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GOVERNMENT POLICY AND FARMING ON THE KIOWA  
RESERVATION: 1869-1901

A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY  
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degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY  
WILLIAM D. PENNINGTON  
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1972

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND FARMING ON THE  
KIOWA RESERVATION: 1869-1901

APPROVED BY

Amos

Donald J. Bunting

William H. Maehl

Russell D. Buhite

Norman L. Gockett

John W. Morris

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE



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## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It is not until a large task such as this volume represents is completed that there is time to pause and reflect on those individuals who in no small measure are responsible for its fulfillment. Were it not for members of the F. B. Parriott Foundation in their continued support and encouragement through their awarding me the Foundation's Educational Scholarship for the four years of my graduate study, this task would not have been possible.

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I would be most assuredly remiss should I not call attention to the understanding, patience, and unflagging encouragement of my wife, Margaret. As helpmate in the seemingly at times insurmountable task before me, her courage never faltered and this while truly making us a family in giving birth to our daughter, Mallory.

What follows is the narrative of how the Government attempted to introduce agriculture to the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches on the Kiowa Reservation in the latter third of the nineteenth century and of their reactions to this innovation in their way of life.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
II. BEGINNING OF AGRICULTURE ON THE KIOWA RESERVATION, 1869-1877 . . . . .	13
III. INDIAN FARMING AND STOCK RAISING UNDER AGENT P. B. HUNT, 1878-1881 . . . . .	61
IV. INDIAN FARMING AND STOCK RAISING UNDER AGENT P. B. HUNT, 1882-1885 . . . . .	109
V. INDIAN AGRICULTURAL ENDEAVORS ON THE KIOWA RESERVATION AND THE NEW INDIAN POLICY, 1886-1888 . . . . .	162
VI. AGRICULTURE DURING THE PERIOD OF ADMINIS- TRATIVE INSTABILITY ON THE KIOWA RESERVATION, 1889-1894 . . . . .	207
VII. THE BALDWIN ADMINISTRATION AND THE PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURE ON THE KIOWA RESERVATION, 1895-1898 . . . . .	244
VIII. AGRICULTURE BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE KIOWA RESERVATION, 1899-1901 . . . . .	308
IX. CONCLUSION . . . . .	362
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	367

# LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR THE KIOWA AND WICHITA AGENCY, 1882-1885 . . . . .	130
2. LIVESTOCK ON KIOWA RESERVATION, 1886 . . . . .	202
3. FIELD SEEDS FURNISHED THE KIOWA AGENCY, 1889-1894 . . . . .	215
4. AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND SUPPLIES ON THE KIOWA RESERVATION . . . . .	218
5. AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND SUPPLIES ISSUED AT THE KIOWA AGENCY . . . . .	317

## GOVERNMENT POLICY AND FARMING ON THE

KIOWA RESERVATION: 1869-1901

### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION

"The main interest of man, regardless of his state of civilization, lies in the acquisition of a dependable and adequate supply of food and of the other necessities of life."<sup>1</sup> The fulfillment of this basic need for many American Indians caused a great dilemma for the National Government. As the Indian began to be restricted to smaller and smaller reservations, Government policy was changed so that these American natives could be able to acquire a "dependable and adequate supply of food." The Plains Indians posed difficult problems before they could adjust to an agricultural economy. These tribes were nomadic and gained most of their food from the buffalo. As these Indians were first put on reservations and then with the disappearance of the buffalo, they found themselves searching to find a way to meet this "main interest of man." The Federal Government's answer was to force the Indian into the

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<sup>1</sup>Paul A. Vestal and Richard Evens Schultes, The Economic Botany of the Kiowa Indians as It Relates to the History of the Tribe (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Botanical Museum, 1939), p. 3.

mainstream of white culture by making him an agriculturalist. The term agriculturalist, as used by the Government, meant primarily the farming of crops. This terminology was adjusted later to take in stock raising, especially where the more nomadic tribes were concerned. The assimilation of the Indian into white civilization by making agriculturalists of the Red Man was a continuous policy applied with varying results among the numerous tribes in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This policy was exemplified by the following statement of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John D. C. Atkins, in 1887. "Congress, this Department, and the people of the country at large look to success in agriculture and stock raising as one of the most practicable means of permanently civilizing the Indian, and rendering him self-supporting."<sup>2</sup>

The Kiowa Agency in the last third of the nineteenth century followed the agricultural Indian policy of the Federal Government. Throughout the Indian service from the Secretary of the Interior to Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Superintendent of the Central Superintendency to inspector to agent and other reservation employees, teaching the Indian to be an agriculturalist was a fairly constant policy. From the time of the establishment of

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<sup>2</sup>John D. C. Atkins to Special Agent for the Indian Service, E. E. White, December 16, 1887, Farmers File, Kiowa Indian Agency, Indian Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Hereafter cited as KIA, ID, OHS.



the permanent reservation in the late 1860's until its opening to settlement in 1901, the Government furnished agricultural materials, stock, and instruction in an attempt to shift the Indians on the Kiowa Reservation from wards of the government to self-supporting farmers or stock raisers. These Indians of the southwestern Indian Territory had been wild, nomadic tribes--the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches.<sup>3</sup> The whole life of these tribesmen centered around hunting the buffalo, their prime source of subsistence. Their cultural background was practically void of any experience in tilling the soil.

This study is an examination of the success and failure of the Government's agricultural policy as applied to the various tribes connected with the Kiowa Agency during the reservation period, 1869-1901. Agriculture has been defined as both farming and livestock raising, for both were applied with varying emphasis at different times by the Indian service. Administering this policy on the local level was the Indian agent who had direct supervision of the Indians and their lands until the reservation was opened for settlement in 1901. After that date, the agency administered mostly to the needs of the individual Indian as he was located on his allotment of about 160 acres.

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<sup>3</sup>The Apaches were actually Kiowa-Apaches but will be referred to hereafter as Apaches since most references use only the name Apache.

These Indian tribes offer good examples for evaluating the Government's policy of compelling the Indian to become an agriculturalist. This study's main purpose is to show how Government policy was applied to these particular Indians, their reaction to it, and its success in making them self-supporting.

Before tracing the Government's endeavors to agriculturalize the Indians of the southwestern part of Indian Territory, a few preliminary questions must be considered. How did the agricultural policy develop from the various treaties made by the Government with these tribes? What was the agricultural background of the tribes involved? What agricultural involvement did the Government have with these Indians, leading up to the Quaker administration in July, 1869?

Much emphasis was put on promoting agriculture in the treaties with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes. Government policy toward these Plains tribes was principally set forth in a series of three treaties. The first was signed on July 27, 1853, at Fort Atkinson by Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache chiefs. Although generally concerned with peace, this treaty also contained much about the Government's attitude toward persuading these nomadic bands to farm. In exchange for an agreement for these Indians to be peaceful, the Government, in Article 6, agreed to deliver them for ten to fifteen years, \$18,000 per year to be spent for "goods, merchandise, provisions, or agricultural

implements, or in such shape as may be best adapted to their wants . . ." If any of the agreements were broken, however, by any of the tribes, the whole or part of the annuities could be withheld. The key article with regard to agricultural policy lay in Article 10 which permitted the United States "as a proper policy to establish farms among and for the benefit of said Indians, it shall be discretionary with the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to change the annuities herein provided for, or any part thereof, into a fund for that purpose . . ." <sup>4</sup>

A second treaty was made with these wild tribes on October 18, 1865, on the Little Arkansas River. The Kiowa and Comanche Indians were the principal tribes involved in this treaty of peace. At this time, the Government assigned them to a reservation in the western half of Indian Territory. The treaty mentioned annuities to be paid without specifically naming them. <sup>5</sup>

The final treaty made with the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches was the Treaty of Medicine Lodge signed October 21, 1867. <sup>6</sup> This document set forth the Government's

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<sup>4</sup>Charles J. Kappler (comp. and ed.), Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties (4 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903-1927), II, pp. 601-02.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 892-93.

<sup>6</sup>A fine description of the proceedings surrounding the signing of the Medicine Lodge Treaty is contained in the book by 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).

legal obligations to these tribes for the remainder of the century. The Government's policy of making the Indians farmers is clearly illustrated. After defining the boundaries of the reservation, Article 3 pointed out that if an actual survey of this land did not offer at least 160 acres of tillable land for each authorized person "and a very considerable number of such persons shall be disposed to commence cultivating the soil as farmers, the United States agrees to set apart for the use of said Indians . . . such additional quantity of arable land adjoining to said reservation, or as near the same as it can be obtained, as may be required to provide the necessary amount." In Article 4, the United States agreed to build houses for agent employees --one of whom was to be a farmer.

The key to governmental agricultural attitudes was enunciated in Article 6. It read in part:

If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians, or legally incorporated with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within said reservation, not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land book" as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it. . . .

To help those who selected lands, the Government agreed to furnish seeds and agricultural implements when the agent was satisfied that the Indian on the land intended to begin making a living by cultivating the soil. The first year such an Indian would receive a value of one hundred dollars

in seeds and agricultural implements. For each of the three succeeding years in which he continued to farm, the Government would provide him with twenty-five dollars of seeds and implements. In addition, the Government agreed to provide farming instructions for those who had begun to work their land.

The Government optimistically believed that it could convert these Indians to farming. Article 9 permitted the Government to withdraw the farmer, among other employees, but it must give in return an additional \$10,000 each year for the education of these Indians. Article 13 then stated, "The Indian agent, in employing a farmer, blacksmith, miller and other employes<sup>7</sup> herein provided for, qualifications being equal, shall give the preference to Indians." The Government also recognized the fact that some farming had already been done by these Indians. This was exemplified in the statement, "It is agreed that the sum of seven hundred and fifty dollars be appropriated for the purpose of building a dwelling-house on the reservation for 'Tosh-e-wa,' (or Silver Brooch), the Comanche chief who has already commenced farming on the said reservation."

Finally, the Government included in the treaty an incentive to persuade these tribes to begin farming. Five hundred dollars was offered annually for three years to "be

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<sup>7</sup>The original language of the writer will be used herein and no attempt will be made to point out the misspelling, improper grammar, and style.

expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribes who in the judgement of the agent may grow the most valuable crops for the period named." In this the final treaty with these Plains Indians, the Government already spelled out a plan for making these Indians civilized and self-supporting. The Indian Service was determined to change these nomadic Indians into cultivators of the soil.<sup>8</sup>

This Treaty of Medicine Lodge clearly illustrated the federal policy toward the Indian for the remainder of the century. The only modification would be the encouragement of stock raising as well as farming. But stock raising did not get its due place. This was revealed by the Dawes Act of 1887 which set the amount of acres in severalty at 160--much too small for stock raising purposes.

The Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians had practically no agricultural background prior to settling permanently on their reservation in 1869. They had centered their survival around the buffalo rather than farm products. Walter P. Webb classified these Indians as three of the most typical Plains tribes. He described the main feature of this culture as being "nomadic and nonagricultural."<sup>9</sup> Clark Wissler said the chief traits of the Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches were "the dependence upon the buffalo

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<sup>8</sup>Kappler, Indian Affairs, II, pp. 977-84.

<sup>9</sup>Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931), p. 52.

or bison, and the very limited use of roots and berries; absence of fishing; lack of agriculture. . . ." <sup>10</sup> In other words, these Plains Indians' culture was diametrically opposed to the idea of making a living by farming. The men were hunters, warriors, and protectors; the women were the common laborers. Captain Randolph B. Marcy encountered these tribesmen in 1852 and remarked, "From infancy to old age, their only food, with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies, is fresh meat. . . ." <sup>11</sup>

Although depending in great part upon the buffalo, these Plains Indians were not completely unfamiliar with plants. The Kiowas, in particular, used many wild plant foods such as fruits, berries, roots, and nuts to break the monotony of a largely meat diet. What agricultural produce they did obtain was from other Indians by trade and thievery. <sup>12</sup> The Comanches and Apaches had much the same distaste for cultivating the soil. <sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Clark Wissler, The American Indian: An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World (New York: Douglas C. McMurtrie, 1917), pp. 218-19.

<sup>11</sup>Captain Randolph B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866), p. 26.

<sup>12</sup>W. W. Newcomb, Jr., The Indians of Texas: From Prehistorical to Modern Times (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1869), pp. 197-98.

<sup>13</sup>Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30 (2 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907, 1912), Vol. 1, p. 66.

In July of 1869 Lawrie Tatum and the Quakers assumed the administration of the Kiowa Reservation. Thus began a long and tedious attempt by the Government in the last third of the nineteenth century to promote farming and stock raising among these Plains tribes. Prior to the Quakers' control, the Government had shown only limited concern about the agricultural activities of these particular Indians, who had been raiding in Texas and elsewhere. Despite the signing of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in late 1867, the majority of these Indians did not begin to settle on their assigned reservation until Lawrie Tatum arrived as Agent in 1869. Those Indians who did come into the Agency came for supplies and annuities during the winter months. When spring and fair weather arrived, they began raiding again. It is not surprising then to find the annual statistical reports for the years 1867<sup>14</sup> and 1868<sup>15</sup> noting the Indians did nothing in the way of farming.

The Government did, however, make a beginning in agriculture among these tribes by providing them agricultural supplies and farmers as stipulated in the Medicine Lodge Treaty. In January of 1869, their Agent, A. G. Boone, hired Joseph Chandler as farm supervisor for the Comanche

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<sup>14</sup>Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Made to the Secretary of the Interior (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867-1901), 1867, p. 55. Hereafter cited as Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 1868, p. 360.



Indians. In the agreement, Chandler consented "to gather crops and repair their implements; and all and singular every thing appertaining to their duties as farmers." In return, the farm instructor received \$60.00 a month, one-tenth of the crop raised by the Indians, and one Government ration per day.<sup>16</sup>

Joseph Leonard was hired as farmer for the Kiowa and Apache tribes in March. His first duty was "to learn the organization of the tribes and families and to know the individuals composing them." Leonard was to live among these tribes and direct and assist them in agriculture, "causing as much land to be broken as will probably be cultivated." He also was to construct fences and houses and encourage their use of domestic animals. At all times the farmer was to use his best influence "to cause these people to abandon their wild life and adopt the habits of civilization." The instructions continued, "You will endeavor at all times to localize the habitations of the Indians and discourage their desire for a wandering life. . . . You will make timely requisition for such tools, seeds, domestic animals, and labor as these may be used for. You will cultivate not less than ten acres of garden and other vegetables, putting out such fruit trees as may be furnished you." Pay was the same as Joseph Chandler's

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<sup>16</sup>A. G. Boone and Joseph Chandler, Articles of Agreement, January 21, 1869, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

and the term of office depended upon the satisfactory performance of his duties.<sup>17</sup>

In 1869, President Ulysses S. Grant began what was called his "Peace Policy." It consisted primarily of assigning religious rather than military men to serve as agents at various reservations. The Society of Friends or Quakers were assigned the reservations of the Central Superintendency, in which the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians were included. For nine years Quakers administered Government policy on the Kiowa Reservation. In these first nine years of Government control, the Indian Service did much to encourage these particular tribes to take up the field of husbandry to the extent of self-support. This agency, during the Quaker control, revealed the successes and failures of the early governmental agricultural policy.

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<sup>17</sup>W. B. Hazen to Joseph Leonard, March 22, 1869, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

## CHAPTER II

### BEGINNING OF AGRICULTURE ON THE KIOWA RESERVATION, 1869-1877

During the nine-year Quaker administration of the Kiowa Reservation, the Federal Government followed the broad policy of establishing the various tribes on reservations and encouraging them to be self-sufficient through agricultural pursuits. The early success of this dual policy was emphasized in December, 1869, by Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Ely S. Parker who explained, "The measures to which we are indebted for an improved condition of affairs are, the concentration of the Indians upon suitable reservations, and supplying them with means for engaging in agricultural and mechanical pursuits, and for their education and moral training."<sup>1</sup>

A circular to Superintendents and Agents of the Indian Department had been sent out in June of 1869 informing Government employees of this policy. They were to localize all the Indians on reservations and "when so located, every assistance practicable, authorized by law, will be given to advance them in agricultural pursuits and

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<sup>1</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869, p. 3.

the arts of civilized life."<sup>2</sup> The chiefs and braves of the Kiowas and Comanches were informed of this policy of concentration and agriculture in 1870 through a letter from Commissioner Parker. Read to them in council, the letter expressed the hope that their young men would cease their raiding and all their people would "quietly settle upon the reservations set apart for them, and engage in agricultural or some other suitable industrial pursuits."<sup>3</sup>

The Government was quite aware of the fact that, before making farmers of any Indians, it had to get them peacefully settled on their respective reservations. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs explained that the Red Man's civilization must be preceded by his submission to the Government.<sup>4</sup> This policy was described by Captain Henry E. Alvord, after he visited the tribes in the western part of Indian Territory in 1872.

I regard the Indian of the restless, roving, mounted tribes, very much as a wild horse, which it is desired to bring into subjection, and would treat him in the same way. First he must be brought within some inclosure, enticed if possible, but driven in if necessary, without injury. Then apply the Rarey method, convince him by force, but without bodily harm of the

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<sup>2</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Superintendents and Agents, Circular Letter, June 12, 1869, Instructions to Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>3</sup> Ely S. Parker to Enoch Hoag, February 19, 1870, Letters Sent by Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, Land and Civilization, National Archives, Microfilm Copy at University of Oklahoma Library. Hereafter cited as LS, NA, MC.

<sup>4</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872, p. 42.

ability to perfectly control him, and thereafter manage him by firmness coupled with uniform kindness.<sup>5</sup>

Superintendent Enoch Hoag, of the Central Superintendency, also indicated that the first step in improving these Indians was to locate them permanently. In explanation, he wrote, "The Indian must be secure in his home, one that he can call his own. . . . Then, and then only, can he successfully commence to travel the upward road to a better and higher life, drawing around his family, with the comfort and happiness of real ownership. This reality once fixed in the Indian mind, we may hope for his advancement in all the avenues to civilization."<sup>6</sup> This policy of concentration was eventually accomplished on the Kiowa Reservation by 1875. All the members of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes were finally placed in southwestern Indian Territory as a result of their defeat by the United States Army in the Red River wars ending in December, 1874.

Since many of the Indians of the Kiowa Agency prior to the Red River wars, were still raiding in Texas, this policy of compelling the wilder tribes to settle permanently on their assigned land gained top priority on this reservation. For those Indians already settled on the reservation and who "remained quiet and peaceable upon their reservations, evincing a disposition to learn the arts of life, to

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 1870, p. 260.

engage in agriculture, and to have their children instructed in letters," Commissioner Francis A. Walker announced they would be given every opportunity and encouragement "to take up land and actively commence tilling it."<sup>7</sup>

This agricultural policy drew attention throughout the Indian Service. Superintendent Hoag expressed the urgency of applying this policy to the Kiowas and Comanches,

It is important that the Government, at the earliest practicable period, provide funds for raising upon the reservation, which has a rich soil, all the provisions necessary for the sustenance of these Indians, thus gaining a three fold advantage--first, raising upon the spot their necessary subsistence; secondly, relieving our treasury of a vast outlay for transportation; and, finally, changing a numerous class of idlers from consumers into active producers and initiate them into the first principles of civilization.<sup>8</sup>

The Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs also endorsed the carrying out of this policy among the tribes of the Kiowa Reservation. This Committee's idea of civilizing them was as follows,

It is our desire to promote the settlement of these Indians upon farms, and secure their support from the labor of their own hands; and we believe it can be accomplished within a short term of years, if the expenses of breaking and fencing the ground, and of a small number of experienced white farmers to labor with and instruct the Indians, is provided by the government, and suitable provisions made for the education of their children.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 1872, p. 41.

<sup>8</sup>Hoag to Parker, September 3, 1869, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received from the Kiowa Agency 1869-1878, National Archives, Microfilm Copy at University of Oklahoma Library. Hereafter cited as LR, KA, MC.

<sup>9</sup>U.S., Congress, House, Letter from Associated Executive Committee of Friends of Indian Affairs to the

Commissioner E. P. Smith, in 1874, summed up what the Indian Service was attempting to do, "The whole effort of this office is to induce Indians to labor for themselves on their own land."<sup>10</sup> In a letter to all the Indian agents that year, the Commissioner listed agriculture first in a number of items to be discussed in detail by the various agents in their annual reports.<sup>11</sup>

During the period 1869-1877, Federal policy was moving toward Indian ownership of farms and allotments. Linking agriculture to progress toward civilization of the Indians, the Commissioner in 1869 felt that when the Indian could be put on the reservation he "should be taught as soon as possible the advantage of individual ownership of property; and should be given land in severalty as soon as it is desired by any of them, and the tribal relations should be discouraged."<sup>12</sup> Here was the summation of a policy of assimilation which would culminate in the legalizing of private ownership of land by the Indian in the Dawes Act of 1887.

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Commissioner of Indian Affairs: January 27, 1870, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1870, Executive Doc. 125, pp. 2-3.

<sup>10</sup>E. P. Smith to Jonathan R. Richards, Agent of the Wichita Reservation, February 4, 1874, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received from the Wichita Agency, 1865-1878, National Archives, Microfilm Copy at University of Oklahoma Library. Hereafter cited as LR, WA, MC.

<sup>11</sup>Smith to Indian Agents, August 7, 1874, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>12</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869, p. 49.

The development of this policy of severalty in the thinking of the Indian Service by 1874 can be seen in the following quote by Commissioner Smith.

A fundamental difference between barbarians and a civilized people is the difference between a herd and an individual. All barbarous customs tend to destroy individuality. Where everything is held in common, thrift and enterprise have no stimulus of reward, and thus individual progress is rendered very improbable, if not impossible. The starting-point of individualism for an Indian is the personal possession of his portion of the reservation. Give him a house within a tract of land, whose corner-stakes are plainly recognized by himself and his neighbors, and let whatever can be produced out of this landed estate be considered property in his own name, and the first principle of industry and thrift is recognized. In order to [take] this first step, the survey and allotment in severalty of the lands belonging to the Indians must be provided for by congressional legislation.<sup>13</sup>

The Commissioner, John Q. Smith, in his annual reports for 1876 and 1877, felt the fate of the Indian lay in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. "If they cannot be taught, and taught very soon, to accept the necessities of their situation and begin in earnest to provide for their own wants by labor in civilized pursuits," he stressed, "they are destined to speedy extinction." To meet this difficult task, three principles of policy were needed. "First. Concentration of all Indians on a few reservations. Second. Allotment to them of lands in severalty. Third. Extension over them of United States law and the jurisdiction of United States courts."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 1873, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 1876, pp. VI-VIII.



The allotment principle was stressed as one of seven essential preliminaries the Commissioner felt were necessary to form the foundation on which to build a civilized race. Specifically this consisted of "the endowment of the Indians with lands, divided into farms of convenient size, the title to which shall be vested in individuals and inalienable for twenty years; and the promotion in every feasible way of the knowledge of agriculture and a taste for agricultural pursuits among them."<sup>15</sup>

To implement this policy of making farmers of the Kiowa Reservation Indians, the Government provided agricultural aid in the form of agricultural implements, seeds for planting, breaking of land, and farm instruction. This aid was a portion of the \$30,000 called for by the Medicine Lodge Treaty which Congress was compelled to appropriate each year.<sup>16</sup> Through the years this amount continued to be insufficient. As an example, Agent James Haworth, who took over the reservation from Tatum in 1873, indicated in April, 1874, that some of the Indian farms could not be continued because of lack of funds.<sup>17</sup>

With only one to three farmers employed each year, from 1869 to 1877, to guide some 750 Indian men, the task of

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 1877, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1874 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 40. Hereafter cited as Report, Board of Indian Commissioners.

<sup>17</sup> James Haworth to Hoag, April 15, 1874, LR, KA, MC.

persuading these Indians to begin farming was an enormous one. This lack of farm instructors was constantly called to the Commissioner's attention during this eight-year period. To fulfill treaty obligations on the Kiowa Agency in early 1869, three white men were hired to teach these Indians to farm.<sup>18</sup> In an estimate of funds needed at the agency for the period from October 1, 1869, to June 30, 1870, Tatum asked for twenty-seven farmers at \$50.00 per month each.<sup>19</sup> The projected estimate of funds for the following year from July 1, 1870, to June 30, 1871, showed a need of eighty farmers.<sup>20</sup> Despite these hopeful requests, by the end of the year, Tatum was allowed only one farmer for the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches--William Chandler. He admitted that Chandler was "a man that we cannot afford to do without for the Indians are likely to misbehave he will find out and inform us, but he is not much of a farmer."<sup>21</sup>

The Executive Committee of Friends, after visiting the reservation in January, 1870, estimated that ten farmers and their wives were needed by the agency for the period

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<sup>18</sup>Lawrie Tatum to Parker, December 3, 1869, LR, WA, MC.

<sup>19</sup>Tatum to Hoag, September 2, 1869, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>20</sup>Tatum to Hoag, August 21, 1869, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>21</sup>Tatum to Hazen, November 15, 1869, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

from February to June, 1870.<sup>22</sup> But only one farmer was hired until 1875 when a man for each of the three tribes was employed to show them how to farm.<sup>23</sup> This was prompted by Agent Haworth's request for one head farmer and two farm hands which he deemed "absolutely necessary to conduct the business of the Agency."<sup>24</sup> These two farm hands were temporary assistants<sup>25</sup> because in 1877, only a head farmer was provided by the Government.

A report to the Board of Indian Commissioners by a special visitor to the Agency in 1877 included the following recommendation: "With only one farmer at each agency to direct the work of so many Indians, unfamiliar with the proper use of farming implements, however willing they may be to try, it is simply impossible to make encouraging progress. At least twenty farmers could be advantageously employed at each of these agencies, and the Indians will be glad to have them there."<sup>26</sup>

Besides needing instruction in farming, these Indians also required agricultural implements and other aids such as

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<sup>22</sup>U.S., Congress, House, Letter from Associated Executive Committee of Friends of Indian Affairs to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: January 27, 1870, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1870, Executive Doc. 125, pp. 2-3.

<sup>23</sup>Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1875, p. 126.

<sup>24</sup>Haworth to Smith, June 18, 1875, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>25</sup>Haworth to Hoag, May 20, 1875, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>26</sup>Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1877, p. 31.

seeds to plant and the breaking and fencing of land. In response to a complaint by the Kiowa chief, Lone Wolf, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, W. F. Cody, stated in 1870 that the policy of the Government was "to furnish them with agricultural implements and seeds, and induce them to practice the industries of civilized life."<sup>27</sup> The amount of this aid, though, was not adequate to meet the Indians' demands.

An idea of the agricultural implements needed on this reservation can be seen in Tatum's estimate of funds for the six-month period from October 1, 1869, to June 30, 1870. It included thirty two-horse plows, thirty double-shovel plows, twelve harrows, ten wagons, sixty mules, sixty sets of harness, two reaping machines, two mowing machines, and two horse rakes.<sup>28</sup> In a long-range estimate for the following fiscal year, Tatum requested forty plows, twenty double-shovel plows, fifteen harrows, fifteen wagons, one hundred mules, one hundred single sets of harness, and twenty reaping machines.<sup>29</sup> Of the plows and Government funds he did receive, the Agent was very critical. "They [the plows] were not designed for breaking prairie, but ploughing afterwards." Tatum went on to explain, "I have

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<sup>27</sup>W. F. Cody to Hoag, September 7, 1870, LS, NA, MC.

<sup>28</sup>Tatum to Hoag, Estimate of Funds, September 2, 1869, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>29</sup>Tatum to Hoag, Estimate of Funds, August 21, 1869, LR, KA, MC.

not a dollar to buy other ploughs with, or funds for any purpose except to build the houses as specified in the Treaty and some funds for wheat and from what has been written to from the Department it is useless to ask for funds to carry on business here to amount to anything. . . ." <sup>30</sup> By December, 1869, Comanches began to express a desire for plows and other agricultural implements which Tatum felt should be supplied them. <sup>31</sup> An estimate of funds for breaking 960 acres and fencing 1,357 acres was made in July, 1869. <sup>32</sup> By the end of the year Tatum had hired over 687 acres broken and 3,947 rods of fencing done on Cache Creek. <sup>33</sup>

Few funds for agricultural implements and seeds for the Kiowa Agency were furnished by the Government in 1870. Garden seeds ordered for this reservation included radish, onion, tobacco, brown corn, and potato. <sup>34</sup> Implements requested in the early part of the year consisted of twelve two-horse plows and ten double-shovel plows. <sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Tatum to Hazen, November 15, 1869, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>31</sup>Tatum to Parker, December 3, 1869, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>32</sup>Tatum to Parker, July 10, 1869, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>33</sup>Tatum to Parker, December 31, 1869, Breaking of Land File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>34</sup>Tatum to a contractor, January 19, 1870, Purchase File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>35</sup>Tatum to Hoag, January 1, 1870, LR, KA, MC.

Additional assistance in agriculturalizing these tribes was provided by General W. B. Hazen even after he turned over the agency to Tatum. Tatum remarked,

In the spring of 1870 he [Hazen] furnished me with \$3,000 to be expended, in his name, for agricultural purposes; but for this I should have been unable to have done any farming for the Indians or the agency, having failed to obtain funds from the Department for the purposes. With the assistance thus furnished I have been enabled to render valuable assistance to some of the affiliated bands of Indians.<sup>36</sup>

The implements given the Indians were often improperly maintained. When Agent Haworth took over the reservation in the summer of 1873, one of the first things he noted was the bad condition of the agricultural aid and equipment. He found much of the property worn and of little use because of the machines' disrepair.<sup>37</sup> Throughout Haworth's service as agent of the Kiowa Reservation, he tried to render all the assistance feasible in an attempt to create as much interest for agriculture as possible among his Indians. The estimated number of farm implements necessary for the Indians wanting to farm in 1876 included: five breaking plows, twenty stirring plows, twenty sets of double harness, five harrows, and eight wagons.<sup>38</sup> To cut

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<sup>36</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870,  
p. 264.

<sup>37</sup>Haworth to Hoag, April 7, 1873, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>38</sup>Haworth to Smith, February 1, 1876, LR, KA, MC.

hay for the agency's and Indians' stock, two mowing machines were purchased.<sup>39</sup>

To further assist Indian farming, the Bureau of Indian Affairs recommended to Congress in 1875 a change in its policy with regard to annuities. In evaluating supplies given to the various Indians, Commissioner E. P. Smith stated, "We have taken from them the possibility of living in their way, and are bound in return to give them the possibility of living in our way--an obligation we do not begin to discharge when we merely attempt to supply their wants for food and clothing. They need to be taught to take care of themselves." Consequently, he recommended that, first, the various tribes should work for their annuities and, second, "that authority be given to expend a necessary portion of annuities in preparing the ground for Indian labor and the purchase of seeds and implements and stock-cattle."<sup>40</sup> In this connection, Congress stated the following in the Indian appropriation act for 1875:

For the purpose of inducing Indians to labor and become self-supporting, it is provided that hereafter, in distributing the supplies and annuities to the Indians for whom the same are appropriated, the agent distributing the same shall require all able-bodied male Indians between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to perform service upon the reservation, for the benefit

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<sup>39</sup> Haworth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 17, 1876, LR, KA, MC; Haworth to William Nicholson, Superintendent of Central Superintendency, September 17, 1876, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>40</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875, pp. 3, 24-5.

of themselves or of the tribe, at a reasonable rate, to be fixed by the agent in charge, and to an amount equal in value to the supplies to be delivered.

The act also provided that the Secretary of Interior could make exceptions for particular tribes.<sup>41</sup> Among those exempted from this requirement were the three tribes of the Kiowa Agency.<sup>42</sup> The reason Superintendent Hoag gave for the exemption was that these Indians must "be subsisted and clothed entirely by the Government until they become skilled in agriculture or other industries."<sup>43</sup>

The Federal Indian policy with regard to agriculture was given a severe test on the Kiowa Reservation during the Quaker administration. With their cultural background adverse to farming and with many still participating in raiding parties into Texas, changing these Plains Indians presented a formidable task for Agent Lawrie Tatum, who took over the administration of the Kiowa Reservation in July, 1869. He endeavored to carry out the views of the Indian Department concerning agriculture during his four years as Agent with but minimal success.

Tatum began his tenure at the Kiowa Reservation very confident he could make farmers of these Indians if the

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<sup>41</sup>Circular from Commissioner E. P. Smith, April 1, 1875, Instructions to Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>42</sup>H. R. Clum, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Haworth, July 21, 1875, Instructions to Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>43</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875,  
p. 265.



Government would cooperate. He wrote shortly after arriving at the agency,

I feel satisfied that it is the wish of a large portion of the Indians that are here to learn, and walk in the "white man's road." . . . It is with difficulty that we keep the Indians here now, and as soon as their little crops of corn are eaten, many of them will undoubtedly leave for the plains, exasperated at the whites for not feeding them more after agreeing to feed them.

He declared that the Government had not furnished the rations it had promised and that which was issued was very poor. Accordingly, Tatum made an appeal for increased rations so he might have "a fair chance to civilize the Indian, and don't compel us to half starve him while we made the attempt. . . . If fed to the full they . . . will be likely sooner to learn the arts of civilized life, and become self-sustaining. . . ." <sup>44</sup> Tatum pleaded that "every reasonable effort should be made to localize the Indian, and create a desire to him to remain on and take care of his farm." <sup>45</sup>

Tatum continued the plowing started by his predecessors, Hazen and Boone. By early fall, 650 acres of prairie land had been broken and prepared for planting. <sup>46</sup> This land was broken in different parts of the agency in groups of one and two hundred acres each, which were to serve as

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<sup>44</sup>Tatum to Parker, July 24, 1869, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>45</sup>Tatum to Hoag, Annual Report, August 12, 1869, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

model farms. Inspectors John Butler and Achilles Pugh of Ohio, representing the subcommittee of the Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, visited the agency in September, 1869, and found seventy acres of land enclosed and cultivated in corn and other crops. Of the 650 acres of plowed ground, they reported that Tatum expected "to engage the services of farmers enough to plant a part of these lots in wheat this fall, and the remainder in corn next spring, and inclose them with fence, and thus practically to teach the Indians to draw their living from the ground, instead of from the chase."<sup>47</sup>

The only tribe to do much in the way of farming in 1869 was the Comanche tribe with most of it done by the Penateka band who had some farming experience in Texas. Seventy-two acres of corn and vegetables were planted for them. Some Indian men expressed an interest in the farming enterprise but practically all the work was done by women and two white farmers.<sup>48</sup> The statistical report of farming operations for 1869 showed the Comanches cultivating eighty-two acres while the Government worked sixty acres for them. This land was devoted primarily to corn. The tribe raised 2,950 bushels of corn and 25 bushels of

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<sup>47</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869,  
pp. 122-24.

<sup>48</sup>Tatum to Hoag, Annual Report, August 12, 1869,  
Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

turnips, in addition to cutting 20 tons of hay.<sup>49</sup> Tatum described the difficulty faced by those who began farming in 1869,

Some of the chiefs [Comanche] have been endeavoring for several years to advance their people in the arts of civilized life but their success is so poor, and the encouragement derived from the Government so feeble, that some of the wilder members of the tribe call them poor dogs for trying to follow the white man's road, for they do not make as comfortable a living, nor as well clothed, as they could by hunting and stealing horses, and mules.<sup>50</sup>

In contrast, the Apaches and Kiowas showed little interest in crops. The agent plowed and planted fifty-five acres of corn northwest of the agency for them and the yield was good. Unfortunately, the crop was destroyed and eaten in a short period of time by some Kiowa warriors returning from a buffalo hunt. These wild bands let their horses run in the fields, and when their corn was gone, they expected the Comanches to share with them.<sup>51</sup> Many of these Indians became sick, and some died as a result of eating the corn, watermelons, and other vegetables while still green.<sup>52</sup>

Despite these failures and lack of interest, the statistical report for the year credited the Kiowas with

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<sup>49</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869,  
p. 470.

<sup>50</sup>Tatum to General Davis, November 16, 1869, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>51</sup>Tatum to Hoag, Annual Report, August 12, 1869, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>52</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870,  
pp. 260-61.

cultivating 40 acres and raising 990 bushels of corn.<sup>53</sup> This amount was in all probability due more to Government efforts than those of the Kiowas or Apaches. Tatum, himself, admitted, "They [the Kiowas and Apaches] appear to have no inclination what ever for agriculture."<sup>54</sup>

In 1869, as an incentive to encourage the Plains Indians to take up farming, Tatum offered an annual prize of \$500.00 to the ten Indians who raised the best crops. Army officers from Fort Sill supervised the awarding of these prizes.<sup>55</sup>

Government activity among the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches began to increase in 1870. Representatives of the Executive Committee of Friends visited the Kiowa Agency again in January and found 1,500 acres of the land in wheat which had been broken previously by General Hazen. The remainder of the broken land was available for planting. From the previous year's experience, the Committee warned that unless the crop was fenced immediately it would "probably be destroyed or lost, as the tracts are overrun by Indians' ponies and other stock. But if properly protected, it is our belief that, under the blessing of Providence,

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 1869, p. 470.

<sup>54</sup>Tatum to General Davis, November 16, 1869, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>55</sup>Old Files, Fort Sill. As cited in Captain W. S. Nye's, Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1937), p. 132.

crops of wheat and corn will be harvested, which will avoid a large expenditure of money for supplies to be brought from a distance."<sup>56</sup> By the summer, Agent Tatum had increased the ground plowed and tried "to have a small field for each band of Comanches who seemed willing to locate." In the fall Tatum contracted the enclosing of the Indian fields with a good three-rail fence which was "much to the satisfaction of the Indians."<sup>57</sup>

Most of the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches continued to make raids into Texas and New Mexico during 1870.<sup>58</sup> Despite these hostilities which caused many fields to be abandoned and employees to quit, much of the work begun by General Hazen was "enlarged and improved" by Tatum. Even so, Superintendent Hoag regretted that "much less will be realized from agricultural operations in this agency than we had reason to hope for under more peaceful relations."<sup>59</sup> Tatum spoke of the work of his 4,754 Indians by saying, "I ploughed and planted some fields for the Kiowas, Comanches,

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<sup>56</sup>U.S., Congress, House, Letter from Associated Executive Committee of Friends of Indian Affairs to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: January 27, 1870, 41st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1870, Executive Doc. 125, pp. 2-3.

<sup>57</sup>Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant (Philadelphia: J. C. and Winston and Company, 1899), p. 32.

<sup>58</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870, p. 254.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 255.

and Apaches for them to cultivate but they did not do it."<sup>60</sup> Very emphatically he declared in August, "The Comanches, Kiowa, and Apaches have made no effort to raise a crop this year."<sup>61</sup>

The only group of Indians to make any attempt at all to farm on Tatum's reservation was again the Penateka band of Comanches. Many of these Comanches enclosed "lots with temporary fences, and assisted in planting." But by spring none of these tribes appeared "willing to do anything toward raising a crop." They did, however, promise to plant and cultivate their land the following spring. Their main hindrance was the fear of the wilder tribes raiding their fields after they put in their crops.<sup>62</sup> Despite this indication of no farming being performed on the reservation in 1870, the annual statistical report revealed that the Comanches had raised 300 bushels of corn on 6 cultivated acres. More than likely if this amount was grown it was done by the Penateka band.<sup>63</sup> From these results, it was obvious that the transition of the Plains tribes to farmers was going to be a slow and excruciating process.

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<sup>60</sup>Tatum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1870, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>61</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870, p. 265.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 263.

<sup>63</sup>Tatum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1870, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Throughout 1871, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches continued their depredations on settlements in Texas and largely refused to settle on the reservation, farless to try farming. Tatum offered to plow and plant small plots if these tribes would work them with a hoe. The result was the three tribes cultivated little land during the year.<sup>64</sup> The only Indian farmers were again the Comanches, probably the Penateka band, who cultivated 75 acres and raised 1,700 bushels of corn, and 5 bushels of potatoes, besides cutting 20 tons of hay.<sup>65</sup>

Two 1871 reports illustrate the difficulty of ascertaining the Indians' farming activities. The Board of Indian Commissioners indicated that some progress had been made on this reservation during 1871. "Some of the leading chiefs of wild tribes have settled down, and are now engaged in following the ways of the white man, planting corn, and etc., and express themselves much gratified with the experiment."<sup>66</sup> In contrast, General W. T. Sherman in May of 1871 declared, "Though the Kiowas and Comanches have been located on the Reservation for two years, I hear of none engaged in

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<sup>64</sup>Tatum to Hoag, Annual Report, September 1, 1871, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>65</sup>Tatum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1871, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>66</sup>Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1871,  
p. 162.

agriculture. . . . Their progress in civilization is a farce."<sup>67</sup>

The farming that was performed on the reservation was undertaken on the agency farm. This farm, serving both as an example to these tribes and as a source of agency supplies, was worked by hired farmers. It consisted of 240 acres of corn,<sup>68</sup> 40 acres of wheat, and 60 tons of hay.<sup>69</sup> From his experiences in growing crops, the agent concluded that if properly cultivated, except for bad drought years, corn would produce well on the reservation. As for wheat, the few acres grown in 1871 were barely worth cutting. Two kinds of oats were grown on the agency farm--one so rusty that it was not worth much; the other, small oats, did quite well. Besides his agency farm, Tatum had a large garden cultivated for the agency and school employees.<sup>70</sup> Despite the drought, the garden produced, among other vegetables, twenty bushels of potatoes and ten bushels of turnips.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>General W. T. Sherman to General E. D. Townsend, May 24, 1871, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>68</sup>Tatum to Hoag, Annual Report, September 1, 1871, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>69</sup>Tatum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1871, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>70</sup>Tatum to Hoag, Annual Report, September 1, 1871, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>71</sup>Tatum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1871, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.



The efforts on the part of the Government to compel these Indians to farm in 1872 had no better results than the previous year. The Board of Indian Commissioners reported, "The Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches have been, up to the present time, but very little on their reservation, and have therefore profited in a comparatively small degree from the efforts made for their benefit. . . ." <sup>72</sup>

The amount of farming by these Indians was obviously very little. Tatum was unable to persuade either the Kiowas or the Comanches to cultivate any land. Two Apaches did agree the last of August to cultivate small farms if they were plowed and planted for them. This Tatum intended to do. <sup>73</sup>

Captain Henry Alvord found over 400 acres of land under cultivation on the reservation but none by the Plains Tribes. <sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, the statistical report for these Plains Indians listed the Comanches as cultivating 100 acres from which were raised 2,250 bushels of corn, 20 bushels of potatoes, \$250.00 worth of other vegetables, and 20 tons of hay. Nothing was recorded for the Kiowas or the Apaches. <sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1872,  
p. 36.

<sup>73</sup> Tatum to Commissioner Francis A. Walker, August 1, 1872, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>74</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872,  
p. 135.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp. 404-05.

Additional farming on the Kiowa Reservation was accomplished on two agency farms located near the office. One, consisting of 170 acres, was rented to a white farmer who cultivated it at his own expense and agreed to give one-third of the corn grown to Tatum for Government use. The other farm of about eighty acres was cultivated by an employee of the agency. Tatum reported in August that "nearly all the corn of both farms is planted and some of it up nearly ready for cultivation."<sup>76</sup> The annual statistical report for 1872 listed 240 acres cultivated by the Government. The results were 7,200 bushels of corn, 20 bushels of potatoes, and 75 tons of hay.<sup>77</sup>

Another Quaker, James Haworth, took on the responsibility for carrying out the agricultural policy on the Kiowa Reservation in 1873. He replaced Tatum, who resigned as agent in March of 1873<sup>78</sup> as a result of his superior's disapproval of his use of military force on the Agency.<sup>79</sup> Tatum had made preparations for farming before leaving. In his last report, he asserted, "A considerable number of the Indians express a wish to have a small lot plowed and fenced for their cultivation. In this they have received my hearty

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<sup>76</sup>Tatum to Walker, August 1, 1872, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>77</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872, pp. 404-05.

<sup>78</sup>Tatum, Our Red Brothers, p. 160.

<sup>79</sup>Nye, Carbine and Lance, p. 212.

cooperation, and I have had a small lot plowed for one of the Comanche bands. . . . Arrangements have been made for having several other lots plowed."<sup>80</sup> Tatum believed many of the Indians would settle on these small lots in the spring of 1873 if funds were provided to assist them.<sup>81</sup> Some of the chiefs wanted him to build houses for them on the reservation, but Tatum required "at least one summer's experience in cultivating the soil . . . then if they still continued to cultivate their lots I thought it would be reasonable, for the chiefs at least to have cheap log houses for their occupancy."<sup>82</sup> But his job was over and a new agent came to take up the difficult task which he had begun.

The new agent, Haworth, had great confidence in the Government's policy of making farmers of these tribes. "I firmly believe," he told the superintendent shortly after taking over the agency, "if the President's policy is truly carried out, but a few years will pass before a majority of these nomadic blanket people, will become settled, peaceable, friendly agriculturalists and stock raisers and in a comparatively short time cease to be burdens on the Government."<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>Tatum to Hoag, March 31, 1873, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>81</sup>Tatum to Hoag, January 14, 1873, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>82</sup>Tatum to Hoag, March 31, 1873, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>83</sup>Haworth to Hoag, June 12, 1873, LR, KA, MC.

On the first of April Haworth appointed Hiram Madera as head farmer of the Kiowa Agency. The agent directed the new farmer to prepare three fields of nearly fifty acres for the use of a number of Comanches and Apaches. Most of it was newly broken land. These Indian men helped in the planting of these fields while their women also worked by planting watermelon and pumpkin seeds.<sup>84</sup>

The results of the year's endeavors showed 186 acres cultivated by the tribes of the Kiowa Agency and 70 cultivated by the Government. Most of the crops of corn and other vegetables were a complete failure except for a few potatoes.<sup>85</sup> This failure was due to the extreme dry season.<sup>86</sup> The results discouraged those Indians who had become interested in farming.<sup>87</sup>

Despite this dismal success, there were some Apaches who served as good examples for the rest of the tribes of the reservation. Haworth had land fenced, plowed, and then planted in corn for Apache John and his people who had located near Mount Scott. These Indians cultivated the

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<sup>84</sup>Hiram Madera to Haworth, December 28, 1874, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>85</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873, p. 346.

<sup>86</sup>Haworth to Hoag, September 8, 1873, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>87</sup>Haworth to Hoag, July 21, 1873, LR, KA, MC.

corn and raised some vegetables and melons.<sup>88</sup> In speaking of Apache John, the agent proudly said,

He worked hard, had all the weeds hoed out, and, in addition to his corn, has a fine crop of watermelons, some of which he has brought me as a present. It was a very nice sight to see one who a few months ago was regarded as a wild and dangerous man drive up in his wagon (I had given him one) and unload from it a number of fine melons of his own cultivation and raising. Truly his case affords encouragement for others, and given renewed hope to the philanthropist that the day is coming when the wild red man of the plains shall become civilized and a tiller of the soil or follower of other industrious pursuits.<sup>89</sup>

For the future, Haworth was very optimistic. Several of the Apaches and Kiowas plus many Comanches expressed to the agent that they were anxious to raise crops the following year. Consequently, Haworth believed the list of Indian farmers would greatly increase.<sup>90</sup> Their future looked encouraging to him and he remarked,

I firmly believe if good faith is kept with these people, that the day will come when they will cease to be a burden to the Government, will become self-sustaining--with the spear turned into the pruning-hook, the art of war no longer learned, and the sweet name of Jesus spoken and loved by many, the elevating and redeeming influences of civilization exert its power among them, their nomadic lives be changed to that of the settled husbandman, with pleasant associations around.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Haworth to Hoag, April 18, 1874, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>89</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873,  
p. 219.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 220.

In the spring of 1874, head farmer Madera prepared four farms with Indian assistants for the Plains Tribes to cultivate. Three of the fields had been worked previously. Apache John's field was enlarged and some of the other Apaches assisted him in the cultivation. The two other fields were planted for Comanches--one for the Yamparika band and the other for the Penateka band. A new field was prepared for the Apache chief, Black Hawk and a Comanche-Mexican named Mauxie. All, except the Yamparika field, were cultivated.<sup>92</sup>

The Apaches took the lead in farming on the Kiowa Reservation in 1874. Haworth predicted that "many of the Apaches with proper encouragement will become an agricultural people."<sup>93</sup> The scarcity of funds, a wet spring, and the Red River wars prevented the Agent from doing for this tribe as much as he wished.<sup>94</sup> The Apache tribe, with a total of eighty-five men, cultivated twenty-three acres with no results. Ten of these acres were broken by the Government while the Indians, themselves, built 200 rods of fence.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>Madera to Haworth, December 28, 1874, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>93</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874,  
p. 221.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

<sup>95</sup>Haworth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1874, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

The Comanches continued to make an effort at farming. The Penatekas cultivated their field planted in corn by Haworth but they did not raise anything because of what the agent termed "troubles." Despite this failure, these Indians were optimistic about being able to plant a crop the following year. The other field, Mauxie cultivated by himself, but the crops were destroyed by Apache ponies.<sup>96</sup> Throughout the year the Comanche tribe cultivated a total of 130 acres but with the same results as the Apaches. The Government broke five acres during the year while the Comanches made 257 rods of fence.<sup>97</sup> The agency field in 1874 consisted of 70 acres from which 1,000 bushels of corn were raised and 60 tons of hay were cut.<sup>98</sup>

With the year 1875, the Kiowa Agency tribes began to make significant strides in agriculture. Following their conquest by the U.S. Army, the various bands of wild Kiowas and Comanches found themselves finally at the mercy of the United States Government for their survival. As a result of their dependence on agriculture to survive, the year was, as Haworth commented, one of "material progress

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<sup>96</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874,  
p. 221.

<sup>97</sup> Haworth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1874, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

in the civilization of Indians of this agency"<sup>99</sup> with the best agricultural success ever.

Early in the spring, Haworth called the chiefs together to discuss farming. They expressed an interest and were anxious to grow corn.<sup>100</sup> Fields were to be provided them under the condition that the men instead of the women do the work.<sup>101</sup> Consequently, the Kiowas took their initial step in 1875 in "the direction of self-support." The Government employees plowed a field of 175 acres for the Indians and divided it into lots of six to ten acres. The Kiowa chiefs took these fields and a total of fifty-eight Kiowa men, without any assistance from their women, plowed and hoed it. With a good season, they were rewarded with crops of corn which yielded about twenty-five bushels to the acre.<sup>102</sup> One Kiowa, Sun Boy, asserted in an Indian Council, "He [Haworth] said, raise corn, and I have done that. I want to do right. Agent said, 'My son, I want you to follow the good road. Do right, and work, so you will be able to follow the good road,' and I am doing so, and I want to do just right."<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875,  
p. 265.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., p. 273.

<sup>101</sup>Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1875, p. 126.

<sup>102</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875,  
pp. 65, 273.

<sup>103</sup>Journal of the Adjourned Session of the Sixth  
Annual General Council of the Indian Territory, Okmulgee,



The Comanches and Apaches continued their farming endeavors. The Comanches, themselves, plowed approximately 175 acres,<sup>104</sup> 80 of which were divided among 3 bands. Fifty men or more at one time did the farm work under the supervision of a white farmer, Frank Maltby.<sup>105</sup> Although holding these fields in common, the Comanches were anxious for separate fields to work. Mauxie and his small band of Comanches cultivated thirty acres in 1875, the result being a fine yield of corn, making fifty bushels an acre. In addition, they had a nice patch of melons and vegetables of which they sold \$80.00 worth at Fort Sill and the agency. "With proper help," Haworth declared, "they will not necessarily be a charge upon the Government many years."<sup>106</sup> Some of the Penateka Comanches farmed together in small fields prepared by the Government.<sup>107</sup> The Apaches on the reservation remained peaceful and had not been involved in the hostilities in 1874. Commissioner Smith observed that they were "still blanket Indians, but show a decided

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I.T., September 1-9, 1875, Indian International Council File, Section X, ID, OHS.

<sup>104</sup> Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1875, p. 126.

<sup>105</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875, p. 273.

<sup>106</sup> Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1875, p. 126.

<sup>107</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875, p. 274.

readiness to engage in agriculture. . . ."108 This tribe had again their fields near Mount Scott, cultivating about thirty-five acres in corn and other vegetables.<sup>109</sup>

During the year the three Plains tribes on the Kiowa Reservation cultivated a total of 450 acres, far more than had been grown by them previously. The Government cultivated only seventy acres. The results of their energy were 9,875 bushels of corn, 20 bushels of beans, and 175 bushels of various other vegetables. Sixty tons of hay were also cut. Even with this success, Agent Haworth still reported 100 percent of these tribes' subsistence was gained from supplies issued by the Government.<sup>110</sup> One of the employees of the agency, in the latter part of June, remarked favorably that she was "surprised to find the corn so large and the ground so clear of noxious weeds. It would have done credit to Eastern Civilization."<sup>111</sup>

Haworth wrote Superintendent Hoag in December telling him of the year's farming and what could be expected in the future from these Indians. The following part of the letter revealed much of what was being done agriculturally on the Kiowa Reservation.

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<sup>108</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>111</sup>Sallie Cowgill, Housekeeper of Kiowa Agency, to Commissioner Smith, August 8, 1875, LR, KA, MC.

