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AN ETHNOHISTORY OF  
THE AMERICAN INDIAN EXPOSITION  
AT ANADARKO OKLAHOMA: 1932-2003

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By

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AN ETHNOHISTORY OF  
THE AMERICAN INDIAN EXPOSITION  
AT ANADARKO, OKLAHOMA: 1932-2003

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE  
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Patricia J. (Leslie) Davis. For more than five decades she has given her unconditional love, encouragement and support to me. My mother was raised in Anadarko, Oklahoma, and was the first person to introduce to me the idea that anything worth cherishing also required hard work, diligence, and commitment. The life lessons my mother imparted to me, her first-born, during my formative years have continued to serve me well as I have navigated my way through this journey called life. Thus, it is to my mother that I now extend my sincerest gratitude and thanks for all her love, her sacrifices, and her prayers on my behalf.

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## INTRODUCTION

Imagine for a moment that you have been transported back in time; the year is 1959, the setting Anadarko, a small south-central Oklahoma town. Under a cerulean blue August sky, lacey wispy cloud traces intermittently shield crowds of eager onlookers from the brewing summer heat; giddy with anticipation we take our designated places behind the Kiowa mud daubers, or mud men as they are sometimes called. That is, a group of men and boys—seven to twelve in number—sitting in the trough of a buckboard wagon filled with yogurt thick, Okie-red, wet mud. This year's group is already slathering the cool, moist Permian plaster over every inch of their bodies waiting for the parade to begin, delighting enthusiastic spectators.

It's not surprising that as nine year old members of the Sunset school marching band with our instruments readied, the wagon load of Indians just a few feet in front of us prompts not only bafflement but heart-pounding excitement. At the same time, it's almost impossible to keep our nerves in check. Stretching ahead of and behind us as far as our sight line permits, are regalia clad Wichita, Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Apache Indians. In total, members of at least a dozen different Indian tribes are represented. Some are on foot, feathers gracing their headdresses are flicking to and fro, jingling bells encircle their waists, arms and ankles, and their colorful feather bustles flutter and rustle with each movement and step they take. Other Indians sit proudly atop magnificent prancing, painted, palomino or chestnut colored horses. Dozens more of them, toddler to elder, are seated on brightly festooned flat wagon floats or exquisite

Pendleton blanket and shawl-draped automobiles and trucks; the entire length of the procession is anxiously awaiting the parade marshal's signal to commence.

Spectators, Indians and white townsfolk alike are boisterous, animated by a growing, pulsating excitement intensifying with each passing moment; almost tangible, this excitement courses through the assembled ranks. The atmosphere is electric! The festive energy generated by parade goers standing four and five persons deep along both sides of Main and Broadway, palpable. At last the signal sounds; horns blow and drums provide the cadence. Citizens of Anadarko in unison with hundreds of visitors from across the United States, cheer, clap and crowd close as they can to welcome the start of the 27th annual American Indian Exposition parade. Cameras are readied to capture each moment as spectators lean forward marveling at and celebrating another episode of the only all Indian organized and managed performative event of its kind in the country. For the next five to seven days, transformed by a continual pulse of intensely unique energy, Anadarko exudes a cultural vitality unlike anywhere else in the world. Indeed, the sights and scenes, aromas and sensations, sounds and visual bombardment of colorful pageantry are being indelibly etched in the hearts and minds of all who attend, whether young or old.

Now, fast forward in time to July 1998. Arriving in Norman, Oklahoma, on Sunday, July 5<sup>th</sup> from Ithaca, New York I am assaulted physically and mentally by the stifling 105-degree heat and humidity of the Sooner state. My long journey begun three days ago has brought me back to my own cultural roots, back to the place where I will soon

commence graduate studies in anthropology, at the University of Oklahoma. My primary goal during the coming weeks is to unpack piles of boxes filling my recently rented residence, and adjust to my new role as student. At the same time, I grapple with a growing concern, a second-guessing about my rationale for returning to Oklahoma. I question, silently to myself, whether I have made the correct choice.

For diversion or perhaps responding to the tug of nostalgia, I decide to visit Anadarko; it might be helpful to reconnect with my past, or so I rationalize. I convince myself that returning to Anadarko, site of significant childhood episodes, might ease the nervousness I am feeling, might quell second-thoughts I am having concerning relocation to Oklahoma and imminent academic responsibilities. It is in this state of mind that I set out for Anadarko after an absence of more than thirty years. Even so, admittedly curious, I am still hesitant to see how the town where I had spent much of my childhood has actually fared. The sixty-four mile trek from Norman takes about an hour. Nearing the outskirts of Anadarko, memories long dormant erupt in rapid succession, their remembering not an exact fit with what I am now seeing before me. Entering the city limits I discover, serendipitously, it is the week of the Indian Fair, more formally known as the American Indian Exposition. An uncanny and surreal emotional reaction wells up inside me, a state of mind akin to *deja vu* mixed with a tangible excitement. It soon becomes evident that I have missed the Exposition's opening day parade commencing the weeklong celebration. Still, I notice that four large, painted canvas teepees have been erected adjacent to the Southern Plains Indians Museum.

Waiting for the light to change at the intersection of Highway 62 (Central Ave.) and 7th avenue S.E. (HWY 8), I notice to my right a freshly painted billboard that solicits visitors to explore Indian City U.S.A., just two miles south of the city. To my right, extending beyond and North of the sign, I can see a scattered array of vendors' awnings, tables encircled by screen netting, various sized carts, pickup trucks and garden umbrellas set up along either side of the road fronting or facing the park adjoining the county fairgrounds. There, amidst the concessions, are arrayed offerings of watermelons, meat pies, Indian tacos and cantaloupes. It matters not whether merchants are fortunate to be shaded by the large elm trees lining the edge of the park, or basking and baking in full sun, all of them are enticing passersby to stop for refreshments. I ponder these tempting offers only momentarily, however, as my attention is averted for the present time by the traffic light turning green.

Moving through the intersection I continue heading West; crossing the railroad tracks I glance to my left pinpointing the grain and peanut elevators, once a favorite childhood haunt for collecting raw peanuts spilt by crews loading the boxcar's hold; the warehouses appear polished, now, refurbished in new sheet metal skins. It takes only a few moments to find my way downtown where I park on Broadway near the historic Redskin theatre. My gaze is transfixed by the theatre's iconic emblem, at one-time colorful but now quite faded, its painted metal and neon profile bust of an Indian warrior is wearing a full headdress; and, like the figures at the prow of ships, the aging sign is affixed to the building's façade looking very much like a giant version of those popular plastic cartoon-like Pez candy dispensers.

It is nearing 3:00 p.m. and the scorching sun has lulled every living thing into a stuporous state. Only a handful of cars occupy parking spaces along either side of Broadway, even fewer pedestrians are visible. Walking, I make a quick circuit from the theatre eastward down two blocks, then, head one block North before turning left on Main. It, too, is noticeably devoid of pedestrians and traffic as I amble westward passing McKee's Indian Store to reach 2nd street. It takes only a few minutes to traverse the same two-block distance. Reaching the corner I turn southward, soon coming to the corner where I parked. While having walked only a few blocks, my hat's brim is soaked with sweat from the oppressive and humid midday Oklahoma heat.

My first impression is that the heart of downtown Anadarko seems unusually quiet for Indian Fair week. I notice, too, a large number of vacant storefronts giving the town an appearance of decline. Displayed side-by-side in some storefront windows are 11" x 17" poster advertisements, one announcing the 67th Annual American Indian Exposition and another an upcoming rodeo. Similarly, other windows exhibit handmade, colorful, long-fringed dance shawls draped, pinned or spread so as to highlight each shawl's appliquéd, embroidered or hand-painted embellishments. Missing, however, are the large, boldly painted scenes in windows, embellished by local Indian artists like Bedoka, Flores, and Tsatoke. Their absence now, reminds me of the past pride once taken by shopkeepers hosting them. I wonder to myself about the artwork that I remember being prominently displayed so many years ago. Where are the artists who painted those scenes now? Sadly, the excitement and spirit of community celebration that was once associated with the annual Indian Fair seems to have evaporated these many decades later. I am a bit

disconcerted by the lack of activity downtown. I conclude that townsfolk are probably at the fairgrounds. That would, I tell myself, explain the emptiness and solitude permeating the center of town.

Perplexed, I drive East on Broadway, about six blocks, to the Fairgrounds. Entering the park I travel slowly down the asphalt covered, horseshoe-shaped looped drive; I can see a few dozen camps erected. The camping areas to my right and left consist of a mixture of willow arbors (shades), canvas tents and striped Wal Mart purchased awnings, but few teepees. I park beneath the shade of the giant elm marking the apex of the u-shaped, or horseshoe drive as it is often called, enclosing the central camping area; the elm's trunk is about four feet in diameter, several thick limbs support its broad, sheltering canopy, and a branching mass of root humps anchor it to the rust-red earth. The majestic old sentinel stands watch over another relic situated nearby to the East. That iconic relic is the now rusting, rotting, tilting, paint-faded red and white, wood and sheet metal teepee that once, years ago, proudly served as the Exposition's office. Now, sitting unkemptly on a grassy patch of ground, it seems to pronounce, in a sadly metaphoric way, the Exposition's changed present-day status.

From the derelict Expo teepee I cross a dusty, and in August, goat-head (thorn) laden stretch of ground to reach the grandstands adjacent to where the popular carnival rides and amusements are set up. The carnival, assorted food vendors and various other attractions seem to be situated nearly in the same locations as years before, only they appear to be fewer in number, the allure they possess when lit-up at night, missing.

Later, walking back to my vehicle I catch sight of the cinderblock, sheet-steel roofed arts and crafts building occupying a space adjacent to the old Expo teepee. Entering the building in hopes of escaping the heat, I find a mere handful of artisans and their displays; the exhibit space, too, is devoid of fair-goers.

Back outside, the paucity of people at the fairgrounds mirrors that of downtown Anadarko. Those few souls I do see, mostly Native Americans, are lounging at their families' camps or visiting with one another in scattered groups of two or three individuals. Some campers are sitting in folding chairs or reclining on camp beds beneath the few trees offering shade from the intense mid-afternoon heat. A few folks return my greetings, however, most do not, either staring at or ignoring me as I pass by them. Admittedly, I am disappointed by what I witness. Somewhat confused by the situation I decide to find a cool place to escape the heat, humidity and sun, determined to return later in hopes of finding a more festive mood and celebration.

Later that evening, after the sun had slid behind the western horizon and feeling more refreshed, I returned to a bustling fairgrounds. After buying an Expo program booklet and paying admission to the grandstands, I took a dusty seat in the metal-clad bleachers, anxious for the traditional dancing scheduled for that evening to begin. I was hopeful that my earlier disappointment would be reversed. While enjoyable, the evening program was not all that I had imagined it would be. I asked myself why? Were my expectations unrealistic? Or, was I merely conflating memories of decades past with present realities?

Baffled and perplexed, I returned to Norman after the show; however, answers to my questions were not forthcoming.

Days later, upon reflection, I realized that driving those sixty-four miles from Norman to Anadarko had been more than a day-trip, more than a serendipitous opportunity to attend the Indian Fair. The outing to Anadarko had reminded me that my life had scribed an oddly circuitous journey, not unlike that of the Exposition in certain respects; it had been a trek traced in time spanning continents, countries and oceans, ultimately and unexpectedly returning to the place of my beginning, a town to which I had, years earlier, sworn never to return. Moreover, it occurred to me that my day-trip to Anadarko had set in motion the beginning phase of my graduate research project. Looking back, now more than six years later, I realize just how important that impromptu visit to Anadarko was. Its significance, then, however naive or unplanned on my part, initiated a new chapter in my life, a new journey getting underway, the ultimate destination not yet clearly defined or discerned at that time.

My first visit to Anadarko since childhood in August 1998 was brief, a mere few hours duration, a sidebar excursion. More pressing concerns occupied my thoughts. With graduate studies commencing soon, I had put aside musings regarding the Indian Fair and tried to ignore pestering doubts concerning my sanity for returning to Oklahoma by turning my full attention to academic responsibilities. My first seminar that Fall of 1998 was titled Native American Ethnology, under the direction of Dr. Loretta Fowler. We were instructed to conduct archival research on a topic of our choice concerning



Native Americans; it would be the major project for the semester and required research using primary resources. Almost immediately, questions prompted by my earlier visit to Anadarko and experiences at the American Indian Exposition came to mind. Seeking answers to them seemed to me well suited to the seminar assignment.

Subsequently, I spent the next several weeks traveling back and forth between Norman and Oklahoma City conducting research at the Oklahoma Historical Society archives, reading everything I could find concerning the Exposition. I was surprised and disappointed by the scarcity of available resources. I discovered that no comprehensive archive existed, no definitive record of the Exposition's beginnings, and no documented history, other than one brief eight-page article by Muriel Wright, published the summer 1946 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. There was, however, a substantial photographic archive maintained by the Oklahoma Historical Society, including the Pierre Tartoue' collection. With these helpful, but meager resources, I enthusiastically, perhaps naively, committed all my energy to learning about, then, documenting an ethnohistory of the American Indian Exposition.

Documenting and writing an ethnohistory of the American Indian Exposition has been challenging. First, the project spans seven decades; secondly, except for newspaper accounts there are but meager, readily accessible documents concerning the Exposition; finally, all original Indian Fair founders are now deceased. Even so, I have slowly but diligently assembled a growing archive consisting of AIE programs, newspaper accounts, photographic images, audio recordings, consultant interviews, and other Expo ephemera.

This archive forms the core around which my present study is built. My journey of discovery has been fraught with highs and lows, disappointments and epiphanies. Similarly, the more documents that have surfaced, the more impressed I have become with the complexity of the story I am now attempting to tell. Likewise, there is still much archival information to be discovered, mined, and regrettably, much that cannot be included at this time. Despite my initial impressions prompted by attending the August 1998 Anadarko Indian Fair, the event is still viable today, though admittedly struggling at times to remain so. This is heartening since organizers must persist year-to-year, burdened (as they always have been) with financial obligations, confronted with diminishing participation and support by local residents and, more critically, hampered in recent years by lack of the critical economic appropriations by Oklahoma's political and administrative bureaucrats.

At this writing (2005-06), I am listening to taped recordings of the WNAD radio show "Indians For Indians Hour." This once highly popular radio program, hosted by Don Whistler began broadcasting its live, weekly performances from studios at the University of Oklahoma, Norman campus in 1942 and continued its programs through the early 1970s. Some of these were broadcast live from Anadarko, on site at the annual American Indian Exposition. Though the taped broadcasts are sometimes scratchy, hard to hear, or fragmented, when listening to them now, I am transported back to another time, to another place. They afford me the rare luxury, all these many years later, of hearing words and songs voiced by those prominent individuals who were the driving force guiding, organizing, participating in and supporting the Exposition in its earliest decades.

Listening to them now reminds me that these are the voices of some of the first generation of Exposition participants whose care, efforts and hard work comprise the foundation upon which the proud history of the Indian Fair is built; moreover, it is the very foundation that has sustained the American Indian Exposition from its humble yet noble beginnings, through good times and bad to the present day. The songs being sung sitting around the drum, the sacred heartbeat, represented then and today, an unbroken circle of relationships connecting families, tribes, and communities. This circle of relationships can be traced back to a time before Anadarko was imagined, a time when the old tribal traditions held fast; and, it is these traditions, having adapted to changes introduced over the years, that remain vibrant, that still remain strong.

The songs sung around the drum and the stories shared amongst friends, are like the songs and stories treasured in the people's hearts and minds today. They belong to the same families who, for decades, have come to Anadarko every summer to camp, dance and visit with one another. Singing songs, dancing and storytelling bind together all generations of individuals who have, in great or small measure, contributed to sustaining the richly complex and significant presentation of the American Indian Exposition throughout its long duration. The founders' legacy lives on still; and so, it is with their legacy of relationships in mind that I offer in the following pages, a history of the Indian Fair. My desire has been to give something back to those from whom so much has been taken in the so-called name of progress. My hope is that each reader will find something worthwhile in the stories people have shared with me, or the narratives that have been compiled and collected from other sources. Ultimately, it is hoped that a better

appreciation and understanding of the significance and importance of the American Indian Exposition will be available to all who read this document. But even more important, as many American Indians often make reference themselves, is the preservation of this history and of these stories for the next generations who will follow all of us.

The American Indian Exposition (AIE) has been hosted in Anadarko, Oklahoma for one week each August, or rarely in earlier years in the month of July, since 1932.<sup>1</sup> Birth of what would become the American Indian Exposition—initially called the Southwestern Indian Fair—came in September 1932. One can assert that it subsequently became the premier event of its kind in Oklahoma, indeed for the entire United States, during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. Over the course of its more than seven decade existence basking in a unique cultural spotlight, the American Indian Exposition has generated for Anadarko literally hundreds of thousands of dollars—more likely millions—in direct and indirect economic inputs through business development, cultural tourism venues and numerous supporting enterprises. Certainly these economic inputs have proved vital to Anadarko’s prosperity, especially during the early decades of the Exposition. By extension, the Indian Fair (the term most locals use) stimulated the nascent tourism industry in Oklahoma. While differently articulated in the present decade (2003), the cultural and economic legacy of the American Indian Exposition, now in its seventh decade, continues to benefit, though in a diminished way, the Indian and non-Indian communities proximate to Anadarko.

Slowly at first, then with increasing consistency after receiving its charter, the American Indian Exposition and its ancillary venues arising in later years, proved a most valuable asset to the town of Anadarko. Similarly, non-Indian bureaucrats in local, county and state government who were looking to nurture Oklahoma's blossoming tourism industry, were it appears, increasingly eager—from the early 1940s—to garner a portion of Anadarko's economic windfall generated by her Indians' astute management and public presentation of their cultural traditions through the auspices of the Exposition. Clearly, the Indian Fair became a cultural magnet, drawing huge numbers of tourists from both inside and outside the state each year. Arguably, attention being generated by the Exposition served as advertisement of Oklahoma's historically rich tradition as the center for American Indian heritage. It soon followed that increasing publicity and the accompanying upturn in tourism did in fact facilitate and substantiate Anadarko's proclamation that, it was indeed the Indian Capital of the Nation.

My initial intent for this project commenced in August 1998, was to document the historical progress of the Exposition and to discern, if possible, what major influences had predominated over the Indian Fair's seven-decade existence. Moreover, I sought to discover whether or not evidence collected through research would support my initial premise that there had been a—commodification of the image of the cultural “other”—in terms of the persistent stereotypes identified by Berkhofer (1979) in the book *White Man's Indian*.<sup>2</sup> If this was so, how was this commodification revealed in the newspaper accounts, advertisements, and fair programs, etc., used to promote the Exposition? Were

there other issues or concerns lurking beneath the surface that could be illuminated by investigating the history of the American Indian Exposition?

My primary investigations surrounding these questions became the foundation for subsequent, and more comprehensive research. The product resulting from my initial and necessarily abridged history of the Exposition consisted of a preliminary comparative analysis of images and text based on published accounts from the year 1934 in *The Anadarko Tribune*, and selected articles spanning the years 1935 to 1998 from the *Anadarko Daily News*. This process entailed examining available newspaper accounts at roughly ten and twenty year intervals. However, it soon became clear that much more information, research and time would be required to accomplish the goals I had originally set for the project.

During early stages of my research I was fortunate to have access to a small archive of personal correspondence exchanged between Parker McKenzie and Bill Welge—Director of Archives and Manuscripts at the Oklahoma Historical Society. McKenzie’s letters contained useful anecdotes concerning the organization and history of the Indian Fair. At the time I embarked on this project in September 1998, Parker McKenzie was 101 years of age and in rapidly declining health. He was acknowledged as a fluent speaker of Kiowa, an accomplished lexicographer, and a tribal historian. More importantly, from my perspective, Parker McKenzie was the last surviving member of the original group of Indians founding the Exposition. While few in number, excerpts from McKenzie’s correspondence with Welge provided important first-person accounts referencing the

Indian Fair. Naturally, I privileged Parker's observations communicated to Welge over archival newspaper reports that sometimes were found to be erroneous.

Thus, I began compiling resource materials for my study by seeking information about other Oklahoma fairs, either preceding or contemporaneous with the Anadarko Exposition. This search led to disappointingly few documents referencing Indian Territory and early Oklahoma fairs. What few references I did uncover were helpful for situating the origins and evolution of the Indian Exposition within a framework or context by which to discover and examine some of the motivating factors that were at work. Of special interest to me at that early stage of my research was seeking answers to the question: How, in what ways, and to what extent did these motivating factors serve to influence Anadarko's Indian Fair, specifically its formation and operation?

Other topics of related interest included details concerning the origin and history of the annual Craterville Indian Fair situated in the Wichita Mountains, actively promoted from 1924 through 1933; the short lived, but regionally, and no less important Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Fair alternatively held at Weatherford and Watonga, Oklahoma, beginning in 1910; and a so-called Indian Exposition hosted by the city of Tulsa emerging in the late 1930s. The event at Tulsa was revived under a different name after WWII, and is not examined in this study. As I began retrieving scattered bits of information, the more interested I grew and the deeper I delved to broaden my search for all extant resources. As my search for information intensified, it became clear that the important story of the American Indian Exposition, untold all these years, needed telling.

For anyone researching a specific topic, whether for academic publication or deep personal interest and curiosity, there is at its worst a certain terror, and minimally a hesitancy mingled with excessive enthusiasm to get the project underway. Admittedly, I found myself feeling anxious about the task at hand, yet equally excited by what I might ultimately discover. The nagging question: “Where should I begin?” kept insinuating itself during the initial weeks into my first semester of graduate study. Fortunately, I discovered three books that quickly riveted my attention and served to direct my inquiry during the earliest phase of my research project. These books were: Robert Schrader (1983) *The Indian Arts & Crafts Board: An Aspect of New Deal Indian Policy*; Robert Berkhofer (1979) *The White Man’s Indian*, referenced above; and, Barsh and Henderson (1980) *The Road: Indian Tribes and Political Liberty*. These authors’ works provided me with important introductions to a substantive core of information concerning U.S. government policy already in place, or being formulated at the same time the Exposition’s founders were organizing the Anadarko event.

Further reading prompted me to consider whether specific government policies stemming from the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) and its parent New Deal legislation had influenced, whether in subtle or overt ways, subsequent events precipitating the actions of Indians living around Anadarko to establish an all-Indian managed fair. I fortuitously picked up “the trail;” and, in doing so, was made aware of evidence that would, over time, lead to a much more complex and detailed composite understanding about the American Indian Exposition. Subsequent research has helped clarify my earlier thoughts concerning Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) and New Deal government



policies. On closer scrutiny I now view them differently; I no longer see them merely as bureaucratic governmental policy initiatives or continuations of misguided, mismanaged attempts by white bureaucrats of the dominant society to keep American Indian tribes in check. Indeed, these initiatives can be understood, too, for serving as significant, and even useful tools for Indian communities seeking to reclaim their rights of self-determination. Both IRA and New Deal policies have, when employed in creative ways, served as mechanisms facilitating and supporting Indians' right to practice of their cultural traditions; and, in due time, began serving as a means by which to establish viable venues for cultural tourism. Even so, this is not meant to suggest that a *carte blanche* acceptance or endorsement of such policies was or is merited; certainly, much harm to Indian Country has resulted because of them.

By the mid 1940s and early 1950s, restless after years of war-time restrictions, and eager to travel and explore, Americans began taking to the road; moreover, families, with their station-wagons, gleaming stainless steel Gulf Stream trailers or more modest tear-drop campers in tow, headed north, east, south or west from the country's coasts and border states, to experience America's historic heartland. In doing so, they helped reinvigorate America's longstanding fascination with the West, discovery, travel and tourism. However, in post WWII America this renewed fascination with travel and tourism was now democratized. No longer the exclusive privilege of the wealthy upper class citizenry, exploration of this country's heritage and historic sites by a growing middle-class populace took center stage.

It is in this same period (1940s and 1950s) that Anadarko experienced a gradual, but dramatic transformation. It was no longer a sleepy, rural Indian Agency town, but rather, a must see destination. This new notoriety was not actually for the town itself; surprisingly, the primary appeal for growing numbers of tourists flocking to Anadarko each summer was the American Indian Exposition. Tourism was the ticket! Tourism that focused on the culture and history of Oklahoma's Indian Nations precipitated a transformative effect. One important facet of this metamorphosis brought Anadarko new status as the national emblem of Native America. Linked with its evolving recognition as a tourist destination, was a legacy to emerge from New Deal legislation of the late 1930s; that is, increasingly strong efforts to organize Anadarko's Indian artisans into arts and crafts cooperatives under auspices of the nationally mandated Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB). Eventually, Anadarko became one center of IACB efforts, with the American Indian Exposition providing local and nationally recognized Indian artisans the perfect venue for exhibiting their work. This subject is examined more closely in Chapter Seven.

The present work has as its foundation a plurality of theoretical frameworks and influences, including an amalgam of interpretive, practice, process, symbolic, and visual approaches. Such a combined, pragmatic theoretical approach provides a multifaceted perspective by which to examine the richly complex, often confusing and elusive component events comprising the American Indian Exposition's development, history and influence. My hybrid theoretical algorithm is informed by the work of Appadurai (1996), Basso (1996), Bauman (1992), Boas (1955), Bourdieu (1977), Geertz (1973),

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998), Turner (1969), Smadar Lavie (1990) and others. My rationale for utilizing a multi-pronged framework has been to gain a better understanding of the many-faceted, complex web of cultural associations, interactions, politics, and social mechanisms that have indirectly and subtly affected the development, organization, management, popularity and longevity of the American Indian Exposition.

In its more than seven decade existence the American Indian Exposition has, as an expressive and performance based cultural and social event, generated as well as expended a substantial reserve of *cultural and symbolic capital* (Bourdieu 1977, 179-184). Although it is a daunting endeavor, successfully deciphering the constituent elements making up the larger whole will, I suggest, provide valuable insight regarding the Exposition's significance to both its American Indian and non-Indian celebrants. Ethnohistorical resources have shaped my thinking in similar ways concerning this project by directing my attention to images, and spoken and printed text.<sup>3</sup> Some of the interpretive inferences I have posited here are based on my examination and analysis of these multiple forms of discourse (See: Bauman 1986; and, Biolsi 1992). Thus my comments, interpretations and conclusions are intended to offer both descriptive analysis and, at the same time, a critique of symbolic and metaphoric forms of language; ultimately, I seek answers to questions concerning how performance, image and story—assist in orienting and presenting a commodified image of the American Indian for consumption by the dominant white culture.

More important, are my efforts to gain a broader insight regarding how these symbolic forms of culture-based performance, image and story, have influenced the way Indians were and are being perceived by non-Native audiences; moreover, how, at the same time, image and text were being utilized by Indians themselves to express their individual and collective feelings, as well as their beliefs and attitudes regarding rights to self-determination. I have been especially interested to discover how Indians' own sense of self, their appraisal of the everyday lived experience within the dominant society, was communicated via their cultural, political and social interactions with citizens of Anadarko. The annual American Indian Exposition provides a potent forum where these interactions are communicated, expressed and observed.

In the following chapters I argue that partly through the public demonstration of their cultural beliefs and expressive traditions, Anadarko Indians set in motion a process for recapturing and, thus, reasserting their identity. For this process to be successful, Indians were, and still are today, obliged to carefully articulate their own discourse, actions and goals. It is important to acknowledge that social and civic relationships with the town of Anadarko, specifically non-Indian attitudes about and towards Indians and their cultural enterprises, were in large measure predicated on the Indians' potential of generating revenue for white owned businesses. It is only in later years of the American Indian Exposition—especially during the post WWII to bicentennial decades—that one senses local residents' attitudes concerning American Indians shifting in significant ways. These same decades can be characterized as being more balanced, with reciprocal relationships based on acceptance of Indians, if only seasonally, by local citizens of

Anadarko. Current tensions (2003) suggest that the city of Anadarko has reclaimed, at least in general ways, its earlier biases and negative attitudes towards Native Americans.

Another dynamic to consider, since both are inseparably intertwined, is how Indian organizers of the Exposition appropriated white dominate society's established stereotyped images of Indians to their promotional advantage. More precisely, it is important to consider how stereotyped images in the form of advertisements, caricatures, photographic images and "authentic" media characterizations were employed with great effect by Indians themselves for sustaining interest in and generating revenues from—first locally, then, more broadly by employing national media—to publicize the Exposition. I suggest that Anadarko Indians capitalized on their traditional cultural cache (in the form of dancing, pageantry, regalia, horse racing, arts and crafts, etc.), whether intentionally or not, by adopting media campaigns much like those of the Wild West show promoters, county fair officials and Frank Rush's Craterville Fair in the 1920s, advertising the Indians as exotic entertainment. The net effect of Indians' utilizing such visual and textual promotional representations served to elevate both the Indian Exposition and town of Anadarko as premier tourism venues—a status enjoyed now for many years—in Oklahoma and across the nation. Such efforts by the Expo's Indian organizers has generated cultural dividends in the form of acclaim, notoriety, and prestige, while at the same time, establishing the Exposition's legacy as emblematic hallmark of Native American expressive culture.

This present study is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One provides a brief, but no less important historical overview of Anadarko's development in conjunction with the locale's initial function as site for the Wichita Indian Agency. The agency superintendent was in charge of the governance and oversight of all affairs concerning administration, education and welfare of Indian tribes settled within his jurisdiction. Over time, tribal populations under the Agency's jurisdiction has come to include the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apaches (Plains Apache and Ft. Sill Apache), plus the Delaware, Caddo and Wichita, tribes. Members of these tribes still reside in the region today. In less direct ways, the agency has also been involved with Cheyenne and Arapaho affairs.

In the sections that follow, I endeavor to shed light on important cultural, historical, physical and social contexts producing an intense fomentation within the region's Indian communities in the early 1920s and 1930s. Indians sought more recognition, if not real autonomy and authority for their own self-determination from local, regional and national interests (agents, missionaries, politicians) who were actively compelling them to adopt the white dominate society's model of "civilization." The timeline examined in the Chapter One spans the period just prior to the formation of the Wichita Agency, to Anadarko's founding in 1901, and inclusive of events preceding the official chartering of the American Indian Exposition in 1934.

Issues of ceremony, ritual, representation, public performance, and expressions of community, identity and resistance are explored in Chapter Two. Specifically, I present an examination and theoretical discussion concerning how Indians, organizing and

participating in the American Indian Exposition, are utilizing strategies emphasizing expressive culture as one avenue by which they seek to control the means for their own self determination, and ultimately, for recapturing their cultural identities. A substantive cross-cultural exploration of several key issues relevant to expressive culture in a general sense and, more specifically, pertaining to the American Indian Exposition is presented. Perhaps the most significant emergent and catalyzing issues are notions of identity, self-determination, everyday life and expressions of traditional culture utilizing discourse and imagery. Thus, methodological and theoretical approaches are presented that have potential power for eliciting a better understanding of how paradigms of identity and self-determination operate within and between those Indian communities who, by necessity, must coexist, interact and negotiate on a periodic, if not daily basis with white powerbrokers.

My intention is to present theoretical and methodological approaches that can serve as productive means for interpreting, understanding, and subsequently, for developing models explicating how or perhaps why Anadarko's American Indian communities utilized performative modes of cultural expression as the most demonstrable conduit for achieving, then, grappling with their newly regained freedoms. I consider, too, the importance of New Deal rights championed by John Collier and others, making it ok for Indians to once again practice their religion, hold and perform ceremonial, as well as secular dances, and determine when, where, and how to practice these specific modes of traditional expressive culture. Can it be merely coincidence that the Indian Fair emerges

at just the same time when cultural practices, once punishable and ridiculed, were now encouraged, sanctioned, marketable?

Chapters Three, Four and Five detail the historical progress of the American Indian Exposition spanning seven decades, from its inception in 1932 to the present (2003). This story is presented in three chapters, each covering specific intervals or phases of the Exposition's development and history, its challenges and its successes. While these phases encapsulate defined timelines, they are in one sense arbitrary. Other researchers might very well have created very different divisions. Material covered in Chapter Three spans the Exposition's formative years. It begins in 1924 with the signing of a covenant by a group of prominent Indians accepting an invitation to camp, and perform their traditional dances at Craterville Park. This event, known as the Craterville Park Indian Fair, was an enterprise suggested, brokered and managed by Frank Rush, a white farmer and businessman from Lawton, Oklahoma. For approximately a decade, the Craterville Fair proved to be a highly popular and successful venture. However, by some accounts its promoter's credibility became suspect among several Indians who leveled a charge that Rush was exploiting them for his own economic benefit. One story suggests these allegations prompted a core of proactive, forward-thinking Indians to break rank with Rush, forming in 1931-32 the organizing body of what would, subsequently in 1934, become chartered as the official American Indian Exposition. Chapter Three ends with the 1944 Exposition, foreshadowing the allied victory in the Pacific, better known as VJ Day, an event that would forever signify the Indian Fair of July 1945.



Chapter Four can be characterized as encompassing the Expo's zenith, its "glory" years. This phase commences in 1945, the Exposition being center stage for announcing, then, celebrating VJ Day, July 12, 1945, bringing an end to WWII. This period spans the years 1945 through 1974, and the eve of America's Bicentennial celebration. This nearly three decade-long middle-phase represents the Exposition's most cohesive period, and perhaps its most dynamic interval. It is my assessment that this is the Exposition's most significant phase. It was during these years that American Indians participating in the annual Exposition realized their greatest economic success as performers, their strongest autonomy and recognition as community leaders by non-Indian local, regional and state officials and, their widest exposure and cache as cultural symbols representing America's first peoples.

Interestingly, too, it is in the period just after WW II that Oklahoma gains serious attention and prominence in the national spotlight as a prime destination for travelers ever curious, enchanted and intrigued by the lore of the West, especially American Plains Indian culture and heritage. According to media publicity of the day, the American Indian Exposition at Anadarko was a must see attraction for tourists coming to or passing through Oklahoma. During these same years (1946 to 1974), Anadarko citizens, with assistance and support of state legislators, undertook initiatives aimed at exploiting this growing fascination for cultural tourism. This period is witness to three important ancillary tourist attractions: the opening of Indian City U.S.A., the dedication of the Hall of Fame for Famous Native Americans and opening of the Southern Plains Indians

Museum. A more detailed examination of these specific venues is presented in Chapters Three and Seven.

The lead up to the 1976 Bicentennial and post-bicentennial years of the American Indian Exposition are documented in Chapter Five. This segment of the Exposition's history is characterized by a perceptible and more sharply defined shift in the relations between Indians and non-Indians; notably, this period is marked by a significant decrease in annual economic support from local citizens of Anadarko and the Oklahoma state legislature. Similarly, while Indian organizers of the Exposition sought ways to cope with declining local support and interest in their venture, they expressed a growing concern and, I suggest, contempt concerning ever decreasing or non-existent state funding for the annual Fair. The diminishing state support was motivated by *laissez faire* attitudes and economics, in part fueled by competing venues, especially Red Earth, founded in 1985, an Indian art and dance extravaganza hosted by Oklahoma City.

Selected participants' accounts, narrative stories, political statements, anecdotes and observations about their own Indian Fair experiences and growing up in or near Anadarko are presented in Chapter Six. From the start I have sought to create a representative document that incorporates participants' opinions, interpretations, and recollections. While conducting archival research for this project, I found it remarkable, as well as disappointing that too few personal accounts were recorded in print. It is true that the American Indian Exposition holds the distinction of having been founded, organized and managed entirely by Indians; yet, except for a few Indian reporters (for

example, Carol Keahbone and Henry Geiogamah), their own telling of its significance in their lives is noticeably absent from many of the media reports about the Fair. While this chapter is not as comprehensive or exhaustive as I first envisioned or hoped it would be, it does provide a forum for documenting such observations. It is hoped that collecting, documenting and sharing these Indian Fair stories will help prevent their loss, and at the same time, strengthen the present-day residents' connections with earlier generations concerns, aspirations and hopes for the Exposition.

Chapter Seven serves a dual capacity: first, as an exploration of how American Indians' expressive traditions have been marketed at the Exposition, and through ancillary enterprises that sprang from it; secondly, for presenting my summary conclusions, broadly sketched, concerning the impact and significance of these strategies on the American Indian Exposition enterprise. Such marketing has benefited from strategic utilization of visual imagery, artistic, graphic and photographic, and for promoting cultural tourism to the area. At the same time, it has suffered at different intervals from a lack of robust, and consistent non-Indian support. I suggest that the Indian Fair's location at Anadarko has made it possible for Exposition officials to advertise and market Indians' expressive traditions in such a manner that has profited local non-Indian residents, while at the same time generating a renewed sense of pride in being Indian for Native residents living in surrounding communities. Ultimately, cultural tourism has been profitable, bringing longevity to the Fair; and, notoriety and financial prosperity to Anadarko.

How have organizers accomplished this? What choices have been made, and how have they been implemented over time? In order to provide tenable answers to these and other questions, my inquiry in this chapter centers on the premise that American Indian Exposition organizers inverted, deliberately or not, the symbolic meaning of white stereotyped images of Indians for publicizing and successfully promoting the first all-Indian managed cultural arts fair. Their actions can be interpreted as a series of choices made by Indians operating as a form of deliberate agency, or to use Guillermo Gomez-Pena's expression "reverse anthropology," facilitating the tourism goals of Anadarko's civic leaders. At the same time, these choices have secured for local Indians a forum whereby acknowledgment, encouragement and sharing of their traditional cultural, social and religious practices are better appreciated.

Broadly sketched, with cultural tourism as the underlying theme or focus of Chapter Seven, I examine, if only briefly and summary fashion, the allure and fascination by white dominant culture with the so-called exoticism of Native American traditions, history and pageantry. This examination necessarily includes a brief discussion of the creation and development at Anadarko, in conjunction with or derivative of the Exposition, of three important tourist venues: 1) Indian City U.S.A.; 2) the Hall of Fame for Famous Native Americans; and 3) the Southern Plains Indians Museum. It is important to consider several questions. For instance, how did these tourist venues come into existence, and why? Who were the developers, individuals, organizations that made these tourist centers possible? And, what is or has been the linkage between these tourism entities and the annual American Indian Exposition? Answers to these and other

important questions will, it is hoped, shed light on and thus provide a better understanding regarding the practical, social and symbiotic nature of their collective dependency and existence.

I also present concluding remarks in Chapter Seven that focus on the changing attitudes and circumstances that have ultimately led to the introduction of competing tourism strategies elsewhere in Oklahoma. It is important to remember that the American Indian Exposition, as well as the other associated Anadarko cultural and tourist venues emerging as a result of it, have enjoyed many successful though not always trouble free years of operation. The Exposition's continuing existence, however economically challenged, has not diminished in popularity. This fact alone is sufficient proof of its sustaining power in the hearts and minds of its constituencies; unfortunately, at this writing, this support is more strongly expressed by the American Indian communities, less so by the diminishing cadre of non-Indian beneficiaries and boosters.

Separate from, but interrelated with the seven chapters comprising this study, are three appendixes. They are included first, as a way of honoring the memory of the Exposition's founding and participating men and women; secondly, they provide a resource and reference for persons who once participated in earlier years, and those who currently carry on their family's tradition of camping and dancing during Indian Fair week; third, and perhaps most important of all, the appendixes are for those children who might be too young to dance and for those generations yet to come. Here again, while material contained in the appendixes is not exhaustive, it is meant to complement most

directly material covered in Chapters Three, Four, and Five; however, the information is pertinent in differing ways to all chapters of this study. Finally, the information contained in the appendixes is intended to assist all readers by providing additional topics of interest and reference to sections or subjects detailed throughout this work. I acknowledge that whatever value they might have will vary according to each reader's own personal interests or curiosity to examine the ephemera, images and textual discourse associated with the annual American Indian Exposition.

## NOTES INTRODUCTION

1. While the specified time of the year in which to host the American Indian Exposition has typically always been the second week of August, the actual times have varied in the event's seven decade existence. The Expo has been held in mid to late July, early September, and in all four weeks of August. For several years now the dates have generally fallen within mid-August.
2. Berkhofer, J., Robert. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. 1st ed. New York, Vintage Books, 1979.
3. An influential ethnohistory encountered during the early stages of my work is by Lavie, S. *The Poetics of Military Occupation: Mzeina Allegories of Bedouin Identity Under Israeli and Egyptian Rule*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990.

## CHAPTER ONE

### **Anadarko: “Indian Capital of the Nation”**

Why does one town, site or region, rather than another, become the primary locus for a community’s development, then, with time, achieve acclaimed status as the nation’s crown jewel emblematic of Native American culture and heritage? When proclaiming that a specific locale represents the epitome of American Indian culture, one must ask the following: What justification is there for a town like Anadarko to merit sufficient prestige for it to be assigned the grand moniker “Indian Capital of the Nation?” Furthermore: What makes such a title stick, whereby from the early 1940s its iconic symbolization is permanently secured in the psyche of local, regional and national populations? It is certain that by the late 1930s Anadarko was well on its way to being recognized in just this way. Interestingly, her non-Indian citizenry at first demonstrated a sincere, if naïve or biased, but rapidly growing eagerness for investing their physical energy, civic and financial support with that of the organizers of the American Indian Exposition; arguably, this flush of Anglo support reached its florescence during the 1950s and early 1960s, then, seemingly reversed course for reasons not entirely clear. The Exposition’s notoriety has alternated between a state of decline and acclaim with each passing year since.

Despite its mercurial, and often precipitous decreases in support by the town of Anadarko, the Indian Fair survives, albeit doggedly, and celebrated its 75th anniversary in August 2006. What, is it that has made the American Indian Exposition such a long-lived success? By what means did its first generations of Indian organizers and participants shape and shepherd their fledgling enterprise to become, at one time, the



most important symbol of Native American tradition and the choice destination to experience cultural tourism in the state of Oklahoma, and perhaps the whole United States? Did local and state officials, seeking to curry political favor by happily jumping onto the bandwagon of success generated by Anadarko's Indian Fair, help or hinder the efforts of Exposition organizers? Were these civic and political bureaucrats rallying behind their Native American counterparts simply to maximize their own economic, political and social status, or were they supporting the American Indian Exposition and, the region's tourism for genuinely altruistic reasons? Or, perhaps more reasonably, was it a combination of both?

Admittedly, for some Anadarko businessmen the rationale for offering their support does appear genuine, based on a common set of shared goals and ideals. The decades of booster campaigns, media coverage and vocal support provided by editor's of the city's newspaper (Anadarko Daily News), is certainly a fitting and positive example. For many other local or regional leaders and businesses, it seems to have been more a case of self-interest whereby providing support (civic, financial, and legislative) assured them a means for partial, if not exclusive, bragging rights to claim responsibility (in whole or in part) for Oklahoma's growing stature as a national tourist destination; at minimum, any support by non-Indian political and business leaders was certain to return annual economic benefits. This statement is sure to generate disagreement among readers of this study; however, I believe when surveyed *en masse*, published accounts in the media voiced in reaction to or in support of the Exposition provide a firm basis for my assessment.

To be sure, both parties' (Indians and non-Indian) interests have, at different times, acknowledged (in all publicity venues) the potential for social cohesiveness, community enhancement, and financial gain to be derived from the Exposition's notoriety, and from its success. Moreover, both Indian and non-Indian leaders have generally agreed that the tourism boom generated by the Exposition could be a win-win situation for all individuals and communities involved, if only they would work together. During the Indian Fair's first years in existence there were tangible efforts to establish a true and equitable partnership. However, in more recent decades both parties have seemed to be working at cross-purposes, and in effect, putting such aspirations or considerations out of reach; that the situation could be otherwise is troubling.

It is also true that today there are numerous Native American cultural events (powwows, arts and crafts fairs, etc.), scattered across the country whose organizers can and do claim they generate more tourist dollars, more international fame, and perhaps, assert they have a greater legacy than the Anadarko Exposition. Here the annual Gallup gathering comes to mind; however, Red Earth, an annual event hosted in Oklahoma City since 1985, is the most noticeable regional contender. As a result, such enterprises are often granted more authenticity and cultural cache than Anadarko's historic Indian Fair. Still, the fact remains that at its inception the American Indian Exposition was truly a unique and special affair; more importantly, I suggest that it is the Exposition's all-Indian management, its popularity and success that subsequent enterprises have modeled their own operational structure and entertainment programs. Therefore, acknowledging its founders' prescient marketing strategies, the Exposition's far-reaching influence for

provoking changes in local and national attitudes concerning American Indians generally and, more specifically, its impact on the development of an American Indian centered cultural tourism industry at Anadarko deserves not only recognition, but merit and praise.

Admittedly, answers to many of the questions I have suggested are locked within a complex, multifaceted web of events, personal rivalries, cultural clashes and interactions, at the core of which resides an ethos of American Indian determination and perseverance. Similarly, successfully negotiating the tricky terrain of cultural tourism so closely linking all parties involved in the Exposition's history, and by extension that of Anadarko, proves all the more challenging because it requires understanding or at least acknowledging the efforts of both Indian and non-Indian entrepreneurs. Untangling this Gordian knot representing organizers, participants and supporters, and both Indian and non-Indian contributions, is a daunting task. Understandably, an exhaustive examination of efforts contributed by both sides falls outside the scope of the present study. Thus, by choice my attention in this study is directed primarily to the actions, efforts, and motivations of the Exposition's Indian organizers and participants.

### **In The Beginning**

Proclaiming itself "Indian Capital of the Nation," is a powerful, and bold declaration. A visitor to present day Anadarko might question the veracity of such a claim. Nonetheless, in its heyday, or the "Glory Days" as Dorothy Whitehorse<sup>1</sup> and others have characterized it, a period encompassing the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, this statement could be backed up with real and tangible substance. Now, halfway through the first decade of

the twenty-first century, the proclamation holds less significance, less truth than it did then. Yet, this legacy is still proclaimed by some, both Indians and non-Indians alike.<sup>2</sup> A rich territorial history does in fact underpin and, therefore, support the assertion that this region of Oklahoma, more specifically Anadarko itself, was and remains the epicenter of Native American culture and tradition. Why is this so? Are there circumstances, events or factors that substantially differentiate Anadarko from other sites?

To better understand the challenges local Indian and white communities have encountered and grappled with since the chartering of the Indian Fair, as well as to gain more clarity regarding the Exposition's true significance in facilitating tourism during this period, necessitates a summarization, if only in broad strokes, of Anadarko's early history and development. Highlighting the region's rich heritage, means also crediting Anadarko Indians for asserting their rightful place in that history; moreover, it was then and is now the American Indian who, having been removed, relocated, marginalized and stereotyped by whites, constitutes the core around which the whole enterprise of settlement, development and, hence, prosperity for Anadarko is linked. This is especially true with regards to the promotion of cultural tourism in the post-World War II era.

The following chronology, drawn primarily from a small number of sources, privileges the historical accounts compiled, documented and witnessed by C. Ross Hume (1951), a lawyer, one of Anadarko's earliest residents and one of its most acknowledged historians.<sup>3</sup> Other accounts of Anadarko's history have been published in *The*

*Chronicles of Oklahoma* (See: Hume 1934, 1938), the *Anadarko Daily News*, and *The Anadarko Tribune*. These various accounts are not always congruous; however, according to a recent Expo Souvenir Edition (*Anadarko Daily News*, July 30, 2005), a time-line of key events concerning the region proximate to present-day Anadarko is presented.<sup>4</sup> This chronology shows that the region has been visited, utilized, or coveted, and ultimately settled by non-Indians, for periods of long or short duration since 1842, longer still if one includes Coronado's earlier trek through the region.

Beginning early in the nineteenth century present day Oklahoma, first designated the Indian Territory, then later Oklahoma Territory served as the terminus for Indian peoples being removed from their original homelands in the eastern United States for relocation west of the Mississippi River. From President Jefferson's earliest suggestion made in 1804 until the plan's actualization by President Jackson in 1835, resettlement of American Indians was justified primarily on the basis of accommodating the insatiable appetite of white expansion westward (Frantz 1999, 11-14; See also Prucha 1990, 71). The underlying premise of resettlement was a determination to remedy, once and for always, Indians' presence in the eastern United States.

Prior to the official settling of Anadarko in 1901, the surrounding region was witness to or played a role in several historically significant events. Adopting Meadow's (1999, xii) template, the region's "tribal histories cover four periods: preservation (pre-1875), reservation (1875-1900), postreservation (1901-1945), and post-World War II or contemporary (1945 to the present)." These tribal histories are inextricably linked with

the region's development; and, there have been events and people in each period that have contributed to the social and cultural fabric of present-day Anadarko. It is worthwhile and important, then, to acknowledge certain of those events associated with the establishment, occupation, relocation, razing and rebuilding of the first series of agencies that would, in time, become the locus for the town of Anadarko.

The Indian Agency is the hub around which, for more than a century, Anadarko has grown, prospered, and struggled. The legacy of the American Indian Exposition is, likewise, directly and explicitly linked with this region's agency history.<sup>5</sup> The agency's history, influence and progress, are recalled, referenced and remembered, at least twice annually, by Anadarko's residents; first, on the anniversary of the founding of the city, and again, during the Exposition. Collectively, these historic events in Indian Territory are what constitute Anadarko's claim of being the "Indian Capital of the Nation;" and, they are revived each year to capture the attention and dollars of tourists and local residents, thus, providing appropriate historical justification for the town's importance and, at the same time elevating the authenticity of the annual pageant and Indian dance contests. From an anthropological perspective, cultural and symbolic capital is put to work, though in different ways perhaps, by individuals and entities having a vested interest in keeping Anadarko's history alive. I will return to this issue in Chapter Seven.

We know that a colorful parade of individuals, including Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, expeditionary forces, California forty-niners' caravans, railroad and reservation survey crews, wagon trains, U.S. army cavalry units, outlaws, cattle drovers,

and “Boomers”<sup>6</sup> number among the earliest non-Indians to traverse the Anadarko region (Anadarko Daily News July 30, 2005; Hume 1938 and 1951; Foreman 1941). Important among them was a “Major Elias C. Rector, Fort Smith, Ark[ansas], superintendent of the Five Tribes agency, who in 1855, was directed to survey [the] Washita Valley adjacent to [the] 98th Meridian for purpose of establishing [a] reservation” (Hume 1951, 11). Ross Hume recounts that the locating and selecting of the site for the initial Wichita Agency site occurred on:

a summer morning ‘in the tenth year of the good corn,’ according to the Delaware timetable of the guide; June 25th, 1859, according to the English calendar...when three horsemen, Elias Rector, the superintendent of the Southwestern Indians of Indian Territory, Lieutenant L. S. Stanley, in charge of the First Cavalry Escort from Ft. Arbuckle, and Black Beaver, famous Delaware scout and guide rode slowly northward from the Kichai Hills towards the Washita River. They came to the brow of a hill and stopped. Towards the east they saw a grove and creek where an old Kichai village had been; to the west was a circular valley enclosed with sandstone hills with a chain of lakes running through it. To the north the False Washita River, fringed with elm, cottonwood and oak trees was winding lazily through the valley like a huge serpent. The sun was shining bright, and the tall grass waived in the gentle breeze and made a beautiful picture that summer morn.

While they sat gazing at the scene, the rest of the party, a half dozen officials, the cavalry squad of fourteen men, and a dozen chiefs and headmen rode up, and they too were struck with the beauty of the landscape. Pointing to the old Kichai village Black Beaver said ‘Make agency there.’ Then he spurred his horse, guided the party down into the valley, rode through the fringe of timber, across the river some fifty yards wide and two feet deep, and went to the Caddo and Wichita village on Sugar Tree Creek where they visited their friends there settled.”<sup>7</sup>

Shortly thereafter, work began on structures to house soldiers; including, defensive works that were erected at the same time for their protection. In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs dated July 2, 1859, Major Elias Rector communicated the following:

I have selected as the site of the Wichita agency that of the old Kichai village on the south side of the river near the mouth of the Valley already mentioned,

and there I propose to erect the permanent agency-house and out buildings as soon as I can close a contract for the same on reasonable terms; and in the meantime to erect a temporary cabin for the agent to be afterwards used as a kitchen or other out building and a shed to protect from the weather the goods and articles in my hands to be furnished the Wichita and affiliated bands; and the Texas Indians I propose to place on the south side of the river above and below the agency, allowing then to select the site for their respective towns.<sup>8</sup>

Soldiers assigned to the new fort had, as their main responsibility, assisting Agent Samuel A. Blain with the resettlement of the Wichitas, Caddos and affiliated tribes recently or soon to be relocated from Texas (Bell, Buzbee & Riffel, eds. 2001:1; Hume 1951, 12-13).

Deciding exactly where best to establish the agency came about in stages (See: Hume 1938, 412-13 and 1951, 13). However, by January of 1860 the Indian agency was finally situated on “Leeper Creek on the north side of [the Washita] river” (Hume 1951, 13), near present-day Fort Cobb, Oklahoma. Agent Blain waited some time before communicating to Rector (Superintendent of the Southwestern Indians in Indian Territory) his decision to adjust the agency’s location further east from the place initially selected by Rector; this change of plan was prompted by Blain’s concern for safety. Once Blain did file his report, he informed the Superintendent that “permanent homes were built for Black Beaver, Delaware chief, Tinah and George Washington, Caddo chiefs, Jose Maria, Anadarko chief, Ketemisse, Comanche chief and Bickel, Tonkawa interpreter” (Hume 1951, 13). In addition, he said that “John and William Shirley [brothers] had established [the] Shirley Trading Post...[and that] 23 picket houses covered with grass, and 18 with boards for Caddos, 84 1/2 acres [had been] cultivated; 33



picket houses with grass [roofs] and 5 with board roofs for Anadarkos, with 71 1/2 acres in cultivation, 3 log houses for Ionies, and wigwams for Wichitas” (ibid.).

With commencement of the Civil War, in April 1861 Black Beaver’s scouting services were once again employed by “Federal troops from Forts Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb” (the frontier garrison protecting the agency established on Leeper Creek) for guiding them north along a “route followed later [by the] Chisholm Trail and [now] Oklahoma Highway #81” (Hume 1951, 31). At this time the agency and Fort Cobb came under Confederate control, and was maintained for approximately one and one-half years duration from the start of the War (Hume 1938, 413). Matthew Leeper, former Indian agent for the Upper Agency on the Brazos River, Texas (having sided with the Confederacy), assumed jurisdiction of the Wichita agency.

