"It Would Break Our Hearts Not to Have Our Kiowas": War Dancing, Tourism, and the Rise of Powwows in the Early Twentieth Century

*By Benjamin R. Kracht**

We Kiowa are old, but ageless we dance;
In endless procession our forefathers' deeds mark us;
The folk memory remains as the elders speak now of forever
–James Auchiah (1906–74)[1]

Between 1883 and 1933, federal Indian policy prohibited certain religious rites and dances deemed detrimental to the process of "civilizing" American Indians. During this period Indian agents were authorized to enforce antidance policy through punitive sanctions. Despite Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) policy, Kiowa peoples continued to dance, partially through the efforts of entrepreneurs promoting performances of the War Dance in fairs and folk festivals. By the time federal policy was mitigated in 1933, the War Dance had become popular and Kiowa dancers were the headliners in the Nation-

al Folk Festival. Today's version of the War Dance, greatly influenced by Kiowas and tourism, can be traced to this period.

In the summer of 1935, White Fox, son of the former Ghost Dance leader Afraid of Bears, described the 1890 Ghost Dance to anthropologist Weston LaBarre. Notably, White Fox said that Kiowa Ghost Dance gatherings often featured dances with dance steps "similar to [the] scalp dance, like [a] soldier dance."[2] Just as hand games and other traditional activities had become increasingly popular during the Ghost Dance movement, it is possible that White Fox was describing a dance analogous to the Cheyenne-Arapaho Crow Dance performed before Ghost Dance ceremonies.[3] Smithsonian ethnologist James Mooney equated the Crow Dance to the Omaha Dance of Northern Plains tribes, amalgamated with religious attributes of the Ghost Dance. During afternoon performances of the Crow Dance, singers gathered around a large drum laying down the rhythm for dancers donning dance bustles of multicolored feathers. Women also danced. Because most Crow Dance leaders were young men constantly modifying dance steps, the dance became increasingly popular and spread to other Plains tribes, along with hypnotism and trance visions as integral components.[4] Minus altered states of consciousness, the Kiowa O-ho-mah Dance was similar to the Crow Dance and the Lakota Grass Dance, variants of the War Dance dating back to the Middle Mississippian ancestors of the Dheghia and Chiwere Sioux, and the Caddoan-speaking Pawnee and Caddo (800-1500 AD).[5]

A Kiowa story relates that the O-ho-mah Dance was introduced to them in spring 1883 by visiting Cheyennes who performed a version of the dance they had adopted from the Omahas.[6] Analogous to Ghost Dance initiations, Cheyenne dancers presented eagle feathers to Kiowa recipients of the dance. Big Bow, the highest-ranking Kiowa, was presented an eagle feather headdress and large drum to symbolize his new status as O-ho-mah chief. In return, Big Bow bestowed his Cheyenne benefactors with horses; each Kiowa dancer likewise presented his sponsor a horse.[7] Honoring guests through ritual gift giving, a pan-Plains phenomenon, would become integral to O-ho-mah Society dances, and other performances of the War Dance, much to the chagrin of agency employees and missionaries.[8] Due to their ignorance of Indian customs, they erroneously called the O-ho-mah Dance the Gift Dance because of the ritual gift giving during transfer ceremonies.

The O-ho-mah Dance gained momentum after the 1890 collapse of the Sun Dance religion and subsequent decline of warrior society dances. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the O-ho-mah Dance was as popular as the Ghost Dance. Kiowa eyewitnesses to early

American Indians performing the Ghost Dance, photo by Thomas Croft, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Territory, c. 1895 (15644, Ruth Mohler Collection, OHS Research Division).

twentieth century dances have maintained that O-ho-mah and Ghost Dances were held separately, though participation in both overlapped.[9] Since Ghost Dancers adhered to older customs and liked war dancing, Kiowa agency personnel labeled all dancers the "dance faction," or the "dance crowd." To agency superintendents opposed to Indian gatherings, the Ghost Dance and Gift Dance were indistinguishable.[10]

Between 1883 and 1933, these and other American Indian dancers were harassed by BIA officials choosing to enforce the Indian Religious Crimes Code. Agents sometimes manipulated the Courts of Indian Offenses to levy punishments or authorized Indian police and agency employees to monitor social gatherings and dances that they believed thwarted the assimilation of American Indians into mainstream American society.[11] Early twentieth-century Indian commissioners were somewhat tolerant of Indian beliefs and customs until Cato Sells took office in 1913 and authorized investigations of traditional dances, which led to the issuance of Circular 1665 in 1921. Circular 1665 was a directive permitting agency superintendents to suppress Indian dances that they deemed immoral and against the best interests of the Indian communities.[12] Such attempts to eradicate Indian dances and customs ceased shortly after John Collier became Indian commissioner in 1933.

Efforts to suppress Indian dances and customs at the Kiowa Agency began during the term of Superintendent Ernest Stecker (1908–15). In January 1910 Stecker held a council and threatened to withhold annuities from those accused of abandoning their homes and farms to

Arapaho Indians performing the Crow Dance (9576, Joseph O. Hickox Collection, OHS Research Division).

participate in the Gift Dance or other dances he deemed detrimental to their well-being.[13] In July 1913 he wrote the newly appointed commissioner Cato Sells to identify the leaders of three dance groups. Faction one leaders were Kau ti ke ah (Big Joe), San ka do ta (Sankadota), and Charley O hel toint (Buffalo). The second faction was led by James Waldo or Kogaitadal (Lean Elk), who was a Carlisle graduate, Ko nad (White Buffalo), and Ta ne tone (Eagle Tail). Leaders of the third group were Maun kee (Kiowa Bill), Au kaunt (Frank Given), Ah dong ky (White Buffalo), and Tong ke ah bo. Stecker recommended that a stern letter should be sent to each individual,

> and all those who participate in the "Give-away dance" or any other detrimental dance, will be punished by forfeiting their right to share in the annuity payment following such dance—and that all other funds due them shall be deposited in banks and be expended under approved authorities only.[14]

His threats to withhold per capita payments failed because "a class of cheap lawyers" had informed the Indians that they were citizens empowered with the privilege of dancing provided they did not violate state laws. Stecker was perturbed that he had failed to convince his charges to quit dancing.[15]

