party of 400 warriors composed of Kiowas, Osages, and Kanzas fought the Pawnees whom they found on their summer buffalo hunt.[30]

As a result of their alliance with the Comanches, the Kiowas became early allies with the Wichita tribe. The Wichitas had villages on the eastern edge of the southern Plains, and they traded corn, pumpkins, beans, and tobacco to their nomadic friends. When the crops were harvested in the fall, groups of Kiowas and Comanches came in to help the Wichitas enjoy the fruits of their labor.[31] The Wichitas cured their pumpkins, cut them into strips, and wove the strips into mats. Along with this they put tobacco into bags so as to accommodate the Kiowas and Comanches who carried the goods off on horseback. As they had done with the Arikaras and the Pueblos, the Kiowas traded buffalo robes and horses to the Wichitas in return for the agricultural produce.[32]

In the first decades of their association, the Wichitas valued their relationship with the Kiowas. They considered the Kiowas more desirable trading partners than the Comanches. A Wichita man told Lieutenant T. B. Wheelock of the 1834 Dragoon Expedition that his people

and the Comanches had long been in "friendly intercourse" exchanging buffalo meat for agricultural products. However, the Comanches were not much liked by the Wichitas for they cheated them and then rode away. The Kiowas were a newer acquaintance but were "more honest and gentle" than the Comanches.[33]

Relations between the Kiowas and the Wichitas slowly degenerated as time passed, however. With government annuities and a lucrative trade with the Pueblos and Mexicans of New Mexico, the Kiowas were not forced to rely on the Wichitas for trade in the 1850's and 1860's as they had when first introduced to them. Later contacts between the two were not always cordial. In 1868, before the Kiowas moved to their reservation, they went to the Wichitas' reservation near old Ford Cobb in southwestern Indian Territory. The Wichita agent, Henry Shanklin, reported that the Kiowas' "conduct was insolent and humiliating to the last degree." The Kiowas helped themselves to whatever the Wichitas had without paying for it and went so far as destroying almost the entire crop of beans and corn that the Wichitas had planted.[34]

In the early 1870's the Kiowas resisted the United States government while the Wichitas clung to it for support. Their differing attitudes to the United States and its Indian policy led to further friction between the two tribes. While confined to their reservation,

the Kiowas continued to send raiding parties against both their Indian enemies and the Texans. The Kiowas told their agent, Lawrie Tatum, that the Wichitas were poor because they would not fight the soldiers, whereas the Kiowas continually fought and they were given a large reservation. Furthermore, the Kiowas believed that they were accorded more respect and were treated better than the Wichitas because of the warlike conduct.[35]

Perhaps because of the taunts of the Kiowas and Comanches and the impunity with which they raided, the Wichitas sent raiders themselves into Texas in 1872.[36] This was a rare incident, for the Wichitas were generally always friendly to the whites, but the influence of the Kiowas and Comanches was too great for them to resist in 1872.

Friction between the Kiowas and Wichitas came to a head in 1874. An incident occurred between them that has caused ill feeling between the two tribes to this day. On a Saturday in August Lone Wolf's band of Kiowas along with a group of Comanches went to the Wichita agency at Anadarko to share the Wichitas' rations with them. Soldiers from Fort Sill arrived and tried to arrest the Comanches, but they resisted. A fight broke out resulting in few casualties, although many rounds of ammunition were fired by both sides. The Kiowas and Comanches raided the trader's store at the agency,[37] and then sacked the

Wichita camp, cutting their sacks of corn and spilling it on the ground.[38]

When the skirmish was over, the Kiowas and Comanches fled. The Wichitas were easily recruited to go with the white soldiers to bring in the recalcitrant Indians.[39] This was the first time that the Wichitas had actually taken physical action against the Kiowas, but their conduct is understandable. They had previously suffered considerable property losses to the Kiowas on several occasions. Furthermore, they resented the fact that the Kiowas had opposed the whites, yet had received a large reservation, while they had been loyal and were given only a small parcel of land. Finally, they endured the taunts of the Kiowas and Comanches when they would not fight the whites, and this had been too much to bear. Because of the Anadarko affair, the ill feeling between the two tribes crystalized to the point that to this day the Kiowas and Wichitas still carry on a verbal warfare.[40]

The Caddos, located in eastern Texas, were outside the normal range of the Kiowas during the early part of the nineteenth century. As white occupation of Texas proceeded, however, the members of the Caddo confederacies were slowly pushed to the north and west. They ventured onto the buffalo plains, but the Kiowas and Comanches were able to keep their forays to a minimum. The Caddos

were afraid of the power of the Kiowas and Comanches. In 1854 the United States government tried to move the Caddos and some of their Wichita neighbors north of Fort Belknap on the Brazos River of Texas. The Caddo chiefs refused, saying that if they were established on the hunting territory of the Kiowas and Comanches, the Plains tribes would take their animals and crops from them.[41]

When, however, the Caddos were relocated at the Big Bend of the Arkansas River in 1863, the Kiowas and Comanches turned out to be dubious friends. J. W. Wright, a special agent who had purchased goods for the Caddos, expressed this friendship in a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He wrote that the provisions furnished to Caddos had been principally eaten by the Kiowas and Comanches. He stated that "with these warlike tribes, and all others on the plains, the Caddos are very popular, being universal favorites; but, at the same time, an Indian on the plains was never known to refuse to eat, and they have not only aided the Caddos to eat their flour, but almost all their cattle. This was another reason for sending them to the vicinity of Fort Lyon, where the military could protect them against the kindness of the Indians of the Plains."[42]

