

FACTIONALISM AMONG THE KIOWA-APACHES

by

Marjorie M. Daza

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SIGNED: Marjorie M. Paza

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This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

Harry T. Getty
HARRY T. GETTY
Professor of Anthropology

May 9, 1968
Date

PREFACE

The field work on which this thesis is based was undertaken by me as a participant in the University of Oklahoma's Field School in Ethnology and Linguistics in the summer of 1964. The school was supported by a National Science Foundation grant. I am most grateful to Dr. William E. Bittle, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma, for the chance to take part in the field session, for the award of a National Science Foundation Summer Fellowship which made it financially possible for me to do so, and for his help and guidance in my first venture in ethnographic field work.

The field school was located in Anadarko, Oklahoma, in order to be able to work with the five Kiowa-Apache informants whom Dr. Bittle employed. The twelve students, graduate and undergraduate, Dr. Bittle, and his graduate assistant lived in an old house in the center of town for the eight-week session. We worked five days a week in the mornings, interviewing informants and recording our questions and their answers in longhand as nearly word for word as possible. Since all the Apaches now living are bilingual, the language we used was English. The afternoons and evenings were spent typing up our field notes and planning the next day's interviews. On the weekends we ordinarily attended pow-wows of some of the tribes near Anadarko. We attended the annual pow-wow of each of the two factions of the Kiowa-Apache, camping for three days with the main faction.

After a few weeks of practice with the techniques of participant observation and open-ended interviewing, each student picked a project to work on. John Mead, graduate student at Northwestern, Jeanne McClung, undergraduate at Radcliffe, and I chose to work together on aspects of Apache political organization and behavior and to pool our notes. I am, therefore, responsible for approximately one-third of the field notes; Jeanne and John for the other two-thirds. Some of the interpretations of the data presented in this paper were arrived at through discussions which we three had together that summer. I acknowledge my great debt to both John and Jeanne.

Jeanne and I decided to choose a project of historical reconstruction. The Kiowa-Apache tribal sodality, called the Manatidie or Blackfoot Society, split into two factions during the summer of 1963. Since most of the Kiowa-Apaches participated in the Society or attended the social gatherings it sponsored, the division in the sodality essentially split the tribe as well. We proposed to reconstruct the events which led to the factionalism and to locate, as far as possible, the causal factors involved. We did not want just to chronicle events but to explain them. The focus of my part of the project was on the causes of the factionalism.

We did not anticipate the difficulties we actually encountered in just reconstructing the sequence of events leading up to the split into factions. The process of turning history into myths had already advanced far in the year which had elapsed since the events took place. We were able to consult police records in a few instances and are thus

certain of the chronological sequence of most of the events. In many cases I can only list the several versions of the same event and indicate which is the most probable. As a result of this experience my respect for historians has increased enormously as has my skepticism concerning their historical accounts.

In the course of the analysis of the data, I rejected a "cultural" position in favor of one in which a series of contingent events and the personalities and behavior of the leading actors in the events play as important roles as cultural beliefs and customs. I think that the factionalism resulted from the series of tragic events which caused stresses within the tribe. The stress lines happened unfortunately to coincide with already existing, but not yet critical, lines of cleavage. The interaction of certain cultural beliefs and particular personalities with the unfortunate events was too much for the fragile integration of the Kiowa-Apache tribe, and it split into two competing factions.

One major defect in the field work should be acknowledged immediately. Our rapport was better with the leaders of Faction II than with the leaders of Faction I, the main faction; therefore, the view we got of the events in the process of fission is somewhat one-sided. The press of time did not allow correction of that defect.

The following is a complete list of our informants. Of these, Rose Chaletsin, Philemon Berry, Ray Blackbear, Fred Bigman, Connie Mae Saddleblanket, and Louise Saddleblanket were our chief informants. To them especially and to the others of the Kiowa-Apache and Kiowa

tribes who gave so generously of their time and knowledge, I wish to extend my thanks.

List of Informants.

For the women I have listed maiden names, when known, in parentheses and underlined the surname they now use, placing it after other names by which they are sometimes known. Many Apaches are known by more than one first name.

Rose (Archiltah) Chalepah Chaletsin

Rose is an elderly Kiowa-Apache lady who keeps one of the four medicine bundles.

Evelyn (or Leota) Chalepah

She is a middle-aged Kiowa married to Rose's eldest son, Alfred Chalepah.

Ella Lou Chalepah

Ella Lou is the oldest daughter of Alfred and Evelyn. She is unmarried.

Sadie (or Susie) Nestelle

Sadie is an elderly Kiowa woman who apparently is considered now to be a Kiowa-Apache, as was her deceased husband.

Lentha (Nestelle) Klinekole

She is the daughter of Sadie married to Greg Klinekole, a Kiowa-Apache.

Tennyson Berry

He is the oldest living Kiowa-Apache man; his wife is a Kiowa.

Philemon Berry

Philemon is Tennyson's son. He is in his thirties or forties. He has been a headman in the Blackfoot Society.

Ray Blackbear

He is a middle-aged Kiowa-Apache and a headman in the Blackfoot Society.

Fred Bigman

He is an elderly Kiowa-Apache, owner of one of the four medicine bundles.

Connie Mae (Bigman) Saddleblanket

She is Fred's widowed older sister. She is very old, possibly in her eighties or nineties.

Louise (Saddleblanket) Hummingbird Charcoate

Louise is an elderly Kiowa-Apache, Connie Mae's sister-in-law, keeper of a medicine bundle, and the daughter of the deceased medicine-man, Daveko.

Wallace Redbone

He is a middle-aged Kiowa-Apache and one of the headmen in the Blackfoot Society.

Herbert Redbone

Houston Klinekole

Claude Jay

Steve Bohay

Howard Soontay

Professor William E. Bittle

Mr. Meshew, field representative of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Agency in Anadarko.

Mr. Holmes, inter-tribal relations officer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs area office.

"Bus" Hill, Attorney at law, Oklahoma City.

I would like to thank the members of my thesis committee, Professor Edward Dozier, Professor Edward H. Spicer, and Professor Harry T. Getty for their helpful criticisms and suggestions. I especially thank Professor Harry T. Getty for undertaking the project of seeing me through a thesis written in absentia.

In addition I would like to acknowledge here the moral and financial support, both necessary to write a thesis, which my father and my husband gave me. I particularly want to thank my mother for

babysitting for me for extended periods of time so that I would have time to write and for proofreading the manuscript. Without their help I would not have been able to complete the thesis.

In the quotations from my informants I have inserted explanatory remarks. These numerous remarks are enclosed by parentheses rather than by brackets.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Kiowa-Apaches are a small Southern Athapaskan-speaking tribe now living in Caddo County, western Oklahoma, in and near the towns of Anadarko, Fort Cobb and Apache. Their population is about 400 (Mayhall 1962: 276). The Kiowa-Apaches are so called because at first contact they functioned as a band of the much larger Kiowa tribe. The Kiowa-Apaches apparently never numbered more than 400, which probably accounts for their attachment to the Kiowa (Lowie 1954: 14). The pre-reservation Kiowa-Apache occupied, along with the Kiowa, that part of the Southern Plains where western Oklahoma, southwestern Kansas, southeastern Colorado, northeastern New Mexico, and the Texas panhandle come together (Swanton 1952: 295). They are included in the Southern Plains culture area along with the Comanche and Kiowa (Kroeber 1963: 79; Lowie 1954: 8; Wissler 1948: 19) although their cultural affiliations are a matter of some controversy.

Cultural Affiliation of the Kiowa-Apaches

The problem of the cultural affiliation of the Kiowa-Apaches in the anthropological literature is tied up with the problem of the locations of the Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches during the contact period. Kiowa-Apache is a Southern Athapaskan language indicating that ultimately the remote ancestors of the group presently known as the

Kiowa-Apache broke off from the Canadian Athapaskans and migrated south to their present location. However, we are concerned here with the location of the Kiowa-Apache immediately prior to and following contact with the agents of western European culture. Since they have been associated with the Kiowas during much, if not all, of the period of time in question, the historic locations of the Kiowa-Apache tribe are involved with the problem of the location of the Kiowas.

One theory states that the Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches immediately before contact had their homeland in southwestern Montana and the foothills of northern Wyoming at the sources of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. It was here that the Kiowa-Apaches attached themselves to the Kiowas as the Sarsi had to the Blackfeet. From there the two tribes commenced a southward drift beginning around 1700. They then lived near the Crows from whom they got the Sundance about 1765. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches migrated to the Black Hills from which they were driven by the Dakotas and Cheyennes, who pushed them south to the Platte River. The drift continued south to the Arkansas River and finally to their location in western Oklahoma and adjacent states by the 1830's (Mooney 1898: 153-155; Hodge 1907: 701-702). Mooney was the first to present this theory. Hodge (1907: 699) and Swanton (1952: 295) repeated Mooney's account. Mooney based his reconstruction of Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache tribal history on several kinds of evidence -- Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache traditional history, historical accounts, and the assertions and memories of informants.

Both the Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches have an idee fixe on a northern origin (Bittle 1962: 155; Mooney 1898: 153) and tell origin stories similar to ones found among the Crows and Dakotas, for instance. Any theory based on the traditional history of a people is on shaky ground, for historical myths are not historical facts. A people can borrow myths, as well as other items of culture. Erminie Voegelin (1933: 470-474) tested Mooney's two hypotheses that (1) the Kiowas were once located on the Northern Plains, and (2) that they moved south where they allied themselves with the Crows. She did this by comparing the mythology of the Kiowas, the Crows, the Arapahos, the Gros Ventres, the Blackfeet, and the Cheyennes (the last four served as control cases). She concluded that similarities in mythology cannot be due to any close past affiliation of the Crows with the Kiowas, but are due only to "...general Plains influence as regards Kiowa mythology" (Voegelin 1933: 474).

Mooney's second kind of evidence consisted of the memories of informants, also a source of information often less than reliable. Mooney states that the northern Cheyennes and the Dakotas told Grinnell that the Kiowas and Comanches had controlled the land between the Yellowstone River and the Black Hills and that they had been fighting the Kiowas until 1840. The northern Arapahos told Mooney that when they first knew the Kiowas they were located near Virginia City, Montana. He also states that old men in the Kiowa tribe remembered moving south to the south fork of the Platte and

then to the Arkansas River. He further writes that several old Kiowas knew a lot of Crow (Mooney 1898: 153-157).

A third source of evidence used by Mooney is historical accounts. La Salle, writing from Illinois in 1681 or 1682, mentions the Gattacka as neighbors to the Pawnees on the south and as middlemen in the horse trade from New Mexico. Mooney (1898: 245) says Gattacka is the Pawnee name for the Kiowa-Apaches. If Mooney is correct in identifying the Gattacka as Kiowa-Apaches and La Salle was correct in placing them in 1682 south of the Pawnees, these facts place the Kiowa-Apache range south of the Platte. Yet elsewhere (1898: 155) Mooney has the Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches in western Montana until 1700. On page 156 Mooney, however, states that Spanish documents of 1732, 1735, and 1748 speak of Cargua, Caigua, and Cayguas raids on New Mexican villages in the company of Comanches, Utes, and Apaches.

In 1805 Lewis and Clark reported that the Cataka, population cerca 300, were said by other Indians to be living in the Black Hills, while the Kiowas lived on both sides of the Platte. This places the Kiowa-Apaches in 1805, if indeed they are the Cataka, north of their reported range in 1682. But by 1837 when the Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches signed their first treaty with the United States government, they were on the upper Arkansas, the Canadian, and the Red Rivers (Mooney 1898: 169-171). Thus the documentary evidence cited by Mooney is contradictory.

Others have brought documentary sources to bear on the problem of the prehistoric and historic locations of the Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches. Brugge looked through the baptismal and burial records of Catholic parishes in New Mexico for the period from 1694-1875. He found captives from four Plains tribes recorded as the Aa, the Jumano, the Kiowa, and the Pawnee. The records did not distinguish Plains Apaches from other Apaches. He found that the Kiowa and Pawnee captives were listed mostly in the northern parishes, reflecting, no doubt, a northerly location vis-a-vis New Mexico, but probably still within the Southern Plains or Central Plains. The earliest record of any Plains captive is of a Kiowa woman, 50-60 years old, who was buried in 1727. The records further state that the Kiowas, allied with the Pawnees, raided New Mexico in 1803 and again in 1824. These and other instances cited by Brugge tend to substantiate a Southern or Central Plains location for the Kiowas and presumably the Kiowa-Apaches by at least 1700 (Brugge 1965: 181, 184, 188).

Other Spanish documents tend to support this position, especially for the Apaches. Harrington (1940: 510-528), Lowie (1954: 217), and Wedel (1961: 278-279, 302-303) have taken the position that while the Apaches, ancestral to the Kiowa-Apaches, Lipanes, and possibly the Jicarillas, are ultimately of Canadian origin, they had arrived in the Central and Southern Plains by at least 1540 when Coronado's expedition encountered the Querechos and Teyas, or pedestrian bison hunters. The general consensus of scholars on the subject is that the Querechos and Teyas (or Vaqueros) of the Spanish

documents were Plains Apaches. Wedel (1961: 111-116, 151-152) adds archaeological evidence to the documentary sources. The Dismal River Culture of eastern Colorado, western Kansas and central Nebraska, dated approximately 1700 has been identified partly on the basis of historical accounts, and partly by the cultural inventory in the sites, as Plains Apache. Again this places the Apaches, if not the Kiowas, in the central western High Plains by about 1700. While we have no such archaeological evidence for the Kiowas, the fact that Spanish documentary sources mention the Kiowas along with the Pawnees and Apaches but not the Crows or other northern Plains tribes lends credence to the theory that the Kiowas were also in the Southern and Central High Plains early. We know on the basis of language relationships that the Southern Athapaskan speakers migrated south from Canada at some point(s) in history. There is not even that evidence for the Kiowas, for Kiowa is a Tanoan language (Hale, class notes 1965; Harrington 1910: 119-120; McKenzie and Harrington 1948: 1-2), in spite of the doubts expressed by Whorf and Trager (1937: 609). Therefore, Mooney's placement of the Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches in Montana in 1700 and their subsequent migration southward after that period of time does not seem borne out by the weight of the evidence.

If the Plains Apache ancestors of the Kiowa-Apaches were on the Southern Plains when the Spanish first made contact in that area, had they migrated onto the Plains from the Southwest after breaking off from the other Southern Athapaskans, or did they instead come down the High Plains directly without ever having lived in the

Southwest proper? The deeper problem involved here is the cultural affiliation of the Kiowa-Apaches (and the Lipanes and Jicarillas). Recent field workers with the Kiowa-Apaches, the surviving Lipanes, and the Jicarillas have tended to the view that basically these peoples have an Apachean culture and have discounted Plains traits as recent and superficial additions (Bittle 1962: 152; Brant 1953: 195-196; Kroeber 1963: 79; Lowie 1954: 217-218; Opler 1946: 3). On the other hand Harrington (1940: 520-523) and Wedel (1961: 302-303) take the position that the Kiowa-Apaches (and the Lipanes and Jicarillas) never lived in the Southwest prior to coming out on the Plains and are instead the remnants of the Plains Apaches who came down the High Plains. Wedel wrote (1961: 303) that there is no reason why the culture described for the Querechos and Teyas "...could not have been practiced in the Western Plains from Texas to Alberta for many hundreds, even thousands, of years before Coronado met the Apache dog-nomads in the Southern Plains." Mooney (1898: 274) took the extreme view that the Apaches were like the Kiowas in all but language.

A full account of the culture of the pre-reservation Kiowa-Apaches has not yet been written. McAllister's article on Kiowa-Apache social organization (1937: 99-169) comes the closest. He also has written an account of the Medicine Bundle Complex among the Kiowa-Apaches (1965: 210-224). Opler and Bittle (1961: 383-393) published an article on Kiowa-Apache death practices and eschatology. These three publications constitute the sole published resources on the aboriginal culture of the Kiowa-Apaches.

The linguistic position of the Kiowa-Apaches places them squarely with the other Southern Athapaskans; that is, Kiowa-Apaches belong to the Eastern Group of the Southern Athapaskan languages, along with Jicarillas and Lipanes. Kiowa-Apaches, however, early became separated from Jicarilla-Lipanes (Hoijer 1938: 78-79). The Kiowa-Apaches shared with other Plains tribes the use of sign language (McAllister 1965: 212).

The technology and economy of the Kiowa-Apaches have not been described in print, but they seem to have been a typical Plains tribe in this respect; they depended for subsistence upon the buffalo and upon raiding activity. They have no tradition of ever having farmed or having made pottery. They lived in tipis, wore skin clothing of Plains style, and made hide containers. They used the dog and later the horse travois for transportation (Wedel 1961: 297-298).

The Kiowa-Apaches were a tribe within a tribe. They were attached to the Kiowas and functioned during the annual Kiowa Sundance as a band of the Kiowas always camping on the north side of the camp circle under the direction of the Kiowa Tame-Keeper and the five Kiowa military sodalities (Mooney 1898: 228-229). The rest of the year the Kiowa-Apaches were largely independent of the Kiowas, with their own tribal sodalities, bundle-owners, and chiefs. Intermarriage between the two tribes was rare at this time and frowned upon. Communication between the two affiliated groups was by means of sign language or through the Apaches who had learned Kiowa (McAllister 1937: 100).

The Kiowa-Apaches had attained a higher order of social integration than any of the other Southern Athapaskan-speaking tribes since like other Plains tribes, they had a medicine bundle complex and four pan-tribal sodalities (Lowie 1954: 96-103; Wissler 1948: 113-119). The social units of the Kiowa-Apaches parallel those of the Kiowas. After the Sundance, the Kiowa-Apaches broke up into bands or gonka. Several extended families who camped together under the leadership of an outstanding man or chief, who was often a bundle-owner and always a renowned warrior noted for generosity, formed a gonka. The leader and his family formed the nucleus of the group, but the constituent families were not necessarily related to each other. The composition of a given gonka was not of necessity the same each year, for families were free to leave and join other encampments (McAllister 1937: 165-166). The description of the Kiowa-Apache gonka is practically identical to the description Mishkin (1940: 26-27) gives for the Kiowa encampment or topotoga. The extended families who comprised a gonka were formed by bilocal residence, as among the Kiowa. The Kiowa-Apache kinship system is, however, basically the same as the Lipan and Jicarilla kinship systems (Opler 1936).

The Kiowa-Apache tribal sodalities - the Kasowe or "Rabbits" for children, the Izuwe for old women, the Manatidie and Klintidie for adult men - have no counterparts among any of the other Southern Athapaskan-speaking tribes. They were typical Plains societies (Lowie 1954: 96-104; McAllister 1937: 139-142, 150-157). The Kiowas had a "Rabbit" Society for boys and one for men called the

"Blackleggings" corresponding to the Apache Manatidie or Blackfoot Society (Mooney 1898: 229-230). The Kiowa-Apaches also had a system of heraldry involving tipis and shield groups like the Kiowas (Brant 1953: 197; Mooney 1898: 230-231).

