Kansas is at center stage in the history of the North American continent. Beginning with the indigenous peoples of the Middle Plains, this place now called Kansas has hosted many seminal events in the history and heritage of humankind. The region’s native communities and the long-term impact of Kansas on them is the focus of this essay, which will review the nature of the literature about the native peoples of Kansas. Coming from several directions, as observed by Elliott West in his award-winning *Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado*, these Native Americans fought one another, formed alliances, and understood the West in their own ways. Their story is central to any real understanding of the history of Kansas and the West.

The peoples to whom we here refer were and are a diverse lot. The Kansa, or Kaw, tribe was a small group of about sixteen hundred people, who soon learned that the Osages and the Pawnees, as well as surrounding tribes such as the Kiowa, Arapaho, and Cheyenne, utilized this part of the Great Plains in pursuit of the buffalo. Due to the buffalo, their livelihood was a hunting economy on the Kansas prairie. Following Indian removal during the early and mid-nineteenth century, other groups such as the Iowas, Kickapoos, Sac and Foxes, and Potawatomis came to call Kansas home. In fact, these four tribes are now the native peoples who maintain reservations in north-central Kansas. Their arrivals during the 1830s and 1840s introduced the beginning of great changes for Kansas and its earliest residents.

As a part of Indian life, important themes of “contact,” “unseen forces,” and “cultural change” permeate the literature and help us more easily understand the complexity of American Indians. Diverse cultures coming into contact with one another for the first time caused abrupt demographic change, as did unseen ab...
between Native Americans and Euro-Americans, and studies of the U.S. government’s Indian policies. In Kansas this involved particularly antebellum removal and resettlement and the Plains Indian wars that followed the end of the American Civil War in 1865. In recent years, as Professor Fixico demonstrates, there has been a revolution in the thinking and writing about Indian peoples in Kansas and the West. Studies have investigated new themes such as Native Americans and the environment, intermarriage with whites, tribal life, the importance of oral traditions, and the biographies of important figures. For the period after the Civil War, these more recent studies have focused on the Americanization policies of the U.S. government and the efforts of Native Americans to retain and redefine their own identities. Some of the most important struggles occurred in the meeting between Indians and missionaries, as well as the reaction of the Indian boarding-school experiences.

So, although the literature is rich in some areas, much work is left to be done. As the following article indicates, we need a greater body of ethnohistorical studies of tribes, more emphasis upon Native American perspectives, new research on the urban Indian experience, and studies of leadership, tribal economies, and Indian gaming. Professor Fixico here offers a fine example of the future work in American Indian history and a worthy addition to the journal’s award-winning “Review Essay Sections.”

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strat forces such as Manifest Destiny and greed for gold. Embracing indigenous peoples, new tribes, and white settlement, Kansas was indeed a cross-section of diverse cultures throughout the nineteenth century.

The earliest writings about Plains Indians involving Kansas began in 1835 with John Trot Irving’s Indian Sketches: Taken During an Expedition through the Plains Tribes: In Two Volumes. Later works, such as James R. Mead’s Hunting and Trading on the Great Plains, 1859–1875, have continued to describe the early life of Plains Indians. And still more recent and insightful studies include John C. Ewers, Plains Indian History and Culture: Essays on Continuity and Change, and Howard Meredith, Dancing on Common Ground: Tribal Cultures and Alliances on the Southern Plains.3

The early works about Plains Indians have been cultural descriptions that have both depicted them as nomadic primitive peoples and enshrined them as stewards of nature. Overall, scholars have estimated that perhaps twenty-four to twenty-eight different Indian groups or tribes called the Great Plains their home- lands. Intermittent contact with each other and with the natural environment forged a human–nature relationship in the American West.

The buffalo perhaps best symbolized the interaction of life and religion for many Great Plains tribes. An estimated five million buffalo roamed the Southern Plains, a vastly spacious area of eighty-two thousand square miles in Kansas alone. The Plains were a seemingly endless haven for buffalo, antelope, coyotes, wild turkeys, and birds of various species. This continuous enormous landscape, with its wide sky, flat land, rolling hills, prairie, and wild grasses of two hundred varieties, deeply influenced the thinking of native peoples and shaped their cultures. To address the writings about their people, we must begin to follow the previous passage before statehood, without boundaries, and view it as a part of a region known as the Central Plains. It is common knowledge among historians, environmentalists, and observers of nature in general that the Great Plains encompasses this part of the country. Noted historian Walter Prescott Webb described this region in two of his works, The Great Plains and The Great Frontier.4 Geographically located in the center of the continent, Kansas witnessed many changes to its indigenous peoples.

