

FAILED ASSIMILATION: ANGLO WOMEN ON THE
KIOWA-COMANCHE RESERVATION,

1867-1906

by

REBECCA JANE HERRING, B.A.

A THESIS

IN

HISTORY

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of Texas Tech University in
Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for
the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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PREFACE

Anglo women played a vital role in the implementation of United States Indian assimilation policy undertaken during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Although recent research has shown that nineteenth-century American women made important social and economic contributions, those contributions generally were limited to the private world of home and family. Indian affairs, however, was one of the few areas in which women took an active part in public life. Aggressively involved in the development, support, and execution of this mass acculturation effort, Anglo women worked to educate and Christianize--and thus "civilize"--the American Indian.

In the following exploration of the creation, goals, implementation, and results of federal assimilation policy, emphasis will be placed on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, and the Anglo women who labored there. Between 1867--when the reservation was created by the Medicine Lodge Treaties--and 1906--when the final distribution of reservation lands occurred--Anglo women worked there as school teachers, missionaries, mission wives, and Field Matrons. Primarily directing their attentions toward Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache women and children,

these Anglo workers hoped to smooth the transition from nomadic to settled life for the Native Americans forced by the federal government to live together in southwestern Indian Territory.

The first chapter discusses the development of late nineteenth-century reform, focusing on American Indians and the women who worked for their relief. The second chapter traces the evolution of the Indian assimilation policy that was a product of that reform movement. The next three chapters discuss the implementation of that policy on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation and the Anglo women who labored there to guide its inhabitants into mainstream America. Chapter three traces the history of the reservation and the women who worked for education, chapter four concerns the growth of the mission effort and the women who worked for institutional Christianity, and chapter five describes the creation of the Indian Service Field Matron program and the women who worked for civilization. The concluding chapter describes the allotment of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, and summarizes the failure of the assimilation policy--and the women who were a part of it--to absorb Indians into American culture.

Primary sources examined are varied. Kiowa Agency records, housed in the Indian Archives Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society, furnished handwritten Kiowa

Agency Field Matron Reports. These reports, submitted monthly, quarterly, and annually, provided statistical as well as personal information relative to the Field Matron's work. Apparently unexamined prior to this study, they revealed fascinating information about this heretofore ignored program of the federal Indian Service. Published reminiscences and letters supplied information concerning women missionaries. Although rarely unbiased, these accounts provided insight into their feelings about their work and the Indians among whom they lived. Because few personal materials could be located, data concerning agency school teachers was compiled primarily from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Reports and journal articles about education and mission work on the reservation. Theses and dissertations in Oklahoma history, local history articles published in the Chronicles of Oklahoma, and the Indian Pioneer Papers compiled by the W.P.A. in the 1930s also provided valuable information.

The secondary sources consulted for background information used in this study are products of diverse fields of American history. Robert F. Berkhofer's The White Man's Indian, Henry E. Fritz's The Movement for Indian Assimilation, Robert Winston Mardock's The Reformers and the American Indian, and Francis Paul Prucha's American Indian Policy in Crisis provided insight into the Indian

assimilation policy and its development in late nineteenth-century America. For information concerning the role of women in nineteenth-century American culture, Barbara J. Harris' Beyond Her Sphere, and Nancy F. Cott's Bonds of Womanhood were consulted. William T. Hagan's United States-Comanche Relations offered factual information concerning the history of the Comanche, while Mildred Mayhall's The Kiowa and James Mooney's "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians" supplied similar data about the Kiowa. Sidney E. Mead's The Lively Experiment, Martin Marty's Righteous Empire, and Rufus Jones' The Later Periods of Quakerism furnished descriptions of the unique religious climate that existed in nineteenth-century America.

I owe thanks to many people who provided invaluable assistance in the completion of this thesis. I am indebted especially to Dr. John Wunder for providing concern, criticism, and patience while directing my work, as well as to Dr. David Murrah and Dr. Jacqueline Reinier for helpful suggestions. I owe special thanks also to Dr. David Murrah, Dr. Michael Hooks, Janet Neugebauer, Jan Blodgett, Tommie Davis and other members of the Southwest Collection staff for furnishing encouragement and a congenial atmosphere in which to work.

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CHAPTER I

NINETEENTH-CENTURY REFORM: FOCUSING ON THE NATIVE AMERICAN

Humanitarian reform movements flourished in nineteenth-century America. Christian men and women, alarmed by what they perceived as moral decay and social inequity, hoped to purge America of its ills. Confident in the young nation's ability to overcome all imperfections, reformers examined and attacked almost every American institution. The family, education, religion, and the government, as well as slavery, war, prisons, prostitution, alcohol consumption, and sexual inequality, all came under this scrutiny during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹ When interest in western lands quickened following the close of the Civil War, the attention of a number of reformers naturally focused on the native people who occupied that land.

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but cleansed of Europe's supposed moral depravity. With this willingness for social self-examination America soon became, in the words of Walter Hugins, "the mecca for idealistic experiments, both native and imported."² This predisposition for experimentation was encouraged by a belief that individuals, and thus society, were perfectible. Creating a better world in which freedom and justice reigned was not only the right, but the duty, of every member of that new society.³ Consequently, nineteenth-century reformers, convinced of the infallibility of their idealistic American society, tended to belittle, and felt totally justified in forcibly changing, any cultural group that differed from their own.⁴

Evangelical Christianity was the dominant force in nineteenth-century American religious life. Aggressive rather than passive, evangelicalism shaped the course of American thought, as well as the form of American institutions.⁵ Community life frequently centered around the church and its activities, and schools were often founded and supported by religious groups. Legislation frequently was based on Christian principles of social responsibility. Business and athletic organizations stressed the importance of Christianity in making their members good business people or athletes. Religion, in other words, influenced almost every aspect of American life.

Two characteristics of this evangelical crusade

were particularly important to its impact on the Native American. First, it was a Protestant movement. The United States was primarily a Protestant nation, settled by Protestant religious groups. Products of the sixteenth-century Reformation, the people who made up these groups created a political society based on the tenets of, but separate from, reform Christianity.⁶ By the late nineteenth century, Americanism and Protestantism had become blended. Although there existed an official separation of church and state, in actuality "The churches gave a religious endorsement to the American way of life." Thus, any divergence from Protestant Christian principles was considered to be an attack on America itself. Likewise, any action not in accord with American norms was considered to be a direct assault on Christianity.⁷ Unfortunately for the American Indians, their traditional social structure and religious practices were often in direct opposition to those of Anglo nineteenth-century America.

The second important characteristic of nineteenth-century Christianity was the emphasis it placed on individual salvation and perfection. Since society was composed of individuals, the most direct method of correcting society's ills would be first to correct evil in human beings. Once individual weaknesses were remedied, the nation as a whole would progress to higher stages of societal evolution. This form of Christianity stressed

individual salvation gained through good works. Once again, the conflict between the traditional Native American and the dominant Anglo cultures became apparent. The communal life of the American Indian contrasted sharply with the individualism of the United States.⁸

According to William McLoughlin, the evangelical spirit which dominated the century made "Americans the most religious people in the world, molded them into a unified, pietistic-perfectionist nation, and spurred them on to . . . heights of social reform, missionary endeavor, and imperialistic expansionism." Hoping to build a "righteous empire," evangelical Protestant leaders set out to enlist the aid of all Americans in shaping national attitudes and actions. They formed organizations, sponsored missionary activity, and encouraged imperialistic expansion designed to make the United States not only the strongest, but the most spiritual, God-fearing nation in the world.⁹ This aggressive Christian policy had a two-fold effect on the American Indian. Its effort to include all members of society in the American dream idealistically, though not always practically, included the Indian. In addition, the belief that the United States had a divine right to occupy the American continent from coast to coast was in conflict with the reality that native peoples held claim to a large part of that land. A simple solution to these two problems was self-evident to Christian reformers:

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make the Indians full members of American society and the land issue would automatically settle itself.¹⁰

Although from diverse geographical, occupational and religious backgrounds, nineteenth-century reformers, especially those working for Indian reform, had common characteristics: according to Robert Mardock, "nearly all were middle-class idealists who believed in the basic rights of all men to freedom from oppression"; they accepted Darwin's theory of the survival of the most fit in a social context; they believed in the concept of the "noble savage"; they held faith in the possibility of social improvement; and they were convinced that saving the Indians from extermination was "an obligation of all people who professed Christianity." Although their personal religious philosophies extended from orthodoxy to liberalism, most reformers acted on Christian impulse and "could be described as social-gospel Christian humanists" who were deeply concerned for their fellow people.¹¹

Reformer Lyman Abbott, speaking in 1885, maintained that,

it may be taken for granted that we are Christian men and women; that we believe in justice, good-will, and charity, and the brotherhood of the human race . . . that all of us here are . . . friends of humanity, and friends of equal rights.¹²

Generally well educated, these reformers were an articulate group. Using rhetoric as a tool, they inundated the public with pamphlets, speeches, press releases, articles, reports, and editorials which clearly described

their grievances as well as suggested possible solutions. For example, in the published proceedings of the annual Lake Mohonk Conferences, in the Indian Rights Association annual reports, in articles in the Atlantic Monthly and the North American Review, and in editorials in religious newspapers, reformers demanded equal rights and citizenship for American Indians.¹³ Although outspoken, these humanitarians were not revolutionaries. They did not want to destroy or radically change American society. They desired instead to correct its failings, believing that perfection was possible within the existing societal structure.¹⁴

Although most Indian reformers were from the New England and mid-Atlantic states, they were not all idealistic easterners with only a dime-novel-knowledge of the West. Some were westerners--such as Oregon farmer John Beeson and Episcopalian Bishop Henry B. Whipple--who entered the reform movement only after firsthand observation convinced them that correctable problems existed. In addition, reform organizations regularly sent representatives into Indian Territory to conduct field investigations and report their findings to their concerned members.¹⁵

Likewise, Indian reformers were not a small, radical group who through deceptive practices forced an unnecessary program of reform upon the government

and the American people. They, on the contrary, "represented or reflected a powerful and predominant segment of Protestant church membership and thereby of late nineteenth-century American society." When they spoke, they expressed the opinion of many United States citizens.¹⁶ Consequently, backed by firsthand evidence of abuses, favorable public opinion, and the belief that God supported their actions, Indian reformers were convinced of the "righteousness of their cause."¹⁷ Helen Hunt Jackson, in her introduction to A Century of Dishonor, maintained that "the United States Government's repeated violations of faith with the Indians" could be corrected only by an "appeal to the heart and the conscience of the American people." "As soon as they fairly understand how cruelly it [fair play] has been denied to the Indian, they will rise up and demand it for him."¹⁸

Nineteenth-century reformers held one other belief in common--the conviction that women were natural civilizers. In America, "republican" women were charged with the care and education of the nation's youth, as well as with the guardianship of national morals.¹⁹ The possibility of nineteenth-century women gaining political or financial power, however, was nullified by their assignment to two restricting cultural roles. The first, that of the fragile, helpless, weaker sex who must be sheltered from worldly realities, automatically made women dependent

upon men for both physical and emotional protection. The second, that of divine motherhood and creator of civilization, tied them within the confining walls of the home.²⁰

But because providing their children, especially their sons, with religious and moral training was an essential duty of motherhood, women were allowed active involvement in some public sectors. First, women played a primary role in nineteenth-century Christianity. The church was often the focal point of feminine social life. Middle class women, both married and single, made up the majority of active church members. Although positions of authority were most often held by men, the actual work was carried out by women.²¹ Moving into areas of American public life that offered the least masculine resistance, women gained prominent positions in many of the new Protestant denominations. Baptist and Methodist women, for example, built churches, entertained ministers, gave testimonies, led prayer meetings, and taught Sunday School classes.²² Women likewise were allowed to participate in education because such activity complimented their role of motherhood. The family, over which the wife and mother reigned, was considered to be the foundation of American civilization. In the words of Walter Hugins, "Formal education was therefore viewed as a necessary extension of familial nurture, reinforcing the morality of hearth and home."²³

From involvement in these two family-related institutions--the church and the school--women slowly ventured into other areas of public life. Although some women rebelled openly against their secondary status and demanded participation in male dominated fields,²⁴ women generally moved cautiously into the public arena. Those who did assume public roles did so only in areas that could be defended as logical extensions of their prescribed social roles.

Prior to the Civil War women joined voluntary associations dedicated to improving society, often forming the majority of reform groups' membership. In these organizations women first received political training. According to Page Smith they "organized, attended and chaired meetings, prepared agenda, made motions, debated issues, [and] circulated petitions," despite frequent male opposition. Although their activities were often limited to an auxiliary position, women continued to support movements for the abolition of slavery, for temperance, for peace, and in the last decades of the century, for Indian reform.²⁵

After the close of the Civil War, an increasing number of women attended and were graduated from newly established women's and coeducational colleges and universities such as Vassar and Swarthmore. Education and reform work--efforts to improve society--were considered to be acceptable occupations for these newly educated women.²⁶

Following the Civil War and emancipation, former anti-slavery workers turned their energies to other reform movements. Social problems which had taken secondary positions during the fight to end slavery came once again to the forefront. For example, women's civil rights leaders--such as Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucy Stone--who had subordinated feminist activity in order to devote their energies to abolition during the war years, renewed their campaign for women's suffrage. Abolitionist Wendell Phillips, on the other hand, divided his attention among several reform efforts. After the Civil War he worked for temperance, for women's suffrage, for labor reform, and, as a logical extension of his belief in racial equality, for Indian rights.²⁷

By 1865 United States Indian affairs had reached a crisis. Native Americans who then occupied the central Plains region were being pressed from both the East and West by Anglo Americans in search of mineral wealth and inexpensive farm land. At the same time work proceeded on two transcontinental railroads that were projected to cut straight through Indian lands, dividing hunting grounds and scattering the game necessary for Indian survival. Humanitarian reformers foresaw, and attempted to prevent, the inevitable destruction of the American Indian.²⁸

Most nineteenth-century reformers viewed Indians

in a similar vein. They felt that Native Americans were inferior, but that their inferiority was caused by exposure to a deprived environment rather than by genetic impairment. Although deficient in many qualities useful in Anglo society, they were honest, loyal, and brave--and thus were capable of being culturally transformed. This view, when combined with humanitarian faith in the unity of humankind, with a firm belief in the evolutionary advancement of people and society, and with the national conviction that the spread of American culture and the development of the West were divinely inspired, served as adequate justification for reformers developing plans to alter the cultural patterns of Native Americans.²⁹

Although there has been some debate on whether the leaders of the abolition movement became leaders in the Indian reform movement, historians generally agree that the earlier crusade did have a sizable impact on the latter. Many of the rank and file anti-slavery workers became Indian reform workers. In addition, former abolitionists, as well as leaders of the peace movement, often spoke up in favor of Indian reform. Noted abolitionist Lydia Maria Child, for example, published An Appeal for the Indians in April, 1868. Likewise, Cora Daniels Tappan, abolitionist and member of the Pennsylvania Peace Society, at the Annual convention of the Universal Peace Union in May, 1869, protested the federal practice of appointing Army

officers as Indian agents. The leaders of earlier reform movements, in the words of Francis Prucha, were instrumental in "helping to stir up public interest, in attracting other reformers to the cause and in contributing substantial weight in the whole movement."³⁰

By the closing decades of the century, therefore, the American Indian had become the object of reform attention. Physically standing in the way of the Anglo frontier advance, native peoples were in danger of total extermination. Using the same tactics that had proven successful in the fight for abolition, humanitarian workers, both male and female, wrote articles, gave lectures, and formed organizations advocating fair treatment for Native Americans.³¹

Referring to themselves as "the Friends of the Indians," these reformers viewed all Indian cultures as alike, recognizing few dissimilar traits and even fewer positive characteristics. They likewise were convinced that the mainstream of American Christian civilization was far superior to that of the Indian, and that God therefore approved of their efforts to force that civilization on Native American people.³²

Many organizations dedicated to improving Indian affairs appeared during the final decades of the nineteenth century. Acknowledging that "in union there was both moral and financial strength," these new organizations hoped to

bring an end to the "Indian problem" by bringing the Indians' case before the American people and thus organizing public sympathy for their cause. With this public support these reform groups hoped to convince Congress to pass reform legislation that would eradicate forever the problems faced by, and caused by, the American Indians.³³

On 18 May 1868, New York inventor, manufacturer, and philanthropist Peter Cooper formed the United States Indian Commission. This deceptively official-sounding private organization hoped to aid in "the protection and elevation of the Indians, and to co-operate with the United States government in its efforts to prevent desolation and wars on the frontiers of our country."³⁴ One of its primary goals was to encourage the government to recruit wealthy men of high moral character with no political ties to direct Indian Affairs. When this goal in essence was accomplished by the establishment of the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1869, this early reform group disbanded.³⁵

The year 1879 saw the formation of two influential Indian reform organizations. The Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, created in November as a result of concern over the Ponca Indian affair,³⁶ encouraged the granting of political and civil rights to Native Americans.³⁷ Likewise, the Women's National Indian Association, established in December, condemned Anglo encroachment into Indian

territory. Under the leadership of Mary Bonney and Amelia Quinton, the latter organization attempted to motivate American women to support the Indian cause. Between 1879 and 1883 concerned women circulated petitions, distributed literature, and held meetings through a national network of branch organizations. In addition, they financially supported field workers who lived on reservations and provided medical aid and vocational education for the Indians.³⁸

After 1883, when the male Indian Rights Association was founded, the Women's National Indian Association placed less emphasis on propaganda and more emphasis on its missionary-like activity. Led by Henry S. Pancoast and Herbert Welsh, the Indian Rights Association soon took the lead in Indian reform. Using business-like methods, and working hand-in-hand with the women's organization, this new group established and remained in close contact with branch associations throughout the nation. In addition, it sent investigators to the reservations in order to gather firsthand information concerning conditions there, and maintained a full-time representative in Washington to lobby Congress for reform legislation. As a result of its painstaking methods, this organization won the respect of the general public and accomplished many of its goals.³⁹

These, as well as many smaller but no less active, Indian reform organizations worked in concert to bring about what they considered to be necessary changes in

United States Indian policy. In order to efficiently coordinate their efforts, representatives of these humanitarian groups met annually at a resort hotel on Lake Mohonk, New York. Although The Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian had no official status, it brought together the best minds in Indian reform. United by a common belief in Christian humanitarianism, these reformers met with missionaries, government officials, educational leaders, Protestant clergy, newspaper editors, and interested observers. There they heard reports on past activities, listened to papers on current reform topics, discussed continuing reform issues, and formulated a platform of recommendations.⁴⁰

These Indian reformers were convinced that fair treatment for the American Indian could be gained by combining humanitarian federal legislation with Christian principles. Although not always realistic or practical--while often self-righteous and uncompromising--in their demands, their impact on federal Indian policy was phenomenal. By creating controversy, they brought the "Indian problem" to national attention--according to Robert Mardock "a usual prerequisite for any major reform legislation." By practicing a religious devotion to philanthropy, education, and reform, they were able to accomplish many of their legislative goals within two decades.⁴¹

Endnotes

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²³Hugins, Reform Impulse, p. 13.

²⁴Ibid., p. 11.

²⁵Smith, Women in History, pp. 104, 111; Hugins, Reform Impulse, p. 11; Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 198-199.

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³⁴United States Indian Commission Memorial, "The Indians," June 6, 1868, House of Representatives, Letters Received, quoted in Mardock, Reformers and Indian, p. 33.

³⁵Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 26-28. For further information concerning the Board of Indian Commissioners, see Chapter 2.

³⁶The Ponca, a peaceful Siouan tribe, were removed from their reservation of 96,000 acres on the Missouri River when their land--without their knowledge--was given to the Sioux in 1868. In 1877 they were settled by the U.S. Army on the Quapaw reserve in Indian Territory. Hardships and changes in climate brought suffering, illness, and death to these people. In 1879 Chief Standing Bear, with a few tribespeople, returned north. When the Army attempted to arrest the runaways, lawyers and concerned citizens in Omaha defended the cause of these Indians in Federal District Court. Judge Elmer S. Dundy ruled in favor of the Ponca, allowing them to stay in Nebraska. Before its solution the Ponca affair became a public issue, advertising the plight of Native Americans and providing the reformers with a highly visible cause. See Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 113-119; Mardock, Reformers and Indian, pp. 168-191.

³⁷Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 133-134.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 134-138; Prucha, Americanizing the Indians, p. 5; Mardock, Reformers and Indian, p. 199.

³⁹Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 138-143.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 143-147; Prucha, Americanizing the Indians, pp. 5-6.

⁴¹Mardock, Reformers and Indian, p. 228; Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, p. 156.

CHAPTER II

INDIAN ASSIMILATION: THE MOVEMENT TO CREATE INDIAN CITIZENS

To observers of late nineteenth-century America, marked differences existed between the dominant Anglo culture and minority Native American cultures. Rather than acknowledge those differences as acceptable and of equal value in a nation fashioned from diverse cultural backgrounds, Americans tended to view Indian life as deficient. They considered Anglo society, on the other hand, to be superior, having reached a higher stage of development in cultural evolution.¹ According to Robert Berkhofer this supposed inequality in levels of civilization served as moral justification for the widespread conviction that "Native Americans must be reformed according to White criteria and their labor, lands, and souls put to 'higher uses' in line with White goals."² Certain that native and Anglo peoples could never live in harmony if each group retained its cultural identity, and led by feelings of social responsibility toward a seemingly inferior race, those in control of Indian affairs concluded that "the only practical and humane answer to the

Indian problem was to assimilate the Indians into Anglo-American culture."³

Formulating what would come to be known as "the United States Indian assimilation policy," Indian policy makers adopted a series of federal programs they hoped would most efficiently facilitate the assimilation process. The peace policy, instituted in 1867, stressed the protection and civilization, rather than the destruction, of America's native population. President Grant's Quaker policy, active from 1869 to the mid-1880s, used religious groups as stewards of federal Indian policy. The Dawes, or Allotment Act, passed in 1887, authorized the allotment of reservation lands to individual Indians. Each of these governmental programs was developed as a stepping stone toward the final goal of Indian assimilation.

Indians, white Americans believed, innately possessed noble characteristics such as integrity, bravery and honor. They also believed, however, that these same Native Americans completely lacked knowledge of the skills and attitudes necessary for advancement in a "civilized" society. In reality, the Plains Indians, on whom much of the late nineteenth-century reform effort would be focused, were a nomadic people who hunted for survival, gambled for pleasure, practiced polygamy, and worshiped a variety of gods. These cultural traits were appalling to the average American citizen who lived in a settled community, farmed

a small plot of land, condemned games of chance as wasteful of time and money, believed in monogamous marriage and the family as the foundation of society, and worshiped the one God of Christianity. Consequently, even though reformers did not automatically condemn Indians for their "Indian-ness," they were incapable of understanding or appreciating native cultures.⁴

Because Indians did possess some redeemable characteristics, reformers were convinced that there was hope for the ultimate transformation of Native America. Armed with unshakable confidence in the "brotherhood of man," accepting the contemporary theory that societies moved progressively upward from hunting to herding and then to agricultural stages, and guided by a patronizing Christian missionary spirit, reformers set forth to right the wrongs they felt had been levied against the American native population.⁵ Ironically, in their haste to save Indians from probably physical destruction, these reformers eventually were responsible for their cultural destruction. As had most Americans before them, reformers grouped native peoples into one catch-all category labeled "Indian." Ignorant of the social, linguistic, and cultural differences that existed among the various tribes and cultural groups, they treated all native peoples alike. Unfortunately, that treatment included "conceiving of Indians in terms of their deficiencies according to White ideals

rather than in terms of their own various cultures."⁶

As a result of this attitude, workers for Indian reform limited their options from the beginning--people considered to be inferior could only be changed, never appreciated for their own intrinsic value.⁷

Two opposing views of the American Indian, therefore, were in vogue during the nineteenth century. The first opinion, that Indians were sub-human and thus deserved no consideration in the United States' plan for expansion, was generally held by those who wished to exploit the Indians and their land for material gain. The second view, that Indians, though culturally lacking, were rich in human potential and therefore deserved respect, was most often held by missionaries and reformers. This marked difference of opinion colored the course of Indian affairs throughout the century.⁸

The issue of injustices perpetrated against Indians, although receiving little public attention during the Civil War, was kept alive by two reformers who devoted their energies solely to Indian reform. Henry Benjamin Whipple, the Episcopal Bishop of Minnesota, and John Beeson, an Oregon farmer, petitioned the executive office, lobbied Congress, approached religious groups and published informative articles, always pleading the "Indian's cause." Motivated by strong religious convictions, they particularly derided the agency system they believed to be

corrupt, and stressed the need for legislation to protect the Indians from abuses by both settlers and government workers.