In the early 1870's several Indian agents persuaded the Caddos and Wichitas to use their influence and example

to dissuade the Kiowas and Comanches from continuing on their war trails. The Caddos especially worked hard to convince the Plains tribes that it was unwise to raid and that they should settle down on their reservation and take up farming. They were only successful with the peace faction of the Kiowas led by Kicking Bird.[43] The other Kiowas did not wish to be like the weak Caddos and Wichitas who got nothing for their good behavior.

Excepting the Pawnees, Kiowa relations with the agricultural tribes on the eastern plains on the whole were amiable. Friendly trade relationships with the Osage, Kanzas, and Wichitas proved beneficial for the Kiowas for they were able to accumulate a large amount of white goods from them. Nevertheless, the horse was the most important commodity in the trade as far as the Kiowas were concerned. The Kiowas had large herds and access to many other horses in Mexico and Texas while the eastern Plains farmers had few horses but needed them to hunt successfully on the Plains. The Kiowas used horses to their advantage in trade with these tribes in order to acquire items that they did not have or could not produce in their own country. Consequently, Kiowa horse herds were repeatedly thinned down due to the effects of trading them away to other tribes or through losses from raiding neighbors, such as the

Pawnees. Because trade was so important to the Kiowas and because the horse was their most important trade item, the Kiowas acutely felt the loss of horses stolen by enemies. Trade in horses meant the men would have guns to fight their enemies and the women would have cloth for their dresses; therefore, the Kiowas were economically forced to replenish their horse herds by raiding into Texas and Mexico so as to continue to trade for goods that they desired.

Notes

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[2]Hyde, The Pawnee Indians, p. 273.

[3]Edwin James, James' Account of S. H. Long's Expedition, 1819-1820, Vol. XV, Part II of Early Western Travels, ed. by Ruben G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), pp. 157-59.

[4]James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 17th Annual Report, Part I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), p. 286.

[5]Mooney, "Calendar History," p. 291.

[6]Hyde, The Pawnee Indians, p. 195.

[7]Hyde, The Pawnee Indians, p. 273.

[8]Mooney, "Calendar History," pp. 293-94.

[9]Hyde, The Pawnee Indians, p. 233.

[10]Hyde, The Pawnee Indians, p. 235.

[11]George Bird Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), p. 309.

[12]George Bird Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 17-18.

[13]Mooney, "Calendar History," p. 305.

[14]Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories, p. 308.

[15]D. Wheeler to Henry Shanklin, August 6, 1866, Kiowa Files, Foreign Relations, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[16]Mooney, "Calendar History," p. 333.

[17]Thomas C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp. 130-33.

[18]Mooney, "Calendar History," p. 333.

[19]Forrest D. Monahan, Jr., "Trade Goods on the Prairie, The Kiowa Tribe and White Trade Goods, 1794-1875" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1965), p. 63.

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[21]C. C. Rister, "A Federal Experiment in Southern Plains Indian Relations, 1835-1845," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XIV (1929): 444.

[22]Lt. T. B. Wheelock, "Journal of Colonel Dodge's Expedition from Ft. Gibson to the Pawnee Pict Village," American State Papers, Military Affairs, V, No. 585 (1860): 380.

[23]Mooney, "Calendar History," p. 259.

[24]Report of Thomas H. Harvey, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis Superintendency, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1847, 103.

[25]Report of John M. Richardson, Osage Indian Sub-Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1848, 541.

[26]Annual Report of J. W. Whitfield, Upper Platte Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1854.

[27]Annual Report of W. J. J. Morrow, Osage Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1852, 106.

[28]Annual Report of W. J. J. Morrow, Osage Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1852, 106.

[29]Annual Report of Francis Tymoney, Sac and Fox Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858, 96.

[30]Annual Report of W. J. J. Morrow, Osage Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1852, 106.

[31]Rister, "A Federal Experiment," p. 447.

[32]Monahan, "Trade Goods on the Prairie," pp. 89-90.

[33]Wheelock, "Journal of Colonel Dodge's Expedition," p. 381.

[34]Annual Report of Henry Shanklin, Wichita Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868.

[83]Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers (Philadelphia: John C. Winston and Company, 1899, New Edition Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), p. 56.

[36]Report of Captain Henry E. Alvord, Commissioner to the Kiowas, Comanches, and other Tribes in the Western part of Indian Territory, October 10, 1872, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872, 139.

[37]Wilbur S. Nye, Carbine and Lance (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), pp. 206-10.

[38]Karl Schmitt, "Wichita-Kiowa Relations and the 1874 Outbreak," Chronicles of Oklahoma XXVIII, No. 2 (1950): 157.

[39]Nye, Carbine and Lance, p. 210.

[40]Schmitt, "Wichita-Kiowa Relations," pp. 158-59.

[41]Report of R. B. Marcy and R. S. Neighbors to P. H. Bell, September 30, 1854, Vol. 3 of Texas Indian Papers, ed. by Dorman Winfrey and James Day (Austin: Pemberton Press, 1967), p. 188.