Stecker's replacement, C. V. Stinchecum (1915–22), however, did receive approval from Assistant Indian Commissioner E. B. Meritt to

Young Kiowa-Apache man in dancing costume, photograph by Edward Bates, 1912 (16001, Virgil Robbins Collection, OHS Research Division).

deprive dancers "of all annuities for a considerable time."[16] Stinchecum was authorized to monitor all Indian functions within his jurisdiction. Given his negative viewpoint toward Indian customs, he did not approve any dances during summer 1916. Undaunted by Stinchecum's steadfast refusal to permit dancing, those clinging to the so-called "dance road" were not dissuaded from holding dances on remote allotments, as was the case in late July when a large contingent of Cheyenne and Arapaho came down to attend a Kiowa Gift Dance. Stinchecum dispatched a telegram to the BIA lamenting that property, including horses and vehicles, was being given away in a reckless manner. Moreover, he asserted the dance was immoral and caused Indians to abandon their homes and farms for more than a week.[17]

Stinchecum's telegram prompted the BIA to enforce its policy forbidding the Ghost Dance and Gift Dance. Citing Sells's July 11 authorization to eradicate such "pernicious" dances, Meritt directed Stinchecum "to use every practicable means to prevent the repetition of the ghost dance," and to punish all offenders by withholding their four percent payments.[18] In mid-August, Tennyson Berry, a Plains Apache member of the Kiowa, Comanche, (Plains) Apache (KCA) Business Committee, wired Congressman Scott Ferris, who apparently lent a sympathetic ear to Indian peoples, informing him that Stinchecum was going to withhold 5 percent monies from Indians accused of dancing that sum-

Indian leaders and white medical officials meeting in Guthrie, Oklahoma, for a hearing to prove the difference between peyote and mescal beans, January 1908. Tennyson Berry on front row, far left (13741, Frank F. Finney Sr. Collection, OHS Research Division).

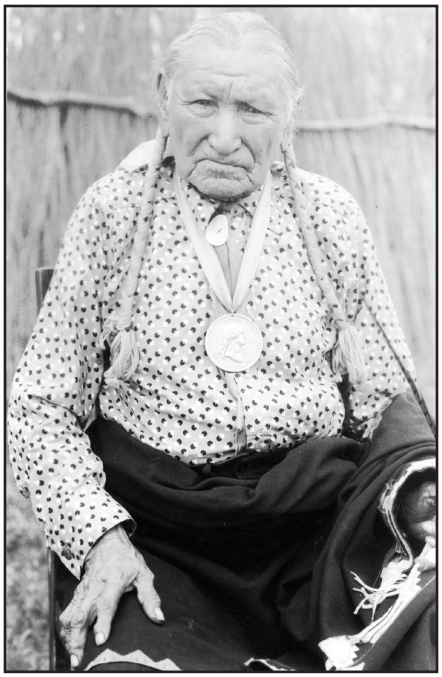
mer.[19] Meritt replied that 5 percent funds were dispersed "within the discretion of the [Interior] Department."[20]

Responding to the Tennyson Berry correspondence, Stinchecum pointed out that Berry was mistaken about the funds to be withheld. Stinchecum explained that "the fund to be withheld is the annuity payment which will be made sometime during the coming fall." Stinchecum then described two recent events. First, a number of visiting Cheyennes planned an August 20, 1916, dance near the home of John Whiteman, a Plains Apache, who fled his allotment when he learned that Stinchecum would withhold annuities from dance participants. Finding no one at home, the Cheyennes departed. The second event was a Kiowa dance from which Stinchecum learned the names of about ninety participants, whose monies he intended to withhold. Stinchecum also noted that Tennyson Berry had attended the dance, but did not participate.[21] Meritt wrote Berry in early September, correcting him that it was the 4 percent funds to be withheld from dance participants when per capita monies were paid. Moreover, each dancer would

Arapaho Chief Hail in his Ghost Dance regalia (9563, Joseph O. Hickox Collection, OHS Research Division).

not "receive his money until he has given his word of honor to the Superintendent that he will not again indulge in either a ghost dance or a give-away dance at or near the Kiowa reservation," or the same dances disguised as some other social activity.[22]

Stinchecum reported to Sells in early December that he had withheld the 4 percent funds from approximately ninety individuals, then requested permission to proceed further. According to his plan, those who voluntarily came to his office and signed an affidavit agreeing not to participate in the Ghost Dance or Gift Dance would receive their share of the per capita monies during the next payment.[23] Meritt approved of Stinchecum's plan and requested a list of those whose funds had been withheld, and whether or not they agreed to stop dancing.[24] In early January 1917 Stinchecum submitted a list of 109 names of those whose monies he had withheld that fall. Among the names were some well-known Kiowas: Humming Bird, Kiowa Bill, Adongky (White Buffalo), Konad (White Buffalo), Henry Poolaw, George Mopope, Bert Geigaumah (Crow Lance), White Horse, Frank Givens, Red Buffalo, Charlie Buffalo, Silver Horn, Guy Quoetone, Conklin Humming Bird, Max Frizzlehead, Glen White Fox, Edgar Keabone, Lewis Toyebo, Little Joe, and Kiowa Jim Tongkeamha (Comes Out Of Water). Ironically,



Frank Given, son of Satank, photo by Poolaw in Anadarko, Oklahoma (16650, Virgil Robbins Collection, OHS Research Division).

although John Whiteman had fled his allotment to elude punishment, his name also appeared on the list.[25] Notably, two-thirds of the 109 blacklisted dancers were under the age of forty.[26]