Bishop Whipple, in March, 1862, sent a letter to President Lincoln advocating a complete restructuring of the United States' Indian policy, including the adoption of a relationship of wardship with the Indians. In November of that same year, this time with the support of eighteen other Bishops of the Episcopal Church, Whipple again petitioned Lincoln requesting that a "commission of men of high character" be created to review Indian policy and make suggestions for a more equitable program. Both of these proposals would be adopted within a few short years. When the attention of reformers turned to the Indian at the close of the Civil War, these two men had paved the way for the Indian reform policy that would follow.⁹

The Society of Friends, or Quakers, also played a vital role in keeping alive the issue of injustices against Indians. A product of seventeenth-century religious turmoil, Quakers rejected ritual, creed, and clergy. Believing that Christianity and war were contradictory, they endured fines and prison for refusal to serve in the military. They believed that God, in the form of an "Inward Light," directed the actions of each individual. Because women as well as men received this "Light," Quaker

women--unlike most American women--were active in church government, doctrine, and discipline. They served as lay ministers, oversaw the institution of marriage, maintained society membership, and cared for the destitute. Although the Friends--in an effort to retain their unique way of life in an often hostile world--isolated themselves from mainstream American society throughout the eighteenth century, they underwent a fundamental transformation as a result of the nineteenth-century Christian evangelical movement.¹⁰

The Quakers had long been individual champions of social "causes," particularly in areas of human suffering such as abolition, prison reform, and Indian affairs. Their belief in individual divine guidance, however, made the formation of organized work impossible. The evangelical movement, or Second Great Awakening, that swept America at the turn-of-the-nineteenth century initiated a change in Quaker theology that reached fruition with a Quaker revival movement occurring in the 1860s through 1880s. Increased Bible study, a new interest in mission work, and a rise in philanthropy created a Society of Friends dedicated to social improvement. Women, as active members of the Society, took the lead and organized its members for social work. Women Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1862, for example, formed the first Quaker association dedicated to relief for freedpeople.¹¹

This organized work for reform and aid extended

to the American Indians as well. Friends had a tradition of individual work among America's native peoples. As early as 1796 individual meetings had conducted educational experiments among Indian tribes, providing training in academics, trades, agriculture, domestic arts, and religion. During the 1860s, Friends interested in Whipple's work for Indian reform established committees to study Indian affairs and relay their concern to Washington. By 1868 Quakers had formed a working partnership with Episcopalians, applying pressure on the government for Indian reform.¹²

With the end of the Civil War and the completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869, the influx of settlers into western territory grew tenfold. These United States citizens, showing no concern for the native peoples who inhabited the area, demanded that their government provide them choice land and protection from Indian attacks.¹³ Although those in control of Indian policy at first attempted to isolate Native Americans from these Anglo settlers--thereby hoping to protect both groups of people--they in no way intended to halt what they considered to be the divinely inspired advancement of white civilization into western territory. Unfortunately for Native Americans, the land most desired by Anglo settlers was generally that legally held by the Indians as a result of treaties contracted with the United States government. Although a number of native peoples tended to succumb

easily to Anglo pressure, most Indians of the Plains refused to be quietly subdued.¹⁴

To reformers and Indian policy makers alike the survival of Native American culture was doomed. Indians were seen as a hindrance to progress--whose total destruction would be welcome--by many westerners. The United States Army, led by Generals William T. Sherman and Philip H. Sheridan, was more than willing to use whatever force necessary to contain all hostile Indians on reservations. Fearing that the Indians would be totally annihilated in this process, reformers searched for a method to save the Indians what little land and dignity remained them. At the same time they hoped to provide some method of assisting native peoples in adjusting to the dominant Anglo culture that was engulfing them.¹⁵

By the closing decades of the century Indian reform workers were in general agreement as to the solution of the "Indian problem." Native Americans, quite simply, were to be assimilated into Anglo American culture. It was obvious to these self-appointed "friends of the Indians" that,

the Indian as a savage member of a tribal organization cannot survive, ought not to survive, the aggressions of civilization, but his individual redemption from heathenism and ignorance, his transformation from the condition of a savage nomad to that of an industrious American citizen, is abundantly possible.¹⁶

By training Indians in the skills necessary for survival in

"civilized" Anglo society, these reformers felt they would accomplish a twofold purpose. They would bring an end to the immediate "Indian problem" while at the same time fulfilling their Christian duty by providing a "backward" people with the glories of civilization. The Indians, reformers were certain, once exposed to intensified training in American culture would lose their tribal identities and be absorbed into mainstream America within a few short years. Citizenship and full participation in the American political system would follow. When the Indians thus disappeared culturally, it was believed, so would the problems they represented.¹⁷

The only serious question remaining, it appeared, was how best to proceed with this inspired plan to alter American Indian culture. Secure in the belief that their actions were not only practical, but right in the sight of God, reformers debated among themselves as to the most efficient manner to accomplish their goals. Operating under the assumption that the Indians were not qualified to make decisions concerning their own destiny, reformers adopted a patronizing caretakers' stance toward the people they professed to help. "We must not expect them" Carl Schurz wrote to Whipple in 1880, "to evolve out of their own consciousness what is best for their salvation. We must in a great measure do the necessary thinking for them, and then in the most humane way possible induce

them to accept our conclusions."¹⁸

Nineteenth-century America was a Christian agrarian nation, founded and prospering on principles of universal education and private ownership of land. Consequently, it seemed obvious to Indian Service policy makers that the most direct manner of assimilating the Indians into American society was to transform them into educated, Christian, landowning farmers. Once thus "civilized," Indians naturally would become eligible for American citizenship.¹⁹

The Indian reform movement, like most reform movements in which women took an active part, was guided by principles of evangelical Protestant Christianity. The reformers, convinced that Christianity played a fundamental role in the philosophical make-up of American society, insisted that,

the Government alone cannot solve the Indian problem. Our American civilization is founded upon Christianity. A Pagan people cannot be fitted for citizenship without learning the principles and acquiring something of the spirit of a Christian people.²⁰

A minority of Indian reformers expressed concern over attempts to force conversion to Christianity, maintaining that Native Americans were entitled to the same freedom of choice accorded American citizens. Most agreed, however, that making Christianity available to the Indians was one of their primary goals.²¹

Land and agriculture were likewise important

elements in the reformer's solution to the Indian's problems. Agriculture traditionally had been the preferred occupation of most American citizens. This agricultural system, unlike that in Europe, was based on principles of individual private ownership of land. Only with hope for individual ownership, it was believed, came the economic, philosophical, and political independence necessary for participation in a democratic society. Thomas Jefferson, one of the foremost advocates of agrarian democracy, maintained that "those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God . . . whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue."²² Believing that "cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens . . . the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberty and interests by the most lasting bonds,"²³ he suggested a causal link between universal employment in agricultural pursuits and the success of democracy. Yeoman farmers, living in small communities and on isolated farms, would avoid the moral pitfalls of the city and raise strong independent families dedicated to the perfection of American ideals.²⁴

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they must eventually become citizens. If they were to be responsible citizens, they must have the individual strength to make their own political decisions. In light of nineteenth-century ideals of agrarian democracy, the most direct method of creating such self-reliant individuals was through the practice of agriculture and the private ownership of property. It therefore seemed apparent to nineteenth-century reformers that the most efficient method of turning Native Americans into American citizens was to train them first to be farmers and landowners. Amherst College President Merrill E. Gates, speaking before the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indians, maintained that because "there is an immense moral training that comes from the use of property,"²⁵ it was the reformers' duty to instill in Indians the desire for money and property earned through hard work. Likewise, Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz believed that "individual ownership of land and an agricultural vocation were necessary conditions for civilization."²⁶ Consequently, one of the primary components of the Indian assimilation policy, especially in the closing decades of the century, was providing the Indians with training in agricultural skills and with land on which to practice them.²⁷

Education, the vehicle through which these agricultural techniques as well as religious and cultural concepts could be transferred, subsequently became one

of the Indian reformers' chief focal points. When reformers decided that Indians were to be assimilated into Anglo culture, eventually to receive full American citizenship, they naturally assumed that a democratic education would have to be furnished. Training in Christianity, patriotism, and civic responsibility, as well as writing and reading skills, would have to be provided. This emphasis on education was divided equally between two areas--that for children and that for adults. The curriculum for each group was to lean heavily toward agricultural and domestic skills--skills necessary if the Indians were to become farmers and farmer's wives, the agreed prerequisite for citizenship.²⁸

Some reformers advocated the immediate teaching of practical skills to adult Indians, who in turn, after seeing the superiority of white culture, would promptly adopt its practices. Henry L. Dawes maintained that reformers must take the Indian and "teach him . . . to dig, then to plant, then to hoe, then to gather, and then to 'keep.'" Once Indians learned the value of private property, they would become peaceful citizens, and contributing members of the nation. To this end treaties contracted in the 1860s and 1870s and legislation passed in the 1880s and 1890s provided appropriations for carpenters, blacksmiths, millers, engineers, farmers, and field matrons. These government workers were to live on

the reservations instructing adult Indians in the techniques necessary for survival in an agricultural society.²⁹

Other reformers believed that the only hope for Indian assimilation was through the education of Indian youth. Their education likewise placed a strong emphasis on practical skills, but also included reading, writing, and mathematics, as well as the English language, patriotism, and religion. Under this program Samual Janney, a Quaker poet and historian appointed Northern Indian Superintendent in 1869, maintained that the civilization of the Plains Indians would be achieved in one generation.³⁰

The education of both children and adults was to stress the "substituting [of] White culture for Indian culture" in all areas of life. Emphasis was to be placed on teaching Protestant values of hard work, individualism, thrift, personal cleanliness, and sanctity of the home, as well as on Anglo practices of dress, food preparation, religious ceremonies, social behavior, and family organization. Indian reformers, in other words, set out to completely alter the social and cultural foundation of traditional Indian life.³¹

The Indian reformers and reform groups that advocated the movement toward Indian assimilation remained in close contact with federal policy makers. The continual efforts of Bishop Whipple, who bombarded Washington with an unending stream of correspondence, and the concern of

the Society of Friends, who had a tradition of championing Indian rights, had a particularly strong impact on the eventual course of the Indian assimilation policy. By 1865 these reformers had so aroused public sympathy for the state of Indian affairs that Congress appointed a joint committee, headed by Senator James R. Doolittle, to investigate the "conditions of the Indian tribes and their treatment by civil and military authorities."³²

The committee's report, issued on 26 January 1867, contained several startling points; 1) the Indians were decreasing in numbers, destroyed by contacts with white America, 2) most Indian problems were caused by the "aggression of lawless White men," 3) the decline in native culture was the result of the loss of hunting grounds, and 4) the evils of the Indian system were not the product of government policy, but of abuses within the system. It therefore recommended that five inspection districts be established, each to be served by a three-man inspection team made up of one military officer, one Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and one man appointed by the President on recommendation of church leaders. Although these suggestions were never adopted as law, the Commission's report marked the birth of a new method of approaching Indian affairs which would become known as the peace policy. Stressing the protection and civilization, rather than the destruction, of America's

native population, the peace policy colored the course of Indian affairs in the remaining decades of the nineteenth century.³³

At the suggestion of both the military and reform groups, on 20 July 1867 Congress authorized a Peace Commission to travel to the Indian tribes, determine the causes of Indian hostility, and contract treaties "such as will most likely insure civilization for the Indians and peace and safety for the Whites."³⁴ They were charged to locate the still nomadic Indian tribes on reservations. If they failed in this mission, the Secretary of War could then use whatever means at his disposal to end Indian hostilities. These commissioners, in both their reports to Congress and the treaties contracted with the various tribes, championed the concept of assimilation. They advocated that reservations be formed, that English be taught, that tribes be destroyed, that polygamy be punished, that men be taught to farm, that women be taught domestic skills, and that most agents be fired for incompetence.³⁵

The peace policy, as advocated by the Peace Commission and the Doolittle Committee, was inaugurated in answer to a widespread demand for reform. It was a logical product of the realization that since former methods of dealing with the Indians had been unsuccessful, new methods incorporating kindness and justice should be

tried. The goals of the peace policy, as described by Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano in 1873, were several. Its first objective was to place the Indians on reservations where, isolated from white influence and taught agriculture and other traits of civilization by Christian organizations, "humanity and kindness may take the place of barbarity and cruelty." At the same time this new policy provided the means "to punish them for their outrages according to their merits, thereby teaching that it is better to follow the advice of the Government, live upon reservations, and become civilized, than to continue their native habits and practices." In addition, overseers of the peace policy were to insure that supplies furnished the Indians were of high quality and reasonably priced, and to secure "competent, upright, faithful, moral, and religious" agents. Finally, they were to provide churches and schools to lead the Indians to understand and appreciate "the comforts and benefits of a Christian civilization and thus be prepared ultimately to assume the duties and privileges of citizenship."³⁶

The peace policy as originally envisioned, then, was not just an idealistic plan to pamper recalcitrant Indians as westerners often maintained, but was a systematic policy by which "the Indians should be made as comfortable on, and as uncomfortable off, their reservations as it was in the power of the government to make them."³⁷

Under this plan it was imperative that Indians be located on reservations³⁸ in order to clear the way for Anglo settlement even if forceful methods had to be employed. Once on the reservations Indians would be supplied with rations for survival, while Christian workers, using techniques of patience and kindness, would shepherd them toward civilization. This plan, however, required a considerable outlay of financial support, something that Congress generally was unwilling to supply.³⁸

This federal Indian peace policy went through several stages before its final demise at the end of the century. Its early years were dominated by the official participation of religious organizations working in conjunction with the Department of the Interior. "Congress had, in effect, responded to the Protestant demand for reform by unloading the whole Indian problem upon the churches."³⁹ Recognizing this development, the moment was seized by a group of Quakers who approached President-elect Ulysses S. Grant on 25 January 1869. They requested that Indian affairs be given separate status and that the government

invite the assistance of the philanthropic and Christian effort which has been so valuable an aid in the elevation of the freedman, and render it possible for justice and good example to restore that confidence which has been lost by injustice and cruelty.⁴⁰

As a result, on 15 February 1869 Grant requested that the Society of Friends provide the names of men they would

recommend to serve as agents. Unprepared to accept this responsibility, and fearing that Quaker agents would be influenced to evil by non-Quaker fellow workers, the Friends suggested that an entire superintendency be placed under their care. They would assume responsibility for all employees, subject to presidential and Senate approval. This plan was favorably received by Grant and both the Northern and Central Superintendencies, including the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, were placed under Quaker control.⁴¹

Concurrent with his negotiations with Quaker representatives, Grant, with congressional support, made another major Indian policy decision. At the request of a joint Episcopal/Quaker committee, Congress appropriated two million dollars to be used to expedite Indian assimilation and authorized Grant to appoint a ten member Board of Indian Commissioners to oversee the dispersion of these funds. These commissioners were to be philanthropic individuals with no political ties, were to be nominated by various religious groups, and were to serve without pay. Although originally authorized for only one year, the Board of Indian Commissioners would remain in existence until 1934, eventually extending its control to cover all areas of Indian affairs. These sometimes idealistic, but sincerely dedicated, men aroused public opinion in support of Indian reform, personally inspected reservation conditions, supervised the purchase and distribution of supplies,

examined and sometimes cancelled vouchers and bills submitted to the Indian Office, and served as an intermediary between the government and missionary groups responsible for Indian assimilation.⁴²

Although Grant allowed the Quakers control of the Northern and Central Superintendencies, he was not totally convinced that their methods would bring the desired results. He continued to fill most agency posts with military officers, believing that "Indian affairs could be more economically, more effectively, and more honestly managed by the military than by civilians."⁴³ On 15 July 1870, however, Congress--hoping to return Indian appointments into the hands of politicians--banned the use of military personnel in civil offices. Grant, refusing to succumb to congressional pressure, offered the control of vacated agencies to other religious groups. By 1872 Protestant Christian religious organizations administered most reservations located west of the Mississippi River.⁴⁴

The use of religious groups as stewards of federal Indian policy became known as the "Quaker policy" because the program was initiated at their suggestion. Although the original intent of the peace policy was to combine the use of force and altruism in subduing and assimilating the Indians, religious groups, especially the pacifist Quakers, often depended totally on the use of persuasive benevolence in order to convince the Indians of the

benefits of "civilized" life. The Indians, on the other hand, were unprepared by their past experience to respond positively to such treatment. As a result, the Quaker policy, insofar as it attempted to placate the nomadic Plains Indians, was a failure. By the 1880s misunderstandings with the government, as well as the failure to accomplish their original goals, led to the elimination of religious organizations from control of Indian agencies.⁴⁵

Religious groups, however, maintaining a long tradition of partnership with the federal government, continued to provide educational and religious instruction to reservation Indians. Abdicating much of its authority to the churches in the 1860s, the government had hoped to solve its "Indian problem" by transforming Indian agencies into missionary outposts. With the failure of this policy the government was forced to resume much of the responsibility of reservation administration. The national belief in the advantages of religious education, however, insured the continuation of church controlled schools.⁴⁶ Beginning in the 1860s the federal government began contracting with mission groups to provide academic, mechanical and religious training in return for land, school buildings, and providing a small stipend per annum per student. Church control of educational instruction on Indian reservations began to decline only when the federal government began to increase its appropriations for Indian education in the

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1880s and 1890s, shifting its focus from religious to government schools.⁴⁷

Allotment, the division of reservation lands among individual Indians, was envisioned by reformers as the final stage of the Indian assimilation policy. Thoroughly schooled in the nineteenth-century American correlation between privately owned land and political independence, many reformers felt that Indian citizenship, the final goal of assimilation, was only possible if Indians owned land individually rather than jointly as tribal members. The Dawes or Indian Allotment Act, passed in February, 1887, authorized the allotment of reservation land to individual Indians. Each head of household was to receive at least 160 acres. This land was to be held in trust by the United States government for at least twenty-five years. Excess reservation land was to be purchased by the government, its income to be held by the United States Treasury and used by the tribes for education and civilization upon approval of Congress. All Indians who accepted allotted lands were to become United States citizens, subject to local, state or territory, and national laws.⁴⁸ Although allotment would not be completed until well into the twentieth century, and often was fought by reservation Indians, reformers generally felt that they had achieved the final solution to the "Indian problem."⁴⁹

Reformers also assumed that women, in light of

their perceived roles as guardians of public morals and transmitters of cultural values, would fill leading positions in most stages of this assimilation policy. Women were active workers in both eastern support organizations and western field service. Concerned eastern women served in Indian reform associations, formed missionary societies, and collected clothing and supplies to send to reservation Indians.⁵⁰ Osia J. Hiles, born in Batavia, New York, in 1832, is an example of an eastern bred woman who devoted both time and money to the support of Indian assimilation. Entering into philanthropic work after the death of her husband in 1873, her interest in the welfare of the nation's native peoples was inspired by the writings of Helen Hunt Jackson. In 1887, by then a regular visitor to Lake Mohonk and generally acknowledged as a leader in Indian reform, she was sent by the Women's National Indian Association to meet with Secretary of the Interior Lucius Q. Lamar and Commissioner of Indian Affairs J. D. C. Atkins. Although her early appeals to government officials were ignored, she continued to press for assimilation and allotment. Stating that "I do not believe there is anything that a woman can't do if she undertakes to do it,"⁵¹ she formed the Wisconsin Indian Association in 1888. This group of women, devoted to transforming American Indians into civilized American farmers, supported Indian education and fought liquor sales to Indians.⁵²

Other women had an even more direct involvement in this mass acculturation effort. Dedicated workers, both married and single, went personally to live on western reservations serving as governmental special agents, school teachers, missionaries, missionary wives, and school and field matrons. It was apparent to those in control of the assimilation policy that the Plains Indians, traditionally a nomadic people and slow to adopt settled Anglo habits, were in immediate need of the civilizing influence of Anglo women. The Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache, who held stubbornly to their old lifestyles long after officially settled on their reservation, were prime candidates to receive the attention of these dedicated Anglo women.

Endnotes

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¹¹Jones, Quakerism, vol. I, pp. 274-376, 435-540; vol. II, pp. 541-618.

¹²Ibid., vol. II, pp. 618-28, 868-940; Ellis in Tatum, Our Red Brothers, pp. vii-ix.

¹³Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, p. 92; Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 32, 109.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 17, 32-33; Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 21, 133; Utley, "Peace Policy of Grant," pp. 121-142.

¹⁵Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 71, 80-83, 109, 114-116, 120-134.

¹⁶Report of the Indian Rights Association, 1884, p. 5, quoted in Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, p. 139.

¹⁷Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, p. 169; Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 18-19, 202; Mardock, Reformers and Indian, pp. 4, 36, 55; Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. v, 20-21, 168; George Posey Wild, "History of the Education of the Plains Indians of Southwestern Oklahoma Since the Civil War," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1941, pp. iv, 191.

¹⁸Schurz to Whipple, April 5, 1880, Whipple Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, quoted in Fritz, Indian Assimilation, p. 204; Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, p. 58.

¹⁹Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, pp. 4, 155; Mardock, Reformers and Indian, pp. 4, 31, 55, 183; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," pp. iv, 41, 191; William T. Hagan, United States-Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 140.

²⁰Lake Mohonk Conference Proceedings, 1895, pp. 106-107, quoted in Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, p. 161; Francis Paul Prucha, ed., Americanizing the American

Indians (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 8; Page Smith, Daughters of the Promised Land: Women in American History (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1970), p. 175.

²¹Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 123; Mardock, Reformers and Indian, pp. 2, 198; Francis Paul Prucha, The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), p. 161; Ellis in Tatum, Our Red Brothers, pp. vii-viii.

²²Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on Virginia," quoted in Gilbert Chinard, Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism, 2nd ed., revised (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1939), p. 132.

²³Jefferson to Jay, August 23, 1785, quoted in A. Whitney Griswold, Farming and Democracy (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948), p. 31.

²⁴Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, pp. 137-138; Chinard, Thomas Jefferson, pp. 132-135; Mardock, Reformers and Indian, p. 183; Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 123-135. For a thorough discussion of Jefferson's attitudes on land holding and agriculture see Griswold, Farming and Democracy, pp. 18-40; and "The Agrarian Democracy of Thomas Jefferson," The American Political Science Review 40 (August 1946): 657-681.

²⁵Presidential address by Merrill E. Gates, Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian (Lake Mohonk: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1896), pp. 11-12, quoted in Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, p. 173.

²⁶Mardock, Reformers and Indian, p. 183.

²⁷Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, pp. 155, 166, 172-173; Hagan, Comanche Relations, p. 140; Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, p. 168; Mardock, Reformers and Indian, pp. 80, 183; Margaret Connell Szasz, Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928, 2nd ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977), p. 8.

²⁸Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, p. 171; Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 65-66; Mardock, Reformers and Indian, p. 36; Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 269-270, 292; Paul Stuart, The Indian Office: Growth and Development of an American Institution 1865-1900 (Ann

Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1978), pp. 142, 152-153; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 191.

²⁹Henry L. Dawes, from Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1883, pp. 69-70, in Prucha, Americanizing the Indians, pp. 29-30; Fritz, Indian Assimilation, p. 19; Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 38-39.

