

# AMERICAN INDIANS IN KANSAS

Donald L. Fixico

## EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

As Professor Donald Fixico points out in our review essay for this issue of *Kansas History*, the Native American "story is central to any real understanding of the history of Kansas and the West." Professor Fixico, the Thomas Bowlus Distinguished Professor of American Indian History at the University of Kansas, reviews the writings on the history of the region's indigenous peoples while discussing key themes, major studies, and weaknesses in the existing literature. In doing so, he illustrates why the American Indian story is at the center of Kansas history.

Early studies were written by non-Indians and thus did not incorporate the way Native Americans understood themselves in their own world, the invasion of the "new world" by Europeans, or the conflicts with Euro-Americans as they took over the land and as native peoples attempted to defend it. In most of these earlier studies, key themes included Euro-Americans' belief about why they had a right to the land (Manifest Destiny), stories about battles

**K**ansas 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.<sup>1</sup> 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-

Donald L. Fixico is director of the Center for Indigenous Nations Studies and Thomas Bowlus Distinguished Professor of American Indian History at the University of Kansas. He is also the editor of the *Indigenous Nations Studies Journal*.

1. Elliott West, *Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 63.

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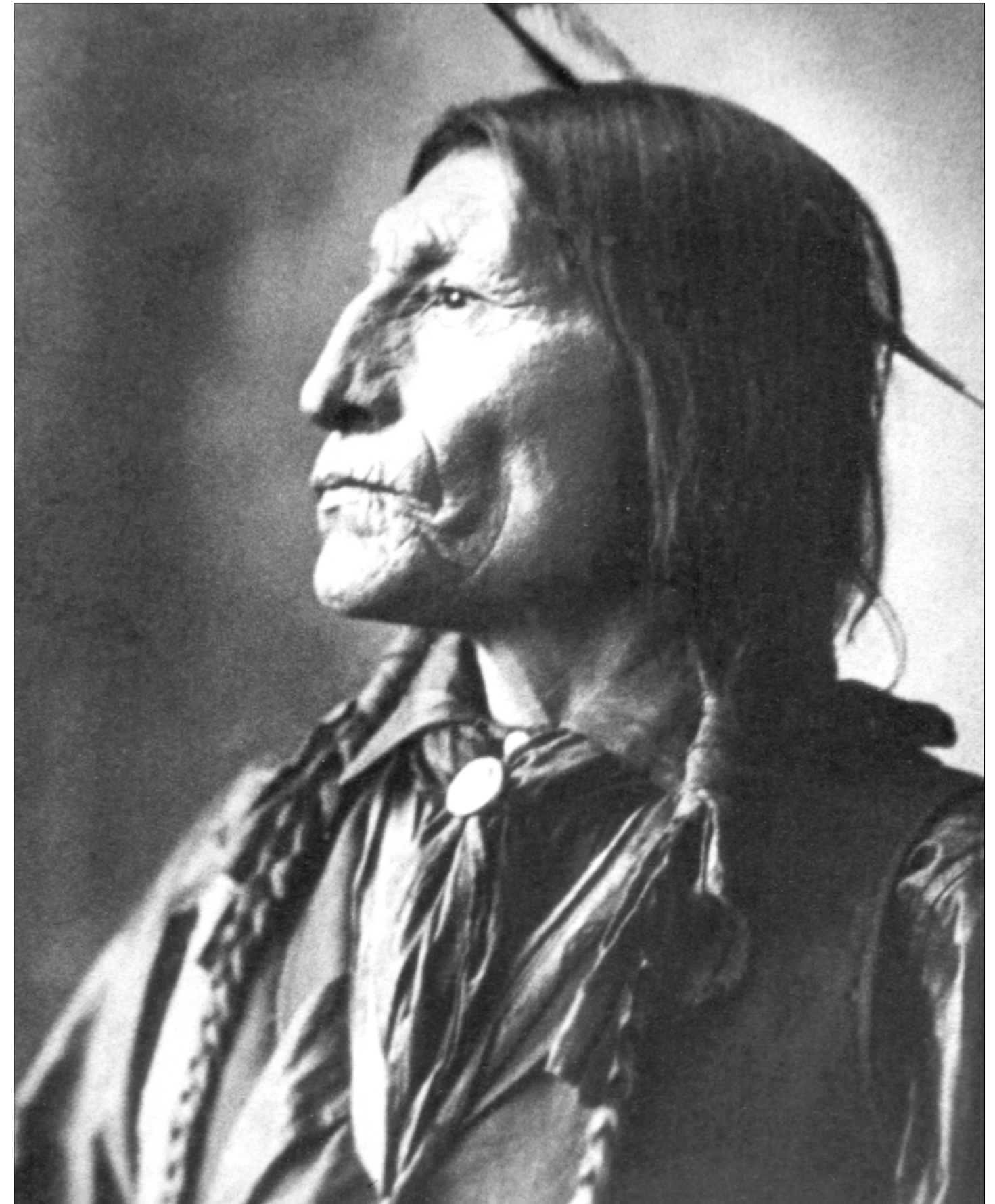


