Changes in Osage Social Organization 1673-1906

by Garrick Alan Bailey

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The following study is a slightly revised version of the first half of my doctoral dissertation, "Changes in Osage Social Organization: 1673-1969." I hope that in the not too distant future I will be able to publish the last half of the dissertation, which is concerned with the contemporary Osage.

I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee, Philip Young (Chairman), Theodore Stern, Malcolm McFee, and Kenneth W. Porter. All of these men gave generously of both their time and understanding of the American Indian. In addition I am indebted to the members of my master's thesis committee, Joseph Jorgensen (Chairman), Philip Young, and Harry Wolcott. My master's thesis served as the basis for this dissertation and thus their aid contributed to this final study. I am also deeply indebted to my wife Roberta, whose assistance went far beyond the normal call of wifely duties. Not only did she give me constant encouragement and helpful criticism, but she also typed the rough drafts of the study.

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C. A. B.

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C. M. A.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. THE PROBLEM</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE PRE-CONTACT OSAGE</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territory and Social Environment</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Natural Environment</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Organization</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Organization</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Economy</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter II Footnotes</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. EUROPEAN TRADE AND THE WARS WITH THE CADDOS: 1673-1790</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coming of the Europeans</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Expansionism and Osage Resistance</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Caddoan Ascendancy</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Local Aftermath of the French and Indian War</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes in Subsistence Patterns</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes in Osage Social Organization in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter III Footnotes</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE OSAGE AND THE REMOVAL OF THE EASTERN INDIANS: 1790-1839</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wars with the Spanish and the Algonkians</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment of the Osage Villages on the Arkansas</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties with the United States and the Southeastern Indians</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effects of the Indian Removal Bill of 1830</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extermination of Game Animals</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Disintegration of the Traditional Political System</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter IV Footnotes</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V. THE KANSAS RESERVATION: 1839-1871 ........................................ 66

Changes in the Fur Trade ........................................ 66
"Civilizing" the Osage ..................................... 67
Coming of the White Settlers ................................ 69
The Osage and the Civil War ................................ 70
Osage Removal ................................................. 71
Chapter V Footnotes ......................................... 74

VI. THE OKLAHOMA RESERVATION ........................................ 76

Osage Life After Removal ....................................... 76
Economic Change: Last of the Bison Hunts .............. 79
Economic Change: Further Attempts at "Civilization" ... 80
Tribal Government .............................................. 83
White Invasion of the Reservation ......................... 84
Changes in Osage Culture ..................................... 85
Tribal Ceremonies and Clans ................................ 86
The Family ...................................................... 87
The Ghost Dance and Peyote .................................. 88
Allotment of the Reservation ................................ 89
Chapter VI Footnotes .......................................... 91

VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN
OSAGE CULTURE CHANGE ........................................ 94

The Natural Environment ..................................... 94
The Social Environment ....................................... 98
Population Decline ............................................ 101

APPENDIX A: CLANS ............................................ 103

APPENDIX B: POPULATION STATISTICS ......................... 109

REFERENCES CITED ............................................ 113
# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## Maps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Geographic Features and Tribal Locations circa 1690</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Village Locations circa 1720 and Early French Posts</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tribal Locations and European Settlements circa 1775</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Osage and Their Neighbors circa 1800</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Indian Reservations circa 1825 and Osage Land Cessions</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Indian Reservations circa 1840</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Osage Reservation circa 1880</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Symbolic Organization of the Osage</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Osage Camp Circles</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Osage Kinship Terminology, Male Speaking</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Osage Kinship Terminology, Female Speaking</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Of all the major tribes found within the borders of the United States, the Osage are one of the most poorly known, both anthropologically and historically. If it had not been for the vast oil deposits found on their reservation in the early part of this century, and the great wealth that resulted, the public as a whole would never have heard of the Osage. Yet for over 100 years they were probably the most powerful tribe west of the Mississippi River. The now famous plains tribes, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Pawnee, lived in fear of Osage raiding parties. The Osage destroyed the villages of the more numerous Caddoan-speaking peoples on the Arkansas River, driving the Pawnee north into Nebraska and the Wichita south into central Texas. Both French and Spanish officials recognized the importance and power of the Osage, and official correspondence is filled with information on them. In American history, however, the Osage have been almost completely ignored. The reason for this is simple: there was never a major war between the United States and the Osage. Osage military power was early destroyed as a result of invasion of their territories by vast numbers of eastern Indians who were removed in the wake of White settlement. By the time the Osage and American settlers came into contact the Osage were too weak to offer resistance. Therefore, the role which they played in American frontier history was slight, and historians make little reference to them.

Anthropologists have also ignored the Osage. Most of the research on the tribe was done in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by J. O. Dorsey and Francis La Flesche. Since La Flesche completed his work in the early 1920's, there has been only one anthropological publication on Osage culture, a study of Osage kinship by B. F. Nett (1952). Alfred Kroeber stated that "The Osage are . . . difficult to place. Thanks to La Flesche, we know several of their rituals in detail; but these give relatively few indications of the type of culture as a whole" (Kroeber 1939: 75). The picture has only slightly improved since Kroeber's statement. Although a number of books about the Osage have been published by non-anthropologists during the past thirty years, most have displayed poor scholarship, and few have added to our knowledge of Osage culture. By far the best of these later works is John Joseph Mathews' The Osage. His work is extensive and well researched, but Mathews is not an anthropologist and did not attempt to answer questions of anthropological interest.

The fact that the Osage were one of the more important tribes of the Mississippi Valley would alone justify a more detailed study of their culture, but to an individual interested in the effects of European contact upon American Indians the Osage present a particularly exciting
case since few tribes have experienced such a variety of contact situations.

The Osage at the time of earliest contact were a Dhegiha Siouan tribe living in southwestern Missouri. They lived in permanent villages and had an economy based upon hunting and horticulture. Though their territory was centered in the prairies, during much of the historic period they occupied an area that stretched from the dense woodlands of eastern Arkansas and Missouri to the plains of western Oklahoma and Kansas. Thus the Osage were sensitive to changes that took place in either the plains or the woodlands, and because of their location they came into early contact with two important agents of culture change, the horse and the fur trade. Although they adopted the horse and became bison hunters, they never completely abandoned their permanent villages or horticulture. Their marginal geographic position permitted them to engage in a wide range of trading activities. As the emphasis of the fur trade changed, the Osage were also able to change and meet the new demands. At times they were involved in the Indian slave trade, the beaver trade, the deer hide trade, the buffalo robe trade, and the buffalo hide trade as well as trade in a wide variety of minor items. At different times they also functioned as both hunters and middlemen.

The Osage also present an ideal case for studying the effects of inter-tribal warfare. For a period of 100 years the Osage were the most aggressive and powerful of the tribes in the southern and central plains-prairie region. During this period they nearly tripled the size of their territory, mainly at the expense of Caddoan tribes to the west and south, but this period of expansion was followed by a fifty-year period in which the Osage were on the defensive as their territory was invaded by eastern tribes.

Thus the Osage have been in direct contact with a wide variety of Indian and European groups. They fought with, traded with and borrowed cultural items from the plains tribes, the central Algonkins, the Muskogeeans, the Iroquoians, and the Caddoans. In addition they felt the effects of French, Spanish, and American Indian policy. Finally, like virtually all of the major Indian tribes in the United States, they were confined to a reservation and subjected to the programs of agents and missionaries.

This study is limited to treatment of the changes that took place in Osage social organization from the time of European contact until the allotment of the reservation in 1906. Not all aspects of social organization are discussed. I have focused only on political organization, unilineal descent groups, and household structure. Due to a paucity of data the treatment of these three topics is uneven and often sketchy. The study can be divided into three parts. Part one (Chapter II) is a reconstruction of Osage social organization at about the time of European contact. The second part (Chapters III, IV, V, and VI) is a history of the Osage and of changes in their social organization. The final part (Chapter VII) is an ecological interpretation of the changes that have occurred in Osage social organization.
CHAPTER II

THE PRE-CONTACT OSAGE

At the time of early French contact in the late seventeenth century the Osage were living in southwestern Missouri. There is some controversy about how long they had been there and where they had come from. Linguistically, along with the Ponca, Kaw, Omaha, and Quapaw, they are Dhegiha Siouans. According to mythology, the Dhegiha Siouans once formed a single tribe which lived on the banks of the Ohio River. The tribe moved west, and at the mouth of the Ohio a segment of the tribe, later known as the Quapaw, broke away and migrated downstream, settling on the Arkansas River. The remainder of the tribe ascended the Mississippi to its junction with the Missouri where it remained for some time. Later the Omaha and the Ponca left the Osage and Kaw behind. Still later the Kaw separated from the Osage and moved further west (McGee 1897: 191; La Flesche 1915: 459-62; Dorsey 1884: 211-13.)

George Hyde (1951: 32) argues that the Osage and the other Dhegiha Siouan tribes did not enter the Missouri River region until slightly before the historic period, and that the migration was a response to pressure exerted by Iroquois expansion and warfare. Though Hyde himself provides no supporting evidence, there is at least some support to be found in the early literature. Father Douray, writing in the late seventeenth century, mentions that the Iroquois were raiding the Osage, but his statement is vague and may be interpreted in several ways. According to Douray, the Quapaw were forced south to the Arkansas River by the Iroquois, and some of the Osage were displaced by the raids. He is unclear, however, as to the original location of the Osage and as to where they were forced to settle (Cox 1922: Vol. I, 257; Shea 1903: 226). Although the Iroquois were raiding as far west as the Mississippi in the mid-seventeenth century, it seems highly unlikely that their activities had any significant effect on the westward movement of the Dhegiha tribes. J. Joe Bauxer (1959: 40) has stated that, with the exception of their effect on the Miami, the Iroquois raids caused little tribal displacement in the Illinois country. Added to this is the belief of some anthropologists that the DeSoto expedition encountered the Quapaw on the Arkansas River in 1542.¹ If this is indeed true, then the initial divisions must have occurred by either the late 1400's or the early 1500's.²

 Territory and Social Environment

When first mentioned by Europeans in 1673, the Osage were reported to be living west and south of the Missouri River (see Map 1). Fourteen
years later, in 1687, Father Douray and Father Hennepin reported that
the Osage lived along the Osage River (Thwaites 1903: 443; Cox 122:
Vol. I, 257; Shea 1903: 226). Neither of these authors had actually
visited the Osage villages; they either gathered their information from
Illinois Indians or from visiting parties of Osage. At the time of the
first recorded European visit to the Osage in 1719, they were living in
two villages, one on the Missouri River and the other on the Osage River
(see Map 2) some eighty leagues (200 miles) above its mouth (Margry
1886: Vol. VI, 311; Lewis 1926: 320). The village on the Missouri is
known to have been moved from its original location on the Osage River
shortly before Du Tisne's visit. 3

Contemporary sources show that at this time the territory occupied
by the Osage was limited to present day southwestern and south-central
Missouri. The middle Arkansas River valley as well as its major tribu-
taries, the Neosho and the Verdigris, to the south and west of the Osage,
were occupied by several Caddoan-speaking tribes: the Wichita, the
Pawnee, and the Mento. To the southeast near the mouth of the Arkansas
and to the northwest along the Kaw River were other Dhegiha Siouan tribes,
the Quapaw and the Kaw. Directly north of the Osage, occupying both
banks of the Missouri and the region north of the river, were the Chewere
Siouan tribes, the Missouri and the Iowa. East of the Osage were the
various Algonkin tribes of the Illinois confederacy. Thus the region
controlled by the Osage was limited to the drainage of the Osage River
and possibly the headwaters of the James and Gasconade River (Bailey
1968: 5-10).

Throughout most of the historic period, the Osage were a marginal
plains tribe, in contact with both the nomadic bison hunters of the
plains as well as the horticulturalists of the prairies and woodlands,
but this was not the case during the pre-contact period when permanent
villages of horticultural prairie peoples stretched for almost two
hundred miles west of the Osage villages. 4 Basic similarities among
the Osage and their neighbors in economy and life styles contrast with
great differences in language and culture.

Alfred Kroeber (1939: 75) mentioned that the Osage were difficult
to place culturally because they showed cultural traits common to the
Central Siouans 5 on the one hand and to the southeastern tribes on the
other. They also shared traits with the Caddoans and Central Algonkins.
The clan system and kinship terminology of the Osage and the other cen-
tral Siouan tribes bear a resemblance to that of the Central Algonkins.
In addition the Osage share a number of items of material culture with
the Central Algonkins, e.g., mat covered dwellings and weaving. Not
only do the early Osage have moieties associated with war and peace,
as to the southeastern tribes (Muskogeans), but the political organi-
zation and the moiety-organized lacrosse games are also similar. A
few aspects of the Osage religion reflect a Caddoan influence, par-
ticularly the importance of the morning star and the reports of human
sacrifice. All of these features are so ingrained in Osage culture
Map 2
Village Locations Circa 1720 and Early French Posts

△ Indian villages
■ Posts
● White settlements
— Osage hunting territory

MILES
0 50 100 200

Ft. Chartres
Ft. De Chartres
St. Philippe
Kaskaskia

Cahokia

Great Osage
Little Osage

Osage

Pawnee

Monto

Caddo

Nassanite Post
that they seem to predate European contact.

The exact relationship that existed between the Osage and surrounding tribes during the pre-contact period is impossible to reconstruct, since most of the early French sources date only from the later period of the slave trade. There can be little doubt that the large scale warfare mentioned in the early 1700's was a result of the demand for slaves by the French traders. Prior to this warfare was probably minimal, though a condition of unstable peace probably characterized relations between the tribes. For example the Osage and the Illinois raided each other (Cox 1922: Vol. I, 43), yet the Osage often visited Illinois villages and even offered temporary sanctuary to a village of Illinois under attack by the Iroquois (Shea 1903: 166-67).

The Natural Environment

During the historic period Osage territory expanded until it covered much of present-day Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. The area extends from the Mississippi west to the high plains escarpment and from the Red River north to the Smoky Hill, Kaw, and Missouri Rivers.

The outlined territory differs from east to west in physical features, flora, and fauna. It is drained by three major river systems, all tributaries of the Mississippi. The northern part is drained by the Missouri, the southern by the Red, and the central by the Arkansas-Canadian river system. As a generalization it may be said that the western half of the territory consists of flat plains and rolling hills, while the eastern half is either mountainous or extremely hilly. The mountainous area contains two major uplifts, the Ozark Plateau to the north of the Arkansas and the Ouachita Mountains to the south of that river.

On the basis of vegetation the territory may be divided into three regions: the grasslands (or plains), the prairies, and the woodlands. The woodlands cover approximately the eastern third of the area and extend as far west as the Ozark Plateau and the Ouachita Mountains. The prairies stretch from the western slopes of the Ozarks and Ouachitas to central Oklahoma and eastern Kansas, while open plains cover the westernmost third of the area.

The woodlands are divided into two sub-regions of deciduous and coniferous forest. The deciduous forest is found north of the Arkansas, including the Ozarks and areas to the north and east. It is largely an area of oak forests, but there are also stands of hickory, ash, maple, hackberry, persimmon, and dogwood. The coniferous forest is found south of the Arkansas, from the Ouachitas east and south. The major tree cover consists of shortleaf pine, although there are areas of extensive oak and hickory groves.
There is not a sharp line of demarcation between the woodlands and the prairies. The meadows and open valleys simply grow larger and larger as one goes west, until finally the areas covered by grasslands equal or even surpass the areas covered by forest. For the most part the westernmost extension of the forest consists of thick groves of small "blackjack" oaks. An area known as the Cross Timbers sharply delineates the break between the prairies and the plains. A thick and almost impenetrable oak forest averaging some twenty miles in width, the Cross Timbers bisects central Oklahoma from north to south.

The Great Plains begin just west of the Cross Timbers. Except for occasional groves of trees along the banks of rivers and streams, the grasslands sweep uninterrupted from central Oklahoma and Kansas west to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. They are divided into the mixed grasslands of the low plains and the short grasslands of the high plains. Only the mixed grasslands are of interest to his study since the Osage rarely frequented the high plains. The mixed grasslands are so called because both the tall grasses of the prairies and the short grasses of the high plains are found there.

With the exception of antelope, which is found only on the open plains, the same types of faunal resources are found in all three regions. Regional differences in wildlife are ones of quantity, not variety. Bison, deer, elk, bear, puma, bobcat, beaver, otter, and raccoon are found throughout the entire area. Bison were, however, far more numerous in the mixed grasslands of the west than in the prairies and meadows of the more eastern regions (Shelford 1963: 335). The largest concentration of bison in the southern plains and prairies was around the Salt Plains in western Oklahoma. Deer and elk were most commonly found in the prairie region where timber was close at hand. Small fur-bearing game animals, such as beaver and otter, were most numerous in the woodlands and in the more wooded portions of the prairie region.

Social Organization

The reconstruction of a culture as it existed almost three hundred years earlier is at best a very hazardous undertaking. Such a reconstruction will always be open to criticism and re-evaluation since one cannot escape some subjective judgments as to what a culture was like at any given time in the past. This is particularly true in the case of the Osage. They were first mentioned by Europeans in 1673, but it was not until 1719 that we find the first report of a European who had actually visited their villages. Du Tisne's report of his 1719 visit contains some information on economic life but lacks information on social organization; and this can be said of all eighteenth century reports on the Osage. Only occasionally, and then usually as a passing remark, do any of these early writers make any mention of the social organization of the tribe. The first work to give any major attention
to Osage social organization was *Histoire de la tribu des Osages* by Paul Vissier published in 1827. This work is of limited usefulness since the author had never been to Missouri; it was published in an attempt to capitalize on the public interest that had been aroused by the visit of a party of Osage to France.

Louis Cortambert's work, *Voyage au pays des Osages* (1837), is of much higher quality. Unlike Vissier, he did visit the Osage villages though only for a short time. The earliest major work on the Osage, *Voyage aux prairies osages, Louisiane et Missouri*, 1839-40, was written by Victor Tixier and published in 1844. Tixier's sojourn among the Osage was of several months duration, during which time he seriously studied their language and customs.

If the present study were of Osage culture change from 1840 to the present, Tixier's work would provide an excellent base line. Tixier, however, observed the Osage some 150 years after Europeans first entered the Missouri valley, and during that century-and-a-half Osage culture had undergone numerous changes.

To see what Osage culture was probably like at the time of French contact the ritual prayers, or *wi-gi-e*, must be analyzed. During Osage ceremonies the religious leaders of the clans would recite the *wi-gi-e* of their clans. Much of the social and religious organization of the tribe is outlined in these *wi-gi-e*. These prayers were learned verbatim and were known only to men who had been initiated into the religious groups known as the Little-Old-Men. The facts that the ceremonies required the prayers to be repeated correctly and that the language of the prayers is, at least in part, archaic, lead one to believe that they describe the tribe as it was organized in the period before European contact. There is one major caveat that must be entered, however, in using these prayers as the basis for reconstructing pre-contact culture: they describe the "Ideal," and not necessarily the "real" tribe. The Osage were reciting these *wi-gi-e* in their ceremonies until the end of the last century despite the fact that there was a tremendous gap between the organization outlined in the prayers and the existing tribal organization.

The following description of contact period Osage social organization is in large part based on the work of Francis La Flesche who recorded many *wi-gi-e* at the turn of the century. La Flesche is supplemented by statements of the early French explorers and information gathered at a later period by James Dorsey, John Mathews, and others. The *wi-gi-e*, however, describe only the political organization and the unilineal descent groups. Family and household organization have to be reconstructed entirely from later sources.
Unilineal Descent Groups

Unilineal descent groups were the basis of Osage social organization. An understanding of the descent groups is essential to an understanding of family and political organization.

The basic division was into twenty-four patrilineal clans. These clans were grouped into larger units—moieties, phratries, and linked-clans—and were also sub-divided into sub-clans and lineages. The exact nature and function of the early Osage clans is not well understood, but two things are certain: the clans were neither economic nor political units. Agricultural lands were plentiful and owned by the individuals who cleared them, and hunting was either a household or village activity. Although tribal and village political offices were the property of specific clans, or in many cases lineages, the clans themselves were not organized political units. The Non'hon-zhin-ga, or religious leaders of the clans, who formed a village and tribal council, functioned only as their clan's representatives in the council, but not as the political leaders of their clans. Civil matters were always handled either by the village chiefs or by the Non'hon-zhin-ga of all of the clans acting as a council.

Clan property, for the most part, consisted of intangibles, wi-gi-e or ceremonial prayers, and totemic symbols that included such natural phenomena as lightning, thunder, etc., as well as such animal life as elk, bear, deer, eagle, hawk, etc. (La Flesche 1921: 51-52). Each clan also had its own set of personal names that were based upon the totemic symbols of the clan (La Flesche 1928: 122-64). Other religious items owned by the clans were "fireplaces" and war bundles, which will be dealt with later (La Flesche 1921: 63). Each clan also had its own section of the village in which to live, and during military operations the clans functioned as military units. If it desired, a clan could act independently of the tribe in regard to enemy tribes and could raid at will.

The clans were grouped into moieties, the Tsi-zhu and the Hon-ga. The Tsi-zhu consisted of nine clans symbolic of both the sky and of peace. On the other side was the Hon-ga, which consisted of fifteen clans symbolic of the earth and of war. In their mythology the Osage explain this division by stating that the tribe was formed by the joining together of two peoples; one group was the Tsi-zhu who had come to the earth from the sky, and the other group was the Hon-ga who were already living on the earth. This division was of importance in both the political and family organization. There were two tribal chiefs, one from each of the two divisions. Marriage was likewise regulated on this level, for the moieties were exogamous units (La Flesche 1921: 51-52, 59-61).
Both the Hon-ga and the Tai-zhu were divided into phratries. The
Honga moiety was divided into the Wa-zha-zhe, the water people, and
the Hon-ga, the land people, just as the earth consists of both land
and water. There were seven clans in each of these two sub-divisions.
One Hon-ga clan, the Hon-ga U-ta-non-dsi or Isolated Hon-ga, did not
belong to either of the two phratries, but formed a third separate
group within the moiety. The Tai-zhu moiety, on the other hand, had
but one phratry of seven clans which was called simply the Tai-zhu. In
addition there were within the moiety two other clans called the Last-
To-Come or the Tai-Hashi. Although these two clans were grouped to-
gether they did not form a phratry, at least not in the sense of the
three phratries already described. According to the wi-gi-e, these two
clans were the last groups to join the Osage, and therefore they were
placed together. Although they function as Tai-zhu, they were not
"real" Tai-zhu but were only ceremonially grouped with the Tai-zhu so
that they could maintain their dual division (La Flesche 1921: 60-61, 65).

The Tai Hashi fall into a rather ill-defined category that I call
linked-clans. Linked-clans in this sense are merely clans which either
shared an office or position in the tribe or who shared the same totemic
symbols. Examples of the first type of linked-clans are the two Tai
Hashi clans who jointly care for the Wah-hopeh, or hawk shrine, which
is the most sacred of the tribal fetishes and is associated with war-
fare (Mathews 1961: 39). The Wa-ca-be-ton (Black bear) and the
In-gthon-ga (Puma) clans together own the office of the A'-kida Ton-ga
or Great Soldier (La Flesche 1928: 68). Mathews (1961: 44) goes so far
as to say that these two clans were considered to be a single unit and
that they even shared a sub-clan. Other cases exist where clans share
the same office or the same religious duties. In all such cases,
however, the two clans always belong to the same moiety. Defining
the second type of linked-clans is the fact that two or more clans shared
the same totemic symbol. Since each clan had a large number of such
symbols, some overlap was inevitable. Bear, deer, and eagle symbols
are common. In contrast to the preceding type of linked-clans, these
clans often belong to different moieties. The significance of this
latter form of linked-clans is impossible to determine at this time.

As already stated the clans were sub-divided into sub-clans and
lineages. The sub-clans, like the clans, had their own totemic symbols
which were also secondary symbols of the clan as a whole. Although
the clans themselves were not ranked, there was a ranking of sub-clans
within the clan. Each clan was composed of two or more named sub-clans,
and one is known to have had five sub-clans. The sub-clan was ranked
highest that supplied the leaders, Non'-hon-zhin-ga, for the clan.
The lowest sub-clan was called the Sho-ka and supplied the clan with
ceremonial messengers who carried messages between Non'-hon-zhin-ga
of the different clans (La Flesche 1932: 132). See Appendix A for a
list of the clans and sub-clans.
North

Tsi-zhu Moiety

South

Tsi-zhu Moiety
1. Tsi-zhu Wa-non
2. Cin-dse A-gthe
3. Pe-ton Ton-ga Zho-i-ga-the
4. Tse-do-ge In-dse
5. Mikib Wannon
6. Hon-zho-i-ga-the
7. Tsi-zhu U-thu-ha-ge
A. Ni-ka Wa-kon-do-gi
B. Tho-xe

Hon-ga Moiety
Hon-ga Phratry
1. Wa-ca-be-ton
2. In-gthon-ga
3. O-pon
4. Mon-i-ka-ga-xe
5. Hon-ga Gthe-zhe
6. Xu-tha
7. Hon-ga Zhin-ga

Hon-ga Moiety
Hon-ga Phratry
1. Wa-za-zhe-cka
2. Ke-kin
3. Mi-ke-the-stse-dse
4. Wa-tse-tsi
5. O-cu-ga-xe
6. Ta-tha-xin
7. Ho I-ni-ka-shi-ga

Figure 1
SYMBOLIC ORGANIZATION OF THE OSAGE
(Le Flesche 1921: 51)
Each of the sub-clans was divided into a number of lineages, some (possibly all) of which were named. Information on lineages is limited and their exact composition is unknown. According to La Flesche (1921: 123), Tsi-zhu Wa-shta-ge or Gentle Tsi-zhu refers to a tribal office and the family that filled the office. Since La Flesche stated that the Gentle Tsi-zhu is not a sub-clan, it is most likely a named lineage within the clan. How developed the lineage system was outside of those families that filled the two offices of tribal chief is open to question.

The Village as a Reflection of Clan Organization

According to Father Ponziglione (1889: 75), the Osage villages were laid out with remarkable symmetry. One main avenue with streets branching off it ran through the middle of the village (Ponziglione 1878: 101). The camp was arranged in such a manner that each clan had its own section of the village (Dorsey 1897: 233), with the Tsi-zhu clans north of the main avenue and the Hon-ga clans to the south. The only dwellings which were out of clan order were those of the chiefs (Ga-hi-ge) and the soldiers (A-ki-da). The lodges of the chiefs were in the center of the village, one on either side of the main avenue, and were surrounded by the lodges of the soldiers.

There were actually three different arrangements of the village (see Figure 2). The permanent villages were usually arranged in the "normal camp." But when a tribal ceremony, such as the war ceremony, was being performed, the dwellings were moved and arranged in the ceremonial camp. On the bison hunt, dwellings were arranged in the hunting camp. Although Fletcher and La Flesche, probably being influenced by the circle camps of the Omaha, describe and illustrate these camps as circles, Osage camps were not circular, but were aligned along both sides of a single main street.

Family, Household and Kinship Structure

The reconstruction of pre-contact family and household structure presents several problems. First, this subject is not covered in the wi-gi-e and must therefore be reconstructed from nineteenth century sources. The second and most difficult problem is that Osage residence patterns appear to have changed sometime between contact and the time of later sources. A change in residence would have had far-reaching effects on family and household structure.