³⁰Fritz, Indian Assimilation, p. 163; Mardock, Reformers and Indian, pp. 31, 80; Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 265, 283-284, 302-303; Stuart, Indian Office, p. 134.

³¹Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, p. 155; Fritz, Indian Assimilation, p. 31; Hagan, Comanche Relations, p. 194; Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 152-155, 168, 292; Americanizing the Indian, p. 8.

³²Congressional Globe, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 1865-6, Part 1, p. 158, quoted in Mardock, Reformers and Indian, p. 20; Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 34-55.

³³"Conditions of the Indian Tribes: Report of the Joint Special Committee Appointed Under Joint Resolution of March 3, 1865, with an Appendix," Senate Report, No. 156, 39th Cong., 2nd sess. (serial 1279), pp. 3-10, discussed in Mardock, Reformers and Indian, pp. 20-23; Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 14-16; Utley, "Peace Policy of Grant," pp. 121-122, 142.

³⁴United States Statutes at Large, XV, 17, quoted in Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, p. 18.

³⁵"Report of the Peace Commissioners," House Executive Documents, No. 1, 40th Cong., 3rd sess. (serial 1366), pp. 486-510, discussed in Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 19-23; Mardock, Reformers and Indian, p. 54.

³⁶Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1873 (serial 1601), pp. III-IV, discussed in Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 30-32.

³⁷Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1872, pp. 393-394, quoted in Utley, "Peace Policy of Grant," p. 130.

³⁸Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, p. 168; Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 81-83; 85-86, 135; Utley, "Peace Policy of Grant," pp. 126-127, 130.

³⁹Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 62, 80.

⁴⁰House Miscellaneous Documents, No. 29, 40th Cong., 3rd sess., vol. 1, quoted in Fritz, Indian Assimilation, p. 72.

⁴¹Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 72-74; Ellis in Tatum, Our Red Brothers, p. ix.

⁴²Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 74-75; Jackson and Galli, Bureau of Indian Affairs, p. 64; Mardock, Reformers and Indian, pp. 57-59; Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 32-33; Peggy Joyce Terrell, "Colonel R. S. MacKenzie's Campaigns Against the Southern Plains Indians 1865-1875," unpublished master's thesis, Texas Technological College, 1953, p. 24.

⁴³James D. Richardson, A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902 (Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1904), Vol. VII, pp. 38-39, quoted in Fritz, Indian Assimilation, p. 74.

⁴⁴Utley, "Peace Policy of Grant," p. 126; Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 74-77; Hagan, Comanche Relations, p. 57; Jackson and Galli, Bureau of Indian Affairs, p. 64; Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 53-58. Protestants' claims of religious freedom extended generally only as far as their own denominational group. Mormons, who had engaged in Indian mission work, were not included in the Quaker policy. Catholics, who had long maintained an active and growing Indian mission program, received control of only seven of the seventy-three agencies assigned. More seriously, the religious rights of the reservation Indians were ignored entirely.

⁴⁵Fritz, Indian Assimilation, p. 156; Ellis in Tatum, Our Red Brothers, p. x; Utley, "Peace Policy of Grant," pp. 121, 126-128.

⁴⁶Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 32-33, 54; Churches and Schools, p. 161; Ellis in Tatum, Our Red Brothers, pp. vii-viii; Stuart, Indian Office, p. 136.

⁴⁷Fritz, Indian Assimilation, pp. 56-57, 65-66; Prucha, Churches and Schools, p. 3; Stuart, Indian Office, pp. 139, 144; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," pp. 150-152.

⁴⁸Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, p. 172; Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 227-228, 252-255, 292, 355.

⁴⁹ Charles C. Painter, "The Dawes Land in Severalty Bill and Indian Emancipation" (Philadelphia, 1887), in Prucha, Indian Policy in Crisis, pp. 255-257.

⁵⁰ "Report of Special Agent in the Indian School Service," Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889, p. 346.

⁵¹ Osia J. Hiles, quoted in Francis Paul Prucha, Indian Policy in the United States: Historical Essays (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), p. 216.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 214-228.

CHAPTER III

THE KIOWA-COMANCHE RESERVATION:

WOMEN IN EDUCATION

The 150 year reign of the North American South Plains by the Comanche and Kiowa tribes came to an end on 21 October 1867. With their signing of the Medicine Lodge Treaties the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache legally surrendered their nomadic life and agreed to remain within the limits of the reservation assigned them in present-day southwestern Oklahoma. These independent people, even then, did not give up their freedom without one last desperate fight. Notorious for their steadfast refusal to surrender to Anglo pressure, most Kiowa and Comanche people declined to take immediate permanent residence on the reservation and continued their raids on white settlers.¹ Obviously not readily willing to accept Anglo culture as expected by the American government, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache Indians were prime candidates to receive the attention of assimilation programs staffed with reform minded Anglo women.

The federal government's plan to assimilate Native Americans into mainstream America could only be accomplished

through a mass educational effort. The Kiowa and Comanche, unschooled in the religious, domestic, and agricultural skills then practiced by United States citizens, would have to receive extensive training in Anglo American cultural habits, as well as in academic skills, if they were to become an integral part of American life. That those in control of federal Indian policy were aware of the need for this educational emphasis was apparent from the inception of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation.² And women, then an accepted part of America's system of education, were involved in that educational effort from the earliest days of the new Indian agency.

The Kiowa-Comanche Reservation was created by the Medicine Lodge treaties, contracted between the United States Peace Commission of 1867 and representatives of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache tribes. Accompanied by three companies of U.S. Cavalry a battery of Gatling guns, and an army of newspaper and magazine reporters, the Commission was charged to meet with the Plains tribes and form treaties with them that would end Indian/Anglo hostilities and insure the peaceful construction of the transcontinental railroad. The commissioners met with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache on Medicine Lodge Creek in southern Kansas in October, 1867.³

Although commission member Senator J. B. Henderson told the gathered Indians that "we have come to hear all

your complaints and to correct all your wrongs,"⁴ the so-called negotiations that followed indicate that the commissioners went instead to dictate compliance to a preconceived plan to settle and "civilize" the Indians. Indian representatives made it quite clear that they had no desire to settle on a reservation nor to adopt Anglo habits. Satanta, speaking for the Kiowa, emphatically stated that

all the land south of the Arkansas belongs to the Kiowas and Comanches, and I don't want to give away any of it. I love the land and the buffalo, and will not part with any . . . I want the papooses brought up just exactly as I am.⁵

Likewise Ten Bears, a Yamparika Comanche, maintained that "I was born where there were no enclosures and where everything drew a free breath. I want to die there and not within walls . . . we only wish to wander on the prairie until we die."⁶ These pleas were either ignored or superficially explained away by commissioners eager to conclude their business with the southern Plains tribes and return to the East before winter. Intent upon the necessity of reservations, Henderson stressed that because the buffalo were disappearing, "the Indian must change the road his father trod, or he must suffer and probably die,"⁷ and deceptively hinted that rations would be provided to those who agreed to settle on reservation lands.

The Indians, possibly eager for the promised distribution of annuities and gifts while not fully

comprehending the consequence of their actions, signed a treaty on 21 October 1867 that bound them to all the things they adamantly had maintained they did not want throughout the meeting.⁸ The representatives of the federal government, on the other hand, accomplished exactly what they had intended from the outset of the negotiations--the confining of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache within designated boundaries where they could be controlled and educated for American citizenship.

That civilization and education were to be important factors in reservation life can be seen in several sections of the treaty contracted with the Kiowa and Comanche. After designating the reservation boundaries, "set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the tribes,"⁹ the United States agreed to construct buildings for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, miller, and engineer, as well as "a school-house or mission-building, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school."¹⁰ It, in addition, promised

that for every thirty children . . . a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education, shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher.¹¹

The Indians, in turn, agreed "to compel their children, male and female between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school."¹²

Nor was adult education for civilization ignored. The federal government was to furnish a "carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmiths" to demonstrate and teach their skills to Indian men. In addition, tribal members were to receive annual allotments of Anglo clothing--the casting away of native dress to be one of the foremost steps on the road from "savagery" to "civilization."¹³

Article eight stated that

it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instruction from the farmer herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil a second blacksmith shall be provided,

while article fifteen stipulated that five hundred dollars be awarded annually among the ten tribesmembers who proved to be the best farmers.¹⁴

Although the stage seemed set for the orderly transferal of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache to their new home and life, events did not proceed as envisioned by the treaty commissioners. Since no plans had been made for their immediate resettlement, many Indians remained in Kansas until the summer of 1868. Of those who did move south, some gathered at the agency near Fort Cobb demanding food and presents and harrassing nearby Wichitas and Caddoes. Others, it was reported, continued on into Texas raiding Anglo settlers and stealing horses.¹⁵

General Philip Sheridan, commander of U.S. military operations for Indian Territory, made plans for a

winter campaign designed to attack the Indians when weakest and without a renewable food supply, thereby forcing their removal to reservations. This plan culminated in the Battle of the Washita. On the morning of 27 November 1868 Lieutenant Colonel George Custer's Seventh Cavalry attacked a sleeping Cheyenne village during a blizzard. The soldiers indiscriminately massacred women and children as well as warriors, destroying food supplies, tipis, and horses. Realizing the hopelessness of reprisal under such conditions, the Kiowa, Comanche, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache who were camped nearby scattered --some south toward the Staked Plains and others west of the Wichita Mountains. The Kiowa surrendered at Fort Cobb only after Custer captured and threatened to hang Kiowa leaders Satanta and Lone Wolf late that December. It was early 1869, then, before the Indians assigned to the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation actually moved there in sizable numbers. That spring, in an effort to maintain firmer control over Indian warriors, the Army abandoned Fort Cobb and built Fort Sill, with the Indian agency adjoining it, in the center of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation.¹⁶

Although two agents were assigned to the Kiowa and Comanche prior to his appointment, Lawrie Tatum was the first to stay and actively pursue his duties.¹⁷ Appointed in May, 1869, Tatum was one of the first Indian agents commissioned under President Ulysses S. Grant's

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newly instituted "Quaker Policy." A forty-seven year old Quaker farmer from Iowa, Tatum's apparent qualifications for the job were his mature stability, his interest in education, and his firm religious belief that honesty and kindness would solve the "Indian problem." With virtually no knowledge of, nor experience with, the Indians he was to control, Tatum arrived at the reservation with plans "to institute an efficient ration system, put in farm lands, and start a school." Convinced that God directed his movements, he was sure that these actions would end Indian hostilities and induce his charges to remain on their reservation.¹⁸

The state of affairs at the agency was far from ideal when Tatum arrived in June, 1869. Not only were living conditions austere, but the teachers, physicians, farmers, and skilled crafts people necessary for his proposed education and farming programs were for the most part absent. The few people who were then employed were not, in Tatum's opinion, qualified to carry out God's work among the Indians. Hoping to hire "religious persons," one of his first official actions was to submit a request to the Indian Office for additional personnel and tools. His estimated needs, however, were unrealistic given the reluctance of Congress to appropriate money for Indian assimilation. Government officials soundly denied his request for twenty-seven farmers, fourteen cooks (to

be increased to eighty farmers and thirty cooks the following year), 120 plows, 160 mules, and twenty-five wagons.¹⁹

Tatum's tenure as agent to the Kiowa and Comanche was fraught with difficulty and disappointment. Although he started his work firmly dedicated to the Quaker policy of kindness and non-violence, Tatum's day-to-day experience with the Indians eventually led him to seek military assistance. In spite of his efforts to improve the quality and quantity of rations, and to arrange fair hearings for Indian grievances, the Kiowa and Comanche continued their raids into Texas. In addition, they chased farmers from their fields, stole horses, attacked wagon trains, killed travelers, stampeded cattle, and in a most daring escapade stole seventy-three mules from the quartermaster's corral at Fort Sill. Unable to control his charges through reason, coercion, or the withholding of rations and ransoms, he admitted the hopelessness of his position and recommended that firm action be taken against recalcitrant Indians. This recommendation, not well received in Quaker circles, would lead eventually to Tatum's disillusioned resignation.²⁰

Despite the rejection of his plans for assimilation by the government and of his plans for discipline by the Quakers, Tatum worked diligently to staff the agency with Christian people concerned for the welfare of the

Indians and dedicated to Indian assimilation. Always searching for ways to expedite this goal most efficiently, Tatum set two precedents that continued even after he left his post in 1874. First, he recognized the necessity of a system of formal education and actively pursued its establishment. Second, he hired Anglo women to fill many agency positions and, believing that "an Indian agency would be greatly lacking in usefulness without the Christian influence of women," encouraged the presence of women and families on the reservation.²¹

In the fall of 1869 Tatum went to Chicago to buy a sawmill and hire employees, returning with a company of ten men, four women, and two children. Among the women were Mahala Jay, hired to serve as agency clerk, and Mary Ann Dean Tatum, Lawrie Tatum's wife.²² Staying with her husband on the reservation approximately half of the time he served as agent, Mary Ann Tatum was actively involved in agency life and Indian assimilation. She made Anglo style clothing for Indian women and children, accompanied her husband on horseback to distant parts of the reservation, taught a Mexican-Comanche woman to do light housework, and prepared food for sick Indians.²³

Although Lawrie Tatum encouraged his wife's presence on the reservation, she apparently made the final decisions concerning when to come and go. In August, 1871, he wrote that

it would be very pleasant indeed to have thee here, if the children could be comfortably left & thou felt like coming, but I do not wish to urge thee to come by any means . . . I want to leave it entirely with thee & do just as thou thinks best about coming here.²⁴

When she was not with him he wrote her regularly, often concerning the other women and families at the agency. On 14 March 1871, he announced that he was pleased that Dr. A. B. Tomlinson, his wife, and a young woman living with them were to come to the reservation because their presence was needed at the school. In the same letter he praised a young woman who cooked at the school, but criticized her husband as "not worth his board." On 26 March he reported that as the doctor had not yet arrived, Lizzie Smith, the wife of clerk George Smith, had to travel from the agency for medical treatment for a chill contacted earlier in the month. She later would be forced to leave the reservation permanently. In July he rejoiced at the birth of a child to the Commander of Fort Sill, General Benjamin Henry Grierson, and his wife, only to report its death three months later. In late summer he described the wedding of Ella Woody, the young woman who had accompanied the Tomlinsons, and John Milton. They planned to remain at the reservation where Ella would work as cook for the mill hands. In early fall he "sent to Kansas for some women to come to cook at the school," maintaining that "it seems much more homelike to have a woman around."²⁵

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Although Tatum encouraged the presence of Anglo women on the reservation, he was aware of the dangers involved. In August, 1869, he wrote that

near a 1000 of the wild Indians have come into the Reservation, & they art pretty wild. The women that we have here are scared at their numbers and their actions. The Plasterer and his wife left this morning. The carpenter's wife would much rather be in Michigan with her mother. They will probably leave soon.²⁶

In July of the next year, after two men were killed near the agency, Mahala Jay and Mary Ann Tatum, along with all Quaker employees except Josiah and Lizzie Butler, left the agency with Lawrie Tatum's willing but disappointed approval.²⁷

Josiah and Lizzie Butler had come to the Kiowa-Comanche reservation barely one month earlier in order to start its first school. Strong Quakers with previous experience teaching freedpeople in the South following the Civil War, they were asked by the Quaker Executive Committee on Indian Affairs to establish a school at the agency. Lizzie Butler, a Quaker minister, apparently took an active part in making their decision to accept the appointment. When first approached by the Committee she "thought it impossible and could not consider it at all." Her husband therefore declined the offer, later stating that he then "dismissed the subject entirely from my mind, not having any disposition to have my wife go against her will and sense of right." One month later, however, she

unexpectedly changed her mind, announcing at breakfast one morning that "I'm ready . . . to go among the Indians --and right away." This decision, whether inspired by God, her own sense of duty, or her desire for adventure, insured that a woman would play a major role in the establishment of the first formal school at the agency.²⁹

In the Butler family labor was not dictated always by traditional sex roles. Traveling with two small children on the long and tiring road from Iowa to Indian Territory, they shared duties with their traveling companions. In the words of Josiah, "Lizzie took care of the children, I cooked, J. C. Shuck drove and William Winner hunted. Of course there was some helping of each other but that was the general division of the work." Lizzie apparently helped with traditional "male" work as well. When a storm threatened to overturn the wagon she helped her husband hold it down by "hanging to the bows."³⁰

Both Lizzie and Josiah were hired as employees of the school--Josiah to serve as teacher at a salary of one thousand dollars per year, and Lizzie as seamstress and matron for twenty-five dollars per month. Believing that it was God's will that they work with the Indians, they decided to remain at the agency in spite of the dangerous conditions that existed when they arrived.³¹ After nine months of preparation their school, enrolling Caddo as well as Comanche students, opened on 20 February

1871 in a thirty by sixty foot stone building. Aiding in their efforts to communicate with the children and to teach them English was Tomasa Chandler, a Mexican woman married to an Anglo man who had been raised by the Comanches and knew English as well as the Indian languages.³²

The Butlers and their Indian students lived as a family, taking meals together and sleeping under the same roof. While Josiah taught lessons in spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic, Lizzie made clothing for all the Indian students, encouraging them to trade native for Anglo dress. Though often sick with chills and fever during her three-year stay on the reservation, she filled the role of mother for the Indian children while away from their own families during each school term. Stressing the importance of Anglo cultural habits she encouraged cleanliness, good grooming habits, and participation in religious activities. Striving to expose the students to common Anglo entertainment she, on at least one occasion, amazed her charges with "a number of stereoscopic views."³³

Lawrie Tatum, disillusioned by the ineffectiveness of Quaker methods, resigned his position in March, 1873. The Butlers left soon after. James M. Haworth, the man who replaced Tatum as agent, faced all the same problems as his predecessor. Increased military intervention, however, finally forced all Indians onto the reservation

during the summer of 1875.³⁴

Haworth, then, was the first agent to attempt assimilation measures with most Kiowa, Comanche and affiliated tribesmembers settled on the reservation. A Quaker totally devoted to that religious organization's conciliatory policy, he encouraged farming and hoped to expand the education system begun by Tatum. Neither program, however, proved successful. A combination of defective government equipment, poor farm land, animals unfit for farm labor, lack of skill, and complete disinterest on the part of Native Americans plagued his efforts to promote Indian farming. A government housing program designed to discourage the use of tipis was obstructed by faulty construction and continued Indian disinterest. Education likewise suffered from lack of support; Congress refused to supply adequate funds for a reservation-wide school system, while Indian parents refused to send their children to the few schools that did exist. In 1879, although there were approximately five hundred children of school age on the reservation, only sixty-five to seventy Indian children were enrolled in schools.³⁵

Haworth resigned in late 1877 and was replaced in the spring of 1878 by P. B. Hunt--a non-Quaker. A former Bureau of Internal Revenue employee who had served as a lieutenant colonel in the Union army during the Civil War, Hunt was appointed as part of a move by the federal

government to dismantle religious control of Indian reservations. One of his first official duties was to implement a federal plan designed to save expenses; in September Hunt oversaw the move of the agency headquarters to Anadarko where the Kiowa-Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency.³⁶

Although Hunt's term lasted over seven years--longer than that of any other agent to the Kiowa, Comanche, and affiliated tribes--in the area of education he accomplished little more than his predecessors. When Carlisle, the first off-reservation boarding and training school, opened in Pennsylvania in 1879, children from the Kiowa-Comanche and Wichita Agency were members of the first class. Eleven of the sixty agency children sent to Carlisle between 1879 and 1884, however, died while there or immediately after returning home. This high mortality rate, combined with three to five year school terms, quickly turned agency parents against off-reservation education.³⁷

On-reservation schools, however, were held in little higher esteem. Inadequate funding coupled with poor administration and ineffective training programs continued to doom agency educational facilities. The two government boarding schools on the reservation allegedly provided training in manual labor, but it was "confined to farming and household industries . . . no trades were taught, there being no adequate provision for it."³⁸ When

Hunt resigned in 1885, less than one quarter of the reservation's school age children attended schools.³⁹

The next two decades saw a high turnover in agency personnel. Five different agents, primarily political appointments, oversaw reservation operations from 1885 to 1893. From 1893 to 1905 again five men, four of them military officers, filled that position.⁴⁰ This high turnover rate was mirrored as well in the administration of agency schools. In July, 1893, only eleven of the thirty-four employees of the Fort Sill, Kiowa, and Riverside Boarding Schools had held their appointments for more than one year.⁴¹ Despite this rather mercurial personnel, the gradual entrenchment of a stable, and at least semi-regularly attended, education system was finally accomplished. Two factors were responsible for this development. First, religious groups, often relying on the federal government for partial support, entered the reservation and established schools devoted to the implementation of the assimilation policy. Second, the United States Congress and the Federal Indian Office at last began seriously to fund and maintain reservation schools.⁴²

Between 1885 and 1893 six religious organizations were given the use of reservation land on which to build missions and schools. Continuing a long tradition of reliance on religious groups to provide educational as well as spiritual training for Native Americans,⁴³ the

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In 1890 John Jasper Methvin, a Methodist missionary, established the Methvin Institute outside Anadarko. By convincing the federal government to provide land on which to build a school and to issue his students' rations directly to him, he created a school which remained in operation for nearly twenty years. According to Vernon, "dedicated teachers, mostly women, gave of their energies and skills to the work of the school and its parallel religious activities." Early women workers included Mrs. M. B. Avant, Helen Brewster, Elizabeth Gregory, Mrs. J. J. Roland, Irene Lindsay, Liffie Shirk, Sallie G. Davis, a Miss McKeehan, Emma McWhirter, Hattie Jones and Lottie Davis.⁴⁶

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Ida Swanson, who would become the missionary's second wife, taught at the Fort Sill School and the Riverside School before accepting a position at the Institute in 1893. She continued to teach there until 1907, serving one year as school superintendent. She apparently attempted to maintain a personal relationship with the parents of her students, believing that visiting Indian camps was one of her duties as teacher. She sometimes, however, found this aspect of her work distasteful, stating that "I was hesitant about accepting [an invitation to a birthday dinner for a relative of Kicking-bird's] for I would have to stay all night."⁴⁷

The Baptist, Presbyterian, Catholic, Dutch Reformed and Reformed Presbyterian Churches opened similar mission schools, most staffed by women. The Cache Mission School for the Kiowa-Apache was opened by Reformed Presbyterian Missionary Reverend W. W. Carithers in 1891. Alice Carithers and Kate Bunney served as teachers. The Dutch Reformed Church built an orphanage and school for Apache children north of present-day Lawton, Oklahoma, in 1900. Maude Adkisson served as its first superintendent. When she married a Reverend Legsters in 1906, she was succeeded by a Miss Moore. Moore was replaced by Hendrina Hospers in 1907. Saint Patrick's Mission Boarding School was founded by Father Isidore Ricklan, a Catholic priest, in Anadarko on 25 November 1892. It was staffed by the

Sisters of Saint Francis. Reverend Silas V. Fait, sent by the Presbyterian Mission Board, opened the Mary Gregor Memorial School four miles east of Anadarko in 1892. His wife, Anna R. Fait, "often took entire charge of the school for the summer so that the teachers might have a longer vacation."⁴⁸

This late-century denominational interest in educational facilities on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation was paralleled by governmental interest. Federal concern was manifested in several official acts. In 1884 appropriations made for all Indian schools by the federal government was "\$675,200. In 1905 that figure jumped to \$3,880,740, a more than 570 percent increase.⁴⁹ In the late 1880s Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan appointed Merial A. Dorchester, wife of Superintendent of Indian Schools Reverend Daniel Dorchester, as Special Agent in the Indian School Service. Her job was to inspect the "conduct, habits, condition, treatment, and training of the female pupils" attending reservation boarding schools. Finally, on 30 October 1891, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs issued regulations requiring school attendance of all Indian children between the ages of 6 and 17. Consequently, an attempt was made to provide government schools for all Indian children affected by these regulations.⁵⁰