Subsequently, Southern forces were garrisoned at Fort Cobb. Once the Civil War commenced, resident tribes had three options according to Hume (1951, 31): 1) they could relocate temporarily to the north under federal control, 2) take residence with the “Chickasaws” or “Seminole Nation” in the southeastern part of the Territory, or 3) remain in the vicinity and negotiate new treaties with the Southern Confederate forces. It was at this time that Albert Pike was “appointed as Confederate Commissioner of Indian Affairs of all Indians west of Arkansas” (Hume 1951, 13, 31; See also: Prucha 1994, 262-64). Outside of a few military forays into Indian Territory, however, no Federal presence was maintained for any length of time in the region until near the war’s end. Then, according to Prucha (1994, 264), increased hostilities in the form of “guerrilla warfare

caused widespread destruction, and political disorganization resulted in corruption and exploitation” throughout the Indian Territory.

The following instance will serve as an example of these military forays by Northern forces. Traveling from Kansas “in October, 1862, seventy Delawares and twenty-six Shawnees under Ben Simon [and loyal to the Union]...traveled up the Washita River to the neighborhood of the Wichita Agency” (Hume 1951, 32). They learned through reconnaissance the agency was manned by approximately two hundred Indians in alliance with the Southern forces. Under cover of darkness, they surrounded and attacked the agency, and upon its capture, set fire to it; at daybreak Simon’s group pursued the routed and fleeing Confederate allied Indians “to a grove south of Anadarko, and found [there] 150 Tonkawas, part women and children, and killed 100...[with] the balance escap[ing]...back to Texas” (ibid.). This is the notorious “Tonkawa Massacre” visitors see advertised upon entering present-day Indian City U.S.A., located in the so-called Tonkawa Hills (Nye 1968; See also: Hume 1938, 415; Thoburn 1924 in *Oklahoma Chronicles*, vol. 2, no. 4). The agency established on Leeper Creek, having been destroyed and most of its pre-war Indian population temporarily relocated to Kansas, remained vacated until after the war (Bell, Buzbee, & Riffel 2001,1; Hume 1951, 34A, 37).

By 1866 the government’s attention turned once more to resolving issues concerning the refugee western tribes, their return to Indian Territory and restoration of the Wichita agency at its former location near Fort Cobb on Leeper Creek. While an in-depth

discussion is beyond the scope of this study, it is worth mentioning here that this endeavor was linked with negotiations being conducted with the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache, as well as the Cheyenne, and Arapaho. These negotiations concluded with the Medicine Lodge Treaty of October 1867; and, with a new treaty negotiated in July 1865 with the Caddo, Delaware, Wichita and affiliated tribes (Hume 1951, 34A, 35). One year later (1868) the Cheyenne and Arapaho would begin settling on a reservation set aside for them, having nearby the Indian agency at Darlington and military forces protecting it garrisoned at Fort Reno close by.

All western tribes living in the Territory had distinct concerns, needs and problems requiring careful attention by the current Commissioner of Indian Affairs, his new agents, and the United States government, if persistent issues were to be resolved successfully (Hume 1951, 33-34, 34A, 35). Unfortunately, the period from 1865 to 1868 was hampered by constantly fluctuating periods of calm and conflict, miscommunication and uncertainty, attack and counter-attack; it, too, was a period of painfully slow but certain transition for the tribes as they reluctantly began accepting their fate to live on government assigned reservations across the whole of western Indian Territory. It was not until 1868 that any semblance of a cohesive operation began taking shape in the region. By then Major Henry Shanklin, now in charge of the Wichita agency, could report to his superiors that, “all Indians [had] removed to their old home on the Washita in the vicinity of old Fort Cobb, where it was expected they could settle, by themselves” (Hume 1951, 36). Agent Shanklin’s optimism was, however, short-lived. By October 1868 he conveyed to his superiors that temporary structures erected in early June, “were

burned by the Comanches on August 14, 1868” (ibid.), causing the Wichitas and affiliated bands to abandon the old agency site (on Leeper Creek). This incident, according to Hume (1951, 36), served as catalyst for re-establishing the agency near its present-day location “on the north side of the Washita River at a point known as the Anadarko site,” approximately fifteen miles east of its previous location.

Meanwhile, old issues and conflicts erupted once more, embroiling the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, also affecting the more placable Caddo, Wichita and affiliated groups. Then, on November 27, 1868 General Custer, with orders from and approval of General Sheridan, attacked the Cheyenne and Arapaho in their winter camps along the Washita River, precipitating what became known as the Southern Plains War<sup>9</sup> (Kessel and Wooster 2005, 49, 340). During this same year the Kiowas and Comanches, refusing to stay within the confines of their assigned reservations, became the object of military reprisals (Foster 1991, 50-51). Officials in Washington, concentrating their attention and military troops on these so-called wild Plains Indians, were more determined than ever to break the will of those Indians determined to escape the noose of confinement that was being forced on them.

### **Quakers At The Agency**

The immediate post-Civil war years in the Indian Territory were unsettling for Indian residents. Fresh in their memory was the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre, their increasingly restricted movement, and more recently the killing of peaceful Indian bands camped for the winter along the Washita River. As a result, tensions ran high, conflicts flared, trust

was in short supply and uncertainty prevailed. More importantly, it was evident that the government's policy of using military force to resolve its so-called Indian problem had failed to obtain the desired results, making policy reform critical. Efforts were undertaken to remedy policy shortcomings by the creation of "a carefully picked special commission of civilians and military officers" (Prucha 1984, 480-481). This mixed group was officially designated by act of Congress in 1869 as the United States Peace Commission, and charged with the mission of securing peace and settlement on reservations, of the Plains tribes. The basic provisions of the act authorized President Grant's Peace Commissioners to assign jurisdiction and management of Indian agencies to various "religious denominations" (Berthrong 1963, 345; Hume 1951, 41; Prucha 1984, 485-500; Shannon, 1971, 4; Utley 1973, 195-224 and 1983, 129-155).

As a consequence, Orthodox Quakers were appointed as agents to "all tribes of western Indian Territory" (Hume 1951, 41). At this time Enoch Hoag was Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and officiated from Lawrence, Kansas. By Hoag's direction, Lawrie Tatum assumed jurisdiction over the Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita and affiliated tribes on July 1, 1869. During this initial interval, Tatum officiated from the agency located near Fort Sill. He demanded adherence to Quaker policy that "strongly opposed the use of military forces against the red men and forbade the troops to attack them on the reservation" (Wallace and Hoebel 1952, 314). According to Hume (1951, 42), Tatum's priorities included "inducing the wild tribes, [specifically meaning the Comanche, Kiowa and Apache tribes], to come in from the western plains and cease their raiding; and deliver up captive whites, Mexicans, and negroes living among them" (ibid.).

These goals proved challenging considering Tatum's directive to refrain from using force of arms, and the Indians' reluctance to remain confined to their assigned reservations.

Reference has already been made regarding the differing attitudes of the tribes concerning their willingness to reside in Indian Territory or insistence for traveling off it. Hume (1951, 43) indicates that in 1869 agent Tatum had jurisdiction over "2500 Comanches, 1900 Kiowas, 500 Apaches and 1200 Wichitas and affiliated band[s]." By 1870 Tatum needed assistance and, solving the problems required a different approach. To better manage the situation, the several tribes then residing in western Indian Territory were assigned separate agencies. Tatum remained headquartered at Fort Sill, still in charge of the Comanche, Kiowa and Apaches. A second Quaker agent, Jonathan Richards reporting to Tatum, was assigned to the Wichita Agency on August 21, 1870, it having been re-established at the Anadarko site. Agent Richards was responsible for handling the affairs of the Caddo, Wichita and affiliated tribes (Hume 1951, 42; Shannon 1971, 4).

Now, agents Tatum and Richards worked in tandem (though independently) to address pressing concerns. They, with other agents in the Territory including the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency founder Britton Darlington and his successor John D. Miles, were compelled to grapple with reservation problems and boundary disputes involving the Comanches and Kiowas on the one hand, and Cheyennes on the other with the Caddo, Wichita and affiliated tribes caught in the middle. However pressing these boundary disputes, the perennial and most serious problems facing Indians during this period of

transition to a reservation existence and for their assigned agents were always food related (Foster 1991, 51; Wallace and Hoebel 1952, 313-315). This resulted in large part because Congress failed repeatedly to appropriate sufficient annual funds as requested by local agents; because of routine shortages or poor quality of contracted rations when delivered; because of price gouging by traders; and, the unprecedented decimation of buffalo herds by white hide-hunters. Indians residing in the Territory suffered greatly as a result; moreover, these factors remained especially vexing problems throughout the 1870s and 1880s for all three agencies in the western Indian Territory (Foster 1991, 77-80; Frantz 1999, 17, 20).

One of Richards' first tasks on arriving at the Wichita agency in August 1870 was to secure housing for himself, and to oversee the construction of a commissary, livery stables, stockade and millworks, including a sawmill to provide lumber for further construction needs (Hume 1951, 42-43; Shannon 1971, 12). In his capacity as agent, part of Richards routine included the approval or denial of applications from prospective traders. Hume (1951, 43) mentions that "William Matthewson of Wichita, Kansas, made application to become Indian trader...[in partnership] with Black Beaver [former Caddo scout]...and his son-in-law, E. B. Osborne as clerk," and indicates that [once granted their license] they located their trading post "south of the Washita" River and the Wichita Agency.

Long time trader William Shirley<sup>10</sup> and his clerk Lemuel Spooner (later to have his own store) were likewise granted a license that same year (1870), and located their

establishment on the north side of the river, closer to the agency (Hume 1951, 43; Mitchell 1950-51, 390). It is not surprising that, like a magnet, the agency and surrounding territory began attracting commerce in the form of a steady stream of traders, freighters, cattle-drovers, ranchers, boomers, missionaries and a host of other colorful characters, not all of them having good intentions. They began congregating proximate to the Anadarko agency, or traveling through the surrounding region (Hume 1938, 419; see also: Dyer [1896], 2005). Foster (1991, 83) describes this surge in non-Indian population to the region south of Anadarko as “a persistent problem,” and that “they were mainly people interested in deriving some profit from the agency or the Indians.” Moreover, he continues, “leading up to allotment, they became more numerous and more difficult to control,” so much so that “by the end of the reservation period, Anglos were illegally pouring into the [Kiowa, Comanche and Apache] reservation in expectation of its opening to homesteading” (ibid.). Interestingly, reports of encroaching, raiding and rustling white interlopers were regularly published in Kansas border-town newspapers like the *Caldwell Commercial*, *Winfield Courier* and *Arkansas City Traveler* from the 1870s through the opening of Territory lands for settlement.<sup>11</sup>

With the influx of commerce to the agency and people traveling to and from the region, came the need for a post-office. At first, according to C. Ross Hume (1951, 44), agent Johnathan Richards assumed the duties of postmaster on April 22, 1873. It was at this same time that Hume (ibid.) says the “name was changed from Wichita Agency to Anadarko.” Likewise, Shannon (1971, 17) indicates that “the city of Anadarko was incorporated” this same year, coinciding with establishment of the post office and



designation of a postmaster. Hume (1951, 44, 46) writes, “on May 20th following [1873] Trustum Connell chief clerk at the agency was named postmaster,” adding that “on June 14, 1875 Lemuel Spooner, now an Indian trader [Shirley’s old partner] became the postmaster, and held it for almost six years.” Finally, a separate post office for the town was established in 1875. With the formal establishment of a post office and its new name, the Indian Agency, now fledgling town of Anadarko, took its place in the territory.

There are a number of interesting stories telling how Anadarko got its name.<sup>12</sup> According to a story published August 5, 1956 (Anadarko Daily News), it was first suggested to call the post office “Shirley” after William Shirley, the first trader and interpreter in the region. He apparently resisted the offer to be its namesake. As the story goes, it was then decided it would be appropriate to memorialize the name of one of the tribes relocated to the region in 1859, now of diminished numbers, and to which Shirley’s wife belonged. Thus, according to the most often repeated and accepted version, the appellation “Anadarko” derives from a misspelling or mispronunciation of “Nadarko,” the tribe to which Shirley’s wife was affiliated. The mistake is reported to have happened when “a postal clerk named Cornell [Trustum Connell], who was also the chief clerk of the Indian Agency, [copied]...its spelling from the agency records, where it had by some mistake or combination of sounds been recorded as ‘Anadarko’ instead of Nadarko the true name of the Indian tribe” (ibid.).

As indicated above, the education of Indian children living on reservations became a critical objective of officials at agencies under Quaker jurisdiction. So it was that after

re-establishing the Wichita Agency in 1870, A. J. Standing arrived, his sole purpose was to found a school for Wichita and Caddo children. Thomas C. Battey, a Quaker, became the school's first principal (Hume 1951, 42; Shannon 1971, 5). Construction of a modest school, within the agency commissary was undertaken, and instruction of local Indian children, mostly Caddo and Wichita, soon commenced. After a short time this temporary school was replaced by the construction of a separate school complex (Shannon 1971, 12-15). While Quaker motivations to educate Indian children—inspired by the philosophy of Richard Henry Pratt, founder of Carlisle Indian school—might have been considered meritorious at the time, critical assessment of its real affect has, decades later, revealed a darker and more pernicious consequence.

Alice Marriott ([1875], 1968, ix-xi) writes in her “Introduction” to Thomas Battey’s book *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* that he remained only eight months at the Wichita agency before commencing to live and work among the Kiowa (specifically, with Kicking Bird’s band) then living north of Fort Sill. According to Hume (1938, 420), Battey’s influence was such that “it helped hold a majority of the Kiowa people in peace on their reservation throughout the last outbreak of Indian war in the western Indian Territory, in 1874-5.” Likewise, Battey’s earlier, brief stay at the Wichita Agency had a lasting influence, as will be seen, for helping sustain the developing educational program there carried forward by Battey’s Quaker brethren.

According to Shannon (1971, 15), in 1874, agent Richards could report that the school had “an orchard of 500 trees planted [and]...grape vines, blackberry and raspberry plants,

rhubarb and other desirable plant[s]” were being cultivated for use by the school. By most accounts the Wichita Agency and boarding school prospered under Quaker management, though not without the typical problems encountered in all such frontier settings. One particularly vexing problem documented both by Hume (1951, 46-52) and Shannon (1971, 19) was the near constant turnover in agents, teachers, traders, clerks and other personnel at the agencies.

Perhaps, this constant turnover in staff is one reason, though it is not articulated in the records as such, for consolidating the Kiowa (Fort Sill) and Wichita (Anadarko) agencies. At that time, as has already been noted earlier, the western tribes assigned to reservations in Indian Territory were administered by two separate facilities. Personnel at the Kiowa Agency, then located just north of Fort Sill, had jurisdiction over the tribal affairs of the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache (Battey ([1875], 1968; Hume 1951, 47-48; Shannon 1971, 20; see also: Nye 1968). The Anadarko site was the administrative center for the Wichita, Delaware, Caddo and tribes affiliated with them (Ioni, Keechi, Waco and others) and was situated just across the Washita River, north of town. Then, on the first of September 1878, the “Comanche and Kiowa Agency was moved from Fort Sill to the Wichita jurisdiction” (Hume 1951, 47; Shannon 1971, 20).

According to Hume (1951, 47, 51), P. B. Hunt became the first non-Quaker agent upon their consolidation; at the same time, the Wichita Agency was renamed the Anadarko Agency. One month later, an agency Indian police force “was organized...with one captain, one lieutenant, four sergeants at \$8.00 per month, and

[twenty-two] privates at \$5.00 per month” (Hume 1951, 52). Hunt believed his Indian police could best serve the newly consolidated agency’s mandate to curtail acts of crime and trespass by non-Indians, and at the same time intercept those Indians seeking to roam off the reservation (Shannon 1971, 22). However, Shannon (1971, 21) also cites P. B. Hunt’s 1879 report to the Commissioner wherein he admitted, “much opposition was made to the organization of the police force” (See also: Prucha 1984, 600-604).

Oklahoma historian Grant Foreman (1941, 139) has written, “the consolidation of the nine tribes was facilitated, [as] the agent reported, by the fact that they all spoke the Comanche language...and thus interpretation was simplified.” This appears too simple a reason or justification for consolidating the two agencies. A different, and more realistic motivation is provided by Shannon (1971, 20) who, citing then Agent P. B. Hunt’s 1878-79 Report to the Commissioner of Education says, “reasoning behind the consolidation was that the Indians would fare better if they were further away from the military base at Fort Sill, and [that] part of the Kiowas had [already] moved to the Washita river where the land was better and game more abundant.”

A third, and even more probable explication for consolidation, based on the 1879 Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report, is offered by Morris Foster (1991, 87), wherein the Fort Sill agency adopted a new policy of distributing rations to individual “heads of families” in order to fracture the Comanche tribe’s existing social and political structures; furthermore, consolidation of the two agencies (Fort Sill with Anadarko) advanced the government’s sanctioned process, termed “segregation,” by compelling

Comanche, as well as Kiowa and Apache families living in the vicinity of Fort Sill to make a lengthy “bi-weekly journey” for rations. Ultimately, consolidation served to “undermine” (Foster 1991, 87) traditional tribal leadership.

Whether such calculated reasoning for merging the two agencies was predicated on linguistic commonality, the undermining of existing structures of tribal leadership, or merely, a convenient means to an end resulting in better administrative management of government-mandated agency business, is offset by an additional consideration. That is, the Southern Plains tribes (Caddo, Comanche, Kiowa, and Wichita) did have documented and long-standing reciprocal relationships including social, economic and cultural interactions predating contact with both Hispanic and Euro-American populations (Meredith 1995, 34-35).

Quaker agent Jonathan Richards ended his six-year stint at Anadarko in 1876 and A. C. Williams assumed charge of the Wichita Agency. He was the last Quaker agent to serve at Anadarko. After one year in office (1877) Williams “reported that 51 houses had been built that year from lumber produced at the sawmill and...a total of 1,295 Indians [were] enrolled at his agency” (Shannon 1971, 17-18). More importantly, by the end of his term in 1878, Williams could declare with obvious satisfaction that a majority of the agency’s Indians were then “living in comfortable log cabins, making farms, cultivating the land, raising cattle and hogs” adding that “during the past year over 50,000 bushels of corn, 3,000 bushels of oats, and 400 bushels of wheat” had been grown and harvested by them (ibid. 18).

P. B. Hunt's political appointment as agent commenced in August 1878, coinciding with consolidation of the Indian agencies at Anadarko, and marking the end of nine years of Quaker management under Grant's Peace Commission (Hume 1951, 51). Martha Buntin (1932, 218) notes that during their tenure as agents, the Quakers "had established the agency, provided school facilities...partially succeeded in locating and holding Indians on the reservation...[instituted] agricultural activities, and provided religious instruction." However, Buntin (ibid.) admitted, "on the whole the Quakers were grievously disappointed in...their efforts to Christianize and civilize the Indians." Prucha (1984, 483) concurs with this assessment noting, "the administrative structures of the peace policy...largely failed;" however, he, too, acknowledges, "the principles of peace and civilization were refined and reformulated" and later "enacted into law."

Upon its consolidation the old Wichita Agency, then situated on the north side of the Washita, was moved to a location south of the river. In concert with this move, Hume (1938, 421) has stated that the agency buildings were "rearranged and reconstructed" and "consisted of the agent's office, two commissaries, [a] physician's office, saw-mill, shops, [and] with dwelling houses for the employees half a mile distant." At or about the same time as these new buildings were constructed, "proposals" for a new school to replace the one recently destroyed by fire, were solicited (Hume 1951, 51); so, too, in October 1878 the Wichita-Caddo Indian School, first established by Quakers on 15 November, 1871, was renamed Riverside Indian School.<sup>13</sup>

It is important to acknowledge that since its founding, Riverside Indian School has played a continuous and instrumental role in shaping the lives and destinies of significant numbers of American Indian children representing tribes residing, then and presently, in western Oklahoma. Indeed, the school's student body has included Indian children of many different tribes from all regions of the United States. Although the boarding school has experienced multiple destructions by fire, repeated rebuilding and numerous relocations proximate to the Anadarko Indian agency, it has earned the distinction of being the longest continuously operated Indian school in the country. During its long span of operation, Riverside Indian School students and administrators have, consistently contributed in important ways to the success and legacy of the American Indian Exposition, especially its annual pageants, as well as the colorful and always highly competitive agricultural and arts and crafts exhibitions. I will return to this subject in later chapters.

Mention has been made earlier concerning two of the agency's earliest traders Shirley and Spooner. Traders operating stores at the Anadarko agency in the 1870s and 1880s were subject to the same quick turnover as teachers and Indian agents or military commanders. Licenses had to be renewed each year; moreover, traders operated at the discretion of the agent in charge (Hume 1951, 62). Even so, this detail did not appear to deter or dissuade whites from realizing a livelihood at the agency. Hume (1951, 56) has written that, "about 1879 Franklin L. Fred was granted a trader's license" and that "in January 1883 Dudley P. Brown was granted a license and moved the old log store of William Shirley to the south side of the river." Many traders came to Anadarko in these

early years, among those previously mentioned also were the following: Franklin P. Schifferbower, John M. Strange, Charles A. Cleveland, A. J. Reynolds, and John Craggs (Hume 1951, 46, 56).

One resident of Anadarko's "Old Town" since 1893, Rollin Hutchins (Anadarko Daily News August 1, 1976), has written about the early development of the agency settlement and of Anadarko, indicating that within a span of five years after consolidation of the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies, the Anadarko settlement had a Masonic Lodge (1884), several trading posts and other retail businesses. Two of Hutchins' relatives, C. A. Cleveland and John Craggs, were owners of or partners with others of trading posts at the agency, and remained long time residents. R. L. Boake, also an early resident and merchant, arrived at the agency settlement in 1893 to work at D. P. Brown's trading post. Boake later purchased Brown's shares, and then, after some years, formed a partnership with two other merchants, opening the A.B.C. Store (named after M. Abernathy, R. L. Boake, C. A. Cleveland). It is here at the A.B.C. store where Indians conducted some of their business when in town, and where the Comanche chief Quannah Parker agreed to have his portrait painted by the artist Julian Scott in 1890 (ibid. 4).

Anticipation regarding the Anadarko region's development accelerated once more with passage of the General Allotment Act on February 8, 1887, better known as the Dawes Act (Prucha 1984, 666-671). "Allotment in severalty was intended to break up Indian communities" as Foster (1991, 100) so cogently states, "so that they could not be put back together again by their members." This end was cleverly achieved in part



because, once allotments in severalty to Indians had been made, unassigned reservation lands that remained could be incrementally offered for sale to and settlement by white homesteaders; and, it was the rich bottom lands along the Washita River they were especially determined to secure for themselves. The writer N. Scott Momaday (1997, 70), a Kiowa whose relatives have for generations resided in the Carnegie area west of Anadarko, characterized “allotment” as “an obvious and efficient means of land robbery.” More importantly, Momaday (*ibid.* 70) has directed attention to the fact that “by 1933 the [Indian] tribes had been dispossessed of nearly one hundred million acres, and most of the remainder was under lease to whites.” This fact cannot easily be rebutted or reversed.

For tribal populations residing in Indian Territory, later to become Oklahoma Territory, allotment was a two-edged sword. Ultimately, most tribes were compelled to accept the Dawes legislation and with it, a greatly diminished tribal land base. As Foster (1991, 100-105), Fowler (2002), Meadows (1999, 103), Prucha (1984, 659-671) and others have documented, this process effected a further eroding of the traditional social fabric comprising American Indian communities; and, the resulting increased interaction with white newcomers meant that Indians often found themselves the subject of relentless attention by missionaries, educators, lessee farmers and merchant traders who were migrating to the Anadarko region. Members of Indian communities within the Anadarko and Ft. Sill agencies’ jurisdiction were all too aware that many whites viewed them as “lazy” (Foster 1991, 106), or uncivilized and, therefore, prime subjects in need of their

non-Indian neighbors' refining influences under the pretext of assimilation and acculturation.

Allotment, accompanied by the opening of remaining unassigned lands for sale to whites, marked the close of the reservation period in Indian Territory. It signified, too, a shift from Anadarko's frontier Indian agency outpost status to that of boomtown. It represented a period of transition for Indian residents that cannot be characterized as having been entirely trouble-free. In fact, the economic hardships suffered coupled with social and cultural dysfunction, all consequences of allotment, lingered well into the early decades of the twentieth century, and arguably to the present day. These very same factors perpetuated social inequities, helping fuel ethnic discontents, which in turn gave rise in later years for Indians to assert their own rights of self-determination and cultural expression through by founding the Indian Fair. The social dysfunction resulting from allotment policy has been duly documented elsewhere and requires no further elaboration here except to acknowledge that many Indian property holders (and their families) found themselves cheated of, misinformed about, scammed and swindled out of their individual holdings by unscrupulous whites. In many instances the Indians' losses amounted to outright forfeiture of their substitute birthright. The fact is that even under the best circumstances, allotment presented extraordinary challenges to many Native American landholders.

Despite such challenges, not all Indians suffered the same fate, in fact some prospered. However, many of those Indian families who did manage to retain ownership of their

allotments, found life very different from that of earlier years; moreover, their prosperity and survival was now dependent on their willingness to renounce (in whole or part) their traditional dress, language, religion, and expressive culture becoming in the process, part-time laborers or farmers raising crops and livestock. Those Indian households embarking on the post-allotment enterprise of occupational farming, encountered additional hardships, including severe drought, economic uncertainty, and obstacles concerning the management, procurement and husbandry of livestock, as well as marketing the fruits of their hard labor (Foster 1991, 101-103). Prejudicial attitudes held by most whites regarding Indians in these years also made success difficult, even for the most determined and capable Indian farmers. Foster's (1991, 101) assessment of the Comanche farmers is applicable to any of the allotment holders in western Oklahoma when he asserts that they "were unable to compete with Anglo farmers because they lacked the capital—or the ability to mortgage their allotments to obtain capital—to purchase mechanized agricultural equipment."

Alternatively, many of western Oklahoma's Native American families interested in farming opted for a different approach by partnering with non-Indian lessees who collectively put thousands of acres of fertile Washita River bottom land into agricultural production. It is arguable that much of the prosperity the region would boast of in later decades came at the Indians' expense. While the Indians gained some cash incentives, they often absorbed the liabilities incurred when lessees defaulted on their commitments, or failed to bring in a profitable harvest (Foster 1991, 102-103). Whether Indians took up farming, leased their acreages, or remained dependent on government programs, the fact

remained that for tribes residing in and under the jurisdiction of the Anadarko Agency, the years following allotment have demanded of them courage, endurance, perseverance and a good measure of patience.

On other fronts, Pleasant B. Hunt's productive tenure at the Anadarko Agency ended in July 1885. Captain Lee Hall, a Texan and the favorite choice of that state's politicians, was appointed to the post. Agent Hall lasted but two years at the agency, however, and in that time managed to alienate the numerous and politically influential Texas cattlemen, who by this time were maximizing their access to Indian owned grasslands across all of the western Indian Territory (cf. Agent Miles' tenure and his successor Dyer's at the Darlington agency with P. B. Hunt's account and that of Lee Hall). Ironically, agent Hall was finally ousted by the aggressive efforts of the cattlemen and, his indictment for defrauding the government of substantial funds (Hume 1951, 56).

For almost a decade thereafter, spanning the mid 1880s to mid 1890s, Anadarko Indians witnessed and were affected by the almost constant turnover of agents first with Special Agent White, then, agents William D. Myers and Charles E. Adams (Hume 1951, 56). During these years of transition and change, Anadarko Indians were no doubt increasingly worried about the avenues of subsistence available to them. With each new appointment the agency agenda changed, old priorities were shuffled and new pressures intensified, brought on by the growing presence of white settlers and increasing competition for natural resources. Perhaps most troubling to Oklahoma's western Indians during these years, was the fact that their old economies based on the hunt were now in

large measure defunct (See: Shannon 1971, 21-22). Arguably, Indians everywhere, not just in Oklahoma, found themselves having little choice but to accept the fate being rendered them as a result of the government's policy of intensive assimilation.

From its very inception (1859), the agency at Anadarko was intended to serve as an instrument for assimilation and acculturation of the American Indian, whether pressure to do so was expressed in a strong or weak form. In some years, military personnel were put in charge of the agency, their tactics proved more harsh and their attitude toward Indians less tolerant; then, in other years the responsibility fell to civilian or political appointments, their administrations were, on the whole, notoriously corrupt; while following civilian management, for nine years under Grant's administration (1869-1878), the task of acculturation fell to Quakers, the most tolerant and understanding of the lot who brought a measure of stability and progress to the Indian reservations, but no less adamant that the Indian must accept the "white man's road." Then, like clockwork and in synch with a new political administration, agency governance that had stabilized under the Quakers reverted once more to the old system of military appointees and political favorites.

It comes as no surprise that after the Quakers' departure, several competing religious denominations set up their own independent missions in the region (See: Hume 1951, 54-55, 63). The partnership between the military, missionary boards and educators was sometimes contentious; likewise, the agency, mandated as the governing entity, presented a formidable force with which Indians were compelled to negotiate. It was the agent's

authority, discretion and power to grant or deny, to be munificent or miserly, to reward or punish. Almost any means of persuasion at the agent's disposal was justified if it produced the desired results; equally vexing for American Indians during the reservation period, and well into the first quarter of the twentieth century, was the fact that Indian agents initiated or supported efforts by other entities to bend, condition and shape the Indian's will.

Entities such as church missions, established near the agency prior to the founding of Anadarko, hosted schools for Indian children, and in doing so, became critical contributors to the "civilizing" efforts of the agencies. As a consequence, many local Native American children were compelled to attend one of four such schools: Saint Patrick's Mission Boarding School (1891), the Methvin Institute (1887), the Mary Gregor Memorial School (1892), or the short lived Episcopal Mission School (1883). In addition to the Catholic, Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian missions, the Baptists and Quakers (Friends) conducted their own religious outreach among the Indians.<sup>14</sup> In time, Indian converts (some having been schooled in the East) formed their own congregations and churches, many of which have continued to the present day. In time, the Christian faith replaced, or certainly augmented the Indian's traditional belief systems. Adaptation was necessary in these years, and Anadarko's American Indian communities complied best as they could under the circumstances they encountered.

### **Agency Settlement Becomes City of Anadarko**

From its establishment in 1859, the Indian Agency was the sole entity in charge of development in the region, and its jurisdiction. Indian agents were the implementing force behind desired policies and programs. By the 1880s and 1890s agents' responsibilities had expanded to include two very different objectives. First, keeping the Indians on their assigned reservations, implementing policy, monitoring and reporting progress and supervising government initiatives once they were in force. Secondly, agents were increasingly required to serve as arbiter concerning interactions between resident Indians under the agent's jurisdiction and the growing numbers of Anglos clamoring to settle the region pending its being opened to them. Within this latter group were competing interests between cattlemen, homesteaders, military personnel, boomers and lawbreakers. Having been removed to the Territory by act of congress and, their lives legislated from afar, Indians were often relegated a bystander status, compelled to shoulder the burdens being placed on them with little or no recourse but acceptance. The reward for the Indians' patience and endurance under the system of white dominance was sometimes bittersweet; moreover, policies initiated under this system were rarely tailored with the Indians' true welfare in mind.

Hume (1951, 101) recounts how the lands surrounding the Anadarko Agency had been surveyed and allotted to eligible members of tribes by mid 1901 (See also: Prucha 1984, 659-86). According to Hume (1951, 102) "in all 1060 allotments were given to [the] Wichitas, and about 3100 to those [Indians living] south of the Washita." The remaining lands once assigned to them as their reservation were then opened to registered

homesteaders. Those lucky enough to have drawn a low numbered lottery ticket were then able to buy designated personal and business lots through a public auction. Of “more than 165,000 persons registered in two districts” notes Hume (1951, 102-103), “only about 13,500 homesteads were available.” Linzee (1947, 291-92) states the total at 13,000, however, and that “about ten thousand women had registered for claims out of [the] approximately one hundred fifty thousand” that were filed. Regardless of what the true count was, it meant that but a small number of individuals wanting to secure land were able to do so. Certainly, too, there were more unhappy seekers than winners at the close of that day’s lottery festivities in 1901.

The area east of the agency and proposed town site for Anadarko, the present location of the county fairgrounds, was in 1901 a vacant cornfield filled with stalks, stubble and surveyor’s stakes, except for deliberately mowed lanes marking where the streets and alleyways were to be laid. This area quickly became a burgeoning mass of stacked lumber, tents, wagons, horses, makeshift kitchens, saloons and other businesses. It was literally seething and throbbing with upwards of five thousand souls according to Hume’s (1951, 104) recollections; this *mise en scene*, erupting with anxious, boisterous, excited, and inebriated revelers, homesteaders and entrepreneurs must have been incredible; and, most likely, a little bit dangerous to experience firsthand. The “corn field...quickly became ankle deep in dust,” recalled Linzee (1947, 293), one of the participants that opening day and proprietor of a livestock “feed business.” Pictures from the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society documenting Anadarko’s transformation from agency enclave to county seat, give the impression that it all happened overnight. However,



building the town took much longer. Appropriately, the temporary encampment was called “Ragtown,” and many enterprising establishments “did a thriving business for weeks,” notes Hume (1951, 104), while construction was underway.

“Anadarko was selected as county seat of Caddo County,” writes Sara Brown Mitchell (1950-51, 393), and “Colonel James F. Randlett, the Indian agent...locate[d] a site for the new town” west of the tent encampment. Within “five days” of drawing the first number in Anadarko’s lottery recalled Hume (1951, 104), “more than \$100,000.00 [in] lots were sold, and 160 frame buildings had been started. In total, there were surveyed and allocated for the new town “64 blocks, streets and alleys, and railway right of way, with court house, three school blocks, 26 business blocks and 36 residence blocks” (ibid. 102). A sign of just how strong a pull the town had on people, is attested by Hume’s (ibid. 104A) tabulation that by December 1902 Anadarko could boast having the following:

“3 embalmers, 7 furniture stores, 7 feed and produce [merchants], 8 grocers, 5 general grocers, 6 candy and fruit [shops], 3 coal [outlets], 18 dry goods [stores], 13 general merchandise [purveyors], 6 hotels, 4 harness [shops], 15 hardware [stores], 7 insurance [brokers], 4 jewelers, 22 lawyers, 5 laundries, 2 livery stables, 9 lodging and rooms [establishments], 11 lumber yards, 3 millinery [shops], 8 meat markets, 5 printing offices, 2 newsstands, 9 notaries, 3 painting and wall paper [shops], 27 real estate [agents], 22 restaurants, 32 saloons, 4 secondhand stores, 5 surveyors, 2 tailors, 3 transferors, 5 tanners, 7 wagon yards, 3 brick yards, [and] 10 miscellaneous” businesses.

Anadarko continued to prosper from this time onward, quickly reaching its initial platted capacity, and as Hume (1951, 111) notes, there being no “adjoining lands available for additions” until the year Oklahoma gained statehood in 1907.

At the time of the land opening and chartering of Anadarko in 1901, Colonel James F. Randlett was Indian agent, and, according to Hume (1951, 114) “provided allotting crews with quarters, closed grazing contracts, tore down pasture fences and sold them for the tribes, and had a hand in selecting the county seats, and allotment of [so-called] incompetents.” It was not uncommon for there to be disputes or other problems related to the allotment and sale of Indian lands at this time, and Hume writes that in such instances these were handled by the agent (ibid.). Then, in 1905, the agency was “placed under Civil Service” jurisdiction and the title of Indian agent was “changed to Superintendent.” In this same year, agent Randlett was succeeded by Superintendent “John P. Blackmon,” then, it was “Lieutenant Ernest Stecker” serving from 1908 to 1915 when “C.V. Stinchecum” began his tenure as Superintendent, remaining in office until early in 1922 (Hume 1951, 114, 123). John A Buntin assumed the superintendent’s office in April of 1922 and held the post until 1931 or 1932, the responsibilities then passing to W. B. McCown, who remained Superintendent until “about 1945 when a district office was established at Oklahoma City;” however, McCown died shortly after moving to the new office (Hume 1951, 145, 152).

To be sure, many events transpired between the tenures of Superintendents Buntin and McCown (more than space allows for discussion here). It can be said with certainty that both men were witness to and played crucial roles concerning the integration of and interaction between members of the two distinctly different cultures, who in 1901 found themselves melded as one community with the founding of Anadarko (See: Hume 1951, 121-23, 131-34). It seems that with a stroke of the pen, the Indians’ past existence was

changed forever, and by sheer luck of the draw the new settlers' future was renewed; moreover, both peoples had to find a way through the uncertainty of their joined destinies. Eventually they managed to do so, but it was not an uncomplicated journey.

### **Anadarko's Prevailing Social Attitudes**

The social relations and interactions of members within a community, neighborhood, town, or region can and do manifest in forcefully complex ways. Any underlying stresses or tensions—cultural, economic, ethnic, religious, political, etc.—will determine its general health and productivity as a community, as a social entity (See: Appadurai 1996, 178-186). It has been important to consider Anadarko's early agency, civil, political and religious history, if only broadly, in order to better understand how these aspects influenced prevailing local attitudes towards Indians. However, it is equally relevant, and perhaps more so, to acknowledge how Indians reacted or responded to these expressed attitudes as a means to enhancing their social standing in the community at large. I do not mean to be overly critical, or polemical, but rather endeavor to provide greater clarity concerning what I interpret to be the coalescence of ethnic, historical, and social factors motivating all of Anadarko's early residents, Indian and non-Indian alike.

To be sure, over the years many non-Indians have been positive and ardent supporters working to change prejudicial attitudes regarding Anadarko's Indians. At times this has appeared to be a difficult task. Candidly, my assessment herein is obtained from personal experience and observation while growing up in Anadarko during the 1950s and early 1960s, as well as from more recent observations and discussions (since 1998) with life-

long residents. I realize, too, not everyone will agree with my interpretation as there is a tendency for a “Rashomon” situation or effect to exist.<sup>15</sup> However, I still believe it important enough to offer one explication of how such forces have affected or served Anadarko’s Indians for directing their collective energies toward achieving a solution of their own making—this manifesting as the American Indian Exposition—under their own explicit control, and for their own direct benefit. The Indians’ responses and actions have not been adequately articulated, I believe, heretofore.

My attempt to shed light on certain inequities here, in this study, privileges the need for obtaining answers regarding why and how the Exposition emerged and developed in the way it has. Admittedly, to understand what forces influenced the founding of the American Indian Exposition requires acknowledging the private and government initiatives for Indian self-reliance being discussed in the latter decades of the nineteenth, and first three decades of the twentieth centuries. Although numerous endeavors regarding Indian affairs occupied both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives between the 1870s and 1934, American policy concerning these legislative activities was always articulated in ways to support the government’s role and control over Native Americans (See: Berkhofer 1979).

Perhaps, though not surprisingly, citizenship for American Indians was not granted until 1924, long after passage of the General Allotment Act (Prucha 1984, 681-686). Even more perplexing was the debate concerning whether the Fourteenth Amendment automatically granted citizenship to Indians (Prucha 1984, 682-684). However,

Berkhofer (1979, 177) acknowledges that the reality of Indian citizenship was quite different from its symbolic manifestation. He has asserted that “in many Western states White prejudice against the Indian continued to discriminate in [the] area of civil rights as in others. Nor did citizenship remove the Indian from being a ward of the federal government.” Instead, matters of Indian policy intensified.

A statement published August 13, 1935 (Anadarko Daily News) illustrates just how entrenched local and national prejudice towards American Indians was; moreover, a sense of just how paternalistic the mind-set of local officials were concerning Indian Exposition campers is clearly expressed in the following passage:

Some Indians may feel that not enough time has been allowed for the Indians to build their brush arbors, but they must remember that the officials are respecting the wishes of Government officials regarding Indians leaving their homes for too long a period. All Indian[s] who do come to stay for the duration of the Exposition are urged to arrange for their homes, stock, to be taken care of while they are attending the Exposition as the [government] officials feel that their homes come first, and they also know that well-regulated homes mean better products will come from those homes which will make the Exposition better and bigger as the years come and go.<sup>16</sup>

Barsh and Henderson (1980, 96) substantiate claims like the preceding one by claiming: “Indians had to be made citizens so that the great experiment in coercive civilization could continue without possible legal impediments. Citizenship was conferred to benefit the government, not the tribes.” Skeptical readers need only read the numerous reports generated by Congressional Hearings to realize the veracity of Barsh and Henderson’s findings.

Unfortunately, at this time even some critics of the government's Indian policy seem to have held very similar views about Indians despite the decades of efforts made on their behalf by well meaning individuals—representatives from both philanthropic and government sectors. Criticism of government initiatives designed to confer a greater degree of self-determination for Native Americans is exemplified by comments like those made in 1931 by Chairman Sproul of the House Committee on Indian Affairs. Sproul, cited by Barsh and Henderson (1980, 97), argued that before American Indians could qualify for citizenship they “must learn industry, continuity of effort, loyalty, efficiency, perseverance, ambition, economy, business administration, neatness, sobriety, truthfulness, integrity, self-preservation and protection, law observance, self-reliance, self and family support, participation in governmental activities, mental growth and development, and love of country.” It is amazing that six years after gaining citizenship, Indians' moral and ethical character was still being questioned.

Furthermore, Sproul's overtly expressed, ethnocentric form of guardianship was predicated on skewed notions that he and others like him believed characteristic of American Indians and their cultural lifestyle, i.e., declared to be ‘communistic.’ Sproul argued that Indians' lifestyle was antithetical to those American ideals deemed worthy and honorable and therefore, must be eradicated. He argued forcefully that:

As a race of people, the Indian is not much inclined to continuous hard work; he is not very ambitious; he especially enjoys fishing, hunting, racing and other sports rather than any kind of hard labor; governmentally he is naturally a tribalist; he is more inclined to tribalism than individualism; he is not especially interested in acquiring or building for himself a worth while home or residence; he is more interested in the welfare of his race than he is for himself and others individually.<sup>17</sup> (Quoted in Barsh 1980, 97).

Today, Sproul's comments or comparable views expressed by his contemporaries are considered egregious and racist. However, in their time such expressions were not the ranting of a singular, bigot's voice, but represented the sentiments of many American citizens, whether or not they ever had first-hand encounters with American Indians. Indeed, there were numerous critics of the progressive efforts made on behalf of American Indians to be found among a diverse cross-section of groups including national and state governments, philanthropic organizations, religious organizations and their missionaries, hard at work in the field.

Many of the harshest criticisms came from within the educational system, especially its administrators governing those boarding schools to which Indian children were sent for acculturation to dominant white society. Yet, it has been documented that even within the boarding schools, tyrants administered loathsome practices in the name of service to countless innocent Native American children. It has been suggested that a variety of mechanisms for controlling Indians thwarted any real measure of collective self-determination on the part of Indian tribes, let alone by individual families. Severely constrained by such bureaucratic and programmatic institutions, it is surprising that, even as late as the 1930s, the conceptual germination and subsequent independent organization of an all-Indian managed Exposition at Anadarko could have emerged or prospered. This is especially true, given the breadth and depth of these entrenched practices and attitudes towards Indians, characteristic of the American social psyche of the period.

Admittedly, the decades spanning the years 1880 to the early 1930s were in many ways desperate years for Native Americans; however, they can also be described as portentous years. It is true that this period is marked not only by festering grievances and heated debates, but also a growing optimism regarding efforts for reforming American Indian policy. For example, from the 1870s onward several attempts were made, albeit with varying degrees of success, to establish market opportunities that would provide some measure of economic stability for Indians via promotion of their traditional arts and crafts—textiles, basket making, jewelry making, and pottery, etc.—such enterprises, by the early 1900s, had become a popular means for industrializing the Indian (See: Marriott 1953; Schrader 1983).

Schrader (1983, 3-6) calls attention to efforts by such groups as the “Indian Industries League, the Episcopal Board of Missions, the Sunshine Society,” and other ‘Friends of the Indian’ groups working in conjunction with programs initiated by the Office of Indian Affairs—later known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Programs undertaken by these well intentioned, though too often paternalistic and overly religious reform groups, anticipated future struggles surrounding the civil and cultural rights of America’s Indian populations; moreover, challengers emerged within their ranks who would attempt to derail significant and life-altering reforms proposed by more determined, and arguably more successful proponents like John Collier and Rene’ d’ Harnoncourt during the Roosevelt ‘New Deal’ years between 1933 and 1945. Schrader (1983), Berkhofer (1979), Barsh and Henderson (1980) each call attention to how the various efforts of Collier and his supporters were criticized or thwarted at every turn by stalwart opponents.



It matters little whether opposition took form as legislators deliberating government policy, traders and commercial interests intent on maintaining their monopoly and control of the Indian Arts and Crafts market, land-hungry white farmers, or the multitude of other special interest groups reluctant to acknowledge the civil and cultural rights of American Indians.

It is just as important to recognize the impact government initiatives and programs like the Indian Reorganization Act, the New Deal, and emergence of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board had for causing subtle and not-so-subtle changes in many different areas of Indian's lives. As mentioned earlier, proponents worked diligently for many years on these reforms, contributing in significant ways for their crafting, legislative passage, and implementation. Perhaps the most notable of these advocates were John Collier, Rene' d' Harnoncourt, and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. While Collier and others were strongly criticized in their own era by opponents of Indian reform, it is equally true that as recently as the 1970s and 1980s their motives were being scrutinized once again (See: Philp 1986). In their defense, I suggest they truly envisioned their efforts on behalf of Native Americans to be genuinely altruistic, and of vital importance. It is worth noting that John Collier, and others, especially Alice L. Marriott succeeded in implementing programs in conjunction with the annual Anadarko Exposition, during the late 1930s and early 1940s contributing to the Fair's growing popularity. From a national perspective, we can never know for sure whether Collier's reforms might have proven more effective had a greater number of his goals for Indian programs been realized, instead of having been drastically altered or defeated in legislative session.

What is known is that hard won reforms for Indian self-determination, though in greatly modified form, did set in motion government mandated policies that in turn served, if slowly, to change public opinion and sentiment of whites towards Indians. I suggest that a connection can be drawn between the convergence of these important reforms, changing sentiments of whites, and Indians choosing to exercise their rights of self-determination, with that point in time when founding members of the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko decided to unveil their plans for an all-Indian managed cultural fair. Its success was never assured, and its organizers' decision to act was a boldly defiant move facing overwhelming odds. The following historical genesis of the Exposition, its founding, and subsequent progress over time supports this premise.

## NOTES CHAPTER ONE

1. Author's fieldwork notes, and conversations with Dorothy White Horse in Anadarko, at the Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, August 2005.
2. I saw an interesting message to this effect soaped or painted on the rear window of a taxicab in Anadarko during fieldwork at the Indian Fair in August 2003.
3. Carleton Ross Hume, age eleven, arrived with his parents and siblings at the Agency on December 31, 1890 from Caldwell, Kansas.
4. "City's History Goes Way Back." *Anadarko Daily News*, Saturday July 30, 2005, Section One 6. Readers interested in the complete chronology can find it here.
5. See: Carleton Ross Hume "Anadarko, Indian Agency and County Seat" (Anadarko: unpublished manuscript 1951). In Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma for a colorful and first-hand account of the agency's beginning.
6. "City's History Goes Way Back." *Anadarko Daily News*, Saturday, July 30, 2005, Section One 6.
7. See: Carleton Ross Hume "Anadarko, Indian Agency and County Seat" (Anadarko: unpublished manuscript 1951) p. 11. In Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma.
8. *Ibid.* p. 12.
9. See: Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. 2 vols. Vol. II and I. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 1984. Reprint, 1995 495-96.
10. See: Bell, Betty, Marilyn Buzbee, and Carolyn Riffel, eds. *Anadarko: Our First 100 Years 1901-2001*. 1st ed. Oklahoma City: Globe Color Press, Inc., 2001 3-4.
11. These frontier and border town newspapers provide a critical, if colorful account of the goings-on in the Indian Territory in this period.
12. Morgan, Lillian. "Anadarko City named after Small Indian Band." *The Anadarko Daily News*, August 1, 1976, Section Five 2-6. This article, originally written in 1958 and not previously published, was part of Morgan's class assignments completed when a student at the University of Oklahoma. The author provides an interesting and insightful perspective on the early history surrounding the establishment of the town of Anadarko.
13. Riverside Indian School holds the distinction, whether good or bad, of being the oldest continuously operated Indian boarding school in the United States.
14. Bell, Betty, Marilyn Buzbee, and Carolyn Riffel, eds. *Anadarko: Our First 100 Years 1901-2001*. 1st ed. Oklahoma City: Globe Color Press, Inc., 2001 8-11.
15. The "Rashomon" effect, derived from the famous film (1950) of the same name by Japanese filmmaker Akira Kurosawa, implies that each witness to the same event or sequence of events will, by reason of their unique perspective and independent observation, recount the same incident(s) in a totally different way with regard for time, action sequence, intent of actors, and outcomes.

16. See article: "Camp Site Opens August 13th For Indian Exposition Crowds." *Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 13, 1935, 1.
17. Barsh, R. L., and J. Y. Henderson, eds. *The Road: Indian Tribes and Political Liberty*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980, 9.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **World's Fairs, Festivals and Expositions: Cultural Arenas for Expressing Community, Identity and Resistance**

*If performativity is the matrix of constativity, and if, further (though this be a big 'if'), overtly constative statements are disguised as performative ones, then truth seems to be a function of social relations. Furthermore, if statements cannot be directly linked to the world in an unproblematic fashion, then it appears (as it did to Derrida) that all is interpretation. And if all is interpretation, then we are in the realm of play, a decidedly postmodern conceit. The play of signifiers renders nugatory any scientific ethnographic pursuit. Greg Urban 1996*

In this chapter I consider how the founding of American Indian Exposition and its continuation into the twenty-first century has served as stage for American Indian agency, and for asserting their political, social and ethnic identities through expressive and performative culture. A reader's first response to this statement might be acceptance without any further need to consider its veracity; however, glossing over the Expo's purpose too quickly obscures its more subtle and complex functions. Closer examination reveals that many layers of interaction, intention and perception intermingle, thus, producing a multitude of ways by which interpretation, meaning and discourse are made real, hold truth or significance; moreover, all who attend, contribute or participate in the Exposition's production, are caught up in its unique cultural narrative, its vital matrix.

It is true that on one level the Exposition serves as metaphor for the performative stage. It brings to one place and one time a broad cross section of people who are there for the sole purpose of performing, participating, entertaining or interacting; that is, to experience a shared reality, albeit, a reality differently perceived. Thus, the Exposition has always been comprised of a polymorphous assemblage of people having uniquely

differing agendas. Whether Indian or non-Indian, participants blend their individual, community and shared motivations for social interaction. Understanding this phenomenon is one of the central issues at hand.

My examination in this chapter considers these questions: What frames of analysis can be utilized to best understand the generative history of the Exposition? How do expressive and performative components, including, contest dancing and the interpretation of diverse cultural traditions serve the social and cultural needs of non-Native and Native audiences? Likewise, how do venues like festivals, fairs, and folklore events function as mechanisms for conveying Indian participants' conceptions of their individual and tribal identity? Moreover, is there a semiotics of expressive or performative culture by which to explicate how and in what ways the body can be understood as a cultural canvas for conveying, interpreting and understanding expressions of one's symbolic and social identity? If so, how important is participation, dance style, choice of regalia, or music as component expressions of an individual's, or a group's cultural heritage? Similarly, what related factors play significant and contributing roles regarding formation and expression of symbolic identity for members of and participants representing these different alliances between Indian communities? What significance does place—historically, physically or symbolically—hold? Moreover, how is one's sense of place (in this instance, the town of Anadarko and the annual Indian Fair), whether from an individual, community or tribal perspective, fixed, instilled, remembered and referenced in the public sphere of expressive culture?

Hence, I am interested to determine whether the act of performing in the public arena symbolized by the Indian Fair facilitates the expression of multiple meanings or cultural messages (discourse) that are, then, simultaneously perceived, though differently, by Native and non-Native audiences. Further, what role or significance does the use of oral narrative in the performance play in situating participants within the broader context of multicultural aesthetics? That is, should the Indians' expressive cultural acts associated with the production and presentation of the Exposition—particularly the Pageant program—be viewed merely as one-and-the-same with Western notions of aesthetic performance and practice? If not, what are the ways it can be understood to be something different? These are a few of many questions that might be considered. At this juncture these questions are, only rough conceptualizations, and very likely to change. Nevertheless, they are critical facets of a broader picture concerning performative culture relating to the American Indian Exposition that I am endeavoring to illuminate, and thereby better understand.

An initial step toward providing plausible answers to these compound and difficult questions requires a closer investigation of the processes at work in the conceptualization, production, and presentation of expressive culture generally, and for Indians participating in the American Indian Exposition specifically. For this undertaking I incorporate multiple, but complementary perspectives or frames of analysis. This approach requires first, acknowledging the existence of interconnecting and converging historical and theoretical perspectives, then, acknowledging the potential benefit of adopting frames of analysis represented within the specific arenas of performance, postcolonial theory and

criticism, interpretive and symbolic anthropology, discourse analysis, multicultural aesthetics, and visual anthropology. My ultimate goal is to expose an underlying semiotics of symbolic expression. Especially important, in this context, is how Exposition performers use their physical body, or depictions of it, in combination with narrative discourse as canvas or ground for representing, expressing and conveying symbolic cultural meaning.

I believe this allied use of the physical body with narrative performance, is a critical component of what makes the Exposition significant. This narrative mode takes at least two forms; one of these is more formal in nature, i.e., letters, campaign announcements and editorials published in local newspapers. A second form of narrative utilized is more informally delivered, i.e., as written scripts orally delivered before audiences during performances of the Exposition Pageant reenactments, text in Exposition program booklets and the master of ceremonies' commentary, often in the form of joking or storytelling, nonetheless, delivered with specific outcomes in mind. One way to better understand this follows. First, on the performance stage two roles are being enacted by the participant/performer. One is the performer's role of entertaining the audience comprised of both Indian and non-Indian viewers. This can be understood as occurring on the "front stage." That is, the performer's act is directed at individuals making up the audience.