[42]Report of J. W. Wright, Special Agent to Caddo Indians, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863, pp. 142-43.

[43]Report of Jonathan Richards, Special Agent to Wichitas and Affiliated Bands, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, p. 479.

CHAPTER V

The Emigrant Tribes

The Kiowas were initially hostile to those tribes that originally lived east of the Mississippi River but were removed by the United States Government to the eastern edge of the Great Plains in the 1830's. These tribes posed a threat to the security of the Kiowa buffalo plains; thus the Kiowas and their allies felt compelled to protect what was theirs. The federal government granted the Five Civilized Tribes the right to hunt on land claimed by the Kiowas and Comanches without obtaining their consent. This precipitated a war by the Kiowas and Comanches against the settlements of the Five Civilized Tribes, but when treaties were consummated in 1835 and 1837 between the federal government and the Kiowas and Comanches, the legal problem seemed to be solved and the war stopped.

Individual groups of the Kickapoo and Delaware tribes that settled in the Indian Territory were such formidable warriors that the Kiowas and Comanches gave them little resistance when they came onto the plains. They instead traded horses and mules to them for white

trade goods. The Kiowas, however, fought the Sacs and Foxes, Pottawatomies, Iroquois, Shawnees, and other emigrant tribes that were removed to eastern Kansas and Nebraska and never made peace with them. The Kiowas and their allies seem to have resented these tribes more than any others who entered the plains to hunt. Although the Kiowas and Comanches made friends with the Five Civilized Tribes, the Kickapoos, and the Delawares, they continued to fight the other emigrant tribes until the United States Army put an end to the fighting.

During the 1830's the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, or the Five Civilized Tribes, were dispossesed of their lands in the southeastern part of the United States and placed on lands in the Indian Territory. The removal treaties for some of the Civilized Tribes gave them land that extended to the 100th meridian, which included Kiowa-Comanche buffalo range. The removal treaties provided that each tribe would have access to buffalo herds, and although the Kiowas and Comanches utilized the land the buffalo were on, the federal government by treaty had officially placed it in the hands of the Five Civilized Tribes without a concurrent treaty with the Kiowas and Comanches. Thus the federal government presented itself with a potentially volatile Indian problem because

the Kiowas and Comanches attempted to protect the eastern border of their hunting range from the Five Civilized Tribes just as they had against other enemies on other fronts.[1]

By 1833 a large number of Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws had removed to Indian Territory, and for several years the Kiowas and Comanches had raided their settlements. As a result of these raids, the government had difficulty in removing the Chickasaws, Seminoles, and the remaining members of the other tribes because of the possible threat of raids from the Plains tribes. The Chickasaws were reluctant to move to their district because they were to be located in the western part of the Choctaw reserve and thus most susceptible to raids by the Kiowas and Comanches. The Kiowas and Comanches had already struck Choctaw settlements that had been considered relatively secure from attack.[2] The Seminole chief, Jumper, was apprehensive after seeing the land to which his tribe was to be moved. "The Indians there steal horses and take packs on their horses; they steal horses from the different tribes," he told government officials, "and I do not want to go among such people."[3]

The only solution that would alleviate the problem was for the federal government to persuade the Kiowas and Comanches to accept the Five Civilized Tribes as

allies and to allow them to hunt on their eastern buffalo range.[4] A treaty had to be arranged to bring about this relationship. The first step that led to the actual treaty was the Dragoon expedition of 1834 led by Colonel Henry Dodge. This was the first official American contact with the Kiowas and Comanches. Eight Cherokees accompanied Dodge and had been entrusted with authority by their tribe to make peace with the prairie tribes. Upon reaching the Wichita villages in southwestern Indian Territory, Colonel Dodge and the Cherokees met in council with the Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas. There the Cherokee representatives told the Plains tribes that their chiefs wished that the two tribes could be friends and visit each other without fear. Dodge told the Plains tribes that he did not have authority to make an official treaty with them, but that he wished for each tribe to send representatives back with him to Fort Gibson so that one could be made. Fifteen Kiowas and five Comanches agreed to return with Dodge, but when the group reached the Cross Timbers, the Comanches would go no further. When the command came to the Creek settlements on the North Fork of the Canadian, the Kiowas met with the Creeks, and they symbolically shook hands. Upon arrival at Fort Gibson runners were sent to the chiefs of the Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws so that they could council with the Kiowas and Wichitas.[5]

The council convened on September 2, 1834. Colonel Dodge and Major Francis W. Armstrong, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western Territory, represented the government, and the council was attended by chiefs from the Choctaws, Cherokees, Creeks, Senecas, and Osages. Upon finding that Dodge again had no authority to draw up a treaty, the Kiowas and Wichitas told him to come to the Plains the following spring ready to treat formally. Before they left, Colonel Dodge gave the Kiowas and Wichitas medals and flags and assured them that more presents would be forthcoming whenever a formal treaty was entered into. The Kiowas left well disposed toward the government and the Civilized Tribes. The council was successful in that the way was now open for agreements that would insure further occupation of Indian Territory by the Five Civilized Tribes.[6]

The following summer the Kiowas, Comanches, and Wichitas traveled to newly established Camp Mason on the Canadian River in Indian Territory and met with the United States treaty commissioners, Monfort Stokes and General Matthew Arbuckle. Stokes and Arbuckle arrived later than the appointed meeting date and upon their arrival found that the Kiowas had already returned to their buffalo range to hunt. Nevertheless, the Comanches and Wichitas signed a treaty with Stokes and Arbuckle and representatives of the Creeks, Cherokees, and Choctaws.