Four government boarding schools were established to serve the school children of the Kiowa, Comanche, and

affiliated tribes. The two oldest fulfilled treaty obligations stipulating the construction of school buildings for agency children. The Riveride School, originally called the Wichita School, was constructed in 1871. The Kiowa School, built after the consolidation of the Wichita and Kiowa-Comanche Agencies, was abandoned in 1893. The Fort Sill School, opened in August, 1891, and the Rainy Mountain School, opened in September, 1893, however, were products of this late-century interest in Indian education.⁵¹

As on all other reservations, a majority of Kiowa-Comanche government school employees were Anglo women. Superintendents were generally men, while women served as teachers and matrons. In 1893 the Riverside School employed ten people--six of them women. G. L. Pigg served as superintendent while Alice Shearer worked as teacher. The Fort Sill Boarding School likewise employed ten people, and again six were women. J. W. Haddon was superintendent, while Nannie F. Haddon and Nellie M. Woods were teachers. Of the seven people employed by the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, four were women. W. H. Cox was superintendent and teacher. His wife, Lucy W. Cox, was hired as matron. During the same year the Kiowa Boarding School employed fourteen people, nine of them women. While its superintendent, B. F. McCormack was male, its four teachers, Dora M. Jack, Mattie Jones, Mattie Smith, and Mary E. Daly,

were women.⁵²

In 1905 the ratio of female to male government school employees was even higher. Nine of the fifteen Fort Sill Boarding School employees were women, as were ten of the fifteen Riverside Boarding School staff. Once again teachers were female while superintendents were male. Ellen B. Riley, Alexia F. Griffin, and Elizabeth Riley taught at Riverside, as did Emma D. White, Mary E. Davis, and Blanche Silcott at Fort Sill. The Rainy Mountain Boarding School likewise had a higher percentage of female employees than twelve years earlier, but differed from the other schools in one area--its superintendent was a woman. Nine of its eleven employees were female, while Cora M. Dunn served as superintendent. Teachers May W. Chambers and Eva Anderson were assisted by Matron Bessie K. May, Assistant Matron Pearl Martin, Seamstress Madeline Jocker, Laundress Annie Weber, Baker Mary V. Fleeman, and Cook Elizabeth Schleppey.⁵³

Women teachers in government schools, like teachers everywhere, were both lauded for their achievements and criticized for their weaknesses. In 1887 C. C. C. Painter, Inspector for the Indian Rights Association, praised Jennie Collins and Eleveta Thompson at the Wichita School as good teachers. Likewise, Carrie Davis at the Kiowa School was described as "doing good work. She was the one partially redeeming feature of that school." Letitia

Hornbeck, teacher at the Kiowa School and wife of the superintendent, however, was depicted as having "difficulty in pronouncing 'the,'" and a failure as a teacher.⁵⁴

As government appropriations for Indian education increased, governmental support of church sponsored schools decreased. The schools built with newly available funds, however, were often of poor quality. The new Wichita School was described in 1886 as "a frail structure, a fraud upon the government, and would be unsafe in any wind storm such as is liable to occur in this section."⁵⁵

There was little uniformity in teaching methods practiced among reservation schools. In 1885 there were thirteen arithmetics, eleven geographies, eleven grammars, nine primers, fourteen first readers, and fifteen second readers in use. Despite this lack of standardization, all educators--religious and government employees alike--agreed on several fundamental principles. Industrial education, they believed, was as important as--perhaps more important than--academic training. In addition they maintained that instilling patriotic enthusiasm for the United States was a major factor in training Indians for American citizenship, and that education in the English language was an absolute necessity for Indian assimilation. Academic, industrial, and patriotic education, however, would be worthless without parallel training in Christianity.⁵⁶

Industrial training was supplied for Indian girls

as well as boys. Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Benjamin Harrison, encouraged education for Indian women, hoping to elevate them from their supposed position of "servility and degradation." Cora M. Dunn, the superintendent of Rainy Mountain School, placed special emphasis on industrial training--especially home economics for school girls. In fact, school girls frequently supplied--under the guise of industrial training--much of the domestic labor for boarding schools. In April, 1892, a staff member of the Methvin Institute reported that

the afternoon is devoted to Industrial training. On Monday afternoon the girls assist with the washing. On Tuesday they do the ironing and mending. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday they sew, and Saturday is cleaning day.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, what little training was received through such mindless mass labor seldom could be transferred to an Indian home situation.

The inappropriateness of most Anglo instruction for the realities of Indian life was a major reason for the failure of the Indian education program. Anglo women who shouldered the bulk of reservation teaching duties willingly sacrificed their own physical comfort in order to instill in the Indians Anglo ideas of patriotism, religion, and self-support through physical labor. Although they devoted long hours to this effort, their success was mixed at best. They did reach many Indian

children, teaching them the rudiments of Anglo academics and culture. In 1901, of the 908 children of school age on the reservation, 657 were enrolled in a school. Attendance was sporadic, however, and former school children often returned to the Indian way of life once removed from the school setting.⁵⁹

Those responsible for Indian policy, as well as Indian educators and religious workers, nonetheless refused to admit defeat and continued to force Anglo education on an unreceptive Indian people. As the government took more responsibility for Indian education, providing religious training for students became a problem. In some instances the schools themselves provided non-denominational religious instruction. In others, missionaries already laboring on the reservation worked directly with the government schools, conducting religious services and teaching religious classes.⁶⁰ These missionaries--often single women--and missionary wives played a major role in the implementation of the assimilation policy on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation.

Endnotes

¹For information concerning the early history of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache Indians, and the specific problems which led eventually to their forced resettlement, see Mildred P. Mayhall, The Kiowas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898); and Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952).

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³Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 27-28. Mayhall, The Kiowas, pp. 207-208.

⁴Proceedings of Council, Indian Office-Letters Received, M234, R60: 1525ff, quoted in Hagan, Comanche Relations, p. 29.

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¹⁰ Ibid.

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¹⁶ Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 52-55; Mayhall, The Kiowas, pp. 214-218; Mooney, Kiowa Indians, pp. 187-188.

¹⁷ Colonel J. H. Leavenworth served only until May, 1868. Faced with seemingly unsurmountable problems, he abandoned the agency after the Comanches burned the headquarters of the Wichita Agency. A. G. Boone replaced Leavenworth, but because of illness did not arrive until December, 1868. He and his family stayed only through the winter, living in tents. Unable to convince General Hazen, who had served as interim agent, to transfer agency responsibilities to him, Boone resigned and was replaced by Tatum in the spring of 1869. See Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 44-49, 51, 56, 60.

¹⁸ Lee Cutler, "Lawrie Tatum and the Kiowa Agency, 1869-1873," Arizona and the West 13 (Autumn 1971): 221-222; Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 57, 59-60; Moore, "Schools and Education," pp. 37-38; Aubrey Leroy Steele, "Quaker Control of the Kiowa Comanche Agency," unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1938, pp. 56-57; Richard N. Ellis, forward to Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), pp. v, x-xi.

¹⁹ Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 61-62. Tatum to wife and children, 30 May 1869, Lawrie Tatum, Papers 1847-ca. 1930, Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa [hereafter referred to as Tatum Papers, I.S.H.S.].

²⁰ Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 64-80; Ellis in Tatum, Our Red Brothers, pp. xi-xvi.

²¹ Tatum, Our Red Brothers, p. 162.

¹⁰ Ibid.

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³⁰Ibid., pp. 487-488.

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³⁴Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 90, 92-119; Nye, Carbine and Lance, p. 165.

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⁶⁰Prucha, Churches and Indian, p. 166; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," pp. 147-148.

⁵³"Employees in Indian School Service," Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1905, pp. 552-553.

⁵⁴Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp.195-196; C. C. C. Painter, Condition of Indian Affairs in California and Indian Territory (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1888), pp. 39-41, in Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," pp. 84-86.

⁵⁵Stuart, Indian Office, p. 139; The Cheyenne Transporter, Vol. III, December 26, 1886, p. 3, quoted in Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 83.

⁵⁶Buntin, "History of the Kiowa," p. 189; Curtis E. Jackson and Marcia J. Galli, A History of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its Activities Among Indians (San Francisco: R. & E. Research Associates, Inc., 1977), p. 70; Moore, "Schools and Education," pp. 37-38, 48; Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), pp. 265, 271, 283-284, 302-304; Prucha, Churches and Indian, p. 161; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 219.

⁵⁷Moore, "Schools and Education," pp. 56-57; Prucha, American Indian Policy, p. 300.

⁵⁸Woman's Missionary Advocate, April 1892, p. 305, quoted in Vernon, "Methodist Beginnings," p. 403.

⁵⁹Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 114; Moore, "Schools and Education," pp. 88-89.

⁶⁰Prucha, Churches and Indian, p. 166; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," pp. 147-148.

CHAPTER IV

ASSIMILATION THROUGH CHRISTIANITY: WOMEN

MISSIONARIES ON THE KIOWA-COMANCHE

RESERVATION

Christianity was an indispensable factor in the Indian assimilation process. When Amelia S. Quinton, in her 1885 report on the missionary work of the Women's National Indian Association, wrote that "the longest root of hope for the Indian is to be found in the self-sacrifice of the Christian Church,"¹ she expressed the sentiments of most Indian reformers. Believing "that nothing but Christianity could elevate the Indians: that there was no hope for them in education or civilization, except as these were employed as instruments of the gospel,"² missionaries, both male and female, went willingly to Indian reservations to Christianize, and thus civilize, America's native peoples. When denominational interest in the Kiowa and Comanche Indians developed during the 1880s, missionaries, including several new graduates of a recently established women's missionary training school, traveled to southwestern Indian Territory to "devote their lives to the teaching of pure Gospel among the dusky tribes."³

The United States government, continuing a precedent set by America's European settlers, relied heavily on missionary activity to teach American values, customs, and religious practices to the Indians. This arrangement, eventually carried out through official policy and financial backing as well as through encouraging rhetoric, proved advantageous to both the government and missionary organizations.⁴

Governmental dependence on Christian groups for the implementation of Indian assimilation was manifested in several ways. Federal Indian policy makers looked to the churches for help in administering federal Indian policy. When President Ulysses S. Grant instituted the peace policy in the 1860s, the government in effect admitted its failure to provide a workable relationship between its citizens and its native peoples. It gave religious organizations control over the care of the Indians, hoping that strong moral guidance provided by religiously dedicated leaders, workers, and teachers would successfully shepherd the Indians into American society. Although the experiment failed in its long-term goals, each group received immediate benefit: religious organizations were given the opportunity to test their theory that virtue and kindness would bring an answer to the "Indian problem," while the government, for a time at

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least, was able to relinquish responsibility for that "problem."⁵

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century missionaries were allowed to work among the Indians unmolested by federal intrusion, and often with federal blessing. Lacking its own education program, the government encouraged the establishment of mission schools. In the late nineteenth century it financially supported religious educational facilities through a contract system whereby mission groups were paid a small stipend per annum for the physical support and secular education of each Indian child. Again, this mutually beneficial program provided each group with the elements it lacked to carry out its programs: the government was able to provide promised educational facilities and civilizing agents at a low monetary investment, while missionary groups were provided with needed capital to carry out their Christianizing and civilizing endeavors.⁶

Women, who made up the largest part of church membership during the nineteenth century, were essential to mission organizations. Church leaders believed that women

by their active spiritual sympathy, and by their facility for organization, are capable, more than the other sex, of giving to the missionary cause the universality of co-operation which is so essential to the full rigor of its work.⁷

Taking an active role in both foreign and home mission

programs, church women formed mission societies, raised money, collected and distributed clothing, and sponsored educational programs designed to publicize the downtrodden condition of the "heathens" and the needs of missionaries who ministered to them.⁸ Mary G. Burdette, active in overseeing single Baptist women who worked on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, was one such woman. Born in Greensboro, Pennsylvania, in 1842, Burdette taught grammar school and Sunday school until 1878 when she was employed by the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society. During the next twenty-five years she served as corresponding secretary for the Baptist female missionary training school in Chicago, and editor of the society's newsletter.⁹

Some women, not content to limit their activities to a supportive role, became actively involved in mission field work. While many traveled to China, India, Africa, and other foreign mission fields, others remained in North America turning their attentions to the continent's native population. Women were involved in American Indian mission field work from its beginning. As early as 1820 Dolly E. Hoyt, unmarried and twenty-three years of age, left her home in Connecticut intending to work among the Osage with a group made up of nine men, eight women, and four children. She, like the women who would follow her example throughout the next century, was led to mission work--at least in part--by misguided sympathy for Indian women.

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Writing to a cousin three years before her departure she asked if a Christian woman could "behold those of her own sex in a state of the most abject slavery and abasement, and not groan with them for their relief?"¹⁰ A desire to devote their active lives to Christian work, and a probable longing for an element of adventure normally not allowed nineteenth-century women, combined with this sympathy for their "heathen sisters" to create a group of women ready to travel west to live and work among American Indians.

The long-range goals of missionaries working with the Indians were dictated by the reform groups that encouraged them, by the mission groups that supported them, and by the government that gave them permission to operate on the reservations. Those goals, as outlined by the Women's National Indian Association, were to teach

the truths of the Gospel and out of these truths the sweet, clean, healthful gospel of Christian home-life, the duties of citizenship, of national brotherhood, of World Kinship, and above all, thus, the regeneration, consecration and symmetrical strength of Christly service.¹¹

This attempt to transform the Indians into model American citizens through Christian principles was to be accomplished by the implementation of specific educational programs. Missionaries went to the tribes to

teach these [Indians] to make, and properly keep comfortable homes; to teach them domestic work and arts; how to prepare food and make clothing; how to care for the sick and for children; to respect work and to be self-supporting; as far as practicable, to teach them

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the English language; and, above all and constantly, to teach them the truths of the Gospel, and to seek their conversion to genuine and practical Christianity.¹²

Since most of these programs centered on home and family--the domain of women--it was deemed necessary to send women to the Indian reservations to insure adequate instruction.

Women, especially single women, who went to work on reservations usually were sent by women's mission societies. In addition to supporting mission schools and male missionaries and their families, these societies often supplied the funds to train young single women for mission work, arranged their field appointments, and supported them while they worked. The Women's Board of Missions, the Women's Board of the Congregational Church, and the Women's Union Missionary Society of New York were all founded specifically to direct the work of female missionaries.¹³ The Women's National Indian Association, on the other hand, was formed to send missionaries to the "tribes where no mission work is being done by denominational societies or other missionaries," until such time as they were accepted for permanent work by a religious group.¹⁴ Women's societies which sent missionaries to the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation during the closing decades of the nineteenth century included the Women's Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Women's Auxiliary to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society,

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the Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society of Chicago, and the Women's Executive Committee of the Reformed Church in America.¹⁵

Although there are conflicting opinions concerning which missionaries first reached the Kiowa, Comanche, and affiliated tribes, as well as which most successfully pursued their work,¹⁶ it can be stated safely that mission work in southwestern Indian Territory began in the late 1870s, and experienced a marked increase in the 1890s. A number of denominations, primarily Protestant, served the Indians; each taking responsibility for a specific locale or tribe. Denominational squabbling and petty jealousies, although in evidence, apparently were minimal. Protestant groups tended to be supportive, forming a "civilized Christian" bastion against the "uncivilized heathen" world in which they found themselves. They likewise joined forces in opposition to Catholic and Mormon intrusion into their territory.¹⁷

Baptist missionaries, some converted Indians trained on other reservations, far outnumbered other denominational representatives on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation. Because they operated several mission stations, these workers were able to reach isolated areas of the reservation while providing physical and spiritual support as well as practical training for their new missionaries. John McIntosh, a Creek Indian, began work with the Wichita at Fort Sill in 1876, followed by A. J. Holt

and his wife in 1877. Fannie R. Griffin joined the Holts in 1879 and worked with Mrs. Holt distributing clothing and teaching "cleanliness and order as well as religion."¹⁸ Baptist lay minister W. D. Lancaster and his wife, assisted by itinerant missionary W. F. ReQua, began work with the followers of Kiowa leader Lone Wolf in 1889. They were, however, forced to abandon this effort after a short time.¹⁹

In the fall of 1892 Marietta Reeside and Lauretta E. Ballew were sent to Lone Wolf's camp near Elk Creek by the Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society of Chicago. Within a few months they were joined by George W. Hicks and his wife, sent by the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society to oversee the mission work at Elk Creek and at Rainy Mountain. Prior to their assignment to the Kiowa, the Hicks', both missionaries, had worked for five years with the Caddo and Wichita north of Anadarko.²⁰ Isabel Crawford and Hattie Everts, recent graduates of the Chicago women's missionary training school, joined this group at the Elk Creek Mission in 1893. Although Everts stayed only one year, Crawford, after working there for three, traveled alone to work among the Kiowa at Saddle Mountain approximately thirty-five miles to the southeast. Crawford remained and worked in the Saddle Mountain area for over ten years, occasionally assisted by other women missionaries, including Mary McLean from 1897 to 1899 and K. E. Bare from 1899 to 1905.²¹

Baptist missionaries Elton and Anna Deyo also traveled to Oklahoma Territory in 1893. Sent by the American Baptist Home Mission Board at New York to work among the Comanche, they built the Deyo Mission fifteen miles southwest of Fort Sill. In 1901 they were joined by Elias Daniel Jeter and his family.²² Howard H. and Mary A. Clouse arrived at the newly established Rainy Mountain Mission near present-day Mountain View, Oklahoma, in 1895, and worked with the Kiowa there for twenty-seven years. Other Baptist missionaries who worked on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation included Lydia Birkholz, Ida M. Schofield, Maggie Topping, Mary Kelly and Katherine Ellis. In 1910 Ellis married Harry H. Treat, who at that time served as missionary at Saddle Mountain, and together they took charge of the Red Stone Church in 1911.²³