Environmental historians Donald Worster, Dan Flores, Richard White, and other scholars in the 1980s and 1990s described the importance of the West in shaping communities and cultures.5 White insightfully connects native peoples to other peoples and the environment, and in his “The Cultural Landscape of the Pawnees,” recently published in Rita Napier’s edited volume Kansas and the West: New Perspectives, he describes the impact of environment on shaping native life.6 Although there are fifty-six federally recognized tribes to date, not all have a written history. Each of this tribe’s catalogued history, however, has a standard published work. For example, historian William E. Unrau’s The Kansas Indians: A History of the Wind People, 1673–1873, describes the early history and culture of the Kansa, or Kaw, Indians.7 Other tribal histories, including Mildred P. Mayhall’s The Kansa; Donald J. Berthrong’s The Southern Cheyennes; Virginia Cole Trenholm’s The Arapahos, Our People; and Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel’s The Comanches: Lords of the Southern Plains, have examined these regular early visitors to the Kansas area and depicted their mobile lifestyle on horseback largely in pursuit of the buffalo. These noble equestrians of the Central Plains have continued to attract scholarly interest, and their histories have appeared in important publications such as John H. Moore, The Cheyenne: A History and Demography.8 While the major tribes now have their classic histories, we can expect younger scholars to complete the task by writing tribal histories about all Indian nations who shared the central stage called Kansas.

Beyond published tribal histories, however, it is important to recognize that native peoples, or any group, have their own stories and oral traditions of “how things began.” In such creation stories, lessons are told about how people learned to follow certain ways and understand how life was meant to be. They viewed themselves as a part of the earth, belonging to it and to the sun. Both the sun and earth are the character to the region and nourished the people. The following passage of creation story describes how these people began life in the Kansas area as they knew it.

After Tirawa had created the sun, moon, stars, the heavens, the earth, and all things upon the earth, he spoke, and at the sound of his voice a woman appeared on the earth. Tirawa spoke to the gods in the heavens and asked them what he should do to make the woman happy and that she might give increase. The Moon spoke and said: “All things that you have made, you have made in pairs, as the Heavens and the Earth, the Sun and the Moon. Give mate to the woman so that the pair may live together and help one another in life.”

Tirawa made a man and sent him to the woman; then he said: “Now I will speak to both of you. I give you the earth. You shall call the earth ‘mother.’ The heavens you shall call ‘father.’ You shall also call the moon ‘mother’; for she


The early works about Plains Indians have depicted them as nomadic primitive peoples and enshrined them as stewards of nature.
Euro-American invasion in its many forms resulted in the Native American struggle for identity.

In the twentieth century native scholars began to write about their people. John Joseph Mathews, part-Osage, is the recognized authority of Osage history with his classics *Walt Kon-Tah: The Osage and the White Man’s Road* and *The Osage*. Children of the Middle Waters. Since the 1980s the number of native historians has increased. They include James Riding In, a Pawnee historian who completed his doctoral dissertation “Keepers of Tirarawlaut’s Covenant: The Development and Destruction of Pawnee Culture” at UCLA in 1991; David Edmunds (Cherokee), who wrote *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire*, Carter Black Clark (Creek), author of *Wolf Wolf v. Hitchcock: Treaty Rights and Indian Law at the End of the Nineteenth Century*; and Jackie Rand (Choctaw), historian and professor at the University of Iowa who is completing a doctoral dissertation on the Kiowas. At present an estimated twenty-five American Indians hold doctorates in history, and they are writing native perspectives informed by a personal knowledge of their people. The plains world of native people living in Kansas involved all of the indigenous groups. They adjusted to life in this demanding region, and frequently the tribes’ hunting domains overlapped. Relationships were important, and people such as the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahos formed permanent alliances much like that of the Sacs and Foxes in Kansas and Oklahoma. The Kansa, Osage, and Pawnee tribes were the earliest indigenous peoples of Kansas and they vied for this land. Well before the arrival of the white man, the Indian nations competed for hunting territories. James R. Christianson’s “The Early Osage—The Ishmaelites of the Savages” records the fierce Osage claim to the area beginning in the seventeenth century. Indigenous tribes fought battles among themselves and forged their peace, and new conflicts made native peoples acutely aware of the importance of relationships with each other and with the earth. The initial hostilities between Indians and whites in Kansas produced “contact” literature about early Indian wars and attacks. In 1825 at Council Grove, federal officials negotiated with the Osages for passage of the Santa Fe Trail across their lands, but not all regional tribes accepted these terms. Historian Robert Trennert noted in “Indian Policy on the Santa Fe Road: The Fitzpatrick Controversy of 1847–1848” that from the trail’s opening in 1821 tribes such as the Comanche, Kiowa, Pawnee, Cheyenne, and Arapaho regularly attacked this economic lifeline of trade that connected the United States and New Mexico. The Council Grove treaty opened the region to many thousand “intruders,” which drastically changed the “earth” as the native peoples had known it and immeasurably altered a way of life.