In the treaty, the Comanches and Wichitas accepted all the emigrant Indians as allies and gave them free access to the buffalo range west of the Cross Timbers.[7]

Soon after the treaty commissioners returned to Fort Gibson, a Kiowa warrior and a Wichita chief arrived and inquired when the Kiowas could send a delegation to the commissioners and also sign a treaty. The commissioners sent the Kiowa man back to his people with an invitation for them to come to Fort Gibson and council. The Kiowas sent word that their horses were poor and they had not completed their buffalo hunts, therefore they could not come until the following spring.[8]

Not until two years later did the Kiowas finally travel to Fort Gibson and meet with government treaty commissioners and representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes and other emigrant tribes. In the treaty the Kiowas officially accepted as friends all the eastern Indians, the Osages, and the citizens of the United States. Like the Comanches and Wichitas, the Kiowas promised to treat with "kindness and friendship" any eastern tribe that came to visit at their villages or were found on their hunting grounds.[9]

The federal government attempted to solve the problem they had created. However, future events demonstrated that the experiment was not to work as planned. Near the end of 1835 the Kiowas and Comanches both stated

that they could not tolerate any eastern Indians on their hunting grounds. Pierre L. Chouteau, who traded with the Kiowas and Comanches, wrote the treaty commissioners a year later and told them of several thefts and murders perpetrated by the Plains tribes on the settlements of the Five Civilized Tribes.[10] It seems that the Kiowas and Comanches were more interested in the trade opportunities and gifts they were to receive from the federal government than in sharing their hunting grounds with newcomers. Nevertheless, in 1837 Auguste P. Chouteau was made special agent to them and was given the task of explaining the treaties they had both recently made with the Five Civilized Tribes and hopefully influence them to cease their raiding.[11]

Chouteau's attempt at diplomacy was inconsequential, for the Plains tribes and the Five Civilized Tribes unconsciously worked a solution to the problem. After 1837 the eastern Indians, fearing attack, rarely ventured west of the Cross Timbers, while the Kiowas and Comanches rarely went east of that line.[12] The Chickasaws, who were removed in 1837, kept their camps close to the Choctaw settlements until 1842 when the federal government established Fort Washita in the middle of the district to protect them from any raids by the Kiowas and Comanches.[13]

As a result of this voluntary segregation, William Armstrong, agent for the Choctaws, was able to report in

1838 that his charges were not as apprehensive of Kiowa and Comanche raids as before. Although the Kiowas and Comanches occasionally raided them, the raids were much less frequent than before. In fact, parties of Choctaws, Creeks, and Chickasaws began outfitting themselves with trade goods and traveled to the Kiowa and Comanche camps where they traded for mules. Quite a trade had begun to develop between the two groups.[14]

During the winter of 1839 the Kiowas and Comanches both contracted smallpox. which had started among the tribes of the upper Missouri River and spread southward. It is suspected that it came from either Chickasaw or Osage traders that had come into their country. The disease was disastrous for the Kiowas and Comanches, and they lost many people, having no other defense against it than to scatter out over the Llano Estacado until the disease died out.[15]

The 1840's saw the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks moving their settlements further westward and as they did they depleted the area of game. The Five Civilized Tribes tried to conciliate the Kiowas and Comanches as they moved closer to their hunting grounds. In 1845 the Creeks invited the Kiowas and Comanches to council with them so that they might reconcile their differences and hopefully understand each other better.[16] Further friction might have developed had not contact between the two groups become more infrequent because the Kiowas

and Comanches began to spend increasingly more time about the Arkansas so as to trade with the Cheyennes, Arapahos. and the traders of the Bent Company.

The Kiowas and Comanches seldom met the Five Civilized Tribes again aside from a few peace councils attended by both in the 1850's[17] until they moved to their reservation in southwestern Indian Territory in 1868. At that time several members of the Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes, feeling cramped in their own country, asked for permission to improve farms on the Kiowa reservation. However, Superintendent Enoch Hoag recommended that they not be allowed to settle on the Kiowa reserve without the consent of the Kiowas and Comanches. As a result of having lost a large portion of their territory in the recent treaty, the Kiowas and Comanches were not willing to share their remaining land with anyone, consequently the Choctaws and Chickasaws stayed in their own country.[18]

On the reservation the Kiowas and Comanches continued to send raiding parties from their reservation southward to the Texas settlements and elsewhere against their traditional Indian enemies. The Chickasaws and Choctaws also suffered from these raiders. In 1868 Governor Harris of the Chickasaws told the Kiowa and Comanche agent, Henry Leavenworth, that the Chickasaws and Choctaws had lost over four thousand head of horses as a result of Kiowa and Comanche raids. The Governor said further that if the raids did not cease, he was prepared to declare war.[19]

Instead of war though, the members of the Five Civilized Tribes decided to talk to the raiding tribes in peace councils in order to get them to stop their raiding.