Image of a proud people: Cheyenne tribesman Wolf Robe.

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 Indians to the 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 blueprint for future work in American Indian history and a worthy addition to the journal’s award-winning “Review Essay Series.”

Rita G. Napier  
University of Kansas  
Virgil W. Dean  
Kansas State Historical Society

stract 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 Treat Irving’s *Indian Sketches: Taken During an Expedition to the Pawnee 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*.<sup>2</sup>

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 homelands. 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 types, clearly influenced the thinking of native peoples and shaped their cultures. To address the writings about these people, we must begin to think about Kansas 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*.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> White insightfully connects native peoples to

2. John Treat Irving, *Indian Sketches: Taken During an Expedition to the Pawnee Tribes: In Two Volumes* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1835); James R. Mead, *Hunting and Trading on the Great Plains, 1859–1875*, ed. Schuyler Jones (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986); John C. Ewers, *Plains Indian History and Culture: Essays on Continuity and Change* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Howard Meredith, *Dancing on Common Ground: Tribal Cultures and Alliances on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995).

3. Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1931); Webb, *The Great Frontier* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952).

4. See Donald Worster, “New West, True West: Interpreting the Region’s History,” *Western History Quarterly* 18 (April 1987): 141–56; Worster, *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Dan Flores, “Bison Ecology and Bison Diplomacy: The Southern Plains from 1788 to 1850,” *Journal of American History* 78 (September 1991): 465–85; Flores, *The Natural West: Environmental History in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001); Richard White, “It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own”: A New History of the American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). For an interesting look at the horse’s impact on the Plains environment, see James E. Sherow, “Workings of the Geodialectic: High Plains Indians and Their Horses in the Region of the Arkansas River Valley, 1800–1870,” *Environmental History Review* 16 (Summer 1992): 61–84. Sherow concludes, “Horses proved both an innovative addition, and a vexation to High Plains Indians. Regardless of how Indians viewed their place in nature, environmental flux, caused both by people and other forces, rendered many of their adaptation strategies ineffective.”

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.<sup>5</sup>

Although there are 562 federally recognized tribes to date, not all have a written history. Each of the tribes in Kansas, however, has a standard published work. For example, historian William E. Unrau’s *The Kansa Indians: A History of the Wind People, 1673–1873*, describes the early history and culture of the Kansa, or Kaw, Indians.<sup>6</sup> Other tribal histories, including Mildred P. Mayhall’s *The Kiowas*; Donald J. Berthrong’s *The Southern Cheyennes*; Virginia Cole Trenholm’s *The Arapahoes, Our People*; and Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel’s *The Comanches: Lords of the South 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*.<sup>7</sup> 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 gave character to this region and nourished all life. The following Pawnee 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

5. Richard White, “The Cultural Landscape of the Pawnees,” in *Kansas and the West: New Perspectives*, ed. Rita Napier (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 62–75, originally published in the *Great Plains Quarterly* 2 (Winter 1982): 31–40.