It will not be very long, until time to commence work for next year's farming. A very large number of the Indians of my Agency, are becoming quite anxious to know what is going to be done for them, the coming season. The success which rewarded these labors the past year, makes them more earnest in the desire, and expectation for the future. They want separate fields northwest from the Agency, in the Mt. Scott neighborhood. Of course all cannot go there, but there is room for quite a number. As the reservation extends to the Washita River, (near the Wichita Agency) the valley of which is very fine, many of them might be located there, also in many other locations within twenty-five, and thirty miles of the Post. Last year the Kiowas all farmed in one large field lying on Cache Creek, which necessitated their being encamped altogether, and near the field, and Creek, from that, or some other cause, they had more sickness and deaths than the Comanches, and makes them very anxious for different locations, for the coming year. Breaking new lands and making fields will necessarily require much more labor, than I have hands to perform. The ploughing and rail making can be done by contract, as could all the work, but I believe the fencing could be done by the Indians themselves, with competent white men, to show, and assist the different bands, which would require several employes more than I am allowed under the present law. I suppose they might come under the temporary class. I am fully satisfied, a very marked year, if proper help is rendered them.<sup>112</sup>

The Kiowa Agency in 1875 experienced splendid agricultural results despite the fact it was the first attempt at farming by most of these Indians. As a result of this success, additional Indians were ready to engage in farming in 1876. Chiefs from the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes set the example by each fencing lots of three to twenty-five acres. The plowing was done for them, but they planted their own corn, melons, pumpkins, and vegetables.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>Haworth to Hoag, December 14, 1875, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>113</sup>Haworth to Smith, Annual Report, August 21, 1876, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

An example of the progress made by these Indians was the Comanche chief, Oneweah, who cultivated six acres of corn in 1875 with "good success." The land he worked was part of a large field broken into various lots and cultivated by different bands of Comanches. This year Oneweah wanted a separate field from the other Indians.<sup>114</sup> Twenty-four Kiowa chiefs in council also indicated an interest in farming. "We, too, have cast aside our swords and spears, have taken the plow instead, and with it, by own labor, have plowed and planted many acres of corn. Last year and this year we have worked hard, believing that by so doing we would not only be rewarded with crops, but would please our great Father by doing what he desired us do."<sup>115</sup>

Haworth's evaluation of the year was, "While it has not been a year, of any remarkable, or exciting circumstances, it has I believe been one of considerable advancement in the right road of many of the Indians of the Agency with very few exceptions, all have done as well as could be expected of them."<sup>116</sup> The agricultural yield by these Indians--5,000 bushels of corn--was not as good as the previous year even though the Indians cultivated eighty more acres this year. The decline in yield was primarily due to

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<sup>114</sup>Haworth to Smith, January 15, 1876, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>115</sup>Twenty-four Kiowa chiefs to President of the United States, U. S. Grant, June 23, 1876, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>116</sup>Haworth to Smith, Annual Report, August 21, 1876, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

the poor season. Of the 200,000 acres, considered tillable, the Indians cultivated 503 acres, the Government 70 acres, and 125 acres were considered half plowed by the Indians. The Indians broke eight acres of new land while the Government broke ninety-five. Of all the land farmed on the reservation, 800 acres of it were now fenced. Laboring in "civilized pursuits with their own hands" was an estimated 250 of the 1,213 male Indians on the reservation. In all, 125 Indian families were engaged in agriculture in 1876. Despite this involvement, the proportion of the subsistence of these Indians obtained from issue of Government rations was still reported as 100 percent.<sup>117</sup>

Agent Haworth's health failed in his fifth year on the Kiowa Agency and he was forced to resign near the end of 1877. In his last annual report, August of 1877, he spoke of the year as "one of advancement in the road of civilization by the Indians of the agency, many of whom have evinced a willingness to cast aside many of the customs which characterize the wild Indian, and assume in their stead those of the white man, which, as far as we had means to do with, we have endeavored to encourage."<sup>118</sup> The yield of crops grown on the reservation was reasonably good despite

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<sup>117</sup> Haworth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1876, June 30, 1876, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.; Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1876, p. 82.

<sup>118</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1877, p. 87.

another unfavorable season. A large number of bushels of corn--6,000--was realized during the year. Other garden vegetables raised included squash, turnips, onions, beans, and melons. In addition, a total of 130 tons of hay, with Indian help, were put up for agency and Indian stock.<sup>119</sup>

The number of Indians engaging in farming and the number of acres they cultivated increased.<sup>120</sup> These Red Men cultivated a total of 720 acres, 200 more than in 1876. For the first time since a Quaker agent had been in charge of the Kiowa Agency, there were no acres cultivated by Government employees. The number of acres broken on the reservation during the year totaled ninety-two--seventy-nine and one-half by the Government and twelve and one-half by the Indians. The total number of acres under fence by 1877 was 800. One hundred rods of this fencing was made during 1876. In response to a question on a report about the number of Indian families engaged in agriculture, Haworth wrote, "none exclusively. All in part." The percentage of subsistence obtained from Indian labor in 1877 by civilized pursuits was set at 10 percent. In previous years it had been nothing.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>S. Bell, Acting Commissioner to Haworth, December 10, 1877, Royalty on Hay File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>120</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1877,  
p. 87.

<sup>121</sup>Haworth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1877, July 10, 1877, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

One person who was extremely critical of the application of this agricultural policy as it was applied to the Plains Indians of the Kiowa Reservation was Captain Alvord. Following his visit to this Agency in 1872, he made some astute observations and suggestions as to the Government's narrow concept of agriculture. If the Government had immediately heeded his advice to promote stock raising among these tribes, the progress of the Indians toward self support would have been quicker and more permanent. He explained that agents and commissioners who had visited the reservation encouraged these Plains Indians to cultivate the soil and become farmers. Much money and time had been spent with no results, and the Kiowas and Comanches were becoming tired of the agent's corn talk. Captain Alvord proposed the following solution.

These same tribes are, however, naturally, and by long habit, the best of herders. They are the owners of thousands of horses, which they herd constantly, attending with great care to their grazing and water. They live in a country where those who have tried planting have found the crops most uncertain, but where the grass is always good. The same labor which is now employed in herding three hundred horses, would care for a thousand head of cattle. I recommend that the Department, from headquarters, and through its agents, now drop the corn talk, notify the Indians that, aside from little garden-patches, planting will not be urged upon them at present, and that every effort by then made to induce these tribes to turn their attention to cattle-raising, exchanging for good beef-stock as fast as possible their many surplus horses. While the prolonged attempt to make farmers of these people has proved an entire failure, there is every reason to believe that,

properly managed, they can be rapidly brought to stock-raising upon a large scale.<sup>122</sup>

The Indians' horse herds did not contribute to agricultural activities. The immediate need for these nomadic tribes was to own and raise such livestock as cattle, sheep, or swine which would ideally complement their raising of farm crops. The Comanches with a total of 40 cattle and 200 swine in 1874 had already begun this type of agricultural endeavor.<sup>123</sup> Even more significant than this limited beginning was Agent Haworth's realizations, suggestions, and observations concerning stock raising as it could be applied to these tribes.

There are a number among the Comanches who may make agriculturalists. I think, however, the majority of them, like the Kiowas, are better adapted to the business of stockraising than farmers, and many ultimately became interested in that line. They now have large herds of ponies which, if exchanged at a fair price into stock-cattle, sheep or goats, would soon make them a rich people; the handling and marketing of which would have a civilizing influence upon them. Their reservation is better adapted to stock-raising than agriculture, the long continued droughts making crops very uncertain. For those who incline to farm, localities might be selected where irrigation could be resorted to and some system adopted whereby they might be paid a compensation in money and goods for their labor, which would encourage and stimulate them to work, and each year would add to their number, and ultimately large numbers of them became self-sustaining laborers.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872,  
p. 145.

<sup>123</sup>Haworth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1874, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>124</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874,  
pp. 221-22.



Colonel Ranald Mackenzie, Commanding officer at Fort Sill, promoted stock raising on the Kiowa Reservation. In the summer of 1875, he sold horses taken from Indians involved in the fighting of the previous year and with the \$22,000 obtained from this sale, he bought sheep and cattle for the tribes of this reservation. Three thousand five hundred sheep purchased in New Mexico were divided among these Indians and in speaking of the sheep, Haworth said:

Owing to the long drive, and hard winter on stock; and inexperience in handling them, of the Indians many of them died during the winter. They have done well this Summer, the increase going a good ways towards making up for the dead, the 'clip of wool' was very light averaging not much more than a pound--for which there does not yet seem to be a market.<sup>125</sup>

The main obstacle in this endeavor with the sheep was that these Indians did not like lamb and mutton. They also did not know how to make use of the wool by weaving. The disastrous results were that these sheep were neglected, run down by dogs, or shot with bows and arrows for sport.<sup>126</sup>

Besides the sheep, Colonel Mackenzie purchased cattle from the same fund. In May of 1876, he gave the Indians 350 two-year-old heifers and 50 milk cows. Later 200 more head of cattle were purchased for them. This type of livestock the Indians were very much pleased to receive and they took

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<sup>125</sup>Haworth to Smith, Annual Report, August 21, 1876, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>126</sup>Mildred P. Mayhall, The Kiowas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 255.

good care of them.<sup>127</sup> One lesson these Indians had to learn was that they could not eat all their cattle for some were needed for breeding.<sup>128</sup> By the end of 1876 these Indians owned a total of 650 head of cattle and 1,800 head of sheep. About one-half of the sheep had died during the year.<sup>129</sup>

In his final annual report in 1877, Haworth suggested that instead of teaching the Indian to farm he should be encouraged to take up stock raising. The agent declared,

Five years' experience and observation satisfy me that this is not a good agricultural district, and cannot be relied upon for farming purposes, hence some other means than farming must be looked to for the Indians to become self-supporting, which, from the adaption of the country and climate and peculiar fitness of the Indians for stock-raising, must be found in a pastoral avocation, to which they seem to be naturally suited.<sup>130</sup>

The Indians had taken good care of the cattle issued to them by the military in 1876. To this number, Haworth was able to issue in July, 1877, 260 heifers one year old, 90 heifers two years old, and 10 cows and calves.<sup>131</sup> These 360 cattle were distributed to the three tribes as follows: 153 to Kiowas, 145 to Comanches, and 62 to Apaches. This made each

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<sup>127</sup>Haworth to Smith, Annual Report, August 21, 1876, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>128</sup>Mayhall, The Kiowas, p. 255.

<sup>129</sup>Haworth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1876, June 30, 1876, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>130</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1877, p. 87.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid.

tribe have a total of 476 by the Kiowas, 709 by the Comanches, and 158 by the Apaches.<sup>132</sup> Haworth's plan in the way of making these tribes livestock raisers was as follows:

I hope means may be provided for a yearly issue to them of several hundred head of stock cattle until such a time as their herds may have become of sufficient size to make it no longer necessary to increase them by issues, the natural increase being great enough to furnish them a large proportion of their meat-rations. If the Government would issue to them nearly \$12,000 worth of stock cattle--heifers two years old preferably --for four years, the increase by the fifth year would be almost sufficient to supply the necessary beef-rations. . . .<sup>133</sup>

Echoing the agent's sentiments that these Plains Indians should be encouraged to take up stock raising, Lt. Colonel John P. Hatch, Commander at Fort Sill, proposed that each of the 600 families of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Tribes be given two to four cows and the necessary bulls each year. Along with this they should be encouraged gradually to trade their horses for additional cattle.<sup>134</sup>

Agricultural activities were included in the curriculum of the boarding school on the Kiowa Reservation. Besides teaching the academic subjects, the school offered practical training in agriculture for the male students.

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<sup>132</sup>Haworth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1877, July 10, 1877, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>133</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1877,  
p. 87.

<sup>134</sup>Lt. Colonel John P. Hatch to Assistant Adj. General, Headquarters Department of Missouri, March 31, 1877, LR, KA, MC.

This boarding school was opened September 3, 1872, with an attendance of about forty-two.<sup>135</sup> The future of agriculture among these tribes lay in great part in the agrarian education absorbed by these Indian children at the boarding school.

In the first nine years the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches spent on their permanent reservation, much had been done to promote agriculture amongst them. The Indian responded by making some progress. There were several significant factors which helped account for this success.

First of all, the extermination of the buffalo left these Indians little alternative but to learn to farm or live off the Government. The buffalo had long been the Plains Indians' basic source of survival. It served as the Indians' food, clothing, shelter, and many other essential items. As the buffalo began to disappear in the latter part of the 1870's, these tribes were thrown into a dilemma. Out of necessity they were forced to find another manner of providing for their basic needs. At this point, the Indian agent was able to confront them with the need to take up farming. The new agent to the Kiowa Reservation in 1878, P. B. Hunt, declared, "The disappearance of the buffalo has doubtless had its effect in directing their attention to agriculture."<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup>Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1873, p. 47.

<sup>136</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878,  
p. 61.

The Government also poured in agricultural aid to help encourage these tribes to begin farming. This aid took many forms. The Indian Service, for one, furnished the agent at the Kiowa Reservation with seeds and such agricultural implements as plows, hayforks, planters, reapers, threshing and mowing machines. White farmers were also hired to instruct the Indians in the art of agriculture. The Kiowa agency usually had a head farmer and one or two assistant farmers. These farm instructors were not nearly enough, and, in addition, they spent most of their time working on the Government farm and menial tasks around the agency.

A reduction in the rations was another effort by the Government to force them to raise their own food. These Government rations, always short in the early seventies, were by 1877 deliberately reduced. Commissioner E. A. Hayt wrote to Agent Haworth in 1877, "It is true policy to decrease rather than to increase the dependency of the Indians on the Government. . . . I trust you will make the necessary preparation for utilizing all of your Indians in the raising of vegetables and cereals, another year."<sup>137</sup> The Government was only partially successful with this farming incentive. It was hard to persuade an Indian to farm on an empty stomach.

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<sup>137</sup> Commissioner E. A. Hayt to Haworth, December 13, 1877, LR, KA, MC.

Besides these encouragements, there were also obstacles in the way of the Government's attempts to make farmers of these Indians in those years. The greatest and most enduring was the cultural difference between the Plains Indian and the homesteader. These tribes were primarily beef-eating peoples and roving communal tribesmen with little concept of private ownership. The Government tried to make them, in a matter of a few years, eat farm products and comprehend the concept of being individual land owners. This cultural transition was impossible in such a short time.

Agent Haworth readily realized this problem, feeling that all steps toward civilizing these Indians would be slow until they "over came their nomadic habits." He believed it would "require a long time and much patient labor to get them to give up their nomadic habits and become dwellers in fixed habitations, so strong are their superstitious notions--amounting to a controlling element in their nature."<sup>138</sup> These cultural differences were also recognized by the Indians. One explained, "Our way of thinking is so different from the white man's way, that we do not understand it."<sup>139</sup> A Comanche also pointed out the differences in culture by saying,

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<sup>138</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874,  
p. 222.

<sup>139</sup> Haworth to Hayt, February 27, 1878, LR, KA, MC.

When the Great Spirit created the white and the red man, he made a road for the white and the red man to go. I have seen the white man's road, and the way they live, but am afraid we cannot live in it. We want to do as the white man does, but are afraid we will not be able to find the road. It may be a long time before we are able to find it, but we will. My children will grow up to find it.<sup>140</sup>

Lack of farming on this reservation prior to 1875 was due also to frequent Indian depredations. As long as many of the Kiowa Agency Indians continued to raid and steal, it was useless for the Government to talk of settling down and growing crops. Besides refusing to farm, these marauding Indians also prevented many others, settled on the reservation, from growing crops, by their constant running through the peaceful Indians' fields and destroying their crops. The Government was able to overcome this obstacle to farming with the Red River wars of 1874-75. In this conflict, the United States Army was able to completely subdue the raiding element on the Kiowa Reservation.

Uncertainty of rain and the lack of good farm land was a third major hindrance to farming by the Indians of the Kiowa Agency. Periodic droughts made it extremely difficult to grow crops consistently. They were disappointing to the few Indians trying to farm. The most acute one occurred in 1874. This periodic lack of rain caused many agency officials to question the validity of

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<sup>140</sup>Speech of Cheeves, General Council of Indian Territory, Okmulgee, Indian Territory, September 9, 1875, Indian International Council File, Section X, ID, OHS.

teaching these tribes to farm in this region. Haworth in 1875 explained the problem of poor land. "Of the 3,549,440 acres of this reservation, but a small part is adapted to agricultural purposes, and a large part unfit even for grazing purposes, on account of its alkaline soil and waters." The 200,000 acres considered tillable were primarily in the river valleys.<sup>141</sup>

The years between 1869-77, which the Plains tribes spent on the Kiowa Agency, witnessed some successes in the direction of making farmers of these nomadic tribes. From a near void of agricultural experience, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians by 1877 had at least begun the long trail leading to the white man's means of making a living. The most encouraging sign was the acknowledgment by agent personnel of the importance of encouraging stock raising on the Kiowa Reservation. Those working closest to the tribes were increasingly convinced it should be emphasized as much or more than the actual growing of crops. The Federal Government, not responsive to this idea, continued to follow policies primarily aimed at making these Indians tillers of the soil. Stock raising would increase over the following years but it never served its most effective potential--a transition point between nomadic hunters and permanently settled farmers. The obstacles to be encountered were to

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<sup>141</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875, p. 274.



be too great: leases by cattlemen, money to get started, and rations too low to keep the Indians from eating the stock cattle.<sup>142</sup>

With the appointment of P. B. Hunt as the successor to Agent Haworth in April of 1878, without the recommendation of the Society of Friends, the Quaker responsibility for the Kiowa Reservation ceased.<sup>143</sup> President Grant's Peace Policy had come to an end among the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes.

A clerk at the agency, Oden R. Smith, critically summed up these years by declaring in March of 1878,

I reach the conclusion that the so-called Quaker of peace policy has been a failure here. In a pronounced progressive sense, a failure. It has been to grant everything and exact nothing in return, the result of which has been to create an army of dependents, content to live on the beef and flour of the Government, in short any purpose in life except nomadic vagabondism, and very certainly without any desire to work for any portion of the "daily bread" which they received.<sup>144</sup>

The preceding pages have tended to a degree, to disprove Smith's remark. The Government's policy of encouraging the Indians to take up agricultural pursuits was admittedly less than expected but progress had definitely been made.

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<sup>142</sup>Ernest Wallace, "The Comanches on the White Man's Road," West Texas Historical Association Yearbook (October, 1953), p. 15.

<sup>143</sup>Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1878, p. 108.

<sup>144</sup>Oden R. Smith to Carl Schurz, Secretary of Interior, March 23, 1878, LR, KA, MC.

An evaluation of the period which more conforms to the evidence at hand is that of Martha Buntin.

During the years 1869-78 they [the Quakers] had established the agency, provided school facilities for a limited number of children, partially succeeded in locating and holding the Indians on the reservation, made an attempt to interest the Indians in agricultural activities, and provided religious instruction for all who would listen, but on the whole the Quakers were grievously disappointed in the success attained in their efforts to Christianize and civilize the Indians. However, the Quakers laid the foundation which made the work of their successors possible and to these people belongs much credit.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>145</sup>Martha Buntin, "The Quaker Indian Agents of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Indian Reservations," Chronicles of Oklahoma, X (March, 1932), p. 218.

### CHAPTER III

#### INDIAN FARMING AND STOCK RAISING UNDER

AGENT P. B. HUNT, 1878-1881

The burden of implementing Federal policy on the Kiowa Reservation was placed on P. B. Hunt in 1878 when he relieved Haworth on April 1.<sup>1</sup> Commissioner Hayt directed the new agent "to use every means to impress upon the Indians, the fact that at no very distant day he will be forced to rely upon his own exertions for subsistence, and that he must use the present time to acquire some occupation that shall enable him to live independent of Government assistance."<sup>2</sup> Hunt assured the Commissioner that if sufficient funds were granted for employees, farm implements, and stock cattle, he would in five years cause all three tribes to be self-supporting.<sup>3</sup> An examination of the first four years of his administration discloses not as much success as he desired or anticipated.

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<sup>1</sup>Hunt to Hayt, April 1, 1878, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>2</sup>Hayt to Hunt, September 28, 1878, Federal Relations File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>3</sup>Hunt to Hayt, August 27, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, p. 526, KIA, ID, OHS.

The Kiowa Agency was affected in 1878 by the Government policy of decreasing the number of Indian agencies throughout the United States. One of the eleven reservations involved,<sup>4</sup> the Kiowa Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency August 9. The former Kiowa Agency office was transferred northeast to the Wichita Agency located on the Washita River. From that site Hunt directed the affairs of both reservations. The primary reasons for this move were better land, purer water, and newer buildings at the Wichita Agency. Most of all, it would hopefully fix these Plains Indians thirty-five miles farther from Texas.<sup>5</sup> The only dissatisfaction over the consolidation was that the Indians were stirred up by various white men in and around the reservation.<sup>6</sup> Since the Wichitas' buildings were not capable of housing all the supplies and annuities, Hunt decided to continue using Fort Sill as a base for work dealing with the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches who remained on land near the fort. Some of the agency force, under the control of the clerk, John R. Richards, were left to administer to the Indians. Hunt was quite satisfied with Richard's

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<sup>4</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878,  
p. V.

<sup>5</sup>Carl Schurz, Secretary of Interior, to Secretary of War, October 7, 1878, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>6</sup>Hunt to Hayt, August 3, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, p. 420, KIA, ID, OHS.

work and felt the administration of the agency had not suffered from this division of his employees.<sup>7</sup>

Except for those Indians already owning houses and cultivating fields, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes by 1880 began to move closer to the new agency office. Evaluating this shift of the agency to the Wichita River, Agent Hunt related that the Indians had commenced "settling down, not as before in large crowded camps, but in small groups and by families, and they are opening up separate farms instead of cultivating one large body of land in common."<sup>8</sup> For those who did not move near the new agency, Hunt recommended making issues to them every two weeks instead of once a week so they did not have to abandon their farms as frequently.<sup>9</sup>

During the first four years of Hunt's service as agent of the Kiowa Reservation, the Bureau of Indian Affairs made it quite clear that the primary goal was to transform the Indian into an agriculturalist. Although farming had been fostered in the past, it was never so distinctly spelled out as it was in 1878. Three circulars sent from the Commissioner's office to agents in the field left no

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<sup>7</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 30, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 8, pp. 150-51, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>8</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1880, p. XXXIV.

<sup>9</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 18, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 113, KIA, ID, OHS.

doubt as to the policy which the Government intended to be followed.

The Commissioner, E. A. Hayt, sent one in March of 1878 containing guidelines for the Indian agents to use in the administration of affairs at their respective agencies. "The chief duty of an agent," the Commissioner declared, "is to induce his Indians to labor in civilized pursuits." No Indian was to be idle because of lack of work. He was to be directed into other occupations if farming was not extensive enough to keep him busy. In addition, work, which the Indians were capable of doing, such as cutting hay or wood, splitting rails, and gathering crops, was no longer to be performed by non-Indian laborers. "Plowing and fencing should also be done by Indians to cultivate small patches or farms of their own, . . . even though the manner of farming be [c]rude and the crops much smaller than a model agency farm would have produced." Rather than a "well-ordered agency farm," the Commissioner declared it would be more credit to an agent if he had "a large number of comparatively unprofitably managed Indian farms, which will awaken in their Indian owners a sense of proprietorship and will serve as beginnings in the direction of self support."<sup>10</sup>

Acting Commissioner William M. Leeds sent another circular to all agents later in the year, specifically

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<sup>10</sup> Hayt to Indian Agents, Circular, March 1, 1878, Kiowa-Indian Improvements File, KIA, ID, OHS.

pointing to the Government's desire to make the Red Man self-supporting by encouraging him to take up agriculture. The agents were informed that the test of improvement on their reservations was to be determined by the decline in quantity of supplies the Government had to furnish the Indians. Increase in farming was a major criteria of improvement. "Unless your Indians produce annually increased crops until such time as they shall become independent of government support, your administration of Agency affairs cannot be said to have been successful." If this policy was not executed, Acting Commissioner Leeds said explicitly what would transpire. "If the fiscal year ending June 30, 1879 does not exhibit a very large percentage of increase of such crops as may be successfully cultivated by your Indians, it will become the duty of this Office to make a radical change in the personnel of your agency employees."<sup>11</sup>

A third circular was sent in July, 1879, by Commissioner Hayt instructing the agents on how to prepare their annual reports. They were to list the number of acres cultivated during the year, the kind and amount of crops raised, and the increase of acres cultivated over the previous year. "As buffalo, and all other game, heretofore depended upon by the Indians for their support, are rapidly

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<sup>11</sup>Acting Commissioner William M. Leeds to Indian Agents, Circular, August 22, 1878, Kiowa-Indian Improvements File, KIA, ID, OHS.

diminishing, and as there is no probability of increased appropriations by Congress for the support of Indians," the Commissioner declared, "it becomes absolutely necessary that they should raise from the soil food enough for their own sustenance." The agents were to persuade their Indians to cultivate twice as much land in 1880 as they did during 1879.<sup>12</sup>

Indian self support, according to the Indian Service, was to be principally gained by the cultivation of the soil. The Commissioner explained, "The number of persons who can be employed in stock-raising is small, since comparatively little labor is required and a few men can herd and take care of a thousand head of cattle; but the cultivation of the soil will give employment to the whole Indian race." Commissioner Hayt spelled out his plan, "The only sure way to make Indians tillers of the soil, under the best conditions to promote their welfare, is to give each head of a family one hundred and sixty acres of land, and to each unmarried adult eighty acres, and to issue patents for the same, making the allotments inalienable and free from taxation for twenty-five years." This proposal was submitted in a bill to Congress in 1879 but not passed until 1887. This suggested policy of severalty was predicated on the

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<sup>12</sup>Hayt to Hunt, Circular, July 14, 1879, Breaking of Land File, KIA, ID, OHS.



belief that "industry and thrift" had their roots in land ownership.<sup>13</sup> The Board of Indian Commissioners, feeling the lack of a title to land in severalty was one of the obstacles to the Indians becoming self-supporting, emphasized in their 1879 report,

No white man nor Indian can be expected to devote his energies to the improvement and cultivation of land to which he has no valid and sure title. All ambition for permanent improvement is paralyzed, if the fruits of one's labor are to accrue to others. The Indians realize the fact, most of them from sad experience, that they have no sure abiding place; that their homes to to-day may be the possession of the white man to-morrow; that others may reap what they sow, and gather in the harvest of their planting. When urged to abandon their habits of hunting and resort to agriculture, the want of paper titles is immediately suggested--an obstacle whose force and validity cannot be questioned.<sup>14</sup>

To the Plains Indians, this policy of allotment was completely adverse to their concept of land tenure since from their viewpoint land was the common property of all their fellow tribesmen. The Indians on the Kiowa Reservation voiced strong opposition to allotment. In a general council held in June, 1881, they requested the Commissioner to prohibit the division of the lands in severalty. They pleaded, "We ask earnestly of Washington to prevent our country from being cut up (the lands divided in severalty and the bound[a]ry line to remain as it is--not removed)

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<sup>13</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1879,  
pp. III-IV.

<sup>14</sup>Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1879,  
p. 5.

and let it remain as it was given us--as a legacy to our children."<sup>15</sup> Commissioner Hiram Price assured these Indians that even if the severalty bill passed Congress, it would not apply to them, immediately.<sup>16</sup>

Another Indian policy which had significant impact on the agricultural endeavors of the Plains tribes was that pertaining to the issuing of rations and the termination of Indian buffalo hunts. The policy of issuing rations to only those who worked, as required by Section 3 of the Appropriation Act of March 3, 1875, came under great discussion during 1878. Previously, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians had been exempt from this policy. Agent Haworth made an appeal in January for the continuance of this exemption. "Many of them for the last three years engaged in plowing, planting, cultivating crops, making rails and fences, with a willingness and seeming appreciation of the time coming when they will have to depend upon themselves."<sup>17</sup> These Indians were once again exempted but with provisions. Agent Haworth was authorized to issue all rations to his Indians except coffee, sugar, and tobacco regardless of their efforts. These three items were,

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<sup>15</sup>General Council of Apaches, Kiowas, Comanches, and Affiliated Tribes, June 10, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 319, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>16</sup>Commissioner Hiram Price to Hunt, April 21, 1881, Land, Vol. 170, pp. 143-44, Letters Sent by the Office of Indian Affairs 1881-1901 National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereafter cited as LS, NA.

<sup>17</sup>Haworth to Hayt, January 24, 1878, LR, KA, MC.

however, to be reserved for only those Indians who worked.<sup>18</sup> When the new agent of the Kiowa Reservation in the fall of 1878 requested continued exemption for his Indians, Commissioner Hayt replied, "The Department will not take any backward steps in the effort to bring the Indians to a condition of self-support, and as it is believed that, your Indians are better prepared now, than heretofore, to comply with said law, unless some good and sufficient reason can be shown for so doing, no modification of your present instructions in this matter will be made."<sup>19</sup> Hunt responded with the following:

I do not wish that the Department take any backward step, in its efforts to civilize the Indians, but would respectfully call attention to the fact, that the Kiowa, Comanches and Apaches have heretofore been exempted; and when I assumed charge of the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, I found that the Indians had never planted, or worked to any considerable degree, and I experienced great difficulty in inducing them to plow, and crop their corn, as it had been done prior to my coming by white men with corn planted but with the aid of a very efficient Farmer and Assistant, they were finally induced to try it. They fenced, plowed and planted every acre broken, raising I am glad to say exceedingly good crops of corn, potatoes, and melons.<sup>20</sup>

A second policy designed to encourage the Indian to farm was the termination of buffalo hunts by Indians off the reservation. In the past these Plains tribes had been

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<sup>18</sup>Acting Commissioner H. R. Clum to Haworth, February 2, 1878, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>19</sup>Hayt to Hunt, September 28, 1878, Federal Relations File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>20</sup>Hunt to Hayt, October 7, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 6, p. 70, KIA, ID, OHS.

permitted to make two buffalo hunts each year in order to supplement the rations issued by the Government. Haworth remarked in 1878, "The Buffalo as a help to the Indian subsistence cannot be relied upon much longer, as the white hunters are very rapidly exterminating them, hence the necessity of the Government making more liberal provision for them than before."<sup>21</sup> But what little was brought in was greatly needed. After a hunt, early in the year, the agent explained, "Had it not been for the Buffalo meat brought in from the hunt, there would have been much suffering among the Indians."<sup>22</sup> Despite this, Commissioner Hayt was adamant.

There hunting expeditions for two or three years past, at least have been productive of evil rather than good to the Kiowas and Comanches, as well as the other tribes who have engaged in them. The buffalo to a great extent have disappeared, and the Indians should be made to understand, that they must rely upon more civilized pursuits for a living that they must abandon "the hunt," and cultivate the soil. In this they will have my earnest and hearty cooperation, but I cannot consent to their request to go upon the proposed expedition.<sup>23</sup>

The Commissioner compromised by permitting a portion of the Indians of the reservation to hunt providing that there were enough men left on the reserve "to work the corn."<sup>24</sup> Only

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<sup>21</sup>Haworth to Hayt, February 14, 1878, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>22</sup>Haworth to Hayt, April 2, 1878, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>23</sup>Hayt to Hunt, May 14, 1878, LS, NA, MC.

<sup>24</sup>Hunt to William Nicholson, General Agent for Society of Friends, June 18, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, p. 253, KIA, ID, OHS.

a few of each band participated in the hunt which took place in the western part of their reservation in 1878. Despite all the talk of the disappearing buffalo, they returned with "a very good supply of meat and robes."<sup>25</sup> The vanishing of the buffalo, according to the Indian Service, was a blessing in disguise because the Indians were realizing for the first time that "they must get their living out of the soil by their own labor."<sup>26</sup>

In converting these nomadic tribes into farmers, the Indian Service was quite aware, during the years 1878-1881, that they must be furnished farm implements, supplies, instructors, and other forms of agricultural assistance. Commissioner Hayt stated in 1878:

Only one farmer at an agency to guide, encourage, and assist from 1,000 to 5,000 untrained Indians in the spring planting will scarcely give assurance of their speedy transformation from hunters or idle consumers of rations into successful farmers; and no one will be surprised at the slowness and difficulty of a work carried on under such disadvantages. Liberal appropriations for the purchase of agricultural implements, domestic animals, etc., and the employment of teachers of farming, are in line of economy.<sup>27</sup>

Agricultural implements and supplies were extremely important if these tribes were to be made agriculturalists. The Secretary of the Interior authorized Agent Haworth in February, 1878, to purchase \$500 worth of plows, harness,

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<sup>25</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878, p. 60.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 1879, pp. III-IV.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 1878, p. XXVII.

corn, and garden seed for his Indians to use in cultivating their lands. With these aids, the Commissioner expected Haworth to persuade the Indians "to cultivate a largely increased acreage over what has heretofore been done, thus teaching them arts of civilization, and bringing them nearer to self support."<sup>28</sup> Part of the money went for seed corn for the spring planting<sup>29</sup> and seed wheat for fall planting.<sup>30</sup> Garden seeds were donated to these Indians for their use by Benjamin Coates, a Quaker philanthropist from Philadelphia. The seeds received a favorable response from the Indians when they were carefully distributed.<sup>31</sup>

The Government furnished \$150 in 1870 for purchasing such seeds as oats, potatoes, corn, and other garden and field seeds.<sup>32</sup> An additional sixty bushels of seed wheat were purchased for fall planting.<sup>33</sup> Seeds supplied for the spring planting in 1881 included: 75 bushels of spring

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<sup>28</sup>Hayt to Haworth, February 6, 1878, Purchase File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>29</sup>Hunt to Hayt, April 20, 1878, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>30</sup>Hayt to Hunt, September 28, 1878, Indian Houses File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>31</sup>Hunt to Hayt, Annual Report, August 15, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, pp. 491-99, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>32</sup>A. Bell, Acting Secretary of Interior, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 6, 1870, LS, NA, MC.

<sup>33</sup>Hunt to A. A. Newman, Arkansas City, Kansas, September 5, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 8, p. 119, KIA, ID, OHS.

wheat,<sup>34</sup> 200 bushels of corn, and 75 bushels of potatoes.<sup>35</sup> This policy of furnishing the Indian with seeds for planting began to be altered after 1879. The agents were encouraged to stress to their Indians the importance of saving a sufficient amount of the current year's yield to plant the following season.<sup>36</sup>

In 1878 one-eighth of the adult male Indians on the Kiowa Reservation possessed agricultural implements.<sup>37</sup> A list of those Indians receiving them was transmitted in response to a circular from Acting Commissioner Leeds asking for information concerning the chiefs of the various tribes.<sup>38</sup> Included in the information in this report were the number of plows, wagons, and harness held by each chief. The Comanches with 31 chiefs and 1,469 people had a total of 16 wagons, 14 plows, and 17 harness valued at \$860. Only three Comanche chiefs had more than one plow for his followers. The Kiowa tribe, totaling 1,124, was divided up by 33 chiefs who had a total of 16 wagons, 3 plows, and 16 harness valued at \$786. The Apaches, with

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<sup>34</sup>Hunt to W. N. Nubbell, Caldwell, Kansas, January 19, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 12, p. 201, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>35</sup>Acting Commissioner E. U. Marble to Hunt, February 7, 1881, Finance, Vol. 177, p. 179, LS, NA.

<sup>36</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1879, p. XI.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 1878, pp. 184-85.

<sup>38</sup>Leeds to Indian Agents, Circular, June 14, 1878, Chiefs File, KIA, ID, OHS.

only 11 chiefs represented 351 Indians, held 7 wagons, 2 plows, and 7 harness.<sup>39</sup>

Besides supplying agricultural implements and tools, the Indian Service continued to pay for the initial breaking of land for the Indians. The Government broke 250 acres of prairie during the spring of 1878<sup>40</sup> and additional acres in the fall for these Indians to cultivate.<sup>41</sup> During 1879, 400 acres of land were broken on the Kiowa Reservation. The Government broke 278 while the full-blood Indians broke 122 acres.<sup>42</sup> One thousand acres were authorized to be broken for cultivation in 1880, but only 800 were actually plowed during the year<sup>43</sup> because of the dryness of the weather.<sup>44</sup>

Washington Indian Office officials sent out in July, 1880, a letter to all agents clarifying the Indian

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<sup>39</sup>Statistical Forms, Civilization 1878, December 31, 1878, Chiefs File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>40</sup>Secretary of Interior to Hayt, February 7, 1878, LR, KA, MC.

<sup>41</sup>Bell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 27, 1878, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>42</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1879, June 18, 1879, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>43</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 10, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>44</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 5, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 8, p. 418, KIA, ID, OHS; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 5, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 11, p. 109, KIA, ID, OHS.



Office's policy with regard to breaking land. It directed the agent "to prepare immediately to put under cultivation for the year 1880 at least double the area you have cultivated during 1879." On that basis, Agent Hunt promised "to break a field for any Indian who would, first make a good eight rail worn fence enclosing the same." This policy had a great effect on persuading the Indians to begin farming. In the past the land had been broken and then enclosed by a fence. The result was a poor fence or no fence at all. The 800 acres broken in 1880 were in "fields that were first enclosed by a good rail fence made by the Indian in each case, for whom the ground was broken." These Indians continued through December to fence in lots and request their ground to be broken. However, the agent was provided insufficient funds to fulfill his promise of breaking any land, "thus greatly impeding their further progress in this direction, and impairing their confidence to some extent in any future promises that may be made to them in carrying out, to the best advantage the instructions of the Department."

Hunt explained that the Indian could not accomplish the initial breaking because even experienced white farmers encountered problems with the tough prairie soil. But once the sod had been turned, "There will be no trouble in stimulating the Indian to continue the cultivation of the land." The Indians had enough ponies to do the ordinary plowing other than the first breaking. Hunt said, "The after

cultivation of the land will be cheerfully done by the Indians, which in a few years will sufficiently familiarize them with the use of the plow and bring their ponies into proper training for farm work. That I feel confident will enable them to do their own breaking of new lands with the means then at their command."<sup>45</sup>

Despite all the agricultural supplies furnished and the breaking of new land, the Plains Indians needed to be instructed and assisted in their farming efforts. The significance Agent Hunt placed in this phase of the Government's policy is indicated by the following statement made in 1879.

I will state it as my opinion that in no part of the service is there so great a want of employes as for men of the proper qualifications who may be placed with the Indians to instruct them in their farming operations; and it is a matter of regret that the amount allowed for the pay of employes is not sufficient to secure the services of a number requisite for the purpose. One or two farmers at an agency cannot possibly do the work required, as the fields and camps of the Indians are situated many of them miles from the agency and at points far from each other, and covering a large extent of territory. I have found they are much pleased at having them with them, and that they much more readily take hold when they have some one to direct them. The want of these instructors will, in a few years, be a measure supplied by the industrial schools, as where they have been properly conducted young men will be sent home capable of teaching their people. Until this time it would be well could the number of farmers be increased.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 16, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 126-28, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>46</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 30, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 8, pp. 169-70, KIA, ID, OHS.

During Hunt's first four years, the Government provided one farmer and one assistant farmer to aid the Indians in cultivating their land.<sup>47</sup> In the spring of 1878, the agent had two irregular employees to help the two farmers instruct the Indians in farming.<sup>48</sup> John Richards, clerk at the subagency near Fort Sill, remarked in 1879, "It has been impracticable with the force employed for said tribes to give many of the distant camps from the agency any instructions in planting or plowing. . . . The occasional visit and instructions of a practicable farmer at all the fields is actually necessary to insure any degree of success."<sup>49</sup>

With Government direction and support, the tribes of the Kiowa Reservation began to make significant progress toward becoming self-supporting through agriculture. The agent's response in March of 1878 to an Office of Indian Affairs' circular provides much insight on the Indian and agriculture in southwestern Indian Territory. The character

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<sup>47</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878, pp. 182-83; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 2, 1879, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS; John M. Strange to Hunt, Agricultural Articles Expended, December 31, 1880, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 29, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 262, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>48</sup>Hunt to Hayt, Annual Report, August 15, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, pp. 481-93, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>49</sup>John R. Richards to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 5, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 7, pp. 239-40, KIA, ID, OHS.

of the 200,000 acres of tillable land on the reservation was described as primarily bottom land consisting of "black soil mixed with sand," and fair for raising corn, oats, wheat, and barley. The number of acres under cultivation by these Indians included 137 by the Kiowas, 131 by the Comanches, and 49 by the Apaches, for a total of 317 acres "by full blood Indians for themselves." By mixed-blood Indians, a total of 183 acres were cultivated. In response to the question asking the number of full-blood Indian families who cultivated farms or small patches of ground, the agent replied, "All are supposed to cultivate small patches but none are farmers in the true sense of the term."

When questioned concerning the agricultural potential of the Kiowa Reservation, the Agent answered, "Corn is the only crop that has been tried and that has been properly cultivated by Indians. Country adapted to oats, wheat and barley." The principal obstacles to successful farming were "ignorance and idleness of the Indians and drought to which the country is subject." Droughts, which could cause total crop failure, were estimated as occurring about once in every four or five years. The portion of subsistence by the full-blood families obtained by their labor in civilized pursuits was estimated liberally at 3 percent "as the result, of their small corn crops." Agent Hunt, in 1877 had estimated 10 percent. Finally, the report revealed that there

were no full-bloods and mixed-bloods who had received allotments in severalty.<sup>50</sup>

In the spring of 1878, the Plains Indians took an active part in the agricultural activities on their reservation. The ground had been broken for them but their planting was delayed until April due to the small amount of rainfall. These Indians expected the agent to not only have the ground broken but also plant for them. Except for some Comanches and Apaches, this had been the practice in the past. When Agent Hunt told them that they were to plant their own fields, they raised a cry of protest, declaring the previous agent had promised to plant the land for them. Following Hunt's threat to hold their rations of coffee and sugar if they did not plant and the example of successful planting by several Indians such as the Kiowa chief, Stumbling Bear, these Plains Indians began to engage in this agricultural activity.<sup>51</sup> Agent Hunt described their planting efforts.

They were very exact in dropping the proper number of grains, but the difficulty was to teach them to mark off the rows, and cover their seed deep enough with the hoe. In this, however, they have succeeded better than was expected, but few of the rows being so they may not be cultivated with the plow. All who are planting this season, will I believe, be able to plant their corn, next season, without instruction, as well as make their

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<sup>50</sup>Response to circular dated March 22, 1878, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>51</sup>Hunt to Hayt, May 4, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, pp. 92-93, KIA, ID, OHS.

garden--as instruction has also been given in sowing their seeds.<sup>52</sup>

Hunt vividly described further attempts of some of these tribes to plow their land.

Many of them were entirely ignorant of the process, and the most difficult part was in running a straight furrow, as both themselves and ponies were very awkward. Sometimes would be seen three Indians with one team, one at the head of each pony and another hold of the plow. Various improvements upon the white man's plan were suggested. One fellow, having made several ineffectual efforts at a straight furrow across his field, stopped at the end of a row and casting his eyes back at his work exclaimed "no good," and unhitching hurriedly one of his team and mounting he galloped off, apparently in disgust at his efforts at following the white man's way. He appeared, however, before a great while with a coil of rope, which he had purchased at the store, and this he soon had stretched across his field as a guide to his plow in marking the ground. Considering the fact that the ground was exceedingly cloddy, with all other circumstances, they succeeded, I think, remarkably well, the majority of the rows being so they could be cultivated with the plow.<sup>53</sup>

The agent hoped also to persuade them to plow their own fields in the fall. This would be to their advantage since the requests by Indians for land broken in the spring exceeded the amount contracted. The attention these Indians gave to planting was indicated by the refusal of four chiefs to go on a surveying expedition to the western boundary of their reservation. Hunt explained that their reason for not going was that "they were in the midst of their planting operations, their farm interests would

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>53</sup>Hunt to Hayt, Annual Report, August 15, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, pp. 491-93, KIA, ID, OHS.

suffer by their absence; and it was only upon the promise of the Acting Agent to take special charge of their farm and have their corn planted that they consented."<sup>54</sup>

The Indians' farms were scattered over various sections of the reservation. Some nine bands of Comanches were located directly north of Fort Sill with fifty acres of land broken. Another group of Comanches, four bands of Yamparika Comanches, camped fifteen miles south of Fort Sill and had twenty acres of broken land. Two bands of Quahada Comanches had fifty acres of land broken in the same vicinity. Three Comanches, living east of Mt. Scott, broke and cultivated twenty-eight acres of land. About 1,000 Kiowas were located north of Mt. Scott with ninety-four acres broken in twelve pieces. Five additional bands of Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches cultivated fifty-seven acres a few miles south of the Agency.<sup>55</sup>

Farming was retarded by the close proximity of some of these bands' villages to each other. The different bands of the Comanches and Apaches settled a suitable distance apart but the Kiowas camped for the most part together. Hunt expressed his concern for the Kiowas, "I take it that no very great improvement can be looked for among any Indians until their custom as to bands is

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<sup>54</sup>Hunt to Hayt, May 4, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, pp. 88-89, 92-96, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>55</sup>Hunt to Hayt, June 18, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, pp. 257-60, KIA, ID, OHS.

broken up, and certainly not so long as large bodies of them are in one camp."<sup>56</sup>

Sufficient rain had fallen on the reservation by the first part of June in 1878 to cause the corn which had been planted in April to come up. But Agent Hunt declared that "not two thirds of this has sprouted or is now standing." Fearing this would happen, Hunt tried without success to purchase some Indian squaw corn to replant.<sup>57</sup> Despite this failure, Hunt was still pleased with the Indians' effort to continue to tend their fields.<sup>58</sup> Sufficient rain continued to fall throughout June causing the various crops to keep growing. Hunt observed, "With a few more rains at the proper time, we may expect to raise a fair crop of corn." Some Indians went on the hunt in June but enough of them remained at home to work the farms. From this, Hunt concluded, "They now manifest in it [farming] an interest that convinces me they appreciate highly any labor they perform with their own hands."<sup>59</sup>

Hunt's 1878 annual report of the Kiowa Agency analyzed the agricultural progress of these Plains tribes.

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<sup>56</sup>Hunt to Hayt, Annual Report, August 15, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, pp. 496-97, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>57</sup>Hunt to Hayt, July 5, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, pp. 320-21, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>58</sup>Hunt to Hayt, June 18, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, pp. 257-60, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>59</sup>Hunt to Hayt, July 5, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, pp. 320-21, KIA, ID, OHS.



The statistical sheet in the annual report recorded 663 acres cultivated during the year by Indians and none by the Government. On this cultivated land, 19,500 bushels of corn, 150 bushels of vegetables, and 5 acres of melons and pumpkins were raised by these Indians. The vegetables were mostly potatoes. Hunt indicated that 3 percent of the Indians obtained their substance from civilized pursuits, 15 percent from hunting and gathering, and still 82 percent from Governmental rations.<sup>60</sup>

In answer to a circular concerning the chiefs, Agent Hunt summarized the farming activities of the Plains Tribes during 1878. The 33 bands of 1,724 Kiowas cultivated about 166 acres; however, all but 4 of these bands worked fields in common. The four exceptions had fencing around their farms. A total of 223½ acres were cultivated by 1,469 Comanches. All but eight of thirty-one bands had at least some land cultivated while all but one cultivated land which had been fenced. The 351 Apaches, divided into 11 bands, cultivated no land.<sup>61</sup>

Other attempts at farming on the reservation were by the Indian prisoners at Fort Sill. Forty-eight Quahada Comanche Indians were turned over by the military to Agent Hunt; these Indians had some agricultural experience. The

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<sup>60</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878,  
pp. 300-301.

<sup>61</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1878, Chiefs File, KIA, ID, OHS.

military had opened an eighty-acre farm for them four miles from the Fort. This field had a good fence around it and was planted in corn. After two of these Indians were killed in the field, all but eighteen refused to work in it because of the custom of deserting any place where a friend or family dies.<sup>62</sup>

While no great advance in the civilization was made by these tribes in 1878, there was progress in the area of agriculture. Agent Hunt believed great improvement would be made the following year. "The desire to enter into the cultivation of the soil is very general, and many more are inclined to settle off to themselves, and away from the main camps, than was the case several months back." Hunt felt these Indians showed a "more correct appreciation of the rights of individual property and a desire to accumulate." They were becoming more and more impressed with the idea that in the future they must depend on their own hands for their subsistence, realizing the Government would not always furnish it. The willingness of some of the chiefs "to give up their chieftainship and settle down with their families on their farms" was proof of this realization. A prominent Comanche chief, Mohaway, had said he desired "to live the rest of his life with his family on his farm."

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<sup>62</sup>Hunt to Hayt, Annual Report, August 15, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, pp. 489-90, KIA, ID, OHS.

Hunt hoped and believed that many of the other Indians would soon follow his example.<sup>63</sup>

The agency farm was again cultivated in 1878 but was contracted out to one person, David N. McBride, rather than worked by agency employees. He agreed to cultivate sixty acres of land on the share basis. He was to grow at least five acres of sorghum, four to six acres of Irish and sweet potatoes, two acres of onions and other vegetables, with the remainder of the land to be planted in corn or oats. The farmer was obligated to give to the agency one-third of the corn and oats and one-sixth of the potatoes, onions, and other vegetables.<sup>64</sup>

The following year Agent Hunt attempted to encourage some Comanches and many of the Kiowas to move closer to the new agency on the Washita River. These were primarily those Indians located on poor soil near Fort Sill and others who lived too far from their fields. In the latter instance, the agent said the Kiowas were "unwilling to camp permanently near it [their field], a portion of them only moving in during the cropping season, and as soon as the crop is laid by leaving it, unprotected from any stock that may be inclined to go through the weak fence." From their migration to the north-eastern section of the

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., pp. 491-99.

<sup>64</sup>Agreement between Hunt and David N. McBride, December 2, 1878, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

reservation, Hunt felt they would have a greater tendency to divide into "small communities and families." The area near the Wichita Agency also contained "thousands of acres of magnificent lands, sufficient for the settlement of many Indians." The Apaches were located on Cache Creek, midway between Fort Sill and the Wichita Agency, "in one of the finest bodies of land in the Territory." Hunt believed their removal would not be necessary.<sup>65</sup>

The farming activities began in 1879 with the Indians making rails and fixing their fences in preparation for the spring plowing.<sup>66</sup> With January "one of the worst [months] that has been experienced in this country for a number of years," little was done except some herding of ponies and cattle.<sup>67</sup> By March the Indian was entirely dependent on Government rations for subsistence but full rations of good beef, bacon, and flour were "barely sufficient to prevent suffering." The corn raised by these Indians the previous season had been either sold to the reservation trader preceding the winter's unsuccessful buffalo hunt or had been fed to their starving ponies.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 30, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 8, pp. 165-67, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>66</sup>Hunt to Hayt, January 1, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 6, p. 165, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>67</sup>Hunt to Hayt, February 5, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 6, p. 203, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>68</sup>Hunt to Hayt, March 20, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 7, p. 198, KIA, ID, OHS.

Because of this need for food, a portion of the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches were allowed to hunt again in June in the western part of the reservation.<sup>69</sup> Once more these tribesmen failed to find sufficient food. "I think their failures in finding buffalo the past year and their consequent suffering while out," the agent concluded, "will have a good effect in causing them to abandon their idea of subsisting in this way, and to look to their crops and stock for support."<sup>70</sup>

The Indians' farming results in the spring were minimal, mainly because of the lack of rain "about the time the corn was coming up." This was then followed by two weeks of rain which flooded the fields, washing some of the seeds away. The continued rain prevented the Indians from not only replanting but also hoeing out the weeds. The Indians became greatly discouraged but reluctantly went back to work in their fields. The yield of the 860 acres of corn planted by the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches was estimated by Hunt to be about seven bushels to an acre.<sup>71</sup> Statistically, the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation were reported to have cultivated about 940 acres. Of these

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<sup>69</sup>Hunt to Hayt, July 5, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 8, pp. 19-20, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>70</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 30, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 8, pp. 156-57, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 169.

acres, 40 were by the Government, 780 by full-blood Indians, and 80 by mixed bloods. Produce raised totaled 7,000 bushels of corn, 1,200 bushels of potatoes, 50,000 melons, and 10,000 pumpkins.

Five hundred Indian families plus five mixed-blood families engaged in cultivating farms or small patches of ground during the year. Twenty percent of the subsistence of these Indians was obtained by "labor of Indians for themselves or others in civilized pursuits."<sup>72</sup> Speaking of the Kiowa and Comanche farming, Hunt related,

There was much demand for garden seeds, and considerable quantities were distributed among them, though in consequence of the drought the yield was small. I was not enabled at the time to detail from my force men to give the Kiowas and Comanches the proper instructions in making their gardens, having previously learned very little. From the instruction received the year previous they were enabled to plant their corn with little assistance.<sup>73</sup>

An additional number of these Plains Indians in 1879 realized that they needed to take up some form of self support. Hunt declared,

I believe the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches have become well impressed with the necessity of their preparing to subsist themselves, and with the fact that the government will not feed them very much longer. . . . Their single failure to find buffalo the past season has had certainly much to do toward directing their attention to the only other means possible of

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<sup>72</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1879, June 18, 1879, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>73</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 30, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 8, p. 169, KIA, ID, OHS.

obtaining a subsistence--the cultivation of the soil and the growing of herds of cattle. . . . Some who heretofore had shown no disposition to cultivate a crop have taken possession of one of the patches upon which the sod had been turned and commenced preparations for planting, by fencing, etc.<sup>74</sup>

Approximately 1,200 acres of land, yielding about twelve bushels of grain per acre, were cultivated by these Plains Tribes in 1880. This number of acres was small, largely because of the removal of the agency from Fort Sill, keeping many of the Indians unsettled. Those abandoning their fields near Fort Sill spent the year building fences at their new locations. Hunt enumerated their activities, "The Indians have been changing from their old camps and fields to new ones, making rails and building fences, and in making their selections of sites for farms and getting to work upon them."<sup>75</sup> Another factor affecting agriculture on the Kiowa Reservation was the scarcity of rain which was long a recognized problem. "They may be situated in a country badly adapted to agriculture," Hunt explained, "and their failures to grow crops on account of the scarcity of rain may be so frequent that they become discouraged. I am satisfied that old, experienced farmers would have been discouraged at the seasons and conditions of the crops the past three seasons." As in

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., pp. 158-59.