At their annual Okmulgee council in December 1870 the Five Civilized Tribes resolved to meet with the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos to elicit friendly and peaceful professions from them toward the Americans and all the tribes of Indian Territory. They hoped to persuade the Plains tribes to give up their roving, hunting, raiding way of life and take up the white man's road. They entertained the idea that if the Plains tribes took the white man's ways they would no longer be interested in the war party.[20]

The council began on March 1, 1871 at the Wichita Agency. Representatives of the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, Seminoles, Shawnees, and Delawares attended the council to plead with the Plains tribes. The council opened with the smoking of the peace pipe and then the Cherokees and Creek representatives told the council that they were glad to have the tribes assembled as friends. There were long orations by several eastern Indians on how the Indians should be peaceful toward each other. The Kiowa chief, Kicking Bird, listened to the other Indians and as it came his turn to speak he told the council that his people had sometimes acted badly, but that they did so because the whites had taken their lands away. Kicking Bird displayed his true

colors for he told the council that if they wanted to show the Kiowas that they were good friends, they would get the whites to furnish his people with guns and ammunition.[21] The Kiowas were willing to listen to the peaceful talk, but they were not ready to give up the hunt and the raiding party.

Before the council broke up a Cherokee chief invited the Plains tribes to attend the next council at Okmulgee. However, the Kiowas, Comanches, and their allies did not attend, but because their raids continued, the Five Civilized Tribes again decided to send a delegation to talk with them and persuade them to cease their warlike ways.[22] This council took place in July and August of 1872 at old Fort Cobb. The Kiowa chief, Lone Wolf, and other Kiowas said they would not stop their raiding and make peace until their chiefs, Satanta and Big Tree, who had been imprisoned, were returned to them. However, Kicking Bird, who now believed it was foolish to resist the whites told the council of his friendly intentions and that he would work to get all the Kiowas to return any white captives that they had.[23]

The Kiowas attended no more councils with the Five Civilized Tribes. Although they were again invited to the Okmulgee council of 1873,[24] they did not attend. Enoch Hoag served as President at that council and told the assembled tribes that the Kiowas and Comanches had stopped their raiding and were peaceful and in his opinion

the work done by the previous peace councils had been very beneficial in bringing about this encouraging result.[25] In actuality, the Kiowa chiefs had been promised the return of Satanta and Big Tree if they would restrain their young warriors.[26] Nonetheless, the Five Civilized Tribes had tried diplomacy in an effort to quiet their wild neighbors, but when their efforts failed, the Americans were compelled to use force to bring about the desired results.

The Kickapoos did not follow the white man's road like the Five Civilized Tribes. They had lived in Illinois and Indiana, had been forced to move to Missouri, but because of their wild behavior there, were finally moved near the Missouri River in eastern Kansas in 1832. The Kickapoos were excellent hunters and horsemen and from their new villages in Kansas, they sent out regular summer hunting parties to the plains. Unlike other emigrant tribes, the Kickapoos were allowed by the Kiowas and Comanches to hunt on the buffalo range and were rarely attacked. The Kickapoos were strong militarily and the Plains tribes were hesitant to encounter them. Colonel Randolph B. Marcy described the Kickapoos and their power:

> They are well armed with good rifles, in the use of which they are very expert, and there are no better hunters or warriors upon the borders. They hunt altogether on horseback, and after a party of them has passed through a section of country, it is seldom that any game is left in their trace.

> They are intelligent, active, and brave and frequently visit and traffic with the prairie Indians, and have no fears of meeting these people in battle provided the odds are not more than six to one against them.[27]

The Kiowas and Comanches seemed to have been somewhat apprehensive about fighting the Kickapoos, and consequently worked to cultivate a beneficial alliance with them.

Whenever trade opportunities were apparent to the Kiowas and Comanches, they eagerly sought them. They knew that the Kickapoos had access to many white trade goods, therefore they asked them to bring trade goods with them when they came to hunt on the buffalo plains. Marcy described the trade:

> They (Kickapoos) carry out goods on their hunts, which they exchange for mules, and drive them to the settlements in the spring; thus they form a commercial communicating medium between the white traders, and the wild Indians, and drive a profitable trade, while they indulge in their favorite amusement, the chase.[28]

The Kickapoos traded such items as guns, tobacco, paint, knives, calico, utensils, wampum, and beads to the plains tribes.[29] They not only received horses and mules in return but also frequently bought captives from the Kiowas and Comanches. The majority of these captives were Mexican children, many of whom the Kickapoos traded as slaves to the Creeks and other neighboring tribes.[30] What horses and mules the Kickapoos did not use themselves, they sold to white horse buyers from Missouri and Arkansas settlements.[31]

United States Indian officials throughout the Southwest recognized that Kiowas and Comanches raided in Texas and Mexico to obtain horses and mules that they could exchange for white trade goods. Rarely did the Kiowas and Comanches trade horses directly to white traders, but usually to other tribes like the Kickapoos and Osages. Thus, the trade with the Kickapoos was a stimulus for the Kiowas and Comanches to step up their raids into Texas and Mexico.

