

renaming the american indian: 1890-1913

daniel f. littlefield, jr.
and lonnie e. underhill

I

In his book on Indian assimilation, Henry E. Fritz points out that by 1860 it was evident to keen observers that “the only practical and humane answer to the Indian problem was to assimilate the Indian into Anglo-American culture.”¹ He shows how the system of reservations broke down as whites encroached upon them, how tribal governments grew steadily weaker and how many frauds were perpetrated upon the Indian. Congress refused to pass legislation for new Indian policy, and early attempts at reform of Indian policy were set back by various Indian wars in the 1870’s.

Fritz further shows how, in the 1880’s, reformers made evident the need for reform through such bodies as the Indian Rights Association and the books of writers such as George W. Manypenny and Helen Hunt Jackson. They made it clear that the Indian could not possibly make a choice of cultures in the face of pressing American civilization and stressed the need for a policy of wardship to protect the lands remaining to the Indians and to offer them a possibility of adjusting to the Anglo-American society. What American lawmakers thought was a solution came in the General Allotment Act of 1887. Fritz concludes that the act condemned the reservation Indians to poverty for generations because of the nature of the allotments.²

The act gave the President discretionary powers to make the Indians on reservations take allotments of land in severalty. Until this time, members of the Indian tribes had held the land in common, but by this act each Indian was to receive title to a certain number of acres. In actual practice, allotments varied as the government made attempts to give the

Indians allotments of equal value. The government, with tribal consent, could sell surplus lands to white settlers. With allotment came dissolution of tribal governments and United States citizenship, the Indians becoming subject to the laws of the states or territories within which their lands were located.³

With allotment forced upon the Indians, various attempts were made in the name of humanitarianism to protect the Indian's remaining land and to make easier his adjustment to the Anglo-American culture. Some of those attempts unfortunately struck at the Indian's very identity—his name. As the government took censuses of the tribes and assigned allotments to each Indian, it became apparent to some officials that the work was made difficult by the nature of Indian names. As a result, for two decades after 1890 reformers undertook several projects directed toward renaming the American Indian. Unfortunately, what they did, often in the name of humanitarianism, represented little more than another indignity to the Indian and another imposition of the white man's ways upon him.

II

During allotment certain government officials and private citizens became aware that the nature of the names of Indians in many tribes was incompatible with the Anglo-American custom of giving children the surname of their fathers. Since the laws governing inheritance in the United States were based on this custom, those concerned with Indian names foresaw the possibility of confusion, litigation and possibly fraud in an Indian's inheritance of land if some reform in naming practices did not take place. For example, an 1897 census of the Cheyennes lists Crow Neck, his wife Walking Road, and his sons Clarence Crow Neck, Rested Wolf and Hunting Over. On the Arapaho roll is Bear's Lariat, his wife Mouse, sons Sitting Man and Charles Lariat and daughter Singing Above.⁴ Here is a curious mixture of the Indian and the European systems of naming; it was such naming practices that concerned the reformers. Attempts at renaming were directed mainly at the Sioux in the Dakotas and the tribes in the western part of the Indian Territory. The Five Civilized Tribes were excluded because their members had so intermarried with whites that most of them had European names when the final rolls were completed in 1902. Of the approximately 28,000 Cherokees on the final roll, for instance, over 21,000 were mixed bloods, most of whom had European names, such as Ross, Smith and Hildebrand. Of the Delawares who were living among the Cherokees, fewer than thirty of the one hundred ninety-seven on the final roll had Indian names.

The renaming activities began in the Indian Territory when it became obvious that the Organic Act for the Territory of Oklahoma would become law. Signed by the President on May 2, 1890, this act provided for a territorial government for the Oklahoma lands⁵ and the panhandle

and provided that all Indian lands west of those of the Five Civilized Tribes, except the Cherokee Strip,⁶ were to become a part of the Territory. This meant that the lands of the Sac and Fox, Iowa, Shawnee-Potawatomi, Cheyenne-Arapaho, Tonkawa, Pawnee, Kiowa-Comanche, Ponca, Otoe-Missouri, Osage and Kaw would be allotted in severalty and the excess lands opened to non-Indian settlers. With many of these Indians soon becoming land owners, government officials began to act.