Kiowa Apache ceremonial life centered around the Sundance, the dances put on by the four societies, and the rites connected with the medicine bundles of which there were four. McAllister (1965: 223-224) compared the Kiowa-Apache medicine bundle complex with that of other Plains tribes. He concluded that it was typical of the Plains, particularly of the Southern Plains and not at all like any ceremonial complex found among other Apachean tribes. Brant (1949: 60; 1953: 199-200), nevertheless, has concluded that these cultural traits which affiliate the Kiowa-Apaches with other Plains tribes are recent and superficial additions to an Apachean culture core. This Apachean culture core consists of kinship terminology, beliefs and practices concerning death (Opler and Bittle 1961), and much of the mythology (Brant 1953: 196). In all other respects the Kiowa-Apaches are remarkably like other Plains tribes, especially the Kiowas. To conclude, therefore, that these traits constitute a "superficial" veneer seems to be to be unjustified.

History of Contact with Europeans

The first contact the Kiowa-Apaches had with western European culture was through traders from New Mexico and later from the Louisiana Territory who introduced them to goods of European manufacture and European diseases. From contact up through the early 1900's

successive epidemics of smallpox, cholera, pneumonia, measles, and whooping cough decimated the tribe again and again (Mooney 1898: 168, 173, 176-177, 218-219, 223, 253). The first trader permanently located in Kiowa territory set up a post on Cache Creek near the present-day town of Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1837, the same year that the Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, and Tawakonis together signed their first treaty pledging peace and friendship with the United States and other Indian tribes. The main reason the United States wanted the treaty was to try to secure to United States citizens the right of unobstructed passage to Mexican territory and Texas through the hunting grounds of the three tribes. Again in 1853 the United States government attempted to provide protection for the trade over the Santa Fe Trail by treating with the Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, and Comanches. This Fort Atkinson Treaty of peace gave the United States the right to set up military posts and build roads in the territory in return for which the Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, and Comanches were to receive an annuity of \$18,000 per year for the next ten years (Mooney 1898: 168-173). Indian harassment of eastern Indian tribes resettled west of the Mississippi River, and of the trade to New Mexico continued and in 1860 the United States government dispatched an expedition to fight the Kiowas and Comanches. By 1863 a major outbreak of warfare on the Southern Plains was expected and realized in 1864. Hostilities were settled again by the Little Arkansas Treaty of 1865. United States Commissioners met representatives of the Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos. By the terms of this treaty the

Kiowas and Comanches agreed to move south of the Arkansas, to give up claims to territory in Colorado, New Mexico, and Kansas and to move to a proposed reservation comprising southwestern Oklahoma and the Llano Estacado. The Apaches were detached from the Kiowas and temporarily attached to the Cheyennes and Arapahos (Mooney 1898: 176-180).

The government policy of trying to pacify the Indians and then isolate them on reservations was aimed at reducing the military threat to trade and settlement along the United States' frontier. An Indian population, restricted to a designated area was much easier to control. The United States government first tried to establish its military authority by a system of forts and campaigns. Later civilian authority was exerted through the Indian agencies which distributed the goods, money, and services promised the Indians in treaties. Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches did not feel the full weight of the authority of the United States government until 1867-68. Even then the last spark of rebellion was not crushed until 1874-75 when, after a brief outbreak, the hostiles were overwhelmingly defeated. The old way of life was gone forever. The chiefs were dead, in prison, or powerless. Horses and weapons had been confiscated, and by 1879 the buffalo had vanished. The once powerful tribes were defeated people helpless before the might of the United States government and dependent on its charity for their very existence.

The turning point in this process of reduction came with the Treaty of Medicine Lodge of 1867 when the Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, and

Comanches agreed to confederate and restrict their movements to a reservation in southwestern Oklahoma where all three tribes are presently located. The treaty allowed the government to establish military posts at will, to build roads, to set up an Indian agency, and to build schools. The government would, in return, pay an annuity in cash and clothing. The Indians did not all remove to the reservation within the period of time agreed upon, so the army under Sherman initiated hostilities in 1868. After a brutal campaign by General Custer the three tribes trooped into Fort Cobb and surrendered (Mayhall 1962: 207-208; Mooney 1898: 181-188). Members of the three tribes still occasionally participated in raids into Texas and Mexico, but the peace was kept fairly well until 1874-75. It was during this time that the Quaker agent assigned to the reservation under President Grant's peace policy made the first real attempts to introduce farming and to set up schools. The Indian agent was unable, however, to prevent incursions on Indian land by Whites which is why the removal policy of the United States government failed. In 1874 a party of buffalo hunters began slaughtering the remaining herds on Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, and Comanche hunting grounds. This event combined with a year of short rations brought on a brief renewal of hostilities. The Kiowa-Apaches did not participate (Mooney 1898: 197-205). After the defeat of the hostile bands, the three tribes scattered in small settlements across the reservation subsisting primarily on government welfare, such as it was, and the money received from leasing grazing land to cattlemen (Mooney 1898: 214-218). Only a few took up farming.

In 1895 an agent wrote about the Kiowa-Apaches: "I find the Apaches 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 we can have little hope for." (Brant 1964: 10).

The nearly hopeless conditions of the three confederated tribes at this time gave rise to several messianic movements of brief duration. The last Sundance was held in 1890. That same year the Ghost Dance came to the Kiowas through the Arapahos. The Kiowas had already experienced two similar messianic movements begun by Kiowa prophets previous to the introduction of the Ghost Dance. The Ghost Dance gradually lost adherents, when the prophecies did not come true, until it disappeared about 1910 (Brant 1964: 11-12; Mooney 1898: 221-222). Brant reports that the Kiowa-Apaches took up the new religion initially with great fervor, although this is difficult to believe in view of the Kiowa-Apache beliefs about the ghosts of the dead.

The final blow which effectively shattered what had survived of tribal unity occurred in 1892 when the Jerome Agreement was signed at Fort Sill by representatives of the three confederated tribes. Every Indian was to receive a 160 acre allotment of his own choosing, to be held in trust patent for 25 years with the option that the government could extend the period. The government, in turn, paid the Indians \$2,000,000 to be held in the United States Treasury drawing 5% interest. The unallotted land was sold in lotteries, the last of which was held in 1906. In 1907 Oklahoma became a state (Mayhall

1962: 273; Mooney 1898: 273-277). The tide of White settlement had finally engulfed the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches.

Present Conditions

The Kiowa-Apaches now living primarily in Caddo County, Oklahoma have increased from a low population figure of about 155 in 1905 (Bittle 1962: 154) to approximately 400, if an estimate reported by Mayhall (1962: 276) is correct. Since intermarriage with members of other tribes has been extensive, the determination of tribal affiliations is often difficult. Agency rolls and personal self-identifications or tribal identifications do not always coincide. Therefore, any population figures must be approximate.

Many Kiowa-Apaches are still dependent for subsistence on the allotments granted originally from 1901-1903 and again in 1908. The United States government broke up the joint Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache reservation in western Oklahoma in order to open the country up officially to White settlement. It did this by giving each member, regardless of age, in the three tribes a 160 acre allotment and awarding the left-over land to Whites by a system of lotteries. These particular allotments were made under a general policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs designed to "civilize" the Indians by making yeoman farmers of them (Brant 1964: 11; Kinney 1937: 130, 136-137, 177). The mistaken belief that the way to civilization lay through individual property ownership ignored the fact that Indians like the Kiowa-Apaches had little inclination for and no experience with farming. Such a policy also ignored the elementary geographic

fact that western Oklahoma, part of the high plains, is marginal farming country at best and is better utilized as grazing land (Finch and others 1957: 154-155). As one might expect, the results of the government policy have been anything but the desired ones. The original Kiowa-Apache allotments (allotments in severalty but without the right of alienation for the most part) numbered 150. Some Apaches are still living who hold their original allotments. Most allotments, however, have been divided among the heirs in a system of inheritance which has fractionalized the holdings. The result has been that with one or two possible exceptions, no Kiowa-Apache farms his own land for a living, although many live in their government-built houses on their land. Those who own allotments or shares in allotments lease them to White farmers. The income from these agricultural leases is small indeed, and one of the major activities of most of our informants was to try to talk their lesees into advances on the next lease payment or a loan. One woman who has two allotments, for example, said:

F.D. He's been my lease man for 21 years. Boy! He's a good man. Oh, he help me lots of ways. He gives me a little help on money. If I got a sick case, little groceries, the fuse on the stove, he help me. Some other little things. I go to him because I don't want to get in debt to nobody else. Me and him understand our problems. When I get a little ahead I square him up. J. (the other lease man), been on there not quite so long. He does some help to me. He don't have much luck. Just a few cattle and a few implements. I just go sometimes when I just have to get help for good reason and he does help me.

A few (by the count of our informants, five or six) Apache women have had the luck to have oil found on land they own or have shares in. The money from oil leases has made only two relatively

wealthy, but it has relieved the families of the others from conditions of poverty. One man gets income from a gravel pit on his allotment. With these exceptions noted, it must be stated that most Kiowa-Apaches live in poverty. Some get by on the income from agricultural leases. Many receive various kinds of welfare aid. Some of the men have been able to find steady jobs as unskilled laborers. Some men work seasonally as agricultural laborers, primarily chopping cotton. It is difficult for a Kiowa-Apache to find steady work. The educational level of most Kiowa-Apache men qualifies them for unskilled positions only. Western Oklahoma seems to be a depressed area with very little industrial development. Finally Indians must contend with racial and cultural prejudice on the part of prospective White employers.

For a few young Kiowa-Apaches the Bureau of Indian Affairs' relocation program in such cities as Dallas and San Francisco has been a solution to their economic problems. For the majority of Kiowa-Apaches who tried it, the result has been a failure. A high percentage of those who go on relocation return within a year or so. For those who return, homesickness seems to be a major factor in the failure to adjust to city life.

The following discussion of the social organization of the present-day Kiowa-Apaches is organized in Service's terms (1962: 19). It must be stated at the outset that this section suffers from lack of adequate data on such aspects of Kiowa-Apache social organization as the kinship terminology system, kinship behavior, the life cycle,

the relationship of the Kiowa-Apaches to other Indian tribes, particularly the Kiowas, and the relationship of the Kiowa-Apache subculture to the politically and economically dominant White culture as it is represented in Caddo County, Western Oklahoma. The reason for these inadequacies are simply that the focus of my research was factionalism in one social group, the Kiowa-Apache Blackfoot Society or the Manatidie. The press of time did not allow more than superficial expansion of research into other aspects of Kiowa-Apache life.

McAllister reports (1937: 165) that the most important social group of the Kiowa-Apaches was the extended family. This is patently the case today, as is demonstrated by the fact that in every case but one, extended families as wholes gave their loyalty to one faction or the other. Loyalty to one's kin overrode personal sentiment in several cases. One man, as an example, whose older sister was in Faction II expressed a desire to go to Faction I dances. He would not do so out of loyalty to his sister. This man's statement was one of many such recorded in both factions.

By the term "extended family" I mean "...two or more nuclear families united by consanguineal kinship bonds"... (Murdock 1949: 23). Kiowa Apache extended families have no fixed composition and are usually not residential units; nevertheless close kinship ties bind the individual members one to another. These unbreakable ties are those of parent-child, sibling-sibling, grandparent-grandchild, and the affinal tie of husband-wife. A man and wife may choose to affiliate themselves with either the wife's or the husband's family. It

would seem that in a tribe rent by factionalism the loyalty demanded by the consanguineal ties could very well conflict with that of the affinal husband-wife relationship. In only one case was this actually a problem for a couple. In this case the superior economic status of the wife's family was the deciding factor; that is, a man whose immediate relatives were all in Faction I affiliated himself with his wife's family in Faction II. The rest of the Apaches faced no such conflict of loyalties since the three families who form the core of Faction II have their closest affinal ties in the Kiowa tribe and not among the other Kiowa-Apache families. New families in Faction I, on the other hand, have affinal ties in the Kiowa tribe and none with the three families in Faction II, with the one exception noted. It is no accident then that the three families who were pushed out of, or withdrew from, the main body of the Apaches to form Faction II had all of their affinal ties with the Kiowas. There was only one marriage between two of the families in Faction II; otherwise the three families in Faction II had no affinal ties with each other. They could so be pushed out or withdraw without damaging the crucial extended family ties which form the basis of Kiowa-Apache social structure.

The extended family often has a recognized head, usually the oldest able individual of either sex. One such family is composed of an elderly woman who is the head of the family, her five children - three sons and two daughters - their spouses, her grandchildren and their spouses, and several great-grandchildren. The extended family and the household may or may not coincide.

The government allotment policy broke up the previous residential character (McAllister 1935: 28) of the Apache extended family units to a great extent. Nevertheless, the Kiowa-Apache residential unit, the household, does not often seem to consist of the neolocal family characteristic of contemporary White, middle-class American. I have no quantitative data on the subject, but the households of our informants, while of extremely varied composition, always included relatives other than parents and minor, unmarried children. As an example, the extended family described in the previous paragraph was divided into two main residential units whose composition changed through time. The summer we were there, however, the first residential unit consisted of the old lady and the families of four of her five children plus assorted other relatives. This group was divided into three households, living in adjacent houses. The second residential unit consisted of the household of the old lady's oldest son, his wife, their children, the spouses of their married children, and several grandchildren, all living in one big farm house on an allotment.

It is difficult to discern any patterns from the meagre data I have on household composition. This apparent fluidity is probably partially a result of the uncertain economic conditions and partially of marriage customs. A poor relative may come to live with a wealthier one. A young couple may leave their children with a grandparent while they work in a city. In fact, the only pattern of household composition we found - and it appeared to be a common one - was

that of grandchildren living with grandparents. In such cases, the parent(s) of the children had left the area in order to work. One of our informants, for instance, an elderly widow, was taking care of a middle-aged, crippled son, and two young children of another son who was working in another town and whose wife had either died or left him.

Marriage customs, too, are responsible in part for the fluid household arrangements. What McAllister found in the 1930's is applicable to the present situation, "...innumerable trial marriages occur, lasting from a few days to as much as a year or longer..." (1937: 147). If the trial marriage lasts, the union is considered a true marriage. Most Kiowa-Apaches have been married more than once; and as McAllister states (1937: 147) "Many Kiowa-Apaches indulge in extra-marital intercourse, but so long as it is only a temporary relationship, it has little effect upon marriage." The total effect is extremely variable household composition and very complex kinship ties.

The extended family and the household are held together, of course, by consanguineal and affinal kinship bonds. McAllister (1937: 103-136) has thoroughly described the Apache kinship system and behavior as of 1934. What changes, if any, may have occurred since then, I can only conjecture. It is probable that knowledge of the Kiowa-Apache terms for relatives is dying along with knowledge of the language itself. Bittle (1963: 76) estimates that as of 1955 probably only about 100 out of the 400 Kiowa-Apaches spoke the language fluently. Another 100 had some knowledge of the language. Only one

quarter to one half of the Apaches, then, presumably know Apache kinship terminology. Our informants used English kinship terms when talking to us, often, however, with non-English applications. The term "cousin" as an example, seems to be used to refer to many kinds of relatives who would not be cousins in either of the two types of American kinship systems, as well as to those who would be. For data on kinship behavior in the traditional sense and the life cycle the reader is referred to McAllister's account.

The Kiowa-Apache social groups described above are those united by bonds of kinship and residence. The other kind of permanent social institution found among the Kiowa-Apaches is organized on the basis of voluntary association. Lowie (1948: 14) has termed such units "sodalities." The Kiowa-Apaches had from 1959 until the summer of 1963 only one such sodality, the Blackfoot Society or Manatidie. By the end of the summer of 1963 the tribe had split into two factions, each of which organized its own separate Blackfoot Society. Implicit in the preceding discussion is a definition of factionalism as a process of conflict between groups within a unit which, in the eyes of the people involved ought to be a whole, but whose integrity has been broken by the conflict. The conflicting groups are then factions. Since the birth, growth, and fission of this tribal sodality forms the topic of the body of the paper, I shall not discuss it further at this point.

The Kiowa-Apaches also come together for religious rituals. Some fairly small percentage of the tribe belongs to, and regularly

attends the services of various Protestant churches in the area, churches whose numbers are usually all Indian, as is often the minister. Some of these Kiowa-Apaches do not participate in the pow-wows of the Kiowa-Apaches or other tribes in the belief that pow-wows are sinful. The majority of the Kiowa-Apaches have attended services of one or more of the standard Christian churches, but they could not be considered members of any congregation. It is this part of the Kiowa-Apache tribe that holds and participates in the peyote rites of the Native American Church.

The group which assembles for a peyote meeting does not constitute a sodality; for the association of people, although based on the principle of voluntary association, is not a permanently organized one. At each meeting a different social group is formed. Participation is inter-tribal in character and limited primarily to men. Women usually attend only if they are sick and want to be cured. Peyote rituals among the Kiowa-Apaches are held to cure illness and to ward off danger, much as the shamanistic rites of earlier days functioned (Brant 1950: 212, 215, 219). Associated status-roles are peyote-chief, drum-chief, and fire chief. The few men who have learned the songs and ritual well enough to conduct peyote meetings are called "peyote chiefs." Brant (1950: 215) does not state whether the statuses of drum chief and fire chief are assumed by individuals permanently, as is the status of peyote chief, or whether at each meeting two men attending are selected to perform the roles.

While peyote ceremonies are still important, the Kiowa-Apaches seem to hold and attend fewer since the tribe revived the Blackfoot dance. In the summer of 1964, so far as we were aware, no Kiowa-Apache sponsored a peyote meeting. This contrasts markedly with the situation Brant found in 1948 and 1949 when peyote meetings were frequently sponsored by Kiowa-Apache hosts (1950: 212). It appears that the concentration of tribal time, energy, and meagre resources on the activities of the Blackfoot Society has left little to be invested in the activities of the Native American Church.

Brant suggests that the peyote ritual of the Native American Church is part of "...a 'Pan Indian' movement asserting minority group solidarity within the larger cultural framework" (1950: 222). While the practice of peyote rituals may promote the solidarity of the Indians in Oklahoma vis-a-vis the White man, it does not promote Kiowa-Apache tribal solidarity vis-a-vis other Indian tribes; for, as has been stated, peyote meetings are always inter-tribal in attendance and the ritual itself is inter-tribal in form.

From the time of allotment to 1959, the Kiowa-Apaches lacked an integrated tribal community. There was no social group or activity which encompassed the tribe, and only the tribe, as a whole. All the old mechanisms which united the tribe in the past and served to differentiate them as a distinct ethnic unit had broken down during the long history of contact with the White world. In the past the tribe had been endogamous so that every Apache was literally related to every other in some way. Bonds of kinship provided the basic cement which held the tribe together. Two factors undermined tribal endogamy.

First the Kiowa-Apaches were reduced in number from about 400 to 155 by 1905 as a result of severe epidemics of smallpox and other European diseases late in the nineteenth century, thus severely limiting the number of possible marriage partners for any one Kiowa-Apache. Many were forced by these circumstances to marry outside the tribe or not marry at all. Second, the system of allotment in severalty interspersed Apache allotments with those of other tribes promoting interaction, and therefore, marriages with members of neighboring tribes.