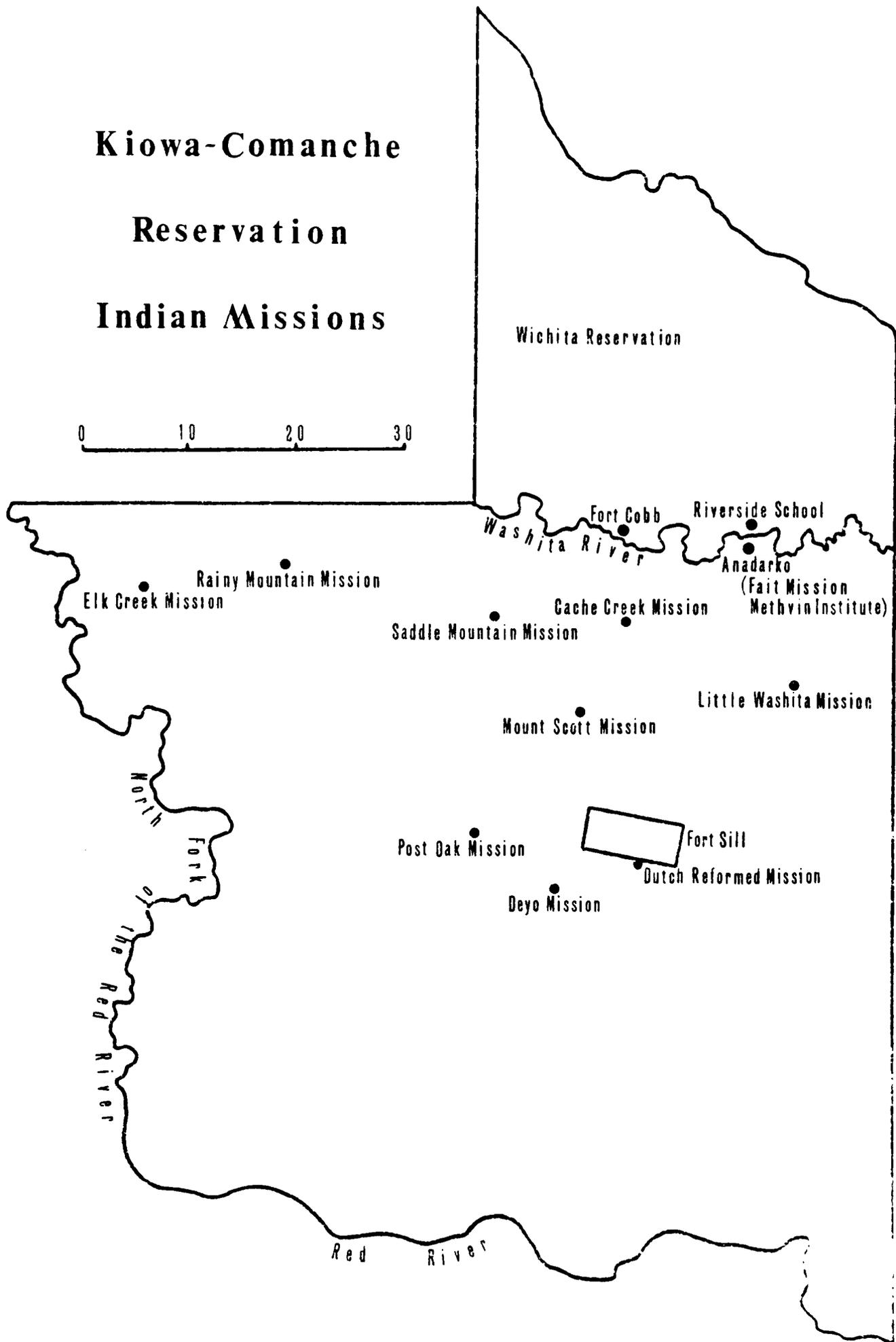
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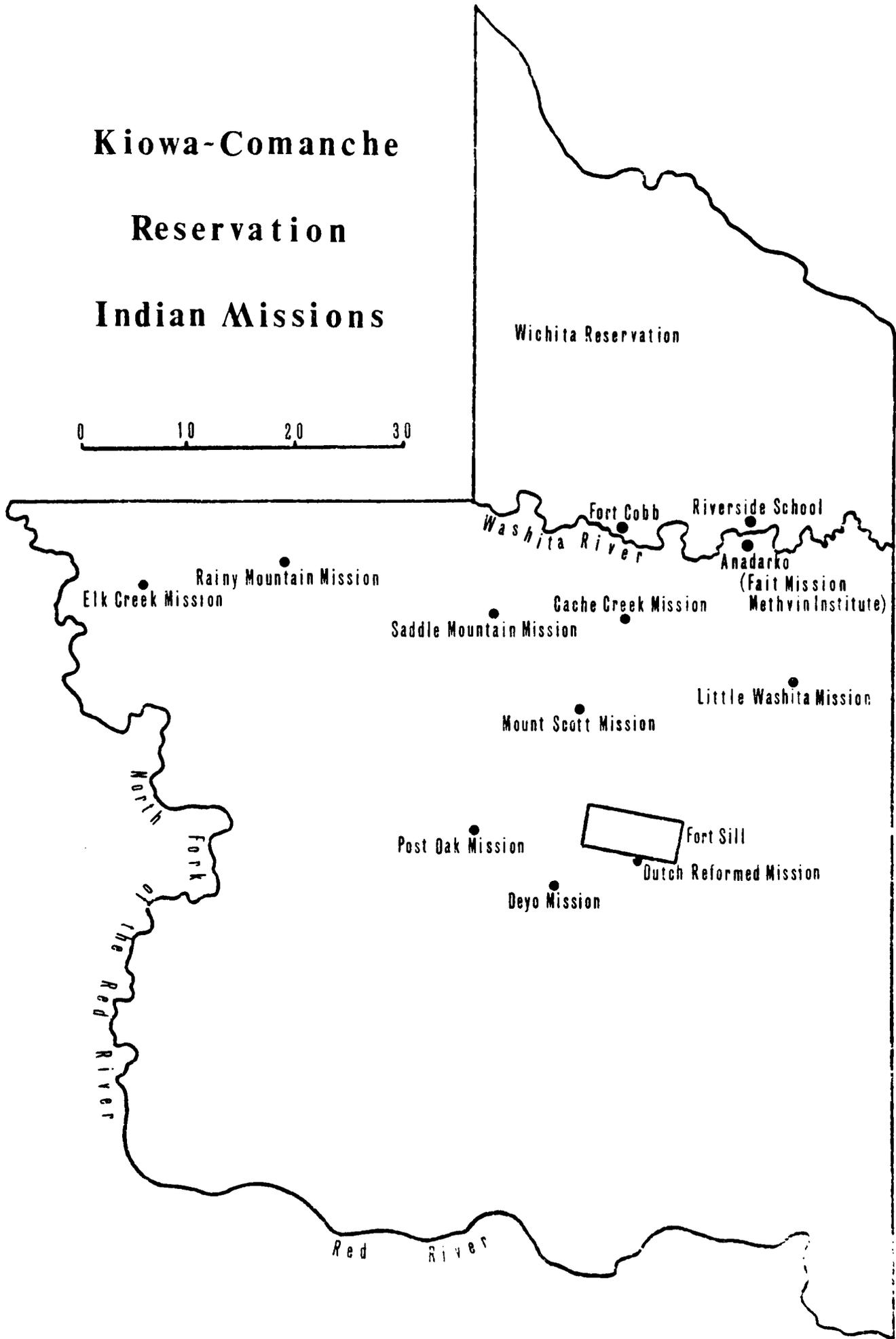
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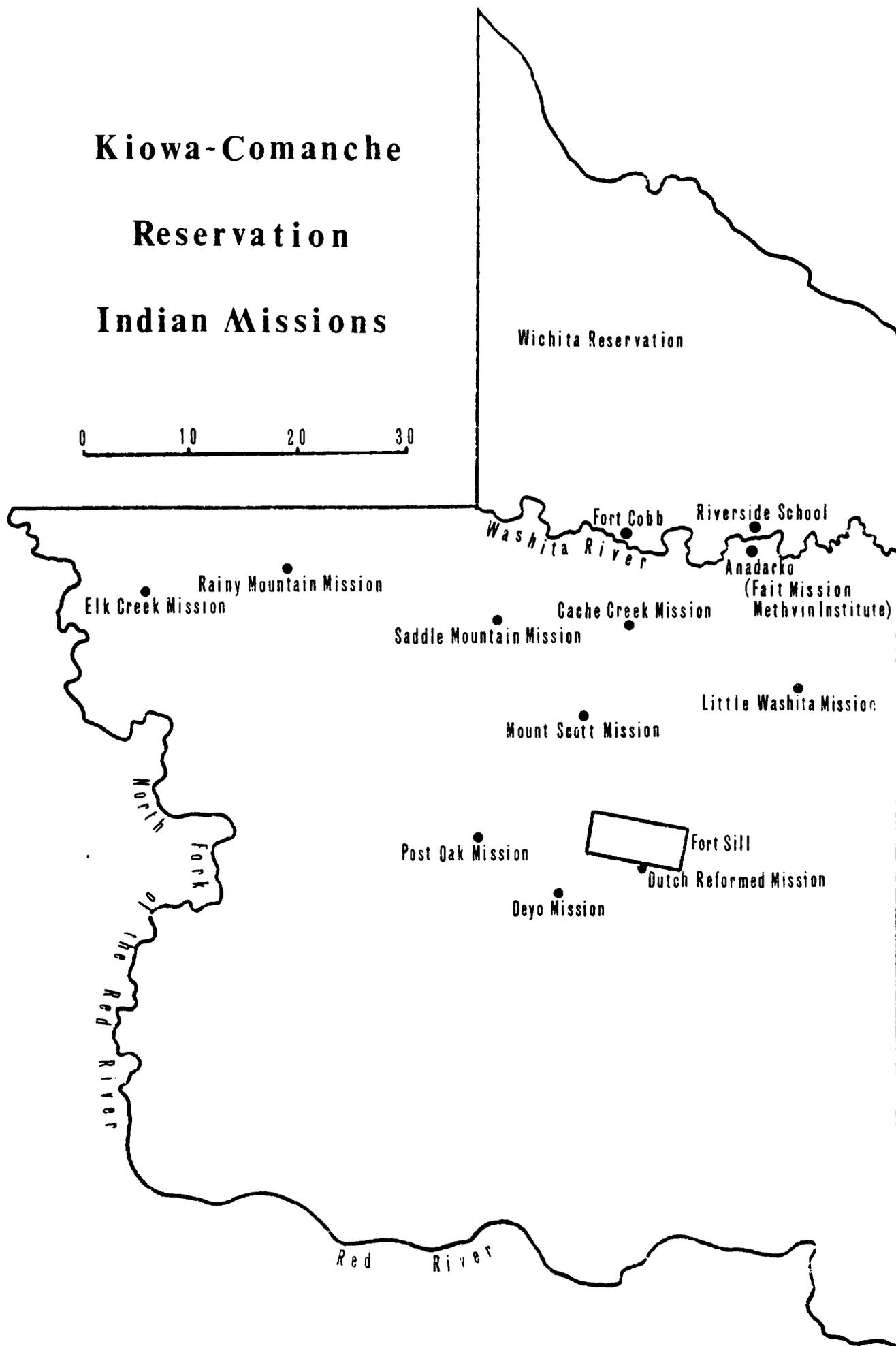
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Methodist mission work on the reservation began just as slowly. In 1881 H. S. P. Ashby was appointed by the Northwest Texas Conference of the Methodist Church to work with the Comanche. Plagued by ill health, he also left the area in less than one year. The work did not reopen until 1887, when the Indian Mission Conference of the South Methodist Church appointed J. J. Methvin to work among the "wild tribes." Settling with his wife Emma and their five children in the Anadarko area, Methvin built a parsonage, a church annex, and, in 1890, a school. In his dual position as school director and missionary, he regularly sent his teachers to visit the Indians in their camps to talk with them about the American way of life--including Christianity. Methvin soon was joined by other missionaries. Helen Brewster, sent by the Woman's Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, arrived in the late 1880s. She first worked at Methvin's school, in 1891 was sent twenty miles southeast to the Little Washita to live among the Comanches, and in 1892 went to assist W. A. Brewer, newly appointed missionary to Fort Sill. In 1894 she once again transferred, this time to work at the new Mt. Scott Church because no full-time minister could be found to live there. A. J. Butterfield, who had joined Methvin in 1892, accepted an appointment as missionary to Washita and Mt. Scott in 1894.²⁵

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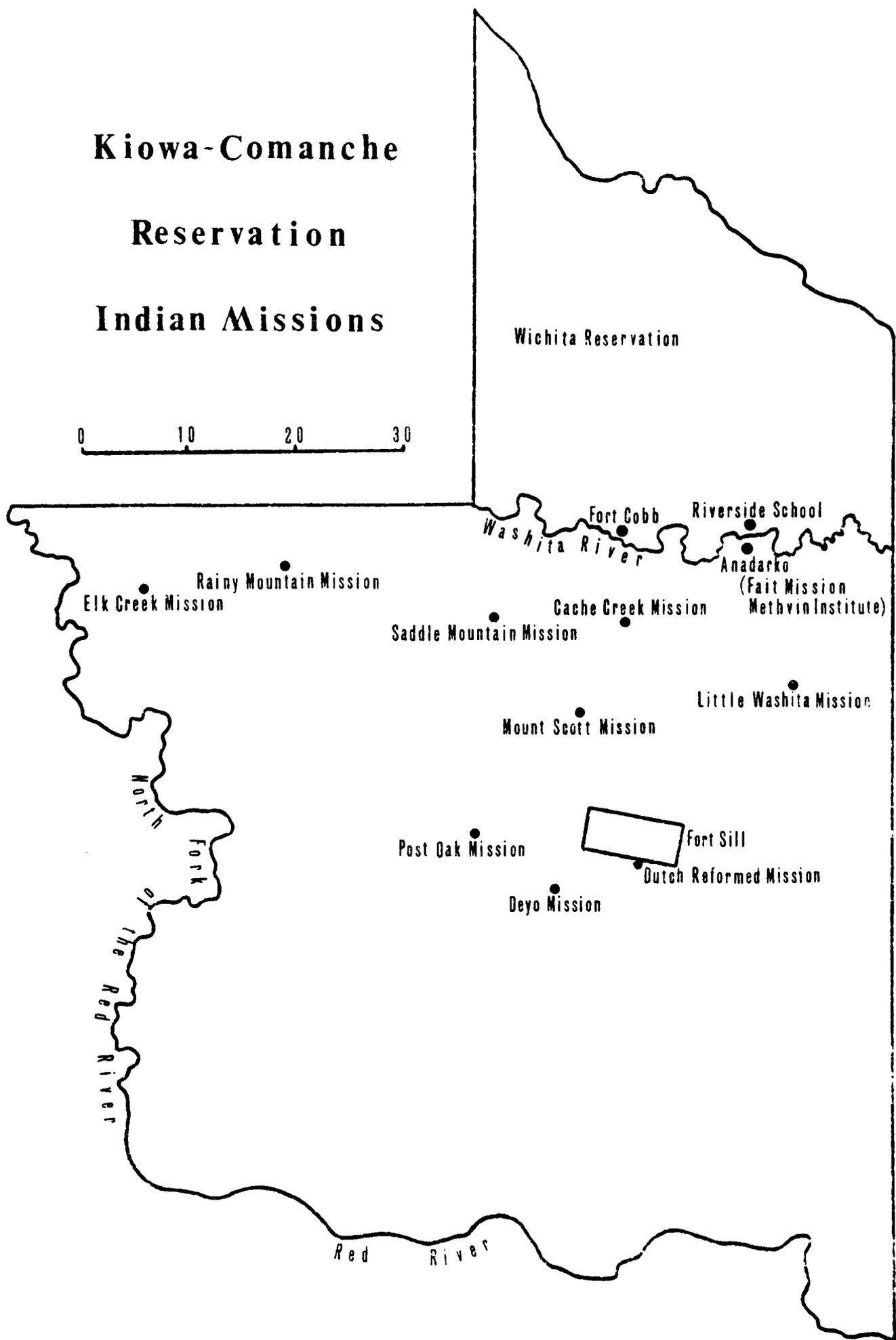


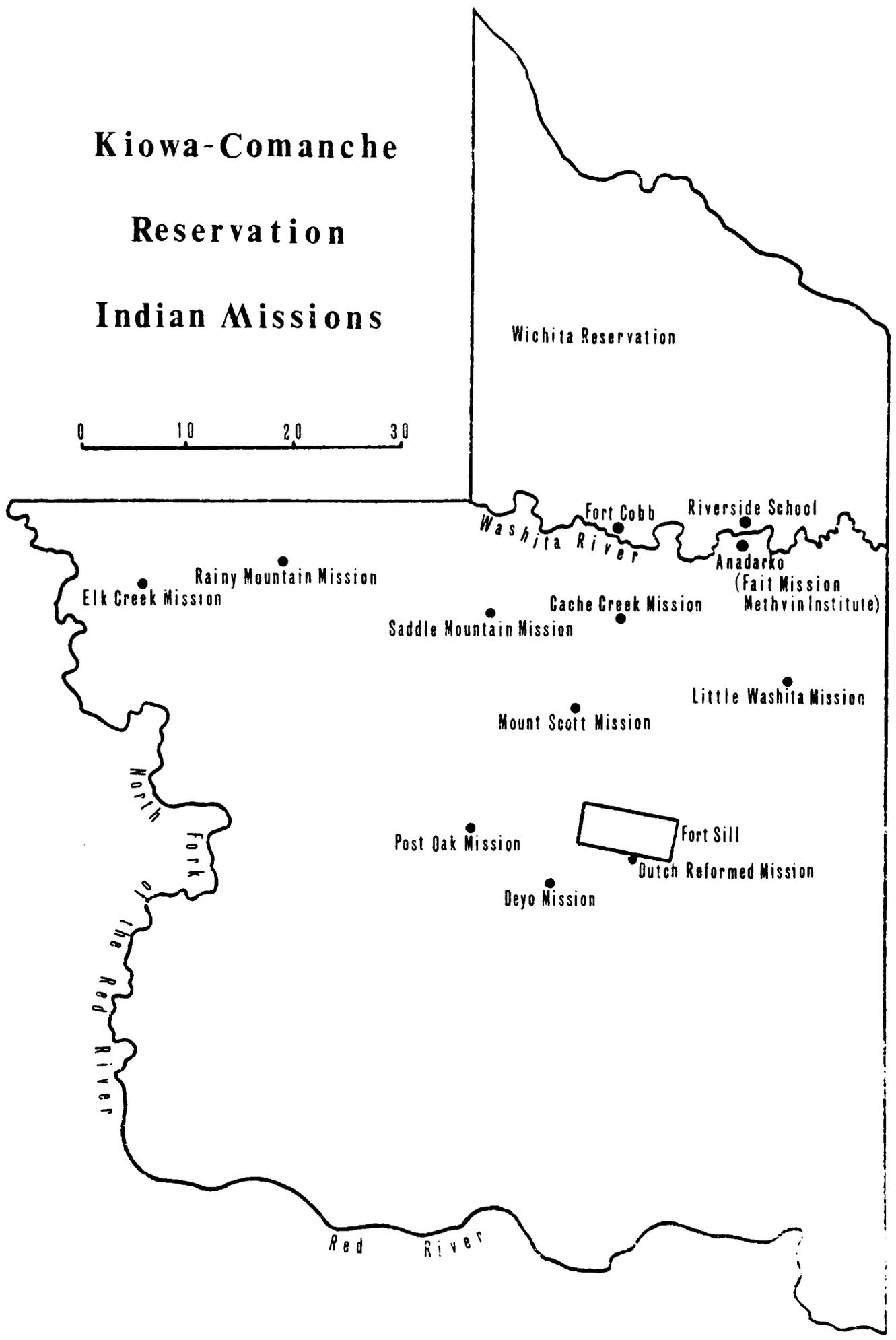


Kiowa-Comanche

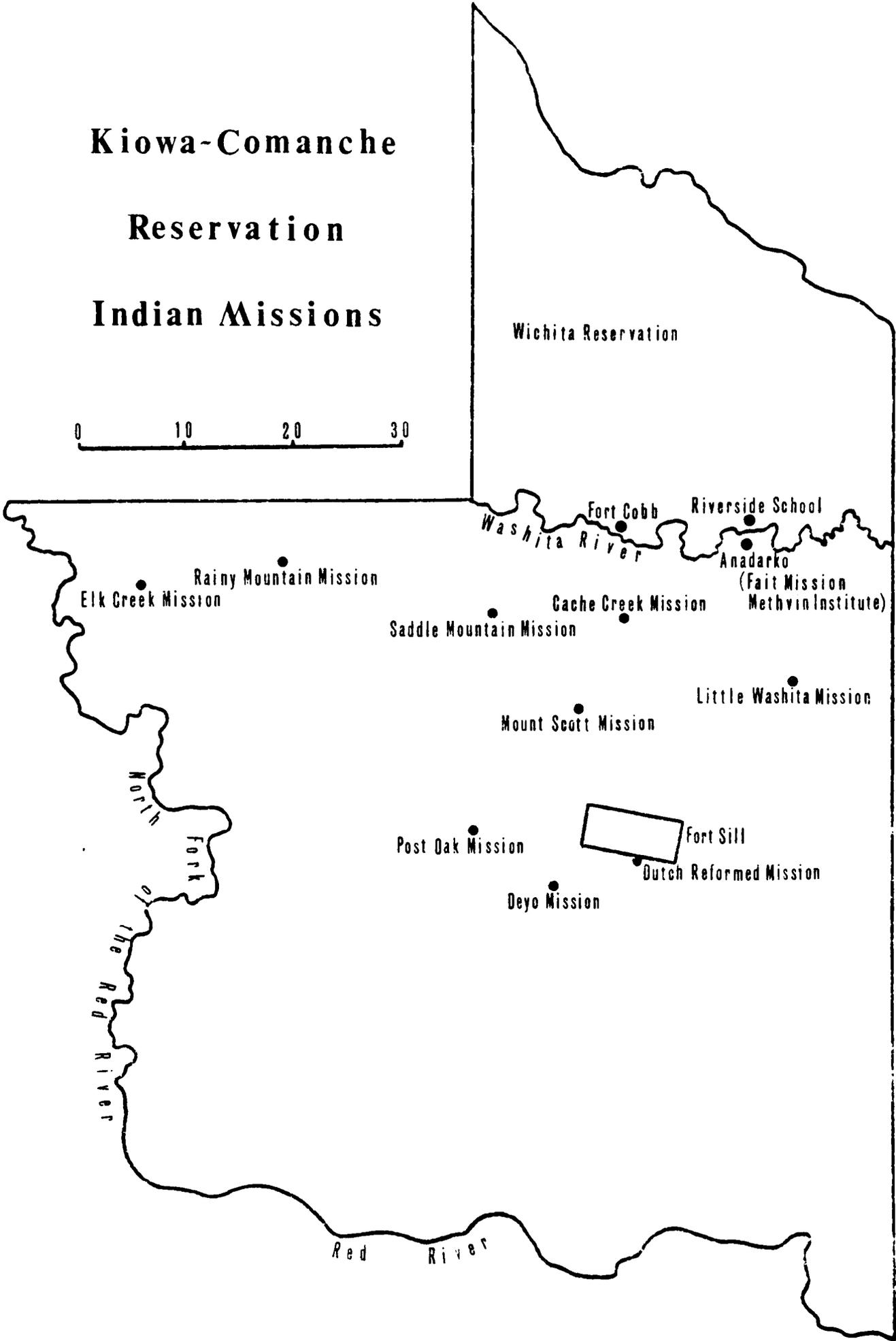
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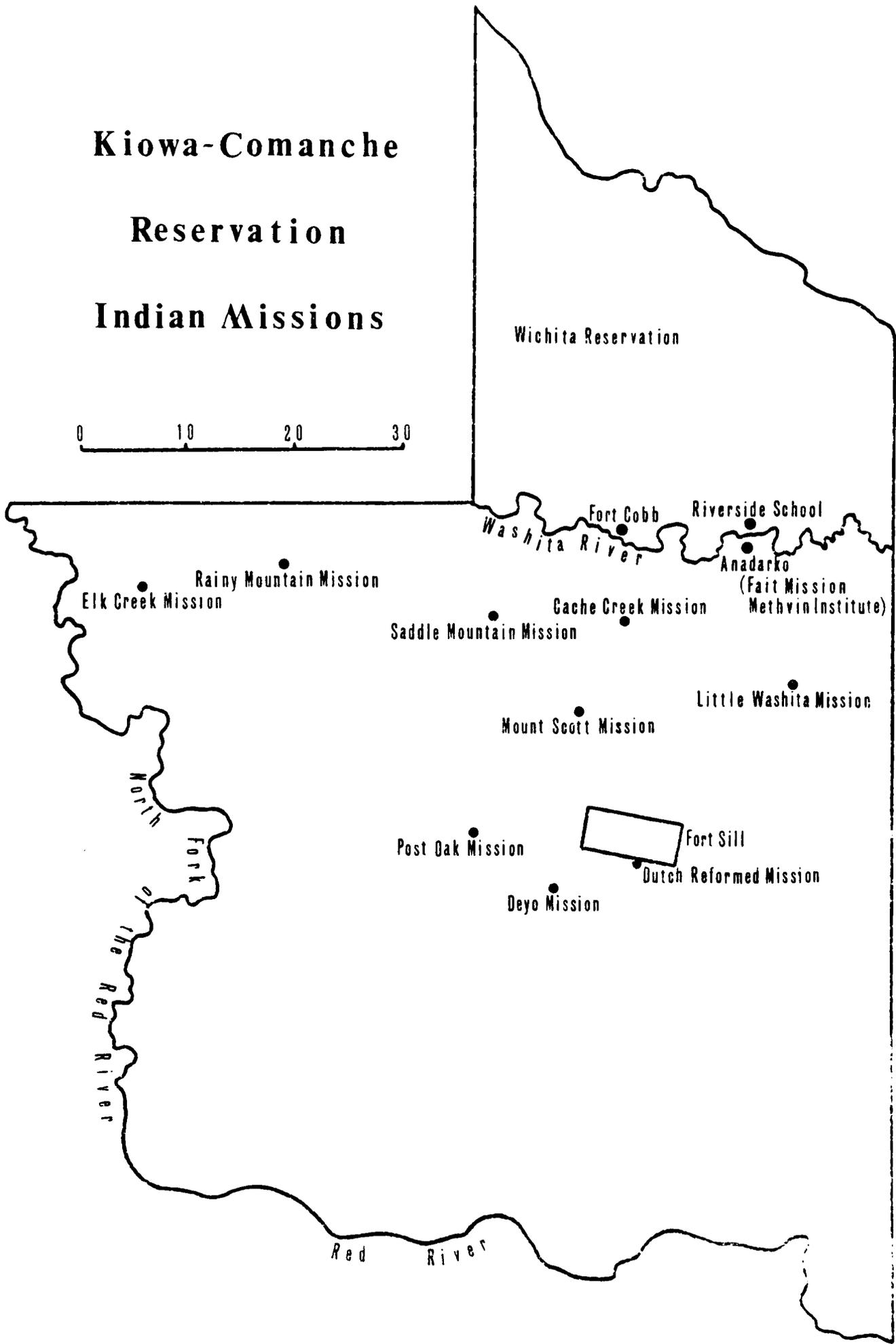
Indian Missions