6. William E. Unrau, *The Kansa Indians: A History of the Wind People, 1673–1873* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

7. Mildred P. Mayhall, *The Kiowas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Donald J. Berthrong, *The Cheyenne and Arapaho Ordeal: Reservation and Agency Life in the Indian Territory, 1875–1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963); Virginia Trenholm, *The Arapahos: Our People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970); Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952; 1987); John H. Moore, *The Cheyenne Nation: A Social and Demographic History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987); see also F. Todd Smith, *The Wichita Indians: Traders of Texas and the Southern Plains, 1540–1845* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2000); Cecile Elkins Carter, *Caddo Indians: Where We Come From* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995). Both the Wichitas and the Pawnees were of Caddoan stock.

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risers in the east; and you shall call the sun ‘father,’ for he rises in the east. In time you, woman, shall be known as ‘mother,’ and the man shall be known as ‘father.’ I give the sun to give you light. The moon will also give you light. The earth I give you, and you are to call her ‘mother,’ for she gives birth to all things. . . . Never forget to call the earth ‘mother,’ for you are to live upon her. You must love her, for you must walk upon her.”<sup>8</sup>

The earth is a circle and to live with the earth is the way of the Pawnees and other early peoples of this region. This was the way life was meant to be, according to elders of tribes who passed along stories to the next generations. Unlike written histories, stories in the oral tradition were about significant experiences so that younger listeners could gain knowledge and learn important values.

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 *Wah’Kon-Tah: The Osage and the White Man’s Road* and *The Osages: 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 Tirawahut’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 Blue Clark (Creek), author of *Lone 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.<sup>9</sup> At present an estimated twenty-five American Indians hold doctorates in history, and they are writing native perspectives informed by a personal knowledge.

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 peoples 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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 Kansas is aptly examined in a number of works by historian William E. Unrau.<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup>

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, Kennekuk, the Kickapoo prophet, is described by George A. Schultz in his article “Kennekuk, The Kickapoo Prophet,” and by Joseph B. Herring in the biography *Kenekuk: The Kickapoo Prophet* and his article “The Prophet Kenekuk and the Vermillion Kickapoos: Acculturation Without Assimilation.”<sup>14</sup> Plains Indian leaders



*An artist’s rendition of negotiations between federal officials and Osages to allow the Santa Fe Trail to pass across their lands. This painting, entitled Osage Treaty at Council Grove—1825, is by Kansas artist Charles Goslin.*

8. George A. Doresey, ed., *The Pawnee Mythology* (1906; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 13–14; see also Gene Weltfish, *The Lost Universe: Pawnee Life and Culture* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965, 1977). Katherine Ann Smith, “Mother Earth, Woman Spirit: Women and the Feminine Character as Symbol and Reality in the Nineteenth Century Plains Indian Culture” (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1992), explored the “importance of the feminine presence in both the women’s and the men’s ritual and spiritual activities, social structure, and prosaic endeavors.”

9. John Joseph Mathews, *Wah’Kon-Tah: The Osage and the White Man’s Road* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932); Mathews, *The Osages, Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961); James Thomas Riding In, “Keepers of Tirawahut’s Covenant: The Development and Destruction of Pawnee Culture” (Ph.D. diss., University of California–Los Angeles, 1991); R. David Edmunds, *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978); Carter Blue Clark, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: Treaty Rights and Indian Law at the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

10. James R. Christianson, “The Early Osage—‘The Ishmaelites of the Savages,’” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 11 (Spring 1988): 2–21.

11. Robert A. Trennert, “Indian Policy on the Santa Fe Road: The Fitzpatrick Controversy of 1847–1848,” *ibid.* 1 (Winter 1978): 243–53.

12. William E. Unrau, *Indians of Kansas: The Euro-American Invasion and Conquest of Indian Kansas* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1991); Unrau, *The Kansa Indians*; Unrau, *The Kaw People* (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1975); Unrau, “Removal, Death, and Legal Reincarnation of the Kaw People,” *Indian Historian* 9 (Winter 1976): 2–9; H. Craig Miner and William E. Unrau, *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution, 1854–1871* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978).

13. William E. Unrau, *Mixed-Bloods and Tribal Dissolution: Charles Curtis and the Quest for Indian Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989).