Post-marital residence is a major problem in reconstructing pre-contact social organization. The presence of patrilineal clans, together with the fact that all other Dhegiha Siouan tribes, with the exception of the Quapaw, practiced patrilocal residence would lead one to assume that the Osage were patrilocal. There is, however, little evidence to support this position. Modern informants state that the Osage were
Permanent Village Arrangement

Ceremonial Camp

Figure 2

OSAGE CAMP CIRCLES
(Fletcher and La Flesche 1906:58)
Figure 2 (Continued)

Hunting Camp

1. Hon-ga U-ta-non-dsi
2. Hon-ga
   a. Wa-ca-be-ton
   b. In-gthon-ga
   c. O-pon
   d. Mon-in-ka-ga-xe
   e. Hon-ga Gthe-zhe
   f. Xu-tha
   g. Hon-ga Zhin-ga
3. Wa-zha-zhe
   a. Wa-zha-zhe-cka
   b. Ke-kin
   c. Min-ke-the-tse-dae
   d. Wa-tse-tsi
   e. O-cu-ge-xe
   f. Ta-tha-xin
   g. Ho I-ni-ka-shi-ga
4. Tsi-zhu
   a. Tsi-zhu- Wa-non
   b. Cin-dse A-gthe
   c. Pe-ton Ton-ga
   d. Tse-do-ga In-dse
   e. Mikib Wanon
   f. Hon zho-i-ga-the
   g. Tsi-zhu U-thu-ha-ge
5. Tsi Ha-shi
   a. Ni-ka Wakon-do-gi
   b. Tho-xe
matrilocal, and all of the early written sources lend support to the position of modern informants. Paul Vissier (1827: 57) reported that the man moved in with the wife's family and assumed the position of head of the family. Tixier (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 143), writing of the 1839-1840 period, states that White Hair (the rightful hereditary chief of the Great Osage) married a girl of the Little Osage and therefore could not be home to establish his right to the chieftancy. Still more support for the thesis that the Osage were practicing matrilocal residence in the mid-nineteenth century comes from Josiah Gregg who wrote: "...he (the son-in-law) at once becomes possessor of the entire wealth of his father-in-law--master of the family lodge and all the household. ..." (Moorhead 1954: 429).

The existence of permanent matrilocal residence with patrilineal descent is a rare occurrence and seems incongruous. It has been argued that it is the result of a change in the residence pattern (see Murphy 1956 for a discussion of this type of change). Driver and Massey (1957: 434) have shown that resident patterns are more volatile than descent and that residence patterns are more responsive to changes in a group's economy. The former existence of patrilocal residence may be inferred because of its presence among closely related Dhegiha tribes. The factors involved in this change among the Osage will be discussed at the end of Chapter III.

Marriages were arranged in accordance with rules of moiety exogamy. A boy was considered eligible for marriage when he was in his late teens or early twenties, while girls were eligible shortly after puberty, and some married by the time they were thirteen or fourteen. Marriages were usually arranged by the boy's family without his consent or even knowledge. In many cases the two individuals did not know each other because most marriages were between individuals from different villages. A girl was selected because of "...her family, her interest in her work, and her physical strength" (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 182). Close attention was paid to the clan affiliations of not only the two people involved, but to the clans of their grandparents as well, for individuals could not marry into any clans to which their grandparents belonged (Nett 1952: 181). They also had to be members of different moieties because the Osage believed that marriage symbolized the joining of earth and sky, which the two moieties represented.

After the boy's parents had selected an eligible girl, gifts were sent to her parents. If the girl's relatives decided to accept the boy, then they kept the gifts; otherwise they returned them.

Polygyny was practiced by the Osage, although it was not widespread. The noticeable preference for sororal polygyny was probably a response to matrilocal pattern, since it is well adapted to this form of residence (Murdock 1949: 310). This is not to deny the possibility that sororal polygyny could have existed, and probably did exist, under patrilocal
The husband of the oldest daughter had marriage claims on all of her younger sisters (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 183). Once married a man had some degree of control over his wife and could, if he desired, kill a wife who proved unfaithful. The husband did not, however, have complete power over his wife. Father Ponziglione (MS: 277-79) reported that one man who killed his wife for no apparent reason was himself killed by the "warriors" for his crime. A divorce could take place only when both individuals consented. At that time the husband was entitled to take back the gifts he had given his former father-in-law (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 183). If the husband died, the wife would then marry the man's brother (Ponziglione 1889: 74).

Children belonged to their father's clan and were ranked according to sex and birth order. There were three ranks for each sex. The oldest son was called In-gthon, the second son Kshon-ga, and the third and all other sons were called Ka-zhin-ga. The oldest daughter was called Mi-na, the second Wi-he, and the third and all others A-cin-ga. Since rank was based on birth order, a man would have only one oldest son regardless of the number of wives that he might have. Likewise a woman who was married several times could, theoretically, have two or more "oldest sons," "oldest daughters," etc.

Naming of a child was of the utmost importance since until a child went through the naming ceremony, he or she was not considered to be a person and had no place in the clan organization. The name a child received varied with clan, sex, and rank in birth order. Each clan owned its own set of names which were largely associated with the different totemic symbols of the clan (see La Flesche 1928: 124-64 for a list of names by clans). The three oldest sons and the three oldest daughters had distinctive names which were called sky names to distinguish them from the common clan names of the younger children, which were called earth names. All clans had their own special names for the first, second, and third sons and the first, second, and third daughters. These names were also referred to as In-gthon Zha-zhe (In-gthon name), Mi-non Zha-zhe (Mi-non name), etc. The special naming ceremonies were held only for the first three boys and the first three girls as the third ceremony in each category covered any future children (see La Flesche 1928: 33-95 for descriptions of the child naming rites). In the case of a girl, the name she received in the ceremony remained her name for life. In the case of a boy, the name was considered to be only a childhood name. Later he received an adult name that was also a clan name. In addition he might also receive a "nickname" based upon one of his exploits or some personal characteristic.

There are only two sources for reconstruction of the Osage kinship system, Betty Nett (1952) and Lewis Henry Morgan (1871). Except for a few remarks on the relationships between various relatives, this subject was not dealt with by any early observers of the Osage. Post-contact change could have most easily taken place in the area of role relationship between the various relatives, but exactly what changes, if
any, took place is not known. The following material, with a few exceptions as noted, is derived from Nett (1952).

The Osage kinship system follows the Omaha type, common to the Dhegiha tribes. Parallel cousins are equated with siblings, and cross cousins are distinguished not only from siblings but from each other as well. Matrilineal cross cousins are merged with a higher generation and called by the terms for mother's brother and mother, while patrilineal cross cousins are called by the terms for either son and daughter or niece and nephew, depending upon the sex of the speaker. In the case of patrilineal cross cousins, the sex of the speaker affects which group the individual will be merged with. In the case of older brother, there are actually two different terms that are used.

In the first ascending generation the father, father's brother, and mother's sister's husband are merged while mother's brother is distinguished. Mother is merged with mother's sister and father's brother's wife, and father's sister is referred to by a separate term.

Following the system down from the first ascending generation is quite simple. Beginning with a male ego, all men classified as father produce children who are classified as brother and sister. The same is true of all women called mother. All individuals classified as brother produce sons and daughters while all women classified as either sister or father's sister produce nieces and nephews. On the matrilineal side all men classified as mother's brother have children classified as mother and mother's brother. The descendants of all individuals classified as son, daughter, niece, and nephew are called grandchild.

All individuals in the second ascending generation, except for mother's father's sister, are called grandfather or grandmother. Mother's father's sister is called mother.

Terminology for a female speaker differs from that for a male speaker in only one respect. A woman calls the children of all individuals classified as sister by the terms son and daughter and the children of her brother by the terms niece and nephew, just the reverse of the male speaker's usage.

Political Organization

Among the Osage, political organizations and religious organizations were intermeshed to such a degree that it is difficult to speak of one without some mention of the other. The Osage were organized on both the tribal and village levels. On the tribal level were the two hereditary Ga-hi'ge (chiefs) representing the moieties. The tribe was divided into five permanent named bands or villages, each with its own
set of Ga-hi'-ge. Each village also had a council of the Non'-hon-zhin-ga or Little-Old-Men who, although they were primarily religious leaders, also functioned in civil matters. In most cases there was little distinction between the secular and the sacred. The Non'-hon-zhin-ga of the different villages might well have functioned sometimes as a tribal council, but if this was the case it was not reported by any observers.

Village Political Units

The Osage were divided into five permanent named villages: the Little Osage, the Big Hill, the Heart-Stays, the Thorny-Thicket, and the Upland Forest.²⁰ Ideally the villages were identical in basic composition, each with its own chiefs, its own religious leaders, and a complete representation of clans. The presence of all twenty-four clans meant that the villages were ceremonially independent of each other,²¹ There is some evidence that each village also had its own hunting territory and was therefore economically independent. In the 1800's it was reported that each village was allotted a specific hunting territory in which to hunt bison so that the various hunting parties would not interfere with one another (Fitzgerald 1939: 23). This together with the statement from the early 1700's that the hunting grounds of the Little Osage and the Great Osage were separated by the River of Mines (Nasatir 1930: 532) at least suggests that each village may have possessed a separate hunting territory. The villages seem to have been only weakly united under two tribal chiefs and may have functioned separately in most activities.

It is difficult to determine the significance of village membership and the position of intermarried spouses.²² Modern informants contend that an individual always remained a member of the village in which he was born even though he might move to another village. During the reservation period a family could, by exchanging gifts, move to another village (Dorsey 1894: 235-36), but there is no information on the status of new arrivals in a village.²³

The Chiefs (Ga-hi'-ge)

Each of the five villages had two chiefs (Ga-hi'-ge), a Tsi-zhu chief and a Hon-ga chief. Though the chiefs were considered the representatives of their respective moieties, they were not leaders of their moieties. The village itself was a single political unit with two heads. Although the duties were identical, the Tsi-zhu chief was considered to be the more powerful of the two chiefs. The two chiefs of the Upland Forest village were called the Grand Chiefs and acted as tribal chiefs as well as village chiefs.²⁴
Figure 3
OSAGE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY
MALE SPEAKING

Grandchildren

GM  GF  GF  GM  GM  GF  GM  GM  GF
N   Ni  F   M   F   M   GF  B  Sis  MB  M

FSis  F  M  M

N   Ni  B  Sis  OB  OSis  YB  YSis  B  Sis  MB  M

Gch  Gch  S  D  N  Ni  S  D  S  D  N  Ni  MB  M  B  Sis

Ni  S  D  N  Ni  MB  M  B  Sis
Figure 4
OSAGE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

FEMALE SPEAKING

Grandchildren

FSis

GM, GF

MB, M

N, Ni

Gch

F

B, Sis

Ni

D
These chieftaincies were hereditary within specific lineages. The Tsi-zhu chiefs were chosen from the Gentle Tsi-zhu (Tsi-zhu Wa-shta'-ge) lineage of the Great Crane (Pe-ton Ton-ga Zho-i-ga-the) clan, and the Hon-ga chiefs were from the Gentle Ponca (Pon-ka Wa-shta'-ge) lineage of the Star-that-came-to-earth (Wa-tse-tsi) clan. On the death of a chief, the soldiers (A'-ki-da) acting in council chose his successor (La Flesche 1921: 68). Father Ponziglione (1889: 75-76; MS. 24-25) infers that a son was always selected and states that if the chief had no sons who were of age, a close relative would act as "regent" until the son came of age. Although it was probably usual for a son to be selected, it is highly unlikely that a completely incompetent son would have been chosen. Any male member of the lineage was eligible for the position, but if the chief died without any male heirs only his close relatives seem to have been considered.

The Osage chiefs were what has been called "peace chiefs," whose major duty was to minimize conflict within the village and tribe. In order to keep the peace they could call upon the soldiers to expel an individual from the tribe or, in an extreme case, to put a man to death. Their homes served as sanctuaries for both Osage and non-Osage because the homes of the chiefs were considered to be sacred places.

Father Ponziglione (1889: 75; MS. 24-25) stated that the chiefs were also the high priests of the tribe or village, and that they acted as such during all religious rites. This seems to be a misinterpretation of the role of the chiefs. Although the houses of the chiefs were considered sacred (La Flesche 1921: 69) and they did have some supernatural power, the chiefs were not the leaders of the religious ceremonies. Once again, the Ga-hi'-ge were concerned with the protection of the villages and their people, and to this extent the chiefs were thought to have the power to cure illness (La Flesche 1921: 71). Father Ponziglione's confusion on this issue might well be that the Ga-hi'-ge were probably also members of the Non'-hon-zhin-ga; but in the capacity of leaders of a religious ceremony, they would have been acting as Non'-hon-zhin-ga and not in the role of chief.

The chiefs had other duties that were also connected with the well-being of the tribe. In the eighteenth century the two chiefs were alternately in charge of the bison hunts. One was in charge one day, and the other was in charge the following day. They would choose the route to be taken and determine the campsite for the night, with the soldiers seeing to it that their commands were carried out (La Flesche 1921: 67). As the hunt leaders they were entitled to a piece of all game killed. At the same time they were responsible for the safety of the party and the property of the people. If the enemy attacked them and killed some members of the party or took their property, the chiefs were responsible and had to reimburse the victims for their losses (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 174). Father Ponziglione (1883; 297; 1889; 75-76; MS. 24-25) probably misinterpreted this fact to mean that the
chief received "taxes" from the people, but he did add that the chiefs were abundantly supplied with provisions which were distributed among the people.

To help them enforce their orders the Ga-hi'-ge chose ten officers called the A'-ki-da or soldiers. One soldier was chosen from each of five specific Hon-ga and Tsi-zhu clans. These individuals were chosen on the basis of personal war honors as well as their friendship with the chiefs. Once chosen they moved their houses close to that of the chief who had chosen them (La Flesche 1921: 68).

Three of the A'-ki-da held special titles. These titles were clan property so that the A'-ki-da selected from that clan automatically assumed the name. The titles were:

A'-ki-da Ton-ga, Great Soldier, for a man from either the Wa-ca-be-ton or the related In-gthon-ga clan.

A'-ki-da Zhin-ga, Little Soldier, for a man from the Ho Ig-na-shi-ga clan.

A'-ki-da Ga'-he-ge, Chief Soldier, for a man from the Ni-ka-wa-kin-da-ge clan.

There is no information as to what powers and duties were connected with these titles.

The Non'-hon-zhin-ga and the War Organization

The Non'-hon-zhin-ga or the Little-Old-Men were the religious and ceremonial leaders of the Osage. Sources are not clear as to the exact nature and function of this group, and the information given is in many respects incomplete.

All Osage ceremonies consisted of a number of wi-gi-e or sacred prayers. These prayers were the property of specific clans and were known only to the individuals who had been initiated into the Non'-hon-zhin-ga of that clan. Thus the common people of the tribe know little about these rites (Ponziglione MS: 3-4).

Not just anyone became a Non'-hon-zhin-ga; one had to be selected by the members of the order. Father Ponziglione (MS: 3-4) stated that the members carefully observed the young boys and picked only the best to join them. Wealth was an important consideration since the initiate had to pay his instructor a great deal in order to obtain the required knowledge (La Flesche 1939: 66). But even in a wealthy family only one or two sons could be initiated, and usually only the first and second sons were selected.
In addition to performing the ceremonies the Non'-hon-zhin-ga also constituted a village council. Almost every morning these men met at the House-of-the-Non'-hon-zhin-ga (Non'-hon-zhin-ga Wa-thin Tsi). No dwelling was especially established or maintained by them for their meetings; the home of one of their members was used. This man could belong to any of the clans and was given the title Non'-hon-zhin-ga Wa-thin, Keeper-of-the-Non'-hon-zhin-ga, and as such he acted as presiding officer. To be chosen Keeper was considered a great honor since it meant that the man was of the highest character (La Flesche 1939: 3-4). During ceremonies the Non'-hon-zhin-ga occupied a dwelling called the Lodge of Mystery which was especially constructed for the particular ceremony.

Sometimes formal meetings were called for a specific purpose. Most meetings, however, were simple, informal gatherings at which the men discussed the day-to-day activities of the tribe and of tribal members who for some reason, good or bad, had gained some notoriety. According to La Flesche (1939: 3-4) they discussed:

. . . any practices among the people that seemed to be injurious in their effects or liable to become a menace to the internal peace of the tribe. Some means would then be sought by which to overcome these evils. On the other hand, any acts that tended to promote a feeling of friendliness or kindliness among the people found hearty expressions of approval in the sacred 'house.'

Their major concern was the total well-being of the tribe in regard to both the real and supernatural worlds. In their mythology the Osage speak of how the Non'-hon-zhin-ga had on a number of occasions changed the organization of the tribe to meet the problems they were facing, and thus theoretically they had the power to bring new institutions into existence. The dual chieftainship together with the organization for war were said to be of their creation (La Flesche 1921: 59-67).

The war organization is of particular interest in view of events which took place later in Osage history. The Osage distinguished two types of warfare: raids which were carried out by one or more clans, and warfare in which the tribe as a whole was involved.

Each of the clans had its own war medicine bundle, and thus could, if it wished, undertake raiding without consulting any other clan. The type of raiding or war party that a single clan could organize was limited. La Flesche states that there were three types:

1. A war party composed of warriors from one of the gentes (clans) of one of the two great divisions (moieties).

2. A war party made up of two or more of the gentes (clans) of one of the two great divisions (moieties).
3. A war party organized by one gens (clan).

From this statement it is evident that a war party so organized could include warriors from only one moiety. Raiding parties of the first two types were called Tsi'ga-xa Do-don, or raiding party organized outside of the House-of-Mystery. The third type of war party was called an Isolated War Bundle (Wa-zo'-be U-kon-dai), referring to the fact that only one clan and thus one medicine bundle was involved. Parties so organized were not required to observe the long and tedious ceremonial forms of the tribal war party and could, therefore, be organized much more rapidly (La Flesche 1939: 66). This made possible a more rapid response to aggressive enemies.

Tribal warfare was much more complex since the organization of a war party was as much a religious activity as it was a military undertaking. Although a full description of the preparations is unnecessary for this study, a few organizational features are extremely important. Tribal war parties were completely under the control of the Non'-hon-zhin-ga. They alone determined if a war party would be organized, and selected members of the Non'-hon-zhin-ga led the party. Neither the chiefs nor the soldiers, in their official capacities, had any part in the decision. Once it was decided that a war party would be organized, a series of long and complex preparations lasting several weeks began. These preparations included a four to seven day vision quest by the war leader (Do-don-hon-ga), and seven days of religious ceremonies and dances. Due to the time involved in the preparations, tribal war parties were rarely organized.

The Economy

The early Osage economy was based on hunting, horticulture, and the gathering of wild plants. Since this subject was one of which the early Europeans in the region took little notice, the relative contributions of these three food sources are unknown for the periods immediately preceding and following white contact. The economy during this period can only be hypothesized from information gathered during the nineteenth century and from environmental limitations that are known to have existed.

The Osage are known to have utilized a wide variety of roots, nuts, and berries. Cherries, plums, pawpaws, blackberries, hackberries, and dewberries were eaten in season. They also dug wild potatoes, gathered pecans and other nuts, and were reported by Louis Cortambert (1837: 36) to have made maple syrup. The most valued wild food sources, however, were push or "pomme blanche," persimmons, and water chinquapin. Large amounts of the roots and berries of these plants were gathered each year, dried, and stored for winter use (La Flesche 1924: 107; La Flesche 1932: 38). But in the total economy, gathering probably
added more variety than calories to diet.

Osage subsistence in this period, as in the nineteenth century, was based on hunting and horticulture. Of the two, hunting has probably always played the more important role. There is little information on Osage horticulture, although their techniques were probably similar to those described by Will and Hyde (1964) for the other Missouri River tribes. Horticulture was an individual or household activity carried out by the women of the family (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 171; Graves 1916: 148). Each family cleared several small fields, ranging in size from one-sixteenth of an acre up to about one acre, along the river bottoms for their crops of corn, beans, and squash (LR-OTA-OA 631: 117, 158). Dried crops constituted the major food source during the late winter and early spring when hunting was poor.

The Osage hunted a wide variety of animals for both food and hides. Deer, elk, and bison were their major source of meat and leather. The flesh of the bear was also eaten, although the major purpose of hunting bears was to obtain fur. Tixier (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 175) was mistaken when he stated that the Osage never ate small animals. Though hunted principally for their pelts, skunks, beaver, rabbit, raccoon, and opossum were eaten (La Flesche 1932: 30, 91, 102, 221); some species were even considered great delicacies.

Although large communal hunts were staged only in summer and early winter, hunting was a year-round activity. Every day small parties of hunters would leave the village (Ponziglione MS: 292). These small parties probably consisted of a group of brothers from the same household or from a group of related households, since brothers usually hunted together (Nett 1952: 176). During the winter (Mørgry 1886: Vol VI, 311; Lewis 1926: 320) and the dry summer months (Ponziglione 1882: 154), the Osage would hold large communal hunts under the direction of the two chiefs and the soldiers. The exact membership composition of these hunts probably varied, but they would have included at least one entire village and possibly the entire tribe.

During the winter when cold weather forced the bison east into the more sheltered prairie region (Mørgry 1886: Vol. VI, 311; Lewis 1926: 320; Allen 1877: 466; Hornaday 1887: 415-16), the Osage staged communal bison hunts. The early French speak of the Osage hunting bison by using a cerne or surround technique, but they leave it to one's imagination to determine exactly what a cerne was. It was probably some type of impounding technique involving the use of a log pen. During the summer the Osage commonly used fire drives, setting the fires in such a manner as to drive the animals toward a river where hunters waited in ambush (Ponziglione 1882: 154). The game taken in these communal hunts was equally divided among all hunters who participated (Finney 1955: 148-49).
Summary

There are several structural features of Osage social organization that are highly significant to this study. The aboriginal Osage subsistence pattern was based upon hunting and horticulture, supplemented by the gathering of some wild foods. The primary unit involved in food-getting activities was the household. Fields were owned by the families who cleared them and farming was done by the women of the household. Gathering was also an individual or household activity, while hunting was either a household or a village activity. The hunting of minor game animals was an almost daily occurrence, performed by small parties of men of either the same household or a group of closely related households. In contrast, the hunting of large game animals was usually a communal affair organized on the village level, and possibly on the tribal level. The important factor in the communal hunts was that animals taken in these hunts were equally divided among all participating families. Thus the patrilocal extended family households were the primary economic units.

The unilineal descent groups (lineages, sub-clans, clans, phratries, and moieties) were neither economic nor political units. Nor is there evidence that any of these groups owned agricultural lands or hunting territories. Likewise there is no evidence that members of these groups cooperated in any organized economic activities as separate groups. Although political leaders were chosen from specific clans and lineages, these groups did not themselves form separate political units. Instead the unilineal descent groups were primarily religious or ceremonial units.

Political organization was limited to the village and tribal levels. Aboriginally the Osage were divided into five named semi-autonomous villages. Each village had its own set of dual chiefs (a Hon'ga and a Tai-zhu chief) and a council of religious leaders called the Non'-hon-zhin-ga. The chiefs and council of the Upland Forest village acted as the tribal chiefs and council. The village chiefs were what has been called "peace chiefs" whose sole concern was with the internal harmony of the villages. They handled all daily civil disputes that arose between the different families in the village, and they also appointed ten men called the A'-ki-da (soldiers) to help them enforce their decisions. The chiefs and their soldiers also directed the communal hunts, but the economic functions of the chiefs ceased as soon as the people returned to the villages. The Non'-hon-zhin-ga (or council) were involved in both external and internal affairs. Theoretically they were superior to the chiefs in internal affairs, but for the most part they were concerned with external affairs, which were their exclusive province. They looked after the supernatural well-being of the tribe and directed relations with other societies. Decisions of war and peace were made by the Non'-hon-zhin-ga, and only they could organize a tribal war party.
Chapter II Footnotes

1. The Capaha, whom DeSoto encountered in 1542 in the vicinity of the Arkansas, have been identified by some scholars as the Quapaw (Hodge 1910: Vol. II, 333).

2. On the question of Osage origins and migrations the archaeological record is as unrewarding as the historical. Glottochronological studies are yet to be made of these languages.

3. Pike mentioned in 1806 that the Little Osage had moved their village from the Osage River to the Missouri about 100 years before his visit (Jackson 1966: Vol. II, 37). This would place the time of their move at about 1700.

4. See Hyde's (1951) work on the pre-contact locations of the Caddoan speaking peoples.

5. Kroeber's Central Siouans include both Chewere and Dhegiha Siouan speaking tribes: the Kaw, Missouri, Otoe, Omaha, Ponca, Iowa and "perhaps" Osage (Kroeber 1939: 85).

6. For a more detailed description of the environment of this region, see Lane (1926), Buchholz (1926), and Burrill (1926).

7. For the sake of consistency all Osage terms, with the exception of personal names, are transcribed in accordance with La Flesche's transcription in his Osage Dictionary. La Flesche's methods of transcription have been slightly modified for the sake of convenience. In the case of a syllable ending in a nasal, the symbol for nasalization has been placed in the regular spelling alignment, e.g., no^n is written non.

8. Fletcher and La Flesche (1911; 195) mention that the Omaha clans were not political units, and that there was no political or governing head of either the clans or sub-clans.

9. Howard (1965: 81) says that Ponca clans were ranked. Modern Osage informants, however, state positively that this was not the case for the Osage. Nor is there any evidence that Omaha clans were ranked. Yet according to Otoe informants ranking was present in that tribe and may have been present in all Chewere tribes.

10. The Great Crane clan (Pe-ton Ton-ga Zho-i-ga-the) is reported to have had five sub-clans (La Flesche 1928: 91), and it is possible that some clans had even more.

11. Dorsey (1884: 239) noted that among the Omaha the sub-clans (sub-gens) were divided into "sections" which were probably the same as the Osage
lineages. He also notes that the "sections" were named, and perhaps the Osage were also divided into named lineages.

12. Whenever possible I have cited both French originals and English translations, but I consider double citations essential only on those subjects concerned with social organization.

13. It would appear that this could have been the case only for the husband of one of the daughters, probably the oldest.

14. This information comes from modern informants speaking of conditions around the turn of the century. Dorsey (1884: 259) stated that the Omaha married between the ages of 15 and 17 years, and that the Ponca married at about 15 years. However, he also reported that "traditionally" the Omaha and Ponca married much later, the men at 25 or 30 years and the women at about 20 years. This may well have been the case for the early Osage.

15. Among the Omaha, sub-clans were important in regulating marriage. Individuals could not marry into their own clans or their mother's clans. In addition neither could they marry into their father's mother's sub-clan, nor their mother's mother's sub-clan nor their father's mother's mother's sub-clan nor their mother's mother's mother's sub-clan. They could, however, marry an individual who belonged to another sub-clan of those clans. Dorsey (1884: 258) gave the following reason for the Omaha use of sub-clans to regulate marriage: "Were it not for the institution of subgentes (sub-clans) a man would be compelled to marry outside of his tribe, as all of the women would be his kindred, owing to previous inter-marriages between the ten gentes (clans). Thus this situation was due to the small number of clans which increased the importance of the sub-clans."

16. There is no information available on marriage alliance patterns. La Flesche (1928: 124-64) gives a list of individuals by clans and the clans of their spouses, but these date from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when moiety exogamy was no longer being practiced. Genealogies collected from modern informants rarely extend back further than the late 1880's and 1890's, and clan identification of these individuals is not accurate.

17. Modern Osage informants disagreed as to which of the girl's relatives actually made the decision. Some named the parents, while others named the maternal aunts. The latter sounds like a matrilineal bias probably due to female economic control during this century.

18. Fletcher and La Flesche (1911: 326) reported that the most common form of polygyny among the Omaha was sororal polygyny.

19. This is true in the case of the name Shon-ton-ca-be, or Black-Dog, originally a nickname that later became a clan name of the Isolated
Honga clan.

20. Throughout much of the early historic period the Osage were reported to have lived in two villages, the Great Osage village and the Little Osage village. John Mathews (1961: 148) gives as an explanation that the Great Osage village was actually four villages (the Big Hills, the Heart-Stayas, the Thorny-Thickets, and the Upland Forest) that were close together. The Little Osage village included only the Little Osage band.

21. The Osage tribe thus consisted of five politically and ceremonially complete units tied together loosely at the top by two tribal chiefs. As one informant stated, the Osage were like five tribes in that all activities could be carried out on the band level.

22. Modern informants state that in the late nineteenth century marriages were commonly arranged between individuals of different bands. However, in the earlier periods this practice may not have been as common since informants also state that each band had its own dialect, which would make one think that inter-marriage was not the normal practice.

23. Today an individual who moves from one Osage community to another is never really considered to be a full member of that community. In most social activities such an individual usually identifies with his original community. Probably a similar situation existed in the pre-contact period.

24. This is based on the fact that later principal chiefs, the Claremares and Pawhuskas, were identified as Upland Forest band members. Since they were the lineal descendants of the Grand Tsi-zhu chiefs it would follow that both of the Grand chiefs were also Upland Forest.