On March 19, 1890, Thomas J. Morgan,⁷ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, endorsed a circular, instructing Indian Agents and Superintendents of Schools to take measures to preserve Indian family names. He stressed that when the Indians became United States citizens, the inheritance of property would cause needless confusion and probably considerable loss to the Indians if no attempt was made "to have the different members of a family known by the same family name on the records and by general reputation."⁸

Morgan's words reflect the rationale that, unfortunately, was to be adopted in future attempts at naming the Indians. One of the purposes of renaming them was to remove them farther from the Indian culture and closer to the Anglo-American culture. Believing that the end to the Indian's traditional way of life was inevitable, Morgan worked to make the Indian's assimilation into Anglo-American society complete. His reports as Commissioner of Indian Affairs stressed the ultimate abolishment of the reservations, the allotment of lands in severalty, the improvement of the material welfare and education of the Indian, and the preparation of them for citizenship. Morgan's efforts, like those of many reformers, were perhaps directed at salvaging *something* for the Indian. However, despite his concern for the Indians and his good intentions, his naming policy was unnecessarily based on the needs of the white man and struck hard at the Indian's very identity.

Morgan's circular condemned some prevailing practices in naming the Indians, such as giving different English names to the various members of the same family. It stressed retention of the Indian name when possible. Also condemned was the English translation of Indian names. The practice resulted in names which were "usually awkward and uncouth." Finally, Morgan condemned as degrading sobriquets such as "Tobacco," "Mogul," "Pete," "Tom," etc. On the other hand, the circular gave officials permission to substitute English names for those too difficult to pronounce, to place English "Christian names" before the Indian surname, and to arbitrarily shorten any Indian name that was "unusually long and difficult." Since Indian names were difficult for the white man to pronounce and remember, Christian names were given for the white man's convenience, and the Indian's name could be "arbitrarily shortened" because it was "unusually long and difficult" to the white man.

Morgan realized the difficulty of renaming the Indians and of making the Indian realize the significance of retaining his name and passing it on

to his family. Morgan appealed to the lower officials to work systematically at the task and asked specifically that the agents, in submitting the names of Indian employees to his office, attempt to find and adopt "the actual names" or assign permanent names.

John Wesley Powell,⁹ then director of the Bureau of Ethnology, endorsed Morgan's ideas. However, Powell's motives for renaming the Indians were more obviously Anglo-centered than were Morgan's. He saw the importance of Indian names in relation to the inheritance of property and to the taking of future censuses of the tribes. But more significantly, he urged a system of naming because, as he said, it would "tend strongly toward the breaking up of the Indian tribal system which is perpetuated and ever kept in mind by the Indian's own system of names." Powell advocated keeping the Indian name as a surname and adding an English Christian given name. He felt it unnecessary to limit the choices of names to those already in existence and advocated the selection of names from the Indian's vocabulary of geographic terms, where "suitable and euphonic," to replace "less desirable" personal names, "shortening Indian names in the interest of brevity and euphony." Powell agreed with Morgan regarding translations of names, except in the case of "animal names and some others," which were not "objectionable." He was optimistic, apparently almost to the point of naiveté, about the results of such a procedure. He thought that the Indians would readily adopt shortened names and would cooperate with the agents in selecting names when the need for family names was explained to them.¹⁰

Conscientious employees of the Indian agencies attempted to put Morgan's plan into immediate practice. Orders to rename Indian employees at the agencies were issued from the agency at Darlington, Oklahoma, on August 13. The orders gave as an example the renaming of Haw Kan (Foolish), an Arapaho; his suggested name was Frank Hawkan. They further stressed that the new names were to be retained by the Indians and their families for the purpose of tracing relationships.¹¹ However, word came from the agent at Cantonment in the Cheyenne-Arapaho country that "the Indians are adverse [*sic*] to taking English names." Since the Bureau of Indian Affairs needed a list of employees, the Darlington agent arbitrarily named the Indian employees at Cantonment; for example, White Bear became James W. Bear, Mag-pie became Lewis Mo-a-ha and Necklace became Mark Ha-wo-o-tanz. Ration checks were to be issued under the new names and the employees were to be addressed by them.¹² The Indians were not considered in the matter, and it becomes obvious that one motive in supplying them with new names was to make easier the processing of papers relating to Indian affairs.