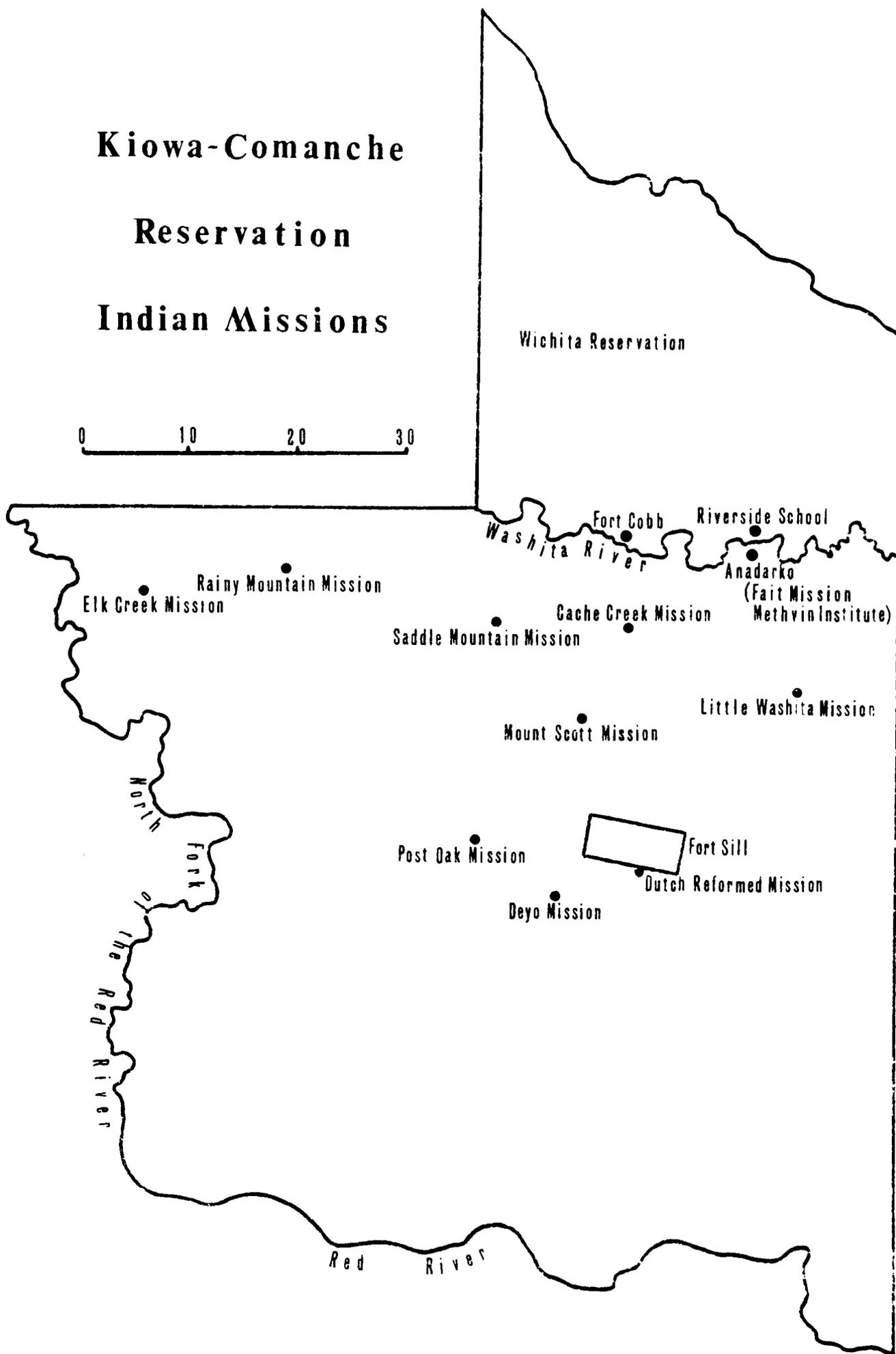


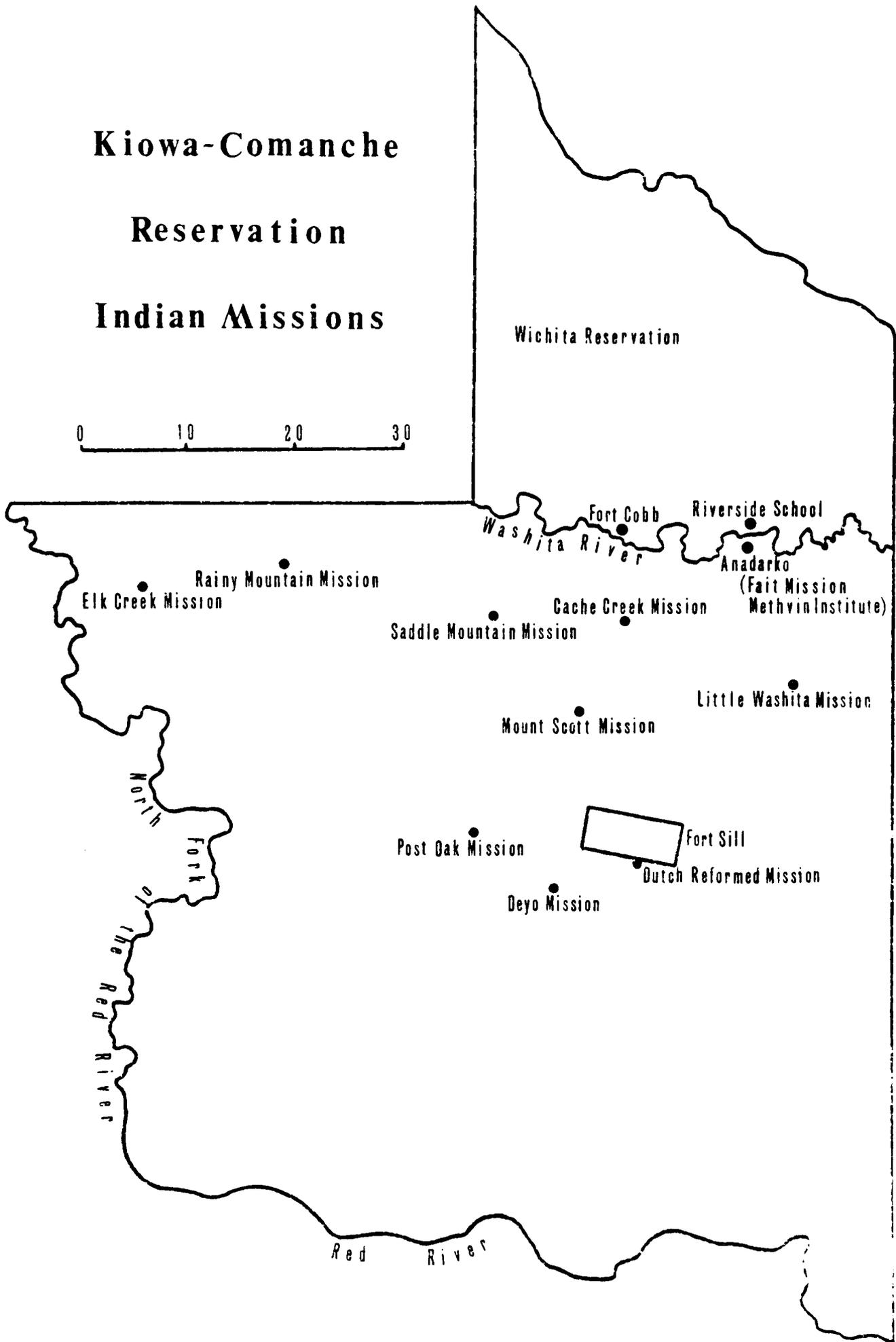


**Kiowa-Comanche
Reservation
Indian Missions**









Board of Missions of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, established the Cache Creek Mission in 1889. Located five miles west of present-day Apache, Oklahoma, the mission contained a school designed to offer industrial training to Kiowa-Apache children.²⁶

S. V. Fait, under the auspices of the Board of Home Missions of Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., established a mission and school four miles east of Anadarko in 1889.²⁷

The Mennonite Brethren began work on the reservation in 1894 when Henry Kohfeld was sent to the Comanche near Fort Sill by the Conference of Mennonite Brethren. Establishing the Post Oak Mission six miles north of present-day Indianahoma, Oklahoma, Kohfeld was assisted by Mary Reiger from 1896 to 1898, and Katie Penner from 1896 to 1902. In 1902 he was joined by A. J. and Magdalena Becker, who eventually took responsibility for the mission.²⁸

The Women's Executive Committee of the Dutch Reformed Church in America sent Frank Hall Wright--the son of a Choctaw Indian minister and an Anglo women missionary--to the Comanche in 1895. His work expanded to include the Chiracahua Apache then held prisoner at Fort Sill in 1899. A mission school and orphanage, directed by Maude Adkisson, was established at the Fort for Apache children the following year. Adkisson relinquished her position to a Miss Moore in 1906 when she

married Leonard L. Legsters who came to serve as the pastor of the newly-established Comanche mission located between Fort Sill and the proposed Lawton townsite.

Hedrina Hospers, who worked with the Apache children on the reservation until they were moved to New Mexico in 1913, replaced Moore in 1907.²⁹

The list of names and dates indicates that a large portion of mission workers on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation were women, and that these women were a vital part of that work from its earliest years. Constructing a clear picture of their lives on the reservation, however, is not an easy task. Although several--such as missionary to the Cheyenne, Mary Jayne--felt that "in these early days we are making history and it is right a record should be kept,"³⁰ the diaries, journals, and reminiscences compiled by women missionaries fall far short of providing the historian with relevant information.

Most writers had a definite purpose in mind, and that purpose was never to assemble an accurate historical record. Isabel C. Crawford wrote her reminiscence Joyful Journey in order "to help everybody: children to give their hearts to Jesus, young people their lives, and grown ups their cash."³¹ Her goal in writing The Kiowa was even more altruistic--"to contradict the idea that 'the only good Indian is a dead one.'"³² To accomplish this objective she admitted that her notes hastily written on the

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Religious workers and their editors, in addition, were reluctant to discuss events and customs they felt would be detrimental to their cause. The Board of the Society of Friends censored the reminiscences of Thomas C. Battey, an early Quaker school teacher, apparently because they felt his picture of frontier life too vivid.³⁵ Mary Jayne never even recorded some of her experiences and thoughts. After witnessing a ghost dance she wrote that "I can't discribe [sic] these things, there is too much of horror in them to me."³⁶ She likewise failed to relate her feelings concerning the rudeness of Indian men, stating that "I do not think it wise to commit all my thoughts to paper especially as it could in no wise edify or instruct."³⁷

Although missionaries' written accounts, then, cannot be used to construct an accurate picture of Indians or Indian culture, these works do yield information about the individual missionaries, their lives on the reservation, their duties, their attitudes toward their work, and their attitudes toward the Indian people among whom they worked.

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As can be gathered from the preceding discussion of mission workers to the Kiowa-Comanche, both married and single women worked on the reservation. Married women came with their husbands who were ministers and missionaries. Sometimes these married women were appointed by mission societies as missionaries in their own right, but more often they went as wives of appointed missionaries. These women, whatever their official status, accepted responsibility for mission work as well as for the care of their families. This dual responsibility created inner conflict in women torn between their desire to fulfill their duties as God's emissaries to the Indians responsible for their salvation, and their duties as Christian wives and mothers responsible for the well being of their families. Crawford recorded that

poor Mrs. Hicks and her two babies are to be pitied, and she is such a nice little wife and mother. She would like to go to all the meetings and help in everything, but she can't, and worries about it more than she ought.³⁸

Magdalena Becker likewise was torn between her work and her children. Ready to embark on their first trip to the Indian camps, Becker remembered that "I was glad to go, yet sad, for I hated to leave my three babies. I said to my husband, 'Well, what about my three babies, I cannot take them to that Tent City.'"³⁹ Mission duties, however, apparently did little to stop the growth of mission families. Soon after returning from this trip to the

Indian camps Becker gave birth to her fourth child.⁴⁰

Single women who traveled to the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation most often were sent and supported by women's mission societies. Several were graduates of missionary training schools established expressly to educate single women for mission field work. The Chicago women's missionary training school established by the Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society in 1880, trained Laretta Ballew, Mary McLean, Marietta Reeside, Isabel Crawford, and Hattie Everts for work with the Kiowa and Comanche. There, in the company of women of varied national, economic, and educational backgrounds, they received lectures in Bible study, teaching techniques, and possible mission situations. They were also given the opportunity to conduct devotional and chapel services which included songs, prayer, Bible reading, and testimonials.⁴¹

The women for whom background information is available were the products of Christian families--often families actively involved in the ministry or mission work--and were converted at early ages. Crawford, whose father was a Baptist minister, was baptized at the age of eleven, and immediately recruited and taught her own Sunday school class. Emma McWhorter, one of Methvin's school teacher/missionaries, was the daughter of a Reverend P. T. McWhorter.⁴²

All felt that they had been individually called

by God to serve among the Indians. Becker, despite her concern for her children, "decided it was our duty to go among the Indians and work and that our babies would be cared for at home by a girl we had working for us."⁴³ Crawford, distraught after learning of her mother's death, decided she could not leave the Indians because "God had called me to give them the gospel."⁴⁴ Although she had been raised to think that women "were supposed to become good wives, mothers, and housekeepers" only, she had been convinced by Mary G. Burdette, "that God calls 'women' into full time service as well as men."⁴⁵ That service, however, was not to be the same as the service of men; "God called women . . . not to go into all the world and preach the Gospel, but to go into all the world and teach it in a simple womanly way."⁴⁶

Arrival at the reservation in an unmarried state did not insure that one would remain so. While many single women continued to work as missionaries for years, others married and left the reservation. K. E. Bare left when she married C. C. Cooper, and Ida Roff discontinued her work when she married an Episcopal priest in 1893. Still others married male missionaries and continued to live on the reservation--dividing their time, like other mission wives, between their mission work and their families. Baptist missionary Katherine Ellis married Baptist missionary Harry H. Treat, and together they worked with

the Red Stone Church. When Dutch Reformed missionary and teacher Maude Adkisson married missionary L. L. Legsters, she turned her administrative duties over to Moore and moved from the Apache school at Fort Sill to the new mission north of Lawton townsite. Ida Swanson, missionary and school teacher at Methvin Institute, married John J. Methvin following the death of his wife Emma. She continued to take an active part in both school and mission work.⁴⁷

Some women missionaries, however, left the reservation because of ill health exacerbated by the harsh physical conditions in which they lived. Housing was always a problem. Tents and sheds provided the first form of shelter for many new missionaries. Crawford spent her first five weeks at Saddle Mountain living in a tipi near an Indian camp. After enduring constant rain, and the destruction and scattering of food, clothing, bedding, and literature by pigs on three occasions, she was invited to share the two room home of her Indian interpreter and his family.⁴⁸ When Methvin, his wife, and their five children first arrived in Anadarko in 1887, the only place available for habitation was a government mess house "very roughly made with the barest necessities."⁴⁹ Permanent quarters were rarely more expansive. Adkisson and her assistant teacher lived in two small rooms partitioned from a school building which served fifty-five to sixty

Apache school children.⁵⁰

Most missionaries--especially those living in the Indian camps--faced the same conditions and privations their Indian companions did. Wind, cold, rain, flood, blizzard, prairie fire, and heat had to be endured. Roads, often muddy or near non-existent, made travel difficult. Water had to be carried, wood had to be chopped, furniture had to be fabricated, clothes had to be washed, and food had to be procured and prepared--often without male help and all in addition to regular mission duties.⁵¹ Money was often scarce, provided along with clothing and domestic items by sometimes unreliable donations from mission societies. In October, 1900, Mary Burdette warned Crawford and Bare to "be careful of your money for I don't know when you will get any more. The Churches and circles are slow in sending their offerings and the bank has shut down on us."⁵² When no money arrived by 16 December the two missionaries, having exhausted their resources, borrowed ten dollars from a local bank.⁵³ In describing her fellow worker at Saddle Mountain, Crawford described the lives of most women missionaries as well. K. E. Bare, she maintained,

worked just as hard, ate just as little, swallowed just as many beans, slept in just as many uncomfortable places, and took as many unearthy bumps over unpaved roads in the bottom of lumber wagons, crowded in with Indian women, babies and children, quilt frames, tent poles, bales of batting, and occasionally litters of pups . . .

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Realizing the effects of such hardships on their physical and mental health, missionaries often took steps to protect themselves. Mary McLean, who worked with Crawford at Saddle Mountain for two years, wrote that

during the first three months we lived with the Indians, eating with them, camping with them, and constantly visiting in their tepees, but found that our health would not last long if we kept up that kind of life; so with the new year, we began living like white people.⁵⁵

Some women missionaries and missionary wives, in order to supplement their meager incomes, began working as full and part-time Field Matrons for the United States government.⁵⁶

Baptist missionaries in southwestern Oklahoma Territory, hoping to provide fellowship and inspiration for each other, formed a Workers Conference to meet semi-annually beginning April, 1895.⁵⁷ Most missionaries also took annual vacations from the reservations to visit friends and family and report on their work to those who provided their support. These vacations, however, often found them exhausted from their strenuous lives. Crawford reported that

coming direct from their fields of labor, they [missionaries] feel and are worn out, tired out, shabby, tanned beyond recognition, and sometimes inclined to snap. In fact, most of them are physically, mentally, and clothesline-ly not in fit condition to feel 'at home' anywhere. What they need is rest and seclusion till they 'come to.'⁵⁸

Whatever the hardships involved, women missionaries on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation seemed to think they were far outweighed by the rewards. Their belief

that they were following the will of God, and that the Indians would benefit by their efforts, inspired missionaries to work on in the midst of adversity. While some Indians accepted these Anglo women and encouraged their presence, others attempted to prevent further intrusion into their land and lives. Crawford was invited by Domot, representing the Kiowa people of Saddle Mountain, to go and live with them. When it came time to build a permanent structure, however, she was confronted by opposition from non-Christian Indians in the area.⁵⁹ Although such opposition was frequent--especially in the early years of mission work--there were always a few Indian people who accepted the missionaries, Christianity, and American values. Lucius Aitsan, one of the first Kiowa to attend the Carlisle Training School in Pennsylvania, worked as Crawford's translator during her stay at Saddle Mountain. In 1913 he was ordained as a Baptist minister and he and his wife continued the mission work there. Joshua Given, the son of Kiowa leader Satank, was also a product of Carlisle. Married to an Anglo woman, he engaged in mission work and often worked as an interpreter. Because he accepted Anglo culture so totally, the Indians accused Given of interpreting in favor of Anglos when negotiating agreements.⁶⁰

The attitudes of women Anglo missionaries toward the Indians among whom they worked ran the entire gamut

of emotion--from fear to admiration, disgust to sympathy, pity to love. First impressions, in addition, were not always lasting ones. Feelings that existed when women missionaries initially encountered their Indian clients sometimes changed as they became more familiar with the Indians and their lives. When Crawford first learned that she was to be sent to the Kiowa she was surprised and shocked. "I did not want to go to the 'dirty Indians,'" she wrote years later, "and nearly cried my eyes out over the thought of it." Her years of work, however, apparently changed her mind. "Later," she continued, "I nearly cried them back in again because I didn't want to leave them."⁶¹ Anna Deyo, when questioned about her fear of the Indians, admitted to being "uneasy a few times, maybe, at first."⁶² This uneasiness, however, was not longlasting, or at least not apparent to the Indians among whom she worked. Comanche Indian Cheape Ross reported years later that "Mrs. Deyo was a very kind good woman," with whom he often visited.⁶³

Seemingly incompatible emotions concerning Indians existed side by side in some Anglo women. Crawford at times described the Indians with whom she worked as possessing qualities of "dignity, reverence, generosity, and businesslike manliness with honesty."⁶⁴ At other times, however, she referred to them as "poor, needy, and backward."⁶⁵ While Brewster was shocked by the mourning customs of the Comanche, she described Comanche leader

Quannah Parker as "one of the kindest, pleasantest gentlemen to talk to."⁶⁶ Jayne, working with the Cheyenne and Arapaho just north of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, wrote to her former schoolmates that she and her assistant found the Indians "so lovable and trustworthy and confiding, and I believe you couldn't help loving them too."⁶⁷ When she witnessed an Indian dance less than two years later, however, she wrote that "it seemed horrible and such a mockery. My heart was sick within me to see it all."⁶⁸

Women missionaries often had difficulty accepting Indian customs, especially those that differed greatly from Protestant Anglo American practices. Shocked by what they perceived to be "uncivilized" and "peculiar" habits, missionaries tried to discourage polygamy, peyote worship, ghost dances, and dividing the possessions of the dead.⁶⁹ When Brewster found one of the recent widows of an Indian man gashing her face and arms in mourning, she "begged her not to further mutilate herself" but found that she could not comfort the woman.⁷⁰ Mary Frances Campbell thought there were many "strange things about Indians," including their habit of traveling uninvited to the homes of neighbors in order to eat when an animal was butchered, and their methods of raising children.⁷¹

Although they claimed admiration, friendship, and even love for the Indians,⁷² missionaries were often

condescending in their words and actions. Campbell, apparently disregarding the fine bead and quill work created by Plains Indian women, maintained that "very few of them ever quilted quilts as they didn't seem to have the patience that white women did."⁷³ Dora Martin, unhappy with the manner in which the Kiowa used supplies sent by Anglo churches, stated that "many of these articles were valuable, but the Indians wasted them . . . taking anything that happened to suit their fancy to dress themselves."⁷⁴ Crawford, describing the visit of Baptist newspaper editor G. W. Lasher, stated that "like as a father pitieth his children, so Dr. Lasher pitied the poor Indians and gave to them the spiritual encouragement and food they so much needed."⁷⁵ Crawford often referred to the Indians as children, or described their actions as childlike, asking "what would they do if they lost sight of me?"⁷⁶

The attitudes of missionaries concerning Indians, then, were complex. While respecting the Indians as human beings possessing admirable traits such as honesty, dignity, and artistic talent, missionaries agonized over their "uncivilized" habits such as polygamous marriages, indulgence in games of chance, traditional religious practices, and nomadic life styles. Certain that they knew what was best for the Indians, and distraught over "how the Indian people liked their worldly pleasures more

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than they loved God,"⁷⁷ women missionaries willingly sacrificed their own personal comfort for the salvation of what they perceived as a noble, but ignorant people. In the words of Crawford, "It was a privilege to guide such people in the Jesus Road and incidently help them to higher standards of living."⁷⁸

The activities of female missionaries on the reservation far surpassed religious duties alone. While the conversion of Indians to Christianity was their primary goal, they did not separate that act from conversion to a "civilized" American way of life. As agents of civilization as well as emissaries of Christianity, therefore, they were responsible for often overlapping duties--spiritual guidance, physical assistance, and educational activities.⁷⁹ Although these services were primarily directed toward Indian women and children, their work had an impact on the lives of Indian men as well.

The early years of mission work on the reservation were characterized by hard work with few results. Because the Indians often lived in isolated camps and moved frequently, building permanent congregations was difficult. Mission work, therefore, had to be individualized and mobile in order to be effective.⁸⁰ Women missionaries were active in all aspects of this work. In conducting public religious services, however, they often provided a supportive role, while male missionaries and ministers

filled the positions of authority. Women sometimes spoke at gospel camp meetings, and helped with Sunday services at Indian churches when a minister was not available, but more often their contributions were on a personal level. Believing that "nothing wins the confidence and esteem of the Indians more quickly than these weekly visits in their camps,"⁸¹ they visited Indian women and families, reading the Bible, praying, and talking with them about Christianity. Women missionaries, in addition, worked with the government boarding schools, conducting bi-weekly, non-denominational services for Indian school children.⁸²

Missionaries, searching for ways to win the confidence--and thus the ear--of the Indians, took on tasks they felt would provide much needed assistance to people confronted by unfamiliar and often confusing Anglo culture. Women missionaries sometimes served as liaisons among Indians, governmental agencies, and the public. Crawford served as a witness and interpreter for a Kiowa man, who had been cheated by a horse thief, when he was ordered to appear in court. Marietta Reeside wrote a letter for Big Tree in September, 1897, when he needed to correspond with reservation agent Frank Baldwin. Jimmie Quetone turned to Ida Swanson for advice and intermediary services when faced by an unwelcomed visit from the Cheyenne. In addition, Crawford wrote a letter for Agent James Randlett to be sent to the New York Sun repudiating

false stories about conditions on the reservation and the alleged annual auction of Indian women.⁸³

Women missionaries also provided assistance in health care and burials, two areas traditionally considered the realm of women's work. Fearing government doctors, and faced with many unfamiliar diseases, Indians often turned to mission women when illness struck. Ida Methvin maintained that ministering to the sick was one of her major duties when visiting in Indian camps. Campbell, reporting that Indians came to fetch her when their family members were ill, sometimes rode ten to twelve miles on horseback in cold weather to nurse the sick.⁸⁴ Believing that death offered missionaries the opportunity to discuss eternal life, women missionaries offered their services when deaths occurred in Indian families. When a newborn baby died at Saddle Mountain in February, 1897, Crawford fashioned a coffin from a wood chip box, conducted the funeral, and assisted in digging the grave. Only a few days later she repeated the process, this time for a five-year-old girl claimed by consumption.⁸⁵

Hoping to encourage the Indians to accept responsibility for their own affairs, as well as to instill in them ideas of Christian charity and evangelism, women missionaries formed mission societies made up of their Indian converts. At society meetings missionaries taught Indian women--and sometimes men--to sew; and while all sewed and

visited, missionaries told Bible stories and led group prayer. These meetings were usually held in the homes of individual members, thereby giving Indian women the opportunity to learn and practice Anglo-style entertaining. Such groups pieced and tacked quilts which were sold to raise money for church construction and to finance mission work in other tribes. Crawford, for example, formed a mission society at Saddle Mountain. By making and selling quilts they eventually financed in part a church building for their congregation, and helped support the Hopi Indian mission in Arizona. The women with whom Ida Methvin worked earned enough money selling quilts to put in a well at their church in Anadarko.⁸⁶

Neither the teaching of domestic skills, nor the use of those skills to earn extra money, was limited to sewing lessons provided at mission circles. Hoping "to prepare them [Indians] for the settlement of the country around them by whites and the consequent influx of civilian notions and ideas to which they would otherwise be strangers,"⁸⁷ women missionaries taught Indian women to cook, keep house, and care for the sick, and encouraged Indian men to work hard, cultivate fields, and build permanent houses. Campbell helped Comanche women to bake before feasts and dances, while Deyo "taught the squaws and younger girls how to sew, keep house, and cook."⁸⁸ Mission women in addition encouraged light industry and the saving

and wise use of money earned. Ella Carithers established a broom factory operated by her female students, the proceeds of which contributed to the upkeep of the Cache Mission. Ida Roff taught lace-making to Anadarko Indian women. After this lace-work was sold, the women received an hourly wage for their work. Crawford, in an effort to encourage wise money management, allowed "different thrifty Indians" to deposit money in her care for safekeeping.⁸⁹

Because they visited in Indian homes where they established personal relationships with native women, missionaries had the opportunity to transmit Anglo cultural ideas--something that might have been impossible in a more structured setting. Wild reported that Hedrina Hospers, because she was accepted in their homes, was able to help Apache women with their problems. In 1906, when Crawford traveled to the East with four Christian Indians, she had the opportunity to stress the necessity for personal hygiene and good manners in Anglo society. In addition she conveyed her views on the roles of men and women in nineteenth-century Anglo American society when she attempted to explain to the Indians the distinct roles of men and women in the church. She told them that "men work at big things and when they stop they sit down. Women work at many little things. Their work is never done."⁹⁰

And so it was with women missionaries on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation. Primarily sent by women missionary

societies to present-day southwestern Oklahoma in order to Christianize and "civilize" the Indians, these women worked at many little things, and their work was never done. Their presence, without a doubt, had an influence on the Indians with whom they worked. In 1902 there were 519 Indian church members on the reservation and missionaries had made contact with most other Indians at some time through camp meetings, schools, church services, or home visits. It is doubtful, however, if their presence had the impact envisioned by those concerned with Indian assimilation. The Kiowa, Comanche, and affiliated tribes did not throw off their old lives and immediately accept Anglo American culture when it was presented to them. Most held to their old habits until forced by federal legislation or economic pressure to adopt Anglo habits.⁹¹ Even then they clung to traditional practices, or combined Anglo and Indian customs to create a new Indian culture. Indian women, for example, replaced loose dresses made of hides for loose dresses made of woven fabric, and buffalo robe wraps for long shawls and blankets. In the late nineteenth century "uncivilized" Indians most often were called "blanket Indians," referring to a custom developed only after the Indians came in contact with Anglo America and their traditional forms of dress were available no longer.