14. George A. Schultz, “Kennekuk, The Kickapoo Prophet,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 3 (Spring 1980): 38–46; Joseph B. Herring, “The Prophet Kenekuk and the Vermillion Kickapoos: Acculturation Without Assimilation,” *American Indian Quarterly* 9 (Summer 1985): 295–307; Herring, *Kenekuk: The Kickapoo Prophet* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998).





Biographies of Kansas Native Americans include Stan Hoig's *The Kiowas and the Legend of Kicking Bird*. Photographed here is the Kiowa chief Kicking Bird, a man who pursued peace amid conflict and hostilities.

are treated in the perceptive work of Stan Hoig, *The Peace Chiefs of the Cheyennes* and *The Kiowas and the Legend of Kicking Bird*. Hoig portrayed Kicking Bird as a romantic figure pursuing peace during conflict among the Kiowas.<sup>15</sup> 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 Crum has notably chronicled the contribution 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.<sup>16</sup>

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*.<sup>17</sup> 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*.<sup>18</sup> 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 historic essay. Such desire of the human spirit impacted early Kansas, even before it became a territory. The Gold Rush of the forty-niners drove desperate men across Kansas to California. A decade later, fifty-niners rushing to Pike's Peak in Colorado or trying their luck in Nevada for gold or silver or to discover another Comstock Lode increased the number of white visitors through Kansas. By June 1859 as many as one hundred thousand miners and "wannabe" rich people invaded mining areas of Colorado, and by the end of the next decade tens of thousands more settlers were carving their 160-acre homesteads out of the prairies of Kansas. Meanwhile, the Indians watched the crazed

15. Stan Hoig, *The Peace Chiefs of the Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980); Hoig, *The Kiowas and the Legend of Kicking Bird* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 2000). Margaret Coel studied another noted Plains leader in *Chief Left Hand, Southern Arapaho* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981).

16. Steven J. Crum, "Henry Roe Cloud, A Winnebago Indian Reformer: His Quest for American Indian Higher Education," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 11 (Autumn 1988): 171–84. The institute closed in 1933.

17. Karl Schlesier, *Wolves of Heaven: Cheyenne Shamanism, Ceremonies, and Prehistoric Origins* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).

18. Willard H. Rollings, *Osage: An Ethnohistorical Study of Hegemony on the Prairie-Plains* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992).

white men who sought the yellow rocks. One can easily imagine that the rapid influx of settlers, miners, and cattlemen crossing Kansas alarmed the native peoples who felt the need to protect their homelands.<sup>19</sup>

This "white expansion" into the West, of course, was not supposed to happen. During the three decades prior to the American Civil War, following the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the United States government moved eastern woodland tribes to the West to make way for settlement east of the Mississippi River. Naturally, this relocation involved the Kansas region, which was a part of a larger area called the Indian country, and it included present Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma. As many as nineteen tribes from the East came west to new homeland, according to one government census report of 1829. In his article "Emigrant Indian Objections to Kansas Residence," Joseph T. Manzo observed that many of these emigrant Indians were dissatisfied with their new lands in Kansas. Another removed tribe, the Kickapoos, was examined by Arrell M. Gibson in *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border*. Joseph B. Herring described the experience of two more emigrant tribes in "The Chippewa and Munsee Indians: Acculturation and Survival in Kansas, 1850s–1870." Herring found that the future of these two tribes of eighty members was insecure in the scramble for land, as more Indian groups and Euro-American settlers populated the area.<sup>20</sup>

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 "cordon" off the Indian country and "to provide for protective control" of the frontier.<sup>21</sup> 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. Reeder 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."<sup>22</sup>

19. See West, *Contested Plains*; West, *The Way to the West: Essays on the Central Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1987). Turner's famous "frontier thesis" first appeared in the paper "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," presented in Chicago on July 12, 1893. Useful in this regard are Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920); David M. Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety From the Old West to the New Deal* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993); Gerald D. Nash, *Creating the West: Historical Interpretations, 1890–1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991); Allan G. Bogue, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Strange Roads Going Down* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); Wilbur R. Jacobs, *On Turner's Trail: 100 Years of Writing Western History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994); Richard W. Etulain, ed., *Writing Western History: Essays on Major Western Historians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), especially 73–166.