Attrition undoubtedly caused many of the blacklisted dancers to visit Stinchecum, for by May 17, fifty-one came in to sign the affidavit.[27] Noting discrepancies in names between both lists, Meritt requested another list.[28] In July Stinchecum admitted that the list contained errors since many Indians had names—nicknames, or Indian names—that differed from their enrollment name, confusing the agency farmers who did not identify Indians by their "roll name." Thus he submitted a new list identifying the dancers whose monies had been withheld, and their tribal affiliations. The updated list identified seventy-nine Kiowa dancers, fifty-four men and twenty-five women. Forty-four had signed the affidavit, and thirty-five had not come to Stinchecum's office.[29] Among the holdouts were Joseph Poolaw, Frederick Satepeahtaw, Ned Tofpi, Kiowa Bill, Chatkehoodle, Lily Maunkee, Red Buffalo, Nellie Jones, Ralph Poolaw, Carlisle Kodaseet, Gwoompi, Frank Given, Saumty, Rose Saumty, White Buffalo, Tanetone, Bert Geikaumah, Walter Kokoom, Silver Horn, Joe Doyeto, and White Horse.[30] Notably, only three of sixteen Kiowas over the age of fifty signed the affidavit, including seventy-three-year-old Red Buffalo, who was one of the dance leaders.[31]

Stinchecum's antidance campaign all but ended the Ghost Dance, though the O-ho-mah Dance persisted. Perhaps the Ghost Dance was discontinued to convince Stinchecum that he had won a major victory, whereas the O-ho-mah, the most popular Kiowa dance, occurred on private allotments owned by Kiowa Jim Tongkeamha, White Buffalo (Konad), and other members. Little Joe, White Buffalo, Red Buffalo, and Silver Horn, original recipients of the dance, were still active O-ho-mah Society members.[32] During Stecker and Stinchecums's terms (1908-22), dance gatherings were often disguised as Fourth of July celebrations, patriotic holidays, and picnics. In 1918 Kiowas participated in a July Fourth dance, and rumors circulated that Indians in the KCA jurisdiction planned a benefit dance on behalf of the Red Cross.[33] Meritt believed that such "injurious dances" were being held "under the guise of Red Cross Meetings."[34] Stinchecum was perturbed that the Kiowas were now dancing on a larger scale, in part due to Armistice Day celebrations described by Charley Apekaum (Charcoal) as honoring the handful of returning veterans like "the warriors of . . . the past, through dance and song."[35] Scalp Dances were very popular at these celebrations.[36] In 1921, after learning that a July Fourth dance highlighted by an eleven-horse giveaway had transpired in the Washita community twelve miles west of Anadarko, Stinchecum cited nine Kiowa men for "the reckless giving away of property." Because of this "flagrant violation," their 4 percent annuity funds were withheld until they came to the agency to sign an affidavit promising never to engage in this "pernicious practice" again.[37] By early November only three came to the agency to sign.[38]

Despite seven years of punitive measures levied by Stinchecum, Kiowa dances were still going strong. Stinchecum complained that those most inclined to disregard his antidance orders were those who had taken their allotments out of federal trust status by paying the fee simple.[39] Moreover, because local merchants stood to profit from tourism, county fairs were a primary vehicle for perpetuating the War Dance, as explained by Stinchecum:[40]

> the Indians are usually encouraged by officers in charge of county and township fairs to come and camp during the progress of the fairs, as this forms quite an attraction to the white visitors. For instance, at the County Fair in Anadarko, held during the latter part of September, large numbers of Indians came in and camped for several days prior to the opening of the Fair, all during the period thereof, and for sometime thereafter. A group of enterprising Indians built a canvas stockade and held a dance for which they

Indian agents O-Gue-Mah-Ah-Them (Kickapoo), Thomas W. Alford (Shawnee), John A. Buntin (Agent for Kiowa-Comanche-Wichita), and Frank A. Thackery (Superintendent for Kickapoo-Potawatomi), c. 1910-18 (16202, E. A. Burbank Collection, OHS Research Division).

> charged admission. This dance was quite liberally patronized by both Indians and whites, as has been the case for a number of years. I, myself, saw this dance on one evening during the present Fair and as usually is the case nothing improper of any description occurred. However, while there is probably an immoral significance to these dances, the evil does not come altogether from this immoral significance, but on account of the prolonged camps that are held incident to such dances.[41]

Although Stinchecum opposed Indian encampments at county fairs, there was nothing he could do to prevent them.[42] Having failed to completely eradicate Kiowa dancing, Stinchecum stepped down as superintendent on March 31, 1922, and was replaced the next day by John A. Buntin, who stayed in office for ten years.[43] By this time, any effort to dissuade Indians from attending dances was thwarted by the popularity and financial success from promoting the War Dance.

County fairs and expositions featuring Indian dances, therefore, provided another venue besides patriotic holidays for public performances of the War Dance. Dating back to the early 1880s non-Indian tourists had eagerly watched dance performances, and by the turn of the century war dancing at the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch near Ponca City and other Oklahoma venues brought in tourist revenues.[44] For instance,

the 1902 *Anadarko Daily Democrat* reported a parade to celebrate the first anniversary of the opening of Indian lands for homesteading in present-day southwestern Oklahoma, which featured more than three hundred Indians "in all their savage regalia" who later performed "Indian war dances"; and the August 5, 1904, edition of the *Plain Dealer* announced that the Wichita Indians held a three-day dance north of Anadarko attended by citizens who observed the War Dance. Even a Ghost Dance was held Sunday evening.[45] By the end of the Great War, intertribal dances sponsored by Indians and non-Indians were performed in conjunction with the Comanche and Caddo County fairs, rodeos, Indian fairs, and powwows.[46]

In the late 1910s Tom Dietrich, of Comanche-Anglo descent, sponsored Indian dances at Dietrich's Lake, a manmade reservoir connected to Cache Creek where the creek flowed out of the Slick Hills approximately eighteen miles south of Carnegie. Photographs of a Kiowa-Comanche dance taken around 1920 depict single-bustle dancers and straight dancers performing the War Dance.[47] During the 1920s a rodeo held west of the Saddle Mountain Store also featured Indian dances.[48] In 1923 Frank Rush retired from the Wichita National Forest and Game Preserve, bought property south of the Wichita Mountains near the town of Cache, and developed a tourist resort. A year later he sponsored the Craterville Park Indian Fair, which became an annual event in late August until his death in 1933. Like Tom Dietrich, Rush supported Indian participants by donating live cattle and occasionally buffalo to their encampments. Besides dancing, the Indian fair, officially named the Oklahoma State Indian Fair by the Oklahoma House of Representatives in 1931, featured carnival games, rides, archery, horse races, and agricultural and handicraft exhibits.[49]

Notable Kiowa performers included Hunting Horse, Big Bow, and the renowned bundle and calendar keeper Silver Horn. Typically adorned with an old buffalo robe wrapped around his waist and assorted commercial regalia, Silver Horn was a regular fair participant.[50] The War Dance was a featured attraction at the Craterville Park fair. Notably, the 1929 program guide advertised nightly Ghost Dance performances before the grandstand, which signifies that the Kiowa version of the dance had lost all religious significance and was relegated to a tourist attraction along with the War Dance.[51]

In May 1931 two missionaries from Cache Creek Mission complained to the Indian commissioner and interior secretary about Indian fair gatherings, or picnics, especially at the Craterville Park Fair:[52]

John Emnoola and Wilson Ahboah, Kiowa Fancydancers (20912.14.223, Tartoue Negative Collection, OHS Research Division).