At the same time, cultural performances embody a second, more private or exclusive meaning for performers themselves and members of their families and specific tribal



communities. This performance can be described as occurring “back stage.” That is, at least some of the actions, intentions and goals of individual performers are internalized rather than projected outward to an audience. How and why are these separate but interconnecting, often reciprocating roles facilitated? Important, too, is recognizing that performers’ individual and collective narratives about their cultural traditions, before an entertainment seeking public, reflect deeper or more personal conceptualizations about identity, resistance, and cultural integrity than what is being conveyed in any given performative event. This raises the question, for instance, what can participants’ personal narratives reveal about the complex processes at work each Exposition season?

In order to offer potential answers to these questions, it is perhaps useful to begin by providing a brief survey of the historical contexts of world’s fairs, festivals and expositions. There are two perspectives. The first involves Indians being the object of exhibition by white dominant society—decidedly a front-stage performative context. The second, situated as occurring back-stage mirrors the first, excepting the additional desire by Indians to exhibit and perform their expressive cultural traditions for themselves, members of their own family, tribe, and community. In the second example, the performance serves as entertainment for a wider, more diverse and inclusive audience within in a public oriented venue. Both of these perspectives, as will be shown, are what establish the precedents giving rise to employing “Show Indians” (Moses 1996) in Wild West entertainment venues. Such entertainment venues, I suggest, provided a basic template or model that would be referenced later on the creation of the American Indian Exposition. For clarification let’s look at World’s Fairs.

## **World's Fairs, Festivals and Expositions**

For the sake of expediency, but also to not “reinvent the wheel,” I am adopting other authors’ frameworks (See: Rydell 1993; Benedict 1983) by distinguishing the regional and international events spanning the years between 1851-1958 into two main foci: (1) as Victorian-era fairs concerned primarily with material abundance and the glorification and justification of empires, and (2) events as conceptual models celebrating the emerging scientifically sophisticated and transformative modern world. This division makes a distinction between those events held before the close of WWI and those that were organized after it.

Both eras established conceptualizations, continuities and functions for world’s fairs that played significant roles in shaping the American public’s perceptions, not only concerning their own place in the world, but their collective if not individual relationships to non-white populations. More importantly, the images and stereotypes such perceptions engendered conditioned Americans’ relationships with American Indians’ efforts to assert their own identity post WWI. It will be useful to examine some of the relevant characteristics of these international fairs before turning attention to those specific venues in North America that provided the subsequent impetus for the emergence of the American Indian Exposition at Anadarko, Oklahoma.

For almost a century, between 1851 and 1958, citizens of the World witnessed the emergence and proliferation of countless fairs, festivals and expositions (See: Benedict 1983; Rydell 1993). These events, whether large or small, were hosted by individual

states, countries and, in their most encompassing form, nations of the world. Their *raison d'être* was, on surface, to herald, acknowledge and champion the cultural diversity of humankind; to showcase the technological advances being made by industry and science; to demonstrate the benefits of exploiting and trading the world's raw resources; and, to regale visitors with the refinements afforded by modernity and the high arts. Lurking beneath this celebratory surface, however, was a more complex set of motivations and questionable agendas. That is, motivations driven by a desire for power, prestige and privilege and agendas that were self-serving at the expense of other peoples and cultures; moreover, these motivations and ulterior plans were evidenced in both ritual and secular contexts, and were present in both personal and public spheres.

Benedict (1983, 6), associating world's fairs with a Durkheimian sensibility, characterizes them "as one of a series of mammoth rituals in which all sorts of power relations, both existing and wished for, are being expressed;" moreover, he observes, "a world's fair is an almost perfect example of what Marcel Mauss called a total prestation. It is a collective representation that symbolizes an entire community in a massive display of prestige *vis-à-vis* other communities" (ibid. 7, emphasis added). Benedict's observations have a close parallel to those discussed by Victor Turner (1969, xv-xvi) in his book *The Ritual Process* concerning the structure and anti-structure of Ndembu ritual processes, and "notions of 'liminality' and 'communitas'...[that is] the 'meta'-structural modality of social interrelationship." The relevance of Turner's findings will be addressed more fully in later sections. Equally important, Benedict (1983, 9) states "world's fairs are a distinctive form of modern international ritual. They are about power

and economics, but they are also about culture, about distinctive ways of doing things.” Interestingly, he compares world’s fairs with the Native American potlatch ritual. In this regard it is important comparison because, like the elites hosting the extravagant potlatch ceremonies, nation states endeavored to best or out do each other by designing, producing and staging the most lavish, sophisticated or grand public spectacles or performances.

Benedict (1983, 11) provides several comparisons of potlatches and world’s fairs. Some are worth introducing here because they will prove helpful later when looking more closely at the American Indian Exposition. Benedict states that “goods are communicators; they carry social meanings; they are parts of a cultural information system...They become metaphors of power and prestige.” He continues, saying:

Both potlatches and world’s fairs are institutions. Rules govern who may participate, when and what kinds of goods are to be offered and how contestants should behave. Both potlatches and world’s fairs are rituals, with rules about how to proceed. Ceremonial dress and formal speeches are striking features of both sorts of celebration. As both potlatches and world’s fairs are competitions, there are prizes to be won. Usually these are symbolic—a crest (for potlatches); a medal (for world’s fairs); a title (for both).

Rydell (1993, 15) makes a similar assessment when he asserts that the world’s fairs beginning in London with the “1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations and continu[ing] through San Francisco’s 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition...played...an important role in shaping the contours of the modern world.”

Both Rydell (1993) and Benedict (1983) are in agreement that fairs were, essentially, grand displays born of a Victorian-era mind set or worldview. They were predicated on colonial expansion and empire building, coupled with a desire by working Americans for

material abundance made possible by the United States' emerging status as a global power wielding immense influence. Rydell (1993, 19) emphasizes "in fact, woven into the [American] dream world of goods was a hierarchical continuum of material and racial progress that signified nothing so much as the distance traveled from 'savagery' to 'civilization.' [Moreover], in a world alive with social-Darwinian ideas of evolution, displays of material and natural abundance became an outward sign of inward racial 'fitness' and culture." This projection of national self and empire was most explicitly demonstrated at the 1904 St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Compared to earlier world's fairs, the 1904 St. Louis Exposition was huge. Rydell (1993, 19) notes that it encompassed "acreage larger than any world's fair before or since." Living exhibits or displays of humans topped the list of favorite attractions at the 1904 Exposition; in fact, the same is true for all international venues during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Two such exhibits of specific importance here were: the Philippines Reservation and the American Indian Reservation, located adjacent to one another. Rydell (ibid. 20) asserts that "the juxtaposition of the [Philippine] reservation to Native Americans underlined continuities with America's expansionist past and with the national experience of subduing 'savage' populations;" moreover, he adds that "nonwhites on display at America's turn-of-the-century fairs were linked most closely to the natural world and were displayed as natural resources to be exploited as readily as mineral deposits" (Rydell 1993, 20-21).

Living displays were integral components of all American world's fairs. Rydell (1993, 21-22) brings this fact into sharp focus in the following passage where he writes that:

Beginning with the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, every American international fair held through World War I included ethnological villages sanctioned by prominent anthropologists who occasionally organized university summer school courses around these displays. Whether one turns to the [1909] Seattle fair, where school children poked Igorot women with straw, or the [1898] Omaha [1901] Buffalo, and [1904] St. Louis fairs, where Geronimo sold his autograph for ten cents, the expositions, and...midways, gave millions of Americans first-hand experience with treating nonwhites from around the world as commodities.

Benedict (1983) concurs with Rydell's (1993) assessment, but makes a further distinction. He notes, "The display is largely about power relationships, though it has other aspects." That is, "there is a major difference in status between the exhibitor and the individuals exhibited. The latter give up or have taken away from them certain rights" (Benedict 1983, 43). Benedict (ibid.) goes on to say "sometimes these rights are closely defined by contract as to hours, places, actions to be performed. Sometimes exhibited individuals lose virtually all their rights."

How, then, considering the fair's physical space, given the functions being performed there and the inherent relationships established or manifested in this social ritual, can the roles of participant and performer be differentiated? And, is this differentiation important? Benedict (1983, 43) suggests that there is "a marked social distance [that] exists between individuals exhibited [or performing] and the audience. Often they have no verbal communication. The exhibits perform; the audience watches. Sometimes limited communication may take place." More importantly, a factor acknowledged but

not addressed by Benedict (ibid.) is that “this social distance has important consequences for the images that the audience is allowed or sometimes is encouraged to have about the individuals on show and for the attitudes about their audience it engenders among individuals exhibited.” Related to Benedict’s statement is the following observation by Monica Wilson and quoted by Turner (1969, 6). She states:

Rituals reveal values at their deepest level...men express in ritual what moves them most, and since the form of expression is conventionalized and obligatory, it is the values of the group that are revealed. I see in the study of rituals the key to an understanding of the essential constitution of human societies.

It is these values, perceptions of one another, performer and audience, that I hope to more fully explore in subsequent chapters of this work. I am suggesting that a better understanding of how images (or perceptions) held by one group about the other, and negotiated in the expressive performance arena, can provide insight for unraveling the complex web of cultural associations and perceptions that inform, symbolize and activate the fair as stage upon which social and personal ritual is enacted.

Documenting the historical development, organization and progress of world’s fairs, Benedict (1983) and Rydell (1993), as discussed above, make a differentiation between those fairs hosted prior to WWI and those that came after. Even so, one of the strongest continuities between fairs of each era is the exhibition of human beings. From the earliest Victorian-era fair–The Great Exposition of 1851 at London–to the New York World’s Fair of 1939, the display of people was of central importance. The majority of those groups put on display were nonwhite colonial subjects. The cultural identities of exhibited individuals were tailored by the dominant society for consumption by white

audiences, often without moral or ethical consideration or oversight. Every country hosting fairs, festivals or expositions during this time presented their colonial subjects before white European and American audiences from the colonizer's perspective. Benedict (1983), and to a lesser extent Rydell (1993), document this practice describing who, what, where and how these human displays were organized and presented. For example, Benedict (1983, 43-45) describes five ways how people were displayed in these world's fair exhibits: (1) "people as technicians;" (2) "people as craftsmen;" (3) "people as curiosities or freaks;" (4) "people as trophies;" and (5) "people as specimens or scientific objects." The last three forms of display are of importance here.

According to Benedict (1983, 44-45), the display of humans as curiosities or freaks stresses "physiological characteristics" or "behavioral traits;" in the display of humans as trophies "the conqueror displays the conquered, who is usually from a different society...people may be displayed in special enclosures with the trappings of their culture or performing indigenous tasks or ceremonies." Moreover, these individuals "may be shown performing...tasks set for them by their conquerors or they may be seen receiving instruction in the culture of their masters—which is, of course, always assumed to be superior" (ibid.). There is an unmistakable reference to anthropology when people are displayed as specimens or scientific objects. This form of display includes taking "anthropometric measurements" and is almost always "associated with racial and/or evolutionary theories" (Benedict 1983, 45). Underlying this form of displaying people (and to some extent the other two—people as technicians and craftsmen) was the popularization and practice of the pseudo-science of eugenics, first to emerge in Britain,



then, later in the United States. The basic premise of eugenics was the advancement and codification of the notion that “hereditary qualities of race and...way[s] of improving these qualities, [especially] by modifying the fertility of different categories of people” was an acceptable, indeed desired practice (OED 1993, 859). For its proponents, eugenics provided a rationale, an excuse or justification for exhibiting nonwhites.

“Eugenicist sentiment in American popular culture” according to Rydell (1993, 38) “was so deep that it formed a reservoir of thought and feeling that lasted well beyond the Second World War.” This perverse fascination persisted long after its initial support by anthropologists and other influential scholars had been rescinded. Eugenicists, ever alert to the advantages afforded by the fair venue’s popularity, visibility and sheer number of attendees, took every opportunity to publicize and inculcate its racist message and goals. As Rydell (ibid. 39) points out, “with the 1915 San Francisco Panama–Pacific International Exposition, American eugenicists became active in the nation’s exhibition culture. After the war, [WWI] they developed major displays...and organized exhibits that became fixtures at state and county fairs around the country during the 1920s.” In fact, agendas, exhibits and publicity concerning eugenics remained a prevalent component in American fairs and expositions through the “1940 New York World’s Fair where race-betterment ideas were articulated in an exhibit devoted to ‘typical American families’” (Rydell 1993, 39). Linked to race-betterment concepts, but different too, were efforts to assimilate nonwhite subjects.

World's fairs were not solely entertainment venues they were political arenas where colonized subjects were used as symbols of imperial power. Edward Said (1994, 100), writing in *Culture and Imperialism* argues that, "all cultures tend to make representations of foreign cultures the better to master or in some way control them." Like Britain, France, Germany, Spain and other colonial empires the United States government was keen on showing (representing to) the world its successes in assimilating its colonial subjects—particularly its Indians. Whereas Britain Germany and France, maintained colonies in Africa, South Asia, and the Far East, the United States' primary subjects, Native Americans, resided in country. Perhaps this close proximity and centuries-long competition for territory fanned-the-fires of prejudice and stereotyping typical of American's attitude towards, and representations of its Native American peoples.

Thus, it is not surprising that aside from the Philippines, a few Pacific Islands and Caribbean Island possessions, America's main focus was assimilating, by force or coercion, its Native American populations. It can be argued that the display, exhibition and representation (in media and performance centered contexts) of its Native American inhabitants as well-behaved, assimilated subjects, represents a critical component of America's agenda at world's fairs. From the time of initial Euro-American contact Indians have been viewed as exotic, marginalized, exploited, displaced, exhibited and studied, sometimes as specimens, always as cultural curiosities. Nevertheless, until recently they have, in all these representational contexts, whether noble or ignoble, been considered inferior. Regarding post-WWI world' fairs, Benedict (1983, 49) points out that "in American expositions the display of Native Americans took on an educational or

scientific aspect.” Not surprisingly, American fair officials elected to incorporate display tactics with a different twist for the 1931 Paris Exposition *Coloniale Internationale*. Costs and politics prohibited America’s installation of living ethnographic displays of Native Americans as was done in earlier expositions. Yet, according to Rydell (1993, 76-77) still wanting “to deepen the impression of contentment under American rule, the U.S. commissioners...contracted with a private showman...to bring his twenty-three-member Indian band to perform as part of the American exhibit.”

Not only were the Indian musicians a big hit during the several weeks that they performed, but Rydell (1993, 77) reports that on one occasion, with visiting dignitaries on hand, “the Indian Band, ‘in full tribal regalia, struck up the Marseillaise to the beat of tom-toms.’” In this symbol-laden and highly political arena represented by international fairs and expositions, America’s art of display utilizing Native Americans reiterated to competitors its own standing as one of the greatest empires in the world. To a lesser degree, the progeny of fairs, festivals and expositions, especially in their post World War One guise, have survived, albeit on a much less grand scale than exemplified by their earlier incarnations. It can be argued that aspects of these earlier Victorian-era fairs and expositions served as models for another popular form of entertainment that exploited display, exhibition and performance, that is, “Wild West” shows.

### **Wild West Shows**

Emerging simultaneously and congruously with the International World’s Fair venues was the Wild West Show and its unique style of presenting “Show Indians” (Moses 1996)

as symbolic referents to America's recent past. The Wild West Show venue gained immense popularity for its representation of Indians to non-Indian audiences at home and abroad. They were often situated alongside or part of the entertainment program for the larger international fairs. Historian L. G. Moses (1996) thoroughly documents in his book *Wild West Shows and the Image of American Indians 1883-1933* the recruitment, resistance, and experiences of Indians who traveled these Wild West Show circuits. Like the exhibition practices of fairs and expositions, Wild West Show creator Buffalo Bill Cody is perhaps the most recognizable, among many others, who personify this entrepreneurial genre of expressive cultural performance entertainment.

In her essay "Selling the Popular Myth" historian Anne Butler (1994, 779) writes "it was the traveling Wild West show that made Buffalo Bill the king of international entertainment and cast him as the living definition of the West." She adds that "Americans flocked to Cody's shows convinced he brought the true West, for, as he promised, he gathered into his performing ranks 'genuine characters'—Native Americans of several tribes" (ibid.). Cody and other promoters claimed that their Wild West Shows presented the real, bona-fide and authentic encounters with Indians of the American frontier. However entertaining these reenactments were, regardless of their supposed "authenticity," they were, as Benedict (1983) has alluded, orchestrated and staged by non-Indian promoters (exhibitors) using the same display techniques as the World's Fairs. Ultimately, the life and history of American Indians was being written by dominant society, "the victors" or, the Indians' so-called superiors.

Indians of the Wild West Show extravaganzas were not, however, the first to perform on stage or in the entertainment arena. Even earlier than the Victorian-era fairs of the late nineteenth century, Indians were put on stage to perform ceremonial reenactments, dances or at times to simply serve as exotic stage props and objects of white fascination. Perhaps one of the most notable early promoters of an entertainment venue featuring Indians was the American artist George Catlin. He gained international renown for his depictions, descriptions and travels among Indian tribes of the plains and prairies. His presentations, advertised as authentic, brought the West and its Indian inhabitants to the people of the Americas and to Europe. As early as 1840, Moses (1996, 16, emphasis added) tells us that Catlin recruited Indians to participate in his “*Tableaux vivants*, the reenactment of stirring scenes from Indian life.” As has been described above, the emergence of Wild West Show Indians as an entertainment phenomenon underscore the historic continuity with earlier events that had already established fixed stereotyped images of the Indian in the minds of Americans. These same kinds of images (visual and metaphoric representations) would, in later years, become symbolic capital to be spent freely by Indians promoting themselves in contemporary settings like the American Indian Exposition.

The gathering together of Native Americans at prescribed calendrical intervals for conducting ceremonies, trading goods, marrying sons and daughters, and for strengthening tribal alliances is well documented in the historical record, and referenced in the ethnographic literature (see: Berkhofer 1979; Browner 2002; Luethold 1998; and Moses 1996). Moreover, it can be logically deduced that these pre-contact gatherings

were opportunities to experience entertainment, though not of the commercial sort characteristic of contemporary fairs, expositions or powwows. Nevertheless, attendees at these pre-contact gatherings participated in dual capacities as both performers and entertainers and as members of the audience to be entertained. Similarly, from the late nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century Worlds Fairs, Festivals and Expositions staged living exhibits of Native Americans and other indigenous peoples. Organizers' main purpose was to replicate and interpret for paying audiences, the cultural and expressive arts of those groups on display. Several accounts of performance-based exhibits have been documented or published by authors including Benedict 1983; Guss 2000; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Meyer and Royer 2001; and Rydell 1993.

Likewise, beginning with their initial contact with Euro-Americans, indigenous peoples in North America encountered constantly shifting or contradictory attitudes and actions by non-Natives, regarding the performance and practice by Indians of their expressive culture. On the one hand, Indians were being romanticized in literature and befriended by well meaning but paternalistic organizations seeking to assist in Indians' assimilation. On the other, Indians were harassed by missionaries', teachers' and government officials' persistent efforts to enact policies meant to stymie, curtail, dissuade or prohibit them from expressing their cultural traditions, including such forms expressed through dance, language, religion and mode of dress; ultimately, these measures were meant to prohibit Indians from controlling or expressing their own cultural identity.

One of the strongest prohibitions of Indians' expressive self was their desire to dance (See: Ellis 2003). Many non-Natives from both of these camps considered the practice of dancing, whether in secular or religious contexts, to be barbaric and more importantly, counterproductive to the government's and Friends of the Indian organization's goals for assimilating Native populations into white, Euro-American life-ways. Moses (1996) documents that despite efforts to prohibit Indians from these practices, enterprising non-Indian entrepreneurs like Cody, Pawnee Bill and the Miller Brothers managed to find ways to market and stage dance performances by Indians for white audiences eager to pay for exotic entertainment.

Moses (1996) illuminates the complex stage upon which Indians negotiated with entrepreneurs, government agents and other Indians their desire to dance, earn a meager living, and in turn, assert their Indian heritage and identity. He notes with great detail the actions and efforts of individual Indian commissioners who were prone to vacillating between two extreme attitudes—*laissez-faire* and unyielding. For instance, Moses (1996, 141) informs us that:

Two commissioners presided over the Indian Bureau between 1893 and 1903. The period began with a commissioner who remained largely indifferent to the operation of Wild West shows (a marked contrast to his immediate predecessor), and ended with another who for the first time 'banned' the government's participation in the contracting of Indians with the shows. Indians still joined circuses, medicine shows, and Wild West shows, but without the approbation of both the commissioner and the secretary of the interior.

Indians, too, found themselves caught between extremes. "Closed out of political decision making within white America, denied access to industrial training, and segregated from educational centers," Butler (1994, 779-780) acknowledges that, "Native

American people accepted one of the few jobs they could easily secure—that of entertainment figures.” Indians’ efforts to capitalize on the few opportunities to perform were met with an intensification of efforts, often ineptly instituted, by individual commissioners and government agencies to prevent, coerce, control or outlaw these opportunities to dance (See also: Moses 1996; Ellis 2003).

However, Wild West Show promoters’ business savvy, the vacillating whims of Indian Commissioners and the Indians’ necessity to earn a living by accepting almost any opportunity to perform, as well as the public’s eagerness to be entertained, prevailed over heavy-handed government policy. Butler (1994, 780) sets the scene when she states “this depressed economic track continued to haunt Indian endeavors throughout the twentieth century, leaving them with few options.” Moreover, she adds, “economic opportunities within the context of white America rarely broadened and typically centered on Native Americans’ willingness to ‘play’ at being Indians. America’s entrepreneurs happily hired Indians who ‘stayed’ native and, thus, furthered their own stereotyping” (ibid.). Despite these negative connotations and the hardships linked with them, Moses (1996, 272) credits “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West [with] celebrat[ing] the courage, honor and character of American Indians.” Moreover, he credits Cody’s extravaganza as the origin of the contemporary powwow, facilitating “a means by which people could retain, restore, or, in certain instances, create through adaptation a modern Indian identity” (ibid.).

While Moses (1996, 273) does a thorough job of documenting the historical development, obstacles and problems associated with Wild West events, he is reluctant to



link Native Americans' cultural revival with "Show Indians," admitting only that "they contributed to it by creating and sustaining powerful images of real Indians from real places in the American West" (cf. Ellis 2003). I hold a somewhat different view believing that the renewal of Indians' expressive arts and subsequent founding of the American Indian Exposition is due, only partially, to the direct influences of the Wild West Show venues and their Show Indian performers; however, I do suggest that convergence of specific events cannot be interpreted as mere coincidence. To be sure, with the passage of time, criticisms that had been leveled against Wild West Shows and their promoters were mollified by the eventual capitulation and relaxation of restrictions preventing Indians from performing.

More convincing, however, is the fact that at the same time the American Indian Exposition was seeking its official charter in 1934-35, passage of legislation authored by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1933 to 1945), returned to Indians their rights to renew, profess and perform their expressive cultural traditions. In addition, changing sentiments within public and official arenas compelled the government to acknowledge the Indians' requests for autonomy and their rights as American citizens to once again practice their religion and perform their dances.

Equally important, is the formation of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in 1936. With its inception Indians across the United States were being encouraged, on several fronts, to market their cultural traditions (in all forms) to non-Indian cultural consumers. From this point onward, in ever increasing degrees, it seems like the doors were opened wide,

inviting American Indians to once more freely express their pride of being Indian. Opportunities for Indians' performing their traditional culture were now possible in all manner of performance genre, in both public and private venues. Moses (1996, 5) has documented that "the major conflict between Wild West shows and Indian-policy reformers became largely a struggle to determine whose image of the Indians would prevail." Berkhofer (1979) and Butler (1994) have made similarly strong claims that the Wild West Show extravaganzas, in combination with other media, were responsible for reifying the negative as well as nostalgic stereotyped images held by a white dominant culture. Berkhofer (1979, 100) makes the observation that "the Western formula and cheap literature had their impact upon the stage at home and abroad and on foreign literature as well. The Wild West Shows and circuses were dime novels come alive."

I am suggesting that the American Indian Exposition's founding, popularity and its successful promotion of Oklahoma Indians' expressive culture as entertainment can be linked to the popularity and persistence of Indian imagery first commercialized by Wild West Shows, other Show Indians, and their newly regained rights to assert one's Indian heritage. The characterization and presentation of the American Indian in the guise of Show Indians, as documented by Berkhofer (1979), Butler (1994), Moses (1996) and others, has existed as stereotypes in the American psyche since first contact. This perception of them is still prevalent at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

## **A Time of Transition**

The early decades of the twentieth century can be described as a cultural watershed for Native Americans. As noted in the previous section, initiatives championed by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, returned to Indians their right to renew, profess and perform their expressive cultural traditions. These newly regained freedoms would manifest in multiple ways. Perhaps most important for Indians, was the opportunity of asserting an affirming sense of self. With that came also the desire to present their uniquely rich cultural heritage that, in turn, provided a strong impetus for discovering and then making the most of new outlets for expressing these previously restricted expressive traditions. Coupled with these new opportunities, were the challenges accompanying the rediscovery, or phrasing it differently, reinterpretation of their individual and collective identities as Indians, not only to a resistant white dominant society, but also for themselves. How, and by what means were these efforts negotiated and realized?

The stage was already set “when John Collier assumed command as Indian Commissioner” in 1933; and, according to Moses (1996, 271), “he continued the practice of encouraging contracts between Indians and circuses, rodeos, theatrical road shows, fairs, and motion pictures” (See also: Berkhofer 1979). Sadly, Moses (1996, 272) acknowledges “fifty years after the first performance in Omaha, the Bureau no longer objected to Indian employment in Wild West shows. By 1933, however, Show Indians had few opportunities to work full-time.” Fortuitous or not, “the heyday of Show Indians in the arena had passed. Thereafter, for well or ill,” remarks Moses (ibid. 272), “the

images of American Indians would be shaped on motion-picture screens and, later still, on television screens. On rare occasions, Indians got to play themselves.”

Moses’ (1996) claim is not unfounded, but neither is it wholly correct. I suggest that a transition to other performance venues was underway. That is, Indians, whether they had participated as Show Indians or not, were during this same period, looking for new outlets for creative expression. The difference in 1932-1933 was Indians’ long held desire to conceive, organize and manage the event independently, without non-Native control, intervention or retribution. Moreover, Indians wanted to reap the economic prosperity, real or fantasy, that was perceived to be within their grasp. As will be shown later, realization of their dream would remain elusive, but attainable.

### **Decoding the Expressive Culture of Social Ritual**

Authors like Rydell (1993), Benedict (1983) and Butler (1994) have described how expositions, festivals and world’s fairs have functioned as mechanisms for conveying the dominant society’s attitudes about participants and performers (the colonized nonwhite cultural Other) being exhibited. Seeking an answer for the reverse question merits attention as well. That is, what are the personal and collective conceptions of the exhibited or performing cultural other, and how are these conceptions formed, expressed and interpreted for the viewing audience? I began this chapter suggesting that the American Indian Exposition can be understood in terms of its functioning as a metaphor for staged performance. This is so because the Exposition, or for that matter any fair, festival or exposition, presented in the public sphere is comprised of polymorphous

assemblages, each comprised of participants having uniquely differing agendas, each one of them expressing individual, community or shared societal motivations. Historian Clyde Ellis (2003) has, with his book *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains*, provided scholars with new insight regarding Indians' personal and collective motivation concerning the performance of their culture before non-Indian audiences. I will draw on his conclusions in subsequent chapters.

Therefore, if Benedict's (1983) contextualization holds true, world's fairs are social rituals based on relations of power drawing to one place and one time a broad cross section of people who are there specifically to perform or participate, be entertained; if Burton is correct, arenas where social rituals are performed allow participants to experience, in a specific way, a shared reality, albeit a reality differently perceived. It follows, then, that the question to be asked is: What framework or analysis can best purchase a better understanding of these reformulated conceptualization(s) of cultural identity; conceptualizations that not only integrate, but also serve as interpretive mechanisms for elucidating the expressive and performative components of one's projected identity?

Answering these and related questions must include a consideration of a diverse mix of expressive components such as one's expressive actions (non-competitive and contest dancing, joking, recitation or singing); the performer's rationale for incorporating specific articles of material culture (regalia, adhering to rules governing its use); and, an examination of the semiotic or symbolic meaning of the performer's narrative. By

narrative I mean any method utilized for telling a story. This includes, kinesthetically (dancing, drumming, quotidian activity), communicatively (oral story telling, miming, acting out, writing), and via ornamentation of the body (painting, adornment, masking, scarification, tattooing, piercing). Each of these singular expressive components or elements is a ubiquitous, though coded form of dialog. They can and are used individually, but also in combinations or sets. Regardless whether the narrative is being transmitted in its symbolic or conventional form, its ultimate purpose, utilization and usefulness is to communicate, directly, indirectly, covertly or overtly with audience members, whether non-Native or Native American.

Finally, to better understand the individual's role as agent/actor on the performance stage of culture, it is necessary to identify these coded expressions in a context germane to that specific social ritual(s). Linking to this process of contextual decoding means identifying the factors surrounding use of a specific expressive mode(s), the influences causing or resulting from such use. Answers to these questions are not readily discernible in all cultural contexts where expressive performances are on center stage. They easily elude the fieldworker's attentive eye. The issues involved encompass, with due respect to Geertz (1973), a complex web of cultural meaning, significance and social relationships. While difficult to identify, then, analyze, attempting to do so offers new insights regarding the operation and significance of expressive behaviors in public arenas where interaction between and among individuals take place.

Earlier, I cited Benedict (1983, 6) referencing “world’s fair[s] as one of a series of mammoth rituals in which all sorts of power relations, both existing and wished for, are being expressed.” By accepting that all genre of fairs, festivals and expositions can equally be considered to operate as grand social rituals based on relations of power, then, it is realistic to assume that answers to questions like those outlined above can be sought through an investigation of various modes of expressive culture encompassed by these entertainment genre. I suggest beginning this search by looking at studies, compiled by a select cadre of authors that hold promise for illuminating my own search for answers.

In his book *The Ritual Process*, Victor Turner (1969, 15) writes that: “In an Ndembu ritual context, almost every article used, every gesture employed, every song or prayer, every unit of space and time, by convention stands for something other than itself. It is more than it seems, and often a good deal more.” Making a different, but no less important observation Beverly Stoeltje (1996, 13) states that: “A defining feature of popular culture, replication depends on two essential features: a form (1) that can be easily reproduced and recognized and (2) that is easily adapted to local meanings and familiar symbols, values, and aesthetics—those relevant to the producers, performers, and consumers.”

Drawing insight from a number of sources including Bauman (1986), Canclini (1988), Singer (1959), and Turner (1975), author David Guss (2000) presents a contrasting analysis of cultural performance and popular culture expressed through Venezuelan carnivals and festivals. He begins by rejecting Durkheim and his functionalist followers’

notions that festivals (social rituals) represent “the uniform expression of a collective consciousness” (Guss 2000, 3). Instead, Guss bases his analysis on the work of Milton Singer. For instance, he quotes a passage from Singer’s 1959 work *Traditional India: Structure and Change* that has application in this present study. Singer (as quoted in Guss 1959, xiii) states that:

Indians [S. Asia], and perhaps all peoples, think of their cultures as encapsulated in such discrete performances, which they can exhibit to outsiders as well as to themselves. For the outsider these can conveniently be taken as the most concrete observable units of the cultural structure, for each performance has a definitely limited time span, a beginning and end, an organized program of activity, a set of performers, an audience, and a place and occasion of performance.

Interestingly, Singer’s observation parallels that of Benedict (1983) regarding the roles played by performers (the exhibited self), and the perceptions generated between audience (spectator) and participant(s). Guss (2000, 8), likewise, credits Cohen with “exploring the full historical contingency of cultural performance” saying that “he shows how the carnival has responded to various socioeconomic changes, taking on new meanings with each new performance...As a result, there is no single analysis that will apply to all performances of the carnival.” This is, I suggest, a critical insight.

This view makes sense especially when considering how Native Americans, performing before white audiences in the 1920s and 1930s, had to continually negotiate the expectations of their audiences with their own differently oriented goals of self expression. Thus, while American Indians were being encouraged to perform their cultural traditions, whether at fairs, festivals or in other venues, they were also in the process of reinventing themselves for both their own sake, and for their audiences.



Underpinning this process was the arbitration and negotiation of power relations between them and the white dominant culture. It is worth acknowledging here that Stoeltje (1996, 19) has proposed a model useful for identifying the source(s) of and “for analyzing the flow of power in ritual genres that attempts to recognize both the creativity of power and the inequality of social relations so often revealed in these events.” She lists three sources of power and describes their functionary roles in the following passage:

The evolution of the ‘form’ runs through time, incorporating influences of specific sociopolitical contexts; the ‘discourse’ includes the language of the performance itself, but also that of any texts concerning it, including those used by the media, and especially the oral traditions which circulate informally; the ‘organization of production’ refers to the organization of the forces and energies necessary to materially produce the event, including the decisions concerning the rules, the form, access to the performance and the selection process for determining the outcome. All of these sources function together in any single event to produce the actual performance, and all of these involve choices and decisions that are made by specific individuals at some level during the organization of the event. Although power operates through these sources, the actual performance event deflects attention away from them, focusing on the action of the subject. (Stoeltje 1996, 19)

Though Stoeltje’s (1996) focus and application of the above model is, in this case, concerned with Beauty Pageants, her articulation of the sources, functions, and structures of power relations that circulate within the realm of performance events begs serious consideration for application in other case studies. I argue that her model provides a good template for examining these same concerns as manifesting in the American Indian Exposition.

It is such inherent flexibility that gives Stoeltje’s (1996) model its credibility. Likewise, Guss (2000) supports my claim, albeit indirectly, how Stoeltje’s model might be put to use in order to better understand the dynamic nature of cultural performance(s).

He notes that “as the question of ‘group’ becomes more problematized, so too will the issue of interpretation...As such, cultural performances will remain both contentious and ambiguous, and while the basic structure of an event may be repeated, enough changes will be implemented so that its meaning is redirected” (Guss 2000, 9); moreover, he argues that “the same form, therefore, may be used to articulate a number of different ideas...oscillating between religious devotion, ethnic solidarity, political resistance, national identity, and even commercial spectacle” (ibid. 9). It is perhaps easy to see how the use of Stoeltje’s model for analyzing both the source(s) and function(s) of power relations, as well as permitting analysis of the dynamic and variable intentions or outcomes facilitated by the performer’s actions that Guss describes, has merit and applicability for this examination of the American Indian Exposition.

The chronological development and progress of the American Indian Exposition is presented in the following three chapters. Although this author would like to claim having documented the entirety of its history, this objective cannot be realized in this study. Rather, an endeavor is made to situate the Exposition within a cultural context that acknowledges the importance of place, the significance of expressive acts presented “on stage” by various participants; and, in addition, to achieve a better understanding of the integration of multiple levels of meaning, engagement and expression as manifested by the annual gathering together of so many diverse groups and individuals. Unyielding in their original founding purpose to be a self-determining, all-Indian organized and managed enterprise, it is laudable that after seventy-five years, the Anadarko Indian Fair

remains a vital and ongoing expression of its founders' shared vision for the region's Indian communities.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **The American Indian Exposition 1932 – 1944: From Genesis at Craterville Park Fair to the Eve of VJ Day Celebrations**

*What we are looking for here is not so much the traditional preoccupation with text alone but text in context, and not in a static structuralist context but in the living context of dialectic between aesthetic dramatic processes and sociocultural processes in a given place and time...This does not mean any rejection of the pleasures of the text, but rather a refinement of those pleasures through the increased intelligibility gained by study of the cultures in which dramas arose, through what Geertz would call an 'unpacking' of the meaning of 'key' terms, and through an understanding of the social and political processes to which the dramas bear direct or oblique witness. Victor Turner, 1986.*

Despite sacrifices and hard economic times brought on by the depression and dust bowl years, it is easy to imagine the infectious excitement that prevailed, if only temporarily, as most Anadarko citizens welcomed their “Old Settlers” on August 6, 1931 (The Anadarko Tribune<sup>1</sup>) with a gala celebration commemorating the city’s thirtieth anniversary. In sharp contrast, news on Thursday, August 13 the following week surely elicited a deep sadness in many Indian households upon hearing word of the great Kiowa Chief Apeahstone’s passing (The Anadarko Tribune). At the same time, southwestern Oklahoma residents, Indian and non-Indian alike, were being reminded by the press on 20 August to get ready for the immensely popular “eighth annual Indian Fair at Craterville,” (The Anadarko Tribune<sup>2</sup>). Closer to home and perhaps more relevant, was the work and planning being devoted to preparing and perfecting canned goods, sewing projects, and livestock entries that members of many local Indian families were hoping to exhibit at their segregated portion of the upcoming Caddo County Free Fair. Those not occupied with these projects were just looking forward to the festivities and visiting with

old friends, like they did each year, when they gathered east of Anadarko for their annual encampment in conjunction with the fair.

Reading newspapers or documents of a bygone era, is much like lifting a veil or a shroud. That is, by doing so one is afforded a certain degree of clarity or insight, Turner's (1986, 28) "text in context" is the key concept here. It is via the printed text (or script) that one can obtain a glimpse of how past events unfolded or developed within a specific social environment or context. Printed words are the bones of past endeavors, history laid bare, open to interpretation, reconsideration and scrutiny. The assemblage of ordered words on a page express the writer's intentionality, attitude, and conviction regarding issues, events, or circumstances. Collectively, the words convey stories (sometimes conflicting ones) long after their author's original purpose has been served. They contain information to share if a reader is willing to sit quietly with them long enough for their whispers to be heard.

However, a certain caution must be exercised, too, by the reader since it is to be understood that such framed or contextualized messages were then, no differently than today, the result of subjective processes (cf. blogs, cable news, syndicated media); that is, stories were written and produced for public consumption in their own era to achieve specific ends, to sway, marshal and shape public opinion. Even so, an important benefit resulting from this exercise of historic hindsight is the revelation of irony, veracity or reproachful sentiment that generated past reporting. This backward gaze reveals, too, our

own tendency for subjective interpretation, thus rendering if the investigator is willing, a reflexive perspective more sharply focused, more balanced, albeit perhaps more critical.

In the chapters that follow I present a descriptive and narrative ethnohistory of the American Indian Exposition. Admittedly, there are many different ways this story can be told (See: Wright 1946; Ellis 2003, 135-162). This is but one telling. I have divided the Exposition's progression into three parts or chronological phases bracketed by specific key events or historical benchmarks. Thus, Chapter Three covers approximately a twenty-year span beginning with the local Indians' participation at the Craterville Park Fair (1924-1932), to the emergence of the Southwestern Indian Fair (1932-1934), and subsequent founding and official chartering of the American Indian Exposition in 1935, including its first decade of existence up through 1944. After some preliminary remarks foregrounding the phenomenon of earlier regional Indian Fairs, my story resumes with the signing of a covenant in 1924 by a group of prominent Indians who accepted an invitation to camp, exhibit their produce and livestock, and perform their traditional dances at Craterville Park near Lawton, Oklahoma.<sup>3</sup> Many, though not all persons I have talked with, believe the Craterville Indian Fair was the catalyst for the subsequent founding and development of the American Indian Exposition.

Space does not permit, and in some instances information has been insufficient or unavailable to present an exhaustive accounting of each successive year's event. In reality, it is impossible to retrieve every scrap of information illuminating the past, and if it were, the task would confound even writers of Proust's stature. Nevertheless, it has

been my aim to provide more than sufficient documentation concerning each designated period so that a semblance of continuity regarding the Exposition's development and history might be maintained. In this way, too, it is hoped readers will gain a better understanding and appreciation for the Exposition's significance as arbiter of cultural meaning and identity, as a catalyst for American Indian self-determination, and as sociocultural context for the narrative and symbolic presentation of American Indian expressive traditions in western Oklahoma.

When first undertaking this project I asked what seemed, then, to be a straightforward question: Did the annual Craterville Park celebration act as the primary catalyst for birth of the American Indian Exposition? However, even now a definitive yes or no answer to this question still proves illusive. I have come to accept that pinpointing the exact moment or place of its germination is obscured by a rich history of publicly situated, expressive and performance-based venues featuring Native American ceremonies, dances and pageantry that are antecedent to or contemporary with the founding of the American Indian Exposition.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, it is perhaps better to suggest that multiple influences motivated the Fair's founding. This reasoning is justified in part, I believe, because of written documentation concerning prior gatherings commencing as early as the 1890s dance celebrations hosted for several years each July at Anadarko and, too, because the oral histories of the People tell of Indian communities having, throughout their long existence, gathered at certain locations or in specific seasons to conduct religious ceremonies, to dance and sing, to conduct trade and socialize in traditional ways. These types of gatherings are inextricably linked to and with the People. In a sense, these

traditions have been perpetuated by later instantiations that must include my main subject, the American Indian Exposition or the Indian Fair, its more common appellation.

In recent years, writers have documented that from their first contact with Euro-Americans, especially during the late nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century, strong vocal criticism and explicit prohibition against all such forms of Indian gatherings was promulgated by administrative policies instituted, enforced and championed by government bureaucrats, Indian agents, commissioners, missionaries and their supporting organizations (Daily 2004; Ellis 2003). Such over-zealous efforts, directives and campaigns implemented by officials are documented in archives, attesting to the government's steadfast determination to denounce, halt, prohibit and prevent Indians' traditional celebrations and social gatherings of any kind, especially those involving tribal dancing, thought by many to be the most injurious of the Indians' cultural practices (See: Berkhoffer 1979; Foster 1991, 121, 123-126; Moses 1996, 66-78; Meadows 1999, 113-120, 124; Ellis 2003, 105-111; Daily 2004, 36-59).<sup>5</sup>

Arguably, while such interdicting measures were unwarranted, shortsighted and long-lived, in the late 1920s to mid 1930s they slowly, but finally were replaced by a more tolerant, if skeptical, acceptance of Indians' self-determination and right to hold such celebrations (whether in public or private settings). I suggest this shift in attitude happened for three primary reasons. First, from the reservation period on, American Indians openly or secretly defied official prohibitions against hosting ceremonial and social dances. Secondly, non-Indians (whether in America or abroad) were eager and



willing to pay for entertainment venues that emphasized or included Indian dances, sham battle reenactments and other stereotypic depictions of American Indian culture. Lastly, opponents of these entertainments could not legally keep Indians from joining any one of a multitude of white entrepreneurs and showmen who regularly sought to recruit them (e.g., the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch, Pawnee Bill, Ponca Bill, or Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show). Opposition to or denial of Indians' right to exercising their freedom of choice as to employment, travel, and gathering for tribal activities smacked of paternalism. This last point was especially relevant after passage of the Dawes Act in 1887 (See: Prucha 1984, 712-715).

The fact is, enterprising individuals' determination to provide Wild West entertainment venues to a paying public and, more importantly, Indians' desire to congregate, socialize in traditional ways that included dancing, could not be stymied by mere policy directives or other threats made against them; such tactics were insufficient justification or reason to penalize participants. It is certain that American Indians kept meeting and dancing despite prohibitions to do so as one way to affirm and perpetuate their tribal identities and traditions, even in the midst of a rapidly changing and uncertain future. To be sure, it did not matter whether such enterprises (powwows, fairs, expositions) had assistance from or the sympathy of Indian agents and government officials, or elicited their condemnation.

Performances were predicated on the Indians' desire and insistence to dance, with or without the explicit approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Moreover, there

was a strong economic incentive for Indians to participate, and this factor must also be considered in any discussion regarding their recruitment or participation in the Wild West Show phenomena. Other scholars have written extensively and specifically about the circumstances, development and history of powwow culture, the success of Wild West Show ventures, and Indians' resistance to prohibitive governmental policies (Browner 2002; Ellis 2003; Meredith 1995; Moses 1996; Wallis 1999; Young 1981), therefore, here it is necessary only that I direct the reader's attention to these important and insightful antecedent studies.

Material presented in Chapter Two dealt primarily with national and international gatherings, shows, fairs, and expositions featuring American Indians as performers, exhibits, and anthropological spectacle. All of these venues were hosted, organized and produced by non-Indian entrepreneurs or government officials during the latter years of the nineteenth and first two decades of the twentieth century. Other, more regionally situated events merit brief mention here, they are: the Crow Fair in Montana, commencing in 1905, that has continued uninterrupted to the present time; the Wisconsin Dells annual gathering and powwow, still held each summer since its inception in 1921; the short-lived but influential Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Fair hosted from 1910 to 1913 in western Oklahoma (Clough 2003); and the Santa Fe Southwest Indian Fair and the Gallup Ceremonial, both originating in 1922. The last two listed events being hosted in the state of New Mexico. Finally, there was the Craterville Park Indian Fair near Cache, Oklahoma, from 1924 to 1932. Of all these roughly contemporaneous venues I suggest that the Craterville Fair provides the most explicit, though certainly not the only

influence, to which the future founding of the American Indian Exposition can be definitively linked.

Each of the aforementioned cultural presentations is significant because of regional appeal or early national prominence (See also: Ellis 2003, 135-38; Moses 1996; Wallis 1999; Portage Democrat July 18, 1921. They are important, too, because each of them incorporated content, strategies, style, themes, or an organizational structure that can be identified in the model to be implemented later by the American Indian Exposition's founders. Although venues like the Crow Fair, the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Fair and the others like them achieved success on many levels, they share in common a central criticism; that is, all of them were enterprises devised by, promoted by, or meant to generate economic profit for white entrepreneurs, not Indians. Moreover, the primary goal was to encourage acculturation and assimilation of the American Indians associated with these enterprises. I will return to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Fair (1910-1913) shortly, since its presentation and structure anticipates as well as most closely compliments that of the Craterville Park Indian Fair (1924-1933) and later, the American Indian Exposition.

Western Oklahoma Plains Indian tribes could, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, boast of having several annual or periodic gatherings, perhaps not as well publicized, large in size or prestigious as the national and international venues, but no less important to those individuals who regularly attended or participated in them. These gatherings were intimate occasions, linked by tribal, band, family and kinship

affiliations; moreover, they often did not have the blessings or sanction of local Indian agents. Morris Foster (1991, 117) documents that members of the Comanche tribe gathered at specific times of the year including, during the summer and “for Christmas and New Year’s from at least 1906 on.” Similarly, William Meadows (1999, 105-107) describes military society and intertribal dance gatherings by the Kiowa “around the Stecker community...the Red Stone community, and around the Carnegie area.” And, as Clyde Ellis (2003, 18) tells, “the Kiowa Ton’kongka, and Tiah-Piah societies, [as well as] O-ho-mah members continued to meet and dance despite intense pressure” from government officials and others. More importantly, these and numerous other gatherings are acknowledged by contemporary community members themselves as important locales where innovative dance styles emerged and, where the younger generation of Indian dancers who embraced them, perfected their skills under the tutelage of senior society members.<sup>6</sup>

Several consultants, including Leonard Cozad, Sr., Dixon Palmer, Bea Saupitty, and Dorothy Whitehorse, each of them elders and lifelong residents of the area, have told me that dance gatherings were hosted during these early years by the Binger, Hog Creek, Red Stone, Stecker and other communities north, south and west of Anadarko.<sup>7</sup> Locales as far away as White Eagle, and as close by as the Camp Creek, Mopope, Whitehorse and Murrow dance grounds were, for the most part, well-attended single family or tribally centered, hosted or sponsored events. Rightly so, the importance of these dance gatherings has not diminished over the years. For instance, the Caddo have been holding annual gatherings at the Murrow dance ground for more than eighty consecutive years,

and show no sign of decline. In fact, one can argue that these family or tribally sponsored celebrations have strengthened and perpetuated cultural performance at the core of Indian country by functioning as critical locales (contexts) for situating one's identity and connection to community, while at the same time, affirming an intertribal-situated, collectively practiced set of cultural traditions.

Clearly, then, by the mid-1920s there existed in western Oklahoma a steadily growing interest in and participation by Indians who eagerly embraced opportunities to engage in social as well as competitive dancing. Clyde Ellis' (2003) important and timely study of the development, history and importance of Southern Plains powwow culture thoroughly documents this trend among Southern Plains Indians. Ellis (2003, 5) articulates succinctly a key aspect of these local gatherings; that is, to dance and enjoy one another's fellowship noting, "powwows are a vital element in the creation and maintenance of contemporary Indian culture on the Southern Plains." Similarly, Tara Browner (2002) has detailed the coeval development of distinct intertribal dance forms and the associated powwow culture that emerged among the Northern Plains Indians (See also: Vander 1988 for Northern Plains song and dance traditions).

Tara Browner (2002), Clyde Ellis (2003), Luke Lassiter (1998), Judith Vander (1988), Gloria Young (1981) and other researchers have each presented valuable documentation and analysis concerning Indian dance and song culture, from both a Northern and Southern Plains context, and from an intertribal perspective. Each author has, in specific ways, identified dancing and singing—performance—as a crucial medium of cultural

expression for American Indian tribes, and have mapped its extension beyond the historical and traditional role within a singularly ceremonial or sacred context; moreover, these forms of expression have, as many studies indicate, increasingly been fitted to and shaped by a secular purpose when performed in public arenas or settings. This is especially true since the early decades of the twentieth century.

Thus, as dancing and singing performances were distanced somewhat from their sacred and secretive, specific and unique tribal contexts, they became a powerful public expression of unity and purpose for linking American Indian communities together as never before. Sammy Tonekei White, a widely admired and traveled Kiowa emcee in all of Indian country, told me that he believed this unity between Indian communities was strengthened and perpetuated in part by the younger members of different tribes being sent off to boarding schools across the country. It was, in the boarding school environment, where he and other students experienced first-hand this sharing of expressive culture, particularly in the form of Indian dancing.<sup>8</sup> With the increasing numbers of public venues where celebrations, dances and gatherings could be held without, or in spite of generating the heavy-handed retaliation or scorn of government agents or other monitors, Indians grew more confident in their ability to assert control regarding their social affairs outside of the dance arena.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Fair, referenced earlier, emerged on the scene two decades prior to the founding of the American Indian Exposition. Josh Clough (2003) has written insightfully about the Fair's brief four-year existence, detailing certain factors

leading to its demise. Clough attributes the origins of these “Indian Fairs” to programs first initiated by the Office of Indian Affairs. According to him, these annual after-harvest-time events were originally meant to provide a means for engendering a competitive spirit between Indians who would gather annually to exhibit their livestock, poultry, farm produce and other handiworks. Structured much like a typical county agricultural fair, the main purpose of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Fair (and Craterville Fair) was intended to provide a venue where local Indian farmers and homemakers could exhibit the products of their labor. Likewise, “the Indian Bureau” asserts Clough (2003, 2), “used the fairs as propaganda tools to demonstrate the efficacy of its numerous assimilation programs for American Indians.”

In many ways the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Fair, mostly managed by the tribes themselves, matches the working model used in later ventures, most notably its immediate successor the “All-Indian Fair” at Craterville Park (Gray 1931, 5). “Experience the Cheyenne-Arapaho tribes gained attending Fourth of July celebrations and carnivals,” says Clough (2003, 8), “served them well...they filled the Cheyenne-Arapaho Fair’s program with dances, horse races, sham battles, and parades.” As will be seen, these same entertainment tropes were especially suited for attracting non-Indian audiences to the American Indian Exposition years later.

In the end, Indian Fairs whether in Oklahoma or elsewhere, were successful because they enabled or facilitated a popular public venue where Indians’ could congregate, dance, feast, race their horses and celebrate with friends and relatives, regardless of the

disapproving government agents or religious officials. Clearly, Indian participants and organizers recognized the potential to be realized by them. Unfortunately, the Cheyenne and Arapaho Fair's run was cut short before its time. However, after the Fair's untimely collapse, dancing among the two tribes did not cease; however, it would be another twenty years before a comparable event, the founding of the American Indian Exposition, could flourish in the way I believe the Cheyenne and Arapaho Fair board had envisioned. In the meantime, emerging a decade after the C&A Fair, and the same number of years before the founding of the Exposition, came its immediate precursor, the Craterville Park Indian Fair. It is with Craterville, then, that I turn my attention, and where this ethnohistory of the American Indian Exposition properly begins.

### **Craterville Park Indian Fair**

Early in 1924, a non-traveling annual entertainment, similar in flavor to the Buffalo Bill Cody and Pawnee Bill Wild West shows, was organized and produced by Oklahoman Frank Rush. Rush called his event the Craterville Indian Fair, because of its location at Craterville Amusement Park, owned and operated by him, and located adjacent to the Wichita Mountain Wildlife Reserve. Victor Paddley<sup>9</sup> notes in an August 23, 1981 (Anadarko Daily News) story, "Craterville Park [had] carnival type rides, games, a roller rink, a swimming pool, a small lake, a race horse track, a large grandstand and a rodeo arena." This picturesque region, of fresh water springs, pink granite boulders and ancient mountains, buffalo and elk herds, big sky and grand vistas, situated southwest of Anadarko and proximate to Fort Sill, offered a prime setting for Rush's extravaganza. More importantly, it had, for many generations, been an important sanctuary to the Plains



Apache, Kiowa, Wichita and Comanche peoples for hunting and ceremonial use (Meredith 1995, 8-9).

The symbolic significance of the location, and its cultural and historic linkage with local tribes did not go unnoticed by the fair's Indian performers, for as Ellis (2003, 139) asserts, "the Indians believed the fair ground at Craterville Park was a hallowed spot." In fact, both Rush's land holdings and the area segregated for Fort Sill contain sites long-held sacred for the area's tribes. As will become clear in later sections, the Craterville Park Fair, perhaps even more than the Cheyenne and Arapaho Fair, is emblematic of the significance of place as a determining factor for selecting and then developing the future American Indian Exposition at Anadarko. The Exposition's location at Anadarko, like that where the Craterville Fair was hosted, is rich in history, tradition and symbolic meaning for the American Indians who have made the region their home for tens of generations. First, a brief account of the Craterville Park Indian Fair will serve as introduction for my discussion concerning the founding, organization and history of the American Indian Exposition.

A typed document by Myrtle Ropp located in the Oklahoma Historical Society's library vertical file, dated June 2, 1936, references a newspaper article ([source undocumented], August 21, 1927) titled "Oklahoma Has Only Indian Fair," providing the following description and account of the Craterville Fair's founding and its promoter Frank Rush:

Once every year the Indians of S. W. Oklahoma gather at Craterville Park to

hold the only chartered all Indian Fair in the world, and to bring together their farm products, beadwork, and sleek ponies for the races in which only Indian riders participate. Frank Rush, known throughout the West as the ‘Cowboy Naturalist’, who was first supervisor of the Wichita National forest and game preserve, was instrumental in organizing the Indian fair association. Rush, a close friend of the Indians, know[s] their needs and he wished to keep them.

