

THE WRITINGS OF HENRY ROMAN NOSE

By Karen Daniels Peterson

FOREWORD

Karen Daniels Peterson (Mrs. Sydney A. Peterson) is a member of the staff of the Science Museum, 41 University Avenue, St. Paul 1 Minnesota. The recently published book (University of Oklahoma Press, 1964) *A Cheyenne Sketchbook* by Cohoe gives the "Commentary" by E. Adamson Habel, well known author on the Plains Indians, Professor of Anthropology in the University of Minnesota and Karen Daniels Peterson, Cohoe and Roman Nose were among the 72 Plains Indians sent as prisoners of War to Fort Marion Florida in 1875. It was during her research on these prisoners of War—"Florida Boys"—that Mrs. Peterson became interested in the life and writings of Roman Nose, presented in this number of *The Chronicles*. Her research on this subject came within the same field of Plains Indian history in Oklahoma, in which Dr. Ellsworth Collings (retired) of the College of Education, University of Oklahoma, and well known writer on Oklahoma historical subjects, had worked a number of years preparatory for an article on Chief Roman Nose of the Cheyenne to be published in *The Chronicles*. Dr. Collings and Mrs. Peterson have consulted together about their research, the results of which have brought an article by each writer appearing here in the winter number (1964-1965) of this magazine, both articles on Chief Henry Roman Nose but each giving a different phase of his life history. —Editor

The main body of the Southern Cheyenne tribe came into the Agency at Darlington on March 6, 1875, and surrendered to the military. Before two months had passed, thirty-three Cheyennes, shackled with chains and heavily guarded, set out in a party of seventy-two Indians of the Plains—Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche, and Caddo—left the Indian Territory, on the long road to St. Augustine, Florida. Late in May they passed under the stone arch of an old Spanish fortress for an imprisonment of three years.¹

Among the Cheyennes interned to insure the pacification of their tribe were chiefs who led in the late hostilities, braves accused of notorious raids north of the Indian Territory (the Brown, Short, and Germain murders), and eighteen seasoned warriors picked at random,

¹ The writer, Mrs. Peterson makes grateful acknowledgment for the assistance given by many toward this study on the life of Henry Roman Nose including: The American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund); Science Museum of St. Paul, Minnesota; the family of Gen. Richard H. Pratt, particularly Mrs. S. Clark Seelye who generously made available the General's papers; the Oklahoma Historical Society through extraordinary service of Mrs. Rella Looney and Mrs. Louise Cook; the National Archives at Washington, kind interest and service of Mrs. Carmelita Ryan; the Hampton Institute through Mr. Sykes, Mr. Scott and Miles M. Jackson.

against whom no charges were made. One of the eighteen was Roman Nose. Although the published roster lists him as a ringleader, the earlier, more candid report of his agent says: "Roman Nose—No special charge."²

How did Roman Nose come to write later, "It is not bad we stayed in prison there"? The aroused sympathy of white men and women, if it did not make these lonely displaced persons entirely happy, at least sped the time with a variety of new experiences. Foremost among these humanitarians was the officer in command of the prisoners, Captain Richard H. Pratt. He quickly cut their shackles, took them on outings, and issued them passes to go into town unattended. Residents invited them to their homes and gave them work. Eastern Indian sympathizers wintering in St. Augustine flocked to the fort and lionized the "Florida Boys." Local women volunteered to staff a school, and Roman Nose received the equivalent of a third or grade education. The erstwhile warriors plainly enjoyed using the newfound skill of writing to communicate his experiences and feelings. His narratives, written in the East, are remarkable for showing camp life, the prison years, and the Eastern seaboard from the Indian point of view:³

When I was ten years old in Indian Territory, I commenced to kill buffalo calves, shooting them with bow and arrows, and when I grew up about fourteen years old, I had killed big buffalo good many.

One day that time I killed about seven buffaloes. At my old home in Indian Territory I would go out and search for birds, and when I had found them I shot them with bow and arrows, I had to kill many of them. When I was a little boy I would like swimming very much and I had to catch a great many the turtles in the water, that time I was very glad to catch it and we good to eat the turtles. When I was thirteen years old my father he took me to war against the Pawnees, I was sick and I could not good sleep every night but every day I anxious to go back home to Indian camp.

I will now endeavor to tell you of my experiences and travels from the time I was taken to Florida up to the present day.

It is very warm weather at the South, in winter time it is not very cold and they have no snowing there. I often judge by Florida and St. Augustine, because I had commenced to find good friends there, all the white people in St. Augustine. When we staid there, some time they told us they were very sorry and felt our hearts

²S. P. Baird, *Catalogue of Casts . . .*, Proceedings of U. S. National Museum, Vol. 1, 1878, in Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 19, 1880, p. 267; Agent John D. Miles to Commissioner Smith, April 29, 1876, in National Archives, Record Group 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs (hereinafter cited as NA).

³Henry C. Roman Nose, *An Indian Boy's Camp Life*, *School News*, Carlisle, Pa., Vol. No. 1, June 1880, p. 1. His writings are presented intact except for dividing run on sentences, unless it is indicated otherwise.



(Photo Photograph. Courtesy of David Fenderson Oberholser.)

Henry C. Roman Nose as a Student at Carlisle Institute,
Carlisle, Pennsylvania (1879-1883).

wadness. But Capt. R. H. Pratt helped us to support our sad hearts and took us away from all sadness and bad thoughts and sinners. He can show to us our hearts properly and he is anxious to make Indian men do right and guide them in the right way and he taught them all about the good ways of the whites. We promise to listen to Capt. R. H. Pratt to what he said. They stayed in prison there three years and we had no school [heretofore], but Capt. Pratt showed us ABC and now we understand these letters, we did not know how to spell anything. It is not bad we stayed in prison three years there. But just they have certainly benefited, we stayed altogether in Fort Marion the white people call Indians Florida boys. Capt. Pratt had two small boats for Indians to go out on the ocean hunting birds and fishing they caught very large sea fishes. Sometimes we rode in sailboat beyond St. Augustine about eighteen or twenty miles to camp, hunt and fish and swim in the ocean. We lived in tents like soldiers, we made bows and arrows and we were seeking for sea beans near ocean beach and we obtained lots of them and brought them to Fort Marion and we polished them and after necessary polishing, we sold them and bows and arrows also, and we drew Indian pictures for the people who visited Fort Marion.⁴

They bought sea beans bows and arrows and pictures. Indians sold sea beans each at twenty five cents and bows and arrows one dollar and a half Some two dollars and a half and best bows and arrows for five dollars. I commenced to learn how to row a boat there and some Florida boys learned very well. All the Florida boys commenced to learn to say Capt. Pratt when we anxious something to buy went in Capt. Pratt's office and asked him if we could go down town to St. Augustine and he would say all right and he would give them the pass to St. Augustine.