> The "Picnic" proper or (Rodeo etc) usually lasts from three to five days but the people are usually camped from a week to ten days.
>
> While white people (usually of the lower class) often encourage and patronize these places (an admission is usually charged) yet they do not as a rule instigate or promote them. . . .
>
> At the "Craterville Indian Fair" there is a boast of law and order and conditions are not as bad as in some Indian promoted encampments yet the same evil conditions exist as can be shown by specific instances. The assertion that this is an Indian Fair run by Indians is a joke (we use the word advisedly). Paid advertisements play up the white promoters as the Indians' best friend but it is an exploitation of the Indian for private financial gain.[53]

This complaint resulted in a conference sponsored by Superintendent Buntin and Reverend Frank A. Smith to discuss "so-called rodeos, fairs, celebrations, etc., which are largely promoted by white people in order to exploit the Indians."[54] Held on December 30, 1931, it was resolved that all parties would work together to deter Indians from "spending too much time at fairs, celebrations, rodeos, group camping and general recreations."[55]

Hunting Horse, a Kiowa medicine man, at Craterville Fair, Wichita Mountains, postcard printed c. 1926. Photo by Edward Bates (23358.6, Oklahoma Historical Society Photograph Collection, OHS Research Division).

The Anadarko conference represented a last feeble attempt to deter Indian gatherings in the KCA jurisdiction, and the antidance lobby weakened after John Collier became Indian commissioner in April 1933. Coincidentally, Frank Rush died the same month, causing fair attendance to dwindle that summer, but the eleventh annual Craterville Park Fair was held the next year from August 23 to 25. Rush's widow gave a buffalo to her "old Indian friends" in memory of her late husband. A fair pamphlet identified Hunting Horse as board president and Big Bow as vice president of the Oklahoma State Indian Fair Association. The Oklahoma State Legislature provided $500 to pay prize money for various categories of agricultural exhibits in the agricultural fair, a 50 percent reduction from former years.[56]

By this time seven men, including Parker McKenzie, Lewis Ware, and Jasper Saunkeah, had formed the Indian Fair Association to promote "strictly an Indian Fair at Anadarko," a centrally located town for western Oklahoma tribes. The association, who permitted usage of the Caddo County Fairgrounds outside Anadarko, wanted an alternative to the Craterville Park Indian Fair, which was "operated for the per-

Kiowa gourd clan dancing, 1969 (12088, Fred Huston Collection, OHS Research Division).

sonal gain of Frank Rush & Son."[57] The first Indian fair in Anadarko occurred September 13 to 16, 1933, concurrent with the Caddo County Fair. Lewis Ware was president, Parker McKenzie served as secretary-treasurer, and Mose Poolaw helped organize a statewide all-Indian baseball tournament.[58] Besides war dancing, baseball was becoming popular, as recognized by these native entrepreneurs.

In its second year the Indian Fair Association separated from the Caddo County Free Fair Association. Despite adverse weather conditions, the 1934 Indian fair attracted many spectators and participants, though net profits totaled only $11.69.[59] In a reversal of policy, the BIA now endorsed Indian fairs and allocated a $500 stipend to be redistributed in cash awards for exhibits of produce, canned vegetables, fruits, meats, and Indian handwork.[60]

In 1935 the annual fair in Anadarko, now called the American Indian Exposition, was held from August 28 to 31.[61] Before the third annual event even transpired, the Cheyenne-Arapaho members of the Indian Fair Association left to form their own Indian fair.[62] By this time, Indian fairs started appearing elsewhere: the Southwestern Indian Fair in Wewoka (Seminole County), which featured the state baseball tournament and nighttime War Dance competition for prize money, started in early August 1935; and, endorsed by Senator Elmer Thomas

and Congressman Will Rogers, the first annual American Indian Exposition of Tulsa was held in late September 1936.[63] The official program specified that master recordings of Indian languages would be made for those interested in studying them.[64] Indeed, during the Collier era (1933-45), Indian Office policy favored the retention of tribal customs and languages, exemplified by Assistant Indian Commissioner William Zimmerman Jr.'s comment: "The holding of Indian fairs is indeed desirable, and we have been glad to note the increasing interest by individual Indians in such fairs."[65]

Jasper Saunkeah became president of the Indian Fair Association in 1937. Through his connections with the Democratic Party, he was able to solicit a $1,000 premium donation from Zimmerman for the 1937 and 1938 fairs, and $5,000 from the Oklahoma State Legislature for the 1938 fair.[66] The highlight of the 1938 American Indian Exposition was the pageant, "The Spirit of the Washita," written and directed by Margaret Pearson Speelman, a girls' advisor at Haskell Institute. Speelman assembled more than five hundred Indian performers for the pageant in less than three weeks, then received accolades from those who attended the two performances commemorating the history of southwestern Oklahoma.[67] One observer noted, "I have never seen as many Indians in Indian costume as were present at this gathering and it was truly a beautiful sight."[68] Success compelled the fair board to bring Speelman back each year to put on other pageants.[69]

Executive offices of the American Indian Exposition changed following the 1938 event when Lewis Ware was elected as president, Parker McKenzie as vice president, E. M. Halfmoon (Delaware-Caddo) as secretary-treasurer, and William J. Karty (Comanche) as assistant secretary.[70] Sometime after the 1939 Indian fair, Superintendent Walter McCown informed his supervisor that several Anadarko businessmen had approached him stating that if he could get William Karty elected president of the organization, the state legislature would allocate $5,000 for the fair the following year. Within a month, Karty was president.[71] In April the Indian fair committee added four more board members from outside the Kiowa Agency jurisdiction, truly making the American Indian Exposition an intertribal affair, as reflected by the 1940 exposition pageant that featured more than 250 dancers performing different tribal dances of Oklahoma tribes.[72]