In 1924, he met with a [number] of prominent Indians and at the end of three days a Covenant was drawn up and written on a piece of white buckskin. Rush signed the Covenant, and the Indians placed their thumb marks on it. This Covenant set forth that the Craterville Park Indian fair should be held annually in August and none but the red men should be in charge.

The object of the fair is outlined in the Covenant as to create self-confidence and to encourage leadership by the Indian for his people; to establish a belief in the capacity of the Indian to better his position and to take his place on terms of equality with other races in the competitive pursuits of everyday life, and to generate a desire to accomplish the most possible for himself and his people.

The Covenant, which hung for a time in the office of M.E. Trapp, former Governor, was declared by him to be a ‘landmark in the development of the Indian’....

The obviously paternalistic tone and character of the text quoted above resembles that of Chairman Sproul’s (cited earlier), though it is less caustic. It hints that Rush considered himself guardian over the Indians participating in this annual spectacle. Even so, when you mention Frank Rush’s name to older folks who attended the fair in their youth, he is generally accorded much respect. Indeed, Clyde Ellis (2003, 139) corroborates this Indian sentiment as expressed at Rush’s death in 1933.

Searching through early newspapers (Anadarko Daily News, Anadarko Tribune) for initial accounts of the American Indian Exposition, I came across another reference announcing the first Craterville Indian Fair. My interest was piqued by the reference (Anadarko Tribune, August 28, 1930) that proclaimed Craterville Fair as the “Worlds

Only Indian Fair.” I have quoted the short text in its entirety below because it exemplifies language used to portray a romanticized image of the disappearing or “vanished Indian” discussed by Berkhofer (1979), and is typical of the newspaper accounts of the period (See: Coward 1999). *The Anadarko Tribune*, August 28, 1930 account reads:

Indians dressed in their war regalia and squaws with papooses dangling on their backs, will return to Craterville Park once again this year to celebrate the only chartered All-Indian Fair in the world. The fair to be held August 28, 29, and 30, attracts hundreds of Indians annually from all sections of the Southwest. The Indians will live again the life they knew when buffalo roamed the western Oklahoma prairies in countless thousands. Tepees will dot the sides of the rugged Wichitas which surround the natural arena where the red men gathered to race their calico ponies, perform their tricks with ropes and stage their war dances to the accompaniment of weird tom-tom beats. Already the Indians have started gathering there for the celebration. Some have started running their ponies on the half-mile dirt track that lies in the natural arena formed by the mountains. Others are arranging the camps that will be their homes during the week of the fair.<sup>10</sup>

Clyde Ellis (2003, 135) reports that its first “intertribal board of directors was chaired by Big Bow, a Kiowa” and that “Vice-President Tommy Martinez, a Comanche, Secretary-Treasurer Herman Asenap, a Comanche, and Director Ned Brace, a Kiowa, assumed responsibility for planning and running the event.” He also informs that “in its early years, Rush’s vision of the event as equal parts county fair, agricultural exposition, dance show, and rodeo clashed with the somewhat sharper emphasis on celebrating Indian culture and traditions” that is typified by powwows (ibid. 136). This same distinction between competing interests is not unlike what occurred with the earlier Cheyenne and Arapaho Fair (1910-13), and very similar to the kinds of issues to emerge years later in post-World War II planning and production of the Anadarko Exposition.

According to Wright (1946, 159-160), the 1926 Craterville Fair lineup still included Big Bow as President, and “directors of which included Kiowa Bill (Kiowa) of Hobart, Chief White Buffalo (Cheyenne) of Watonga, and Tennyson Berry (Apache) of Fort Cobb.” By 1931 incumbents and new members were listed in a special July-August issue of *Inter-State Arts Newspaper*<sup>11</sup> as: Chief Hoy Koy Bitty as president; Chief Ah Peotone [sic], John Otterby, and Oscar Yellow Wolf as vice-presidents; Enoch Smokey, Tennyson Berry, George Wallace, and Charlie Tsoodle as directors; Herman Asenap as secretary-treasurer; Chief Hunting Horse and Chief Big Bow were honorary vice-presidents.” A pattern of organization resembling that of the future Exposition was already becoming evident at this early date. While it is not entirely clear how officers and directors for the Craterville affair were selected, it does not appear that they were elected to their posts. It is worth mentioning here that some of the same individuals playing important roles in the Craterville Fair were later to hold leadership positions during the formative years of the American Indian Exposition, among them being Tennyson Berry, an Apache and Herman Asenap, a Comanche.

Over its nine-year run from 1924 to 1932, the Craterville Fair came to be recognized by state residents and the Oklahoma legislature as the only such event of its kind. In 1931 “the [state] House of Representatives passed a resolution changing the name of the now well known Craterville Park celebration to the ‘Oklahoma State Indian Fair’ and appropriated \$1,000 for premiums and a Governor’s silver cup to be awarded the district...[having] the best agricultural exhibits” (Wright 1946, 160; See also: Ellis 2003, 137). When compared with similar type venues and entrepreneurs (cf. Cheyenne and

Arapaho Fair, Miller's 101, Buffalo Bill Cody & Pawnee Bill's Wild West Shows, etc.), I have to disagree with assertions, popular at the time, regarding Craterville's uniqueness. Rather, I suggest that Rush's Craterville Indian Fair was merely the next iteration in a series of venues serving as developmental models for what was to emerge later in a slightly new form as an all-Indian enterprise promoting a truly independently managed all-Indian affair.

I base my conclusions in part upon the structure of the last Craterville Fair of 1932 where, as Muriel Wright (1946, 160) has documented, "the customary Indian parade, traditional Indian dances, a 'Better Babies' contest, arrow shooting contest, horse races, and agricultural and live-stock exhibits," rewarded by generous premiums mirroring almost exactly, the model implemented by organizers of the Indian Fair at Anadarko. Similarly, the honoring of Hunting Horse and other venerable Indian dignitaries at the fair is antecedent to the recognition paid Native American elders, civic leaders and celebrities in later years at the Exposition. Also noteworthy, is the written and first person oral accounts that are somewhat contradictory regarding whether the similarity of form and structure of the two fairs is purely coincidental or intentional.

Muriel Wright (1946, 159) has asserted that, "the plan for such an organization [the American Indian Exposition] was the outgrowth of the All-Indian Fair...at Craterville." In an August 6, 1978 *Anadarko Daily News* interview, Parker McKenzie acknowledged that they "had talked about having an Indian Fair similar to the one at Craterville" but noted, "it would be run by Indians...[it] was separate from the Anadarko fair and

continued for several years afterward, but it finally died out.” Then, some years later, Clyde Ellis (2003, 141) quotes McKenzie (1993) who, in a letter written to then Expo President Richard Tartsah, was emphatic that “the Exposition had nothing to do with the Craterville event.” McKenzie continued in his letter that, “the Craterville event was still a going event each season the first three years of the Exposition” (Ellis 2003, 141). In yet another explication, Victor Paddlety asserts: “In the summer of 1930 and 1931, there were no events like the one Indian Fair at Craterville Park. So some of the Indian leaders started an Indian Baseball Tournament at the fairgrounds” (Anadarko Daily News, August 23, 1981). These differences emphasize just how illusive, and clouded by the passage of time, discovering the explicit motivation for organizing the Exposition is.

Ellis (2003, 138-39), who cites local press coverage of Frank Rush’s passing on April 7, 1933, corroborates the oft-told story that Rush was considered to be a good friend by the Indians participating at the Craterville Fair. Clearly, the older Indians like Hunting Horse, Big Bow and Apeahstone expressed their affection for Rush. However, it remains enigmatic that whatever sentiments had been expressed publicly, after several years with Rush controlling the purse strings, some of his close Indian friends, including Herman Asenap, signatory, secretary and co-founder of the Craterville event were ready to seek other venues as Parker McKenzie has declared (See: Ellis 2003, 140).

In its latter years, according to Parker McKenzie, growing resentment with the Craterville Fair’s white promoter led participating Indians to engage in private discussions, and to consider what alternatives they might have. In a letter to Bill Welge,

Head of the Oklahoma Historical Society Archives, dated August 28, 1992, Parker McKenzie writes that “there was at the time [early 1930s] considerable dissatisfaction amongst Indians, who seasonally attended the Craterville fair near Cache, [Oklahoma], over the fact that the promoter, Frank Rush, was plainly ‘using’ the Indians for his own financial benefit and allowing but a trickle to them.” It must be said that while this view has many supporters, other individuals have expressed to me in confidence, without willing to elaborate, that this was not the only underlying reason for creating a new Indian Fair at Anadarko. With none of the original founders still living to tell us and, as yet no written documents discovered that contradict existing versions (McKenzie’s, Paddelty’s, or Wright’s accounts), a full explication will remain incomplete.

### **Southwestern Indian Fair becomes the American Indian Exposition**

It is not surprising that accounts vary regarding the specific year inaugurating the birth of the American Indian Exposition. Some sources and press reports claim it to be 1931 (Anadarko Daily News August 5, 1956), others as 1932 (McKenzie 1978, 1989, 1992), and still others as being 1933 (Wright 1946, 159) or even 1934. However, this writer admits to favoring the timeline set forth by Parker McKenzie as being the most credible, since he was one of the original founders, and acknowledged to have a sharp memory concerning the founding and history of the Exposition, especially its earliest years of existence. In an essay titled “Early Years of the American Indian Exposition,” Parker McKenzie (1992, 1-2) recalls that he and others, part of a small, like-minded group of local men, “had long ‘powwowed’ about [organizing their own fair] usually on the streets of Anadarko whenever any of them met.” McKenzie (ibid. 1) also credits in the same

letter Field Matron Susie Peters for having been the first to initiate and manage the “Indian phase” (exhibits) at the annual Caddo County Free Fair.

According to McKenzie (1992 letter to Bill Welge), for several years prior to 1932 Peters had assumed sole responsibility for obtaining funds from the fair’s board to cover Indians’ exhibit “premiums...and personal expenses;” however, Peters was informed in 1932 that these funds would no longer be available. McKenzie (ibid.) revealed to Welge: “The matter [the notion of starting their own fair] came to a head in early 1932 when the Caddo County fair board trimmed its operating budget...on account of the depression...Naturally, the first whack fell on exhibits of Indian arts and crafts.” McKenzie and other organizers felt that “except for the encampment that blossomed annually...[all] seemed destined to end”(ibid.). As he observed years later, “the Caddo county fair board unwittingly started the present Indian event by its action” that year (McKenzie 1992).

With unconventional zeal, Peters took it upon herself, according to McKenzie (1992), to secure funding for the 1932 Caddo County Fair’s Indian exhibits through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Jasper Saunkeah and Parker McKenzie learned of her efforts through Anadarko Agency Superintendent John A. Buntin who, “aware of the fact [that] many of his Indian charges then were farming, raising livestock and carrying on their traditional crafts, favored the idea and prevailed on the central office in Washington to allocate a small sum for the purpose” (ibid.). Superintendent Buntin received a positive response from the Washington office that \$75.00 would be available for exhibit



premiums. With this assurance, he then informed “Jasper Saunkeah...and suggested that the interested Indians should set up a committee to handle the Indian exhibits at the fair [adding that] perhaps the funding might be the beginning of the long-dreamed-of fair” (McKenzie 1992, 1996 letter to Bill Welge).

This was great news! It, too, was just the thing to prompt McKenzie and Saunkeah to activate their desired plans for an Indian Fair in Anadarko separate from the Craterville event. Thus, with Susan Peter’s advocacy, and Buntin’s encouragement and support, the fledgling organization began its journey. McKenzie admits it did not take long for an ad hoc committee of organizers to act on Buntin’s suggestion. According to McKenzie’s (1992) notes and reported also in newspaper accounts (Anadarko Daily News and The Anadarko Tribune), this first informal committee included Lewis Ware, Maurice Bedoka, Elizah Reynolds, Bill Williams, Weryavah, Edgar Halfmoon, Ms. Mahseet, Ms. Grimes, Parker McKenzie, Jasper Saunkeah, Herman Asenap, and hints that others, unnamed, also lent their support. As will be detailed below, efforts commenced in 1931 and accomplished in 1932 resulted in developing a tentative prototype, and the first instantiation of the future American Indian Exposition.

Initially, the first all-Indian managed enterprise was limited to organizing segregated Indian exhibits at the 1932 Caddo County Free Fair, and hosting one night of traditional Indian dancing. At this time (1932), Parker McKenzie was employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and so took charge of drafting a list of premiums to be offered on Indian exhibits for the approaching county fair. Likewise, he acknowledges having used the

BIA office mimeograph machine to print up several hundred pamphlets that included information such as “dates of the event, exhibiting rules, tentative entertainment program, etc.” McKenzie (1992, 1996) admits, too, that there was little time for an organizational meeting before the upcoming fair; so, “to make matters...seem businesslike, [he] made-up Southwestern Indian Fair Association for the enterprise to be, with Jasper Saunkeah as president and himself as secretary.”

Thus, in September 1932 the first all-Indian managed fair at Anadarko was born. McKenzie (1992) has stated that upon “conclusion of the four-day event, a meeting was called at the Indian camp...and [an] election [was] held for selecting officials to manage the business of future fairs, and Lewis Ware was elected president, Herman Asenap, vice-president, and [Parker McKenzie as] secretary-treasure, with terms limited through only the 1933 and 1934 fairs.” Paddlety (Anadarko Daily News August 23, 1981) describes the election of officers and directors as taking “place each year at the grandstand.” Furthermore, he says, “nominations were made from the floor by individuals and the vote taken by a standing count.” However, Paddlety’s account differs from McKenzie’s regarding length of term for officials in these early years. Paddlety (ibid.) has written, the “term of office was from year to year [and only] after the second ballot [that] the term was changed to two years.”

McKenzie (1992), however, has intimated that elections were held every two years, after the initial assignment of “Jasper Saunkeah as president and himself as secretary.” This pattern seemed to hold true at least during the first decade of the Indian Fair. In any

case, action taken in 1932 by the founders to establish a regular election cycle for Exposition officials, whether every two years or year by year has, I suggest, some correspondence with the election cycles adopted for the business committees and tribal councils being instituted during this same period.

The 1932 Southwestern Indian Fair was a success by all accounts. Despite the meager amount of funds available for the initial Fair's exhibit premiums, prize amounts would grow considerably in future years. In the following passage McKenzie (1992, 2) describes how the BIA allocated funds were utilized for the 1932 event saying that:

The premium list offered the top prize money of \$3.00 for the best dairy cow—the only livestock' prize offered. Most of the money for prizes was limited to 50¢ for first prize and 25¢ for second on agricultural and garden products, poultry, and needlework, canning, and baking exhibits. To encourage Indian artisans of their crafts and art works, premiums offered for them were more liberal. All personnel for handling, displaying and supervising the Indian exhibits was volunteer, since setup was not sharing in the county fair revenue, except the proceeds from an Indian dance program presented at the fair's grandstand for only one night.

With formation of the Southwestern Fair Association came also the responsibility for coordinating use of exhibit spaces, the grandstand and matters regarding revenues. Heretofore, these decisions had been the sole purview of the Caddo County Fair board of directors. Regarding this new responsibility McKenzie (1992, 2) writes that:

Arrangements had been made with the county fair officials for spaces in the exhibit halls for the Indian exhibits along with the county fair exhibits, but separate in the special spaces assigned. The county fair had grandstand entertainment on three of the four evenings of the event, while the Indians had just the aforementioned single night for its program. Horse racing in the afternoons and the midway carnival were solely the providence of the county fair, with none of the revenue therefrom [sic] finding its way to the Indians. It was on the issue of income that the Indian event defected after the 1933 county fair and held its first separate fair in August 1934—about a month in advance of the county fair.

In discussing the issue [of revenue] late of the closing night of the 1933 county fair, [McKenzie remarks] how much amused the president and the secretary of the county fair became when President Ware remarked, ‘you know, men, one of these days the Indian Fair is going to kill the county fair!’

Call it intuition, premonition or merely his wry sense of business humor, Lewis Ware’s remarks did prove correct. Only a few short years after their first fair, revenues and interest generated by the annual Indian Fair began to rapidly out pace that of the Caddo County fair. It is hard to say whether Bedoka, Saunkeah, Ware, Asenap, McKenzie or their other associates ever imagined the event would be the success it became. The times being as they were (depression and dust bowl years), the project first envisioned by the founders was never guaranteed to eclipse both the Caddo County Fair, and the earlier, immensely popular Craterville Indian Fair, but in later years the American Indian Exposition did just that.

Beginning with the 1934 event, and still called the Southwestern Indian Fair—its last year produced under that name—the affair was held as a separate venue. By this time, the Indian Fair was already showing it had begun generating a name for itself, and wide interest in it grew across the state. According to Parker McKenzie’s (Oklahoma Historical Society, manuscript dated Nov. 1992) recollections, the 1933 and 1934 Southwestern Indian Fairs were successful, and capably managed by the officials elected in September 1932. However, McKenzie (*ibid.*) also admits the bold initiative at self-determination taken by the first officials of the future famous American Indian Exposition had not been without certain challenges.

Parker McKenzie has acknowledged that in anticipation of the 1935 fair some organizational changes were implemented. First, Maurice Bedoka was elected to fill the post of president with Parker McKenzie continuing to fill the role of secretary-treasurer. In addition, McKenzie (manuscript dated Nov. 1992) writes:

It was a hard struggle to get the event going, but by 1935, the workings of it were beginning to take a definite form. Unfortunately, there was a temporary hindrance created that year when a trio of local Indians [McKenzie does not state who] attempted to take over the control of the event via a State charter issued to them in the name under which the fair operated the first three years—without a charter [Southwestern Indian Fair], and which the trio knew about. To offset the attempt then president Maurice Bedoka, Edgar Halfmoon and [Parker McKenzie], with the assistance of a local attorney, immediately obtained a charter in the name of the American Indian Exposition, and the 1935 event was the first to be carried through under the new name.<sup>12</sup>

With the change in name and its official charter secured, the American Indian Exposition passed from the first stages of its infancy to command ever increasing capacity crowds of visitors, and the respect and participation of not only Indians, but of the non-Indian townspeople. More importantly, the American Indian Exposition's rapidly growing reputation began garnering the attention of State and National media "as the only Indian-managed enterprise of the kind in the country."

My research shows that during the early years—1933 to 1938—events were not too different than what one could expect to find at Rush's Craterville Park Indian Fair, the Caddo County Fair, or for that matter, the short-lived Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Fair twenty years before (See: Clough 2003). Except for the pageant and baseball tournament the presentation and structure of the American Indian Exposition was not unlike many aspects of these earlier fairs. For instance, compare the Craterville Fair announcement

referenced earlier with a front-page article for the new show titled “Indian Life of Early Day Is Pageant Theme” (Anadarko Daily News, August 10, 1934), that proclaimed:

Indian life unhampered by the white man will be depicted with color and noise in the highlight evening pageant of the Southwestern Indian fair, Friday, August 17, at the county fairgrounds. The pageant will be the third evening program, beginning the first night of the fair, August 15. The only modern note given to the large crowds expected will be the band concert by the Southwest all-Indian band directed by Phil Cato, Lawton, from 8:00 to 9:30. The dog travois, earliest mode of travel by the tribesmen will be shown in the pageant, followed by the horse travois introduced by the Spanish soldiers. Camp life, with inhabitants at work tanning hides, dressing meat, making bows and arrows, painting tepees, and children at their games, will be presented as it used to be. All implements used will be authentically Indian, many of them now valuable museum pieces.

Intricacies of the needle game, [a] game of chance that employed the Indian woman before bridge came to the Southwest; and the hand game, also of chance, with its accompanying songs, will be played. Skill in shooting arrows through rolling dogwood hoops will be tried by youngsters. The Kiowa marriage ceremony with its exchange of gifts, and elaborate ritual of early days, will be performed with a costumed bride and groom to be selected from reservation Indians. A sham war raid using guns brought by the white man will be made on the camp after the wedding. Climax will be the rousing war dance in which the invaded stir themselves for the revenge on their raiders.

It is easy to recognize the stereotypical descriptors utilized in both this and the earlier Craterville fair promotional text for characterizing and promoting the Indian gatherings. However, what was significantly different than these other fairs was first, its all-Indian management and secondly, the sense of pride, self-confidence, sense of cultural identity, and self-determination that the all-Indian management of the Exposition engendered in the collective psyche of the Indian community at large. This change is not overtly pronounced, but rather is implied by McKenzie’s comments, and the enthusiastic participation by the local tribes.

Finally, and perhaps more important than the previous point, Indians (whether campers, exhibitors, dancers, or spectators) no longer had to be content with being relegated to segregated exhibit spaces and paltry revenues governed by the strictures of the County Fair Board. Now that control of Indian cultural assets—arts & crafts, dances, horse races, domestic arts, etc.—was in the hands of the Indian organizers, and they alone, all revenues—less overhead—would go to the Fair’s organizers for its perpetuation, and not to white intermediaries. This change alone must have been very gratifying for the Indian Fair’s founders. McKenzie (Nov. 1992) underscores my belief with the following:

Those who had a hand in its overall operation are to be commended for their sacrifice and commitment to cooperation, particularly the management and directors, who toiled for about 60 days preceding each event and a few more thereafter in getting the grounds back in shape for the oncoming Caddo County fair—with just a bit of compensation.”

In As the Ad Man Sees It, a front-page column written by LeRoy Heine (Anadarko Daily News, August 10, 1934), it was acknowledged that, “all the boys guiding the Southwestern Indian Fair Association are really busy these last few days before the fair opens.” Indeed, they all were busy organizing each day’s schedule for the third annual event! A typical afternoon program described in a column published Thursday, August 16, 1934 in the *Anadarko Daily News* announced that for the price of admission one could enjoy the following activities and entertainments: an archery contest in which contestants were to be scored on their skills in marksmanship, distance shooting and timed, rapid fire shooting; three horse races, including a half-mile, five-eighths mile and a one-half mile boys pony race. In its last year presented as the Southwestern Indian Fair,

it is surprising that no admission was charged, however, to see the evening's "impromptu Indian dances" (Anadarko Daily News, August 15, 1934).

Topping the festivities each day of the 1934 Fair were the all-Indian tournament baseball games. The baseball tournament, first introduced in 1933, became an important, highly competitive and anticipated annual feature at the Indian Fair for many years thereafter. Muriel Wright (1946, 161) reported that "Sid Lacer was Chairman...and Mose Poolaw, Secretary" of the first event. The first tournament drew crowds and teams "from fourteen cities and towns...[with] the final games...played between Camp Creek (Wichita boys) and Wetumpka (Seminole boys), with Camp Creek the victor." Vernon W. Bull Coming, who played ball for Cheyenne teams in the 1940s and 1950s, has recalled the enthusiasm and high level of competition existing between the State's all-Indian teams.<sup>13</sup> Challengers making it to the 1934 tournament (Anadarko Daily News, August 10) were such team favorites as the Cache Creek Indians, Fort Sill and Lookeba Indians, the Colony, Stecker, Hog Creek and Clinton Indians, and the Carnegie, Camp Creek and Anadarko Indians. Umpiring for the twelve competing teams in 1934 included "Roy Niaster" of Anadarko and "William Lamebull" of Kingfisher. Anadarko was the winning team the second year of the tournament (Anadarko Daily News, August 14, 1935).

Another innovation was the first Indian Fair parade, inaugurated in 1934, this according to Parker McKenzie (letter to Welge August 28, 1992), who acknowledges there were no parades the first two years of the Southwestern Indian Fair as it was still



connected, albeit loosely, with the Caddo County affair. The parade became the hallmark event commencing each year's Exposition after 1934, when it became a separate entity. Likewise, it was in 1934 that the precursor to present day princess contests was first witnessed. In that initial selection process no vote or contest was held to determine the lucky winner. Instead, the seventeen-year old "Imogene Geikaunmah, Kiowa...was chosen beauty queen by applause from the crowd. Josephine Inkanish, Caddo...was given second place, and Maudie Grayless, Cheyenne, [placed] third" (Anadarko Daily News August 15, 1934). Years later, in a story titled "Expo has 'royal' family" published August 6, 1978 (Anadarko Daily News), Mrs. Leon Carter, Sr. (formerly Geikaunmah) recalled that "it was only her mother's insistence that made her parade before the grandstand with the 75 other candidates...I didn't want to run against anyone...I said I didn't want to parade so I ran and hid, but my mother made me do it." The first Exposition Princess remembered parading "in [a] full buckskin dress made by her mother and with her long hair in a braid trailing almost to her knees"(ibid.).

As noted above, the Indian Fair was held Wednesday, August 28 through Saturday, August 31, 1935 and, was the first year under its official charter as the American Indian Exposition. Maurice Bedoka was beginning his first term as president, and Parker McKenzie (Nov. 1992) reports that "a special train bearing a large number of Exposition boosters arrived at the Texas state fair in Dallas...The special brought back the boosters way past midnight, but all aboard had much fun." This was, as McKenzie (ibid.) says, "one of the ambitious efforts of the Exposition [organizers] to publicize the event and its fast-gaining reputation." There were several booster outings made around the state and

elsewhere leading up to the August event (Anadarko Daily News August 17 & 20, 1935). Whether by train, car, on the radio or in newspapers, word was getting out and people were beginning to take serious notice of the Indian Fair. Exposition officials made boosterism an important component of each year's publicity campaign after 1935; it was only after the 1970s would such active promotion of the Fair substantially diminish.

In mid-summer Exposition officials met with Anadarko City Council members (Anadarko Daily News July 16, 1935) requesting their support on several matters. Subsequently, all of their requests were approved, including "the privilege of holding a street parade...and permission to display decorations on the streets." The article also indicates that "the council agreed to furnish electricity to all buildings at the fair grounds, lights for parking space[s], camp grounds, grandstand and other points requested" (ibid.). At that time, this was a most generous gesture of civic support. Even the mayor demonstrated his own form of patronage by "proclaim[ing] August 29 as Anadarko Day...and [declaring] all business houses will close from 1 to 5 p.m....to enable the working people to attend the program" (Anadarko Daily News, July 16, 1935). Anadarko's civic leaders expressed a genuinely positive and supportive attitude regarding the Exposition in press coverage during the Fair's early years. Whether mayoral proclamations, boosterism, or utility services rendered without charge, everyone appeared ready and willing to make the Exposition a singularly unique showcase event for American Indians, Anadarko and Oklahoma.

It must have been a very gratifying experience for Exposition founders to have the seemingly genuine outpouring of support given them by Anadarko businesses and officials during the first years of their event. To express their gratitude, the Exposition board of directors published the following statement on July 23, 1935 (Anadarko Daily News):

The officials of the American Indian Exposition take this means of announcing their appreciation for the fine support accorded our organization. We have only a few of our fellow citizens and in each case the response has been one hundred percent. Wise expenditure of funds has been and will be the continued policy of the organization and yet we wish to make the exposition an event of which this community will be proud. We are therefore calling for additional contributions which will be needed for this purpose.

Donations were received in amounts from two to twenty-five dollars (Anadarko Daily News, July 23, 1935). These contributions plus the city's provision of utilities and other material support, no doubt, went a long way toward offsetting the cost of putting on the 1935 Indian Fair.

The American Indian Exposition Princess of 1934 was selected by spectators' applause; however, in 1935 the title was to be decided by contest. Periodic columns published July 22, 30 and August 26, 1935 (Anadarko Daily News) kept locals guessing and contenders jittery with the constant updating of vote tabulations for those young women competing for the title of "American Indian Exposition Princess." Speculation rose or plummeted with each penny vote contributed to a contestant's race. Several young women representing diverse tribes entered the two-month long competition but only a small number vied for the lead. These included among others, Margaret Lonewolf, Fern Lena Bosin, Beatrice Ahpeahstone, Lilly Tabbytite, Catherine Frank, and

Geraldine Parker. In a close finale, “Miss Beatrice Ahpeahtone [garnered] 29,729 votes” with “Miss Lonewolf [receiving] 22,891 votes and Miss Frank 14,659 votes” (Anadarko Daily News, August 26, 1935).

Noticeably different, too, were the premiums to be awarded for winning exhibits at the 1935 Indian Fair. Announced July 13 of that year (Anadarko Daily News), the funds exceeded nine hundred dollars compared with the mere seventy-five dollars available for the first Southwestern Indian Fair of 1932. Although commendable as this achievement was, the sum fell short of the monies that had been annually appropriated by the state legislature for Rush’s Craterville Fair, one thousand dollars. Rules were published for the first time stipulating that all exhibitors must be American Indians, and that premiums would be awarded “on women’s club, 4-H club and school exhibits as well as on farm and garden products, and Indian arts and handicrafts raised or produced by Indians of tribes belonging to the Exposition association” (Anadarko Daily News, July 13, 1935). More importantly, premiums of twenty dollars were to be paid for “first prize,” and, then, in diminishing increments to “five dollars for seventh place, with ribbons for ninth and tenth places” (ibid.). These were incredible amounts when compared with the twenty-five and fifty-cent premiums awarded at the first Southwestern Indian Fair in 1932.

The increased premiums acted as an incentive, drawing the attention of a wider group of Indian homemakers, artists, and farmers, and in the process, multiplying the number of exhibits. For instance, exhibits were encouraged, then, subsequently presented at the 1935 event that reflected old time “traditional Indian foods.” These were prepared for

exhibit using modern, glass-topped canning jars, filled with such foods as “cooked and uncooked corn meal, dried skunk berries, dried wild plums, dried wild grapes, [and] pounded sun cured meat” (Anadarko Daily News, August 10, 1935). Especially important, too, were exhibits created by students from area Indian schools. Exhibits by students were interpreted and presented as markers of acculturation and progress being made towards assimilation. However, their exhibits and projects can be viewed from another perspective, i.e., they too were achievements that students and parents alike could celebrate. The significance of these exhibits and the strategies underpinning are worthy of more in-depth study than can be allowed here.

Campers began erecting teepees, constructing brush arbors and moving into their campsites west of the grandstands a full ten days before the scheduled August 28 opening of the 1935 Exposition. A larger number of campers were expected than in previous years, including a large contingent of “Kaws and Poncas” and notably the “Pawnee All-Indian Bugle and Drum corps” (Anadarko Daily News, August 13, 1935). To accommodate the surge in Indian campers, additional space was made available north of the central campgrounds (ibid.). One can picture the excitement as wagons were relieved of their cargos, neighing horses being led to graze, and the crackling sound of campfires being set to blaze so that their glowing embers might later boil the strong black coffee and cook the campers’ evening meals. The commotion and revelry of hundreds of children at play must have put smiles on the faces of the old-timers as before their eyes a bustling intertribal community came to life. Once their teepees were erected, the brush arbors and camps established, then, the fellowship of family and friends, many not seen

since the previous year's Indian Fair, could begin. All was made ready in this way, season after season, year after year at the Indian Fair.

By most accounts, also depicted in black and white photographs, there were fewer automobiles than four-legged modes of transportation in the Fair's early years. Everything needed for setting up their home-away-from-home had to be transported en masse. Errands for additional supplies, materials and foodstuffs, if required, necessitated coordinating with those having vehicles or finding other means to procure them. Trips into town were more often than not made on foot. Though modern day conveniences were not available to them, I have been told this was not as much of an inconvenience for campers in those early days, as it would perhaps seem today.<sup>14</sup> The arbors provided shade from the hot August sun, and block ice purchased from the ice plant nearby kept food and beverages chilled. In those first years, not unlike the present-day, going to the Indian Fair was a time of celebration and relaxation, an occasion to feast and enjoy the fellowship of friends and family; most important, the People congregating for the Anadarko Indian Fair had one purpose, to have fun!

In the first years of the Exposition, returning campers could look forward to watching some pretty good sandlot baseball. The 1935 All-Indian tournament roster was expected to delight the many fair goers. There were to be eight teams competing for the title, including the 1934 state champions, the Anadarko Indians managed by Bill Collins. Team managers included Joe McNac, Pratt Tonemah, Ernest Kamalty, Joshua Heap of Birds, Cruz McDaniels, and Walter Wise (Anadarko Daily News, August 14, 1935).

Many of the playoff games narrowing the field of teams had been played in towns and cities across the state. Only the best players and teams made it to the Randlett Park ball diamonds for the championship tournament. The games provided locals and arriving travelers grand entertainment during the afternoons leading up to the opening day parade. The final championship game was usually played during mid-week of the Exposition.

Baseball, however, was not the only activity leading up to the start of the 1935 Indian Fair; many locals were busily preparing for the annual pageant. So it was in August 1935 that Riverside Indian school students were conducting daily rehearsals for their part in the pageant presentation, "Progress of the Indian On the Washita," written and directed by Mrs. Lock Morton (Anadarko Daily News, August 20, 1935). This was the second pageant presented to audiences at the fair with participation of Riverside students, the first being introduced in 1934 (Anadarko Daily News, August 27, 1935). Students from Indian schools in the region, including Chilocco, Colony, Fort Sill, Haskell, Rainy Mountain, and St. Patrick's were, at the same time, putting final touches on their agricultural, 4-H, and home demonstration exhibits, unified by a "blue and orange color scheme throughout" the exhibit halls (Anadarko Daily News, August 17, 1935). "James Daugomah [was] in charge of the crops exhibits." Other student exhibits included "several fine dairy cows" and poultry of "various breeds." One highlight was "an unusual group of pottery" created by Riverside students and entered in the arts and crafts competition (Anadarko Daily News, August 28, 1935).

A custom for special naming of one or more days of the Indian Fair was established with the first Exposition in 1934, but employed irregularly in the early years. So it was that in 1935, Wednesday, August 28—opening day of the Fair—was designated “American Indian Day” and local residents were encouraged to “join in the spirit of the occasion by donning Indian costume or wearing something Indian” reported Maurice Bedoka, Exposition President who added, “we hope to have the same effect as they do at Gallop when everybody puts on holiday costume” (Anadarko Daily News, August 17, 1935). In a similar fashion, Thursday was designated “Anadarko day.” As will be seen, during the early forties, the war years, it was common practice every year to assign at least one of the branches of military service their individual day of recognition, thus, there was an Army Day, Navy Day, etc.

The Indian Fair Board of Directors always booked a carnival outfit, who set up their convoy of rides, eateries and sideshows directly west of the grandstands, usually a day or two before the Fair’s opening parade. These spectacles were certain moneymakers, attracting many fair-goers, Indian and non-Indian alike. They have remained an integral part of the Indian Fair from its inception. Indeed, there have been only one or two years across the Fair’s span of seventy-five years when no carnival was booked. For the first decade of the Exposition, the carnivals often received greater advertising prominence and attracted more excited attention than Indian dancing. The first carnival troupe to provide such entertainment was the “Evangeline shows...said to be one of the cleanest and highest type carnivals on the road” as advertised locally (Anadarko Daily News, August 10, 1934).



Carnivals of the twenties, thirties and forties were a much different affair than they are today. Sideshow barkers lured passersby with the promise of bawdy, garish, alluring, and thrilling enticements. All one had to do was fork over a single liberty-head silver dime or a handful of coppers to behold the marvelous and mysterious curiosities kept hidden within the assortment of painted canvas canopies. While these were not headline enterprises, Anadarkoans saw their share of such venues each year at the Indian Fair when the carnival rolled into town. Other entertainments were booked with the expectation of captivating fair goers. Once, recalled Paddlety, “professional boxing...came to the Exposition, with a number of Indian boxers vying for the Indian championship title” (Anadarko Daily News, August 23, 1981). In the same account Paddlety mentions that “other featured events have been the Florida Seminole Alligator wrestling, Mexican bullfights [1939], Creek Indian stick ball games [1940-42], [and] Aztec Indians...[who] dove off 100 foot poles” (ibid.).

An attraction announced for the 1935 Fair was the “Flash Williams’ gasoline rodeo.” The press release reads in part: “Elmer Madden, the only man who has imitated a bucking bronco on a motorcycle will do his stuff including trick riding and crashing [through] a flaming wall at seventy miles per hour.” His side-kick, “Adara, the movie girl stunter will do her human ski act.” It was publicized that, “Adara lies flat on her back on the ground with a two by twelve plank on her body.” To elevate the sense of danger and the crowd’s excitement, “Flash lies prone on the ground in front of the plank [covering Adara]. Madden drives the motorcycle at high speed up the plank and jumps over all.” As written, the August 27th article is meant to titillate the reader by stressing that “the

slightest deviation of the course of the motorcycle would mean certain death to all performers” (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 27, 1935).

A similarly odd inducement published the same date as the Elmer Madden story (Anadarko Daily News August 27, 1935), “promised free [admission] to all persons weighing 260 pounds or over and to those who stand six feet four inches in height in ordinary shoes.” Other enticements were, as Clyde Ellis (2003, 146-147) documents from published sources (See: The Anadarko Tribune, August 28, 1935), of a “decidedly non-Indian” character including “a ‘monkey-goat rodeo’ and ‘a colored minstrel show with two high class performers and funny comedians presenting coon shouting and buck-and-wing dancing.’” While the *Anadarko Daily News*, one of three local newspapers, opted to report about the daredevil exploits of Elmer Madden, and about the “United States Biological Survey display [of] gopher and prairie dog specimens,” (Anadarko Daily News, August 28, 1935) it made no mention of the minstrel show or coon shouting that Ellis documents having been published in the competitor’s press coverage that year.

Clearly, the decision concerning what news was worthy of being reported was then, as now, the prerogative of newspaper editor. Why these types of attractions continued to be included in the Indian Fair festivities is unclear, as is demonstrated by another entertainment act presented at the 1938 Indian Fair. This time it was the Boone family, advertised in the Exposition program as the “singing and dancing Nathaniel Boone—only Indian midget, 43 inches tall and 16 years old [with] Juanita Boone 11 years old [and] Daniel Boone. These attractions seem out-of-place and beg the question: Were they

presented to entice a white paying audience, thus, helping to subsidize overhead costs, or were they simply good vaudeville entertainment that everyone wanted to see? I will return to this question and the subject of presenting Indian culture for tourists' consumption in my conclusions presented in Chapter Seven.

The Exposition parade of 1935 grew in size and was more elaborate than in its first year, its expansion and elaboration continued in subsequent years. Opening at one p.m. on Wednesday, August 28, the parade boasted of having two Indian marching bands, "the Exposition All-Indian band" and the visiting "Pawnee Bugle and Drum corps" (Anadarko Daily News, August 17, 1935). Both musical groups provided concerts before each evening's scheduled program, including the pageant "Indian Progress on the Washita Valley" presented on Thursday and Friday, and "tribal dances" performed on Wednesday and Saturday (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 27, 1935). Baseball games, horse races, foot races rounded out the entertainment fare. Clyde Ellis (2003, 146) cites *The Anadarko Tribune*, as reporting that the acclaimed "fancy dancer Gus McDonald" would be competing in the tribal dances, however, the *Anadarko Daily News* mentioned only that "Kaws and Poncas"...[and] "large groups of Cheyennes and Arapahos" without specifying who (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 13, 1935). No matter, attention generated by the Indian Fair in the local press was compelling enough that "a Pathe newsreel team" was expected to be in town specifically to film the festivities (Ellis 2003, 146). During all of the 1930s the Indian Fair commenced mid-week and ended on Saturday; it remained a four-day event through 1941 when organizers added a Sunday program.

The basic structure of the Exposition as developed in 1934 and 1935 was unchanged in following years, excepting minor variances like starting time for the parade or days when the pageant was to be performed. For instance, the pageant is listed in the 1938 program booklet as having been presented on two occasions, Wednesday and Friday, with exhibition (not contest) dancing as part of the evening program for Thursday and Saturday. The Exposition program booklet lists the parade for 1938 as starting at 1:30 p.m., and there is no mention of band concerts as in previous years, though no doubt Phil Cato's All Indian Exposition Band did conduct performances at the grandstands (See: Appendix I for a list of some early band members).

A noticeable program difference in 1938, however, is the insertion of decidedly non-Indian music and dance performances alternated between traditional tribal dances. Thursday's program lists the following: First, in this order, a Snake, War, and Round dance, then, Addison Thompson singing 'The Moon Drops Low' with piano accompaniment. Next was an Eagle dance, then, 'A Lovers Prayer' sung by Britamarte Wolf, and tap dance performed by Ahnawake Bates. Rowena Poolaw performed 'Fiir Elsie,' and Lillie Lorene Hood did an acrobatic dance. The program concluded with six traditional presentations including, the Caddo Snowbird dance, a fast War dance, Buffalo dance, a song by Augustine Campbell—'Indian Love Call'—the Apache Fire dance and to finish, the Rabbit dance. A similar program was presented on Saturday evening (AIE Program 1938). While this mix of traditional Indian dances with mainstream entertainment of the dominant society, now seems incongruous with the premise of the Exposition, perhaps its inclusion at the time fit the notion, advocated by agents, teachers

and missionaries that Indians must be assimilated to white society. Perhaps, (because I have no evidence corroborating this) the program's director thought the performances by Indians of so-called "high art" demonstrated for white audiences their progress along the white man's road.

In contrast to 1938, the 1939 Indian Fair parade kicked off at 10:30 a.m., the pageant—"Spirit of the Redman"—was presented all four nights, with an "All-Tribes War Dance Contest" held Saturday afternoon, the last day of the Fair, and scheduled half-hour afternoon and evening band concerts at the grandstands. Different, too, in 1939 was the "crowning of Exposition Princess [Esther Riddles] by [the] Honorable Leon C. Phillips," then governor of Oklahoma, a sign of the Fair's growing notoriety. Members of the Creek tribe were part of the afternoon entertainment on two different days, playing "Indian Stick Ball" in front of the grandstand, and a "Mexican Bull Fight" entertained visitors on Friday afternoon. As in previous years, there were exhibits on display representing most, if not all the Indian schools of Oklahoma including, "Chilocco, Haskell [Kansas], Riverside, Fort Sill, Concho, Pawnee, Seneca, Carter, Eufaula, Euchee, Jones, Sequoyah, and Wheelock" (AIE Program 1939). Presentation of these agricultural, industrial and home economics exhibits by Indian schools fluctuated year-to-year, until their discontinuation in the mid-1950s.

"The fair came into its own in 1941-1942," says Ellis (2003, 147) "and despite wartime restrictions on travel, Indian people flocked to the Expo." While Ellis' assessment is correct, there are multiple reasons for the Exposition's growing

prominence, its increasing importance due to the war was one of several factors. A less obvious but just as important reason had to do with the Fair's promotion. By the early 1940s, and arguably even the late 1930s, marketing strategies and promotional materials used to advertise the Indian Fair had reached a new level of sophistication, and standardization. This advance was made possible first, because Exposition officials started recruiting or soliciting local American Indian artists to create unique program covers for or permit their earlier work to be reproduced as promotional ephemera. From 1940 to 1949 the paintings of two well-respected local artists, James Auchiah and Steven Mopope, members of the Kiowa Five, graced the annual Exposition souvenir program covers.

The early practice of featuring Indian artists' creative work on Exposition programs, flyers, posters, advertisements and, in the 1950s as painted advertisements on storefront windows, continues in some form to the present time. Secondly, the program booklet's format, size, images, text, and content were fitted to a specific goal, i.e., to inform visitors about the Exposition as well as local Indian history, and to serve as tourist souvenir; that is, it was purchased, read, and shared with others when Expo goers returned to their hometowns. The visually appealing and graphically sophisticated ephemera, designed and distributed beginning in the mid 1930s, was becoming a savvy marketing tool by the early 1940s. It was Exposition officials, as will be detailed in following chapters, whose publicity efforts were instrumental, if not the explicit source, for seeding Anadarko's future tourism boom.

Exposition President William J. Karty, Vice-president Joe Kaulaity, Joe Hayes Secretary-Treasurer and his assistant Wesley Gallaher shepherded the 1941 Indian Fair (August 20 – 23) through its now routine courses. Owen Tah, Wesley Rose, Ralph Murrow, Frank Exendine, James Daugomah and Antonio Martinez represented their respective tribes, the Apache, Wichita, Caddo, Delaware, Kiowa and Comanche. Photographs of six of the eight tribal princesses, dressed in fine regalia, were presented in the Exposition program booklet. The pageant, “Peace on the Prairie,” was being advertised as having fifty tribes and a cast of four hundred “costumed Indians” participating (AIE Program 1941). By this time, too, a standardized format and message was being presented to fair-goers. Images sprinkled throughout the program depicting tribal life and regalia clad dancers, were provided to Exposition officials by local families for reproduction. Thus, for Exposition organizers, participants and supporters, these images, messages and performances were important public expressions signifying individual identity, community values and tribal histories. Close examination of the Exposition ephemera provides one a sense that with the arrival of each annual Indian Fair, there was a further coalescence between participating tribes, a deeper appreciation and significance of their shared tribal heritage, and a collective strengthening of their confidence and pride as American Indians.

The eleventh annual American Indian Exposition, hosted August 19-23, 1942 was now five days instead of four, and promised to be bigger and better than in previous years (not surprisingly, this was a declaration often made at the approach of each annual Fair). Having the distinction of being the youngest ever elected to the post, the August 1942

event marked William Karty's third year as Exposition President (See: The Anadarko Tribune, August 15, 1940). Like previous years, opening day of the Exposition was provided with a special designation; in this instance, it was American Indian and Rotary Day (a new observance). Thursday was named Anadarko Day, Friday was Tourist and Kiwanis Day (also a new observance). Saturday was designated Army and Navy Day; and Sunday was dedicated Oklahoma Day, with morning "church services for all campers" conducted at the grandstands. An afternoon filled with unique dance performances by each represented tribe concluded the Sunday program and the weeklong celebration. In attendance at the 1942 Indian Fair were many distinguished elders including Henry Tanedoah, Belo Cozad, White Horse, Red Bird, and Daingkau (AIE Program 1942).

Just as in 1941, there were members of the Southwestern tribes (Navajo and Pueblo) camping and performing their dances in each afternoon program. Most notable of these were exhibition hoop dancing by Tony White Cloud, wearing a horsetail bustle, and another dancer, Sammy Brightstar from the Jemez Pueblo. Marie and Julian Martinez from San Ildefonso Pueblo were featured in performances of their tribe's traditional Eagle, Corn, Buffalo and Snowbird dances. Also delighting the large crowds of Expo visitors was the pageant "War Drums Along the Washita," written and directed by Margaret Speelman. The pageant was presented for fair goers on three occasions. More importantly, "War Dance eliminations" were conducted on three consecutive afternoons beginning with opening day festivities, though no specific categories (youth, adult, senior) were identified. It is, perhaps, ironic that it is the carnival, baseball tournament,



exhibits, parade, pageant and finally the Indian tribal dances that officials and boosters concentrate their energy and promotional campaigns in the first years of the Fair. Although this preference did not endure, it did take a few seasons and organizers' persistent promotion before the main emphasis on and appeal for traditional and fancy dance contests could take center stage at the American Indian Exposition (See: AIE Program 1942).

### **Setting the stage for post-war era Expositions**

The organizers and supporters of these early Expositions must have been encouraged by a tangible impression that a form of cultural parity existed between themselves and the dominant white society, if only for the Fair's duration. It is true that the American Indian Exposition board had to negotiate the services of the town municipalities, secure use of the fairgrounds, publicize and solicit financial backing from local businessmen to make their event a fiscal success. However, it is also clear that the "leadership [of the Indian Exposition from its beginning in 1932/33] included a director from each of the seven Indian tribes under the-then Kiowa Agency;" moreover, they had learned valuable lessons from their earlier experiences dealing with men like Frank Rush and the stubborn Caddo County Fair officials. Their hard won entrepreneurial experience provided Exposition officials with an astute business sense concerning what venues would attract revenue generating non-Indian visitors, and what would not; Anadarko's businessmen also sensed the potential rewards to be reaped by casting their support behind organizers of the American Indian Exposition.

Proof of this is indicated by Parker McKenzie in personal communication to B. Welge dated July 31, 1998 writing, “as its reputation grew, and dollars began to jingle in the cash registers of the businesses the city’s business men began to see they [had] a good thing exclusively to themselves—and it has been ever since.” Regardless of other differences that may have existed between them, a mutual economic reciprocity between Indian community and non-Indian business community was acknowledged, cultivated and promoted. It is evident now, more than seventy years after its founding, that the four most important factors for the Exposition’s enduring success, even in its leanest years, has been 1) the support, and participation of Oklahoma’s Indians; 2) the economic relationship with Anadarko’s businesses; 3) the recognition by state and national officials that the American Indian Exposition was a cultural and fiscal tourism treasure; and ultimately, 4) the multitudes of non-Native fair goers who came to Anadarko each summer to the Exposition.

It bears remembering that the annual production of the American Indian Exposition has not meant being immune to internal and external conflict, competing agendas or criticism. Nevertheless, this four-way reciprocal relationship has endured and prospered, albeit tenuously at times. Interestingly, one of Anadarko’s first mayors acknowledged the value of cultivating a positive relationship with Exposition officials. His recognition and support, clearly articulated in the following front-page proclamation (Anadarko Daily News, August 15, 1934), was addressed: “To the Business and Professional Men and Women of the City of Anadarko:

I, as Mayor of the City of Anadarko, request all business and professional

men and women to close their places of business at one o'clock p. m. on Thursday, August 16 and remain closed until six o'clock, so that all who wish to do so, may attend the first all-Indian fair held by the Southwestern Indian Fair Association. All places of business will remain closed, from one until six.  
Signature of Mayor: B. C. Loomis ("Proclamation")

It should not be overlooked that the American Indian Exposition's first organizers demonstrated astute business acumen. At the same time, they were visionaries who collectively realized they could attain their long-held goal; once it was conceptualized, they did not hesitate taking the required chance to make it a reality.

The period covered in the Exposition's first phase culminates with the Indian Fair hosted during the summer of 1944. The year is noteworthy because of the intense, fierce fighting overseas. The United States was still engaged in both European and Pacific theaters of war. Like elsewhere across the country, many local young men and women were on active duty, and Indian War Mothers Chapters and Victory Clubs of World War II were actively engaged in their respective tribes' communities; understandably, the 1944 Exposition kept its focus and concern centered on these pressing events. Just as it had in previous years, the Exposition program acknowledged the men and women serving their country. The prevailing mood the summer of 1944 can be characterized as filled with hope and optimism despite the impact of war on local communities; finally, Anadarkoans were buoyed by indications that the tide of conflict was slowly but surely turning in the Allies' favor. Assuredly, everyone hoped better, happier times lay ahead.

### NOTES CHAPTER THREE

1. "Old Settlers Are Welcomed To Anadarko, August 6th City Plans Gala Day To Honor Pioneers." *The Anadarko Tribune*, Thursday, July 30, 1931, 1.
2. "Eighth Annual Indian Fair At Craterville." *The Anadarko Tribune*, Thursday, August 20, 1931, 1.
3. The Craterville Indian Fair, created and managed by Frank Rush, deserves its own separate treatment for it holds many secrets, perhaps lost now forever, about the early years leading up to the founding of the American Indian Exposition. See Clyde Ellis' (2003) book "A Dancing People" for an insightful overview of this interesting Indian Fair.
4. Here, I am referring to the Crow Indian Fair (1905), the Gallup Indian Fair (1922), the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Fair (1910), and others.
5. See: Berkhofer, Jr., Robert. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. 1st Ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1979; Daily, David W. *Battle for the BIA: G. E. E. Lindquist and the Missionary Crusade Against John Collier*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004; Ellis, Clyde. *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains*. 1st ed. Lawrence: University of Kansas 2003; Foster, Morris W. *Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991; Meadows, William C. *Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies: Enduring Veterans, 1800 to the Present*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999; and, Moses, L. G. *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians 1883-1933*. 1st ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.
6. Author's field notes June 2003, Murrow Dance ground.
7. Author's field notes July 2003; Author's field notes May, August, September 2005.
8. Author's field notes September 2005.
9. Paddlety, Victor. "More History on Beginnings of Indian Expo. *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 23, 1981, 3.
10. "World's Only Indian Fair Will Be Held At Craterville Park." *The Anadarko Tribune*, August 28, 1930, 1.
11. This interesting monthly newspaper, edited and published by Ethel C. Gray, is devoted to the Arts in the Southwest. The July-August 1931 issue has cover art by Auchiah, articles about the famous Kiowa Five artists, Craterville Indian Fair, Steve Mopope's murals at St. Patrick's Mission, numerous short columns, and a number of simple text only advertisements. See: Gray, Ethel C. "All-Indian Fair at Craterville Park." *Inter-State Arts*, July-August 1931, 4-5.
12. McKenzie does not name the three gentlemen involved with this attempt to wrest control of the newly organized Southwestern Indian Fair; however, a short notice titled "Southwestern Indian Fair Gets Charter For 20 Years From State," published in the Wednesday, August 22, 1934 issue of *The Anadarko Tribune*, identifies them as Malcom Hazlett, a Caddo, William Collins, a Wichita and Jesse Dunko, a Caddo. It seems that Hazlett was showing the charter to others at the 1934 Indian Fair, and attempting to organize its charter membership and

production schedule for the coming seasons, at the very same time that the legitimately elected Fair officials were carrying out their managerial duties.

13. Author's field notes September 2003, at the annual Cheyenne-Arapaho Labor Day gathering held at Colony, Oklahoma.
14. For a pictorial confirmation of early Indian Fair camping methods and setup, see the Tartoue photographic archives at the Rare and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Center, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **The American Indian Exposition: “Glory Years” – 1945 to 1975**

The mood in Anadarko on the eve of the Indian Fair August 1945 was festive, infused with a heady optimism. Overjoyed by the news of victory on May 8, 1945 marking the end of war with Germany, local folks were cautiously hopeful that the conflict in the Pacific would, likewise, be over soon. Then, in mid-week of the Fair, on August 15th, word came that Japan, too, was surrendering. The rush of excitement and jubilation was infectious, and expressions of joy hard to contain as Anadarkoans awoke to the news. The Indian Fair camp crier wended his way through the crowded camps where many were still slumbering in their tents, under leafy arbors and in canvas teepees, heralding news of the victory over Japan. The announcement that the war had ended that summer’s morning left an indelible impression on most, if not everyone attending the 1945 Exposition. For many older folks, the 1945 Indian Fair stands out from all others precisely because of its association with the end of war announcement, and the VJ Day celebrations that immediately followed.