Capt. Pratt supported all the Florida boys in St. Augustine and he procured for the Indians everything. All the Indians were very glad and we like Capt. Pratt very much because he is a great good man and his heart is weight [strong?]. They had meeting in Ft. Marion every Monday evening to pray to God to guide us in the right way. We had very pleasant time the 4th of July in St. Augustine also in the middle of the winter we had more jolly times at Christmas day we had shooting with bows and arrows the best shoot received three dollars and a half and some of them footracing and who beat running got three dollar and a half. Capt. Pratt taught me, and I kept persevering and I remember what he taught me in St. Augustine.⁵

As the three years of imprisonment drew to a close, twenty-two of the more promising students in the prison school expressed a desire to remain in the East for further education, among them Roman Nose. When a penurious government refused financial aid, the white friends whom Roman Nose had come to regard and trust assumed the obligation. A devoted and pious teacher at the prison, Mrs. Horace Caruthers, and her physician

⁴ Hoebel and Peterson, *op. cit.*, show Cohow's sketches (Plates 10 and 11) show the tents, sailboat and the big fish (Water Buffalo) mentioned by Roman Nose. The camp mentioned was at Matanzas Inlet. (See reference to Hoebel and Peterson book in Foreword.)

⁵ Experiences of H. C. Roman Nose, *School Notes Autobiographical material* on pp. 2-10 of the present paper is from Vol. 1, No's. 7-10, Dec. 1880-March 1881 [p. 1] unless otherwise designated.

husband had been wintering in St. Augustine for several years. According to Captain Pratt's contemporary statement, she it was who first, in the spring of 1877, conceived the idea of financing the education of some of the prisoners after their release, particularly two or three "who possess such fine abilities and traits of character." She initiated fund-raising among Eastern churchmen, her fellow-townsmen of Tarrytown, New York, and the citizenry of St. Augustine. Some concerned people produced home-talent shows to raise money for the cause. Thus it came about that ex-warrior Roman Nose, with several of his cohorts, sang a song "written by a lady" at "an evening with Mother Goose and the children" in the dining room of the Magnolia hotel. The interest aroused guaranteed that not only the two proteges of Mrs. Caruther but the other twenty could have their three years in the East. The two whose surpassing ability and character were the springboard for this far-reaching movement were Tsaikopeta and Roman Nose. On April 18, 1878, the last three Florida Boys left St. Augustine in the custody of Dr. and Mrs. Caruthers. The question of the future of the Indians was left open. After a stay at the Caruthers home they might remain there, join the others at Hampton, or (one of them) stay in a home to be found by Dr. Charles Force Deems, pastor of the noted Church of the Strangers, New York.⁶

Roman Nose, the Plainsman, afterward remembered vividly his initiation as a seafarer:

After three years twenty-two men desired to be educated at Normal Institute, at Hampton Virginia and some went to school at Syracuse New York, and some of them in Tarrytown N. Y. then came at Florida boat to St. Augustine and all the Florida boys went on steam-boat and went to Hampton Normal School. Two Kiowa boys and I stayed in St. Augustine. Then after a while we rode in the cars and we came to a very small town [Tocoi] and we took steam-boat to Jacksonville and stopped there all night. Then in the morning we went on steam-boat to Savannah and arrived there at about six o'clock a. m. and we stayed one or three hours, we then took another large steam-boat for New York and crossed the Atlantic Ocean three nights and three days we traveller on the ocean. I couldn't see any

⁶ Sources for the above statements and excerpts from the Roman Nose letters that follow include:—An Indian Raid on Hampton Institute, *Southern Workman*, Vol. 7, No. 5, May 1878, p. 36; Mrs. Horace Caruthers, "The Indian Prisoners at St. Augustine," *The Christian of Work*, Sept. 1877, p. 193; "Local News and Gossip," *Tarrytown Argus*, July 14, 1877, p. 3; *Gospel Messenger and Cause Journal of Central New-York*, Vol. 3, No. 28, April 1878, p. 223; "A-take-a-home," handbill, March 4, 1878; "Those Indians—All About Them," *Tarrytown Argus*, April 27, 1878, p. 2; Pratt to Commr. Hayt, Apr. 23, 1878, Pratt Papers; Pratt to Bishop H. B. Whipple, Apr. 1, 1878, Bishop Henry B. Whipple Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

land where I looked to the south and east and west. I thought the steam-boat would drop beneath the waves but it did not drop. I was scared very much and I was sea-sick on the ocean. I layed down all the time and I could not eat breakfasts, dinners or suppers, we arrived at New York City at evening about six o'clock and we go out and went in carriage and go to Depot and we stayed there a few minutes. Then we rode in the cars and go up the Hudson river and reached Tarrytown in the night and we rode in carriage to Dr. Caruthers's house and sat down around table we ate supper. That time I was very lazy because that I had been very sea sick and felt very tired. After a few days I got strong again and well.

In an interview with the Florida Boys on their arrival at Tarrytown, a reporter obtained their autographs as evidence that Indians could indeed learn to write.⁷ When Roman Nose wrote "Who-Whin-Ny, Roman Nose, twenty years old, (Cheyenne)," it was the last time known to this writer that he used the form of his name under which he enrolled as a captive. He never again signed his Indian name, nor used "Roman Nose" without a given name. A number of the Florida boys took the names of their white friends or patrons. Henry Caruthers Roman Nose memorialized Amy and Horace Caruthers and perhaps Richard Henry Pratt. We may be sure that from these sincere, dedicated friends Roman Nose learned a great deal more of the white man's way than the skills mentioned in the newspapers—household chores, and the reading, speaking, and writing of English.