Response to Morgan's circular was negligible.¹³ Whether or not it was due to the lack of the agents' cooperation, the business of naming the Indians progressed little between 1890 and 1898. By the latter date the Sac and Fox, Iowa, Shawnee, Potawatomi, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Tonkawa,

Pawnee and Kickapoo had received allotments and their surplus lands opened to settlement. Allotment was progressing among other tribes, but the problem of names remained. On April 4, 1898, Indian Commissioner W. A. Jones¹⁴ noted that greater care should be taken to preserve family names among Indians and affirmed the renaming practices of the government throughout the preceding decade.¹⁵ His arguments were an exact replica of those of Morgan and Powell. Since allotment for many tribes was already a fact, the interest in renaming the American Indian, however Anglo-centered and feeble it was, had become in part one of protecting what little land the Indian had left. But by the turn of the century it was obvious that government attempts at renaming the Indians had failed.

III

Meanwhile, some private citizens became interested in the subject and undertook renaming projects. One such person was the well-known writer, Hamlin Garland. In April, 1900, Garland visited the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation in the Indian Territory at the invitation of Major George H. Stouch, agent at Darlington. Garland hoped to find new materials for his fiction but, as it happened, the inspiration he found caused him to exert his energies in another direction.

During his visit, Garland met Chester Poe Cornelius, an Oneida Indian youth, who had settled at Darlington to practice law. He told Garland of his concern about Indian lands, inheritance and titles since the agency rolls did not show family relationships. From this, Garland formed his attitude toward Indian names: "Now that the Indians are landowners their names should show family connections, just as in the case of the Italians or Greeks or any of our immigrant races."¹⁶ Garland looked at the Indian as a new citizen and was interested in his assimilation into the Anglo-American society. But he evidently did not realize that he wanted assimilation on the white man's terms and seemed to forget that Indians were not Italians or Greeks and that their problems of adjustment to the dominant white society were, therefore, different.

Garland discussed the naming problem with interested persons during the next two years and, with Dr. Clinton Hart Merriam,¹⁷ brought it to the attention of President Theodore Roosevelt on April 1, 1902. During the conference, Garland complained of the "bungling translations" by which many Indians were known to whites, of fine and dignified chieftains burdened with names like Tail Feathers Coming or Scabby Horse. He suggested that each family group be asked to choose a family name of its own as if they were foreign immigrants. He criticized missionaries and teachers who arbitrarily gave the Indians names like Grover Cleveland and Robert Burns without regard for family relationships. And he stressed the legal reasons that relationships be shown, for many of the Indians already owned valuable lands and other property.¹⁸

With Roosevelt's support, Garland outlined his plan for the Secretary of the Interior, Ethan A. Hitchcock,¹⁹ and for Commissioner Jones. To Garland, the worst feature of the situation was that so many allotments had been made and that many Indians appeared on the rolls with "silly or disgusting translations" of their proper names. Garland stressed that "it should be possible, however, to apply the white man's system to those tribes whose lands are still held in common." Commissioner Jones agreed and asked Garland to compose a circular to be used as a guide by lower officials. Thus, Garland became supervisor of the renaming project.²⁰

Late in 1902, Garland planned a meeting in order to work on the circular, which Jones felt should be distributed soon to those who were responsible for recording Indian names. Garland wanted George Bird Grinnell²¹ and Merriam to meet him in Washington to discuss the naming procedure and urged the assistance of W. J. McGee²² of the Bureau of Ethnology.

In writing to Jones announcing the planned meeting, Garland made clear his purposes: (1) to start each allottee with a "decent and reasonable name"; (2) to show family relationship on the rolls so far as possible; (3) to allow each child at school to maintain his family name when practicable. Garland's method would include, first, keeping the Indian's real name if it was short and easy to pronounce, as Ki-as or To-nah. Long names could be abbreviated to "pleasant" ones. Second, since many Indians were named after animals, those names should become family names as in Robert Blackwolf or John Blackbear. Third, foolish or cumbersome names like Ghost-faced Woman, Drunkard and Guts should be eliminated. "English Christian" names should be given to men; "fancy" names for women should be avoided. According to Garland, since the Indian was half way between his old life and a projected new life, his name should in no way cause him ridicule and his legal connection to his family should be clear. Garland suggested taking a payroll list, for example, of the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho as a basis and, with the aid of competent men such as Robert Burns Whiteleaf at Darlington, arrange the Indians according to family relationships, conferring with the parent concerning names of the children. Garland optimistically said that it would "not be difficult to put matters fairly straight" except where allotments had already been made.²³