Celebrations erupted spontaneously all across America in the summer of 1945, from the smallest rural communities to the largest metropolitan centers. The Nation’s citizens, weary, tired, and sorrowed by the sacrifices of war could finally let loose all of their pent up expressions of joy and relief upon hearing the good news. In Anadarko, Exposition officials decided to celebrate the auspicious occasion by having a second special Indian Fair “Victory Parade.” Plans were immediately made for hosting it on Friday, 17 August (Anadarko Daily News, August 16, 1945). It would be a parade honoring Native

American servicemen returning home, for those who lost their lives in service to the nation, and in recognition of Indian War Mothers and Victory clubs who had given their unwavering support during the war years. To be sure, local families were rightly proud of their sons' and daughters,' husbands' and brothers' service in the military; thus, the festivities and celebrations being planned for the 1945 Indian Fair provided the perfect setting for Anadarko residents to express gratitude and respect for their hometown heroes.

A lead story, "Indians Open Victory Parade To Whites At 1 P.M. Friday" (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, August 16, 1945), proclaimed that "the greatest parade ever to be staged in Anadarko...would be thrown open to White citizens who wished to celebrate the war's end and pay tribute to America's fighting men." The 1945 Indian Fair, perhaps the most cooperative heretofore because of the unity expressed between its organizers and city officials, became a truly community-wide celebration. The unexpected but welcomed news announcing Japan's defeat signaled for Exposition planners and the city's business owners the possibility of a large turnout for the second parade, as well as boosting attendance the remaining two days of the fair. The anticipated surge in visitors was made possible, in part, by the ending of gasoline rationing and a favorable turn in the weather forecast (ibid; See also: Ellis 2003, 147-151). It had been an unusually hot and sweltering summer, and stormy weather threatened the Exposition's scheduled programs the first couple of days, however, throngs of people were undaunted and made their way to the fairgrounds in spite of the rain.

After a bit of confusion, the town's business owners and government offices finally shut their doors to celebrate *en masse*.<sup>1</sup> The town's business and civic leaders had, at first, been reluctant to heed a "radio and press announcement from President Truman to take a two-day holiday" (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 14, 1945). Expo organizers were not disappointed with the resulting turnout to the Fair! By week's end, Robert Goombi, Sr., serving his first year as Exposition President, gave enthusiastic praise saying, "we had everything in our favor...The Indians came and cooperated to the fullest and with V-J day coming in the midst of the fair, we received all the best possible encouragement. Besides that we had very little trouble with management;" moreover, he continued, "we feel so good about this year's exposition that we think next year will outdo this one two times over"<sup>2</sup> (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 19, 1945).

President Goombi had good reason to be optimistic. From its founding as the Southwestern Indian Fair in 1932, attendance at the American Indian Exposition had slowly but steadily grown, in spite of the depression, the drought and the war. Now, from this juncture marking the end of worldwide war, the Exposition grew exponentially in popularity and prestige. It flourished beyond everyone's expectations. Important, too, with the war's end was the acknowledgement that the sacrifices, concerns and uncertainties associated with it could be replaced with renewed hopes, dreams, and unrestricted pride of being Native American. A mixture of joy and sadness tempered this emergent vision and hopeful optimism. Certainly, the emotional reality was inescapable that many local families had suffered losses during the European and Pacific campaigns.



Many of their sons and daughters had served the country in war, and some had made the ultimate sacrifice on the county's behalf.

A short passage from the 1945 pageant "Indian Heroes," written and directed by Margaret Pearson Speelman, aptly reminded the Exposition audience of the Indians' own significant contributions (AIE Program 1945). It reads:

Members of all these tribes hold honored positions as teachers, professional men and women, farmers, tradesmen and artisans in this and other communities. Certainly the manner in which these Indians have given both their means and their lives to the Allied cause is no small example of their love of country and their acceptance of the responsibility they assumed when they left the ways of their forefathers.

In its own way, this not so subtle statement affirmed Indians' determination to be heard, recognized and accorded equal participation in affairs of their community. They were after all, as the passage alludes, contributing members, patriots, and citizens, and it was only fitting that they be accorded equal acknowledgement and equal rights.

In recognition of their service throughout the war years, a section of each annual Exposition program had been dedicated to local American Indian men and women serving in the military, those having been captured or declared missing, and those who had made the ultimate sacrifice. It was, as Clyde Ellis (2003, 147) has noted, a generally rare practice of the local newspapers to recognize Indians in the service. For the record, I too must admit having found only rare instances where American Indian servicemen and women are accorded the same public recognition in the press as their non-Indian soldiers. Mention of honor dances or other reunions being hosted for American Indian soldiers and their families were, however, routinely covered in the press, usually a few pages into the

paper with social events of similar nature. Unfortunately, the column space accorded notice of an American Indian service person's visit or return home from the war was, in proportion to space and placement within the newspaper for non-Native service personnel, noticeably scant. It was not uncommon during the war years for local Indian servicemen and women to arrange their cherished furloughs to coincide with the Indian Fair. To be sure, wartime visits home by Indians in the service, whether temporary or permanent, provided a time for celebration. Powwows were often hosted in a soldier's honor where fellowship with family and friends was sure to be in abundance.

The 1945 Exposition was no exception as evidenced by the campgrounds' rapid expansion and record number of campers. A full double-page spread in the 1945 Exposition program booklet paid tribute to local men and women currently serving in the armed forces. Fourteen individuals were acknowledged in the program: PVT. Thama Bernice May; PFC. Roland Whitehorse; Fred Roache; CPL. Scott Lorentz; Richard Hunter; S1c Joseph W. Hayes, Jr.; Lt. Myers Wahnee; S-SGT Jesse R. Coffey; Lt. Wilford McKenzie; F-SGT Chief T. Saul; PVT Raymond Stephenson; WAVE Bonnie Jo Dunlap; Quintan Aunquoe and PVT. Raymond Arkeketa. It is worth noting, too, that a special presentation of the Army's Bronze Star was awarded posthumously opening day of the Exposition honoring Cpl. Lyndreth Palmer, killed in action December 5, 1944, in Germany. According to the 1945 Exposition program booklet, "the medal [was] presented to the Soldier's Father, William Palmer, by Brig. General Raymond E. Lee, Commander, Fort Sill."

The Exposition's Board of Directors advertised the pageant of 1945 as having "over 400 fully costumed Indians of Southwestern United States, telling the dramatic story of Oklahoma, Caddo County, and Anadarko" (Anadarko Daily News, August 12, 1945). Included also in this story were episodes detailing the "California Trail, the Indian migrations, Indian raids, the Washita Treaty, opening of Caddo County and Anadarko" (AIE Program 1945); however, something unusual this year was the fact that white residents of Anadarko were participating members of the pageant cast (See: Appendix III), among them the most notable being C. Ross Hume, lawyer and Caddo County historian. Beginning with Tuesday, August 14, each day of the Exposition was assigned a special designation just as in previous years. The first day was "American Indian Day," the second "Oklahoma Day," next was "Anadarko Day," followed by "Pioneer Day," and finally, Saturday was designated "Army, Navy and Other Branches of Service Day." Scheduled in each afternoon program of activities was the "introduction of visiting service men" (AIE Program 1945).

The usual series of events were scheduled for each afternoon's program at the grandstand, however, always with some slight variations. For example, after the opening day parade a concert featuring the Official American Indian Exposition Band conducted by Phil Cato entertained the Fair's visitors. Following this, the respected and venerable elder Chief Frank Bosin offered his invocation and prayer, much as he had been called to do in earlier years at the Craterville Park Indian Fair along with Hunting Horse and others; introductions of special guests and visitors followed, including many having traveled from distant states. After these introductions, tribal princesses were presented

before the audience, thus, beginning a weeklong assessment of their poise, demeanor, talents and finally, appraisal of them as apt representatives of their respective tribes (See: Appendix II for names of princesses serving in 1945). The penny-a-vote system employed in 1939 had been replaced; now, each princess was selected or nominated by her tribe's Exposition Director. A young woman's selection and public recognition at the Exposition, a highly coveted and cherished accomplishment, generated status and prestige for her among her peers bringing with it attention to her parents, grandparents and members of her extended family, and of course her tribe.

After the introduction of Exposition Officials was made, scheduled attractions for each afternoon commenced, including the highly popular Indian pony races and various foot races featuring Indian youth. In addition, specialty dances were now being performed at the grandstands, and contests for old-style archery, for oldest Indian attending, a G. I. baby contest, a tug of war between Indian tribes, stickball exhibitions, women's kick ball games and similar entertainments were also presented for visitors' entertainment (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 12, 1945). Afternoon performances by "Tony Whitecloud, World famous Hoop Dancer [from] Sandia Pueblo," generated much excitement and applause like they had in previous years (AIE Program 1945). Of course, there were the ever-popular agricultural and home economics exhibits to see and a wide assortment of traditional arts and crafts<sup>3</sup> (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 29, 1945).

It seems that the unspoken rule during these middle years—what I and others have designated as the Glory Years<sup>4</sup>—appears to have been one of filling those afternoon periods with a variety of interesting, colorful and traditional activities. The organizers were well aware of the symbolic value of their afternoon programs, I suggest. They intentionally wanted to present attractions that were considered “authentic” versions of American Indian traditions by the increasing numbers of visitors, the majority of who were non-Indian. This same attitude was, as has already been mentioned, increasingly reflected in all publicity and promotional materials used to advertise the Indian Fair. At the same time, there must be no mistake, Indians attended and enjoyed these afternoon attractions, perhaps as much or more than their Anglo counterparts. The Exposition’s program was designed to offer entertainment venues that would draw spectators from all demographic populations represented locally as well as nationally.

It is this manifest intention for presenting visitors an authentic and diverse experience that differentiates the middle decades of the American Indian Exposition from its earlier, and here-to-fore unrealized status as a nationally recognized venue celebrating Native American expressive culture. The focus on so-called authenticity and traditional expressive culture, especially the tribal dances, served as fuel for driving the engine of tourism then beginning to captivate all citizens of Anadarko, the bureaucrats of Oklahoma, and soon thereafter, the post-war interests of the nation at large. This deliberate turn toward cultural tourism, clearly evident by the 1940s and early 1950s, will be addressed more directly in Chapter Seven.

Another important function in 1945, as in years past, was the election of Exposition officials and members of the Board of Directors who were charged with the task of presenting a successful Indian Fair each year. To be sure, the Exposition election cycle has varied over the years. At the Fair's beginning (1932), the election cycle was set as a two-year term, in later decades elected officials served for three-years. So it was in 1945 that Robert Goombi, Sr., a Kiowa and long-standing supporter of the Indian Fair began serving his first year of a two-year term as Exposition President, a position of leadership he would hold longer than any other office-holder before or since. Working with him in 1945 was Caddo leader Paul Edge serving as Vice President, Joseph W. Hayes, a Chickasaw filling the role of Secretary, and Philemon Berry, a Kiowa-Apache who managed the duties of treasurer for the Exposition (AIE Program 1945).

Members of the Board of Directors that year included Peter Birdchief (Cheyenne), Andrew Dunlap (Caddo), Alfred Chalepah (Kiowa-Apache), Willard Thomas (Delaware), David Meat, Sr. (Arapaho), Stacy Luther (Wichita), Wylie Yellowfish (Comanche), and for the Kiowa, Benedict Toahty (AIE Program 1945). Then, just as is the process today, each Exposition representative was duly elected to his or her respective office. The positions of President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer were chosen by ballot, with all eligible Indian voters (18 years and older) participating in the process. Individuals comprising the Board of Directors were elected by their individual tribes' membership for whom each director then served as a proxy representative. Elections were and still are held in conjunction with the Indian Fair. Regardless whether it be a

two or three-year cycle, election balloting has almost always been held the week prior to or immediately following the Indian Fair.

The Fifteenth Annual Exposition commenced on Tuesday, August 20th and ran through Saturday, August 24, 1946. The AIE program cover presented the same full color artwork by Kiowa artist Stephen Mopope as the previous year. A notable difference, however, was attendance at the Fair by delegates of the National Congress of American Indians, in town for their convention being hosted that year at Riverside Indian School. Honorees attending the Exposition's afternoon functions were the following NCAI delegates:

“President, Judge N. B. Johnson, Cherokee, Claremore, Oklahoma; Vice-President, Edward L. Rodgers, Chippewa, Walker, Minnesota; Secretary, Dan M. Madrano, Caddo, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Acting Executive Secretary, Ben Dwight, Choctaw, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Executive Council Members – Robert Yellowtail, Lodge Grass, Montana Crow Tribe; George G. LaMotte, Chippewa, San Diego, California; Dewey Sampson, Reno Nevada; Henry Throssell, Sells, Arizona; Luke Gilbert, Sioux, Cheyenne Agency, South Dakota; William Firethunder, Sioux, Allen, South Dakota; Leo Kennerly, Blackfoot, Browning, Montana; [and] Lorena Burgess, Paradise, Montana (AIE Program 1946).

In recognition of these delegates and the conference proceedings, Wednesday, August 21<sup>st</sup> was designated “National Congress of American Indian Day.” Per established custom, Tuesday was named American Indian Day, Thursday was Anadarko Day, Friday was Pioneer Day, and Saturday was celebrated as Oklahoma Day (ibid. 1946).

Highlights of the afternoon entertainment programs included a “drill exhibition by [the] Indian patrol of Tinker Field” on Tuesday, a “parade of Blue Ribbon Winners, Livestock Division” on Friday, with women's Shinny and Kick Ball games on

Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. Perhaps delighting more spectators than any other attraction were the afternoon performances by “Tony White Cloud,” the world famous Pueblo hoop dancer who first began performing at the Exposition in 1941 accompanied by other dancers representing the Southwestern tribes (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 22, 1945). For both the 1945 and 1946 Fairs, the standard afternoon entertainment fare, first introduced in 1940, included concerts by the official Exposition Band, assorted foot races, archery contests, horse and pony races, tug-of-war games, and non-specified “other added attractions” (AIE Programs 1941-1946). Of course the biggest attractions were the evening contest dancing and pageant programs, and the ever-popular carnival. It is no surprise, then, that the 1945 and 1946 national championship war dance contests and the annual evening pageant presentations received top billing (See: Appendix I for a list of dance contest winners for the 1945 event). Both of these very popular attractions drew larger and larger numbers of participants and contestants each year, and on many nights attendance swelled the grandstands to their full capacity and beyond.

“The Pageant of the Peace Pipe,” presented in 1946, was dedicated to honoring war heroes and memorializing those lost during the war. It carried forward the emotional sentiment expressed throughout the war years at the Indian Fair. Presented for the first time at the Exposition as a memorial service, the incorporation of the “empty saddle” enactment was an eloquent and potent reminder of the sacrifices made by local Indians in service to their country. Laden with reverence, a recitation of the names of those persons killed in action provided a poignant and fitting acknowledgement. Soldiers listed in the



1946 Exposition program booklet and recited as part of the pageant script were as follows: Harry Mothlo, Thomas Chockpoyah, Eli Hosetosavit, Melvin Myers, Raymond

Brown, Ben Trevino, Donald Beaver, Gilbert Vidana, Louis (John) Rivas, Lyndreth L. Palmer, Mathew Hawzipta, Joel (Joe) Guoladdle, Virgil Edward Brown, Henry Kosechata, Henry W. Conowoop, George Neconie, Charlie Edwards, Eastman Spencer, Ted Tahsuda, Daniel Madrano, Jr., Bruce Williams, Yeoman Williams, and David Cross.

These veterans' public recognition and honoring by "the People" at the Indian Fair was equivalent to the respect that warriors of earlier years were accorded when recalling feats of bravery and valor or recounting their coups against the enemy (AIE Program 1946).

The 1946 pageant, narrated by Oliver Woodard, a Kiowa, was written and directed by Margaret Pearson Speelman. This was her ninth pageant production. Speelman's pageants established a definitive Exposition tradition of presenting thematic programs that were extremely popular with audiences and participants alike (See: Appendix III for a full transcription of the pageant script). In an August 19, 1945, interview (Anadarko Daily News), Speelman waxed sentimental regarding her contributions saying, "I know and love the Indians that work so nicely with me on the pageant series. I have been so close to them that I feel I am one of them." Both Dixon Palmer and Sammy Tone-kei White were participants in Speelman's pageants from the very beginning, and praised her ability to craft meaningful stories and productions.<sup>5</sup> The 1947 pageant, "Teepee Tales," first presented in 1940, was dedicated to "the old men and women of the tribes, who keep alive the ancient ways" (AIE Program 1947). Albert Attocknie and Tennyson Berry were assistant directors of the pageant that boasted having "a cast of over 400 fully costumed Indians of the Southwestern United States" participating (ibid.). As far as I have been

able to determine, it was Margaret Speelman's tenth and final pageant production. Also noteworthy for participating in the afternoon and evening dance presentations, were visiting tribesmen representing the Zuni and Taos Pueblo Indians; now, Pat Goodnight was the featured hoop dancer.

In addition, the "Inter-Tribal Indian Council of Oklahoma" held a one-day meeting at Riverside Indian School. The honored guests in attendance at the 1947 festivities included "Jack Scott, President, Pottawatomie; Rev. White Parker, Vice-President, Comanche; Grace Wheeler, Secretary-Treasurer, Caddo; Jess Rowledge, Councilman, Cheyenne-Arapaho; and C.C. Victory, Councilman, Cherokee. The organization's goal as stated in the 1947 Exposition program booklet, was "to promote the general welfare of the Indian people of Oklahoma by uniting the influence and endeavors of the people in a common effort to attain this goal" (AIE Program 1947). Invitations to and honored guest status at the Exposition of members representing these different Indian organizations provided a public forum whereby Indians could be appraised of and informed about issues of importance to them. It was, in a sense, grassroots political networking.

As a rule, the makeup of the Exposition's Board of Directors changed with each election cycle, however, on occasion, mid-term vacancies did occur and new replacements took over the departing incumbent's duties (See: Appendix I, Exposition Charter). By 1948 the Officers and Directors were becoming well attuned to their responsibilities and, no doubt, savoring the Indian Fair's success. This stability and progress was enhanced, I believe, by the fact that Robert Goombi, Sr. was serving his

fourth year as Exposition President in 1948, and Philemon Berry remained Treasurer, his fifth year in that office. Secretary, Joseph W. Hayes, a Chickasaw, had already served four years (1941-42, and 1945-46), losing in the 1946 elections to challenger Judson Tonemah, a Kiowa. Tonemah then served two years (1947-48) as Secretary. Worth noting, too, the duties of Secretary-Treasurer were performed by Philemon Berry in 1943-44, reverting to separate offices in 1945-46. Paul W. Edge served as Vice-President for two years beginning in 1945, but I have found no record of there being a Vice-President serving during the two-year term of office for 1947-48 (See: Appendix II).

A close examination of the chronology set forth in Appendix II shows that elections for Exposition officers and tribal directorships were often in flux. That is, a pattern began developing from the Indian Fair's inception, whereby one candidate winning his or her election bid served for one cycle, losing to a challenger the next, then, running for and winning election to office in a subsequent cycle. Of course, there have been exceptions, too. Clearly, by the mid-1940s, election to the Exposition Board of Directors carried with it increasing public recognition, merit and status. With the advent of tribal councils and business committees, and with the corresponding marginalization of authority exercised by traditional chiefs in the 1930s, election to the Exposition's Board of Directors demonstrated to one's tribe an individual's potential and capabilities for holding key leadership roles in tribal affairs. Though not a specific topic of discussion here, several Exposition officers and Directors managed to marshal significant recognition and status as a result of their Exposition service. In some instances the prestige they garnered was sufficient to permit their exerting considerable influence in

both arenas; that is, in the Indian Fair, and in their own tribe's business and political affairs.

By the start of the 1948 Exposition, its seventeenth year of operation, officials expressed with particular satisfaction that “more than 200,000 [people] have witnessed the nation's only ‘All Indian’ show.” This is a significant sum considering the venue and locale. Furthermore, visitors were reminded that they were “the guest[s] of the first *real Americans*. This is their show—conducted on Indian timing, with a native Indian theme” (AIE Program 1948, emphasis added). The notion of place takes on a special significance during this period with Anadarko being designated the heart of “Indian Country.”

The pageant, “Smoke Signals to Indian Youth” was written and directed by Clarissa A. Lowery, and with production assistance by three seasoned pageant regulars, Albert Attocknie, Tennyson Berry, and O. M. Woodard. The underlying theme of the pageant was to express concern and support for all tribes' Indian youth who were then beginning to establish their place “in the White World” (AIE Program 1948). The following lines from the pageant's epilogue are concisely and succinctly phrased:

Be brave, my son, do not stoop to anger,  
Be brave, your tribesmen need you tall and strong.  
Be brave, we must forget our vengeance. Our journey is forever long.  
To help our tribesmen striving ever onward,  
To give each one a kindly helping hand.  
To take our place among all people.  
To this end, our journey is just begun.

Reconciliation, perseverance, resilience and resolve are the qualities of character encouraged of Indian youth at this time; and, not surprisingly, have been articulated by elders year after year in the various pageant presentations. These public admonitions were sometimes subtly, sometimes forcefully rendered in pageant performances, in printed scripts, or through public oratory and narration. Regardless of the form in which they are expressed, the messages have always been the same: Indians are determined to survive, thrive and prosper within the predominantly white society that, even today, has not yet fully acknowledged or appreciated the contributions made by them as American citizens. It seems clear that the tribes' elders have understood all too well the truth of such statements as, "our journey is forever long" and "our journey is just begun" (AIE Program 1948).

The 1940s served to firmly establish the American Indian Exposition as the state's premier event celebrating Indian culture and history. Anadarko garnered significantly more attention as a result. During the next decade (1950s), three cultural heritage and tourism-centered venues were added to Anadarko's dance card of attractions. The first of these enterprises, developed as a result of efforts initiated at a grassroots level in the 1930s, finally came to fruition in 1947-1948 with the founding and construction of the Southern Plains Indian Museum. The museum and two other auxiliary tourism anchors, Indian City U.S.A. (1955), and the Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians (1952), were developed independently; however, these cultural and tourist enterprises were made possible only as a direct consequence of the success of the American Indian Exposition.

The notoriety gained by the Exposition since its first presentation in 1932 has not happen without bold leadership, savvy promotion and aggressive salesmanship at every step of the way. The program booklet published annually in conjunction with the Indian Fair has been its most discernible calling card and, in many ways, its best booster. It is important to remember that the means for publicizing the Indian Fair has evolved from a simple, mimeographed list of meager premiums and a few articles in the local newspaper in 1932, to a smartly designed, informative, 8.5 x 11 inch, twenty-two-page booklet celebrating Indian pride, history and heritage; moreover, local press coverage, especially by the Anadarko Daily News has provided significant exposure for the Indian Fair. The Exposition program booklet's colorful cover showcasing Indian art, printed pageant script, and interior photographic images, many by the respected cameraman Horace Poolaw have consistently presented a clearly articulated message by a representative body of leaders who were confident, self-assured and knowledgeable concerning their enterprise.

The souvenir program booklet signifies a record of achievement, and in more recent years, has been a model emulated by other Indian culture-centered events like Red Earth, Indian Hills Powwow, etc. More importantly, the program booklet has been the perfect forum for announcing in no uncertain terms that it was the Exposition's Indian leaders and they alone, who have been in charge and making the decisions. This means, too, accepting both the praise and the criticism that has come their way over the years as a result of their decisions. So it was on the eve of the 1950s, I suggest, that the Exposition founders' and officials' perseverance generated substantial cultural dividends; moreover,

the creativity, effort and hard work of the Fair's organizers in the span of two decades was beginning to reap huge rewards in the form of cultural capital, though not in the equally important form of economic capital.

An examination of the decades of the 1950s and 1960s reveals the American Indian Exposition and, similarly the city of Anadarko, to be fully ensconced as the premier tourist attraction in the State. It is important to reiterate here that the Governor of Oklahoma or one of his representatives is always in attendance at the Exposition—for the opening parade, or one of the evening programs. Oftentimes, stories in the press tell of other states' Governors or visiting foreign dignitaries being honored guests at the Indian Fair. Important, too, this period is witness to increasingly successful lobbying, brokering of business deals, construction campaigns, and the development and dedication of three major tourist projects in the town of Anadarko. It is no coincidence that this tangible manifestation of Anadarko's achieved status as tourism capital of Oklahoma is directly linked to the ever-growing popularity and success of the American Indian Exposition. This is substantiated by a report that more than “300 dancers competed in the National Finals Fancy War Dance Championship” in 1951 (Anadarko Daily News, August 16 & 17, 1986).

While these three venues are not the primary focus of this study, a brief comment concerning them is worth including here. The Southern Plains Indian Museum, completed in 1948 and built in part with federal and state funds, was the culmination of efforts initiated in the 1920s and 1930s. Second, the National Hall of Fame for Famous

American Indians, organized in 1952 and inaugurated in 1953, was the brainchild of a former Anadarkoan. The third tourist attraction, Indian City U.S.A., a partnership venture by non-Indians was dedicated June 26, 1955 (See: Anadarko Daily News, July 2, 1956). The dedication and opening of these dual purpose i.e., year-round cultural tourism operations, signified that the American Indian Exposition had matured as a cultural tourism enterprise. Anadarko could now unreservedly proclaim itself “The Indian Capital of the World” (Anadarko Chamber of Commerce brochure, no date).

In conjunction with the dedication and opening of Indian City, twenty-one signs created by famed American Indian artist M. M. Bedoka, measuring twenty-five by eight feet were installed throughout the state of Oklahoma “to lead sightseers, students, [and] tourists to Indian City and Anadarko,” and announced in the story “Big, Bright Indian City Signs Will Encircle Oklahoma Soon” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, June 26, 1955). They no doubt helped increase interest in and attendance at the annual Exposition. It is interesting to note the 180 degree turn-about the community of Anadarko had made—from Indian Agency town to National treasure of Native American culture—in little more than twenty years, since the first Southwestern Indian Fair debuted in 1932. A published account (Anadarko Daily News, June 24, 1955), illustrates this change in local and state sentiment:

Gov. Raymond Gary has accepted an invitation to dedicate the tourist attraction [Indian City],....Sen. Don Baldwin, Anadarko, will introduce the Governor at the ceremonies....Frank Bosin, 92-year-old Kiowa [will give] the invocation in his native tongue. Indian City is an undertaking by the community to build an authentic tourist attraction. The objective of Indian City is to preserve the historical heritage of the American Indian tribes Directors felt the country was losing something very important by not preserving the culture of the American Indian.



Now the annual Indian Exposition, combined with the opening of the aforementioned three tourist venues, was turning Anadarko into a year-round destination for anyone interested in Native American culture. The potential for the city of Anadarko was clear to everyone. However, one overriding question prevailed: Would Anadarko's civic leaders have the farsightedness necessary to make its cultural tourism enterprise a prosperous reality?

Returning to the Indian Fair's progress, preparations for the twenty-first annual Exposition (August 18-23) were well underway by mid July 1952. Street decorations marking the downtown parade route "consist[ed] of red, white and blue bunting," and contained central motifs with Indian designs; in a show of community support, the decorations costing more than \$400.00 were purchased by the chamber of commerce according to a report published in the August 14, 1952, issue of *The Anadarko Tribune*. Expo President Goombi announced program details (*The Anadarko Tribune*, July 24, 1952), noting that festivities were to commence on Monday, August 18<sup>th</sup> with the one p.m. downtown parade, to be followed by afternoon dance performances at the grandstands celebrating the dance traditions of the visiting "Navajo and Jemez Pueblo Indians, a Creek Indian ball game and horse racing."

Monday evening's program was to be the first performance of that year's pageant titled "The Thunder Bird" boasting a "cast of more than 200 costumed Indians" (*The Anadarko Tribune*, July 24, 1952). Coinciding with Monday's designation as "Army and Navy Legion of Valor of the United States of America Day," it was announced by the

Expo President that members of the Legion of Valor would be in attendance as guests of honor. Also of note, the Chilocco Indian school band was selected as the “official American Indian Exposition band” and scheduled to present nightly concerts for Fair goers (ibid.). Alfred Momaday, father of the celebrated Pulitzer Prize winning author N. Scott Momaday, was superintendent of the arts and crafts exhibits for the 1952 Exposition. A story that ran August 21st (Anadarko Tribune) announced that Alfred Momaday, Stephen “Mopope, Erwin Tee, Woodrow [Woody] Crumbo, Carl Sweezy, Ted Haury, Kenneth Chaddlesone[e] and Robert Yeahpau” among others, would be exhibiting their art work. The same story reported that “the Kiowa, Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes [would] have beadwork, feather work, moccasins, leggings, belts, bows and arrows, buckskin dresses, war bonnets, cradles and handbags on display.” In addition, the “Comanches [would] be exhibiting “buckskin suits, beaver caps and bows and arrows.”

It was also reported that the Osage tribe would be represented by their “wood carving[s];” the Apache tribe by their flute[s], baskets, bow[s] and arrow[s] and fans; the Shawnee would exhibit “belts and drums and shields.” Added to these local tribes’ arts and crafts displays would be rugs and pottery exhibited by the visiting Navajo and Jemez Pueblo Indians (The Anadarko Tribune, August 21, 1952). However, the greatest attention was generated by the grandstand performances. Just as in years past, by Friday of Expo week everyone was excited to see who among the more than two hundred competitors would earn the title of 1952 champion of the National Indian War Dance contest. No matter who eventually won the championship contest, all dancers competing

for the highest honor were seeking a portion of the more than four hundred dollars in prize money to be awarded.

“Over 20,000 See Parade Opening 24th Exposition” read the headline of Monday, August 15, 1955 (Anadarko Daily News). The spectacle was boasted of having “1500 Southern Plains Indians march[ing] in [a] mile-long caravan.” Perhaps most unique for the 1955 event was the “signal from Vincent Lopez in New York City announcing to the nation over the Mutual network that the...annual American Indian Exposition was officially beginning in the Indian Capital of the Nation” (ibid.). With potentially millions of east coast radio listeners hearing this news, there was little doubt that by 1955 the Exposition was operating like a well-oiled machine. It is perhaps best seen with the hindsight of years that much of the Exposition’s successes during the late 1940s and early 1950s was a direct result of Robert Goombi’s leadership organizing the Indian Fair.

In addition to the New York City publicity, and under Goombi’s command, the Expo Board of Directors was now in the regular habit of extending invitations far and wide each year in hopes of recruiting dancers from diverse Indian tribes from across the country to perform at the Indian Fair. A story published closer to home that ran on July 24, 1955 (Anadarko Daily News) indicated that dancers representing the “Shoshone Indian tribe in Idaho, the Apache on the San Carlos reservation in Arizona, the Taos Pueblo from Taos, [New Mexico], and the Zuni Indian tribe” had been contacted in hopes they might sign contracts to perform at that year’s event. It was also confirmed that a contract had already been negotiated with “Juan Gachupin, from Jemez Pueblo...to dance

all six days during the Indian Fair” (Anadarko Daily News, July 24, 1955). An invitation had likewise been extended to then Governor Raymond Gary, however, as he was away on business in Washington D.C., Expo officials were notified that the state’s First Lady would fill-in as guest of honor at the Indian Fair (Anadarko Daily News, August 14, 1955).

A regular column running in the Anadarko Daily News, of the 1950s, “Not Kidding” written by Wallace Kidd, offered the following brief observations and accolades to town residents and Exposition visitors in the August 14, 1955 number:

We’re grateful for the good relationship which exists between Indians who direct operations of the exposition and those of us who help as we can. This exposition is an all-Indian show—Indian owned and Indian managed. It should remain so.

Once this exposition has adopted all of the White man’s ways it will become just another show. Lost will be the strangeness that is typified in the haunting cry of the squaw, thrilling above the dance drum’s throb. The unpredictable of performance and the beauty of descriptive language will be wiped away in the blunt timing of White men.

Visitors coming here for the first time to witness this great exposition should understand this unique operation. Once they have knowledge of how the many plains tribes gather in this Indian center, elect exposition directors and step across tribal barriers into a single organization, their admiration of the Indian race will grow.

Finally, Wallace Kidd closes his column of the 14th with two short paragraphs applauding the efforts and qualities of then Expo President Robert Goombi by saying:

The president governing administration of the American Indian Exposition is an exceptional one in that it is setting a record for years of service. Robert Goombi, a Kiowa tribal leader and exposition president, has held his office longer than any other person. He has risen to a nationally known public figure, recognized for his continual promotion of the Indian race.

Under his leadership and with the help of such hard-working Indian officials as Tully Morrison, exposition treasurer, and others, the 1955 American Indian Exposition should be the greatest ever held. Before next year's show, Goombi will have accomplished what was considered almost impossible. He will have seen the exposition established in a[n] amphitheatre which will adequately seat all those who wish to attend.

For those who visit Anadarko this week, it will be a great and new experience in Indian folklore. Anadarko bids you welcome and wishes you a most enjoyable stay.

After reading through countless issues of the *Anadarko Daily News* and *The Anadarko Tribune* I am convinced that Wallace Kidd was a singularly unique proponent of the Exposition; he relentlessly championed its successes, encouraged its Boards of Directors, and annually called for Anadarko's civic and business leaders to put aside their petty differences in support of developing a vitalizing tourism enterprise centered on the area's Indian heritage and history. Others, especially news editors, were advocates on behalf of the Exposition, but few compare with Kidd.

Anadarko area residents were witness to rising tensions between the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache tribes during the summer of 1956. Several news stories published in May of that year detailed events surrounding the Comanche leadership's desire for independence from their obligatory membership in the inter-tribal council, and their objections to the "illegal" dismissal of their five Comanche council members (*Anadarko Daily News*, May 13, 23, 1956). By most accounts the differences played out along a division between the Comanche on one side and the Kiowa and Apache tribes on the other. Alliances between or in opposition to them were said to be long-standing and

historically based on inherent differences—cultural, social and traditional—between the three tribes.

For a time, the publicly aired arguments and rebuttals by tribal council members and the inter-tribal council's leadership (chaired by Robert Goombi in 1956) seemed to threaten any productive cooperation for that year's upcoming Indian Fair. However, by July their inter-tribal disagreements appeared to have been resolved, or at least temporarily soothed, and with tribal and political tempers more settled, the press turned its attention to the approaching Silver Anniversary Exposition celebration and less contentious subject of Anadarko tourism. In one such example, a news story published June 3, 1956 (Anadarko Daily News), carried the headline "Construction is scheduled to start on a new amphitheatre in the county fair grounds." Conceived by Wesley Wyatt, a local non-Indian businessman, the Redman Foundation and nearly 5,000-person capacity amphitheatre project was chaired by Exposition President Goombi. To raise the necessary building funds, the "foundation sold two square inches of original Indian land for [one dollar]. The buyers were given deeds to the land" (Anadarko Daily News, June 3, 1956).

Promotion of the Redman Foundation and its project was not confined to the Anadarko region. Interestingly, and in keeping with earlier booster campaigns, "Wyatt appeared on [the immensely popular 1950s] Arthur Godfrey show Friday morning [June 1, 1956] while [he was] in New York." Moreover, Wyatt "reported to Godfrey's listeners on the [amphitheatre's] progress," adding that when completed, "it will be used by the

American Indian Exposition and all Indians in this [Anadarko] region to present their Indian shows to the public” (Anadarko Daily News June 3, 1956). An announcement that “work is underway” ran in the local paper (Anadarko Daily News, July 12, 1956) with Goombi confident that “the new structure [would] be completed enough for use...during the 25th annual Exposition.” Meanwhile, it was announced (Anadarko Daily News, June 5, 1956) that “a gigantic Indian Pow-Wow with over 150 dancers participating and an estimated 2,000 Indians in attendance” would be held at Craterville Park for five nights beginning June 6th. This was not, as it might seem, an effort to undercut the Exposition, but rather an indication of the intense interest generated by and importance of American Plains Indian culture and dance performances in the 1950s. Oklahoma, and more specifically the region surrounding Anadarko had become the primary locus for such activities; literally thousands of people were annually flocking to the area to partake from the ever-widening selection of cultural tourism offerings.

The following week on June 13th a “special program of Indian dances and ceremonials” was held at the Mopope’s dance ground west of town. Representatives from Canyon, Texas and the Panhandle Plains Museum there were the honored guests of the Mopope affair. The 1956 announcement indicated that the featured attraction that evening was “the Mescalero, Apache Fire Dance...the pipe, Eagle, hoop, shield and ruffle dances, plus the regular dances, War and Indian two-step.” Another honor dance, presented by Mr. and Mrs. Tennyson Berry for their grandson Joseph Titus Goombi, on leave from his Air Force duties, was held June 16th (Anadarko Daily News, June 12, 1956). This honoring, like numerous others before it and since, was a traditional way that

grandparents, parents and friends could express their gratitude, love, and respect for the achievement of members of their families and tribes. Every summer for more than seventy-five years, the same ceremonial gatherings have been held leading up to and following the annual American Indian Exposition.

When the Special Souvenir Exposition number of the Anadarko Daily News made its way to doorsteps and newsstands the first weekend of August 1956, it was clear where organizers' attention was being focused concerning the forthcoming 25th anniversary celebration. American Indian art and artists were given top billing and much press coverage, and as Paul Crossland reported (Anadarko Daily News, August 5, 1956) "the agricultural program of the Exposition [had] been sacrificed in order to provide all the available funds and efforts to show the American people the unique paintings of Indian art." Once more, Al Momaday, a Kiowa, was put in charge of the arts and crafts exhibits. His national acclaim as an artist lent cache to the endeavor.

The local press did its part too by providing full-length articles about or large illustrations featuring the work of such artists as Lee Tsa-toke, son of the famed Kiowa Five artist Monroe Tsa-toke; Black Bear Bosin, Kiowa, and son of Frank Bosin; Moses Turkey; Woodie Big Bow; Spencer Asah, another of the famous Kiowa Five; Doc Tate Nevaquaya, Comanche; Archie Black Owl, Cheyenne; Roland Whitehorse, Kiowa; Steve Mopope; Carl Sweezy, Arapaho; Evans Anquoe, Kiowa and others for Indian Fair visitors' appreciation (Anadarko Daily News August 5, 1956). Furthermore, the



ubiquitous and delightfully humorous illustrations by local Cherokee artist William Vann Flores filled every bit of advertisement space in the special Exposition edition.

For the first time in its existence, the 1956 Indian Fair ran a full eight days, Saturday the 11th through Saturday the 18th of August, because the previous year “it was unable to accommodate all its guests within the [regularly scheduled] five” day program. Furthermore, a cast of more than four hundred members presented “The Redman’s Sacred Peace Pipe” pageant during five of the eight evening programs (Anadarko Daily News, August 8, 1956). Originally scheduled for six nights, Wednesday’s pageant performance had to be cancelled because of there being “more than 500 entries” for the much-anticipated National Championship War Dance contest on Friday night (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 11, 1956). Fair goers on Tuesday evening were treated to an assortment of Inter-Tribal ceremonial dances by more than thirty tribes “competing for the \$810 in prize money for color, appearance and rhythm” (Anadarko Daily News, August 14, 1956). “Other newsworthy happenings coinciding with the Exposition’s eight-day Silver Anniversary was the celebration of Indian City’s first birthday on June 26th (Anadarko Daily News, July 2, 1956). Also in the news was the opening of the “ultra modern [Black Beaver] lodge” (Anadarko Daily News, July 29, 1956) to accommodate the incoming loads of tourists each summer. The advance publicity for all the Indian related attractions leading up to the Fair guaranteed ample activity in and around Anadarko all summer long.

As I alluded to above, leadership for the 1956 Exposition was in the hands of a group of well-seasoned and capable individuals. President Goombi was assisted by Vice-President Roe Kahrahra, a Comanche, Secretary Francis Pipestem, an Osage, and Treasurer Tully Morrison of the Creek tribe (see: Appendix II). Tribal Directors were Willie Hail, Arapaho; William Koomsa, Kiowa; Wallace Redbone, Kiowa-Apache; Henry Weller, Caddo; Richard Boynton, Cheyenne; Joe Attocknie, Comanche; Alfred Hunter, Delaware; Robert Gooday, Fort Sill Apache; Sam Osborne, Pawnee; Bill Campbell, Wichita; and Murray Littlecrow representing the Otoe tribe (AIE Program 1956). Their collective hard work and management produced a parade boasting seventy-four units divided into four sections. The 1956 princesses or “royalty” generated ample acknowledgement too. They were: Isa Attocknie, Comanche; Myrna Jo Beaver, Delaware; Charlotte Lumpmouth, Arapaho; Anita Lookout, Osage; Francis Cussen, Caddo; Inabell Kawley, Fort Sill Apache; Marlene Hawkins, Cheyenne; Martha Nell Kauley, Kiowa; Ella Lou Chalepah, Plains Apache; Elizabeth Leading, Pawnee; Betty Jo Rowline, Wichita; and Claudette Moore, Otoe (See: Appendix II for a chronological listing of tribal princesses serving each year of the Exposition).

Local press reports declared, “the Exposition opened with more color and more activity than this nationally famous attraction has ever witnessed, and in 103 degree heat” (Anadarko Daily News, August 12, 1956). Moreover, the story claimed a crowd of 15,000 spectators viewed the record breaking ninety-unit parade representing seventeen different tribes (See: Appendix I for a typical parade lineup). Numbers of participants in the pageant program and afternoon attractions were also impressive. Perhaps some of the

most important of these participants, though often unannounced by name are the drummers; the fact is, without them and their extensive repertory of songs, the colorful dances could not be performed and no pageant presented. The newspaper of Sunday, August 12 (Anadarko Daily News) reported the following drummers: “James Aunquoe, Ernest Red Bird, Mathew White Horse, William ‘Cornbread’ Tanedoah, James Haupe, all Kiowas; Albert Waters and Joe Rush, Poncas; and Tommy Wilburn and Max Thomas” for the pageant; and, “George Salo, Frank Pendleton, Ralph Kotay, James Chasnah, Edwin Chapabitty, Lucian Hice, Henly Cobin and Sylvester Warrior” as drummers for the afternoon events.

Before moving on, it is important to mention that 1956 was an election year. Thus, the election of officers and directors was scheduled for the morning of Saturday, August 18th, the final day of the 1956 Exposition. During the week-long Fair a flurry of campaign announcements ran in the local press, even though most current members ran unopposed; however, the presidency was up for grabs and several candidates made it known they wanted to unseat Goombi. Few of the other slots were challenged, except that a new Cheyenne director would have to be elected as Richard Boynton had passed away earlier in the year. When election results were tallied, all incumbent officers were re-elected. The twelve-year dynasty of Robert Goombi would endure for at least another two years. Directors seeking re-election experienced a different outcome. Alfred Chalepah was elected replacing Wallace Redbone; Kenneth Anquoe won his race against incumbent William Koomsa; Bill Campbell, Wichita director lost to challenger Wayne Miller; Henry Weller lost his seat to Leon Carter for the Caddo directorship; Peter Bird

Chief was elected to fill the Cheyenne vacancy; and Stacy Pahdopony, representing the Comanche tribe, replaced Joe Attocknie (Anadarko Daily News, August 19, 1956). Goombi convened a meeting of the new Board immediately following the 1956 elections to begin work on the 1957 event (ibid.).

By early summer of 1957 preparations for Oklahoma's semi-centennial celebration were well underway, Indian City U.S.A. was preparing for its second birthday, and organizers were hard at work on their slate of programs and entertainments for the upcoming 26th annual American Indian Exposition. President Goombi announced that "Joseph R. Garry, president of the National Congress of American Indians [had] been named Outstanding Indian of 1957" (Anadarko Daily News, July 16, 1957); and, beginning July 19th (ibid.) a month-long series of articles titled "Knott's Notes," written by Sarah Knott, Exposition pageant director, were published in the same paper. An excerpt from Knott's first piece follows:

I have never ceased to find romance and color in Indians, but the more I learn from actual association with them, and the more I find out from reading about the great Indians of the past, the more genuine appreciation I have for the race. It would take a great race to produce such great men.

I especially appreciate the Indian as an honest-to-goodness natural born artist; and that artistry is what we are going to feature in 'Drums Along the Washita.' We are urging all tribal directors to dig into the past and bring back the customs, one-time rituals, which are slipping from the memory of older Indians and are not being taken up by the younger ones.<sup>6</sup>

Knott, who had helped organize the 22nd National Folk Festival held in association with the Oklahoma Semi-Centennial, was no doubt drawing upon her own years of experience, but she also sought the advice of a local mentor of Indian artists and expert in her own

right, Susie Peters.<sup>7</sup> Through her daily-published columns as well as outreach to elders in the local community, Knott repeatedly sought the help of Indian residents of Anadarko.

In her second article, Knott discussed tribal songs, and their value to all Americans as cultural expressions of the Indians. She closed her piece saying, “we hope to lay a foundation for a broader appreciation of Indian music at this year’s Exposition” (Anadarko Daily News, July 21, 1957). In subsequent writings she elaborated on the theme of the Indians’ music. In one piece titled “Work Needed To Save Old Indian Lore” (Anadarko Daily News, July 23, 1957) Knott noted, “all too few persons take time to find what lies behind Indian songs and dances.” She, along with Expo president Goombi, had met with Anadarko’s Lions club the day before to solicit their support and to boost the Indian Fair. They told Lions members that “as one of three central folklore states in the nation and with Anadarko the center in Oklahoma, we need to hold with a firm grasp the benefits of this program [Exposition] or let a basic national heritage slip from our grasp” (Anadarko Daily News, July 23, 1957).

Always the unflagging advocate, Goombi said with all earnestness, “we have everything here. We could turn the American Indian Exposition into something great, the greatest in the United States.” To punctuate his point he said, “the Indian people are a great, friendly people. They come here from all over the United States. [However], I think some of them go home disappointed. I think an effort should be made to improve. We should all talk Exposition: increase the facilities here” (Anadarko Daily News, July

23, 1957). By now this call for support from Anadarko's somewhat lethargic (at least from the Indians' perspective) civic and business leaders was nothing new; however, having the vocal support and experience of a nationally prominent person like Sarah Knott as his aide was different. Sarah Knott raised an interesting question when she asked readers to consider whether: "Older Indian Dancers [were] best?" (Anadarko Daily News, July 25, 1957). Two local residents, "Martha Napowat Thomas, a Kiowa, and Mary Inkanish, Cheyenne" (ibid.) were all too ready to provide Sarah Knott their opinions, mostly affirmative.

As Knott later reported, one of the two women (Knott doesn't indicate which one) said, "seeing and hearing the dancing, and singing is different from reading about them in books." In that same conversation with Knott, "Mrs. Thomas told how the Kiowa 'Scalp dance' was done in old days with real feeling and understanding that made us know that the old dances had more strength and interest than the newer ones as we have seen them performed in a more conventional manner..." (Anadarko Daily News, July 25, 1957). Moreover, Knott understood Mrs. Thomas to imply that modern presentations of the Kiowa scalp dance was "more cut and dried, [as danced] by younger Indian girls who do not have as much understanding of what lies behind [it] as the older dancers" (ibid.).

Whatever differences might seem to be present when comparing the older traditions from the newer ones being presented in venues such as the Indian Exposition, it is important to make clear that Anadarko's Indian residents have always been unified in

their goals, that is, to preserve and pass on their unique musical heritage. To impress this notion of the continuation of cultural practices, Knott called attention to the flute player Belo Cozad, a regular performer at the early Indian Fairs, who she quoted as having said: “Remember me, I am an old man now 77 years. I got music way back. Keep this music as long as you live. I got from man way up Montana, man who spend [sic] night high on mountain. He got it from spirit. Spirit give him when he [was a] young man. He give me. Keep music as long as you live” (Anadarko Daily News, July 29, 1957).

Although music, song and dance were the focus of many of Sarah Knott’s stories in the local press, she did write about other topics. American Indian proverbs, poetry, folklore, art and food were also of interest to her and to readers of her daily columns that summer of 1957. Favorite Indian Fair recipes provided campers that July and August with some tasty culinary options, and non-Indian visitors must have found them interesting or at least unusual. The favorite by far, and leading the list was fry bread. Also included were recipes for “wild grape dumplings,” “green corn bread,” “pounded meat” and “Indian Village dish” (Anadarko Daily News, August 2, 1957). In her July 31<sup>st</sup> column (Anadarko Daily News, 1957), Knott turned her attention away from the topic of food when she presented the following words from the Pawnee Song about the Pleiades:

Look as they rise, rise  
Over the line where sky meets the earth;  
Lo! They ascending, come to guide us,  
Leading us safely, keeping us one;  
Pleiades,  
Teach us to be like you, united.

Whatever her topic choice, the message inherent in all of Knott's articles, unity, rang clear. The message Exposition officials wanted to convey in 1957 was a message of unity through purpose, of unity as heritage keepers, and unity as America's first peoples.

The subject of the Exposition has never been far removed when talking with people at Anadarko or when attending different tribal celebrations around the state. The Indian Fair represents something very special to anyone who has ever participated, performed, camped or visited there. Until recently, the origination of one particularly interesting aspect of the Indian Fair has always eluded my discovery, and few people I have asked about it have ever attempted to answer this question: Where and how did the mud-men or mud daubers come to be? Ask anyone and they will tell you it is one of their most favorite parts of the Indian parade each year, and sorely missed when not included. However, most people have no idea how the mud men or mud daubers came to be.

The following story "1890's July 4 Festival Seen Forerunner Of Exposition" (Anadarko Daily News, August 11, 1957), provides an answer, perhaps the most plausible one I have come across, asserting that the now traditional practice had its beginnings in the 1890s at the popular fourth of July festivals hosted by traders at the Anadarko agency. It goes like this:

To stage their mud man contests, the Indians would go to the nearest pond, where from three to six entrants would prepare for the strenuous competition. At the signal the contestants would ride their horses into the mud-coated ponds and start applying the mixture to their entire bodies.

The winner would be the one who could apply the most mud to his body and that of his horse and make it stick. When the contest was over the participants would



look like big mud balls with their eyes the only portion of their bodies uncovered. How the event actually evolved over time to be associated with the Kiowas, or when horses were replaced by the mud-filled wagon, and now pick-up truck, is unclear. However, to this day it remains one of the most enjoyed entries in the annual parade.

One week before opening day of the 26th annual Exposition, president Goombi declared “every indication points to one of our very best years.” He said, “we have never had as many letters [requesting information] from different states as have come in this year” (Anadarko Daily News, August 12, 1957). By Sunday, August 18th (ibid.), Goombi was predicting an immense crowd of thirty thousand visitors would be present the next day to view the “six section” parade set to commence at 1:00 p.m. downtown. Final preparations were complete for the much-publicized pageant production “Drums Along The Washita;” the bronze bust of Chief Joseph was ready for its 10:00 a.m. dedication at the Hall of Fame; and, the twenty-page Exposition program booklets were hot off the press and ready for distribution. Everything seemed set as Goombi praised the collective efforts of the Expo staff noting, “I’ve never seen so much enthusiasm and interest as we’ve had this year in preparing for the Exposition” (Anadarko Daily News, August 18, 1957). He added, “I’ve taken dancers and singers all over southwestern Oklahoma and north Texas in the past two weeks to plug the Exposition...and we got an enthusiastic response everywhere” (ibid.).

Tuesday’s paper reported that the unfinished amphitheatre, now in its second year of use, was jammed to capacity with “almost 4,000 persons [who] stayed glued to their seats

through the last dance and song and the final words of the [pageant] narrator.” President Goombi said, “we’re very happy over the huge turnout for the pageant and parade” (Anadarko Daily News, August 20, 1957). Results of Tuesday evening’s Inter-Tribal contests also held at the amphitheatre were reported the next day. Thirteen tribal dance groups had entered the evening’s contest with the first place purse of \$75.00 going to the Arapaho dancers for their rendition of the “Arrow” dance; second place prize money in the amount of \$50.00 went to the Comanche dance group; the Kiowa and Osage dancers earned third and fourth place winnings of \$35.00 and \$20.00 respectively (ibid. 21, August 1957). Individual dance contest winners included “Sam Melford,” a Navajo and “Damo Adams, Cherokee for hoop dancing. “Frank Brown and Sidney Moore of the Otoe-Missouri tribe” placed first and second in the "Eagle Dance” competition (Anadarko Daily News, August 21, 1957).

One headline in Wednesday’s paper proclaimed “Revised Pageant Again A Success,” despite “a drastically revised presentation.” Of special note was the performance of the “original Blackfeet Dance” presented “by the Kiowa-Apache tribe under the tutelage and direction of Tennyson Berry” and said to have been the first time it “had been performed since 1892” (Anadarko Daily News, August 22, 1957). Audiences were treated to a unique presentation of the recently revived Kiowa Gourd dance during the pageant’s last evening performance. It was reported at the time to have not been performed for thirty-three years (Anadarko Daily News, August 25, 1957). Winning artists who competed in the annual arts and crafts competition, were announced in the paper’s August 22nd number. Awardees included Jimmy Anderson, Carl Woodring, Al Momaday, Acee Blue

Eagle, Louis Shipshee, Lee Tsatoke, Rosemary Waqui, and Evangeline Goshupen. Judging the entries were “Laurence Cone, Director of the Southern Plains Indians Museum...and Mrs. Jeanne Snodgrass, curator of the Philbrook Art Center” (Anadarko Daily News, August 22, 1957).

Even though temperatures hovered at or above the one hundred degree mark throughout the week of the Fair, thousands of eager visitors could not be deterred from flocking to the fairgrounds and amphitheatre for the morning programs at “Teepee Town,” hosted each day by a different group of three tribes, or the evening pageant presentations and championship dance contests. Otoe fancy dancer Ted Moore won the National Championship War Dance contest presented Friday evening. The paper (Anadarko Daily News, August 25, 1957) reported that Moore had stiff competition from a cadre of fifty other dancers. Dancers taking second and third place in the senior’s competition were Johnny Moore, an Otoe and Scotty Bradshaw of Quapaw-Osage heritage. Other first-place winners during the evening competitions were: Smokey Lookout, Osage, for straight war dance; Mary Helen Anquoe, Kiowa for women’s cloth dress; Charlotte Hensley, a Winnebago, for girls feathered regalia; and, William Anquoe, a Kiowa took the junior division championship (ibid.).