Henry Roman Nose revealed in his own account his attachment first for Captain Pratt, and then, for Dr. and Mrs. Caruthers:⁸

I thought that perhaps I never was to see Capt. Pratt again but after a month he arrived at Tarrytown to see those three boys who was there. I was much pleased to see him once again and he stayed with us only one day. He said to us he would visit Hampton and see more of the Florida boys that was in Normal School. Before he went away, he wanted me to write to him and after he went away I wrote him a letter.

He didn't reply to my letter and I did not hear from him but he went out west and when came back to Washington then he obtained my letter and he replied immediately and said in his letter, he wanted me and the other boys to go to Hampton School but I didn't like to go to Hampton. I wanted to stay at Tarrytown New York. I started to Hampton and we arrived at New York City a. m. and saw a great many of the white people in New York, we had a very pleasant time just the same as the 4th of July 1878. At Dr. Deems house we had dinner who is my friend. Then after dinner I had to shake hands with him and also his family and I bid them good-bye . . .

⁷ "Those Indians—All About Them," *Tarrytown Argus*, April 27, 1878, p. 2.

⁸ References given in fn. 6, p. v.

We took another steamer and went to Hampton. We arrived at the Fort [Fortress Monroe] in the night. We went in carriage to Hampton about mile and a half from the Fort. By permission we went through the corn field and Capt. Pratt told us that this field and the other fields were all worked in by the Florida boys plowing and hoeing every day. We arrived at General Armstrong's house and got out of the carriage and went to where the Florida boys stayed in two houses. I was very much delighted to see my Florida friends again and we shook hands with them all. Then we went into the room and stayed all together and they told me all about what they had been doing at Hampton Institute. We said that it is very hard toiling every day. We had hard work all the summer, learning how to work on the farm. The Normal School opened at Hampton on the first of October. Then we went to school every morning and afternoon and learned some thing every day and we worked very hard two days, in a week Friday and Saturday. One of the Kiowa boys learned very fast. His names is "Ki-sh-co-ly." His English name is Hunting Boy. The rest of the Florida boys didn't learn very fast. The reason that didn't learn more rapidly was because some of them was too old to learn. We studied hard there one year and learned some thing every day

I received your letter and was very glad to hear from you. I like my new friends here very much. I am going to try hard to work and to do some things every day. By and by I will be a strong man and a good man and learn a good ways. I am going to try to open my eyes and to learn to talk English much. White people talked with me and said you speak English and I said no, I cannot much speak English now. I will try hard to learn to speak English little. I will always remember your talk about the Bible that if ye love me keep my commandments: This is my commandment that ye love one another as I have loved you; ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you—and another that is God helps the man who helps himself—I love that God and I do pray that God to help me and he will give the holy spirit and a good heart to do right.

I must go up stairs and sleeps, so I must say good night

I want to go stayed here a little longer and then when I am going away I will stoped at Tarrytown with Mrs. Caruthers and I want to stayed there What do you think? Must tell me right away. I wrote you a great many times and you do not answer it from my letters and perhaps you do not like me I am in a great hurry to know which I go

Hampton Institute in Virginia was visited by Agent John D. Miles, of the Cheyenne-Arapahoe Agency at Darlington, soon after Henry Roman Nose arrived at the school. The young Cheyenne's first appearance as spokesman for his people revealed his desire for an education. The Agent in his own response recognized the influence of Roman Nose over his people on their tribal reservation out in Western Indian Territory. This interview between Miles and Henry Roman Nose appeared in the press of 1878:⁹

"Roman Nose in his speech to Agent Miles said: 'I stay here three years. I learn English. I learn to work.

⁹ *Southern Workman*, Vol. 7, No. 12, Dec. 1878, p. 95.

I know something. Then I go to Indian Territory, I teach my people, all my friends.' After he had concluded his speech Agent Mites replied: 'I want to say to you, Roman Nose, and to all these boys, that you have begun to teach your people already. Your letters, Roman Nose, that you have written to your father, have had such an effect on the old man that he has thrown away his blanket and wears white men's clothes—and has gone to work regularly. He comes into the agency regularly to hear from you. He is really very much changed and that entirely through the influence of your letters. . . . You are doing good now. You are on the right road. Stick to it.'

Roman Nose was baptised Henry Caruthers by the Rev. John H. Danison, chaplain of the Normal School, in the undenominational Bethesda chapel in March 1879.¹⁰ Of the twelve Florida boys then admitted to the Christian church, he was one of the three who took English names.

At the close of the school year several of the boys had the privilege of meeting the President, but Roman Nose appears to have been unimpressed: "In the Spring Capt. Pratt took several boys and went to Washington and saw President Hayes he said he was very glad to see those boys, we stayed several days at the Smithsonian Institute and then returned to Hampton Virginia."

As early as the previous November, General Armstrong was considering placing some of the Indians on farms.¹¹ Captain Pratt then proposed that, to make room for more Indian girls and restore a balance of the sexes, as well as to "accomplish more for the boys and the Indian cause in general," he would place most of the Florida Boys where they might have experience in agriculture or trades for six months of each year. Henry told the culmination of these plans the next summer:¹²

At the desire of Capt. Pratt and General Armstrong twelve of the Florida boys went to a small town called Lee in the state of Massachusetts. We left Hampton after dinner and walked to the Port to where the boat stopped and waited there about one hour and then took the steam-boat to Norfolk, we arrived there about half past 4 o'clock p. m.

We then took another steamer for New York where we arrived safely. Capt. Romeyn¹³ went with the boys to Norfolk and when we got out there he said to the boys, Capt. Pratt will meet you in New

¹⁰ "Record of Indian Progress," *Southern Workman*, Vol. 8, No. 5, May 1879, p. 55.

¹¹ "Indians at School," *Philadelphia Evening Press*, Nov. 22, 1878.

¹² Pratt to Commissioner Hayt, Jan. 14, 1879, p89, NA, Letters Received, Miscellaneous, 1879.