<sup>75</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 6, 10, KIA, ID, OHS.

the previous year, the prospects for a good crop were extremely poor up until June because of the lack of rain.<sup>76</sup> With heavy showers finally coming the first of June, Hunt was able to predict the chances for a good crop were at least fair.<sup>77</sup> The result was a good corn harvest which was "far better than has been grown for some years."<sup>78</sup>

Corn raised by the Indians was often sold to traders despite the agent's objections. Hunt attempted to make the Indians see "the necessity of keeping their corn to feed their ponies and cattle, and especially to keep sufficient to bring to the mill and have ground for themselves and families to last them until the next crop." Consequently, the price the Indian had to sell his corn for was set higher than normal in an effort to make these Indians keep their corn.<sup>79</sup>

Besides a good harvest, the year 1880 witnessed the agrarian involvement of many of the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation. Hunt put it, "The Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches have manifested considerable interest in their

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., pp. 7, 9-10.

<sup>77</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 2, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 11, p. 138, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>78</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 9, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>79</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 8, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 119, KIA, ID, OHS.



fields and crops."<sup>80</sup> Indian enthusiasm for farming was illustrated by the fact that the agent had no trouble finding Indians wishing plows.<sup>81</sup> On the first of September, Hunt said, "The Indians are well satisfied with their farming operations and will raise more corn this year than ever before in this section of the country. Encouraged by this success many have already commenced cutting rails with a view to the enlargement of their fields."<sup>82</sup>

With corn fairly well established as a crop, Hunt advocated the introduction of wheat. In the fall of 1880 Hunt requested 150 bushels of seed wheat.<sup>83</sup> The planting of this wheat did not, however, go as scheduled. Indians prepared fields to plant the wheat but because of trouble obtaining the seeds and the dryness of the soil Hunt thought it best to postpone the planting until the spring rather than risk certain failure.<sup>84</sup>

Zabile, a Kiowa, exemplified the Governmental aspirations for all Indian farmers. In 1878 he had plowed his field by using a rope to line up the rows. The following

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>81</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 5, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 11, p. 17, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>82</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 6, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 11, p. 199, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>83</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 21, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 29, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>84</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 6, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 70-71, KIA, ID, OHS.

year his plot in the Kiowa's common field yielded a good crop of corn. Hunt reported that Zabile had in 1880 "a forty-acre field all to himself with an eight-rail fence and with a stone under each corner to protect the rails." He also gave the agent fifty dollars to purchase cattle for him. The result was the addition of three cows each with calf to his small herd. The agent proudly boasted, "I consider this the most striking case that has come within my knowledge, but I do not consider it the only one worth mentioning, by any means. Zabile's chances were no better than other members of his tribe, the difference being that he profited by the instructions he received."<sup>85</sup>

The results of Indian farming in 1881 were disastrous because of bad weather. During the early months the normal work on the agency was greatly limited by the extremely cold weather. The low temperatures during February caused the usual plowing and breaking of new land to be postponed. Those Indians re-opening their farms and those resolved to till the soil for the first time became greatly impatient with the delay.<sup>86</sup>

By March the weather became warmer and the agency and Indians were busy plowing. Hunt would not even stop the farm work long enough to allow the Indians to do some

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<sup>85</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 8-9, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>86</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 15, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 213, KIA, ID, OHS.

freighting.<sup>87</sup> The importance of this period of the farming operation was stressed by Hunt. "At this season of the year, when all efforts are being made to stimulate the Indians to engage in and prosecute farming operations I deem it of the utmost importance to extend to them every aid within my power even to the extent of issuing the full ration of flour, if necessary to the success of these operations."<sup>88</sup> The delay in plowing over the winter months did not affect the year's preparation of fields primarily because energetic efforts were exerted by the Indians and agency employees.<sup>89</sup>

Hunt acknowledged in April, "Farm work has been prosecuted vigorously by many as the forward condition of the corn affords ample evidence." He was greatly pleased with the progress made by the Indians in fencing and working their fields. The new land being plowed was planted in corn. Hunt predicted this land would yield a fair crop if the season continued to be nice. The total acreage cultivated in corn, he contended, would greatly exceed the previous year, especially among the Kiowas and Comanches.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>Hunt to A. A. Newman, Arkansas City, Kansas, March 18, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 12, p. 280, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>88</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 26, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 225-26, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>89</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 11, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 233-34, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>90</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 10, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 268-69, KIA, ID, OHS.

Every indication of a most successful farming year was given as late as May, 1881. The weather in May was very favorable, the Indians were taking an increased interest in their farms, and the corn looked most promising.<sup>91</sup> Agent Hunt summarized the year's progress to this point:

At no time during the three years and a half I have been in charge of these Indians have I been so encouraged, so well pleased, with the prospect of their reaching in a few years a condition of self-support as I was during the first five months of the present year (1881). Long before the time for commencing the work in their crops the Indians were unusually active, getting ready their plows, harness, etc., and throughout the whole of the season of planting and cultivating they worked well and most cheerfully, and, indeed, there were reasons why they should be encouraged. The year before they had raised an excellent crop, the only really good one they had ever grown, and now here was such a prospect as no one had ever seen in this country before. The stand had been perfect, and rains had fallen at the proper intervals, making a splendid growth, but allowing time for cleaning and cultivating, and only two or three more rains were needed to make sure a most bountiful harvest.<sup>92</sup>

Hunt expressed well the condition that struck the agency in June. "Their hopes were blasted, for no more rains fell on their crops, and stalks and blades were soon dried up with not an ear upon them."<sup>93</sup> The agency farm's grain was also thoroughly killed by the heat and dry weather to the point that only fodder could be salvaged out

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<sup>91</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 15, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 299-300, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>92</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 439-40, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 440.

of the yield. This farm had received the best cultivation, and up until the middle of June it had been hoped it would yield at least fifty bushels per acre.<sup>94</sup>

The long drought continued into August and the entire crop failed.<sup>95</sup> Hunt summed up this failure,

The Indians were of course much disheartened, but what its ultimate effect will be cannot be known. It is certain they cannot be expected to take hold of their work next spring as they did last, and I fear that some of those who were just commencing to farm cannot be prevailed upon to attempt it soon again. The latter have not realized any of the positive benefits from a crop of corn or vegetables, as the older farmers have, who, while they may be much discouraged at the present failure and greatly disappointed that they will not have their sacks of corn to take to the mill every now and then (the meal from which will bridge them over the days that the government rations does not cover) may be induced to try again.<sup>96</sup>

The last of November, Hunt wrote to the Commissioner requesting additional rations for his Indians because of the crop failure.<sup>97</sup>

Despite this gloomy picture, Hunt spoke of some progress with regard to the civilizing of these Indians in 1881. He noted that "they manifested, . . . especially in

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<sup>94</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 9, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 331-32, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>95</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 20, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 415, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>96</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 440-41, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>97</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 28, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, p. 40, KIA, ID, OHS.

the first part of the year, an increased desire to learn and adopt the customs of civilized life." For example, he found the tribal system disappearing which he felt was the result in large measure to the change of the agency from Fort Sill to the Washita River. Large camps had been broken up and members of the various bands were distributed among new settlements. The effect was to weaken the hold of the older chiefs on their tribesmen and give more independence to the young braves attempting to farm. Besides this limited progress, the agent also commented on the negative factors which the land of this reservation afforded. He felt the land was badly adapted to agriculture due to the lack of rainfall which occurred sometimes two out of three years. "It is a very difficult matter to educate Indians to be farmers under the most favorable circumstances," Hunt declared, "and it certainly would require much time and patience in a country where so often he would realize nothing from his labor. Whether he could entirely support himself in this country by agriculture is a question to be solved."<sup>98</sup>

The Government's policy of decreasing rations to compel the Indians to work drew harsh criticism from Hunt in 1881. With the disappearance of the buffalo and reduction of Government rations about one-fourth, the Indian

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<sup>98</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 435, 437-38, 442-43, KIA, ID, OHS.

Office expected the Indians to make up the deficiency by tilling the soil. The agent commented,

But we have seen how the scarcity of rain-fall has affected the growing of crops on the lands worked by the Indians, and it must be remembered that as yet comparatively few of the whole number (some 3,000 Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches) have been engaged in the cultivation of the soil, have had their patches of a few acres to work, and that the very small crops from these poorly cultivated fields could not, in the hands of the Indians, be expected to go far towards subsisting them.

The agent did not advocate keeping the Indian hungry in order to force him to work; rather, he insisted that those who knew the Indian best would advocate feeding him well, first, before trying to persuade him to do something.

White men, or those who have been accustomed to labor and who know how to work the soil and gather from it a subsistence, would, while suffering from hunger, put themselves to work, although they might feel little like it at the time; but the red man, who is not only unaccustomed to labor, but has a natural prejudice against it, and who knows but little or nothing of farming or how to gain a subsistence by working with hunger, spend his time in grumbling.

Hunt said he felt that a large number of his Indians realized that they had to eventually work for their subsistence and many were "anxious to reach that condition as soon as possible." Hunt asserted that if they could receive food sufficient to at least keep them from suffering, they would move toward the goal of self-sufficiency more rapidly.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid., pp. 445-47.

The limited success of farming by the Plains Indians led the Indian Service to persist in the attempt to extend stock raising. Commissioner Roland E. Trowbridge very astutely recognized the importance of stock raising by these Indians. "Self-support by farming," he pointed out in 1880, "cannot reasonably be expected of this generation of Indians in a country so liable to drought as that now occupied by the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Araphoes." He said these Indians were "turning their attention more and more to stock-raising."<sup>100</sup> Agent Hunt echoed those sentiments, "In view of the frequent failures of the crops for want of rain, it is certainly very important that the Indians under my charge should enlarge and preserve their herds of cattle, as upon them their subsistence may largely depend."<sup>101</sup> Speaking of the advantages of stock raising on this reservation, he declared it "almost unsurpassable." It had "nutritious grass, excellent water, good shelter" and stock needed hay and shelter only in January and February, and then only to a limited extent.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1880,  
p. XXXV.

<sup>101</sup> Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 11, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>102</sup> Response to a questionnaire dated March 22, 1878, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.



Cattle was the main stock the agent wished the Indian to raise. The three tribes had accumulated by August, 1878, a total of 1,343 cattle--the Kiowas had 476, the Comanches 709, and the Apaches 158. These Indian cattle subsisted principally by grazing but the Government did assist in the raising and putting up of some hay for them. The Kiowas' main range was located five to fifteen miles northwest of the Fort Sill agency while the Apaches located their cattle about fifteen to twenty miles northwest of the agency. The Comanches had three ranges. The Penatekas grazed their cattle about fifteen miles north from the Kiowa Agency, the Quahadas ten to fifteen miles west, and the Yamparikas twenty miles northwest of the agency.<sup>103</sup>

By the end of the year, the number of cattle held by these tribes changed. The Comanches had 594 head of cattle valued at \$7,128. White Wolf, with forty-one members of his band, had a total of eighty cattle valued at \$960. There were three bands with over fifty head and eight with over twenty-five. All bands had at least one cow. The Kiowas herded only 210 head of cattle and seven of their bands did not own a single cow. The Kiowa band with the most cattle was Sun Boy's band of fifty-five Indians having thirty-one cattle valued at \$348. Only seven bands had ten or more cattle. The Apaches had a mere fourteen head of

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<sup>103</sup>Haworth to Hayt, February 14, 1878, LR, KA, MC.

cattle valued at \$168. Stranger's band of thirty-three Indians had the most with three head. Four other bands had two while three bands had none.<sup>104</sup>

Encouraging the Indians to build up their herds of cattle, Agent Hunt wrote Commissioner Hayt in 1879 requesting \$5,000 which was in the Indians' account be used to purchase cattle.<sup>105</sup> Hunt also suggested leasing a portion of their reservation to cattlemen for grazing privileges at ten cents per head per year. The money from this enterprise would be used to purchase stock cattle for his Indians. Hunt emphasized, "To make these people self-supporting they must have herds of cattle, and I am anxious to press the matter forward as fast as I can. The sooner they are supplied with cattle, that much sooner will they be in that condition. . . ."<sup>106</sup>

Consequently, Hunt was authorized to spend \$5,000 for stock cattle to be issued to the Indians of his Agency.<sup>107</sup> Hunt received on July 1, 1879, 474 head of Texas heifers to be distributed among the various Indians. The agent commented on the venture.

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<sup>104</sup>Statistical Response to Circular, December 31, 1878, Chiefs File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>105</sup>Hunt to Hayt, February 12, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 7, p. 181, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>106</sup>Hunt to Hayt, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 8, p. 76, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>107</sup>Bell to Hunt, March 6, 1879, LS, NA, MC.

This I think will prove a wise expenditure of funds upon the part of the government, and could such be made annually for several years, would richly repay. I believe it will have a tendency to make them preserve more carefully their herds, and as in the distribution meritorious young men will receive a share, and thus be started out to build up a herd for themselves, it will tend to sever their connection with the bands, to make them independent, and rely upon themselves for support, and to think of becoming themselves the head of a family, instead of being the blind and idle followers of a chief, who cares nothing for him except that as his name counts for one in numbering his band, it brings him more glory and more beef.

The Government also provided them with 100 shorthorn bulls and 5 shorthorn heifers to improve their herds through breeding. Many of these died when they were delivered to the agency during extremely hot weather but enough lived to begin breeding the Indians' herds.<sup>108</sup>

The Government in 1880 issued to the Indians of the Kiowa and Wichita Agency 600 additional head of cattle which pleased the Indians. Feeling this a wise expenditure, the agent commented,

As the size of their herds increases the Indians will the more certainly see in the future the time when the cattle may be the means of subsisting them, and be in consequence inclined to take better care of them. It is also enabling many of the young men to make a start at building up a herd for themselves, besides tending to lead them off from their chiefs into a life of independence and self-support.

The 600 cattle were distributed by Hunt to those Indians he felt were most worthy and would "take the best care of

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<sup>108</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 8, pp. 161-62, KIA, ID, OHS.

them."<sup>109</sup> Those receiving these cattle expressed "a commendable interest in taking proper care and regarding them as their own personal property as appears from a very general desire to have them marked in their own brands."<sup>110</sup> Due to insufficient Congressional appropriation, no cattle could be furnished the Indians in 1881.<sup>111</sup>

Despite the optimism on the part of the Indian Service for stock raising on the Kiowa Reservation, there were some problems. One of the major hindrances to this agricultural enterprise was insufficient rations. When issues of food were short, bands with stock cattle had a tendency to kill some of their cattle when they became hungry. Despite Agent Hunt's attempt to convince the Indians of the need of keeping their breeding stock, cattle were still killed and eaten. These Indians, in addition, would kill some of their cattle for their hides, which brought high prices.<sup>112</sup> "The Indians under my care," Hunt proclaimed in 1881, "would have been to-day in a more advanced condition generally, had the government ration

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<sup>109</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 12, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>110</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 15, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 49, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>111</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881, p. XXXVIII.

<sup>112</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 11-12, KIA, ID, OHS.

been increased at the time of the disappearance of the buffalo."<sup>113</sup> He warned the Commissioner that the young cattle issued in 1880 would be "slaughtered for food to supply the deficiency caused by the reduction of the ration."<sup>114</sup> Another problem connected with stock raising by these tribes was keeping white ranchers' cattle off the reservation. In May of 1880, the Indians complained bitterly about several white men who were holding cattle on part of their reservation.<sup>115</sup>

Other livestock owned by the Indians besides horses and cattle included about fifty sheep.<sup>116</sup> Agent Hunt, in a letter to Commissioner Hayt, explained what happened to the sheep purchased for these Indians in 1875.

The Indians report that the majority of the sheep perished from starvation and cold during the winter seasons; that a small proportion were diseased with the scab which caused their death; that a few were killed by dogs or strayed away and were killed by wolves and that a small number were killed for food. As near as can be ascertained, about 500 were drowned in Cache Creek during a flood in the summer of 1876. I have no knowledge of any being sold.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>113</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 443-45, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>114</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 21, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 177, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>115</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 2, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 11, p. 138, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>116</sup>Response to Questionnaire dated March 22, 1878, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>117</sup>Hunt to Hayt, December 31, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 7, pp. 130-31, KIA, ID, OHS.

Hogs were also owned by some of the Indians with quite a few other Indians requesting them. The latter Indians were told they could not have any until their crops and those of their neighbors were protected by fences.<sup>118</sup> The Comanches had 300 head of hogs in 1879.<sup>119</sup>

Agriculture continued to be an important segment of the life of a student at the Kiowa and Comanche boarding school. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs saw the need for teaching the young generation not only to read and write but also how to farm. "In the education of the Indian youth," he remarked, "it is the policy of the office to have farm and domestic work occupy as prominent a place as study in the school-room . . ."<sup>120</sup> By 1878 the boarding school contained about forty-six male and twenty-four female pupils and a school farm of fifty-three acres. This farm provided the children the opportunity to learn the farming trade. In 1877-78, the school planted fifty acres of corn and three acres of vegetables. Crops raised were ten bushels of potatoes, one-fourth acre of melons,<sup>121</sup> and 250 bushels of

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<sup>118</sup>Hunt to Hayt, May 4, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, p. 96, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>119</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1879, June 18, 1879, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>120</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1880, p. V.

<sup>121</sup>Response to Questionnaire dated March 22, 1878, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

corn.<sup>122</sup> The students became familiar with such agricultural implements as the plow, planter, hoe, and harrow.<sup>123</sup> The school children in 1879 cultivated forty acres of land during the year, resulting in 300 bushels of corn.<sup>124</sup> The school, remaining at Fort Sill, was filled to capacity with 118 being the largest number of students registered during the year.<sup>125</sup> From the previous year's corn crop, the school was able to purchase some stock cattle.<sup>126</sup>

The school on the Kiowa Reservation in 1880 was moved near the agency offices on the Washita River. This new school house opened with a capacity of 200.<sup>127</sup> A report in March, 1881, revealed that the boarding school had no farm or garden which the boys could cultivate. This greatly disturbed Commissioner Price, who instructed Agent Hunt "to report immediately the cause of so serious a defect in the

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<sup>122</sup>Hunt to Hayt, January 22, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 7, p. 158, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>123</sup>Hunt to Hayt, June 22, 1878, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, p. 275, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>124</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1879, June 18, 1879, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>125</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 30, 1879, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 8, p. 171, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>126</sup>Schurz, Secretary of Interior, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 16, 1879, LS, NA, MC.

<sup>127</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 2, 13-14, KIA, ID, OHS.

industrial training of the school boys of your agency and what remedy can be found therefore." The Commissioner made it clear that the Government intended to teach the boys attending the Kiowa boarding school the arts of agriculture.

It is expected that in connection with every boarding school a farm and garden will be cultivated which will assist materially in supplying the school table though there is no objection to giving the pupils such a share in the crop as will interest them in performing the work required. It would be well for the girls also to obtain some practical knowledge of gardening.<sup>128</sup>

Hunt answered the Commissioner's letter by explaining that the new school building had been used and occupied for only a few months. Hunt explained,

The ground designed for farming and gardening to be used for the training of the pupils of this school has not been inclosed with a fence, and could not be so inclosed in time for this years farm work, partly on account of the funds applicable to the completion of the School Building, having been exhausted, and partly because, the available labor of Irregular employes was necessarily used, in other work required for the occupancy of the building was located on the south side of the Washita River, while the Agency farm, of which the Wichita School used part, was located on the north side.

Without a bridge, the students of the Kiowa Boarding School received agricultural training at the agency farm only when the river was fordable.<sup>129</sup>

George W. Hunt, Superintendent of the Kiowa School, reported to Agent P. B. Hunt the last of June the progress

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<sup>128</sup>Price to Hunt, April 19, 1881, Accounting, Vol. 165, LS, NA.

<sup>129</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 25, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 255-56, KIA, ID, OHS.



achieved in agricultural instruction at the school in 1881.

The Superintendent declared,

As it had not yet been in your power to open near the school house, a field in which the boys might cultivate a crop and [be] taught farming and gardening, I was not able to give them regular employment in this way--but occasionally during the cropping season, they were worked in the agency field--which was on the opposite side of the river from the school house and some two miles distant. The field that has been plowed this summer, very near to the school house, will give an excellent opportunity for such instructions the next term.<sup>130</sup>

This lot consisted of thirty acres for which Agent Hunt authorized the fencing.<sup>131</sup>

In addition to agricultural instruction at the boarding school, some of the youngest of these tribes were exposed to farming at such trade schools as Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. There were fifteen Kiowas and Fourteen Comanches attending Carlisle in 1880<sup>132</sup> where these young Indians were not only taught farm work but also various types of industrial work.<sup>133</sup> The following year

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<sup>130</sup>George W. Hunt to P. B. Hunt, June 30, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 477, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>131</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 23, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 381, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>132</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, pp. 2, 13-14, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>133</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1880, p. VII.

there was a total of ten Kiowa boys and twelve Comanche boys attending Carlisle.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>134</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1881, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 431, KIA, ID, OHS.

## CHAPTER IV

### INDIAN FARMING AND STOCK RAISING UNDER

AGENT P. B. HUNT, 1882-1885

Federal Indian policy during the years 1882-1885 continued to center around the objective of civilizing the Indian and making him self-sufficient. Evidence that this objective was being pursued by each of the agents in the field was the opening of new land to cultivation by the Indians.<sup>1</sup> The desire on the part of the Indian Department to see the Indian become a farmer was explicitly expressed in a letter sent by Commissioner Price to Agent Hunt. Dr. H. H. Lewis had written Hunt asking for permission to take a delegation of Indians from his agency to the New Orleans Exposition. Price responded by saying the policy of the Indian Department was "to induce the Indians to abandon their wild roving habits and to become peaceable industrious and useful citizens." He did not feel putting them on exhibit like wild animals would be in line with this objective. "One Indian who is a good farmer or a good mechanic," the Commissioner affirmed, "will do more to

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<sup>1</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882,  
pp. VII-VIII.

civilize and elevate the race and render it eventually independent of Government support, than one hundred Indians parading through the country for exhibition."<sup>2</sup>

The policy of allotment of Indian lands in severalty as a move in the direction of making the Indian self-supporting was prescribed and favored by previous Commissioners of Indian Affairs but none spelled it out as the new Commissioner did in 1885. With the change in political parties on the national scene that year, Commissioner Price was replaced in March by John D. C. Atkins. After reviewing policies of his predecessors, Atkins came to the conclusion that the policy of severalty, with farming and stock raising playing the significant role, was the best method of assimilating the Indian into American society. His recommendations as spelled out in his annual report for 1885 were in essence the ideas which were embodied in the legislation being considered by Congress during this period.<sup>3</sup>

Commissioner Atkins stated that the great objective of the Indian Service was to relieve the Indian "from his state of dependence and barbarism, and to direct him in paths that will eventually lead him to the light and liberty of American citizenship." The premise on which the

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<sup>2</sup>Price to Hunt, October 24, 1884, Fair File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>3</sup>Loring Benson Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1877 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1942), pp. 185-87.

Government developed its policy was that civilization naturally followed the improvement in the arts of agriculture. Accordingly, the Commissioner recommended distributing the Indians' lands among them in severalty. This would be "the corner-stone of their complete success in agriculture, which means self-support, personal independence, and material thrift."

For their protection, the Government would retain in trust the rights to the lands for at least twenty-five years. Once the Indians had selected their lands then Commissioner Atkins proposed that the Government purchase the remaining lands on the reservations and open it to settlement. The money paid by the Government would be held in trust and used as "Congress may provide, for the education, civilization, and material development and advancement of the red race, reserving for each tribe its own money. This is all the Indians need to place them beyond the oppression and greed of white men who seek . . . 'to bereave the Indians of their lands.'"

The main advantage for this policy would be that every Indian could own a homestead and have funds sufficient to build houses and open farms. "If this policy were adopted systematically by the Government," Atkins declared, "it would be strange if in five years from its inauguration and establishment there should be an Indian of any tribe

in the whole country who would refuse to accept so favorable and advantageous a measure."<sup>4</sup>

In applying this policy of severalty to the Kiowa Reservation, the Commissioner felt the western portion should be sold and opened up to settlement with the Indians being removed to the eastern part.<sup>5</sup> Agent Hunt favored the policy of severalty but disagreed with the Commissioner's proposed application of it to his reservation. Hunt held that the Indian should not be "cut off from the world and apart from civilization." He suggested instead of dividing the reservation into two parts, each Indian be permitted to choose an allotment of eighty acres and the rest be sold to farmers. This would allow the Indian to see how his neighbors were able to make a living for their families on 160 acres without Government assistance.

The money from selling the Indian land would be used "to assist and help along the Indian farmer." When this money ran out, the agent advocated throwing "the Indian upon his own resources and let him 'sink or swim' as he himself elects. . . . The allotment of land in severalty as I have suggested, seems to me will solve the whole trouble, and finally settle the Indian problem."<sup>6</sup> But

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<sup>4</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885,  
pp. III, VI, XII-XIII.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 31, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 20, pp. 166-68, KIA, ID, OHS.

in 1885, these Indians neither wished allotments nor were fitted for them.<sup>7</sup>

Agent Hunt did not have an opportunity to develop his ideas on severalty further for he was relieved of his position in August of 1885. His removal as agent was prompted by a report which Special Agent P. H. Folsom made to Commissioner Price in December, 1884, following Folsom's investigation of the affairs at this agency. Folsom charged Hunt with permitting cattlemen to trespass on his reserve, allowing outsiders to cut timber and hay without paying for it, manipulating the agency records to cover up facts from Inspectors, and antagonizing the Indians constantly. The report declared the agency a failure because the Indian Department had not been informed of the real state of affairs. Acting upon this Inspector's assessment, Commissioner Price recommended to the Secretary of Interior that Hunt be asked to resign.<sup>8</sup> It was not, however, until after Hunt submitted the annual report for 1885 on August 31 that he resigned.<sup>9</sup> Jesse Lee Hall of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, was sent to take his place.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Jesse Lee Hall, Agent, to E. Whittlesy, Secretary of Board of Indian Commissioners, December 5, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 22, p. 154, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>8</sup>Price to Secretary of Interior, December 27, 1884, Accounts, Vol. 63, pp. 219-22, LS, NA.

<sup>9</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 5, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 20, p. 136, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>10</sup>A. B. Upshaw, Acting Commissioner, to Hall, August 5, 1885, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Agent Hunt presented in his final annual report a critical evaluation of the efforts of the Government to civilize the Indian. Hunt stated emphatically, "I know the Indians under my charge are very far from civilization or a condition of self-support, and I confess I have very little hope of their reaching this condition so long as the present state of things exist." Some of the Indians, he felt, were beginning to realize that the white man did not want the Government to feed them nor did the white man want them to hold so much land. These Indians knew this sentiment was growing stronger every day and believed that the day was "not far distant when they will be left to their own resources, and their surplus land will be taken from them." A majority, however, did not understand this and appeared content with the way things were. As to the large amount of land kept by the Indians, the agent expressed his opinion as, "Not until this land is taken from them and they are left with the number of acres they can utilize will they be brought to a realizing sense of their necessities and commence to labor earnestly to better their condition."<sup>11</sup>

To lead the Indian toward self-support, the Government assisted Indians in their agricultural enterprises by providing seeds, implements, and instruction. Hunt worked

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<sup>11</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 31, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 20, pp. 162-66, KIA, ID, OHS.



hard during his last four years at the Kiowa Agency to procure an adequate amount of seeds. The Government had previously directed the Indians to keep enough of their crops each year for seeds the following spring but this could not always be the case with so many crop failures in southwestern Indian Territory. Requesting seeds needed for spring planting in 1882, Hunt explained, "The failure of last years crop, makes all my Indians dependent for seed upon what the Dep't may furnish, and as many have already applied for seed. I request to be informed if any will be furnished, and if so when and how many? It is very important that seed corn should be furnished."<sup>12</sup>

Three hundred bushels of seed corn were asked for, but the Commissioner allowed only 100 bushels which would plant an estimated 800 acres. Hunt pointed out there were about 3,400 acres of land under his agency in cultivation by the Indians of two reservations and almost all of it was to be planted in corn. That left 2,600 acres which could not be planted because of lack of seeds.<sup>13</sup> Commissioner Price reconsidered and authorized Hunt to purchase 100 additional bushels.<sup>14</sup> Because this seed corn was late in

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<sup>12</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 21, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, p. 132, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>13</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 8, 1882, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1878-1901, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereafter cited as LR, NA.

<sup>14</sup>Price to Hunt, April 27, 1882, Property Borrowed File, KIA, ID, OHS.

arriving at the agency, Hunt asked to borrow some from the military at Fort Sill until the reservation request came because some of the Indians were ready to plant and had no seed.<sup>15</sup>

Agent Hunt wrote to the Commanding officer of Fort Sill, G. V. Henry, on April 1, concerning this difference between the amount of seed the Government was to furnish and that needed by his Indians. He explained to Henry that the agency was 100 bushels short of seed corn because of the increased demand from the Indians who were ready to plant. Agent Hunt appealed to the military, "If your supply of corn on hand for forage will justify . . . to do so, I would be glad if you will loan any Indians applying to you, who have fields to plant, a sufficient quantity to each for such purposes, to be returned by them out of this seasons crop."<sup>16</sup> The War Department passed this letter on to Commissioner Price explaining they would loan the Indians the seed corn if the Department of Indian Affairs would agree to reimburse them. Commissioner Price wrote to Hunt in April announcing 200 bushels was all "that could be supplied because of the want of funds" and it could not make such an agreement with the War Department. He also instructed Hunt to invest the money these Indians received

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<sup>15</sup>Hunt to H. P. Jones, Fort Sill, March 30, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 13, p. 90, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>16</sup>Hunt to G. V. Henry, Commander of Fort Sill, April 1, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 13, pp. 95-96, KIA, ID, OHS.

during the year for the sale of hides and money from freighting on seeds for the following spring. "As long as the Government will provide for their wants," Price added, "they will make no efforts to provide for themselves; therefore you will inform them that, hereafter, they must purchase or retain from their crops seeds for planting, as this office will not supply any more, except in case of failure of crops from drought or other causes."<sup>17</sup> Despite this reply, twenty-two sacks of seed corn were issued by H. P. Jones of Fort Sill to Indians settled near the Fort. Hunt promised to repay him.<sup>18</sup>

Seeds were again requested by the agent for his Indians during 1885. Garden seeds,<sup>19</sup> valued at seventy-five dollars, and ten bushels of millet seed were furnished for spring planting.<sup>20</sup> Fifty bushels of seed winter wheat were authorized for winter seeding but it had to be purchased from Indians of the Kiowa Agency if at all possible.<sup>21</sup> This policy of buying seeds from reservation

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<sup>17</sup>Price to Hunt, April 27, 1882, Property Borrowed File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>18</sup>Hunt to Lieutenant A. M. Palmer, Fort Sill, June 8, 1882, Property Borrowed File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>19</sup>Hunt to J. A. Covington, Caldwell, Kansas, March 5, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 19, p. 16, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>20</sup>Hunt to C. Caldwell & Bros., Henrietta, Texas, March 31, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 20, p. 10, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>21</sup>Acting Commissioner Upshaw to Hall, October 29, 1885, Finance, Vol. 118, p. 200, LS, NA.

Indians was designed to encourage Indian farming by providing a market for their crops.

Farm implements were also supplied those Indians desiring to farm. Commissioner Price optimistically commented, "We furnish schools and such agricultural and mechanical tools and implements as belong to civilization and the peaceable pursuits of life. Thus we are substantially changing their 'swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks,' and educating them to 'learn war no more.'"<sup>22</sup> For the joint agency, Hunt requested in January, 1882, ninety plows and ninety-eight sets of harness to issue to his Indians.<sup>23</sup> This was in response to an increased demand by them for agricultural implements.<sup>24</sup> The Blacksmith at the agency suggested that "all their plows and many of their farming implements could be manufactured" by Indian labor. It would offer "real economy to the government and with vast and constantly increasing benefit to the Indians."<sup>25</sup> But this suggestion was never followed up. The next year, authority to issue the 153

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<sup>22</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1883,  
p. XXX.

<sup>23</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 18, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, p. 57, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>24</sup>Report of a Miller at the Kiowa Agency to Hunt, September 1, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, p. 479, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>25</sup>Report of Blacksmith to Hunt, September 1, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, pp. 474, 476, KIA, ID, OHS.

plows and 50 sets of plow harness received during the year, was granted.<sup>26</sup>

In 1883 attention was drawn to the fact that the Indians did not adequately care for the implements issued them. In February, a Bureau of Indian Affairs' Inspector made a report on the management of the affairs of the Kiowa Agency. The Commissioner transmitted his criticism to Hunt, "With reference to farming implements, the Inspector says that when the Indians use a plow and possibly break a handle, it is thrown in the fence corner and a new one asked for, and that from statements of employes, he is satisfied that you are too loose with the Indians in disposing of government property."<sup>27</sup> Agent Hunt defended his procedure of issuing agricultural implements on the Kiowa Reservation. This was to keep a list of the Indians issued plows and check it each time an Indian made a request. A second plow was not given to an Indian unless he proved the first one was useless.<sup>28</sup>

Although the Indians on the Kiowa Reservation appealed more frequently for agricultural implements, these tools were not of first priority. In a council held

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<sup>26</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 28, 1883, LR, NA.

<sup>27</sup>Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Hunt, February 14, 1883, Reports (Inspectors) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>28</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 27, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, pp. 89-90, KIA, ID, OHS.

in January of 1883, White Wolf, a Comanche, stated, "We finally agreed that we wanted six things--full rations of beef, some flour, coffee, and sugar and blanket and Ducking and then if there is any money left after these things were provided we want some farming implements."<sup>29</sup>

Because the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes' resources included \$30,000 of treaty funds in addition to \$15,000 appropriated for their support by Congress, Commissioner Price informed them that a full ration of beef and flour precluded purchase of any of the other items. He instructed Agent Hunt to obtain the consent of the tribes in council to agree to the beef and flour and "to receive absolutely nothing in way of clothing, sugar, coffee, agricultural implements, or iron and tools for shops, as was the case last year."<sup>30</sup> The Indians, meeting in council again, decided that \$5,000 of the \$15,000 would be reserved for such items as fifty plows, fence, nails, ducking, oil, etc. They also requested beef, flour, coffee, and sugar.<sup>31</sup> To this Commissioner Price wrote,

You are therefore, informed that as at present understood, the funds provided for these Indians will be

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<sup>29</sup>Report of Indian Council to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 16, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, p. 61, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>30</sup>Price to Hunt, March 19, 1884, Finance, Vol. 98, pp. 178-81, LS, NA.

<sup>31</sup>Proceedings of General Council of Apaches, Kiowas, and Comanches, March 27, 1884, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 17, p. 14, KIA, ID, OHS.

used as follows, Beef and Flour--say--\$15,000.00, articles per schedule accompanying preceedings of Council, not to exceed five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) to be paid from their clothing fund of \$12,000.00; leaving the \$30,000.00 fund untouched, to be used in the purchase of stock cattle or otherwise, as may be deemed by the Hon. Secretary of Interior as best for their interest.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, fifty additional plows were issued "to deserving Indians" in the spring of 1885.<sup>33</sup>

Commissioner Price was quite aware of the fact that Indian farming depended in large measure on the issuance of rations by the Government. He detailed in 1884 the aid which the Government was giving the Indian. He stated that the Government paid \$1,000 a year to feed and clothe each soldier in the Army while spending only \$7.00 a year to do the same for each Indian. He used this comparison to indicate how terribly small the Indian appropriation was if the Government "expected to transform the Indians from being wild roving nomads into peaceable, industrious, and self-supporting citizens in any reasonable time." He insisted that food for the Red Man was a necessity owing to the disappearance of the buffalo, the inability of the Indian to raise crops, and the lack of large enough cattle herds. Price declared that there was good reason to hope "that with proper assistance, in a few years each household will own a

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<sup>32</sup>Price to Hunt, April 17, 1884, Finance, Vol. 99, pp. 415-16, LS, NA.

<sup>33</sup>Price to Hunt, March 20, 1885, Accounts, Vol. 65, p. 372, LS, NA.

team and have enough land under cultivation, which, with a few stock-cattle, will be sufficient to make a great majority of them nearly independent." Therefore, he felt, "there has never been a time in the history of these tribes when judicious assistance and encouragement from the Government would have been so beneficial to them as at present."<sup>34</sup>

Besides these agricultural supplies, the Government began to see the necessity of increasing instruction in the art of farming. The combined reservations under the Kiowa Agency continued to be provided with only one farmer and one assistant farmer.<sup>35</sup> Hunt pointed out to the Commissioner in 1882 that those Indians who had recently begun farming had pretty well learned as much as they possibly could without more assistance. With but one farmer for the entire agency it was impossible for him to teach all effectively. He needed two or three farmers who could visit the Indians' fields and instruct the beginners in farming. Hunt asserted, "The Indian likes to have the white man about him at such times, and when the way is pointed he takes hold and moves on with confidence and renewed vigor." He felt this was the greatest need of his agency.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1884,  
pp. IV-V.

<sup>35</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 1, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, p. 248, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>36</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, pp. 428-29, KIA, ID, OHS.



Those Indians still located near Fort Sill finally received a farm instructor to live near and work with them in 1884. One provision of the appropriation bill approved July 4, 1884, called for additional farmers at Indian Agencies, enabling the Secretary of the Interior "to employ practical farmers, in addition to the Agency farmers now employed at wages not exceeding seventy-five (\$75) dollars each per month, to superintend and direct farming among such Indians as are making effort for self support." These farmers were not only to direct agricultural activities of the Indian but to also set an example by actually working among them. The Kiowa Reservation was to have one or more of these additional farmers. Agent Hunt was specifically instructed by the Office of Indian Affairs how to treat this matter. He was to be in charge of them as other employees but they were to be "allowed a certain amount of independent action, sufficient to enable them to inspire the Indians with confidence in what they do and say, to the end that the Indians may not be constantly appealing to the agent to do or undo something different from the instructions of the farmer." The agent and farmer were to work together in "complete harmony" and if the additional farmer proved incompetent he was to be reported.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens to Hunt, August 20, 1884, Accounts, Vol. 60, pp. 455-58, LS, NA.

Two additional farmers were authorized for the Kiowa Agency. Acting Commissioner E. L. Stevens sent a letter on August 20, 1884, to L. M. Hutchinson in Kansas City, Missouri, advising him of his appointment as farmer and physician at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency. The additional farmer was informed that he would "be expected not only to 'superintend and direct' the work, but to go into the field with the Indians and by example as well as precept patiently teach them practical farming to the end that they may soon become able to manage successfully by their own brain and labor, small plots of land if such should be allotted to them."<sup>38</sup> A second additional farmer, R. E. Hopkins, was appointed in September to serve as blacksmith and farmer. Both Hopkins and Hutchinson were incorrectly directed to be "stationed at or near the old Wichita Agency to accommodate those in a great distance from the Agency," with the blacksmith to serve among the Wichitas. Hunt wrote the Commissioner asking him if he were not misunderstood with regard to the additional help. If his wishes were complied with literally it would

. . . place the two additional farmers (Physician and Blacksmith) at this Agency, where the regular Physician and Blacksmith and all the Agency employes are stationed, and the Indians in the vicinity of and beyond Fort Sill (thirty-five miles distant) would still be without a Physician and Blacksmith for whom they have been clamoring for years.

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<sup>38</sup>Stevens to L. M. Hutchinson, August 20, 1884, Accounts, Vol. 60, pp. 452-54, LS, NA.

Hunt explained that the Fort Sill Agency was abandoned in 1879 and the old Wichita Agency, thirty-five miles north, was selected as the place for the consolidation. Hunt asked if these additional farmers were intended for the Fort Sill area where they were needed.<sup>39</sup> Commissioner Price answered by telegram that the two additional farmers should be stationed at Fort Sill.<sup>40</sup> To these appointments, Hunt responded, "A much better report may be expected hereafter of the farming operations of these Indians, for . . . [they] . . . will add materially to the results."<sup>41</sup>

Due to the lateness in the year when the appropriation for these additional farmers was approved, the results of this program brought out by the Indian Service were not readily seen until the spring of 1885. In his annual report for 1885, Commissioner Atkins said that "appointments were made at agencies where there had been the greatest development in agricultural pursuits, with a view to assisting and instructing the Indians in harvesting and other fall work." In all, forty or so of these farmers were employed with the result generally being "very satisfactory." All agents with additional farmers were

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<sup>39</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 23, 1884, LR, NA.

<sup>40</sup>Price to Hunt, September 29, 1884, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>41</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1884,  
p. 79.

instructed to submit a report of the practical results of the program. Nearly all the reports were most favorable to the experiment, and the agents desired not only to retain the additional farmer they had but to request more of them. "In many instances," the Commissioner reported, "the agents represented that the Indians were clamorous for more allotments of land . . . being not only willing but eager to commence farming, if they could be allowed the help of these farmers." The same amount of money appropriated for these farmers was granted again by the Government for the 1885-1886 fiscal year.<sup>42</sup>

Employees at the Kiowa Agency during the first half of 1885 included one regular farmer stationed at the agency headquarters and two additional farmers located at Fort Sill. Commissioner Atkins wrote Hunt in May explaining that the plan of employing additional farmers was an experiment; consequently Hunt was instructed to immediately inform the Commissioner of the results gained from their employment during the year.<sup>43</sup> Hunt replied,

This Agency is hardly a fair test of the advantages that might be had by such appointments. The two appointments made here occupy a dual position, such as "Farmer and Physician" and "Farmer and Blacksmith," but in February I was directed to change the designation to simply "additional Farmers," . . . The spirit of the law to employ "practical farmers" can hardly be

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 1885, pp. XXIV-XXV.

<sup>43</sup>Atkins to Hunt, May 28, 1885, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

successfully complied with and great results can scarcely be expected under such circumstances.

The two farmers visited Indian farms over the reservation. The agent felt that much good was realized. Hunt indicated that he had for several years advocated the necessity for additional farmers and was still an enthusiastic supporter of the project. The agent did say, however, "I do not wish to be understood as reflecting upon the two 'additional farmers' sent here, for I consider them worthy men, yet to require a two-fold duty is a drawback and you can hardly expect a graduate of a medical college to be a successful farmer among Indians, though such a thing is possible."<sup>44</sup>

In January, the Commissioner had telegraphed Hunt, "Only one additional farmer allowed at your agency [,] you must discharge one July 30, retain best and until practical farmer can be sent you."<sup>45</sup> Commissioner Atkins informed Hunt in June that Webb Hendrix, of McKinlgie, Tennessee, had been appointed additional farmer on the Kiowa Reservation and he was to perform the duties of additional farmer only.<sup>46</sup> In October, the new agent, Jesse Lee Hall, requested authority to retain J. W. Carson as an additional

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<sup>44</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 12, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 20, pp. 66-67, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>45</sup>Atkins to Hunt, January 2, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 18, p. 454, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>46</sup>Atkins to Hunt, June 28, 1885, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

farmer. The reason given was "that so many of the Indians of this reservation have signified their intention to commence work upon small farms."<sup>47</sup> Carson was one of the four different persons who served as farmer of the Kiowa Agency during the year 1885.<sup>48</sup>

The results of this Government policy and agricultural assistance on the Kiowa Reservation between the years 1882 and 1885 are difficult to accurately determine since the statistical farming information was reported by the agent as a total for the joint agency which included the Indians of the Wichita Reservation. Since few other sources are available during this period, it is necessary to work with the combined total with an estimated adjustment for that reported for the Wichita and Affiliated Bands. From figures given in past reports, one-third of the joint agency statistical totals can be safely credited to the Kiowa Reservation.<sup>49</sup> With this adjustment, the Plains tribes cultivated approximately 1,200 to 1,300 acres

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<sup>47</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 2, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, p. 65, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>48</sup>Upshaw to Hunt, August 11, 1885, Accounts, Vol. 68, pp. 54-55, LS, NA.; Atkins to Hunt, September 9, 1885, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.; Atkins to Agent Hall, October 1, 1885, Accounts, Vol. 70, p. 8, LS, NA.

<sup>49</sup>The Wichita and Affiliated Bands cultivated 2,200 acres in 1880 while the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches cultivated 1,200 acres with both groups having a yield of twelve bushels per acre. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1880, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 9, p. 11, KIA, ID, OHS.

of land each of the four years. The first two years were over three times more productive in corn than 1884 and 1885, with bushels estimated at nearly 13,000 in 1882; 16,000 in 1883; 4,000 in 1884; and 6,000 in 1885. The bushels of vegetables totaled 200, 400, 280, and 170 respectively. The melons and pumpkins did well except in 1883, which was the year of the largest corn crop. Melons averaged 3,000 in number each year except 1883 when only 2,000 were raised. The pumpkins numbered 1,600 in 1882 down to 300 in 1883. The number of families engaged in cultivating farms or small patches of ground could be reasonably estimated as over 200.<sup>50</sup> (See Table 1.)

The farming activities of the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches in 1882 began in February when the weather was very favorable. "More than the usual number of my Indians," Hunt declared, "have been engaged in ploughing and getting ready for spring planting and from present indications, there will be a largely increased effort in farming and making new fields over that of any previous season."<sup>51</sup> With the weather continuing to be good in March, the Indians were busy making new fields and preparing the land to plant.

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<sup>50</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882, pp. 352-53; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report for 1883, August 30, 1883, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.; Ibid., September 16, 1884; Ibid., September, 1885.

<sup>51</sup> Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 20, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, p. 193, KIA, ID, OHS.

TABLE 1

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR THE KIOWA AND WICHITA AGENCY  
1882-1885<sup>52</sup>

	1882	1883	1884	1885
Number of acres cultivated during the year by Indians	3,900	3,900	3,500	3,500
Number of acres cultivated during year by Government	60	130	0	0
Produce raised during year by Indians:				
Bushels of corn	38,000	47,000	12,000	18,000
vegetables	650	1,200	850	500
potatoes	600	600	400	500
turnips	0	400	50	0
onions	50	200	350	0
beans	0	0	50	0
melons	10,000	6,000	8,000	9,000
Number of pumpkins	5,000	1,000	2,500	3,000
Tons of Hay Cut	150	0	20	120
Number of families engaged in cultivating farms or small patches of ground	780	785	790	790

<sup>52</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1882, July 15, 1882, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1883, August 30, 1883, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1884, September 16, 1884, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Statistical Farm Report of 1885, September, 1885, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.



There were many who had previously had no desire or inclination to farm who were willing to at least try. These attempts were especially noticeable among the Kiowas who had become disillusioned with their Medicine man the previous year when he failed to produce buffalo after promising them following the annual dance. Hunt exclaimed, "With a favorable season for corn, I look forward with encouragement to the crop, as the most potent argument to the minds of these people, to further [diminish] the influence of their medicine man."<sup>53</sup>

This good weather continued through the remainder of the spring and into the summer. Hunt summed up April's activities, "The favorable conditions for farm work throughout the month has wonderfully stimulated the tribes under my charge and a spirit of activity has prevailed among them and an interest taken in all matters pertaining to agriculture, unexampled in their history." Planting was held up for over a week because of the delay in getting seed corn "but when it then arrived all were ready to go to work and the planting began in seasonable time and was continued with commendable zeal."<sup>54</sup> Hunt described the Indians' crops during May as being in "a favorable and forward condition." Besides cultivating their corn crop, some Indians did

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<sup>53</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 19, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, pp. 222-23, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>54</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 31, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, pp. 263-64, KIA, ID, OHS.

hauling during the month.<sup>55</sup> The agent stated that the Kiowas and Comanches were "now farmers and stock raisers" and "law abiding people" who would defend their rights to obtain their property.<sup>56</sup> The farm work progressed well during July and the prospects of a fair crop were good. "This . . . increased acreage," the agent declared, "will do much to encourage future farm work."<sup>57</sup>

Agent Hunt discussed the year's farming efforts by the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians in his annual report submitted September 1, 1882. "Most of the old men . . . and many of the young men with families have their fields of tillable land, and are engaged in cultivating crops." It had been feared that the complete failure of their crops the previous year due to the drought would greatly discourage them from trying again in 1882, "but so far from this being the case, early in the spring they were found cleaning up their fields and getting their crops in good time and cultivating them well."<sup>58</sup> The land they cultivated yielded about eleven bushels of corn per acre.

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<sup>55</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 29, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, p. 285, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>56</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 6, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, p. 254, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>57</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 26, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, pp. 352-53, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>58</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, pp. 422-23, KIA, ID, OHS.

Agent Hunt emphasized, "The Indian fields are generally well fenced, and a good deal of care is exercised in protecting their growing crops."<sup>59</sup> Since most of their farms had been opened since 1876, Hunt felt their progress would now increase much faster. He went on to say, "I think it safe to say that in ten years all of them will have houses and cultivated fields, for which they will feel all the attachments of home, and by that time they will have surrounded themselves with many of the comforts of civilized life."<sup>60</sup>

Besides the Indians' crops such as corn and potatoes, the agent experimented with tobacco and cotton. Tobacco had been planted in both 1879 and 1881 with no seeds coming up. Hunt knew the reason was not in their method of planting because those who had grown it elsewhere could not raise any either. The spring of 1882 he planted some seeds from Detroit and St. Louis.<sup>61</sup> A few rows of cotton were tried also in 1882 near the agency. This crop was successful enough to cause Hunt to believe it could be grown profitably and be as certain as corn.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp. 427-28.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 435.

<sup>61</sup> Hunt to Turnbull, Reynolds and Allen, Kansas City, Missouri, March 10, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 13, pp. 37-38, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>62</sup> Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 23, 1882, LR, NA.

The year 1883 was another exceedingly fine farming season which was rare in this section of the country. Even though the Indian crops did not double in yield as expected,<sup>63</sup> the agent was able to speak with great pride about the advancement of the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation in learning the white man's way during 1883. In comparing the Plains Indians to the Wichita tribes, the agent declared,

The Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes although they have been a much shorter time following the white man's way, than the affiliated bands, are, I think changing their condition more rapidly. They manifest greater zeal and seem to be more determined in the work. Their progress in opening up farms, since they moved up to the Washita has been very marked. Their fields are all well fenced and the majority of them are of good size.

Hunt's only regret was that he did not have funds enough to break land for those wishing to begin farming during the year.

The Plains tribes' progress was exemplified by the fact that the yield of corn was more than they needed. In the past, the Indians sold their surplus to a trader who in turn tried to obtain the contract to supply Fort Sill military base with corn. The post represented a large market for Indian corn, but in 1883 officers at Fort Sill had already contracted with a firm in Kansas for the corn. Hunt suggested the Government pursue this matter in the

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<sup>63</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 17, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, p. 262, KIA, ID, OHS.

future because Indian corn would be cheaper since transportation cost would be less.<sup>64</sup> An example of how much corn was sold was illustrated by the fact that one Indian trader alone purchased over 354 bushels from these tribes during December of 1883,<sup>65</sup> and 852 bushels in January of 1884.<sup>66</sup>

J. B. Wicks, an Episcopal minister to these Plains Tribes, wrote to Hunt in August of 1883 discussing the advance being made by these Indians in the way of farming. "Since coming to the work, two years ago," he declared, "we can see real improvement on the part of the Indian. They farm more and work more; and, while the old heathen customs are yet powerful, still they are relaxing their hold, and the time is not far distant when they will be known only in history." Wicks visited their farms in the spring of 1883 and was greatly surprised at the effort they are making. "They took pride in showing me their fields, and well they might, for they were well fenced and kept."<sup>67</sup>

Two inspections were made on the Kiowa Agency in 1883, both of which were critical of the agent's management

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 272-73.