20. Joseph B. Herring, "The Chippewa and Munsee Indians: Acculturation and Survival in Kansas, 1850s–1870," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 6 (Winter 1983/84): 212–20; Joseph T. Manzo, "Emigrant Indian Objections to Kansas Residence," *ibid.* 4 (Winter 1981): 247–54; Arrell M. Gibson, *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963). Also helpful is Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

21. Eloise Frisbie Robbins, "The Original Military Post Road Between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 1 (Summer 1978): 91, 90–100.

22. James E. Sherow and William S. Reeder Jr., "A Richly Textured Community: Fort Riley, Kansas, and American Indians, 1853–1911," *ibid.* 21 (Spring 1998): 2–17; William A. Dobak, "Fort Riley's Black

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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 Kansans 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.<sup>23</sup>

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.<sup>24</sup>

Post-Civil War Kansas experienced regular attacks by the Cheyennes, Lakotas, Arapahos, Comanches, Apaches, and Kiowas. Slimly 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.<sup>25</sup>

Soldiers and the Army’s Changing Role in the West, 1867–1885,” *ibid.* 22 (Autumn 1999): 214–27; *see also* Dobak and Thomas D. Phillips, *The Black Regulars, 1866–1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001); Dobak, *Fort Riley and Its Neighbors: Military Money and Economic Growth, 1853–1895* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

23. Since most of the tribes fought for the South, they had little choice but to sign new treaties with the federal government further reducing their land holdings. Gary L. Cheatham, “Divided Loyalties in Civil War Kansas,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 11 (Summer 1988): 93–107; Cheatham, “‘Within the Limits of the Southern Confederacy’: The C.S.A.’s Interest in the Quapaw, Osage, and Cherokee Tribal Lands of Kansas,” *ibid.* 26 (Autumn 2003): 172–85; *see also* Laurence M. Hauptman, *Between Two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1995). Historian Kevin J. Abing demonstrated how missionaries laboring to “civilize” the Shawnees exacerbated sectional turmoil among the Indians in their charge in “Before Bleeding Kansas: Christian Missionaries, Slavery, and the Shawnee Indians in Pre-Territorial Kansas, 1844–1854,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 24 (Spring 2001): 54–70.

24. Alvin M. Josephy Jr., *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Knopf, 1992).

25. David Dixon, “A Scout With Custer: Edmund Guerrier on the Hancock Expedition of 1867,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 4 (Autumn 1981): 155–65; *see also*, among many others, Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Ramon S. Powers, “The Kansas Indian Claims Commission of 1879,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 7 (Autumn 1984): 199–211; William E. Unrau, “Indian Water Rights to the Middle Arkansas: The Case for the Kaws,” *ibid.* 5 (Spring 1982): 52–69. The military activities of Generals George Armstrong Custer and Philip Sheridan, who served in Kansas and throughout the Plains, are well documented and really beyond the scope of this essay, but of course their exploits are an important part of the Plains Indian story during these post-war years, as is the plight of the Northern Cheyennes, who have been treated by a number of scholars. *See*, for example, John H. Monnett, *Tell Them We Are Going Home: The Odyssey of the Northern Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001); Ramon Powers, “The Northern Cheyenne Trek Through Western Kansas in 1878: Frontiersmen, Indians, and Cultural Conflict,” *Trail Guide* 16 (September–December 1972): 2–35; Alan Boye, *Holding Stone Hands: On the Trail of the Cheyenne Exodus* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

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.<sup>26</sup>

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 Kaw 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*.<sup>27</sup>