¹³ Brevet Captain Henry Romeyn, military instructor at Hampton.

York, after we shook hands and bid him good-bye, he said, boys I hope all of you will have a good time where you are journeying. Then he returned to Hampton Normal Institute. In the night at about nine o'clock, we took the steamer for New York and after one day and one night on the ocean traveling, we reached New York, some of the boys were very sea-sick and I too. Capt. Pratt met us in steam-boat and he said, boys you sleep in boat until morning and I will come back for you, he came very early next morning and called the boys to get up and get ready to start to a restaurant to get some breakfast, then we took a walk to Grand Central Depot and took the train to Lee, we arrived at Lee at half past two p. m. We got out and went in carriage to different places. We stayed there all summer and learned mowing with scythe and milking and churning butter and worked every day for months.

On Sundays, there was no farm work. The Florida Boys usually came from their various farms to assemble at the church for services in the morning, Bible class in the afternoon, and a prayer meeting afterwards. Roman Nose was reported among those who were cordially welcomed when they attended an observance of the Lord' Supper.¹⁴ He adjusted with alacrity to the new setting in the Berkshire Mountains, without the difficulties in health, aptitude for farm work, or relations with employers that beset some of the others. Henry wrote to Pratt:¹⁵

I received your letter and was very glad to hear from you. I like my new friends here very much. I am going to try to work and to do some things every day, by and by I will be a strong man and a good man and learn a good ways. I am going to try to open my eyes and to learn to talk English much. White people talked with me and said you speak English and I said no, I cannot much speak English now, I will try hard to learn to speak English little. I will always remember your talk about the Bible that if ye love me keep my commandments: This is my commandment that ye love one another as I have loved you; ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you—and another that is God helps the man who helps himself—I love that God and I do pray that God to help me and he will give the holy spirit and a good heart to do right—

I must go up stairs and sleep, so I must say good night.

When the time for leaving Massachusetts drew near, the young man had plans to return to Tarrytown and his white mother. Impatiently he prodded Pratt:¹⁶

I want to go stayed here a little longer and then I am going away I will stayed at Tarrytown with Mrs. Caruthers and I want to stayed there . . . What do you thing? Must tell me right away. I wrote you a great many times and you do not answer it from my letters and

¹⁴ Etahleub Duanmoe to Mr. R. (James C. Robbins, a Hampton instructor), July 10, 1879, *Southern Workman*, Vol. 8, No. 8, Aug. 1879, p. 85.

¹⁵ Roman Nose to Pratt, June 1879, *ibid.*

¹⁶ Roman Nose to Pratt, Sept. 9, 1879, Pratt Papers.

perhaps you do not like me . . . I am in a great hurry to know which
I go . . .

His pleas were lost on Pratt, who was deeply involved in plans of his own. Convinced that it would be better for the Indians to have a separate school, he had by zealous labor obtained the deserted army barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for an Indian school. Before Roman Nose's letter reached him, he had set out for the West to procure younger pupils, whom he believed would learn more readily than the mature Florida Boys. Most of the latter were to go to Carlisle not only for schooling but to help repair the rundown barracks and to "leaven with their civilization the lump of barbarism" of the new students.¹⁷ The group from Lee arrived at Carlisle on October 6 just before Pratt and his young recruits.¹⁸ When Henry Roman Nose came face to face with the old way of barbarism, the extent of his acculturation in four years was fully revealed. Not only did he feel disgust for Indian apparel: He believed in "the white man's good way." Nevertheless, his chief concern was still for his "Benighted Race." With a prayer for them he ends his autobiographical account:

In October 1879, we left Lee and arrived here at Carlisle Barracks. We saw the Sioux boys and girls had to wear Indian clothes and the Florida boys did not like that kind of clothes. It looked like wild Indian people who had learned nothing but just play every day and fight and punishing each other and fighting with sticks and hurting their bodies, but Capt. Pratt throwed away old Indian clothes and he gave them new white man's clothes and assisted them very patiently to make the boys and girls of different tribes go one way that is the right way the white man's way. Now we are following the white man's way and endeavoring to get education and do something useful and teach the red man avoid temptation. First I did not know anything about the white man's ways. I am very happy now that I can be useful polite and love God. I do not say I am always polite and good because I don't know when sometimes when bad thoughts comes or sin. But God will keep us from sin and he will aid us in the right way and I pray that he will Bless all our Benighted Race and show them their error and at last lead us with the white man's good way is the prayer of Henry C. Roman Nose.

The role of Roman Nose as evangelist for the white man's way appears sincere. It was the result of five years' association with white friends and mentors who personified the best of that way of life. His mission, begun by the conversion of his father, was to show all his people the new road.

The narratives reveal a turning-point in the emotional life of Henry Roman Nose. For a five-year period

¹⁷ The Carlisle School, Oct. 9 [1879. No publisher.]

¹⁸ Field Office Records, Carlisle Indian School, NA.

he was ignored by his captain. Except in routine reports on all the Florida boys, Roman Nose went unmentioned by Pratt in print, in manuscript letters, and in his memoirs. The young man had won the tentative approval of Dr. and Mrs. Caruthers, only to have them pass him by and take Tsaitkopeta as their son. Dr. Deems gave him a dinner but not a home. Then, early in April, 1880, the rejected youth found himself the object of intense interest on the part of Pratt. Roman Nose reciprocated with the effusive praise that runs through his narratives. The events that led up to this change were a natural sequence. He had quickly adjusted to the newcomers and the new school, while he continued sending his filial exhortations to Shot in Nose, alias Naked Turkey.¹⁹ He wrote to Agent Miles on Christmas Day:²⁰

Tell father (without feather Turket) I want him must working hard and pushed hard to get lots money . . . I am glad that my father is got the white man's way. You know me that always I am going to try to do right and I am learning to do something every day and I have only little speak English just now . . . all we have been happy here this school . . . This morning we have a very nice times and all have enough to eat Christmas day dinner.²¹