Indian officials in the late 1840's tried in several ways to stop the trade between the Plains tribes and the Kickapoos. They attempted to hold councils with the Kiowas and Comanches in order to distribute presents to them and gain their friendship so they would be less likely to raid. Trading houses were to be set up close to Kiowa and Comanche country where they could obtain the white trade articles that they desired cheaper than they could from the Kickapoos,[32] thus destroying the stimulus for the Kiowas and Comanches to trade with them.

However, the Kickapoos discovered the government's plans to inhibit their lucrative trade with the Plains tribes. They went to Kiowa and Comanche camps and told the chiefs that the whites were hostile to them and that they were in the process of organizing a campaign against them. They told them that the presents they had been given by the whites had been payment for part

of their land. Although the Kiowas and Comanches were suspicious of the Kickapoos' stories, they were afterward reluctant to council with the whites. Thus the Kickapoo trade continued as did Kiowa and Comanche raiding.

As a result of government interference in their Kiowa and Comanche trade and the intrusion of Texas settlers into areas where they regularly hunted, the Kickapoos joined the Kiowas and Comanches in raids into Texas in the 1850's. The Kickapoos had seldom raided in Texas during the previous decade, but by 1857 all raids in Texas were considered to have been by the Kickapoos in conjunction with the Kiowas and Comanches.[34]

In the early 1870's the Kickapoos ceased their raiding but continued their hunting expeditions onto the plains from their new reservation in Indian Territory. The Kiowas, Comanches, Wichitas, and Cheyennes became concerned over these hunting parties, for wherever they went, they denuded the area of game as badly as they had in previous years. The Plains tribes asked that the Kickapoos not be given any more hunting permits on their lands and they even accused the Kickapoos of stealing horses from them while on their hunts. The Kickapoos uniformly denied stealing horses and there was soon no need for them to hunt on the plains for the Plains Indians quickly destroyed all the game on their reservations anyway.[35]

Kiowa dealings with the Delaware tribe were much like those with the Kickapoos. In the late 1830's about one hundred Delawares settled on Choctaw lands near the Arkansas River and another group of Delawares and Shawnees were living on the Canadian River in the Creek Territory. Like the Kickapoos, the Delawares had a reputation among the Plains tribes for being good hunters and brave warriors and because of that reputation were rarely attacked by any of the Plains tribes. They also frequently sent traders to the Kiowas and Comanches who bartered calicoes and other domestic goods for horses and mules.[36]

The Delawares of Indian Territory acquired the languages of many of the Plains tribes including the Kiowas, Comanches, and Pawnees and were often used by the government as interpreters when dealing with those tribes.[37] The Delawares were well regarded as guides by leaders of several American exploring expeditions in the American West. Captain Randolph B. Marcy's expedition to explore a route from Fort Smith, Arkansas to Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1849 was led by a Delaware named Black Beaver. Although not fluent in all the Plains languages, Black Beaver was skillful in sign language which he used when Marcy's group encountered the Kiowas and other Indians on their journey.[38]

The Delawares sometimes guided the Plains tribes when they were required to travel eastward into unfamiliar

territory. In 1839, a Delaware hunter led a delegation of Kiowas, Comanches, and others to Fort Gibson where they were to embark for a visit to Washington.[39]

Because of their residence among the Creeks and Choctaws, the Delawares attended many of the same councils involving the Plains tribes and the Five Civilized Tribes. The Delawares had gone to the Wichita village with Colonel Henry Dodge in 1834 where they first met with the Kiowas and Comanches. Later Delaware representatives joined members of the Five Civilized Tribes in the peace councils of 1871 and 1872 with the hostile Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos and worked to influence them toward more peaceful ways.

The Kiowas and their allies did not differentiate between other emigrant or eastern tribes that had settled on the border of the Plains in Kansas and Nebraska. These tribes, namely the Sacs and Foxes, Pottawatomis, Shawnees, northern Delawares, and Iroquois were all referred to by the same name.[40] The Kiowas were generally hostile to these Indians because of their attempts to hunt on Kiowa lands. The Kiowas looked upon them as wards of the United States government who were not as strong and independent as they were.[41]

In the 1850's the Kiowas and their allies tried to wipe out the emigrant tribes of Kansas and Nebraska.

In the summer of 1854, a large war party of Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Osages went eastward to fight any emigrant tribe that they found hunting buffalo on the plains. They encountered from one to two hundred Sac and Fox hunters who were accompanied by a few Pottawatomies. There were some one thousand Plains Indians and when they saw their enemies, they were confident that they could easily defeat them. They immediately charged the Sacs and Foxes who fortified themselves in a small depression. The Sacs and Foxes waited until their enemy was within a hundred yards of them and at that time, opened fire with their rifles and stopped the charge. The Plains Indians charged three times but were repulsed each time and finally left the field abandoning many dead and wounded.[42]

As a result of this battle, the Plains tribes were less confident of driving the emigrants away from the plains. In small skirmishes the Kiowas and Comanches were often defeated by them because of their superior fire power. The Kiowas and Comanches especially hated the Sacs and Foxes who had dealt them the disastrous blow in 1854.[43] A large group of Kiowas and Comanches finally defeated the Sacs and Foxes in the summer of 1857[44] which was one of the last battles fought between the two. A year later the agent for the Sacs and Foxes kept his Indians from going to fight the Kiowas and Comanches and from that time onward neither ventured

to confront the other.