By all measures the 1957 American Indian Exposition was a success. Record-breaking attendance at the opening day parade, at the Teepee Town presentations, pageant and dance performances was the result of hard work, aggressive boosterism and the Exposition’s growing acclaim across the United States. Letters from countless

citizens wanting to know more about the city's Indian attractions arrived daily (at the Chamber of Commerce office) throughout the months leading up to the August event.<sup>8</sup> To be sure, Exposition officials must have been extremely gratified by the attention being received. Goombi was "amazed" reported the paper (Anadarko Daily News, August 26, 1957), and acknowledged that "the grandstand was completely sold out for the afternoon show and added that 300 folding chairs put up to handle the overflow crowd were filled almost immediately." With obvious delight Goombi declared, "I have been president of the exposition for 15 years and this was the best attendance I have ever seen." Offering his thanks to the Exposition's many supporters, Goombi said, "I want to thank all the Indian people from the bottom of my heart for their fine spirit and fine cooperation." Moreover, he added: "I received no complaints from anyone about anything at the Exposition this year, which is a remarkable record. Everybody was happy. It fills my heart with joy that things went off so well as the Indian people look forward each year to the Exposition" (Anadarko Daily News, August 26, 1957).

The record-breaking successes of the previous two years afforded American Indian Exposition officials a fair amount of campaign cache as they geared up for the scheduled elections in 1958. Heading up the Exposition's Board of Directors was the unflagging and seemingly unstoppable Robert Goombi. Year after year in office, he had demonstrated a remarkable talent for leadership and business acumen, not to mention an uncharacteristic influence within the state's political circles. For several years Goombi's charisma and influence made possible the smoothest and most cooperative of partnerships between the Anadarko Chamber of Commerce, other civic organizations and

the Exposition's Board; however, changes in the Board's membership was an inevitability as will be discussed below. At the conclusion of voting in 1958, Goombi had been reelected as President for another two-year term; however, challengers had bested the three remaining incumbent Exposition officials, and new blood infused the Board of Directors as the Exposition organization turned its sights to the decade ahead.

When the campaign dust had settled, Amos Toahty, a Kiowa-Pawnee, and the 1957 Master of Ceremonies, was elected to serve as Vice-President; Yale Tanequoot, a Kiowa became Secretary; and, Leon Carter, a Caddo assumed the role of Treasurer, relinquishing his Directorship (AIE Program 1959). New tribal Directors were elected: this included Ed Burns for the Cheyenne, Bill Campbell for the Wichita, for the Kiowa Gus Palmer, Sr., and Arthur Thomas for the Delaware. I have not found any mention of who filled this role for the Plains Apache (Kiowa-Apache), the Caddo or Arapaho tribes.

All Exposition officers and tribal Directors were elected to serve for the 1959 and 1960 events. Unlike Directors who were elected to their posts on the Board, princesses were nominated or selected by their tribe's Expo representative. Princesses generally served only for one year, although there have been exceptions across the years. For 1958 the princesses were: Linda Edwards, Caddo; Jacquelyn Violet Oberly, Comanche; Mildred Keechi, Delaware; Delores Lumpmouth, Arapaho; Anita Lookout, Osage; Henrietta Gooday, Fort Sill Apache; Carol Ann Wilson, Cheyenne; Glenna Schrock, Kiowa; Ester Louise Jay, Plains Apache; Paula Fern Brown, Pawnee; Linda Carol Standing, Wichita; Susie Burgess, Seminole; and, Nora Marie Moore, Otoe-Missouri (AIE Program 1958).

Since the Exposition's founding, many young women of distinction have been acknowledged for contributing hours of service to their respective tribes, receiving special recognition for it during Indian Fair week. Thus, the tribal princesses convey strong symbolic messages about American Indian women, and are the conceptual and physical embodiment of their respective tribe's high standards of conduct expected of their gender.

Preparation for the 29th annual event was well underway by early summer of 1960; everything was progressing smoothly, or so it seemed. However, many Anadarkoans were surprised by news published Monday, July 25th (Anadarko Daily News 1960) that American Indian Exposition President Robert Goombi, who was also chairman of the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache tribal business committee, had suffered a heart attack the previous day. Goombi had subsequently been "admitted to the Public Health Service Hospital" at Lawton where he was reported to be recovering; however, he was allowed no visitors at that time (Anadarko Daily News, July 25, 1960). With less than four weeks until the opening of the 29th annual event, scheduled to run August 15th to 20th, Goombi's heart attack and hospitalization were of great concern. It was reported that he was feeling well enough by Tuesday, August 2nd to call for a meeting of the officers and directors to be held that coming Saturday, August 6th; moreover, Goombi put Yale Spottedbird, Exposition Secretary in charge of the meeting, at the same time making him executive secretary (Anadarko Daily News August 2, 1960). Goombi's action was believed by some to be inconsistent with the constitution and bylaws expressed in the Exposition's charter (See: Appendix I for a complete transcription of the document).

Consequently, the following day, Wednesday, August 3, 1960, it was announced that Amos Toahty, Vice-President, “had assumed duties of the Exposition president” during Goombi’s absence (Anadarko Daily News). Toahty said that the decision to counter Goombi’s instructions was made Tuesday afternoon by the Board of Directors, and “was discussed by each board member present” at the emergency meeting (Anadarko Daily News, August 3, 1960). According to the story reported in the paper, “Sam Osborn, Pawnee tribal director, made the motion” and it “was seconded by Art Thomas, Delaware director.” The announcement concluded with Toahty expressing that “I am extremely sorry that President Robert Goombi is ill...and I pray for his recovery.” Furthermore he said: “I will do my best to carry out the duties of the board of directors and the American Indian Exposition. But I sincerely hope and ask for the help of all the Indians who consider this their fair, to stand by us so we can render the best possible service possible” (Anadarko Daily News, August 3, 1960). Interestingly, the meeting for 1:00 p.m. Saturday August 6th, called earlier by Goombi, was still expected to take place.

Amid all the confusion concerning who would take over Goombi’s responsibilities as President, still hospitalized following his heart attack and just days before the opening day parade, outside observers called for calm and cooperation. Much work still needed to be done before the Exposition’s commencement. Even so, speculation regarding the legitimacy of what was going on behind closed-door sessions by the Exposition Board of Directors threatened to undermine the whole event. Amos Toahty, Exposition Vice-President, attempted to put Goombi’s supporters and the non-Native public at ease,

telling local reporters that, “we want to carry out all of his commitments pertaining to the exposition” (Anadarko Daily News, August 4, 1960).

It is no secret that news between individuals travels fast in Indian country, sometimes faster than the local press. Clearly, actions taken by the Board to put Amos Toahty in charge upset some people. Like repeating salvos, Toahty used the local press to clarify actions taken earlier in the week, publishing a statement in Thursday’s paper acknowledging that “it has been rumored that the board has kicked Robert Goombi out of office” (Anadarko Daily News, August 4, 1960). Toahty was adamant that the news wasn’t correct, admitting too, “there had been some discussion on the legality of the August 2 meeting.” He continued by saying, “if there is a protest on the August 2 meeting we can wait until next Saturday for our next official meeting to sanction decisions made earlier.” Toahty said, “I will most happily await and abide by the board’s decision.” Finally, in an effort to strike a tone of conciliation, he added: “Under the circumstances, we are going to do the best that we can, realizing that we all make mistakes. But if we have the loyalty and cooperation of all the Indians we can have the greatest exposition that has been presented here” (Anadarko Daily News, August 4, 1960).

The following day, Toahty reported that Goombi was hopeful of being released from the hospital very soon; however, instead of resuming his duties as Exposition President, Toahty said that Goombi “expects to leave the hospital for a long rest at home.” Toahty added that Goombi “asked for cooperation and harmony from Indians and white friends



that we may all unite in our efforts to promote an outstanding show” (Anadarko Daily News, August 5, 1960). To this end, expo officials did convene the scheduled meeting on Saturday, August 6<sup>th</sup> intent on resolving any remaining problems before the August 15<sup>th</sup> opening day parade. One of the most pressing was, “how to accommodate the 40,000 tourists expected to throng Anadarko streets during ‘Indian Fair’ week” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 7, 1960).

By 1960, the annual Indian Fair at Anadarko was a booming tourist event. Local merchants, fair goers and exposition participants were, in their own ways, making last minute preparations. The weekend issue of the paper noted that “tents have sprung up near the fairgrounds and Indians representing a number of different geographical areas in the nation are gathering to take part” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 7, 1960). It was also announced that the “famed, weird Hopi snake dancers [had] been added to the program” (ibid.). Famous for using live rattlesnakes in their ceremonial dances, Toahty told a reporter: “this is the first time we’ve been able to get this group of [Hopi] Indians as part of the exposition;” moreover, he continued, “it will be something interesting and unusual for Indians and spectators alike” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 7, 1960).

An editorial appearing in the same issue focused on a long-held thematic message, the passing away of American Indian cultural traditions. The piece titled “Rich History Fading Fast” acknowledged that “through the past quarter century, as this meeting and celebration of many tribes grew to national prominence, there have been great tribal

leaders serving in working roles” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 7, 1960). Some of these leaders were men like “flute-maker” Belo Cozad; or Albert Attocknie, a “Comanche, whose face always brought back memory of that red Big Chief pencil tablet so common in school rooms;” or Apache Ben, noted for “matching his huge size with a generous spirit that is unique in many ways to the Indian.” The editorial concluded with the following observation:

It is in recognizing these wrinkled faces of the wise ones and remembering the faces of other Indians now gone that a tinge of sadness comes with this 1960 exposition. And like so many others, we stay to watch and to absorb and to enjoy some of the great history of this western world that is fast vanishing (ibid.).

This nostalgia for the Indians’ so-called past was countered by Wallace Kidd’s praise and admonishment. Writing in his regular Not Kidding column of Monday, August 8<sup>th</sup>, Kidd dished out praise to Exposition “directors and officials...for smoothing out some of their normal personal differences.” He also cautioned that while “managing a week-long show, that must appeal to thousands of visitors” might appear to be a “simple job,” it is in reality a much harder and demanding task (Anadarko Daily News, August 8, 1960).

Rehearsals for the 29<sup>th</sup> annual pageant program got underway on Friday, August 12<sup>th</sup>; followed by a “full dress” performance on two days later. The public had their first opportunity to attend the Exposition’s highly touted production at the amphitheater the evening of August 15<sup>th</sup> (Anadarko Daily News, August 12, 1960). The 1960 Exposition pageant theme “The Sacred Eagle Feather of the Red Man,” was “written, compiled and directed by Stacy R. Pahdopony, Comanche director, Yale Spotted Bird, Kiowa and Exposition secretary, and Gus Palmer, Kiowa director” (Anadarko Daily News, Monday,

August 15, 1960). The pageant cast, comprised of more than three hundred members representing each of the local American Indian communities, featured the “Kiowa Blackfoot Society,” as well as several unique tribal dances including the Eagle, Straight War and Scalp dance; the Pipe dance, Apache fire dance, the Corn, Round, and Shield dances; also the Ruffle dance of the Otoe, the Dog, Hoop, Snake and Buffalo dances, the Kiowa flag song, the Return Warrior, and the Arapaho Circle dance (ibid.). At the close of Sunday’s pageant dress rehearsal, everything appeared ready to go.

However, all the planning and practice in the world could not match the fury of Mother Nature. All of the afternoon and evening programs of opening day were cancelled because of tremendous thunderstorms and more than an inch of rainfall. Wallace Kidd wrote: “It wasn’t just a mild cooling rain. It was a first-class soaker that seemed to center itself on the grounds to which many interested spectators had come” (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 17, 1960). By Wednesday the weather had become more favorable and Exposition officials made valiant efforts to get back on schedule. Some events had to be rescheduled, and guest of honor eighty-four year old Susie Peters, a long-standing patron of local Indian artists, was to have received special recognition later in the week. Unfortunately, she “was stricken with double pneumonia while attending the Gallup Indian ceremonies” and was not able to attend any of the Exposition festivities (ibid.).

Fortunately, fair goers were not to be disappointed, despite the earlier inclement weather. Wednesday afternoon programs featuring the first-ever visit by Hopi snake

dancers, and the 1959 Exposition crowd pleasing Aztec Indian troupe from Mexico City, drew enthusiastic crowds of spectators (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 17, 1960). Likewise, Outstanding Indian of the Year, Will Rogers, Jr. was in attendance by Friday the 19<sup>th</sup>, and that evening's scheduled dance events were shaping up to be as exciting and challenging as advertised. All eyes were focused on Otoe dancer Ted Moore, "defending National War Dance champion of 1959," who was expected to meet with stiff competition later that evening. Three categories of dances were slated: first, the Fancy War Dance; next, the Straight War Dance; and finally, the Hoop Dance" contests (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, August 19, 1960).

The attention of many 1960 Exposition fair goers was focused solely on program events like the carnival, pageant and contest dancing. For others, however, the political business of getting elected to fill Exposition officer or director positions for the coming two years was top priority. Statements of intent to run for office, including platform agendas and biographical information were published in the local press. In many ways, the 1960 elections illustrate the complexity of the exposition enterprise, and just how important these positions of responsibility were to those individuals seeking office, as well as for the tribal communities being represented by them. Besides deciding the candidacy of new officers and directors, the 1960 election would address a long-standing question whether or not to change the Exposition constitution concerning "the legal status of five Indian tribes who [until now] have been considered honorary members." These five tribes "were the Otoe, Pawnee, Osage, Arapaho and Comanche tribes" (Anadarko Daily News, August 17, 1960). This question was first addressed in 1949 when, "by an

act of the board of directors, the ‘honorary’ tribes were accepted as official members of the exposition’s governing body. However, no action was [actually] taken to amend the constitution to increase the seven-tribe control to [twelve] tribes” (ibid.).

Running for the office of president were Allen C. Quetone, Kiowa; incumbent Robert Goombi, Kiowa; Amos Toahty, Kiowa-Pawnee; Art Thomas, Delaware; and, Philemon Berry, Kiowa-Apache. After the initial round of voting was concluded, the two candidates receiving the most votes, Berry and Goombi, were pitted against one another in a runoff election. In an unexpected second-round upset, Philemon Berry garnered 424 votes to Robert Goombi’s 379 votes, thus unseating him from the president’s office, a position he had held for the past ten years (Anadarko Daily News, August 21, 1960). The office of vice-president was secured by Roe Kahrahrh, Comanche, out of a group of six candidates that included incumbent Amos Toahty; Rudy Tartsah, Kiowa; Gus Palmer Sr., Kiowa; Sam Osborne, Pawnee; Ira Hamilton, Osage; and Hadon Nauni, Comanche (ibid.). Finally, regarding the question about changing the American Indian Exposition constitution giving full membership to honorary tribes, voters gave their stamp of approval with “317 – yeas, [to] 47 – no” votes cast (Anadarko Daily News, August 21, 1960).

The 1960 event came to a close August 20<sup>th</sup> and the press reported record-breaking crowds for both Friday and Saturday evening programs (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 21, 1960). Spectators were entertained by a host of fifty competitors for the Fancy War Dance championship. In the end, twenty-three year old Billy Wayne Wahnee

took the senior division title, and his brother Joe (Jeep) Wahnee Jr. took first place honors in the junior division rounds. It was also reported that Lewis Oheltoint, Kiowa bested opponents vying for the National Hoop Dance contest, and that Jimmy Redcorn, Osage, won first place in the Straight War dance category (Anadarko Daily News, August 21, 1960). Other category winners included “Vivian Big Bow, 17, daughter of Woody Big Bow” for the “Girl’s Feather Dance division. Karol Wilson, Cheyenne from Thomas, won the Ladies Buckskin dress event, and Florence Chestnut, a Comanche from Lawton, won the Ladies Cloth dress category” (Anadarko Daily News, August 21, 1960).

Second and third place wins for senior division Fancy War dancing was achieved by Bill Koomsa, Kiowa, and Rusty Wahkenny, Comanche. Similarly, second and third place titles for the junior division Fancy War dance contest were awarded to Kickapoo Rice, Sac and Fox, and Gus Palmer Jr., Kiowa, respectively. The runner-up and third place slots for Straight War dance went to Abe Conklin, Osage-Ponca, and Charles “Smokey” Ballard, a Sac and Fox-Quapaw Indian (Anadarko Daily News, August 21, 1960). In the category of Ladies Cloth, Mary Helen Anquoe, Osage-Quapaw, took second place, and Marion Anquoe, Kiowa, the third place win (ibid.). One final mention should be made before moving ahead regarding the outcome of the ever-popular Indian Softball tournament, hosted at Anadarko each year in conjunction with the Indian Fair. The 1960 event champions, Ace’s All-Stars, beat their opponent, the Oklahoma Tile team in a “1-0 seven-inning” game at Randlett Park (Anadarko Daily News, August 22, 1960).

High hopes, great expectations and declarations of new and better management propelled a new set of Exposition officials headlong into the necessary preparations for

the 1961 season. However, as the date for the 30<sup>th</sup> annual event drew closer, it was uncertain that the new administration would meet its own declared goals. Wallace Kidd noted in his Sunday, July 23<sup>rd</sup> column that, “we know there’s supposed to be an American Indian Exposition. We’re certain there will be one. But we’ve heard little horn-tootin’ from the new officials who were elected to try their hand at producing a bigger and better Indian show” (Anadarko Daily News). It seems that preparations for and publicity about the annual Fair were lagging well behind everyone’s expectations.

With little more than three weeks until the Exposition’s opening-day festivities, Wallace Kidd voiced the feelings of many local residents, both Indian and non-Indian alike, when he wrote “were it not for the Anadarko Chamber of Commerce digging down into a dry-well budget to prepare literature, furnish paper, envelopes and postage there would be little far-reaching publicity that is so necessary to bring about a well-received exposition” (Anadarko Daily News, July 23, 1961). He remarked: “Even the initial financing of the 1961 show came about because Anadarko business and professional men signed personal bank notes to make an advance loan to present exposition officials so they could carry on what they considered essential activities” (ibid.). No doubt these public sentiments tested the resolve of at least some Exposition officials.

Even so, details for the scheduled opening day “Parade of Color” were being finalized, and the nearly four hundred cast members (of which 200 – 250 were under contract to participate) in the upcoming pageant production, “Teepee Tales,” were making ready for their planned dress rehearsal Sunday evening the 13<sup>th</sup> before the opening night program

on Monday the 14<sup>th</sup>. Lawdis Gandy, staff writer for the Anadarko Daily News, reported in his Sunday, August 13, 1961 story that “council fires of some 5,000 tribal members already have brightened the skies around this Caddo county capital while the city itself has made preparations for an anticipated 40,000 tourists who will come from all corners of the jet-shrunken globe” to witness the annual spectacle (Anadarko Daily News). The news editorial of the same date and titled “The Past is Fading,” presented a more reflective message (not unlike in years before) noting that many modern accommodations and appliances were quickly replacing the teepee, brush arbor, camp cooking fire, and the once ubiquitous horse and wagon outfit. The author’s nostalgic recollection, or perhaps more correctly, lamentation, was summed up with the following: “The scene and the faces are changing fast and with the passing of time much is lost” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 13, 1961).

In an unusual turn, it was decided to extend the 30<sup>th</sup> annual American Indian Exposition to include one extra evening of dance performances on Sunday because, as they acknowledged, attendance at Friday evening’s program had exceeded the grandstand’s capacity; and, as a result, many fair-goers had to be turned away (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 20, 1961). An alternative, and perhaps just as credible a reason might have been that lower numbers of tourists, threat of rain, and late publicity for the event had resulted in smaller admission receipts than hoped for. This shortfall of cash put the Expo enterprise on shaky, but not unfamiliar ground by the event’s closing day. In the end, the extra day only generated about six hundred paid receipts, not a good showing, leaving the organization with several outstanding debts yet unpaid (Anadarko



Daily News, Monday, August 21, 1961). Ultimately, even though press accounts dutifully announced program events, dance contest winners, and arts and crafts premium recipients, the 1961 Exposition fell short of the mark, at least when considering statements made earlier in the year by the newly elected Board of Directors. Hand-in-hand with a change in leadership of the Indian Fair, also came personal agendas, new ideas, and unique problems to resolve; thus, a bit of trial-by-error adjustment was always necessary.

The 30<sup>th</sup> annual Indian Fair closed, and the multitudes of tourists headed for their homes; however, gossip, rumors and intrigue continued to circulate in and out of the Anadarko press concerning management of the 1961 Exposition enterprise. When operations finally commenced for organizing the 1962 show, Expo officials utilized the local press to stymie the haranguing critics. One such press release, published in the Sunday paper, July 15<sup>th</sup>, informed townsfolk that “final details of the 31<sup>st</sup> annual American Indian Exposition are being completed” (Anadarko Daily News, 1962). A special highlight for this year’s show, according to the announcement, was that “Maria Tallchief, internationally known ballerina” (ibid.) would be in town as honored guest and Outstanding American Indian award recipient; and, just as in previous years, beginning in late May 1962 tribal princesses were introduced by the Anadarko Daily News, usually accompanied with a short biographical sketch and their photographs. In some years, keeping the public’s attention on the positive efforts and achievements of Exposition officials was a challenge.

For example, during the weeks leading up to the Fair in any given election year, it is common practice for individuals seeking one of the leadership roles on the Exposition Board of Directors, to publish their campaign statements (See: Chapter Six this volume for a sampling of such statements). This statement has traditionally been a free-of-charge public information service provided by the *Anadarko Daily News*. When it is Expo time of year especially, editors and reporters have kept the public well informed about the goings-on in local tribal politics, all Exposition related news, and always, any hint of scandal or trouble involving Anadarko's citizenry. Reviewing press coverage leading up to and during the 1962 event, one discerns that members of the Indian community seemed to be more closely scrutinized than their non-Indian counterparts. Sometimes, the smallest oversight or misstep by an Expo official was enough to trigger a maelstrom of inquiry, scrutiny or suspicion. Oftentimes the issue-at-hand, a simple misunderstanding, could have been quickly resolved; however, on other occasions, an incident might be the determining factor concerning one's viability within a leadership role.

One topic commanding a lot of attention in the news, the summer of 1962, was the ratification of a new KCA (Kiowa, Comanche, Apache) tribal constitution (*Anadarko Daily News*, May 14, June 3, 6, 7, 11, 20, August 7, 1962). Proponents and opponents of this issue can be characterized as divided into factions based on long-standing family, tribal and political alliances. Interestingly, many of the KCA business committee members in the summer of 1962 were, at the same time, allied with elected officials or were themselves holding office in the Exposition organization. Editorials and letters

published in the paper kept this and other contentious issues in the public arena throughout the weeks and months leading up to and during the 1962 American Indian Exposition (See: Anadarko Daily News, June 8, 10; July 27, 29; and, August 3, 5, 10, 1962).

Another issue of constant concern (regardless of who was at the leadership helm) was management of finances associated with producing the annual event. This one issue—money—has been a constant catalyst over the years, for praising or criticizing, faulting or supporting Expo officials and their leadership of the enterprise. This was no different in 1962; moreover, it became a critical factor in the election of the officials who would run the 1963-64 shows (Anadarko Daily News, August 12, 16, 20, and 24, 1962). As illustration, on Sunday, August 12, the day before opening the 1962 event and one day after votes were cast to elect officials for the next two-year term, an editorial published in the Anadarko Daily News titled Exposition Needs Stability offered area readers the following:

Whoever might be president – the present one or another choice – we hope there is more overall permanency in planning than was suffered for the exposition which opens here Monday.

...What the Indians do in tribal committee affairs and even in most of the operation of the American Indian Exposition is ordinarily the business of the Indians themselves. However, the on-again, off-again scheduling of events which the Indians hope will attract the attention and dollars of non-Indians as well as Indians is another matter.

...This boast of ‘Indian Owned and Operated’ which has been the proud acclaim of Indian leaders in the exposition will go unchallenged unless there is an improvement in planning, performance and management. Much more indecision and few would be willing to say they owned and operated it.

Whether or not voters were influenced by earlier reports in the press, by rumors or other concerns cannot be explicitly determined; however, the 1962 elections echoed the sentiments expressed in newspaper reports. When readers opened their papers Monday, August 13, opening day of the 31<sup>st</sup> annual Indian Fair, they learned that Robert Goombi had defeated Philemon Berry and six other contenders, to regain the presidency for the 1963-64 term (Anadarko Daily News, 1962).

With the balloting now over, attention of the press turned to Expo programs scheduled for Indian Fair week. The pageant, “Peace Pipe on the Prairie,” was expected to draw large crowds, as were the contest dancing events and other assorted entertainments (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, August 13, 1962). It was reported midweek by Gandy Lawdis that “dressed in an all-black sheath dress with black neck scarf and black shoes, Miss Tallchief [Outstanding Indian of the Year] received the scroll from Philemon Berry, Exposition president, while a full grandstand applauded” (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 14, 1962). Her native tribe honored Maria Tallchief with a special Osage “Chief’s” dance. It was also reported that the internationally known ballerina watched the evening performance with other officials from their own “special box” (ibid.). Clearly, Maria Tall Chief was considered American Indian royalty, and while attending the Fair, she was treated as such.

A front-page story on Thursday, August 16<sup>th</sup> had the effect of stoking the persistent worry about funding issues, and provided the public with some stark facts. One highlight of the story, titled “State Funds Release Set For Exposition,” established why there had

been no Exposition “program[s] prepared for sale” to fair goers, and why “no advertising brochures were printed” for the 1962 show (Anadarko Daily News, 1962). Exposition officials were being reminded in subtle ways that they could expect no access to state appropriated funds until existing debts had been liquidated. Exposition board members were reminded once more August 24<sup>th</sup>, in stronger terms, by Oklahoma state Senator Don Baldwin that “it will be necessary that the exposition officials furnish an accounting of income and expenditures for the 1961 and 1962 shows.” Moreover, he said “there must be an irrevocable agreement from the exposition’s officers and directors to the bank in which the \$5,000 state money will be deposited, that these bills will be paid from that \$5,000. That’s the only way you’re going to get paid” Baldwin exclaimed (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, August 24, 1962). Despite the gravity of the financial situation faced by the Indian Fair organization during Berry’s term in charge, the grand old show finished out its scheduled events, albeit financially burdened and noticeably battered.

By Thursday, the Indian Fair was in full swing, with the major attractions still to come (See: Appendix I for selected award winners). The press quoted William (Bill) Koomsa Jr., “1961 fancy war dance champion” as saying the current contest “should be one to remember for a long time” and, that “the competition...is stronger than it has been in several seasons” (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, August 17, 1962). Gandy Lawdis noted that “during the Exposition’s National War dance championships Friday night, there was standing room only by 8:15 p.m., fifteen minutes after the show had started” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 19, 1962). He went on to report that “George Smith Watchetaker, 46, a Comanche from Lawton, became one of the very few—and possibly

the first—to win the fancy war dance men’s senior division for the third time” (ibid.). Despite some turbulent going early on, the 31<sup>st</sup> American Indian Exposition did present fair goers with many special attractions, and spectacular contest dancing. However, it was now time for the newly elected Expo organization headed up by Robert Goombi Sr., to begin planning anew.

Like in previous election years, with the close of the 31<sup>st</sup> annual Indian fair, came an official change in the Exposition organization. Robert Goombi, having regained the office of President, was looking forward to addressing the disappointments of the past two seasons. Goombi was confident that he had recovered sufficiently from the heart attack suffered in July 1960, just four weeks before opening day of that year’s Fair. Now elected to head the 1963-64 Expositions, he could resume the work he loved so well. However, Goombi’s closest friends were not as convinced, believing “he had not completely recuperated” and that the stresses of managing the annual event would do more harm than good. Sadly, his friends were right. On February 19, 1963, having served only fifty days of his new term as president, Anadarkoans learned that Robert Goombi had died (Anadarko Daily News, July 14, 1963). Now, and with little notice, Roe Kahrahh, a Comanche who had been re-elected vice-president with Goombi, would assume responsibilities for managing the Indian Fair.

Gandy Lawdis, reported that “the heavy set Kahrahh has entered his new job with such fire that he is undertaking an attempt to make a couple of major reforms that, if successful, could help make the Exposition one of the smoothest Indian projects around”

(Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, June 20, 1963). Kahrahrh told Gandy, “I’m really no Indian politician, and that’s why I think I can be successful in taking the Exposition out of the category of a political machine.” In addition he said, “I think I have more flexibility to get more things done outside the realms of using it as a political candidate stepping stone.” He went on to describe the 1963 pageant, “Smoke Signals to Indian Youth” and its focus on tribal elders saying, “We have asked all our directors to provide us with some of their oldest members who participate, so that we can honor them the first night of the pageant. I have felt in the past that not enough recognition has been given our elders,” he told Lawdis (ibid.).

Also changed in this year’s programming were the dates for hosting the Exposition. The 1963 show had now been slated for mid-July, a month ahead of its usual time. In addition, if things worked out, the 32<sup>nd</sup> annual event would be the first ever to present a trophy honoring the fancy war dance champion. Speaking to reporters, President Roe Kahrahrh said, “We have found that our past national men’s fancy war dance champions have nothing to show for that honor other than the \$100 top prize money.” He added that, “If we can get this trophy project started, we’ll have a permanent record and an honor that will last year after year for our best dancers” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, June 30, 1963). Recognition for best parade of color participants, a new honor this year, was praised by Expo vice-president Arthur Thomas, a Delaware, when he announced that, “prizes [would] be awarded...by the Anadarko Retail Business Committee of the Chamber of Commerce.” Thomas also reported that, “we’ll sponsor a non-denominational church service in front of the grandstand on Sunday morning. Sam

Osbourne, Pawnee director, and Andy Smith, Caddo director, will be in charge.” Important, too, he noted, “It’s the first time that I know of that the Exposition has had a joint church service, and I think it will help us get in a better frame of mind for the ’63 show” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 7, 1963).

A feature story by Lawdis Gandy appearing in the Sunday, July 7<sup>th</sup> issue of the *Anadarko Daily News* highlighted to upcoming visits by fancy war dance champions, and the color and spectacle Fair goers would see in the various dance contests to be presented. Paying special attention to champion dancer George Smith “Woogie” Watchetaker, Gandy wrote that, “some say Watchetaker, who always dances wearing a long black wig given him when the late Mike Todd brought his movie crews to the Wichita Mountains near Lawton...was the best man’s fancy war dance style on the circuit today.” Watchetaker told Gandy that, “the rest of the Indians call the Comanche the snake people. I dance to represent my people and use those markings.” Continuing he said, “The red markings on my eyes make them the same as my grandfather when he danced” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 7, 1963).

The three-time fancy war dance champion offered the younger dance crowd the following bit of advice and criticism:

There is too much spinning these days among some dancers. They just dance on one foot and spin to the right, then change feet and spin to the left. There’s no style in that. I tell those younger Indians who come to me for advice that they must prepare themselves for dancing by getting in the mood of the thing. They must yell, and dip, and use more body movement, not dance only from the waist down...They must dance as often as possible, and try as many new steps and movements as possible. They must know the songs. A dancer can’t put out



his best if he does not know the songs. And they must be in time with the drum. One slip and you've knocked yourself out of the placings" (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 7, 1963).

Watchetaker knew there would be a number of returning champions to dance in the 1963 event. Among those reported in the press to be participating were: Teddy Moore, Otoe-Pawnee; Elmer Brown, Joe Joe Rice and his brother Kickapoo Rice, all three Otoe tribe members; Rusty Wahkinney, Comanche; Bill "Duke" Koomsa Jr., a Kiowa; Warren Weller, Caddo, Garland Kent, Ponca tribe; Laurence Laret, Ponca-Osage; Charles Chibitty, Comanche; Pat Patterson, Sac and Fox; Billy Wahnee, Comanche; Bill Ware and Truman Ware, Kiowa; and, of course George Smith (Woogie) Watchetaker, a member of the Comanche tribe (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 7, 1963).

On the eve of opening day 1963 the paper ran stories announcing that all systems were go for the Exposition. All was ready for the festivities to commence the next day, Monday, July 15<sup>th</sup>. Roe Kahrahrak acknowledged that "Mr. Exposition," the late Robert Goombi Sr., would be honored before the pageant performance on Monday evening. "It's something we must do [because] Robert gave so much of himself to the Exposition for so many years. Our prayers Sunday morning and Monday night will be that Mr. Goombi will be a part of the American Exposition each year" (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 14, 1963). In the same issue Wallace Kidd reminded local citizens in his Not Kidding column that, "For many years this exposition has been the focal point for Indian activities in Anadarko." Moreover, he noted that, "from the spark set by it has come the development of the year-round Indian City U.S.A. attraction, the Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center, [and] the Hall of Fame for Famous American

Indians.” Kidd encouraged locals to be mindful of the tangential benefits accruing from the annual Indian Fair and that “without this exposition there would not have been the strong impression placed upon those living outside the Anadarko area.” He alleged “this city would be like many thousands of others across the nation, without distinctive identity that causes visitors to remember us” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 14, 1963).

An editorial appearing in Monday’s paper applauded the new Exposition President noting that, Roe “Kahrahrhah was handed the task of leading a financially-ailing Exposition without the benefit of previous experience. He has little or no training in directing the affairs of a nationally-known show.” Even so “this Comanche, who quietly goes about his work without the usual amount of drum-beating and political maneuvering, has gotten together a week-long show that will be pleasing to visitors.” Moreover, “he has done so by ignoring some of the barriers which disgruntled tribal leaders sought to place in his path. He has brought many of the expositions operations out into the open” the writer explained, “so that the Indians and other interested persons can know what is going on” (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, July 15, 1963). Even with such high praise, the public was also kept apprised of the financial situation, and how funds generated by the Exposition were being used.

Anadarko’s Exposition visitors were kept busy, day and night, during the, now, six-day celebration. By the eve of the men’s senior division fancy war dance championship, large crowds had gathered to watch the culmination of what had, by most accounts been a successful Indian Fair. The crowds were so large in fact that, “The Exposition

grandstands overflowed and additional spectators were seated on the ground in front of the dance circle.” By Saturday morning everyone learned that Elmer Brown, an Otoe, had “out-stepped” the defending champion George Smith Watchetaker, a Comanche. The second place win was awarded to Ted Moore, an Otoe. Tugger Palmer, a Kiowa, won the men’s junior division fancy war dance contest, with second place going to Willard Brown. “Marleen Riding-In, a Pawnee from Skiatook, was Grand Award winner of the art division,” and interestingly, a “most promising artist” award went to Doc Tate Nevaquoya, a Comanche (See: Appendix I for more arts and crafts award winners). Readers of the local press also learned that the 1964 American Indian Exposition would take place again in July (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 21, 1963).

Feature stories in early May 1964, and two press reports during the week of the 1963 Indian Fair, still plagued the organization by making sure the Expo’s financial situation was public knowledge. A Lawdis Gandy story appeared in the Sunday, May 10<sup>th</sup> paper disclosing news that the 1963 Exposition netted almost thirty thousand dollars. Out of this sum were disbursements to cover unpaid bills from the 1962 Fair, present-year obligations and notes of credit. When all figures were tallied, the 1963 Indian Fair had collected “\$29,849.70 and spent \$29,847.53, leaving a balance of \$2.17 in the black” noted Roe Kahraah, Exposition President. He also pointed out that, “When my administration started in 1963, we started with nothing. We didn’t even have a post hole digger or an axe” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, May 10, 1963).

Not all news dealt with Expo money problems, however. Exposition officials were lauded by long-standing supporter and pageant producer Miss Sarah Gertrude Knott, for “making the culture of the American Indian the basis of this nation’s cultural heritage.” Her remarks were made in conjunction with the American Indian Exposition being “selected for the annual Burl Ives award for folk festival achievement” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, May 24, 1964). Likewise, both Indian City U.S.A. and the Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians garnered positive press in the weeks leading up to the 1964 event. Generally, Roe Kahrahr’s organization was viewed as at least making a go of stabilizing what had, in recent seasons, been a rather turbulent and fractious enterprise.

This was also an election year for the Expo organization, and two candidates, incumbent Roe Kahrahr and Adolphis Goombi, a Kiowa, made early declarations that they intended to seek the office of Expo President (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, June 7, 1964). In a follow-up story, it was reported that Arthur Thomas, a Delaware, would also run for the office of president. Like father, like son, Robert Goombi Jr., filed for the office of vice-president. According to the press report, this would be the first time that filing fees would be required of candidates; for executive office the fee was \$25.00 and \$5.00 for director. The monies generated were to be used to offset “expenses of the election itself.” Overseeing the election process were “Laurence Snake, Delaware, Andy Smith, Caddo, Myles Stevenson, Wichita, and Oscar Tsoodle, Kiowa” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, June 28, 1964). Election squabbles over whether any Indian of any tribe should be able to seek executive office, surfaced again this year. Despite actions taken by the Kahrahr organization, Pat Hayes, a Chickasaw Indian, submitted the required

\$25.00 filing fee. His fee was returned later with a note explaining Hayes' ineligibility (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, June 30, 1964). Ultimately, the upcoming election scheduled for Saturday, July 11, 1964, would determine the Expo leadership for the 1965 and 1966 Indian Fairs; however, in the end, Pat Hayes would not be deemed eligible to vie for any elected Expo office.

The American Indian Exposition welcomed eager crowds of tourists and locals, as it had for the previous thirty-two seasons, when it opened its doors on Monday, July 13<sup>th</sup>. It was a hot July evening for the Fair's visitors, but cooler than just a week before when temperatures remained above the century mark, hovering between 104-106 degrees. Election results returned Kahrahrah to the presidency for another two years, as well as putting Robert Goombi Jr., in the vice-president's slot, after surviving a tight race with Wallace Redbone, a Kiowa-Apache (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, July 13, 1964). In related gossip concerning the Indian Fair, Mack Silverhorn told a local friend that, "he's been head drummer for the American Indian Exposition so long that he not only knows all the dance songs, but [he] can also almost sing the Navajo tunes for the Eagle dance and other specialties" (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, July 16, 1964). Friday's paper reported that the night before, "Kiowa director Oscar Tsoodle had his chance at the dance contest. When a power failure plunged the Expo into darkness...Wichita director Myles Stephenson tried to pin a contestant's number on Tsoodle," however, it was disclosed that he "was quick to remove it when the lights came back on." During that same power failure, "Arthur Thomas, vice-president of the Expo, helped build five wood fires to

provide some light, but cheated from the old Indian way by soaking the wood in gasoline and lighting it with a match” (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, July 17, 1964).

During mid-week tribal dance contests, the Osage tribe took top honors with the Pawnees taking second place; the Otoes secured a third place win, while the Comanche tribe’s dancers placed forth. In an effort to “give the younger ones a better break,” a committee composed of men’s senior division dance champions requested several changes in how the dance contests were to be scheduled and judged. The most important of their requests were changing the age bracket rules by which each contest dance division was determined (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, July 15, 1964). All indications were that the committee’s requests would be implemented. When Friday evening’s fancy war dance championship was concluded, George Smith “Woogie” Watchetaker had bested stiff competition to gain notoriety as the only dancer to have ever won four titles in the Exposition’s thirty-three year history (ibid.; See also: Appendix I for other dance contest winners). Henry Geiogahmah summed up the 1964 Indian Fair with the following:

“Thousands of American Indians from all over the country are on their ways home now after participating in the weeklong show of shows for the Indians... All tribes will remember their princesses and how they represented them at the Exposition with such poise and charm... The older Indians will remember the pageant, “Spirit of the Drum,” and the message of love and peace it brought to all who saw it...

Every Indian fair has its ups and downs, and the 33<sup>rd</sup> Exposition was no exception. But regardless of the financial and political problems, the Indians had a wonderful time, and all of them will be back next year to collect another treasure chest of memories (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, July 20, 1964).

In contrast to Geiogamah's upbeat summarization, the Anadarko Chamber of Commerce sought to assess "the need for financial assistance" by the American Indian Exposition organization. Roe Kahrahrh indicated in his presentation before the Chamber's committee that "low attendance at the first four days" of the Fair caused an unexpected "deficit" in receipts. The Chamber's directive as was conveyed in previous years, stipulated that, "the exposition board prepare a full accounting so that it could determine the actual amount of funds needed" (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, July 22, 1964). Whether or not the Exposition officials ever complied with the committee's request is unclear.

With Kahrahrh's leadership and the cooperation of his Board of Directors, the Exposition organization fared much better in 1964 than it had in previous seasons; still, by June of 1965 it was clear that the perennial problem of cash poor and debt deep still dogged the operation. To remedy this problem, the Expo Board took drastic budgetary measures in an attempt to better their financial footing. As they readied themselves for another production: they made the decision to "slash the number of [paid] dancers from 210 to 150." These cuts "hit each of the tribes associated with the Exposition" Kenneth Anquoe told a reporter, adding: "We hope this economy [sic] move will mean that the show this year will operate in the black..." (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, June 21, 1965). This was a bold move, and marked a striking departure from all previous seasons when upwards of 400 paid dancers participated in the annual pageant show. No published accounts were found by this writer extolling or criticizing the Expo Board's steps to reduce expenditures, or the impact these measures had on the pageant itself. Like

each year before, early press reports indicated that a pageant would be performed. The 1965 production, "From Sunrise to Sunset" was written and directed by Mrs. Libby Botone Littlechief; however, no mention was made regarding who would serve as pageant narrator (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 11, 1965).

Plans were also being finalized for the Expo parade, visiting state dignitaries, and the arrival of LaDonna Harris, the 1965 Outstanding Indian of the Year award recipient. Of course, everyone was excited about the upcoming fancy war dance contest. Anyone who has ever attended a powwow knows there can be no dancing without the drum and accompanying songs. Representing the heartbeat of the people, the drum is accorded much reverence and respect on all occasions when there is dancing. As such, at this time in the Exposition's history, "each of the 12 tribes associated with the Exposition [were] represented in the official drum ring." Mac Whitehorse, a Kiowa, was returning for the fourth year in a row as the leader of the "drummer corps." Members in the 1965 lineup included, Joe Wheeler, Wichita, and Charley Curtis, Cheyenne...two of the oldest" members. Also part of the drum circle were "Ralph Kotay, Kiowa, James Chesannah, Comanche, Francis Redbone, Kiowa-Apache, Adam Kaulaity, a Kiowa...representing the Delawares, Eddie Longhat, Caddo and Harvey Homeratha, Arapaho" (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 11, 1965). The remaining Expo tribal representatives, unidentified above, joined others at the drum when the 34<sup>th</sup> annual show got underway.

Perhaps the greatest highlight of the 1965 affair was forty-nine year-old dancer George Smith "Woogie" Watchetaker's winning the fancy war dance championship title



for the fifth time since 1935 (See, Appendix I for a list of other winners). This accomplishment has never been repeated in the Exposition's seventy-five year history. By way of sharp contrast, Wallace Kidd candidly summed up the weeklong production in no uncertain terms with this stinging indictment. His studied assessment characterized "the American Indian Exposition—and its host city, Anadarko—[as having] reached the most crucial turning point in the show's 34-year history. He said: "Either a drastic change in exposition operation and planning must be made now or else this great tourist attraction will dwindle to a mere weekend pow-wow." Kidd noted that: "The 1965 show has been disappointing—not only to many of the spectators who drove long distances to see it, but to most of those who had a part in its preparation and operation." He acknowledged that fault did not rest solely with the Exposition organization, since "for most of its life [it] has never been completely out of debt." Yet, "without some immediate and radical change in its business structure" said Kidd, [the Expo] will not recover" (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 18, 1965).

Kidd admonished both Indian and non-Indian citizens of Anadarko that, "that must not happen, now or in the future. The American Indian Exposition means too much to the recreational life of the Plains Indians to be deliberately wiped out." Similarly, "neither can Anadarko residents ignore their responsibility—financially and morally—to help the exposition to get itself on firm ground." He declared: "This Indian show has been the vehicle that has lifted Anadarko to her position as the nation's Indian capital." Even with all her other tourist and cultural attractions, Kidd made it clear that the "American Indian Exposition is the focal point for the attention of visitors to Anadarko." Moreover, he

stressed that, “the Indians themselves must want a stable organization and Anadarko must assume a position of responsibility in helping form that organization” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 18, 1965). While this criticism by Kidd might appear harsh, similar sentiments had been festering among Anadarko residents, both Indian and Anglo, for several years. Periodic outbursts by critics, pledges to rectify mismanagement practices by candidates seeking office, and new operational resolutions had all been well intentioned, perhaps even promising for short intervals; however, up to this point in the Exposition’s history, all such efforts had resulted in little if any real tangible progress.

Immediately upon closing the 1965 Indian Fair, Expo officials convened a meeting to begin planning for the 35<sup>th</sup> season’s show, scheduled for July 11 through July 16, 1966. The Kahrahh organization’s earlier decision to move the Exposition program to the month of July for the 1964 show had generated complaints from some folks; however, then as now, the Board maintained this was a better time than the traditional dates usually scheduled in the month of August. It was also confirmed that Libby Littlechief had been asked to write and direct the 1966 pageant, her second production, and Francis Pipestem had agreed to be the pageant narrator. In addition, Oscar Tsoodle would manage the very popular horse-racing program, conducted each afternoon of the Indian Fair. At the same board meeting convened Sunday, July 18<sup>th</sup>, Kahrahh acknowledged that: “The year just concluded was one of the most difficult ever faced but we are thankful and proud that we were able to meet all of our 1965 obligations and make certain that all participants’ wages were paid” (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, July 20, 1965).

Slow response by prospective candidates for the 1966 elections, required the board to extend the filing deadline by another ten days. On the eve of the new filing deadline, the Exposition had only increased its candidate pool by a couple of candidates. Still vying for election to one of the executive slots was Pat Hayes, Chickasaw, who for the third try in as many election cycles, filed for the office of Expo secretary for the 1967-68 venues. Again, as before, the Exposition Board disallowed Hayes' running for office because he was not a member of one of the twelve officially recognized tribes (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, June 5, 1966). Because so few candidates were seeking elected office, there was no need for a run-off ballot; thus; Kahrahrh changed the date for general election voting to Saturday, July 9<sup>th</sup>, instead of Saturday June 18<sup>th</sup> as previously scheduled (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, June 15, 1966). It was learned the weekend before opening day of the 1966 event that Roe Kahrahrh would end his four-year tenure as president at the conclusion of the year. For whatever reason, he chose not to file for another term of office. In an unexpected turn of events, Robert Goombi, Jr. found he was without competition for the presidency. Thus, with his election to the top executive position in the Exposition organization, he commenced the second generation of leadership under the Goombi name (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 10, 1966). The new leader's father had served as Expo president all but one year of his eighteen-year tenure as an exposition official, the longest ever in any executive capacity.

In a story that ran in the local press, Henry Geiogamah reported that the reigning Miss Indian America, Marcelle Sharon Ahtone, would be a visitor at the 1966 Exposition. Miss. Ahtone, originally from Anadarko, and a practicing artist, told Geiogamah that,

“the purpose of Miss Indian America is to fill the gap which exists between Indians and non-Indians,” adding that she tries “to get across to the non-Indians the idea of how Indians used to live and how they live today” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 10, 1966). In the same issue of the *Anadarko Daily News*, John Youngheim provided the following bits of information. First, Youngheim recalled some of the early history of the Exposition and the late “Chief Red Wing and his wife, Little Prairie Flower, who each year while they were able drove their wagon from Watonga to the fair.” Concerning the present Expo, he noted that Edgar Halfmoon, early Exposition office holder, would “be in charge of archery contests during the mornings” of the 1966 gathering. Interestingly, this mention of there being archery contests is the first such report since the 1940s when they were a ubiquitous entertainment offered each season; even so, with or without publicity, the archery contests continued to provide competition and entertainment into the 1980s. Finally, in a somewhat uncharacteristic form of Expo attraction, Robert Goombi scored a big hit for Expo visitors when he secured the “Gemini 7 space capsule for display” at the 1966 affair. This unusual entertainment coup, announced in the paper as “Goombi lands attraction,” was heralded as a positive sign for future Expositions (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 10, 1966).

The 1967 Expo season commenced a decade-long tenure (1967–1977) for newly elected President Robert Goombi, Jr. He, with his father before him, would, ultimately, go down in Exposition history for holding executive office a combined total of twenty-eight years. To the present date, the Goombi record has not been matched by any other Exposition office-holder(s) in the Indian Fair’s seventy-six year run. One of the first

changes enacted by Goombi was to host the show during the traditionally scheduled mid-August dates.<sup>9</sup> When asked why he moved the dates, Goombi replied that, “The Indians have always held the fair in August. When I took office we asked several hundred Indians when they thought the fair ought to be held. The majority of them replied that they prefer August dates.” Goombi went on to say: “I know there have been a lot of rumors that July is the peak of the tourist season, but our receipts of the past two years did not prove this.” More importantly, he said: “Coming in August, the fair serves as a kind of climax for the Indians to all the powwow activities of the summer” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 13, 1967).

Another important change starting with the 1967 show was that prize money awards for the dance contest winners had been greatly increased. Top prize money would be awarded the men’s senior division Fancy War dance contenders. The champion would now “take home a \$300 [dollar] cash prize” instead of the one hundred dollars previously awarded. Winners in all dance contest categories would receive substantially increased awards. Goombi reiterated that the need for increasing awards was “long overdue.” Adding that, “the Exposition has drawn...the top Indian dancers in the nation. No matter how many other pow-wow titles a dancer holds” Goombi said, “he still wants to win the Exposition crown” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, July 16, 1967). As will be shown, the increase in prize monies awarded was, from this point forward, one of the longest lasting and significant early innovations introduced by Robert Goombi Jr.

In one of his regularly appearing Not Kidding columns, Wallace Kidd wrote that, “One of the unusual and pleasing aspects of this week’s 36<sup>th</sup> annual American Indian Exposition is found in its new leadership.” Kidd was making a direct reference to Robert L. Goombi’s inaugural term as president. He mused that, “while Robert Goombi Sr. was giving his best to the exposition, a youngster was growing to manhood, absorbing with his formal education a working knowledge of the American Indian Exposition.” It is no coincidence that “young Robert Goombi Jr. knew all the excitement of Indian families camping on the exposition grounds, the camp fires, the tribal dances, the grandstand programs where beat of the dance drums competed with unidentifiable carnival noises” Kidd wrote. Goombi was, no doubt, exposed to much of the Expo goings on, absorbing what he saw; however, “more than simply absorbing this knowledge of experience, young Goombi was able to weave in some of the finer points of formal education and actual successful business experience” suggested Kidd. Summarizing the potential of the new Expo president, the reporter noted that: “This young man of great desire and working experience [has] advocated some drastic, gradual changes away from the pattern known by his father and others of an older Indian generation.” In addition, “he [has] sought out past mistakes to avoid them. He [has] looked at past successes, searching for a means of improvement.” In the end, “the 1967 American Indian Exposition will be the first evidence of his success. This promise is great” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 13, 1967).

Goombi explained, in a story by Lawdis Gandy, that there would be “no horse racing” events. He said: We started this when Indian ponies were plentiful, and it was an all-

Indian event...but in recent years, fewer Indians have been entering, and it was costing us needed funds. Afternoon entertainment would instead “feature numerous Indian women’s games of the days before white settlement” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 13, 1967). Goombi provided another reason why the racing program had been scrapped in a different newspaper article of the same date, noting that, “when the fair first began...the horse races were conducted by Indians. They owned horses then, and they liked to race them. But none of them own horses today, and the ponies are ridden primarily by non-Indians” (ibid.). As in other years, there would be a variety of tribal dances performed each afternoon for Exposition visitors; and, evening programs were to follow the traditional schedule of previous seasons.<sup>10</sup>

In an interview with Henry Geiogamah, Goombi confirmed that although approached on several occasions to accept the Outstanding Indian of the Year award, Roy Rogers, of Choctaw descent, had always declined the invitation; that is, until the 1967 event. Goombi acknowledged, too, that the Exposition would be “one of the best prepared” and potentially, “best attended” Indian Fairs in several years. Geiogamah asked Goombi several questions including whether the Exposition should be moved to another location (so as to make it a more financially stable enterprise)? In reply, Goombi answered: “This has been discussed by some people, many of whom, think the fair should be relocated.” However, Goombi continued, “The Exposition was born in Anadarko. The People of Anadarko have always been its biggest supporters. Many Indians know this and also are aware that support from the townspeople is absolutely necessary.” “As far as I’m concerned,” Goombi said, “the Exposition will always be held here” (Anadarko Daily

News, Sunday, August 13, 1967). The most important information shared by Goombi with Geiogamah, however, was the fact that his organization was planning every detail of the next “six” Expositions, the 1968 through 1972 seasons. Geiogamah reported that the Expo Board have “put it all down in black and white, dollar by dollar, proposal by proposal, hope by hope (ibid.). Goombi was obviously confident his planning would be successful, but only time would tell.

Press coverage of Exposition activities remained positive throughout the 1967-1968 seasons, Goombi’s first term as president of the show. By June 13, 1968, the Chickasaw artist and humorist William Flores, was back at his usual comical high jinks by sending several local folks, including Wallace Kidd, cards with the greeting “Happy June 25” commemorating the anniversary of the Indians’ victory at Little Big Horn<sup>11</sup>. The city of Anadarko, too, was gearing up for another tourist season and startup of the 37<sup>th</sup> American Indian Exposition. At the end of July it was reported that the Exposition would be awarding “\$1,250 in prize money” to dance contest winners of the 1968 show, the second such year that premiums had been increased. The following week it was announced that Dale Robertson, of Chickasaw descent, would be recipient of the 1968 Outstanding Indian of the Year award. First, however, honors of a more serious kind would be paid to local resident “Sgt. Pascal Poolaw, a veteran of three wars who was killed in hostile action” the previous year on November 7<sup>th</sup> while serving in Viet Nam. Goombi told Lawdis Gandy, a local reporter, that several Indian service clubs, including the “war mothers,” would participate in Poolaw’s memorial on August 14<sup>th</sup>, the opening day of the Exposition (Anadarko Daily News, August 4, 1968).



Issues of the *Anadarko Daily News* ran a continuous series of advertisements with Flores' cartoons delivering each ad's calculated punch line. Just like contenders in the Expo dance contests, William Flores was drawing some equally good competition from a new artist on the scene Bobby Hill, a Kiowa signing his work "Whitebuffalo; however, the major source of comedic material continued to be produced by Flores. There was also a story by Carol Holloway, featuring the bead working expertise of "Mrs. Robert (Alice Jones) Littleman" a Kiowa and mother of artist Bobby Hill, who had been taught the traditional art form by her mother "Annie (Tohaddlemah) Konad, who had earlier been taught by Alice's grandmother, the highly regarded teepee maker and bead worker, "Domebeahy"<sup>12</sup> (*Anadarko Daily News*, August 4, 1968).