However well-intended Garland's proposal may have been, in his efforts to protect the land interests of allottees and their heirs, he perpetuated many of the ills of the government's naming practices during the decade before. In fact, he went even further than was necessary in making the Indians' names conform to the white man's system. Grinnell perhaps suspected that and offered Garland a plan which showed that he was more sensitive to the Indians' condition than was Garland. He felt that present names should be adopted untranslated. Those that were unpronounceable might be abbreviated instead of giving family names such

as Side Hill Calf or Boss Ribb Hunter. Grinnell also asked: "Why should an Indian name necessarily mean anything to a white man? When I pronounce the name of my friend Smith, I do not think of a blacksmith, or locksmith, or tinsmith. His name is merely a verbal label by which he can be identified."²⁴

The circular which Garland wrote was issued on December 1, 1902. It "amplified and reissued" Commissioner Morgan's circular of March 19, 1890. Much of the wording was exactly what Garland had written to Jones a month earlier; little of the content was new. Beyond what he had earlier advocated, it called for spelling each name as one word, annotating existing allotment rolls to show both the old and the modified name, and consistent spelling, for which suggestions were given.²⁵

Meanwhile, Garland had sought the assistance of Dr. Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa),²⁶ a three-quarter blood Sioux and government physician at Crow Creek, South Dakota. Eastman felt that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to change the names of Indians who had already taken allotments. He told Garland that although the father's name had been "pretty generally adopted" among the Sioux as a family name, it was usually a translation; he preferred the native name if it were available.²⁷ Eastman agreed to experiment with revising the Sioux rolls, creating permanent names for that tribe; in late December, 1902, copies of the Crow Creek rolls were sent to him.²⁸

Garland was also acquiring other staff for the project and seeking advice. He requested a copy of the Cheyenne and Arapaho roll as well as the release of Robert Burns Whiteleaf from the Darlington Agency to come to New York to assist in the project.²⁹ He had also written to Charles F. Lummis,³⁰ editor of *Out West* magazine, describing his proposed system of renaming and inquiring about the problem of names among the Pueblo Indians. Lummis pointed out that nearly all of the Pueblo Indians had Spanish baptismal names, as did the mission Indians in Southern California, and that to change those names would be an outrage because such names were easy to handle, had history behind them and carried family associations with them.³¹ Garland passed these remarks on to Commissioner Jones who agreed with Lummis.³²

In February, 1903, Jones recommended that Eastman be granted a leave of absence from the Crow Creek Agency to revise the rolls for that Sioux agency, and possibly others, because the task would be less complicated and difficult if a man who knew the Indians thoroughly could make an annotated roll to show family relationship. Jones asked that Robert Burns be allowed to do the same for the Cheyenne and Arapaho roll. Jones recommended that Eastman be hired until the end of the fiscal year, by which time the Department could judge the value of the work.³³ Hitchcock approved Eastman's temporary appointment.³⁴

With Eastman's appointment secure, Garland set to work on other aspects of the project. He wrote to Miss Estelle Reel, the Superintendent

of Indian schools, asking her to help him make a list of names from the Cheyenne and Arapaho or other rolls, from which teachers could select names for children and names to suggest to parents for their children.³⁵ He had also asked John Seger,³⁶ superintendent at the Indian School at Colony, Oklahoma, to select four or five well-known Cheyenne or Arapaho families and find out if they would like to be named in uniformity, consulting them concerning the choice of names.³⁷