By 1939 Indian dances were so popular that Collier sent agency superintendents pamphlets highlighting events throughout Indian country to resolve the high number of requests about American Indian dance performances.[73] In September 1940 Speelman wrote Karty to inform him that the Plains War Dance had become very popular

among Southwestern Indians at the annual dance in Gallup, New Mexico. Although Collier was a purist concerned with the authenticity of Indian dances (Pueblo men were not supposed to participate in the War Dance), Speelman contended that the War Dance was the most popular tourist attraction. While visiting Taos Pueblo, she witnessed a "dance in the feathered costumes of your [Karty's] people and even the songs they sang were the songs that I heard in your country."[74] On the eve of World War II, the 1941 exposition featured dancers from more than fifty tribes in the powwow.[75] Still dependent on state funding and contributions from the Indian Office, and in debt, the pageant committee requested that each tribe furnish a limited number of dancers.[76] It was clearly understood that Indian dances drew in tourists, even from other countries.[77] For instance, the 1941 exposition attracted some dignitaries from South America.[78]

Besides Indian fairs, the National Folk Festival provided a venue in which the War Dance flourished. Beginning at the 1934 inaugural event in Saint Louis and continuing the next three years in Chattanooga, Dallas, and Chicago, Kiowa war dancers opened each show.[79] Highly in demand were James Auchiah, Spencer Asah, Stephen Mopope, and Monroe Tsatoke, four of the Kiowa Six.[80] Many of their paintings depict the dancing that they were encouraged to perform to help support themselves while in school. Tsatoke drummed and sang while the others danced.[81] The official souvenir program for the 1936 National Folk Festival, held in conjunction with the Texas Centennial Exposition in Dallas, lists the various dances performed by the Kiowa troupe: the Slow War Dance, Old Men War Dance, and the Fancy War Dance.[82] Fast and furious, the Fancy Dance style evolved from the War Dance to please tourists.

In 1938 the National Folk Festival moved to Washington, DC, and the Kiowa dancers opened the show at Constitution Hall.[83] The members in the troupe led by Stephen Mopope included Belo Cozad, Mark Keahbone, George Palmer, Gus Palmer, Wilson Ahboah, Wilson Ware, Eva G. Keahbone, Jannette B. Mopope, and Dolly T. Palmer.[84] Cozad, a sacred bundle keeper, was also a renowned flute maker and player.[85] Noted Kiowa dances were performed: the Brush Dance, formerly performed by members of warrior societies the day before the Sun Dance; the Gourd Dance of the Tia-pe-ga (Daimpega) Society; the Slow War Dance of the earlier times; the Fast War Dance enjoyed by younger men; the Woman Scalp Dance for returning warriors; the Buffalo Dance by victorious warriors; and the Circle Dance, a social dance that was associated with the War Dance.[86] Afterwards, one of the organizers, Sarah G. Knott, expressed how everyone was "much attached to all of them."[87]

The following year, the National Folk Festival became an annual event in Washington, and the Kiowa dance troupe again opened the show held at Constitution Hall.[88] Indian Office transportation funds were not available for the dancers in 1940 and 1941, but Knott wanted them to open the show so badly that she stated, "it would break our hearts not to have our Kiowas." She and the festival business manager contributed their own money so they could make the trip.[89] Kiowa participation in the National Folk Festival would continue through the 1940s.

In conclusion, despite BIA antidance policy, many American Indian dances, especially variants of the War Dance, persisted between 1883 and 1933. Although the Kiowa lost the Sun Dance and later the Ghost Dance during this period, variants of the War Dance, particularly the O-ho-mah Dance, flourished despite punitive measures and discouragement from Kiowa Agency superintendents. By 1933 those who opposed Indian dances were powerless to overturn the tourism-driven support of the War Dance, which was being performed on a national stage. Kiowa peoples participating in modern day tribal dances and powwows are keenly aware of the past and celebrate the perseverance of their ancestors to maintain dancing during an era of intolerance and oppression.[90] Today, offshoots of the War Dance have become integral features of tribal and intertribal powwows, both nationally and internationally.

Endnotes

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[1] Poem by James Auchiah, *Ageless We Dance, 1890-1940*, exhibit in Kiowa Senior Citizen's Center, Kiowa Tribal Complex, Carnegie, Oklahoma. Auchiah, a renowned artist, was one of the famed Kiowa Six.

[2] Herb Redbird, interview by Ben Kracht, June 21, 2004; White Fox to Weston LaBarre, July 18, 1935, papers of R. Weston LaBarre, box 2, "Notes on Kiowa Ethnography," National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (hereafter cited as NAA). In June 1890 *Pátádal*, "Poor Buffalo," visited the Darlington Agency and learned about the Ghost Dance from the Arapaho proselytizer Sitting Bull, whose version of the ceremony resulted from a trip to visit the Paiute "messiah" Wovoka near Mason Valley, Nevada. The largest ever Ghost Dance among the Kiowa was held in October near the junction of Rainy Mountain Creek and the Washita River, west of present-day Carnegie, Oklahoma. A typical dance began in the late afternoon or after sundown, and lasted through the night. Dancers painted their faces with Sitting Bull's sacred red paint and wore crow or eagle feathers in their braids. Interlocking fingers and forming an inward-facing circle, dancers moved clockwise in shuffle-steps synchronized with chanted Ghost Dance songs. During the dance, a leader moved within the circle, hypnotizing some of the dancers with an eagle feather. Dancing stopped when the hypnotized dancers collapsed to the ground in trance states; participants sat down, smoked,

and waited for them to regain consciousness, eagerly waiting for the fabulous stories of journeys to the spirit world to witness traditional games and dances and to visit deceased relatives, especially children. Transcendent journeys to the spirit in trance states became the salient feature of the dance. Afraid of Bears became one of the prominent Ghost Dance leaders among the Kiowa. Other Oklahoma tribes that adopted the Ghost Dance were the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo, Wichita, and Pawnee.