Others of the young men did not share his satisfaction with Carlisle and grew restless. Some had wives and children at home; some found book-learning increasingly difficult; some had caught the fatal consumption. In small groups they left for home, until Roman Nose reported to General Armstrong March 13: "All the Indians we are going to school every morning and in the afternoon . . . I am very sorry for my friends most of gone home the Florida boys and I shall miss them very much and think of it them very often. Only three the Florida boys here now. Matches Koba and L."²²

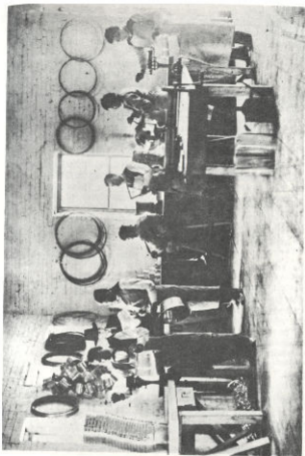
Richard Pratt, as a poor and fatherless lad of 18 in Indiana, had been apprenticed to a tinner: "Twenty years later, asking for workshops at Carlisle School, its superintendent proudly informed the Indian office that he himself was competent to teach the tinner's trade."²³ In the year and a half commencing April 1, 1880, the Carlisle tin shop manufactured and sent to forty-two

¹⁹ Cheyenne Prisoners, Ms. list, Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Cheyenne and Arapaho Files (hereinafter cited as C & A), Prisoners.

²⁰ Roman Nose to John Miles, Dec. 25, 1879, C & A, Carlisle Indian School.

²¹ Roman Nose to Gen. Armstrong, Mar. 13, 1880, Southern Workman, Vol. 9, No. 4, April 1880, p. 44.

²² Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt, the Red Man's Moses*, (Norman, 1935), p. 18.



(Chute Photograph. Courtesy New York Public Library)

Timney's Apprentices at Carlisle Institute, 1880.
Left to right: Charles Ojetoim, Kiowa; Capt. R. H. Pratt,
Superintendent; Henry Roman Noer, Cheyenne; Paul, son
of Blue Bear, Pine Ridge Agency; J. H. Curtin, Instructor;
Earnest, son of White Thunder, Rosebud Agency; Kaga,
Kiowa.

different Indian agencies no less than 1,373 quart cups, 4,110 pint cups, and 2,306 larger utensils.²² As one of the older students, Roman Nose had the opportunity to star in an experiment dramatizing Pratt's conviction that the Indian could and should be taught a trade. After three months the young man was reported in the school paper as making very good tin cups, and other things as well:²³ "Mr. Curtin, the tin-smith, says that Roman Nose and Koba are as good apprentices as he ever saw anywhere, and he recently put a challenge—not yet taken up—into a Carlisle paper offering to back Roman Nose for \$100 against any apprentice in the trade who had been at it the same length of time."²⁴

Pratt wrote later of Roman Nose: "While here he was very ambitious to perfect himself as a tinner, proving his practical christianity by often informing us in Sabbath evening meetings, the exercises of which are mostly by boys, how hard he was trying to make good tin-cups. One great incentive to labor always seemed to be, that on his return home he would be able to supply his people with tin-ware."²⁵

It was not all work and no play for Roman Nose. In the summer Pratt allowed him to revisit New York for ten days. Dr. Deems' son showed him the sights of the city—the elevated, a skyscraper-view of the area ("just like the birds"), the aquarium, the zoo. He went on to Tarrytown, where Tsaitkopeta took him to prayer meeting and walked with him on the hill where they "saw Hudson river long way." Roman Nose with his customary religiosity was receptive to Tsaitkopeta's theology. "He explain commandments to me and teach me about Bible some good things I don't understand before and I very glad."

After his return Roman Nose went to the school's camp in the woods at Warm Springs for a week:²⁷

When I get through school and work then I will return to my old home in Indian Territory. When I get there I think maybe I will help all my Indian people and teach them about the good way of the white man read and to love God. They will pray for him to make good Indian men and women. I will teach the Indians what I have learned at school and I will teach them how to work in the white man's ways. I like tin-smith shop very much and I want to learn well how to make tin cups, baskets, pail & c.

²² *Eadie Keatah Tok*, Carlisle, Pa., Vol. 2, No. 3, Oct. 1881, p. 1.

²³ *School News*, Carlisle, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1880, p. 3.

²⁴ *Southern Workman*, Vol. 9, No. 8, Aug. 1880, p. 68.

²⁵ *Morning Star*, Carlisle, Vol. 3, No. 6, Jan. 1883, p. 4.

²⁷ *Eadie Keatah Tok*, Carlisle, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1880; *School News*, Carlisle, Vol. 1, No. 4, Sept. 1880.

Naked Turkey, who at his son's urging had not only quit the blanket but bought a farm, sent a message urging his boy to come home, and the dutiful son gave his consent and the admonition, "I hope you all have horses and corn-fields cattle, hogs and working hard to make your homes look nice." Captain Pratt, with something more than a pleasure trip in mind, arranged that Roman Nose should visit the Agency while Agent Miles was recruiting new students for Carlisle. The youth left Carlisle on August 2. Five days, six trains, and a mail wagon later (all at a cost of \$30.00) Roman Nose was in the bosom of his family. "I was very much pleased to see my father brothers and sisters and uncles cousins and all my relatives, also they were very happy to see me. I staid in Darlington three weeks. I rode my horse every day and I traveled all around the Indian camps. When I stayed there I was very tired."²⁸

If, after his tour of the camps, he was disappointed at not finding a corn field behind every tipi, he raised no lament. Realistically he seized the opportunity to start on his mission of pointing out to his people the right road. He boasted later of the telling results achieved by his persuasive powers of speech:²⁹

All the Cheyenne Chiefs and young men, I spoke to them about the good ways of the whites. I told them all about the Indian children at Carlisle Barracks Pa. I told them what they had learned here at school and at work. All the Cheyenne chiefs were very glad to hear that Capt. Pratt has taken good care of the Indian children here. All the Cheyenne chiefs and Arapahoe chiefs they thought Capt. Pratt a great and good man. I told them Capt. Pratt is a great man I know his heart is true and faithful. I asked all the chiefs for the children to come here to Carlisle school. The North Cheyenne do not want to send the children to school here.³⁰ But some Cheyenne and Arapahoe kind to me and gave me twenty-one Cheyenne children and ten Arapahoe children to bring to this school. If I did not go down to Cheyenne Agency, John D. Miles could not get the children to bring to Carlisle Barracks. Some Cheyenne do not want their children to come here to school. September sixth I came back here. I was very glad to see Carlisle Barracks and all my friends the white people and different tribes of the Indian children.