The complex of rituals surrounding the annual opening and renewal of each of the four medicine bundles, though they were individually owned, also served as a cohesive force for the Kiowa-Apache tribe. Most of the ritual knowledge necessary to care for and open the bundles has been lost under pressure from missionaries and other agents and emissaries of White culture. The old ceremonies are no longer performed, although the bundles still exist. Perhaps even more crucial is the loss of the mechanism for settling interpersonal and interfamilial disputes provided by the ownership of bundles. Bundle owners could be called on to mediate such disputes. Once the bundle owner accepted the job of mediation and made a decision it had the force of law. There is now no functional equivalent for this system of settling controversies which could threaten tribal integrity.

A third integrating force which cut across ties of close kinship to unite remote kin and non-kin were the four dancing societies. All children belonged to the Rabbit sodality and many adult men and women belonged to at least one of the other three sodalities. The

ceremonies sponsored by these societies required the participation and attendance of the whole tribe. By 1900 these societies had ceased to function (Bittle 1962: 153-154).

Not only did the tribe, as of 1959, have no internal cohesion, it was also denied recognition as a separate ethnic group by non-Indians in western Oklahoma. The name "Kiowa-Apache" tends to be confusing in that the tribe is often identified better with the Kiowa or with the remnants of Geronimo's band who live near Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

The "tribe" therefore, in recent times is only a vague, diffusely construed entity lacking cogency of membership, and lacking the unifying features of social organization that characterized it in earlier times. For the modern Apache the price of contact and acculturation has been a loss of distinctiveness for them as a tribe. (Bittle 1962: 154).

CHAPTER 2

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE TRIBAL LEADERS

This section of brief biographies is included for two reasons. First, to enable the reader to follow the narrative portion of the paper more easily and second, to describe the individuals who played decisive roles in the events constituting the process of factionalism. Not only are individual personalities of these Kiowa-Apaches important, but also the attitudes of other tribal members towards them. I have tried to show the individuals from both points of view. Four members from each of the two factions are included. They were chosen because each one is an important figure in his respective faction for reasons stated in the text, reasons which vary in each case.

The biographical sketches of the leaders of Faction I are very skimpy in comparison to those of Faction II. The leaders of Faction II were much more accessible and talked freely about themselves, while our information on the leaders of Faction I is, with one exception, secondhand or from observation of behavior alone.

Faction I

Frankie Redbone

Frankie Redbone is a middle-aged Kiowa-Apache, brother of Herbert, Wallace, and Louis, son of Henry and Eva Redbone. He is married to Carrie Archiltah. Frankie is a veteran of World War II,

the European theatre where he spent some time as a prisoner of the Germans. This gives him a great deal of status in the tribe since the Kiowa-Apaches still attach the greatest prestige to military activities. A man who has been in the military service, especially if he served during war time, or a woman whose son or brother so served automatically acquires prestige.

Frankie was one of the group of men who originated the idea of reviving the Apache warrior sodality, the Manatidie, reported by McAllister (1937: 150-153), under the name The Blackfoot Society or Manatidie. He became its informally acknowledged "President," a position from which he later withdrew. When the tribe split into two factions he again assumed a position of leadership as one of the four headmen of the Blackfoot Society. Although Frankie is a headman and was once "President" of the Society his position in the crucial summer of 1963, and in 1964 when I observed the sodality in action, seemed to be subordinate to that of his brother Wallace and Wallace's wife Iola. Frankie is the least controversial of the eight Kiowa-Apache leaders included in this section and does not appear to have played an important role in the factionalism in the tribe. He is probably the most universally respected and liked man in the Kiowa-Apache tribe. He is the only man now living to whom any of the informants would apply the Apache term for leader or chief, nadi't'a'ih. As one man put it:

A chief is a man that's a distinguished man among the tribe. He's outstanding in his hospitality and the things that he did for the people. In the olden times the chief showed that by his gallantry, being bold and alert, all having to

do with being a good fighter as well as a good provider. By that I mean he's got to know how to kill and get meat for his people. Later when the buffalo diminished it fell on the person who had hospitality, and was kind and considerate to people.

Herbert Redbone

Herbert Redbone was a middle-aged Kiowa Apache who died of cancer the year following the study. His wife was Clara Blackbear, a dour, managing, and suspicious woman, sister of Ray Blackbear, one of our chief informants. Herbert was a veteran of World War II, the Pacific Theatre. Herbert and his brother Wallace were the ones instrumental in pushing their chief rival for political power within the tribe, Philemon Berry, out of power in the summer of 1963. In 1964 Herbert's role was that of providing the dance ground for Faction I's pow-wow and of supervising the installation and maintenance of the necessary physical facilities on the pow-wow grounds. He has never been a headman.

Wallace Redbone

Wallace Redbone, also middle-aged, is the third Redbone brother. The fourth brother, Louis, is a member of some fundamentalist Protestant sect, which believes that pow-wows are wicked. He therefore, has little contact with most of the tribe, including his three brothers. Wallace is one of the four headmen in Faction I's Blackfoot Society. In the summer of 1964 Wallace had a superordinate position vis-a-vis the other three headmen. "Wallace is our boss right now."

Wallace is married to Iola Star. The general picture of Wallace that emerges from talking to Wallace himself and to other Apaches is of a genial man who lets his wife henpeck him. He works at the Army post in Lawton, Oklahoma.

Iola Redbone

Iola's maiden name is Star. Her father, Noble Star was half Arapaho and half Apache; her mother was half Apache, half Kiowa. Iola is considered a Kiowa-Apache. She is now married to Wallace Redbone, but she seems to have been married either legally or by common-law several times previously. One estimate, by an ex-husband, has it nine times prior to her present marriage. She has by Apache standards a somewhat lurid past, which includes a jail sentence in 1931-32, as well as drinking, gambling, and adultery. This behavior continued when she married Wallace. "Wallace is a pretty good boy, I always thought. He never did run around. He got a woman who was just the opposite. She never was a good woman. She drink, go with other people. He knew it..."

When the Kiowa-Apaches started the Blackfoot Society and Wallace assumed a position of leadership, Iola changed her behavior to conform more to that expected of the wife of a tribal leader. She is still, however, a very aggressive woman, one of the few "facts" about which members of both factions agree. A woman in Faction I said, "I think she always try to tell her man what to do and he does. But I think she kinda understand things and situations." The members of Faction II have much less flattering ways of putting it. Iola has,

in fact, assumed a position of leadership in Faction I, which theoretically belongs to the men alone. She was actually observed directing one of the events over a microphone at Faction I's 1964 pow-wow. No other woman in either faction was ever observed so directing any public event. "Iola, she got nerve to do anything. She pick up microphone, rattle off." Iola's boldness earns her a certain grudging admiration even from the men in the tribe; nevertheless it also causes problems within her own faction. During the summer of 1964 Faction I experienced a lot of tension over, among other things, Iola's conduct. Some of the headmen in Faction I were considering withdrawing since they found it so difficult to work with Wallace. "There's three of us (Headmen) that works together good... But we can't hardly work with Wallace. He's been influenced by his wife. She's a dictator."

Apache attitudes towards aggressive women like Iola should be viewed in the context of the culturally prescribed line which excludes women from participation in certain spheres of activity reserved for men only. Leadership in the Blackfoot Society is one such sphere. All the Apaches, even the worst offenders among the women, generally pay at least lip service to this, but the gap between the stated ideal - what are the proper roles for women in the Manatidie - and actual behavior is a real source of tension between the men and the women in the tribe.

Faction IIRose (Archiltah) Chalepah Chaletsin

Rose is in her sixties or seventies. She is now blind and is crippled enough to need help in walking. The latter handicap is from a fall which broke her hip. In spite of these physical handicaps Rose is a very powerful figure, both socially and politically, among the Kiowa-Apaches. It is around her that most of the controversy swirled which resulted in the breakup of the Kiowa-Apache Blackfoot Society into two factions. She heads Faction II. "Old Lady" plus the last name is a common term of respectful address and reference among the Kiowa-Apaches. When an Apache of either faction just says "Old Lady," however, it is understood to refer to Rose. She is the "Old Lady."

Rose is also the undisputed head of a large, bilocal, extended family. Four of her five living children and their families, as well as various other assorted relatives from time to time, live with her in her house in Anadarko, or in houses next to hers on lots she owns. They all seem to be at least partially financially dependent upon her. Rose supports herself and her family on the income she gets from agricultural and oil leases on several shares in allotted land to which she fell heir.

Rose is literally related to every other Kiowa-Apache and to many Kiowas as well, since all of her five children and many of her grandchildren married Kiowas. When the Kiowa-Apache sodality split into two parts, not only did all of Rose's immediate family rally

around her but also many of her Kiowa relatives by marriage. These people form the core of Faction II.

Rose is the daughter of the Arapaho second wife of Old Man Archiltah. Her natal family seems to have been poor and of no social prominence in the tribe. One woman, who it must be said does not wish Rose well, stated, "Her (Rose's) daddy don't dance (an indication of low social status) and they don't own nothing." Rose's lowly origin is of importance in the light of her assumed position of leadership. The Kiowa-Apaches share with the Kiowas (Richardson 1940: 12-16) an emphasis on heredity in the assumption of leadership positions and in the determination of status within the tribe. Certain wealthy families tended to monopolize the leadership in the tribe. Lowie (1954: 132) reports this to be a general Southern Plains trait.

Rose was first married around 1905 to Alonzo Chalepah. He was half White, but he became a prominent peyote chief. About this marriage Rose says:

I never went with him (Alonzo). Never talk to him no way. I was given away by my brother. I was in school yet. I didn't know they select. They point me out. I gonna marry 'Lonzo.' I didn't know 'til they have big Fourth of July dance at Fort Cobb. I didn't want to marry that White man. I try to tough it out. Finally I just like tame horse. They talk to me and I just get mad. Run off to my folks. They kept coming after me. Finally I just make up my mind (see McAllister 1937: 146, on the right of the brother to promise his sister).

The attitude Rose expresses in the above quote may serve to explain, in part, her subsequent action.

Rose and Alonzo had five children who lived - Alfred, Gertrude, Raymond, Irene, and Ace. About 1928 after some 23 years of

marriage, Rose left Alonzo, who had meanwhile become blind, and her children to live with Big Ben Chaletsin. Big Ben was a very wealthy and prominent Kiowa-Apache, the last of the old-time chiefs.

McAllister reports (1937: 149) that the Kiowa-Apaches were so outraged by this behavior on Rose's part, who had been married so many years to Alonzo, that to gain some measure of social acceptance Big Ben was obliged to give Alonzo eighty acres of land. Even today Rose is criticized and condemned for her behavior by the old people.

Rose's rise to prominence and relative wealth in the tribe from lowly beginnings is partially the result of her marriages. On the deaths of Alonzo and Big Ben she and her children inherited shares in several allotments which, along with income from other allotments, now support them. From an old man (Apache John?) who had no living relatives and who chose to live in his last years with Rose and Alonzo, Rose, upon Alonzo's death, came into possession of one of the four medicine bundles. Her possession of a bundle and successive marriages to two prominent Kiowa-Apache leaders have led to a feeling expressed by several informants that Rose is a social-climber. It might be added that some members of Rose's faction feel the same way about Iola Redbone.

Rose evokes very ambivalent attitudes in others in the tribe - fear and envy, on the one hand, yet also admiration, affection, and a certain amount of pity for her present physical condition, on the other. One informant, however, expressed the opinion that Rose's blindness and crippling accident were supernatural punishments for

lying. "My daddy always say tell the truth. Got blessing that way and live a long life. That old lady talk crook talk. She break her hip. She blind."

Rose tends to see herself as the ideal Kiowa-Apache woman in relation to tribal affairs, that is, due a certain amount of respect because of her age and status but playing a subordinate role to men as befits a woman. She had nothing but scornful words for women who interfered in what are traditionally men's affairs. This view of herself, of course, is in conflict with the reality of her position in Faction II. Rose also believes herself to be an expert on old Kiowa-Apache Indian ways. Thus she tends, perhaps, to exaggerate her role in the revival of the Blackfoot Society. She also tells conflicting stories about the renewal of the Manatidie for the purpose, apparently, of validating certain actions she took in the summer of 1963 which were criticized by other members of the tribe. For example, Rose seized or "borrowed" some of the dancing paraphernalia which belonged to the Blackfoot Society. Although she had been mightily provoked into the action, it caused nearly universal condemnation. Since then Rose has claimed in contradictory stories that most of this paraphernalia was hers or her family's by inheritance anyway. These claims are flatly denied by just about everyone else questioned on the subject.

When Rose talked about herself she stressed her generosity: "I help you all. I load you up on the highway. That's the way I do. I'm good to everybody. Sometimes they come to my house,

we fix the bed and let my grandchildren sleep on the floor."

Generosity is viewed among the Kiowa-Apaches as the primary virtue of a good person. Rose does not, however, have a reputation for generosity. She was never observed in the summer of 1964 having a giveaway, even at dances she herself sponsored. A rather sympathetic individual in Faction I remarked that Rose's family kept her poor.

Rose appeared to me to be frank and open, often charming, highly intelligent and articulate, if somewhat egocentric and aggressive. Her ability to express herself in English was impressive for a Kiowa-Apache of her age. She is also one of the relatively few Kiowa-Apaches left who speaks fluent Kiowa-Apache. She is a proud woman, proud of being an Indian, and, at the same time, much less suspicious and defensive around Whites than our other informants.

Tennyson Berry

Tennyson Berry is the oldest living Kiowa-Apache man; he is probably close to ninety years of age. We only tried to interview him once; but as he is deaf and apparently senile, his Kiowa wife talked for him. He is important in any discussion of Kiowa-Apache factionalism since he is the head, at least nominally, of one of the three families which constitute Faction II.

Tennyson Berry is the illegitimate son of a Kiowa-Apache woman and, he claims, a Mexican captive named Apache Joe. His origins then would ordinarily place him low on the social scale. As a

young man he was sent to Carlisle Indian School where he learned English well enough to serve as interpreter for various Kiowa-Apache leaders in their dealings with the United States government. When the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Intertribal Business Committee was established to make recommendations to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), Tennyson Berry was nearly always elected by the Kiowa-Apaches as one of their two council members until he retired because of the infirmities of age. His son then more or less inherited his father's position. Tennyson Berry was elected primarily because of his facility with English and relative familiarity with White ways. Apparently he and his family are, however, heartily disliked by most Kiowa-Apaches. Tennyson Berry is seen by many in the tribe as righteously puritanical and at the same time crooked, stingy, and greedy. He has pretensions to extensive knowledge of old Indian ways when, in fact, his isolation from the tribe during the years he was at Carlisle precludes, according to several Apaches, any such knowledge. The depth of dislike is shown most clearly in an old and evidently widespread belief that, in truth, Tennyson's father was a Negro or part-Negro Delaware Indian. "Some of these Apache don't have much confidence in Tennyson Berry. I hate to say, but he got some nigger blood in him... He deny it, and deny it and deny it, but people know from his background." There does not seem to be any objective basis for such a story. Nevertheless the belief persists. It probably springs from the fact of Tennyson's illegitimacy and the dislike many Apaches feel towards him; for to accuse a man of having Negro ancestry is to insult

him grossly in Kiowa-Apache thinking, since the Apaches are so very prejudiced against Negroes.

Tennyson Berry is a good example of a man whom the Whites regarded as a tribal leader, but who was without honor or influence among his own people. The Whites thought that he was a Kiowa-Apache chief, while the Apaches would state, "No, he don't have the qualifications (to be chief) - hospitality, generosity." Because no one else in the tribe at the time was thought to know English as well or understand Whites as well, Tennyson served as the tribe's major contact with White officialdom.

Philemon Berry

Philemon Berry, married to a Kiowa woman, father of four small children, is one of Tennyson Berry's four children and the only son. Two of Philemon's sisters married prominent Kiowas. Jeanette married Steve Mopope, a Kiowa artist, and Cynthia is the wife of Adolphus Goombi, a Kiowa tribal leader. Philemon Berry, probably in his forties, is the only Kiowa-Apache ever to attend college. He went to Cameron College and Southwestern College in Kansas on athletic scholarships, but he quit after his junior year to take a job with the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a lease clerk. In 1953 or 1954 he was arrested on a charge of accepting bribes, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to two concurrent terms of 18 months in a federal penitentiary. He served only nine months. It is difficult to infer from what is now said, how this jail term affected his standing in the tribe. It is reported by outside observers that Philemon was quite

popular with the Kiowa-Apaches and various factions of the Kiowas and Comanches. He was subsequently elected by the tribe to the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Intertribal Business Committee. By 1962 Philemon managed to build a political machine which elected him President of the Anadarko Indian Exposition.

The Exposition, held in Anadarko every summer, is sponsored by the Indian tribes in Western Oklahoma and the merchants of the town. The president of the organization which runs the fair is elected every year by a vote of all the Indians in the area. According to my information any Indian 21 years or older is eligible to vote and to run for office. The vote is usually along tribal lines; so that for a Kiowa-Apache to win, he would have to have a political following in one or more of the larger tribes. The Kiowa-Apaches voted as a bloc for Philemon. The rest of the votes presumably came from the Kiowa relatives and friends of Philemon, his mother and his brother-in-law.

The summer that Philemon was President of the Exposition he was arrested on a charge of obtaining money under false pretenses. He wrote two checks with insufficient funds in the bank - one in 1960 and another in 1961. The charges were not brought until June, 1962. He was jailed and then released on \$500 bond the day before the fair opened. His lawyer was Bus Hill, a friend of Philemon's and a corporation lawyer who served for a while as the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Business Committee lawyer. He was, in fact, hired by the Philemon Berry-Adolphus Goombi faction on the Council. Neither the year in

jail nor the bad check charge kept Philemon from being elected to leadership positions or serving as tribal emissary to Washington on certain land claims problems.

Since the tribe split into two factions, members of Faction I usually phrase their dislike of Philemon in terms like the following:

Philemon ain't got no shot on nothing now. Ain't got no government job since he ruined it. Ex-con ain't got no citizen(ship). He been going to Washington. Say it's for the tribe. He just going for his own good... How about that time he was treasurer (of the Blackfoot Society)? Run off with \$80. ...He got mad about it when we ask him what went with that money. 'I pay it back,' he say. He's just a thief, cheater. That's how come he's ex-con.

Philemon's reputation in the tribe also suffers from his education or rather alleged superior attitude as a result of having been to college. For instance one man stated, "Personally I like him, but the things that he tries to do is something else again. He's using his education to tell us what to do." Philemon himself recognizes the existence of this attitude, for he once said to us, "Tennyson (his father) said that this education, they can't take it away from you. Maybe that's why they envy me. A lot of time people dislike somebody because they can't come up to their level. They want to pull them down." His education does give him a feeling that he has superior knowledge and therefore the right to criticize others in the tribe for the way they manage tribal affairs.

I wouldn't just work for my group (his relatives). I work for all the tribe. I draw the line only in the areas where they aren't doing right. They often get mad when they're criticized. ...I've been criticized for being too technical, but if there's a set way of doing things written down, you have to go that way. Do it right.

When the tribe split into two parts, it broke up Philemon's political base for exposition politics since he could no longer count on Kiowa-Apaches voting as a bloc for him. In addition the Bureau of Indian Affairs abolished the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Intertribal Business Committee and thereby closed this arena for political maneuvering to Philemon. Philemon Berry's means of economic support after losing the possibility of government employment seems to have been politics. The Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Business Committee members were paid stipends, and the Anadarko Indian Exposition seems to have provided successful politicians access to funds. Philemon now has no steady job. He and his family live at the home of his sister, Jeanette Mopope. He does, however, in his own words:

...help people. They come night and day, I tell them I'll try if I got a chance, but if not, I won't. Some of these leaders charge them for it (help in dealing with the Bureau of Indian Affairs), some of the Kiowa and the Comanche. And they mislead them, too. Of course I might get five dollars from the people for my efforts. I'm experienced in the Bureau office. They know me there. You got to know the rules.