By mid-March, Eastman was working on the rolls of the Crow Creek and Brulé agencies,³⁸ and work had begun in earnest on the Cheyenne and Arapaho rolls. Acting Commissioner A. C. Tonner sent the printed forms to be used in the renaming process to Major Stouch, the agent at Darlington, suggesting that Robert Burns do the work.³⁹ In May, sample sheets of the rolls were sent to Jones for Garland's approval.⁴⁰ Generally, he found the names an improvement, but he wanted the Indians' wishes concerning their names more clearly represented and asked for fewer translations and school names, which the Cheyenne did not recognize. An exception was Cloud Chief. His name was well-known to the Indians, and his wife, Woman Cloud Chief, had an "admirable" name. However, Cloud Chief's son appeared as Tom; since Cloud Chief did not call his son Tom, the boy's real name should be used. Garland suggested that Bear Louse, a translation, might be better revised to Bearlo, and his wife Dolly could bear her own name. Garland had hoped to find more of the "really pleasant" names like Homea, Hostona, Marche and Ohene retained. He wrote, "I should like to know whether there are insuperable objections or whether the ones working on the rolls are not revising from the white man's point of view with a feeling that the names ought to be as nearly white as possible. My notion is to treat them as we would Polish or Russian names—*retain as much of the Cheyenne as we can easily pronounce* and above all secure the pleased co-operation of the red people themselves."⁴¹ Here, Garland seems more in line with the philosophy of Grinnell and sensitive to the desires of the Indians themselves than he had appeared in earlier statements. Despite that fact, Garland apparently was not fully aware of the implications of his renaming project; this becomes more apparent when one examines the name changes Garland himself made.

After his trial period, Eastman had been reappointed. He had worked on the Crow Creek and Brulé rolls in the spring and early summer of 1903 and on the Rosebud rolls in the late summer and fall. Originally thinking that the task would be simple, he soon met with difficulties. Constantly, there was the problem of determining the degree of kinship, and it was nearly impossible to assemble under one name all the children and grandchildren of some of the older Indians. Other problems were (1) the plural marriages; (2) the separation and remarriage of many without due form of law; (3) the placing of many children, legitimate and otherwise, who did not bear the father's name; (4) former mistranslations

or perversions of names; (5) inconsistent family names among fathers, brothers and sisters; (6) women not bearing the husband's name; (7) cumbersome and ridiculous names such as Let-them-have-enough, Face-darkling, Old-woman-butte, Looking-at-her-horse, Rotten-pumpkin, Red-nose-mother and Skunk's-father.⁴²

Eastman claimed that most Indians were thankful that the naming process had been undertaken; and, once he had presented the aim and purpose of the project, they seemed to grasp its importance. He claimed that he had not yet met an Indian who would not allow him to select a name for him, if Eastman thought it desirable. Eastman may seem to exaggerate the situation somewhat, but for some years the Sioux had had internal problems. Attempts at reviving the old, allegedly lost Indian culture culminated and died in the Ghost Dance outbreak in 1890, and a bitter land controversy had shaken the Standing Rock reservation in 1895. There was undoubtedly some resignation in their acceptance of new names. And, too, as a later news report said, the Sioux accepted the new system of names only because a fellow tribesman said that it was good; "they would never have tolerated it had a white man come among them and broached the scheme."⁴³

Eastman's task was also tedious. He copied the allotment rolls and the census since the first did not always show family relationships. Then he traveled to the agencies, talked to leading men and witnesses and documented the family relationships. He was constantly being called upon to explain the laws and principles of inheritance. In the face of these difficulties, Eastman suggested that the renaming be done at Pine Ridge before allotment occurred so that many of the difficulties and mistakes could be avoided.⁴⁴

Eastman's work was complicated even further by unofficial opposition to it on the part of Secretary Hitchcock. But Garland, through President Roosevelt, interceded on Eastman's part, pointing out his value in the project of renaming the Sioux as well as his capability of handling the renaming of the Assiniboin, Crow, Northern Cheyenne and possibly the Gros Ventre and Blackfoot.⁴⁵ By the first part of June, 1904, Eastman had finished one copy of the Rosebud rolls.⁴⁶ He worked for five years more at renaming the Sioux. As early as 1906, results of the renaming were becoming apparent as it was reported that property titles were being cleared from the legal snarls in which they were entangled.⁴⁷

Garland's plan was not as successful with the other tribes. It received only half-hearted support on the part of the officials in the field and faded into a routine and futile gesture. As late as 1913, Garland was offering his services in the matter to the Department of the Interior, but officials showed little interest.⁴⁸ Thus, after a decade of work, the goal of renaming the Indian was in reality not much nearer than it had been when Garland first became involved in the project.