25. La Flesche (1930: 67) gave the following list of duties for the chiefs:

(1) When two men quarrel, come to blows, and threaten to kill each other, the chief shall compel them to cease fighting.

(2) When a murder is committed and a relative of the person slain threatens to take the life of the murderer in revenge, the chief shall compel the relative to keep the peace.

(3) If the relative takes the life of the slayer when the chief has already offered the sacred pipe to smoke, the chief shall give the order for him to be put to death.

(4) If the relative persists in his effort to take the life of the slayer, the chief shall expel him from the tribe.

(5) The chief shall require the murderer to bring gifts to the relatives of the man he has slain as an offering of peace.
(6) If the murderer refuses to do this, the chief may call upon the people to make the peace offering and then expel the murderer from the tribe.

(7) If a man's life is threatened by another and he flees to the house of the chief, he shall protect the fleeing man.

(8) If a murderer pursued by the relatives of the slain man flees into the house of the chief, he shall protect the man.

(9) If a stranger, although he be from an enemy tribe, enters the house of the chief for safety, the chief shall protect him.

(10) When a war party comes home with captives, the chief shall give them their lives and have them adopted into the tribe.

26. According to La Flesche (1930: 68) the A'-ki-da were chosen from the following ten clans:

**Hon-ga clans**
1. Either the Black Bear (Wa-ca-be-ton) or Puma (In-gthon-ga)
2. Elk (O-pon)
3. Fish (Ho I-ni-ka-shi-ga)
4. Isolated Hon-ga (Hon-ga U-ta-non-dai)
5. Unidentified, called by La Flesche the Hon-ga A-hiu-ton

**Tsi-zhu clans**
1. Thunder (Ni-ka-Wakon-do-gi)
2. Sun (Tsi-zhu Wa-non)
3. Sun and Moon (Mi-kib Wanon)
4. Buffalo-Bullface (Tse-do-ga In-dse)
5. Buffalo-Bull (Thoxe)

27. Both the Ponca and the Omaha tribes had individuals whose functions were similar to those of the soldiers among the Osage. Among the Omaha they were called the Wanon'-she, while the Ponca called them the Wa-no'-she. Like the A'-ki-da, they helped to maintain peace in the village and order on the bison hunts. However, unlike the A'-ki-da they could and did call upon the military societies for help (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 210; Howard 1965: 94). The Osage, of course, had no military societies to call upon. These men are not mentioned as having any role in the selection of Ponca or Omaha chiefs. A similar office is also found among some of the other Prairie Siouan tribes. Among the Santee Dakota there were the Aki'-chita whose duty it was to keep order in the village and to help maintain discipline on the hunts. However, among the Santee these soldiers were chosen from the military societies and not on the basis of clan membership (Skinner 1919: 173).

28. According to Fletcher and La Flesche (1911: 195-96) the religious offices among the Omaha were hereditary.
29. Although it is never stated, members of clan raiding parties were probably drawn from several of the villages.

30. Relying on the information given by La Flesche, there is no significant difference between his first and third types of raiding parties. Yet since the Osage have two different names for these parties, presumably La Flesche omitted some distinction.

31. Tixier (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 173) mentioned that the hereditary chief sometimes joined a war expedition as a common warrior, and Mathews (1961: 481) noted that Claremore was not in charge of the war party that the Cherokees attacked in 1821, although he was then village chief.

32. I use the term horticulture in reference to farming by use of either a hoe or digging stick. The term agriculture is used later to refer to plow farming.

33. Fishing was of little importance to the Osage since they did not consider fish to be a desirable food. Fish were eaten only when other food sources failed.

34. These figures date from the period to the Kansas Reservation; the fields were probably somewhat larger during the pre-contact period.

35. Robert Lowie (1963: 15-16) refers to this type of hunting as impounding. The surround hunt involved the use of horses.
CHAPTER III

EUROPEAN TRADE AND THE WARS WITH THE CADDOS: 1673-1790

In the latter part of the seventeenth century French traders penetrated into the Mississippi Valley. As a consequence of Indian involvement in trade with the Europeans a series of large-scale wars developed. During the early period there was a direct relationship between trade and war since Indian slaves were one of the major trade items sought by the Europeans. The tribes in direct contact with the French had access to European weapons and raided tribes which were not in contact with the traders and thus not as well armed. After the Spanish occupation of Louisiana in the 1760's Indian slavery was outlawed, but prohibition of Indian slavery did not lessen the intensity of the warfare. The purpose of the warfare merely changed from one of obtaining slaves to one of gaining control of prime hunting and trapping territories.

Coming of the Europeans

Father Marquette, in 1673, was the first European to note the presence of the Osage. Although he did not meet any Osage, he did mark their location on his map. The missionaries were rapidly followed by the fur traders. It is not certain when the first traders penetrated the upper Mississippi and lower Missouri River valleys. When the Marquis de la Salle visited the region ten years after Father Marquette, he noted that there were two Frenchmen already living among the Missouri River tribes, and in 1693 it was reported that two Frenchmen were attempting to open trade with the Osage and the Missouri Indians (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 5). Abraham Nasatir (1952: Vol. I, 7) thought that by 1700 French traders were numerous on the Missouri River, and in 1704 Bienville reported that there were more than one hundred fur traders operating along the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers (Stipes 1914: 123). Beginning in 1699 French missionaries established missions and settlements among the Illinois Indians (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, II), which not only formed bases of operation for the traders but also became permanent sources of trade items for the Osage (Quaife 1947: 164).

Trade between the Osage and the French developed rapidly, and by the first decade of the eighteenth century itinerant French traders were regularly visiting the Osage villages. The movement of the village of the Little Osage to the Missouri River about 1700 made at least part of the tribe more accessible to the traders. Not only did the Osage desire European trade items as luxury goods, but some items soon became necessities. A religious ceremony even developed to celebrate the introduction of metal or mon-ce (Mathews 1961: 233). The most eagerly
sought items were knives, axes, kettles, and especially guns.\textsuperscript{1} By the middle of the eighteenth century European items had replaced many items of native manufacture. Carl and Eleanor Chapman (1964: 96) state that: "European trade goods make up much of the archaeological remains of Osage sites, and on all but one of the old campsites the trade materials outnumber the native made items." Native pottery cooking vessels were completely replaced by brass and iron kettles as early as 1750 (Chapman and Chapman 1964: 100). The desire of the Osage to acquire guns cannot be over-emphasized, since guns gave them a tremendous advantage over the more western tribes among whom the traders were not operating. By the mid-eighteenth century, guns were so common among the Osage that gun parts far outnumbered stone projectile points in village sites of that period (Chapman 1959: 21).

The sources mention a wide variety of products for which the French were trading during the first half of the eighteenth century. While very little information is available concerning the types of furs, hides and other animal products traded by the Osage, Governor Vaudreuil reported, in 1742, that the Illinois country exported buffalo wool,\textsuperscript{2} bear grease, skins, hides, and buffalo meat (Carr 1894: 27). All of these items could have been supplied, at least in part, by the Osage. Lahontan's (1703; Vol. 1, 259) list of furs and hides exported from French North America included fox, beaver, martin, otter, bear, elk, deer, wildcat, weasel, muskrat, and wolf. Although the Osage could have supplied the French traders with the finer and more valuable furs, probably bear and deer skins were the major products traded, since such animals were common in the Missouri region. In speaking specifically of the exports of Louisiana, Daniel Defoe (1720: 59) emphasized the importance of deer and bear skins. Later, during the period of the French and Indian War, Bougainville stated that the Osage supplied the French with deer skins, bear skins, and a "few other peltries" (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 50). From these statements it may be inferred that at least in the initial stages the fur trade in the Missouri Valley was concerned mainly with deer and bear skins and only secondarily with smaller peltries such as beaver,\textsuperscript{3} otter, and other animals.\textsuperscript{4} This is not surprising since at the same time deer hides were the major trade items in the South Atlantic and Gulf Coast areas (Crane 1956: 111).

In addition to animal products, the Osage also traded horses and slaves, with the trade in native Indian slaves the most important.\textsuperscript{5} As early as the 1690's the Sieur de la Toni reported that he owned Indian slaves (Cox 1922: Vol. I, 43, 48), and Du Tisne was badly treated by the Pawnee when he visited their villages in 1719 because they thought he was hunting slaves (Margry 1886: Vol. VI, 314; Lewis 1926: 321). Most of the slaves acquired by the French in the early years in Louisiana were sent to work on plantations in the West Indies (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 9-10),\textsuperscript{6} but the development of plantations in Louisiana itself in the period after 1717 not only created a "home" market for slaves but also greatly increased the demand for them.
The Caddoan-speaking peoples living on the Arkansas and Red Rivers became the principal source of slaves. So many of the Indian slaves in New France were Caddoans that the name Pani or Pawnee became synonymous with Indian slave (Hyde 1951: 15). The major suppliers of these Caddoan slaves were the Osage and other Siouan tribes of the Missouri River. There is no indication as to what relations were like between the Siouans and Caddoans in the pre-contact period, but by the early 1700's a bloody and destructive war was underway involving almost all of the tribes on both sides.

The Caddoans fell victim to the slave raiding Osage because they were far from the major trade routes and thus not as well armed as the tribes living close to the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. Tonti founded a trading post at the mouth of the Arkansas River in 1683, but in its early years the post was not very successful (Lewis 1924: 254-56), and few European trade goods reached the Caddoan villages. In 1714 St. Denis founded a post on the Red River, the first post actually located among any of the Caddoan tribes (Bolton and Marshal 1920: 278). Through these two posts some European weapons found their way to the Caddoan villages on the Arkansas, but direct and regular trade was slow to develop.

The period of French development of the Mississippi Valley did not come until after 1717, the year in which the King of France granted a commercial monopoly to John Law and his newly founded Company of the Indies (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 278). This company planned for large scale economic development of the region. New colonists were sent from France, plantations established in the lower valley, new trading posts founded, and large lead mining operations began in the Illinois country.

Within a few years after the chartering of the Company of the Indies more than 800 French colonists had settled in the Illinois region. New forts and settlements were erected on the east side of the Mississippi: Ft. de Chartres in 1720, St. Philippe in 1723, and Prairie du Rocher in 1733; on the other side of the river St. Genevieve and St. Charles were established (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 281). Extensive tracts of land were granted on the lower Mississippi to "concessionnaires," men who agreed to bring out settlers (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 283).

The Illinois district became an important agricultural center for New France. Grain was shipped to posts on the Great Lakes, to settlements on the Gulf Coast, and even to Europe. On the Red, Yazoo, and lower Mississippi, large plantations for the growing of rice, indigo, tobacco, and grain were developed. In 1719 Negro slavery was introduced into the lower valley and agriculture developed rapidly (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 282, 396).

Lead had been discovered at an early date on the upper Mississippi, but because of transportation problems and labor shortage there had been no large scale mining. After Renault received mining grants on the Missouri River in 1723, he brought in over 200 professional miners from
France and supplemented them with slave labor from Santo Domingo (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 282).

It is impossible to determine the extent to which Indian slaves were used in the mines and fields of early Louisiana. The large scale use of slave labor probably led to increased buying of slaves from the Indians. Hyde (1951: 56) thinks that the development of agriculture and mining in Louisiana greatly increased the difficulties of the Caddoan tribes since most of the Indian slaves were boys and girls taken by the Osage and Quapaw from Caddoan villages. Although the French government outlawed Indian slavery in 1720 (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 19), the practice continued unabated. The French settlers attempted to justify their actions on the ground that if they did not buy the slaves the Osage had captured, the Fox Indians would (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 11).

The Osage also found a valuable new trade item in the horse. The Missouri Indians are known to have had horses by 1682 (Cox 1922: Vol. I, 47-50, 55, 60). Since the Osage lived closer to the plains than did the Missouri, the Osage probably had horses at least this early, if not earlier, but in the early years the horse was of little economic importance to them. There is no legend or story about their first encounter with horses or horse mounted Indians (Mathews 1961: 127), probably because, unlike the Indians of the plains, the Osage could not readily utilize horses. The great herds of bison, more easily hunted from horseback than on foot, were found west of the Caddoan villages and the Caddoans thus had an earlier use for horses. With the economic development of Louisiana by Europeans, a market for horses developed there. The horse thus became important to the Osage not as an aid in hunting or as a means of transportation, but as an item of trade.

The Osage were not horse breeders because, according to Miro, they worked their mares too hard for them to foal (Nasatir 1930: 532). To acquire the horses needed for trade the Osage stole them from the Caddoans (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 18), who in turn either stole them or received them in trade from the more western Plains Apache and Comanche.

French Expansionism and Osage Resistance

Although French activities created a larger market for the Osage, the French attempt to expand their own trade network greatly disturbed the Osage. French interests wished to establish trade relations with the Spanish at Santa Fe, and to accomplish this end they had to make peace among the warring western tribes. The Osage took a hostile view of the French activities, because with French success the Caddoan tribes would eventually become as well endowed with European arms as the Osage were, and the Osage would lose their easy source of slaves and horses.

In 1719 the Company of the Indies sent Du Tisne and La Harpe out
among the western tribes to establish peace and to trade with them. Du Tisne traveled up the Missouri and Osage rivers where his first contact was with the Osage, and he later visited a Pawnee village on the Neosho River. The Osage opposed his visit to the Pawnee, and the Pawnee stopped his proposed visit to the Comanche. All in all, Du Tisne found the Indians suspicious of his motives and opposed to his attempts at making peace (Margry 1886: Vol. VI, 313-14; Lewis 1926: 320-22). At the same time La Harpe moved north from the Red River. On the Red, above Natchitoches Post, he established Nassoitie Post (Bolton 1914: Vol. I, 45). La Harpe reported that the Caddo were fighting with the Chickasaw, the Osage, the Quapaw, the "Inocas," and the Tunica, and that the greater part of the Caddo tribe had either been killed or enslaved by its enemies (Smith 1958-59: 250-52). These expeditions, with the exception of the founding of Nassoitie Post, were of little importance as they had no lasting effect on the tribes visited.

In 1720 the Spanish governor at Santa Fe sent out a party under Pedro de Villasur to investigate French activities among the plains Indians. This expedition was massacred by Indians on either the Platte or the Missouri.11 The Villasur expedition alarmed the French, who saw it as a Spanish attempt to gain control of the plains tribes. The French also feared that the Spanish would follow up the Villasur expedition with a stronger force in an attempt to conquer and punish the Indians. In order to deter the Spanish, Pierre Duque Boisbrant was ordered to erect a fort on the Missouri. In 1723 Boisbrant constructed Fort Orleans, on the Missouri, near its junction with the Grand River (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 284).

Fort Orleans, located downriver from the Little Osage village and not far from the Great Osage village, made European goods more readily available to the Osage for the short period of its existence. The fort was mysteriously destroyed during the winter of 1725-26 (Stipes 1914: 132).12

In the early years the Osage were at least partially successful in blocking European trade with the Caddoans. Du Tisne noted in 1719 that there were only six guns in the two large Pawnee villages he visited and that the Pawnee were eager to trade for guns (Margry 1886: Vol. VI, 314; Lewis 1926: 320-22).

The Arkansas River was the major access route to the Pawnee villages, but in the early years of the eighteenth century the Mento and the Quapaw blocked French trade up this river. By the 1720's the Osage were at war with the Mento, and the Quapaw were no longer an important force. Thus the task of maintaining the blockade of the Arkansas fell to the Osage who pillaged, and in some cases killed, the French traders whom they found on the Arkansas in the 1720's and 1730's (Nasatir 1952: Vol I, 20, 25; Lewis 1924: 260).

By 1740, after over fifty years of war, many Caddoans still remained in the Arkansas Valley, though some had left. Fabre de la
Bruyere reported that the Mento villages on the Canadian River were abandoned about 1737, and the mixed population which had comprised those settlements scattered to the south. The Tawakoni and Yecani had withdrawn southward into east Texas while the Taovayas (Tawehas) had moved south to the Red River and built a fortified village west of the Cross Timbers (Hyde 1951: 54-55). In spite of this movement and great losses in population a chain of Caddoan settlements still existed along the margin of the plains (Hyde 1951: 60).

The Caddoan Ascendancy

The 1740's ushered in a new period of Osage-Caddoan relations as the blockade of European goods began to weaken. From the old posts at Nasononite and Natchitoches French traders traveled up the Red River and possibly overland to the Arkansas. On the Missouri, above the Osage villages, the French constructed Fort Cavagnollé in 1739 or 1740 (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 286; Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 27-28) from which French trade expanded up the Missouri and the Platte. Regular trade developed for the first time with the northern Caddoans and the Skidi Pawnee, and by the 1740's French traders were even traveling on the plains and trading with the nomadic Comanches (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 42).

By this period some Caddoan groups had enough French goods to establish themselves in the role of middlemen. The Taovayas villages on the Red River traded French guns and native agricultural produce to the Comanche for horses and Apache slaves and then traded the slaves and horses to the French for more guns. These Taovayas villages became regular slave markets for the French traders (Bolton 1914: Vol. I, 48; Harper 1953: 184).

In 1749 peace was established among the tribes of the southern plains, with the Caddoans and Comanches becoming allies. Starting about 1750 these newly allied tribes initiated a general offensive against the Osage (Hyde 1951: 59). In the winter of 1750-51 the Great Osage were attacked while hunting by the Caddoans and Comanches and lost twenty-two men in the battle (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 44). In the summer of 1752 the Great Osage village was attacked and the Osage lost twenty men. The Osage were forced to ask the French for military aid, but none was sent (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 48).

The period in which the Caddoans were able to compete with the Osage militarily was not long-lived. Conflict between the English and French in eastern North America caused a shortage of munitions among the western tribes and this soon brought about a situation which enabled the Osage to reassert their military dominance. In 1756 the French and Indian War broke out, and it lasted until 1763. Very little information is available on the Osage for this period. The French policy was to keep the Indians of the Mississippi and Missouri at peace (Nasatir 1952: 56).
Vol. I, 50), and for the most part peace seems to have prevailed, although it was probably due more to a shortage of guns and ammunition than to French diplomacy.

The Local Aftermath of the French and Indian War

The territorial changes made by the Europeans after the French and Indian War had a profound effect on the balance of power among the western tribes. In 1762 the French government ceded Louisiana to the Spanish (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 395), and in the Treaty of Paris, which brought the war to a close, the English received Canada and all French territory east of the Mississippi. The Mississippi River now became an international boundary separating the Spanish and the English.

In the closing years of the war Governor Kerlerec had tried to revive the fur trade, the principal industry of Louisiana (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 396). Munitions trade with the Osage, who had the "best furs on the Missouri," was revived in 1762 (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 134). French settlements and therefore markets were pushed closer to the Osage. In 1764 Pierre Laclede began construction of his new post at St. Louis, and French colonists, whose lands had been ceded to the English, soon moved across the Mississippi and settled near Laclede's post. A year later the garrison from Ft. De Chartres also moved across the Mississippi to St. Louis (McReynolds 1962: 20; Bolton and Marshall 1920: 396).

The Spanish did not take effective possession of Louisiana until July, 1769, when Alexandro O'Reilly became governor (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 396-97). O'Reilly made numerous changes in the official Indian policy. All fur traders were licensed and supervised by the government, a practice the French had never followed (Bolton 1914: Vol. I, 72; Bolton and Marshall 1920: 400). There was also suppression of the munitions trade; firearms were to be traded to the Indians for use in hunting, but in limited numbers so that they could not be used for warfare (Harper 1953: 182). Other changes were made in the list of items which the Indians were to be allowed to trade. Indian slavery was abolished in Louisiana, ending the slave trade (Kinnaird 1949: Vol. II, 126-27). Since most of the horses bought from the Indians were originally stolen from Spanish settlements in Texas and New Mexico, traders were forbidden to buy horses from the Indians (Bolton 1914: Vol. I, 71).

With the occupation of Louisiana, Spain's frontier was now the Mississippi River rather than the Sabine and the Red. The presidios and missions among the Caddoan tribes of east Texas were no longer needed and were therefore withdrawn. The Spanish settlers near the border, no longer needed for defense, were evicted and taken to San Antonio (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 396-97).
These changes in Spanish policy were a severe blow to the Caddoans. Firearms, which were critical to their survival, were placed on small quotas. Their major trade items, slaves and horses, were now contraband, and the Spanish presidios and missions, which had given some protection to the eastern Caddoans, were removed. Once again geography was on the side of the Osage. They were now a border tribe, and the Spanish government was forced by necessity to modify its regulations in regard to the Missouri River border tribes. New English trading posts were located near these tribes, and English traders could, and did, slip into the Spanish domain and trade with little risk of capture. If the Spanish had attempted to enforce a quota on the number of guns which could be traded to the Osage, the Osage could have easily acquired them anyway from the English. Thus gun quotas were not enforced in this region.

These circumstances placed the Caddoans in a desperate position. Spanish control of Arkansas Post was very weak and many unlicensed and outlawed traders used the post for illegal trade on the Arkansas River. In 1770 the Taovayas abandoned their villages on the Red River and moved north to a point somewhere between the Red and the Arkansas. By this move they may have hoped that they would be able to obtain supplies from the unlicensed traders on the Arkansas. This attempt proved unsuccessful and within the year they were back in their villages on the Red River (Bolton 1914: Vol. I, 215).

Following the French and Indian War a marked change took place in both the items to trade and the nature of Osage-Caddoan endemic warfare. Despite its illegality, the Osage trade in horses increased. Stolen Pawnee and Spanish horses were now traded to the English and a market for these horses developed in the English colonies on the Atlantic coast (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 400). Yet it was an increase in the fur trade that was most important in affecting the nature of warfare.

The market for furs increased more rapidly than that for horses. Whereas during the 1750's and 1760's the Osage and Missouri, together, marketed eighty packs of skins annually (Nasatir 1952: Fol I, 50), by 1800 the Osage alone were supplying the traders with 950 packs of skins annually (Mayhall 1962: 26-27). There was no major change in the varieties of furs and hides traded, although it is possible that there may have been some changes in relative value of the various skins. In the late 1790's the Osage were major suppliers of furs on the Missouri, accounting for almost one-third of the entire Missouri country total. Such reliance on fur trading taxed the resources of the Osage country. The nature of the warfare between them and the Caddoans changed from raiding to a war of conquest, as the Osage expanded their hunting and trapping territory.

There had been little in the way of Osage territorial expansion in the period preceding the French and Indian War. The only change noted took place in 1700 when the Little Osage village moved to the Missouri River, and this was of little significance. Until about
1770 the "true Wichita" and some Pawnee still maintained their villages on the Arkansas River, in what is today northern Oklahoma and southern Kansas (Hyde 1951: 59). About 1770 the Osage renewed their attacks, and these Caddoan tribes, now poorly armed, were unable to withstand them. Sometime shortly after 1770, the three remaining Pawnee villages withdrew and moved to the Kaw River, and in 1772 the Wichita joined the Taovayas on the Red River (Hyde 1951: 59-60, 63).

Even the southern Caddoans did not escape these renewed attacks. Athenese de Mezieres 15 reported in 1770 that the Osage were attacking the Tawakoni, the Kichai, and the Yscani, who in desperation retreated south to the presidios at San Saba, Bexar, and Espíritu Santu (Bolton 1914: Vol. I, 167). In 1772 the Caddoans and the Comanche again formed an alliance to resist the Osage (Bolton 1914: Vol. I, 289), but nothing seems to have been achieved by it. The Osage aggressions to the south were on a larger scale than ever before, and by 1772 they were even attacking the European settlements in the south. De Mezieres proposed to organize the Caddoan tribes as a buffer between the Europeans and the Osage, and to establish a presidio in one of the Caddoan villages (Bolton 1914: Vol. I, 302-04), but a presidio was never constructed.

In 1777 the Skidi Pawnee moved south from the Platte and the Missouri and united with the southern Caddoans to fight the Osage. De Mezieres, in an attempt to seize the opportunity which the presence of 800 additional Skidi warriors gave him, proposed to gather an army from among the ten tribes living in his area and to march north and burn the Osage villages (Bolton 1914: Vol. II, 143-47). Before he could organize his forces, however, the Apache renewed their raids on the Spanish settlements along the Rio Grande, and it was decided that the Caddoans could best be used to fight the Apache (Bolton 1914: Vol. II, 172-86). The proposed Osage campaign was never undertaken. By 1779 the Caddo had been so weakened by Osage attacks that they considered abandoning their main village and scattering to the south (Bolton 1914: Vol. II, 250). Within a few years the Skidi returned to the north, and the southern Caddoans were left in an almost helpless condition.

The Spanish government succeeded in negotiating a treaty between the Osage and the Caddo nation in 1786, but the treaty was violated almost immediately (Kinnaird 1949: Vol. II, 171-72). By this time, however, hostilities between the two groups were beginning to diminish. The majority of Caddoan speakers had been pushed far to the south and west of the Osage, and the middle Arkansas valley was now an Osage hunting territory. The war continued, but it degenerated into a series of horse raids; the period of conquest was over.

Osage culture underwent a number of changes in the period from initial European contact to 1790. Guns, metal knives, axes, brass kettles, and other European items rapidly replaced items of native manufacture. Significant changes also took place in the economy and social organization, and these are the changes important to this study. The
basic change was from a primarily subsistence economy to a dual economy with a distinction between subsistence and trade activities. Trade with the French was strictly for material items while the slaves, horses, furs, and hides traded by the Osage were either completely independent of or only marginally associated with their food gathering activities. Changes in subsistence activities involved a greater reliance on hunting and lessened dependence on horticulture, though this did not require any fundamental change in overall economic organization.

Changes in Subsistence Patterns

After destruction of the Caddoan villages on the Arkansas in the 1770's the Osage were able to exploit the large bison herds of the plains region. Until this time the horse had been of importance mainly as an item of trade, but it now became important in the subsistence economy. The Osage developed an annual cycle in which they exploited the resources of the plains, prairies, and woodland, and bison became the major source of food.

The annual cycle began in April or May when the Osage planted crops along the Missouri and Osage Rivers (Morse 1822: 205) near their permanent villages. After planting they prepared to leave on the summer bison hunt; crops were left untended. Only invalids, the aged, and individuals too poor to have the tents and horses necessary for the hunt stayed behind in the villages (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 140).

The hunting parties traveled west and camped along the Salt Fork of the Arkansas in what is now north central Oklahoma. Just west of their camps were the Great Salt Plains, an area where bison were plentiful (Foreman 1933: 118). From these base camps the Osage hunted, dried meat, and gathered salt until the middle of August, when they returned to their permanent villages to harvest their crops (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 140, 250).

Preparations were begun for the winter hunt as soon as the crops were gathered. The harvest was dried and put in caches which were built in the woods at some distance from the villages to prevent their discovery by enemy raiders. These caches consisted of a number of lodges "guarded" by old men and women, young girls, and the infirm (Marshall 1928: 193-95). In September hunting parties left again for the Salt Fork. They returned to the permanent villages in December and remained there until February or March when the villages divided into a number of small parties that left to hunt beaver and bear ranging from the Arkansas River in Oklahoma to the St. Francis River in Missouri (Morse 1822: 203-205. Upon their return crops were planted, and the cycle began anew.

There are two important differences between this cycle and the pre-contact cycle. The first and most obvious is the winter hunt for bear
and beaver, which were of great importance in the fur trade but of no significant importance to Osage subsistence. The second change involved a greatly increased dependence upon hunting and a resultant decrease in the importance of horticulture. The plains and the large bison herds were opened to Osage hunters; the summer and winter hunts were held on open plains and were strictly focused upon exploitation of the vast bison resources of that region.

Changes in Osage Social Organization in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries

Trade and trade-related factors resulted in changes in social organization. They affected the family organization, the political organization, and in addition set the stage for even more far-reaching changes which would occur in the nineteenth century. The change that had the greatest impact was the shift from patrilocal to matrilocal post-marital residence, which resulted in an alteration of the household structure and the inheritance pattern. At the same time the political structure was being changed and centralized as a result of attempts by European traders and government officials to deal with individual leaders.