During the spring in 1846 the Kaws signed the Greenwood Treaty at Council Grove, ceding their reservation along the Kansas River for a smaller one to the south. They received an annual payment of one thousand dollars for education, and a mission school was built for them in February 1851. In 1873 increased American settlement activity in Kansas forced the Kaws to agree to remove southward to Indian Territory. This “conquest” of Indian lands is aptly examined in a number of works by historian William E. Unrau. Euro-American invasion in its many forms resulted in the Native American struggle for identity, a theme examined in Unrau’s *Mixed-Bloods and Tribal Dissolution: Charles Curtis and the Quest for Indian Identity*. Increased contact between Indians and whites yielded mixed marriages between tribes and between Indians and whites. Charles Curtis, who served as vice president of the United States from 1929 to 1933, was the product of one such union.

As a whole, biographical studies dealing with members of Kansas tribes are few. Perhaps the most noted individual of the eastern tribes to come to Kansas, Kenneuk, the Kickapoo prophet, is described by George A. Schultz in his article “Kenneuk, The Kickapoo Prophet,” and by Joseph B. Herring in the biography *Kenneuk: The Kickapoo Prophet* and his article “The Prophet Kenneuk and the Vermillion Kickapoo: Acculturation Without Assimilation.” Plains Indian leaders

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are treated in the perceptive work of Stan Hoag, *The Peace Chiefs of the Cheyennes* and *The Kiowas and the Legend of Kicking Bird*. Hoag portrayed Kicking Bird as a romantic figure pursuing peace amid conflict among the Kiowas. Nineteenth-century Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa peace leaders led their people during difficult times and faced factionalism within their communities while dealing with the U.S. government. Historian Steven Cruin has notably chronicled the contributions of Henry Roe Cloud, a Winnebago educator and reformer, in his article “Henry Roe Cloud, A Winnebago Indian Reformer: His Quest for American Indian Higher Education.” Roe Cloud established the Roe Institute in Wichita, Kansas, in September 1915 to train Indian leaders to handle religious, economic, and health concerns among American Indians. This early all-Indian high school later was renamed the American Indian Institute and as such became one of the first schools of higher education for American Indians in the twentieth century.

Some recent scholarship has focused on the culture and history of native peoples who made Kansas a part of their homeland, such as Karl Schlesier’s *Wolves of Heaven: Cheyenne Shamanism, Ceremonies, and Prehistoric Origins*. The work of anthropologists and historians who are interested in cultural history and communities forged this field of literature that began during the 1950s. Historian Willard Rollings has more recently offered us a cultural history of the Osages in his book *The Osage: An Ethnohistorical Study of Hegemony on the Prairie-Plains*. Simultaneously, the newly arrived eastern tribes experienced considerable cultural change. Contact between Plains and eastern tribes is yet to be explained in a body of literature for the public.

In the history of every region of the world and in the history of any country, “unseen forces” of human desire are at work and have enormous impact. The human desire for land, gold, natural resources, and for a home are the emotional engines driving the human spirit of the Anglo-American, cloaked as “Manifest Destiny” and the moving spirit of the “frontier” so aptly described by Frederick Jackson Turner in his essay. Such desire of the human spirit impacted “Manifest Destiny” and the moving spirit of the “frontier” so aptly described by Frederick Jackson Turner in his essay. Such desire of the human spirit impacted the plains increased, Fort Riley, Kansas, to the west became a popular outpost and base of operation for U.S. troops patrolling the overland trails. The important presence of Fort Riley is described by James E. Sherow and William S. Reed Jr. in *A Richly Textured Community: Fort Riley, Kansas, and American Indians, 1853–1911*, and by William A. Dobak in *Fort Riley’s Black Soldiers and the Army’s Changing Role in the West, 1867–1885*. The U.S. government’s Indian policy remained in constant flux, and as a result the role of the military on the Plains did as well. The Military Road near the eastern border of the “Indian frontier,” according to Eloise Frisbie Robbins, who chronicled the road in “The Original Military Post Road Between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott,” was intended to “cord” off the Indian country and “to provide for protective control” of the frontier. But soon, as traffic across and to the plains increased, Fort Riley, Kansas, to the west became a popular outpost and base of operation for U.S. troops patrolling the overland trails. The important presence of Fort Riley is described by James E. Sherow and William S. Reed Jr. in *A Richly Textured Community: Fort Riley, Kansas, and American Indians, 1853–1911*, and by William A. Dobak in *Fort Riley’s Black Soldiers and the Army’s Changing Role in the West, 1867–1885*.