<sup>65</sup>A. J. Reynolds, Indian Trader, to Hunt, January 1, 1884, Purchase from Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>66</sup>Reynolds to Hunt, February 1, 1884, Purchase from Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>67</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1883,  
p. 73.

of the agency farm and believed he had an excess of employees. The first inspection occurred in the early part of the year when a special agent from the Indian Service visited the agency for two days while Agent Hunt was gone. Besides calling attention to the Indians' misuse of plows mentioned earlier, the inspector recommended that the agency farm be rented to a farmer on a share basis.<sup>68</sup> Agent Hunt had planned to have Indian employees work the farm, but was willing to follow the inspector's suggestion.<sup>69</sup> Commissioner Price informed Hunt that the method for operating the agency farm would be wholly left to his judgment.<sup>70</sup>

The special agent also reported that there were more employees than needed. Agent Hunt responded by stating that all agency employees authorized were absolutely necessary. "If the Indians under my charge were not progressing," Hunt explained, "it would be easy enough for me to feed and clothe them, but while they are farming and striving to live like white people they have more wants and consequently it requires a greater number of employees." Responding to specific criticism about another physician

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<sup>68</sup>Price to Hunt, February 14, 1883, Reports (Inspectors) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>69</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 27, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, p. 90, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>70</sup>Price to Hunt, March 8, 1883, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

being hired to serve near Fort Sill, Hunt asserted there were Indian farms about fifty miles south, forty miles west, thirty miles north, and twenty-five miles southeast of this subagency. The agent maintained that his Indians were "not roaming over the prairie now, but have homes scattered about over the reservation, nor are they settled in a cluster around the Agency waiting to be fed."<sup>71</sup>

In November of 1883, a second report of the Kiowa Agency was made by another inspector from the Indian office who submitted several recommendations pertaining to farming. One dealt also with the agency farm which contained nearly ninety acres, sixty of which were under cultivation. It had been leased to a Mexican during 1883 according to the previous inspector's suggestion. It was recommended that the farm be worked by agency employees or by the Indians in small lots. The inspector who came in November also felt the number of agency employees was too large. Another recommendation was that part of the corn raised on the reservation be sold or exchanged for hogs to provide bacon and lard for the boarding school. With the policy of the Government tending more toward abandoning agency farms, Commissioner Price informed Hunt that it would be better to divide the farm "into small lots and assigned to individual Indians, rather than have the same worked by agency employes

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<sup>71</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 26, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, pp. 85-86, KIA, ID, OHS.

or under a lease." As to the exchange of corn for hogs, the Commissioner suggested doing this only if there was a surplus.<sup>72</sup>

Agent Hunt rebutted point by point the latter inspector's criticisms. In discussing the agency farm, Hunt informed the Commissioner that the farm was an "old abandoned Indian field" which was worked by agency employees one year, followed by the last two years of renting it out for one-third the yield. "There is no advantage to be gained by having it worked in small parcels by Indians," the agent pointed out, "for almost every Indian under my charge is now interested in a field somewhere. I could give it away to some lazy fellows, who are too trifling to make rails to have a field of his own, but they would do no good with it." Besides this would cut off an important source of corn to feed the agency stock. Concerning exchanging part of the corn for hogs, Hunt declared that the 1,100 bushels of corn raised on the farm and fields of the two boarding schools were properly used and did not see the need to exchange the grain for hogs as suggested by the Indian inspector. Hunt's answer to the reduction in employees, especially the position of overseer, was that he needed him in the winter to help hold the beef cattle and in the spring to visit the various Indian

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<sup>72</sup>Price to Hunt, December 1, 1883, Reports (Inspectors) File, KIA, ID, OHS.



farms. "As an evidence that I am not lying idle with my force of Employes," he asserted, "my Agency Mill is crowded to day with sacks of corn to be ground into meal, brought there by blanket Indians."<sup>73</sup>

After talking again to the Indian inspector, Commissioner Price concluded that the agency farm should be abandoned and parcelled out to various Indians in small lots. The feeding of the agency stock was to be reduced by giving some of the mules to Indians who would take care of them. Since it would take time to make this change, he told Hunt that he "need not take any further steps towards exchanging corn for hogs at present." The Commissioner further instructed Hunt to curtail his employee force by July 1, 1884. However, permission was given by Hunt to keep Thomas F. Woodard, the overseer.<sup>74</sup> In reply to the Commissioner, Agent Hunt said his instructions to abandon the agency farm "will be carried out, in having it divided up amongst the older Indian scholars."<sup>75</sup>

Farming on the Kiowa Reservation throughout 1884 did not reach the anticipated level. Because of a cold spring the Indians were unable to finish their planting

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<sup>73</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 12, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, pp. 398-400, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>74</sup>Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Hunt, December 31, 1883, Accounts, Vol. 54, pp. 312-16, LR, NA.

<sup>75</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 15, 1884, LR, NA.

until late in the season. This was followed by much rain. Hunt commented, "The corn came up well and grew rapidly until about time to commence throwing out shoots, but at that time our usual dry weather came on and the late crops suffered so much for want of rain that the yield will be very light." As to the progress made by these Plains Indians over the years, the agent felt it had been good. They were beginning to abandon their old customs and become more civilized. Many had fields ranging in size from one to fifty acres with good fences around them. "There can be no doubt that these Indians are gradually learning and adopting the ways of civilized life."<sup>76</sup>

Many of the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation in 1885 continued to roam and camp on the reservation except during harvest time when they stayed near their fields. Indian farming was not successful during the year due to lack of land broken by the Government, too much rain, and the web worm. Agent Hunt regretted that the Government had not broken much land for his Indians "because with their small light ponies they cannot do it themselves, and few of them have the money with which they can hire others to do the work." Despite this and too much rain for "proper cultivation of the crops," Agent Hunt still felt "the Indians entered upon their farm work in good time and had a favorable season for planting." The web worm, however,

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<sup>76</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1884,  
p. 79.

came in June and destroyed most of the garden vegetables. This was especially distressing since many of the Indians had gardens.<sup>77</sup>

Hunt's final annual report in 1885 revealed the agricultural progress experienced among the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians during his seven and one-half years as agent. He said the Kiowas and Comanches had made greater progress toward farming in the last five years than any blanket Indians in the country. When he came in 1878 there were but few Indians with their own fields. Most of the Indians who farmed worked common farms near the agency, and Hunt encouraged them to establish individual fields; hence by 1885, there were some 150 fields scattered over the reservation. "They are, for Indians, reasonably well cultivated. . . . So it will be seen that the village custom of these tribes is broken up, and that they have settled down as farmers."<sup>78</sup>

Shortly after the new agent, Jesse Lee Hall, took over the agency in September of 1885, he began individual visitations among the Indians. Having visited by December those representing about three-fourths of the land in cultivation, Hall reported that 4,000 acres were needed to be

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<sup>77</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 31, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 20, pp. 141-44, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., pp. 158-61.

broken in the winter and coming spring.<sup>79</sup> One Indian who had a very successful farm was Quanah Parker. He described his farm, himself, saying, "When I was at my farm just a day or two ago I had potatoes to eat, my corn looked well, and everything was growing nicely, and that all helps to make me contented."<sup>80</sup>

Stock raising, like farming, received much attention on the Kiowa Reservation during Hunt's final four years as agent. Agent Hunt declared in 1882,

It is a difficult matter to make farmers of Indians under the most favorable circumstances, and in this country, where the crops so often fail because of the scarcity of rainfall, it must be much more difficult. Indeed it has been a question with some whether Indians will ever be entirely able to support themselves by the cultivation of the soil in this country, which is not well adapted to agriculture.<sup>81</sup>

As an alternative, Hunt suggested cattle raising since both the land and the Indian were more suitably fitted for this enterprise. Hunt offered several plans which he felt would make these Indians self-supporting.

One solution to the problem of how to supply the Indian with enough stock cattle to make him self-sufficient in a short period of time was for Congress to advance the

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<sup>79</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 13, 1885, LR, NA.

<sup>80</sup>Quanah Parker, Chief of the Comanches, to Agent, July 9, 1885, Quanah Parker File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>81</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, p. 429, KIA, ID, OHS.

last five years of the Annuity fund for the purchase of cattle. By 1882 there remained fifteen years of the Government's treaty obligation to furnish these Indians annually a sum of about \$50,000. Hunt suggested taking the last five years' annuity payments and invest them immediately in stock cattle. These cattle would be placed in charge of Government agents and at the end of ten years the cattle, with the increase, would be distributed among the plains Indians. This would give them about 400,000 head of cattle to graze on their 3,500,000-acre reserve. Not only would it provide them with food but would also meet their other needs and they would become self-supporting. "If the plan I suggest," Hunt confidently stated, "is applied alone to the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches that at the end of ten years they will be the richest Indians in the country, and I may say the richest people in the world--not in real estate, but cattle."<sup>82</sup>

This plan was partially implemented in 1883 when the Secretary of Interior authorized \$30,000 from the annual treaty fund appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, for the purchase of stock cattle for these Plains Indians. In all 875 Texas cows and 31 graded bulls were purchased from this money and held in one herd. Hunt hoped "it may be added to each year from the same fund from

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., pp. 433-38.

which it started."<sup>83</sup> Added to this herd were 150 head of cattle which were the increase of eight head turned over to him by the agent of the Wichita Reservation in 1878. Both the Kiowa and Wichita Boarding schools were allowed two milk cows from this herd. Five of the bulls purchased by annuity money died by November; consequently Hunt intended to save all the male cattle.<sup>84</sup>

A 50,000 acre pasture was enclosed in 1884 to place this herd of cattle owned by the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches.<sup>85</sup> It was built in the northeast corner of the reservation with a fence surrounding it on three sides. The Washita River served as the fourth side which ran fifteen miles along the River. The breeding cattle plus four months' supply of beef cattle (1,669 head) were put in the pasture as soon as it was fenced.<sup>86</sup> Added to the herd in 1884 were twenty-six bulls which had been recommended by an Indian inspector in November, 1883.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 17, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, pp. 74-75, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>84</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 5, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, p. 364, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>85</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 29, 1884, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, p. 484, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>86</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1884, p. 80.

<sup>87</sup>Price to Hunt, February 20, 1884, Correspondence, Vol. 96, p. 376, LS, NA.

Some problems soon developed with the agency herd. A grass fire nearly burned off most of the pasture. This forced Hunt to turn the cattle out on the open range. It was done with great reluctance since thievery was sure to occur. Some animals were in fact found with the Government brand having been nearly burned off.<sup>88</sup> Hunt requested in July \$1,250 for the purchase, from Indians, twenty-five horses to be used to herd the stock cattle on the reservation.<sup>89</sup> Commissioner Price responded by saying the request would "not be granted as there are no funds at the disposal of this office for that purpose and if the Indians will not herd their own cattle they will have to lose them."<sup>90</sup>

The plan to establish a Government herd on the Kiowa Reservation was by 1885 a recognized failure. Agent Hunt gave two primary reasons for this lack of success. First, the pasture set aside was too close to where rustlers could have easy access to the stock and, second, many of these cattle were lost during the severe winter storms on the Plains.<sup>91</sup> The new agent, Jesse Lee Hall, also recognized

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<sup>88</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1884, p. 80.

<sup>89</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 12, 1884, LR, NA.

<sup>90</sup>Price to Hunt, July 23, 1884, Finance, Vol. 103, pp. 116-17, LS, NA.

<sup>91</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 31, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 20, pp. 144-50, KIA, ID, OHS.

this failure of the agency herd shortly after coming to the agency in September, 1885. Hall remarked that the success of the agency herd was not what the Government had anticipated. "The steers and female cattle," he pointed out, "are herded together which is detrimental to both. The pasture is situated immediately upon the line between this and the Chickasaw reservation and subject to constant depredations from cattle thieves and in fact are decreasing instead of increasing." Hall recommended that the agency herd, consisting of some 800 cows, be divided among the poorer Indians to serve as added incentive for those beginning to farm. Only enough needed to be retained for the use of the boarding schools.<sup>92</sup> An inspector who visited the agency the latter part of 1885, likewise recommended distributing the 800 head of cattle among deserving Indians. If they took good care of these cattle, then they would be permitted to keep the increase. It was also felt the cattle could be looked after better in this manner without any expense.<sup>93</sup>

Agent Hunt's second suggestion for building up herds of stock cattle for the Plains Indians was the leasing of a portion of their reservation to cattlemen for grazing

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<sup>92</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 23, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, pp. 43-44, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>93</sup>Upshaw to Hall, October 6, 1885, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.



purposes. The money from this would go toward the purchase of stock.<sup>94</sup> This idea commenced in 1882 as a result of short rations and led to the official Government leases in 1885.

The agent began finding it more and more difficult in 1882 to keep Texas cattlemen from grazing their herds on the western and southern portions of the reserve. When Commissioner Price instructed Hunt to reduce the beef issue at his agency, the Agent endeavored to find a way to feed his Indians because he knew they could not exist on the reduced rations. With the "most influential men of the several tribes" very upset over this reduction, Hunt presented to them the proposition that if they would allow the cattle trespassing on their reservation to remain until July 1, he "would see the owners and if possible get them to furnish the deficiency in the beef issue, in payment, for permitting their cattle to remain" on the reservation. These Indians readily agreed to this proposal. Hunt sent Agency Superintendent John Nestall to Texas to contact the owners of these herds of cattle to "see what could be done." Nestall presented the owners with two alternatives. They could choose "either to make up the deficiency in the beef issue, or remove their cattle now on the reservation." The owners realized that feeding the Indians appeared to be the

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<sup>94</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 17, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, pp. 74-75, KIA, ID, OHS.

most favorable alternative and consented to furnish the agency about 200 head of cattle. By the time the agreement had been made, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs sent a telegram to Hunt authorizing him to resume the full issue of beef. Hunt explained to the Commissioner what he had done and suggested "that the cattle (cows will be furnished) to be delivered to me under the agreements made with the parties referred to, may be received and accounted for as stock cattle, and issued to the Indians for breeding and stock raising purposes."<sup>95</sup>

Commissioner Price authorized Hunt in May to make issue to his Indians ninety-four head of cows "received from certain parties in payment for the privilege of grazing their stock upon your reservation . . . if said parties will execute a written guarantee releasing the Government from any liability for the cattle so furnished by them."<sup>96</sup> In all, Hunt received and issued to the Indians 340 cows for breeding. On July 1, the "owners of the trespassing cattle were notified in writing to at once move them off the reservation." U.S. troops and the Indian police force were sent to accomplish this task.<sup>97</sup> Thinking

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<sup>95</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 10, 1882, LR, NA.

<sup>96</sup>Price to Hunt, May 3, 1882, Finance, Vol. 183, p. 591, LS, NA.

<sup>97</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, pp. 440-41, KIA, ID, OHS.

this was a most advantageous transaction, Hunt declared, "For the grass consumed during three months by an inconsiderable number of cattle, remote from any Indian herd or Indian farm, my Indians received 340 head of breeding cattle."<sup>98</sup>

Special Agent P. H. Folsom's indignant reaction to the transaction in 1884 led to Agent Hunt's forced resignation. The agent explained there were a total of 385 stock cattle to be issued to the Indians. Twenty-seven head were given to James H. Deere who agreed to pay John Nestall \$225 for his expenses incurred in making the transaction. Twenty-one additional head were issued "to young men for work done at the agency, as there were no funds to pay." Hunt declared he would have had to discharge these employees otherwise. The agent was compelled also to slaughter ninety-four more of these cattle for food. These were not part of the regular beef issue.<sup>99</sup>

After investigating the 1882 issue of cattle, Folsom charged that the 385 head had been issued to the Indians but "deception practised" in recording it. The inspector felt the transaction involving Jim Deere should not have transpired without departmental approval because the cattle were U.S. property. Besides, he said \$225 was "a very

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., pp. 441-42.

<sup>99</sup>Hunt to Special Indian Agent P. H. Folsom, July 28, 1884, LR, NA.

extravagant charge for 'between three and four weeks' work of that kind." As to the twenty-one stock cattle turned over to Indians in payment of labor done, no explanation was given by Hunt specifying the kind of work performed. Folsom declared, "I find his claim is a cheat, and that his Roll showing this Stock Bonanza, should have been made up very differently, with the actual facts in detail." What should have been shown, according to Folsom, was the following:

Received from shrewd cattle men in part for past usage received by them, which ought to have been paid before --327 cows; Turned over and killed as "extra delivery" of beef, Waggoner & Son cattle--94; Paid for an unrendered account of traveling expenses--22; Paid for labor, claimed as a gratuity--21; Number of stock cattle remaining--190; Natural increase, calves born while "stock cattle" were being held at Agency--80; Showing one hundred and ninety cows issued purely as stock cattle, with eighty baby calves.<sup>100</sup>

Agent Hunt continued to press for leasing a portion of the reservation to cattlemen through 1883. He explained that it was nearly impossible to keep trespassing cattle off the reservation. "It seems to do very little good to put them off for it is found that Cattle that have just been driven off will come back on the reservation as soon as the Police force advances." He admitted these Indians did not wish to rent the grass but felt if the cattlemen used it they should pay for it. "The greater portion of the 4,300,000 acres" the agent pointed out, "grows up and is

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<sup>100</sup>Folsom to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 28, 1884, LR, NA.

burnt down, but that along the borders of the reservation is consumed by trespassing cattle." He suggested these grass lands be utilized to the benefit of his Indians. If herds of cattle could not be given to them then, the lands should be rented and the Indian given the money.<sup>101</sup>

The question of leasing was reopened in 1884 when Thomas F. Woodard, employee and interpreter for the Indians, wrote Agent Hunt concerning a talk he had with two Indians, Tabananaka and White Wolf. These Indians told Woodard that they felt that over half of the Indians of the reservation opposed the leasing of their lands. They went on to say that those favoring the leasing, the Quahadas in particular, did not settle down and farm like the rest of them. "We think Qua-nah is bought by the cattle men and don't come and talk with the rest of us chiefs." They felt most of the chiefs opposed the leasing of their land and further more believed "the white men's cattle will soon be here so thick that there will be no room for the Indians who have small bunches of stock[,] this is why we are so very much worried."<sup>102</sup>

A delegation of Kiowa and Comanche Indians visited Washington to discuss leasing portions of their reservation

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<sup>101</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 17, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, p. 275, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>102</sup>Thomas F. Woodard, Employee and Interpreter for Indians, to Hunt, February 5, 1884, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, pp. 458-60, KIA, ID, OHS.

for grazing purposes. Special Agent Folsom wrote Commissioner Price that despite this delegation a majority of these Indians were opposed to leasing and wished to be heard before the leasing received official authority. The Acting Secretary directed "that other sentiment of the Indians generally be ascertained prior to any definite action by the Department." Commissioner Price asserted the Department recognized "an implied right" of these tribes to grant groups to graze on their unoccupied lands but "does not recognize their right to lease the lands or to create any incumbrance thereon, or in any manner give to parties, rights, the existence of which may be disputed, after the lands shall cease to be a part of the reservation; and no leases or agreements looking to that end, have been approved, or will receive the authoritative approval of this Department." Price then instructed Folsom to call a council of representatives of the Kiowa and Comanche Indians and inform them how the Indian Department felt on this matter of leasing.<sup>103</sup>

A council was held at Deep Red Creek south of Fort Sill on December 23, 1884, in which 404 adult male Indians of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes signed a six-year lease with nine cattlemen. These cattlemen agreed to pay six cents per acre per year for grazing rights on an

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<sup>103</sup>Price to Hunt, October 25, 1884, Land, Vol. 65, pp. 449-55, LS, NA.

estimated 1,400,000 acres in the southern and western portions of the Kiowa Reservation not occupied or used by any of these tribes. The money was to be divided equally among these Indians. The leasees also agreed to hire fifty-four Indians as herders at a salary of \$20 and \$35 each per month. Agent Hunt believed this was a wise agreement because it would "be a source of considerable income, will give employment to many young men, and will not deprive them of any lands needed by them for grazing their own stock and for farming purposes, and in addition it will protect them from the inroads made by trespassers both upon their grass and timber." There was some opposition among the Indians to this lease, but the agent assured the Indian Department that a majority of the adult males had signed it. A delegation of four Indians headed by Quannah Parker plus several of the cattlemen involved presented the lease to Secretary of Interior, H. M. Teller on February 7, 1885. Their meeting concluded with Secretary Teller informing them that Congress had all the authority over the leasing of Indian land but he did say, "I think this is a very good lease if they have reserved as much land as they want for farming and cattle purposes."<sup>104</sup> The Commissioner's annual report for 1885 listed an estimated

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<sup>104</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Leases of Lands in the Indian Territory, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., 1885, Senate Report 1278, pp. 759-66.

309,440 acres of the Kiowa Reservation had been leased for grazing purposes.<sup>105</sup>

Stock raising by the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation encountered two major obstacles. One was the lack of rations issued by the Government, and Hunt explained why the herds owned by Indians were not increasing in size,

There is no doubt that there is actual suffering among these Indians, that they are without anything to eat during a part of each week, or during a portion of the time between the days that rations are issued, and it is a fact that during such times, when the pangs of hunger are great and their children are crying for something to eat, they butcher and eat their breeding cattle.

Until the disappearance of the buffalo, the Indian herds of cattle had been increasing. When the buffalo disappeared, probably one-third of these Indians' rations disappeared. Nevertheless, the rations were not increased by the Government but rather "decreased by insufficient appropriations by Congress." It was then not surprising that Indians ate their breeding cattle to ward off starvation.<sup>106</sup>

A second drawback to stock raising was permitting the Indians to sell their cattle to white men. Hunt, previous to 1883, had forbidden white men to purchase cattle from his Indians in the hopes of compelling the Plains Indians to build up their herds. He did, though, permit

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<sup>105</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885,  
p. XVII.

<sup>106</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, pp. 429-32, KIA, ID, OHS.



the Government beef contractor to buy steer cattle raised by the Indians. When W. G. Williams, a white man married to an Indian, purchased cattle from an Indian in the spring of 1883, Agent Hunt seized the cattle and returned them to the owners. His actions were approved by the Commissioner in June.<sup>107</sup> A man then came on the reservation saying to Williams and the Indians that Hunt had no right to interfere with the "squawmen" trading among the Indians. Hunt explained that if they got the idea they could sell their cattle, "it would be only a few months, till not a hoof would be owned by an Indian, and our efforts to build up herds of cattle for the Indians, would be fruitless."<sup>108</sup> The Commissioner's answer December 19, 1883, was, "The law does not prohibit the purchase of cattle from Indians by white men . . . [but] . . . all transactions for the purchase of stock from the Indians should be with knowledge and under the supervision of the Agent, that the Indians may not be imposed upon."<sup>109</sup> Hunt reacted emphatically, "To make public your letter will destroy what little discipline we have here, and will start white men to running

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<sup>107</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 7, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, pp. 389-90, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>108</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 22, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, p. 324, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>109</sup>Price to Hunt, December 19, 1883, Land, Vol. 60, pp. 157-58, LS, NA.

'rough shod' over the reservation purchasing Indian cattle the result of which will be the herds of Indian cattle, I have tried so hard to have the Indians keep and build up will go into the hands of white men."<sup>110</sup>

To eliminate the uncertainty about the selling of cattle by the Indians, an Act of Congress, approved July 4, 1884, stated the Government's position. The following was posted at various appropriate places about the reservation:

That where Indians are in possession or control of cattle or their increase which have been purchased by the Government, such cattle shall not be sold to any person not a member of the tribe to which the owners of the cattle belong or to any citizen of the United States, whether intermarried with the Indians or not, except with the consent in writing of the Agent of the tribe to which the owner or possessor of the cattle belongs.

All sales in violation of this would be void and the purchaser fined at least \$500 or imprisoned for at least six months.<sup>111</sup> Hunt wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs the middle of July informing him that some of the Indians with cattle not given them by the Government wished to sell them for beef and Hunt wanted them to obtain a fair market price by selling to the Government.<sup>112</sup> Commissioner Price

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<sup>110</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 27, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 5, p. 417, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>111</sup>Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Hunt, July 4, 1884, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 17, p. 54, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>112</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 14, 1884, Purchase from Indian File, KIA, ID, OHS.

explained that it was the intention of the Government in issuing the order of December 19, 1883, which permitted the selling of Indian cattle, "to relate to cattle the individual property of the Indians and not to such as were issued to them by the Government." With all transactions having to pass the agent's desk, Price felt any improper purchases could be prevented.<sup>113</sup> As to the selling of these cattle to the Government, the Commissioner said the Indians should be able to sell to the highest bidder whether or not it was a licensed trader as long as the person was legally on the reservation.<sup>114</sup>

In the 1884 annual report, Agent Hunt discussed selling of cattle by the Indians and its effect on their becoming self-supporting stock raisers. As a result of the December 19, 1883, proclamation allowing the Indians to sell their own cattle not issued by the Government, Hunt said there had been a continued decrease in the number of cattle held by the Indians. Notorious for selling anything, some of these Indians were seen in towns selling their herds for money to gamble. Because of the scarcity of rain in this country, Hunt declared stock raising was the only hope for the Indian to be self-sufficient. Hunt exclaimed,

If, therefore, they are ever to be brought to a condition of self-support in this way, it is evident it must

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<sup>113</sup>Price to Hunt, October 9, 1884, Land, Vol. 65, pp. 257-59, LS, NA.

<sup>114</sup>Price to Hunt, November 20, 1884, Purchase from Indian File, KIA, ID, OHS.

be effected by the Government holding their herds until such time as they have grown sufficiently large to subsist them and until the Indian himself having become more prevalent, will refuse to sell to the white men.<sup>115</sup>

Education of the Indian children in the ways of agriculture continued to be stressed throughout the Indian Service. Illustrating the significance the Government put on agriculture in the schools, Commissioner Atkins declared in 1885,

In an attempt to stimulate the Indian agents and school employes into an earnest effort to make the school farm and garden useful and productive, the agents and school superintendents were last spring informed by circular that each school must depend upon its own farm and garden for a large part of the subsistence required by the pupils.

The aim of the Indian boarding school was to be self-supporting by cultivating the soil. More attention was to be paid to the needs of the pupils than to the savings of the Government.<sup>116</sup> The Commissioner spelled out what should be taught the boys at a reservation boarding school.

"There should be connected with each of these schools a farm, and with some of them cattle ranges, so that the boy pupils may become skillful in the use of agricultural

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<sup>115</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 31, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 20, pp. 145-48, KIA, ID, OHS. This quote was written first in Hunt's 1884 Report but was omitted from the published volume by the Office of Indian Affairs. Consequently, Hunt restated it in the 1885 Annual Report, noting that it had been omitted from the published 1884 Report.

<sup>116</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885, pp. CV-CVI.

implements and the care of stock--may be taught how to plant, how to cultivate crops, and how to gather and garner harvests."<sup>117</sup>

These demands for the boarding schools to stress agriculture had already been implemented during the period 1882-1885. In 1882, Hunt, in speaking of the boarding school, declared, "Habits of industry were inculcated on all occasions, along with practical instruction in the field and garden, and I think much good has resulted from the well-directed efforts of the teachers in charge." The boys cultivated field and garden crops with the result being "an excellent crop of corn and some millet and a great variety of vegetables grown the past season."<sup>118</sup> The total number of bushels of vegetables grown at the school was sixty-five.<sup>119</sup>

During September and October the crops of corn, millet, Irish and sweet potatoes, and squash were gathered by the boys of the school. They were stored in a shed built by the boys under the direction of the Superintendent Hunt. In the spring of 1883, the smaller boys cleaned the fields and then the larger ones plowed it and planted eighteen

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<sup>117</sup>Ibid., p. CXII.

<sup>118</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1882, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 10, p. 447, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>119</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882, pp. 318-19.

acres of corn, two acres of millet, and four acres for vegetables. The planting was done by hand with the smaller boys dropping the seeds into holes while the larger boys covered them with a hoe. The cultivating process consisted of the boys working the land twice with hoes and three times with a plow. The results, as with the rest of the reservation, were very good. Only the squash was a failure.<sup>120</sup> The 1883 statistical farm report for the school indicated 800 bushels of corn and 478 bushels of vegetables were raised. Stock raising was also taught with the school herd consisting of fifty head of cattle.<sup>121</sup>

The agricultural endeavors of the school boys in 1884 and 1885 were also significant. They planted in 1884 crops of corn and vegetables again, but the yield was short of the previous year.<sup>122</sup> All totaled, 108 bushels of vegetables and some 500 melons and pumpkins were raised. The school herd of cattle taken care of by the children increased to sixty-six head. Farming and caring for the cattle were listed among the industries taught.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 17, 1883, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 15, pp. 288-90, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>121</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 3, 1883, LR, NA.

<sup>122</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1884, p. 81.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 269.

Twenty-five acres were under cultivation the following year and yielded 500 bushels of corn, 35 bushels of potatoes, 400 melons, and 12 tons of hay cut.<sup>124</sup> Agent Hunt summed up the industrial work at the school for 1885 by saying,

The teaching in the industrial department was as full as it could be made. There are no shops connected with the schools in which the children can be taught trades, and during a considerable portion of the year no regular work can be assigned the boys; but during the cropping season employment was found in planting and cultivating the crops in the field near the school-house.<sup>125</sup>

The number of boys exposed to agriculture at Carlisle, however, decreased during this period. The eleven Comanches, four Kiowas, and several Apaches who did attend were taught farming and agriculture to a greater degree than at the reservation school.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup>Ibid., 1885, pp. CXCV, CCXXII-III.

<sup>125</sup>Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 31, 1885, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 20, pp. 152-53, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>126</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882, p. 177; Ibid., 1884, pp. 186, 188.

## CHAPTER V

### INDIAN AGRICULTURAL ENDEAVORS ON THE KIOWA RESERVATION AND THE NEW INDIAN POLICY, 1886-1888

The years from 1886 to 1888 are most significant in the Government's attempt to make agriculturalists of the Plains Indians in the last third of the nineteenth century. The efforts of getting Congress to pass legislation that would solidify this policy of making the Indian self-supporting through agrarian means culminated with the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887. Although not immediately covered by this act, Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians were strongly opposed to this legislation, as was their agent, Jesse Lee Hall. Also during this period Administrative stability of the Kiowa Reservation began to break down with Hall's appointment the last of 1885. Prior to that year, only three agents had served in sixteen years. In the nine years between 1885 and Captain Frank D. Baldwin's appointment as agent in the fall of 1894, the Kiowa Reservation was to be under the administration of eight successive agents.

Agriculture no longer was a sideline on the reservation but received by 1886 the full force and emphasis of



the entire Indian service. The one objective of the Indian Department was to civilize the Indian and to make him self-supporting through agriculture. Commissioner Atkins sent a letter in March to all the agents informing them that if they wished to keep their job they had better "use every means at their command to instruct, encourage and assist the Indians" in meeting this objective. "Marked progress in successful agriculture," he wrote, "commencing with the current year, is indispensably necessary to prove the Agent and employes of an agency qualified for their positions." To insure that the land cultivated by the Indians would increase during 1886, Commissioner Atkins directed the agents to enlarge those fields in which Indians were farming and encourage all others to begin agricultural activities.<sup>1</sup>

An evaluation of this policy pursued during 1886 was made in Commissioner Atkins' annual report. Evidence that the Red Man had taken a greater step towards civilization than ever before was

. . . the active inquiry among many of the tribes for further knowledge of the arts of agriculture; the growing desire to take land in severalty; the urgent demand for agricultural implements with modern improvements, the largely increased acreage which the Indians have put to tillage, exceeding that of any preceeding year; the unprecedented increase in the number of Indian children who have enrolled in the schools.

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<sup>1</sup>Atkins to Hall, March 23, 1886, Indian Farmer File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Still, the head of the Indian Service recognized there were many unsolved problems. These included the Indians' cultural background which repudiated any type of manual labor, the lack of experience and instruction by those willing to work, the Indian's easy discouragement with crop failures, and the poor agricultural land on many of the Indian reservations.<sup>2</sup> These problems were especially acute on the Kiowa Reservation.

The year 1887 witnessed the climax of this policy of making the Indian an agriculturalist with the passage of the General Allotment Act, better known as the Dawes Act. Support for allotting land in severalty to the Indians had been culminating for years as an alternative to the policy of concentration. Those favoring Indian allotment accepted the fact that a direct correlation existed between the ownership of private property and civilization. These people failed to perceive that the Indian's cultural background contained the concept of private property but not in land. Support for allotment was also drawn from Westerners whose only interest in the Indian was to get his land.<sup>3</sup> Congress debated this new Indian policy during the 1880's, both houses finally passing the bill January 21, 1887, and

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<sup>2</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1886,  
pp. III, XX-XXI.

<sup>3</sup>William T. Hagan, "Private Property, The Indian's Door to Civilization," Ethnohistory, III, No. 2 (Spring, 1956), pp. 126-37.

then President Grover Cleveland signing it on February 9, 1887.<sup>4</sup>

This bill, which forced the Indian into the mold of the American farmer, authorized the President to allot the lands in severalty to the Indians of any reservation which he believed was "advantageous for agricultural and grazing purposes." The amount of land allotted each head of a family was 160 acres and 80 acres were to go to each single person over eighteen and to each orphan under eighteen. Additional land was to be allotted if the land was valuable only for grazing purposes. The Indians were to select their own land except for the orphans, for whom the agents did the selecting. The Federal Government was to hold these lands in trust for twenty-five years. Each Indian who took an allotment and "adopted the habits of civilized life" was granted U.S. citizenship.<sup>5</sup>

Commissioner Atkins made extensive comments concerning the Dawes Act in his 1887 annual report. Realistically, he indicated there would be no immediate radical change as a result of the passing of this General Allotment Act. "Character, habits, and antecedents," he observed, "can not be changed by an enactment. The distance between barbarism and civilization is too long to be passed over

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<sup>4</sup>Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, pp. 185-86.

<sup>5</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1887, pp. 274-77.

speedily." The real work still lay in the future. "The allotment act instead of being the consummation of the labors of missionaries, philanthropists, Government agents, is rather an introduction and invitation to effort on their part, which by the fact of this legislation may be hopeful and should be energetic."<sup>6</sup> But the supporters of its passage failed to see this. When the bill was made a law, they considered their work done and, therefore, lost interest in the Red Man.<sup>7</sup>

Very critical of the allotment policy was Agent Hall of the Kiowa Reservation. He voiced his objections in his annual report preceding its passage. This section of his report was significantly omitted from the Commissioner's published report for 1886. Hall explained that the people of the East "imagine that they have discovered a process for transforming him [the Indian] by a stroke of the pen into a good citizen, and a self-supporting agriculturalist." At the same time, a large group in the West had the same ideas but their motives were to obtain Indian land. "One set of men desire solely to benefit the Indians. The other have little regard for them, but are keenly anxious to benefit themselves and yet with these wholly opposite motives, the same course is urged by both." Hall felt, "To break up the present tribal relationship, to make the

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. IV-X.

<sup>7</sup>Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, p. 249.

Indian citizen, allot to each family his plot of ground and tell him to support himself, would mean nothing less than annihilation, to the wild Indian tribes of the west."

In opposition to allotment, the agent asserted that the Indian had no inclination to farm and no act of Congress would radically change his nature. The Indian was not accustomed to work nor did he have any knowledge of the use of agricultural implements. Those who did farm became quickly discouraged when immediate results were not seen. If the Indian was given a farm, Agent Hall said he would sell it the next day and if it were held in trust he would sell all the agricultural tools and crops he raised and butcher all the cows given him. The land would be the only thing left and it alone would not help civilize him. "The civilizing of these people," the agent stressed, "must of necessity be a gradual process, and to be successful it must be carried on intelligently, and by those who know something of their nature and their needs." What the adult Indians needed to know was how to work with their hands and to understand the fact that one must work for his food and supplies. "At first he will learn slowly, will for a long time need help and encouragement, will have to be shown over and over again how to do the same thing, but in the end he will conquer and will become a successful worker as so many of his civilized brothers have done before him."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 26, 1886, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Despite these comments, Hall reported in December, 1886, that 150 Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians wished "lands allotted to them in severalty."<sup>9</sup>

The Dawes Act did not immediately affect the Kiowa Reservation. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, however, began exerting pressure upon the agents to prepare these Indians for the inevitable. After the passage of the act, Commissioner Atkins wrote Hall the following instructions. "It is the policy of this Office to extend its provisions to all Indians whose condition is such as to render a division of their lands in severalty desirable, and it is expected that you will exert your influence to induce the Indians to take their lands in severalty and do all in your power to prepare them for this action."<sup>10</sup> Commissioner Atkins in reply to a letter from Lone Wolf, representing the Kiowas, and Jake, representing the Caddoes, informed them that their reservations would not be among the first allotted. "While this Office wants you to have allotments for your own good and the good of your children, it does not expect to hurry you about it now."<sup>11</sup>

In his annual report for 1887, Agent Hall wrote, "As a general thing these Indians are opposed to taking their

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<sup>9</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 5, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, p. 157, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>10</sup>Atkins to Hall, March 24, 1887, Allotment File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>11</sup>Atkins to Lone Wolf and Jake, February 16, 1887, Federal Relations File, KIA, ID, OHS.

lands in severalty, nor do I believe they are prepared for the change." He did mention that within the last few years the heads of families had begun to select and open farms in valleys on various parts of the reservation and most of their selections, he felt, were good ones. Principal opposition to taking land in severalty on the Kiowa Reservation was among the Kiowas.<sup>12</sup>

The administration of the Kiowa Agency, under the direction of Agent Hall, came under investigation in 1887. Beginning in July, Hall's entire attention was occupied with the investigation of the affairs and management of the agency by Special Agent E. E. White. This investigation was caused by agency clerk, J. K. P. Campbell. The charges included "frequent and continued absence" from his office and neglect of his official duties, appropriating public funds for his own private use, making false vouchers, granting employees leave of absence without authority, and failure to account for all the grass money collected by him.<sup>13</sup> Acting Commissioner A. B. Upshaw received White's report in October and decided to take the necessary steps leading to the immediate criminal prosecution of Agent Hall. The Indian Office used not only White's conclusions but also a previous inspector's report to come to their

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<sup>12</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1887,  
p. 83.

<sup>13</sup>E. E. White to Hall, July 27, 1887, Kiowa Letter-book, Vol. 24, pp. 465-66, KIA, ID, OHS.

decision.<sup>14</sup> In November, White took over the position of agent, serving until August, 1888, when a permanent agent was selected.

To assist the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation in pursuing the agrarian way of life between 1886 and 1888, agricultural aid was provided by the Indian Service in the form of agricultural implements, seeds, farm instruction, and the breaking of land. Agricultural tools were of major significance if these Plains Indians were expected to till the soil. These implements were especially needed for the spring plowing and planting. The Kiowa Agency had 108 two-horse cultivators, 555 plows, and 200 sets of plow harness to be issued to the Indians early in 1886 in time for the spring farm work.<sup>15</sup>

These implements were not nearly enough. Agent Hall requested the following list of additional agricultural implements needed by his Indians: 425 plows, 100 two-horse cultivators, 650 hoes, 6 corn planters, 36 dozen cotton plow lines, 6 combined reapers and mowers, 1 steam threshing machine, 200 sets of harness, and other items such as shovels and hoe handles. Hall informed the Commissioner that the Indians doubted that they would arrive in time to use; therefore, the agent said their arrival in thirty days

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<sup>14</sup>Upshaw to White, October 15, 1887, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>15</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 5, 1886, LR, NA.



would "reassure the Indians and promote a disposition to use them."<sup>16</sup> Commissioner Atkins notified Hall it was impossible to supply them on the date requested because his estimates were a month late in coming. The steam threshing machine was not approved because it was not recommended by an inspector who visited the agency. Atkins did permit the agent to include a one-horsepower thresher in the annual estimates for the following fiscal year.<sup>17</sup> An additional threshing machine was requested in 1887 because the model at the agency did not "clean the wheat properly" and was too heavy to transport to the many farms scattered over the Reservation. Good crops were lost in the fall because the ground was too wet for the machine to get to them in time.<sup>18</sup> A "threshing machine of eight-horse power and six-horse separator, complete with stacker, mounted power and all necessary belting and fixtures" was authorized to be purchased the following year.<sup>19</sup>

The lateness in receiving these agricultural implements in 1886 greatly discouraged the Indians commencing to farm. Forty-one plows were received at the agency in

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<sup>16</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 21, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, pp. 210-12, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>17</sup>Atkins to Hall, February 4, 1886, Finance, Vol. 120, pp. 142-43, LS, NA.

<sup>18</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1887, p. 82.

<sup>19</sup>Assistant Commissioner Upshaw to White, April 27, 1888, Finance, Vol. 137, p. 334, LS, NA.

March<sup>20</sup> and permission was granted to issue them to "deserving Indians whom you [Hall] are convinced will take good care of them and put them to a good use."<sup>21</sup> Hall wrote the Commissioner in April, "I very much regret that the Agricultural tools are not now here, as they are very much needed. The Indians in large numbers are calling daily for their tools, and . . . if I do not get them very soon, it will be too late for this crop, but they can be used in sowing wheat this fall."<sup>22</sup> On May 28, Hall reported issuing some agricultural implements to his Indians. Part of these tools went to some Kiowas who had "made a small beginning by enclosing small fields with wire and planted them in corn."<sup>23</sup> Evidently the rest of the implements requested earlier in the year arrived at the agency in June for Hall was authorized to "issue to deserving Indians who are engaged in farming and are actually ready to use them, the plows and harness purchased for them."<sup>24</sup>

Fence wire and a grist mill were other items required at the Kiowa Reservation. The wire was to enclose

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<sup>20</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 12, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, p. 335, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>21</sup>Atkins to Hall, March 26, 1886, Accounts, Vol. 74, p. 112, LS, NA.

<sup>22</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 14, 1886, LR, NA.

<sup>23</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 28, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, pp. 419-20, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>24</sup>Upshaw to Hall, June 2, 1886, Accounts, Vol. 77, p. 39, LS, NA.

the Indians' farms while the mill would grind their corn. In 1886 Hall requested authority to purchase fifty thousand pounds of barbed wire for his Indians. He explained, "The fencing around some twenty or more Indian farms has been destroyed, during the last few months, by prairie fires and there is great difficulty in making provisions against such calamities as are caused by these annual prairie fires, which can be alleviated by the substitution of wire fencing."<sup>25</sup>

The request was supplied in April but it was able to meet only one-half of the demands. Many Indians had broken their land and planted corn with the anticipation of being furnished wire to fence their farms. "They were pretty disappointed," he commented, "when they were told the wire had all been issued, yet most of them are trying to save their corn." There were also many Indians who wished to enclose their fields in the fall with the objective of sowing wheat. Consequently, Hall requested the purchase of an additional 75,000 pounds of barbed wire.<sup>26</sup> In 1888, an additional 100,000 pounds of wire fence were issued to the Indians but it again was only one-half of the amount needed. Fifty thousand pounds could have been issued to the Kiowas

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<sup>25</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 22, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, pp. 213-14, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>26</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 12, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, pp. 456-57, KIA, ID, OHS.

alone.<sup>27</sup> Concerning the grist mill, Hall stated in 1886, "There are a great many Indians who have corn and are applying constantly to me to get some ground and even tell me there is no need of raising corn as they can not get it ground." Since the nearest grist mill was 100 miles away, Hall appealed to the Indian Service to provide one for his agency.<sup>28</sup>

In providing these agricultural implements to the Kiowa Agency, the Indian Office was exceedingly concerned about the proper care of them. Commissioner Atkins called to Agent Hall's attention that reports had been made of the abuse of these tools by his Indians. Among the charges mentioned were,

. . . the quantities of wagons, reapers and mowers, harness, plows, harrows, barbed fence wire, and all kinds of costly and fragile agricultural implements and supplies, and mechanical tools, which are found by Inspectors and Special Agents, scattered about reservations, often only slightly out of repair, but uncared for, covered with mud and rust, exposed to all kinds of weather, and soon to become utterly worthless.

The agent, Atkins claimed, felt himself blameless once the articles had been issued to the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation. It was made quite clear to Hall that one of the most important parts of an agent's job was making sure the Indians took good care of their equipment. These tools

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<sup>27</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 18, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 28, p. 256, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>28</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 15, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, p. 295, KIA, ID, OHS.

were to be kept safely at the agency until needed by the Indian or issued only to those Indians who had shelter to house them. The Indian was also to know how to use these implements correctly and how to care for them before they were to be issued. Commissioner Atkins warned that if any of the agricultural equipment issued to Indians was abused, the agent would be charged for it.<sup>29</sup> Hall requested in November \$110 to purchase a shed to house those plows, cultivators, and other implements lying outside at the agency.<sup>30</sup>

Besides tools with which to farm, the Indian also needed seeds, which the Government partially provided. The agent's request for seeds was not always met in full because of not only lack of funds but also the Government's desire to see the Indians provide their own seeds whenever possible. Seeds were usually requested by the agent twice a year--for the spring and fall planting--thus giving a good idea of the crops being planted by the Indians. For the 1886 spring planting, Agent Hall requested 200 bushels of seed oats, 200 bushels of cotton seed, 100 bushels of seed corn, and 20 bushels of millet seed. The seed oats, to be sown for the use of the schools and the agency, could not be obtained at the reservation and there were a "good many Indians on this

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<sup>29</sup>Atkins to Hall, April 14, 1886, Accounts, Vol. 75, pp. 319-22, LS, NA.

<sup>30</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 18, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, pp. 143-44, KIA, ID, OHS.

reservation who wished to sow oats the coming season."<sup>31</sup> The request for the cotton seed was in response to the good crop raised on the Washita River the previous year. The cotton yield was one bale (500 pounds) to the acre and prompted Hall to report "that no other occupation than raising cotton would be better adapted to the Indian women and children."<sup>32</sup> The seed corn was needed because the Indians had inferior seed corn to plant and a large number who had none were "anxious for a supply the coming season."<sup>33</sup> Commissioner Atkins authorized Hall to buy and issue these orders.<sup>34</sup> Garden seeds were also required in the spring and Agent Hall felt the Agricultural Department had enough to furnish these Indians.<sup>35</sup> For fall planting, Hunt requested 1,500 bushels of winter wheat and 20 bushels of millet seed. The wheat, needed no later than September 1, was authorized by the Commissioner, October 1. The millet seed was requested because the oat crop had been a total

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<sup>31</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 22, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, p. 219, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>32</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 22, 1886, LR, NA.

<sup>33</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 27, 1886, LR, NA.

<sup>34</sup>Atkins to Hall, February 16, 1886, Finance, Vol. 120, p. 445, LS, NA.; Atkins to Hall, February 19, 1886, Finance, Vol. 120, p. 27, LS, NA.

<sup>35</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 8, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, p. 281, KIA, ID, OHS.

failure during the year due to the severe drought. The millet would be needed to furnish forage for the agency animals during the winter and the request was made and authorized in July.<sup>36</sup>

Seeds furnished the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation in the spring of 1887 included 500 bushels of seed oats, 200 bushels of seed corn, 155 bushels of potatoes, 2,500 fruit trees and vines, and \$93.75 worth of garden seeds.<sup>37</sup> The garden seeds were only one-half the amount requested by Hall.<sup>38</sup> In the middle of the summer, Agent Hall asked authority to purchase 2,500 bushels of wheat and 2,500 bushels of oats to be issued to Indian farmers. These crops were to be purchased on the reservation, the wheat from the Indians who were raising a considerable quantity

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.; Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 16, 1886, LR, NA.; Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 3, 1886, LR, NA.; H. L. Muldrow, First Assistant, Secretary, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 15, 1886, LS, NA, MC.

<sup>37</sup> Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 5, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, p. 161, KIA, ID, OHS.; Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 19, 1887, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, pp. 195-96, KIA, ID, OHS.; Upshaw to Hall, March 5, 1887, Finance, Vol. 129, p. 161, LS, NA.; Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 19, 1887, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, p. 190, KIA, ID, OHS.; Upshaw to Hall, March 11, 1887, Finance, Vol. 129, p. 168, LS, NA.; Atkins to Hall, March 1, 1887, Finance, Vol. 128, p. 449, LS, NA.

<sup>38</sup> Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 19, 1887, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, pp. 195-96, KIA, ID, OHS.; Upshaw to Hall, March 5, 1887, Finance, Vol. 129, p. 61, LS, NA.

and the oats from white men with Indian wives.<sup>39</sup> The seed wheat was again requested in October, but this time only 1,500 bushels. Hall declared, "The weather and land is favorable and if I can furnish seed the acreage will be double that of last year."<sup>40</sup> Authority was granted for this purchase.<sup>41</sup> Agent Hall issued 580 bushels of this wheat to Indians before he was suspended from office. Special Agent E. E. White issued an additional 218 bushels after taking charge of the agency. The new agent then informed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he would not need any more.<sup>42</sup>

For planting in 1888, J. K. P. Campbell, clerk at the Kiowa Agency, requested 200 bushels of "selected seed corn to be issued to Indians for planting their crops." Campbell said this would be needed soon since the time for planting was approaching and the corn or oats planted early always did better than those planted late.<sup>43</sup> Authority was granted and Special Agent White ordered it on March 28,

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<sup>39</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 15, 1887, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, pp. 338-39, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>40</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 2, 1887, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 27, p. 11, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>41</sup>Acting Secretary Muldrow to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 18, 1887, LR, NA.

<sup>42</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 7, 1887, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 26, pp. 78-79, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>43</sup>J. K. P. Campbell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 31, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 26, pp. 166-67, KIA, ID, OHS.



saying he needed it immediately.<sup>44</sup> The estimate of garden seeds for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians for 1889, submitted in November of 1888, included seed corn, millet, oats, sorghum, Irish potatoes, onion sets, cabbage seeds, peas, beans, and pumpkin, squash, tomato, turnip, mustard, and beet seeds.<sup>45</sup>

The Government also provided during this period the initial breaking of land for the Indians to farm. Hall was authorized to break in 1886, 4,000 acres of land<sup>46</sup> for the joint agency which he justified; "In numerous instances the Indians on this reservation, especially the Comanches and Wichitas, have opened and cultivated small farms with reasonable success. These people, without exception, wish their farms enlarged. Others who have not heretofore attempted agriculture, wish to open farms; but their ponies being small and light, are unable to break the prairie sod." It was much less expensive, in Hall's view, to contract the breaking of the land rather than buy teams and hire labor to do it. His intent was to divide the plowing into small contracts so the land could be prepared in time to plant.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>White to W. G. Williams, March 28, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 26, p. 247, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>45</sup>Campbell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 29, pp. 14, 17, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>46</sup>Atkins to Hall, January 18, 1886, Breaking of Land File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>47</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 22, 1886, LR, NA.

Except for about 1,000 acres, the land was to be broken in tracts of ten to twenty-five acres, with Indians breaking, themselves, approximately 500 of these 4,000 acres under contract.<sup>48</sup> This authority was given in February by Commissioner Atkins.<sup>49</sup> Hall reported in April that the Indians had eighteen large double plows breaking land averaging one and one-half to two acres per day with a total of about thirty acres broken daily. At the same time, the agent requested authority to spend \$10,000 for breaking land which would not be planted in corn this spring but would be planted in wheat in the fall. Hall declared, "I am fairly persuaded that wheat will do well here."<sup>50</sup> The Government remitted only \$3,000 for this project.<sup>51</sup>

One of the agency farmers, J. W. Carson, reported to Hall during July on the land broken for the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches. Land was broken for eleven Kiowas with the largest area plowed, a twenty-seven-acre plot of community land for Toothto's band located on the Washita River. Three to fourteen acres of land were broken on

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<sup>48</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 26, 1886, LR, NA.

<sup>49</sup>Atkins to Hall, February 3, 1886, Breaking of Land File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>50</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 17, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, p. 379, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>51</sup>Atkins to Hall, May 7, 1886, Breaking of Land File, KIA, ID, OHS.

eight other farms located on Elk Creek. Frizzle Head had fourteen acres plowed for him near Saddle Mountain and seven additional acres for Toothto on the Washita River. Thirteen Comanches had land broken for them ranging from six acres to thirty-two acres on the Washita River, Cache Creek, Blue Beaver Creek, and near Signal Mountain. Quanah Parker had four different men plow fields totaling about thirty-five acres. Six different lots were plowed for the Apaches totaling 105 acres. Fifty-seven acres near Cache Creek were plowed in community land for Apache John's band while another Apache had thirty-one acres plowed near Courtney Creek.<sup>52</sup> Near the end of 1886, Hall requested an additional 1,744 acres of land broken for his Indians.<sup>53</sup> In the winter of 1886-87, thirty-four men broke a total of 1,361½ acres by March 31, 1887.<sup>54</sup> By the end of June an additional 528 acres had been broken by twelve plowers.<sup>55</sup>

Once the land had been broken, and seeds and implements provided, experienced farmers were necessary to teach the Indian agriculture. During 1886, Hall was furnished funds for the employment of one farmer and one additional

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<sup>52</sup>J. W. Carson to Hall, July 13, 1886, Breaking of Land File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>53</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 6, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, p. 165, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>54</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 31, 1887, Breaking of Land File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>55</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1887, Breaking of Land File, KIA, ID, OHS.

farmer. Webb Hendrix served as additional farmer for part of the year and James Carson filled the position of farmer. Hall described Carson as "indispensable" and having a "knowledge of the Indian language and familiarity with the individual Indians, their hopes and what each one had done towards commencing a home."<sup>56</sup> Hall commented on the job performed by both of these men. "When you come to consider the very large area of country, over which these two young men have to travel to see each head of the family of the Indians and show them how to work, I think they deserve credit for the progress they have made."<sup>57</sup>

Throughout 1886 Agent Hall encouraged the Commissioner to hire more farmers for his Indians. Early in the year he indicated in a letter to the Commissioner how important these farm instructors were. "After careful, personal observation, I find the greatest drawback and trouble with the Indian in his efforts to farm is the lack of practical knowledge and experience, and some one to show him to work, set and hold his plow, harness his horses, etc., etc. In other words, what to do and how to do it!" Hall admitted the farmers which he had been furnished were very competent men, but were "insufficient for the amount of labor and instruction for the number of settlements on

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<sup>56</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 16, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, pp. 30-31, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>57</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 17, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, p. 279, KIA, ID, OHS.

which the Indians are located." He requested permission to employ "four good, practical plowmen, who will take hold of the plow etc., and learn these Indians how to work." Hall was convinced that he could "accomplish a great deal towards bringing the Indian up to a standard of self support, within the next year or so, if sufficient help is given me in this way."<sup>58</sup>

Hall encouraged the Indian Service again in July to furnish "all the additional help in farming possible as the Indians of this reserve only lack proper instructions to make them in a short time self supporting." Noting the Indian Department for the fiscal year 1886-87 had appropriated \$40,000 for employing additional farmers, Hall reiterated, "The Indians of this reserve are doing all they can to open farms and their greatest draw back is the lack of instruction." Farmers with experience raising wheat, corn, and cotton were the type needed.<sup>59</sup>

In his annual report, Agent Hall said he instructed 230 Indians to farm with only two farmers. He estimated it would take two months for them to visit every Indian farm on both reservations and spend half an hour at each one. Hall declared,

But to instruct an Indian in plowing, planting, and especially one who never put on a set of harness and

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<sup>58</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 27, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, pp. 240-41, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>59</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 16, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, pp. 34-36, KIA, ID, OHS.

does not know which end of a plow to hitch his horse to and few of the blanket Indians have any idea how to make a plow run shallow or deep; takes more than a casual visit and good advice. An instructor must spend days with each one, get behind the plow handle himself and show the Indian how to plow. . . .