The reasons why the Osage shifted from an assumed patrilocal to a matrilocal residence pattern can only be hypothesized. In fact, since the change is not mentioned by the early French sources, when it took place is uncertain. Two assumptions have been made here: (1) that the Osage did change from patrilocal to matrilocal residence (see discussion, Chapter II), and (2) that the change took place during the period of the Caddoan wars, though this cannot be documented from early French sources. Matrilocal residence, however, was certainly present before 1800. The change in residence pattern can be seen to have had adaptive value in the context of Osage slave and horse raiding. This is not to say that slave or horse raiding led to matrilocality, but that under certain pre-existing cultural conditions raiding may create a situation where matrilocal residence is of more adaptive value than patrilocal residence.

Raids were carried out not by ceremonially organized tribal war parties but by small parties organized only on the clan level (see Chapter II on types of war parties). Bernard de La Harpe and other French explorers mentioned that raiding parties only numbered one or at most two dozen men, a number much too small for a tribal war party. Another bit of evidence that suggests these were clan-level parties is that captives were reportedly the property of the men who took them (Mathews 1961: 57). Under the organizational rules of the tribal war parties, captives would have been the property of the Do-don-hon-ga or war leader and would have been turned over to the Tsi-zhu and Hon-ga chiefs to be adopted into the tribe. Moreover, not only were the members of these raiding parties from the same clan, but many were probably from the same family. Betty Nett (1952: 176) stated that, "... it was ex-
tremely common for two brothers . . . to go on war parties together."

Organization of small raiding parties on the clan or even family level would produce two important results: (1) since the parties were small, their discovery by Caddoans would likely result in their total annihilation and therefore often in the destruction of most of the sons of a given family who were, because of their ages, the most productive members of the household; and (2) since the parties traveled to even the most remote Caddoan villages in east Texas, this meant that they ranged as far as 400 to 500 miles from their villages. Such long-distance raiding meant that the young men of a household would be absent for several months. Although dried meat was usually plentiful in the village, fresh meat was usually in short supply, and every day small parties of hunters went out in search of game (Ponziglione MS: 291). Game taken on such hunts belonged to the hunters and was equally divided among all the men in the party. Thus each household had to have some hunters present throughout the year to keep the household supplied with fresh game. Their absence on a raiding party, under the traditional patrilocality system, would have worked a hardship on their household.

By contrast, given this conjunction of raiding and subsistence patterns, matrilocality was more adaptive than patrilocality. Since the males of a household would not be of the same clans or even the same moiety, disaster would not leave the household maleless. Also, at least some of the males would be at home at all times of the year to keep the household supplied with fresh meat. Thus by altering the residence pattern while keeping the raiding pattern in its traditional form the households were economically secure. The male composition of the raiding group, and the basic economic unit, the household, were never the same.

The first European traders among the Osage must have found the native political systems confusing in that there was no leader in the European sense. The two chiefs were only concerned with peaceful relations within the village. The group which was actually in charge of the external relations of the tribe were the Non'-hon'zhin-ga, but they were a rather loosely structured body and had no formal leadership. Most likely without realizing what they were doing, the traders looked upon the chiefs as the true political leaders of the Osage. The mistake was understandable in that the chiefs did stand out from the rest of the community. Their houses were larger, their amount of personal property was greater, and they acted as hosts for the traders who visited their villages. What began as a misinterpretation of the political system, over the years changed the system. The Europeans saw the Tsi-zhu chief as the main political figure and dealt with the Osage through these chiefs. Since the European trade was of great importance to the tribe, the close connection of the Tsi-zhu chiefs with the Europeans greatly enhanced their importance and power. By the nineteenth century the Tsi-zhu chiefs had so totally eclipsed the Hon-ga chiefs that the dual chieftain system disappeared.
The Osage were experiencing yet another change, although at this early period it had not affected the social structure to any appreciable extent. In the pre-contact period status was for the most part inherited or in some cases determined at birth. Most of the offices in the civil government were filled by individuals of specific families or clans. The most broadly-based organization and the most prestigious group was the Non' hon-zhin-ga. Although found in every clan, the organization was not completely open to all who wished to join. It was open only to members of higher ranking sub-clans within a clan, and even then to the older sons of those families. Under this system most members of the tribe could actually be called commoners, or "lower class," as some of the modern Osage say. The development of trade with the Europeans started changing this system. Everyone had access to wealth in the form of European trade goods, and younger sons who would have been in at best a low ranking position, indeed the younger men in general, found that they could acquire the most prestigious of items, firearms, and other European goods. The status of the successful warrior or raider began to rise in Osage society. In the households the young, successful raider was an important figure since he was the one who supplied the family with most of its European trade goods as well as with most of its subsistence. Slowly the position of the son-in-law changed until by the 1800's the younger men were the heads of households, and the senior father-in-law was placed in a position of dependence. As in the household, the position of the warriors in the tribal organization began to change as they became increasingly important. They changed not as individuals but as a group, and as a group they became powerful in the organization of the tribe. Although the change started in the 1700's it was not until the next century that the "warriors" emerged as one of the real powers in the tribe.
Chapter III Footnotes

1. An interesting contrast in European items exists between the village of the Little Osage and the village of the Missouri Indians. Both villages were located within a few hundred yards of each other, and both were occupied during the same period. However, while the Little Osage village site was covered with gun parts, the Missouri village site was covered with broken liquor bottles (Chapman 1959: 21).

2. The major trade at Ft. Orleans, which during its short existence (1723-1726) was the main source of trade goods for the Osage, was in buffalo wool. The French attempted to use bison products in other ways. About 1700 they tried to establish a textile industry in Louisiana using bison hair (buffalo wool) mixed with regular wool (Roe 1951: 235, 239), but the experiment does not seem to have been successful.

3. According to an Osage myth an Indian hunter married a beaver, and this couple formed the parent stock of the Osage nation. The Osage looked upon the beaver as being related to them and did not hunt beavers until the trade in beaver pelts was established (Domenech 1860; II, 48). Yet according to Chapman (1959: 21), the Osage were trading some beaver in the early part of the seventeenth century, because beaver remains were found at the Little Osage village site. Probably the myth recorded by Domenech did not refer to the tribe as a whole but to one of the clans or subclans which had the beaver as its totem symbol and did not hunt it. The main origin myths of the tribe do not mention the beaver.

4. In 1806 Albert Pike reported that the Osage traded deer skins, bear skins, otter and beaver (Jackson 1966: Vol. II, 40-41).

5. Anna Lewis (1932: 23-24) blames the English for establishment of the Indian slave trade in the Mississippi valley. In 1700 English traders from South Carolina incited the Quapaw to raid the Chickasaw for slaves. Miss Lewis contends that the French became involved in the trade only in order to compete with the English.

6. LaSalle reported in 1710 that an Ensign Darao, who had been sent to the Missouri region on official business, had been trading for slaves to sell in the Islands (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 9-10).

7. The term Pani or Pawnee was a synonym for Caddoan and included not only the Pawnee, but the Wichita, Mento, and the Caddo as well.

8. The Osage were not the only Siouan tribe of the Missouri River who raided the Caddoans for slaves. In the early 1700's the Otoe and the Kansa were reported to have attacked the "Padoucas" and carried off 250 slaves (Nasatir 1952: Vol. II, 16-17).

9. Possibly the reason that Arkansas Post did not develop was that the Arkansas River was difficult to ascend because of the strong current
10. This contrasts sharply with the vivid and detailed stories of their first meeting with white men and their first encounter with firearms (Mathews 1961: 97-102, 132-34).

11. There is some question as to the identity of the tribe or tribes which massacred the Villasur expedition. Bienville in 1721 stated that the Spanish were destroyed by the Otoe and Missouri (McReynolds 1962: 14-15), while Hyde (1951: 40) argued that the Pawnee were responsible. Jean-Bernard Bossu (Feiler 1962: 88-90) simply stated that the Spanish were attacked by Missouri River tribes.

12. When trading boats returned to the fort in the spring of 1726, they found nothing but blackened ruins. None of the 12 or 15 men who were stationed at the post were ever found. Jean-Bernard Bossu (Feiler 1962: 85) ascribes the massacre to the Missouri Indians, but Carr (1894: 25) feels that there is room for doubt as to who actually destroyed the fort.

13. The movement of the Little Osage to the Missouri River cannot be considered to be a case of aggressive expansion because the Missouri Indians, weakened by disease and warfare, asked the Little Osage to move near them for protection. The Sac and Fox had attacked the Missouri village and killed over half the people. Later a European disease, probably a venereal disease by the description, "... the little mystery people living in the semen ..." had killed still other (Mathews 1961: 136-137). The Little Osage probably agreed to the move since it would place them on the Missouri River in closer contact with the French traders.

14. In 1798, some 80,000 pesos worth of furs were shipped from St. Louis to New Orleans; 24,000 pesos worth were from the Osage (Nasatir 1952: Vol. II, 538-39).

15. Athenese de Mesieres was the Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana in charge of the Louisiana-Texas frontier from 1768-1780. He had his headquarters at Natchitoches.


17. On political organization, Du Tisne, the earliest French explorer to report his personal visit to the Osage villages, stated only that there were several band chiefs but little absolutism (Margry 1886: Vol. VI, 311).

18. According to Mathews (1961: 99-100), the Europeans would have been greeted and entertained by the Tsi-zhu chief while the Non-ga chief would have remained in the background.
19. Mathews (1961: 299) identifies both the Pawhuskas and the Claremores as Hon-ga chiefs, but he seems to have been mistaken in this identification, as both modern informants and La Flesche (1928: 147-48) have identified them as Tsi-zhu.
CHAPTER IV

THE OSAGE AND THE REMOVAL OF THE
EASTERN INDIANS: 1790-1839

The war with the Caddoan-speaking peoples did not end with the
occupation of the Arkansas Valley by the Osage. Raiding continued
until both the Osage and Caddoans were placed on reservations in
Oklahoma. But after 1790 the war with the Caddoans became of se-
condary importance.

Starting in the last half of the eighteenth century, both whites
and tribes of more eastern Indians began encroaching on the Osage
hunting territory, and by 1790 conflict between the Osage and the
eastern invaders had become so intense that open war broke out. Fol-
lowing the purchase of Louisiana by the United States in 1803, the
difficulties of the Osage increased as eastern Indians were encour-
gaged to settle west of the Mississippi. Treaties were signed between
the United States and the Osage in which the Osage ceded most of
present-day Missouri and Arkansas. Finally in 1830 the United States
Congress passed the Indian Removal Bill which forced almost 60,000
southeastern Indians to settle in the Arkansas Valley, and within a
few years the rich hunting lands of the Osage were flooded with Cher-
okees, Creeks, Chocataws, and Chickasaws. The military supremacy of
the Osage was broken by overwhelming numbers, and they were pushed
westward into the plains.

Wars with the Spanish and the Algonkians

Prior to Osage expansion at the expense of the Caddoans they
had been at war periodically with the Central Algonkian tribes. In
1683 the Illinois and the Osage were reported to have been at war
(Cox 1922: Vol. I, 43). According to Pierre Liette, the wars be-
 tween them ended because of the Osage desire to trade with the Illi-
nois for European goods (Quaife 1947: 164). Gibson (1963: 9) noted
that the Kickapoo made at least eight raids on the Osage between 1685
and 1690, but for the most part the conflict between the Osage and
the Algonkians was on a small scale and there were long periods of
peace.

During the last half of the eighteenth century various Algonkian
groups began to settle west of the Mississippi and south of the Mis-
 souri. After the French and Indian War, the French and later the
Spanish encouraged the Algonkian tribes to settle on the west bank
of the Mississippi (Bolton and Marshall 1920: 401; Gibson 1963:
32). Pierre Lorimer was hired by the Spanish as Indian Agent in
1787, and he persuaded a large number of Delaware and Shawnee to settle on the Missouri (McClenov 162; Kinnaird 1949: III, xxx). The areas into which these bands migrated were claimed by the Osage, and with these migrations the nature and intensity of the Osage-Algonkian wars began to change.

At the same time that the Osage were beginning to feel the pressure of the Algonkian migrants, they were also beginning to have difficulties with the Europeans. Along the Arkansas the Osage were meeting a new type of European, the independent hunter and trapper who was attempting to exploit the game resources of the Arkansas Valley, the region from which the Osage had just driven the Caddos. By the mid-1780's there were about two hundred trappers and hunters working on the Arkansas and its tributaries (Kinnaird 1949: Vol. II, 184). Resentful of this invasion of their territory, the Osage attempted to discourage the trappers by robbing them of their equipment and furs and sometimes killing them (Bolton 1914: Vol. II, 138, 141-42; Kinnaird 1949: Vol. I, 321, 381). As the Osage depredations increased the whites in the Arkansas district became alarmed, and in 1789 asked the Commandant of Ft. Carlos III to declare war on the Osage (Kinnaird 1949: Vol. II, 273-74).

The Osage had, also, in their raids against the Caddo around Natchitoches, killed and plundered French traders and hunters on the Red River. In 1790 the Commandant at Natchitoches reported that the Osage had completely destroyed the trade at his post (Kinnaird 1949: Vol. II, 295-97).

By the 1780's it had become obvious to the Spanish officials that the Osage were the most disruptive force in Louisiana. They were at war with almost all of the tribes within the region, and in the Arkansas and Natchitoches districts they were even attacking Europeans. If the commerce of Louisiana were to develop, something had to be done about the Osage.

In 1790 Governor Miro decided that direct action was needed to pacify the Osage. He tried to bring them to terms by applying economic sanctions. All trade with the Osage was ordered stopped, but the Osage responded to this challenge by pillaging the traders going to tribes higher up the Missouri. It quickly became evident that the sanctions were ineffective. The Spanish recognized that the only way the sanctions could be made to work would be to cut off trade to all of the Missouri tribes, but their fear that a total stoppage would allow English traders to capture their market led officials to allow the trading (and pillaging) to continue (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 159, 160).

Miro's successor Baron de Carondelet, noting that Osage depredations were continuing, took more drastic action. In December, 1792, he ordered all trade on the Missouri stopped for two years and declared that anyone, red or white, was free to kill the Osage
and "destroy their families" (Kinnaird 1949: Vol. III, 107). In revenge the Osage raided the settlement at Ste. Genevieve and ran off a herd of horses. Although no one was killed, the citizens of Ste. Genevieve demanded that military action be taken against the Osage (Nasatir 1952: Vol. II, 526).

Following this incident, Zenon Trudeau, the Lieutenant Governor at St. Louis, planned to attack the Osage villages with a combined army of Europeans and Algonkians as the Osage returned from their winter hunt (Nasatir 1945: Vol. I, 171-72). The proposed attack was abandoned, however, when war broke out between Spain and France (Kinnaird 1949: III, xx1).

In January of 1794 the Osage again raided Ste. Genevieve, this time killing one of the inhabitants. The community petitioned the government to make peace with the Osage, and an enterprising French fur trader, Auguste Chouteau, proposed a plan by which the Osage could be subjugated at no cost to the province. The Governor-General accepted the plan, under which Chouteau, at his own expense, constructed a fort near the Osage villages and quickly pacified them. In return he was granted a six-year monopoly of the Osage trade (Nasatir 1952: Vol. II, 526-27).

This peace between the Osage and the Europeans was effective only on the Missouri, for even after 1794 the Osage continued to pillage and kill hunters on the Arkansas. The Spanish government realized that it did not have the military capacity to punish the Osage for their actions and thought it best to ignore these incidents. It rationalized its policy by stating that the hunters on the Arkansas were the "scum of the posts" and were therefore of little importance (Nasatir 1952: Vol. I, 318; Vol. II, 520-21, 538).

The 1790's found Algonkians moving into the Missouri country in increasing numbers as Americans encroached on their lands east of the Mississippi and game became scarce there (Gibson 1963: 46-47; Hunter 1823: 14-15). The Spanish government continued to encourage this migration. The Shawnee and Delaware were granted twenty-five square miles of land near Cape Girardeau (Foreman 1946: 185). In 1797 Shawnee, Peoria, Illinois, Miami, Ottawa, Sac, Kickapoo, and Potawatomi were reported living in scattered villages along the Missouri (Nasatir 1952: Vol. II, 529), and by 1802 over five hundred families of Delaware, Shawnee, Miami, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Peoria were living along the St. Francis River (Foreman 1936: 28).

Establishment of the Osage Villages on the Arkansas

In 1799 Chouteau had his monopoly of the Osage trade renewed for two more years, but in 1802 his grant was given to a Spanish fur trader, Manuel Lisa. Although Chouteau could not thereafter trade on the Osage River he still had trading privileges on the Arkansas, where he constructed a new trading post. To supply the post he persuaded a large band of Osage under the leadership of Big Foot to move south and settle permanently near the Three Forks region of the Arkansas (McReynolds 1954: 63; Marshall 1928: 168; Jackson 1966: Vol. II, 32). Later the Arkansas Osage came under the leadership of Claremore, and the village was called Claremore's village.

Economic motivation seems to have influenced the movement of this group of Osage to the Three Forks region. In 1786 the Spanish, to head off any attempts by the Osage to establish a permanent village on the Arkansas, had prohibited trade with them on that river (Kinnaird 1949: Vol. II, 183-84), but with the construction of Chouteau's post settlement was made possible. According to Pike the Three Forks region was a more desirable location than the Osage River because it was closer to the bison herds and to the Caddoans and their horses. He also noted that there was a general migration from the Osage River villages to the village near the Arkansas (Jackson 1966: Vol. II, 32). That the Three Forks region was further away from the Algonkians, and therefore more secure, may have been another factor influencing the Osage movement.

Difficulties with the United States and the Southeastern Indians

In 1803 the United States bought Louisiana from France, and the Osage soon found themselves confronted by three major enemies: the Algonkians, the Americans, and the Five Civilized Tribes of the Southeast. A major reason for the United States' purchase of this territory was to provide a home for the eastern Indians they planned to dislocate. By this time it had become obvious to the government that American settlements were going to extend as far as the Mississippi and that the Indians would have to be removed (Foreman 1936: 11-12).

American officials first undertook to make peace between the Osage and the Algonkians. The 1804 treaty between the United States and the Sac and Fox called for the cessation of hostilities between them and the Osage (Hagan 1958: 21, 24-25), but in spite of this treaty the wars continued. In 1805 American officials succeeded in negotiating a peace treaty between the Osage and representatives of the Delaware, Miami, Sac and Fox, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, and Kaskaskia
Map 4
The Osage and Their Neighbors Circa 1800

MILES
0 50 100 200

△ Indian villages
● White settlements
■ Posts and Forts
- - Osage hunting territory
(Hagan 1958: 29). But the peace was broken the following year when the Potawatomi attacked an Osage hunting camp (Jackson 1966: Vol. I, 253). In the winter and spring of 1805-06, the Sac and Fox renewed their attacks on the Osage (Hagan 1958: 32). The American government, still trying to maintain the peace, had the Osage and the Kickapoo sign a peace treaty in 1806 (Gibson 1963: 96). The next year the Osage started raiding the white settlements in Missouri, and in the spring of 1808 Governor Meriwether Lewis decided that the Osage could only be controlled by sending war parties of Shawnee, Delaware, and Kickapoo against them (Gibson 1963: 96-97; Foreman 1936: 32). By 1808 the remaining villages on the Osage River had re-located on one of its westernmost tributaries, the Marais de Cygnes River (Mathews 1961: 298-99). Pressure from the Algonkians is the most reasonable explanation for this westward shift.

A United States delegation, headed by General William Clark, was sent to negotiate a treaty with the Osage River group in September of 1808. These Osage ceded all lands east of a line running from Fort Clark (later called Fort Osage) on the Missouri River south to the Arkansas River. This tract of land included almost all of what is today southern Missouri and northern Arkansas. In return the Osage were to receive the protection of the federal government, a federal trading post, annuities, and the right to hunt on the ceded tract until it was settled (American State Papers 1832: Vol. I, 763).

The Arkansas Osage had not been present at the treaty signing and objected because not all the Osage had been represented. In the summer of 1809 the Arkansas Osage met with United States officials in St. Louis and signed another treaty covering the same tract of land (American State Papers 1832: Vol. I, 764).

Although the Algonkian tribes had been the major enemies of the Osage throughout the late eighteenth century, groups of Muskogean and Iroquoian tribes of the southeast were also coming into conflict with the Osage. Major conflict between them and the Osage had been averted only because of their small numbers and the fact that they were intruding only into the extreme southern and eastern areas of the Osage domain.

President Jefferson suggested removal further west of the Chickasaw in 1805 and the Choctaw in 1808, but neither of the tribes responded favorably (Abel 1908: 252). The Cherokee were the first to respond favorably to removal. In May of 1808 a delegation of Cherokees met with President Jefferson and agreed to exchange their lands in the east for new lands west of the Mississippi (Foreman 1936: 31). The following year a party of three hundred Cherokee, including seventy warriors, settled on the lower Arkansas (Foreman 1936: 34).

This Cherokee settlement grew rapidly as it was joined by new immigrants from the east and by Cherokee bands that had migrated west at an earlier time. By 1813 the Arkansas Cherokee, as they came to
be known, numbered so many that the federal government sent them an agent, Major William Lovely.

Agent Lovely found the Cherokee engaged in a violent war with the Osage over hunting territory. He met with the Arkansas Osage in June of 1816 and was able to purchase all their land lying between the Verdigris River and the tract occupied by the Cherokee. The government, however, did not recognize Lovely's purchase, and officially the land still belonged to the Osage (Foreman 1936: 41). In the following year the government signed a treaty with the Cherokee, agreeing to give them as much land in the west as they ceded in the east and offering to provide boats, guns, ammunition, and other equipment to any Cherokee who wished to migrate (Harrison 1912: Vol. I, 245-50).

In January of 1817 the Arkansas Cherokee began to plan a general war against the Osage. Messengers were sent to the eastern Cherokee to ask for assistance, and by summer over five hundred Arkansas and eastern Cherokee were gathered in the villages along the Arkansas. The Osage were completely unaware of the planned attack. In the spring, after planting was completed, Claremore and the Osage warriors left on their summer bison hunt. Only the old, the injured, and those too poor to have horses for hunting remained in the village, where the Cherokee attack caught them by surprise. The Cherokee killed fourteen men, sixty-nine women and children, and took over one hundred captives (Foreman 1936: 47-52).

The federal government's reaction to the destruction of Claremore's village was mixed. Orders immediately went out for construction of a fort, later called Fort Smith, on the Arkansas River at the point separating Osage and Cherokee lands (Foreman 1936: 48-49). In the winter of 1817 leaders of the western Cherokee visited Washington and made it clear that the Cherokee wanted an outlet through the Osage country to the bison range.12 They demanded that the Osage territory in present day eastern Oklahoma be taken from them and given to the Cherokee as "fruits of victory." Secretary of War Calhoun agreed with them and ordered Territorial Governor Clark to have the Osage cede these lands (Foreman 1936: 67-70).

The Osage met with Clark in September 1818 in St. Louis and ceded the area from the Verdigris River to the boundary of the Cherokee holdings for $4,000, all of which was thereupon paid to whites for alleged depredations committed by the Osage (American State Papers 1834: Vol. II, 392). The ceded land was not immediately given to the Cherokee, but was held by the government for their use as a hunting area and as an outlet to the bison range (Foreman 1936: 71).

In October 1818 Clark was also successful in establishing peace between the Osage and the Cherokee. The Osage agreed to allow the Cherokee an undisturbed passage to the bison range if the Cherokee would return the captives taken from Claremore's village by the following spring. The Cherokees agreed but failed to keep their part of the treaty. Only a few captives returned (Foreman 1936: 71-74).
The Osage, angered by the actions of the Cherokee, began to look for allies and held councils with various western tribes in the summer of 1819. Under the leadership of Mad Buffalo, parties of Osage attacked Cherokee hunters wherever they could be found. The Cherokee, however, were elusive, and there were few casualties. In the spring of 1821 Mad Buffalo led a war party of four hundred warriors down the Arkansas as far as Fort Smith, where they were refused permission to continue downstream to attack the Cherokee settlement (Foreman 1936: 96-100).

During the summer of 1821 the Cherokee started planning another attack on the Osage. Since the Cherokee made no attempt to hide their plans, the Osage were well aware of the war movement and decided to forego their winter hunt and remain in their villages. Major Bradford at Fort Smith also knew of the Cherokee plans, and in an attempt to make peace between the tribes he visited the Osage villages, telling them that he would prevent the Cherokee from attacking. The Osage took Major Bradford at his word and left for the plains to hunt. However, they took no chances this time; every man, woman, and child left the village to join the warriors on the hunt (Foreman 1936: 69; Mathews 1961: 478-80).

Meanwhile the Cherokee had organized a war party of about three hundred men. As they advanced up the Arkansas they were met by Major Bradford who, after vainly attempting to dissuade them, for some unknown reason gave them a barrel of gun powder and let them continue upriver (Foreman 1936: 104-08; Mathews 1961: 481-82).

In the meantime the Osage had reached the junction of the Salt Fork and the Arkansas, where they discovered the trails of hostile plains tribes. Fearful of hunting while these other tribes were in the vicinity, they organized a war party to drive them away from the bison herds. When the war party set out in pursuit of the other tribes the main camp containing all of the women and children went on to another camp that was considered safe (Mathews 1961: 480-81).

The Cherokee war party continued up the Arkansas to the abandoned villages and picked up the trail taken by the Osage. When they reached the point where the Osage war party had left the main camp, the Cherokee party also divided. One group soon overtook the main camp and attacked, killing forty and capturing thirty Osage with no losses to themselves. After this success they immediately headed back down the Arkansas, leaving the other group to make its own way home. The second group was ambushed by the Osage war party (Mathews 1961: 482-84).

The attack by the Cherokee caused the Osage to return early from the winter hunt. Fearing another raid the Osage remained in their village, and a severe food shortage developed (Mathews 1961: 487-89). By January of 1822 the Osage were ready for peace, and in June a conference between the tribes was held at Fort Smith. In August a treaty was signed, and the Cherokee began to return the captives taken in the two raids on Claremore's group (Foreman 1936: 115, 118-19).
At the same time officials were negotiating with the northern Osage to do away with a federal factory at Fort Osage. For $2,553.95 in merchandise, the Osage agreed to release the government from its treaty obligations (H.D., 18th C., 2d S., D.N. 61: 15). After Fort Osage closed, villages under the leadership of White Hair moved south and settled on the Neosho and the Verdigris Rivers (Foreman 1936: 54).

Although for years small groups of warriors from these northern villages had been aiding the Arkansas Osage in their war with the Cherokee, most had remained outside the conflict. These villages were now drawn into the war. Since they had not been party to the peace treaty signed by the Arkansas Osage and the Cherokee at Fort Smith, the Missouri Osage did not feel bound by the treaty. In January of 1823 they attacked a small party of Cherokee hunters on the Canadian River, killing one and destroying their camp, and general war between the Osage and the Cherokee broke out once more. The military decided that Fort Smith was too far away from the Osage villages to be effective, so an order was given to build Fort Gibson on the Neosho River to better accomplish the purpose of preventing these wars. The first troops arrived in April of 1824 to start construction (Foreman 1936: 127, 169; 1933: 35).

The Osage and the United States negotiated a new treaty in 1825 whereby the Osage ceded all their remaining land in the state of Missouri and the Arkansas territory, retaining only a strip of land fifty miles wide that ran from just west of the Missouri border to the border between the United States and Mexico. In return the Osage were to receive $7,000 annually in cash or merchandise for twenty years (S.D., 19th C., 1st S., D.N. 2: 91). Although the land in the Three Forks region had been ceded, many Osage remained on the lower Neosho and Verdigris Rivers.

Effects of the Indian Removal Bill of 1830

The last and fatal blow for the Osage came in 1830 when Congress passed the Indian Removal Bill which provided for the removal of the Indians still living east of the Mississippi (Foreman 1933: 15; 1936: 12). The result was that during the following ten years over 60,000 additional eastern Indians were settled on the Osage hunting territory in present-day eastern Oklahoma and Kansas (Foreman 1933: 7). The bill was rapidly followed by a series of removal treaties with the Indians who had remained in the southeast: the Choctaw (1830), the Creek (1832), the Chickasaw (1832), the Seminole (1832), and the Cherokee (1835).