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The mounting conflicts convinced a congressional committee in 1865 to gather evidence on the Indian wars. Its work resulted two years later in the “Report on the Condition of the Indian Tribes.” This study pushed Congress to pass an act to establish the Indian Peace Commission with the goal to bring an end to the Sioux war and all Indian wars. During October 1867 military officials held a council at Medicine Lodge Creek in southwest Kansas, where ensuing talks led to the Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahos, and Cheyennes accepting lands in western Oklahoma. Treaties were signed, but the Medicine Lodge council did not end war on the Southern Plains.

Tension persisted between Indians and whites and among the diverse Indian peoples. In 1868 the Cheyennes and Kaws quarreled over stolen horses. The latter killed seven Cheyennes, recovered Kaws horses, and seized about forty more horses belonging to the Cheyennes. In retaliation, as many as four hundred Cheyennes unsuccessfully attacked the Kaws on June 3, 1868, at Council Grove. Pioneers pushing westward also continued to anger native peoples. The U.S. government struggled to find a solution to the tensions caused by ever increasing white settlement on Indian lands, now promised via treaties, and to try to prevent further violence between and among the races. Because of its central location, Kansas witnessed much movement of Indians and whites and the conflict that resulted. Such encounters are well examined by Stan Hoig in his Tribal Wars of the Southern Plains.

The West had become a dynamic venue in which easterners could “try their luck,” and their endeavors only heightened dissension between native peoples and newcomers. In the wake of the Civil War the cattle business exploded on a scale never seen before. Entrepreneur Joseph G. McCoy maneuvered the Kansas Pacific Railroad to transport cattle to packinghouses in Chicago and St. Louis. Cattle trails southward to Texas brought beef to Abilene, Kansas, a quiet little town—almost a ghost town—when McCoy selected it for his cattle business. An onslaught of stock pens, barns, corrals, saloons, and a hotel to lodge cowboys transformed Abilene into a thriving cowtown. McCoy’s success influenced other railroads to become involved in the cattle shipping business, which led to the development of additional cowtowns such as Ellsworth, Wichita, Newton, and Dodge City. During the 1870s and 1880s railroad developments networked of track

As American Indians sought to create yet another place for themselves in the rapidly changing West, the antebellum struggle to determine the future of enslaved Americans reached Kansas. The sectional struggle that was Bleeding Kansas variously impacted the region’s Indian population. Gary L. Cheatham has described the division among Kansas before and after the outbreak of civil war in two Kansas History articles: “‘Within the Limits of the Southern Confederacy’: The C.S.A.’s Interest in the Quapaw, Osage, and Cherokee Tribal Lands of Kansas” and “Divided Loyalties in Civil War Kansas,” which also involved Osage warriors who pursued Confederate troops. While two-thirds of the Osages remained loyal to the Union, most Cherokees in Kansas sided with the Confederacy. But either way, the War Between the States proved devastating to most Indian tribes.

On the plains just west of Kansas, the indirect consequences of the Civil War also were disastrous. In the fall of 1864 Colorado’s territorial governor succeeded in convincing Indians in the area to camp at Fort Lyon on Sand Creek. Colonel John M. Chivington and his militia attacked the peaceful Indian encampment led by Cheyenne chief Black Kettle. Chivington’s command slaughtered 450 innocent Indian men, women, and children under a white flag of truce and the American flag. As hostile relations increased between Indians and whites, settlers found themselves watchful of Indians, and vice versa. Language and cultural differences led to misunderstandings and war.

Post-Civil War Kansas experienced regular attacks by the Cheyennes, Lakotas, Arapahos, Comanches, Apaches, and Kiowas. Slightly populated by whites and relatively unprotected against attack, western Kansas especially was a dangerous area. In addition to their dependency on hunting buffalo, Plains tribes lived a raiding economy—a cultural norm for Native Americans but viewed by whites as an act of war. As a result, hostilities toward Indians increased.