In addition to getting some money by acting as broker with the Bureau of Indian Affairs for other Indians, Philemon gets money from an elderly and very wealthy Kiowa lady named Sadie Nestelle who married into the Apache tribe. She is the head of the third family in Faction II. The relationship between Sadie and Philemon occasions much vicious gossip and speculation in Faction I. Sadie's daughter states that Sadie pays Philemon to represent the Apaches in Washington on various problems involving lands claims. Another says, "Well, she didn't adopt him, but she always call him son, and he's a poor boy.

Interprets for people. He's short on something, he gets help from her. She send him to Washington."

Philemon Berry, the most educated and by far the most articulate Apache (in English; he does not speak Kiowa-Apache) is, as one can see, a consummate politician. His position in the Kiowa-Apache tribe is like that of his father's. He is the man marginal to the tribe, the tribe which he serves as broker with the White world.

Sadie Nestelle

Sadie is an elderly lady half Apache on her mother's side and half Kiowa who married a Kiowa-Apache, Willy Smokey Nestelle, now deceased. She is now regarded for all intents and purposes by the Kiowa-Apaches as Apache although she is on the Kiowa rolls. She has six or seven children. The youngest, Lentha, her husband, a young Kiowa-Apache named Greg Klinkole, and their children live with Sadie. Sadie is the head of this household which sometimes includes her half-brother Woodrow Atalby (sic?). This household joined with Rose Chaletsin's family and the Berrys to form Faction II.

Sadie's son-in-law, Greg, is in an interesting position. His father, Greg Klinkole, Senior, his brothers, and his uncle Sam Klinkole are all in Faction I. The Klinkoles are the only Kiowa-Apache family so split with members in both factions. The members of Faction I realize the younger Greg Klinkole's difficult position; he is welcome at Faction I's social events, even though he and his sister Violet have officially affiliated themselves with Faction II. Greg often dances for Faction II, for instance, "Greg talk to all of

them (in Faction I). They're glad to see him, but they never talk about the split." Greg in particular, although his youth counts against him, and the Klinkole's in general are the most logical persons to serve as mediators in healing the breach between the two factions. Philemon Berry recognized this explicitly when he told us, "Bruce Klinkole (a brother of Greg Junior) is in town. (He was not in western Oklahoma when the breakup occurred). He better be careful. I land on him, if he gonna take sides. It's best he stay neutral and try to patch it up. Both sides confide in him."

The reasons why Greg Klinkole affiliated himself with Sadie may be several, but certainly the economic factor must play a part. Sadie is very wealthy by anyone's standards. She was very poor until a few years ago when oil was found on some allotments she inherited.

She poor woman. When her husband was living, he farms. Plant corn, cotton. Then when her man got sick, he dies, and she was left with her kids. ...Yeah, Sadie was a poor woman. After that she just walks the highway or drives a team to town. Works like a man. Picks cotton. Then just lately, they struck oil on her place. Just about eight, nine years ago. That's when she lives better. Then she goes around to these dances. Before that she didn't go.

Sadie does not live ostentatiously, at least by White standards, except for big, shiny new cars she buys and sells frequently; but by Apache standards she lives very well indeed:

She ought to get big money, the way she buys cars, big cars, trucks, building a big dance hall on her land west of her house. It's expensive stuff over there. This extra house sitting by it. It's for her hired man. She got big electric lights. She's got two big toilets set out there for men and women. The place fixed up good shows she got money. She give a dance, she put out big meal. Feeds everybody.

The members of Faction II describe Sadie as a very generous woman. She helps support Philemon Berry by all accounts and provides a home for his daughter Lentha and her family. According to Sadie herself and her daughter she will help anyone who asks for it. For example, "We helped them. We helped C. Bought groceries for her and her whole family." "She's got money. She's really good. If somebody dies, she go to grocery store, buy \$30, \$40 worth of groceries, take it to people. That's really good. That's the way she helps people." Members of Faction I, on the other hand describe Sadie in opposite terms with such statements as, "She don't do nothing for nobody."

CHAPTER 3

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

Renewal of the Manatidie

The lack of tribal identity and recognition as a distinct ethnic group was a cause of concern for many Kiowa-Apaches in the 1950's. By the winter of 1959-60 some middle-aged members of the tribe proposed as a possible solution that the then defunct Kiowa-Apache warrior sodality, the Manatidie, be revived in order to hold an annual pow-wow (Bittle 1962: 155) in the same manner as other Oklahoma Indian tribes

"Pow-wow" is the term used by Indians all over Oklahoma to refer to a tribal gathering to perform tribal dances. In southwestern Oklahoma at a typical pow-wow members of the sponsoring tribe and guests come together at a designated place some time during the summer for a three day to a week-long campout. During this time all those camping are ordinarily supplied with foodstuffs, "rations," from donations made for the purpose throughout the previous year. While various kinds of social activities are planned, the primary one is the performance in costume of the tribal dance or dances. Usually visitors are welcome and many Indians attend and sometimes participate in pow-wows of tribes other than their own.

The Kiowa-Apaches referred to above decided to start a club in order to revive the dances of the Manatidie and hold their own

annual pow-wow in the summer of 1960 (Bittle 1962: 155). The group of men who decided to form a club to perform the Manatidie dances certainly included the three Redbone brothers - Frankie, Herbert, and Wallace - Ray Blackbear, probably Houston Klinekole and Woodrow Atalby, and possibly Philemon and Tennyson Berry.

The major problem in reviving the dance was the fact that none of these men, nor, in fact, any living Apache, had been a member of the original Manatidie. A few members of the tribe had seen the dance when they were children and many had heard about it from older relatives; but their memories of the dance or remembered descriptions of it tended to be vague. What form had the dance taken? What were the dance steps? How were the dancers costumed? What other paraphernalia were needed? What were the Manatidie songs like? In order to help answer these questions a delegation consisting of the Redbone brothers and Ray Blackbear came to Dr. William E. Bittle, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma. Since Dr. Bittle had only begun to work with the Kiowa-Apaches in 1952, and since at that time the focus of his interest was the language, he could give them no help but a copy of J. Gilbert McAllister's account of the Manatidie and a little information from the field notes of Charles Brant. McAllister's account had been gathered from informants in the 1930's, all of whom had since died.

The newly revived society decided to call itself the Blackfoot Dancing Society. "The choice of the name is related to the traditional history of the Society which varies not only from one informant to

the next, but often with the same informant over a period of weeks" (Bittle 1962: 155). In the summer of 1964 we also found a remarkable variety of origin myths. The following is an example: "The way we got this dance is once there was a Blackfoot Indian dying. And Apache Ben (a prominent Apache who died in the 1930's or 40's) came by. He helped that Indian, so he gave his dance to us." Bittle quotes three other such stories (1962: 155).

The men who revived the Society in 1959-60 intended that it be a warrior sodality, as the aboriginal Manatidie had been, restricting membership to Kiowa-Apache men who were veterans or about to be inducted into the Armed Forces. This stage in the development of the Blackfoot Society is described by Philemon Berry. It must be stated that Faction I members usually now deny the role described by Philemon for his father, while Faction II members usually support the view that he played an important one.

Briefly the Apache tribe for many years never had any dance. We were inactive. At pow-wows there were not many Apaches around there. J. Tointy(?), Leroy White, Henry Archiltah used to war dance. Women folks didn't go around the drum. Inactive. Then when this Blackfoot began to revive. It start with my dad at one of the Indian Fairs (Anadarko Indian Exposition). My dad start all this when I was president (of the Exposition). He kind of surprise me. My daddy work with Adolphus (Goombi, one of Philemon's Kiowa brothers-in law). He got Emmet (Klinekole ?), Frankie (Redbone), Houston (Klinekole), Wallace (Redbone), some of them boys to practice. They went down to the park. It was during the Fair. I still didn't know nothing about it. I was sitting in the stands. I see Frankie in my costume. "By golly, that's my costume." They borrowed what they could. That was the beginning. It was not over a half a dozen or so. Just a handful and papa. After the Fair, papa said, "Let's go on further."

When this original handful of men decided to "go on further," their intention that the membership be limited to Kiowa Apache veterans or men about to be inducted soon gave way before the ever increasing interest of Kiowa-Apache men who had never been in the United States Armed Forces, of the women in the tribe, and of members of other tribes in participating in the revival of the Manatidie.

In order to revive the Blackfoot dance, the Society had to compile a repertoire of dance songs and teach prospective dancers the proper steps. Decisions had to be made about proper costuming, staging, and procedure if the tribe were to hold a successful pow-wow. After the charter members contacted Dr. Bittle, they began to call on the old men and women of the tribe who might remember Manatidie songs and dance steps. These old people, among them Connie Mae Saddleblanket, Louise Charcoate, Tennyson Berry, Sam Klinekole, Rose Chaletsin, Old Man Taho, got together and tried to remember the old songs. When a complete song had been "remembered" ("created" might be a better word), it was taped so that other singers might learn it. "We tape songs... We had a hard time at first... We went to our home (Tennyson Berry's), Sadie's (Nestelle) home, places round about. When we meet we still got a handful. We try to learn songs... We inquire about costume. We tried to piece this thing together." One old lady said, "Those old songs way back. I just learned from people singing. Went to Apache dance... They (the prospective singers) told us (the old people remembering the songs) them songs was hard. Too hard. We put it on recorder. Some other people coming in little by

little. Finally we learn how to dance." After the elders had worked out the dance steps, they taught them to the men and boys who were to be the dancers.

A third step in reviving the Blackfoot dance was to collect or make the necessary costumes and paraphernalia. McAllister's account of the Manatidie stressed the importance of the four ceremonial staffs as the focus of the dance. The newly revived Society either made new ones or refurbished heirloom staffs. I say either/or because by 1964 the origin of the four staffs being used in 1963 had become incredibly confused. Bittle (1962: 158) reports that the ones used up to 1962 had all been made before the first dance in 1960, although one woman had an old one that she refused to loan to the Society. Several of our informants stated that the staffs had all been made. Rose Chaletsin, however, claimed that three of the four were old ones which had been passed down in her family; the fourth belonged to the Taho family. Rose's granddaughter, Ella Lou Chalepah, believes that there were four old ceremonial staffs passed down in four different family lines, but that only one of these was rewrapped for use by the Society. Several other informants mention one crooked heirloom staff with a steel point which seems to have been in Rose's possession before she gave it to the Society to use. On the other hand, Philemon Berry claims such a staff for his family. Whatever the truth is, the Society acquired four staffs for their use which the Kiowa-Apache tribe by 1963 generally regarded as belonging to the Society and tribe as a whole.

During the winter of 1959-60, while the old people were recalling songs and dance steps, most of the rest of the tribe was engaged in raising the funds necessary to provide rations for campers at the pow-wow. The funds were raised by weekly activities, bingo, for instance, or hand-game. Enough money was raised that winter so that the society scheduled its first pow-wow for the summer of 1960 at the Anadarko Fair Grounds. Bittle (1962: 156) reports that it was an unqualified success. "Not only was the 4 day midsummer performance well attended, but the Society was invited to perform for other groups and in all cases where circumstances permitted, they accepted such invitations." There was some feeling that the dance societies had traditionally had an obligation to dance whenever asked, and the membership of the Manatidie decided to continue the practice whenever possible.

The Old Pattern of the Manatidie

The form of the dance itself is not especially relevant to the development of factionalism among the Kiowa-Apaches (see: Bittle 1962: 157-160 for a detailed description of the dance); but the structure and the functions of the sodality are. The model for the Kiowa-Apache Manatidie or Blackfoot Society, as it was formed in 1960, was provided by the data McAllister wrote up in his Ph.D. dissertation on Kiowa-Apache social organization which was subsequently published in Social Anthropology of North American Indian Tribes (1937: 150-153). Since McAllister's description was the model used

for the revival of the Society, I shall summarize it in order to provide a basis for discussion.

Aboriginally the Manatidie was one of the two tribal warrior sodalities for adult men. While the Society included men from most of the kinship and residence units, not all Apache men could or did join the organization. The membership was never more than fifty. The members constituted, along with the members of the other sodality for men, the Klintidie, the tribal elite, the bravest warriors and best providers.

Members were recruited by "capture." The Manatidie membership would decide to initiate new members. The two sodality officers called bacaye would be sent to round up the prospective members who could not, when asked, refuse to join. While it was considered an honor to be selected, it was an honor many tried to avoid by hiding from the bacaye for the obligations required of Manatidie members were seen to be at least irksome and possibly dangerous. The members were paired. Partners acted towards each other as best friends with certain mutual obligations. The wives of members participated fully in the activities of the Manatidie but separately from the men.

The leadership status-roles were seven in number - four staff-bearers or chiefs, two bacaye, and one "bull." The four chieftainships were positions of lifetime tenure, inherited patrilineally, preferably from a man to his son, grandson, or brother, but any qualified male in the family could be chosen. While the position was inherited, the man who inherited it was supposed to be outstanding,

which in Kiowa-Apache terms meant especially brave and generous. Actually it was the four ceremonial staffs that the chiefs danced with which were inherited. With the staff went the position. The role of chief seems to have been to call and direct meetings and other activities, to set dates for dances, and to choose new members. The "bull" supervised and directed dances performed by the Society. McAllister does not give the tenure of this position and the method of recruitment, nor does he for the two bacaye either. The bacaye did the necessary menial jobs connected with meetings and dances, such as tending the fire and bringing water and tobacco to the dancers and drummers.

The Manatidie met many times during a year. The only fixed time was the annual spring dance during which the staffs were ceremonially redecorated. The rest of the year meetings were held before raids or war expeditions. The Society had several reasons for being. The Manatidie members held dances, of course. What the significance of these dances were, whether primarily secular or religious is unspecified. The Manatidie also functioned as a "police" society. It was entrusted with enforcing tribal rules during the communal hunts and when the camp was moving. The Society is also reported to have helped needy tribal members when asked to. All these were the "manifest" functions of the aboriginal Manatidie Society. The "latent function" of any sodality, as Service (1962: 23) points out is an integrating one:

Any sodality, of whatever kind and whatever purpose, will have an integrating sociological or latent function just

because it is non-residential and some kinds in some circumstances will perform this function more importantly than others, no matter what their manifest purposes might be.

With the revival of the Manatidie in 1960 the Kiowa-Apaches hoped to do just that - to reintegrate the tribe by means of a tribal sodality.

Formalization of the Structure of the Renewed Manatidie

It is important to describe the structure and the functions of this informally organized sodality in order to provide a basis for the description of the changes that took place when it became formally organized on the pattern of the aboriginal sodality. Many of the tensions which led to the factionalism can be traced back to that change. Structure is defined here as, "a set of relations between entities" (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 179). The entities in this case are statuses with their associated roles, the customary behavior associated with each position in the structure to be described. The structure in this case is an informal sodality. "Sodalities have one or a few manifest functions or purposes which are normally directly and even obviously related to their structure; the structure is in a real sense created by the manifest function - to "do" the function." (Service 1962: 23). The chief purpose of the Blackfoot Society was to put on the annual dance every summer. This purpose automatically created a series of statuses to be filled from the membership of the group.

Some of the statuses traditionally must be filled by males only and some by females only. In each of these categories some positions are filled only by individuals of middle-age or older. Theoretically younger persons could occupy these statuses, but none was ever observed doing so.

The ten to 20 singer-drummers must be male and were observed to be mostly of middle age. All must be able, of course, to sing and drum, and more important they must know the songs. One of the number is usually an informally acknowledged song leader. A song-leader's job is to begin the songs, although any drummer may. The song leader has his position by virtue of his singing ability and the large number of songs he knows. It lies largely with the singer-drummers to begin the dance, decide when to break, and when to end it.

The female equivalent of the singer-drummer status is the female singer position. The female singers, six to fifteen or so in number, are all middle-aged or older women who know the songs. Their role is to assist the singer-drummers in singing for the dancers. They cannot start songs.

The position of male dancer can be filled by a person of any age who knows the steps and has the appropriate costume, or can borrow one. The four dancers decide among themselves who is going to dance with the staffs for the evening. The two statuses of "bull" dancers were filled when Bittle wrote in 1962 (158) by the two oldest men in the tribe. The position of ba'zaye or "janitor" could be any male dancer. His role is to keep dogs and children off the dance

floor. This contrasts with McAllister's account of the Manatidie for aboriginally there were two bacaye and one "bull."

The female dancers were observed to be of all ages. Any woman or girl who had a costume and knew the dance step could dance. Those Kiowa-Apaches or interested members of other tribes who could not or would not perform in any of the above capacities could, nevertheless, dance in place in the audience, provided, if it was a woman, that she wore a shawl, and if a man, that he wore a peyote blanket and carried a fan. In addition there were many temporary positions on ad hoc committees to raise money, set up a dance ground (put up lights, dig latrine holes, etc.), butcher the beeves for rations, and so forth. The bulk of the Society's membership and the rest of the tribe provided the audience for the dance.

While all Apache males were eligible for membership, not all by any means wanted to join, especially those who were practicing Christians, and not all who wanted membership received it. There was a procedure for selecting new members. It is not clear who made the initial selection. In any case, the initiate was informed ahead of time so that his relatives would be able to have a give-away in his honor.

There are two kinds of give-aways - the "spontaneous" give-away and "the special." Bittle (1962: 159-160) describes them both thusly:

At any time after the opening songs have been completed an individual may walk out to one of the Manatidie dancers and drop money at his feet. Once this has been done, the donor

dances behind the man until another person appears from the audience to claim the gift, at which time the donor retires and the claimant completes the dance. In addition to money, other items are dropped - including lengths of yardage. A person may also elect to honor a dancer by placing a shawl on his shoulders, and theoretically anyone may claim the shawl...

Planned gift-giving, or a "special," takes the standard form in which an individual who chooses to honor a kinsman (usually one taken into the Society during the previous year) requests that a special song be sung for initiate. During the songs, the person to be honored and his relatives stand between the male dancers and the staffs, and participate in the dance. At the close of the song, the donor calls the names of the persons to whom gifts are to be given, and each comes forward to receive them and to congratulate the new member and his family.

The membership restrictions were just formalities, since males who were not members and females participated fully in all the Society's activities. Membership does, however, carry prestige. Unofficially older Apache women have just as much influence in the initiation of action, molding of opinion, and decision-making as the men, a fact which occasions much critical comment on the part of many men.

Several women, who are the oldest members in their extended families and/or are relatively well-off financially or are married to easily managed husbands, have a great deal of power, which they tend to wield freely. As one man said, "I tell you that our main trouble is these women taking too much part. I came right out and told them that they were interfering too much... Women aren't supposed to have any part in it."