The emigrant tribes had a tremendous effect on the Kiowas and Comanches. Through them they became more familiar with the material culture of the whites. They learned early how awesome the power of the gun was when used by a skilled and disciplined opponent. The Kiowas had used guns before they ever met any eastern tribes, but none of their early enemies knew how to use them so effectively. Along with guns, the eastern tribes had other white goods that the Kiowas were greatly interested in. Items such as cloth, needles, hatchets, metal cooking pots made the nomadic plains life easier, more convenient, and less drab. In return the Kiowas traded to eastern Indians the only articles they had in abundance, horses, mules and buffalo robes which were all products of the hunt and war party. The Kiowas thus accelerated their efforts to accumulate these articles in order that they might have the quantity of white goods that they desired. They entrenched themselves so far into their hunting and raiding way of life, that when it came time for them to make the transition from their nomadic life to the white man's road, the Kiowas found the going difficult. The old life finally died, but its death was slow.

Notes

[1]C. C. Rister, "A Federal Experiment in Southern Plains Indians Relations, 1835-1845," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XIV, No. 4 (1929): 444.

[2]Arrell M. Gibson, The Chickasaws (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 188.

[3]Thomas L. McKenney, Memoirs, Official and Personal (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), p. 278.

[4]Rister, "A Federal Experiment," p. 444.

[5]Lt. T. B. Wheelock, "Journal of Colonel Dodge's Expedition from Ft. Gibson to the Pawnee Pict Village," American State Papers, Military Affairs, V, No. 585 (1860): 373-382.

[6]Grant Foreman, Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1926), pp. 152-54.

[7]Rister, "A Federal Experiment," pp. 448-49.

[8]Rister, "A Federal Experiment," pp. 450-51.

[9]Charles J. Kappler, Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II, Treaties (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 489-90.

[10]Rister, "A Federal Experiment," pp. 451-52.

[11]Instructions to A. P. Chouteau, Special Agent to the Comanches and Others, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1837.

[12]Rister, "A Federal Experiment," p. 453.

[13]Gibson, The Chickasaws, p. 175.

[14]Annual Report of William Armstrong, Choctaw Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1838, 515.

[15]James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 17th Annual Report, Part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), p. 274.

[16]Annual Report of James Logan, Creek Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1845.

[17]Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), pp. 203-4.

[18]Enoch Hoag to Lawrie Tatum, June 27, 1870, Kiowa Files, Foreign Relations, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[19]William H. Leckie, The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 65.

[20]Enoch Hoag to Brinton Darlington, February 20, 1871, Cheyenne and Arapaho Files, Indian Council.

[21]Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers (Philadelphia: John C. Winston and Company, 1899, New Edition, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), pp. 108-115.

[22]Leckie, Military Conquest of the Southern Plains, p. 163; Enoch Hoag to Jonathan Richards, June, 1872, Kiowa Files, Indian Council.

[23]Report of Captain Henry E. Alvord, Commissioner to the Kiowas, Comanches, and other tribes in the western part of Indian Territory, October 10, 1872, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872, 128-29; Tatum, Our Red Brothers, pp. 125-26.

[24]Cyrus Beede to James Haworth, November 12, 1873, Kiowa Files, Indian Council.

[25]"Journal of the Fourth Annual Session of the General Council of the Indian Territory," December 1, 1873, Kiowa Files, Section X, International Council.

[26]Tatum, Our Red Brothers, p. 166.

[27]Colonel Randolph B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866), p. 93.

[28]"Route from Fort Smith to Santa Fe," Randolph B. Marcy, 31st Congress, 1st Session, House Executive Document No. 45, pp. 71-2.

[29]Arrell Gibson, The Kickapoos (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 173-74.

[30]Annual Report of Phillip H. Raiford, Creek Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1851, 124-25.

[31]Gibson, The Kickapoos, p. 174.

[32]Gibson, The Kickapoos, pp. 184-85.

[33]"Communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and other Documents, in relation to the Indians of Texas," Robert Neighbors, Special Indian Agent to Comm. Medill, December 13, 1847, 30th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Report No. 171, pp. 21-22.

[34]Gibson, The Kickapoos, pp. 188-89.

[35]Gibson, The Kickapoos, p. 259.

[36]Report of William Armstrong, Acting Superintendent, Western Territory, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1845, 508.

[37]Thomas Jefferson Farnham, Farnham's Travels in the Great Western Prairies, etc., Vol. XXVIII of Early Western Travels, Ed. by Ruben G. Thwaites, (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), p. 138.

[38]Randolph B. Marcy, "Route from Ft. Smith to Santa Fe," p. 37.

[39]Annual Report of William Armstrong, Choctaw Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1839, 475.

[40]George Bird Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 94.

[41]William T. Hagan, The Sac and Fox Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 226.

[42]Annual Report of J. W. Whitfield, Upper Platte Agent, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1854.

[43]Report of A. Cumming, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Central Superintendency, Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1856, 70.