Hall estimated at least six farmers were needed for the next two years in order to teach the Indians how to work. Instead of hiring additional farmers at \$70 a month, Hall suggested that an "industrious plow boy of good moral character" would be enough and could be employed for only \$50 per month.<sup>60</sup>

Hall specifically requested three more farmers in December, one to help the affiliated tribes and two to assist the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches. The agent's plea was in response to "the general desire manifested among the Indians to commence farming, the near approach of spring and my anxiety to prevent the Indians from having any good excuse for not taking hold."<sup>61</sup> The Indian Office, however, informed the agent the number of additional farmers already hired would probably exhaust the money provided by Congress for this project and his request must be refused.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 26, 1886, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>61</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 5, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, pp. 163-64, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>62</sup>Upshaw to Hall, December 22, 1886, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

After denying Hall's request in December, Commissioner Atkins wrote Hall, January 13, informing him that three assistant farmers were authorized at the Kiowa Agency from February 1, 1887, until the end of the fiscal year. Hall was cautioned to select highly competent men for these positions. These farmers were to be paid \$40 per month since this was the figure for which Hall had informed the Commissioner he could hire competent men.<sup>63</sup> Two were assigned specifically to instruct the Apaches, Kiowas, and Comanches.<sup>64</sup> When the agent submitted his list of employees for the 1887-88 fiscal year the head farmer, additional farmer, and these three assistant farmers were included.<sup>65</sup> All were approved with the assistant farmers serving for the six-month period from July 1 to December 31. At the end of the assistant farmers' terms, Acting Agent White encouraged the positions be continued but at \$50 per month since it was "impossible to get good men at \$40 per month."<sup>66</sup> Hendrix remained additional farmer at \$700 per annum during this six-month period,<sup>67</sup> while in November the position of

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<sup>63</sup> Atkins to Hall, January 13, 1887, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>64</sup> Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 14, 1887, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>65</sup> Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 18, 1887, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, p. 316, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>66</sup> White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1887, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>67</sup> Atkins to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 8, 1887, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

head farmer became vacant. Since White knew no one to fill the position, he requested the Commissioner to send him a person as soon as possible because he needed him every day.<sup>68</sup> Commissioner Atkins appointed R. W. Cahill of Lima, Ohio, December 29, 1887, who received a compensation of \$600 per annum.<sup>69</sup>

To keep posted on the farming of the Indians, Commissioner Atkins, in December, furnished White with copies of an agricultural report form. Each farm instructor of his agency was required to fill it out and return it to the agent the first of each month. The agent then was to send it promptly on the the Commissioner with any comments or recommendations. "As I wish to know the actual condition of the Indians who are farming," the Commissioner directed, "Agents will caution the farmers that nothing but facts must be stated in these reports." In making this request, the Commissioner impressed upon Agent White the importance of the farmers and what they should be doing.

The duty of Farmer at an Indian Agency, whether Agency Farmer, Additional Farmer, District Farmer, or Assistant Farmer, is, in my opinion, second in importance to that of the Agent only. Congress, this Department, and the people of the country at large look to success in agriculture and stock raising as one of the most practicable means of permanently civilizing the Indian, and rendering him self supporting.

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<sup>68</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 22, 1887, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 26, p. 124, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>69</sup>Atkins to White, December 29, 1887, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.



The Commissioner indicated that he had been informed that some farmers spent much time at the agency office or simply giving advice to their Indians. The farmer's duties were clearly outlined.

There are seasons when they should be with the Indians constantly, early and late, and at all times there is advice to be given and assistance to be rendered; fences to be repaired, plowing and seeding in fall, care of stock during winter, preparing in time for spring work, proper cultivation of growing crops, harvesting and hay making, mower and reapers to keep in order, care of the crop after harvest, and preparation for fall planting and for winter again, to which might be added, care of wagons harness and agricultural implements when in use, and when not in use, the breaking in of young oxen for work, care of milch cows, and brood mares and their increase, and many other matters are to be constantly looked after on a farm too numerous to specify here, but all essentially necessary to success in farming. I wish it therefore to be distinctly understood by all such employes that I expect them to take a personal interest in the work; they must see to it as far as possible, that every Indian under their care, cultivates as much land as he can profitably, and that all his farming and domestic concerns are conducted with such diligence, foresight, economy and good management, as to secure success in the end, to accomplish which they spend their time with the Indians on their farms.<sup>70</sup>

Some of the farmers selected to work with the Plains Indians did not work out well. Cahill resigned in January, 1888, and was replaced by A. A. Hale.<sup>71</sup> Hale was one who did not work out well, and White wrote the Commissioner in March requesting that he be replaced. White said Hale was not "a practical farmer and in my judgement lacks the

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<sup>70</sup> Atkins to White, December 16, 1887, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>71</sup> Atkins to White, February 4, 1888, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

intelligence to comprehend his duties, the industry to properly perform them, and the ability to instruct the Indians in the arts of agriculture."<sup>72</sup> George D. Madera, a thirty-five year old unmarried farmer from Iowa, replaced Hale in May.<sup>73</sup> White's list of employees for June, 1888, included one farmer, three additional farmers, and one assistant farmer who was an Indian.<sup>74</sup> On December 1, H. P. Pruner was recommended as assistant farmer for the Apaches, Comanches, and Kiowas. He was married, forty years old, had previously been a farmer in Arkansas,<sup>75</sup> and had lived on the reservation engaging in farming in this country for about twenty years. He was married to a Delaware Indian and had considerable influence on these tribes.<sup>76</sup>

Acting Agent White in 1888 proposed that the two reservations be divided into farming districts. In his list of employees necessary for these two reservations for the fiscal year 1888-89, White indicated he needed one

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<sup>72</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 5, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 26, p. 214, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>73</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 1, 1888, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>74</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 9, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 28, pp. 24-25, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>75</sup>William D. Myers, Agent at Kiowa Agency, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 1, 1888, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>76</sup>Myers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 30, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 29, p. 107, KIA, ID, OHS.

farmer, two additional farmers, and two assistant farmers.<sup>77</sup> With this number of farmers, White suggested dividing the agency into five farming districts in which each of these employees would live and be in charge of assisting the Indians in his own district in their agricultural endeavors. Specifically, each district farmer would assist the Indians assigned to him

. . . to select suitable places for their farms--to lay out their fields and show them how to set their posts and stretch the wire and break their land, and plant and cultivate their crops, and should encourage them to open larger farms, to plant and cultivate all sorts of field crops and garden vegetables, to plant fruit trees, to build substantial stock corrals to raise horses, mules, cattle, hogs, and poultry, to dig well, build houses, to have and live in houses like white men.

This was what Agent White required of his two farmers, but the area they had to cover was much too large for two people.<sup>78</sup> This proposal for five farming districts was implemented in the 1890's.

Farming by the Plains Indians continued to increase between 1886 and 1888. Agent Hall's first task soon after taking over the administration of the Kiowa Agency in September, 1885, was to visit his Indians in order to obtain a first-hand account of their situation. After visiting the head of each Indian family located throughout the reservation, the agent summarized the agricultural efforts made

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<sup>77</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 15, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 26, p. 378, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>78</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 16, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 26, pp. 386-92, KIA, ID, OHS.

by the three Plains Tribes. He discovered the Comanches cultivated 840 acres on 48 farms and constructed 1,516 rods of fencing during the year. The Kiowas, he found, were not progressing nearly as well as the Comanches. They cultivated 450 acres of land and had 535 acres under fence; 1,158 rods were constructed through the year, and the Kiowas' crops were short not only because of the drought but also because their chief, Sun Boy, encouraged them not to work. This chief went "as far as to forbid and prohibit those who wished to work, from taking and using the agricultural implements furnished by the Government this spring and by threatening to cut their fences, burn rails and destroy crops. Many who have opened farms and gone to work for themselves, did not--from fear of this chief." Sun Boy told his Indians that encouragement for the Indian to open farms was a "scheme of the Gov't to get them to raise corn etc. and then cut off their rations." Agent Hall observed that this was a valid argument from the Indians' standpoint.

Hall asserted that the Apaches had "shown a greater disposition to go to work and open farms than any upon this reservation. They have split more rails and built more fence than any of the others notwithstanding they number less." They cultivated 135 acres and built 1,535 rods of fence during the year and Hall explained, "By those who have lived among these Indians for a number of years, the manner in which they have gone to work this year is pronounced remarkable, as all but three or four able bodied

were among them have taken steps towards establishing farms, and but for the dry season would have made a fine showing."<sup>79</sup>

These Indian farms were primarily located along the river banks of the reservation. The Kiowas lived in the western part of the reservation along Elk and Rainy Mountain Creeks, while the Apaches were in the central portion on and near the Cache Creek. The Comanches resided generally southeast of the agency on the Little Washita and also near the base of the Wichita Mountains, southwest of Fort Sill.<sup>80</sup>

The agent at the Kiowa Agency prior to 1886 had been relatively free to pursue those measures which he felt would lead his charges to self-support. Commissioner Atkins in March of 1886 informed Agent Hall very precisely as to the procedure the agent was to follow that spring.

The season being nearly at hand for spring farm work to commence, you should devote your close personal attention to the timely and careful preparation of your Indians for plowing, sowing, planting, etc., which you must follow up by watching that they have the necessary tools, know how to use them and actually do properly cultivate and care for what they plant, as without this and the proper preparation of the ground in the beginning, nothing but failure and discouragement need be expected. To do this, you and your farmer and any other employes, who can be spared from their regular

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<sup>79</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 26, 1886, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>80</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 18, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 28, pp. 254-57, KIA, ID, OHS.

duties, would go amongst the Indians every day and hour from the time work commences, until the crops are saved, working with first one, then another, showing them how to direct their energies so that they may not expend them unprofitably, and by personal example, that you do not consider it degrading to honestly labor with your own hands for independence, and also that you are in earnest when you tell them that they can support themselves and that the time has come when they must do so or starve.<sup>81</sup>

With these guidelines in mind, Agent Hall set out in 1886 to make as many of his Indians farm as possible. The agency farmer and additional farmer reported in April that there had been ten times more farm work done that spring than ever before. Many Indians built fences for new land to farm and "a large number" had enlarged their fields. The corn was already planted and much already coming up. The Kiowas were making more progress than was anticipated despite the opposition of Sun Boy. Many of the Comanches were "opening up farms" while those already with broken fields had planted their corn and were cultivating it. The farms worked by these Plains Indians varied from two to fifty acres.<sup>82</sup>

Agricultural progress was greatly hampered during April and May by the lack of rain. The oat and wheat crops were nearly destroyed, while the corn and cotton crops were also on the verge of ruin. The corn crop, Hall said, was in "fair condition to receive a rain, for the Indians have

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<sup>81</sup>Atkins to Hall, March 23, 1886, Indian Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>82</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 17, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, pp. 378-79, KIA, ID, OHS.

worked it well, and it is very clean, and if rain should come in say five or six days, we would yet make a fair crop. Their corn is from twelve inches to three feet high, and a good rain would almost make the crop." Hall commented that if the crops were destroyed by the drought the Indians would be greatly discouraged and probably not plant again for several years.<sup>83</sup> Finally on June 29, Hall happily reported, "The first good rain since the spring crops were planted altho not general, or half sufficient will save a portion of the corn crop in this immediate section." Despite this rain, the oat crop was an entire failure, but the wheat, he felt, would yield at least about half of "what it would under favorable circumstances."<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately, this rain did not continue and Hall was forced to declare on July 17 that the weather was the hottest he had ever felt. The reservation was extremely dry and the drought, according to Hall, was as severe as the one in 1874. The agent related, "The grass is drying up and would burn if fire were put to it. The corn is all drying up like fodder under the scorching winds and sun."<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 3, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, pp. 453-55, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>84</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 29, 1886, LR, NA.

<sup>85</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 17, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, pp. 32-33, KIA, ID, OHS.

Despite the crop failures, there was considerable progress. Commenting upon farming in general on the reservation in 1886, Hall wrote, "The Indians of every tribe on these two reservations have done more actual work in their fields with their own hands, split more rails, erected more fence this year than in the previous four years all put together." There were 230 farms scattered over an area of nearly 100 square miles.<sup>86</sup>

Another severe drought in 1887 once again hampered the farming activities on the Kiowa Reservation. Agent Hall declared in March, "Farming operations are progressing as fast as possible under the unfavorable condition of affairs, but I am afraid there is not moisture enough to start the seed to sprouting." Despite the lack of rain, there was more work being done by Indians than ever before. Many had already planted their fields.<sup>87</sup>

Hall remarked later, "The great drawback has been that we have had two successive years of drought, which to young Indian farmers would seem discouraging. However, few of them seem to be disheartened, but are asking for seed wheat every day, and all of the farmers are busy

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<sup>86</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 26, 1886, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>87</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 24, 1887, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, p. 234, KIA, ID, OHS.



assisting and teaching those who have the seed to plant it."<sup>88</sup>

The amount of land cultivated by the Indians in 1887 was greatly increased and, according to Agent Hall, "the Indians of all the tribes have shown a greater disposition to work, open farms, and are more thoroughly dispersed over the reservation in small settlements." Due to the drought, the yield from the crops was much less in proportion to the previous year. The actual yield by the Apaches, Kiowas, and Comanches amounted to 20,000 bushels of corn, 1,500 bushels of wheat, 40,000 melons, 3,500 pumpkins, and 900 tons of hay cut and stored. This yield was from 2,950 cultivated acres and the Indians had an additional 500 acres under fence which had been too late in the season to plant or raise a crop.<sup>89</sup>

In his annual report for 1887, the agent asked the Government to break 1,000 additional acres of land the following year and furnish more wire for fencing. These Indians were to also be given every encouragement to grow more wheat. Agent Hall's experience the past year showed "that wheat is much more certain as a crop on this reservation than the crops cultivated during the summer, except cotton, which stands almost any drought we are subject to." If enough wheat seed had been obtained early in the season,

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<sup>88</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1887, p. 82.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., pp. 80-82.

the agent believed the yield of wheat would have been five times as great. It was called to the Commissioner's attention that a few of the Indians on the reservation had a large amount of good seed wheat which Agent Hall suggested the Government purchase and furnish to those Indians who had no seed. "There is no market here for this surplus wheat," he explained, "and the Government should purchase at least 2,000 bushels, or a sufficient quantity to sow about 1,500 acres, so as to have at least one-third of their farms in wheat, leaving the rest of their lands for corn, melons, potatoes, etc." This increase in wheat production was predicated around the completion of the flour mill, the building and all the machinery being available but no person was competent to run it.<sup>90</sup> The mill became increasingly important as the Indians increased their acreage of wheat.

Reports required from the agency farmers revealed not only their activities but the agricultural attainments and needs of the Indians. Madera's reports for May through August of 1888 contained much about what was being done by and for the Indians. In May he assisted and instructed some twenty-five Indians on the reservation in farming. He also indicated the stock was in good shape, the agricultural implements were in good repair, and the Indians needed breaking plows. Madera concluded his report, "The crops

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<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

generally fairly cultivated and promise a fine yield of corn and wheat." Only seven Indians were assisted by the farmer during June because he spent sixteen days of the month at the agency headquarters. He primarily cut wheat at seven fields and instructed the Indians in the manner of cutting. He commented, "Have been engaged most of the month in putting up machines, aiding and instructing the Indians how to harness and handle their wheat." These Indians needed 1,000 bushels of seed wheat and 100 breaking plows. During the month of July, the farmer spent only six days in the field and assisted only two Indians. The remainder of July and all of August were spent at the agency headquarters. Madera spent August "stacking hay for the Agency."<sup>91</sup>

Acting Agent White summed up the progress made by Indians of the Kiowa Reservation in 1888, "Not only are these Indians now peaceable and friendly, but the majority of them are making earnest and encouraging endeavors to learn and follow industrial pursuits, educate their children, and build homes for themselves and their families like white men, and many of them with the most gratifying success." The agricultural season, he said, was very good and "the crops in every part of the reserve are excellent." It was estimated that the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache

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<sup>91</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Kiowa Agency, May-August, 1888, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Indians would raise 40,000 bushels of corn during the year. He remarked, "Persons long acquainted with these Indians believe they will raise more corn this year than in any three previous years."<sup>92</sup>

Four Indians on the Kiowa Reservation set examples in 1888 by their efforts at farming--Quanah Parker, Wild Horse, Sun Boy, and Zabile. Agent White said that Parker and Wild Horse "especially deserve congratulations and praise for the progress they are making in civilized pursuits." Parker had 150 acres in cultivation in 1888 and Wild Horse 80. The agent had been told that Sun Boy had "a farm near the Wichita Mountains, though I do not know the extent of it."<sup>93</sup> This is somewhat surprising since Sun Boy had strongly opposed farming only two years previously. Zabile, a Kiowa, forty-seven years of age with a wife and two children, lived on the Washita twenty-eight miles west of the agency. He had sixty acres in cultivation and owned thirty horses, six mules, twelve cattle, and some thirty hogs.<sup>94</sup>

An item of primary importance to agriculture on the Kiowa Reservation was a flour mill. Requested previously,

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<sup>92</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 18, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 28, pp. 254-57, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>93</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 6, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 26, pp. 280-81, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>94</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 28, p. 351, KIA, ID, OHS.

the mill was again mentioned in the agent's annual report for 1888. White explained that with a flouring mill at the agency, his Indians would raise thousands of bushels of wheat which could be "ground into flour for their own consumption, or for sale to the traders. Without a flouring mill, as we now are, their wheat crop is almost valueless to them. They can not sell it in the grain, nor have it ground into flour." This he said was most discouraging to the Indians. Regarding the flour mill "as one of the greatest needs of the agency," White recommended one be "purchased and sent here this fall."<sup>95</sup> In a letter to the Commissioner, August 30, White again pleaded for the flour mill saying he already had an excellent steam saw and corn mill at his agency.<sup>96</sup> Soon after W. D. Myers became permanent agent, replacing White the last of August,<sup>97</sup> Commissioner Atkins wrote him asking if his Indians would, in his opinion, raise a large enough crop of wheat to make the mill worth the expense.<sup>98</sup> Myers replied affirmatively, "This country seems to be more adapted to wheat and I am satisfied from what I have seen and heard of the Indians

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<sup>95</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 18, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 28, p. 257, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>96</sup>White to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 28, p. 301, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>97</sup>Upshaw to White, August 28, 1888, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>98</sup>Upshaw to Myers, September 20, 1888, Finance, Vol. 140, p. 436, LS, NA.

since I have been here; that if we had a flouring mill at the agency they would raise several thousand bushels of wheat annually."<sup>99</sup>

In accordance to the Government's objective of making the Indian self-supporting, Hall offered in 1886 some valid arguments for continuing to encourage stock raising by these Indians. The 3,000 Kiowa and Comanche Indians each had an average of nearly two head of cattle. The agent suggested continuing to allow ranchers to hold cattle on the reservation for grazing purposes at the previous price of six cents per acre. This would provide these Indians with \$40,000 each year for the grass of the southern and western parts of the reserve. If this money was used to purchase cattle each year and distributed equally among the Indians, each Indian at the end of three years would have an average of six head plus the natural increase of their own. Hall declared,

Under this presumption, and the Indians being compelled to hold and retain their cattle, with reasonable success in doing so, it would seem to be obvious that, after the first year, a reduction of their supply of beef could be commenced by the Department and at the expiration of the third year the supply of beef derived from their own resources would be largely in excess of this demand. . . .

The Comanches, Hall thought, would especially make good this plan since they were "more thrifty, industrious and

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<sup>99</sup>Myers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 6, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 28, pp. 401-02, KIA, ID, OHS.

careful of their interests and stock."<sup>100</sup> Agent Hall emphasized that stock raising was "one branch of industry with which the Indian is naturally familiar, and in which they can be taught very little by the whites." If this plan of investing the lease money in heifers was tried, it would not be long, Hall felt, before "their whole reservation will be occupied by their own cattle and they would be the richest Indians on the continent if not the wealthiest people in proportion to their numbers."<sup>101</sup>

To protect Indian cattle, a roundup was held by Hall in the spring to remove from the reserve all cattle not belonging to the Indians.<sup>102</sup> Government stock was rounded up in June with experienced cowboys hired to help the regular herders. These cowboys were also to work these herds until Hall could issue them to the Indians. This extra help was hired, according to Hall, because "the Indians are worthless in handling stock."<sup>103</sup> Shortly after that, all the cows of the Government stock cattle were issued to the Indians.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 4, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, pp. 273-75, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>101</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 26, 1886, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>102</sup>Atkins to Hall, April 26, 1886, Land, Vol. 74, pp. 269-70, LS, NA.

<sup>103</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 2, 1886, LR, NA.

<sup>104</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 15, 1886, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 21, p. 458, KIA, ID, OHS.

The stock held by each tribe was summarized in the 1886 annual report (see Table 2). Hall commented, "They naturally understand looking after cattle and horses as it is done in this western country, and their herds are on the increase." Of the 525 cattle listed for the Kiowas, 250 had been recently issued by the Government.<sup>105</sup>

TABLE 2  
LIVESTOCK ON KIOWA RESERVATION, 1886

	Kiowas	Comanches	Apaches
Horses	2,550	3,800	650
Cattle	525	3,087	75
Hogs	-	350	10
Fowl	1,000	1,500	50

Not as much was mentioned of the Indians' efforts at stock raising during 1887 but these Plains tribes increased their total number of cattle from 3,678 to some 4,500 head. This did not include the 250 young cows the cattlemen paid them for grazing on their reservation. In addition, they had 7,200 head of horses, 3,000 domestic fowls, and 1,800 hogs, the latter was said to be an increase of 30 percent over the previous year.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>105</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 26, 1886, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>106</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1887, pp. 80-82.



The Government's position on the leasing of Indian grazing lands was spelled out in February, 1887, by Commissioner Atkins. In response to a complaint about a portion of their reservation occupied by "cattle herds belonging to Texans," the Commissioner explained that his Office had never encouraged the Indians to lease their lands nor approved any agreements. "Whatever arrangements were made, this Office," he declared, "had nothing to do with them." He did say that since a large number of cattle were on the reservation, a fair compensation of one dollar per head should be collected by the agent from the owners of the herds. He continued,

Now that the cattle are on the reserve it would be a great hardship to remove them during the winter; but if in the spring the Indians decide that the presence of those herds on the reservation is not agreeable to them and they so declare in open council, I will recommend to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior that the cattle be removed.<sup>107</sup>

The question also arose of what to do with this grass money. The Indians wanted, according to Agent Hall, half in money and half in cattle. The cattle bought, Hall said, "should be purchased and put on the range in spring or early summer in order that they may become fat before the winter." The money, he said, was generally put by the Indians "to very good advantage in wagons--buggies, saddles,

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<sup>107</sup> Atkins to Lone Wolf and Jake, Chiefs of the Kiowas and Caddoes, February 16, 1887, Federal Relations File, KIA, ID, OHS.

etc."<sup>108</sup> The following year these three tribes indicated they wished all the grass payments made in money instead of half cattle and half money as it was done previously.<sup>109</sup>

The Government's continued policy of making the Indian a farmer or rancher was reflected in a letter to the chiefs of these tribes in 1888 who had visited Washington. Commissioner Atkins urged them emphatically to give up their old ways and take up agricultural pursuits.

The only way to live, even on a reservation, is by farming and stock raising. An Indian would be very foolish to suppose that the Government will always feed him with rations when white people and black people and all others, except Indians, must work for what they eat. . . . The Indian can no longer use land in the old Indian way--for hunting--and if he does not use it in the white man's way--for farming and herding--it will be useless and when the white man who has no land of his own, (and many white men have none) sees land lying idle that he could put to good use, he wants it. The surest way for the Indian to hold his land is to cultivate it--to raise crops and graze cattle and make his living off it.<sup>110</sup>

Agricultural activities occurred at the Kiowa Boarding School located a mile west of the agency offices. Both the Wichita and Kiowa schools had a total of 135 acres cultivated in 1886, an increase of eighty-five acres over the previous year. Sixty of the 135 acres were sown in

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<sup>108</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 31, 1887, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, p. 242, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>109</sup>White to J. P. Addington, Henrietta, Texas, May 22, 1888, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 26, p. 419, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>110</sup>Atkins to Lone Wolf (Kiowa), Tabananaka (Comanche), White Bread (Caddo), and Pinchaw (Seminole), February 11, 1888, Allotment File, KIA, ID, OHS.

oats but this crop was a total failure. Thirty additional acres were sown twice in millet and were likewise a failure. The forty-five acres of corn were to make about one-half a crop or about 1,000 bushels. Eighty tons of hay were cut and stored, it was enough to carry them "through the winter without additional expense."<sup>111</sup> Poultry and hogs were also purchased for the Indian schools and pens and yards were made to hold them.<sup>112</sup>

In explaining the Boarding School's curriculum, Agent Hall remarked in 1887, "The boys are taught the care of stock and farming; the girls are taught cooking, sewing, knitting, and house-cleaning."<sup>113</sup> The school was not as successful in 1887 as it had been the preceding year. Students, numbering 115, helped work the school farm which contained ninety-five acres. This land produced 127 bushels of wheat, 600 bushels of corn, 15 bushels of potatoes, and 21 tons of hay. No vegetables or melons were grown. Since the Comanches still refused to send but a few of their children to the Kiowa School, Agent Hall

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<sup>111</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 26, 1886, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>112</sup>Upshaw to Hall, November 13, 1886, Education, Vol. 6, p. 290, LS, NA.

<sup>113</sup>Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 3, 1887, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 24, p. 288, KIA, ID, OHS.

urged the establishment of one for them near Fort Sill as soon as possible.<sup>114</sup>

Besides this boarding school, a small number of Indian children of these three tribes were taught agriculture while attending schools off the reservation, such as Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, and Chilocco in Indian Territory. Farming, stock raising, and various industrial jobs were taught these Indian children.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1887,  
pp. 82-83.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., pp. 238-39, 257-59, 414-15.

## CHAPTER VI

### AGRICULTURE DURING THE PERIOD OF ADMINISTRATIVE INSTABILITY ON THE KIOWA RESERVATION, 1889-1894

Federal Indian policy for the years 1889 through 1894 was directed toward an increased application of the Dawes Act. Agriculture remained the door through which the Indian Service was pushing the Red Man into the confines of civilization. Thomas J. Morgan, on becoming Commissioner in June, 1889, declared that the reservation system must soon cease and the Indians should be assimilated into the American way of life. For them to survive, the Indians had to "conform to 'the white man's ways,' . . . or be crushed by it."<sup>1</sup> Commissioner Morgan also stated precisely what the Government was striving to do, "It has become the settled policy of the Government to break up reservations, destroy tribal relations, settle Indians upon their own homesteads, incorporate them into the national life, and deal with them not as nations or tribes or bands, but as individual citizens. The American Indian is to become the Indian American."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1889, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1890, p. VI.

In expecting the Indian to make a living by agriculture, the Commissioner saw the need for him to be put on land which was adapted to farming rather than left on the Plains or in the Mountains. "If the forces of nature are too strong for them to cope with single-handed," Morgan reiterated in 1891, "then they should have such assistance from the Government as will enable them to succeed."<sup>3</sup>

This policy of assimilation was administered on the Kiowa Reservation in the six years beginning in 1889 by six consecutive agents. William D. Myers was appointed agent in August, 1888,<sup>4</sup> but served only eleven months due to the change in political parties on the national level. Agent Myers was extremely critical of being replaced because it took him close to a year to become familiar with the position. Also the new Commissioner, Morgan, was to visit the Indians of this reservation and it would be difficult for a new agent to "become acquainted with his Indians, or Reservation, in time to render either the Government, or Commissioner, any assistance in this very important undertaking."<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, Charles E. Adams was appointed agent

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1891, pp. 3-9.

<sup>4</sup>Upshaw to White, August 28, 1888, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>5</sup>Myers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 14, 1889, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 31, pp. 242-43, KIA, ID, OHS.

September 9, 1889.<sup>6</sup> Acting Secretary of Interior, George Chandler, wrote Adams the same day explaining the importance of his post.

I am directed by the President to inform you that the Office to which you are appointed is considered one of far more than ordinary importance, both for the interests of the government and of the Indians who will be brought under your charge and direction . . . that the education and proper training of the Indian children and the agricultural and other industrial pursuits of the adult Indians must receive your constant and careful attention, to the end that they may be advanced in the ways of civilization, and to the condition of self support. . . .

Adams served as agent just over a year, being relieved in November, 1891, by George D. Day. Upon this appointment, Acting Secretary of the Interior, Chandler, wrote Day the same letter he sent Adams telling of the "unusual importance" of his job.<sup>8</sup>

The Indians of the Kiowa Reservation had three different agents directing them in farming in the year 1893. President Grover Cleveland informed Agent Day in June that he had been removed from the office of Agent at the Kiowa Agency and a United States Army officer was to take his place.<sup>9</sup> This appointment was in accordance with an Indian

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<sup>6</sup>Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan to Charles E. Adams, September 9, 1889, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>7</sup>Acting Secretary of Interior George Chandler to Adams, September 9, 1889, Federal Relations File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>8</sup>Chandler to George D. Day, November 18, 1891, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>9</sup>President Grover Cleveland to Day, June 16, 1893, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Appropriation bill passed on July 13, 1892, which instructed the Commissioner to select Army officers "to act as Indian agents at all agencies where vacancies from any cause may hereafter occur, who, while acting as such agents, shall be under the orders and direction of the Secretary of the Interior."<sup>10</sup> Captain Hugh G. Brown served as Acting Agent of the Kiowa Agency until Lieutenant Maury Nichols was appointed on November 24, 1893.<sup>11</sup> Lieutenant Nichols, agent only ten months, was replaced by Acting Agent William H. Able.<sup>12</sup> Able managed the agency for two months until Captain F. D. Baldwin was appointed Acting Agent in November and brought stability to the position.<sup>13</sup>

During this period of administrative flow, the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation moved closer to the allotment of their lands in severalty when the Jerome Commission completed an agreement in October, 1892, at Fort Sill. Five chiefs allegedly represented the three Plains tribes. This Commission, sometimes referred to as the Cherokee Commission, was appointed in July, 1889, by President

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<sup>10</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1892,  
p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Commissioner Daniel M. Browning to Hugh G. Brown, November 24, 1893, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>12</sup> Indian inspector to Maury Nichols, October 2, 1894, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>13</sup> Browning to F. D. Baldwin, December 1, 1894, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.



Benjamin Harrison as authorized by the Springer Amendment to the Indian Appropriation Bill of 1889.<sup>14</sup>

The agreement provided for these three Plains tribes' title to the lands encompassed in their reservation "subject to the allotment of land in severalty to the individual members" of these tribes. Other articles included the major provisions which appeared in the Dawes Act of 1887, such as 160 acres were to go to each member of the three tribes over the age of eighteen. The agreement further stated that "the land in said reservation shall be classed as grain-growing and grazing land; and in making selection of lands to be allotted in severalty . . . each and every Indian, herein provided for, shall be required to take at least one-half in area, of his or her allotments, of grazing land." The selection of the allotments also were compelled to be made within ninety days from the time Congress ratified this agreement. In addition, the Government consented to pay these Indians \$2,000,000 for surrendering their land. The five Indians signing this agreement were Quanah Parker, White Man, Lone Wolf, Tabananaka, and Tauhau.<sup>15</sup> The Indians of the Kiowa

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<sup>14</sup>Arrell M. Gibson, Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries (Norman, Oklahoma: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1965), pp. 293, 299.

<sup>15</sup>Articles of Jerome Agreement, October 6, 1892, Allotment File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Reservation were permitted by the Commissioner to begin selecting their individual allotments.<sup>16</sup>

The size of each Indian allotment was questioned in 1893 by Agent Brown as he prepared to divide the land. Commissioner Daniel M. Browning, after summarizing the Treaty of 1867, the Dawes Act of 1887, and the amendment to the Dawes Act of 1892, stated that Kiowa and Comanche Indians would be entitled to allotments as follows: "To the head of a family 320 acres, and to each other Indian 80 acres of agricultural land or 160 acres of grazing land. If part of the allotment was agricultural and part grazing, he would be entitled to a double quantity for each 40 acre tract classed as grazing land."<sup>17</sup> A related question was that of whether or not these Indians could select, as their allotments, mineral lands in the Wichita Mountains. It was explained that the general allotment act of 1887 made clear that only grazing and grain-growing lands were to be allotted to Indians with the only exception being that if improvements had been made on this land prior to the date of the Dawes Act, then they could keep these lands.<sup>18</sup>

The Jerome Agreement of 1892 was submitted to Congress in 1894, prompting an outburst of Indian opposition.

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<sup>16</sup>Morgan to Day, October 24, 1892, Indian House File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>17</sup>Browning to Brown, November 8, 1893, Allotment File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>18</sup>Browning to Brown, October 16, 1893, Allotment File, KIA, ID, OHS.

A letter calling the agreement a fraud was sent to the Senate March 1, 1894. It contained the signatures of the adult male members of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes. Calling themselves Memorialists, these Plains Indians claimed the 456 Indians who allegedly signed the Jerome Agreement did so under fraud and coercion. The Memorialists explained they, themselves, were "peacefully occupying the lands awarded them under said Medicine Lodge Treaty, engaged in farming and stock-raising, earnestly striving to better their condition and get into 'the white man's road,' and not coveting a change in their environments or a sale of their possessions." To be valid, the agreement, according to the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867, needed a three-fourth's majority of the adult males. The claim was made that a large number of those signing the agreement were whites while many other signatures were gained through fraud, deception, and force. These Memorialists requested Congress to cancel the Jerome Agreement instead of approving it.<sup>19</sup>

Simultaneously a similar protest by these Memorialists was sent to the House of Representatives Committee on Indian Affairs. In the letter, these Indians said they had seen the evil effects of the opening of Indian lands to settlement through the troubles of the Cheyennes and

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<sup>19</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian Reservation, 53rd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1894, Senate Mis. Doc. 102, pp. 1-9.

Arapahoes. "We are poor, ignorant, helpless and dependent people," they cried, "but we are endeavoring to improve with all our power, and we pray that the Congress of the United States will not take advantage of the fraud committed upon us by its former Agent, but will return said fraudulent paper to us without action. . . ." <sup>20</sup> A member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Mr. C. C. Painter, visited these Indians and reported emphatically that it was certain they were "outrageously defrauded." <sup>21</sup>

During this time of deciding whether or not the Dawes Act should apply to these tribes, the Government continued to promote its agricultural policy by furnishing agricultural supplies to deserving Indians. Field seeds for spring planting each year between 1889 and 1894 were especially helpful. Seed oats were requested and authorized in quantities of usually 500 bushels with the exceptions of 1,110 bushels in 1889 and only 75 bushels in 1890. The issue to Indians of seed corn doubled during this period averaging about 300 bushels per year. Millet seed was also provided each year, usually in quantities of 200 bushels with the exception of 1890 when only 3 bushels were issued. With the flour mill completed in 1889, the agent encouraged

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<sup>20</sup> Memorialists to Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, March 1, 1894, Federal Relations File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>21</sup> Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1894,  
p. 36.

the Indians to grow wheat.<sup>22</sup> Potatoes varied from 100 bushels to 435 bushels each year and other field seeds furnished in small quantities were alfalfa, wheat, sorghum, and various garden vegetables<sup>23</sup> (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

## FIELD SEEDS FURNISHED THE KIOWA AGENCY, 1889-1894

Seeds in Bushels	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894
Oats	1,110	75	655	485	500*	500*
Millet	200	3	215	160	200*	200*
Corn	200	150	330	250*	325*	400*
Potatoes	100	280	435	328	100*	100*
Alfalfa	-	5	8	-	-	10*
Wheat	-	-	40	300*	-	-
Sorghum	-	-	26	-	-	-

\*Requested.

The fact that these seeds arrived at the agency too late was a repeated occurrence. Agent Myers in February,

<sup>22</sup>Myers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 8, 1889, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 31, pp. 137-38, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>23</sup>Secretary of Interior William F. Vilas to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 3, 1889, LR, NA, MC.; Morgan to Adams, January 4, 1890, Finance, Vol. 149, p. 295, LS, NA.; Secretary of Interior John W. Noble to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 12, 1890, LR, NA, MC.; Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 13, 1891, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 36, p. 81, KIA, ID, OHS.; Day to Frederick W. Bartelders, Kansas City, Kansas, March 16, 1892, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 39, p. 150, KIA, ID, OHS.; Day to

1889, informed the Commissioner that field seeds were needed as soon as possible because "many of the Indians have their land now prepared for sowing the Oats and they are here asking for them every day." The agent explained to the Commissioner that in this part of the country with drought and hot winds the earlier the planting the better.<sup>24</sup> The seed oats finally arrived but "so late that a failure in the crop could be predicted with a certainty before they were planted."<sup>25</sup> The seed corn was also received too late to plant. New agent Charles Adams found in October the 150 bushels of corn plus 140 bushels of cotton seed damaged to the degree of not being able to be planted. It was suggested that these seeds be used to feed agency stock.<sup>26</sup> The year 1891 was no different. The oats arrived a week too late; consequently, all but a small quantity of these seeds were stored for use in the following year's planting. A few Indians willing to take the risk planted a small amount and Adams explained, "Every body has a different idea about such things, and it may be that those who planted this

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Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 8, 1893, LR, NA.;  
Brown to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 22, 1894,  
LR, NA.

<sup>24</sup>Myers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 14, 1889, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 29, pp. 206-07, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>25</sup>Myers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 27, 1889, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>26</sup>Morgan to Adams, October 29, 1889, Accounts, Vol. 106, pp. 6-7, LS, NA.

season will have a fair crop, though they did go in late."<sup>27</sup> At the close of the year, 540 bushels of these seed oats were left unfit for planting in the coming spring. These seeds were also recommended for feeding to agency stock.<sup>28</sup>

Agricultural implements issued to these Plains Indians consisted mostly of plows, sets of harness, harrows, cultivators, and wire and staples to enclose their farms. The quantity of these materials were generally insufficient to meet their needs. Adams remarked after the farming season in 1890, "It seems unfortunate that more farming implements cannot be sent to this reservation. It was exceedingly hard to divide 115 plows among the 300 odd Indians who declared they wanted to use them."<sup>29</sup> The agent was likewise criticized for not insuring that the agricultural implements provided were fully utilized. An inspector who visited the agency said these supplies were issued in a very "loose manner." The agent answered this charge saying, "As we have but two regular farmers, you can readily see how impossible it is for them to know what an Indian does with an agricultural implement that he may receive. There are a

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<sup>27</sup>Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 29, 1891, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 36, p. 126, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>28</sup>Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 26, 1891, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 38, pp. 10-11, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>29</sup>Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1890, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 33, p. 443, KIA, ID, OHS.

great many Kiowas living close to the Texas line and I have no doubt but that some of the hoes, axes, rakes, etc., issued to these Indians, are taken over into Texas and sold."<sup>30</sup> Adams, the following year broke with the usual custom of issuing implements to the chiefs of the various tribes. He attempted "to favor the young men who seemed anxious to make homes for themselves."<sup>31</sup>

An idea of the number of each of these implements supplied the Indian can be gained from the reports for 1891, 1892, and 1894<sup>32</sup> (see Table 4).

TABLE 4  
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND SUPPLIES  
ON THE KIOWA RESERVATION

1891	1892	1894
20 plows	175 plows	139 plows
36 sets of harness	125 sets of harness	175 sets of harness
19 cultivators	-	22 cultivators
36 harrows	-	2 harrows

<sup>30</sup>Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 8, 1890, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 32, pp. 157-58, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>31</sup>Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 20, 1891, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 36, p. 352, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>32</sup>T. O'Connell, Jr., storekeeper at the Kiowa Agency, to Adams, February and March, 1891, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 34, p. 190, KIA, ID, OHS.; Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 11, 1892, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 39,



An increasing awareness of the need to have qualified farmers to instruct the Indian was also apparent in these years. In the Indian Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1889-90, Congress instructed that no person be hired as farmer who had not had at least five years previously been engaged in the occupation of farming. The Commissioner sent out a circular in August to all Indian Agents explaining that the purpose of Congress in attaching this condition to the appropriation "was to insure greater advance in farming among the Indians, not only by securing men who are successful farmers themselves, but who are able to incite a desire for farming among the Indians, and to teach and direct them in the work." Although Congress only required this condition for additional farmers, Commissioner Morgan declared that it applied to "all persons employed as farmers in the service, and not only to those to be appointed, but also to all now so employed."

To further insure that the farm instructors were qualified agriculturalists, the Indian Service required the agents to report what area each applicant previously farmed, whether or not he had "a full knowledge of the proper use and care of modern agricultural implements and machinery," and a thorough understanding of "the peculiarities of the soil, seasons, etc., in your locality" indicated from "his

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p. 105, KIA, ID, OHS.; Nichols to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 29, 1894, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 40, p. 188, KIA, ID, OHS.

selection of farm sites, seeds, time and manner of planting, cultivating, reaping, etc." The Indian Office also wanted to know if

. . . he at all times since his appointment faithfully endeavored to discharge his duty by striving to interest the Indians in farm work; in the care of their crops; of stock and their increase, especially brood mares; in the care of their farming implements, both when in use and when not in use; and in that general good management, husbandry, and foresight indispensable to successful farming?

Other questions concerned the marital status, the temperament, and the moral character of the farmer. Finally, the agent was asked to give some of the results of the farmers' work with the Indians, reporting if he had "succeeded in establishing farming among his Indians on a paying basis, and if not, what is the cause of failure?"<sup>33</sup>

Commissioner Morgan informed Agent Adams in December, 1889, of several recommendations which an inspector had made concerning instructing the Indian in farming. It was recommended that cabins should be constructed for the agency farmers at the headquarters of each of the farming districts. The farmers, thus, would be required to live with the Indians. Day schools were also recommended to be established close to the farmers' homes. It was advised that two such farming stations, with day schools, be

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<sup>33</sup>Morgan to Myers, August 14, 1889, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

established as soon as feasible.<sup>34</sup> This idea was to be used throughout the Indian Service. A station was to be set up among a group of Indians on various parts of the reservation, with the agent visiting it once a month. The system currently in use, emphasized Commissioner Morgan, wasted the money paid agency farmers and additional farmers in most cases because these farmers "spend most of their time at the Agency where their families are, or on the road going to or coming from some distant point on the reservation."<sup>35</sup>

In an effort to also improve the farm instruction, the Commissioner directed the various agents once again to "require from every farmer employed by the Government a monthly statement as to his work." On blanks furnished by the Department of Indian Affairs, the farmers were to report monthly such information as the number of days spent in the field, the number of Indians instructed, the number of Indians beginning to farm, the number of acres plowed and planted, the condition of stock and agricultural implements, and the immediate needs of the Indians.<sup>36</sup>

Throughout most of the period from 1889 to 1894, one farmer and two or three assistant farmers were hired to

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<sup>34</sup>Morgan to Adams, December 13, 1889, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>35</sup>Morgan to Secretary of Interior, March 3, 1890, Federal Relations File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>36</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890,  
p. XCV.

instruct the Plains Indians on the Kiowa Reservation. George Madera continued to serve as additional farmer, stationed with his assistant farmers near Fort Sill. Madera was given the responsibility of directing the farming operations in the vicinity of the fort. This area was known as the Fort Sill Farming District. The assistant farmers spent most of their time in the field working with the Indians at their individual farms and were hired only when they were actually needed.<sup>37</sup> Madera was replaced December 26, 1894, for neglect of duty,<sup>38</sup> and John D. Hardin took his place.<sup>39</sup> A second farming district was formed in the northwest sector of the reserve, September 20, 1894, when Martin Long became the first farmer of the Rainy Mountain District.<sup>40</sup>

The success of the agricultural policy on the Kiowa Reservation during this period was indicated in the various reports made by both the agents and the district farmers. Agent Myers concluded in 1889 that about one-half of the adult male Indians under his agency, were "very prosperous

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<sup>37</sup>Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 29, 1891, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 36, pp. 127-28, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>38</sup>Baldwin to Madera, December 26, 1894, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 43, p. 176, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>39</sup>Browning to Baldwin, December 29, 1894, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>40</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1894, p. 555.

farmers in a small way." He also mentioned the fact that many "strong able-bodied men" of the Plains tribes were still greatly adverse to tilling the soil. "It will require stronger 'Medicine,'" the agent declared, "than has yet been administered to induce them to make this effort toward self support." Accordingly, Myers stated that every male twenty years or older was to have his rations cut off if he did not plant and cultivate ten acres of corn, wheat, or oats the spring of 1890. Future rations would then depend on whether he added at least five acres each year to his farm until he was cultivating 160 acres. This plan was to "soon make these people independent; and instead of continuing as beggars, they will soon become the producers of, not only enough to supply their own necessities, but will have a surplus to sell." Largely because of good weather, it was estimated that those farming during the year would be rewarded by "splendid crops" of corn and millet.<sup>41</sup>

Despite a season of drought the following year, many new farms were opened by these Plains Indians.<sup>42</sup> Agent Adams reported in February,

Nearly every Indian on this reservation has a piece of land under cultivation and these patches of cultivated land are to be found with . . . regularity all over the reserve and the distance between each will vary from one to five miles. During the summer months the

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<sup>41</sup>Myers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 27, 1889, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>42</sup>Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1890, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 33, p. 438, KIA, ID, OHS.

Indians will erect their tepees on or very near to, their farms, and in winter, or during the colder months, they will settle on the banks of the various streams. . . .<sup>43</sup>

By the middle of March, the Indians had commenced to break their land and plant seeds in preparation of this season's crops.<sup>44</sup>

A report on all Indians who farmed during the year ending June 30, 1890, was made by the farm instructors of the Kiowa Reservation. It indicates that the agent overestimated when he said "nearly every Indian" cultivated land. But the size of each farm and the various types of crops raised do show the progress made. Approximately 285 Indian farms containing some 4,720 acres were identified. This land included that cultivated, broken, and unbroken. The average farm contained ten to fifteen acres, all in corn, except a few acres of garden vegetables and melons. Sixty-four of these Indians had farms of at least twenty acres and eight were working over fifty acres. One Indian, for example, controlled seventy-five acres in which thirty acres were in corn and two in garden. Another had eighty acres in cultivation and also worked 100 acres of another Indian's farm.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 3, 1890, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 32, pp. 219-20, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>44</sup> Adams to Guy S. Cappock, Superintendent of the Chilocco School, Indian Territory, March 17, 1890, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 32, p. 386, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>45</sup> Kiowa Agency Farmers to Adams, June 28, 1890, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

The Indians on the Kiowa Reservation had a good harvest in 1891 despite many of their crops being destroyed by high water.<sup>46</sup> Madera, the additional farmer at Fort Sill, visited in March the Indians under his charge and found them all at work. Most were through with their plowing and waiting for seed corn. The farmer reported to the agent, "They have made some gardens and seem to be in good spirits. I told all of them you would send there seed corn down to me as soon as it come."<sup>47</sup> An assistant farmer, William L. Wyatt, visited eighty-four Indian farms on the Kiowa Reservation between January and June of 1891. He discovered fourteen Apaches operating farms containing a total of seventy-three acres of corn. Four of these farms were new, two of which contained six and eight acres fenced but unbroken because of the need for harness and plows. Forty-seven Comanche farms comprised 557 acres of corn and 42 acres of small grain and grass such as alfalfa and millet. One Comanche farmer raised six acres of cotton in addition to his thirty-five acres of corn and five acres of grain. The Comanches had four new farms with ten acres of broken land and sixty-four acres of unbroken but fenced land. There were 293 acres of corn and 40 acres of small

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<sup>46</sup>Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 20, 1891, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 36, pp. 351-52, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>47</sup>Madera to Adams, March 31, 1891, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

grain and grass grown by twenty Kiowas. By far the most productive farmer listed was Laure Donmoe who possessed 150 acres of corn and 35 acres of small grain or grass. This Kiowa widow had the assistance of a white farmer whom the Government permitted her to hire in 1890. Four Kiowas opened for the first time farms containing thirty-six acres. Wyatt's totals for all the Indian farms he visited were 928 acres of corn, 6 acres of cotton, and 83½ acres of small grain. The assistant farmer also mentioned these Indians' gardens were "first class."<sup>48</sup>

The agency farmers, working on both the Kiowa and Wichita Reservations, submitted a joint agricultural report on June 30, 1891. They declared, "There has been a greater number of acres of new land broken and cultivated this year than for a number of years past." Many of the Indian farmers were urged to grow small grain and grass with good success in most instances. Speaking of the crops raised, the report proclaimed:

Millet made a fine yield, cotton looks well, and we are satisfied quite a large number will plant next year. Those who sowed alfalfa have succeeded in getting a good start for the first year, this is a grass we are told, which was never experimented with by Indians on this reservation before, and those who are successful enough to get a good stand of this grass, will realize more money per acre for the hay, than for any other crop they can grow. The oats, as you are aware, did not reach the agency in time to sow them, and consequently very few were issued.

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<sup>48</sup>Wyatt to Adams, July 1, 1891, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.; Laure Donmoe to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1890, LR, NA.; Morgan to Adams, April 23, 1890, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.



In addition, the garden vegetables were doing well with the Indians taking good care of them. The number of acres in corn increased over the previous year and looked like an abundant yield.<sup>49</sup> Agent Adams summed up these Indians' agricultural efforts in his 1891 annual report. "Many new farms have been opened up, and many of the Nation's wards have had gardens with a variety of vegetables, and good healthy looking crops of corn and other produce, as the result of their labor."<sup>50</sup>

The agricultural potential of the Kiowa Reservation was given attention in 1892. Agent Day observed, "The soil is well adapted to small grain. The season being propitious, but from information gathered two out of five years have proven total failures, on account of insufficient moisture and the prevalence of warm southerly winds."<sup>51</sup> The crops able to be grown in abundance on this land were corn, oats, wheat, potatoes, and garden vegetables.<sup>52</sup> The best areas for farming were along the valleys with the greater part of the reservation adapted more to stock raising.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Farmers' Report to Adams, June 30, 1891, Breaking of Land File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>50</sup>Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 20, 1891, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 36, pp. 351-52, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>51</sup>Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 24, 1892, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 38, p. 279, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>52</sup>Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 25, 1892, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 38, pp. 282-83, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>53</sup>Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1892, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

The results of farming were not as rewarding in 1892 as the agent had anticipated. There was no increase in acreage, but the small grain and corn planted did well while the vegetables raised could be only called an average crop. Evaluating the three Plains tribes' farming in 1892, Agent Day stated,

The Comanches are raising corn, oats, and vegetables quite extensively. The Apaches [,] while few in number [,] are doing fairly well. Some of them having good crop[s]. The Kiowa, are more backward in agricultural pursuits up to the present time than any other of the tribes. But, from present indications, I think they will soon be the foremost tribe of this reservation.<sup>54</sup>

With the position of agent changing three different times in 1893, no indication of farming activities was given.

An innovation on the Kiowa Reservation was the division of the reserve into farming districts. Agent Brown devised the plan during his short tenure as agent, but it was Lieutenant Maury Nichols who divided the reservation into several districts by establishing the Rainy Mountain District in September, 1874.<sup>55</sup> In defense of this plan, Nichols explained that many Indians lived from sixty to seventy miles from the agency office and a majority were far enough removed to be beyond the agent's direct control. "This state of affairs can be remedied," Agent Nichols pointed out, "by dividing the reservation into districts

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Investigation of Affairs at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian Reservation, 55th Cong., 1st Sess., 1897, Senate Doc. 34, pp. 188-89.

and putting a good farmer in charge of each district with a policeman or two to assist him." The farmer's job would be "to advise and assist the Indians in the management of their farms and stock and keep his district clear of intruders advising the agent of the advancement of the Indians and in short--keep the agent posted at all times as to the affairs of his district." His plan called for two farming districts on the Kiowa Reservation. One was already established near Fort Sill with a farmer in charge and was "working most satisfactorily in every respect." The other was located forty miles west of the agency in the Rainy Mountain area. Houses were to be furnished each of the farmers of the two districts. Agent Nichols was confident that with this division of the reservation the Indian could be induced into working and made to be self-supporting.<sup>56</sup> The Indian Service liked this idea and authorized construction of the two farmers' dwellings in the appropriate districts.<sup>57</sup> The Commissioner asked the special agent in charge of the Kiowa Reservation, William Able, in October if it would be of great benefit to establish also a small sub-issue station at the Rainy Mountain district.<sup>58</sup> Able

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<sup>56</sup>Nichols to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 5, 1894, LR, NA.