The struggle between native peoples and encroaching white interests often resulted in violence, as is evident here in this painting by Charles Schreyvogel, aptly entitled The Duel—Tomahawk and Sabre.


John M. Chivington and his militia slaughtered 450 innocent Indian men, women, and children under a white flag of truce.
The passage of the Homestead Act of 1862 resulted in rapid development of Kansas during the final decades of the nineteenth century. Here Native Americans watch as wagon trains bring settlers into their homelands.

The effects of Manifest Destiny brought a permanency of white settlement to Kansas. From the Indian perspective, indigenous tribes, including the Kaws, were defeated and forced to accept reservations in Indian Territory to the south. Annie Heloise Abel wrote her thesis “Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title” at the University of Kansas in 1902, describing the displacement of Indian tribes on to reservations.

Eastern tribes, removed to Kansas in the 1830s, were later forced to accept smaller reservations, a process described as early as 1914 by Charles R. Green in his book Sac and Fox in Kansas: Mokohoko’s Stubbornness; Some History of the Band of Indians Who Staid behind Their Tribe 16 Yrs. as Given by Pioneers. In The Prairie People, Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665–1965, noted anthropologist James Clifton observed the various removals of the Potawatomis, noting that one Potawatomi band was removed several times; some continued living in Kansas, while others of this same group were removed again to Indian Territory. In an overall survey of the literature, William Unrau has compiled a list of sources on the removed Indians in his The Emigrant Indians of Kansas: A Critical Bibliography.

Adjusting to their new homelands in Kansas, native peoples experienced many outside forces that impacted their communities. Religious groups played a central role for many years in the effort to educate Indian youth throughout the West. Mary Alice Bordenkircher’s 1931 thesis, “A Historical Study of the Mission Schools in Early Territory Now Comprising Kansas,” is still useful. More recently Kevin Abing described missionaries working among the newly arrived Shawnees in his article “A Holy Battleground: Methodist, Baptist, and Quaker Missions Among Shawnee Indians, 1830–1844.” During these pivotal years of change, the Potawatomis endured problems with alcoholism among their people. Jeanne P. Leader suggested in her article, “The Potawatomies and Alcohol: An Illustration of the Illegal Trade,” that alcohol was at probably the most destructive force in changing Indian lives physically and mentally.

Reservations drastically altered the lives of Indians in Kansas and throughout the West. With the Indian “out of the way,” white settlers built farms, towns, and businesses. Kansas became a state in 1861, Colorado joined the union in 1876. Congress admitted North Dakota and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington in 1889, and the following year Idaho and Wyoming became states. Utah came in


32. Charles R. Green, Sac and Fox Indians in Kansas: Mokohoko’s Stubbornness; Some History of the Band of Indians Who Staid behind Their Tribe 16 Yrs. as Given by Pioneers.
A new era of Indian education began in Kansas in 1879 with the opening of Haskell Indian boarding school in Lawrence. Haskell students pose for this photograph in ca. 1887.

In 1896, Oklahoma in 1907, and Arizona and New Mexico became the last of the forty-eight continental states in 1912.

For Anglo America, the task of completing a country was done, but for American Indians, a new unknown era lay ahead. During the mid-1880s, 187 reservations had been created, covering 181,000 square miles with 243,000 Indians from various tribes.

During the reservation years of the late-nineteenth century, the federal government sent Indian youth of the plains region to various boarding schools. Many native children found themselves at Chilocco in Oklahoma, Carlisle in Pennsylvania, and other locations as the government continued to open more schools. In 1870 the federal government appropriated $140,000 to be spent on Indian education. As a result Chemawa Indian School opened in 1880, Albuquerque Indian School began in 1884; and Carson, Phoenix, and Santa Fe began operating in 1890, with Pierre following in 1891 and Flandreau in 1893. In 1900 Congress appropriated two million dollars to be spent on boarding schools and day schools for more than twenty thousand Indian students. Rainy Mountain in Oklahoma, Genoa in Nebraska, and Sherman Institute in California soon were established, and others followed.

This new era of Indian education commenced in Kansas in 1879, when Haskell Indian boarding school opened as a government sponsored opportunity for Indian youth. Historian Donald J. Berthrong described this transition of Cheyenne and Arapaho students to boarding-school life in “From Buffalo Days to Classrooms: The Southern Cheyennes and Arapahos and Kansas.” Tribal life and Indian families changed drastically, altering the communal lifestyle of native peoples. The disruption of Indian families for nearly the first half of the twentieth century is told by Brenda J. Child, a Red Lake Chippewa historian, in Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940. Other works have documented the attendance of Indian youth at Haskell and other schools throughout the West.