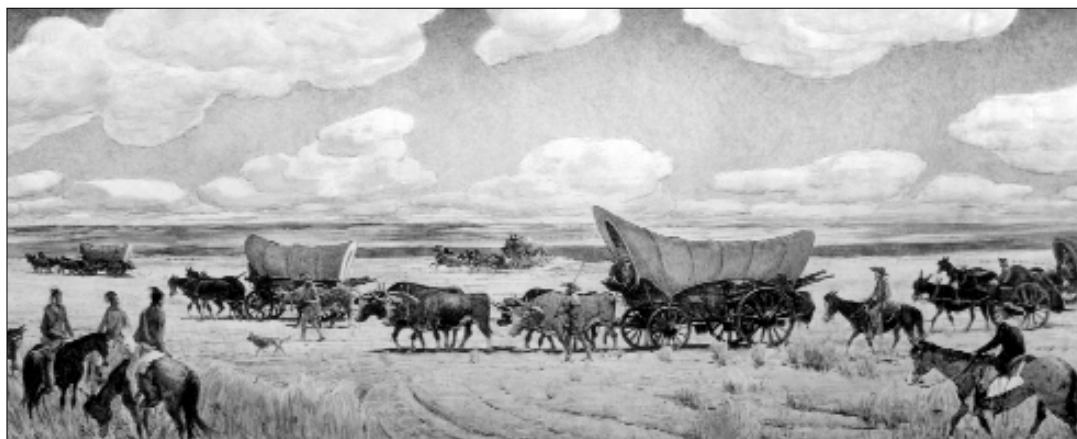
The West had become a dynamic venue in which easterners could “try their luck,” and their endeavors only heightened dissension between native peoples and newcomers. In the wake of the Civil War the cattle business exploded on a scale never seen before. Entrepreneur Joseph G. McCoy maneuvered the Kansas 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 railroads developed networks of track



*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.*

26. Douglas C. Jones, *The Treaty of Medicine Lodge: The Story of the Great Treaty Council as Told by Eyewitnesses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966); United States Congress, Joint Special Committee, *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee, appointed under joint resolution of March 3, 1865* (1867; reprint Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint Co., 1973). J. Norman Heard, *Handbook of the American Frontier: Four Centuries of Indian–White Relations. Volume III: The Great Plains* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1993), is a useful reference, arranged alphabetically to cover events, treaties, and principal characters of the Great Plains.

27. Stan Hoig, *Tribal Wars of the Southern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993). Hoig includes some coverage of the 1867 treaty conference at Medicine Lodge.



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.

to the Great Plains until the Ghost Dance movement of 1890. The Wounded Knee massacre of Chief Big Foot and about 150 of his people permanently ended the Indian wars.

As William E. Unrau demonstrates in his superb overview of the conflict between Indians and whites for Kansas, *Indians of Kansas: The Euro-American Invasion and Conquest of Indian Kansas*, Kansas helped change the West at the cost of Native Americans and their homelands.<sup>29</sup> Unseen forces of human nature—desire, greed, and ambition—had encouraged pioneers to cross the Kansas plains on the Oregon Trail to the promised land of the Pacific Northwest. Continued human traffic included many who chose to carve homesteads out of the sun-baked prairie grasslands. This occurrence induced the U.S. Congress to pass the Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854 to secure a territory for white settlers, which led to the displacement of Kansas’s native peoples, the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862, and the rapid settlement and development of the state during the latter decades of the century.<sup>30</sup>

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

across central and western Kansas, creating a boom in white settlement throughout lands once held by native peoples.<sup>28</sup>

In 1876 Northern Plains Indians scored their greatest victory against the United States at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, ironically coming one hundred years after the founding of the country. Following the Little Big Horn, the defeat of the Northern Plains Indians involving the Dakotas, Northern Cheyennes, and Northern Arapahos brought peace

and the Extinguishment of Their Title” at the University of Kansas in 1902, describing the displacement of Indian tribes on to reservations.<sup>31</sup>

Eastern tribes, removed to Kansas in the 1830s, later were forced to accept smaller reservations, a process described as early as 1914 by Charles R. Green in his *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*.<sup>32</sup> 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*.<sup>33</sup>

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 Missionaries Among Shawnee Indians, 1830–1844.”<sup>34</sup> During these pivotal years of change, the Potawatomis endured problems with alcoholism among their people. Jeanne P. Leader suggested in her article, “The Pottawatomies and Alcohol: An Illustration of the Illegal Trade,” that alcohol was probably the most destructive force in changing Indian lives physically and mentally.<sup>35</sup>

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

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31. Annie Heloise Abel, “Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title” (master’s thesis, University of Kansas, 1902). Her thesis was published in *Kansas Historical Collections*, 1903–1904 8 (1904): 72–109.