[3] Through a thorough study of James Mooney's photographs, Thomas W. Kavanagh has demonstrated that many of the photographs Mooney identified as performances of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Ghost Dance were actually the Crow Dance. Crow Dancers wore feathered bustles attached above the waist at the back, just like War Dancers.

[4] James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892-93* (Washington, DC, 1896; repr. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 921-22.

[5] Jimmy W. Duncan, "*Hethushka Zani*: An Ethnohistory of the War Dance Complex," (master's thesis, Northeastern State University, 1997), 45-52. Today the O-ho-Mah Society still conducts an annual dance in July.

[6] Maurice Boyd, *Kiowa Voices: Ceremonial Dance, Ritual, and Song, Volume I* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 1981), 65-70.

[7] Mrs. Hokeah, interview by Donald Collier, July 18, 1935, NAA.

[8] Letter from Superintendent Ernest Stecker to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells, June 26, 1914, and March 12, 1915, 72353-1915-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, US National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (hereafter cited as NARS); Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells, August 1, 1915, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[9] Weiser Tongkeamah, interview by Ben Kracht, February 3, 1991.

[10] Gloria Young, *Powwow Power: Perspectives on Historic and Contemporary Intertribalism*. (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1981), 219-39.

[11] Frances Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 767, 800-801, 829, 767.

[12] Indian Commissioner Charles H. Burke, "Circular 1665," April 26, 1921, microfilm reel 40, memos from Indian Rights Association papers, 1923, Indian Dancing folder, D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (hereafter cited as DMC); Burke, "Supplement to Circular No. 1665," February 14, 1923, DMC; Burke, "To All Indians," February 24, 1923; microfilm reel 40, memos from Indian Rights Association papers, 1923, DMC.

[13] Superintendent Ernest Stecker to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells, July 25, 1913, 91980-1913-063K, NARS. Underlining is Stecker's.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells, July 1, 1915, 72353-1915-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS; Assistant Indian Commissioner E. B. Meritt to Assistant Interior Secretary Bo Sweeney, July 1, 1915, 72353-1915-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[17] Superintendent Stinchecum, Western Union telegram to Indian Office, July 26, 1916, 80564-1916-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[18] Assistant Indian Commissioner E. B. Meritt to Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum, July 27, 1916, 72353-1916-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS. The Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache (KCA Indians) were promised per capita interest payments for surplus tribal lands sold after allotment.

[19] At the time, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache formed a single polity, the KCA Business Committee; Tennyson Berry, Western Union telegram, to Congressman Scott Ferris, August 16, 1916, 88273-1916-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[20] Assistant Indian Commissioner E. B. Meritt to Congressman Scott Ferris, August 18, 1916, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS; Meritt to Tennyson Berry, August 18, 1916, 88273-1916-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[21] Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells, August 23, 1916, 88273-1916-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[22] Assistant Commissioner E. B. Meritt to Tennyson Berry, September 9, 1916,88273-1916-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[23] Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells, December 4, 1916, 72353-1916-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[24] Assistant Indian Commissioner E. B. Meritt to Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum, December 18, 1916, 72353-1916-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[25] Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells, January 2, 1917, 72353-1916-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[26] Young, *Powwow Power,* 237.

[27] Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells, May 31, 1917, 72353-1917-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[28] Assistant Indian Commissioner E. B. Meritt to Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum, June 18, 1917, 27353-1917-063K, NARS.

[29] Young, *Powwow Power,* 236.

[30] Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells, July 6, 1917, 66749-1917-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS. Spellings are Stinechecum's. Stinchecum did not specify which White Buffalo was on the list.

[31] Young, *Powwow Power,* 236-38.

[32] Benjamin R. Kracht, "The Kiowa Ghost Dance, 1894-1916: An Unheralded Revitalization Movement," *Ethnohistory* 39, no. 4 (1992): 471; Clifton Tongkeamah, interview by Ben Kracht, n.d.; Alice Littleman, interview by Ben Kracht, May 27, 1993; Boyd, *Kiowa Voices,* 68.

[33] Reverend H. H. Clouse, missionary to the Kiowa, to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells, July 29, 1918, 64437-1918-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[34] Assistant Indian Commissioner E. B. Meritt to Reverend H. H. Clouse, August 14, 1918, 64437-1918-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[35] Photograph and caption taken by author in May 1993 from display in Kiowa Senior Citizen's Center, Kiowa Tribal Complex, Carnegie, Oklahoma.

[36] Weston LaBarre, "The Autobiography of a Kiowa Indian," 38, box 4, R. Weston LaBarre papers, NAA.

[37] Superintendent Stinchecum to Indian Commissioner Charles H. Burke, July 13, 1921, 58849-1921-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS. Kiowa spellings are Stinchecum's.

[38] Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum to Indian Commissioner Charles H. Burke, November 2, 1921, 58849-1921-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Young, *Powwow Power,* 279-284.

[41] Letter from Superintendent C. V. Stinchecum to Indian Commissioner Charles H. Burke, November 2, 1921, 58849-1921-063K, record group 75, "Dances," Kiowa Agency General Records, 1907-34, NARS.

[42] During this era, large Indian encampments formed around mission churches during the Christmas holidays. Often they lasted longer than a week.

[43] Parker McKenzie, "Schedule of Indian Agents and/or Superintendents for the Kiowa, Comanche and Kiowa-Apache Tribes from May 1869 to Mar. 31, 1922," (unpublished manuscript), in author's collection, courtesy of William C. Meadows, Missouri State University.

[44] Young, *Powwow Power,* 173-79, 239-44, 263-84; Nancy O. Lurie, "The Contemporary American Indian Scene," in *North American Indians in Historical Perspective.* Eleanor B. Leacock and Nancy O. Lurie, eds. (New York: Random House), 418-80, 449-50; Reginald and Gladys Laubin, *Indian Dances of North America: Their Importance to Indian Life* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 83-84, 461; James H. Howard, "Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma," *Scientific Monthly* 18, no. 5 (1955): 216, 220; Kenneth A. Ashworth, *The Contemporary Oklahoma Powwow* (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1986), 57-59; Young, *Powwow Power,* 18-19; Michael Wallis, "The Miller Brothers and the 101 Ranch," *Gilcrease Journal* 1, no. 1 (1993): 21-22.