Women missionaries, however, were not the only Anglo women actively involved in cultural alteration

specifically directed toward native women. Field Matrons, hired by the federal government, joined the missionaries in their attempt to encourage Indian people into America's cultural mainstream. Using many of the tactics employed by women missionaries, Field Matrons worked just as hard, with just as few results, to transform Indian women from nomadic "heathens" into Christian wives and mothers.

Endnotes

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⁴ Robert F. Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), pp. 132, 150; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 120.

⁵ Henry E. Fritz, The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), pp. 65-66, 80; Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), p. 54.

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⁷ "What Women Have Done for Home Missions," Home Mission Monthly 1 (August 1878): 23.

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¹²Ibid., p. 1.

¹³Page Smith, Daughters of the Promised Land: Women in American History (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1970), pp. 189-190; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," pp. 188-189.

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¹⁵Babcock and Bryce, History of Methodism, p. 270; Hugh D. Corwin, "Protestant Missionary Work Among the Comanches and Kiowas," Chronicles of Oklahoma 46 (Spring 1968): 54; Sam L. Botkin, "Indian Missions of the Episcopal Church in Oklahoma," Chronicles of Oklahoma 36 (Spring 1958): 42; Isabel Crawford, Joyful Journey: Highlights on the High Way (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1951), p. 174; Isabel Crawford, Kiowa: Story of a Blanket Indian Mission (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1915), p. 155; John Preston Dane, "A History of Baptist Missions Among the Plains Indians of Oklahoma," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Central Baptist Theological Seminary, 1955, pp. 45, 51; Home Mission Monthly 1 (May 1878): 11; 1 (December 1878): 90; Walter N. Vernon, "Methodist Beginnings Among Southwestern Oklahoma Indians," Chronicles of Oklahoma 58 (Winter 1980-81): 402.

¹⁶George Wild states that Quakers working with the Caddoes in 1872, and Baptist John McIntosh working with the Wichitas in 1876, were the first missionaries on the reservation. Walter Vernon claims that Methodist H. S. P. Ashby appointed to Fort Sill in 1881 was the first missionary to the Kiowa and Comanche, while Mildred Mayhall maintains that Episcopal J. B. Wicks who began work in 1883 was the first. Cheape Ross in a 1939 interview maintained that George W. Hicks and Henry Clouse were the first to work with the Comanche and Kiowa respectively. Baptist historian John Preston Dane claims that Baptists were the most successful religious group in converting Oklahoma Indians. See Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 122; Vernon, "Methodist Beginnings," pp. 394-395; Mildred P. Mayhall, The Kiowas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,

1962), p. 261; Interview with Cheape Ross, 16 December 1939, 42: 335, Indian Pioneer Papers, W.H.C., O.U.; Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," p. 35.

¹⁷Ida Methvin made statements that indicate an atmosphere of friendly competition existed between Methodist and Baptist women, and Martin stated that Sunday Schools often failed because of denominational rivalry. When Mennonite Brethren missionary Henry Kohfeld first went to the reservation, however, he turned to Baptist C. E. Deyo and Methodist A. E. Butterfield for advice. J. J. Methvin feared the spread of Catholicism as the work of the devil and Agent J. M. Haworth denied Mormon missionaries permission to work on the reservation because he felt their church was in defiance of national laws. See Interview with Mrs. J. J. Methvin (nee Ida Swanson), 62: 442, 482; Interview with Dora Martin, 4 May 1937, 60: 443, Indian Pioneer Papers, W.H.C., O.U.; Corwin, "Protestant Missionary Work," p. 55; Vernon, "Methodist Beginnings," pp. 401-402; J. M. Haworth to William Nicholson, 29 September 1877, "Letters Received by the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the Kiowa Agency" (microfilm), Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas; Prucha, American Indian Policy, p. 56.

¹⁸A. J. Holt, quoted in Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," pp. 39-40; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 122.

¹⁹Hugh D. Corwin, "Saddle Mountain Mission and Church," Chronicles of Oklahoma 36 (Spring 1958) 119; Corwin, "Protestant Missionary Work," p. 49.

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²²Corwin, "Protestant Missionary Work," p. 52; Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 230-231; Jerry B. Jeter,

"Pioneer Preacher," Chronicles of Oklahoma 23 (Winter 1945-46): 359; Interview with Elton Cyrus Deyo, 24; 225, Indian Pioneer Papers, W.H.C., O.U.

²³Corwin, "Protestant Missionary Work," p. 50; Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," pp. 47-48, 51, 82; Interview with J. J. Methvin, 62: 331-332, Indian Pioneer Papers, W.H.C., O.U.

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²⁵Babcock and Bryce, History of Methodism, pp. 231-238; Corwin, "Protestant Missionary Work," p. 51; J. J. Methvin, "Reminiscences of Life Among the Indians," Chronicles of Oklahoma 5 (June 1927): 169; Sara Brown Mitchell, "The Early Days of Anadarko," Chronicles of Oklahoma 28 (Winter 1950-51): 391-392; Vernon, "Methodist Beginnings," pp. 394-395, 404-407; Interview with J. J. Methvin, pp. 258, 331-332; Interview with Mrs. J. J. Methvin (nee Ida Swanson), pp. 437-438; Interview with Lillian Gassaway, 14 January 1938, 84: 86; Interview with Mary Alice Mount Huff, 12 May 1937, 30: 96, Indian Pioneer Papers, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society (hereafter referred to as I.A.D., O.H.S.).

²⁶Corwin, "Protestant Missionary Work," p. 47; Moore, "Schools and Education," p. 19; Wild, "History of Education," p. 169; Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1891 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), p. 351.

²⁷Methvin, In the Limelight, p. 85; Mitchell, "Early Days of Anadarko," p. 392; "Notes and Documents," p. 115.

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⁴⁰Ibid., p. 361.

⁴¹"Eulogy--Burdette"; Crawford, Joyful Journey, pp. 41-44; Kiowa, p. 74.

⁴²Burdette, Heroine of Saddle Mountain, pp. 3-8; Crawford, Joyful Journey, pp. 17-27; Mitchell, Tepees to Towers, p. 112. See also Hoyt, Union Missionary Family, pp. 12-13; Mary Jayne, "Diary," January 1898; Una Roberts Lawrence, Pioneer Women (Nashville: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1929), pp. 13, 51-52. Vernon spells name McWhirter, all other sources McWhorter.

⁴³Interview with Becker, p. 360.

⁴⁴Crawford, Joyful Journey, p. 67.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 42; Kiowa, p. 8. See also Mary Jayne to Girls, 6 December 1896, Mary Jayne Collection.

⁴⁶Crawford, Kiowa, p. 8.

⁴⁷Botkin, "Indian Missions," p. 42; Crawford, Joyful Journey, p. 119; Elizabeth M. Page, In Camp and

Tepee: An Indian Mission Story (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1915), p. 165; Interview with J. J. Methvin, p. 332; Interview with Mrs. J. J. Methvin (nee Ida Swanson), p. 435.

⁴⁸Crawford, Kiowa, pp. 13-32. See also Harper, "Mission Work of the Reformed Church," Part I, p. 256.

⁴⁹Interview with J. J. Methvin, p. 404.

⁵⁰Page, In Camp and Tepee, p. 133.

⁵¹Burdette, Heroine of Saddle Mountain, pp. 14-16; Crawford, Joyful Journey, pp. 63-70; Kiowa, pp. 53, 70, 106, 206-209; Lawrence, Pioneer Women, pp. 26-27; Belle Crawford, "Life Among the Indians," Home Mission Monthly 17 (March 1895): 74-75; Interview with Josephine Caines, 15: 31, Indian Pioneer Papers, W.H.C., O.U.

⁵²Burdette, quoted in Crawford, Kiowa, p. 146.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 146-148.

⁵⁴Crawford, Joyful Journey, p. 119.

⁵⁵Mary McLean, Thirty-six Years Among the Indians (Chicago: Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1913), p. 33, quoted in Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," p. 81.

⁵⁶See Chapter 5.

⁵⁷Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," p. 59.

⁵⁸Crawford, Joyful Journey, p. 156.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 63; Kiowa, pp. 98-106.

⁶⁰See Crawford, Joyful Journey; Kiowa; Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," pp. 5, 19, 20, 49-50; Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 163, 210, 212-213, 251; Alice L. Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945), pp. 176-177, 181-183, 216-221; Mayhall, The Kiowa, p. 263.

⁶¹Crawford, Joyful Journey, pp. 54-55.

⁶²Anna Deyo, quoted in Interview with Caines, p. 31.

⁶³Interview with Ross, p. 335.

⁶⁴Crawford, Kiowa, p. 120.

⁶⁵Crawford, Joyful Journey, p. 59.

⁶⁶Helen Brewster, Woman's Missionary Advocate, June 1895, p. 376, quoted in Vernon, "Methodist Beginnings," p. 405.

⁶⁷Mother Jayne to Girls, 6 December 1896, Mary Jayne Collection.

⁶⁸Ibid., "Diary," 22 May 1898.

⁶⁹Babcock and Bryce, History of Methodism, p. 233; Crawford, Joyful Journey, pp. 75-77; Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," pp. 17-18, 20-26; Mary Jayne, "Diary," 16 April 1898; Methvin, "Reminiscences," pp. 177-178.

⁷⁰Brewster, Woman's Missionary Advocate, May 1892, p. 333, quoted in Vernon, "Methodist Beginnings," p. 405.

⁷¹Interview with Mary Francis Campbell, 22 October 1937, 15: 244-246, Indian Pioneer Papers, W.H.C., O.U.

⁷²Ibid., p. 246; Crawford, Joyful Journey, p. 60; Kiowa, p. 66; E. C. Deyo, Home Mission Monthly 18 (December 1896): 414, quoted in Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," pp. 49-50; Mother Jayne to Girls, 6 December 1896, Mary Jayne Collection.

⁷³Interview with Campbell, p. 244.

⁷⁴Interview with Martin, p. 445.

⁷⁵Crawford, Joyful Journey, p. 131.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 86.

⁷⁷Interview with Becker, p. 361.

⁷⁸Crawford, Joyful Journey, p. 68.

⁷⁹Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," pp. 197-198; Methvin, "Reminiscences," p. 178.

⁸⁰Burdette, Heroine of Saddle Mountain, pp. 9-10; Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," p. 96; Harper, "Missionary Work of the Reformed Church," Part I, p. 254; Lawrence, Pioneer Women, p. 21.

⁸¹Mrs. M. B. Avant, Woman's Missionary Advocate, November 1890, p. 140, quoted in Vernon, "Methodist Beginnings," p. 404.

⁸²Martha Leota Buntin, "History of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Indian Agency," unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1931, pp. 114-115; Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," pp. 80-81; Interview with J. J. Methvin, pp. 331-332; Interview with Martin, pp. 444-445; Vernon, "Methodist Beginnings," p. 406; Wild, "History of Education," pp. 147-148.

⁸³Buntin, "History of Kiowa Agency," pp. 130, 160; Crawford, Joyful Journey, pp. 70-75; Interview with Gassaway, p. 86; Lawrence, Pioneer Women, pp. 29-30. See also Harper, "Missionary Work of the Reformed Church," Part I, p. 258.

⁸⁴Interview with Campbell, p. 241; Lawrence, Pioneer Women, pp. 56-60; Interview with Mrs. J. J. Methvin (nee Ida Swanson), p. 437.

⁸⁵Crawford, Kiowa, pp. 56-61; Interview with Huff, pp. 98-99, 101; Lawrence, Pioneer Women, pp. 31-32.

⁸⁶Interview with Becker, pp. 360-361; Crawford, Joyful Journey, pp. 77-79; Kiowa, pp. 105, 155; Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," pp. 78-79; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," pp. 142, 150.

⁸⁷J. J. Methvin, Woman's Missionary Advocate, July 1891, p. 8, quoted in Vernon, "Methodist Beginnings," p. 404; Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," pp. 197-198.

⁸⁸Crawford, quoted in Burdette, Heroine of Saddle Mountain, p. 27; Interview with Campbell, p. 243; Interview with Deyo, p. 228; Interview with H. M. Fulbright, 17 January 1838, 103: 63, Indian Pioneer Papers, I.A.D., O.H.S.; Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," pp. 197-198.

⁸⁹Botkin, "Indian Missions of Episcopal Church," p. 42; Crawford, Joyful Journey, p. 701; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," pp. 131, 170.

⁹⁰Crawford, Joyful Journey, pp. 80-83; Kiowa, pp. 87-88; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 136.

⁹¹Ernest Wallace, "The Comanches on the White Man's Road," West Texas Historical Association Yearbook 29 (October 1953): 5, 28-29; Dane, "History of Baptist Missions," pp. 197-199; Vernon, "Methodist Beginnings," p. 409; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 148.

CHAPTER V

THE CREATION OF INDIAN FARM WOMEN:

FIELD MATRONS AND ACCULTURATION

"No uncivilized people are elevated till the mothers are reached. The civilization must begin in the homes."¹ With these words penned in 1889 Merial A. Dorchester, Special Agent in the Indian School Service, recommended that

provision be made by Congress for the appointment of 'field matrons' whose business it shall be to visit the Indian families and teach the mothers to cook, to make and mend garments, to elevate the homes, and thus make helpful dwelling places.²

Her suggestion was accepted, for within two years the United States House of Representatives appropriated funds for the new Indian Service position of Field Matron.³ By 1895, Field Matron Laretta Ballew was at work on the Kiowa-Comanche Indian Reservation in southwestern Oklahoma Territory helping to create Indian farm women.⁴

Adult education for Indian men was an important element in the Medicine Lodge Treaty contracted with the Kiowa and Comanche. The treaty stipulated that blacksmiths, carpenters, and most importantly, farmers, be hired to teach Indian men the skills necessary to prosper

in an Anglo rural setting.⁵ It made no special provisions, however, to teach complementary Anglo domestic skills to Indian women. Although the presence of Anglo women was encouraged--often expected--on the reservation, those women were not federal employees hired specifically to work with adult Indian women. School teachers, whether religious or government employees, were hired primarily to teach Indian children; their work in Indian camps with adult women held a secondary position. Women missionaries and missionary wives, whose major responsibilities were to carry Anglo culture and domestic skills along with Christianity to Indian women, had no official status on the reservation.

Two decades of educational work with the Kiowa, Comanche, and affiliated tribes, however, failed to produce model Indian American citizens as had been expected by those in control of Indian policy. Although some Indians had been forced or cajoled into permanent housing, many wore blankets and long hair, practiced plural marriage, and ignored Christianity in favor of traditional Indian religious practices. Possibly of more immediate concern to those interested in Indian affairs, few became self-supporting farmers.⁶ Aware of the failure to totally assimilate the Indians, and searching for ways to more effectively implement their programs, government officials listened with renewed interest to the suggestions of

reservation field workers.

Dorchester, charged to inspect conditions at reservation schools, felt that the answer lay with the Indian women. In her 1891 report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs she maintained that

it is very clear to those most closely studying the 'Indian problem' that the elevation of the women is . . . the key to the situation . . . the children start from the plane of the mother rather than that of the father. Therefore, the great work of the present is to reach and lift the woman and the home.⁷

American women were the most logical candidates to carry out this civilizing effort. In fact, reservation field workers had requested for many years that women be hired to work specifically with adult Indian women.⁸ In 1877 Kiowa-Comanche Agent J. W. Haworth recommended in his annual report that the reservation be divided into districts, "with a man and wife and a teacher" appointed to each. The man was to teach the Indian men to farm, and his wife to teach the Indian women domestic skills necessary to be good farm wives.⁹ This suggestion, however, was not acted upon for fourteen years. It was not until the 1890s, when Indian families began to inhabit permanent houses on their allotments,¹⁰ that "the need of instruction in housekeeping was more urgent."¹¹ Repeated requests by reservation and special agents for Field Matrons to work with Indian women and returning Indian school girls¹² were finally answered in 1891.

On 3 March 1891, Congress authorized \$2,500 "to enable the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to employ suitable persons as matrons to teach Indian girls in house-keeping." Matrons were to be paid not more than sixty dollars per month.¹³ A slow start, this appropriation allowed for the hiring of only three to four women for one year to serve the entire Indian Service. An executive order issued 13 April 1891, expanded the classified Civil Service to include matrons and three other field positions in the Indian service.¹⁴

Field Matrons apparently were to be ideal women, imbued with sterling characteristics, and willing to work long hours for low wages. Applicants to any Indian Service position were to be

conscientiously desirous of aiding in the work of improving the physical, domestic, social, intellectual, and moral condition of the Indians, . . . in character above reproach, intellectually well equipped, . . . energetic, industrious, firm, affable, kind, patient, considerate, dignified, possessed of great self-control and business ability and willing to adapt themselves to the contingencies of the service.¹⁵

Beyond these exemplary attributes, Matrons were to be

in robust health, . . . have at least a good English education, and be able to speak and write the English language correctly, . . . have good executive capacity, [and] be neat, orderly . . . [and] well acquainted with all kinds of domestic and household duties.¹⁶

Although demanding the services of model women, the U.S. Government agreed to pay only \$500 to \$720 a year, and sometimes less.¹⁷

Applicants were to be tested in orthography, penmanship, personal and housekeeping questions, elementary English composition, elementary grammar, arithmetic, elementary geography, and elementary United States history.¹⁸ Matrons were to be considered in order of examination grade. Because of the geographical isolation of most agencies, and subsequent lack of qualified women in those areas, however, preference was to be given to wives of school superintendents already located at the reservations.¹⁹ This problem of a limited supply of able women was circumvented also by providing for the hiring of part-time Assistant Field Matrons, paid less than \$300 per year, and thus exempted from Civil Service testing. These positions could be filled by missionary wives and educated Indian schoolgirls already living on the reservation.²⁰

The duties of Field Matrons, as enumerated by Commissioner D. M. Browning on 1 December 1893, were to:

Visit Indian women in their homes and to give them counsel, encouragement, and help in the following lines:

1. Care of a house, keeping it clean and in order, ventilated, properly warmed (not over-heated), and suitably furnished.
2. Cleanliness and hygienic conditions generally, including disposition of all refuse.
3. Preparation and service of food and regularity in meals.
4. Sewing, including cutting, making and mending garments.
5. Laundry work.
6. Adorning the home, both inside and out, with pictures, curtains, home-made rugs, flowers, grass-plots, and trees, construction and repair of walks, fences and drains.

- In this connection there will be opportunity for the Matron to give the male members of the family kindly admonition as to the 'chores' and heavier kinds of work about the house which in civilized communities is generally done by men.
7. Keeping and care of domestic animals, such as cows, poultry, and swine; care and use of milk, making of butter, cheese, and curds; and keeping of bees.
 8. Care of sick.
 9. Care of little children, and introducing among them the games and sports of white children.
 10. Proper observance of the Sabbath; organizations of societies for promoting literary, religious, moral, and social improvement, such as 'Lend a Hand' clubs, circles of 'Kings Daughters,' or 'Sons,' 'Y.M.C.A.,' Christian Endeavor, and Temperance Societies, etc.²¹

In addition to these specific responsibilities, Field Matrons were to be flexible and creative in their work with Indian women, "stimulating their intelligence, rousing ambition, and cultivating refinement." They were to serve as advisors to returning schoolgirls, to encourage education, and to open their homes for counseling and instruction. In other words, they were to train Indian women in all the skills necessary to be model American farm wives. They were to work not less than eight hours per day Mondays through Fridays, and four hours on Saturdays. Finally, they were to write monthly, quarterly, and annual reports to the agent and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.²²

When the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation was formed by the Medicine Lodge Treaty on 21 October 1867,²³ provisions were made for buildings, physicians, skilled craftsmen, and teachers to assist in the civilization process.²⁴

Apparently this attempt to begin immediate assimilation activities failed, for as late as 1890 few children attended school and fewer adults lived the settled lives of Christian farmers.²⁵ Considered to be the "worst" Indians by some contemporary observers, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache were logical candidates to receive the services of the Field Matron program. On 9 July 1895, Laretta E. Ballew, a Baptist missionary, was approved as Field Matron to the Kiowa at a salary of \$60 per month.²⁶

Although insufficient information exists for a thorough quantitative study of Field Matrons employed at the Kiowa-Comanche Agency between 1895 and 1906, a survey of the Agency records reveals several trends. These women, most of whom lived on or near the reservation prior to their appointments, appear to have had similar religious backgrounds, similar attitudes toward their work and the people among whom they worked, and were of similar ages and marital status.