32. Charles R. Green, *Sac and Fox Indians in Kansas: Mokohoko’s Stubbornness* (Olathe, Kans.: 1914); Green, *Early Days in Kansas: In Keokuk’s Time on the Kansas Reservation* (1913; reprint, Lyndon, Kans.: Osage County Historical Society, 1998).

33. William E. Unrau, *The Emigrant Indians of Kansas: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington: Newberry Library [by] Indiana University Press, 1979); James Clifton, *The Prairie People, Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665–1965* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977).

34. Mary Alice Bordenkircher, “A Historical Study of the Mission Schools in Early Territory now Comprising Kansas” (master’s thesis, Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, 1931); Kevin Abing, “A Holy Battleground: Methodist, Baptist, & Quaker Missionaries Among Shawnee Indians, 1830–1844,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 21 (Summer 1998): 118–37; see also Stephen A. Warren, “The Baptists, the Methodists, and the Shawnees: Conflicting Cultures in Indian Territory, 1833–1834,” *ibid.* 17 (Autumn 1994): 149–61; Mark Stephen Joy, “‘Into the Wilderness’: Protestant Missions Among the Emigrant Indians of Kansas, 1830–1854” (Ph.D. diss, Kansas State University, 1992); Charles R. King, “Physician to Body and Soul: Jotham Meeker—Kansas Missionary,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 17 (Winter 1994–1995): 262–73.

35. Jeanne P. Leader, “The Potawatomes and Alcohol: An Illustration of the Illegal Trade,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 2 (Autumn 1979): 157–65; see also William E. Unrau, *White Man’s Wicked Water: The Alcohol Trade and Prohibition in Indian Country, 1802–1892* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996), which draws on “Indian petitions, official reports, court records, and treaties to examine how the West was really won.”

28. Joseph G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest* (1874; reprint, Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1980); Jimmy M. Skaggs, *The Cattle-Trailing Industry: Between Supply and Demand, 1866–1890* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1973); Don Worcester, *The Chisholm Trail: High Road of the Cattle Kingdom* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press for Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1980); Stan Hoig, *Jesse Chisholm: Ambassador of the Plains* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991). Chisholm, a mixed-blood trader, opened a trading post on the Arkansas River and then established his famous trail to the Canadian River in Indian Territory in 1865.

29. Unrau, *Indians of Kansas*.  
30. The classic study of land distribution in Kansas is Paul Wallace Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy, 1854–1890* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954); see also Gates, with a chapter by Robert W. Swenson, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968); H. Craig Miner, *West of Wichita: Settling the High Plains of Kansas, 1865–1890* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986).



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.

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.”<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup>

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 gov-

36. Donald J. Berthrong, “From Buffalo Days to Classrooms: The Southern Cheyennes and Arapahos and Kansas,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 12 (Summer 1989): 101–13.

37. Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). See, among many others on this important and controversial subject, David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *The Story of Chilocco Indian School: They Called It Prairie Light* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994). Also worthy of mention here is the exceptional study by Marilyn Irvin Holt, *Indian Orphanages* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001).

ernment approval, the Haskell Indian Nations University.<sup>38</sup> 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*.<sup>39</sup>

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*.<sup>40</sup>

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.”<sup>41</sup>

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.

38. Keith A. Sculle, “‘The New Carlisle of the West’: Haskell Institute and Big-Time Sports 1920–1932,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 17 (Autumn 1994): 192–208, examined one interesting portion of Haskell’s history—the relationship between its sports programs and the assimilationists’ objectives. See also John Bloom’s essay on Haskell in S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996); Charles A. O’Brien, “The Evolution of Haskell Indian Junior College, 1884–1974” (master’s thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1975).

39. William Rosecrans Honnell, *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* (Kansas City, Mo.: Burton Publishing Co., 1950).

40. Joseph B. Herring, *The Enduring Indians of Kansas: A Century and a Half of Acculturation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990); Herring, “‘The Great Spirit Taught Us’: The Indians’ Peaceful Struggle to Remain in Kansas” (Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 1986); Evan B. Hocker, “Surviving as Renegades: Cultural Change and Adaptation among the Shawnees, 1800–1845” (master’s thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1995).