IV

The concept of renaming the American Indian was one of the more undesirable results of the General Allotment Act by which Congress forced the Indians to conform to the European system of land ownership. Government officials were motivated in renaming to a large extent, no doubt, by a desire to make easier the paper work of Indian affairs and, to some extent, by a desire to make names consistent so as to protect the Indians' rights in inheritance cases. Later reformers such as Hamlin Garland, seeing that the Indian's condition, although bad, could be made worse by land frauds perpetrated upon him, felt that systematizing Indian names and renaming the Indian were ways of preventing those frauds. However admirable this motive may have been in its intent, it is overshadowed by the larger social and cultural implications of the renaming process; and those in the position to rename them, because of apathy, ignorance or zeal, committed great wrongs to many American Indians.

As Hamlin Garland's project progressed, he became increasingly concerned that too many names were being translated; thus, many Indians, through the renaming processes, lost euphonious native names which their posterity would gladly bear today. Other native and translated names were unnecessarily shortened. Garland himself made some unfortunate changes. On his copy of the Cheyenne-Arapaho census of 1901, name changes appear in his handwriting. For instance, he changed the beautiful, expressive name of American Horse to A. Horss, Albert Spotted Horse to Albert Spotted, All Runner to Runner, Black Wolf to Blackwulf or Blackwell, Brave Bear to Bravber, Big Nose to Bignus, Black Owl to Blackall. Garland's suggested names indicate a determination, whether he admitted it or not, to make the Indians' names conform completely to the system of names in operation in the Anglo-American culture. His rejection of some translated names was undoubtedly due to their "ugliness." The point that unsavory names should be avoided had appeared in both of the government circulars. But as John R. Swanton has pointed out, the names were not necessarily ugly to the Indian.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, however, neither the needs nor the desires of the Indians had been considered.

It is probably of little credit to reformers that the American Indian today follows the European system of naming. Acceptance came with time and education. Thus, a good deal of effort was wasted by those involved in the work. That fact becomes more poignant when one considers that they not only inadvertently did some irreparable wrong to the Indian but that the end which they hoped to achieve could have been achieved by a careful annotation of the original allotment rolls. Had all of the energies exerted in renaming the Indians been exerted in tracing the family relationships of those appearing on the rolls, the Indian's land rights would have been protected and part of his identity retained.

Ultimately, the government's policy of renaming was aimed at the

rapid transformation of the Indians into red members of the Anglo-American society. An undated report, written by a government official early in this century, says, "Upon final allotment of their lands, most of our Indians have accepted the situation gracefully and are 'catching' the habits and ways of their white neighbors. This status of the Indian problem of the United States is nearing the desired end toward which our Government has been working for many years and in bringing about which we have spent millions of dollars."⁵⁰ The wording here indicates the writer's awareness of the Indians' unfortunate condition as a result of allotment. They had been thrown suddenly into the midst of a people whose habits they had to "catch" in order to survive; it was a situation they had to accept and make the best of. Thus, assimilation into white culture on white terms was the "desired end" of many years of Indian policy that rarely worked for the Indian's interests, whether it was directed toward his land or his name.