[45] *Anadarko (OK) Daily Democrat*, August 8, 1902, vol. 1, microfilm 284, American Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society Research and Archives Division, Oklahoma History Center, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (hereafter cited as OHS); *The Plain Dealer*, Anadarko, Oklahoma, August 4, 1904, no. 1, OHS.

[46] Young, *Powwow Power,* 279-84.

[47] Photograph and caption taken by author, May 1993, from display in Kiowa Senior Citizen's Center, Kiowa Tribal Complex, Carnegie, Oklahoma. Photographs of dances and the encampment at Dietrich's Lake are housed in the Museum of the Western Prairie, Oklahoma Historical Society, Altus, Oklahoma.

[48] Margaret O'Pry to Ben Kracht, Jaime Bailey, and Chad Armstrong, July 7, 2003. Margaret O'Pry, was born in 1913. The store opened in 1907 as O'Pry's Grocery, and was operated by her grandparents and later her parents.

[49] Muriel H. Wright, "The American Indian Exposition in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 24, no. 2 (1946): 160; Thomas, L. Hedglen, "Craterville Park Indian Fair," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture* (Oklahoma Historical Society, 2009), 358; Information obtained by the author, May 1993, from photographs and captions by on display at the Kiowa Senior Citizen's Center, Kiowa Tribal Complex, Carnegie, Oklahoma.

[50] Candice S. Greene, *Silver Horn: Master Illustrator of the Kiowas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 44-45.

[51] Young, *Powwow Power,* 282.

[52] Reverend R. A. Blair to Indian Commissioner Charles J. Rhoads, June 15, 1931, file 62, "Feasts, Festivals, and Dances," NARS; Reverend D. H. Elliott to Charles J. Rhoads, June 16, 1931, 33833-1931-062K, file 62, "Feasts, Festivals, and Dances," NARS; Elliott to Interior Secretary Ray L. Wilbur, June 19, 1931, 33833-1931-062K, file 62, "Feasts, Festivals, and Dances," NARS; Reverend. P. Coleman to Rhoads and Wilbur, June 30, 1931, 33833-1931-062K, file 62, "Feasts, Festivals, and Dances," NARS; Mrs. W. J. Jack to Rhoads, July 15, 1931, 33833-1931-062K, file 62, "Feasts, Festivals, and Dances," NARS; Letter form Reverend J. C. Mathews to Wilbur, July 29, 1931, 33833-1931-062K, NARS, file 62, "Feasts, Festivals, and Dances," NARS.

[53] R. C. Adams and H. F. Gilbert to Indian Commissioner Charles J. Rhoads, and the Service Committee on Indians of the Home Missions Council, May 22, 1931, 33833-1921-062K, file 62, "Feasts, Festivals, and Dances," NARS.

[54] Superintendent John A. Buntin to F. L. King, Dewey Jackson, H. F. Gilbert, Andres Martinez, Delos K. Lonewolf, Matthew Botone, A. J. Becker, H. H. Treat, W. A. Wilkin, A. C. Adams, Guy Quoetone, White Parker, and Conrad Mausape, November 6, 1931, 33833-1931-062K, file 62, "Feasts, Festivals, and Dances," NARS.

[55] Superintendent John A. Buntin to Indian Commissioner Charles J. Rhoads, January 22, 1932, 33833-1931-062K, file 62, "Feasts, Festivals, and Dances," NARS.

[56] "1934 Premium List, Eleventh Annual Exhibition of the Oklahoma State Indian Fair Association to be held at Craterville Park, Oklahoma, August 23, 24, 25, 1934," file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, Fort Worth Federal Archives Center, Fort Worth, Texas (hereafter cited as FWF). According to Hedglen in "Craterville Park Indian Fair," on page 358, the last Craterville Park Indian Fair was held in 1933.

[57] Jasper Saunkeah, Parker McKenzie, Fritz Hendrix, Lewis Ware, Maurice M. Bedoka, Bob Komacheet and Dennis Marden to Superintendent John A. Buntin, January 11, 1932, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[58] Betty Bell, Marilyn Buzbee, and Carolyn Riffel, eds., *Anadarko: Our First 100 Years, 1901-2001* (Oklahoma City: Globe Color Press, Inc., 2001), 214.

[59] Parker McKenzie, financial statement from the American Indian Exposition, May 25, 1935, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[60] Superintendent John A. Buntin to Indian Commissioner John Collier, May 28, 1935, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Maurice Bedoka, president, American Indian Exposition, to All Indians of the Exposition Association, June 12, 1935, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[61] Maurice Bedoka, president, American Indian Exposition, to "All Indians of the Exposition Association," June 12, 1935, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; American Indian Exposition, "Premium List and General Information," August 1935, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[62] Indian Commissioner John Collier to Superintendent Walter B. McCown, May 15, 1935, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; McCown to Maurice Bedoko [*sic*], May 22, 1935, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[63] Leon J. McDonald, secretary, Wewoka Chamber of Commerce, to Superintendent Walter B. McCowan [*sic*], July 9, 1935, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Southwestern Indian Fair and All State Indian Baseball Tournament, Baseball Supplement, August 1935, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[64] C. A. Border, secretary-treasurer, American Indian Exposition of Tulsa, to Superintendent Walter B. McCown, September 11, 1936, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; First Annual American Indian Exposition, September 1936, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[65] Assistant Indian Commissioner William Zimmerman, Jr., to Representative Jed Johnson, March 30, 1936, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[66] Letter from Jasper Saunkeah, president of the American Indian Exposition, to Superintendent Walter B. McCown, March 19, and April 24, 1937, file 072, "Fairs, Indian

(American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; McCown to Jasper Saunkeah, March 24, 1937, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; McCown to Indian Commissioner John Collier, March 24, 1937, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Assistant Indian Commissioner William Zimmerman, Jr., to McCown, April 19, 1937, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; S. M. Dodd, "For the Commissioner," to McCown, May 26, 1938, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Saunkeah, president, E. M. Halfmoon, secretary-treasurer, James Daugomah, Charles Toyebo, and members of the Anadarko Chamber of Commerce, to Honorable Joe E. Scott, president, State Board of Agriculture, and Honorable C. C. Childers, State Auditor, March 8, 1938, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[67] A. C. Monahan, regional coordinator, to Indian Commissioner John Collier, August 25, 1938, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Letter from Mrs. Margaret Pearson Speelman, girl's adviser, Haskell Institute, to Superintendent Walter B. McCown, September 7, 1938, American Indian Exposition, Pageant of "The Spirit of the Washita," August 1938, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[68] H. A. Andrews, superintendent, Quapaw Indian Agency, to Superintendent Walter B. McCown, September 9, 1938, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[69] Bell, et al., *Anadarko: Our First 100 Years,* 214.