41. Miner and Unrau, *The End of Indian Kansas*; Becky R. Riel, “Voices of Interaction on the Central Plains: An Ethnohistorical Investigation of Culture Contact in Kansas, 1830–1880” (master’s thesis, Wichita State University, 1998).

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*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 main 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*, that describes the general native populations who resided in early Kansas and the West.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup>

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, with exciting topics ranging from specific issues to progress in modern Indian America. At least three areas cry out for scholarly attention. First, the tribal histories of the four remaining reservation tribes need to be updated, as all are experiencing healthy economies heading into the twenty-first century. These potential writing efforts would build on existing works already discussed in this essay. Another area of interest is the urban situation of Native Americans in Kansas. As a result of the relocation program from 1952 to 1973, more than two-thirds of the en-

tire Indian population live in urban areas. But what has happened to them? Indian organizations, Indian centers, and socio-cultural activities like powwows are an integral part of Indian lives.<sup>44</sup> A third possible subject area is an ethnohistorical approach, examining American Indian leadership in Kansas, tribal economics, and Indian gaming. In addition, these topic areas, explored from a native point of view, would help Kansans better understand the concerns and views of Indian people on issues facing them today.

Two additional areas calling for attention are in federal-Indian law and education. As the tribes in Kansas exercise their rights in the gaming industry and acquire increasing land bases, legal issues such as tribal sovereignty and repatriations of sacred objects and burial remains are becoming increasingly important. With growing numbers of native students attending universities of higher education, Indian education, from the earliest histories of Christian missions to Haskell Indian Nations University, will require updating. New studies about educated American Indians becoming involved in the mainstream society also will be needed. New topics could focus on Indian progress in education. If writers and scholars would turn some of their attention to these areas, society would become more informed about the daily working relations between tribes and the state of Kansas, and the public would gain insight to native people’s role in modern mainstream growth and development.

It is impressive that the native peoples of Kansas have survived into the twenty-first century, yet if we knew more about Indian survival and adaptation, we would not be so impressed. Native peoples are accustomed to change and changing on their own terms. To survive, one must be willing to adapt. This lesson in practicality is one that has been exercised by the tribes of Kansas. They will continue to adapt and adopt new ways that will alter their basic culture and continue to introduce new tribal values that very much mirror those of the western mainstream. Yet, evidence of the old ways and of ancient traditions survives in the present lives of the native peoples of Kansas. These traditions, often modified for modern life, help form and shape today’s Indian identity while retaining many customs from the past.



*During the past two centuries native peoples have adapted to new ways that have altered their basic cultures. But traditions, such as tribal dress and powwows, continue to survive, as is evidenced here in this late twentieth-century photo of Eliza Clay Bear and her granddaughter attending a traditional Potawatomi gathering at the Topeka fairgrounds.*

42. Paul H. Carlson, *The Plains Indians* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998).

43. Nancy Evans Pearson, “‘Walking the Red Road’: Seventy-Two Narratives of the Indians of Kansas” (master’s thesis, Wichita State University, 1992). For another example, see Bonnie Lynn-Sherow and Susannah Bruce, “‘How Cola’ from Camp Funston: American Indians and the Great War,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 24 (Summer 2001): 84–97; Sherow and Reeder, “A Richly Textured Community,” 2–17. The latter convincingly demonstrates that Fort Riley was “more than a staging site for warfare and police action”; it “served as a place for Indian peoples to socialize and to engage in commerce. It was a human community, a richly textured community, and a place where soldiers, diverse civilians, and scores of Indian cultures mingled.” Both studies illuminate more of the complexity that is the American Indian’s story in Kansas and elsewhere.

44. Donald L. Fixico, *The Urban Indian Experience in America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000); Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2003). Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003). As indicated, many late-twentieth and early twenty-first-century issues are yet to be examined by scholars, but some helpful studies are Walter Echo-Hawk and Roger Echo-Hawk, *Battlefield and Burial Grounds: The Indian Struggle to Protect Ancestral Graves in the United States* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 1993); Donald L. Parman, *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Jerry Allen Schultz, “The Kickapoo Nation School: Local-Level Politics, Collaboration, and Indian Education” (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1992).