[44]Mooney, "Calendar History," p. 302.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

Kiowa relations with other tribes were determined by economic factors rather than geographic proximities for often neighbors were bitter enemies because they desired Kiowa hunting grounds and/or horses. Conversely, tribes also with hunting grounds adjacent to the Kiowas often hunted on Kiowa land and furthermore joined them in trade and military activities. If a tribe was not desirous of Kiowa buffalo or horses, and perhaps had items to trade, they became commercial allies and also helped the Kiowas stave off enemies who encroached onto their hunting grounds.

Whenever these same economic conditions existed elsewhere on the Great Plains, other tribes reacted in similar ways to the Kiowas, which is consistent with the precept that groups with similar economic systems will display similar political and social behavior. In an effort to survive in their environment, tribes on the plains had to have horses and had to protect their hunting grounds just as the Kiowas did.

By 1810 the Kiowas had taken firm hold of the southern

Plains as a hunting ground, and along with their closest ally, the Comanches, were able to keep their Indian enemies from penetrating too far onto their lands. They held their hunting grounds until they agreed to locate on a reservation in southwestern Oklahoma under the treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek in October 1867. During the 1860's, the Kiowas' buffalo range had been somewhat narrowed by the movement of gold seekers across the plains to Colorado, by traders traveling over the Santa Fe Trail, and by the northward push of Texas settlers from the south. Friction had developed and had resulted in Kiowa raids on these Americans in an effort to keep them off their lands. Therefore, to protect American citizens and also the Kiowas, and their Kiowa-Apache and Comanche allies, the United States government persuaded the Kiowas and their allies to move to a reservation set aside strictly for them, where only authorized persons were allowed to go.

Kiowa movement to a reservation marked the beginning of the end for their old way of life. They had been hunting buffalo on horseback and raiding their enemies for over a century, but on the reservation they found themselves no longer free to act as they once had. Nevertheless, they clung tenaciously to the old way of life until all the buffalo had been destroyed, and there were no more enemies to fight.

Although on the reservation they were given annuity goods that provided them subsistence, the Kiowas and Comanches were given temporary hunting privileges on their old hunting range south of the Arkansas River. This gave them opportunities to leave the reservation, and often, instead of hunting, they went south into Mexico or Texas to steal horses, mules, and cattle, fight their enemies, the Utes, in New Mexico, or trade livestock to the Pueblo Indians and Mexicans on the Llano Estacado.

While still in control of the southern Plains, the Kiowas came into contact with a wide variety of Indian tribes who spoke many different languages and engaged in economic systems sometimes very unlike their own. Relations with these tribes were either based on trade or outright warfare in which horses and scalps were frequently taken.

With the Plains tribes who were culturally similar to the Kiowas, they had by 1840 made strong trade and military alliances. Relations with such tribes as the Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Dakotas were perhaps most important to the Kiowa, for they were not only valuable trading partners, but they also helped the Kiowas defend their lands against encroaching tribes and later the Americans.

Trade with neighboring tribes was very important to the Kiowas for through it they were able to acquire

agricultural foodstuffs and white trade goods for which they had an insatiable desire. The Wichitas on the east and the Pueblos on the west provided the Kiowas with corn, beans, and squash among other items that the Kiowas did not produce themselves. Tribes such as the Osages and Kanzas, who farmed the river valleys of eastern Kansas, and the Five Civilized Tribes, Kickapoos, and Delawares, who were given reservations in Indian Territory and eastern Kansas in the 1830's, had access to white trade goods and traded them to the Kiowas in return for horses, mules, and buffalo hides.

Located on the southern Plains, the Kiowas not only had land rich in buffalo, but also were in a highly desirable geographical location in terms of being able to go easily to the settlements of Texas and northern Mexico to steal horses. Consequently, they accumulated large herds, but these herds also presented inviting targets to tribes located farther away from the source of supply for horses. As a result, Kiowas were frequently raided by the Pawnees of Nebraska and the Utes, Jicarilla Apaches, and Navajos of New Mexico.

New Mexican tribes continually tried to hunt on the Kiowas' buffalo range, but with the help of the Comanches the Kiowas were successful in keeping these attempts to a minimum. The Kiowas and Comanches resented the intrusion of any enemy tribe who attempted to hunt on their land, but they seem to have been most apprehensive about those

tribes settled on the American frontier such as the Sacs, Foxes, and Pottawatomies. In the 1850's the Kiowas and their Plains allies tried to keep these tribes off their hunting grounds but were for the most part unsuccessful, owing to superior fire power by these enemies who had greater access to white firearms.

Life on the southern Plains was at best uncertain for the Kiowas. It was a life where enemies were frequently made of old allies, and allies were in turn made of old enemies. In 1855, John W. Whitfield, agent for the Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos best summed up inter-tribal relations for not only the Kiowas but for all the southern Plains tribes when he wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

> In so precarious and changeful a life as that led by these tribes, occasionally at war amongst themselves, and ever at war with the semi-civilized tribes of the frontier, and those of the more remote West and South..; people who wars are waged for the purpose of extermination, and in which the lives of whole bands including women and children are dependent upon victory; of such a people, little can be said with certainty and what is true of one day, may be untrue of the next.[1]

Notes

[1]Report of John W. Whitfield to Office of Bureau of Indian Affairs, January 5, 1855, Records, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, Upper Arkansas Agency, Letters Sent, 1855-1864, Microcopy 234.

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