<sup>57</sup>Armstrong to Nichols, June 19, 1894, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>58</sup>Browning to William H. Able, Special Agent of Kiowa Agency, October 27, 1894, Accounts, Vol. 153, pp. 343-44, LS, NA.

informed him that it would be. The 800 Indians living in the vicinity of Rainy Mountain had in the past traveled forty to sixty miles for their rations. Able asserted, "The issues of this Agency are made twice a month and the Rainy Mountain Indians can not accomplish much in the way of farming or any other work if they make a trip twice a month to the Agency."<sup>59</sup>

Farming activities of the Indians were reported monthly in 1894 by the farmers of the Fort Sill and Rainy Mountain Districts. On the Fort Sill district in September and August, Madera assisted and instructed a total of 283 Indians, four of whom farmed for the first time. Four hundred bushels of grain were stored, sold, or sent to the mill in August while seventy-five tons of hay were cut and saved. For that month Madera labeled the stock and agriculture--good--and indicated that the Indians needed twenty-five farm wagons and some jacks and heavy mules. In the September monthly report, Madera recorded about 2,500 bushels of corn stored, sold, or sent to the mill and 150 tons of hay cut and saved. Oats and corn were noted as being needed by the Indians for next spring's planting.<sup>60</sup>

The farmer at the new Rainy Mountain District, Martin F. Long, found that the Indians of this area of the

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<sup>59</sup>Able to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 1, 1894, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 44, p. 22, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>60</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Fort Sill District, August-September, 1894, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

reservation had never done any farming. He asserted, "There are some small patches of corn but I have not seen any that was worth anything and I find upon investigation that in nearly every instance these patches were worked by white men that live around the border of the reservation and have been allowed to come in and work with out being bothered." Concerning agricultural implements issued these Indians, Long remarked, "I find that a great many tools have been issued to or are in the possession of some families while others have nothing. I find lots of good implements that it is imposable to find the owners of without the assistance of an interpreter as but very few of the Kiowas will talk any English."<sup>61</sup> August was spent by the farmer working on his house and consequently little agricultural instruction was accomplished. Most of September was also spent finishing and moving into his house, but he did assist two Indians with their farming and three and one-half tons of hay were cut and saved on his district. Long spent fifteen days of October visiting the camps of 134 Indians, instructing or assisting 26 in farming. But by this time many had left their farms and "moved into winter quarters in the creek bottoms." Fixing, and preparing a fence for the district pasture took up part of Long's time in November. In all he spent fifteen days of the month

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<sup>61</sup>Long to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 7, 1894, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

in the field assisting fifty-six Indians, and 200 bushels of grain were stored, sold, or sent to the mill.<sup>65</sup>

As mentioned, some of the Indians on the Kiowa Reservation were permitted to hire a white man to assist them with their farming activities. These agricultural agreements were authorized by the Indian Office only under certain circumstances. Requests to hire white men occurred because previously the Government had ordered all unauthorized white men off of the Reservation. An example of the circumstances allowing such agreements was the Kiowa widow, Laura Donmoe, who had 160 acres under cultivation in 1890. She requested permission to hire a good white man to farm her place. "If a permission is not granted me," she pleaded, "I do not see, how I could escape poverty, and poverty means, for us educated Indians, go back to rations and blankets."<sup>66</sup> Feeling she was deserving, Commissioner Morgan granted this request.<sup>67</sup> With sixty-five acres in cultivation and wanting to increase this by at least twenty acres, a Comanche wished to have someone to assist him in order to enlarge his crop.<sup>68</sup> This request was likewise

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<sup>65</sup>Long to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Monthly Farm Report, August-November, 1894, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>66</sup>Laura Donmoe to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1890, LR, NA.

<sup>67</sup>Morgan to Adams, April 23, 1890, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>68</sup>Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 18, 1890, LR, NA.

granted.<sup>69</sup> Several other Indians in 1890 also were granted permission to hire white men to work their farms. This was but the beginning of this type of arrangement.

Knowing that such agreements usually caused trouble, Acting Commissioner R. V. Belt in 1891 instructed Adams to warn these Indians against such arrangements and to instruct them that permission to hire a white man would only be granted in "cases of necessity."<sup>70</sup> Applications for these agreements had to contain not only the "quantity of land to be cultivated" but also the efforts of the Indian "to secure competent Indians to do the work for which white labor is wanted."<sup>71</sup> In submitting a request by a Comanche chief to hire a white man to assist him farm his forty-eight acres of cultivated land, Adams explained the chief could "obtain no suitable Indian help owing to the fact that all Indians who are at all disposed to work have farms of their own that need attention at this season of the year."<sup>72</sup> Following applications by several other Indians, the Indian Office in March cautioned Adams that his hiring of white men was not sanctioned to permit the Indians to have someone

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<sup>69</sup>Acting Commissioner to Adams, November 5, 1890, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>70</sup>R. V. Belt to Adams, May 13, 1891, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>71</sup>Morgan to Adams, February 4, 1891, Labor Contracts File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>72</sup>Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 9, 1891, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 35, p. 453, KIA, ID, OHS.

to do their farming for them but "to assist them in working their farms so that by such labor a larger crop may be raised than could be by the labor of the Indian alone."<sup>73</sup>

The number of agricultural agreements permitted by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs increased in 1892. The Commissioner found it necessary to specify the following condition for granting such agreements: that the Indian making the request had more work than one man could do, the Indian was unable to work his own farm for various reasons, he could obtain no Indian help, the agreement extended for only one year, the white man was not permitted to keep his stock on the land, and the number of acres cultivated by the Indian had to be spelled out.<sup>74</sup> The latter condition revealed the progress Indian farming had made on the Kiowa Reservation. Koti, a Kiowa policeman, held a forty-acre farm twenty-five miles southwest of the agency headquarters. Half of the land was already cultivated while the other half he desired to break in the spring. A white man was authorized to assist him.<sup>75</sup> Mrs. E. L. Clark requested white help to work her 200 acres in cultivation and help with a herd of 300 cattle. Her request was rejected because

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<sup>73</sup>Acting Commissioner to Adams, March 30, 1891, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>74</sup>Morgan to Day, January 16, 1892, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>75</sup>Acting Commissioner Belt to Day, February 12, 1892, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.



she had a husband who could do the work.<sup>76</sup> A Kiowa, Pakantoquodle, was authorized to have white help to increase his farm on Medicine Bluff Creek from fifteen to twenty acres in addition to breaking his deceased brother's farm of twenty acres.<sup>77</sup> An Indian who had been crippled by a buffalo and had suffered injuries from wars, was granted permission to hire a farmer to increase his twenty acres to forty acres.<sup>78</sup> Chewanah, of the Comanche tribe, had twenty acres of cultivated land and wished to increase it by fifty acres and the Commissioner allowed a white man to be hired to assist him.<sup>79</sup>

These agreements, allowing white men to work on the Indians' farms, increased so rapidly that the agent suspected that they were obstructing the Indians' agricultural progress. Acting Agent Brown complained to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in August of 1893 that there were 500 or 600 of them farming Indians' land. Brown explained that the Indians were "anxious to get them to do what little

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<sup>76</sup>Mrs. E. L. Clark to Day, February 6, 1892, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.; Belt to Day, February 18, 1892, Land, Vol. 116, p. 123, LS, NA.

<sup>77</sup>Morgan to Day, February 15, 1892, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>78</sup>Morgan to Day, February 20, 1892, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>79</sup>Morgan to Day, March 8, 1892, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

work is done on their farms while they 'the Indians' lie around in idleness."<sup>80</sup>

As an alternative to farming, stock raising continued to be significant in the attempt to make the Plains Indians self-supporting. "I am strongly impressed with the belief," Commissioner Morgan stated in 1892, "that cattle-raising, if properly managed, will eventually be of very great benefit to the Indians, and that by many who are located upon unsuitable lands for agriculture it must be finally looked to as their main support."<sup>81</sup> This aptly expressed the situation existing on the Kiowa Reservation. Agent Day declared the principal occupation of the Kiowas was indeed stock raising but they moved from place to place instead of having a permanent pasture.<sup>82</sup> When 1,000 head of two-year heifers were requested in 1892 for the Indians of the Kiowa Agency who were "making a decided effort to advance themselves," the Commissioner, however, approved instead funds for building Indian homes.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Brown to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 7, 1893, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 40, pp. 34-35, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>81</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1892, p. 92.

<sup>82</sup> Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1892, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>83</sup> Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 29, 1892, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 38, p. 182, KIA, ID, OHS.; Belt to Day, May 24, 1892, Indian Houses File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Individual Indians of the Kiowa Agency gained additional stock in 1889 when Agent Myers divided the 300 head of stock cattle which had been purchased in the fall of 1887. Little attention had been paid to this herd and the animals were running loose over the reservation. "I can see no advantage," the agent declared, "to either the Government, or the Indians, in keeping up this herd of cattle." He requested authority to gather them up and distribute them to deserving Indians. This herd was originally purchased from Indian annuities.<sup>84</sup> Permission was granted<sup>85</sup> and only forty-four were rounded up. Half were used by the school and the remainder issued to the Indians under several conditions. First, they had to be given "to the most deserving and industrious only; requiring them to put up hay and shelter before winter; and to look after them daily to see that they are safe and well, and that they do not stray too far." The Commissioner also said these cattle had to be branded. The agent was held responsible for "the proper care and management of these cattle, after issue."<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>Myers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 15, 1889, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 29, pp. 364-65, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>85</sup>Acting Commissioner Belt to Myers, April 26, 1889, Accounts, Vol. 100, p. 390, LS, NA.

<sup>86</sup>Belt to Myers, June 15, 1889, Livestock File, KIA, ID, OHS.

The number of cattle held by these Indians in the early 1890's amounted to approximately 4,500. These cattle were owned by 175 Plains tribesmen with individual herds ranging from several cows to 425. Twenty-three Indians herded over fifty head. Quanah Parker, who had 100 acres of land in cultivation, controlled a pasture containing 425 cattle.<sup>87</sup> Assistant Farmer Wyatt's visit in 1891 to eighty-four Indian farms on the Kiowa Reservation gave additional information about the Indian stock raising. Wyatt found on the fourteen Apache farms eight cattle and six hogs. At 47 Comanche farms, he revealed 2,108 cattle and 547 hogs. A herd of 100 or more cattle were held by nine Comanches. Three Comanches raised over 100 hogs.<sup>88</sup> The same year the farmers' report for the Kiowa Reservation, June 30, 1891, read, "The increase in stock of all kinds has been large, especially so in hogs, as we have now nearly three times as many as last year."<sup>89</sup>

A portion of the Kiowa Reservation was also leased to cattlemen. Seven cattlemen had leased 1,187,654 of the nearly 3,000,000 acres on the reservation in 1890. An inspector from the Indian Office in Washington, after

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<sup>87</sup>Farmers, Kiowa Agency, to Adams, June 28, 1890, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>88</sup>Wyatt to Adams, July 1, 1891, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>89</sup>Farmers Report to Adams, June 30, 1891, Breaking of Land File, KIA, ID, OHS.

visiting the reserve in 1890, perceived that these Indians would not take lands in severalty while being able to receive money for leasing the unoccupied portions to cattlemen. He, therefore, recommended that the cattle be removed before the spring of 1890. Endorsing this report, Commissioner Morgan advised the Secretary of Interior, "The continuance of the system of occupation by white men of large areas of the best agricultural and grazing lands on the Indian reservations in the Indian Territory for cattle grazing purposes is in my opinion detrimental to the future welfare and best interests of the Indians whose lands are thus occupied." He felt this use of the Indians' lands kept many of the tribesmen "from selecting and locating upon tracts on which to begin the work of self-support by the cultivation of the soil or the use of it for pastoral purposes."<sup>90</sup> An executive order was thus issued directing these cattlemen to vacate the leased land. The order came two months before the semiannual payment; consequently, the Indians were not paid the \$33,000 due them because the cattlemen considered the lease broken. These leases, made some six years previously, were scheduled to terminate on January 21, 1891. If the President had waited to issue this order until that date, all the improvements made on the land

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<sup>90</sup>Morgan to Secretary of Interior, March 13, 1890, Land, Vol. 1, pp. 323, 328-29, 333-34, LS, NA.

by the cattlemen would have transferred to the Indians at an estimated gain of \$75,000.<sup>91</sup>

Authority was once again granted the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation to lease pasture land to cattlemen in 1892 following a visit to Washington by three Indians of the reservation. Five leases for one year only were made for 1,340,958 acres commencing April 1, 1892. The annual rental amounted to \$78,297.48. Five additional leases were made in September for an area of 500,000 acres.<sup>92</sup>

Twelve leases were approved on the Kiowa Reservation in 1893. Six, one-year leases totaling 250,580 acres and an annual rental of \$12,577.44 commenced on September 1, 1892, and were renewed for another year in September, 1893.<sup>93</sup> The five additional leases made on April 1, 1892, were renewed for 1893 at the same rental charge.<sup>94</sup> The twelfth lease was a 40,000-acre tract entered into in November, 1893.<sup>95</sup>

The children of these Plains Indians were instructed in agricultural methods again at the Kiowa Boarding School in the late nineteenth century. As one of the sixty-three

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<sup>91</sup>Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1890, p. 31.

<sup>92</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1892, p. 73.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 1893, p. 29.

<sup>94</sup>Browning to Brown, September 16, 1893, Land, Vol. 133, pp. 165-66, LS, NA.

<sup>95</sup>Browning to Brown, December 13, 1893, Land, Vol. 135, pp. 34-36, LS, NA.

Government boarding schools on reservations throughout the United States, the Kiowa School, emphasized agricultural instruction for its students. The school, in 1890, cultivated 65 acres on which 160 bushels of corn, 200 bushels of wheat, 205 bushels of vegetables, 600 pumpkins, and 500 melons were raised. Six tons of hay were also cut for the school stock.<sup>96</sup> The primary person instructing these students in the arts of agriculture was the industrial teacher. His job entailed, according to Agent Adams, "cultivating the school farm and garden, caring for the stock and implements, keeping the grounds in order, cutting wood and assisting in the care of the boys." He was also responsible "for the condition of crops, school stock, implements, grounds and behavior of boys in dormitories. He is not only energetic and a hard worker but is painstaking and successful in instructing the boys, who have lately prepared the ground and sowed seed for crops." Adams expressed the view that a farmer was needed to assist this industrial teacher in farm instruction.<sup>97</sup>

In 1890 Adams chose a place near Fort Sill where a second boarding school was to be established. One of the primary considerations in selecting a site was at a location

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<sup>96</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pp. 330-31, XI.

<sup>97</sup>Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 1, 1890, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 32, p. 433, KIA, ID, OHS.

where the children could be taught to farm. Agent Adams picked a valley of the Cache Creek where "a splendid farm for the industrial feature of the school could be made." This school for Comanche children opened in August, 1891, near Fort Sill.<sup>98</sup> Agent Adams requested sixty acres be broken for the school farm.<sup>99</sup>

Besides the Washita or Kiowa Boarding School and the new Fort Sill Boarding School for the Comanches in 1892, Rainy Mountain, a third school, was in the planning stage and was to open the following year.<sup>100</sup> Each of the established schools in 1892 had one farmer hired to aid the industrial teacher in instructing the children in the arts of agriculture.<sup>101</sup> The Kiowa School had a forty-acre farm on good tillable land, fenced and cultivated. Agent Day said this "acreage could be increased to such an extent, sufficient to answer all needs for farming purposes."<sup>102</sup> The Fort Sill School had nearly sixty acres of fertile land broken and a pasture consisting of 1,000 acres partially

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<sup>98</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1891, p. 58.

<sup>99</sup>Morgan to Adams, July 22, 1891, Finance, Vol. 170, p. 370, LS, NA.

<sup>100</sup>Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1892, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>101</sup>Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1892, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 36, pp. 141-42, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>102</sup>Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 24, 1892, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 38, pp. 279-80, KIA, ID, OHS.



fenced.<sup>103</sup> J. W. Haddon, Superintendent of the school, discussed in his annual report the various crops grown on the school farm. "Our garden seed reached us about six weeks too late, and as a consequence we did not have as large a variety of vegetables as we would have had had the seed come on time. Our oat crop was as good as could have been expected on sod land, and we have enough millet and sorghum hay cured to feed our stock through the winter; but our corn is a total failure on account of the protracted drought and hot winds." Haddon added that the farm would be "in fine shape for a crop the next season."<sup>104</sup> Although the new school, Rainy Mountain, which was located three and one-half miles west of the agency, would not open until 1893, agricultural implements were already being requested by its Superintendent, G. D. Moss.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 25, 1892, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 38, pp. 282-83, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>104</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1892, p. 389.

<sup>105</sup>G. D. Moss to Day, July 19, 1892, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 38, pp. 334-35, KIA, ID, OHS.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE BALDWIN ADMINISTRATION AND THE PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURE ON THE KIOWA RESERVATION, 1895-1898

Captain Frank D. Baldwin became agent of the Kiowa Agency in December, 1894, and brought some stability to the position. On arriving at the agency, he stated that, "Everything was in the most disorganized condition, property scattered and unprotected; official records and confused mass of filth and corruption, not the slightest evidence of attention or care have been given to the protection of anything." The employees he found indifferent to their jobs and the Indians loafing about the agency.<sup>1</sup> Baldwin did much in the following three and one-half years as agent in the way of improving the administration and promotion of agricultural activities by the Indians living on the Kiowa Reservation.

The Federal Indian policy during these years continued to be the carrying out of the Dawes legislation of 1887. Commissioner Browning enumerated this in his 1896

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<sup>1</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, pp. 106-07, KIA, ID, OHS.

annual report. "The main effort now is, and for many years must be, to put the Indian upon his allotment, get him to support himself there, protect him from encroachment and injustice, and educate and train his children in books and industries." Once the Indian was on this allotment and had attempted to improve it, the Government was to assist him in building a house and provide him with a team of work mules, agricultural implements, wire fencing, grain for planting, and "the supervision and counsel of a practical farmer to aid him in the cultivation of his crops."<sup>2</sup> The idea that the Indian must become a farmer was an essential corollary to this policy. Agent Baldwin requested that certificates be issued signifying that the following Indians were chiefs of their respective tribes: Quanah Parker, Comanches; Ahpeatone, Kiowas; and Apache John, Apaches. Acting Commissioner A. C. Tonner responded in April, 1898, by saying,

It has been, for a number of years, and is now, the policy of this office not to create or appoint any Indians as chiefs for the reason that it is the desire of this Department to have Indians take their lands in severalty, establish individual homes and farms for themselves, break up their dependent tribal relations, and become free and independent citizens of the United States like the whites.<sup>3</sup>

This allotment policy and the Jerome Agreement of 1892 caused much uneasiness among the Indians of the Kiowa

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<sup>2</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1896, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Acting Commissioner A. C. Tonner to Baldwin, April 27, 1898, Chiefs File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Reservation during Baldwin's administration. While Congress was considering the application of allotment to the reservation, the Plains Indians were vociferously opposing it. Many of them claimed they signed the Jerome Agreement either "under more or less compulsion," or they said they did not sign it at all, even though their names appeared on it. They requested Baldwin to continue writing to the Indian Office asking it not to permit the opening. Baldwin asserted, "They tell me that as soon as they can get started and able to take care of themselves that they will be able to sell the balance of their lands, or such as they do not require for their own use."<sup>4</sup> The agent informed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in January, 1896, that the Indians who had located on permanent lands wished a "certificate of such location" giving them claim to it. This, Baldwin felt, would encourage Indians to make their selection of land and make improvements on it. Since the Jerome Agreement was still pending, Commissioner Browning considered this request unwise because if the Jerome Agreement passed Congress, selections made would in all probability be changed.<sup>5</sup>

Commissioner William A. Jones on April 29, 1897, discussed the application of the Dawes Act with

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<sup>4</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 28, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 51, p. 353, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>5</sup>Browning to Baldwin, January 3, 1896, Allotment File, KIA, ID, OHS.

representatives of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians in the Indian Affairs Office in Washington. These Indians, accompanied by Captain M. L. Scott of Fort Sill, pleaded that the Jerome Agreement not be adopted. Captain Scott said that to open the reservation to settlement "would as surely work their destruction as the abandonment of a baby to a pack of hungry wolves." He added that these Indians were

. . . struggling upward, they have their little farms and houses, small bunches of cattle and horses, every year sees them farther advanced in the way toward self-support, and if let alone they will relieve the Government from this burden, but this fraudulent agreement is suspended over their heads like a sword--keeping them worried constantly in apprehension, embittering their lives and checking their progress.

Ahpeatone, chief of the Kiowas, asserted that he "would like to keep my country just as it is now." Commissioner Jones replied that if the agreement was referred for consideration to his office he would do everything in his power "to right the wrongs that seems to me have been done in the past."<sup>6</sup>

Also, in 1897 Baldwin wrote to the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives expressing his Indians' objections to the allotment of their land.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Conference between Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Representatives of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, April 29, 1897, Federal Relations File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>7</sup>Baldwin to Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, March 29, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 53, pp. 18-20, KIA, ID, OHS.

In defense of the Jerome Agreement, Inspector J. George Wright, after talking to men who had been present when it was signed, said they stated "all matters were fully explained and Indians understood." Wright's recommendation was "that all Indians be allotted lands in severalty as early as practicable."<sup>8</sup>

Baldwin was relieved of the responsibility of this policy at the Kiowa Agency in May, 1898. The new agent, William T. Walker,<sup>9</sup> raised the question of allotment as provided in the Medicine Lodge Treaty. Article 6 of this treaty allowed members of the Kiowa and Comanche tribes who were heads of families to have up to 320 acres if they began to farm the land. This land would then cease to be held in common and would remain the Indians' property as long as it was cultivated. Any Indian over eighteen and not a head of a family could be entitled to land not to exceed eighty acres for purposes of cultivation. In response, Commissioner Jones instructed Walker to enter any Indians taking land under the Medicine Lodge Treaty in the land book. The agent informed the Commissioner that there was no land book in his office and could not find if any such records were ever kept. The result was the issuing of "Kiowa and Comanche Land Certificates" according

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<sup>8</sup>J. George Wright to Secretary of Interior, June 10, 1897, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>9</sup>Tonner to Baldwin, May 5, 1898, Agents File, KIA, ID, OHS.

to the Medicine Lodge Treaty provisions. The certificates recognized the property and noted its location.<sup>10</sup>

To go along with this allotment policy, the Government continued to provide agricultural aids. Among the first guidelines set forth by Baldwin was that of making issues of seeds and agricultural implements to Indians only on the order of an agency farmer. This order was not to be made by the farmer until he had carefully investigated whether or not the Indian actually needed the articles requested.<sup>11</sup> Baldwin asked in February, 1895, for as much garden and field seeds for his Indians as the Government could spare.<sup>12</sup> He was authorized to purchase the following seeds:

Onion sets	26 bushels
Pop corn	2 "
Field corn	300 "
Irish potatoes	375 "
Wheat	510 "
Seed rye	255 "
Millet	104 "
Cotton seed	30 "
Sorghum seed	36 "
Seed oats	730 "
Sweet corn	7 "
Sweet potatoes	30 barrels

The seeds were required to be "sound and clean, and must have been grown in the section of country contiguous to the

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<sup>10</sup>William T. Walker to William A. Jones, July 1, 1898, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 62, pp. 40-41, KIA, ID, OHS.; Kiowa and Comanche Land Certificates, Louis Bents, Comanche, November 16, 1898, Allotment File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>11</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 20, 1895, LR, NA.

<sup>12</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 9, 1895, LR, NA.

place of delivery."<sup>13</sup> On receiving some of these seeds, Baldwin assured the Commissioner that none would be issued to Indians who had not first plowed and prepared their land for planting. It was, according to the agent, "proving a great incentive for these people to plow, as they find they cannot receive anything until after that has been done."<sup>14</sup> All the millet and oat seeds were issued by the first of April with more needed in order to complete the necessary issues. To obtain this extra amount, Baldwin recommended that it be bought in place of the authorized amount of wheat and rye.<sup>15</sup> This additional millet and oat seed was received near the end of April along with the garden and other field seeds requested.<sup>16</sup>

For winter planting on the agency and boarding school farms, 300 bushels of seed oats and 80 bushels of rye were requested. Sowing of winter oats was an experiment encouraged by agency farmers. In the spring the Indians and schools planted oats in large quantities that resulted in entire failure.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Proposals for seeds, February 18, 1895, LR, NA.

<sup>14</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 13, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 44, p. 228, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>15</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 4, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 44, p. 266, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>16</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 23, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 45, p. 93, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>17</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1895, LR, NA.



The farm instructors were to advise their Indians in the fall of 1895 that they needed to save "an abundant quantity of seed of all kinds for their next year's crop; as very few, if any, seeds will be asked for for general distribution to the Indians."<sup>18</sup> But to Baldwin's dismay, field and garden seeds had to again be requested for the 1896 spring planting to be distributed among those Indians cultivating farms on the reservation. Baldwin explained,

I was in hopes when I made my estimate last year that I would not be obliged to make another one for the coming season. Owing to the dryness of the season very little was grown or produced from the seeds furnished. From present indications, the coming season will be a good one and I believe it will be of benefit to supply the seeds asked for in my estimate.<sup>19</sup>

The request for seeds consisted of again about 100 bushels of millet, 1,000 bushels of oats, 30 bushels of Kaffir corn, and other vegetables.<sup>20</sup> The amount of seed oats purchased increased to 3,200 bushels.<sup>21</sup>

Much the same seeds and quantities were again provided by the Government in 1897 with the addition of sixty

<sup>18</sup>Baldwin to Agency Farmers, August 5, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 45, p. 487, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>19</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 11, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, p. 319, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>20</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 10, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, p. 317, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>21</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 20, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 49, p. 337, KIA, ID, OHS.

pounds of alfalfa seed.<sup>22</sup> Agent Baldwin was very selective, though, as to which Indians were to obtain them. "No orders for seed will be given except the ground is either plowed or well under way, showing that it will be prepared in time to plant." The agent also asserted that the Indians should be encouraged to purchase their own seed if they were able.<sup>23</sup> Government funds for these seeds began to lessen as the Indians became increasingly able to purchase these items themselves. The only mention of Federal money spent for seeds to distribute to Indians on this reservation during 1898 was 500 bushels of millet.<sup>24</sup>

The issue of agricultural implements in 1895 was one of the major problems Baldwin encountered. He found that the Government had provided these Indians with a liberal supply of implements but they had been issued "promiscuously to Indians . . . who were not living on their allotments and working the same." Baldwin, directed the agency farmers to visit the Indians of their district and issue implements to those in need. These visits "resulted

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<sup>22</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 28, 1896, LR, NA.; Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 13, 1897, LR, NA.; Baldwin to Texas Seed and Floral Company, Dallas, March 15, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 48, p. 107, KIA, ID, OHS.; Baldwin to H. A. Koster, Platte City, Missouri, March 15, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 48, p. 106, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>23</sup>Baldwin to Agency farmers, March 3, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 54, pp. 434-35, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>24</sup>Proposal for millet seed by Baldwin, January 8, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 60, p. 28, KIA, ID, OHS.

in the finding, stacked up, often in the brush, plows (as many as six in one place), harrows, rakes, forks, shovels, cooking stoves, and everything that had ever been issued to an Indian, which had never been used, . . . and within a stone's-throw would be an industrious Indian, with nothing to work with. . . ." This was remedied by taking the surplus agricultural implements from the old chiefs who were too lazy to work but prided themselves on how many implements they had received from Washington. This caused much trouble but it "elevated and encouraged the younger people, and today there is scarcely an Indian who wants to work, but has tools to work with."<sup>25</sup>

Authority in 1895 was requested by Baldwin to issue to the most deserving Indians "harness, plows, mowers, hay rakes, harrows, cultivators and other such agricultural implements as are on hand at this agency." Since the supply was limited and the demand great, Baldwin carefully planned his issue. He requested the Commissioner for instructions so the agricultural implements could be in the hands of his Indians before the first of March when the spring farming was to commence.<sup>26</sup> Commissioner Browning informed the agent no general authority to issue agricultural implements could be granted. "When the Indians are

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<sup>25</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, pp. 107-08, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>26</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 8, 1895, LR, NA.

ready to receive these agricultural implements," Browning directed, "you should submit a request for specific authority, stating the number of each kind you wish to issue."<sup>27</sup>

Baldwin visited his Indians early in the year. He found that the

Indians who were considered as leading men among the bands, who had as many as a half a dozen plows, two to four cook-stoves, cultivators, mowers, eight to ten full sacks of flour, and in fact everything in the greatest abundance and far beyond their needs, the majority of which has never been used, stored away in some secluded place, and under no circumstances would they allow another Indian even the use of a single one of these articles.

Baldwin took these surplus supplies and distributed them to Indians so that nearly every Indian family had at least a small amount of agricultural implements with which to cultivate during the farming season.<sup>28</sup>

One other problem with agricultural implements which Baldwin discovered on his visit among the Indians was the liberal supply given in the past to "Squawmen." Baldwin refused to give these white men married to Indian women anything this season because he felt they were "all abundantly able to supply themselves." The demands of Indians unable to help themselves and who had never received

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<sup>27</sup>Browning to Baldwin, February 18, 1895, Accounts, Vol. 157, p. 35, LS, NA.

<sup>28</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 20, 1895, LR, NA.

Government assistance before were considered more important.<sup>29</sup>

Besides restricting issues to "Squawmen," Baldwin also advised that agricultural implements should not be given to older Indians because there were very few of them who would work under the most favorable conditions. Baldwin affirmed, "The only thing we can do is to help the younger ones to display a desire to do something for themselves."<sup>30</sup> Baldwin told the farming instructors in the various districts to furnish no implements to an Indian who had shown "no evidence of an attempt to farm."<sup>31</sup> To help regulate the issue of supplies, M. T. Wallin was put in charge of all agricultural implements desired and repairs needed were to be approved by his office.<sup>32</sup>

Barbed wire was also requested for these Indians in 1895. Baldwin asked for authority in October to purchase 150,000 pounds of barbed wire fencing to issue "to such Indians as have the posts set in the ground, and will put the wire on the posts immediately on receiving it." His desire was to see that every possible Indian had a fifteen

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 23, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 44, p. 343, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>31</sup>Baldwin to Agency Farmers, August 12, 1895, LR, NA.

<sup>32</sup>Baldwin to Agency Farmers, August 5, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 45, p. 486, KIA, ID, OHS.

to twenty-five acre plot fenced and ready for crops by next season. From the good results accomplished by the Indians in the spring of 1895 with the wire then issued, Baldwin was confident this goal could be reached.<sup>33</sup>

Agricultural implements continued to be furnished these Plains Indians during the years from 1895 to 1898 along with an increased willingness by the Indians to purchase their own. An idea of the amount of implements provided these Indians can be gained from Baldwin's request for 1896<sup>34</sup>:

Cultivators	66
Harrows	8
Pulverizer and Harrow	1
Mowing Machines	11
Mowing and Reaping Machines	3
Plows	211
Horse rakes	3
Corn shellers	10

For use on the agency farm and demonstrations to these Indians, a horse seeder was requested. Although it was only an experiment, Baldwin felt it was "one of the most useful of all farming implements for this section of the country where seeds should be planted to a proper depth in the ground, which cannot be done by simple sowing and

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<sup>33</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 21, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, pp. 255-56, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>34</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 24, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, p. 394, KIA, ID, OHS.

harrowing in."<sup>35</sup> Baldwin was granted this authority "to determine, by experiment, what character of cereals and other farm products may be successfully grown in your section."<sup>36</sup> Baldwin expressed further that the Indians should not be given expensive farm implements but that the agency farm should demonstrate their use to the Indians, in addition to experimenting with various methods of farming in this area of the country. By demonstrating the implements, the Indians would be encouraged to buy some of them. "If we can have one or two favorable seasons," Baldwin predicted, "I will guarantee that more money will be expended by the Indians for agricultural implements than by any like number of white people in the United States, under the same conditions."<sup>37</sup>

The Indians did begin purchasing agricultural implements with their own money. "The Indians," Baldwin informed the Commissioner, "are evincing a very strong desire to secure improved farming implements which they are purchasing themselves."<sup>38</sup> For example, these Indians expressed a strong

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<sup>35</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 8, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, p. 419, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>36</sup>Browning to Baldwin, March 17, 1896, Finance, Vol. 244, p. 166, LS, NA.

<sup>37</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 27, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 51, pp. 3-5, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>38</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 2, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 48, p. 98, KIA, ID, OHS.

interest in farm wagons and many had the money to purchase them. Consequently, Baldwin asked that the Government furnish only a few wagons to worthy Indians unable to buy them.<sup>39</sup> The agent then arranged for a railroad carload of farm wagons to be available for the purchase at cost to the Indians but the demand for wagons was not completely satisfied. From this experience, Baldwin maintained that it would be poor policy to give additional wagons to Indians. "Indians take better care of wagons when they pay for them themselves," the agent declared, "than when given to them by the government."<sup>40</sup> The more expensive farming equipment, such as mowing and threshing machines, were loaned to the Indians through the various farming districts.<sup>41</sup>

After the implements were obtained, they had to be kept in good repair. A United States Indian Inspector, after visiting the Kiowa Reservation in 1898, said the Indians should have the necessary machinery to plant, cultivate, and harvest crops and those implements should be kept in good repair. He found eight mowers in the

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<sup>39</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 7, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 55, p. 37, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>40</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 13, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 55, p. 399, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>41</sup>Baldwin to Reverend W. W. Carithers, August 4, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 57, p. 193, KIA, ID, OHS.



blacksmith's shop at Fort Sill needing repair. Parts were not sent for these machines; consequently several hundred acres of oats and millet were lost.<sup>42</sup>

To insure that the Indian made good use of the seeds and implements, Agent Baldwin divided the Kiowa Reservation in March, 1895, into three farming districts each with a white farmer in charge. One district encompassed the northeastern portion of the reservation and was under the supervision of Wallin with headquarters at the agency office on the Washita River. The northwestern section of the reservation fell into the second district with M. F. Long the farmer in charge. His post was near the Rainy Mountain School. J. D. Hardin headed the third farming district which covered the southern portion of the reserve with headquarters near Fort Sill. Baldwin instructed these farmers to stay in the field and constantly visit all of the Indian farms and settlements, "carefully noting all improvements and efforts to work."<sup>43</sup>

Baldwin instructed them to furnish oats to each family that had its land plowed and ready for seed and wire to enclose about ten acres of land for each family with posts in place. The agent planned to keep informed as to the needs and efforts of his Indians by frequently visiting

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<sup>42</sup>Jones to Walker, November 7, 1898, Reports (Inspectors) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>43</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 12, 1895, LR, NA.

the various farmers in charge at the different districts. The advantage to this organization, Baldwin indicated, was that farmers were more able "to impart instructions to these Indians in the art of farming, which is of the greatest benefit to the Indians." The agent's only regret was that he did not have a larger force of white farmers so the Indian farms could be visited more frequently.<sup>44</sup>

To increase his agricultural staff, Baldwin requested in February, 1895, six assistant farmers to serve until the end of the fiscal year in July, 1895. They would be hired "to go about the reservation and instruct the Indians personally in plowing and planting their crops." This operation would be supervised by Baldwin and the regular farmers. Baldwin declared emphatically, "I am certain that this will be of the greatest service to these Indians in getting them started right, and the apparent interest manifested by the greater portion of them to get to farming, should not be allowed to delay in the least for want of this slight assistance." Baldwin further announced that all the employees of his reservation who could be spared would take to the field "as instructors to these Indians in the art of farming and if such a thing is possible, shall make these people give a good showing and take a long step toward self-supporting, in which I feel assured I will

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<sup>44</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 20, 1895, LR, NA.

receive your earnest support."<sup>45</sup> This request for six assistant farmers was refused because of "limited funds available for such employes."<sup>46</sup>

One of these assistant farmers was Wallin who had already been placed in charge of the farming district in the northeastern portion of the Kiowa Reservation. Appealing for retention of his services, Baldwin explained to the Commissioner that Wallin had already been in the field visiting the Indians for nearly a month, "showing them how to work the land and learning their wants and present condition. The services of the farmers in this way are indispensable, in view of the desire to urge the Indians forward in the line of agricultural pursuits, and especially as at this season of the year when they are plowing and fencing and preparing to plant the crops." Baldwin informed the Commissioner that Wallin had not been recalled from the field yet because he did not have anyone to replace him. "His services are so indispensable, that even if I have to pay him myself I prefer doing it than to be obliged to suspend operations in his district." Consequently, Baldwin appointed him to work until the end of the fiscal year. In Wallin's defense, Baldwin remarked, "His long experience of twenty-five years as a practical farmer

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<sup>45</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 11, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 44, pp. 147-48, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>46</sup>Browning to Baldwin, February 19, 1895, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

is of the greatest benefit to me in shaping and managing the farming interests throughout the reservation. He is deeply interested in the work added to which is firm belief in the ultimate success of our efforts, renders his services invaluable if not indispensable."<sup>47</sup> Wallin's appointment was approved for the remainder of the fiscal year.<sup>48</sup> In 1896 an assistant farmer was furnished each district.<sup>49</sup>

A fourth farming district was established in September of 1897. Known as the Mount Scott District, it was located in the southwestern section of the reservation, including all the Indian settlements along the Medicine Bluff Creek and the Cache Creek Valley. J. D. Hardin was appointed farmer in charge, serving the remainder of the year.<sup>50</sup>

Each of the farming districts had one farmer in addition to an Indian assistant farmer.<sup>51</sup> During the year there was much shifting of personnel in this district. M. T.

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<sup>47</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 21, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 44, pp. 240-41, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>48</sup>Commissioner Thomas Smith to Baldwin, March 30, 1895, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>49</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1896, pp. 560-61.

<sup>50</sup>Baldwin to Hardin, September 10, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 57, p. 193, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>51</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1897, p. 520.

Wallin, who had served the previous year as farmer in the Anadarko District, was transferred to the Rainy Mountain District in May, 1897, for two months.<sup>52</sup> He was replaced at Anadarko by Delos K. Lonewolf, an Indian who had graduated from Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania.<sup>53</sup> M. F. Long, who served at the Rainy Mountain District prior to Wallin, was transferred May 1 to the Fort Sill District.<sup>54</sup> Baldwin described Long as "one of the most reliable and conscientious men in his position that I have."<sup>55</sup>

The main reason the agent sent Long to this district was because it was this portion of the reservation he knew least about and was sure "within a very short time I shall be in possession of the same full and complete information that I was furnished from the Rainy Mountain district while under your charge."<sup>56</sup> This change did not work since Long could not function under the direction of E. F. Burton, the storekeeper and issue clerk of the Fort Sill District, who,

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<sup>52</sup>Baldwin to Wallin, June 29, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 57, p. 12, KIA, ID, OHS.; Baldwin to Farmers Concerned, May 4, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 56, p. 187, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>53</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 16, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 55, p. 283, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>54</sup>Baldwin to Farmers Concerned, May 4, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 56, p. 187, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>55</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 15, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 55, p. 281, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>56</sup>Baldwin to M. F. Long, June 15, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 56, p. 401, KIA, ID, OHS.

Long said, was indifferent to and careless with Government property.<sup>57</sup> Long returned as farmer to the Rainy Mountain District in August and Burton was put in charge of farming at Fort Sill.<sup>58</sup> Accepting a similar position at the Navajo Agency in New Mexico in November, Long relinquished his position to an educated Kiowa Indian, Lucius Aitson, who had been promoted from assistant farmer at the Rainy Mountain District.<sup>59</sup> An Indian woman, Laura Pedrick, was appointed in March as an assistant farmer on the Kiowa Reservation. Baldwin assured the Commissioner she would do well in instructing and showing the Indians how to farm. The agent also used the opportunity to express to the Commissioner his concern for hiring Indians as farm instructors. "Eventually I hope to be able to secure Indians capable to fill the positions of all Farmers. . . ."<sup>60</sup>

Baldwin spelled out the duties of these agency farmers in a letter in March, 1897. "I desire that you visit every Indian family within the boundaries of your district." The agent also explained,

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<sup>57</sup> Long to Baldwin, June 15, 1897, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>58</sup> Baldwin to E. F. Burton, August 12, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 57, p. 230, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>59</sup> Tonner to Baldwin, November 20, 1897, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.; Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 1, 1897, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>60</sup> Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 25, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 55, p. 163, KIA, ID, OHS.

As a general rule everything that is issued to these Indians in the way of farming implements, seeds, etc., will be made by the farmers to such Indians as they find at home and are in need of such articles. . . . Indians who are doing nothing, living in their tepees and have no permanent place of abode will receive nothing except the ordinary daily rations.

Furthermore, no wire was to be issued unless an Indian had his fence posts up and then only wire sufficient to enclose ten to fifteen acres was to be issued. Those Indians with larger fields had to wait for any surplus wire.<sup>61</sup>

Inspector J. George Wright, after visiting the Kiowa Reservation recommended to the Secretary of the Interior in June that the "Agent be requested to direct farmers to spend more time actually assisting Indians in their work in fields, instead of 'advising' them."<sup>62</sup> To make sure this was being done, Baldwin in August instructed all agency farmers to make monthly reports. In the past these reports had been neglected in many instances.<sup>63</sup> There were also four district farmers with assistant farmers for each during 1898.<sup>64</sup>

Under Agent Baldwin's leadership, the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation during the period from 1895 to 1898

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<sup>61</sup>Baldwin to Agency Farmers, March 3, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 54, p. 434, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>62</sup>J. George Wright to Secretary of Interior, June 10, 1897, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>63</sup>Baldwin to Farmers and Field Matrons, August 2, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 57, p. 174, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>64</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1898, p. 681.

increased their agricultural activities. Early in 1895 the agent remarked, "A large majority of these people seem anxious to go to farming and I earnestly hope every opportunity will be given them. Should we have anything like a favorable season, excellent results may be expected."<sup>65</sup>

The first of February, Baldwin said there was a total of 13,000 acres under cultivation and fence on both reservations under his control.<sup>66</sup> The following month he visited the Indians under his charge and found over 200 farms improved with many others being worked for the first time. The agent said,

It is certainly most gratifying to me to be able to report that a great many of the Indians are plowing and fencing lands this year, who have never made an effort in that direction before, and as they have learned that there is no use of their coming to the Agency to get anything but their regular rations, they are all staying at home working and anxiously watching the arrival of their farmer.<sup>67</sup>

Indian endeavors to farm throughout the year were "most satisfactory" to Baldwin. The early crops such as oats, rye, and early corn were complete failures because of the dryness. But those who replanted three or four times finally "secured reasonably good crops." Baldwin reported nearly two-thirds of the families had raised "small crops

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<sup>65</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 29, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 44, p. 104, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>66</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 5, 1895, LR, NA.

<sup>67</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 20, 1895, LR, NA.



of corn and in some instances vegetables." The corn was gathered and put in cribs while some hay was cut and stacked near the Indians' houses. Baldwin concluded,

Although the season has been very discouraging on account of the lack of rain, these people have gathered into cribs quantity of corn that will enable them to go through the winter without want and have plenty of seed to plant the coming season which all are preparing to do and are talking about now and if we have anything like a good season another season will put these people in a most prosperous condition.<sup>68</sup>

The following season witnessed one-third more land broken on the Kiowa Reservation than ever before, most of which was planted and fenced by the Indians. A worthy effort was put forth to raise crops, but lack of rain again caused little to be realized. A few were able to raise a half crop. These results caused Baldwin to declare,

For thirty-four consecutive days during that part of the season when the crops needed rain the thermometer registered on an average of 107 degrees and more each day, with little or no rain, and hot winds prevailing most of the time. While I am not prepared to discourage continued efforts in this line, still I have come to the conclusion that it will be useless to attempt agricultural efforts except on a small scale, sufficient to provide food for the Indians if possible.<sup>69</sup>

Baldwin, in his annual report of 1897, maintained that the acreage worked by his Indians had increased over

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<sup>68</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 7, 1895, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.; Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, pp. 109-11, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>69</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 28, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 51, pp. 346-47, KIA, ID, OHS.

the previous year. Because of sufficient rainfall, the Indians were able to raise enough crops not only to prevent starvation during the winter months but also to market grain.<sup>70</sup> This favorable season, Baldwin commented, could not probably be counted on more than once every six or seven years. Baldwin, the end of August, said, "It is universally the case that the Indians are gathering their crops and placing them in cribs and granaries under instructions which have been given them by the agency Farmers and Field Matrons. They are putting up quantities of hay for their cattle during the winter months."<sup>71</sup>

William T. Walker, who became agent in May, 1898, emphasized the fact that the reservation as a whole was not well adapted to farming. He did say there were some "very fine farms" along the streams and in the bottom land and the Indians working these farms had been most successful during the year. Prospects at the time Walker wrote his annual report indicated the crops, especially corn, would be the best for several seasons. "The abundant rains matured the corn before the very hot weather commenced, and the result is all Indians that planted corn at all and cared for it (which they usually do in a good manner) will have excellent yields." Walker felt this success would greatly encourage the Indians to farm to a greater extent

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<sup>70</sup> Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 55, p. 446, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

in the following spring. He believed "with the assistance which I expect to give them, and instruction of my agency farmers, that they will materially increase their acreage next spring."<sup>72</sup>

Each of the Plains Tribes had a different attitude toward farming during this period. According to Baldwin, the Apaches were "the most indolent and shiftless, and poorest of all the tribes on the reservation; they won't work unless forced to, and with very few exceptions are a people that we can have little hope for." Dissension and turbulence were characteristics describing the Kiowa tribe because nearly everyone wished to be chief. The agent was to overcome this divisiveness by disregarding the chiefs and listening to the needs and desires of the ordinary members of the tribe. Baldwin proudly reported,

The Comanches are the most progressive and industrious of the three bands, and had their efforts to do for themselves this season been a little more successful, they would have required very little of the Government: and I can safely say that with continued earnest efforts on our part, they will, within three years, be an entirely self-supporting people.

Much credit for this success was given to the example set by their head chief, Quanah Parker, who had accepted the inevitable change in their manner of living. The Apaches and Kiowas, Baldwin felt, had to be "made to work or starve." As long as the Government provided for them they

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<sup>72</sup>Walker to Jones, July 29, 1898, Vol. 62, p. 98, KIA, ID, OHS.

were not going to work. "By helping those who show a desire to help themselves," Baldwin explained, "and in some way make those who are disinclined to do anything for themselves realize that there are just two roads, one to starvation and one to plenty, I think we can safely say that at the end of four years they may become self-supporting."<sup>73</sup>

To encourage the Indians to grow crops, an attempt was made to offer them a market for their surplus yield. The military base at Fort Sill purchased 200 tons of hay from the Plains Indians in 1897.<sup>74</sup> The following year, the Indian Office authorized Agent Walker to purchase some of the supplies required at the agency from Indian farmers on the reservation. Walker was given authority to buy 100 tons of millet, 1,400 bushels of shelled corn, 1,000 bushels of corn on the ear, 4,100 bushels of oats, and 20 tons of hay.<sup>75</sup> These amounts were advertised throughout the reservation but only 500 bushels of corn on the ear and a portion of the hay were available from these Indians.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, pp. 110-11, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>74</sup>M. E. Davies, Quartermaster at Fort Sill to Baldwin, July 20, 1897, Purchase from Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>75</sup>Jones to Walker, July 11, 1898, Purchase from Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>76</sup>Walker to Jones, December 7, 1898, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 62, p. 373, KIA, ID, OHS.

Crops drawing special mention during this period were Kaffir corn, wheat, and cotton. Kaffir corn was especially significant to these Indians. "This had been the only crop," Baldwin pronounced in 1896, "that we may say was successfully grown on the reservation this season and the best results have been obtained by the Rainy Mountain district where usually we have the least rain fall of any part of the reservation." The agent was attempting to persuade each of his Indians to adopt Kaffir corn instead of Indian corn. Two mills were requested to grind the corn and Baldwin claimed that the flour from Kaffir corn was "equal, if not superior, to corn meal." Appealing for the two mills to grind corn, Baldwin remarked, "We have not only to teach the Indian to grow crops but we must teach them how to utilize it after it has been harvested."<sup>77</sup>

The other two crops drew special attention on the Kiowa Reservation in 1898. Wheat was successfully raised on the agency farm during the year with a yield of 1,000 to 1,200 bushels<sup>78</sup> which prompted the Indians to request seed wheat from the agent. The Government had 700 to 800 bushels of wheat which were issued to these Indians to plant. Each Indian was to receive not over fifteen bushels which would

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<sup>77</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 10, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, p. 347, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>78</sup>Walker to Jones, July 29, 1898, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 62, p. 98, KIA, ID, OHS.

enable him to plant ten acres of land.<sup>79</sup> Cotton was another crop with great potential for the agency lands. Acting Commissioner Tonner informed Agent Baldwin early in the year that he had heard that successful experiments had been made in raising cotton in Oklahoma. "It has been proved," Tonner informed, "that the planting of cotton can be made quite profitable and has convinced the farmers that its production on a part of their lands is desirable more particularly in view of the somewhat doubtful success of their corn crops." Baldwin was asked to report his experience with cotton at his agency.<sup>80</sup> The agent responded, "Cotton raising has been tried with marked success by my Indians, and a number of them are preparing to plant it again this season. There is no doubt as to its being a success in this climate."<sup>81</sup>

Two United States Indian inspectors who visited the Kiowa Agency while Baldwin was agent had opposing opinions of the efforts exerted by the Indians on these reservations. Inspector Province McCormick investigated the agency in 1896. He concluded,

The full-blood Indians are doing very little in the way of farming, most of the work in this line being done by white men who have married into the tribes or adopted

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<sup>79</sup> Walker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 13, 1898, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 62, p. 243, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>80</sup> Tonner to Baldwin, February 12, 1898, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>81</sup> Baldwin to Jones, February 23, 1898, LR, NA.

Indian children for the purpose of acquiring a right to cultivate Indian lands, and most of the Indians who are farming at all are doing so by proxy, hiring all work done. . . . This reserve has much land that is not arable, but where farming can not be done Indians should be encouraged in stock raising.

Commissioner Browning responded to Inspector McCormick's conclusions by enumerating that no evidence had been given to support them. It was pointed out also that the Inspector did not travel over all the reservation.<sup>82</sup>

J. George Wright, another United States Indian Inspector, visited the Kiowa Reservation during the first part of 1897 and reported to the Secretary of the Interior in June. Inspector Wright, in contrast, discovered the Indians were active in agricultural pursuits. "Indians on this reserve appeared industrious during the present spring, putting in crops, and while a number have fields of forty to one hundred acres, the average of each head of family is about ten acres, planted almost entirely with corn and Kaffer corn." The inspector reacted negatively to information that the Indians were growing in 1897 more grain. Inspector Wright declared,

If that was the case with the Indians generally, they must have lived elsewhere than where now located, for in my travels in this reserve it was noticed their entire fields, or as much if not more land, than heretofore used, was being cultivated, and I am therefore convinced that the instances referred to must be of certain individual Indians where white men were employed.

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<sup>82</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Investigation of Affairs at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian Reservation, 55th Cong., 1st Sess., 1897, Senate Doc. 34, pp. 3, 342.

Included in his report were numerous recommendations for improving conditions at the agency. One of these was that the agent should encourage the planting of winter wheat because of its endurance during droughts. Wright also recommended the continuation of Baldwin as agent despite the devastating criticism leveled against him by squawmen and other persons with little interest in the Indians except where their own personal gain could be furthered.<sup>83</sup>

The agricultural activities of the Plains Indians during Baldwin's administration are specifically stated in the monthly reports of the district farmers. The various reports available from the four districts indicate a significant Indian involvement in farming and progress toward self support.