In addition to the status-roles created by the manifest function of the sodality, the Blackfoot Society had an informal leadership which lay with the middle-aged men who originated the idea of renewing

the dance. Frankie Redbone, widely liked in the tribe, was the informally acknowledged "president" of the Society. He is the only man now living to whom any of our informants would apply the Apache term for chief. That title was applied in the buffalo-hunting days only to older men who had honored a lot in war and who were generous. Any group has its leader(s), the one(s) who initiate action. In this case the position fell naturally to Frankie, a war veteran, who had a reputation for being "good to people," who "would help them in any way." It is now difficult to ascertain in detail what sort of relationship Frankie had with the other members of the Society. He had no real authority; so he saw to it that the necessary decisions were made and work done by doing much himself and persuading others to help. Ray Blackbear said, "He (Frankie) took care of everything and all his co-workers were volunteers. He didn't appoint anybody."

As the Society began to collect money and hold frequent meetings, it became necessary to have other officers - a vice-president, a secretary and a treasurer to handle the money coming in from the weekly fund-raising activities. Philemon Berry served as vice-president, according to some informants. His role as vice-president seems to have been to be the announcer at dances. Sadie Nestelle served as secretary-treasurer for a while, but she quit "I was treasurer at the very beginning. Frankie was with me and we didn't want to spend money, but the women kept interfering, so I quit." Ella Lou Chalepah took her place as secretary, and Houston Klinekole replaced her as treasurer. "Houston tried to balance the books.

Tried to get them to report everything." There are hints in these statements of the problem of corruption which later became an important factor in the process of factionalism.

The members of the Blackfoot Society, especially the elders in the tribe, felt free to criticize the actions and suggestions of the officers and each other. The officers, however, made every effort to respect the criticisms and suggestions of the older people in order to avoid any factionalism (Bittle 1962: 156). The criticism eventually so annoyed the president, Frankie Redbone, that he withdrew into the background leaving a leadership void, which was filled by the vice-president and five other men, again from the coterie of middle-aged men who had founded the Society. "Went pretty good until they start that criticize. He (Frankie) just quit. I just go along. Didn't have anything to do with it. That's what he said he'd do. Stayed that way until we split up."

In Radcliffe-Brown's terms the function of any social activity is its contribution to the maintenance of the total social system (1952: 181). The Kiowa-Apache Blackfoot Society, from its inception, had three main functions. The aboriginal sodality according to McAllister's account acted to aid poor people. The Society has revived this function in the form of "specials" for needy Apaches and Servicemen on leave. Secondly the sodality functions as an integrative mechanism for the whole tribe, as it undoubtedly did in the past. The give-aways, characteristically part of every dance, also

contribute to tribal integration since they link families together in mutual, public gift-giving (Bittle 1962: 161-162).

The dance so impressed members of other tribes that some tried to gain admission as members of the Society. Failing that some individuals from another tribe put on the Manatidie. This so alarmed the leaders of the Blackfoot Society that they began to marshal support for a plan to incorporate the Society under Oklahoma law which would involve getting a charter, listing the purposes of the organization, its officers, and the constitution and by-laws under which it would operate. A general feeling in the tribe was that a Charter of Incorporation would insure that the dance would be the legal property of the Society, and no other group would dare perform it. The movement to incorporate ran into opposition from some of the old people in the tribe. The opposition was not vocal with a few exceptions and was not organized. The old people did not see why one was needed. It had not been necessary in the old days. "It's just a dance. Way back - the story I heard. They didn't have no charter."

Others were afraid that the attempt to force the issue would split the tribe, as had happened in the 1930's over the successful attempt to get a national charter for the Native American Church (Brant 1950: 220-222). As Rose put it:

We got two charter. The peyote charter, State Charter of Oklahoma, and the National Charter for the U.S. Indians. Where is it? Who's taking care of it? Since my old man died, I've got all these papers in my brief. They paid \$10 a year. But nobody didn't take care of it. You got to do this right. We old people don't want it. It's gonna be the same. You gonna bust up. All these rules. There's state income tax. Who's gonna pay?

Here was another focus of opposition by those few who understood that the current informal handling of the money belonging to the Society would have to cease once they had a charter.

Part of the opposition probably stemmed from the fact that it was at this point in the growth of the Society that the center of attention of the tribe had shifted from the old people who had been the main source of information about the dance to the younger men and women who actually ran the Society.

In spite of the undercurrent of resistance, the leaders of the Society scheduled a meeting in the fall of 1961 to vote on whether or not to get a Charter of Incorporation. The notice of the meeting was not widely circulated. Only about 15 or 20 came. Rose Chaletsin talks about the meeting and her attitudes towards a charter:

Before that (the meeting) Ray (Blackbear) come to my house and he ask me. I say, 'I don't want it. Y'all got two charters. This is the same. You can't keep it up. I don't want it,' I told him. And them talk to my boy Alfred. 'They gonna make out that charter. I don't care if you like it or not,' Ray said. 'They gonna vote on it.' They brought it out at that meeting. Wallace ask me. I told him that I don't want it. Philemon told them the same. 'If we make this charter, we gonna shut ourselves up.' David Starr spoke up the same way. Then Frankie - no, it was Ray - said, 'Over there at Indian City they had them Black Leggins (a Kiowa dance).' I told Ray, 'It don't make no difference. If you get that charter, it ain't gonna stop it (other Indians doing the Manatidie). They gonna learn our song. It's just a dance. Ain't nothing to be stingy about it.' That's what I told Ray. 'Anybody could sing these songs. You can't make a stop to it, unless you get them and put them in jail. Just a dance. No use making a charter. Well, everybody knows this is our dance, Apache dance. They (the Kiowas at Indian City) just making show....' Then Philemon told them, 'She's right. Let's just have our dance open.'They know I'm against it. They're afraid of me. They go to Oklahoma City, fix

charter (the leaders persuaded Philemon to get a lawyer to draw up the charter). They set a date at my niece's house (a date to vote on accepting the charter drawn up). We didn't know. I guess Ray told them, 'No, don't tell my mama (again Apache usage of an English term), so she don't bring her bunch (that is, her extended family). She vote against it.' Well, we all went - Alfred, my girls. Alfred got restless, 'Let's start out,' he said. Philemon start it (the meeting). I set on that chair, listen. I told Philemon, 'Leave my family out. I don't want it. Leave my family out....' He (Philemon) talk. 'Well, let's vote.' Nine womens vote. All these womans, except two, were Kiowas (but relatives of the Kiowa-Apaches there). Jeanette never voted. 'What's the matter?' he asked her. 'I Just don't want to.' They ask who don't want it. Nobody vote. Then my boy got up. 'It's late,' he said. 'Kids gotta go to school.' Philemon said, 'Y'all wait.' But we got on.

The problem here lay in Apache political behavior. The leaders of the Society had obviously sensed opposition to their plan to incorporate the Society. Rose Chaletsin was the principal or, at least the most vocal opponent. Ray Blackbear, who before the split in 1963 used to visit Rose and who called her "mama" was sent to try to win her approval for the plan as one can see in the above quotation. Even Rose's children tried to persuade her to drop her opposition to the plan most Apaches seemed to favor. "...but I fought them. Every meeting. My kids got after me, but I fought it. Want my Indian way." Even though the Apaches have adopted the system of majority rule and elections from White culture, in practice they like to have decisions be unanimous. To achieve unanimity on the controversial proposed plan of action is, of course, impossible. If the opposition is strong enough, the proponents usually drop the plan. In this case, however, the proponents seem to have been a majority

and quite determined; therefore, Rose, to their way of thinking, should have dropped her opposition. She carried it to the meeting to vote on adopting the charter where she and others who were opposed, like Philemon Berry and his sister, Jeanette Mopope, had a chance to vote down the charter. The method of voting by raising hands meant making one's opposition public, so several, including Rose and her sons and Jeanette Mopope, refused to vote at all. Needless to say, the motion carried. In this case the successful attempt to incorporate the Blackfoot Society was a controversial enough issue to line up the families in the tribe into two incipient factions. The Berry family allied itself with Rose on this issue, foreshadowing their future alliance when the tribe finally split in two. This alignment is interesting, for the Chalepahs and the Berrys had been enemies in the past. Members of Faction I often stated that the relations between the two families had become more cordial due to a recently established kin tie. A grandson of Rose had married a granddaughter of Tennyson. After the sodality actually received its Charter of Incorporation first Philemon and then Rose dropped their opposition.

Five leaders of the Society filed the Articles of Incorporation with the State of Oklahoma and were issued the Certificate of Incorporation on November 27, 1961. It has not been possible for me to see a copy of the constitution and by-laws, but the Certificate of Incorporation and another document give a sketch of the formal structure envisioned by the leaders. The name of the group became formally "the Kiowa-Apache Blackfoot Society." Membership was

restricted to married, adult, male Kiowa-Apaches. Members of other tribes could dance if properly costumed. In actual fact members of other tribes, who were related in some way to Apaches, especially if they were good singers and drummers, had been given membership and they continue to participate. Also, in 1961 the leaders decided to give honorary membership to prominent men in other tribes. No entrance procedure is specified for the sodality, but we observed it to be the same as in the informal sodality. No formal exit procedures exist.

The stated purpose or "charter" in Malinowski's terms was to hold an annual pow-wow. No "code" or set of behavioral rules was written down, but there were common cultural understandings about rules of behavior and dress by both the audience and the performers of the dance.

The only statuses formally established by the incorporation were four headmen or chiefs. The term of office was set for life and succession was to be hereditary in the male line. The precedent for this was found in McAllister's account of the chiefs of the pre-contact Manatidie. No rules were formulated to deal with a situation in which one of the headmen was incompetent, very unpopular, wanted to resign, or died without male issue. The duties of the headmen were only vaguely defined.

The positions were filled by a vote at a meeting similar to the meeting which voted on the charter. There were several men -

Wallace Redbone, Frankie Redbone, Herbert Redbone, Philemon Berry, Alfred Chalepah, Ray Blackbear, Amos Pewonofkit, Houston Klinekole, and others who would have been logical choices to fill the posts. All are older men but not so old as to be senile or physically decrepit. Several are veterans of combat in World War II. At the meeting the electorate chose Wallace Redbone, Amos Pewonofkit, Ray Blackbear, and Charley High. Charley High was soon erased out on the pretext that he drank too much, to make way for Philemon Berry, who was appointed by the other headmen to the vacant position. Competition for the leadership positions had begun.

The actual leadership structure had much the same form as that described for the informal sodality. The formal rule stating that the headmen must be male eliminated the post of secretary as a female post, which it had been up until then. The duties of the previous president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer were allocated among the four headmen. Wallace Redbone became president. Philemon Berry and Amos Pewonofkit became more or less vice-presidents. Philemon continued to do much of the announcing at dances. Amos seems to have been in charge of the male dancers and singers. Ray Blackbear became secretary. Wallace and his brothers handled the money most of the time, it appears. Wallace and his family made many of the decisions and ran the club often without consulting the other headmen, who were in clearly subordinate positions. This was the structure of the Society at the beginning of the summer of 1963. The first performance of the Manatidie by the Kiowa-Apache Blackfoot

Society was in the summer of 1960. The last performance by the whole Society was in July, 1963. By August, 1963, the sodality had split in two. Since about two thirds of the Kiowa-Apaches were involved in the activities of the Society, the factionalism essentially divided the tribe as well. The following chapter charts the series of events in the summer of 1963 which led to the break.

CHAPTER 4

THE SERIES OF EVENTS IN THE SUMMER OF 1963

The events which led to the final split of the tribe into two factions in August, 1963, began with the death of Bobby Chalepah, age 22, son of Raymond (or Alfred Chalepah and grandson of Rose Chalet-sin. He had been discharged from the Army because of a kidney ailment which finally caused his death the first week in June of 1963. The large and cohesive extended family to which he belonged, particularly his grandmother, Rose, was especially grief-stricken. And although it had been general knowledge for months before his death that his illness was incurable, it upset the tribe as well, for he had been a popular young man who had often danced for the Blackfoot Society. Because Bobby had danced for the Society, the Society, according to traditional beliefs, had to mourn with the family.

If the dead man belonged to one of the male dancing societies, the organization had to obtain consent from his closest relatives before it could hold its next function. If it failed to do this, the outraged brother, father, or uncle could invade the place of meeting, destroy the drum and other property, and prevent the dance from continuing. The organization would then have to mollify the relatives with gifts and to smoke and mourn for the departed. (Opler and Bittle 1961: 386-387)

The Blackfoot Society, prior to Bobby Chalepah's death, had been invited to dance at one of the Ute Indian Reservations in Colorado. The payment promised to the Society was \$300 (some say \$100).

The invitation was for the week following the funeral. In order for the Society to dance, they had to ask permission of the boy's father, and, according to our informants, give the bereaved family gifts at a feast. The latter requirement is not exactly in accord with the traditional customs quoted above. The Society apparently did ask the boy's father for permission to dance, and it was granted. "They ask Raymond and he gave consent. They didn't have to ask Rose. She's just the Grandmother."

In spite of statements like the one quoted, most members of the tribe seemed to have felt it to be disrespectful to dance so soon even with the parents' permission. One old man now in Faction I stated, "I think they shouldn't have no pow-wow until pow-wow day (regularly scheduled annual pow-wow). My part, they shouldn't have anything until that dance July 15th. Me, I don't have no say; I'm not a chief." Certainly to neglect to ask Rose's permission was to disregard her real position as head of the deceased's family. By all reports, she greatly resented this oversight. One person reports that she said, "They just step over me... they treat me bad. They beat the drum already."

Since the boy's parents had given their consent, some members of the tribe - all now in Faction I - decided to accept the invitation to dance. The headmen of the Manatidie tried to persuade them not to go, but to no avail. The \$300 and the lure of a trip to Colorado were too tempting. Since the small group - including Iola Redbone, Herbert and Clara Redbone, Jimmy Boyiddle and his family, and Steve Bohay -

were determined to go, the Society tried to have the feast for Bobby Chalepah's family before the scheduled dance. There are several versions of what happened next. One version has it that the scheduled feast was called off first and then finally held, but only the Chalepahs and Berrys showed up. Another stated that the feast was scheduled but the Chalepahs did not come. In either case the result was that Rose Chaletsin was angry and hurt at what she (and others) considered the disrespectful behavior of those who went to Colorado to dance.

After the group arrived in Colorado the headmen either tried to call them or telegraph them to ask them not to dance. The group performed the Manatidie anyway. During the performance one of Fagin Boyiddle's sons dropped a staff. When any of the dancing paraphernalia falls or is dropped, the performance traditionally stops until a war veteran recites a war experience. He then picks the object up and hands it back to the dancer. The reason for this ritual is that the Apaches seem to believe that some sort of power resides in the staffs. The staffs must therefore be treated with caution. One informant said, "...they pray to them. They had a dance here at Lawton and R. and J. brought J. S. out. She had a crippled knee. And they fell down in front of those staffs and prayed to them."

In the above quotation the power of the staffs is seen to have beneficial effects. If, however, the staff is not treated according to traditional rules, the power in the staff can cause harm. Although there were war veterans with the group of Kiowa-Apaches dancing for

the Utes, when the staff fell no one recited the traditional war exploit. The dancer simply picked up the staff and the dance proceeded. This particular event had enormous repercussions, for during the days that these Kiowa-Apaches were in Colorado, a sister (in her early twenties) of the boy who dropped the staff died in the Anadarko City jail after an arrest on a charge of public intoxication. The police records show that Betsy Boyiddle's death occurred about a week after the performance for the Utes. In the present Kiowa-Apache version this period of time between the two events has been collapsed so that as the staff fell, the girl died. "Those staffs, I guess they're made of iron or something. It broked right in two (actually it fell rather than broke in most versions of the story). And the minute it fell to the ground Fagin's daughter fell in jail here."

While our informants never directly told us so, it appears that they saw the death of the girl to be the result of the refusal of the group who went to Colorado to observe proper mourning behavior for the young man who died. Our informants viewed the trip to the Ute Reservation and the breaking of the rule concerning procedure for picking up objects dropped during a dance as "mistakes." It might seem that the tribe would direct its anger against those who broke the rules; but, although there was some resentment expressed against those Kiowa-Apaches, the main focus seemed to be directed towards Rose Chaletsin, grandmother of the boy who died. I infer that many members of the tribe hold her responsible in some way for the death of the young girl. Certainly Rose felt herself wronged, and as one

informant put it, "That's where the trouble start." The death of the daughter of a family who had violated the mourning period for her grandson could be seen as her revenge.

After the performance for the Ute Indians the Blackfoot Society had no more dances until the annual pow-wow from the 19th to the 22nd of July. During this interval one of the headmen of the Society, Philemon Berry, formally expressed sympathy to Rose over the loss of her grandson and asked her permission to hold the annual dance. It is not known whether Philemon was acting in behalf of the Society or on his own. Evidently Rose gave her permission since the pow-wow was held with her in attendance on the scheduled date. Up to this point in time the conflict between the Chalepah family and some other members of the tribe, in particular the Redbones, which began with the violation of the mourning period had not led to an open split.

A second focus of conflict involving the leaders of the Blackfoot Society developed meanwhile over the annual pow-wow. The Anadarko Indian Exposition was scheduled earlier than usual in 1963 for the same weekend as the Kiowa-Apache tribe's pow-wow. At a meeting in the spring the headmen voted not to change the date for the pow-wow in spite of the fact that one of the headmen, Wallace Redbone, elected the previous year to be director of the Kiowa-Apache tribe for the Exposition, would be obliged to spend most of the time at the Exposition along with some Apache singers and dancers who were to perform there. It is reported that many expressed criticism of

those Apaches who camped at the Exposition instead of the Kiowa-Apache pow-wow, feeling that the pow-wow was more important and attendance at it ought to have taken precedence. A second disappointment was the meagreness of the rations at the pow-wow. The treasury was supposed to contain \$300 raised by the tribe during the year when, in fact, it contained only \$80 to buy rations. In both cases it was the Redbone brothers and their wives who bore the brunt of the criticism.

The tensions over these issues brought out into the open the power struggle between Philemon Berry and Wallace Redbone, a struggle which Philemon lost. In Philemon's words:

When it was time for the ration (time to distribute the food to the Apaches camping at the 1963 pow-wow) there wasn't much food. Wednesday morning, Wallace came up real early. 'Here, I brought the money.' He gave it to Jeanette (Mopope, Philemon's sister). \$80. He was nudging me sort of. He wanted to become head of the Apache tribe. He didn't want to see me. Jeanette didn't have no place in accepting that money. I was probably gonna ask him, 'We got no more than that?'

The day before the annual dance began Philemon was already annoyed with Wallace.

Since Wallace, as director of the Kiowa-Apache tribe for the Indian Exposition, camped at the Fair Grounds in Anadarko, Philemon officiated as Master of Ceremonies at the pow-wow. On Sunday Wallace came out from the Fair to the pow-wow. We did not get the Redbone version of what happened next, but Philemon stated to us, "The last day (of the pow-wow) he (Wallace) came in and wants to take over. He sets up Martin's microphone. He wanted to take over that microphone. I just told him off." Rose said:

It's that afternoon before the dance start... We had a microphone already. Then Martin brought his out from the Fair. Wallace wants to use that one. Philemon says, 'That's all right. We got two people. Too many specials. This way we finish it quick.' But, no, Wallace don't want to. He wants to use the other one, and they cut it (Philemon's microphone) off.