University of Arkansas at Little Rock
University of Arizona

footnotes

1. *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890* (Philadelphia, 1963), 19.
2. See *Ibid.* 198-221.
3. This act did not apply to all Indians: for instance, of those tribes located in the Indian Territory, the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles), the Osages, the Kaws, the Quapaws and the Confederated Peorias. By the General Allotment Act, the government issued trust patents with title resting in the United States for twenty-five years, after which title was conveyed to the Indian or his heirs. The above-mentioned received allotments under a second system used by the government: free patents at the time of allotment with restrictions upon alienation of the land for twenty-five years. See Lawrence Mills, *Oklahoma Indian Land Laws* (St. Louis, 1924), 335-339.
4. Federal Records Center, Fort Worth, Texas, *Cheyenne and Arapahoe Census Taken by Major A. E. Woodson, N. S. A., June 30, 1897*.
5. The Oklahoma Lands was a large section of land in the center of the Indian Territory. Not assigned to any tribe, it was opened to settlement on April 22, 1889.
6. The Cherokee Strip, purchased from the Cherokees in 1893, lay along the northern border of the Indian Territory from the Osage lands to the Panhandle.
7. Thomas J. Morgan (1839-1902) had been Commissioner of Colored Troops during the Civil War, after which he graduated from Rochester Theological Seminary and became professor of homiletics and church history at the Baptist Theological Seminary, Chicago. In 1889 he was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He resigned in 1893 to become President of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.
8. T. J. Morgan to Indian Agents and Superintendents of Schools, March 19, 1890, *Cheyenne and Arapaho—Language and Names*, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The Indian Archives Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society is hereafter cited as IAD-OHS.
9. John Wesley Powell (1834-1902), who reached the rank of major in the Civil War, led an expedition to explore the mountain region of Colorado in 1867. He led another expedition the following year, the purpose for which was to map the canyons of the Green, White, Yampa and Blue Rivers. On May 24, 1869, he and his party entered the Grand Canyon of the Colorado and became the first Americans to successfully descend the river. In 1881 he became director of the U.S. Geological Survey and, when it was formed, head of the Bureau of American Ethnology as well.
10. J. W. Powell to T. J. Morgan, April 4, 1890, *Cheyenne and Arapaho—Language and Names*, IAD-OHS.
11. *Cheyenne and Arapaho—Vol. 31*, 356-357, IAD-OHS.
12. *Ibid.*, 400-401.
13. See T. J. Morgan to Indian Agents, December 22, 1890, *Kiowa—Indian Names and Language*, IAD-OHS.

14. William A. Jones served in the Wisconsin House of Representatives in 1896. U.S. Indian Commissioner from 1897 to 1905, he resigned to become Superintendent of the Mineral Point and Northern Railroad Company.

15. W. A. Jones to Indian Agents and School Superintendents, April 4, 1898, *Cheyenne and Arapaho—Language and Names*, IAD-OHS.

16. Hamlin Garland, *Companions on the Trail* (New York, 1931), 22-23.

17. Clinton Hart Merriam (1855-1942) was in charge of the Division of Ornithology and Mammalogy of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, later called the U.S. Biological Survey, from 1885 to 1904 and served as associate editor of the *National Geographic Magazine* and zoological editor of *Science* magazine. Why Garland chose to involve Merriam in the problems of renaming is uncertain. He was a friend of both Roosevelt and Garland, and during his yearly expeditions between 1876 and 1904, he came in contact with various of the Indian tribes.

18. A full account of Garland's Washington conference appears in *Companions on the Trail*, 136-138.

19. Ethan Alan Hitchcock (1835-1909), a wealthy business man from St. Louis, was appointed in 1897 as Ambassador to Russia; the next year he became Secretary of the Interior, in which capacity he served until 1907.

20. *Companions on the Trail*, 138.

21. George Bird Grinnell (1849-1938) in 1876 became editor of *Forest and Stream* magazine and, in 1880, President of the Forest and Stream Publishing Company. Grinnell was evidently chosen to help Garland because of his extensive knowledge of the American Indian. He had lived with the Indians during early expeditions to the West, and in the early 1890's he was voted head chief of the Blackfeet by the entire tribe. In 1895 he was appointed Commissioner to the Blackfeet and Belknap Indians and was asked to intercede in a bitter land controversy among the Sioux on the Standing Rock reservation. Among his better known works are *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (1892), *The Fighting Cheyennes* (1915), *When Buffalo Ran* (1920), and *By Cheyenne Campfires* (1926).

22. W. J. McGee (1853-1912), self-educated, did research and writing in geology and anthropology and in 1882 began work for the U.S. Geological Survey, studying extinct lakes in California and Nevada. In 1888 he established the Geological Society of America and was editor of the *National Geographic Magazine* for several years. In 1893 he resigned from the U.S. Geographical Survey and was appointed ethnologist in charge of the Bureau of Ethnology, from which post he resigned in 1903.

23. Hamlin Garland to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 3, 1902, Letter-Book, 1901-1904, 112, *Hamlin Garland Collection*, University of Southern California Library, Los Angeles; the *Hamlin Garland Collection* is hereafter cited as HGC.

24. George Bird Grinnell to Hamlin Garland, November 22, 1902, HGC.

25. W. A. Jones to Agents, Allotting Agents, School Superintendents and Teachers, December 1, 1902, *Cheyenne and Arapaho—Language and Names*, IAD-OHS; another copy is in HGC.