The Christian love of Henry Roman Nose embraced his erstwhile enemies both red and white, even to the children of the hated Pawnees.

²⁸ S. C. Armstrong, *Indian Education at the Hampton Norman and Agricultural Institute*, p. 11, Hampton, Va., 1881; *School News*, Carlisle, Pa., vol. 1, No. 2, June 1880; Pratt, telegram to Miles, July 29, 1880, *C & A*, Carlisle Indian School; Pratt to Miles, Aug. 5, 1880, *C & A*, Carlisle Indian School.

²⁹ A portion of the Northern Cheyennes were residing against their wills at Darlington. *School News*, Vol. 1, No. 5, Oct. 1880, pp. 1, 4.

He returned from his triumphal tour with a new-found eagerness to take up man's work.³⁰

Under the instruction of Mr. Curtin who will try to teach me to make tinware as soon as possible, I will then go home and open a business for my self at Indian Territory." In the fall his fine tinware won him 60¢ at the Cumberland County Fair, but his foot racing and shooting with bow and arrow paid better, with a premium of \$1.00 each. By December he had "made a dozen tin cups for Capt. Pratt which can't be beat. He works assiduously at his trade showing more zeal and working capacity than is usual with Indians.

Roman Nose's thoughts began to turn homeward. Koba, his Kiowa fellow farmhand and tinsmith-apprentice, had returned to Indian Territory with Matches, the Cheyenne, in September.³¹

In a burst of confidence Roman Nose poured out his day-dreams to his agent. As a proper beginning, Miles must see to it that Roman Nose could live like a white man.³²

I wish John D. Miles you will find one room for me in the house and I stay there when I come home. I no like it to live in Indian tents any more . . . You must do so what I say to you about one-room in house . . . I had throw away my old Indian ways and want them no more. But I have found the other best way of the whites and I shall never through away the white man's road but I shall keep it always and I will live in house always . . . I would anxious to help you to make good Indians and give them a good road of the white man's ways and pray for them to make our hearts good and to be kind to one another and we are going to be friends every body. That is the way I do it. I loves all my white friends and all our relatives of different tribes Indians . . . and they listen everybody what we says about the good ways and try to do right and faithfully . . . We have meeting in the chapel every Sabbath evening and some boys dose to pray to God. We ask him to help guide us in right way. All the Cheyenne boys dose not pray to God. They be ashamed and I often speak to them and I want them must pray to God to help each one of us in this our school.

By January 1881 he had determined to go home and find a wife. Accompanied by his teacher, J. H. Curtin, he left March 15 with the avowed intent of teaching his people. Before his departure the pupils at Carlisle had a "nice supper" in his honor, after which he made a speech advising the others to "try hard and learn all you can."³³ With characteristic paternal concern for his charge, Captain Pratt told the agent:³⁴

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4; *Eagle Kentaš Tok*, Vol. 1, No. 7, Nov. 1880, p. 4; *ibid.*, No. 8, Dec. 1880, p. 3.

³¹ "Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia," (Hampton, Va., 1893), p. 325.

³² Roman Nose to Miles, Nov. 3, 1880, C & A, Prisoners.

³³ *School News*, Vol. 1, No. 10, March 1881, p. 3.

³⁴ Pratt to Miles, Jan. 11, 1881. C & A, Prisoners.

Roman Nose has done as well as any tinner's apprentice could do and is now capable of making a great many articles of the smaller tinware quite as well as ordinary Jours [journeymen], but there is no originality in him yet nor ability to cut his own patterns or make larger or more difficult things. On the first of April he will only have been working at the business a year. He is quite determined about going home and getting married . . . He could go out and make coffee pots, pans, buckets, cups, & c, for the Cheyennes and Arapahos.

Pratt prodded Miles to set up a tinshop, adding, "His work will not only be a good example, but it will pay." In April Miles wrote: "I have placed Roman Nose in the saw-mill for the present. I have estimated for some 'shops' for the [Florida] 'boys' and think Secretary Kirkwood will help us liberally to hold the 'boys' by giving them employment. We can't afford to let one of them go back to camp for want of an opportunity to work."³⁵

Roman Nose's \$20-a-month position lasted from April 15 to June 30. In September Miles reported, "Roman Nose is just the same; no sign of relapse." Near the end of November the tinner's outfit which was to be managed by Roman Nose arrived at the agency.³⁶ But the agent told Pratt:³⁷

Roman Nose . . . desire [s] to return to your charge . . . to complete his apprenticeship as tinner . . . Roman Nose thinks that his present knowledge of the tinner trade is not quite sufficient to warrant him in assuming charge of the Agency shop which we propose opening the coming spring—and he thinks that by applying himself closely to business in your shop of a few months that he will gain a sufficient knowledge to carry our Agency shop, and it is my judgment that such a course would pay big in the end. I know he would now apply himself more closely to business than ever before having in prospect the position of foreman in the Agency shop and it is also due to him to have sufficient knowledge of the trade to have confidence in himself—this he does not seem to have at present.

On July 1, 1882, Miles nominated as tinner another returned prisoner, Star, who had had no formal training in the trade.³⁸ By the following January, shops had been built for carpenter and blacksmith, but not for tin-smith. Roman Nose complained to Pratt, "I have ask Agent about three or four times for I want to working my tin trade and I getting tired to ask Agent Miles."³⁹

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1881, and April 21, 1881.

³⁶ Roster of Agency Employees, 1880—81, p. 135, NA, Statistics Division; Miles to Pratt, Sept. 28, 1881, Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881, p. 193; Cheyenne Transporter, Dec. 16, 1881, p. 282.

³⁷ Miles to Pratt, Nov. 28, 1881, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Letter-book, Sept. 2, 1881—Feb. 2, 1882, p. 243, C & A.