The average age of women tested for the position of Matron by the Civil Service Commission in 1892 was thirty-three.²⁷ Field Matrons appointed to the Kiowa-Comanche Agency, however, tended to be somewhat older. The five women for whom information is available averaged forty-five years of age at the time of their appointments.²⁸ In fact, youth seems to have been a liability. Theodore P. Smith writing to Agent Frank D. Baldwin in

1897 agreed to reassign a Miss Mendenhall, stating that "I appreciate what you say as to the unfitness of the position of Field Matron for a young woman of her years, and I will try to send an older person to take her place."²⁹

Many Field Matrons were single, often former missionaries, school matrons or school teachers. Assistant Field Matrons, however, tended to be married women, quite often missionaries' wives with no young children at home. Family obligations, it seems, could eliminate a woman from consideration. Rosa D. Deavenport and a Mrs. Brewer were denied positions because it was "entirely impracticable to appoint a person to that position who has family cares to make demands upon her time, and thought, and strength."³⁰

All Field Matrons appeared to have had strong Protestant beliefs, and approached their work among the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache with a missionary spirit. Ballew, the first full-time Field Matron at the Agency, originally went to work with the Kiowa in 1892 as a missionary appointed by the Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society of Chicago.³¹ Almost all of the Assistant Field Matrons appointed at the turn of the twentieth century were wives of missionaries working with the various reservation Indian groups. Ella M. Carithers, whose husband served at the Reformed Presbyterian Cache Mission

School, became an Assistant Field Matron in 1898.³² Mary A. Clouse, appointed in 1903, was the wife of the Baptist missionary to the Kiowa at Rainy Mountain.³³ Anna M. Deyo, also hired in 1903, was married to Elton Cyrus Deyo, the Baptist missionary near Fort Sill.³⁴ Magdalena Becker, whose husband worked as assistant missionary for the Mennonite Brethren, began her work as Assistant Field Matron in 1904.³⁵

With the exception of Ballew, these women seldom separated their duties as Field Matrons and federal employees from their duties as missionaries sent by religious organizations. They seem to have continued their missionary work exactly as they had prior to becoming Assistant Field Matrons, with the additional task of writing a monthly report in return for receiving a monthly check of \$25. Their reports are filled with accounts of their mission work. In June, 1904, Clouse reported that she assisted in five funerals, fifty-eight religious services, a camp meeting at the mission, and several baptisms.³⁶ Likewise, Deyo, in November, 1903, gave an elaborate account of the Indian members of her congregation packaging and sending Christmas gifts to the Hopi in Arizona.³⁷

While the missionary wives tended to see matron work as merely an extension of mission work, full-time Field Matrons approached their tasks professionally.

Ballew, although a former missionary, carefully reported the number of women to whom she taught each domestic skill. She reviewed the progress of individual women in her district, and requested materials such as churns, fabric, buckets, washboards, and brooms with which to work.³⁸

Although the Indian Service originally stated that it planned eventually to hire educated Indian women as Assistant Field Matrons³⁹ there is little indication that it successfully achieved this goal. Julie Given and two girls named May and Amie apparently worked for short periods of time for \$5 per month.⁴⁰ A request in 1898 for two Indian girls to work as Field Matrons for \$50 per month was rejected, even though the money was to come from the sale of hides.⁴¹ Nonetheless, Laura D. Pedrick, a returned Kiowa Carlisle student who married an Anglo man, was appointed Field Matron in early 1899.⁴² She worked in this capacity for several years, carefully reporting her accomplishments in a meticulous, often repetitive, but always sincere, manner. She seems to have been particularly concerned with encouraging those with whom she worked to accept Christianity.

I endeavor always to lead my brothers and sisters of the Indian race to an exceptance [sic] of the higher and true religion. I am continually striving to have them throw away their old beliefs and superstitions that have so long kept them in the dark.⁴³

Her tenure in this position, however, was a turbulent one.

Agent William T. Walker fought to block her appointment, and complaints were lodged against her as a result of the tribal divisions that occurred over the questions of allotment.⁴⁴

Field Matrons tended to view the Indian people with whom they worked in a manner similar to most late nineteenth-century reformers and missionaries. That is, Indians were not inherently bad, but merely products of their environment. Although deficient in many qualities necessary in a "civilized" society, they were honest, loyal, and brave, and thus capable of being culturally transformed. With careful guidance and the proper instruction the Indian people could be elevated to become productive members of American society.⁴⁵ This patronizing attitude, in choice of words as often as in ideas expressed, is particularly evident in the Kiowa Field Matron reports.

Ballew often graded the accomplishments of the Indians with whom she worked against an ideal Anglo model. When their progress pleased her, she stated that "White people could not have done any better."⁴⁶ She likewise excused their faults by maintaining that "we can't expect them to progress as fast as the white people,"⁴⁷ and that "it takes time, patience and persiverence [sic] to raise them out of the old Indian rut."⁴⁸ When she considered their actions to be inexcusable, however, she conceded

that "of corse [sic] we have some, who never will amount to anything, with all we can do for them,"⁴⁹ or accused them of being "like grown up children and never will learn."⁵⁰ It should be noted that she never referred to an Indian woman as a friend, nor indicated that any relationship, other than professional, existed between herself and the Indians among whom she lived.

Field Matrons at the Kiowa-Comanche Agency, again like most nineteenth-century reformers, held the firm conviction that what they were doing was right,⁵¹ and that they alone knew what was best for the Indian people. They were particularly dismayed at the Indians' habit of leaving their homes and farms and camping near each other for weeks at a time. "This is a hindrance to the Field Matrons' work and I think bad for the Indians . . . it is damaging to their farms, and has a bad effect on the children,"⁵² Carithers reported of the Kiowa-Apache in 1905. Likewise, Deyo considered their "constantly travelling and camping from place to place . . . very demoralizing to the Indians."⁵³ Ballew planned work for women every day of the week in order to "break up this unnecessary going to town and running around everyday."⁵⁴ They all considered the Indians' nomadic life "an evil and it is the duty of the Field Matron to try to show the Indians that it is a mistake."⁵⁵

This confidence in their knowledge of right and

wrong led the Field Matrons, particularly the missionary wives in the early twentieth century, to make continual demands to higher authorities for legislation to force the Indians to conform to Anglo mores. It is possible that after more than a decade of work it had become obvious to the Field Matrons that the Indians were not going to recognize the superiority of Anglo culture and adopt its habits voluntarily as had been expected.⁵⁶

Since "the last persons presumed to know their own larger interests were the Indians,"⁵⁷ they would have to be made to comply. Clouse, concerned that "they did not seem to have any moral feeling on the subject,"⁵⁸ agreed with Deyo "that schoolboys and girls be compelled to marry legally."⁵⁹ Becker and Deyo asked that "gambling be suppressed" because homes, work, and children were neglected in its pursuit.⁶⁰ Clouse requested that "a compulsory educational law" be enacted,⁶¹ and Deyo continually demanded that "the Indians be made to stay home, and away from these towns where saloons, degradation and death await them."⁶² She even went so far as to insist "that every Indian would be obligated to plant a crop and then stay at home and attend to it."⁶³ It appears that these women's requests were sometimes heeded, for in 1905 Deyo expressed her happiness that the Indians had not been allowed to camp near the traders and had stayed home.⁶⁴

Field Matrons were charged to teach Indian women

skills and ideas necessary to be efficient American farm wives and mothers. Evidence indicates, however, that their actual duties often overstepped these boundaries to include any service that the Matrons felt to be advantageous to the Indians. They provided nursing services, teaching cleanliness, vaccinating against disease, and dispensing medicine.⁶⁵ They prepared bodies for burial and in the absence of missionaries performed funerals.⁶⁶ They interceded in disputes, often defending or translating for Indians in court.⁶⁷ They offered advice on all aspects of life, including financial matters, home decoration, education, proper companionship, and fashion.⁶⁸ They wrote letters for, and in behalf of, their Indian acquaintances.⁶⁹ In later years they maintained birth and death records and delivered payment checks to Indian families.⁷⁰ Finally, apparently in between their numerous other duties, they were responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of their own homes.⁷¹

It is evident why the Field Matron program was instituted in the final decade of the nineteenth century. The tendency toward social reform, the belief that Indian assimilation was necessary, the conviction that an agricultural society provided the best form of democratic civilization, and the faith that women (both Anglo and Indian) were moral guardians of society, merged and gave birth to this unique branch of the Indian Service. Women

teaching women attacked the problem of assimilation at its foundation, in the Indian home where children, the anticipated first generation of Indian citizens, were being trained and nurtured. The results of the program, however, are not as readily apparent.

In judging the success or failure of the Field Matron program one must consider its goals on two levels. On the first, the federal government hired Field Matrons to teach Indian women the domestic skills necessary to perform the duties of turn-of-the-century American farm wives. If one can believe the reports of Anglos closely involved in the program, it at least partially succeeded in this area. The Field Matrons reported slow but constant progress in teaching, and then convincing, the Indian women to adopt Anglo, or "civilized," habits.⁷² Martha Leota Buntin, whose father was appointed Kiowa Agent in 1922, reported that by 1930 there were fewer practicing medicine men, that all Indians lived in houses, that eighty percent of the houses were screened, that sanitary water supplies were available, that reports of tuberculosis had decreased, that a better attitude existed toward education, and that Indian women were raising chickens, making butter, tending gardens, and practicing many other skills encouraged by the Field Matrons.⁷³

Teaching household arts, however, was secondary to the overall goal of assimilation. Practicing Anglo

domestic and agricultural skills, when combined with belief in Christianity, in some mystical way was to transform the Indian people from nomadic "hunters and warriors into [settled] farmers and stockmen."⁷⁴ This anticipated change did not occur. In the words of William T. Hagan,

the Comanches came no nearer to escaping their dependence on the government . . . Notwithstanding the lip service paid to the concept of assimilation, Comanche children continued to attend government schools, they and their parents were treated by government doctors, and they patronized government-licensed traders.

The Indian Office, later the Bureau of Indian Affairs, did not die from disuse as expected, but grew in scope.⁷⁵

The Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache in southwestern Oklahoma did not assimilate and disappear into American society as predicted, but were transformed "into apathetic wards of the United States."⁷⁶

Endnotes

¹"Report of Special Agent in the Indian School Service," Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889, p. 346. (Hereafter referred to as C.I.A. Annual Report, 1889.)

²Ibid.

³Indian Appropriations Act, approved 3 March 1891, in U.S. Statutes at Large, XXVI, 1009.

⁴Browning to Baldwin, 5 August 1895, Kiowa Agency Employee Records, 1895; Browning to Baldwin, 27 June 1895, Kiowa Field Matrons Files; Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. (Hereafter referred to as K.E.R., K.F.M., and O.H.S.)

⁵Charles J. Kappler, comp., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, vol. II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 978-979, 981.

⁶William Thomas Hagan, United States-Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 183-193.

⁷"Suggestions from the Field," Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1891, p. 542.

⁸C.I.A. Annual Report, 1889, p. 346.

⁹Annual Report, Haworth, 1877, Kiowa Agent's Reports, O.H.S., quoted in George Posey Wild, "History of the Education of the Plains Indians of Southwestern Oklahoma Since the Civil War," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1947, p. 69.

¹⁰As the final step in the Indian assimilation policy, the Kiowa, the Comanche, and the Kiowa-Apache were allotted 160 acres of reservation land each, the surplus land sold to Anglo farmers and speculators. It was hoped that private property ownership would speed the Indians' awareness of the superiority of agrarian life, and that contact with Anglo farmers would encourage the acceptance of Anglo culture. See Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 166-167; Martha Leota Buntin, "History of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Indian Agency," unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1931, pp. 152-154.

¹¹Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 247.

¹²Hoping to speed assimilation by training Indian children to be American, Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache, school children were sent to off-reservation boarding schools such as Carlisle in Pennsylvania. Quite often the returning school children, after years of isolation from Indian culture, found that they were accepted in neither Anglo nor Indian society. Field Matrons were charged to befriend returning school girls and encourage them to retain the Anglo habits learned in school. See Alice Marriott, Greener Fields (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1953), pp. 14, 19.

¹³U.S. Statutes at Large, 1891, XXVI, 1009.

¹⁴U.S. Civil Service Commission Annual Report, 1890-91, in House Executive Documents, 52nd Cong., 1st sess. (Serial 2942), pp. 2, 46. (Hereafter referred to as C.S.C. Annual Report, 1890-91 (Serial 2942).)

¹⁵Ibid., 216.

¹⁶Ibid., 217.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸U.S. Civil Service Commissioner Annual Report, 1890-91, in House Executive Documents, 52nd Cong., 2nd sess. (Serial 3097), pp. 155, 212-215. (Hereafter referred to as C.S.C. Annual Report, 1890-91 (Serial 3097).)

¹⁹C.S.C. Annual Report, 1890-91 (Serial 2942), pp. 47-48; Paul Stuart, The Indian Office: Growth and Development of an American Institution, 1865-1900 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1978), p. 49.

²⁰C.S.C. Annual Report, 1890-91 (Serial 3097), p. 90; Larrabee to Agent, 31 December 1907, K.F.M., O.H.S.

²¹Field Matron Report Forms, K.F.M., O.H.S.

²²Ibid.

²³Buntin, "History of Indian Agency," pp. 20-22.

²⁴Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 60; Hagan, Comanche Relations, p. 38.

²⁵Buntin, "History of Indian Agency," pp. 89, 112; Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," p. 39.

²⁶Browning to Baldwin, 5 August 1895, K.E.R., O.H.S.; Home Mission Monthly 16 (November 1894): 455.

²⁷C.S.C. Annual Report, 1890-91 (Serial 3097), pp. 118-119.

²⁸Descriptive Statement of Changes in the Force of the Agency Employees, 20 December 1900, 9 July 1903; Personal Record of McFarland, 6 December 1910, Givens, date unknown; K.F.M., O.H.S.

²⁹Ibid., Smith to Baldwin, 8 May 1897.

³⁰Ibid., Browning to Baldwin, 27 July 1895; Jones to Baldwin, 25 April 1898.

³¹John Preston Dane, "A History of Baptist Missions Among the Plains Indians of Oklahoma," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Central Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Kansas, 1955, p. 45.

³²Wild, "Education of Plains Indians," pp. 169-170. The earliest record of her work as Field Matron in the Kiowa Field Matron Files is Carithers, Loyalty Oath, 4 August 1904, K.F.M., O.H.S.

³³Descriptive Statement of Changes . . . , 9 July 1903, K.F.M., O.H.S.

³⁴Ibid.; Interview with Elton Cyrus Deyo, 24: 225-227, Indian Pioneer Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

³⁵Becker to Randlett, 30 August 1904; Loyalth Oath, Magdalena Becker, 15 December 1904, K.F.M., O.H.S.

³⁶Ibid., Quarterly Report, Clouse, June, 1904.

³⁷Ibid., Monthly Report, Deyo, 30 November 1903.

³⁸Ibid., Ballew, 30 September 1898; All Reports, Ballew, Mendenhall, 1895.

³⁹C.S.C. Annual Report, 1890-91 (Serial 3097), p. 90.

⁴⁰Given to Agent, 15 September 1895; Cooley to Baldwin, 23 January 1898; K.F.M., O.H.S.

⁴¹Ibid., Jones to Baldwin, 2 April 1898.

⁴²Ibid., Jones to Walker, 31 January 1899; Hagan, Comanche Relations, p. 222.

⁴³Monthly Report, Pedrick, 30 June 1904, K.F.M.,
O.H.S.

⁴⁴Ibid., Jones to Walker, 31 January 1899.
Allotment for the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation was ratified in 1900. Leaders of the three tribes involved, Quannah, Apiatan, and Apache John, accepted the ruling. Lone Wolf, a Kiowa, and Eschiti, a Comanche, refused to accept the decision and attempted to have the agreement nullified through the courts. At the same time, on the reservation, disputes took place between the two factions. The anti-allotment group failed in their efforts, and allotment began in late July, 1900. See Hagan, Comanche Relations, pp. 262-264.

⁴⁵Robert Winston Mardock, The Reformers and the American Indian (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), pp. 3-4.

⁴⁶Monthly Report, Ballew, December, 1896; 31 May 1899; 31 March 1902; 28 February 1907; K.F.M., O.H.S.

⁴⁷Ibid., 30 September 1901.

⁴⁸Ibid., 30 September 1898.

⁴⁹Ibid., 30 June 1905.

⁵⁰Ibid., 31 January 1902.

⁵¹Mardock, Reformers and Indian, p. 2.

⁵²Annual Report, Carithers, 25 July 1905, K.F.M.,
O.H.S.

⁵³Ibid., Monthly Report, Deyo, 1 July 1905.

⁵⁴Ibid., Ballew, 31 March 1907.

⁵⁵Ibid., Annual Report, Carithers, 25 July 1905.

⁵⁶Robert F. Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), p. 150.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 153.

⁵⁸Monthly Report, Clouse, 31 March 1905, K.F.M.,
O.H.S.

⁵⁹Ibid., Deyo, 1 July 1904.

- ⁶⁰ Ibid., 1 September 1904; Becker, 28 February 1907.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., Clouse, 30 September 1904; 31 January 1905.
- ⁶² Ibid., Deyo, December, 1903; 31 January 1905; 30 September 1906.
- ⁶³ Ibid., 30 November 1906.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., 31 January 1905.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., Pedrick, December, 1900; 30 April 1901; 31 December 1903; 29 February 1904; Dickens, 28 February 1901; Ballew, 31 March 1907; Annual Report, Pedrick, 15 August 1901.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., Monthly Report, Deyo, 1 February 1905; Quarterly Report, Clouse, June, 1904.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., Reeside to Baldwin, 31 August 1897; Ballew to Randlett, 1 and 15 August 1899; Monthly Report, Pedrick, 31 December 1903; 31 March 1904; Clouse, 31 December 1907.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., Ballew, September, 1896; Dickens, 31 January 1901; Pedrick, 30 June 1901; 31 September 1903; 31 December 1903; Carithers, 31 March 1906; Deyo, 31 October 1903.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., Deyo, 1 February 1904; Bauk to Buntice (?), 1903; Buntin, "History of Indian Agency," p. 130.
- ⁷⁰ Monthly Report, Treat, 1 December 1910; Ballew, 31 May 1903; K.F.M., O.H.S.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., Given to Johnson, 2 November 1895.
- ⁷² Ibid., Monthly Report, Ballew, September, 1896; April, 1897; 30 July 1897; 30 September 1898; 31 March 1899; 31 May 1899; 31 January 1901; 30 June 1901; 30 September 1901; 31 October 1901; Becker, 31 May 1906; Deyo, 1 May 1904; Annual Report, 15 August 1904; Carithers, 11 August 1906.
- ⁷³ Buntin, "History of Indian Agency," pp. 177-187.
- ⁷⁴ Hagan, Comanche Relations, p. xiii.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 286.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., p. xiv.

CHAPTER VI

FAILED ASSIMILATION: ALLOTMENT AND THE KIOWA-COMANCHE RESERVATION

Allotment, the final step of the assimilation policy, did not reach the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation until 1900. A three-member commission, created in 1889 to negotiate allotment agreement with Indian groups claiming land in western Indian Territory, first met with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache at Fort Sill in September, 1892. The Commission, headed by Board of Indian Commissioners member David H. Jerome, offered each Indian a 160-acre allotment, with surplus land to be sold to the U.S. government for a lump sum of two million dollars (estimated to yield \$0.80 per acre). The Indians, not willing to sell their land immediately, argued to delay the transaction as long as possible and to receive at least \$1.25 per acre when allotment became inevitable. The Commission countered these demands by including in the benefits of the agreement white "friends of the Indians" living on the reservation who influenced the Indians in favor of the government's proposal. When the Jerome Agreement--as it came to be known--was signed by the required three-fourths of the adult male tribesmembers,

the Indians were promised no more land or money than they had been offered originally.¹

As it turned out, however, the extra time they had requested was granted inadvertently: it took eight years for Congress to ratify the agreement. Claiming fraud in gaining the original Jerome Agreement signatures, and maintaining that it would be impossible to build successful self-sufficient farms on only 160 acres in barren southwestern Oklahoma Territory, Kiowa and Comanche representatives as well as Anglo "friends of the Indians" lobbied and petitioned for defeat of the agreement. Increased pressure from Anglo Oklahomans and prospective Oklahoma settlers, however, finally forced passage of the agreement--though in altered form--in June, 1900. Each Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache was to receive 160 acres of land; 480,000 acres were to be set aside to be held in common by the three tribes; and the Indians were guaranteed at least \$500,000 of the two million dollars due them from the sale of surplus land.²

The physical boundaries of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation dissolved when allotment was initiated in July, 1900. Within one year 160-acre allotments had been claimed, and 400,000 acres to be held in common had been set aside in an area along the Texas border known as the Big Pasture. Anglo settlers illegally invaded the reservation area almost immediately. When surplus lands were opened to settlement by

lottery in July, 1901, more than 165,000 people registered for the 13,000 available homesteads.³ The attentions of unsuccessful homesteaders turned next to the Big Pasture land. A series of bills to open this last track of commonly held land was introduced in Congress between 1902 and 1905. Each offered little compensation to the Indian owners. A final bill, rewritten under President Theodore Roosevelt's threat of veto, stipulated that Indian children born since the 1900 allotment would be provided 160-acre allotments and that the remaining land would be purchased for \$5 per acre. The last Kiowa-Comanche Reservation land opened for settlement in September, 1906.⁴

The Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache--although individual landowners surrounded by white settlers--did not disappear into mainstream America as had been predicted by those who instituted the assimilation policy. Anglo women who went to the reservation hoping to acculturate, and thereby assimilate, the Kiowa and Comanche people accomplished their goals only in part. Women school teachers did reach many school-aged children, providing formal instruction in the English language, in elementary arithmetic, in American culture and patriotism, and in industrial training. Women missionaries and missionary wives likewise came in contact in some way with most Indian adults, providing instruction in Christianity, material assistance, and quite often, entertainment. And

Field Matrons, women working as representatives of the federal government, did influence the lives of Indian women, teaching them domestic skills while initiating them into the world of nineteenth-century feminine duty.

These women, however, failed in their primary goal--the assimilation of the Kiowa, Comanche, and associated tribes into American society. Although many children were exposed to a rudimentary education, few received concentrated academic, or usable industrial, instruction. Although some adults accepted Christianity, most chose to continue traditional religious practices, or to adopt new practices incorporating elements of Christianity with traditional rituals. Although women were taught the intricacies of Anglo cooking, sewing, cleaning, and dress, many preferred to cook outdoors and to wear loose, comfortable clothing.

Anglo women involved in assimilation work among the Kiowa and Comanche, however, continued their labor long after allotment and the end of the reservation. The Field Matron program operated until 1926, when a reorganization of the medical division of the Indian Service replaced Field Matrons with Field Nurses. Missionary Magdalena Becker still worked at the Post Oak Mission when she was interviewed by the W.P.A. in 1938. In addition, the Fort Sill and Riverside Boarding Schools remained in operation, still employing women, as late as 1979.

While the day-to-day life of reservation Indians did change, that life was far from the ideal envisioned by Indian reformers and field workers. The division of reservation land during the opening decade of the twentieth century created not self-sufficient Americans, but dependent wards of the United States government. It was not until the 1920s, however, that government officials acknowledged this failure and initiated steps to reverse past assimilation policies. In 1928 the Institution for Government Research issued a report describing the poverty, disease, and discontent that existed among Indian people, and placed blame for this state of affairs on the allotment policy. The Indian Reorganization Act, passed in 1934, discontinued allotment, authorized money to purchase land for Indian use, and allowed the organization of tribal governments.⁶

The assimilation policy, and the women who were its emissaries, at best produced a new culture--a culture that was neither Anglo nor Indian, but a combination of both. They helped create a world in which, well into the twentieth century, men wore Anglo-style clothing, but kept hair in long braids and attended peyote ceremonies; a world in which women wore blankets over Anglo dresses, and carried their babies in cradleboards to Christian worship services. And most tragically they helped produce a world in which children, educated in Anglo schools, were accepted

in neither Anglo nor traditional Indian culture.

These women proved, however, that the social contributions of women to nineteenth-century America was not confined to the home and family. They demonstrated that women, working in association as well as individually, influenced the development and implementation of a significant, though unfortunate, federal policy.

Endnotes

¹William T. Hagan, United States-Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 201-215.

²Ibid., pp. 250-261.

³Ibid., pp. 262-269.

⁴Ibid., pp. 283-285.

⁵George Posey Wild, "History of Education of the Plains Indians of Southwestern Oklahoma Since the Civil War," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Oklahoma University, 1941, p. 266; Interview with Mrs. A. J. (Magdalena) Becker, 28 April 1938, Vol. 6, Indian Pioneer Papers, W.H.C., O.U.; Statistics Concerning Indian Education, for Fiscal Year 1979, U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1979.

⁶Angie Debo, A History of the Indians of the United States (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), pp. 283-290.

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