As the southeastern Indians moved into the region south of the Osage reservation, other eastern tribes moved to reservations north and east of the Osage. The Delaware, Sac and Fox, Illinois, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Potawatomi, Peoria, Wea, Piankashaw, Ottawa, Wyandot, Seneca, Iowa, Missouri, and members of a few other tribes were assigned to reservations.
in what is today eastern Kansas. Thus a buffer existed between the Osage and the white settlements (see map facing page 182 in Foreman 1936).

These tribes differed in many ways from the Osage. This was particularly true in the case of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes who were culturally closer to the white frontiersmen than to the Osage and the other western tribes. They were mainly farmers, most of whom lived in log cabins scattered on their farms along the river valleys where they raised crops and kept small herds of hogs and cattle. But like the western Indians they too were dependent upon hunting for part of their subsistence, and many trapped to supplement their income.

The Arkansas Osage continued to live in the Three Forks region in spite of the Treaty of 1825 and the scarcity of game animals. In 1832 there were approximately 1,500 Osage living on the Verdigris River in the Creek Nation and twenty Osage families living on the Neosho River in the Cherokee Nation (H.D. 22d. C., 1st S., D.N. 172; 9). A government commission was sent out in 1833 to negotiate a treaty with the Arkansas Osage which would provide for their removal to the reservation in Kansas. The Osage leaders, however, refused to move or to sign a new treaty because the government had failed to keep the provisions of the previous treaties (Foreman 1933: 118).

It was obvious to the Osage that alone they were not strong enough to physically resist the tens of thousands of eastern Indians who were moving into their homeland, and Osage depredations after 1828 consisted mainly of killing livestock and stealing horses. Rarely, if ever, from this time on did they attack persons. The Osage did however make one final desperate attempt to push back the eastern Indians. After the inconclusive conference with the federal commissioners, an Osage war party moved against the Kiowa and destroyed a large Kiowa village at Cut-Throat Gap in the Wichita Mountains. Foreman (1933: 125) feels that this attack was designed to invite retaliation by the Kiowa and their allies the Comanche and thus lead to a general state of war that would discourage the resettlement of the eastern Indians.24

Government officials immediately recognized the danger and acted quickly to avert a major Indian war. The Dragoon Expedition of 1833-34 was sent out onto the plains to impress the Indians with the military power of the United States and to discourage any retaliatory attacks on the Osage by the Kiowa (Mayhall 1962: 62). A general meeting of the plains Indians and the eastern Indians was held at Camp Holmes on the Canadian River in 1835 (Foreman 1933: 147). Nothing concrete resulted from the meeting, but a major state of war was avoided.
Extermination of Game Animals

The movement of the eastern tribes into the region west of the Mississippi led to rapid extermination of much of the wildlife. School-craft (1821: 6, 9, 18, 20, 26, 40, 48, 53, 56) found game to be plentiful in southern Missouri and northern Arkansas when he visited the region in 1818. In the valleys there were "vast quantities" of beaver, otter, raccoon, and bear, and ducks and geese were common on the rivers. Out on the prairies were large numbers of deer, elk, and bison, while wild turkeys were found everywhere. When Thomas Nuttall (1905: 213, 232-33) traveled along the Arkansas River in 1819, he reported much the same condition. The prairies were covered with deer and small bison herds, and almost every day Nuttall saw bison and elk grazing along the river. By the mid-1830's, however, game was virtually exterminated east of the Cross Timbers.

As a result the Osage were faced with both a shortage of food and of furs for trade. In 1831 it was reported that: "The buffalo have disappeared...and such is the growing scarcity of game, that even the aboriginal tribes of that region are annually thinned by famine" (S.D. 21st C., 2d S., D.N. 71: 2). The following year the chiefs of the Osage appealed to President Jackson saying that "...our hunting is destroyed...and (we) cannot procure a sufficient quantity (of meat) for our own use" (S.D. 23d C., 1st S., D.N. 512: III, 354-56). At the same time trader Pierre Chouteau reported the shortage of furs and wrote that "these [eastern] Indians...are now overrunning the former hunting grounds of the Osage...in fact hunting has become so laborious that the privations and dangers they suffer in pursuing the chase is not compensated for by the sale of their skins (S.D. 23d C., 1st S., D.N. 512, IX: 256-57).

The attack on the Kiowa village in 1833 added to the problems of the Osage and accomplished nothing. A major war was averted by the action of the United States government, but both the Comanche and the Kiowa were out for revenge on the Osage. During Osage bison hunts, warriors from these tribes remained in the area of the Arkansas River and waited for the Osage to cross. The Osage were forced to hunt east of the Arkansas (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 150).25

By 1837 the resources of the Osage area had been exhausted, and parties of Osage went east to hunt along the Neosho and in southern Missouri. Both the Indian agents and the military felt the plight of the Osage to be so desperate that they would be forced to commit depredations in order to survive (LR-OIA-OA 631: 725),26 and dragoons were sent out to drive the Osage back to their reservation. One of the dragoons, Captain St. G. Cooke, found acorns to be the total sustenance of the Osage (LR-OIA-OA 631: 734).27 The Osage were so weakened by hunger that there was no resistance to the dragoons.

Removal of the eastern tribes was almost completed by 1839, and the period of Osage military power was over. The eastern Indians who
had been settled in present day eastern Oklahoma and Kansas numbered in excess of 73,000, while the Osage population had declined to about 5,500.28 That year the Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated "...[the eastern tribes have] little fear of the wild Indians. The number of emigrants has been so great, and they are pushing their settlements to the west" (RCLA 1838: 487). With their lands overrun and the game animals gone, the Arkansas Osage signed a treaty in 1839 in which they agreed to move to the reservation in Kansas (Foreman 1936: 266). In addition to the annuities which they were receiving under the treaty of 1825, the entire tribe was to receive 1,000 calves and cows, 2,000 hogs, 1,000 ploughs, 1,000 axes, 1,000 hoes, and instructors in farming and animal husbandry.

The Disintegration of the Traditional Political System

The period of warfare with the eastern tribes saw the disintegration of the traditional political system. The system had been undermined earlier by the warfare with the Caddoans and the interference of the traders. War leaders may well have arisen during the period of the Caddoan wars possessed of an alternative base of power separate from and opposed to that of the ceremonial chiefs. Interference by traders such as Auguste Chouteau in the selection of chiefs resulted in schisms over political leadership. Already weakened by internal divisions, the Osage were prevented from presenting a front against the eastern tribes, and as a result the tribe disintegrated before a better armed and numerically superior foe.

The dual chieftaincy had disappeared by the late 1700's, and the Tsi-zhu Ga-hi-ge had established themselves as the sole chiefs, one Grand Ga-hi-ge and one for each of the villages. In the 1770's the Grand Ga-hi-ge, or principal chief of the tribe, was the original Claremore (Houk 1909: 141-45).29 Upon Claremore's death in the 1790's Claremore's son was too young to assume the chieftaincy, and Pawhuska (White Hair)30 usurped the position with the help of Chouteau, who held a monopoly on the Osage trade. The installation of Pawhuska as principal chief was not indicative of a major change because Pawhuska was a member of the same lineage and as such had a legitimate claim on the office (Jackson 1966: Vol. II, 16).31

When Chouteau lost his trade monopoly in 1802, he tried to convince Pawhuska that he should move the Osage villages to the Arkansas River, but Pawhuska refused. Chouteau then found a supporter in Big Foot, who was able to establish a new village on the Arkansas (Jackson 1966: Vol. II, 16). Although other information is lacking on Big Foot, his name suggests that he probably belonged to the Panther clan. Since young Claremore quickly succeeded him as the head of the village, perhaps Big Foot was acting in Claremore's behalf.32
Thus in 1802 the Osage were divided into three main villages. The Little Osage village and Pawhuska's village of the Great Osage remained on the Osage River under the leadership of Pawhuska. Claremore's village acted independently of the others, but still recognized Pawhuska as principal chief.

More schisms occurred in 1803 when the Little Osage declared their independence of Pawhuska and the Great Osage (Ponziglione 1889: 57), and established themselves as a separate but allied tribe. At about the same time, another part of Pawhuska's Great Osage village broke away under the leadership of Black Dog, and formed a new village on the Verdigris near Claremore's village (Newman 1957: 36). The association of these two villages was so close that they are collectively referred to as Claremore's village.

The number of villages remained at four until the 1820's, though there were some population changes. Albert Pike mentioned a general migration from the Osage River villages to those on the Verdigris (Jackson 1966: Vol. II, 32), but the breakup of the four villages did not begin until Pawhuska's village and the Little Osage village moved west from the Osage River after the closure of Fort Osage in 1822. At that time small parties broke away to establish new villages, and still others migrated to the north and south to join other tribes, mainly the Kaw. Cortambert (1837: 34) reported that the Osage were living in six villages in the early 1830's - three villages of Pawhuska's band, the Little Osage village, and two villages under Claremore. In 1839 Tixier (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 126-29) reported eight villages - two under Claremore, the Little Osage village, four villages under Majakita (successor to Pawhuska), and a completely independent village under Handsome Bird. He also noted that many of the villages had ceased to cooperate in bison hunting. The fragmentation continued until about 1850 when Father Ponziglione (MS: 171-77) reported a total of seventeen villages scattered along the Neosho and Verdigris Rivers.35

The fragmentation of the Osage villages was part of a major political restructuring that resulted from the wars with the eastern tribes. Selection of chiefs had traditionally been based on heredity and not on war records. Neither the Pawhuskas nor the Claremares ever led a major war party, and most lacked a war record of any note. These men were "peace chiefs", men whose major job was to keep harmony in the village. The men responsible for defense were the Non'-hon-zhin-ga, old men whose power rested on their religious knowledge. As warfare became intensified the Osage found that their villages and lives were being constantly threatened by the better armed and numerically superior eastern Indians. The traditional political structure was unable to cope with the existing conditions, and many of the Osage turned to successful war leaders to guide them.

These "self-made" chiefs were men whose backgrounds gave them little or no claim to the positions that they took. The first of these "warrior
chiefs" was Black Dog, who established himself as a village chief in 1803. As a member of the Non-ga U-ta-non-dsi clan (La Flesche 1928: 140), his claim to power rested strictly on his military prowess. Later, from 1820 on, many such chiefs emerged: Handsome Bird, Strike-Axe, Wolf, Black Dog II, Tallai, Pawnee-no-pashe, and Tci-cio-anca, to name but a few of the more famous chiefs.

A few of these village chiefs were younger brothers of the principal chief. The brother of the principal chief Pawhuska II was a village chief in the 1830's (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 127), and in the 1850's Little White Hair of the Little Town village and Tci-cio-anca of Elk Town, brothers of George White Hair (Pawhuska III), were village chiefs (Ponziglione MS: 176). Under the traditional system these brothers would have had a legitimate claim on the chieftaincy but their chances of becoming chief would have been slight.

The traders also became involved in the game of making chiefs. In Nion-Chou, where the American Fur Company maintained its trading post, the traders helped establish Baptiste Mongrain, a mixed-blood, as chief (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 126-27). They even helped Majakita, son of the sister of Pawhuska II, to become principal chief although Majakita had no claim to the office (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 143). Majakita died a year later and was succeeded by George White Hair (Pawhuska III), son of Pawhuska II. 37

Although the Osage split into numerous villages during this period, the office of principal chief remained. Most of the villages recognized the Pawhuskas as the legitimate tribal chiefs, but their actual power was probably non-existent outside their own village.

As the war leaders undermined the power of the chiefs, so did the warriors as a group undermine the power of the Non'-hon-zhin-ga. The younger warriors established themselves as a council that was equal to if not superior in power to the Non'-hon-zhin-ga. Tixier in his description of the preparations made prior to leaving for the summer bison hunt noted a situation that was entirely new. Two large lodges were constructed outside the camp. One was for the old men, who were undoubtedly the Non'-hon-zhin-ga, and was called the "Fire of the Old Men." The second lodge was the "Fire of the Braves," or the war lodge. This war lodge had no place in the traditional organization and was indicative of the increasing importance of the young warriors who now actually had an important voice in planning the hunt (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 172-73). 38

In summary the traditional Osage political and war organization was unable to cope with the mass invasion of the eastern tribes. As a result the influence and the power of the traditional leaders declined. Many people turned to the warriors and war leaders for the security and protection which the Tsi-zhu chiefs and the Non'-hon-zhin-ga failed to provide them, and some went so far as to break away from the traditional villages and to form new villages under the more powerful war leaders.
Chapter IV Footnotes

1. The last Indian victim of an Osage raiding party was a Wichita chief killed in 1873.

2. In 1765 a band of 75 Kickapoo families, under the leadership of Serena, built a village on the Missouri River about 12 leagues (30 miles) west of St. Louis (Gibson 1963: 32).

3. Fort Carlos III was the name the Spanish gave to the old Arkansas Post.

4. Previously the rich Osage trade had been divided among a number of traders.

5. Most of the bison in Illinois were killed by a blizzard about 1775, and by 1800 the bison had disappeared east of the Mississippi (Shelford 1963: 335).

6. The new village, Pasona, was located near what is today Claremore mound, to the northeast of Claremore, Oklahoma and east of the Verdigris River. In 1803 Black Dog founded his village in what is today the Woodland Cemetery, to the southeast of Claremore, Oklahoma, and this village was called Pasuga (Newman 1957: 35-36). Usually these Osage were referred to as either the Arkansas Osage or the Osage of the Oaks. Another name for them was the "cheneers" which comes from a French word for oak (chene).

7. The Spanish must have overlooked this law when Chouteau constructed his post.

8. The General Act for the government of Louisiana, which was adopted on March 26, 1804, provided for removal of the tribes east of the Mississippi to Louisiana (Foreman 1936: 120).

9. The Potawatomi attacked an Osage hunting camp while the men were away and captured a large number of women and children. Later 46 of the captive Osage were recovered by American officials and returned home with the Pike party (Jackson 1966: Vol. II, 33).

10. The Osage living on the Osage River are commonly called the Missouri Osage to differentiate them from the Arkansas Osage.

11. Colonel J. Meigs wrote in 1805 that the Cherokee had been hunting west of the Mississippi for a number of years and that during that time there had been frequent clashes with the Osage. After the Treaty of Hopewell (1785), a number of Cherokee had moved west and settled on the White River. In 1794 the chief "The Bowle" and his followers settled on the Arkansas because they feared punishment for murders they had committed in the Tennessee River area. Another party of Cherokee
obtained a permit from the Governor of Louisiana to settle on the St. Francis River in 1797, but the Cherokee were not the only southeastern tribe with members living west of the Mississippi during this period. A Choctaw village had been reported on the Ouachita River in 1774, and in 1805 a Choctaw village was reported on the Red River in 1807 and were at war with the Osage (Foreman 1936: 26-29).

12 Tahlonteshe, chief of the Arkansas Cherokee, told American officials that: "We [the Cherokee] want a clear opening to the setting sun" (Foreman 1936: 67).

13 The Osage held meetings with the Sac and Fox, Shawnee, Delaware, Creek, Quapaw, and Kansa (Nuttall 1905: 248).

14 The Cherokee war party included 10 Delaware, 12 Creek, 12 Choctaw, and 15 Shawnee (Foreman 1936: 107). Earlier the Cherokee had promised to give land to the Quapaw, Shawnee, Delaware, Chickasaw, and Choctaw if they would help them in the war against the Osage (Foreman 1936: 69).

15 The Ordinance of 1787 prohibited intervention in an Indian war unless whites were involved. Thus Major Bradford's hands were legally tied (Reid 1964: 3-4).

16 Very little is known about this battle, except that both sides sustained heavy losses.

17 The Cherokee returned 8 captives immediately, and in September, 21 more Osage captives were returned (Foreman 1936: 119). The majority of the captives, however, were never returned.

18 On December 19, 1822, Congress passed a bill to do away with all federal factories (H.D., 18th C., 2nd S., D.N. 61: 7).

19 House Documents (cited throughout as H.D.).

20 While the Cherokee were attacking the Arkansas Osage, the Missouri Osage had come into more conflict with the Algonkins. Between 1818 and 1821 thousands of Algonkian Indians--Delaware, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Miami, Piankashaw, and Wea--were placed on reservations just east of the Osage. The area occupied by these tribes was the area ceded in the 1808 treaty as well as a region still used by the Missouri Osage for trapping.

21 The Osage discovered a party of Cherokee hunters, led by Tom Graves, on the Canadian River. Graves was known to have brutally murdered a number of Osage children who were captured in the 1821 raid. The Osage attacked the party in an attempt to kill Graves, and though he escaped they did kill his nephew (Foreman 1936: 127).

22 Senate Documents (cited throughout as S.D.).
Although treaties were signed during this period, most of the tribes did not move immediately. It was not until the 1840's that removal of the southeastern tribes was completed.

The attack on the Kiowa village at Cut-Throat Gap was particularly vicious. Few captives were taken, and the slain were mainly women and children. After the attack, the Osage cut off the heads of the victims and placed them in brass kettles in a row through the center of the village. The beheading of the victims left no doubt as to the identity of the attackers since the Osage were the only tribe in the region who practiced that custom.

In hunting bison the Osage generally scattered the herd, and individual hunters pursued and killed bison. This meant that the warriors were widely scattered and extremely vulnerable to attack. Tixier reported that on a single hunt sometime about 1830, the Comanche killed 5 Osage hunters (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 193).

Letters Received-Office of Indian Affairs-Osage Agency (cited throughout as LR-OIA-OA); numbers refer to microfilm roll number and frame number.

Captain St. George Cooke reported that their crops had been destroyed by drought and that there was no wild game in the area. In all ten camps that were removed by his dragoons, he found the Osage to be subsisting on acorns. He stated that if the government did not act the Osage would become extinct (LR-OIA-OA 631: 736).

For 1839 Thomas Farnham (1906: 121) gave the following census of eastern tribes settled on or about the Osage lands as:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Choctaw</td>
<td>15,600</td>
<td>Piankasha</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickasaw</td>
<td>5,500</td>
<td>Peoria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>Kaskaskia</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creek</td>
<td>22,500</td>
<td>Ottawa</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seneca and</td>
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<td>823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawnee</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminole</td>
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<td>Kickapoo</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potawatomi</td>
<td>1,650</td>
<td>Sac</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wea</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73,800

Claremore has been spelled a number of different ways: Clermo, Clamore, Clermont, and Cleromon. From the late eighteenth century until the late nineteenth century there was a Claremore every generation, and usually he was a chief.

Pawhuska means white hair, and in the literature individuals having this name are commonly referred to as either Pawhuska or White Hair. A Pawhuska was present in each generation from the late eighteenth century until the establishment of the Oklahoma reservation. For
clarity I have referred to the first Pawhuska as simply Pawhuska, but subsequent Pawhuskas are referred to as II, III, IV.

31 The first Pawhuska was the younger brother of the dead chief Claremore, and thus the uncle of the Claremore who founded the Arkansas River village.

32 As a member of the Panther clan, Big Foot may have been the Great Soldier (Ton-ga A'-ki-da), and thus may have had a traditional role in the selection of a new chief (see Chapter II).

33 The Little Osage village always acted independently of the other Osage villages. As stated earlier, the Little Osage village moved to the Missouri River about 1700 and only returned to the Osage River because of attacks by the Algonkians.

34 La Flesche (1928: 140) identified Black Dog (Shon-ton-ca-be) as an Isolated Hon-ga clan name.

35 The fragmentation of the tribe did not take place at random. Each of the villages was identified with one of the five bands. After removal to the Oklahoma reservation, the villages settled in five band areas although they did not establish separate villages.

36 Mad Buffalo led the abortive raid on the Cherokee in 1821. Claremore's role in this raid is unknown. Later in the year members of Claremore's village embushed a Cherokee war party. The leader of the Osage party is not known, but it is certain that is was not Claremore.

37 McDermott and Salvan (1940: 144) theorized that the leader may have been Young White Hair (George White Hair, Pawhuska III) because they could find no other traveler or historian who mentions a chief of this name. However, in agency reports there is a chief by the name of Mush-ah-ki-tah who was principal chief in January of 1841 (IR-OIA-QA 631: 995). He must have been chief for only a few years since in 1842 George White Hair, Pawhuska III, was chief (IR-OIA-QA 632: 47). Both chiefs are mentioned in the reports of Agent Callaway.

38 Tixier (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 128-29) states: "The village of the Quiet-Hearts under the command of Man-Chap-Che-Mani (The-One-Who-Crawls-on-the-Ground) is inhabited by young warriors who have taken the name of Band-of-Dogs." This does not seem to be a confusion with Black Dog's village since Tixier also mentions that village. On the other hand the Quiet-Hearts (Heart-Stays) are one of the five permanent Osage bands. The name, Band-of-Dogs, and the fact that the village was reported to have been inhabited by a group of young warriors, would lead one to believe that perhaps a warrior society was developing named and modeled after the Cheyenne Dog Soldier society.
CHAPTER V

THE KANSAS RESERVATION: 1839-1871

The period of Osage history from the settlement of the entire tribe on the Kansas reservation in 1839 until its removal to Oklahoma in 1871 has no single distinguishing characteristic. Several important changes took place simultaneously in Osage economy and in the Osage relationship to the white population and to other Indians. Buffalo robes replaced deer hides and beaver pelts as the mainstay of trade, and the Osage began to act as middlemen who exchanged items of white manufacture for the robes of the plains tribes. At the same time they came in contact not only with agents and missionaries who wanted to civilize and Christianize them, but also with whiskey traders, horse thieves, and squatters who were eager to degrade and defraud them.

Changes in the Fur Trade

When the market for beaver pelts declined during the late 1830's and early 1840's, the traders discouraged beaver trapping by the Osage (Chouteau Coll., no number). Although most of their better trapping territories had already been overrun by eastern Indians, the decline did affect the Osage because beaver pelts were still one of their major trade items. Fortunately for the Osage a new market developed for buffalo robes (Lewis 1942: 29), and for the first time the Osage were able to combine trade activities with subsistence activities.

Relations between the Osage and the plains tribes, in particular the Comanche and the Kiowa, were also changing. Since the attack on the Kiowa village at Cut-Throat Gap, the Kiowa and their Comanche allies had been successful in keeping Osage hunting parties east of the Arkansas and away from the large herds around the Salt Plains. But when a war in the north with the Cheyenne and Arapaho and a war with the Texans closed their usual sources of trade, the Kiowa and the Comanche made peace with the Osage in order to acquire a new source of guns and to reduce the number of their enemies. The peace gave the Osage undisturbed access to the plains and a very profitable trade.

In exchange for guns, powder, lead, blankets, cloth, and other items of white manufacture, the Osage received mainly buffalo robes and horses—the latter usually stolen from ranches in Texas or Mexico or from caravans on the Santa Fe trail. Occasionally the Osage purchased captive children, either white or Mexican, from the Comanche, knowing that the government would reward them for the service.
normal rate of exchange in this trade was one gun, valued at $20, for one or two mules which were worth $40 to $60. By the mid-1840's the scope of this trade was enormous. In 1847 the Osage, by pledging their annuity payments for two or three years, were able to get over $24,000 worth of trade goods on credit. They in turn traded these goods to the Comanche for 1,500 mules, worth approximately $60,000 (RCIA 1848: 541).

Occasionally the source of the Comanche horses caused the Osage some difficulties. For example, in 1847 the Army arrested five Osage who had 24 oxen, one horse, a few head of cattle, and an Army carbine in their possession. Some of the livestock had the Army brand, and the carbine was of new Army issue; these were later identified as having been taken in a raid on an Army detachment operating on the Sante Fe trail. The Osage claimed that they had received the stolen goods from the Comanche and were released. The Army, however, suspected that at least some of the younger Osage were joining the Comanche in their raids on the Sante Fe trail (LR-01A-0A 633: 8-9). Despite these difficulties the trade continued until 1853, when the Comanche signed a treaty with the United States government and were supplied with trade items (Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 300).5

In addition to trading with the Comanche for robes, the Osage also continued to hunt bison for robes. They traded with the Comanche on their summer hunt, but during their winter hunt they devoted their energies to killing the prime-quality bison. According to the agent, the Osage brought home 6,000 buffalo robes, 10,000 deer skins, and a few other furs from the "disappointing" winter hunt of 1847. The buffalo robes were valued at approximately $18,000 and the deer skins at about $7,500. The minor furs brought the Osage only about $2,000 (RCIA 1848: 543-544).6 Perhaps, however, the hunt was rather disappointing, as Father Ponziglione (N.S.; 267) states that in the 1850's the Osage were trading about 20,000 buffalo robes annually.

"Civilizing" the Osage

At the very time when the Osage were enjoying the greatest peace and prosperity that they had known in decades, the government decided to launch a "civilization" program. As early as the 1820's both the government and the missionary societies had realized that the western Indians must eventually give up hunting and become settled farmers, but little action was taken in regard to the Osage. The government did virtually nothing, while Protestant and Catholic missionaries made only feeble attempts. The missionaries established two missions and one manual labor school, but these were soon abandoned because of the Osage's lack of interest.7 It was not until the 1840's that the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the missionaries made the first concerted effort to turn the Osage into Christian farmers.
Under the terms of the treaty of 1839, the Osage were to be supplied with hogs, cattle, plows, and axes as well as with a blacksmith, a miller, and agricultural instructors. The Osage, however, had no desire to take up farming. Hunting was still good in the 1840's, and they were comfortably supplied with provisions (LR-OIA-OA 632: 800). Distribution of livestock and farm implements met with strong opposition from the tribal leaders, and most of the band chiefs did everything in their power to discourage individuals from becoming farmers and ranchers. Some chiefs killed the livestock of those who tried to farm. Other chiefs accepted the livestock and then sold the animals to traders or staged a feast (LR-OIA-OA 632: 431).

But despite the opposition of many band chiefs, some families wanted to farm. In 1842 twelve families, including principal chief George White Hair (Pawhuska III), fenced and plowed land. The other chiefs denounced George White Hair and his fellow farmers, and threatened to replace him with the more conservative Shingah-wah-sah. Seeing his power threatened, the old chief had his own livestock killed the next year (LR-OIA-OA 632: 37, 367, 428, 431).

Agency policy helped undermine the government's efforts to establish the Osage as farmers. To prevent annuity payments from being used to buy whiskey, the payments were given to the chiefs, not to family heads. Each chief received credit at one of the trading posts for a given value of goods, and he was responsible for seeing that each household in his band received its share (LR-OIA-OA 632: 66-67). Although this was perhaps a better way to control the annuity money, the method also gave the generally conservative chiefs considerable economic control over their people.

The "civilizing" program proved to be a complete failure, but the failure was viewed by government officials as due more to improper implementation than to Osage resistance. Proper supervision and instruction had been lacking. The agent was not resident on the reservation, but lived at Fort Scott, a day's travel from the closest Osage village. The positions of miller and agricultural instructor were usually unfilled. To provide the needed instruction the government subsidized the establishment of mission schools on the reservation, and in April, 1847, the Jesuits founded a mission and manual labor school for boys. The role of the missionaries was to instruct the Osage in both basic academic subjects and in skills such as carpentry and agriculture. Later that year the Sisters of Loretto arrived and opened a convent for girls. From the time of its founding until the Osage were removed to Oklahoma, Osage Mission supplied most of the agricultural instruction for the Osage.

The missionaries were only slightly more successful than the agency employees. Since most of the mixed-bloods were at least nominally Catholic, the missionaries were able to persuade most of
them to become farmers. But even though the missionaries became well respected by the full-bloods, few of the latter either accepted Christianity or became farmers.

**Coming of the White Settlers**

Tixier reported in 1839 that 50 miles of prairie separated the Osage villages and the white settlements. To the north, east, and south of the Osage were the reservations of the eastern tribes, and directly east of the Osage was an area called the Neutral Landa, uninhabited by Indians but still not open for white settlement. Within 20 years however white settlements were located along the eastern border of the Osage reservation.

During the 1840's contact between the Osage and whites increased rapidly. Whiskey traders were the most destructive of the transient whites on the reservation and for the first time alcohol became a real problem for the Osage. The agent reported in May of 1842 that: "...the Osage have drunk more in the last month than in the previous ten years" (LR-OIA-OA 632: 96). The traders exchanged their whiskey for cash, horses, guns, buffalo robes, and anything else of value. A large percentage of the Comanche horses went for whiskey. In 1848 the agent reported that of the 1,500 horses which the Osage had received in trade from the Comanche the previous year, 500 had been traded for whiskey (RCIA 1848: 542). Some of the cattle and hogs that were distributed by the government had also gone to these traders (LR-OIA-OA 632: 431).