³⁸ Miles to Commissioner Price, July 19, 1882, NA, Letters Received, Land and Education, 18624—82.

Pratt corroborated his words: "In all his letters since his return he had deplored not having a shop where he could work his trade."³⁹ The procrastination would appear to have been on the part of Miles rather than of Roman Nose. Whether it stemmed from personal animosity or from inability to construct the building deemed necessary by Roman Nose can only be guessed. The pitifully small funds at the agent's disposal could not be stretched to cover even the urgent needs; further, in the very year of Roman Nose's plaint to Pratt, Congress reduced the funds. However, to many a subsequent agent Henry Roman Nose was a *bête noire*.

Many changes had taken place in the eight years since he was spirited away in chains. The buffalo was gone, the land was too dry for successful farming, and government rations left the Cheyennes with an ever-present hunger. The Indians could not leave the reservation without a permit. On the reservation there was no protection under the law, no title to property, no incentive for work. Indeed, the returnees who presumed to work were ridiculed by the conservative chiefs, who were jealous of the "educated young men." Some of the latter, cut off from their people by a great gulf, found it too hard to hold out against the old customs and went back to a life of ignorance and superstition.

The two years after his return was a period of disillusionment for Roman Nose. Things did not work out as he had envisioned them at Carlisle. Agent Miles did not take him into partnership, or even into his house. He was forced to live in the miserable camps. His prayers to the Christian God had not wrought a transformation on his people. Unlike Matches and Etabdleuh, he was unable to identify himself with the missionaries at the Agency. His tinshop was only a mirage that retreated as he approached it. But he had made one convert to the good way of the white man. He wrote in 1881 to Pratt: "I am going to tell you what I was doing last Saturday. I got marry a very sure nice girl. She is very gentle and polite and kindly, but I am very sorry she do not talk English, and do not understand about the white man's ways. But I am trying to teach her about the white road."⁴⁰

³⁹ Roman Nose to Pratt, Jan. 5, 1883, in *Morning Star*, Carlisle Vol. 3, No. 6, Jan. 1883, p. 4. and Editorial comment in *ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Eadle Keatah Toa*, Carlisle Vol. 2, No. 5, Dec. 1881, p. 3.

This Cheyenne paragon, Red Paint Woman, was married to Roman Nose in infancy. As a husband, he tried his hand as an Army Scout at neighboring Fort Reno for upward of three months.⁴¹ When he contracted a fever he had to resign, and a year after his marriage he was thoroughly discouraged. Yet there is a hint that he had glimpsed a realistic way to help his people—by dealing with Washington:⁴²

I went to ask Agent Miles for I start to working my tin trade Agent said wait and so I keeping rest in the Indian camps. I have nothing to do no work Capt. Pratt I am very anxious to know about. All Cheyenne Chiefs and Arapaho Chiefs talking about this land Indians belong to. I want to hear from you and tell me everything at Washington what the fixed road for the Indians. I shall never forget you and I wish to see you but I have no money to pay my way to come to Carlisle. Capt. Pratt please excuse this bad writing my letter. I have almost forget how to write English language because I have not read and write long time Henry C. Romanose.

Pratt published this letter in the January issue of the Carlisle paper, and seconded it with a comment of his own. In a month a Philadelphian had offered money to enable Roman Nose to open his shop, but on hearing of it Miles again demurred, saying that the Indian needed, and wanted, to go to Carlisle and "brush up." By April a Sunday school at Edgewater, Staten Island, had furnished Roman Nose with fare, and he took the long journey to Carlisle alone, arriving May 7, 1883. The Carlisle paper reported, "Henry has taken hold of work in our shops with a will, and seems to have lost none of his skill to make pans, pails, cups, etc."⁴³

He left Carlisle September 18, 1883, but disappointment was still his lot. In April Agent Miles quitted the agency under a cloud. His successor, D. B. Dyer, plunged the Cheyennes into turmoil. From July 12 to September 16, 1884, Roman Nose was one of the agency police recruited at \$6.00 a month to preserve order. He resigned "to take another position," but on September 16 a Carlisle returnee named White Buffalo was reported as agency tinner. To quiet the agency the United States Army intervened in 1885, and Roman Nose once more

⁴¹ Allotment file, Cheyenne—Arapahoe Area Field Office, Concho, Okla.; Mason D. Pratt to his mother and sisters, July 10, 1882, Pratt Papers; *Morning Star*, Carlisle Vol. 3, No. 6, Jan. 1883, p. 4.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*; Miles to Pratt, March 13, 1883, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Letterbook 8, p. 190, C&A; *Morning Star*, vol. 3, No. 19, May 1883, p. 4; Field Office Records Carlisle Indian School, NA.

served with the Scouts, January 28—July 27, 1886.⁴⁴ That year his loyal friend Captain Pratt gave the last favorable report on him found for the period of this paper: "R. N. holds on to the civilized way the best he can. He has been unfortunate—has lost his wife and child, and has been sick for some months himself but is now well, and respected at Cheyenne Agency."⁴⁵

About this time, Henry Roman Nose was married by Indian custom to Standing, a Cheyenne one year his senior. She had been separated, also by Indian custom, from her first husband Walking High, by whom she had two children, Little Woman (born in 1877) and Bob-tail (born in 1883). The children of Standing and Roman Nose were White Head (Amanda Roman Nose) born in 1887, and Head Bear (John Roman Nose), born in 1891.

Roman Nose returned to the agency police for periods beginning March 11 and July 1, 1887, and September 1, 1888. On October 15 he was discharged for neglect by Agent G. D. Williams. By June, 1890 his daydreams of ten years ago were partially fulfilled. He lived in a canvas tent instead of a house but he dressed like a white man, and at last, he was making tinware for his people at a wage of \$20.00 a month. For Roman Nose, the opportunity to work at his trade came too late. The decade of frustration and restlessness had changed the direction of his life. The Southern Cheyennes took up the "Ghost Dance" with fervor that summer. Thereafter the only hat that Roman Nose wore was the "Messiah hat" of gray felt, with its round, stiff brim and square crown. This trade-mark symbolized a religion with a doctrine approaching his own mystic promulgated at Carlisle of the coming of a "Pan-Indian Utopia."⁴⁶ Emboldened by the promise of revolution, he defied Agent C. F. Ashley. Forgetting his early speeches to the chiefs and the Carlisle pupils advocating learning, Roman Nose refused to place his children in school even when rations were

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; Record of Indian Police, (1884—86), p. 2, NA, Statistics Division; Cheyenne Transporter, Sept. 18, 1884, (p. 232); Register of Enlistments, U. S. Army, 1878-1896, National Archives, War Department, Record Group 94, Adjutant General's Office.