Before we all went in (to dance) Blackie (a son of Rose) came back, 'Mama, what's the matter with that group (the Redbones)? They trying to take the lodge speaker away from Philemon. Well, they took it off. They disconnected the speaker. Well, I (Blackie) connect it up again.' ...so they use both of them. Philemon was on the east side and Wallace on the west side.

The sympathies here of Rose's family seem to be with Philemon Berry and not with Wallace Redbone.

The trouble with the Redbones, if we accept Philemon Berry's version, was that Philemon had "told Wallace off." One man, now in Faction I, said, "After this Fair, Wallace Redbone, he's director of the Fair, he come out there (to the pow-wow). Philemon Berry was alternation. Philemon Berry said, 'We don't need you now. We finish it ourselves.' He shouldn't have said that." The conflict which began in the afternoon was intensified by an oversight of Philemon's. Two young servicemen were home on leave. One was the son of a sister of the Redbone brothers. It is customary for a serviceman's family to hold a "special" in his honor. There were many give-aways scheduled for the final evening of the pow-wow. It was up to the announcer, Philemon, to call them. One woman had approached Philemon prior to the dance to ask him to call a "special" that evening for her grandson, which he did. He either neglected or refused to call a special for the nephew of the Redbone's or he called it after the one for the other young man.

The Redbone brothers were angry at Philemon. The following quotation is from Rose Chaletsin. It is a longer version of what Philemon told us.

Blacky (one of Rose's sons) and Philemon fooling with a staff. ...somebody untie that feather. He fixing it. Then comes Herbert (Redbone). He said to Philemon, he says, 'Philemon, what do you mean about that? We're your own relatives. We're close. We call each other brother. Ain't got no blood (that is, we're not really consanguine relatives), but we're friends all way through. We raised together. What for you done that to our nephew (called his special last or not at all)?' Philemon tell him, 'That woman (the grandmother of the other serviceman home on leave) came to us way before. Two weeks ago. Give us that special day for her grandson. I ask Old Lady. All accept it.' Herbert say, 'You shoul'da put our nephew in first.' He means his sister's boy. Philemon told Herbert, 'What's wrong?' Herbert said, 'You done wrong. Took up that woman. Sing special song. She ain't no relation, Philemon.' Philemon said, 'I tell you, Susie's (the Redbone brothers' sister) not ready (to have a special) 'til Wednesday.' That's where the trouble came up. Philemon told him then, 'I'm a poor boy. Listen to me Herbert. I never done nothing wrong. You, you went to Toyac (on the Ute Indian Reservation) when we got a boy still not in the grave... You know that boy dance for you... You're the one done wrong. Wake up.' That's where the trouble came out, and they blame Philemon and me.

In this long quotation one can see that two events of major importance have occurred. First, Philemon has aligned himself with the Chalepah family in the eyes of the Redbones by accusing the Redbones to their faces of "doing wrong." Herbert Redbone, his wife Clara, and Wallace's wife Iola went on the trip to the Ute Reservation. Second, the mutual face-to-face accusations of wrong-doing between the Redbones and Philemon Berry assure an open break; for Apache behavior in conflict situations is usually to withdraw or to avoid the issue or source of annoyance. Rarely is anger or disapproval expressed to a

person's face. To do so generally means an open break. In this case the final break occurred on the Wednesday following the final dance of the annual pow-wow Sunday night. That Wednesday the Redbone brothers' sister, Susie, held a special dance for her son. Philemon Berry attended, but he was neither invited to help drum or to announce. Wallace states, "Phil wouldn't come help at the mike unless I called him. One time at Boone (schoolhouse where the special dance was held) I decided I wouldn't call him. Amos (Pewonofkit) came up to me afterwards and said, 'Philemon's through with the Apache tribe.'"

Amos Pewonofkit, one of the headmen, and Philemon had an argument at the Boone dance during which Amos claimed Philemon resigned his position as headman. Philemon says he did not.

I was getting completely fed up. Finally we had a dance at Boone. I seen Amos. I kept a (copy of the) charter (of incorporation for the Blackfoot Society) and took it with me. 'You all not running this right. I don't want no part of it. I don't even know who's treasurer... I'm gonna give this charter back to you guys.' I didn't say quitting or anything. The word got all around that I threw the charter in his face and resigned. That's just a big fat lie.

Philemon's oral resignation (a reasonable interpretation of "I don't want no part of it.") was accepted by the other headmen. Philemon refused to honor the decision. The other three headmen, therefore, got an Oklahoma City lawyer named Bus Hill to draw up a letter to send to Philemon formally accepting his resignation. This action was to make certain that Philemon's ouster was "legal" and permanent. The three remaining headmen brought up the subject of selecting a new headman at a meeting called ostensibly to clear a new dance ground. The usual twenty or so people came and discovered

that the business for the day was to vote on a replacement for Philemon. Frankie Redbone was nominated and elected. It is in Rose's account of this meeting that there is the first recognition that the tribe was indeed splitting into factions.

...And they call us down there. Cyril. And that's when they threw Philemon out. And me, all of us was there. Never said nothing. Jeanette (Philemon's sister) was there. Never said nothing. That's his (her) brother. We all set there and they asked me how I feel about it. Amos said, 'Old Lady, what you think about it?' I said, 'I ain't got nothing to say about this headmans. I don't want this headmans, don't want this charter. But this man (Philemon) got charter for you, take you to Oklahoma City. Now I don't want it, I want this dance, the way the old people running it.' They throw Philemon out. I don't know why they don't like him... Me, my part, I'm Indian. I love my religious. I like my staffs. Now today, I just don't feel good about it. Now I'm just between y'all. Just go my own way. I'm not gonna part. Y'all have dance either side, I'll come... It just got quiet then. Wallace got up and talked. He said Philemon quit. 'He wouldn't give us that paper (the charter) back.'

Others who came to the meeting stated that Rose said nothing. Nevertheless, the above quotations indicate her feelings about "throwing Philemon out." From the time of the Cyril meeting on, which was probably at the beginning of August, Philemon and his family were effectively separated from the rest of the Kiowa-Apache tribe, but it was not until the Chalepah family joined them that Faction II was formed.

Rose Chaletsin finally became alienated from the tribe in August, 1963. She wanted to have a memorial dance for her grandson, Bobby Chalepah, who had died at the beginning of the summer, in order to give his dance costume to another grandson. She asked the members of the Blackfoot Society to help her with the performance - to come

to dance and sing. The Society and its leaders declined to help her. Instead the Society later accepted an invitation to perform for a Comanche man whose daughter was celebrating her birthday. I interpret their refusal to help Rose as an extreme reluctance to be involved in anything touching the death of this young man. Certainly to keep the man's dance costume violated the old Apache custom of destroying the deceased's personal effects upon his death (McAllister 1935: 118). Rose decided to hold the dance anyway. She had to have the staffs, but the Blackfoot Society refused to release them to her for the occasion. Rose and one of her sons went to Wallace Redbone's house one morning where the staffs were stored between dances to ask once more if they could use them. One of the Redbone's grandsons and a young nephew were the only ones at home. They gave Rose the staffs. This action brought the wrath of most members of the tribe down on Rose's head. Many stated that she had "stolen" the staffs. One of the four ceremonial staffs was apparently an old one that had belonged to Rose prior to the renewal of the Manatidie. After the tribe broke into two factions she began to claim - and probably to believe - that three of the four staffs had been passed down in her family, each with a long history attached to it. Most of the rest of the tribe claims that three of the four were made by the tribe when the Society was organized. One old man in Faction I said:

...It (the staffs) belong to the Apache tribe. Not individuals. She took picture of staffs and history of them to Anadarko Daily (newspaper). Said they were made in 1917. I know for sure that four or five years ago two of them been made at my sister's house.

She just went and got them, I heard that she claimed them was hers. She's a woman. She got no right because she's a woman (ceremonial paraphernalia customarily is inherited patrilineally by males only. See McAllister 1935: 118). It's a man's part.

After Rose got the staffs, Iola Redbone sent word that the Society wanted three of them back. They did not want the staff that had been passed down to Rose. "She (Iola) said she didn't want that old one." This offended the Old Lady and she refused to give back any of them before the memorial dance. "But the Old Lady told her (Iola), 'You can't break up these staffs. The four of them belong together. There are stories about them.'"

In a final attempt to get Rose to return the staffs to the Society before the scheduled memorial dance, the leaders sent headman Amos Pewonofkit and his uncle, Johnson Smith, to talk to Rose. The whole discussion was accidentally tape-recorded by some of Rose's grandchildren. The two men asked Rose to give the staffs back. She refused again, whereupon they informed her that the Society was making four new ones anyway. As Rose put it, "He talk against staff we got." The discussion became quite heated.

I talk good to him. I'm not stingy with them staffs. I just gonna use it one day... He say, 'We already made them staffs.' 'What's the matter with these staffs?' I said. 'We gonna dance this afternoon,' he told me. I kinda laugh at him. My brother (he is not her brother in English kin usage. She is using the term to translate an Apache term and applying it according to Apache usage) Johnson is sitting by me. 'Keep your damn staffs!' 'God will bless you,' I say. 'That's all right. You can't hurt my feelings. I'm old, pitiful. You, my own nephew. I'm still your relation, your aunt. I pray every day for you people... Some day you gonna pray down with your knees for forgive.' Then he went out... And they make them staff and they use it that afternoon.

This incident completed Rose's alienation from the rest of the tribe. The Berry family and the Chalepahs did not join forces until the week following the visit by Amos Pewonofkit and Johnson Smith. While Philemon Berry had been pushed out of the tribe, his father, often referred to as an "elder" of the tribe, had not yet joined his son. Reportedly Johnson Smith told Tennyson Berry that Rose "said bad things about him." To refute this one of Rose's daughters played the tape of the discussion between Rose and the two men for Tennyson. He then wrote letters of a purportedly condemnatory nature to Iola Redbone which caused his estrangement from the Redbones and their sympathizers.

The process of factionalism was nearly completed. The two factions had not yet, however, coalesced into two cohesive groups. Faction I, led by the Redbones and containing most of the Kiowa-Apaches formally dedicated the four new ceremonial staffs at a dance performance in mid-August, thus initiating a new phase in the history of the Society. Meanwhile Rose Chaletsin went ahead with plans for the memorial dance for her grandson.

Well, let's just run it (the memorial dance). Let's go through with it. I set date already. Next Sunday. Every thing ready. Got staff ready. All my boys. Gonna give costume to my grandson. Alfred's gonna use it. When I get through, if they want it (the staffs), they could dance. We gotta try. Maybe they (the Redbone faction) could come back to us. But they never did.

In order to attract a crowd, the Chalepahs announced the dance and free dinner in the local paper. Attendance is reported to have been large. Most of the Apaches did not go, but members of other tribes

did. To get enough performers to even hold the dance, the Old Lady had to ask her Kiowa relatives and friends to help sing and drum since, of the Kiowa-Apache tribe, only the Berrys could be counted upon to help. The members of the other faction were invited to come but none did. Sadie Nestelle came, however. "We didn't know anything about it (the split) 'til no one (of the Apaches) show up for the Old Lady's dance for her grandson. Of course then they (the Chalepahs) start telling us about it. '...we all felt sorry for Old Lady... They did Old Lady wrong. We're gonna stay with her.'"

Sadie and her family decided to side with Rose, thereby joining the Berrys and the Chalepahs. These three families had coalesced into a cohesive faction. From August 1963 on this faction began holding dances and collecting money at fund-raising affairs. It had become a functioning ceremonial unit.

Each faction still hoped for reconciliation, but the leaders of neither wanted to take the first step. Rose had hoped that at least some of Faction I would attend the memorial dance, an act which would have gone a long way towards healing the breach. She would not make the first move, however, because she felt herself to be the wronged party. "Old Lady says they have to come to her. 'I'm gonna stay here where they left me 'til I die.'" Her feeling of having been wronged probably explains why she rejected two reported overtures by the Redbones. Rose states that the Redbones "sent for" her once in the fall of 1963, but she refused to go. "...I told them I just can't go out." Another time Clara Redbone came by Rose's house

to ask why she did not "come back to our dance?" Again Rose brushed aside the overture. The feeling in Faction I, the main Faction, is summed up in the following quotation: "The main group (Faction I) doesn't have any faults against them. She (Rose) said they did her wrong. They probably would get back together if the woman (Rose) would give up. The real Blackfoot Society (Faction I) will never ask them to come back."

The main faction, termed in this paper Faction I, retained the structure and functions it previously had. Although the personnel changed slightly with the subtraction of the three families who constitute the core of Faction II, Faction I retained the Charter of Incorporation and is officially known as the Kiowa-Apache Blackfoot Society. Faction II also calls itself the Blackfoot Society. Informally, Faction I is referred to as "the Redbone bunch" by Faction II members; Faction II is referred to as "Rose's bunch" by members of Faction I. People talk in terms of "our bunch" and "that other bunch." The word "bunch" is the term used to designate an extended family so that to identify Faction I, for instance, as "the Redbone bunch" is to identify it in terms of the leading family around which the other families in the group cluster.

Faction II consists of the three extended families - the Berrys, the Chalepahs, and the Nestelles - plus their Kiowa relatives and friends. They constitute an informal inter-tribal sodality, a second Blackfoot Society in effect, created by the memorial dance Rose held for her grandson. In the years prior to the summer of 1963 Rose

had often expressed resentment over the fact that the leaders of the Blackfoot Society had let so many Indians from other tribes belong to the Society, yet her faction was at least half Kiowa in numbers. The primary reason for the inclusion of so many Kiowas is that the three Kiowa-Apache families are not large enough to provide all the personnel necessary to put on the Manatidie dance, and as Rose pointed out, "them Kiowas, they donate."

Since the dance performed by Faction II is practically the same (there have been some minor changes) as that of Faction I, the status-roles required to do it are the same as previously described for the Blackfoot Society before the split. The leadership structure differs, however. Faction II has only one leader who has no competition in the exercise of authority, not even from Philemon Berry, and who is, besides, a woman. Rose Chaletsin makes all the major decisions which are then implemented by her family and volunteers. Philemon said, "After this split begun they began to look to me with this group and Old Lady. The Old Lady and Alfred (Rose's oldest son). Really it's just Old Lady running this group." It is likely that this Blackfoot Society will dissolve when Rose dies since it is held together through loyalty and kinship to her. Rose does not apparently run her faction in dictatorial fashion, however, for, Philemon stated disapprovingly, "She wants everyone to have a voice. Kiowas and all."

The relationship between members of the two factions is, in general, less than cordial. Members of the two do not socialize with each other anymore. Rose said, "Nobody ever talk rough to me. Even

them Redbones never did yet. They see me, but they don't speak to me... They all ask about me, how I am. But they don't come see me. They're afraid, I guess." When people from one group meet people from the other faction it is the usual practice for them to ignore each other. One man from Faction I said sadly:

He (Alfred Chalepah Senior) was dancing for his mother's side... He's the only nephew of mine that speaks to me. Blacky (one of Alfred's brothers), he got mad at me in town. I told him that I don't have anything to do with that dance. He said, 'I don't like you.' I told him, 'That's all right, if that's the way you feel about it, feel that way.' He won't even speak to me.

A woman from Faction II stated, "Frankie used to come and visit with his wife. Since the split they won't talk to us on the street."

Faction I has not invited Faction II as a whole to any of the dances or sings. Faction II claims to always invite the other faction to its dances. This may be true since a few people from Faction I were seen at Faction II dances. We did not observe the reverse. However, our informants in Faction II said that some of the young people in their faction occasionally attended Faction I dances, but they do not feel welcome. Some members of each faction have expressed a desire to go to the other faction's dances. They do not, out of loyalty to their own kin and for fear they won't be welcome. A person from Faction I said, "He (Woodrow Atalby) said he would like to sing with us. 'You sure got pretty songs. But my sister (Sadie Nestelle) got mad at me.'" Atalby himself stated, "I'd sure like to go to their dance. But I don't think they'd talk to me. We'll have to go

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and take binoculars. Watch from afar." A very few people belong to both factions. "There's some of them come to both and carry stories back and forth. Connie Mae and Louise used to come and we feed them and give them shawls and blankets. They told us stories about that Redbone side and no telling what they told them about us." The overlapping personnel are mostly Kiowa singers and/or drummers, however. Neither faction is willing to risk losing their services by insisting that they quit performing for the other faction. Each faction has accused the other of trying to recruit some of the other faction's talented singers or drummers. Faction II members have also made the serious accusation that the three leaders in Faction I tried to get three of the men in Faction II laid off or fired from their jobs. All of these actions, whether real or imagined, have caused a great deal of bitterness. The leaders of both factions have shown themselves unwilling to make any but the most tentative moves toward reconciliation. Two, or possibly three, members of one family, the Klinekoles, are the only ones in structural positions which might allow them to step into a breach and act as neutral mediators. The Klinekoles are the only extended family to have members in both factions. Greg Klinekole, Senior and his brothers are active members of Faction I, as are most of their children. Greg Klinekole, Junior and his sister, Violet, have affiliated themselves with Greg's wife's family in Faction II. Greg, however, has cordial relations with those of his family in Faction I. His possibilities as a mediator are considerably lessened by the fact that he is a young man. Among

the Apaches age automatically gains one respect. The opinions of youth are denigrated. A young man would probably have difficulty getting the older men in the tribe to take seriously any efforts of his towards reconciliation. An older brother of Greg's, Bruce Klinekole, came back from a tour of duty with the United States Armed Forces in the summer of 1964. Since he had been away when the factionalism occurred, was an Army veteran, and nearing middle-age, he was in an excellent position to mediate the dispute. He chose, rather, to align himself with his father's faction soon after his return, thus closing this possibility for patching up the split. The only other person within the Kiowa-Apache tribe who could possibly lead a move for reconciliation, I believe, was Frankie Redbone. He had the respect of the entire tribe, and although he is a Redbone brother he has remained rather aloof from the factional disputes. With these factors in his favor, if he had used his influence with his brothers and his wife's kinship with Rose, he might have been able to lead a move to repair the schism. He seemed, however, to dislike the hurly-burly of politics involved in leadership and withdrew into the background instead of assuming the position as the head of the tribe which only he, apparently, had sufficient stature to assume. The Kiowa-Apache tribe was still divided into two factions at the close of 1965.

CHAPTER 5

CAUSES OF THE FACTIONALISM

The Kiowa-Apaches had achieved a fragile integration for the first time in 50 years by means of the Blackfoot Society. Differences of opinion occur in any organization between individuals and between incipient factions. To endure, an organization must have some means of resolving these differences or the resultant stresses and strains may become strong enough to split the group. The Kiowa-Apache Blackfoot Society had several kinds of stresses straining its integrity prior to 1963, but it had managed to survive. The Society might have retained its integration had it not been subjected to a series of intense stress-provoking situations in the summer of 1963. Under these conditions antagonisms and conflicts which otherwise might have been suppressed came to the surface. Lacking mechanisms for resolving the resulting conflicts, the tribe split into two parts.

In the course of analysis of the causes of the factionalism I found that they could conveniently be grouped into two kinds - underlying causes and precipitating causes. The underlying causes are economic and political in nature, while the deaths which occurred at the beginning of the summer in 1963 and the Kiowa-Apache reaction to them were the precipitating causes.