The problems of the Osage multiplied in the 1850's. The whiskey peddlers were still operating unchecked, but their operations were overshadowed by the threat of the white farmers. By the early 1850's white settlements had reached the eastern border of the "permanent" Indian frontier, and settlers soon crossed the line and began to establish farms on some of the reservations. Demands were made by white settlers that the reservations should be moved, and Kansas opened for white settlement. Twelve treaties were signed in 1854 with Indians living in this region, and nearly 18,000,000 acres were ceded to the government. White settlers flooded the ceded area, with the result that: "...the Kansans engaged in an orgy of looting and intimidation unequalled since the Georgians harried the Cherokees a generation earlier" (Hagan 1961: 98-99).

Although the Osage reservation was not included in the cession, white settlers began to move into the reserve and take up farming. The agent had some of the settlers removed in 1859 (LR-OIA-NA 532: 65) but large numbers remained on the reservation. Not only did they intrude onto Osage lands, but the whites also killed the game and stole...
Osage horses. The agent commented upon "...the great number of people passing through their country, since the establishment of Kansas Territory, in every direction, killing and destroying the buffalo and other game..." (RCIA 1857: 206). In the years 1857 and 1858 it was reported that more than two hundred horses were stolen from the Osage by whites (RCIA 1858: 133,137). The areas east and north of the reserve were occupied by whites, and white settlements were not far from the permanent villages.

When most of the better farm land in Kansas Territory was occupied, white farmers began lobbying for the opening of the Osage reservation. In 1861 the "people" of Allen County, Kansas, petitioned for elimination of the Osage reservation and the opening of the land for settlement (LR-01A-OA 632: 693-99), but the outbreak of the Civil War temporarily relieved the pressure on the Osage.

The Osage and the Civil War

The involvement of the Osage in the Civil War was slight, at least in comparison to the tribes living further south, but northern and southern factions did develop in the tribe. Their agent, a southerner and strong supporter of the Confederacy, and a pro-slavery fur trader were able initially to rally most of the Osage to the southern cause. The only pro-Union influence came from the Jesuit missionaries who were able to keep some of the Osage villages on the Neosho River loyal to the Union. Thus the choice of sides was based solely upon personal loyalty rather than upon any knowledge or interest in the causes of the conflict (Mathews 1961: 628-630; Graves 1928: 74, 80).

Shortly after the war began the agent left for the east, and the trader John Mathews became the leader of the pro-southern whites and Osage in that region of Kansas. In the late summer of 1861 a number of small battles were fought between Mathews' southern forces and the Union army. In September Mathews was killed and his "army" defeated and scattered. The southern faction of the Osage found themselves without any direction in the conflict. In October of 1861 the leaders of the Great Osage bands signed a treaty of alliance with the Confederacy at Park Hill in the Cherokee Nation. But after the signing the Osage returned to their villages and soon forgot the treaty (Mathews 1961: 637).

The war caused a complete breakdown in law and order along the frontier. Southern Kansas became, for a time, a no-man's land controlled by neither the North nor the South. Bands of outlaws roamed the area stealing horses, women, robes, and anything of value that the Indians or white settlers possessed and killing those who resisted. Even the uniformed and organized military units were not above outright thievery.12
The major concern of the Osage became security from this chaos, and the bands scattered in all directions. Black Dog and Big Chief led their bands south and settled in the Creek and Cherokee Nations. Little White Hair (Pawhuska IV), in spite of having signed the treaty at Park Hill, moved his group near Fort Scott and allied himself with the Union troops stationed there. Some of the Little Osage, whom the Jesuits had kept loyal to the Union, joined the Ninth Kansas Infantry (Mathews 1961: 637); in all, some 252 Osage fought for the Union (LR-OIA-NA 533: 542).13

The fact that Osage bands were allied with different sides during the war did not affect the relationship between the bands. At no time did the Osage actually fight each other, and relations between the northern and southern bands seem not have been hostile. Throughout the war, bands from both sides joined or intermingled with one another during the bison hunts. Sometimes members of the Black Dog and Big Chief bands visited in the camps of the "Union Osage" in Kansas, and before the war ended these two bands were back on the reserve (Mathews 1961: 637).14

Osage Removal

The Civil War had little direct effect on the full-bloods, who for the most part had not been engaged in the fighting. The Osage who suffered most were the mixed-bloods and the few full-bloods who were attempting to farm. During the war their farms were burned and the fields left idle. None of the livestock distributed in the 1840's and 1850's survived the war, and in 1865 the tribe had only 50 acres under cultivation (LR-OIA-NA 533: 541).

Even as the war was in progress, there was growing political pressure for the removal of the Indian tribes still living in Kansas. As early as 1862 officials talked to the Osage about ceding their reservation (McReynolds 1954: 22-23), but the real problem was where to relocate the Osage and other tribes. When treaties negotiated with the Five Civilized Tribes in 1866 made available the western parts of their reservation for the relocation of "friendly Indians," the only task remaining to Kansas politicians was to convince the Kansas Indians that they should move.

After the war federal officials negotiated a new treaty with the Osage. Under the terms of the 1865 treaty, the Osage surrendered a thirty-by-fifty mile area (30 miles east to west and 50 miles north to south) of the eastern part of the reservation, together with a 20-mile-wide strip of the northern part of the reservation. The reason given for the sale was that the Osage were impoverished because annuity payments from other treaties had lapsed in 1859. The ceded area was to
be held in trust by the government, surveyed and sold to white settlers. The proceeds from the sale were to be placed in the United States Treasury and used to help "civilize" the Osage. Because of the treaty, the Osage villages on the Neosho River had to be moved further west to the Verdigris River.

White settlers poured into Kansas at such a rapid rate after the war that the newly ceded area was soon occupied, and new settlers began looking for more land. The landless whites paid little heed to the boundaries of the reservation and moved in to occupy whatever land they wished. At first the government tried to remove the squatters, but as the agent reported, "for every one leaving five come in" (LR-OIA-NA 534: 661). The settlers raised four companies of militia on the pretense that they were needed in case of an Indian raid, but the real purpose was to provoke the Osage to some hostile act so that the government would be forced to remove them (LR-OIA-NA 534: 700). Fortunately for both sides the plan failed.

The government's delay in paying the Osage for the land ceded in 1865 did not help the situation (LR-OIA-NA 534: 700). As if the Osage were not having enough trouble, war broke out between them and the plains Indians. Osage had served as scouts in the white campaigns against the plains tribes. Lieutenant Colonel Custer, as well as other commanders, used Osage scouts, and Osage served as scouts at the Cheyenne massacre on the Washita (Berthrong 1963: 324-26). This work probably caused the difficulties. The Osage could not or would not go on their summer hunt in 1868 because of hostile western Indians, and as a result they were short of food (LR-OIA-NA 535: 285). As in 1867, annuities were again delayed, and the Osage were forced to trade their personal horses for food (LR-OIA-NA 535: 600).

Throughout the summer of 1868 the settlers became increasingly hostile toward the Osage. The rabble-rousing activities of "leading men" in surrounding communities, and editorials proclaiming that the Osage lacked any legal rights, caused the increased hostility (LR-OIA-NA 535: 285-86). The agent reported that more than one hundred of the best Osage horses were stolen in a three-month period by the settlers, and that thefts had reached the rate of five to 20 daily. The local courts were of no help; although the identity of the thieves was known, not one was brought to trial (LR-OIA-NA 535: 286-87). Under pressure from both the plains Indians and the white settlers, an Osage war party killed two whites in the so-called Walnut Creek murders. The agent acted rapidly, and the Osage handed over two men for trial (LR-OIA-NA 535: 265-66). Fortunately for the accused, they were tried in federal court at Topeka and discharged on the grounds that the court did not have jurisdiction (LR-OIA-NA 535: 603).

In 1869 pressure from the Kansans forced the government to negotiate a new treaty with the Osage. Under this treaty the Osage lands
in Kansas were ceded; but, as in the treaty of 1865, the government held the lands in trust and planned to sell them to white farmers. The money from this land sale would be deposited in the federal treasury, and the Osage would receive five per cent interest. Part of the money was to be used to purchase a new reservation in what is today Oklahoma, on the western lands of the Cherokee.

To the Kansans the signing of the treaty was tantamount to opening the reservation for settlement. They ignored the fact that Congress had not ratified the treaty and that a new reservation had yet to be selected. Even whites who knew that settlement was illegal moved in and began farming the more desirable pieces of land, hoping that they could hold the property until the reserve was opened and then make their claims legal. The result was that several thousand whites moved onto the reservation while the Osage were gone on their summer hunt. When they returned, they discovered that their cabins and fields were occupied by squatters and that cattle were eating their horses' winter feed. Some whites had even burned one of the vacant villages and destroyed a large amount of corn stored there. The timber which the Osage depended upon for winter fuel was being cut and stolen (LR-OIA-NA 536: 158-59).

The Osage were angered, and some members of the tribe struck back, burning wheat fields, killing cattle and hogs, and stealing horses (Ponziglione M.S.: 395-96). When their agent questioned them about the depredations, the Osage replied that the whites owed them rent and that they were going to take whatever they wished (LR-OIA-NA 536: 160). The whites did not take this treatment without reprisals. They took Osage ponies as "compensation" for damages, and armed whites beat a number of Osage (LR-OIA-NA 536: 11-12, 160). For the most part the government stayed out of the conflict and supported neither the whites nor the Osage. Only after two chiefs, Hard Rope and Chetopa, threatened to drive out the whites by force did the government take any official action. An ineffective attempt was made by the military to remove the squatters (LR-OIA-NA 536: 162-63).

The chaotic situation continued, and still the government seemed in no hurry to remove the Osage. Congress acted slowly on the subject of treaties, and a new reservation had to be established and land found for the reserve. The Treaty of 1869 was ratified by Congress the following year, but more than two years elapsed before land for a new reservation was found and approved.
Chapter V Footnotes

1H. H. Sibley to P. Chouteau, Jr., and Company Mendota, March 9, 1846.

2It is not certain as to when the Osage and Comanche made peace, but it was probably about 1837 or 1838. Although the Osage and Kiowa stopped fighting at this time, the Osage never directly traded with the Kiowa. Feeling was probably too strong for them to meet and trade. Instead, the Comanche operated as middlemen between the two tribes.

3In the summer of 1840, the Comanche and Kiowa made peace with the Cheyenne and Arapaho. This gave the Comanche and Kiowa access to trade at Bent's Fort (Grinnell 1956: 45-69). However, this does not seem to have interfered with the Osage-Comanche trade.

4In 1843 George White Hair traded with the Comanche for an 8-year-old white girl taken in a raid in Texas (LR-OIA-OA 632: 310). Two years later, in 1845, the Osage traded guns for a Mexican boy (LR-OIA-OA 632: 801).

5On July 27, 1853, the U.S. government signed a treaty with the Comanche, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache. Under the terms of this treaty these tribes would receive annually $18,000 in merchandise, provisions and agricultural implements for a period of five years or as long as the President deemed it necessary (Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 300).

6(Chouteau Coll. #947)

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<td>32</td>
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7In 1821 two Protestant missions were founded to work among the Osage. Harmony Mission was founded by the United Foreign Missionary Society on the Osage River (McDermott and Salvan 1940: 110), and the Congregational Church established Union Mission on the Neosho River (McReynolds 1954: 74). Each mission consisted of a school for the instruction of the children and farms for agricultural instruction. The Catholic Church established a manual labor school for the Osage near St. Louis in 1824 (Graves 1916: 93-94). The land cession of 1825 destroyed the effectiveness of all three. The Catholic school was quickly closed. Harmony Mission survived until 1837 or 1838, and Union Mission phased out the work with the Osage and concentrated instead on the Cherokee who were moving into the region.
8In 1851 the Osage agency was combined with the agencies for the Shawnee, the Quapaw, and the Seneca. The Neosho Agency, as it was called, was located on the Quapaw reservation.

9The Osage mixed-bloods were usually of Osage and French ancestry. Most of them spoke French and thought of themselves as Catholics, even though the early Catholic missionaries stated that the mixed-bloods knew little about Catholicism. Since most of them were the descendants of French fathers and Osage mothers the mixed-bloods did not have Osage clans and thus were not considered to be "real" Osage by the full-bloods.

10In 1854 a number of tribes ceded all or part of their lands in Kansas; these tribes included the Delaware, Iowas, Kickapoo, Kaskaskia, Peoria, Piankashaw, Wea, Miami, Sac and Fox, and Shawnee (Royce 1899: 790-98).

11Letters-Received, Office of Indian Affairs, Neosho Agency (cited throughout as LR-OIA-NA). Numbers refer to microfilm roll number and frame.

12Union officers were reported to have stolen large numbers of cattle from the Indians during the Civil War (McReynolds 1954: 221).

13Graves (1928:80) states that about 400 Osage joined the 2nd Indian Regiment of the Union Army, and about 25 educated mixed-bloods joined white regiments.

14Osage participation in the war was slight. The largest battle in which the Osage were engaged was an attack on a party of 22 Confederate officers who were passing through Kansas in an attempt to get to Colorado. The Osage annihilated the party.

15The population of Kansas was rapidly increasing. In 1860 the population was 107,206. By 1870 it stood at 364,399, and by 1880 it was 996,096 (U.S. Census 1961: 12-13).

16The Osage were trading at the rate of a horse per cup of flour.
CHAPTER VI

THE OKLAHOMA RESERVATION

The new reservation formed an imperfect triangle, bounded on the north by Kansas, on the east by the ninety-sixth meridian, and on the west and south by the Arkansas River. It contained almost 1,500,000 acres. The eastern section and the area along the Arkansas were covered with oak and hickory forests occasionally broken by tracts of open prairie, while the northern and western parts of the reserve were composed of rolling grasslands. The Osage were no strangers to the new reservation. They had ceded the region in the Treaty of 1825 but had continued to cross it in their trips to the bison range west of the Arkansas until they were removed from Kansas.

The Osage in 1872 had few neighbors. To the east was the Cherokee Nation, which had the ninety-sixth meridian as its western boundary. Some distance to the south were the Creek, and to the west of the Arkansas were the Cheyenne and Arapaho. North of the reservation, in southern Kansas, their former reserve was rapidly filling with white farmers. Within a few years the region surrounding the Osage was filled with other tribes. The Kaw purchased the extreme northwestern part of the Osage reservation in 1874.1 Across the Arkansas, new reserves were established for some of the central plains tribes: the Ponca, the Otoe and Missouri, the Iowa, and the Pawnee, traditional enemies of the Osage.2

Generally the Osage removal from Kansas was not as traumatic an experience as was the removal of some of the other tribes, since the old and the new reservations adjoined one another. In late 1870 the Osage packed up all their belongings and left on their winter bison hunt. When they finished hunting in January, 1871, they did not return to Kansas, but went instead to the new reservation. A few families who wished to remain in Kansas had to be forced to move south, but they were the exception. The major problem of the army was to remove white squatters who had illegally established farms in the northern part of the reserve while the region was still part of the Cherokee Outlet.

Osage Life after Removal

The year following the Osage removal an agency census listed 3,956 Osage, of whom only 277 were mixed-bloods, the rest full-bloods. The
Map 5
Indian Reservations Circa 1825 and Osage Land Cessions

Area east of line A-A' ceded in Treaty of 1808
Area B ceded in Treaty of 1818
Area C land remaining after Treaty of 1825

- Indian villages
- Forts
- Reservation boundary
full-bloods were reportedly divided into seven bands, ranging in number from about 230 to approximately 1,000 persons (RCIA 1872: 246). Slightly earlier and slightly later reports indicate that there were probably more than seven bands; perhaps the census grouped several together for convenience. Father Ponziglione (NS: 177-78) listed seventeen bands in 1850, and the Osage agent listed thirteen in 1875 (LR-OIA-OA 635: 515-23). The bands settled in five areas, corresponding to the five traditional permanent villages to which they had belonged. The Big Hills located their villages along Salt Creek near what is today Fairfax, Oklahoma, while the Upland Forest people settled along Hominy Creek. The Thorny Thickets and Heart-Stayas established villages along Bird Creek near the agency. The Heart-Stayas founded their only village upstream from the agency, while the Thorny Thickets settled in a number of villages downstream. The villages of the Little Osage were established in the northern part of the reservation on Mission Creek and Pond Creek (Mathews 1961: 698-99). 3

The clan system was still operating, probably much as it had in the pre-contact period. Clan wi-gi-e (prayers) were still known and used in the tribal ceremonies, food taboos were still practiced, clans were still initiating Non'hon'zhin'ga, and moiety exogamy was still followed. In short the clans and all connected religious aspects were still intact. After the initial change from patrilocal to matrilocal residence (Changes in Osage Social Organization, Chapter III), the household structure seems to have stabilized. The major problem was in political organization.

The traditional political structure had almost completely disintegrated before removal to the Kansas reserve. At the outbreak of the Civil War, the principal chief died and was succeeded by Little White Hair, who had earlier been rejected because he was sickly and unable to handle the position (Ponziglione NS: 176). Owing to the weakness of Little White Hair's leadership, the Osage during the war scattered in small groups over what is now Kansas and Oklahoma. The situation worsened when Little White Hair died in 1869 and Governor Joe, 4 an individual with no hereditary claim to the office, became principal chief due to support of the missionaries and the Indian agent. Although he was literate and probably one of the most capable men in the tribe, he could not command the allegiance of the numerous village chiefs. The result was a chaotic situation in which the tribe was divided into thirteen or fourteen small bands, each led by "a chief who was jealous of every other chief and would not cooperate in any activity in which some other chief would be placed over him" (RCIA 1877: 92). Most of the chiefs could not even control their own bands, while the Non'hon'zhin'ga had lost all political power. Power rested in the hands of the younger warriors (RCIA 1867: 326). Thus there was no longer any political organization on the tribal level. The next thirty years would see the introduction of a tribal council based on a European model, the decline of the clan system, the disappearance of the Non'hon'zhin'ga in the tribal ceremonies, and the disintegration of the extended family household.
Economic Change: Last of the Bison Hunts

Immediately after the Osage removal to Oklahoma, the Bureau of Indian Affairs once again attempted to establish the Osage as farmers. But bison were still numerous enough to make the annual hunts worthwhile, and the majority of the Osage paid little attention to the attempts of the agent.

The years 1872 and 1873 passed with little change in the economic pattern of the Osage. Pressure from the agent did result in an increase in the number of acres under cultivation. The agent reported that in 1873 agricultural instructors had plowed 563 acres for the full-bloods, and that Osage women had increased the size of their gardens ("squaw patches"), thus showing that the Osage were taking an increasing interest in farming (RCIA 1875: 277). A few of the poorer full-bloods stopped going on the hunts and remained behind, working for the agency; but the majority of their tribesmen traveled every summer and winter to the plains of western Oklahoma, Texas, and Kansas to hunt bison both for food and for hides to trade. The agent reported that the Osage had a good winter hunt in 1873 and were well supplied with dried meat and tallow. The number of hides taken, however, was only 10,800 (RCIA 1874: 222; Ponziglione 1875: 70), about half the number annually reported during the 1850's (Ponziglione MS: 267).

Shortly after the Osage left the reservation for their summer hunt in 1874 the so-called "Red River War" broke out between the southern plains tribes and the United States Cavalry. Most of the Kiowa, Comanche, Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho left their reservations in western Oklahoma and headed for the Panhandle area of Texas, pursued by the Cavalry. The Osage agent immediately sent word to the tribe to return to the reservation at once, so that they would not become involved in the hostilities. The chiefs obeyed; the Osage returned before the hunt had begun, and there was a consequent shortage of meat (RCIA 1875: 276). Continuance of the war caused the War Department to order the Osage to forgo their winter hunt as well (LR-OIA-OA 633: 663-66). To compound the Osage difficulties drought and grasshoppers devastated their crops, and they were forced to live on rations issued by the agent and paid for out of their tribal funds (RCIA 1875: 276).

In the same summer Kansas became off limits to the Osage because droughts and grasshopper plagues had put the white farmers in a desperate mood. Groups of armed farmers patrolled the border looking for Indians to rob and kill in the hope that an Indian war would result, and that they would then be enrolled as paid militiamen. One Osage hunting party was attacked south of Medicine Lodge, Kansas, and four Osage were killed. The agent, however, restrained the Osage from taking revenge (LR-OIA-OA 634: 318-37, 367-71; RCIA 1874: 226-27), and war was avoided.5

In 1875 the Osage were once more forbidden to hunt bison and were ordered to remain on the reserve unless they secured special permission
to leave. Rations were issued to the "civilized" families and the others found themselves with little, if anything, to eat. The agent thought that by withholding rations he could force the "wild Osage" into taking up farming. Some Osage did not accept this treatment from the agent without hostile displays. Governor Joe, the principal chief, demanded that rations be issued to the band chiefs according to custom (LR-OIA-OA 634: 240). When the demand was refused, Governor Joe and a party of 75 to 100 young Osage left the reserve (LR-OIA-OA 634: 224). The agent became frightened of trouble at the next distribution and requested the War Department to send cavalry to protect the agency. He also tried unsuccessfully to remove Governor Joe as principal chief and replace him with the more manageable Chetopa (LR-OIA-OA 634: 224, 240). The cavalry was sent to protect the agency, and the Osage leaders found themselves completely powerless. The presence of the cavalry, although only for a short time, effectively broke the power of the Osage. Except in a few minor cases the Osage no longer openly opposed the agent.

The following spring a large party of Osage left the reserve and was reported to the Army. Although the Army column that was sent failed to intercept them, they did force them back to the reserve (LR-OIA-OA 634: 941). Rations soon ran low at the agency, and to keep the Osage from starving they were allowed to go on their summer hunt. By this time the bison had been so nearly exterminated by hide hunters that few remained on the southern plains. The hunt was a complete failure and the Osage returned destitute and half starved (RCIA 1876: 54). The situation which greeted them was not encouraging. Their crops had been totally destroyed by floods and the agency was short of funds for rations (LR-OIA-OA 635: 369). Although an extreme food shortage existed, the agent decided against allowing them to go on the winter hunt. He gave no particular reason for his action, but the region to the west of the Osage, the Cherokee Strip, was being used by cattlemen to graze their herds (LR-OIA-OA 635: 941) and he probably thought that the Osage might engage in cattle stealing.

Father Shoemaker visited the Osage in October and wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that they had to go hunting or face starvation (LR-OIA-OA 635: 157). A few days later the agent wrote the Commissioner and reported that the agency was out of money for rations. Though the Osage had at this time more than one million dollars in the United States Treasury, they could use only the interest from the money. The Commissioner did send them $500 for food and $2,500 for the school (LR-OIA-OA 635: 369, 371).

**Economic Change: Further Attempts at "Civilization"**

The only hope for the Osage, in the minds of government officials, was to take up agriculture and become educated so that they could survive in what was rapidly becoming a white man's world. Unlike many other tribes, the Osage had a large sum of money from the sale of their Kansas
reservation which could be used in the "civilization program". By
1880 the tribe had $1,992,972 in funds, which at five per cent interest
yielded an annual income of $90,648. Ten years later this fund had
grown to $8,189,807 and brought the tribe (after reinvestments) an in-
come of $98,376 a year (Wright 1951: 196).9

What the government wished to do for the Osage, and all other In-
dians, was to make them into productive "white" citizens, but even the
most optimistic of agents realized that this was going to take some time.
The method or methods used were quite complex. From the subjects co-
vered in official reports of the agents, those items which the govern-
ment considered most important soon become evident.10 The primary goal
was to make the Osage a self-sufficient farmer and/or stockman. To this
end the reservation was divided into four districts, each supplied with
a white farmer and several assistants. Near the center of each district
was a "station" where the farmer and his assistants lived and operated a
demonstration farm.11

The first step on this agricultural road to civilization was to
convince an Osage family that it should take out a "claim." The family
had to state that it was going to farm a certain piece of land and to
register the claim with the agency. The next step was to have the land
fenced and plowed. Rail fences were to be constructed by Osage labor.
To encourage this the agency agreed to pay either the Indian farmer him-
self or any other Osage $1.50 per every 100 rails split and placed in a
fence (RCIA 1874: 223). The plowing of the field was done by one of the
white agricultural instructors. After an Osage had in this manner es-
established himself as a farmer, the agency would give him a plow and help
him trade his Indian ponies for mules.

Livestock would be given to the Osage who wanted them. It was not
necessary to have a field plowed before receiving animals, although it
was preferred. Livestock included cattle, hogs, mules, oxen, chickens,
and ducks. The agents looked upon horses, or "Indian ponies", as useless,
heathenish, and something that should be disposed of as soon as possible.

After a man had his fields and livestock, the next step was to get
him out of the village and onto his farm. To this end log houses were
constructed by paid Osage or white labor. The agency also paid for dig-
ging wells. Thus a man could build his own farm and be paid while doing
it. When this point was reached, according to the plan, the Osage would
be scattered over the reservation on small farms and the traditional way
of life would rapidly disappear. The little influence the chiefs re-
tained would disappear, the religious ceremonies would no longer be per-
formed, and the "objectionable" Indian ways would die.

The work toward making the Osage a farmer started immediately after
removal to Oklahoma. In 1872 some 48 full-bloods had land under culti-
vation, but the total acreage was only 156 acres, or a little more than
three acres per family.12 Four full-blood families were living in houses,13
Many full-blood families had hogs and chickens, but none owned any cattle
(LR-OIA-OA 634: 57-58).
Although the agent and higher officials recognized the need for formal education, schools were not immediately constructed on the new reservation. In Kansas a school had been run by the Jesuits, but the agent did not make funds available for them to establish new schools in Oklahoma. The Catholics claimed that the agent, a Quaker, was anti-Catholic and therefore refused to make funds available for their work. It is impossible to determine the validity of the accusations made by the Jesuits, but when schools were finally opened on the reservation in 1876 the teachers were Quakers.

It was not until the mid-1870's that the agents and missionaries strongly attempted to alter Osage culture. According to agents' reports, the full-bloods then began to make advances in agriculture, and the figures do show a general upward trend, although population figures for the same period reflect a sharp decline. By 1879 the Osage full-bloods, then numbering 1,872, were reported to have 498 head of cattle, 2,087 pigs, 2,339 chickens, and 2,597 ponies. They also had 1,004 acres of plowed, fenced cornfields, and 50 acres in wheat, not counting "squam patches." The agent stated that the Osage seemed determined not to go back on the ration system and that except for beef no rations had been issued since July 1, 1879 (RCIA 1879: 69-70). Except for the spring of 1882, when a one-third ration of beef was issued (RCIA 1882: 72), no rations were issued after 1879. From 1880 on the percentage of Osage owning farms and living in houses, and the number of cattle, chickens, hogs, and acres plowed increased rapidly in the official reports. The reported optimism and statistics of more than a decade and the picture that they painted was shattered by agent Laban Miles who said, in 1884, that the Osage "...will not in the near future become successful farmers" (RCIA 1884: 82). The Osage were doing nothing more than practicing their traditional horticulture. This comment makes one wonder about the truthfulness of the earlier agent, and if starvation might not have been the price paid by the Osage for the agent's non-issuance of rations.

The Osage found ways to exist without hunting or agriculture. Receipts from the Kansas land sales were placed in the United States Treasury and drew five per cent interest. Starting in 1878, the dividend was divided equally among the Osage and paid to them in cash. At first the amount was small, only a few dollars annually per person, but as time passed and more of the land was sold the per capita payments increased. By the late 1880's the quarterly payments had reached $35 to $40, or $120 to $160 per capita for the year. For a family of five this amounted to perhaps as much as $800 a year in cash, 14

The full-bloods also found that they could lease their farms to white tenants. Although all Osage eventually claimed a farm and had it plowed and fenced, few made any attempt to farm it themselves. Landless whites were numerous in Kansas, and it was easy to bring in such men to farm on a sharecrop basis. By the late 1880's this practice had become so common that one agent reported that stock raising and farming were done almost entirely by whites (RCIA 1889: 55). The Osage owner took
from one-third to one-half of the crop (RCIA 1893: 256). Under the sharecrop system agriculture developed rapidly on the reservation, and by 1888 it was reported that 10,000 acres of reservation land were under cultivation (RCIA 1888: 434). Five years later, in 1893, the number of acres cultivated had increased to 28,860 (RCIA 1893: 716). Sharecropping and the annuity payments made the "Osages almost independent of labor..." (RCIA 1889: 55). They looked upon work as degrading and thought "...to plow and hoe only fit occupations for poor white men..." (RCIA 1883: 89).