⁴⁵ Record of Returned Indians, Hampton N. and A. Institute, [1887?], Ms. Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

⁴⁶ Allotment file, Cheyenne-Arapaho Area Field Office, Concho, Okla., no. 2071; Schedule of Allotments, C&A, Allotments, Henry Roman Nose; Record of Indian Police, 1888—88, pp. 2, 75; 1888—90 p. 3, NA, Statistics Division; *Red Man*, Carlisle, Vol. 10, No. 5, June 1890; Jesse Knowledge, oral communication, October 7, 1960.

withheld to enforce compliance. When, after several months as a tinner, he was reproved by the agent for laziness and neglect of his work, in anger he quit his job and the agency, taking up residence near Salt Creek some thirty miles northwest. Here, that winter, he came into conflict with a beef contractor over the grazing of cattle. In the spring, he utilized his writing proficiency by airing his grievances directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs instead of going through prescribed channels. He complained about these matters and the agent's discrimination against him in the issuing of agricultural implements (which he had abandoned when he moved) and in the manner of enrolling his stepchildren for allotments.⁴⁷

When, on June 30, 1891, Henry Roman Nose, aged 35, received his allotment, he had chosen a picturesque quarter-section in the area where he had been living, with red rock walls rising from the wooded canyon-floor, with outcroppings of gleaming white gypsum, with rolling plains and spring.⁴⁸ Here, with occasional exceptions such as his terms as agency police beginning February 1 and September 1, 1894, he lived out his life. Nearby, at the allotment of another of the Florida boys, William Cohoe, he died during a peyote meeting on June 13, 1917.⁴⁹

In the decade following allotments, Roman Nose achieved two more of his early goals. The Native American Church, the third religion he espoused after his native Sun Dance, brought him into a praying fellowship that stressed brotherhood and peace. Lastly, he was recognized as a leader of his people: He became a chief. Around the neck of Roman Nose, Chief Big Jake hung the chief's medal bestowed years before by Washington. In return Roman Nose gave Big Jake a spotted horse indicating appreciation of the honor done him.⁵⁰ Although the term of office was intended to be ten years, Roman Nose kept the title of Chief until his death. In January

⁴⁷ Agent Ashley to Commissioner, May 29, 1891, typed transcript of Cheyenne and Arapaho Letterbook, vol. 33, pp. 11, 12, C&A.

⁴⁸ Allotment No. 2071 of Henry Roman Nose is described as NW/4, Section 24, Township 17 North, Range 12 West (Photostatic Copy of Original Schedule of Allotments to the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes, Cheyenne-Arapaho Area Field Office, Concho, Okla.). The present Roman Nose State Park, north of Watonga in northern Blaine County, includes a portion that is the south half of the allotment of Henry Roman Nose. See Appendix B at end of article by Ellsworth Collins, this number of *The Chronicles*.

⁴⁹ Record of Indian Police, 1892-94, 1894-96, NA, Statistics Division; Watonga, Oklahoma, Herald, June 14, 1917, p. 1; John Fletcher, oral communication, Oct. 6, 1960.

⁵⁰ Paul Goose, communication, in interview, Oct. 15, 1960.

1898, Agent A. E. Woodson, in instructing that the daughter of Henry Roman Nose be brought to school under police escort if necessary, said, "The example he is setting his people is bad; especially so since he claims to be a chief. It is expected that he will do everything in his power to promote the interests of his people."⁵¹

Although, to Roman Nose, schooling did not fall into the category of the best interests of his people, negotiating with Washington emphatically did. Once more he eschewed channels and, on January 12, 1898, wrote to the President requesting permission to visit Washington with a delegation of Cheyennes to confer on official matters.⁵² The letter touched off a year-long controversy between the Indians and Agent Woodson, who wanted only "progressive" delegates to be elected. Two ex-prisoners of war, Roman Nose and William Cohoe, were among the ten Cheyennes chosen.⁵³

While his charges were away in Washington, the Agent became fearful that they would assault his character and effectiveness as an agent. In his own defense he sent a letter to the Indian Commissioner that read in part:⁵⁴

They oppose methods that tend to localize them in permanent homes, compel the education of their children, break up nomadic habits, and forbid indulgence in harmful practices . . . The educated Indians, who ought to appreciate the advantages to be gained by observing the rules and regulations adopted for the betterment of their people are so dominated by the older, ignorant, and superstitious Indians that they themselves unite in denouncing the Agent who enforces them. Some of these young men are guilty of gross violations of these rules and indulge in forbidden practices, such as ghost-dancing, eating mescal beans [peyote], marrying according to Indian custom, bigamy, adultery, drunkenness and gambling; and some of these who have been employed by the Government and given good positions with salaries even better than white employes receive for the same labor, and who by their misconduct have incurred discharge from such employment, are among the first to denounce the Agent. Several of these young men accompanied the delegations to Washington. They are Cleaver Warden, Philip Cook, Grant Left Hand, Leonard Tyler [all Arapahos], and Henry Roman Nose. (The last named led the opposition among the non-progressive Indians for several years, and encouraged them to refuse the issue of beef from the block).

Henry Roman Nose, according to the Agent's report, had thrown away the white man's good way.

⁵¹ Agent to Agency Farmer, Jan. 25, 1898, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Letterbook, Vol. 74, p. 138, C&A.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵³ Agent Woodson, Authorized delegates to Washington selected by Council of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, Jan. 13, 1899, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Letterbook Vol. 78, p. 165, C&A.

⁵⁴ Woodson to Commissioner, Feb. 9, 1899, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Letterbook, Vol. 78, pp. 361-4, C&A.