Also in the news, Goombi and a select group of local dancers including "Billy Horse, Tommy Ware, Sharon Tsatoke, Daniel Cozad, Everett Longhat, and Monroe Tsatoke" appeared on regional television shows to promote the 1968 Exposition (*Anadarko Daily News*, Wednesday, August 7, 1968). Marcus Fuller, selected for the second year in a row to write and direct the 1968 Exposition pageant, was putting finishing touches on his current production, "Black Kettle's Massacre." While cast members' energy and attention was being concentrated on their upcoming pageant performances, Goombi was still seeking to "borrow several horses for Indians to ride" and "at least 12 dogs" to make the pageant program "as authentic as possible" (*Anadarko Daily News*, Friday, August 9, 1968). Even with these minor wrinkles, the opening day parade went off without any documented problems, and was attended by an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 tourists (*Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 13, 1968).

The tribal dance contest title was decided mid-week of the 1968 event when the Otoe-Missouri group danced their way to victory, and the one hundred dollar purse. In the same contest, the Comanche dancers took second place, while the third and fourth place winners were the Pawnee and Arapaho tribes (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 14, 1968). Several past champions were present this year for the men's dance contests including Bill Koomsa Jr., Norman Kaubin and Wanee Weller, the 1967 title defender (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, August 16, 1968). After the dust had cleared and judges had made their final decisions, the top winners in Friday evening's contests were Opal Hail, Cheyenne for Women's Buckskin, Kenneth Goodeagle, Pawnee-Quapaw in the Men's Straight War Dance, and Johnny Whitecloud, an Otoe taking the Men's Fancy War Dance championship title (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 18, 1968; See also: Appendix I for other winners). A second parade down Broadway and Main streets and the last performance of the Indian pageant on Saturday signaled the close of the 37<sup>th</sup> Exposition. No doubt, some visitors scurried home, whether near or far after Saturday evening's concluding program; however, it was just as likely that a few individuals took a more leisurely pace packing up their camps, savoring the excitement and fellowship of participating in another American Indian Exposition.

By early summer of 1969 the Apollo 11 crew had made their momentous journey to the moon and back; and, President Nixon was just leaving on a somewhat historic trip of his own that would take him around the world to visit leaders of the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, India Pakistan and Romania.<sup>13</sup> However, closer to home some folks had other matters to consider. For one thing, prospective Exposition office-holders

learned that the “month-long filing period” for the upcoming elections would begin on July 1st. This would be the second consecutive election cycle in Exposition history that eligible voters would elect candidates for a three-year term of office (Anadarko Daily News, June 25, 1969). Likewise, selection of judges for the arts and crafts submissions had been determined, and those selected included Stephen Mopope (one of the Kiowa Five), Charles Rowell, an OU “professor of sculpture,” Jenette Mopope, Susan Black Owl, and Mrs. Bob Miller, a “museum curator at OU.” In the same press release, Harvey E. West, in charge of the whole arts and crafts affair, said that, higher premiums would be paid winning entries over previous seasons; and, categories in which entrants could compete had also been revised for the 1969 Exposition (Anadarko Daily News, July 22, 1969).

Just days before the Exposition, a related bit of news concerned Dixon Palmer having to butcher a buffalo bull belonging to Indian City U.S.A. It seems the bull liked to leave its pen on occasion to wander the hilly timbered area surrounding Indian City; unfortunately, the approximately 1800 pound bison exited the safety of his enclosure one time too many. The News reported that, “bread salesman” W. E. O’Brien “nearly ran over a buffalo that was standing in the middle of U. S. 62;” and, that the local sheriff with another man, finally cornered the animal, shooting it dead.<sup>14</sup> It is at this point that Palmer’s services were called upon. “When asked how long it would take him to cut and quarter the buffalo, [Dixon] Palmer laughed” and said, “It will take me about three hours, though it would take a professional only about 45 minutes” (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, August 1, 1969). The article does not say what happened to the buffalo meat

prepared by Dixon Palmer; however, I am sure it was not wasted, but rather served in many families' Expo camps.

As the week of the 38<sup>th</sup> annual Fair drew nearer, families began earnest preparation of their chosen campsites. During this time the hustle and bustle of various camp activities one could witness, especially during the early and middle decades of the Exposition was, as I have been told, very different from the present-day routine. This is particularly so with regards to the erecting of teepees, Wichita grass houses, Caddo houses, and the once ubiquitous brush arbors; today, some of these camp habitations are virtually absent, while others are becoming less frequently seen in the same quantity as before. What has remained constant is the fact that many people continue to set their camps in the very same locations their families and relatives have camped since the first Indian Fair in 1932. One camper in 1969, "Amos (Pee Wee) Pewenofkit<sup>15</sup> commented he didn't mind the work [of constructing his brush arbor], because he wanted to keep some of the old Indian traditions alive" (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 6, 1969). On other fronts, readers of the local media were informed that the 1969 pageant theme would "feature the arrest and death of Satank, a Kiowa leader killed near Ft. Sill in 1871." It was also reported that the recent Pulitzer Prize winner for fiction, N. Scott Momaday, a Kiowa with family ties to Carnegie, would be honored as Outstanding Indian of the Year (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 3, 1969). Preparations for the opening day activities were nearing completion!

Four days before startup of the 1969 Exposition, in a headline feature, Goombi provided a statement detailing some of the current organization's "accomplishments." He stressed that: "Above all, we have tried to maintain a business-like atmosphere in all our dealings, not only with the Indian people, but with any person connected with the exposition." The Expo president said: "We make no rash promises. It's all business—and when we promise something, we do what we say." Moreover he continued, "We have directed our efforts toward getting the exposition back on its feet financially, [and] recognized by the state and the public as an asset to the nation." Emphasizing the transparency by which the current organization was attempting to conduct its financial operations, Goombi explained that, "we've maintained a complete set of financial records that are open to the public for review at any time." Moreover, Goombi told reporter Carol Keahbone as he pointed to an accounting ledger, "These books have been inspected and approved by a state commission each year of our administration" (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 6, 1969). Statements like these to the press, concerning Exposition financial matters, were uncharacteristically candid and to the point. No doubt, such openness by Goombi was refreshing news to many non-Indians. Especially considering that annual state appropriations in the amount of five thousand dollars, to be used for offsetting Exposition publicity expenses, had been withheld in previous years, due mainly to officials failing or refusing to comply with state directives requiring a thorough accounting of all Exposition expenditures before the state monies would be released.

Voting turnout was reported heavy, when “more than 1,000 Indians turned out” to cast their choices for Exposition officials to manage the next three seasons’ programs. In fact, it was estimated that almost three times as many votes were cast than in the past election cycle (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 10, 1969). Results were published in Tuesday’s paper, and showed that Robert L. Goombi had won his second three-year term by a considerable margin over his two other opponents.<sup>16</sup> With the election concluded, attention returned to more immediate concerns, including pageant performances, and the dance contests. Many of the several thousand visitors flocking to Anadarko to watch the opening day parade on Monday August 11<sup>th</sup>, also stayed around to see Outstanding Indian of the Year, N. Scott Momaday, a Kiowa, honored Monday evening prior to the first performance of the 1969 pageant. The colorful and dramatic production, “The Arrest and Death of Satank,” was written and directed by Marcus Fuller, his third consecutive Exposition production (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 13, 1969).

Two other awards are worth mentioning here before moving on: First, is the Grand Award for best-in-show painting presented to Doc Tate Nevaquaya<sup>17</sup> followed by the Grand Award for amateur painting presented to Mary Ruth West (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 13, 1969). The 38<sup>th</sup> Expo officially ended after Saturday’s second parade and closing of that evening’s pageant performance. Both winners and losers in Thursday and Friday evening’s championship dance contests provided spectacular entertainment and fierce competition. Carol Keahbone said it best: “Some leave victorious from the battlefield of grueling contests for national titles...others not so

fortunate vow to enter next year's fray more practiced and more skilled" (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 17, 1969). It, too, probably seemed to many local folks that the Expo was finally getting back on course, having presented a relatively problem free event, and with a clear mandate from the Indian communities about who they wanted to remain as leaders of the American Indian Exposition. The 1969 re-election of the Goombi organization for another three-year term, confirmed that the Exposition enterprise was now situated the best it had been in several years. Goombi and other Expo officials seemed more determined than ever to capitalize on the tourism boom that had grown out of the Fair's first presentation to Anadarko audiences in 1932.

To that end, a new decade of dancing, pageantry, and cultural vitality commenced August 17, 1970 with the opening of the 39<sup>th</sup> annual American Indian Exposition. The July 19<sup>th</sup> issue of the *Anadarko Daily News* had informed readers that the ever-popular afternoon horse races would be reinstated; the return of horse racing came as quickly as it had disappeared the year before. By early August most details of the upcoming show had been finalized. Like clockwork, camps began springing up at the fairgrounds a week before the Fair's start; and, photos of each tribe's princess were being published individually, or as group shots in the local press. The venerable and "somewhat shy and retiring" Kiowa, Mac Whitehorse, took his place of honor as the head drummer for the 16<sup>th</sup> Expo season.<sup>18</sup> An estimated 6,000 spectators were present at Monday's kickoff parade according to reports in the press. This was good news indeed! If correct, it would be viewed as a positive indication that the Expo Board was delivering on at least one of its campaign promises. In a sense, the non-Indian community validated the Exposition's

progress when Robert L. Goombi was presented with the Anadarko area “Indian Small Businessman of the Year” award for 1970; and, he won an “honorable mention award in the nation-wide...contest” (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 19, 1970).

The 39<sup>th</sup> annual gathering marked the third consecutive year that approximately 300 camps received rations. On this occasion, camps received three separate distributions of meat, flour, lard, oleo, coffee, sugar and other sundries.<sup>19</sup> Thursday evening’s National Junior division fancy war dance contests were busted by “torrents of rain” chasing dancers off the arena grounds. Though delayed, the contests were rescheduled for Saturday’s closing day entertainments (See: Appendix I for a list of the 1970 Exposition dance contest winners). Friday evening’s scheduled Men’s Senior division fancy war dance contests went off without a hitch, however, and the second parade on Saturday was as “large and spectacular” as the opening day event. Then, a rare treat, twelve-year-old Johnette Lane, Pawnee-Osage, captured the 1970-71 “National Junior War Dance” championship Saturday afternoon; and, Johnny Whitecloud, an Oteo-Missouri, held on to his senior division title for the third consecutive year, making his fourth title win in six years (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 23, 1970).<sup>20</sup>

An interesting and telling story appeared in the August 1, 1971 issue of the *Anadarko Daily News* noting that, “in the past twelve years, tourist income in Caddo County [had] increased 86 percent.” The report noted that the county attracted almost four million dollars in tourist revenue during the 1970 accounting period, with almost one half that total being generated from “out-of-state” tourists. State wide, it was determined that



Oklahoma realized “\$430 million” dollars in tourism income during the 1970 season. The Anadarko area did its share of generating a healthy portion of this total. Clearly, the American Indian Exposition, Indian City, U.S.A., Southern Plains Museum and the Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians were the area’s main attractions for visitors to Anadarko. There is no question that many of the city’s retail businesses reaped huge profits from the region’s tourism, especially during the Indian Fair. Celebrating its seventieth birthday in 1971, Anadarko had come along way from its earlier incarnation as a sparsely settled Indian agency town.<sup>21</sup>

Spirits were dampened, but not extinguished when, on the eve of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Exposition, the Anadarko area received in excess of two inches of rain. This caused some Indians’ camps to be flooded, and others to be blown hither and thither (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 15, 1971). However, the experienced campers took the inclement weather in stride, rebuilding their arbors and shades, re-erecting their tents, and preparing for the upcoming annual parade and dance contests; more than anything else, they were looking forward to the opportunity for fellowship with their family and friends.

The Fair’s opening day parade of floats, princesses and regalia-clad dancers, especially the fancy war dancers, offered visitors much to see as they spun, twirled, stomped or glided their way along the parade route. For example, the 1971 prize winning parade float entry, “Arrows to Atoms,” featuring Dixon Palmer in full dance regalia, was designed and constructed by Riverside Indian School students and staff, to celebrate the

school's one-hundredth anniversary.<sup>22</sup> Equally captivating, were the diverse array of arts and crafts exhibits located in the Baldwin building. Just as in years past, the annual exhibition of American Indian artwork at the Exposition drew its fair share of curious Expo visitors, not to mention a steady stream of serious art collectors. The fact that several art galleries specializing only in Indian arts and crafts had been established in Anadarko, speaks volumes about the valuable cultural capital inherent in the Exposition enterprise. Throughout the entire existence of the Indian Fair, swarms of tourists seeking the "authentic" Indian experience have continued coming to Anadarko each season, not because of the town, but because of the American Indian Exposition and its progeny.

A new honor, the first "Jaycees' Outstanding Indian Citizen of the Year" award for "Indians who have contributed to the heritage of their people," was presented by Oklahoma Governor David Hall, to 100-year-old Mrs. Martha Thomas, a Kiowa resident of Anadarko in conjunction with the opening evening's pageant of the 40<sup>th</sup> annual Exposition (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, August 12, 1971). Interestingly, by the end of the competitions, not one of the returning 1970 Exposition champions held on to their dance titles. Thus, Johnny Whitecloud's tenure at the top of the contender's list ended when newcomer Sidney Moore Jr., a Pawnee-Otoe, bested the incumbent in Friday's fancy war dance showdown (See: Appendix I for a listing of other contest winners for this year). And so ended the 1971 affair (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 22, 1971). Within a few days the fairgrounds were empty of the season's last holdout campers; and, Anadarko quieted down after another colorful and bustling week hosting visitors to the Indian Capital of the Nation.

The next three Expo seasons (1972-1974) followed, with only minor differences, the standard format of previous years—i.e., two parades, arts exhibits, three pageant performances, afternoon horse races and of course, lots of contest dancing. The crowds of visitors flocking to Anadarko each summer, before, during and after the Exposition, remained steady during these years as the city garnered, and then cultivated, selective aspects of its tourist-centered association with local Indian communities, and their cultural traditions. What has endured in physical form all these years after, are the ephemeral moments captured forever on film, a few images filling each season's souvenir edition of the *Anadarko Daily News*, as does a bountiful mix of stories, some with a historical bent, others documenting the present-day issues of concern to Indians. On the political side of things, Robert L. Goombi was re-elected to lead the Exposition for another three-year term in the 1972 balloting, capturing "847" votes out of a total of 1242 votes cast for the Expo presidency (*Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 15, 1972). However, there were new persons elected as well to fill vacated leadership positions; and, with each election cycle new Expo officials came onboard. Each one in their own turn underwent a unique baptism into the world of Expo politics (See: Appendix II for a year-to-year listing of elected Exposition officials and tribal princesses).

As for the spirit of trust and collaboration between Exposition officials and Anadarko's residents, President Goombi acknowledged in a 1972 press release that: "Our working relationship with the city in the past few years has improved tremendously, and we, the board of directors, wish to thank all of Anadarko for the cooperation we have received." At the same time, Goombi was critical of some individuals who he said, "are

trying to start a wrong image.” He also noted that, “even though our relationship is not completely what we would want, we want to thank the people for taking an interest and hope the relationship will continue to improve.” In short he said: “It’s going to take time to build up confidence between the exposition and the town’s people. We’re all in the same wagon—when the exposition has a good year, Anadarko has a good year” (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, August 3, 1972). Goombi’s premise that mutual support generates mutual goodwill, profits, tourists, etc., had been acknowledged and lauded by other Anadarko businessmen for its validity. One of the most popular signs of the sometimes-on-sometimes-off mutual cooperative spirit considered essential to the well being of Anadarko and the Exposition, manifested in the form of camp rations, foods and sundries, both purchased and donated, that were distributed among the “452” Indian camps. The 1972 ration budget, amounting to just under \$3,000 and an increase over the previous year, was shared between area merchants, business leaders and the Exposition organization (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, August 17, 1972).

A close study of the late 1960s and early 1970s Anadarko press archive reveals that commingled within the general discourse for cooperation and understanding between white and Indian communities, were controversial sentiments being expressed by members of the increasingly outspoken and locally active American Indian Movement (AIM). This purportedly “militant” organization drew public criticism when it was reported that some of its leaders were advocating violence against the white dominant society, if need be, in order for Indians to regain their true voice and identity; moreover,

to exert a greater influence on the social consciousness of the American public generally, and more specifically, on the American government's treatment of Indians.

Some Anadarko merchants became alarmed when it was learned that Stan Holder, the Oklahoma coordinator of AIM, along with other members of the state and national organization, would make an appearance at the 42<sup>nd</sup> American Indian Exposition. However, Holder explained, "There never have been any plans for rip-off of stores or to terrorize merchants of the area." The AIM leader did acknowledge plans to request "speaking time" during the 1973 Indian Fair. Commenting about the alleged discriminatory treatment of Indians jailed by local law enforcement, Holder said, Anadarko and Carnegie were "notorious for their abuse of Indian prisoners" and that there was "enough documented evidence to make Watergate look like a traffic ticket" (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, July 24, 1973). In conversations held with Expo President Robert L. Goombi, the Oklahoma spokesman for AIM was reported to have said there were "some derogatory things about the exposition; however, it was not revealed publicly what those objections were (ibid.).

A week before opening the 1973 event, there was word that "AIM lectures...restricted to Indians only," would be hosted each morning of the entire Exposition "from 6 a.m. until noon" (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 8, 1973). Later it was reported that this allowance by the Expo Board had been changed from six to a single meeting "at the grandstand for a program on Wednesday morning" of the Fair (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 12, 1973). American Indian Movement personnel would also

man a booth in the Baldwin building to distribute “bumper stickers and literature regarding the movement.” The Exposition Board of Directors also gave their OK for “a ‘49’ on the grounds, east of the barn,” agreeing with AIM coordinators that the dance could continue until daylight, so long as it [was] kept away from the camping area.” Other requests made by AIM organizers including working alongside Expo security in order to monitor police treatment of Indians during the week-long Fair were denied by Expo leaders. In all, “some 75 AIM members [were] expected” to set up camps at the fairgrounds and in the area surrounding Anadarko (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 8, 1973). Then, mid-week of the Fair, the paper ran headlines in larger type than usual, proclaiming “Goombi Critical Of Unfounded Rumors” which the Expo chief officer decried as baseless and a disservice to both AIM members attending the Fair, and to the Exposition show itself. Goombi stressed that: “We don’t have any problems whatsoever with AIM” in an attempt to squelch the spreading rumors (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 15, 1973).

By most accounts the 42<sup>nd</sup> annual Exposition was a success. Festivities ended Saturday evening, August 18, 1973, and campers began preparation for their departure (See: Appendix I for a listing of dance contest winners). Carol Keahbone, staff writer for the *Anadarko Daily News*, reported in the Sunday, August 19<sup>th</sup> issue of the paper that even though “attendance was somewhat less than usual,” and a certain amount of angst was caused by the appearance of AIM members, “the exposition’s schedule [had been] uninterrupted.” Now, Anadarkoans could settle back once more into their quotidian patterns to await the return of dancers, campers and tourists the following summer.

When the following year's opening day finally arrived on August 12, 1974, returning tourists crowded many of Anadarko's streets, parks and motels. The paper reported that Expo campers had "been arriving in a steady stream for two weeks or more." Just a week earlier, a unique and colorful "experimental display," hosted by the Southern Plains Indian Museum, had opened for local residents and the tourists beginning to arrive for the 43<sup>rd</sup> American Indian Exposition.<sup>23</sup> The outdoor exhibit of painted tipi covers included "12 of the largest works of Plains Indian art ever presented to the public," and introduced the creations of several local and out-of-state Plains Indian artists. Among the notable works for viewing were "two unique documents of Kiowa Indian art, the 'Kiowa Calendar Tipi' and the 'Peyote Tipi,' both by Ernie Keahbone." Also on exhibit was Comanche artist Leonard Riddles' "Comanche Bearpaw tipi." Other Anadarko area artists represented in the exhibit included the following: "Mrs. Gertrude Chalepah, Mrs. Irene Poolaw, Mrs. Delores Buffalo, Elton Stumblingbear, Dixon Palmer and Bobby Hill." A "Crow Beaded" tipi cover created by "Mrs. Amy Red Star and her son, Kevin," representing northern Plains Indian artistic traditions, could be distinguished by the two exquisitely "beaded strips four feet in length" adorning it (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 8, 1974).

Monday's long-established parade route, started at "N. E. Second and E. Main," headed west on Main street to the corner of "N. W. Third, then over to W. Broadway" and eastward to the fairgrounds." All along this route spectators jockeyed for the best vantage point to view the parade, while the judges reviewed each competing entry as it passed the review stand. Parade judges for the 1974 event included Ruth Cox, Vincent

Martinez, and Dixon Palmer according to the *Anadarko Daily News* story published Sunday, August 11, 1974. Upon their entry to the fairgrounds, visitors that summer of 1974 would have encountered an estimated 400 Indian camps scattered south and north of the central u-shaped drive. More than in previous years, the increased number of campsites even made it necessary for Expo officials to seek permission from city authorities to allow camping in the adjacent Rotary Park.

Every Expo season, throughout the Caddo county fairgrounds, camp activity of some kind was constant, except in the hottest part of the afternoon, when a more restful and less noisy atmosphere prevailed. Consultants shared with me the fact that in early years of the Indian Fair, and again in more recent seasons, a designated camp crier kept everyone informed of important news, acting as courier, waking the camps each morning and other responsibilities as required, such as announcing the distribution of rations.<sup>24</sup> It had been a customary tradition the past several years, at least during Robert L. Goombi's presidency, for camps to receive an assortment of rations at specified intervals during the annual encampment. This season, however, campers were alerted by Exposition officials that rations would "consist of only three items: meat, flour and coffee," and would only be provided for two of the six-day Exposition, Tuesday and Thursday. It was not revealed whether the reduction in rations was caused by fewer donations and contributions from the non-Indian community, or for other reasons.

Similarly, for the second year in a row, the top prize money awarded to the men's fancy war dance champion was at the reduced amount of \$200 instead of \$300 dollars;



and, purses for other dance category winners was proportionally reduced (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 11, 1974). These minor changes do not appear to have diminished fairgoers' or contestants' interest in participating. In fact, it was common for many of the dancers in the pageant performances to be unpaid volunteers; even so, the reduction in contest prize money to these amounts, must have been interpreted as a setback by some Exposition participants whose livelihood depended on the money they earned during the summer dance contests.

The close of the 43<sup>rd</sup> annual American Indian Exposition marked the end of the middle phase of its history (1944 to 1974), and the beginning of another. The next, or third phase as I have described it, is characterized by three overarching developments: First, the gradual transition of leadership and power from the second generation of Exposition directors to the present-day generation of leaders; second, a growing political awareness expressed by Indian communities, especially during the 1970s and 1980s; and, third, the emergence of and competition with the Anadarko event, by a growing number of Indian cultural tourism venues like Red Earth in Oklahoma City. These new enterprises, especially Red Earth, slowly but steadily began sapping much of the earlier energy and cultural tourism capital away from the Anadarko venture. These and other related developments, manifesting in the years from 1975 to 2003, are examined in the last chapter of the present work.

## NOTES CHAPTER FOUR

1. "Full Closing Seen Finally." *Anadarko Daily News*, August 14, 1945, 1.
2. "Indians Close Greatest Fair." *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 19, 1945, 1.
3. Mrs. Alma Tilden, an arts teacher at the Fort Sill Indian school, was selected to supervise the arts and crafts displays for the 1945 Expo. See: "Arts, Crafts Teacher Will Form Exhibits." *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, July 29, 1945, 7.
4. Author's field notes August 2005.
5. Author's field notes May and September 2005.
6. *Anadarko Daily News* July 19, 1957
7. Susie Peters played a significant and long-standing role in the promotion and support of American Indian artists living and working in and around Anadarko. She had a particularly strong and mutual friendship with the Kiowa tribe and, more importantly, for introducing some of her most famous students, the famed "Kiowa Five" to Oscar Jacobson. Subsequently, these first five artists catalyzed the art world's thinking in new and dynamic ways. Thus, this act alone merits her being praised, not for towing a bureaucratic, governmentally over-wrought attitude towards American Indians generally, and their art specifically; more importantly, Susie Peters' efforts on behalf of her art students, permitted the forging of a wholly new conceptual aesthetic with regards to how Native American art and artists were considered by the academe from that time forward (See: "Mrs. Peters Gets Award Of Merit." *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 21, 1960, 1, 3).
8. During fieldwork sessions in and around Anadarko, 2003-2005, I made several attempts to determine if any of the thousands of letters received by the Chamber were archived by the Chamber or other city agencies. I never received much real assistance from Chamber personnel concerning this inquiry, except that I was told no Expo related correspondence had survived. It was suggested by one town official that such records, if ever kept, had been lost or destroyed years before.
9. The Expo had been hosted a month earlier in mid-July the previous four years under the leadership of Roe Kahrahrh's organization.
10. Concerning cancellation of the horse racing program, Goombi had said in an interview the previous year that, "if we could use this money (an estimated \$2,800 spent for racing) to pay performers to dance at the afternoon show, we'd have the grandstand filled with paying customers every day" (See: *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 13, 1967).
11. See: Cartoon re-published in the *Anadarko Daily News*, June 13, 1968. The inside of the greeting card shows one of Flores' familiar, and delightfully sarcastic caricatures, with the declaration, "Hooray...For Our Side!" and the artist's signature.
12. This is an interesting story detailing the passage of Kiowa bead working traditions through three generations, from mother to daughter, then, to granddaughter. In 1968, Alice Littleman, like her mother and grandmother before her, was highly respected for carrying on the bead working traditions of the Kiowa people

13. Nixon's 1969 trip was to include visits with President Marcos of the Philippines, with Indonesia's General Suharto, Thailand's Premier Kittikachorn, India's Premier Gandhi, General Khan of Pakistan, and the first time since WWII, a presidential visit to a communist country, to meet with Romania's President Ceausescu. In: "Around the World in 13 Days." *Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, July 22, 1969.
14. Details of this front-page story by reporter Arnold S. Platou, included comments by the sheriff concerning the shooting of this escaped buffalo. Sheriff Patterson explained: "They cut him [buffalo] out of the timber, and drove him into the alfalfa field—that's where we got him." Continuing he added: "We just kept shooting at him and hitting him, and finally, after he had jumped a barbed wire fence, he fell and was dead." In: "Indian City buffalo shot and killed west of Anadarko." *Anadarko Daily News*, Friday, August 1, 1969, 1-2.
15. Amos Pewenofkit's comment was published in the column Incidentally, a regular front-page feature of the *Anadarko Daily News*.
16. Goombi received 648 votes as compared to Vincent Bointy, Kiowa who netted 145 votes, and Arthur Thomas, Delaware who received 107 votes in the election. The total vote count between the three candidates for president, fall close to the estimated number of votes reported having been cast during the polling on August 9<sup>th</sup> (See: *Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 12, 1969).
17. Doc Tate Nevaquaya, Comanche, is recognized worldwide for his contributions to the revitalization of traditional Indian flute music. He was also an accomplished artist. A number of Exposition program covers are graced by his strong and evocative paintings. See: Paula Conlon's biography of Nevaquaya for a comprehensive examination of this important Native American cultural treasure.
18. Except for his absence at the 1969 event, Mac Whitehorse was head drummer for sixteen consecutive Expo seasons. He was highly regarded as a drummer and singer. He noted that: "I was attending a pow-wow at Dogpatch, near Clinton, and was sitting with my father—trying to pick-up the words to the songs." After a bit, "some of the other drummers encouraged me to start a song...and I did, although I remember being bashful." See: "Whitehorse is Named Head Drummer Again." *Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 18, 1970.
19. As reported in the local press, part of the expense for these rations was covered by contributions or donations from local businesses, citizens and social organizations. For 1970 the list of contributors appearing in the paper were as follows: "Anadarko Chamber of Commerce, Indian City, U.S.A., the Anadarko First State Bank, American Savings and Loan Co., Anadarko Bank and Trust Co., Humpty Dumpty, the Safeway Store, Peck's Redbud Grocery, Anadarko Daily News, Roberds and Wall TV Service and Appliance, George's Steak House and Cafeteria, [and] the Anadarko Elevator." Others included: "West Hardware, Erma's Lounge, the Leader Store, Red Ribbon Bar, Palace Barber Shop, Roger's Grocery, Moritz's Steak House, Antrim Lumber Co., Wag-A-Bag Grocery, McKee Indian Store, Frontier Grill, Vic's Shoe Store, Brandon's Bar, TG&Y, Al' White Service Station, Dale's Printing and Advertising in Chickasha and DeVaughan Drug. Individual contributors were Newt Spradlin, Erma Tingley,

- John Paul Buzbee and an anonymous donor.” (See: *Anadarko Daily News*, Friday, August 21, 1970).
20. Johnny Whitecloud won the senior division Fancy War Dance title in 1966, 1968, 1969 and 1970.
  21. Anadarko celebrated its seventieth birthday on Friday August 6, 1971 as reported in the *Anadarko Daily News* issue of the same date.
  22. There is a good photo of Dixon Palmer poised on Riverside Indian School’s parade entry, with caption in the *Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 17, 1971 issue.
  23. Documentation for the tipi cover exhibition at the Southern Plains Indian Museum, included an “80-page catalogue” containing many illustrations, photographs and essays about the history of tipi cover design. The catalogue was published by the Oklahoma Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative, and sold for five dollars. (See: “Tipi Exhibit Opens Sunday.” *Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 6, 1974, 5).
  24. “Campers Carry on Exposition Traditions.” *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 11, 1974. In the early years, camp criers moved through the camps on horseback, in more recent years the horse has been replaced by the convenience of using a microphone and loudspeakers to convey messages of importance to Exposition campers and visitors.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### **The American Indian Exposition 1975 – 2003: Bicentennial Blues, and the Beginning of Decline – Perceptions and Realities**

A feature story titled Oklahoma Indians powerful force in state tourism, in the July 13, 1975, issue of the *Anadarko Daily News*, reported that: “Oklahoma’s Indian heritage, coupled with efforts by Indian groups, has become a prime force in the state’s rapidly expanding tourism picture.” The article noted ventures such as the “Cherokee Tsa-La-Gi Village” at Tahlequah, and tourism related projects underway by the Chickasaws, Tonkawas, Seminole, and the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes. Mention of the American Indian Exposition at Anadarko and its affiliated tourist attractions, like Indian City U.S.A., was also highlighted. Then Executive director of Oklahoma’s Tourism and Recreation Department, Abe Hesser, reported: “Through these projects, the Indian people of Oklahoma are now beginning to capitalize on the travelers’ interest in their heritage.” Continuing, he said, “the more activity there is, the more travelers there will be,” (ibid.). Slowly, but surely, Oklahomans were acknowledging, at least at the state level, that Indian tourism was generating a huge percentage of the out-of-state visitors’ travel to and spending in the state each year.

Anadarko locals like Wallace Kidd, Joe McBride, George Moran, and John Youngheim, had been championing the efforts by Exposition officials and others for several years, but with mixed results. Ancillary tourist attractions such as the Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, Indian City U.S.A., and a number of smaller storefront owners offering American Indian arts and crafts, experienced a groundswell of

attention and support initially, then, had to work hard to keep Anadarko's residents committed to their grand vision of becoming the focal point of the state's burgeoning tourism industry. Indeed, a close examination of the local press archive suggests that the cooperation between Indian and Anglo leaders reveals a tendency for their collective efforts to have been of the on-again-off-again variety. By 1975, for example, the annual Trail of Tears-based dramatic production hosted by the Cherokee tribe at Tsa-La-Gi, was very much a stable, expanding, and profitable enterprise. At the same time, the annual American Indian Exposition event began to show the first signs that it might be reaching a threshold of viability, profitability and sustainability. While the Cherokee's tourism venture is not part of this current study, in certain respects, its development, management and success as a "magnet" for tourists, does provide an interesting comparison with the annual American Indian Exposition at Anadarko, especially if the Expo pageant performances are compared with the Trail of Tears dramatization at Tsa-La-Gi.

The opportunity to file for the upcoming 1975 Exposition elections closed on Thursday, July 31<sup>st</sup>, just ten days ahead of the 44<sup>th</sup> opening of the big show. It was reported that at least forty individuals were vying for a chance to fill one of the available positions. Candidates running for the presidency that year were: "Robert Goombi, incumbent, Rudolph Tartsah, Billy Evans Horse and Carl Kickingbird." Those contending for the VP slot included: "Myles Stephenson, incumbent, Leon Carter Jr., Amos Aitson, and Doc Pewewardy" (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, August 1, 1975). Public notice of the election results were published August 12<sup>th</sup>; however, many local residents already knew that Robert L. Goombi had been re-elected for his fourth

consecutive three-year term as Expo President.<sup>1</sup> “Goombi polled 591 votes” out of a total of 1285 votes cast. Between them, his three rivals earned 694 votes; “Rudolph Tartsah was second with 340 votes, Billy Evans Horse, third with 223 votes, and Carl Kickingbird, fourth with 131 votes” (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 12, 1975).

The pageant title for the 1975 show, “Our 200 Years,” and written and directed by Linda Poolaw, is interesting because it can be read two different ways depending on one’s cultural perspective; i.e., readers, then or now, might first interpret the title as implying an historic narrative or dramatic performance. It was then and is today, just that. This interpretation is not necessarily incorrect, or the only interpretation possible, however. It is equally plausible that an entirely different message, with or without a double meaning, was intended to be conveyed, by the authors conceiving, writing and then presenting their performances to visitors attending the 44<sup>th</sup> Indian Fair.<sup>2</sup> In one sense, the pageant title suggests that some Indians were providing a preemptive rebuttal to the anticipated speech-making and celebrating that would take place in association with the nation’s 1976 bicentennial; and literally, just around the corner. Whether or not the pageant script was included in the 1975 program booklet, as was sometimes the practice in earlier years is unclear, as no copy has been located during my research.

Besides the colorful, rousing, and subtly political pageant performances, audiences could marvel at the speed, grace, and skill of a host of regalia clad dancers including, “sixteen-year-old Gee Gee Palmer,” third-place winner of the men’s senior fancy war dance contest. Gee Gee Palmer, a Kiowa and the “daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George

Palmer was also recognized in 1975 as being “the only female hoop dancer in the state,” a dance form that requires much stamina, agility and flexibility of those who strive to win top honors in this category. In a short column with photo, appearing in Sunday’s paper following the close of the Fair, Palmer told one reporter that: “A lot of people feel that it isn’t right for a girl to win a war dance championship just because she is a girl” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 17, 1975). Even so, in those years Gee Gee Palmer and other young women like her ignored this notion, gaining certain notoriety by excelling as hoop and fancy war dancers.<sup>3</sup>

Americans became increasingly more celebratory as the July 1976 bicentennial anniversary extravaganza drew closer. Many activities on the local and national stage were being coordinated, planned for, or already underway in conjunction with this important occasion. Not surprisingly, Anadarko residents, too, hoped for another successful summer with the 45th annual American Indian Exposition to be hosted in August 1976. Native American culture, heritage and the attendant tourism entertainments were, perhaps because of the bicentennial spirit, receiving more than their usual share of attention by white America; however, for many American Indians, 1976 was not a time of celebration as that year’s pageant script “Spirit Voices of the Drums” clearly reveals (See: Appendix III for full script). Consider the following excerpts from the 1976 Exposition program:

From out of the past comes the sound that heralds the ancient heritage of a proud race of people who lived untamed and unmolested upon the vast, virgin prairie of this Great Land....’

We are their children and grandchildren and we pay tribute to our cour-



ageous ancestors who bitterly resisted the seizure of their beloved homeland. Yes we remember, too, for 200 years have not erased what the Spirit Voices of the Drum relate to us even today through the songs, rituals and ceremonies we have kept alive.

We salute the American bicentennial, but you must understand that the Indian does not celebrate—we cannot celebrate. We can only remember and beseech you to listen and hear our story—as we have listened to yours for ours is not written—it is told by the Spirit Voices of the Ceremonial Drum....’

We have heard the voices of the drum as they spoke of love, union, birth, survival, warfare and finally death. Hear now the voice of the Indian as he speaks of the future...Down the dim aisles of time, a changing turbulent past merges into the present and as the sun rises over the eastern horizon, its rays shine upon the plains and mountains of a country we now share and love. Let us, then, blend our cultures and express this love....

One does not have to read-between-the-lines, or depend solely upon an Exposition pageant script, to comprehend American Indians’ direct rebuttal of all that the Bicentennial represented for America’s white populace, or for the government’s stated policies concerning Indians’ right to self-determination. On one level, much of the Indian-centered discourse in the summer of ’76 was fueled, whether in a weak or strong way, by this seething undercurrent of American Indian dissatisfaction with the government’s social and economic policies concerning their wellbeing.

The fact is that the fourth quarter of the twentieth century was a time of much questioning within Native American communities concerning self-determination, freedom of religion, poverty and other pressing social issues. During this time, Indians’ struggle for autonomy and real control of their affairs manifested in a variety of ways, most notable of these being the American Indian Movement (AIM) which began active campaigns challenging the government’s authority over Native Americans; and, Indian

youth were at the same time seeking to rediscover their traditional tribal heritage with every intention of asserting their sovereignty. Perhaps enterprises in Anadarko like the Indian Exposition and Indian City—made possible by the local Chamber of Commerce, Bureau of Indian Affairs and other government support—did make a difference. Admittedly, when looking at the pictures taken of Exposition participants, and reading stories about them in the local newspaper, one gets a sense that this is so. However, one also must also consider what was not being said or shown in coverage by these different media resources.

One of the underlying forces provoking so much criticism from tribal communities was the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and its perceived ineptness on behalf of and sometimes *laissez faire* yet, more often paternalistic attitude toward American Indians and their causes. An example of just how paternalistic the government's attitude towards them was at this time is revealed in a feature story published August 1, 1976 in the *Anadarko Daily News*, titled Interior secretary applauds spirit of Indians. The article provides an interesting contrast, and a salient footnote to the meaning and symbolic relevance of the Indian Exposition to the concurrent bicentennial celebrations that year.

In language less harsh, but with explicit sentiment of wardship lurking between the lines, it's an explication of the government's ongoing relationship with Indians since passage of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. Excerpts of then Secretary Kleppe's "remarks to 200 leaders of the American Indian Community" praised "the new spirit of

determination and confidence among Indian leaders.” Secretary Kleppe told those gathered at the White House:

‘As secretary of the interior, I am very much aware of past criticism of our Bureau of Indian Affairs. The old image of the BIA is one of inflexibility, of bureaucrats who sit behind big desks in Washington and decide what would be best for the Indians. Let me assure you that if that ever were the case, it is not the way we operate today. We are continually re-evaluating our programs, our policies, our own attitudes toward our responsibilities. This re-evaluation is keyed to the desires of the Indian people.

‘Concerning Indian affairs, our department has a trust responsibility to the tribes. Legally and morally we have the obligation to protect the reservation land and resources, and to work to improve Indian life. At the same time, we are committed to Indian self determination. This means encouraging the tribes to make their own decisions but helping to implement these decisions where there is no legal barrier. The critical question is where we should draw the line when a tribe wants to take an action which the BIA and I feel would be detrimental to that tribe....

‘Self determination says that we have that obligation to allow you to take actions which our best judgment tells us is a mistake for you. Our trust responsibility argues that we do not have the legal authority to allow you to make mistakes if we can prevent them....

‘It has been pointed out that five centuries ago before Columbus wandered this direction, the Indians of North America operated some fairly complex governments. I would guess that the situation then is about as it is now. Some tribes can do quite well because they have the resources, desire and other requisites of success while other tribes lack resources or capabilities....

Indian self government as a policy of the federal government is comparatively new. It has existed for only 42 years. During much of this time, continued paternalism has retarded leadership development. But today the situation has changed as witness the ladies and gentlemen in this room. Whether young or old, the Indian leaders today have a new spirit, perhaps it is revival of a very old spirit of determination and of confidence....

Clearly, there is an attempt by the Secretary to strike a balance between acknowledging the existing environment of mistrust, mismanagement, and the desire to effect beneficial change. On the other hand, there is language or phrasing that comes right out of the play

book of nineteenth century Indian policy that is very much at odds with the BIA's stated goals.

Continuing, the Secretary offered:

'It seems to me that a possible key to improving the quality of life for American Indians is in creating conditions for economic progress on reservations. By economically developing the reservations, the tribes provide an opportunity for Indians to remain in their own communities where they can enjoy the lifestyle and heritage which is so precious. Developments can take many forms, industry, farming, tourism, mineral and forest production. In choosing the form of development for your reservations we must recognize that what we choose will determine in part whether we preserve the lifestyle and heritage or whether we substantially alter it....

'Your reservation lands, more than 50 million acres, have valuable resources which can be wisely utilized both to improve life for Indians and to provide needed energy, materials and food for the rest of our country. Your most important resource, of course, is the people. Improved health and education are of paramount importance in achieving the goals of bringing reservation living conditions up to an acceptable level....

The Bureau and our Department, serve as an advocate for the Indian community. We seek to provide any needed government resources or policies which will blend with your resources to improve life for the American Indian.

The Secretary's remarks aptly describe the government's position during the early to mid-seventies—i.e., recognition of its shortcomings, and an optimism for initiating positive changes in its policy regarding the American Indian. Even though the era of termination and relocation had run its course, and government officials were beginning, if reluctantly, to acknowledge the detrimental affects of such policy, it is not certain that members of Native American communities held or voiced the same positive affirmation as did the BIA regarding its practices on behalf of Indians' well being during this same period. On many levels, this distrust of the BIA continues to the present time.<sup>4</sup>

On other fronts, Exposition officials faced a daunting challenge Monday July 12, 1976, after learning that a raging, early afternoon fire had totally destroyed the five livestock barns at the Caddo county fairgrounds, also eliminating electrical service to the entire grandstand complex and portions of downtown Anadarko. Complicating matters even more, it was revealed that for the first time in Robert L. Goombi's tenure as Expo president, there were as yet unpaid electricity bills owed the city; however, arrangements were quickly made to rectify these outstanding debts (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, July 13, 1976). Repercussions resulting from these incidents might have swamped a weaker, less well-managed Expo organization. Despite these setbacks, president Goombi and his Board of Directors declared that the fair would be held as scheduled, August 9 through 14 after meeting to deliberate how to proceed.

One bit of good fortune was forthcoming when it was reported that "students from the Southwest Intertribal Association, otherwise known as the Indian Action program," who were trained and qualified electricians, had been granted permission for doing "the rewiring and repairs on the grandstand" and, more importantly, they would be volunteering their labor at no cost (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, July 13, 1976). Even without the labor costs, the expense for repairing the fire-damaged grandstands was projected to fall between \$10,000 and \$15,000 dollars. The necessary funds for repairs were to be provided by the Caddo county commissioners (ibid.). While the fire hampered production of the 1976 Indian Fair, causing visitors and organizer's some inconvenience, it could not halt the 45<sup>th</sup> consecutive annual panorama of culture, color and pageantry.

Exposition related business was apparently brisk the summer of 1977, because Robert L. Goombi told a reporter that planning, organizing, and budgeting for the annual American Indian Exposition is “no small business” venture. Then in his 12<sup>th</sup> year as Expo president Goombi, finalizing activities for the 46<sup>th</sup> annual event, acknowledged that, “people are calling all the time, particularly the last three months before the Exposition.” Managing a budget of nearly \$47,000 dollars for the 1977 show produced its share of headaches for the Fair’s Board of Directors; however, it was also demonstrative of just how sophisticated the enterprise had now become in its forty-sixth year of operation.<sup>5</sup> “You can tell how much the Exposition has grown,” said Goombi, “by the fact that the budget was \$15,000 [dollars] in 1965, the first year I was vice president” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 7, 1977).

The Expo organization’s successes over the previous dozen years did not come easy, or without the benefit of smart-management. Goombi’s tenure as Exposition President had, if nothing else, demonstrated a rare constancy regarding management of the enterprise; indeed, the benefit of hindsight confirms that the Exposition venture had clearly suffered from executive mismanagement during some of its previous seasons, though the indifferent commitment to the venture, demonstrated by Anadarko’s civil authorities deserves equal, if not more blame for the Expos financial woes. The 46<sup>th</sup> show in August 1977 would be Robert L. Goombi’s last year to serve as president, retiring unexpectedly in early 1978. Then Vice President Leon (Buzz) Carter assumed the Expo helm, and served a one-year term, before losing his reelection bid to Myles Stephenson in 1979.

All was not without merit, however. Recognition of the Fair's progress can be found in the 1977 Expo program booklet, where Bureau of Indian Affairs Anadarko Area Director, Stanley M. Speaks, offered the following endorsement:

“This year's Exposition, the largest tribal gathering in the State of Oklahoma, has indications of being the best ever. As you witness an important segment of American Indian history once again, your appreciation and understanding of the American Indian way of life will become more realistic and meaningful, especially as you view the various Indian cultures blending into one great event.”

No matter what else Anadarko residents occupied their time with, when Indian Fair week came round, all attention focused on Exposition happenings.

And so it was that a cloudy, but warming forecast greeted parade-goers opening day of the 1977 American Indian Exposition.<sup>6</sup> Famous Indian side-kick of the “Lone Ranger,” Jay Silverheels, better known to most folks as “Tonto,” had been selected “Outstanding Indian of the Year” and was on hand to meet visitors prior to being honored later that evening (Anadarko Daily News, August 7, 1977). Sammy Tonekei White, the always entertaining radio and powwow circuit personality had returned as “master of ceremonies,” and Adolphus Goombi, serving as the Fair's camp crier, had already commenced his responsibilities keeping the campers well informed prior to Monday's startup festivities (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 14, 1977). By the end of the six-day event, Saturday evening, August 19<sup>th</sup>, all three pageant shows had been performed, the dance contests waged, and the winners awarded their prizes (See: Appendix I for contest and award winners). Now, it was time to break camp. For many this meant going home, for some, however, it meant heading to another powwow.

“Highlight of tourist year near,” announced the debut of the 1978 Exposition season, and doing so, also marked “the high point of the year in Anadarko tourism” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 13, 1978). This year, the Expo Board of Directors would be honoring “80-year-old” Parker McKenzie, “the only surviving member of the trio who incorporated the Exposition,” as the Exposition board’s “guest of honor.” In addition, opening day of the Exposition had been designated “Parker McKenzie Day” as part of his honoring; and, a longer parade route added to the occasion’s symbolic importance (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 15, 1978). Also of interest was the pageant program, “Close Encounters of the Indian Circle,” written and directed by Mrs. Libby Littlechief.<sup>7</sup> Whether intentional or not, the pageant’s title begs reference to the motion picture drama, “Close Encounters of a Third Kind” by Steven Spielberg released in November 1977. Finally, the usual entertainments were drawing tourists to such venues as the arts and crafts exhibits, horse races, carnival attractions, and championship dancing (See Appendix I for a list of contest and award winners). To be receiving the annual Outstanding Indian of the Year award was movie actor and artist Will Sampson of the Creek nation, perhaps best known for his debut role as the “towering” Indian chief nicknamed “Broom” in the 1975 blockbuster hit “One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest,” a film also starring actor Jack Nicholson.<sup>8</sup> On the surface at least, the 1978 Indian Fair was functioning as smoothly as any of those that had gone before it.

Still, it must have been a disappointment when campers at the 1978 gathering learned they would not be receiving any rations, as they had in previous seasons. It was reported that, “the decision was made by the American Indian Exposition board of directors



because of the high cost of food and very limited funds of the exposition” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 13, 1978). Perhaps offsetting the sting of sacrificing rations was the fact that arts and crafts cash awards had been increased over those paid out in 1977, while dance contest monies had remained unchanged; also important, there were significant cash prizes provided by local business sponsors, including awards for the “most authentic” campsite and “most authentic tepee” erected at the Exposition campgrounds (ibid.). After judging of entries was completed, “Nelson Big Bow...was named the grand prize winner” for the “Chief Big Bow (Zepko-Ette)” teepee (See: Chapter 6 for origin and story about the Eagle teepee). “Sacha Kauley” and “Phil Goombi” won second and first place awards for their teepees, while “Ernest Doyebi” and “Holly Onco” took first and second place wins in the arbor contest (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, August 17, 1978).

Bold headlines in the July 15, 1979 *Anadarko Daily News* heralded the approaching Exposition, telling readers the “national ‘granddaddy’ of Indian shows reaches full throttle in eight days;” and, also making the perennial claim that it would be the “biggest in its five-decade history.” For fair-goers seeking the thrill of carnival rides, the 48<sup>th</sup> Indian Fair would have a “40-ride carnival;” and more importantly for some, “greyhound racing, [that] for the first time in years, [had] been brought back” into the fold of the Exposition’s graces (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, July 15, 1979). The 1979 Exposition marked another change, perhaps more significant with regards to the Fair’s leadership history. This was the transfer of leadership from Robert L. Goombi (to Leon Carter who

served a one year term in 1978) to Myles Stephenson who began his first term as president of the organization in 1979.

It was “hot and muggy” opening day for the throngs of locals and tourists attending the 48<sup>th</sup> annual Anadarko Indian Exposition.<sup>9</sup> Monday’s hour-long parade provided National Geographic magazine photographers in Anadarko, “reportedly for a story about Southwest Oklahoma,” many choice opportunities for capturing the color and flavor of the event. “Fort Sill Indian School took top honors” for their float entry in the parade, “Charles Kerchee was the most colorful horseman,” Miss Indian Oklahoma Freda Jo Tapedo” was honored as the “most colorful lady on a horse” it was reported.<sup>10</sup> Other awards and recognition were announced in the *Anadarko Daily News* issue of Thursday, August 16<sup>th</sup>, naming Gregory Haumpy as “first-place winner for best teepee” and top prize to Ernest Doybi for erecting the best arbor at the Expo campgrounds. Temperatures that had moderated midweek returned in full force for Saturday’s closing parade, reported to have been attended by “thousands of folks” lining Anadarko’s streets. A local reporter summed the six-day 1979 show this way: “It was hot. It was dry. It had watermelons on the courthouse lawn. It had tournaments, baseball, tennis, golf and softball.” Likewise, “It had cotton candy, fry bread, lemonade, Navajo tacos, popcorn, candy apples, coffee and ‘red pop,’” essential Expo food fare (*Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 19, 1979; See also: Chapter 6, Libby Littlechief).

In a repeat performance, Oklahoma was experiencing a “blistering heat wave” the summer of 1980. Thankfully, on the eve of the 49<sup>th</sup> American Indian Exposition, to run

August 11<sup>th</sup> through the 16<sup>th</sup>, there was no sense of panic or last minute financial wrangling over unpaid debts with Anadarko municipal authorities. The 1980 Exposition was the second year of a three-year term for president Myles Stephenson and his organization. Stephenson was candidly optimistic that they would come out in the “black” as they had in 1979, reporting that: “We’ve got a couple of bills still unpaid, but we expect to come way out on top.” In fact, “we don’t owe a soul” he said; adding, “In fact, last year we came out \$4,000 in the black.” He acknowledged that increased “television and newspaper coverage” was proving advantageous and helpful. Stephenson told a reporter that, “publicity” for the 1980 event was “at its best” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 10, 1980).

In conjunction with the Exposition was dedication of the bronze sculpture of Lt. Pascal Cleatus Poolaw, “the most decorated Indian war veteran in history,” to be conducted at the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians. Poolaw was being recognized in part for his forty-two military honors, including “four Silver Stars, five Bronze Stars, one Air Medal and three Purple Hearts,” and service to his country in WWII, Korea and in Vietnam, where he was killed in action in 1967. In a story published Sunday, August 10<sup>th</sup> in the *Anadarko Daily News* Souvenir edition, his wife told a reporter that Pascal shared with her these words after deciding to volunteer to serve in Vietnam:

I never realized the time would come when all my sons would be serving my country with me. I always wished they would make the army their career. It is my place to be with them, and now the enemy has hurt my baby so I am determined and must go to help. I am not afraid. I have a feeling that I won’t come back alive. But if not, I have done something for my country.

A number of dignitaries, friends, family and Kiowa tribesmen were to attend the dedication ceremonies, with master of ceremonies “Sammy Tone-kei White, the Kiowa “Black Leggins Society” to “present the flag ceremony,” and Horace Poolaw to “present the memorial portrait. Mrs. Poolaw was quoted in the local paper as having said: “He has followed the trail of the great chiefs. His people hold him in honor and highest esteem. He has given his life for the people and the country he loved so much” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 3, 1980).

Five days before the kick-off of the 1980 Exposition season, Anadarko celebrated her 79<sup>th</sup> birthday. Recalling its earlier days, longtime resident “Wendell Brisco” told a columnist: “All classes of people were here. There were bank robbers, murderers, cowboys, preachers, saints and sinners” (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 6, 1980). Curiously, but just as well, Brisco failed to include American Indians in his list. While diverse, Anadarko’s current residents were perhaps less notorious than those remembered by Mr. Brisco; however, that is not to say there were not colorful celebrities still coming to the city. For example, the ball players that showed up every season for the Exposition’s All-Indian Men’s fast pitch softball tournament, hosted at Anadarko. The 1980 lineup of teams included Hog Creek, the Oklahoma Bucks, the Dukes, the Country Indians of Carnegie, Wham City, Kiowa Tribe, Richard’s Spur, and the Oklahoma Intertribal team. Also competing in the tourney were, the Oklahoma City Warriors, the Sooner Indians, Comanche Warriors, Pontotoc Lil Bucks, 49ers, Redman Supply, Caddo A’s and Cache All-Sports teams (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, August 7, 1980). This longstanding Exposition entertainment venue has been a favorite attraction each

summer, whether highly publicized or not. Some years the championship was being decided the week of the Indian Fair, and sometimes the week before.