[70] Lewis Ware, president, Parker McKenzie, vice president, E. M. Halfmoon, secretary-treasurer, and William J. Karty, assistant secretary to Indian Commissioner John Collier, May 6, 1939; "1939 American Indian Exposition, Premium List" pamphlet, August 1939, pamphlet, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[71] William J. Karty, president, American Indian Exposition, to Superintendent Walter B. McCown, February 27, 1940, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[72] A. C. Monahan, regional coordinator, to Floyd E. Maytubby, April 11, 1940, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Monahan to Superintendent Lem A. Towers, Pawnee Indian Agency, April 11, 1940, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Monahan to Superintendent A.C. Hector, Shawnee Indian Agency, April 11, 1940, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Monahan to Superintendent Guy Hobgood, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, April 11, 1940, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Margaret Pearson Speelman, "Tentative Arrangements for Anadarko," Summer 1940, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Letter from A. C. Monahan, regional coordinator, to Indian Commissioner John Collier, September 7, 1940, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[73] Indian Commissioner John Collier, "To All Superintendents," July 13, 1939, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[74] Margaret Pearson Speelman to William Karty, September 9, 1940, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[75] Rock Island news release, May 28, 1941, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[76] E. W. Gallaher, chairman, Pageant Committee, to Margaret Pearson Speelman, June 23, 1941, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[77] Margaret Pearson Speelman to E. W. Gallaher, chairman, pageant committee, June 10, 1941, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[78] Superintendent Walter B. McCown to Mrs. Bliss Isley, August 25, 1941, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Isley to McCowen, September 1, 1941, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[79] Sarah Gertrude Knott, national director, National Folk Festival, to Superintendent Walter B. McCown, March 14, 1936, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Program for the Fourth Annual National Folk Festival, Orchestra Hall, Chicago, May 1937, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[80] The Kiowa Six–Stephen Mopope, James Auchiah, Jack Hokeah, Monroe Tsatoke, Spencer Asah, and Lois Smokey–were talented artists who painted in the traditional pictographic, or flat, style of Kiowa calendar makers. With the support of University of Oklahoma art department director Oscar Jacobson, they utilized school facilities to produce paintings that Jacobson successfully marketed for them. They influenced what is referred to as the Kiowa school, or the Southern Plains school of American Indian art. Sarah Gertrude Knott, national director, National Folk Festival, to Superintendent Walter B. McCown, March 24, 28, and May 4, 1936, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; McCown to Monroe Tsatoke, Spencer Asah, Steve Mopope, and James Auchian, March 27, 1936, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Knott to Glenn W. Ferris, March 26, 1937, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF; Letter from M. J. Pickering to McCown, April 28, 1936, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[81] *Five Kiowa Paintings*, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

[82] National Folk Festival souvenir program, Texas Centennial Exposition, Dallas, June 1936, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[83] Sarah Gertrude Knott and M. J. Pickering to Mrs. W. A. Smartt, Anadarko, Oklahoma, May 14, 1938, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[84] Superintendent Walter B. McCown to M. J. Pickering, business manager, National Folk Festival, April 22, 1938, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[85] Superintendent Walter B. McCown to Sarah Gertrude Knott, May 29, 1936, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-1941," BIA General Records, FWF.

[86] Letter from Superintendent Walter B. McCown to M. J. Pickering, business manager, National Folk Festival, April 22, 1938, file 072, "Fairs, Indian (American Indian Exposition), 1935-41," BIA General Records, FWF.

[87] Letter from Sarah Gertrude Knott and M. J. Pickering to Superintendent Walter B. McCown, May 11, 1938, file 072, "National Folk Life, 1936-39," BIA General Records, FWF.

[88] Ibid.; "Kiowa Braves and Maids to Dance Here," *Washington Post*, April 12, 1939, 14, file 72, "National Folk Life, 1936-39," BIA General Records, FWF; "Folk Fete Said To Give Green Light On the Indians," *Washington Post*, April 13, 1939, 16, file 72, "National Folk Life, 1936-39," BIA General Records, FWF.

[89] Sarah Gertrude Knott to Superintendent Walter B. McCown, March 1940, file 72, "Fiestas, Festivals, National Folk, 1940-47," BIA General Records, FWF; McCown to

Knott, March 21, 1940, file 72, "Fiestas, Festivals, National Folk, 1940-47," BIA General Records, FWF; McCown to Indian Commissioner John Collier, March 21, 1940, file 72, "Fiestas, Festivals, National Folk, 1940-47," BIA General Records, FWF; M. Barton Greenwood, for the commissioner, to McCown, April 22, 1940, file 72, "Fiestas, Festivals, National Folk, 1940-47," BIA General Records, FWF; A. C. Monahan, regional coordinator, to Knott, April 15, 1941, file 72, "Fiestas, Festivals, National Folk, 1940-47," BIA General Records, FWF; Knott to Monahan, April 21, 1941, file 72, "Fiestas, Festivals, National Folk, 1940-47," BIA General Records, FWF; Knott and M. J. Pickering, business manager, to Steve Mopope, Spencer Asah, Mark Keahbone, Joseph Attocknie, and Wilson Ware, May 19, 1942, file 72, "Fiestas, Festivals, National Folk, 1940-47," BIA General Records, FWF.

[90] Benjamin R. Kracht, "Kiowa Powwows: Continuity in Ritual Practice," *American Indian Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (1994): 321-48.