Underlying Causes

The Kiowa-Apaches were a tribe with a basically egalitarian social structure in the early contact period. What wealth differences had existed were erased when the government imposed the reservation system. The Kiowa-Apaches were reduced to dependence upon government dole for subsistence. When the tribe was given allotments, their economic status did not change much. Although some Apaches farmed their allotments, wealth differences remained minimal. This continued to be the case until six or seven years ago when oil was discovered on a few allotments, making Sadie Nestelle wealthy and giving a few others a relatively secure economic base. Most of these six or seven others, however, do not participate actively, if at all, in the Black-foot sodality. Several are practicing Christians of Protestant denominations which discourage attendance at Indian pow-wows. Of those who have oil income only Rose Chaletsin and Carrie Redbone, wife of Frankie Redbone, are active in their respective factions of the Black-foot Society. Neither has become wealthy from oil royalties, but both are able to help support their families and to live on a higher standard of living than previously. The majority of the tribe has remained on the level of poverty, endemic among the Indians of western Oklahoma.

It happens, then, that the Chalepahs and the Nestelles, two of the three families who are the core of Faction II, are well off relative to most of the members of Faction I. While Philemon and his father, Tennyson Berry, are poor, Philemon's sister, Jeanette and her

husband, Steve Mopope, have money. It was obvious to a casual observer that Faction II members were wealthier than Faction I members. The differences between the two factions in the quality of the dance costumes and in the quantity and quality of goods given away at dances were striking. A little checking revealed that, in fact, many of the members of Faction I were receiving welfare aid, and with the exception of Carrie Redbone, none was getting money from oil leases. There were indigent individuals in Faction II, but they were receiving help from more fortunate relatives. A consequence, then, of the economic status of the Kiowa-Apaches was that two of the three Apache families who ended up in Faction II were envied by other Apaches for their relative wealth.

A second consequence was that since the acquisition of money was not such a pressing concern for these families, their view of the purpose of performing the Manatidie dance differed from that of some of the other members of the Blackfoot Society. Several of the former expressed strong disapproval of the practice, which became common after the Society was incorporated, of dancing before a non-Apache audience for money. Those Apaches who responded to the invitation to put on a dance would commonly divide the money up among the individual participants. This motive goes a long way towards explaining, for instance, why some members of the tribe (all now in Faction I) would risk tribal censure and violate a mourning period in order to dance for the Ute Indians in Colorado. They were paid \$300. This incident was important since it generated so much bitterness. A few

of the more sophisticated realized that such fiscal practices could land the whole Society in trouble with the State of Oklahoma, as it indeed has. As Sadie put it:

Jeanette (Mopope) and Ella Lou (Chalepah) are taking care of the money (in Faction II's Blackfoot Society). They (the Comanche tribe) offered us money to go to Walters, but we told them we don't dance for money. Just go and dance. Other side (Faction I) commercializes the dance. Got \$150 down at Cache. Not supposed to take money. They (Faction I) have to pay income tax because of that charter. They've had it two years. Government wants back payments.

A third consequence of the economic situation of the Kiowa-Apaches is the difference in attitudes towards embezzlement of Society funds by the leaders of the Blackfoot Society. Most Apaches do not seem to be morally disturbed by this corruption, but they do resent the consequences of it; for when the Society's leaders have spent the funds for personal needs, the Society does not have as much money as it needs to provide full rations for the campers at the annual powwow. Rose Chaletsin, Sadie Nestelle, and Jeanette Mopope, however, can afford to view this corruption in more moralistic terms. In the summer of 1963 Jeanette and Philemon, Rose and Sadie found themselves in opposition to Redbones over this matter. Philemon describes what happened.

There was a meeting at Frankie's (Redbone) right before the annual dance. I was sitting next to Wallace. Rose asked friendly like, 'How much money we got?' Wallace whispered to me, 'We don't have any.' Iola stood up and said, 'Don't worry about your money. It's in the bank...' I was headman at the time, so I went to the bank.

Rose takes up the story. "Then Friday Jeanette (and Philemon) went down there (to the bank). They said the Blackfoot ain't got an

account. Wallace got account, but it's broke. They say yesterday he draw check for \$80. She (Jeanette) came back and told us. Everybody really hollered about it. She (Iola) spent it. Her and Herbert and Frankie." Rose said she brought up the question of money again at a meeting later that summer when she made the following speech: "Leave money alone. That money is people's money. Don't belong to one person... It's our money. It's not Wallace's money or Iola's or Frankie's or Herbert's to borrow this money. Oughta not do that. And just when I got through with that Herbert got up. 'I pay it back,' he said, 'when I get lease money.'"

All these quotations indicate friction between the Redbones and the Berrys and the Chalepahs over money. Several of our informants voiced the opinion that money was the root cause of the split. Other Apaches, however, believed the causes of the factionalism lay in a political power struggle. The political arena available to any ambitious Kiowa-Apache for the direct expression of leadership ability is severely limited. Kiowa-Apaches do not participate in the traditional American political system. Most of them are grossly ill-informed and totally disinterested. The potential political arenas are, then, three in number - the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Inter-Tribal Business Committee, the American Indian Exposition, and the Blackfoot Society.

The Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Inter-Tribal Business Committee was set up in the first half of this century by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as the governing agent for the three confederated tribes.

The primary function of the group was to decide on programs to benefit the three tribes and to authorize the Bureau of Indian Affairs to use money coming in from rents and royalties on jointly held tribal lands to fund the programs. The Committee has been able to agree on only one program. They did meet at frequent intervals since the members got paid a per diem. The Committee had 12 members - five Kiowas, five Comanches, and two Kiowa-Apaches. Unless an Apache could get support in at least one other tribe, he could exercise no real political power. Philemon Berry is the only Kiowa-Apache who managed to do that, teaming up with a Kiowa faction in which he had relatives. He was elected to one term as President of the Business Committee. None of the other Apaches who were elected as the second representative were able to escape domination by Philemon who was always elected after his father declined to run again. He was able to dominate them largely because their lack of education was such a handicap. In reality, except for Philemon Berry, the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Inter-Tribal Business Committee was not a potential sphere for political action for Kiowa-Apaches. In any case the Committee was abolished in 1962 in a dispute still unsolved between the Comanches and Kiowas (a dispute which rent both of these tribes into factions) over the question of whether or not the three tribes should stay confederated. The Kiowa-Apache tribe as a whole seems to have remained neutral in this dispute. It does not seem to be a factor in Kiowa-Apache factionalism anyway.

The American Indian Exposition held in Anadarko every summer is sponsored by the Indian tribes in western Oklahoma. The president of the organization who runs the Exposition, commonly referred to as "the Fair," is elected each year by a vote of all Indians in the area. As I understand it, any Indian over 21 is eligible to vote and run for office. In this election tribes or tribal factions usually vote as a bloc for the man running for their tribe or faction. What usually happens is that the man from the largest tribe or faction of a tribe wins. Since the Kiowa-Apache tribe is so small in numbers, for a Kiowa-Apache to have a chance to win election to the office of president or vice-president of the Fair, he would have to build a political following in at least one other tribe. Again the only Kiowa-Apache who, so far, has done this is Philemon Berry. He built a political following that included all the Kiowa-Apaches and a Kiowa faction. He was elected President of the Exposition in 1961. Philemon's political base has eroded away since the Kiowa-Apaches broke into two factions. Most of the Apaches remain in Faction I, and they will not vote for Philemon for dogcatcher, as the saying goes. Since he cannot count on the Apaches to vote as a bloc, his political career is at an end.

Each tribe participating in the Exposition also elects its own tribal director each year for the Fair the following year. Philemon explained:

They nominate from the floor of the grandstand (in Anadarko where the Fair is held). They seat by tribal section. They

have a standing vote, and the counters count each section. They elect the executive officers first - the president, vice-president and after that the directors. Each previous tribal director is the temporary chairman. The other tribes had two, three, four candidates, but us, we always get along good. There was no reason to have more than one candidate. We all thought the same way.

Philemon's idealistic picture of tacit, unanimous agreement on one candidate before the elections for tribal director is not supported by the testimony of other informants. Wallace Redbone, for instance, told us:

I've been on the Fair 14 years (as director of the Kiowa-Apache tribe). First time I ran against Alfred Chalepah. His mother (Rose Chaletsin) has never liked me since then. The Indians vote where the head of the family votes. That would be me against the Chalepahs. And I ran against Elmer Jay. And Houston Klinekole. Chalepahs put him up to that. They were mad because I beat Alfred. The time Houston ran, Rose brought some people that were not qualified into the voting... I ran against Tennyson (Berry) in '54. I beat him, too. He got real mad. I wouldn't do it as long as my father was alive (Tennyson and Old Man Redbone were friends).

This quotation shows that in the arena of Exposition politics, the Redbones battled with the Chalepahs and the Berrys for the position of tribal director. This power struggle spilled over into the Blackfoot Society, the third and major sphere for the expression of political talent and ambition for Kiowa-Apaches.

A factor enters in Blackfoot Society politics which is absent from Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Inter-Tribal Business Committee and Exposition politics. All the political talent and ambition in the tribe are not confined solely to Kiowa-Apache men, but Kiowa-Apache women have no approved means of expressing leadership talent directly. The official positions of leadership in the Blackfoot sodality are closed

to women; nevertheless, strong-willed women like Rose Chaletsin, Jeanette Mopope, and Iola Redbone did exercise real authority in the original Blackfoot Society, and later in their respective factions. Rose Chaletsin and Jeanette Mopope competed with the wives of the Redbone brothers for power. A man now in Faction I said, "Old Mrs. Chalepah (Rose) want to run it herself. Full control, so she pull out." A woman in Faction II said, "Clara and Iola Redbone, it (the split) all came from them. All they talk about is money. Iola's like that. She's just bad. She's a leader (a very interesting juxtaposition of sentences). They're bringing politics into the Blackfoot." Of the articulated reasons for the split, the men of both factions frequently mentioned and deplored the power struggle among the women. The men, however, were also involved in a power struggle, a struggle which ended when the tribe broke into two factions. The Redbones were trying to cut Philemon Berry out. As Philemon put it:

Wallace, Amos, and Ray put me in Charley High's place. Wallace seemed to be head of the headmen by his own choice. He began to ramrod this whole thing. He kept me uninformed. It got so bad that I went down to Ray. I asked him, 'Ray, what's going on?' (Ray answers) 'You know, I don't know what's going on either.' I asked Amos. 'All I (Amos answering) know is they're gonna have a dance.' Wallace was sort of head, self-appointed head. I'm not used to business run that-away. 'You don't even tell me what's goin on. What's the matter with you! We're all headsmen. You're just ignoring me. You even see me in town and don't tell me what's going on.' Wallace was sort of master-of-ceremonies the whole time. He ramrod the whole thing. He kept the staffs. He was generally in charge of everything. We boys just back there following.

Philemon lost as did Rose Chaletsin. The losers in this power struggle were pushed out (or withdrew) and formed their own society. Once

this happened both sets of leaders could exercise political power, but in a slightly reduced sphere.

Precipitating Causes

While there had been tension between the Chalepahs, Berrys, and Nestelles on the one hand and the Redbones on the other, it had not reached a breaking point. That point was reached the summer of 1963 when Bobby Chalepah and Betsy Boyiddle died. The deaths of these two young people ought to be viewed against the background of Kiowa-Apache culture beliefs about death. As Opler and Bittle (1961: 383) have written, "Because of the excessive fear of the ghost among the Apachean-speaking tribes of the Southwest and Southern Plains, death is a traumatic experience for them, one which focuses attention on all possible allies of dark forces and which evokes elaborate ritual defenses." These ritual defenses were designed primarily to prevent the return of the ghosts of the dead. The deceased was quickly buried and his belongings destroyed or buried. "Not only was the memory of the dead person suppressed by the destruction of his property and of objects associated with him, but there could not be any direct reference to him" (Opler and Bittle; 1961: 386). The Apaches no longer, of course, destroy the deceased's property, but they do still dislike mentioning a dead person's name. They still believe in the ghosts of the dead who can return to harm the living.

As long as ghosts are content to travel to their afterworld and remain there, they do no injury to living men. But they tend to resist the termination of their life; they linger about the corpse, the place of burial, their former haunts

and possessions; and even when they do go to the afterworld, they have the power to return to persecute or harass those with whom they have scores to settle. No ghost comes back except on frightening errands; no ghost is seen or heard by a human being without a sense of terror and despair. The least violent act a ghost can perform is to lead a new shade to the afterworld. Even this is interpreted by the living as a threat; the ghosts are constantly trying to extinguish life, to draw the living to the dead (Opler and Bittle 1961: 389).

The ghosts of the very young, the very old, and non-Apaches are not feared, but the ghosts of those who have died in the prime of life worry the Apaches a great deal.

In the light of these cultural beliefs, Bobby Chalepah's death must have evoked a great deal of anxiety in the tribe, for he was only in his early twenties when he died. Not only that, but he had been a member of the Blackfoot Society and had often danced the Manatidie. Since Bobby had been a member of the Society, it was supposed to get his family's consent and give them a feast and gifts before dancing again. Some members of the Society wanted to go dance for the Utes even though Bobby had died just the week before. In spite of the fact that the boy's parents gave their permission, most Kiowa-Apaches disapproved of going to dance so soon and considered it a violation of the mourning period. This refusal to mourn properly on the part of, among others, Iola Redbone and Herbert and Clara Redbone, might have been overlooked had they not reportedly behaved so badly while in Colorado and had not Betsy Boyiddle died as she did.

Kiowa-Apaches expressed several attitudes towards the Manatidie ceremony itself. The most common feeling seems to be that the dance is a religious ceremony. "Like I said, it like a religious

ceremony. But this Blackfoot, you're supposed to have some dignity, respect it." Some older Apaches have even invested the dance with healing powers. One woman reported:

His (Claude Jay's) wife says, 'I took them boys to Blackfoot, listen to that drum. Pretty soon my hands just come loose.' How do you call that - rheumatism? That's bad one? That's what she got... Now she says when it gets cloudy, she don't feel no aching. I told her, 'That Blackfoot is a doctor.' And seems like it is. Somebody ain't feeling good, they come and just start dancing.

Those who went to the Ute Reservation apparently did not "respect" the dance. This disrespect for the dance carried over into careless handling of the staffs; for when a staff fell the group did not have a war veteran recite a brave deed before they picked the staff up and handed it back to the dancer. In Apache eyes, the consequences of this neglect was the death of Betsy Boyiddle who died as the staff fell. Young Betsy's death under these circumstances must have been extremely anxiety-provoking.

It might seem that the Kiowa-Apache tribe as a whole would be angry with the group who went to the Ute Reservation, but instead the onus fell on Rose Chaletsin. Why this was so was the real puzzle of the fieldwork we did that summer. Part of the explanation may lie in that human feeling of dislike for those who make one feel guilty, but this does not seem to be the whole story. We have hints in our notes that those who are now the leaders in Faction I believed that Rose had put a curse on their group in revenge for their violation of the mourning period and that is why Betsy Boyiddle died. One old lady actually said, "That other group (Faction II) put some kind of

remark (curse) on our group (Faction I)." Several of our informants noted that strange things happened all that summer of 1963 to the Redbones and their sympathizers.

Things began to happen with their bunch (the Redbones). Boys got hurt on a tractor. Things began to happen. One of them feathers drop off them staffs. Older Comanche see visions dance by the staffs. Something was wrong there. This bunch (the Redbones) went on ahead anyway (and dances). ...Since then (since the split) they've even had deaths over there. They tied feathers on the staffs. They fall out.

Sadie Nestelle said much the same thing. "And another time a feather kept falling off. Just kept falling off. Those Comanches just took out. Since the Toyac trip (to the Ute Reservation) they (the Redbone Faction) had bad luck. You not supposed to play with them staffs." The families in Faction II seem to feel that the members of Faction I have gotten what they deserve for their treatment of Rose and other alleged bad behavior. They do not seem to be afraid of Rose. The bulk of the tribe, however, does seem to be. Rose herself said to us several times that the other bunch was afraid of her. This attitude would explain why the Blackfoot Society refused to give Rose the staffs so she could hold the memorial dance for her grandson. She scheduled the dance two or three times before it was finally successfully held in late August with Kiowa cooperation. The first two or three times no one came or brought the staffs. After Rose took the staffs, the leadership of the Society registered an ambivalent attitude towards getting them back. They wanted Rose to return them because they belonged to the Society and they were angry that she had "stolen" them. At the same time, they seized this occasion as a

good excuse to make four new staffs. They seemed to be reluctant to use the old staffs again after Rose had them. Ray Blackbear said:

I'm glad she's (Rose) got them. There's too much rules involved... It was against our (the headmen's) wishes (that some went to Colorado), but the majority rules.' That's the reason I say, 'let's make our own (staffs) so that we can do (as we want).' So that a very small portion of that superstition going along with us. ...We just violate so much of these old rules, we got a new organization (since the Chalepahs, Berrys, and Nestelles pulled out of the original Blackfoot Society).

The unequal economic status of Kiowa-Apache families and the political power struggle among the potential leaders of the tribe had caused tension between the Redbones on the one hand and the Chalepahs, Berrys, and Nestelles on the other within the context of the Blackfoot Society. The level of tension rose to the breaking point the summer of 1963 with the deaths of two young people, provoking widespread anxiety that members of one family had used witchcraft of some sort to get revenge on those who had offended them. While many in Faction I felt that some of their members had indeed been negligent in following Kiowa-Apache mourning customs and rules for the use of the staffs, they did not apparently feel that the revenge allegedly taken was appropriate to the offense. In any case, most of the families in the tribe did not want to attend or participate in any memorial dance to Rose Chaletsin's grandson. When she took the staffs the tribe had good cause to cut off all relationships with her family. When the Chalepahs were pushed out of the Kiowa-Apache tribe, they joined the Berrys and took the Nestelles with them and formed a second Blackfoot Society.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The anthropological literature dealing specifically with the problem of factionalism is so limited that one must conclude as Ralph Linton did some 30 years ago (1936: 229): "The whole matter of these factions, their causes and functions, is an interesting and still almost unexplored field for study." Published field work on factionalism consists, in the main, of a handful of studies of Pueblo Indian communities (Dozier 1966, Fenton 1957, French 1948, Siegel and Beals 1960) in the North American Southwest, villages in India proper (Siegel and Beals 1960, and Lewis 1958) and overseas East Indian communities (Firth and others 1957). Theoretical considerations of the problem are confined almost entirely to the articles by Firth and others (1957), by Fenton (1955) and by Siegel and Beals (1960). The last is a specific attempt to set up a typology of forms of factionalism and to establish by the use of the comparative method the conditions necessary for the emergence of one form in a given community. The other articles are primarily concerned with definitions of factions and factionalism, although Fenton (1955) also proposes a theory for the origin of moieties from factions, a theory first advanced by Murdock (1949: 90).

With the one exception of Siegel and Beals (1960: 399), the authors cited have addressed themselves primarily to the problem of

defining the concept of faction and not to definitions of the process of factionalism which creates the social units termed factions. These definitions of factions fall into three main types: genetic, structural, and functional.