26. Charles A. Eastman (1858-1939) received his M.D. degree from Boston University in 1890 and served as physician at the Pine Ridge Agency to the Sioux. From 1894 to 1897 he was Indian Secretary of the YMCA and from 1897 to 1900 attorney for the Santee Sioux, after which time he was appointed physician at the Crow Creek Agency. He lectured on Indian history and wrote nine books on the subject.

27. Charles A. Eastman to Hamlin Garland, December 3, 1902, HGC.

28. W. A. Jones to Hamlin Garland, January 2, 1903, HGC.

29. W. A. Jones to Hamlin Garland, December 16, 1902, and January 2, 1903, HGC.

30. Charles Fletcher Lummis (1859-1928) was editor of the Los Angeles *Daily Times* from 1885 to 1887. He traveled by horseback throughout the southwestern United States, Mexico, and Central and South America and lived for five years in the pueblo of Isleta in New Mexico, studying the Indians' language and culture. He founded the *Out West* magazine, and edited it from 1894 to 1909. The magazine, published at Los Angeles, first appeared as *The Land of Sunshine* and later merged into *Overland Monthly*. Published in it were the reports and notices of the Archaeological Institute of America.

31. Charles F. Lummis to Hamlin Garland, January 7, 1903, HGC.

32. W. A. Jones to Hamlin Garland, January 14, 1903, HGC.

33. W. A. Jones to Secretary of the Interior, February 18, 1903, HGC.

34. W. A. Jones to Hamlin Garland, March 5, 1903, HGC.

35. Hamlin Garland to Miss Estelle Reel, March 9, 1903, Letter-Book, 1901-1904, 133, HGC.

36. John H. Seger (1846-1928) went to Darlington, Indian Territory, in 1872 as superintendent in charge of the Arapaho Mission School. Following his five year appointment as superintendent at the Arapaho Mission School, Seger was retained as a carpenter and mason and he held evening classes in sign language. In March, 1886, he took charge of 152 Cheyenne and Arapahoes and went to the old headquarters of the Washita Cattle Company and founded Seger's Colony, a manual boarding school and 1200 acre farm and ranch. There Seger was superintendent of school, carpenter, brick maker and mason, farmer and sub-agent. See "Tradition of the Cheyenne Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, VI, (September, 1928), 269-270;

- see also *Cheyenne Transporter* (Oklahoma), March 25, 1881, p. 1, col. 3; November 30, 1885, p. 5, col. 1; March 15, 1886, p. 5, col. 3; May 12, 1886, p. 5, col. 2.
37. Hamlin Garland to John Seger, undated, Letter-Book 1901-1904, 129, HGC.
 38. Hamlin Garland to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 12, and March 14, 1903, Letter-Book 1901-1904, 137 and 138, HGC.
 39. A. C. Tonner to Major G. W. Stouch, April 29, 1903, *Cheyenne and Arapaho—Language and Names*, IAD-OHS.
 40. W. A. Jones to Major G. W. Stouch, July 18, 1903, *Ibid.*
 41. Hamlin Garland to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 11, 1903, *Ibid.*
 42. Charles A. Eastman to Hamlin Garland, November 12, 1903, HGC.
 43. *The Guymon Herald* (Oklahoma), July 19, 1906, pt. 2, p. 1, col. 3-4.
 44. Charles A. Eastman to Hamlin Garland, November 12, 1903, HGC.
 45. For correspondence on this matter, see Charles A. Eastman to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 20, 1903; Hamlin Garland to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 7, 1903, *Letter-Book 1901-1904*, 180-183; W. A. Jones to Hamlin Garland, December 22, 1903, Charles A. Eastman to Hamlin Garland, December 31, 1903, and William Loeb, Jr., to Hamlin Garland, June 6, 1904, HGC.
 46. Charles A. Eastman to Hamlin Garland, June 6, 1904, HGC.
 47. *The Guymon Herald* (Oklahoma), July 19, 1906, pt. 2, p. 1, col. 3-4.
 48. Hamlin Garland, *Companions on the Trail*, 139.
 49. *Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico*, Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin 30, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge (Washington, 1912), pt. 2, 17-18.
 50. *The Kickapoo Indians of the United States*, 4, in *Sac and Fox-Kickapoo Indians*, IAD-OHS.