The Fort Sill Farming District was administered by J. D. Hardin for most of these years. He was in charge of 1,340 Indians,<sup>84</sup> occupying land covering an area of about thirty-seven miles by forty-three miles. When Hardin came to the district the last of December, 1894, he estimated there were 1,200 to 1,500 acres in cultivation in what he described as "butchered Indian fashion."<sup>85</sup> Throughout his

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<sup>83</sup>Wright to Secretary of the Interior, June 10, 1897, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>84</sup>J. D. Hardin to Baldwin, July 8, 1896, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>85</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Investigation of Affairs at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian Reservation, 55th Cong., 1st Sess., 1897, Senate Doc. 34, pp. 176-77.



first year, he spent a large amount of his time in the field. During March alone he assisted 500 Indians in his district, forty of whom farmed for the first time, to plow and plant 1,200 acres of land and fix or put in 2,000 rods of fence. Two hundred additional acres were plowed in June. The primary crop grown was corn, and Hardin reported in August 8,000 bushels were in the field and in September 1,400 bushels had been stored or sold.<sup>86</sup> Hay was also grown in the district with the cutting beginning in June.<sup>87</sup> The condition of the Indians' stock was generally good, but the agricultural implements were constantly labeled "bad, worn, or scarce." Indians' needs listed included mowers, plows, shovels, a grist mill, and cattle.<sup>88</sup>

Hardin's annual farming report for the Fort Sill District submitted in July, 1896, renders a statistical breakdown of the agriculture performed in his district. Over 670 Indians obtained their subsistence by work, most of which was from cultivating 2,000 acres of land. The yield of these Indians' crops amounted to 400 bushels of oats, 3,000 bushels of corn, and 200 tons of hay. Families living on and cultivating lands which had not been allotted

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<sup>86</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Fort Sill District, 1895, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>87</sup>Baldwin to Hardin, June 24, 1895, Kiowa Letter-book, Vol. 45, p. 267, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>88</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Fort Sill District, 1895, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

totalled 176.<sup>89</sup> During the busiest months of the farming season, March and April, Hardin assisted 200 Indians and 300 Indians respectively with a total of 10 farming for the first time. These two months witnessed 900 acres plowed, 1,500 acres planted, and 1,100 rods of fence erected or repaired. An appeal in March was made for more farm instruction, seed corn, and weeding hoes.<sup>90</sup>

The first four months of 1897, Hardin assisted over 100 Indians in February and April, with 600 receiving his aid during March. There were eleven of these Indians in this district during March and forty-one in April who were persuaded to take up farming for the first time. During this period of 1897, a total of 2,850 acres were plowed and 2,400 acres planted by the Indians. Approximately twenty-five miles of fence were erected or repaired by the Indians in these first four months. Hardin found the condition of the stock to be good, but the agricultural implement condition went from bad in January to good in April. Indian needs in these early months included forty plows and some corn and oat seeds.

The district farmer for Rainy Mountain, Martin Long, transferred to the Fort Sill District in May, taking most of the month to familiarize himself with the new district.

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<sup>89</sup>Hardin to Baldwin, July 8, 1896, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>90</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Fort Sill District, 1896, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

He observed during that time, "Indications are fair for a good crop of corn if seasons continue." Leaving the district at the end of August, he reported twenty tons of hay had been cut and saved during that month and repairs were needed for mowing machines.

Hardin returned in September to the Fort Sill District where he assisted and instructed 76 Indians and reported gathering 500 bushels of corn and cutting 30 tons of hay during September. Charles J. Williams also assisted Indians in farming in this district during August and September, helping 250 Indians and cutting and storing 500 tons of hay. He mentioned that these Indians needed fifty bushels of wheat and fifty bushels of cotton seed for planting. Hardin's report for October showed he had assisted sixty Indians and an additional 700 bushels of corn had been gathered. Specifically, he noted spending two days of the month "plowing homes for Indians." The Indians' needs recorded included forty bushels of sorghum and 100 bushels of cotton seed for the spring of 1898 besides thirty farming plows and forty bulls. The Comanches during November plowed and planted ten acres of wheat, while in December they cut two tons of hay and erected forty rods of fence.<sup>91</sup> No farming reports were made during 1898

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<sup>91</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Fort Sill District, 1897, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

because of a long illness of the district farmer who replaced Hardin.<sup>92</sup>

In the Rainy Mountain Farming District, Martin Long assumed the task of teaching, assisting, and instructing three-fourths of the Kiowa tribe in farming. Numbering about 780, these Indians were located in 18 different groups scattered throughout the district. All but a few had as many implements at their houses "as they ever have needed according to what has been done." Many of these supplies were never used because they refused to lend them to other Indians. "I know of one case," Baldwin mentioned, "where an old man has more plows than he needs at his house and his son is wanting a plow." Of one group having five houses, Long remarked, "I saw more plows at one of the houses than at any other place. There was tools of most any kind [,] one mower and rake [,] harrows and cultivators [and] two stoves all locked up in a house."<sup>93</sup>

Farming by the Kiowas in the Rainy Mountain District during 1895 was indicated in monthly reports filled out by Long. Except for the winter months, Long spent most of his time in the field assisting and instructing from eight to sixty-six Indians each month in farming. He was able to induce some twenty Indians to begin their first farming

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<sup>92</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Fort Sill District, 1899, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>93</sup>Long to Baldwin, February 25, 1895, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

efforts. Plowing by these Indians was done early in the year with 49 acres plowed in February, 287 in March, and 157 in April. In March, Long remarked, "The Indians are plowing fields that have not been plowed for years." There were a total of 411 acres planted exclusively in the months of March and April. At the end of April, Long explained, "The outlook for anything to be made in this district is very poor. Much more would have been plowed and planted if the ground had not been so hard--the oat crop will be a failure." There were also many rods of fence either put in or repaired by these Indians during the year. In preparation for their crops, 5,846 rods of fence were installed in March, alone. Hay was cut and stored in the months from June to October with the largest amount, ninety tons, cut in September. Long also noted that the condition of the Indians' stock was good, while he consistently reported that the mowers were in need of repair. Long mentioned that the Indians needed a mower, hay rakes, cultivators, and garden seeds. The latter request was in December and it was for seeds for the coming spring planting.<sup>94</sup>

Following a leave of absence during May, Long was instructed by the agent to begin cutting five to ten acres of hay for each family in his district. The mowing machine, Baldwin indicated, was to be used to cut enough hay for

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<sup>94</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1895, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

every Indian to feed his own stock before cutting any for sale.<sup>95</sup> The oat crop was a complete failure but the corn crop turned out fine. With plenty of rain for corn, it matured in August making thirty-five bushels per acre. By the end of September only a small amount of the corn had been gathered but two-thirds of the sorghum crop had been cut. The sorghum was to be used for feeding the stock. Most all of the corn crop was stored by the end of November. "Kaffir corn is the best crop to plant in this country considering seasons."<sup>96</sup> In all, the Indians in Long's district raised a good crop consisting of an average of twenty-five to thirty bushels of corn to the acre. Some eighty Indian families had cultivated a total of between 400 and 450 acres.<sup>97</sup> The nice crop of corn was partially ground into meal for bread and then a portion was sold. The Rainy Mountain school purchased 10,080 bushels of corn and Kaffir corn which was raised in the district by Indian labor.<sup>98</sup>

As a result of the successful crop made possible by adequate rainfall, the Indians in the Rainy Mountain

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<sup>95</sup>Baldwin to Long, June 24, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 45, p. 265, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>96</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1895, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>97</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Investigation of Affairs at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian Reservation, 55th Cong., 1st Sess., 1897, Senate Doc. 34, p. 154.

<sup>98</sup>Long to Baldwin, July 1, 1896, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

District doubled their acreage during the 1896 season.

"In most cases," Long declared, "it has been well worked even better than the previous year."<sup>99</sup> In the early months of 1896, Long was in the field assisting an average of over fifty Indians each month, inducing a total of seventeen to farm for the first time. Acres plowed were 50 in January, 462 in March, and 670 during April. "Much more plowing," Long reported at the end of March, "is done than was same date last year and they are still going ahead with their plowing and are making much greater effort than usual. With favorable seasons they will make a good showing this year." Acres planted consisted of 100 in March and 670 in April; rods of fence put up or repaired amounted to 850 for January and 6,500 for March.<sup>100</sup>

Since rain did not come when the "corn was in the tassel," Long predicted in July that it could not yield more than twelve or fifteen bushels per acre as opposed to twenty-five or thirty per acre in previous good years. In describing the crop, the district farmer remarked, "It will be a short crop compared with the previous year although in some localities the corn is good but not generally. It is better in the Washita valley than in any other part of the district that did not raise vegetables such as beans, peas,

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

<sup>100</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1896, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.; Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, January 1, 1896, LR, NA.

melons and pumpkins." These gardens were "very good this season" but were not as good as those of the year before. Long's statistical report for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1896, included 90 settled families and 670 acres planted. During the year, 400 acres were fenced making a total of 1,686 acres fenced in the district.<sup>101</sup> Long remarked that his Indians "raised but little" during the summer of 1896.<sup>102</sup>

In discussing the resources of the Rainy Mountain District, Long declared that it was "not an agricultural country; but it is a splendid grazing country." He was convinced that it would take rain once a week to make farming successful. This was "not often the case, but on the other hand it is no uncommon thing to go a month without any rain." The land was rich and there was sufficient rain to allow good grazing. "It is a mistaken idea," Long affirmed, "to attempt to teach the Indians farming and nothing else in a country when a white man cannot make a living at it alone. It is really detrimental to the indian from the fact that many of them do make a honest effort, and get but little if any returns for much of their labor." A better idea according to Long was to

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<sup>101</sup>Long to Baldwin, July 1, 1896, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>102</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Investigation of Affairs at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian Reservation, 55th Cong., 1st Sess., 1897, Senate Doc. 34, p. 154.



. . . establish a cattle raising industry in connection with the subagency at Rainy Mt. for the young generation, more good could be accomplished in ten years, than in forty by trying to teach them agriculture in such a country. The idea of teaching an indian to become self sustaining by farming a country where a white man can't be self sustaining, is one of the greatest frauds of the indian service, which is being continually practiced, and on the other hand some of the best grazing localities are being let go unused, toward benefiting the indian.<sup>103</sup>

Lauretta E. Ballew, a field matron hired to work with the Indians of Rainy Mountain, said in 1896 that these Kiowas were wild when she came to the reservation eight years previously. They continued this condition until Baldwin became agent. Explaining improvements made under his direction, Miss Ballew remarked, "There has been more farms fenced and more land turned than at any time previous, and they have raised more corn and sorghum, and garden." The field matron said she had seen them working and gathering at least 1,000 bushels of corn during 1896. One man, she knew, raised 150 bushels of corn. Under Baldwin's administration she observed that at least twenty-five different Indians in the Rainy Mountain District raised crops on farms with from ten to fifty acres in cultivation and three with fifty-acre farms.<sup>104</sup>

The Rainy Mountain District witnessed an increased interest in farming by the Kiowas during 1897. The first

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<sup>103</sup>Long to Baldwin, July 1, 1896, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>104</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Investigation of Affairs at the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian Reservation, 55th Cong., 1st Sess., 1897, Senate Doc. 34, pp. 154-59.

couple of months were spent by these Indians in hauling lumber issued to them to build houses. They began plowing their land during March with a total of 300 acres plowed in the district. Long noted that almost all of his Indians plowed at least some land, with all of them repairing their fences--some 1,600 rods of fence in all. Seeds were issued during April with these Indians plowing 750 acres and planting 600. The district farmer commented that it looked as if his Indians were going to have a good crop. The Indians also repaired or put in 1,000 rods of fence in April. Long had assisted some seventy-five Indians in March and only sixty-five during April, but one of the sixty-five farmed for the first time.

Hardin took over Rainy Mountain District in May when Long was transferred to Fort Sill. Hardin assisted 90 families, 200 more acres were plowed by the Indians, 3 tons of millet were cut and saved, and 40 rods of fence were erected or repaired. With the beginning of cutting hay, Hardin mentioned the Indians had a need for additional mowing machines. Despite spending a third of July at the agency headquarters, the district farmer was still able to aid sixty-two Indian families. There were thirty bushels of wheat and ten tons of hay cut by the Indians during the month. Hardin appealed that month for thirty turning plows needed by his Indians. The August report showed the Indians raising and gathering eighty bushels of corn, cutting and saving ten tons of grass and five tons of millet.

Long returned to Rainy Mountain to assist some seventy Indians during September with the only results being thirty tons of hay and sorghum.<sup>105</sup>

Lucius Aitson, an educated Kiowa Indian who had previously been assistant farmer for the district, was appointed district farmer the end of 1897 to take Long's place.<sup>106</sup> He aided or instructed from 150 to 600 Indians each of the months of May through July and September through November. In those months a total of 155 acres were plowed, 70 acres planted in May, and 285 tons of hay cut and stored. The Kiowas repaired or erected during this period at least 570 rods of fence. The condition of the Indians' stock was considered fine, while the agricultural implements were listed as fair.

Early in the year the Indians' farming was hindered by their participation in the Ghost Dance. The Ghost Dance Movement, started by a Paiute Indian named Jack Wilson (Wovoka) in the late 1880's, had been popularly received because of its promise of bringing back the buffalo and the destruction of the whites. These dances became quite popular among the Plains Indians in the early 1890's, but were

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<sup>105</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1897, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>106</sup>Tonner to Baldwin, November 20, 1897, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.; Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 1, 1897, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

gradually given up as word of Wilson's fallibility became known.<sup>107</sup>

During June, the district farmer inspected all the Indians' farms finding them very nice. He also found most of these Indians without a plow or wire but anxious to receive farm tools. He inspected them again during July with the same report. "I had find everybody raise good crop for this year but most of them have no place yet. It is because they have not any farmers['] tools to work with and they are so anxious to start to farm but they have nothing to start with but I hope the government help us all they can." The Indians in September were aided by the district farmer in making 440 gallons of sugar cane molasses. Corn meal and molasses were what most of them lived on. In the fall, these tribesmen attempted to sow wheat and gather their corn crops. District farmer, Aitson, remarked at the end of October, "I found most of them are much interested in their work. . . . They are very anxious to hear more about the farm implements." One Indian had raised a nice crop of cotton. All their farm work was completed by November and they then lapsed into inactivity.<sup>108</sup>

The Field Matron, still Miss Lauretta Ballew, was to teach the Indian women of the district to keep house and

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<sup>107</sup>William T. Hagan, American Indians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 130-33.

<sup>108</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1898, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

make clothing but her reports also mentioned the farming done. For example, she reported nearly every family during the farming season had "a garden, potatoes, onions, peas, beans, water melons, etc." This field matron visited during May, seventy-six Indian homes finding "some plowing, some planting, some fencing, some cutting cord wood, some washing and house cleaning, some hunting, others herding horses and cattle, etc." Miss Ballew reported at the end of June,

Almost every Kiowa family has a garden and from ten to twenty-five acres of land in cultivation, corn, cane, Kafi corn, millet, oats, and some wheat. All crops look fine this year, and the Indians are very much encouraged to work. Several described that it would be better for them to stay at home and take care of their crops than go to Anadarko to celebrate the fourth of July.<sup>109</sup>

The Anadarko District, located near the agency in the northeast sector, contained Indians of all three of the tribes. Farming reports for 1897 and 1898 give a picture of agricultural endeavors in this district. Serving as farmer in this district for the first four months of 1897, Wallin made a special report to Baldwin on the Indian farming in his district. He concluded, "The season so far has been all that could be desired, and greater effort has been put forth this spring then ever before in plowing and planting, and in opening up of new farms, especially so among the young men of the Comanche and Kiowa tribes, who

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<sup>109</sup> Monthly Field Matron Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1898, Field Matron File, KIA, ID, OHS.

seem anxious to make homes for themselves." The Apaches, however, continued to live in tepees with no permanent settlements. Wallin also told Baldwin all of the agricultural implements, seeds, and wire which were allotted to the Indians in his district were issued. In making these issues, Wallin had attempted to favor the young Indian men and he was generally very pleased with the distribution.<sup>110</sup>

An Indian assistant farmer, Delos K. Lonewolf, took over as farmer-in-charge of this district in May and served in that capacity for the remainder of the year and 1898. Two monthly reports filed by him in 1897 illustrate the work performed in his district. Besides assisting thirty-nine Indians, Lonewolf recorded for July that six acres had been plowed, thirty-four tons of hay cut, and sixteen rods of fence made or repaired. Neglect of farming by the Kiowas was in large measure due to their attendance at feasts and dances. Their cattle became sick during the month, many dying from a disease spread from cattle driven by cattlemen across the reservation. In August, Lonewolf assisted or instructed in farming forty-seven Indians who cut and stored nineteen tons of hay. Again Lonewolf mentioned the absence of many of his Indians because of the Ghost Dance.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Wallin to Baldwin, April 12, 1897, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>111</sup> Monthly Farm Reports, Anadarko District, 1897, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Lonewolf reported upon farming by the Indians along the Washita River in 1898. July's monthly report showed seventy-one Indians assisted and instructed, four acres plowed, and seventy-five tons of oats, millet, and hay cut in the district. Seventeen Indians were assisted by Lonewolf in August and thirty-five tons of hay were cut. The district farmer remarked about the hay, "Some of the Indians on my district were anxious to cut and put up hay, but being unable to get mowing machines, they could not put up as much hay as they would like." The results of these Indians' efforts in October alone yielded 5,325 bushels of grain that was stored besides an additional eighteen tons of hay cut.<sup>112</sup> The agency farm, located in this district, had 8 bushels of corn, 25 bushels of millet, and 250 bushels of oats sown in the spring of 1899.<sup>113</sup>

A new farming district, Mount Scott District, was established in September, 1897, to aid the Indians in the southwestern portion of the reserve. Hardin, former district farmer at Fort Sill and Rainy Mountain, was assigned to this new area. Monthly farm reports by Hardin for February and April through October indicated he had helped around sixty Indians each month with the largest number being ninety in April. Of these Indians only six youths during February were induced to farm for the first time.

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<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 1898.

<sup>113</sup>Frank B. Farwell, Farmer, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 31, 1898, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

The Indians of the Mount Scott District plowed and planted only 20 acres during February but plowed 500 during each of the months of April, May, and June with another 18 in October. Five hundred acres were planted in April and ten acres of millet were planted by the Indians during May. The results of their efforts during the year included 2,020 bushels of corn gathered in September and October and 60 tons of millet, oats, and hay cut and stored in July. An additional nine tons of hay were cut in August and September. Fence work done by these Indians during the eight months mentioned included four miles of pasture fence in February, over one mile in April, and the fence of sixty small farms repaired throughout the year. This district's stock and agricultural implements were considered good, except one month when Hardin said the implements were good but were not "the proper kind." In June, the farmer indicated 52 Apaches needed a mowing machine, 200 Kiowas one, and 3 other Kiowas one. Two mills for grinding corn were also mentioned in October as being of extreme importance to these Indians. Three-fourths of the Comanches were reported as doing well in August, while the Apaches were indolent and hungry and the Kiowas only enduring the work. By October, Hardin declared that the only thing troubling his Indians were "their imaginary titles of lands ranging from 320 to 3,200 acres."<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Mount Scott District, 1898, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.



Other farming in these districts was through agricultural agreements. This practice of allowing various Indians to hire white men to assist them in their farming was continued in 1895. In the past, some of these agreements had been permitted when an Indian wished to increase his land.<sup>115</sup> Baldwin objected to this practice, saying there were many Indians who did not want to work in the spring so instead hired a white man. To discourage these agreements the agent gave permission to hire a white man only when the Indian was unable to work himself. Fewer than forty agreements to hire a white man, up to November, were approved and all were under special circumstances. Baldwin observed, "Generally speaking, the Indians who had white men during the past season have asked that they be sent away, that they had found they could work themselves and did not want white men around."<sup>116</sup>

Baldwin stopped the hiring of white men in 1896 except by special exception. The only leasing permitted was for grazing purposes. Baldwin explained, "It is not the intention of the Department nor the desire of the Indians to lease their land for farming and it will not be done with the sanction of the Department."<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>Browning to Baldwin, January 10, 1895, Whites Living Among Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>116</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 7, 1895, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>117</sup>Baldwin to J. S. Works, Comanche, I.T., April 21, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 50, p. 281, KIA, ID, OHS.

Agent Baldwin also indicated that stock raising, rather than tilling the soil, was the one "industry which must be followed and depended upon as the only successful means of support for the people of this country."<sup>118</sup>

Another plan for making the Kiowa Reservation Indians stock-raisers was initiated in 1895 when a letter signed by 1,500 Indians was sent to Washington, D.C. It requested authority for \$50,000 of their grazing lease money to be used to purchase cows and fencing for a large pasture located on their reserve. These cattle would be held in a common pasture for three years and then turned over to individual Indians. Baldwin described this plan as the most progressive one ever made.<sup>119</sup>

Indians on the reservation objecting to this project employed a Washington attorney, William C. Shelley, to explain their objections to Commissioner Browning. Included among these Indians were "Quanah Parker, Chief of the Comanches, Lone Wolf, Chief of the Kiowas, White Man, Chief of the Apaches, and forty-two other sub-chiefs and head men, of their respective tribes." Shelley pointed out to the Commissioner that two attempts such as the one being proposed had been previously tried on the Kiowa Reservation in

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<sup>118</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 28, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 51, p. 237, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>119</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 3, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 44, p. 368, KIA, ID, OHS.

1876-78 and again in 1882-85, both being called failures. It was further indicated that this plan of a common herd had been tried unsuccessfully on other reservations. Shelley said the main reason for the bitter opposition to the purchase of these cattle was that it would be a waste of funds. The grazing leases totaling \$90,000 per year had previously been paid on a per capita basis; the Indians using the money generally to improve their allotments and build houses. Some of the Indians, Shelley agreed, did not use their payments properly but to deprive the progressive Indians "making very satisfactory progress along 'the white man's road' by the helpful processes of the income derived from these leases" would be most discouraging to them. A further argument against this plan was the fact that the common pasture would be part of the surplus land thrown open to public settlement when Congress passed the Jerome Agreement. This action was thought to take place in the next session.<sup>120</sup>

As a result of this opposition, the plan for a common pasture of breeding cattle was amended. Instead of keeping all the cattle in an enclosed pasture for a period of years, Baldwin explained they would be branded and issued to individual Indians. "Some of the young Indians," the agent commented, "are already calculating on enclosing pastures in which to keep the stock which they may receive

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<sup>120</sup>Shelley to Browning, July 13, 1895, LR, NA.

and are cutting the posts, and asking about the wire, which they anticipate will be furnished them by the government." For them to become accustomed to the range, in advance of winter, these cattle needed to be delivered before September. Baldwin suggested that 1,500 of these cattle be purchased from the Indians near the agency--500 from the Caddoes and Wichitas and 1,000 from Indians on the Kiowa Reservation who had ten to fifty head which they could sell without depleting their herds. This way the money would stay on the reservation. Concerning this plan, Baldwin declared,

As I have said before, I consider this one of the most important efforts made for these Indians, and if we can carry it out, I believe that in a very few years, by carefully watching and grazing the stock, that the Indians themselves will have cattle enough to consume all the grass on the reservation, or at least so much of it that there will be little, if any, to lease to out-side parties.<sup>121</sup>

Because of the delay in a Government decision on the purchase of the cattle, Baldwin wrote the Commissioner the last of August appealing again for approval of the \$50,000. The opposition to this project, he explained, was primarily the traders on the reservation, to whom many Indians owed money. The traders encouraged the Indians to oppose it so the tribesmen could pay their debts. Baldwin also re-emphasized the importance he placed on this project.

If we expect to save these people, and make them a self-supporting people, we have got to help them, and we have got to stop considering the cries and whims of people,

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<sup>121</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 16, 1895, LR, NA.

who would hold them in bondage till they went to their graves. I am thoroughly in earnest in this matter not only believing but knowing that it is the first step that has been taken in the right direction to make them a self-supporting people for years. It is their money that they are asking us to expend for their benefit, and with the exception of a few soreheaded Indians, who amount to nothing, never had anything, never will have anything, I can say that unanimously the Indians are anxious to receive their cattle; and I sincerely hope that the Department will see its way clear to authorize the purchase, in some way so that they can be delivered before the end of September.<sup>122</sup>

With grazing being the best ever on the reservation in 1895, Baldwin continued to stress that "the future of these Indians depends greatly on their ability to secure the foundation upon which to accumulate bands or herds of cattle, as I do not consider that they can depend on the agricultural products of the country entirely as a means of support."<sup>123</sup>

Commissioner Browning authorized the agent on October 19 to advertise for 1,000 heifers and 40 bulls, and to purchase 1,500 heifers from Indians of his own agency.<sup>124</sup> Upon notification Baldwin called the Commissioner's attention to the fact that this authority only covered the purchase of 2,500 cattle and that there were 2,900 Indians who were entitled to a share. He said it

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<sup>122</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 27, 1895, LR, NA.

<sup>123</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, pp. 109-11, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>124</sup>Browning to Baldwin, October 19, 1895, Finance, Vol. 239, p. 32, LS, NA.

would be impossible to make a satisfactory division. Baldwin requested, therefore, 1,000 additional heifers so each one on the reservation would "be entitled to receive them, at the rate of one for each individual." He also recommended the forty bulls be increased to seventy-four so there would be one bull for each twenty-five heifers. Baldwin also requested that the time of delivery be delayed until the first of March so the risk would not be as great from the cattle purchased off the reservation.<sup>125</sup>

Before obtaining the remainder of the cattle, Baldwin issued, in May, 1896, to the Indians the 2,315 heifers already received at the agency. He issued them because they were too hard to hold during severe storms and those cattle purchased from Indians kept attempting to return to their old ranges. Also the Indians who had gathered at the agency waiting for the issue needed to return to their work and it added to Government expense when they were held. Baldwin described the issue,

Each animal was branded on the left hip with an "ID" and on the left side along the loin, with the number of the family as shown by the new enrollment census. These cattle were all driven to the homes of the Indians and so pleased are they with their stock that they are holding them in enclosed pastures and, up to the present time, I have learned of the loss of but one heifer, and as I have before informed the Department, they are making preparations to deposit money as soon as they receive the next grass payment, to purchase more cattle with.

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<sup>125</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 29, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, pp. 263-64, KIA, ID, OHS.

The seventy-four bulls were tended by the district farmers who in turn were to give them to chiefs for use by the Indians in their vicinity.<sup>126</sup>

The remaining 500 heifers were authorized to be purchased July 24, 1896. They were to be "good quality common range cattle and natives of Oklahoma or Indian Territories."<sup>127</sup> Of these 500, 200 were to be purchased from the Indians at the same price to be paid for the other 300 head coming from a non-Indian source.<sup>128</sup> In speaking of this venture of the Indian putting up the money for the cattle, Baldwin enumerated, "In every way these Indians are making strenuous and most commendable efforts to improve their present surroundings and willingly spend their own money in that way. . . . Nothing is promised them unless they show an inclination to help themselves."<sup>129</sup>

The stock owned by the Indians in two farming districts in 1896 illustrated how far stock raising had advanced over the years. The Indians of the Fort Sill District had a total of 5,000 cattle in addition to 100

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<sup>126</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 5, 1896, LR, NA.

<sup>127</sup>Smith to Baldwin, July 24, 1896, Finance, Vol. 250, p. 323, LS, NA.

<sup>128</sup>Smith to Baldwin, September 24, 1896, Finance, Vol. 252, p. 154, LS, NA.

<sup>129</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 8, 1896, LR, NA.

or more hogs, 90 goats, and 80 fowls.<sup>130</sup> A large number of the Comanches wrote Baldwin asking that a portion of the money received from the next grass payments be used to purchase young cattle. The Comanches requested Baldwin or someone else chosen by him to go with them to the Chickasaw County to aid in their selection of stock.<sup>131</sup> The Rainy Mountain Indians already had 390 head of cattle besides the 450 heifers issued during the year. Other livestock included 175 fowls and 15 hogs. District farmer Long said a number of families had ten head of cattle and were taking good care of them. A few had twice that many. Long was convinced these Indians, even the older ones, would take good care of the cattle recently received.<sup>132</sup>

After visiting the Indians throughout the reservation in 1896, Baldwin concluded that the Indians were "taking the greatest care of this stock as well as other stock which they won." Most of the Indians, he found, had small corrals in which they kept their cattle at night and had someone watching the herd as it grazed during the day. Baldwin considered the purchasing of cattle by the Indians as "one of the best moves that has been made for their benefit, and one

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<sup>130</sup> Hardin to Baldwin, July 8, 1896, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>131</sup> Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 22, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 51, p. 147, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>132</sup> Long to Baldwin, July 1, 1896, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.



that can not but prove successful if proper encouragement is given them to continue to care for their stock, and when it becomes of a size and age for market to see that they receive its full value."<sup>133</sup>

The Indians of the Kiowa Reservation demonstrated in 1897 their interest in stock raising by caring for the ones they had and by purchasing additional cows. "Their herds of cattle," Baldwin explained, "have not only increased, but they have added to them by selling or trading their ponies for young stock, and in most instances they are caring for their stock as well or better than the average white man, but it is an industry that must be most arbitrarily and strongly protected."<sup>134</sup> The Plains tribesmen owned herds of cattle averaging from eight to ten head, with quite a few having herds numbering over 200. Many of these cattle were bought with their own money.<sup>135</sup> To further increase their herds, Baldwin continued to encourage them to exchange their ponies for cattle. When E. F. Burton, the chief clerk in charge of the Fort Sill sub-agency, mentioned his Comanche Indians were interested in this type of an exchange, the agent affirmed that he had been working

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<sup>133</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 28, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 51, p. 347, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., Vol. 55, p. 447.

<sup>135</sup>Wright to Secretary of Interior, June 10, 1897, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

for this objective for two years and believed if the initial effort was a success these Indians would trade several thousand ponies for cattle.<sup>136</sup>

Agent Walker in 1898, joined past agents in stressing that stock raising should be "encouraged to its greatest capacity among the Indians." Noting that they were generally taking better care of their cattle, Walker reported that many of his Indians had "nice herds . . . sufficient to furnish them with a comfortable living and supply all their needs." Many of these cattle owners cut and stacked hay to feed their stock through the winter.<sup>137</sup> A general agency council in April appropriated another \$50,000 for the purchase of heifers.<sup>138</sup>

Before stock raising could be successful, the Indians had to receive a fair market price for their cattle. In an attempt to achieve this, Agent Baldwin ordered that no cattle were to be sold to the whites without his authorization. To get around this order, sales were made under the pretense of willing property to another

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<sup>136</sup>Baldwin to Burton, June 10, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 56, p. 361, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>137</sup>Walker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 26, 1898, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 62, pp. 183-84, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>138</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 11, 1898, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 58, p. 369, KIA, ID, OHS.

Indian.<sup>139</sup> Consequently, Baldwin requested that the Government establish a central market at Anadarko and Fort Sill for the sale of Indian cattle which he felt would realize from 10 to 50 percent profit.<sup>140</sup> Commissioner Jones authorized Baldwin's request as an experiment. Cattle buyers were invited to come to Fort Sill to bid on Indian cattle in the southern portion of the reservation and to Anadarko where Indians in the northern part would market their cattle. "If it proves advantageous and helpful to the Indians at this time," the Commissioner declared, "a request for authority to pursue a similar course next season will be duly considered."<sup>141</sup> The number of cattle sold by the Indians at Fort Sill and Anadarko between the first and tenth of November totaled 203 head selling for \$5,997.53.<sup>142</sup>

Another market for Indian cattle was the Federal Government. It agreed to purchase from the Indians the beef issued for rations on the Kiowa Reservation. In 1895 the Government purchased from these Indians 400,000 pounds

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<sup>139</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 28, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 55, p. 447, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>140</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 26, 1897, LR, NA.

<sup>141</sup>W. A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Baldwin, November 3, 1897, Purchase from Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>142</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 15, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 58, p. 128, KIA, ID, OHS.

of beef equaling about 400 to 600 head of cattle required for issue as rations to the Indians.<sup>143</sup> In 1896, agents purchased from the Indians 432,710 pounds of beef at the same price as the normal contractors received. This price was two to three times as much as the Indians had received for their cattle from various traders near the agency. Baldwin commented,

It is just as necessary, if not more so, to provide a market and see that these Indians get full value for what they have to sell as it is to get them to raise it, and when they once learn by observation that their products are of as much value as those of the white man they will enter the market in competition and will prosper equally with the white man.<sup>144</sup>

Approximately 900 head of the 2,400 head of stock cattle furnished the Indians during the year were also purchased from Indians on the reservation. Although opening up a market for their cattle, Baldwin did not push the Indians very hard to give up their stock because he was anxious for them to build up the number which they had. Cattle purchased from the Indians were from those who could spare the cattle without significantly reducing their herds.<sup>145</sup> Early the following year the Government bought

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<sup>143</sup>Browning to Baldwin, July 27, 1895, Purchase from Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.; Browning to Baldwin, June 25, 1895, Finance, Vol. 233, p. 303, LS, NA.

<sup>144</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 28, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 51, pp. 347-48, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>145</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 8, 1896, LR, NA.

from the Indians, 664,431 pounds of fine beef cattle<sup>146</sup> and an additional 500,000 pounds in September.<sup>147</sup>

Revenue for these tribes in the period also came from the leasing of portions of the Kiowa Reservation to cattlemen for grazing purposes. The leases were generally paid in semiannual installments with the first made in advance. As mentioned before, a portion of this income was used from time to time to purchase stock cattle for the Indians.<sup>148</sup> Nine one-year leases began April 1, 1895,<sup>149</sup> but were delayed the following year because of the pending Congressional approval of the Jerome Agreement.<sup>150</sup> Fourteen one-year leases were finally authorized.<sup>151</sup> The Indians gave their official approval to these leases at a council in late April.<sup>152</sup> The following year the number of grazing leases jumped to twenty-three

<sup>146</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 28, 1897, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 55, pp. 447-48, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>147</sup>Jones to Baldwin, September 1, 1897, Purchase from Indians File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>148</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1895, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 46, p. 114, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>149</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1895, p. 36.

<sup>150</sup>Browning to Secretary of Interior, March 19, 1896, Accounts, Vol. 164, p. 52, LS, NA.

<sup>151</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1896, p. 37.

<sup>152</sup>Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 1, 1896, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 51, p. 82, KIA, ID, OHS.

and the length of these agreements varied from one to three years.<sup>153</sup>

Agricultural activities were increasingly emphasized in Indian schools all over the country in the 1890's. This was illustrated in the report for 1893 by the Superintendent of Indian Schools, William T. Canfield.

If the school farm is to produce valuable results on lives of the boys the farmer who directs their work should look to this as the chief end of his labors. He should instruct these boys concerning the character and value of the different soils; adapting these soils to the various crops; the means for increasing and maintaining their fertility. He should explain to them the character, construction, giving them the meaning of every manipulation in which they engaged and the reasons therefor. . . . In addition to hay, oats, corn, or wheat he is raising more precious crops of intelligent farmers and lays the foundation for prosperous rural homes that will bless him as the chief benefactor.<sup>154</sup>

These principles were carried out on the Kiowa Reservation where three boarding schools served the children of the Plains Indians--the Washita School, the Fort Sill School, and the Rainy Mountain School. The latter was established in September of 1893.<sup>155</sup> Agriculture was assigned a significant role in the curriculum and activities of all these schools and the Government furnished them agricultural supplies and men to instruct these children in farming. There was generally one person at each school serving as

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<sup>153</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1898, p. 56.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 1894, p. 346.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

industrial teacher and farmer.<sup>156</sup> Besides planting vegetables and field seeds, these students at schools also herded cattle and other livestock.

The Rainy Mountain School was under the leadership of Superintendent Cora M. Dunn during most of the 1890's. The importance of teaching the young Indians in her district to farm was indicated in the following excerpt from her annual report for 1895. "While excellent work was done in the schoolrooms, special emphasis was placed on industrial training, as being the ground work of success in after life. Domestic and farm industries were as thoroughly taught as our limited equipment would permit."<sup>157</sup> Crops grown by the students at this school included vegetables grown in garden patches and field crops such as Kaffir corn, millet, sorghum, oats, and hay. The dryness of the climate usually hindered most of their efforts such as in 1895 when no rain fell for ten months prior to May 23. The oats and early garden vegetables were practically a failure. But late crops on the school farm did extremely well with an estimated 2,000 bushels of Kaffir corn, 36 tons of sorghum, 8 tons of oats, and 35 tons of hay.<sup>158</sup> This yield was reduced by 1897 to 400 bushels of Kaffir corn and 2 tons

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<sup>156</sup>Day to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 25, 1893, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 39, p. 146, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>157</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1895, pp. 253-54.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid.

of sorghum, but 600 bushels of oats and 25 tons of millet were also grown. The garden prepared by the students was destroyed by a hail storm too late in the year to replant.<sup>159</sup> Stock raising was also stressed at this school because, like others on the reserve, the Superintendent felt stock raising would be the leading industry in this part of the country due to the climate.<sup>160</sup> A unique feature of the program at Rainy Mountain School was the offering of a prize to the boy who had the best twenty hills of corn.<sup>161</sup>

Strides were also made in agriculture at the Fort Sill School. In 1896, Superintendent W. H. Cox explained, "Our purpose is not so much to farm many acres of land as it is to do the work well." The number of acres cultivated by these Indian boys increased from seventy-six acres in 1896<sup>162</sup> to 100 the following year<sup>163</sup> and some 170 acres by 1898.<sup>164</sup> An indication of the variety of crops grown at this school was those recorded in 1897. Crops raised included six acres of wheat, fourteen acres of rye, eleven acres of oats, four acres of alfalfa, twenty-three acres of

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<sup>159</sup>Ibid., 1897, pp. 235-36.

<sup>160</sup>Ibid.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid., 1895, pp. 253-54.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid., 1896, pp. 256-57.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., 1897, pp. 235-36.

<sup>164</sup>Walker to Jones, November 15, 1898, Kiowa Letter-book, Vol. 62, p. 345, KIA, ID, OHS.



field corn, thirty-one acres of Kaffir corn, three acres of cotton, and one acre of melons. Superintendent Cox remarked, "Our purpose is to raise a variety of crops in order that the boys may know what will and what will not do well in this locality. I am of the opinion that the industrial education is of far the most practical value to the present generation of Indians."<sup>165</sup> The following year the acres cultivated amounted to fifty-five acres of oats, fourteen acres of wheat, and six acres of cotton.<sup>166</sup>

Stock raising also drew attention at this school. Superintendent Cox commented in 1893 when he requested authority to purchase ten to twelve head of milk cows, "The school has a plentiful supply of feed and pasture; and with this number of good cows to begin with, it would not be many years, with proper care, before the will of the Department in this regard could be realized."<sup>167</sup> Three to four years later the school had a 550-acre, fenced pasture<sup>168</sup> containing thirty-seven head of cattle and sixteen hogs.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1897,  
pp. 235-36.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 1898, p. 240.

<sup>167</sup> Cox to Nichols, September 28, 1894, LR, NA.

<sup>168</sup> Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1896,  
pp. 256-57.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 1897, pp. 235-36.

## CHAPTER VIII

### AGRICULTURE BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE KIOWA RESERVATION, 1899-1901

The objective of the Indian Service during the latter years of the Kiowa Reservation remained unchanged from the preceding three decades. It was aptly expressed by the agent who replaced Baldwin in 1898.

It is the desire of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that each and every Indian upon this reservation provide himself with cultivated land upon which he may raise vegetables and grain for his own use and with which to feed his horses and cattle during the winter months; also, to provide himself sufficient pasture in which to keep his own horses and cattle.<sup>1</sup>

But the agricultural activities diminished considerably during these years because of allotment in severalty.

The pressure for opening the Kiowa Reservation to settlement continued through 1899. No official allotments had been made on the reservation, but many Indians had located on lands which they had improved and had indicated that they would like to have them permanently.<sup>2</sup> Agent

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<sup>1</sup>Walker to Lone Wolf, Elk Creek, Kiowa Reservation, March 6, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 66, p. 186, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>2</sup>James F. Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 72, pp. 158-59, KIA, ID, OHS.

Randlett, who was appointed in July 1899, said most of his Indians had "selected farm sites which they cultivate."<sup>3</sup> Even though beginning to establish permanent farms, the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation continued to appeal to Commissioner William A. Jones to prevent the Government from implementing the Jerome Agreement. They appealed to Congress to let them keep their reservation, saying they were not ready yet for white men to live among them. "We wish our white brothers would let us alone," these Indians pleaded, "so we can try to improve into to the betterment of ourself, we are helpless at the present and unable to support ourselves. We cry and beg our white brothers to have pity on us and let us alone."<sup>4</sup>

The Indians who wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs specifically urged him to present their side against the Jerome Agreement to the Committees of Indian Affairs of both houses of Congress. Pronouncing the agreement a fraud, these Indians further explained,

We now realize that, if this Treaty is ratified, we are doomed to destruction as a people and brought to the same impoverished condition to which the Cheyenne and Arapahoe and other Indian tribes have been brought from the effects of prematurely opening their reservations for the settlement of white men among them. We submit that our lands are not adapted to agricultural purposes,

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<sup>3</sup>Randlett to W. E. Blakeley, Purcell, I.T., November 6, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 74, p. 50, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>4</sup>Indians of the Kiowa Reservation to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 8, 1899, Federal Relations File, KIA, ID, OHS.

but make excellent grazing pastures for cattle, and that all of it we do not need for our use as homes and grazing our own stock is open for leasing to people engaged in the cattle raising industry of the country, and that the general public, as well as ourselves, derive more benefit from this condition than would be derived were our lands thrown open for settlement by people who want it for homesteads. From the lands we now have leased we are deriving a revenue that enables us to procure many of the comforts of life, if this revenue is taken from us at this time, it will stop the progress we are making in ways of civilization and blight the hopes we have entertained that the Government would continue to protect our interests until we were fitted to compete with the white man in civilized ways for self support. We submit that the provision for lands to be allotted to us under this Treaty are insufficient, because it is evident we cannot, on account of the climate of our section which renders the maturity of crops uncertain, become a successful farming community; that we, or whoever else, occupies these lands will have to depend upon the cattle industry for revenue and support. And we therefore pray, if we cannot be granted the privilege of keeping our reservation under the treaty made with us in 1868, and known as the Medicine Lodge Treaty, that authority be granted for the consideration of a new treaty that will make the allowance for land to be allotted to us sufficient for us to graze upon it enough stock cattle, the increase from which we can market for support of ourselves and families.<sup>5</sup>

The Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners wrote Randlett November 2, asking for information concerning the progress of the Indians with allotment of their lands in severalty.<sup>6</sup> The response was that no regular allotments of land in severalty had been made. Randlett added,

These Indians are not fitted in any manner for the allotment of their lands in severalty, or for being thrown into competition with intelligent whites in pursuit of industry from which to gain maintenance.

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., October 9, 1899, Federal Relations File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>6</sup>Merrill E. Gates, Secretary, Board of Indian Commissioners, to Randlett, November 2, 1899, Allotment File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Their country is especially adapted to cattle raising, and if they are ever successful in anything it will be in that branch of industry, and no other.<sup>7</sup>

Despite this opposition by the agent and reservation Indians, the Jerome Agreement was ratified by Congress, June 6, 1900, with some changes and amendments. The agreement provided each member of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes a 160-acre allotment, with the allotment to be carried out ninety days from the ratification, but the Secretary of Interior had permission to extend the time if necessary. In addition, 480,000 acres of grazing land were to be set aside by the Secretary of Interior for the common use of these tribes. Also, land was necessary to be held for such uses as Indian schools and farmers' stations.<sup>8</sup>

The Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches were informed of the Congressional approval of the act in a council held July 3, 1900. Nearly all the male Comanches and Apaches attended and more than half the Kiowas. They approved the Secretary of Interior's plan that the location of the 480,000 acres to be held in common be chosen after all individual allotments to Indians had been made. The Indians expressed the belief that there was insufficient time for them to select their allotments. Many, they felt, would not "receive good homesteads if the work of allotting

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<sup>7</sup>Randlett to Gates, December 15, 1899, Kiowa Letter-book, Vol. 74, pp. 294-95, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>8</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1900, pp. 538-41.

is not done with due regard to the interests of the individual Indians, many of whom are incapable of selecting their places without advice."<sup>9</sup>

Allotting agents began doing this preliminary work in August. The Comanches and Apaches by this time were reconciled to the fact that they had to take allotments and no trouble was anticipated from them. The Kiowas did not accept it as readily, but Agent Randlett believed they would accept the law "cheerfully" as soon as the Comanches took their allotments.<sup>10</sup> Some Kiowas, however, who did not like the allotments, went to Washington to protest. By the time they returned, the Comanches had agreed to accept the act of June 6 and were busy selecting their allotments. Most of the Kiowas did the same. A few did say they would not select lands for their allotments and even tried to induce others to follow them. Finally, the Kiowas suggested in a council, and the Comanches yielded, that the 480,000 acres of grazing land to be held in common be allotted for fear that Congress would open it to settlement in a short time. They also wished to hire an attorney to watch their interests.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 14, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 79, pp. 126-28, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>10</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 76, pp. 460-61, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>11</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 21, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 79, pp. 485-89, KIA, ID, OHS.

There developed also some confusion over the amount of land the Indians were to be allotted. Agent Walker in April, 1899, said he had issued some of his Indians "Kiowa and Comanche Land Certificates" which entitled each family 320 acres of land and 160 if an Indian was single.<sup>12</sup>

Agent Randlett, however, informed the Secretary of Interior in 1900 that there were no claimants entitled to 320 acres under their headright certificates because none had fulfilled within the letter and intent of Article 6 of the Medicine Lodge Treaty.<sup>13</sup>

By 1901 the Government's Indian policy required the Indians to look to their own resources for their livelihood. Commissioner Jones explained that the function of the Government was

. . . to see that the Indian has the opportunity for self-support, and that he is afforded the same protection of his person and property as is given to others. That being done, he should be thrown entirely upon his own resources to become a useful member of the community in which he lives, or not, according as he exerts himself or fails to make an effort.

Jones added that the Indian should be situated in such a locale that he and his family could be self-supporting by exercising ordinary energy and efforts.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Walker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 15, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 70, p. 49, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>13</sup>Randlett to Secretary of the Interior, December 7, 1900, Federal Relations File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>14</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1901, pp. 4-5.

The qualification of locating Indians on land which could support them was especially applicable to the Kiowa Reservation. Both the Commissioner and the Indian Agent had grave doubts about the land's productiveness even if a conscientious effort was made by these Plains Indians. Congress, feeling otherwise, had passed the Allotment Act in June, 1900, which provided for the subsequent opening of the reserve lands to settlement in July, 1901, and left the Indian to farm his 160 acres.<sup>15</sup>

Before the opening of the reservation, a final protest, known as the Springer Movement, was staged in the spring of 1901. William M. Springer, a man in Washington, joined with Delos Lonewolf in trying to persuade three-fourths of the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation to sign a petition to stop the opening of their reservation. Less than 100 Indians supported this movement.<sup>16</sup>

On June 12, 1901, Randlett reported there were 708 adult male Indians in the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes, 640 of whom had selected their own allotments. The remaining fifty-four were chosen by relatives, five by chiefs, eight by friends, and one would not select. Randlett

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<sup>15</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 91, p. 261, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>16</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 5, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 89, p. 87, KIA, ID, OHS.; Randlett to Secretary of the Interior, June 12, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 87, p. 368, KIA, ID, OHS.



declared, "All selections were voluntary and without coercion. I know of no one that does not want to retain his allotment." Randlett indicated all the Indians with whom he talked seemed pleased with the location of their allotment. Even so, the agent admitted that all of his Indians would have preferred that the reservation not be opened to settlement.<sup>17</sup>

President William McKinley on July 4, 1901, issued his proclamation establishing the manner in which the Kiowa lands were to be settled and were to be opened to entry August 6, 1901. One provision was that the title to the individual allotted lands to Indians was to be held in trust for twenty-five years, at which time it was to be conveyed to the allottees free from all encumbrances.<sup>18</sup> The reservation was opened by a lottery in August, with sections reserved such as 56,000 acres for Fort Sill Military Reserve, 58,000 for Wichita Mountain Forest Reserve, and the Big Pasture Reserve of 480,000 acres. Big Pasture area was later sold at public auction in 1906--a 160-acre tract sold for ten dollars an acre.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Randlett to Secretary of the Interior, June 12, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 87, pp. 368-70, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>18</sup>Acting Secretary of Interior to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 5, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 90, pp. 457-59, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>19</sup>Gibson, Oklahoma, pp. 302-03.

To help make the Plains Indians self-supporting on their future allotments, the Indian Service directed these tribesmen to keep not only enough seed from each year's harvest to plant their fields the following year but to also purchase their own agricultural implements from their grazing leases and annuity payments.<sup>20</sup> The Government's success in this objective was limited. During 1898 the following seeds were furnished to these Indians: 4,100 bushels of oats; 1,400 bushels of corn; 85 tons of millet; and 5 tons of bran.<sup>21</sup> For seventy different varieties of garden seeds, \$275 was allotted.<sup>22</sup>

Even though the agent in March, 1899, declared that no implements could be furnished except wire for fencing farming lots,<sup>23</sup> issues to deserving Indians were made in 1899 and 1901 (see Table 5). The Commissioner indicated that some of the \$232,000 annuity payments made the Indians in the 1899-1900 fiscal year was spent for agricultural

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<sup>20</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 6, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 72, pp. 463-66, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>21</sup>Proposals for Hay, Corn, etc. by Walker, January 4, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 65, p. 341, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>22</sup>Walker to F. Barteldes and Co., Lawrence, Kansas, March 20, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 66, p. 261, KIA, ID, OHS.; Walker to Mangelsdorf Brothers and Co., Atchison, Kansas, March 20, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 66, p. 259, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>23</sup>Walker to Lucius Aitson, Rainy Mountain Farmer, March 22, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 66, p. 275, KIA, ID, OHS.

implements. The major part, though, was said to be used by the Indians for unwise purposes, "far remote from civilizing."<sup>24</sup>

TABLE 5  
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND SUPPLIES ISSUED  
AT THE KIOWA AGENCY

	1899 <sup>25</sup>	1901 <sup>26</sup>
Mowing Machines	8	10
Cultivators	4	6
Sets of Plow Harness	20	20
Plows	43	62
Horse Rakes	4	10
Harrows	5	-
Corn Shellers	4	-
Wire Fence	-	61,000 pounds

As more responsibility was placed on the Indians to purchase their own seeds and implements, the Government was able to direct its funds toward providing large and expensive equipment which could be shared by many of the tribesmen. Such implements as mowing machines, corn planters, wagon seeders, and corn shellers were loaned.<sup>27</sup> These

<sup>24</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1900, pp. 9-10.

<sup>25</sup>Walker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 22, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 67, p. 90, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>26</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 18, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 81, p. 273, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>27</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 6, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 72, pp. 463-66, KIA, ID, OHS.

items were generally kept at the agency,<sup>28</sup> but some were also distributed by the district farmers to those Indians under their jurisdiction. Held at the various districts in the fall of 1900 were the following implements in working condition: Fort Sill--5 mowing machines and 1 hay rake<sup>29</sup>; Little Washita--6 mowing machines and 4 hay rakes<sup>30</sup>; Rainy Mountain--5 mowing machines and 2 hay rakes<sup>31</sup>; and Anadarko --9 mowing machines and 5 hay rakes.<sup>32</sup>

Government aid was also used to provide these Indians with instruction in farming. This instruction and assistance was administered by farmers and assistant farmers hired to work in one of five farming districts of the Kiowa Reservation--Rainy Mountain, Fort Sill, Mount Scott, Little Washita, and Anadarko. Agent Walker in 1899 declared these employees were of prime necessity, especially during the spring planting when they were to be "in the field actively engaged in seeing that the Indians are making

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Benson to Randlett, September 1, 1900, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>30</sup>Farwell to Randlett, September 7, 1900, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>31</sup>Joseph E. Maxwell, Rainy Mountain District Farmer, to Randlett, September 13, 1900, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>32</sup>Delos K. Lonewolf to Randlett, August 19, 1900, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

preparations to farm."<sup>33</sup> Further delineation of the district farmers' responsibilities for the welfare of those Indians in their districts was made by Agent Randlett in 1900.

The entire Apache, Kiowa and Comanche Reservation is divided into different farming districts, each of these districts is provided with a farmer and each farmer will be held personally responsible for the welfare and progress of the Indians included within the limits of his district as defined. It is thought that should each farmer do his duty well and truly to the Indians in his districts he would have scant, if any, time to devote to the Indians in other districts.<sup>34</sup>

Despite this aid, the agricultural activities of the Indians of the Kiowa Reservation generally declined during this period from 1899 to 1901. Prior to Congress' ratification of the Jerome Agreement in June, 1900, they were busy attempting to prevent the opening of this reservation. Following its passage, they spent most of their time selecting and staking out their permanent allotments of 160 acres. The last part of the farming season of 1901 was disrupted by settlers disputing the Indian claims to lands in the reserve or attempting to lease portions of the Indians' land to farm or graze cattle. Agent Randlett, in reporting that little had been done in farming by the Indians, declared, "The excitement incident to the allotting and

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<sup>33</sup> Walker to Aitson, March 3, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 66, p. 164, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>34</sup> Randlett to Joseph E. Maxwell, Farmer Rainy Mountain, March 15, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 83, pp. 322-23, KIA, ID, OHS.

opening of these lands has so distracted their minds that they have paid but little attention to anything else. . . ."35

A fair crop of field corn and a few other general crops were raised in 1899 by those Indians who had homes and fenced lots.<sup>36</sup> But Agent Randlett was forced to conclude in December that his Indians had "not accomplished much in the way of farming, owing to the uncertainty of rainfall and hot winds of summer."<sup>37</sup>

The following year a majority of the Plains Indians cultivated farms of 10 to 70 acres with but only a small number cultivating over 100 acres.<sup>38</sup> Randlett described their efforts in 1900, "These Indians have made some progress in farming, and a large number of them are inclined to be progressive and appear ambitious to become settled in homesteads furnished with civilized comforts. As a rule, they will work when profitable results appear attainable."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 91, p. 261, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>36</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 72, p. 158, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>37</sup>Report, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1899, p. 42.

<sup>38</sup>U.S., Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Agriculture on Indian Reservations, V, p. 726.