**Tribal Government**

With the tribe more or less at their mercy, the agents remodeled Osage political organization since they were unable to work through the existing system of independent chiefs. In an attempt to bring some order to Osage political life, the agency created its own tribal government in 1876 and attempted to force it on the Osage. The agent selected a governor, a chief counselor, and a Tribal Executive Committee of five members who were theoretically selected from among the different factions of the tribe. The leaders were salaried; the governor received $500 a year, the chief counselor $400, and the members of the committee $300. All business between the agent and the Osage passed through this executive committee; the band chiefs were no longer recognized as legitimate political figures. Since the agents controlled the distribution of all rations and other items on which the Osage were now dependent, they could make this system work (RCIA 1877: 92). In addition an Osage police force was organized (RCIA 1178: 195) which made possible the use of physical force to help the agent and his council enforce unpopular actions.15

In 1884 the appointed Tribal Executive Committee was abolished and the Osage tribe was reorganized along the lines of the Five Civilized Tribes. A constitution was adopted by the tribe on December 31, 1884, and the Osage Nation brought into existence. Under the constitution the tribal government was organized into executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The legislative branch consisted of the National Council of fifteen members, three from each of the five districts of the reserve. The members were elected by the members of their respective districts and served for two years. The executive branch consisted of the principal chief, an assistant chief (both elected at large), and three counselors appointed by the National Council. These five men formed the executive council. The three judges who formed the Supreme Court were elected by the council. Sheriffs and police were appointed by the chief and approved by the council. The agent thought that the National Government would "...gradually but surely destroy the old chieftainship and Indian forms of government" (RCIA 1884: 73).

The council was dominated at first by the mixed-bloods and the pro-agent full-bloods. Laws were passed to make agency policy legal, or at least give it some semblance of legality. A compulsory education law was passed, and any child who did not attend school lost his or her
annuity payment. The law was enforced vigorously by the agents because the full-bloods were averse to education and needed "...a large amount of coaxing or some other incentive" (RCTA 1884: 82). The policy of coercion was successful enough so that by 1900, of the 514 Osage between the ages of six and sixteen, 488 were attending school (RCTA 1900: 338).

**White Invasion of the Reservation**

The old Osage reservation in Kansas was quickly filled with white towns and farms, as were the reservations of other tribes who had lived in Kansas. Pressure now developed for the opening of new Indian land in Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory. In 1887 Congress passed the General Indian Allotment Act, also called the Dawes Severalty Act, which stated that the President could, at his discretion, allot reservation lands to the Indians. Under the provisions of the act each Indian household head would receive 160 acres, and every other member of the household would receive a lesser amount. The government would hold the allotted land in trust for twenty-five years. After the Indians had received allotments, the surplus land was to be opened for white settlement. Although the act did not apply to the Five Civilized Tribes and several smaller tribes, including the Osage, it did reflect the pressure that was steadily increasing on Congress to open new lands. In April of 1889 the Unassigned Lands, or lands not part of any reservation, were opened for white settlement, and about 50,000 whites made the run into Oklahoma (McReynolds 1954: 291). But pressure developed for the opening of additional reservation lands, and soon numerous reservations were allotted and the surplus lands opened. In 1891 the Sac and Fox, the Iowa, and the Potawatomi and Shawnee reservations were opened. The following year whites settled on the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation. In 1893 some land adjacent to the Osage reservation was occupied by whites when the Cherokee Outlet and Pawnee reservation were opened (McReynolds 1954: 297-301).

These openings brought a flood of whites into the territories and even onto the reservations which were not open for settlement. Many of these whites were of the opinion that it was only a matter of time until all of the reservations would be opened to homesteaders.

As early as 1885 it was reported that a large number of whites were illegally on the Osage reservation under the "...guise of laborers, farmers, etc..." (RCTA 1885: 91). Although many of them were reported to be gamblers or whiskey peddlers (RCTA 1889: 193), the majority were "honest" farmers, who had taken up sharecropping while biding their time until the reservation was opened. Land and per capita payments attracted many "mixed-blood Osages" who had not been on the reservation. Citizenship in the tribe became valuable and a great many names were added to the tribal roll, of which one agent said: "Some, the majority perhaps, were justly entitled..." (RCTA 1897: 237). Between 1879 and 1892
the "mixed-bloods" increased from 263 to 641 (RCIA 1879: 69; RCIA 1892: 390). By the early 1890's the reservation was overrun with whites and mixed-bloods (both groups supporting allotment), and the Osage found themselves a minority group on their reservation.

**Changes in Osage Culture**

In the eyes of the agents the full-blood Osage were unbending conservatives. Well into the 1890's they continued to dress in Indian style, and even the ones who had been sent away to Indian schools like Carlisle in Pennsylvania "put on the blanket" when they returned. The agents had been partly successful in breaking up the villages and getting the people to live in houses on their land claims, but in place of villages the Osage formed "camps", and during the summer most of them would congregate in the camps to carry out their religious ceremonies.

Although missionaries had been working among the Osage for over sixty years, the vast majority of the full-bloods were still not Christians, and the native religion was very much in evidence, to the displeasure of the agents and missionaries. As late as 1889 the agent reported that "In religion the full-bloods nearly all cling to a creed of their own and a large portion of the summer months is taken up by many of them in the observance of their form of worship..." (RCIA 1889: 193). But in spite of what the agents reported, Osage culture was in deep trouble. By 1906 the traditional ceremonies had almost completely disappeared and most of the people were making a conscious effort to forget the "old way."

The decline of Osage culture involved three major factors: population decline, economic changes, and pressure from the agents. Missionary influence was of little importance except as approved and supported by the agent. The changes in political organization have already been discussed. The Osage had entered the new reservation, not as a tribe, but as a number of separate bands, each with its own chief. The agents had then reorganized a tribal government, not based on the traditional Osage government but following a European pattern. The principal chief and the other members of the council were elected, and the agents refused to recognize the right of any others to speak for the tribe. Since the Osage soon found themselves economically dependent upon the agent and his tribal government, the power of the remaining traditional chiefs and "big man" chiefs rapidly declined.

Although the political order was shattered, band identity continued to exist, with some changes in band composition. The rapid population decline affected some bands more than others. The Heart-Stays and the Little Osage both dwindled to insignificance and moved close to the Thorny Thicket people. Joint ceremonies were held by the three bands and the more numerous Thorny Thickets eventually absorbed the other
two bands. The exact date of this merging cannot be determined, but it took place some time prior to 1884. 17

Tribal Ceremonies and Clans

The Non'-hon-zhin-ga and the ceremonies which they performed were faced with a problem different from that of the political leaders. Although strongly opposed to them, the agents were unable to control or override the Non'-hon-zhin-ga in the way they had the chiefs. They never went to the extreme of banning Osage tribal ceremonies, as some agents had on other reservations. The principal problem which the Non'-hon-zhin-ga faced was that of finding members to carry out the ceremonies. Osage tribal ceremonies were highly structured activities. To perform them it was required that twenty-four Non'-hon-zhin-ga be present, one from each of the clans, since each clan had its own special and distinctive role to play. A ceremony really consisted of twenty-four different parts, and lacking one of the parts the ceremony was incomplete.

A Non'-hon-zhin-ga performed his clan's part which in almost all cases consisted of the recital of a lengthy wi-gi-e (prayer) and the manufacture of ceremonial items. Although the wi-gi-e and other religious items were the property of the clan, only the Non'-hon-zhin-ga had the right to recite the clan's wi-gi-e.

The rapid population decline resulted in the loss of the Non'-hon-zhin-ga and with them the tribal ceremonies. Between 1872 and 1887 the full-blood population dropped from 3,679 to 1,064 (RCIA 1872: 246; RCIA 1887: 85, 354), including only 312 adult males. 18 Thus in 1887 there were approximately thirteen adult males per clan. If this number is further divided by the number of village groups, which at this time was three, then the average number of members of each clan per village was only slightly more than four. This is of course figuring on the basis that all clans were of the same size and equally divided among the villages, which they were not, but the calculations illustrate the problem. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the villages were no longer ceremonially independent of one another; to get the full representation of clans necessary for performance of the tribal ceremonies, men had to be brought in from other villages. Some of the clans were nearly extinct. In a number of them the Non'-hon-zhin-ga were missing, and non-initiated members of the clan sat in on a ceremony so that the required full complement of clans would be represented, even though the clan wi-gi-e would not be recited. In the last few ceremonies performed, small boys represented some clans in which no adult male members were living.

It is not certain when the last of the major tribal ceremonies was performed, but probably the date was around 1890. Nor is it known for sure whether it was the acceptance of the peyote religion or the
extinction of one or more of the clans that precipitated the discontinuance. The Osage who adopted peyote and rejected the traditional religion refused to participate in the ceremonies, but at most the adoption of peyote could only have speeded the extinction of the tribal ceremonies by a few years, since a few clans were already nearing extinction.  

Abandonment of the ceremonies due to the lack of a full complement of clans did not completely destroy the Non'-hon-zhin-ga. In the larger clans young men were being trained as Non'-hon-zhin-ga until the early years of the twentieth century, even though the ceremonies were extinct. The last Non'-hon-zhin-ga died in 1971.

The Family

As other aspects of Osage culture changed, so did marriage and the household structure. Marriages were still arranged by families in most cases, but moiety exogamy disappeared and was replaced by clan exogamy. One possible reason for this change could be that population imbalance forced individuals to marry within their own moieties, but this explanation does not seem applicable in light of the available facts. La Flesche (1928: 124-64) gives a list of 145 Osage marriages and the clan affiliation of both spouses, from the period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Altogether there are 290 people listed, of whom 150 are Hon-ga and 140 are Tsi-zhu. There were 34 cases of Tsi-zhu married to other Tsi-zhu, and 39 examples of Hon-ga married to Hon-ga. Only 72, or just less than one-half of the marriages, were between Tsi-zhu and Hon-ga.

A more defensible explanation views traditional Osage exogamic practices as a series of concentric spheres. The closer one went toward the center of the kin-based structure, the stronger the exogamous relationships became. Moiety exogamy was at the outer limit, clan exogamy closer, and family exogamy at the center. When moieties ceased to have ceremonial significance or to function in other ways, the exogamic rule was also dropped. Since clan membership continued to be of importance, clan exogamy then became the outer limit, which it has remained until the modern period.

Polygyny was also on the decline, in part because of the opposition of the agents. The last reported case of a polygynous marriage was in the 1880's (White 1965: 221). There is little doubt, however, that polygynous families continued up until the early years of this century.

A high mortality rate together with economic factors resulted in a decline in the size of the household. In 1880 the average household size was 3.3 persons, compared with 6.9 persons in 1842. In addition single-individual households became quite common, totaling 29.9 per cent of all households in 1880 as opposed to 1.5 per cent in 1842. The percentage of larger families was also declining. In 1842, about 115 families out of a
total of 587 contained 10 or more people whereas, of the 542 families reported for 1880, only four contained 10 or more individuals. The very rapid population decline was responsible for at least part of this trend. In some families only a few individuals or perhaps a single individual survived. In the past the remaining individuals would have been forced by necessity to join another family, since an old man or old woman without the support of a younger male hunter would have gone hungry and without adequate clothing and shelter. By the 1880's individuals could survive alone. They had their annuity payments and in addition they could and did establish farms which were worked on a sharecrop basis by white farmers. Under these conditions another development occurred that previously must have been extremely rare or even unknown. Women, either divorced or widowed, could establish their own households, and by 1900 there were a number of these.

The Ghost Dance and Peyote

By 1890 many of the Osage had become thoroughly demoralized. Their religious organization had become a patchwork of alterations. The political organization had been replaced. The reservation was overcrowded with whites who were demanding that it be opened for settlement.

In desperation many turned to the new religious movements which were developing among the Plains Indians. In 1890 John Wilson, a Caddo, brought word of the Ghost dance to the Osage. The first to accept it were the Big Hills who lived along Salt Creek. Under Wilson's direction a Ghost dance was held. The Big Hills danced it only this one time, and then abandoned it. Shortly afterwards the Upland Forest people staged a Ghost dance near Hominy, but like the Big Hills they danced only once before giving it up.  

Wilson soon returned with peyote. Unlike the Ghost dance, peyote and the peyote religion were widely accepted by the Osage, and eight-sided "round houses" were built all over the reservation. Camps grew up around the "moons" as they were called. The peyote religion was syncretic, and among the Osage many of the ritual symbols were Catholic in origin, which is understandable in light of all the missionary activity of the Catholics.

The early peyotists were "progressives." They believed that the old religion and the old customs were gone, and those which were not gone should be abandoned. They refused to take part in the old ceremonies and in this way helped speed their abandonment. According to the Osage leaders of the peyote church, they should try to become like the whites, and even the Osage language should no longer be taught to the younger people. Traditions should not be spoken of, in the hope that children would no longer be tied to the past. The Osage peyotists expressed this break with the past by saying that the old way was no more and that they had to become more like whites in order to survive. One aspect of traditional organization that was not abandoned by the
peyotists was clan identification, and certain cultural features connected with clan membership, such as clan personal names, food taboos, and life symbols, were retained. As noted earlier, with the disintegration of the moiety and phratry organization the clans became the functioning exogamous units and regulated marriages within the tribe.

Not all Osage became peyotists, nor did all non-peyotists become Christians. Many remained true to their traditional beliefs even though the ceremonies could no longer be performed.

Allotment of the Reservation

In the 1890's pressure for allotment of the Osage reservation steadily increased from the local white population, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and some mixed-blood Osage as well. Since the Osage were not covered in the General Indian Allotment Act, it was necessary to have tribal approval of allotment. In June, 1893, the Cherokee Commission, a delegation sent to the Cherokee to try to convince them to allot, also visited the Osage in Pawhuska. The Commission found that the mixed-bloods were generally in favor, but that the full-bloods refused even to discuss the issue with them. There were several reasons for their reluctance. The full-bloods were influenced by some Potawatomi who had lost their lands through allotment, and by the Cherokee who wanted them to hold out and try to form a separate state together with the Five Civilized Tribes. The commission saw the presence of a large number of non-Osage on the tribal roll as the main factor preventing acceptance of allotment. Unless these people were purged, the full-bloods had no intention of accepting allotment, and they claimed that nearly every name put on the roll since 1881 was that of a non-Osage.

In 1894 the Osage Commission was established and sent to Pawhuska to discuss again the issue of allotment. This commission was met by Black Dog and James Big Heart, who led a delegation that represented almost the entire full-blood population. They presented the commission with a list of six reasons why the reservation should not be allotted at that time. The points included: (1) the Osage were not ready for allotment; (2) the Osage did not desire allotment; (3) they could not agree on how the land, in case of allotment, was to be divided; (4) they had not been fully paid for the Kansas land; (5) there were individuals on the tribal roll illegally; and (6) the real issue remained the presence of non-Osage on the roll. If they were not eliminated, then the full-bloods would not agree to allotment. The commission returned to Washington.

Realizing that purging the tribal roll was a necessary condition of allotment, the Secretary of the Interior in 1895 requested that a list of those illegally enrolled be sent to him. In February of 1896 a list of 446 names was sent. The full-bloods claimed that over half of the approximately 800 mixed-bloods on the roll were not of Osage descent. A few were purged, but the vast majority remained on the roll (Chapman 1942: Vol. II, 244-53).
It became obvious to the full-blood leaders that the mixed-bloods, both real and alleged, would soon control the National Council. The council elections of 1898 were bitterly contested. The full-bloods were victorious, but the mixed-bloods demanded and got a special investigation of the election. The investigating committee from the Department of the Interior declared that Black Dog was principal chief, but that Ma-shah-ke-tah, the candidate of the mixed-bloods, was the assistant chief. Only 12 of 15 men were seated on the council on the basis of election results, and the other three offices were filled by appointments of the council (RCIA 1900: 173-74). As a result of the investigation some pro-allotment members were placed on the council, although they were in the minority.

Control of the National Council by the anti-allotment faction was too much for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to stand, and it played its trump card by abolishing the council. The reasons given were "... (1) Acrimonious disputes between the factions over elections; (2) entire absence of harmony between the Osage tribal officers and the Indian agent in the administration of tribal affairs; (3) the selection of ignorant men as officeholders, and (4) the profligate use of monies received from permit taxes" (RCIA 1900: 174).

The Bureau did not in fact have to go to such lengths to destroy the full-blood opposition, for the outcome was settled before the council was abolished; the report for 1900 showed that for the first time mixed-bloods outnumbered full-bloods, 917 to 866 (RCIA 1900: 338). The purge of 1896 seems to have been forgotten, and names of new "mixed-bloods" were being added to the roll.

A new form of government was initiated to replace the National Council. In 1904 a Business Committee consisting of a principal chief and eight councilmen was elected. The major issue was again allotment, and now with a "mixed-blood" majority the outcome was not a surprise. O-lo-hah-wal-la, who favored allotment, was elected chief, together with pro-allotment councilmen (Chapman 1942: Vol. II, 376).

After abolition of the National Council it had been obvious to all concerned that allotment was just a matter of time, and that regardless of the feeling of the Osage it was going to come. Accordingly, in January, 1903, the Osage were told to start selecting 160-acre homesteads along with the mixed-bloods, and by the time of the election in 1904 of a pro-allotment government, most of the full-bloods had homesteads, and most of the reservation had been surveyed (Chapman 1942: Vol. II, 253).

The year following election of the pro-allotment faction a delegation of nine Osage was sent to Washington to help draw up a bill to allot the reserve. In February of 1906 the Osage Allotment Act was passed by Congress.
Chapter VI Footnotes

1The Kaw purchased an area of approximately 100,000 acres along the Arkansas River. The agency established at Pawhuska managed the affairs of both the Osage and the Kaw.

2Both the Osage and the Pawnee objected to being placed on adjoining reservations, but no difficulties arose between them except for occasional horse thefts.

3The majority of the mixed-bloods settled in the northern part of the reservation near the Kansas line and took over the improvements that had been made by the squatters removed by the Army. Much to their credit, many of these mixed-bloods made at least some effort to pay the squatters for their improvements (RCIA 1872: 246).

4Governor Joe (also called Watciechachickie, Joseph Paw-nee-no-pah-she and Big Hill Joe) was a member of the Big Hill band and the son of the famous war leader Paw-nee-no-pah-she (Not-Afraid-of-the-Pawnee). Ponziolone (HS: 311) states that Governor Joe was the hereditary chief, but this is denied by modern informants and is not supported by historical records.

5The Osage attacked were a small party of 21 people under Wild Cat. Wild Cat sent messengers to confer with the whites, but the messengers were disarmed and four of them murdered by the whites. Upon hearing the shots the other Osage fled, leaving behind all of their camp equipment. The Governor of Kansas hastily enrolled the murderers in the state militia in order to protect them from prosecution.

6Luckily for the "wild Osage," deer and small game were plentiful. In the middle 1870's one man actually counted 700 deer in one week on the reservation (Lane 1926: 496). According to older informants, deer, rabbits, and turkeys were still common until the time of allotment.

7In all of the official reports of the Osage agency, there is but one note on cavalry activities on the reservation at this time. In 1878 the agent wrote the Commissioner stating that the Osage should be reimbursed for losses due to "raids" by the military (LR-OIA-OA 636: 602). The cavalry seems to have done more than simply guard the rations.

8Relations between the Osage and the cattlemen were never friendly. During the period of the great trail drives, the Osage sometimes imposed a "toll" upon herds crossing the reservation (Gard 1954a: 88, 128, 145). Most trail bosses gave in after a short argument, but not all of these encounters ended peacefully. The outlaw John Wesley Hardin reported that he shot and killed two Osage who were asking for cattle (Gard 1954b: 153). The cattlemen did little to improve relations with the Osage; in the winter of 1875-76 some cowboys shot and killed a young Osage boy without provocation (Finney 1955: 150). This murder may have been the reason why
an Osage party attacked a group of cowboys in the same area a few months later (LR-OIA-OA 634: 121).

9. Most of the tribal income was reinvested instead of being paid to the tribe. Their annual income from trust funds in the 1890's was about $400,000.

10. The official program for civilizing the Osage was never formally stated. The best general outline of the program is found in "Statistical Report of the Osage Reservation, Indian Territory, 1874" (LR-OIA-OA 634: 55-63). Also see the reports of the Osage and Kaw Agency in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the years 1872-1890.

11. The four stations were the Agency Station (now Pawhuska), the Little Osage Station (in the northern part of the reservation), the Salt Creek Station (now Fairfax), and the Hominy Station (now Hominy).

12. The acreage under cultivation does not include the gardens, called "squaw patches", worked by the women.

13. The rest of the Osage continued to live in their traditional mat-covered wigwams.

14. A ceiling of $160 per capita per year was finally placed on the annuities since it was felt that this amount was more than sufficient to support an individual for one year (White 1965: 203).

15. Ten Osage policemen were employed by the agency. Nine officers received $5 a month plus rations, and the chief of the tribal police received $7 a month and rations (LR-OIA-OA 639: 195). The Indian Police seem to have been mainly used to control the whiskey traffic on the reservation and pursued both whites and Indians in the course of their duties. For the most part the police were ineffective in stopping the traffic. One story is told about six Osage policemen and two white whiskey traders. The police caught the traders with a whole wagon load of whiskey, but the traders persuaded the police to have a drink before taking them to the agency. After getting all six policemen dead drunk, the traders robbed them of their horses and returned to Kansas.

16. In the 1880's the Osage were already being called the richest people in the world. One agent noted that if all of the tribal resources were equally divided, each Osage would receive 942 acres of land and $5,787.14 in cash (White 1965: 203).

17. The merging of the Little Osage, Heart-Stays, and Thorny Thicket villages must have occurred sometime before 1884. In that year each of the Osage villages received the Ponca-Kaw In-lon-scka dance and a drum for the dance, and only three drums were given.
Modern informants state that even at the turn of the century mixed-blood Osage were not considered to be real Osage. Probably in most cases their fathers were non-Osage and therefore they did not have a clan. As a result they did not participate in the tribal ceremonies, and their numbers are of no importance to this analysis.

The ceremony most commonly performed by the traditionalists during this period was the mourning dance which took place after the death of an individual and did not require full representation of the clans. The only requirement was that the Hon-ge and Tsi-zhu moieties have a representative. A freshly taken scalp, however, had to be used in the last part of the ceremony. In 1873 the last two mourning dances in which "new" scalps were used were performed. One scalp was taken from a Wichita chief, and the tribe had to pay $1,500 as compensation to his family. The other scalp was taken from a white man, but the Osage murderer was reported to have been mortally wounded during the battle and thus no action was taken (RCIA 1873: 217). In later dances various substitutes were used. Pawnee were often hired to "play" victim and have their hair cut. In the 1890's it became common to go to Elgin, Kansas, where the local prostitutes would let them cut off part of their hair for a good price (Mathews 1961: 739). In the last mourning dance which was held ca. 1902 or 1903, a deer tail was used in place of a scalp.

There is a legend that Sitting Bull came south to spread the Ghost dance and that he attended the dance at Salt Creek. The Osage Ghost dances went unnoticed by the Osage agent and were not mentioned in the annual report of the agency.

The controversy over allotment has been extensively researched by Berlin Chapman (1942-43). Except on a few points, the material presented here is a summary of his research.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN OSAGE CULTURE CHANGE

The purpose of this study has been to examine the changes that have taken place in Osage culture and to determine the environmental factors involved in these changes. For lack of more comprehensive data this study has focused upon only three aspects of Osage social organization: the political organization, the unilineal descent groups, and the household. Environmental factors have been grouped into three categories: natural environment, social environment, and demography. The natural environment refers to the different biotic zones a society exploits and to the technology used in exploitation. Since no society utilizes all of the resources in a given region, it can be said that a society defines its own natural environment. A change in either biotic zones or in technology may produce a reinterpretation of the natural environment. The social environment is the relationship that exists between a given society and surrounding societies. It too is subject to change, and a society must either meet changes in its social environment or face the possibility of being destroyed. Demographic factors refer to any changes in population, but in this study population decline is the critical demographic factor.

Each of the three different aspects of Osage social organization examined in this study was affected by different environmental factors. The households were the primary economic units and changed in response to changes in the natural environment. Change in the social environment had its greatest effects upon the political structure, since the external relations of the tribe were handled through this political institution. The unilineal descent groups were neither economic nor political units, but ceremonial groupings which were important in religious activities. Demographic changes destroyed the ceremonial life of the tribe, and thus caused the disintegration of the unilineal descent groups.

The Natural Environment

At the time of European contact the Osage were a hunting and horticultural tribe occupying the prairie and woodland region of western and southern Missouri. Their annual cycle was divided into a number of periods, each with its own subsistence activities. In the late spring they planted crops in small fields near their permanent villages. After planting they left their villages and moved out on the prairies where they spent most of the summer staging large communal hunts for deer, elk, and bison. In the fall they returned to their villages to harvest their crops, and after the crops were stored they returned to the prairie, where they held communal bison hunts. Most of the winter was spent in the permanent villages where they subsisted upon stored crops and bison.
taken in the fall-winter hunt. By late winter their food and fuel resources were exhausted, and the villagers divided into small groups that scattered into the woodlands where fuel and game were more plentiful. They returned in late spring to the permanent villages.

In the late seventeenth century three factors—the horse, the fur trade, and the Indian slave trade—were introduced, which resulted in a reinterpretation of the natural environment. The horse was a significant technological advancement because it facilitated exploitation of the environment. European fur traders not only supplied such items as guns, steel knives, steel axes, and brass kettles which improved Osage technology, but also caused the Osage to attach value to items such as beaver pelts, deer skins, and Indian captives which had previously been of little or no value. Nevertheless, although the horse and the fur trade had far-reaching effects on other Indian cultures, their effects on the three aspects of Osage social organization under consideration here were negligible, as explained below. As will be discussed further in later paragraphs, it was the Indian slave trade that had the greatest impact upon Osage social organization.

Since both the horse and the fur trade caused major changes in other tribes, it is necessary to explain why they had so little effect on Osage social organization. When the Osage acquired the horse they were still limited to the prairie and woodland regions, and to peoples living in such environments the horse had little value. Although horses were useful in moving hunting camps from one place to the next, the distances involved in these moves were not great. In hunting the horse was also of only limited value since the deer, elk, and small game animals on which the Osage depended for a large part of their subsistence could not be effectively hunted from horseback. The only subsistence activities in which the horse could be used successfully were the bison hunts, and at this time the Osage hunted only the small herds of bison found on the prairies. Thus the horse first became important to the Osage as an item to trade to the Europeans and not in their subsistence activities.

It was not until the late eighteenth century, after the Osage had driven the Caddoans from the Arkansas valley, that they had access to the large bison herds on the plains. At that time the Osage shifted their two annual hunting expeditions from the prairies to the plains, and the horse became important in subsistence activities. Large-scale bison hunting was introduced into their annual cycle with minimal alteration of the traditional pattern. The permanent villages remained in their original locations, and horticulture continued to be practiced. The Osage did not at this time become nomadic bison hunters more fully oriented toward the plains, principally because of the fur trade. They had become dependent upon numerous European items, and the products (deer, beaver, otter, bear, and small fur-bearing animals) which the Europeans demanded in exchange were most plentiful in the prairies and woodlands. Thus the fur trade effectively tied the Osage to the more wooded regions.
In the 1830's the fur trade changed as a large market for bison robes developed, and for the first time the Osage were able to concentrate both their trade activities and their subsistence activities on the plains. This could have resulted in the division of the Osage into small bands as Eggan (1966) described for the Cheyenne and the Dakota, but the Osage tribe had already disintegrated into a number of small bands at an earlier period for entirely different reasons.