The genesis of factions in conflict and disputes between individuals or groups within a society is implicit in almost all the definitions of factions and factionalism and explicitly stated by Adrian Mayer in the article by Firth and others (1957: 317) where he writes that a faction is, "...a group recruited over one or more disputes." It is clear from the field studies that factions do indeed arise from unresolved disputes within a community. Any attempt to differentiate factions from other kinds of social units would have to include some reference to their origins, since the fact that in all the cases in the literature one can date their emergence and state that the circumstances surrounding this emergence involved conflict serves to set them apart from many of these other social units. For example, the origins of social units whose organizing principle is kinship are lost in antiquity. For the most part we can only speculate about the dates and circumstances of their adoption or invention by a given society.

A discussion of the genesis of factions leads to structural considerations; for the fact that in all the field examples published on factionalism one can state rather precisely the dates of their emergence and their duration emphasizes another feature cited by many in their definitions. H.S. Morris (Firth and others 1957: 316-317),

for instance, in discussing an East Indian community writes, "Within the caste and sectarian communities, on the other hand, the leaders do not represent permanent groups recruited on predictable principles, whose members hold consistent views." Factions, then, are relatively ephemeral features of social systems. "The illusion of permanence given by the frequent repetition of factional behavior in which approximately the same people are involved on either side need not surprise us since the occasions for dispute are chronic; loyalty begets loyalty and enmity enmity (Firth and others 1957: 295-296)." This does not mean that factions may not last for very long periods of time. Those Dozier (1966) describes for Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico, endured for 50 years and those Lewis (1958: 42) describes for a village in Northern India even longer. Nevertheless, factions appear and disappear as irregular and rather short-lived features in comparison with social units based on kinship or even many like men's sodalities or ceremonial moieties based on voluntary association. The short duration of factions is another characteristic which differentiates them from many, if not all, other kinds of social groupings.

Factions have their genesis in disputes and endure but a relatively short span of time in the social history of a community. The distinctive feature of factions is, however, a third characteristic. Factions are "...conflicting groups conceived of as parts of a whole; the conflict is not an internal necessity of the whole but tends to disrupt it..." or, factions are "...relatively informal groups in a

state of conflict tending to disrupt a whole of which the factions are parts" (Firth and others 1957: 296, 316). These definitions combine the structural consideration that factions are parts of wholes with a functional one that these parts act in such a way as to break up the whole, or at least to seriously disrupt the organization and activities of the whole. These two considerations are inseparable. Many social units are parts of larger units, but no other kind of social unit in its very nature functions to break up the larger unit of which it is a part. Firth, in Firth and others (1957: 292), expresses this well when he writes that factions are "...groups or sections of a society in relations of opposition to one another interested in prompting their own objects rather than those of the society as a whole and often turbulent in their operations." This definition could, however, cover political parties as well. A better description of how factions operate in a society is perhaps that by Siegel and Beals (1960: 394). They define factionalism as "...overt conflict within a group which leads to the increasing abandonment of cooperative activities." The field studies cited, with one major exception, show that not only to the outside observer do the factions constitute irregular, conflicting parts of a larger unit or of the society as a whole, but to the people involved as well; that is, most of the people of a given society tend to view the factions as abnormal social phenomena which threaten the integrity of the group and are, therefore, bad. The Kiowa-Apache certainly believed them to be so. Informants usually referred to the factionalism as "the trouble." Dozier

(1966: 179) includes a quotation from a member of Santa Clara Pueblo expressing a similar sentiment: "'As long as the Pueblo remains divided and there are evil thoughts among the people, no benefits will come to this pueblo. All of our misfortunes, our illness, and the failure of the crops may be blamed on this fact that we are not together.'" For Isleta, French (1948: 39) states that, "Isletas universally disapprove of factionalism, which they consider to be 'trouble'." In Namhalli a village in India, "There was also general agreement concerning the value of village unity, and it was acknowledged that any person who stirred up conflict within the village would suffer blindness, leprosy, or worse in this life and would be dipped in feces and eaten by worms in the afterworld" (Siegel and Beals 1960: 395).

Oscar Lewis' data from Rampur, a village in Northern India (1958: 3-52) provide the major exception. In Village Life in Northern India while Lewis gives a thorough account of the structure and functions of the factions he found within castes, as well as a brief relation of their history, he has not included any information on the feelings of the villagers themselves about these divisions within the castes. Certainly the factions constitute parts of wholes, the castes, but they do not seem to threaten the integrity of the caste structure of the village. In regard to factions, Lewis (1958: 114) makes the point that "the term faction as here used does not denote only opposition or hostile relations between groups, nor is discord and dissension necessarily the predominant quality in interfaction

relations." And, in fact, Lewis uses the term "neutral faction" to designate some groups within castes who have friendly or, at least, not hostile, relationships with at least one other group. Pockock and Mayer (Firth and others 1957: 300, 328) find the term "neutral faction" inappropriate to designate groups not in conflict with one another and who appear to be simply uninvolved. The word "clique" might be a better word to use to denote such groups. However, the "factions" in Rampur which are no longer in conflict with the other factions in the village nevertheless have their origins in disputes, and are structured and function on many occasions much as the other groups do. It is probably nit-picking to insist that another term be used for these groups in this particular case. It must be reiterated, however, that a central feature of factional behavior ordinarily is the hostile relationship which pertains between rival factions.

A third structural consideration of factions is that the membership of factions is "composite," to use Pockock's term (Firth and others 1957: 295-296) and is determined by the circumstances of the occurrence of the factionalism itself. That is to say, factions are composed of parts of or of several groups and actual membership of a given faction is essentially unpredictable. The latter feature is especially important in distinguishing factions from social units whose membership is determined by kinship affiliation, territorial contiguity, or even from many whose membership is recruited on the principle of voluntary association. In any kin-based group membership is ascribed and completely predictable. The membership of groups

based on the principle of territorial contiguity or age is predictable as well. Even for many units based on the principle of voluntary association as, for instance, men's warrior sodalities in the Plains, one could predict that the most noted warriors would belong. The membership of factions is not so predictable. The stresses within the Kiowa-Apache tribe, for example, did tend to set Rose Chaletsin, Philemon Berry, and to a lesser extent, Sadie Nestelle against the Redbone brothers and the rest of the tribe. The fact that the tribe split as it did (or split at all), however, is the result of two historical accidents - the death of two tribal members - and the reaction of the rest of the tribe to the circumstances surrounding these deaths. That Rose Chaletsin and the Berry family would end up in the same faction is entirely unpredictable from past relations between the two families, and that Sadie Nestelle joined their faction instead of staying with the rest of the tribe is primarily a result of hearing Rose's side of the story first. Once Rose, Philemon Berry, and Sadie joined forces it was inevitable that their families follow the family head. In this sense kinship played an important role in recruitment among the Kiowa-Apaches as it does in Rampur (Lewis 1958: 149). At Taos, on the other hand, age played a major role (Fenton 1957: 339), while at Santa Clara (Dozier 1966: 177-178) the members of one ceremonial moiety found themselves in opposition to the members of the other. In Fijian East Indian settlements Adrian Mayer reports (Firth and others 1957: 327) that territorial contiguity played a role in recruitment for factions. These examples serve to illustrate the

fact that since the bases of disputes which cause factionalism are diverse, the bases of recruitment are equally diverse and the resulting factions "composite" in structure.

H. S. Morris (Firth and others 1957: 316) describes faction as "...relatively informal groups in a state of conflict." Certainly the factions in Namhalli (Siegel and Beals 1960) and those in Taos before the emergence of an organized group called the People's Party (Siegel and Beals 1960: 412) were not formal organizations. However, "The People's Party," described by Fenton (1955: 332), the two conflicting moieties at Santa Clara (Dozier 1966: 177) and the factions I found among the Kiowa Apaches were characterized by a high degree of formal organization. The original Kiowa-Apache Blackfoot Society was a formal organization; that is, it had a name, regular entry procedure, rules of membership (if not strictly adhered to), and elected officers. The main faction kept the previous organization, and the splinter faction, Faction II, adopted most of it even though they were not formally incorporated. Morris would apparently not use the term "faction" for the two Kiowa-Apache Blackfoot Societies, even though they have divided the whole tribe into two conflicting groups. It seems to me the evidence shows that factions may operate in either formal or informal contexts, and that they themselves may be informally or formally organized. This is a difficult point; for when each faction within, say, a political party organizes itself formally, the whole of which the factions formed a part, ceases to exist and instead, there are now two separate social units. At what point do

these separate organizations cease being factions of one party and become two different political parties? Pockock (Firth and others 1957: 295-296) states that when one faction founds a new community it thereby ceases to be a faction. In a sense Faction II of the Kiowa-Apaches has broken away from the Kiowa-Apache community and founded a new community since in this part of Oklahoma Indian communities are not defined by territorial contiguity, but by tribal feelings, kin ties, and networks of social interaction. Rose Chaletsin's faction, Faction II, has established a separate community of social interaction. Nevertheless in the larger view, and in the view of the Kiowa-Apaches themselves, the two separate, formally organized, hostile Blackfoot societies constitute factions of what was and what, in Kiowa-Apache eyes, ought to be one larger society.

Thus far the discussion has been confined to the genesis and structure of factions. I have stated that factions ordinarily function in a manner detrimental to the integrity of the whole of which the factions form parts. Siegel and Beals (1960: 399) define the process of factionalism, for instance, as "...overt conflict within a group which leads to the increasing abandonment of cooperative activities." This statement focuses on negative functions or dysfunctions of factionalism. Firth (Firth and others 1957: 292) expresses this when he points out that factions are "...expressions of disruptive forces in the community..." and they usually "...disregard communal responsibility...." Firth, nevertheless, is at pains to point to some positive benefits both for the individual and for the society

flowing from factionalism. For an individual, factions can provide "...a social mechanism for achievement of many of their ends, in a situation which lacks many types of social units traditionally found in the parent society from which they or their forbears came" (Firth and others 1957: 293). While Firth is referring to overseas East Indian communities, his statement could apply equally well to the Kiowa-Apache community; for the contemporary Kiowa-Apache community lacks most of the social units and leader status-roles which it previously had. There are no more bands, hence there are no more positions as band leaders for ambitious men. From the late 1800's to 1959 the four tribal sodalities had ceased existence and with them one road to prestige and positions of leadership. While the tribal medicine bundles still exist, the prestige that ownership formerly bestowed and the role of the bundle owner as adjudicator of disputes has been lost. Belief in the tenets of the Native American Church and attendance at its rites have replaced the belief in the power of medicine men. No one any more tries to achieve the status of medicine man. While there was the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Intertribal Business Committee until recently and there still is the American Indian Exposition, these have not been areas for the expression of political ambition for more than one Kiowa-Apache. The revival of the tribal sodality, the Blackfoot Society or the Manatidie, provided the only real arena. In the beginning there was room in the fluid structure of the Society for all with leadership ambition; but when the society formalized its organization, consolidating the power structure into

four positions, it initiated a power struggle for these positions. When the tribe split into two factions, the chances for expression of leadership ability doubled in number. From the point of view of an ambitious individual, the existence of the two factions has been beneficial.

Firth (Firth and others 1957: 293) states that factions can function in two ways with positive effect for the society. First, a faction can function "...as a social instrument for mobilizing support, a faction is in many ways more flexible than a traditional social unit of, say, descent group type..." and second it provides "...a focus for the development and expression of moral attitudes about matters of social concern." Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico, provides an example of the latter statement. French (1948: 43-45) writes that graft of the pueblo's community funds by the elected officials had been a major subject of dispute between factions. The disputes focused attention on the mishandling of funds. Monetary reform then became the main plank in the platform of the "third party," a political organization within the pueblo, which French called a "pressure group." Among the Kiowa-Apaches the embezzlement of the Blackfoot Society's funds in 1963 was a contributing factor in the factionalism. The attention of the tribe was directed to the disputes between the rival leaders and their families that summer. One of the issues was, of course, how the Society funds ought to be spent. After the split the leaders of both factions made a greater effort to see that the treasuries of their respective factions were less accessible to graft in response,

in part, to public opinion on the subject which had found expression as a result of the factionalism.

In summary, the process of factionalism leads to the formation of social units called factions. The process of "...increasing abandonment of cooperative activities" (Siegel and Beals 1960: 399) as a result of conflict within a society or sub-group of the society is factionalism. The social group which results, the faction, has its origins in unresolved disputes between individuals or groups in the community. Factions, while they constitute parts of what in the eyes of the people involved ought to be wholes, nevertheless, are not integral parts of these social units, but instead function in such a way as to shatter the wholes or disrupt their activities. The membership of a faction is essentially unpredictable depending as it does on the circumstances of the occurrence of the factionalism itself. The bases of recruitment are usually diverse and the membership composite. Viewed from an historical perspective factions are ephemeral features of social organizations. Factionalism, however, may be a recurrent process in any group.

APPENDIX

LIST OF MEMBERS IN EACH FACTION

We were able to compile lists of the names of members of both factions. By "member" I do not mean just those who have been formally initiated into the Kiowa-Apache Blackfoot Society, but also those who participate in and attend social events sponsored by one of the factions. The lists are not complete and in some cases the last names may be misspelled. The reason for this is that these lists were obtained orally, and we had no chance to check them against any records. The tribal roll in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' office in Anadarko is not always helpful in this respect; for frequently the names recorded in the office are not those that the individuals customarily use themselves.

I have put in parentheses after the last name the tribal affiliation of non-Kiowa-Apaches when I know it. An asterisk marks those I believe to be Kiowa, and a double asterisk marks those I believe to be non-Kiowa-Apache, but whose tribal affiliation I do not know. Three asterisks indicates those who belong to both factions, and four asterisks indicates those who attended the dances of both factions.

Faction I

This is a list of those who camped at Herbert Redbone's place for the four-day pow-wow of the main faction in 1964. Jeanne McClung obtained most of the list from Herbert Redbone who named all he could remember plus a few additions from other informants. Not all who belong to Faction I or attended the dances camped, so the list is far from complete. Most of the names on this list are of the heads of families. In most cases the wife and children have not been included, although they, of course, would have camped at Redbone's.

Ethelene Archiltah
 **** Clara Archiltah
 Harold Archiltah
 Fred Bigman
 Herbert Redbone and wife Clara Blackbear
 **** Frankie Redbone and wife Carrie Archiltah
 Wallace Redbone and wife Iola Star
 Tweet Redbone
 Stuart Klinekole
 Houston Klinekole
 David Star
 Josie Star
 Jimmy Boyiddle
 Moses Starr (Cheyenne)
 Charley High
 *** Steven Hall
 **** LeRoy White
 Thurman White
 Buckley Cisco
 Jewel Cisco
 Connie Mae Saddleblanket
 Louise Saddleblanket
 Johnson Smith
 Bertha Smith
 Claude Jay
 Elmer Jay
 Ray Blackbear
 Amos Pewonofkit
 Raleigh Pewonofkit
 Ethel Pewo

Velma Pewo
 Arnold Wetselline
 George Komardly
 Frank Lookinglass
 Steve Bohay (Kiowa)
 **** Earnest Doybi (Kiowa)
 * Robert Gooday
 * Henry Gooday
 ** Harry Motah
 * Martin Weryakwy
 * Ada Weryakwy
 Henry Tsoodle (Kiowa)
 Sam Tsoodle (Kiowa)
 Roe Kahrahrhah (Kiowa)
 ** Frank Sovo (Savo?)
 ** Brownie Sovo
 ** Joe Wahnee
 **** ** Mary Wahkinny
 * Mattie Haumpo
 **** Henry Tanedooah (Kiowa)
 Joe Tanedooah (Kiowa)
 William Tanedooah (Kiowa)
 ** Herbert Dewpoint
 ** Tom Littlechief
 ** Blanche Yakesuite
 Gregory Haumpy (Kiowa)
 *** James Haumpy (Kiowa)
 ** Mildred Dainkow
 ** Mary Dainkow
 ** LeRoy Namsey
 * Eddie Kaubin (Kawbin?)

Faction II

The list was compiled by Jeanne McClung and me at the pow-wow Faction II held at Jeanette Mopope's dance ground in the summer of 1964. The list includes the names of the men and women who danced, the drummers, the singers, the announcers, and others we saw in the audience or who were pointed out to us by spectators.

Tennyson Berry
 Philemon Berry
 Cindy Berry (daughter of Philemon)

Maxine Stumbling Bear (married to Gertie Chalepah's son,
 granddaughter of Tennyson)
 Jeanette Mopope (sister of Philemon) and her husband Steve
 (Kiowa)
 Rose Chaletsin
 Alfred Chalepah and wife Evelyn (Kiowa)
 Alfred Chalepah, Jr. (son of Alfred, Sr.)
 Richard Chalepah (son of Alfred, Sr.)
 R. D. Chalepah
 Ella Lou Chalepah (daughter of Alfred, Sr.)
 Raymond Chalepah (son of Rose)
 Ina Chalepah
 Blacky Chalepah (son of Rose)
 Sadie Nestelle
 Woodrow Atalby (Sadie's brother)
 Don Nestelle (son of Sadie)
 Bruce Nestelle (son of Sadie)
 Greg Klinekole (son-in-law of Sadie)
 Lentha Klinekole (daughter of Sadie)
 Sonny Klinekole (son of Greg)
 Roger High (son of Charley High)
 Leon Star (illegitimate son of Herbert Redbone and Rosie
 Star)
 Mrs. Komardly
 **** LeRoy White
 **** Mary Wahkinny
 **** Henry Tanedooah (Kiowa)
 * Donny Poolaw
 Beulah Hall (Kiowa)
 Laura Tahlo
 Paul Tahlo (Kiowa) initiated member of Blackfoot Society
 Oscar Tahlo (Kiowa) initiated member of Blackfoot Society
 Collier Doyby (Kiowa) initiated member of Blackfoot Society
 John Horse (Kiowa) initiated member of Blackfoot Society
 Orville Lee Kauley (Kiowa) initiated member of Blackfoot
 Society
 Mark Keahbone (Kiowa) initiated member of Blackfoot Society
 Horace Gooaity (sic?) (Kiowa) initiated member of Blackfoot
 Society
 Jasper Sankadoty and wife (Kiwias)
 Archie Blackowl (Cheyenne)
 Adolphus Goombi (Kiowa) (married to Cynthia Berry)
 Fam Goombi
 *** James Haumpy (Kiowa)
 Bruce Haumpy (Kiowa)
 Willy Horse (Kiowa)
 Roland Horse (Kiowa) (Roland, Willy, Adam, and Bruce are
 sons of Mrs. Horse)
 Adam Collaty (Kiowa)

Bruce Collaty (Kiowa)
* Emma Doybi
Heavy Sovo (Savo?) (Kiowa)
Lucius Ahiddy (Kiowa)
Vanessa Santos (grandchild of Jeanette Mopope, also
Stevette and Caroline)
Stevette Santos
Caroline Palmer
Vig Mihecoby (sic?) (Comanche)
Opal Pohocsucut (Comanche)
Charles Waneh (Comanche)
Henley Kaubin (Kiowa)
** Mrs. Joe Wheeler
** Romona Gooday
** Lubi Gooday
** Joyce Tartsah
** Julia Dainkow
** Old Lady Hummingbird
James Auchiah (Kiowa)
** Charles Noyabad
** Jessie Noyabad
Hattie Aunko (Ako?) (Kiowa)
* Marie Tonip
* George Bosin
* Joe Bigbow
* Tater Ware
** Daisey and Earl Burgess
** Molly Haintaugh
Maude Frizzlehead (Kiowa)

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