<sup>39</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 76, p. 463, KIA, ID, OHS.

More Indians were engaged in farming on this reservation than ever before. With sufficient rainfall, their crops were successful and this encouraged "many other Indians to follow their example."<sup>40</sup> But the quantity of farming actually declined the following year primarily because "the ultimate opening of the reservations resulted in a number of the Indians not cultivating their little fields at all, and others only in part."<sup>41</sup> A general drought throughout the reservation caused many who did plant in the spring to receive little in return.<sup>42</sup>

The principal crop grown by the Indians during this period continued to be corn, but wheat, oats, and garden vegetables such as sweet potatoes, melons, and sweet corn, were also important.<sup>43</sup> Indian corn, in order to do well, had to be planted early to avoid the hot winds from the middle of July to the first of October. Kaffir corn was an excellent forage crop which, if cultivated properly, could

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<sup>40</sup>Randlett to Fred L. Wenner, Private Secretary to the Governor, August 1, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 78, p. 479, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>41</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 9, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 94, p. 137, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>42</sup>U.S., Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Agriculture on Indian Reservations, V, p. 728.

<sup>43</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 91, p. 262, KIA, ID, OHS.

yield from thirty to seventy bushels to the acre.<sup>44</sup> The latter was raised where it was too dry for regular corn.<sup>45</sup> The wheat matured in the river valleys but was injured usually because of rain during the harvest time. Another crop, cotton, was experimented with and was pronounced a good prospect for agricultural development.<sup>46</sup>

The limited success accomplished agriculturally by these Indians can be seen by examining each farming district. The Fort Sill District, located in the southeast portion of the reserve was under the charge of Frank Worchester who was appointed January 18, 1899. When he arrived, Worchester found at the district office "no records of work previously done, no statistical knowledge compiled relative to the Indians or their condition, no list of farm implements heretofore issued to or places among them nor was there any way for ascertaining what Indians had cultivated lands or who among them had been in the habit of farming." He also found the Indians expressing a desire to increase the acreage of their farms and wishing to get the crops planted as early as possible.

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<sup>44</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 76, pp. 458-60, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>45</sup>U.S., Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Agriculture on Indian Reservations, V, p. 728.

<sup>46</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 76, pp. 458-60, KIA, ID, OHS.



Worcester remarked, "Indians show much rivalry as to who shall have the best farms."<sup>47</sup>

Throughout 1899, Worcester served as engineer and sawyer as well as having the responsibilities of district farmer. Agent Randlett requested the abolition of this position and replacement by an additional farmer.<sup>48</sup> This authority was granted,<sup>49</sup> and Fred L. Benson, a white married man from Arkansas, was appointed December 19, 1899.<sup>50</sup> The progress of the Indians in this district was indicated in monthly reports filed by Benson for the last half of 1900. The district farmer aided 112 Indians during July with sixteen farming for the first time. Acres plowed during the month consisted of 400 while 68 tons of hay were cut and saved. The hay was short because there were no repairs for the mowing machines. Benson spent most of the next month assisting the selection of good allotments, a majority of which had been chosen by the end of September. Hay continued to be gathered, with nearly eighty tons cut from August through October. Bushels of grains harvested

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<sup>47</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Fort Sill District, 1899, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>48</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 72, p. 184, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>49</sup>Tonner to Randlett, September 30, 1899, Accounts, Vol. 204, p. 407, LS, NA.

<sup>50</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 19, 1899, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

by these Indians amounted to 150 in September, 1,000 in October, 2,000 in December, and 2,118 in January, 1901.<sup>51</sup>

Many of these Fort Sill Indians, though, still had a tendency to hang around the sub agency and not work.<sup>52</sup>

Benson instructed or assisted in 1901 from 100 to 300 Indians each month from January through October and 26 Indians were persuaded to farm for the first time. Over 2,400 acres were plowed in this district during the year with 847 acres planted during the months of March to June. The results of their labor were 431 bushels of grain in September and 321 in October. From July to October, 128 tons of hay were cut and stored and over 1,000 rods of fence were fixed or put up during March, April, and July with a total of 1,813 rods of fence made through the eleven months reported. The stock and agricultural implements of the Indians of the Fort Sill District were considered fair to good. The early part of 1901 found district farmers assisting the Indians in their choice of allotments. By July these tribesmen were busy transferring their improvements to their new allotments. At this time, the crops of those Indians farming began to be affected by a drought. Benson reported that the crops would be "very short" and

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<sup>51</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Fort Sill District, 1900, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.; Ibid., 1901.

<sup>52</sup>Randlett to Dr. Ferdinand Shoemaker, Physician in Charge, Fort Sill Sub Agency, February 17, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 75, p. 203, KIA, ID, OHS.

the Indians' stock would have a hard time enduring since there were neither water nor grass. Due to the continued drought, Benson could not compel any Indians to break new land.<sup>53</sup>

Whereas, most of the Indians of the Fort Sill District were Comanches, the Kiowa Indians lived mostly in the Rainy Mountain District. Lucius Aitson, serving as farmer-in-charge for the first half of 1899, was somewhat handicapped because he did not reside in the center of his district and consequently could not cover his entire district.<sup>54</sup> The Indians of Rainy Mountain began in February to prepare their fields for the spring plowing and planting and many were fixing their old fences. The next month Aitson visited most of the district, finding many of the Indians busy plowing. He assisted 400 Indians, of whom four farmed for the first time. There were fifty acres plowed and eighty planted during this time.<sup>55</sup> Two days of Aitson's visit were spent in the Washita River area along the northern boundary of the reservation. He found several Indians plowing and sowing oats in a nice fashion

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<sup>53</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Fort Sill District, 1901, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>54</sup>Walker to Isabell Crawford, Rainy Mountain, March 25, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 66, pp. 299-300, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>55</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1899, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

while others were preparing to go to work.<sup>56</sup> By April nearly all the Indians in this district had enlarged their farms and were planting such field crops as corn, Kaffir corn, sorghum, oats, and millet.<sup>57</sup> Some 450 Indians were assisted by the district farmer and his assistant in April; six were engaged in agriculture for the initial time. These Indians plowed 60 acres and planted 200 during the month besides continuing to repair their old fences. Aitson remarked that he found the Indians working very hard on their farms, of which more had been opened than ever before. "I am very much pleased with them," the farmer declared, "to see them getting along so nicely." Covering all of his district in May, he discovered the Indians had completed their planting and were doing very well. A total of 200 acres was planted during the month and 120 acres plowed. Three out of 350 Indians assisted began farming for the first time. Visiting all the Indian farms once again during June, Aitson remarked, "It had been found they all had done well on their farm. They are all very busy, time to plowing for the corn to kill the weeds and most of them are done plowing corn because their corn is so high to plowed no more. I'm very much interesting to see my peoples doing well indeed most of them have fine garden." Besides

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<sup>56</sup>Aitson to Walker, March 11, 1899, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>57</sup>Monthly Field Matrons Report, Rainy Mountain District, April, 1899, Field Matron File, KIA, ID, OHS.

plowing ninety acres and planting forty, many Indians built little pastures. In all, Aitson assisted or instructed 400 Indians of whom seven had never engaged in agriculture before.<sup>58</sup>

Mrs. Big Tree, wife of the Kiowa chief, instructed the field matron in June to "tell our friends in the East, we are comfortable, and not hungry any more. We live in a neat two room house, have bed steads, mattresses, springs and our own make of quilts, chairs, tables, nice dishes, a cook stove and heating stove, and plenty of corn, potatoes, beans, onions, radishes, etc."<sup>59</sup> Another Indian, William E. Pedrick, took over the duties of farmer of the Rainy Mountain District in July, continuing until December. The only major results Pedrick reported during the fall months were seventy-five tons of hay cut and saved in September.<sup>60</sup>

During the early months of 1900, a majority of the Indians of the Rainy Mountain District fixed fence, plowed, and tended their gardens. They obtained seeds for planting by gathering buffalo bones from the prairie and selling them for money to buy the garden seeds needed.<sup>61</sup> Joseph E.

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<sup>58</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1899, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>59</sup>Monthly Field Matron Report, Rainy Mountain District, June, 1899, Field Matron File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>60</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1899, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>61</sup>Quarterly Report of Field Matron, Rainy Mountain District, January-March, 1900, Field Matron File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Maxwell, district farmer, reported for the months of July through September that he had helped 100 to 150 Indians each month. The results recorded during these three months were 150 tons of hay cut during July and 100 tons cut in August.<sup>62</sup> One hindrance in 1900 to Indian farming in the Rainy Mountain District was the tendency of cattle from grazing leases to destroy crops prepared by Indians. The owners of the cattle, however, were compelled to pay for these damages.<sup>63</sup>

Maxwell continued as farmer for the first quarter of 1901 and Porter H. Sisney, transferring from Yankton Agency in South Dakota, supervised the farming for the remainder of the year. Maxwell spent his time assisting a total of 275 Indians, plowing 850 acres and planting 300 acres.<sup>64</sup> He was replaced the end of March because of his inability to speak the Kiowa language. Agent Randlett felt this was too much of a handicap since it was necessary for the district farmers to assist with the allotments of their district.<sup>65</sup> Maxwell was sent to the Cheyenne and Arapaho

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<sup>62</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1900, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>63</sup>Randlett to Augustus M. Jones, Wagoner, I.T., January 19, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 74, p. 477, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>64</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1901, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>65</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 81, p. 371, KIA, ID, OHS.

Agency as additional farmer and Sisney took his place. Sisney, for the remaining six months of 1901, assisted each of these months from twenty to forty Indians engaging in farming with a total of five farming for the first time. The Rainy Mountain Indians plowed thirty-eight acres during October and November and planted some twelve acres in August. The yield from their crops amounted to 1,426 bushels of grain in addition to 300 tons of hay cut and stored by them. Fence repaired or put up in this six-month period totaled 48,198 rods, with 45,760 rods of fence work done in December alone. Sisney found the stock in this district in good condition and the farm implements in fair shape.<sup>66</sup> The Rainy Mountain District was crippled like the other districts by the drought in 1901. Despite the recorded 1,426 bushels of grain harvested, Randlett reported to the Commissioner in October that the "corn crop was an entire failure on account of the drouth."<sup>67</sup>

The ideal for which the Government had been striving for thirty years in its dealings with the Plains Indians was exemplified by a Kiowa farmer who owned land in the rich-soiled Washita valley. Tilling the land himself and hiring additional help only during harvest time, this once-famed warrior raised twenty-six bushels of wheat and sixty

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<sup>66</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Rainy Mountain District, 1901, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>67</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 8, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 89, p. 441, KIA, ID, OHS.

bushels of corn per acre. His income from this crop was \$3,500. He also had fat stock and kept his agricultural implements in a shed during the winter. Spending at least seven months per year working his farm, he labored harder than the average white farmer.<sup>68</sup>

The Little Washita Farming District, located in the northcentral portion of the reserve, was directed by Frank B. Farwell, who also served in the capacity of agency chief of police. With the Little Washita River running through this district some of the best bottom land on the reservation was located here. During the spring of 1899, 410 acres were plowed and 415 acres planted. Bushels of grain harvested by these district Indians amounted to 700 bushels in October and November. During August and September, 600 tons of hay were cut and stored for their stock. Farwell rated the condition of the agricultural implements in his district as good while the stock were rated good to very good.<sup>69</sup> One example of the farming in this district was Mahsett, a Comanche Indian, whose farm Farwell visited in November. This Indian had seven acres under a fence which was not considered cattle proof. Only three and one-half

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<sup>68</sup>W. R. Draper, "The Indian as a Farmer," Harpers' Weekly, July 20, 1901, p. 125.

<sup>69</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Little Washita District, 1899, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.



acres of the land was in cultivation, two acres in corn, and one and one-half in millet.<sup>70</sup>

During 1900, Farwell assisted from 150 to 300 Indians each month in his district. The spring plowing and planting increased to 700 and 500 acres respectively. In April alone, 800 rods of fence were erected or repaired. During the summer months some 11,000 bushels of wheat and 700 tons of hay were cut.<sup>71</sup>

The first five months of 1901 the Indians plowed 1,700 acres of land and planted 775 acres. The yield of their efforts was 500 bushels of wheat in June, 500 tons of hay cut and stored in July and August, and 3,000 bushels of corn gathered in October. One thousand additional acres of wheat were plowed and planted during October. The stock and agricultural implements in this district were considered by the farmer as good.<sup>72</sup>

The fourth Farming District was the northeast corner of the reserve which included the Washita River to the north along with the agency at Anadarko. Under the guidance of Delos K. Lonewolf, this district had relative success. Reports for March and May of 1899 showed 399 acres plowed and 319 acres planted in the district. The yield, as

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<sup>70</sup>Farwell to Randlett, November 21, 1899, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>71</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Little Washita District, 1900, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 1901.

indicated in reports for the last four months of 1899, totaled 4,725 bushels of grain stored and 135 tons of hay cut. During the months of March, May, and September through December, the Indians erected a total of 4,780 rods of fence. The condition of the agricultural implements in this district was generally good, and the stock was rated fair except in the early part of the year when it was very poor. The latter condition was in great part due to the lack of grass which had been burned off during the last fall and winter. Consequently, many of the animals died. Many Indians were distracted in this district from their farming by the Ghost Dances held in November and December. They also spent most of their time waiting near the agency for the grass lease money.<sup>73</sup>

Four monthly reports from Lonewolf of farming in the Anadarko District during 1900 disclosed assistance was given to only ten to fourteen Indians in each of the three months and thirty-seven in one other. For the months of July, August, and October, the number of tons of hay cut and stored totaled seven, eighty-six, and thirty-six respectively. During July and December, 1,050 rods of fence were repaired or erected, and in October 530 bushels of grain were gathered.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Anadarko District, 1899, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 1900.

The farmer's efforts during the first four months of the following year consisted of assisting a total of twenty-six Indians, with one of them farming for the first time. A total of 1,260 rods of fence were repaired or put in during this period.<sup>75</sup> Lonewolf was relieved of his duties in May for leaving the reservation without authority.<sup>76</sup> Randlett had not given him permission to accompany a group of Indians to Washington to discuss with Government officials the opening of the reservation. This incident afforded the agent of the Kiowa Reservation an opportunity to inform the Commissioner that Lonewolf's service as district farmer on the Kiowa Reservation had "not been satisfactory." Randlett said,

He has rendered but very little service of any value to the Government or to the Indians interested. He has been well educated for an Indian and but for his natural inclination in opposition to the law and authority of the Government he would be capable of becoming the successful citizen his friends have desired to see him make of himself.<sup>77</sup>

An Indian interpreter on the reservation, Otto Wells, was promoted to take Lonewolf's place.<sup>78</sup> Wells filed a farming report for June saying he had assisted or instructed eight

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 1901.

<sup>76</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 7, 1901, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>77</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 15, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 81, p. 474, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>78</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 9, 1901, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

Indians with one farming for the first time. Monthly reports from July through November contained only the number of dates Wells spent in the field and at the agency headquarters.<sup>79</sup>

The Indians in the fifth district, the Mount Scott District, in the southwestern section of the reservation, participated in farming under the direction of William C. Yoachum and John W. Ijams. Yoachum spent his beginning weeks in the district gathering Government machines for use in the fall. The Indians, in January and February, cut and made some 1,700 fence posts preparing for putting wire around their farms. Thirty-two acres were plowed and twelve acres were sown during February. The district farmer was able to assist ninety-eight Indians during the month with three Indians farming for the first time. An additional 173 Indians were aided in March and four more induced to farm. Acres plowed during March were 270 plus 55 planted. Rods of fence totaling 1,000 were also made or repaired. The farmer explained, "Several Indians have good stirring plows which are in need of new shears. Black Smith has no suitable material to make them." With the farmer helping eighty-three Indians in April, they were able to plow 175 more acres, plant 402, and repair or erect 1,550 rods of fence. Yoachum felt there were "prospects for a good year," and the work was "very favorable." By

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<sup>79</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Anadarko District, 1901, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

June there was a large amount of grain ready to be cut, but there were no machines in running order. Two hundred acres were plowed during June, while the farmer assisted seventy Indians with their farms, and 300 rods of fence were made or repaired during the month.

By September, Ijams had taken over the duties of the district from Yoachum as the grains began to be harvested. For September, October, and November, the farmer recorded that 500 bushels of grain were harvested each month. A total of 110 tons of hay were cut during these months and 1,640 rods of fence were repaired. The size of the Indians' fields throughout the year generally amounted to from five to ten acres. Speaking of the corn crop, Ijams said, "Where corn had been cared for, the crop has been good." By the end of October most of this crop had been gathered and stored away. Most of the Indians also put up a stack of hay for winter use. The only work done by these Indians during November and December was to care for their stock. Their cattle generally grazed on the prairie grass while the hay put up was used for their ponies. Their stock remained in fair or good condition most of the year.<sup>80</sup>

Many Indians in the Mount Scott District selected lands in 1900 for permanent allotment and had started farming. By 1900 Ijams' monthly reports for June through

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<sup>80</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, Mount Scott District, 1899, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

September and also December indicated he regularly aided fifty to sixty Indians each month. During June, ten tons of hay were cut and saved and 500 rods of fence fixed or put up. Ijams reported, "Weather has been good for growing crops as could be desired. Oats have been put in. Stock corn has been well cared for and promises a good crop." By the end of July, the Indians had cut and stacked their oats and millet in good condition. The district farmer proclaimed the crops had matured well and a number of the Indians had their own mowing machines and hay rakes. Three hundred bushels of grain were reported as stored, sold, or ground during the month of September. From July through September, a total of forty-five tons of hay were cut and 500 rods of fence repaired or erected. The Indians did little work in December, but there were 300 bushels of grain gathered and 100 rods of fence fixed during the month.<sup>81</sup>

In 1901 the Mount Scott District was renamed the West Cache Creek District. Throughout the year Ijams assisted in this district fifty to sixty Indians in farming each month. The Indians spent January primarily caring for their stock, but they did manage to plow thirty acres of land and harvest 300 bushels of grain. By February they began preparing their corn fields with a total of 100 acres plowed, 25 acres planted, and 200 rods of fence put up during the month. Those Indians who employed labor to work

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid., 1900.

their lands planted oats. An additional 100 acres were plowed and 75 acres planted the following month. "The soil has been very dry during the month," farmer Ijams declared in March, "so that more work might have been done had soil been favorable. Oats are coming up and corn planting in progress."

The dry weather continued into April with the Indians plowing and planting 100 acres during the month. Rains near the end of the month greatly aided the crops already planted, in addition to making good pastures for the Indians' stock. Besides reporting 100 acres plowed and 60 acres planted during May, Ijams said the crops, with the exception of the oats which were destroyed by insects and dry weather, were in "good growing condition" owing to the late rains. The Indians commenced cultivating their crops of corn during June. Ijams stated, "Crops have been planted and are doing well."

Besides this cultivation, the Indians plowed 150 acres of land in June, preparing it for the planting of the winter crops. A severe drought shut down nearly all farm work and ruined nearly all corn. Kaffir corn and sorghum were two crops which did well. With the drought continuing into August, the only farm work consisted of cutting only fifteen tons of hay because of the "short grass." Twenty and fifteen tons of hay were cut in September and October respectively. The drought stayed with this district the remainder of the year making the ground too hard to work.

Little was done by the Indians during this dry spell except caring for their stock and building or repairing fence around their allotments. A total of 11,630 rods of fence was built during the year in this district with 3,200 rods built in both September and November and 2,400 rods put in in December.<sup>82</sup>

Each of these district farmers was sent in July, 1901, a circular from Agent Randlett requesting certain statistical information concerning each district for the fiscal year 1900-1901. Answers were to be correct and, if not possible, a "very careful estimate" was to be made. The agent also instructed, "Statistics of maturing crops not yet gathered may be estimated also, but with great care." Information was to be from only their own districts.<sup>83</sup>

Information from the three largest districts offer some means of assessing the farming progress made by these Plains tribes since being settled on this reserve in 1869. Approximately 1,300 Indians of the Fort Sill District, primarily the Comanches, cultivated 1,365 acres and broke 362 acres during the year. A total of 12,480 acres of land was under fence in this district by 1901. These fencing figures did not include lands leased by white men. Crops

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<sup>82</sup>Monthly Farm Reports, West Cache District, 1901, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>83</sup>Randlett to Agency Farmers, July 3, 1900, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.



raised by the Indians included 212 bushels of oats, 6,825 bushels of corn, 10 bushels of potatoes, 3 bushels of onions, 2 bushels of beans, 5 bushels of other vegetables, and 361 melons. These Indians also cut forty-two tons of hay. Indian stock in this district consisted of 3,967 horses, 132 swine, 6 goats, 6 burros, 43 mules, 5,186 cattle, and 342 fowls.<sup>84</sup>

Reported for the Rainy Mountain District, with about 800 Indians, were 1,205 acres cultivated and 120 broken during the 1900-1901 fiscal year. This district had 18,240 acres under fence with crops harvested equaling 680 bushels of oats, 100 bushels of corn, 80 bushels of onions, 400 bushels of potatoes, 30 bushels of beans, and 50 bushels of other vegetables. These Indians also raised 3,000 melons and cut 340 tons of hay. The stock in the Rainy Mountain District owned by Indians consisted of 1,339 horses, 2 burros, 120 swine, 128 mules, 774 cattle, 200 chickens, and 78 turkeys.<sup>85</sup>

The Indians of the large West Cache District were not as successful as the previously-mentioned districts. They had only 235 acres under cultivation with 10 acres broken during the year. The harvest in this district amounted to 1,000 bushels of corn. The district farmer in

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<sup>84</sup>Benson to Randlett, July 29, 1901, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>85</sup>Porter H. Sisney to Randlett, August 10, 1901, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

making the report, declared, "Oats was a total failure, and corn but little better. There has been more calves raised than for a long time and are doing well." The Indian stock included 2,964 cattle, 50 mules, 12 burros, 225 hogs, and 1,560 horses.<sup>86</sup>

Some farming throughout the reservation was done, as in the past, by white men entering into "labor agreements" with those Indians unable to farm themselves. The law covering agricultural leases by Indians, had changed several times over the years. The law of 1891 limited these kinds of leases to those who could not farm their own land by "reason of age or disability." The word "inability" was included in 1894 and remained unchanged until 1897 when "inability" was dropped. In 1900, "inability" was once again included.<sup>87</sup>

The result was a growing tendency on the Kiowa Reservation for certain Indians to lease their lands to white farmers who raised crops and paid the Indian with a portion of the produce. These labor agreements, as indicated by the above laws, were at first made to disabled or widowed Indians who could not work their lands themselves. The qualifications were later expanded to permit

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<sup>86</sup>John W. Ijams to Randlett, August 6, 1901, Farmers File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>87</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1900,  
p. 13.

Indians, wishing to enlarge their farm beyond their means of working it, to lease it to white farmers.<sup>88</sup>

In September, 1898, Commissioner Jones directed the agent not to permit leasing of land by individual Indians. Thereupon, Walker presented in January a case for some labor agreements. "Very many Indians on this Reservation that are too old, or prevented by some physical defect from performing much labor, have small farms in cultivation, and for several years the major portion of the land has been farmed by renters; the Indians residing upon their selected allotments and doing some little work." To stop this practice would be to not cultivate much land on the reservation and throw these Indians completely on the mercy of the Government for support. Therefore, Walker suggested modifying the order in such a way as to allow all widows, the aged, or physically handicapped to lease their lands.<sup>89</sup> Acting Commissioner Tonner authorized Walker to make such agreements only to those he was sure were "unable to care for his land or stock properly, and actually needs the desired assistance. In no case should allottees be allowed to engage such labor where you have reason to believe they

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<sup>88</sup>Randlett to Agency Farmers, January 15, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 85, p. 119, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>89</sup>Walker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 14, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 62, pp. 431-32, KIA, ID, OHS.

intend practically to abandon the care of their farms or stock and live in idleness."<sup>90</sup>

Agent Randlett, in describing these leases on his reserve in 1900, commented,

All contracts for cultivation of Indian lands have been kept free from money consideration, the Indian agreeing to take a share of the crop produced. This plan was adopted as best for all concerned, being fair for the white renters and as calculated to induce the Indian to retain interest in the matter of planting and cultivation of his lands and affording lessons of experience in receiving his portion of the crops raised and in the business of disposing of the same if any remains for the market after supplying his own needs.<sup>91</sup>

The various men who leased Indian land usually received two-thirds of their crop and the Indian who owned the land the other one-third.<sup>92</sup>

Because of allotment, Agent Randlett instructed the agency farmers to inform any of these men farming Indian lands or working for them to leave the reservation by January 15, 1901. The non-Indian farmers protested, saying they would lose their winter crops of grain and forage. Permission was finally granted them to remain thirty additional days to prepare to leave the reservation.<sup>93</sup> The

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<sup>90</sup>Tonner to Walker, March 2, 1899, Permit for Indians to Employ Whites (Whites Living Among Indians) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>91</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, August 29, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 76, pp. 467-68, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>92</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1900, p. 13.

<sup>93</sup>Randlett to Agency Farmers, December 24, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 85, p. 21, KIA, ID, OHS.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs in January, 1901, granted permission for the renewal of the labor agreements made during 1900 but these were to be the only ones granted.<sup>94</sup>

No agreement was to be allowed for the cultivation of less than twenty-five acres of old lands and Randlett instructed that "where an Indian has less than this amount no labor agreement can be executed unless two or more Indians, having small fields, can agree to employ one white man."<sup>95</sup>

One district, West Cache, contained five farmers who complied with their agreements in 1900 and were, therefore, qualified for renewal. Two of them farmed on Quanah Parker's land. Seven other families had worked Indian farms in this district the past year but had left the reservation.<sup>96</sup> By April, about all the Indians who had broken lands and were not able themselves to work it because of "physical or other disability" had entered into labor agreements with men to work their lands for them.<sup>97</sup>

Following the opening of the reservation, Randlett questioned the Commissioner concerning whether or not

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<sup>94</sup>Randlett to Agency Farmers, January 15, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 85, p. 119, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>95</sup>Randlett to Dr. F. Shoemaker, Physician in charge, Fort Sill, February 22, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 85, p. 225, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>96</sup>Ijams to Randlett, January 21, 1901, Permit for Indians to Employ Whites (Whites Living Among Indians) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>97</sup>Randlett to E. W. Allen, Eddy, Oklahoma, April 19, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 87, p. 129, KIA, ID, OHS.

Indians were to be permitted to lease lands which they were allotted. The agent explained there were thousands of people on the reservation who had secured no homestead during the opening but desired to stay on the reservation. He thought they would become quality tenants to work the Indian allotments.<sup>98</sup> In pleading his case further, Randlett said,

None of our Indians are capable of cultivating their entire allotments successfully. Many of them, however, will require all of the lands allotted to them for cultivation and grazing their stock. It will be a hard job to undertake to rid the country of the great surplus population if the Indians are not permitted to make leases.<sup>99</sup>

In authorizing the leases of Indian allotments, the Indian Department required the farmers to make cash payments in advance. Randlett responded in September asking if the leases could not be made for a portion of the crop raised on the lands as previously practiced. Randlett explained, "There are many good farmers, who have good animals and tools, who wish to lease Indian allotments but are unable to make cash payments in advance."<sup>100</sup> Randlett expounded on these leases.

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<sup>98</sup> Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 5, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 90, p. 202, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>99</sup> Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 22, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 90, pp. 299-300, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>100</sup> Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 7, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 90, p. 400, KIA, ID, OHS.

The individual allotments of widows, minor children, old people, cripples, feeble-minded, and other incompetents are being leased for agricultural purposes. Able bodied adult male members of the tribes are not permitted to lease their entire allotments, each of them being required, where he is not otherwise engaged in permanent occupation for support for himself and family, to cultivate the whole or such portion of his own allotment as he is capable of working.

From October 1, 1901, to September 1, 1902, 443 leases of individual allotted lands had been drawn and fully executed.<sup>101</sup> Thus, many Indians escaped the task of farming themselves.

Stock raising as well as farming drew much attention during the years preceding the opening of the Kiowa Reservation. Their progress in this pursuit was stressed by George Bird Grinnell in his book, Indians of To-Day, written in 1900.

These tribes [Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache] possess considerable herds of cattle, and mixed farming is likely to be successful here. Although when cattle were first given them, the Indians understood very little about taking care of them, they are gradually coming to look after their stock better, so that now many of them own individually good herds of cattle. They put up plenty of hay for their stock and take fair care of it. This industry is likely to be more profitable than agriculture. . . .<sup>102</sup>

Many of these Indians had over 100 cattle, one owning over 900. Almost every Indian had at least a few cows. Randlett declared in this connection, "The

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<sup>101</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1902, p. 290.

<sup>102</sup>George Bird Grinnell, Indians of To-Day (New York: Duffield and Company, 1900), p. 96.

possibilities for these Indians in this industry are promising, and every fair-minded person acquainted with the conditions of the reservation will testify that there is no other hope for the tribes outside of this branch of industry."<sup>103</sup> One example of the progress made in this direction by some Indians was a request by three Indians in the Little Washita District to be allowed to fence in about 1,000 acres for pasture. Randlett replied enthusiastically,

I would be pleased to have all the Indians under this Agency become interested in cattle raising to the extent that they would fence pastures and keep them up. In all cases like this the Indians should be informed that the pasture is to be used for their stock and cattle only. That no stranger's cattle can be pastured therein.<sup>104</sup>

An indication of the important role stock raising played in guiding these Indians toward self support was given by Randlett in 1900. He said the Government still provided 22 percent of their support through rations while 70 percent came from other sources such as money from grassing leases, Indian labor, and the sale of their own stock.<sup>105</sup>

Concerning pasture leases, Agent Walker remarked in 1899, "While it is the policy of the Department to lease

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<sup>103</sup>Merrill E. Gates, Secretary, Board of Indian Commissioners to Randlett, December 15, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 74, p. 295, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>104</sup>Randlett to Farwell, November 10, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 74, p. 87, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>105</sup>U.S., Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Agriculture of Indian Reservations, V, p. 726.



every foot of surplus pasture land upon the Reservation, the main object is to aid the Indians in pursuits of cattle raising and agriculture."<sup>106</sup> The requirements for these leases were that they were to be for grazing for a term not more than three years. The leasee was also "required to build his one fence, said fence to revert to the Indians and become their absolute property at the expiration of the lease." No lease of less than 5,000 acres was to be made.<sup>107</sup> A total of twenty-one grazing leases and one grazing permit was allotted. These ranged up to 592,610 acres and terms for one to three years.<sup>108</sup>

In accordance with the Congressional Act of June 6, 1900, opening the Kiowa reserve, the Secretary of the Interior authorized Agent Randlett to select 480,000 acres of land to be held in common by these Plains Tribes. The agent suggested this amount of land be divided into three tracts. One large tract with some 280,000 acres would be leased in parcels to the highest bidders, and all the tribes would obtain a cash benefit from it. The other two tracts would contain 100,000 acres each and would be known

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<sup>106</sup>Walker to H. G. Williams, Kansas City, Missouri, May 31, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 70, p. 242, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>107</sup>Randlett to Louis Courcier, Cornish, Indian Territory, July 7, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 69, p. 10, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>108</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1899, p. 55.

as Indian pastures. One would be conveniently located for the use of cattle belonging to members of the Comanche tribe, the other would be located for the benefit of members of the Kiowa and Apache tribes.<sup>109</sup>

In council with these tribes, Randlett modified his proposal. The Kiowas and Apaches, since they were not cattle raisers, were not interested in a separate pasture since they would have no use for land other than their allotment allowance. It was finally decided to have one tract of 400,000 acres and three smaller tracts of 20,000 acres located in the southern part of the reservation near the Comanches.<sup>110</sup> One of these pastures plus lands selected to make up the deficiency caused by Indian allotments in these areas was fenced to hold cattle for Indians during the opening of the reservation. Those Indians using the pastures to stock their cattle were to pay fifty cents for each head, the proceeds to be distributed among the three tribes.<sup>111</sup>

Agent Randlett, in his 1901 report, discussed stock raising and mentioned only two pastures for these Indians

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<sup>109</sup> Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 1, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 85, pp. 281-82, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>110</sup> Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 13, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 87, pp. 234-36, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>111</sup> Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 24, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 87, pp. 462-63, KIA, ID, OHS.

besides the large tract. "Quite a large number of the Comanches own considerable cattle, ranging in number from 5 to 1,000 head. For the grazing accommodation of these cattle owners, out of the 480,000 acres of the land to be held in common, two convenient pastures have been set aside, in order that the cattle industry so well started among these people may be fostered."<sup>112</sup> By the middle of July, this 480,000 acres of reserve lands had been set apart for the common ownership of the Apache, Kiowa, and Comanche Indians and was either held under temporary leases or for the use of Indian cattle.<sup>113</sup> Randlett proposed in September that one of these reserve pastures be leased for agricultural purposes. He suggested it would bring four times as much as the revenue currently deprived from grazing leases. He wished to lease it to a man who planned to sub-lease to white farmers for cultivation, farming, and grazing.<sup>114</sup>

The Indian children on the reservation, like those all over the country, continued to be taught agriculture at the boarding schools. The Superintendent of Indian Schools, C. J. Crandall, reported in 1900 that all industrial

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<sup>112</sup> Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, September 1, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 91, p. 261, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>113</sup> Randlett to W. R. Hershberger, Eskridge, Kansas, July 19, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 90, p. 137, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>114</sup> Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 26, 1901, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 92, pp. 63-64, KIA, ID, OHS.

education for Indian boys should be either in agriculture or in the trades. Crandall explained,

The Industrial teacher at every Indian school should be a man who will study the peculiarities, agricultural and climatic, of the reservation on which the pupils live and teach them the methods of husbandry adapted to their locality, and the kind of vegetables, cereals, and fruits suited to them. To make the boy a successful farmer, we must teach him not alone the cultivation of crops, but also the care of stock, the raising of fruit, dairying, the elements of carpentry and blacksmithing, and labor of a general character. The successful managing and conducting of a farm for a few years will do more to civilize the Indian than all the other influences that might under any circumstances be brought to bear upon him. . . . As most of the Indians, like white people, must depend on the cultivation of the soil for a livelihood, it is essential that they be taught to farm in a scientific and systematic manner, in order that the vast tracts of land which they possess may be made productive.<sup>115</sup>

The two Government boarding schools on the Kiowa Reservation at Fort Sill and Rainy Mountain attempted to follow these objectives in the years 1899 through 1901.

Garden and field seeds had been furnished these schools in the past, but an order in 1898 instructed each school to save seeds for planting for the following year. This was fine if the crops each year produced enough to save. Superintendent Cora M. Dunn of Rainy Mountain School wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs asking for seeds for 1899 because "the seeds grown on the poor soil of Rainy Mountain school farm do not possess sufficient fertility to be worth planting. With the exception of Kaffir corn, no

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<sup>115</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1900, pp. 432-33.

crop has ever been successfully raised here."<sup>116</sup> Seeds were also furnished the Fort Sill School. For example, 300 pounds of alfalfa seed, 30 pounds of artichokes, 100 pounds of millet, 4 barrels of sweet potatoes, and 2 bushels of onion sets were supplied in the spring of 1900.<sup>117</sup>

The intent of the Fort Sill School was stated by the Superintendent, Julian W. Hadden, in 1901. "This being an agricultural and stock raising institution, our energies are directed chiefly to the variety and quantity of products of our farm."<sup>118</sup> The school had a 160-acre farm in fertile bottom land and a 2,000-acre pasture under fence.<sup>119</sup> The crops grown at this school included corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, sorghum, alfalfa, and various vegetables.<sup>120</sup>

The results of these children in farming hinged, to a large extent, on the rain received at the school. Rain was so plentiful during the crop season of 1899 that enough corn and other seeds were raised to feed their stock for two years. All the crops prospered except the wheat which

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<sup>116</sup>Dunn to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 15, 1899, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 72, p. 415, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>117</sup>Tonner to Randlett, February 11, 1900, Finance, Vol. 618, p. 481, LS, NA.

<sup>118</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1901, pp. 322-23.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., 1900, p. 334.

<sup>120</sup>Tonner to Randlett, February 11, 1900, Finance, Vol. 618, p. 481, LS, NA.

was destroyed by rust.<sup>121</sup> The following season also had abundant rain and consequently a good harvest. An estimated 3,000 bushels of corn were raised on sixty acres.

"While the class-room work is in no way neglected," Superintendent J. W. Haddon remarked, "our pride and enthusiasm is centered in our farm, garden, orchard, vineyard, poultry, hogs, horses, and cattle."<sup>122</sup> Besides the corn, 400 bushels of potatoes<sup>123</sup> and 75 bushels of wheat were raised during the year at the school farm.<sup>124</sup> The efforts at the school were limited in 1901 by drought and insects. While the fifty acres of oats were a total failure due to pests, the corn was predicted to make at least a half crop. Fifteen acres of alfalfa, planted in the spring, brought this crop to a total acreage of twenty-five. Hay totaling fifty tons, used to feed the school stock during the year, was also harvested during the year.<sup>125</sup>

Rainy Mountain did not fair as well agriculturally during this period as Fort Sill. Superintendent Dunn reported the last of August, 1899,

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<sup>121</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1899, p. 290.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., 1900, p. 334.

<sup>123</sup>Randlett to Haddon, October 23, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 84, p. 18, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>124</sup>Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 19, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 81, p. 159, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>125</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1901, pp. 322-23.

The farming season has been unusually favorable and the crops satisfactory, though it is doubtful if the farm products of this semiarid region ever fully repay the labor and cost of production. Stock raising will always be the leading industry of the country, and to disturb the nutritious grasses of nature's planting for the scanty crops produced by cultivation is questionable wisdom.<sup>126</sup>

During 1900, attention was called to twenty acres of oats planted which were said to be the best ever raised.<sup>127</sup> The following year the school was not well attended because of the unsettled condition surrounding the opening of the reservation. The only mention of agricultural work by these children in Superintendent Dunn's 1901 annual report consisted of, "The domestic industries taught in the school have made more than the usually satisfactory progress,"<sup>128</sup>

As the reservation was about to be opened, the agricultural potential of the land and the Indians' ability to support themselves by agriculture and stock raising became critical. On December 14, 1899, a Senate resolution directed the Secretary of Interior to make a report on the character of the land on the Kiowa Reservation, its adaptability to agriculture, and the agricultural progress of these Indians. This resolution was prompted by the question of whether or not to ratify the Jerome Agreement. Secretary E. A. Hitchcock, in describing the character of the

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<sup>126</sup>Ibid., 1899, p. 291.

<sup>127</sup>Randlett to Dunn, December 6, 1900, Kiowa Letterbook, Vol. 84, p. 233, KIA, ID, OHS.

<sup>128</sup>Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1901, p. 325.

reservation, concluded that there was not enough rainfall for crops most seasons, but that it was a good grazing country. Of the 2,968,893 acres of the reserve, 79,340 acres were classed as agricultural land, 2,414,553 acres unfit for agriculture but valuable for grazing, 400,000 unfit for both, and 50,000 making up the Fort Sill Military reserve. Of all the acres, 2,183,953 were leased to white men for grazing purposes, giving the Indians an annual rent of \$216,308.15. These pastures covering the east, south, and west sides of the reservation were all fenced. This rent was issued to them by the agent and Department felt it was most desirable that this money had been used in the past to purchase tools and implements which were issued in severalty to families to begin stock raising. Secretary of the Interior advised the Indians.

Most of them have been taught that they have selected and call it their own. Some of them have permanent improvements of abode. Many of them put up hay for their stock, and sometimes, when seasons are favorable, raise fair crops of kaffir corn and millet. But their principal pursuit is stock raising, and in this they have had some success and give fair promise for the future. Almost every family has some cattle, while many of them have comparatively large herds, one full-blood owning 900 head. Even at stock raising, however, and with plenty of grazing lands, it does not appear that all of them could make a living without some assistance, for some years, at least. At farming, I should regard them as incapable of self-support, and especially in a country so poorly adapted to agriculture and where crops fail much oftener than they mature.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> U.S., Congress, Senate, Quality, Nature, and Character of the Lands of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Reservation, Etc., 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1900, Senate Doc. 75, pp. 1-4.



The source for much of the Secretary of Interior's information came from a joint report of Special Agent Gilbert B. Pray and Agent Randlett, submitted December 12, 1900. Their report stressed that most of the reservation was made up of uplands or short grass country which they considered to be "wholly unfit for agriculture and suitable only for grazing purposes." The major farming efforts were made in the river valleys scattered over the reserve. The most significant were the Washita River valley along the northern border and the Little Washita running through the eastern portion. The south side of the Washita Valley, from the agency at Anadarko to the ninety-eighth Meridian, was the best land within the agency. Seven thousand five hundred twenty acres of 25,320 acres "are under cultivation, having been taken by Indians under direction of the agency, and have been worked and improved by whites. The other 17,800 acres are claimed and held by Indians, except the lands used by the missions." Of the land west along the Washita from Anadarko, the valleys were very small with patches of 300 or 400 acres. All were claimed by the Indians but little cultivated--total of 10,300 acres west of the agency. The Little Washita Valley was similar to the Washita and contained nearly 4,500 acres. These two valleys of nearly 40,120 acres were considered by far the best lands of the reservation. Special Agent Pray and Randlett said, "On these lands the best efforts at farming

reservation, concluded that there was not enough rainfall for crops most seasons, but that it was a good grazing country. Of the 2,968,893 acres of the reserve, 79,340 acres were classed as agricultural land, 2,414,553 acres unfit for agriculture but valuable for grazing, 400,000 unfit for both, and 50,000 making up the Fort Sill Military reserve. Of all the acres, 2,183,953 were leased to white men for grazing purposes, giving the Indians an annual rent of \$216,308.15. These pastures covering the east, south, and west sides of the reservation were all fenced. This rent was issued to them per capita when the agent and Department felt it was most urgent. Some of this money had been used in the past to buy young stock cattle which were issued in severalty to families and individuals to begin stock raising. Secretary Hitchcock described these Indians.

Most of them have separate places which they have selected and call their own and where some of them have permanent improvements and places of abode. Many of them put up hay for their stock, and sometimes, when seasons are favorable, raise fair crops of kaffir corn and millet. But their principal pursuit is stock raising, and in this they have had some success and give fair promise for the future. Almost every family has some cattle, while many of them have comparatively large herds, one full-blood owning 900 head. Even at stock raising, however, and with plenty of grazing lands, it does not appear that all of them could make a living without some assistance, for some years, at least. At farming, I should regard them as incapable of self-support, and especially in a country so poorly adapted to agriculture and where crops fail much oftener than they mature.<sup>129</sup>

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have been made during a period ranging from six to twenty-five years."

Farming in these valleys still left much to be desired. The agency farm at Anadarko had raised but four noteworthy crops of corn in twenty-five years with none reaching thirty bushels to the acre. Among the causes for this were drought and hot winds. Experiences of farmers engaged in agriculture in these areas from six to thirty years resulted in but few good or fair crops. One worked twelve years in the Washita Valley under good conditions and produced only three fair crops. Another farmer yielded three crops in nine years. "Therefore," the report said, "from our observation and knowledge and the mass of statements taken, we are prepared to report that agriculture is a very precarious and uncertain business, even in the valley lands in this reservation under the most enlightened and best-directed efforts of white men." Consequently, the Indians of this reservation, Pray and Randlett agreed, had "accomplished little as farmers, many, however, have homesteads on the bottom lands where they have small tracts under cultivation and in favorable seasons, which are rare, have raised fair crops of Indian and Kaffir corn and millet." In contrast, they observed that these tribesmen had "ambition for stock raising and almost every family has a small bunch of cattle, while many count their horned stock by the hundreds. One full-blood Comanche owns a herd of nine hundred head."

Some advancement had been made by Indians towards self-support, but they were not ready to compete with others in farming. Pray and Randlett said they could not expect "to gain such support from the lands of their reservation if allotted to them in severalty in tracts of less than 1,000 acres per family." The report concluded with the statement,

The Apache, Kiowa and Comanche Reservation is not suitable for the purposes of agriculture, both on account of soil and climate; that we do believe it well suited to the purposes of stock raising, and that the Indians are best adapted to that industry; that the Indians are not adapted to agricultural pursuits and could not sustain themselves by that industry if allotted; that there are 2,740 Indians on this reservation, and if they were allotted the best lands there is not enough of the valley lands to give them even forty acres each. . . .<sup>130</sup>

Sworn statements gathered by Pray and Randlett from non-Indians who had farmed a number of years on the reservation were used in part to form their report. One man who had farmed twelve years on the Washita River declared that crops would make only two out of five seasons and said this area would never support successful farming. He said of Indian farming, "The Indians are not adapted to farming and that is not all, they never will be. They take very well to stock raising and a good many are doing very well in that line, and in time might make a success of stock raising."

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<sup>130</sup>Pray and Randlett to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 12, 1899, Reports (Agents) File, KIA, ID, OHS.

The other dozen or so persons interviewed contributed similar statements about the agricultural possibilities of the reservation and the farming potential of these Indians. They all were of the opinion that this reservation was not suited for farming but would be very good for stock raising. They also believed the Indian to be no farmer but could be self-supporting through stock raising. One farmer near Anadarko, who had been on the reservation for twenty-five years, asserted that the agent had encouraged the Indians to engage in farming but they were not producing as much crops now as in the early years of the reservation. The Indians became discouraged by repeated failures. Another farmer, who had been in this country since 1873, typified the attitude of those interviewed.

The Indians are not farmers and in my opinion, never will be. I have seen that tried for twenty-six years, and if he is put where he can't have stock, he will not make a success of it. I know white men can't make money farming here, and Indians can't. They certainly could not be self sustaining on farms in this country. They are more naturally stock raisers; that is what this country is adapted to and if they ever become self sustaining it will be through stock raising and the use of their reservation for that purpose.<sup>131</sup>

There were those who disagreed with the preceding account and believed the reservation should be opened for settlement. Submitted on February 14, 1900, to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, the document embodying this opinion consisted of eighty-five pages of sworn testimony

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<sup>131</sup>Ibid.

from people living and farming near the reservation and resolutions of citizens of communities in the vicinity of the reservation. Many of them swore that from one-half to three-fourths of the reservation was good agricultural land and the Indians would make much more progress in civilization if whites were allowed to live among them. Significant testimony by some of these people offer a better balanced view on how much the Indian was really farming and raising stock. This testimony must be taken with the knowledge that these are the people who would probably benefit from the opening of the reservation just as those testifying against it tended to be better off if the Jerome Agreement were not ratified.

Most of the testimony was similar to that of a sheriff in Texas who had spent twelve years traveling on the reservation. He stated,

I took special notice of the few farms in the country and the manner of their cultivation, the farms, when properly cultivated, made good crops, and in every instance that came to my notice of anything like a short or failure in the crops was almost invariably caused from want of proper cultivation, and was not on account of the soil or season. The larger portion of the lands in said reservation are rich and well adapted to farming and cultivation.

The civil engineer who surveyed all the pasture in the Kiowa Reservation, observed that 60 percent of the lands of the reservation were "first-class agricultural lands." He also said a majority of the land of the reservation which was "at all suitable for grazing is also suitable for agricultural purposes." It was also testified that the

cattlemen with leases on the reservation and Indian traders were paying some of the Indians to keep all of these Indians from favoring the opening of their reserve. Further stated was that those people who said they were not able to grow good crops on the reserve had failures of crops because of "lack of experience and work instead of seasons and soil." One farmer, who had spent most of eight years working on the reservation, concluded,

There has been a vast change in the Indians in their manner of living in the past eight years, to my own knowledge. Eight years ago, when I first went into this reservation, the majority of the Indians were living in tepees and camping in squads. Now, a good portion of them have built them little homes and have put in small farms sufficient to furnish feed through the winter for their horses and cattle.<sup>132</sup>

In direct response to the Secretary of Interior's report, which maintained that a large portion of the reservation was unfit for agriculture or for grazing, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory, John H. Burford, wrote to Senator John M. Thurston. Burford said the Secretary had evidently received information from the agent, special agents, and cattlemen who wished to see the reservation remain closed to settlement. The Chief Justice said there were valley lands cultivated by Indians and other farmers which produced from forty to sixty bushels of corn per acre if properly cultivated and had an average

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<sup>132</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Ratification of Agreement with Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1900, Senate Doc. 170, pp. 3, 7-8, 15-16, 33-35, 39-43, 51-52, 81-82, 84-85.



season. It was much better, he felt, for the Indians to learn the ways of the white men by mixing white men among them. "A few of the more industrious Kiowas and Comanches are also occupying selected lands and living in houses, and are cultivating some lands either themselves or by white tenants."<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>133</sup>Ibid., Part II, pp. 3-4.

## CHAPTER IX

### CONCLUSION

In assessing the agricultural policy on the Kiowa Reservation in the last third of the nineteenth century, several conclusions can be emphasized. First, the major goal of the Indian Service was to transform the Kiowa Reservation Indians into settled, self-supporting agriculturalists. The series of treaties the Federal Government made with these Indians, prior to their placement on the reservation, clearly stated that any Indian of the Kiowa, Comanche, or Apache tribe who wished to cultivate the soil would be furnished sufficient seeds, agricultural implements, and farming instruction to assist him. This Indian agricultural policy continued to be advanced in the 1870's and 1880's throughout the country and was transcribed into law with the passage of the General Allotment Act in 1887. Stressing the close relationship between private property, agriculture, and civilization, this legislation permitted the Federal Government to allot Indian lands in severalty. Although the Dawes Act was not applied to the Kiowa Reservation until 1901, the principles it embodied were carried out during the reservation's history. There was no doubt that the Federal Government intended these Plains tribes,

like the Indians on reservations all over the country in the late nineteenth century, to be farmers.

Second, the Government provided the Indians with agricultural aid in the form of seeds, agricultural implements, the initial breaking of land, and farm instruction, but none of this aid was granted in quantities sufficient to bring to fruition the agricultural goals sought during this period. Seeds for planting and agricultural tools to work the land were issued to as many of those Indians desiring to grow crops as possible. The quantity of these supplies was, though, reduced over the years as the Government encouraged these Indians to keep enough seeds to plant from the preceding harvest and to purchase their own agricultural implements. The intent was not only to make these Red Men self-supporting but also to reduce the outlay of Government expenses.

While the agricultural supplies furnished by the Government were being reduced, the Indian Office increased the number of experienced farmers to instruct and assist these Indians in farming. For the most part, only one agency farmer was employed at any one time for the first half of the reservation period. But with the Federal authorization of additional farmers and assistant farmers, the number increased to over ten by 1901.

By the late 1890's the reservation had been divided into five farming districts with an agency farmer or additional farmer at each district aided by some assistant

farmers. These districts greatly organized the reservation and allowed the agent to keep better informed of the progress being made in agriculture by his Indians. Even with over ten farm instructors, this did not come close to the assistance required by these thousands of Indians. Close supervision and guidance were needed by those engaging in agricultural pursuits, but ten or so instructors were not nearly enough.

Third, the Indians on the Kiowa Reservation did make agricultural progress, but thirty-two years was much too short a time for them to change their culture. From practically no farming by adult male Indians in 1869 to a majority having farms of ten to seventy acres and a small number farming over 100 acres in 1900, the efforts of the Government could not have been said to have been a failure. This is especially significant when one considers that even experienced farmers in this region had difficulty raising crops. But one generation was all the time the Government was prepared to allow for total emphasis on the agricultural endeavor of these Indians isolated from white interference.

One of the arguments for opening the reserve to settlement was the fact that settlers would have farms next to Indian fields and, therefore, set an example for the Indians. Instead, once the settlers were allowed to take land on the reservation, the Plains tribes found it much easier to hire men to work their land or lease it to them rather than do the farming themselves. Once these Plains

Indians were each given 160 acres and settlers had moved around them eager to lease or farm his land, the incentive of survival and self-support by tilling the soil was not nearly as strong. Prior to 1901, some farming by non-Indians had been permitted on the Indian farms but was done in only a limited number of cases. The Government, in permitting any Indian to lease his land after 1901, allowed the Indian to take the easy and immediate road to self-sufficiency and failed to continue the building of a strong base for permanent support through their own efforts in agriculture.

A final conclusion should be mentioned. Stock raising was properly promoted on the reserve where both the land and inhabitants were much more suited to this enterprise than tilling the soil, but, unfortunately, in the policy administered, stock raising received second place. Throughout this period the Government was constantly reminded that stock raising was the future of these tribes in this country, but money continued to be poured into efforts to teach and assist these Indians in tilling the soil. The Government did at times sense the importance of stock raising and issued cattle to them and allowed them to use their annuity money to purchase cattle. Indian herds grew from 600 head in 1875 to well over 9,000 by 1901, with almost every Indian having at least a few cows and many having over 100 head. The Government encouraged those Indians with sufficient cattle to sell them for profit.

Two markets were established by the Government whereby Indians could auction their cattle to the highest bidder. Stock raising could have been the intermediate step between their nomadic mode of living and the self-supporting role of a property owning farmer.

On the Kiowa Reservation the policies of the Federal Government reflected its desire to bring the Indians to economic self sufficiency and ultimate assimilation into the mainstream of American life. The means, however, used to achieve these ends failed to consider the background of the Plains Indians and the qualities of the land on which they were situated. Given these errors, the hope that a people could radically change their habits in one generation proved futile.

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