As in the case of the horse the fur trade did not have a significant effect on either household organization, political organization, or unilineal descent groups. The reason was that the Osage were able to place fur hunting activities in their traditional framework. In the early period deer hides were the major trade items. Since the Osage depended upon deer hunting for a large part of their subsistence, the acquisition of additional hides for trade was easily accomplished within the bounds of their traditional structure. Even when the trade changed and the emphasis was placed on smaller fur bearing animals, such as beaver and otter, the Osage were able to hunt these animals without any major alteration of their annual cycle or their hunting organization. The late winter and early spring months, when the Osage had normally scattered into the wooded regions, became the time in which they hunted for these smaller animals.

The Indian slave trade had more important consequences for Osage social organization. From the time the French first entered the Mississippi Valley until the Spanish acquired Louisiana in the 1760's, there was a large market for Indian slaves. The Osage were one of the major suppliers to the French, and their involvement in the slave trade resulted in a change in their household structure.

The household was the basic economic unit of the Osage. It has been theorized (Chapter III) that the original post-marital residence pattern among the pre-contact Osage was patrilocal and that the matrilocal pattern reported for the nineteenth century Osage came about as a consequence of the war with the Caddoans. As trade with the French developed, the young men of the tribe increased in economic importance. They had always been the hunters, but game taken in the communal hunts had been shared among all the families in the village. Now as raiders these young men acquired the slaves and horses that were the mainstay of the French trade. At the same time the raiding increased their mortality rate. The increased death rate, however, was not felt equally by all families in the tribe. Organized as they were by clan affiliation, the annihilation of one of these parties meant that one family or group of related families suffered heavily. A given clan in a village could, and probably did on a number of occasions, lose all of its young and most productive members. In a given family one such reversal could mean that the family would lose all of its sons and therefore its source of European items. In addition, even if a family's sons were not killed, their long absence on raiding parties caused hardship to the other members of the family. Fresh game was always in short supply in the villages, and for most families hunting was an almost daily necessity. With their sons dead or gone on a long raiding expedition there would be no fresh game.
Matrilocality would under these conditions be more adaptive than the postulated traditional patrilocal residence pattern. The senior male and the unmarried junior males of a household would not only belong to different clans than the son-in-law who came into the household, but they would also belong to different moieties. This meant that all of the males within a household could not join the same raiding party, and that one reversal would not leave a household without males. Even if war did destroy the senior male member, the family could still turn to its adult sons for support, and a productive son-in-law could be replaced more easily than a productive son.

As the prestige of the younger warriors increased, so did their position in their wife's household. By the early nineteenth century it is reported that the son-in-law became upon marriage the new head of the household and the father became just one of his dependents. The younger sisters of his wife came under his control and if he desired he could take them as co-wives.

Although the conclusions correlating the involvement of the Osage in the Indian slave trade and the change from patrilocal to matrilocal residence seem reasonable on theoretical grounds and in light of the known evidence, they must be considered as only tentative. The change from patrilocal to matrilocal residence has only been hypothesized on theoretical grounds. There is not one written source that describes patrilocal residence for the Osage, and thus there is no really concrete evidence of the postulated change in residence pattern, or of its connection with the slave trade. A comparative study of contact history and social organization of all of the Dhegiha peoples is needed to validate or invalidate this hypothesis, but such research goes far beyond the scope of the present study.

Osage economic activities changed, mainly in response to the changing demands of the fur trade, throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the 1840's deer hides and small animal pelts such as beaver and otter were no longer of supreme importance to the traders and bison robes and hides had become the primary trade goods. In spite of this change the Osage annual cycle and economic organization remained almost unchanged. They still staged only two annual hunts on the plains and they continued to practice horticulture. It was not until the late nineteenth century, after they had been removed to Oklahoma, that Osage subsistence and trade activities underwent a major change.

By the mid-1870's the bison had been exterminated on the southern plains, thus denying the Osage their major food source and source of trade goods, and the old economy was replaced by a cash economy. After the Kansas reservation was sold and the receipts placed in the United States Treasury, part of the interest from this money was paid to members of the tribe in the form of per capita payments. In the late 1890's oil was discovered on the reservation, and each Osage received a share of the oil royalties. In 1906 the Osage reservation was allotted, with the tribe retaining the mineral rights.
The Social Environment

The occupation of North America by Europeans caused drastic changes in the social environment of the Indians. Inter-tribal relations changed as competition over hunting and trapping territory resulted in widespread warfare. Completely new elements such as traders, missionaries, Indian agents, and white settlers were also introduced into the social environment. The traditional Osage political organization was unable to cope with the changes that took place, and the hereditary chiefs and Non'-hon-zhin-ga were replaced by war leaders and informal warrior's councils. After the Osage were settled on the Oklahoma reservation, the war leaders and their supporters were replaced by a tribal council system imposed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The most significant of the changes in traditional Osage political organization came as a result of their deep involvement in warfare and the resultant change in the importance of warriors in the society. From almost the beginning of French contact until their removal to the Oklahoma reserve, the Osage were engaged in a series of large-scale wars. In the traditional war and political organization the power of the moiety chiefs was limited to internal problems, primarily disputes between families. External problems, including major tribal or village warfare, were in the hands of the Non'-hon-zhin-ga, the religious leaders who constituted the tribal and/or village councils. A tribally organized war party was considered as much a religious movement as a war activity, and ceremonial preparations were long and time-consuming. The leaders were chosen from among the Non'-hon-zhin-ga since leaders had to have ceremonial knowledge of the religious aspects of war. In the case however of minor emergencies that called for instant small scale action, raiding parties could be organized without elaborate ceremonial preparations by limiting their membership to men of one or a few clans of a single moiety.

During the earliest period of warfare, the wars with the Caddoans, the traditional political organization was adequate to cope with the conflict. Armed as the Osage were with French guns, the Caddoans were able to threaten the Osage villages on only a few occasions, and the Osage conducted the war using only small clan-organized raiding parties. Indeed this proved an ideal arrangement since the Osage intent originally was only to capture slaves and horses and not to destroy the Caddoans. After changes in the trade caused by Spanish occupation of Louisiana made it advantageous for them to do so, the Osage were successful in driving the Caddoans off the Arkansas by use of the same small forces. By this time the Caddoan villages had become so depleted in population that even small war parties posed them a major threat.

Although no overt change took place in Osage political organization during the Caddoan conflict, the basis had been laid for major changes that would occur in later periods. The prestige of the warriors was greatly enhanced by this warfare; they came to occupy a position of
paramount importance in the trade with the Europeans, since it was they who acquired the slaves and horses that were the major items of exchange. Similarly, it was the warriors who later drove the Caddoans from the Arkansas so the Osage could exploit the game there, and it was they, in the role of hunters and trappers who supplied the tribe with the pelts and skins that were used in later trade periods. Material wealth had never been significant as a determinant of social prestige among the pre-contact Osage since there was little economic difference between families and individuals. All had equal access to the items that did exist, and prestige had come mainly from ceremonial knowledge (the property of the Non'-hon-shin-ga) and from positions of power and influence (the Ga-hi -ge, A'-ki-da, lodge chiefs, and the like). Access to prestige of this nature had been limited to members of certain families and clans and to eldest sons. With the establishment of the European trade however, differences in material wealth began to develop in terms of guns, knives, axes, and other items of European manufacture. As material items, in contrast to ceremonial and political positions, these were equally available to individuals of all backgrounds, and as a consequence some people of low rank became wealthy in European goods. Not only did some gain more wealth than the older and more prestigious individuals, but undoubtedly many low-ranking men became respected as war leaders. The economic precedence of the warriors and war leaders thus reinforced their prestige gained through exploits in battle, and gave them a central role in societal affairs.

Although the increased prestige of the warrior group was to be an important factor later, the first major change in Osage political structure occurred because of interference by fur traders. The traditional political system of the Osage made no provisions for handling trade relations, and in reality there was little need since trade was not developed in the pre-contact period. The European traders assumed that the Osage chiefs were the major political powers within the tribe, as in the European pattern of leadership, and they worked through them, adding to their prestige and power while ignoring the Non'-hon-shin-ga. Moreover, the two traditional chiefs were not treated equally, the traders ignoring the presence and power of the Non'-ga chief. As a result the position of the Tsi-zhu chief became more and more important, at least in the relationship between the Osage and the traders, and the Non'-ga chiefs slowly passed into oblivion. By the end of the eighteenth century the Tsi-zhu chiefs had established themselves as the major powers in trade relations, and traders operating among the Osage felt it necessary to control this office. On the death of the Tsi-zhu chief Claremore in the 1790's, the Chouteau family, which had a monopoly on the Osage trade, was able to install Claremore's brother, Pawhuska, as his successor. The eldest son of Claremore was passed over because he was still a minor and because Pawhuska was closely associated with the Chouteau interest. At that time the change did not seem to be of any lasting significance, but in 1802 a disagreement took place between the Chouteaus and Pawhuska. As a result part of the tribe broke away, under a pro-Chouteau leader by the name of Big Foot, and settled on the Arkansas River. Big Foot was not a hereditary chief and quite possibly would
have been unable to lead the schism successfully without the support of Claremore the younger. In fact soon after the move Claremore emerged as chief of the new village, and Big Foot faded into the background. The first major division had taken place in the tribe.

Meanwhile, beginning in the last decades of the eighteenth century, Osage warfare began to change, and this brought about other changes in political structure. Tribes started moving out of the region east of the Mississippi and founding villages in the eastern part of the Osage hunting grounds. The Osage soon found themselves no longer in the role of aggressors against the Caddoans, but in that of defenders of their own territory. As time passed the situation of the Osage became more desperate as the numbers of the eastern tribes increased. By the 1830's the Osage were completely overwhelmed by superior numbers; their villages were attacked and burned, their horses stolen, and their women and children taken into captivity. The traditional war and political organization was unable to cope with the challenge of continuous warfare, because it lacked the necessary centralized leadership. The people could not turn to their traditional leaders for protection because the Tsi-zhu chiefs were not war leaders. Nor were the ceremonial Non'-hon-zhin-ge of any use. Instead, the Osage came more and more to depend on their warrior leaders, men who had demonstrated that they were capable of protecting their followers. The first such leader was Black Dog, who was not a hereditary chief but a powerful warrior. In 1803 Black Dog formed his own village on the Verdigris River, not far from Claremore's village. This was the first village headed by a warrior chief, but soon similar villages were founded. In 1839 the Osage were divided into eight villages, and by the 1830's these had further disintegrated into seventeen villages.

This is not to say that the Osage completely abandoned their traditional chiefs. Many remained with either Claremore or Pawhuska, but most looked for a successful military figure to follow. Some members of the hereditary chiefly lineage themselves emerged as "big man" military leaders. One such individual was Tci-cio-anca, brother of Pawhuska and chief of the Elk Town village in the 1850's.

As the situation became more desperate the traditional military organization was completely abandoned. The ceremonially organized tribal war party was too slow to mobilize, while clan-organized raiding parties were much too small to be effective. Threats of enemies had to be met quickly and with all available manpower. The villages could only be defensible if organized as single military units under their chiefs.

In the process of all this the tribal political organization almost completely disappeared. Initially most of the village chiefs acknowledged Pawhuska and his descendants as the tribal leaders, and generally cooperated with him and the other villages in hunting and warfare. A few villages however, notably those of the Little Osage, acted quite independently of the others. The Civil War destroyed what was left of
tribal political organization. The chief during this period, Little Pawhuska, a physically weak and sickly man, was unable to hold the tribe together. Invasions of their reservation by border ruffians, soldiers of both Confederate and Union armies, and outlaws, caused the villagers to scatter for protection over Kansas and Indian Territory. Shortly after the war Little Pawhuska died and, due to the influence of the Jesuit missionaries and government agents, Joe Pawnee-no-pashe became tribal chief. Not being of the hereditary lineage Governor Joe could not unite the tribe as a solid unit. Instead it disintegrated into small villages, each led by its own chief who jealously guarded his power even among his own followers because the council of warriors had by then emerged as the real political power of the tribe.

The placement of the Osage on the Oklahoma reservation caused a further decline in the political system. When the government forced peaceful relations with other tribes upon them, even the chiefs and the council of warriors could not maintain their influence, and the result was a political vacuum and political anarchy which played into the hands of agents sent to the Osage. With little difficulty the agents were able to establish and maintain a Tribal Council that was under their supervision and control.

Population Decline

The Osage suffered a drastic decline in population between 1673 and 1906. During the first century of contact with Europeans Osage population remained relatively stable at between 6,500 and 7,000 people, and there are even some indications that it may have slightly increased during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Commencing about 1800 attacks by eastern Indians, disease, and starvation started reducing their numbers, and for the next three-quarters of a century Osage population gradually declined until by 1872 there were only 3,672 people, or about half their population in 1800. Although the population decline during this period was severe, it did not disrupt the traditional social structure. It was the even more drastic population decline following removal to Oklahoma that proved disastrous. Starvation and disease, unchecked by incompetent government agents, turned the new reservation into a charnel house. With ten years over two-thirds of the Osage who had originally moved to the Oklahoma reservation were dead. By the time their population had again stabilized, in the mid-1880's, there were only slightly more than 1,000 full-blood Osage.

This drastic decline in population following removal resulted in the destruction of many aspects of traditional Osage social structure. The band system was the first aspect to reflect the population decline. By 1884, the Heart-Stays and the Little Osage had ceased to exist and the surviving members of these bands had been incorporated into the Thorny Thicket band. This decline in the number of bands from five to
three had no effect on the then existing political structure since the bands had ceased to function as political units in the first half of the eighteenth century. They had survived up to this time only as ceremonial units, each performing its own religious ceremonies. Thus, this change may be viewed only as a reduction in the number of ceremonial units.

The population decline of the 1870's and 1880's had its greatest impact upon the traditional unilineal descent groups (lineages, sub-clans, clans, phratries, and moieties). These groups were neither political nor economic units, and thus they had not been directly affected by the warfare and economic change that had so drastically altered the political and household structure of the tribe. The unilineal descent groups were primarily ceremonial units, the most significant of which was the clan. Each Osage religious ceremony was divided into twenty-four separate parts, one for each clan. Unless there was a full complement of clans represented, a ceremony could not be performed. Originally each clan had to be represented by a Non'i-hon-zhin-ga of that clan, since only they knew their clan's part in the ceremony. The rapid decline in population adversely affected the elderly, and many clans lost all of their Non'i-hon-zhin-ga. In the absence of appropriate Non'i-hon-zhin-ga adult male members of the clan were substituted, so that each clan was represented even though its part in the ceremony was not performed. As the population continued to drop it became necessary to use young boys as the representatives of some clans, and in the last ceremony a female member of one clan was used. Finally some of the smaller clans became extinct, and with their extinction the ceremonies ceased to be performed. With the ceremonies no longer being performed the moiety division ceased to have any meaning and even moiety exogamy was quickly dropped. The moieties disappeared and with them, the phratries. Sub-clans and lineages also rapidly disappeared. The only unilineal descent groups to survive were the remaining clans, and even the clans survived only in a greatly modified form, their only function being the naming of children.
APPENDIX A

CLANS

The following is a list of the Osage clans in their fixed ceremonial order (see Figure 11), together with their known sub-clans, lineages, and totemic symbols. The clan name also refers to the clan's totemic signs. This list was collected by Alice Fletcher in 1896 and reported by Francis La Flesche (1921: 52-53; 1928: 122-24). Several lists of clans and sub-clans are available, but this is the most complete and best fits the mythology concerning the organization of the clans.

I. Hon-ga Moiety

A. Wa-zha-zhe Phratry

1. Wa-zha-zhe-cka, The White Wa-zha-zhe, referring to the fresh water mussel; other symbols, the sun.
   In-gthon ga Ni Mon-tse, The Puma-in-the-Water, sho-ka sub-clan.

   Ba-k'a Zho-i-ga-the, Cotton-tree-People, sho-ka sub-clan.

   Ka-xa-wa-hu-ca, Youngest-Brother, sho-ka sub-clan.

4. Wa-tse-tsi, Star-That-Came-to-Earth; also called the Pon-ka Wa-sha-ge, or Gentle-Ponca, although this name referred to one of the two tribal chiefs, who always belonged to this clan.
   Xu-tha Pacon Zho-i-ga-the, Bald Eagle, sho-ka sub-clan.

   Mon-sho-dse-in, Travelers-in-the-Mist, sho-ka sub-clan.

6. Ta-tha-xin, Deer's Lungs; or Ta-cin Dae-cka, White-Tailed Deer.
   Wa-dsu-ta-zhin-ga, Small Animals, sho-ka sub-clan.

   E-non Min-dse-ton, Sole-Owner-of-the-Bow, sho-ka sub-clan.

B. Hon-ga U-ta-non-dsi Clan, The Isolated-Hon-ga; symbol, the earth.
   Mon-hin-ci, Flint Arrow Point, sho-ka sub-clan.
C. Hon-ga Phratry

1. Wa-ca-be-ton, Owners-of-the-Black-Bear.  
   Wa-ca-be-cka, White Black Bear, sho-ka sub-clan.

2. In-gthon-ga, Puma.  
   Hin-wa-za-ga, Thorny Hair Porcupine, sho-ka sub-clan.

3. O-pon, Elk.  
   Ta-he Sha-be, Dark Horned Deer, sho-ka sub-clan.

4. Mon-in-ka-ga-xe, Marker of the Earth; symbol, crayfish  
   (Mathews 1961: 45).

5. Hon-ga Gthe-zhe, The Mottled Sacred-One (the immature  
    golden eagle).

6. Xu-tha, Eagle (adult golden eagle).

   I'-ba-tse Ta-dse, The-Gathering-of-the-Winds, sho-ka  
   sub-clan.

II. Tsi-zhu Moiety

A. Tsi-zhu Phratry

1. Tsi-zhu Wa-non, Elder Tsi-zhu, or Wa-kon-da Non-pa-bi,  
   The-God-Who-Feared-by-All (the sun). Also called The  
   Tzi-zhu, Wearing-a-Tail-on-the-Head.  
   Wa-ba-xi, The Awakeners, sho-ka sub-clan.

2. Cin-dse A-gthe, Wearers-of-Symbolic-Locks; symbols, dog  
   star and the sun (La Flesche 1928: 68).  
   Shon-ge Zho-i-ga, The Dog People, sho-ka sub-clan.

3. Pe-ton Ton-ga Zho-i-ga-the, Great-Crane-People, also called  
   The Peacemaker, The Village Maker, and The Giver-of-Life-  
   Clan. The name Tsi-zhu Wa-sta-ge, or Gentle Tsi-zhu, which  
   is used for this clan actually refers to the office of  
   chief and to the family which fills the office. Other  
   symbols are the red oak tree (La Flesche 1928: 87) and  
   the cone-flower (La Flesche 1928: 89). The following is  
   a list of their sub-clans in rank order (La Flesche 1928: 91).  
   a. Tsi-u-ckon-cka, House-in-the-Center, sub-clan of one  
      the two hereditary chiefs.  
   b. Ba-po, Elder Tree.  
   c. Mon-ca-ka, Arrow Tree.  
   d. Zhon-con, White Tree (sycamore).  
   e. Tsi-u-thu-ha-ge, Last-Group-of-Houses, sho-ka sub-clan.
4. **Tse-do-ga In-dse**, Buffalo-Bull-Face-People.
   **Tse-z-ka**, Buffalo-Back, sho-ka sub-clan.

5. **Mikib Wan-on**, Elder-Carriers-of-the-Sun-and-Moon. This name refers to the invisible power which supports the sun and moon (Mathews 1961: 36-37).

6. **Hon-zho-i-ga-the**, Night People; other symbols, the black bear (Mathews 1961: 37).
   **Ta-pa Zho-i-ga-the**, Deer Head, also, Pleiades People, sho-ka sub-clan.


**B. Tsi-Ha-shi, Those-Who-Were-Last-to-Come.**

1. **Ni-ka Wakon-do-gi**, Men of Mystery, or Thunder People.
   **Xon-dse wa-tse**, Cedar Star, sho-ka sub-clan.

2. **Tho-xe**, Buffalo-Bull; other symbols, corn (La Flesche 1928: 68).

Dorsey (1897: 233) gives a somewhat different account of the Osage clan system. He states that the Osage were divided into three divisions, the **Hon-ga**, the **Tsi-zhu**, and the **Wa-zha-zhe**. Each division had 7 clans, for a total of 21 clans. However, for ceremonial reasons the Osage were evenly balanced into two equal groups of seven clans each. Thus since the **Hon-ga** and the **Wa-zha-zhe** were placed together in the same moiety, the number of their clans had to be compressed for ceremonial reasons. The seven **Hon-ga** clans were grouped into five, and the seven **Wa-zha-zhe** clans grouped into two. Dorsey listed the seven **Tsi-zhu** clans as:

1. **Tsi-zhu Wa-non**.
   a. Sun and Comet People.
   b. Wolf People.

2. **Tse-do-ga In-dse**, Buffalo Bull Face.
   a. ?
   b. Hide-With-the-Hair-on.

3. **Mikib Wan-non**, Sun Carriers.
   a. Sun People.
   b. Swan People.

4. **Pe-ton Ton-ga Zho-i-ga-the**, Great-Crane People.
a. Touches-no-Blood, or Red Eagle.
   b. Bald Eagle or Sycamore People.

5. **Hon-zho-i-ga-the**, Night People.
   a. Night People.
   b. Black-Bear People.

   b. Reddish-yellow Buffalo.

   a. ?
   b. ?

Two clans are missing from those listed by La Flesche, the **Tsi-zhu U-thu-ha-ge** (The Last-Tsi-zhu) and the **Cin-dse A-gthe** (Wearers-of-the-Symbolic-Locks). In La Flesche's list these were clans 2 and 7.

For the **Hon-ga** moiety Dorsey gives the following list:

1. **Wa-zhe-zhe Wa-non**, Elder Osage, which contained the following clans:
   c. **Mi-ke-the-stse-dse**, The Cat-tail.
   d. **Ta-tha-zin**, Deer's Lungs.
   e. **Ho T-ni-ka-shi-ga**, Fish People.
   f. **Nan'-pan-ta**, "a deer clan".


   b. **Wa-ca-be**, Black-Bear.


There are several problems with this list. First, Dorsey lists only 13 clans, not 14. Secondly, he lists one clan that cannot be identified with La Flesche's list, the Nan'-pan-ta. Thirdly, the Cin-dse A-gthe are listed by La Flesche as part of the Tsi-zhu moiety, not the Hon-ga. Several clans are missing: The O-cu-ge-xe, They-Who-Make-the-Way-Clearer; the In-gthon-ga, Puma; the Non-In-ka-ga-xe, Marker-of-the-Earth; and the Hon-ga Ghe-zhe, The-Mottled-Sacred-One.

John Joseph Mathews (1961: 31-52) lists only 21 clans (or fireplaces), but he agrees that the Osage were divided into moieties, the Hon-ga and the Tsi-zhu, and that the Hon-ga were further divided into the Hon-ga and the Wa-zha-zhe. Mathews lists the Tsi-zhu clans as follows:

1. **Tsi-zhu Wa-non**, Elder Tsi-zhu.
3. **Pe-ton Ton-ga Zho-i-ga-the**, Great-Crane-People.
6. **Hon-zho-i-ga-the**, Night People.

Mathews mentions the presence of the Ni-ka Wa-kon-do-gi, Men-of-Mystery, and the Tho-xe, Buffalo-Bull, but does not give them the same status as the other clans.

Mathews lists the clans of the Hon-ga Phratry as:

1. **Xu-tha**, Eagle.
2. **Wa-ca-be-ton**, Black-Bear.  
3. **In-gthon-ga**, Puma.  

The clans of the Wa-zha-zhe Phratry are:

2. **Mi-ke-the-stse-dse**, The Cat-tail.
3. Wa-tse-tsi, Star-That-Came-to-Earth.

4. Ta-tha-zin, Deer's Lungs.


6. Ho I-ni-ka-ski-ga, Fish-People.


Mathews also mentions the Hon-ga U-ta-non-dsi, The Isolated Hon-ga clan, but once again places it in a different category from the other clans. For the most part the differences between Mathews' list and the list reported by La Flesche are in ordering. The only major differences are that Mathews merges some clans that La Flesche considered separate, the Wa-ca-be-ton and In-gthon-ga and the Hon-ga Gthe-zhe and Hon-ga Zhin-ga.
APPENDIX B

POPULATION STATISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE AND SOURCE</th>
<th>FULL-BLOOD</th>
<th>MIXED BLOOD</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1701 (Margry 1880: IV: 599)</td>
<td>(the &quot;Crevas&quot; Osage?, 1,200-1,200 families X 5)</td>
<td>6,000-7,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800 (Flint 1904: 249)</td>
<td>(1,800 warriors X 5)</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802 (Du Lac 1807: 56)</td>
<td>(1,200 warriors X 5)</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811 (Brackenridge 1904: 60)</td>
<td>(1,500 warriors X 5)</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812 (LR-OSA-RIA 1: 942)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817 (Farnham 1906: 131)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 (LR-OIA-OA 631: 209)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821 (LR-OSA-RIA 3: 1029)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827 (Vissier 1827: 17)</td>
<td>(1,800-2,000 warriors X 5)</td>
<td>9,000-10,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vissier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>States</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833 (LR-OIA-OA 631: 586)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837 (Cortambert 1837: 36)</td>
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<td>7,000-8,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837 (LR-OIA-OA 631: 735)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839 (McDermot and Salvan 1940: 125)</td>
<td>(1,000 warriors X 5)</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tixier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>States</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE AND SOURCE</td>
<td>FULL-BLOOD</td>
<td>MIXED BLOOD</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842 (LR-OIA-OA-320-322) (a complete census)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847 (Graves 1916: 131) (Schoenmaker's estimate)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848 (LR-OIA-OA 632: 369)</td>
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<td>3,500-4,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1850 (Graves 1916: 221) (Bax estimate)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1855 (Graves 1916: 250) (de Smet estimate)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1856 (RCIA 1856: 136)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1857 (RCIA 1857: 206)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863 (RCIA 1863: 187)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865 (RCIA 1865: 293)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>under 2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866 (RCIA 1866: 372)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868 (RCIA 1869: 34)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1869 (RCIA 1870: 483)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4,481</td>
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<tr>
<td>1870 (RCIA 1870: 483)</td>
<td>2,900</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>3,150</td>
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<td>1872 (RCIA 1872: 246)</td>
<td>3,679</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>3,956</td>
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<tr>
<td>1874 (RCIA 1874: 222)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>over 3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE AND SOURCE</td>
<td>FULL-BLOOD</td>
<td>MIXED BLOOD</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875 (RCIA 1875: 276)</td>
<td></td>
<td>about 3,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876 (RCIA 1876: 54)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1879 (RCIA 1879: 69)</td>
<td>1,872</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>2,135</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880 (RCIA 1880: 244)</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2,008</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881 (RCIA 1881: 278)</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>1,896</td>
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<td>1882 (RCIA 1882: 72)</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>1,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883 (RCIA 1883: 73)</td>
<td>under 1,450</td>
<td>over 300</td>
<td>1,750</td>
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<td>1884 (RCIA 1884: 82)</td>
<td>1,215</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>1,570</td>
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<td>1885 (RCIA 1885: 89)</td>
<td>1,170</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>1,547</td>
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<td>1887 (RCIA 1887: 354)</td>
<td>1,064</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>1,501</td>
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<td>1888 (RCIA 1888: 102)</td>
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<td>1889 (RCIA 1889: 500)</td>
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<td>1,496</td>
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<td>1891 (RCIA 1891: 353)</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>1,563</td>
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<td>1892 (RCIA 1892: 390)</td>
<td>1,003</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>1,644</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893 (RCIA 1893: 702)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,613</td>
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<tr>
<td>DATE AND SOURCE</td>
<td>FULL-BLOOD</td>
<td>MIXED BLOOD</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1896 (RCIA 1896: 259)</td>
<td>about 900</td>
<td>about 800</td>
<td>1,716</td>
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<tr>
<td>1897 (RCIA 1897: 236)</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>1,729</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900 (RCIA 1900: 338)</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>1,783</td>
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<tr>
<td>1906 (RCIA 1906)</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>1,369</td>
<td>2,229</td>
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