While Indian boarding schools were converted into day schools and many have since been closed, Haskell Indian School has continued to thrive. It has undergone tremendous transitions, having been a boarding school, a vocational school, high school in 1927, junior college in 1970, and since 1993, with federal government approval, the Haskell Indian Nations University. While Haskell continues to be the leading Indian school of higher education, it has become a member of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium of thirty-two tribal colleges that are located on reservations throughout the United States.

As the tribes became increasingly adjusted to their new homes in Kansas, their cultures changed with increasing contact with the white man. Again, survival was the question, and how to do so involved a century’s lesson of learning to adapt. As long as the tribes adopted new ways based on their own needs, rather than perceived needs as defined by the Indian agents and the federal government, the tribes exercised a considerable amount of autonomy over their cultural ways and communities. Writers and scholars such as William Rosecrans Honnell and Caroline Cain Durkee have examined the dynamics of change between Indians and whites in Kansas in such works as Willie Whitewater: The Story of W. R. Honnell’s Life and Adventures among the Indians as He Grew Up with the State of Kansas, as told by him to Caroline Cain Durkee. Time has always been the test for all things and for all people. Evan B. Hocker has studied the cultural changes encountered by native peoples of Kansas in his thesis “Surviving as Renegades: Cultural Change and Adaptation among the Shawnees, 1800–1845”; and historian Joseph B. Herring documented this change for Indians in the state during the latter part of the nineteenth century in his well-researched study The Enduring Indians of Kansas: A Century and a Half of Acculturation.

The changes that came for these Indian peoples are also noted in an insightful work by two noted Kansas scholars, H. Craig Miner and William E. Unrau: The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution, 1854–1871. Anthropologist Becky R. Riel studied these changes between Indians and whites in her doctoral thesis “Voices of Interaction on the Central Plains: An Ethnohistorical Investigation of Culture Contact in Kansas, 1830–1880.”

The close of the nineteenth century practically ended Indian life as native people knew it historically. Nevertheless, Indian peoples struggled to hold on to many of their traditions and have continued to do so throughout the twentieth century; thus, American Indians have been remarkably successful in retaining their native identity even into the twenty-first century.

American Indian scholarship has changed as a result of the work of a new generation of historians and other writers.

Since the 1980s, the literature on American Indians has continued to increase at a significant rate. Histories, ethnologies, biographies, and even autobiographies are the focus of scholars and writers. Ethnohistorians are the chief contributors to the literature, although policy historians and biographers as well as military historians continue to contribute a fair amount of the literature about native peoples.

More specifically, Paul H. Carlson produced a general study, *The Plains Indians* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), that describes the general native populations who resided in Kansas and the West. Cultural studies are an important part of the recent literature focusing on native peoples in Kansas. Additionally, scholars and writers have examined Indians in the twentieth century in what is sometimes called—Modern American Indian History. Boarding-school life is a popular subject among historians and anthropologists while others continue to write about Indian—white conflicts over land.

American Indian scholarship has changed as a result of the work of a new generation of historians and other writers, starting in the early 1970s. Instead of being a part of the environment, where Frederick Jackson Turner and other frontier historians once placed Indian peoples, often leaving them out of the big picture of American history, scholars now have moved native peoples to center stage. Furthermore, the “inside” story from an inner perspective of how and why Indian people thought as they did became part of the genre of rewriting Indian history, including studies about Kansas Indians. Other scholars shared in this effort to present the native experience. This new genre provoked the question, “Do you have to be Indian to write from an Indian perspective?” The answer is an emphatic “No,” as long as the non-Indian scholar learns the ways and mind of the native group with whom he or she is working. Non-Indian scholars who are very familiar with native ways and tribal values have written insightful works. This fact is proven by Nancy Evans Pearson in her “‘Walking the Red Road’: Seventy-Two Narratives of the Indians in Kansas” and by a number of other Kansas scholars.

The literature on American Indians in Kansas is rich with the details of important historical events, but more can be done. The recent past holds promise, proven by Nancy Evans Pearson in her “‘Walking the Red Road’: Seventy-Two Narratives of the Indians in Kansas.” Histories, ethnologies, biographies, and even autobiographies are the focus of scholars and writers. Ethnohistorians are the chief contributors to the literature, although policy historians and biographers as well as military historians continue to contribute a fair amount of the literature about native peoples.

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