The most anticipated attraction that year, however, remained the national war dance championship. In a story published in the August 10, 1980 issue of the *Anadarko Daily News*, a previous title-holder and current competitor, Joe Bointy, alerted visitors just what to look for when the men's senior dance contests got underway. Regarding the improvisational nature of war dancing, Bointy told reporter Randy Talley that: "There usually is no set routine. But you decide in advance what moves or steps you like." Furthermore he said, "The most difficult thing about the dancing is that you have to synchronize each step with the beat of the music." That's when "it really gets competitive," especially "when they play trick songs—the type with a quick unexpected ending" Bointy stressed (*Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 10, 1980).

Another American Indian Exposition tradition that campers had come to rely upon each season was the "camp crier" (*Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 10, 1980). Early every morning the camp crier roused the sleeping camps with a prayer and information concerning the day's activities. For others, like Exposition vice president Rusty Wahkinney, the camp crier was simply, "an alarm clock." Wahkinney also "recalled the days when noted Kiowa criers like Harry Hale, Henry Tanedooah or Tennyson Berry, a Kiowa-Apache, bellowed camp information from atop their horses." In 1980, the tradition was being kept alive but modernized by men like "Earnie Keahbone

and Joe Joe Lane” who spread-the-word via “an Information booth loudspeaker” instead of on horseback (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 10, 1980).

A different, but no less important kind of public announcement was published in the same issue of the *Anadarko Daily News* titled Expo brings some 25,000 into city. The article revealed that a recent, but “unofficial survey” of Anadarko’s merchants indicated that the “exposition undeniably benefits the community;” however, these same businessmen felt there was a lack of “enthusiasm,” due mainly to a “lack of authenticity in the camps, parades and dances.” To “rejuvenate it” as one merchant put it, merchants would again be awarding “\$600 dollars in contest prize money for the best teepees and arbors erected at the campgrounds. Winners in 1980 included Shirley Davilla and family for best arbor, and Gabe Morgan and family for the “best teepee” at the Exposition (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, August 15, 1980). Still, by the late 1970s and early 1980s, the number of individuals setting up camps each Expo season had diminished, so too the number of teepees and traditional brush arbors; more alarming, was the overall decline in attendance at the annual event, meaning fewer cash revenues.<sup>11</sup>

Perennial Expo fair-goers and campers, the best observers of change, were all-to-ready to voice their criticisms and dissatisfactions with the current show. For five-decade Expo camper Adolphus Goombi, the 1980 verdict was succinct: “There’s no history in it anymore. It’s industrialized and modernized.” The senior Goombi told reporter Randy Talley that, “only a few true observers of Indian tradition and culture [were] left” and complained about drunkenness during the Indian Fair saying, “kids who come to drink [at

the Fair] have no regard for what the exposition stands for” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 10, 1980). Goombi wasn’t the only old-timer with something to say. Interviewed for the same story as Adolphus Goombi, “Richey Tartsah” an Anadarko resident, voiced his opinions regarding the attitude of present-day campers saying, “everyone’s in a rut. They’re lazier now. Most people go out and throw a tent up in three hours. They don’t take pride in a neat camp,” he observed (ibid.).

“EXPO’S GOLDEN JUBILEE ARRIVES” or “EXPOSITION CELEBRATES 50<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY”—one of these titles or something similar could have been the primary headline emblazoned in extra large typeface across the entire front page of the Sunday, August 23, 1981 issue of the *Anadarko Daily News*: But it wasn’t. Instead, there was a perfunctory, three-column story in a smaller type font, titled For 50<sup>th</sup> Time Exposition To Begin Monday, announcing the approaching celebration that had taken fifty years of hard work, political wrangling, dedication, perseverance, and the investment of much time and energy of so many different contributors to gain its current popular success.

To be sure, there were a number of interesting articles that highlighted aspects of the organization’s rise to prominence, including stories of the Exposition’s importance and history like Parker McKenzie’s American Indian Exposition now 50 years old, and Victor Paddlety’s More history on beginning of Indian Expo stories (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 23, 1981). However, a question that still begs answering is: Was there enough press coverage of this historic milestone? Front-page stories are noticeably meager for the Exposition’s 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration. This same question has more

gravity, and achieves more merit when considering all that the annual Exposition had directly or indirectly made possible for the city of Anadarko during the previous five decades; indeed, some of the most significant contributions were the Exposition's principal role in developing or facilitating social infrastructure networks, tourism enterprises, and ancillary Indian-centered art galleries and museums. Just as important, one must not forget the hundreds of thousands of tourists that have flocked to the town each season. Regardless of one's perspective about the Expo, literally tens of thousands of dollars in revenue flowed into Anadarko's business coffers each season because of the colorful and cultural Indian Fair.

The headliner talent attraction was to be Willie Nelson, named the 1981 Outstanding Indian of the Year. Ultimately, a last minute medical emergency prevented Nelson from attending the Exposition, where he had planned to present the first scholarship award in his name to Alice Ann King, a "Creek Indian from Coweta," Oklahoma (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 23, 1981). A topic of special interest for tourists visiting the Exposition was, Anadarko's growing importance as a major center of traditional Indian art. Paula McBride provided readers with a comprehensive listing of local Native American artists, many of them already having gained national prominence, in a story titled City is center for Indian art. Among those artists listed were: Archie Blackowl, "considered to be the grand master of Indian art;" accompanied by "Rance Hood, Bobby Hill, Elgin Lamarr, Barthell Little Chief, Doc Tate Nevaquoya, George Gelonety, [and] Jackie Tointigh." Also included in McBride's list were "Rudy Bantista, Cruz McDanniels, Lee Tsatoke Jr., Marland Swift, William Tonepahote, Robert Redbird, Larry



Redbone, Virgil Taukoty, Dixon Palmer, Jean Bales, Clara Archilta, Mirac Creepingbear and James Neconie” (ibid.). Without a doubt, visitors seeking real, “authentic” Indian art could shop to their heart’s content at a number of local establishments catering specifically to this unique cultural niche market.

For local Indians, 1981 afforded another opportunity for them to seek three-year elected appointments as Exposition board members. It had already been announced in early August that “five candidates” had filed for the Expo presidency, including incumbent Myles R. Stephenson, Doc Pewewardy, Louis Buddy Bedoka, Raymond Wahkinney, and Elton Yellowfish (*Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 4, 1981). Voting was scheduled to take place on Saturday, August 22<sup>nd</sup>. Three days later on Tuesday, August 25<sup>th</sup> in the *Anadarko Daily News*, it was confirmed that Myles Stephenson had won “a second term as president,” earning 329 votes to beat his closest rival, Rusty Wahkinney, who garnered 301 votes in the close race. The vice presidency was “secured” by Manfred Kaulaity in an “uncontested” bid, while tight races between candidates vying for the Kiowa-Apache and Kiowa tribal directorships were won by Pete Williams and Joe Fish Dupoint respectively. With election results published, and the opening day festivities a grand success, fair-goers’ attention turned to the much-anticipated National Championship dance contests scheduled for Tuesday, Thursday and Friday evenings (See: Appendix II for a complete listing of election winners).

By most accounts, attendance at the Expo parade and grandstand performances had been increasing gradually, but steadily over the past few years. For example, parade

attendance at the 1981 event was reported to have been approximately “20,000” strong, an impressive increase over records set in earlier years (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 25, 1981). Similarly, “a large crowd attended the preliminary round of competition” for men’s traditional dances and “a special appearance” by the “Zuni Olla Maidens” who presented their tribe’s “Rain Song” and dance (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, August 28, 1981). No doubt, the 50<sup>th</sup> Exposition drew such huge numbers because it was the event’s Golden Anniversary; however, another factor must have been the whopping \$1,000 cash prize and trophy that was to be awarded the Men’s War Dance champion (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 23, 1981). This was the first time in the Exposition’s long history that such an amount had been dedicated for a single dance contest winner. The substantial and long-overdue increase in the war dance prize money—\$250.00 prior to 1981—made the declaration, loud and clear, that Anadarko remained the “Indian Capital of the World.”

It must have taken shrewd judging to narrow the notoriously stiff senior division competition down to only two dancers vying for the coveted championship title. One of the men’s senior division fancy and straight war dance judges, “Stewart Owings,” told a reporter that, “the war dancers were judged not only on timing and rhythm, but also on variety and number of dance steps.” Owings also said that: “Head and shoulder movement must keep time with the drummers and singers in the war dance, while dancers are penalized for excessive upper body movement in the straight dance” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 30, 1981). In the end, the decision came down to Joe Bointy, a Kiowa-Comanche dancer and Bill McClelland Sr., a Sac-Fox and Otoe-

Iowa Indian. Both men had “tied in the final round and performed a midnight duo before a packed grandstand” it was reported, with a third place win going to Sac-Fox and Osage dancer Randy Moore (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 30, 1981).

By closing-day, “Exposition officials were pleased with the attendance figures during the week” wrote Kim Bell, reporter for the local press (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 26, 1981). Myles Stephenson would continue leading the American Indian Organization through 1987, a tenure encompassing three full election cycles, and a total of nine years as president. He, along with Robert Goombi Sr., and Robert L. Goombi Jr., continue to enjoy the distinction of holding the office of Exposition President the longest. However, with the close of the 1981 season, President Stephenson and the Expo organization now turned their sights to beginning a second three-year term of office and hoping for a bigger, better, more spectacular show.

A fresh coat of paint brought new life to the county fairground’s grandstand, as final preparations for the 55<sup>th</sup> Exposition season were made.<sup>12</sup> Sammy Tonekei White, “returning after a two-year absence,” resumed the responsibilities of Master of ceremonies, while an “All-Indian Rodeo and the 27<sup>th</sup> Fast Pitch Softball Tournament” signaled the Exposition’s official kick-off. Rodeo spectators were entertained by a host of events, including “saddle bronc riding, bareback riding, steer wrestling, calf roping, [and] barrel racing;” and as usual, Expo officials hyped the new “25-ride” carnival as being “the best carnival the expo has ever had” (Anadarko Daily News, August 16 & 17, 1986). In the same story, Expo president Myles Stephenson commented about the annual

six-day event noting that, “Its great. A long time ago, we lived it everyday. Now we’re getting into fast food and fast cars. It’s nice to do every now and then. Yes, once a year for the expo is enough,” he said (Anadarko Daily News, August 16 & 17, 1986).

Whether for one-week or year-round, the Exposition had delighted Indian families and tourists alike with programs and attractions centering on the heritage, traditions and culture of America’s first peoples for fifty-five years. Of these entertainments, the pageants and contest dances clearly generated the greatest attention, as indicated by the numbers and types of cultural interest stories published in the local press. Contest dancing was one topic of perennial coverage from the late 1940s. However spectacular the dancer’s moves, judges had to watch for certain indicators according to John Williams, a member of the Ponca tribe and a dance contest judge at the 1986 Exposition. Like other dance judges before him, Williams told one reporter that, “the head must be in motion, but coordination is most important to the dancer.” Comparing the old-fashioned way of practicing one’s dance moves with contemporary methods, he noted that younger dancers were now using “portable music boxes” instead of having to “arrange a drummer like we did when I was young.” This reliance on “recorded music” Williams intimated was not always an advantageous innovation because, when competing in the dance contest arena, “some of the boys might run into a drum beat they don’t know. If this happens to a dancer, “the only way to keep going is to listen.” Ultimately, the ability to listen well is perhaps the most critical skill a dancer must have in order to become an Exposition champion (Anadarko Daily News, August 16-17, 1986).

One Expo tradition usually conducted during mid-week of the Indian Fair was the honoring or remembering of individuals who had passed on. The 1986 program booklet was dedicated to and a special song sung in remembrance of the first American Indian Exposition Princess, 'Mrs. Leon Imogene Geikaunmah-Carter, who had passed away earlier that year. Among her many contributions to the Exposition's progress over the years, was service to her Indian community and the donation of a trophy each year for "the winner of the women's buckskin dance contest." It was also recalled that she, "started the Exposition Princess Sorority," an organization that continues to the present-day in memory of her achievements (AIE Program 1986).

Another important Expo tradition was the entertainment, levity and continuity provided by the master of ceremonies. For many years beginning in the early seventies, this duty has belonged in large measure to Sammy Tone-kei White, a consummate humorist, and crowd-pleaser. As an illustration of his humor, *Anadarko Daily News* intern reporter Robert Medley documented the following joke delivered by Tone-kei between dance contests at the 1986 event. Tone-kei told the audience that: "Two Indian ladies were walking along the banks of the Washita River when a frog leaped up in front of them and said, 'I am an oil lease man, please kiss me so I can be an oil lease man again.'" Delivering the punch line of his joke the emcee disclosed that, "One lady reached down and picked up the frog. She put it in her purse. The other lady asked her, 'Why did you do that?' She replied, 'I figured a talking frog today is worth more than an oil lease man'" (*Anadarko Daily News*, Thursday, August 21, 1986).

From mid-week on, energy focused on the scheduled dance contests. Billy Evans Horse “sang the [Kiowa] flag song” to open the 55<sup>th</sup> annual Thursday evening dance contests, August 21, 1986. The competition between dancers would only continue to intensify until the last dance was performed in Friday evening’s championship contests (See: Appendix I for a list of contest winners). On Saturday, a second parade gave locals and visitors alike a last opportunity to marvel at the vibrancy of American Indian culture and traditions. The Outstanding Indian of the Year for 1986, Choctaw actor Claude Akins, was honored during the evening pageant program, and had been kept busy earlier in the day, signing autographs for fair-goers. Another Expo special guest included “Miss Teresa Shoemaker of Tahlequah, Miss Indian Oklahoma 1986” who had “spent much of the week in Anadarko” (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, August 25, 1986). By Monday the 25<sup>th</sup> of August, another Exposition season had come and gone.

It was evident by the mid-eighties to anyone who looked, that the fairgrounds facilities, having endured many years of service and neglect, was by 1987 in dire need of emergency repairs, more serious than the previous year’s paint job could remedy. To expedite these repairs, Carolyn McBride and Don Clark with financial assistance by “two tribes and three individuals” presented a proposal before county officials in mid-July of 1987 (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, July 14, 1987). Their efforts ultimately paid off, and by mid-August the necessary emergency repairs had been made, just in time for the 56<sup>th</sup> annual affair running August 17<sup>th</sup> through the 22<sup>nd</sup>. After renovations were completed, decorative artwork painted by Dixon and George Palmer, embellished the grandstand support pillars (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 12, 1987).

This was also an election year, and new hopefuls started announcing their intentions beginning mid-July 1987. Linda Poolaw's announcement was one of the very first candidate bids for the Expo presidency. Poolaw's decision was partly the result of an earlier announcement by incumbent Myles Stephenson that he would not seek reelection to head the Expo organization. After having "served as an officer of the Exposition for over 25 years," it was time for the changing of the guard. Fortunately, Poolaw had most recently served as Expo vice president under Stephenson's tenure, making her an ideal candidate. In comments published in the local press, Linda Poolaw said: "I filed because I hope in three years we can have a facility Anadarko, both Indian and non-Indian, can be proud of" (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, July 15, 1987). Challenging Poolaw for the top position were William Tartsah and Billy Evans Horse. Tom Mauchahty-Ware and Phil "Joe-Fish" Dupoint sought the Expo vice presidency. Voting was scheduled to take place just before opening-day of the 1987 Exposition, with the winners serving through the 1990 season (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 4, 1987).

Just days before the start of the 56<sup>th</sup> annual show it was announced that Willie Nelson had been named the Outstanding American Indian of 1987, a repeat honor first bestowed on him in 1981 (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, August 13, 1987). Like the first time, Anadarko's Chamber of Commerce reported receiving numerous phone calls to verify that the famous musician was indeed going to attend the Exposition; however, callers were told that absolute confirmation had not been finalized. For a second time, too, Dixon Palmer<sup>13</sup> had made a "red and white war bonnet" to be given Nelson during his award reception. For unexplained reasons, Nelson did not show, causing disappointment

for some parade-goers; even so, president-elect Linda Poolaw told News reporter Paula McBride that, “she wanted to remind people this is not a party for the Indian of the Year, but an exhibition which maintains the Indian heritage” (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, August 18, 1987). In the same story, outgoing president Myles Stephenson acknowledged that: “Sometimes people judge the expo by the parade.” One thing is certain—Exposition officials learn quickly that when things don’t go exactly as planned or fairgoer’s expectations aren’t satisfied, people voice their criticism.

Thus, the 1987 parade could have been judged more harshly because of celebrity Willie Nelson’s failure to attend; however, as Stephenson explained to the press, he had “met with hundreds of people” following the opening day parade, and his assessment was that “we have made a good impression” despite some obvious setbacks (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 18, 1987). Interestingly, total 1987 attendance figures provided by Expo officials in late August were said to be lower than usual, even though they had topped “more than 75,000” visitors for the week. The drop in numbers was attributed to “negative publicity issued from Lawton press agencies” related to Willie Nelson’s absence (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, August 24, 1987).

Despite Expo officials’ positive spin on the 1987 event, there was local criticism expressed regarding the decision to announce and present all contest awards, money and trophies during the Saturday evening closing program, instead of at the end of each evening’s contest performances (See: Georgette Palmer-Brown’s “Opinion on Expo” letter to the Anadarko Daily News, in Chapter Six). Opinions voiced by Leonard Anquoe



and Dixon Palmer during the week, and reported by Paula McBride, had perhaps set-the-stage for those offered later by Palmer-Brown. “There are some things that need to change,” noted Dixon Palmer, long time participant and supporter of the Exposition after Monday’s parade, “and I have some suggestions to make the expo better.” Likewise, Leonard Anquoe acknowledged that “the exposition” had “changed since he was young;” however, more importantly, “the fellowship among Indian people” remained unchanged. Choosing to reflect on its significance to Indian people rather than offering criticism, Anquoe observed that: “It’s more than winning the money in a dance contest.” The veteran championship title-holder said: “Winning the war dance title, or placing in a dance contest is wonderful and an honor. But when you’re out there, just for a few moments, you think what it was like to perform these dances hundreds of years ago and what it meant then” (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 18, 1987).

In an unexpected turn of events, John Williams took over management of the Expo organization in 1989 upon Linda Poolaw’s resignation from office after serving her second year as president. Williams had been serving as Ponca Director at the time of Poolaw’s departure. Now having one year of service behind him, Williams and the other Expo candidates, awaited election results the weekend of August 18-19, 1990, and eve of the Indian Fair. Readers learned opening day of the 59<sup>th</sup> American Indian Exposition, that John Williams had successfully defeated his two challengers for a new two-year term as the organization’s leader. Williams received “633 votes” out of a total 1328 votes cast for president. Of his opponents, Gus Palmer Sr., was the closest with “380” votes, while

Myles Stephenson and Louis Bedoka had each garnered insufficient votes to carry them to victory (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, August 20, 1990).

“Thousands gather in Anadarko,” read the August 20, 1990, headline and front-page story. Truman Ware coordinated the parade performances by his family’s Reservation War Dancers, one of many attractions witnessed by spectators opening day of the 59<sup>th</sup> annual show. Other parade groups included the “Fort Sill Artillery Half Section Mounted Soldiers and Marching Band,” the “first [ever] Mud Princess” accompanying the crowd-pleasing Mud Daubers, and the “Western Heritage Wagon Train” a large group caravan from Graham, Texas (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, August 20, 1990). This last-mentioned parade entry caused “a minor protest” and demonstration on Sunday before opening day, by a “dozen” Indians who “told the wagoners to go home and [that they] could not have their wagons in the Exposition parade.” Members of the wagon caravan were “told the trip they had made [from Graham, Texas] was degrading to the Indian people and a commemoration of the Neighbors Trail was a celebration of the deaths of thousands of Indians.” If such losses did in fact occur during the march north from Texas, this writer has not come across any substantiating documentation or other accounts verifying the protester’s claims. Anadarko’s recognized historian, C. Ross Hume, did not mention any losses in his history of the agency’s founding and earliest years; however, this absence does not mean there were no deaths during the journey north in 1859. When the dust had finally settled, the wagoners were permitted to join the Exposition parade as planned, but detractors continued expressing their disapproval by

handing out informational flyers to parade-goers, and protesting the group's participation (Anadarko Daily News, Wednesday, August 22, 1990).

That members of the "Tlalcoapan Aztec Dancers" group had arrived August 23<sup>rd</sup> from Mexico City was less contentious news. They had been guests at the Exposition a number of years before, and their performances then were much enjoyed by Expo visitors. Exciting, too, were the closing day dance performances by the Hopi Nation Dancers, returning for the 1990 Indian Fair after several years absence from the lineup. They were in town to commemorate "Olympic silver medalist Louis Tewanima," the 1990 inductee to the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, August 27, 1990). As the 1990 Expo season drew to a close in its normal fashion, both praise and criticism was offered in the public press. A letter from Drucilla Pickard to the paper's editor echoed many local folk's sentiments concerning the 1990 Expo season by first thanking "John Williams for his hard work and dedication." She also said: "It was so sad and depressing for me—the summer of 1989. We Indian people look forward to this annual event. The camping, carnival and Exposition programs create good feelings amongst us." Furthermore: "We also like our good, joyful feelings to extend to everyone who wishes to visit our Exposition events. It's a shame how our visitors from Graham, Texas, were treated by a small group of Indians who thrive on dissention, suspicion and unrest" she wrote. The self-identified "full-blood Wichita Indian" ended by publicly apologizing for the parade protests earlier in the week, and encouraged cooperation between Indian and non-Indian members of the community (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, August 23, 1990).

Controversy began brewing early in the summer of the 1991 Indian Fair concerning the announced plan for producing an Exposition pageant commemorating the “1864 Sand Creek Massacre” of Cheyenne tribesmen. In a story titled Historian objects to use of Cheyenne massacre as Expo pageant theme, and published in the July 10<sup>th</sup> issue of the *Anadarko Daily News*, “John L. Sipes Jr.” voiced his strong but tempered criticism telling the Anadarko Chamber of Commerce that:

The primary concern has been the possible theme of the Indian pageant and the seemingly disregard for descendants of the Sand Creek Massacre.” The historian remarked that: “The unfolding of the Sand Creek Massacre and resulting events should be known to all, however, to re-create it at the American Indian Exposition this year would contribute to the continued exploitation of the Tse-Tsehese-staestse (Cheyenne) killed at Sand Creek and their descendants.

The Tse-Tsehese-staestse have not finished mourning their loss until their family members have been reclaimed and returned for burial. If the city fathers of Anadarko and the promoters of the Indian pageant feel the need to stage the Sand Creek Massacre, they do it with the complete disregard for the Tse-Tsehese-staestse families still in mourning. And they do not understand how the Tse-Tsehese-staestse feel about the unresolved repatriation.

At the same time, Pageant Director “Georgette Horse of Anadarko” stood her ground remarking that:

This is not being done to hurt anyone’s feelings. If we were so sensitive, we would have been hurt by *Dances With Wolves* or almost all of the things we see on television about Native Americans. The pageant will go on regardless. The Sand Creek Cheyenne descendants are in favor of the production and we are doing this for educational and commemorative purposes...

The American Civil War, the American Revolution, the murders of famous and private people, things of this nature have been re-created time and time again in the movies. It is not done with any disrespect, but to educate people. The pageant we are planning is a serious drama about a tragic event in American Indian history. It will be done with the greatest regard for the history and the Sand Creek descendants.

The two opposing views expressed by John L. Sipes Jr. and Georgette Horse generated debate and heated conversation in the following days; enough in fact, to cause the Expo and Chamber of Commerce boards to deliberate the matter. It was reported that the

Chamber board had “decided to support” the Exposition organization “in whatever decision they make” concerning the pageant protest (Anadarko Daily News, Saturday-Sunday, July 13-14, 1991).

In conjunction with the Chamber’s action, the Exposition’s board of directors and Pageant Director Georgette Horse met Saturday, July 13<sup>th</sup> in Anadarko to “discuss the protest” lodged against the production of the pageant *Dance of the Timeless Yesteryear* at the 60<sup>th</sup> annual show. While the Expo board fully supported the planned re-enactment on general principles, they said that “a few stipulations” were required of the pageant director Georgette Horse. First, according to Exposition Secretary Pat Espinoza, the pageant director was “to add more dancing to the pageant.” Second, Horse was “to include all the 15 Exposition tribes in the pageant,” including “the Apache Fire Dancers.” Another sticky issue was the pageant director’s concern about the permanent arbor occupying the central grandstand arena. According to Horse, it would obstruct some important scenes making up the planned production. After some “heated” deliberation, the Expo Board refused to have the arbor removed, noting that, “we need to remember this is an Exposition. People are coming here from Europe and all over the United States to see the pageant and we need to put on the best performance we can, so that they will want to come back year after year” (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, July 15, 1991).

Claiming itself to be “a re-vitalization of past” programs, the 1991 Exposition returned to its earlier model or “formal presentation” as a “one-of-a-kind event.” Under the leadership of John Williams, a Ponca, the Expo organization was attempting to regain the

non-Indian community's cooperation and support. To that end, Williams attempted to cultivate a working relationship with Anadarko city leaders. Even a cursory assessment of the political and civic climate of Anadarko as presented in the local press, shows that president Williams was clearly helpful in smoothing some of the management wrinkles and hurt feelings being expressed concerning the Expo organization of the late 1980s. To his credit, Williams reached out to local citizens via press releases and letters to the editor pieces promoting the Indian Fair. He also sought and received five hundred dollars in matching monetary support from the Chamber of Commerce for parade contestant awards (Anadarko Daily News, Saturday-Sunday, August 3-4, 1991). John Williams would serve two terms for a total of four years at the Expo helm before turning the organization's management over to Richard Tartsah Jr., for the 1994 show.

Rain plagued the 63<sup>rd</sup> annual Anadarko celebration, causing the cancellation of the second pageant performance of "From Grandfather's Past to Our Children's Future," drenching the grandstand dance arena in the process. It also caused Sonny Tartsah, who was beginning his first year as Expo President, many headaches trying to get the dance arena presentable for dancers (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, August 18, 1994). Luckily, the stormy weather held off long enough on opening day of the 1994 season to permit the second annual National Frybread Competition at Randlett Park. According to a press release, "defending champion Sandra Maroquin of Boone reclaimed her title." Taking second place in the contest was "Bonnie Redbear of Anadarko," while third place went to "Antoni Short of Lawton." Fourth and fifth place wins were awarded Carol Bert and Darlene Hutton respectively. "Charles Kaubin of Carnegie" was also mentioned for

winning “first place in the meat pie competition,” followed by Teresa King and Tammy Fields taking the second and third place slots (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 16, 1994). Also making their appearances throughout the week were invited dignitaries and elected officials, including “Indian of the Year State Senator Enoch Kelly Haney” and “Indian Entertainer of the Year” William Lee Golden (Anadarko Daily News, Tuesday, August 16, 1994). By the close of the six-day celebration, parades, pageant performances and national dance competitions, most campers, still soggy from the drenching earlier in the week, were probably all too ready to pack up and head for drier ground (See: Appendix I for a list of 1994 Exposition dance contest winners).

An interesting entertainment was introduced for the 64<sup>th</sup> annual American Exposition, the “Great American Expo’95 Drum Contest,” and with it, a substantial first place purse of five hundred dollars. Rules for the “point system based” contest as reported in the press stipulated that groups need not have a “lead singer” to perform; however, “no site protests” would be allowed. Extra points could be earned by each drum group for early “sign-up” and for having any of the following: “at least three chorus girls (five points); one mother-in-law with a rolling pin on site, curlers are optional (15 points); a bouncing baby under the age of five (10 points) and [an] Indian Princess wearing her crown (10 points)” (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, July 31, 1995).

Another opening day event for the 1995 celebration was a “music reunion and jam session” featuring former and present members of several regionally based Native American bands. Groups with members reported to be attending the reunion were the

“Plainsmen, Tommy and the Chiefs, Blues Nation, Chieftains, Bo-Dock, Mansfield Ryot, Blues Inc., and the Grave Raiders.” Tom Ware, one of the principle organizers and musicians of the reunion, recalled a host of local talent making up the different groups including, “Victor Twohatchet, Roy Tallent, Eugene Tsoodle, Gus Palmer Jr., Rudy Oheltoint, Dennis ‘Essie’ Tate, Norman Kaubin, and James Boynton.” Also mentioned by Ware was “Alex ‘The Man’ Palmer, R. C. Ahtone, Tugger Palmer, Dusty Miller, and Jerry Darby, among others who had been involved with the various Native American bands (Anadarko Daily News, Saturday-Sunday, August 5-6, 1995).

A reunion of a different sort was the 64<sup>th</sup> Exposition pageant titled “Grandmother, Teach Me My True Path,” which in essence asked Native American women to look to the past for advice, counsel and guidance going forward. Like the 1994 pageant re-enactment of the Sand Creek Massacre, this year’s production was grounded in tribal history and cultural traditions; moreover, the 1995 program emphasized the roles and responsibilities that young Indian women would assume when they had their own families (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, August 11, 1995). For visitors not attending the pageant performances, there were horse and dog races to watch, a bowling tournament, archery contests, frybread competition, handgames, and arts and crafts to admire or purchase. Keeping everyone attuned to the goings-on day-by-day was the camp crier, Lincoln Tartsah (ibid.). Everything was not rosy in 1995, however. For several years the facilities at the Fairgrounds had suffered neglect, and only minimal refurbishments. Since 1985, the new kid on the block, the annual Red Earth extravaganza hosted by Oklahoma City, had continued to dampen the special significance of Anadarko and the



American Indian Exposition. Elder Kiowa statesman and the last surviving founder of the Expo, Parker McKenzie, writing to B. Welge, February 13, 1995, made this observation regarding the reluctance of county commissioners and other officials to invest in facility improvements to the fairgrounds: “Anadarko had better wake up; Red Earth might become a much bigger thing than the Exposition—and there’ll be very little ‘dough’ going into Darko’s cash registers.”<sup>14</sup>

Richard “Sonny” Tartsah guided the Expo organization through the 1996 season when new elections were held. Based on press reports, it was a lean year for prospective candidates. Only two individuals, “Joyce ‘Stuff’ Lamebull Littleman and Hugh ‘Sam’ Redbone” had announced their bid for the presidency, and only one person, “Lincoln Tartsah Jr.,” was seeking the office of vice president (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, July 22, 1996). The fact that no one had yet shown any interest in the offices of secretary or treasurer might have worried some; however, by election-day August 3, 1996 at least one candidate was vying for each vacant Expo office. On other fronts, Parker McKenzie, venerable elder statesman of the original founders of the Exposition, was already anticipating his 99<sup>th</sup> birthday in a letter to the editor published August 8, 1996. McKenzie acknowledged goodheartedly that he was “the only living member of the Kiowa tribe who was born in the 19<sup>th</sup> century,” making him “the only ‘real old-timer’ of the tribe” (Anadarko Daily News, Thursday, August 8, 1996). Another milestone marked by the 65<sup>th</sup> annual celebration was the announcement of the first woman to serve as its emcee. In a press release dated August 1<sup>st</sup>, “Martha Koomsa Perez” had been given this honor. The designated “Mistress of Ceremonies” was, however, no stranger to the craft

of emceeding or to the Expo organization, having served “as the secretary from 1979 to 1986,” as well as having written “and directed three past pageants for the Exposition” (Anadarko Daily News, Friday, August 2, 1996).

Local businessmen did provide “ribbons and monetary awards” to cover the arts and crafts competitions for the 65<sup>th</sup> exhibition, directed by Karen Quintana, including prizes for “ best of show, a president’s award and a director’s award” (Anadarko Daily News, Saturday-Sunday, August 3-4, 1996). As in previous seasons, the annually published Expo Souvenir Edition for 1996 was filled with dozens of interesting stories, photos, feature articles and anecdotes about American Indian heritage, history and culture, carefully and specifically composed for enticing tourists to the Anadarko area. It is clear that editors at the Anadarko Daily News understood the value their publicity of the American Indian Exposition, Indian City U.S.A., Southern Plains Museum and Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians represented to the local community.

However, if one looks back over the years, it is clearly evident that tangible support for the Exposition by local businesses and civil authorities had always been a bit capricious or fickle; that is, with the exception of the local newspaper’s consistent year-to-year coverage and booster campaigns. Clearly, each year every duly elected Expo organization solicited but could not expect with any confidence or surety, of receiving the needed financial or civic support an enterprise of its kind deserved from the local non-Indian community. Yet, in every one of its seasons beginning in 1932, whether in times of hardship or prosperity, the annual American Indian Exposition has generated

substantial revenue for Anadarko businesses, Caddo County and the State of Oklahoma; and, has been the catalyst for the emergence of numerous commercial tourist-attracting ventures throughout the region.

Sam Redbone served as Expo president in 1997 having bested his one opponent Joyce Lamebull Littleman. Officers serving with Redbone that year were Lincoln Tartsah Jr., as vice president, Jodi Miller in the capacity of secretary, and Sondra Dupoint as treasurer for the organization. None of these individuals retained their office after the 1997 event. In fact, a completely new slate of officers led by president Gary L. Clark took over for the 1998 Expo season (See: Appendix II for a complete list of Exposition officials). Interestingly, a year later at the close of the 1998 celebration, it was reported in the local press that “according to city, county and Expo officials” the 67<sup>th</sup> annual gathering “had better crowds, better performances and better participation than [in] 1997” (Anadarko Daily News, Monday, August 10, 1998). Commencing with the 68<sup>th</sup> annual American Indian Exposition in 1999, Morgan Tosee, a Comanche, began his tenure as American Indian Exposition president.

The 1998 American Indian Exposition was held August 3rd through the 10th. Many changes had occurred over the course of the previous twenty-three years. First, an observation made by Parker McKenzie (personal letter to Bill Welge, July 4, 1995) regarding renovation work on the old grandstand where visitors view the pageant and dances. He told Welge, “There is so much new work being done on the grandstand that makes it look way different...The ‘old thing’ really appears snazzy now.” Also with a

new look was the Expo Souvenir Edition of the Anadarko Daily News. News coverage of the Exposition had grown exponentially from two or three articles in the six-page newspapers of 1934, to a fat, thirty-six page special Souvenir Edition in 1998.

In addition, a free “Visitors Guide,” published annually ahead of the Indian Fair, now served to promote tourism for Anadarko and other towns in Caddo County. It was published and distributed at no cost, by Joe McBride, owner and editor of the Anadarko Daily News. Both the Visitor’s Guide and the Expo Souvenir Edition, published the weekend before opening day of the Exposition, were filled with an eclectic mixture of photographs, topical articles and many advertisements. Now, as in the past, these special edition newspapers carry advertisements containing design elements referencing something of Indian culture, whether it is a simple geometric border design, illustration, photo, or stories re-published from earlier years. Full-page ads for Indian City U.S.A., the Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians and other local tourist attractions provide intended Exposition visitors with additional sightseeing tours and opportunities to spend a few dollars while visiting Anadarko and the surrounding region each summer.

The 67th annual Exposition maintained its six-day duration, just as it had since the 1940s, and Expo officials had reinstated, after some years absence, a second parade on the last day of the annual event. It is not surprising that during the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Indian dance contests had become the premier entertainment of the Indian Fair; however, what is particularly stunning about their popularity is the fact that in its first five years of existence, dance contests were not the biggest attraction; in fact,

winning dancers during the Exposition's earliest years received prizes ranging from \$5.00 for first place to \$1.00 for fifth place. Gradually, over several years, dance contest prize monies increased incrementally until 1981 when prize money for the first place winner in the 50<sup>th</sup> annual Expo national fancy war dance championship reached its greatest increase of \$1000. Whatever the prize amount, in lean years and fat years, since the 1990s, the event has continued to entice dance contest competitors, and draw hundreds of campers and large crowds to view each evening's program; however, current audiences (2003) filling the grandstands number in the hundreds, not in the thousands as in the Exposition's "glory days" of decades past.

Other changes are evident as well. For instance, Parker McKenzie offered one of his valuable assessments regarding the state of the Expo to his friend and correspondent, Bill Welge, in a letter dated August 28, 1992 that was indicative of its continuing decline. McKenzie observed that:

Indian exhibitors of their paintings and artifacts used to vie with one another for excellency are no longer around, except few who exhibit their wares in a back space the promoters provided as a pretense of what used to be. The main portion of the exhibit hall is now filled with artifacts of every description (maybe some bearing 'made in Taiwan or Korea')—in what is more a flea market than an exhibit hall for excellency.<sup>15</sup>

Clearly, Parker McKenzie's remarks were conditioned by his founder's status, and his unique position of having observed the annual event's evolution and progress throughout its many years.

Another, and perhaps more noticeably different promotional approach than the newspapers, the American Indian Exposition Internet web site (<http://www.indianexpo.org>), was first introduced for the 1998 season. This writer accessed it via links provided by another Internet site documenting the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. The Exposition's web site was no longer available when this writer last attempted to access it (2008); however, in 1998 the site boasted of having several linked pages covering the following topics: Indian Fair Overview, Schedule of Events, Princesses, Community, Dancing, Arts, Pageantry, Awards, and Crier. This last category, "Crier," was intended to serve the cyberspace equivalent of the traditional camp crier from earlier year's Expositions. Also documented on the 1998 Exposition web site were lists naming all the recipients of the "Outstanding Indian of the Year" and "American Indian Celebrity of the Year" awards since these honors were first conferred. The site hosted numerous color images and provided users with much useful information. In essence, the web site mirrored, though in different format, the Exposition Program booklet that is published each year, and for sale to Indian Fair-goers.

The first of two themes emphasized on the Expo Internet site was: "Come home to the people, the families, the community!" The second theme was: "Come home to the honor, the accomplishment & recognition!" This leap into electronic publicity seemed, on its surface at least, to be a discernible effort to maintain previous years' pride in heritage, self-confidence, and strong community ties. The long-term benefits, if any were considered, that this new publicity strategy was hoped to deliver, remains unclear. One thing is certain, however, the short-lived initial Internet experiment of 1998 has not

continued, at least not in the form first introduced that year or currently produced by the Exposition organization. It is worth mentioning here that this writer was informed in subsequent Exposition Board meetings, attended in 2002 and 2003, that the American Indian Exposition Internet site described above was initiated, developed and controlled by outside parties having no authorization from or connection to the official Exposition organization. Whether the site's discontinuance was due to lack funding, lack of authorization or failure to properly manage the site by those persons controlling it, has not been researched in this study. In any case, by 2001 there was little evidence to demonstrate that current Expo officials believed that online technology could be much help in securing the next twenty years of prosperity for the Exposition.

For three years, commencing in 1999, Morgan Tosee, a Comanche, provided leadership of the Expo organization as its president and chief officer. Robert McClellan, Sac and Fox, served as the Expo's vice-president for the 1999 season with Tosee. Thereafter, and through the 2002 season, Joe Fish Dupoint, a Kiowa, filled the office of vice-president.<sup>16</sup> Election results of 2002 for the 2003-2005 Expo seasons moved Joe Fish Dupoint into the presidency. Thus it was, on June 18, 2003 that my official fieldwork for this project began in earnest, when I attended the first of several Exposition Board meetings at Anadarko's City Hall.<sup>17</sup> It seemed that everything concerning the commencement of my fieldwork was falling into place, and in a very positive way. However, to everyone's dismay, Dupoint's anticipated term of office was abruptly cut short in July 2003, just weeks before the Exposition's kickoff, when a civil infraction involving the first-term president was published in the *Anadarko Daily News*. This

incident, sparked by a two inch by two inch press column, caused a maelstrom, prompting the Board of Directors to call for an executive session at their meeting of July 9, that had previously been scheduled by Joe Fish Dupoint; after an approximately thirty minute deliberation, the board voted to remove Dupoint from office.

In subsequent days, the board announced it was soliciting Morgan Tosee to head the Expo organization. The former Expo official agreed to do so, and subsequently filled the remaining term of office once filled by Dupoint.<sup>18</sup> It should be stressed that the ousting of Expo president Joe Fish Dupoint, was carried out in accordance with the guidelines set forth in the Exposition's constitution and its by laws. However, from an outsider's perspective, it seemed that the Board's action of July 9, 2003 was rushed. Perhaps, the board members reasoned that because it was so close to opening day, this was the most practical and expedient course to take. Whatever their rationale, my notes of that evening's meeting intimate that the incident involving Dupoint "was a blow to the Expo board members" psyche and compounded the organization's already existing financial troubles, so much so, as to increase existing "tensions between competing factions."<sup>19</sup>

Although the aforementioned troubles had shaken the Expo organization, it did not derail it. The 2003 show would go on, despite its temporary setback, and perhaps, public embarrassment. Morgan Tosee took charge immediately, already comfortable with managing the event. From this writer's perspective, Tosee exerted a calming yet pragmatic leadership style, different from however, not more or less effective than Dupoint's leadership style.<sup>20</sup> More importantly, there was work to be done and the Expo



organization under Tosee's guidance got busy in mid-July to do just that. Serving with him were Ted Satoe, Sr. as vice-president, Carla Whiteman as secretary, and Karen Smith-Thompson as treasurer. Likewise, the following individuals, all having been elected earlier, represented their member tribes: Jimmie Komardley, Apache; Bobby Gonzalez, Caddo; Adrian Gooday and Keith Gooday, Ft. Sill Apache; Larry Maker, Osage; Frank McClellan, Sac and Fox; Gladys Nowlin, Arapaho; Winnie Mendivil, Cheyenne; Tracy Gabehart, Kiowa; Evelyn Kionute, Delaware; Nicolette Chaddlesone, Wichita; Jame Lyn Tosee, Comanche; and, Michael Kihega, Otoe-Missouria Anadarko Daily News, Saturday, August 2, 2003).

The 2003 organization also included Sammy Tone-kei as Parade Marshal, and Stratford Williams and Hammond Motah sharing the role of Master of Ceremonies for the 2003 attraction; and of course, the princesses representing the thirteen tribes comprising the Expo Board of Directors (AIE Program, 2003; Anadarko Daily News, Expo Souvenir Edition, Saturday, August 2, 2003). Now being hosted early in the month, the 72<sup>nd</sup> annual American Indian Exposition ran August 4-9, 2003, and paid tribute to the late Warron "Little Warney" Weller who had passed away two years before. Weller was a recognized fancy war dance champion, having "placed 1<sup>st</sup> in all [dance contest] categories from tiny Tots through Golden Age" (AIE Program, 2003). Similarly, the person selected for Outstanding Indian of the Year was a local woman, and member of the Comanche Nation, Yvonne Monetathchi (Anadarko Daily News, Saturday, August 2, 2003). Her selection is significant because Monetathchi was a local resident, not an American Indian personality of influence on the national socio-politico stage. As a nurse

at the Lawton Indian Hospital, Monetathchi represented the best of those qualities of selfless service on behalf of one's people, community, and family. Screen star Roger Willie, perhaps best known for his role in the 2002 movie *Windtalkers*, was the Celebrity of the Year recipient at the 72<sup>nd</sup> annual gathering (AIE Program, 2003; Anadarko Daily News, Expo Souvenir Edition, Saturday, August 2, 2003). Despite its earlier organizational disruptions, and in spite of the perennial financial strains associated with the show, the 2003 American Indian Exposition entertained a few thousand visitors during its six-day duration.<sup>21</sup>

This chapter ends with the closing of the 2003 Exposition season. It also concludes my examination and documentation of the Exposition's nearly three-quarter century legacy. Described or referenced by this writer as its third phase, the post-bicentennial years of the American Indian Exposition stand in sharp contrast to its first two phases detailed earlier in Chapters Three and Four. While this third phase can be characterized as one of initially optimistic growth and prosperity, it can be viewed, too, as exhibiting seemingly unpredictable and mercurial cycles of growth and decline, vacillating between times of optimism and success, and periods of discouraging loss of local support, resulting in its declining prestige as a unique cultural treasure. Truly, an objective assessment of this once grand Exposition's contemporary status would show that its slow but continuing spiral of decline seems likely to continue. Why is this so?

It is this writer's opinion that during the past thirty years, circumstances and events have conspired to end or at the least diminish the long-standing success and popularity of

Anadarko's unique Indian Fair. It is, however, also true that in the first five years of the new century, one can discern a determined effort by Exposition officials to regain a semblance of the Exposition's earlier status, acclaim, and glory. What will be the outcome of their efforts? However tentative it might now appear to outsiders, it is the will of Expo officials, and members of Anadarko's American Indian communities who continue their struggle against all odds to insure the survival of this unique and significant cultural endeavor. At this writing (2006-9), it remains to be seen whether or not their concerted efforts will deliver the dividends, longevity or prosperity hoped for. Only time will tell.

## NOTES CHAPTER FIVE

1. Others filing for office included the following: Pat Espinoza and Libby Littlechief for the office of Secretary; Alene Martinez, Kent Poolaw and Ralph Beard for office of Treasurer; and for directorships, Kenneth Haragarra, Wilbur Waters, Christine Petit, Charles Tillman, Mac Whitehorse, Martha Koomsa, Cy Hall Zotigh, Durell Cooper Jr., and Jack Anquoe. Also running were Pat Pahcody, Guyneth Bedoka Scholes, Edwin Paul Edge, Clinton Youngbear, Stanley Sleeper, Kenneth Goodeagle and Floyd Moses; including candidates Joe Attocknie, Rusty Wahkinney, Ted Sovo, Dana Thompson, Virgil Thomas, Robert Whitethunder, Opal Hail, George Komardley, Millicent Tapedo, William Klinekole, Shirley Davilla, Romona Ahdunko and Bobby Joe Lewis as reported in "Filing for Expo Offices is Over." *Anadarko Daily News*, Friday, August 1, 1975.
2. A script of this pageant performance has not been located. It was not printed in the program booklet for the 1975 event, nor was there a synopsis of the pageant published in the local press, as was sometimes the case in earlier years.
3. Another female dancer to compete in men's category dances was Miss. Alpha Marie Horse, a Kiowa and daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Billy Evans Horse. Miss Horse was a contestant in the 1976 "Miss Indian Oklahoma" pageant. *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, May 14, 1976; Gray, Ethel C. "All-Indian Fair at Craterville Park." *Inter-State Arts*, July-August 1931, 4-5.
4. Author's field notes 2003 – 2005.
5. See: "Expo is Year-Round Job." *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 7, 1977, 6.
6. See: "Forecast." *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 14, 1.
7. See: "Traditions Theme of '78 Pageant." *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 6, 1978, 11.
8. Dirks, T. "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest." AMC Film site **2009**: Film credits and description, screenplay at <http://www.filmsite.org/onef.html>.
9. See: "Parade, Pageant Opens Expo Here." *Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 14, 1979, 1.
10. See: "Geographic Takes Photos of Dancers." *Anadarko Daily News*, Wednesday, August 15, 1979, 1.
11. This decrease in number of camps and campers is corroborated if the number of campers expected at the 1980 event, approximately 2000, was correct. In earlier years, especially during Robert L. Goombi's tenure, numbers were said to have ranged between 3,000 and 4,000 campers.
12. See: "This Week in Anadarko." *Anadarko Daily News*, Saturday and Sunday, August 16 and 17, 1986, 1.
13. For an interesting story by Paula McBride spotlighting Dixon Palmer and his much sought after war bonnets, see: "Where Can I Buy a REAL War Bonnet? Right here in Anadarko." *Anadarko Daily News*, Saturday and Sunday, August 15 and 16, 1987, 7.

14. See: McKenzie, Parker. Personal letter, February 13, 1995. In *Rare Books Manuscripts and Archives, Oklahoma State Historical Society, Parker McKenzie Collection*. Oklahoma City.
15. See: McKenzie, Parker. Personal letter, August 28, 1992. In *Rare Books Manuscripts and Archives, Oklahoma State Historical Society, Parker McKenzie Collection*. Oklahoma City.
16. Author's field notes, 2003-2005.
17. Author's field notes, 2003.
18. Author's field notes, 2003. A review of my field notes reveals that the AIE meeting of Wednesday, July 9, 2003 convened as usual, with an invocation given by Osage director Larry Maker. This was followed by a regular business meeting agenda as the necessary quorum had been met. After routine business was conducted, I was politely excused so that the executive session could begin. Their deliberation "lasted perhaps [from] 20 to thirty minutes with a short break near its conclusion. Some members came outside to smoke, some grouped in twos talked in hushed voices" during this brief interlude. The executive session resumed, but for a short time. Shortly thereafter, I was invited to rejoin the meeting.
19. Ibid.
20. Author's field notes, 2003-2005. This writer had the opportunity to witness both men's leadership styles. Each carried themselves with dignity, confidence, and purposeful manner. Both men could be said to have their proponents and opponents, not unlike any other elected official. How things would have turned out under Joe Fish Dupoint's presidency, had it gone forward, is hard to assess. Each of these individual's stated intention was to make the Expo a successful and meaningful event for both the Indian and non-Indian community of Anadarko, and more importantly, for the tourists expected to arrive as they had for the previous seventy years.
21. Author's field notes, 2003.

## CHAPTER SIX

### **In Their Own Words: Family, Fellowship, and Future**

*If place-making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine.<sup>1</sup> Keith Basso 1996*

Arguably, memory is one of the most powerful catalyzing forces shaping our personal and social identities. Memory, too, comprised of multitudes of layered and interconnected individual recollections, helps us organize the totality of our lived experiences, thereby, playing a substantial role in sustaining our unique personal identities, while at the same time, providing a support structure or framework upon which our collective social, political, cultural and ethnic identities are given meaning, granted veracity. Linked with this organizing and sustaining function of memory is one's notion or sense of place. Moreover, whether memory and identity is examined from the perspective of one individual, a single community, or an entire nation, or appraised from the most quotidian to the most life altering decisions, the choices one makes, the events one is witness to or participant in, and one's numerous rites of passage endured, all are necessarily situated and contextualized by place. I suggest our individual and collective notion about place, whether symbolized, shared or remembered, is the fulcrum of our lived experience.

In his book *Wisdom Sits in Places*, Keith Basso (1996, 6) acknowledges the social importance of place in our everyday lived world saying:

There is more to making place-worlds than living local history in a localized kind of way. In addition, place-making is a way of constructing history itself,

of inventing it, of fashioning novel versions of ‘what happened here.’ For every developed place-world manifests itself as a possible state of affairs, and whenever these constructions are accepted by other people as credible and convincing—or plausible and provocative, or arresting and intriguing—they enrich the common stock on which everyone can draw to muse on past events, interpret their significance, and imagine them anew. Building and sharing place-worlds...is not only a means of reviving former times but also of *revising* them, a means of exploring not merely how things might have been but also how, just possibly, they might have been different from what others have supposed.”<sup>2</sup> (emphasis in original)

In the chapter sections that follow is a sampling, admittedly less extensive than I had initially hoped, of anecdotes, narrative stories, published statements, and the remembrances of and reflections by individuals who, in differing ways, have contributed and participated in the annual Indian Fair. The voices of those participants and observers of the American Indian Exposition documented herein, have been gleaned primarily from the *Anadarko Daily News* archives, collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and my own field notes and consultant interviews. Topics necessarily range across a variety of subject areas; likewise, the collective memories of the individuals reported in this chapter span decades, represent different tribal affiliations, and encompass different generations. Even so, all are situated in and linked to a specific place held in common; and, that place is Anadarko, Oklahoma, “Indian Capital of the Nation” and, host city of the annual American Indian Exposition since its initial inception in 1932 as the Southwestern Indian Fair (Anadarko Chamber of Commerce Brochure, undated).

Because of their shared Indian Fair experiences, participants’ discourse is inextricably linked with the Exposition and the “place-worlds” such discourse, whether written, spoken, performed, or graphically depicted, creates or fashions.<sup>3</sup> The resulting statements, each contextualized within a framework of ideas, notions, meanings and

remembrances, represent for these writers, observers, and consultants, shared conversations between and among close friends and family members; ultimately, the public and private circulation of their discourse guarantees longevity while at the same time generating important symbolic and cultural capital.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, according to Greg Urban (1996, xiii) the circulation of such discourse “is the basis of all culture, and...grounds the possibility of locally shared frameworks of interpretation.”<sup>5</sup> I am offering these stories, statements and reflections here, with the hope that their individually unique, but also shared perspectives concerning the Indian Fair at Anadarko and, lived life in general, will provide a more eloquent and personal account than presented merely by this observer’s account. Because stories are the essence of our lives, by sharing them with others we weave a rich tapestry honoring our past experiences, our present endeavors and future hopes. Ultimately, stories provide us with a perspective about who we are, how we perceive ourselves; stories, too, serve as signposts, cultural roadmaps, foundations upon which all traditions are secured for future generations; and, it is the Indians’ own telling of their stories, offering their individual interpretations, and their personal recollections that constitute the frameworks within and by which the participants’ shared history of the American Indian Exposition is, ultimately, preserved from one generation to the next.

The importance of place, remembering its nuances and significances, and its transmittance to the next generation, is succinctly stated by Tennyson Berry, a recognized and respected Plains Apache Chief, often acknowledged as ‘the vanishing statesman’ in the press, who remarked in June of 1956 (Anadarko Daily News) then in his 80s that:



“Soon, there will be no more old ones such as us. We lived in the old days and can tell the young much, but they are too busy. That is my only regret. Soon no one will be left who knows the old ways.”<sup>6</sup> Observations made more than half a century ago by Tennyson Berry, are just as applicable today as they were then. While much remains the same, there have been both subtle and dramatic changes; however, the most noticeable and irretrievable changes are the loss of stories told by those who came before, and now are gone.

### **Selected Anecdotes, Comments, Interviews and Published Statements**

Selections presented below, as has already been noted, come from a variety of sources. Generally, each commentator’s statements are presented verbatim in their published form, or as conversations transcribed from this author’s audio taped and filmed interviews, or from the author’s fieldwork experiences and notes. Editing, except for punctuation and grammatical clarity, has been kept to a minimum. For those occasions when an individual’s published comments are quoted and transcribed in entirety, they are distinguished from this author’s words by the use of a different type font. In-text quotations are treated as herein above; that is, in the same typeface as the author’s voice, and following proper citation conventions. It is perhaps only right to begin this chapter with Parker McKenzie, a Kiowa, scholar, linguist, historian and the last surviving (in 1999) member of the original founders of the American Indian Exposition at Anadarko, Oklahoma. The elder McKenzie was in declining health when I commenced research for this project (1998-99), and I was thus, regrettably, not able to make his personal acquaintance. Therefore, McKenzie’s observations presented herein have been

transcribed from archival documents, selected passages from his personal correspondence with Bill Welge of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and newspaper articles written by or about him. A much more comprehensive study of this Kiowa gentleman, and his life's work merits a serious biographer's attention.

### **Parker McKenzie**

An unpublished typescript document, dated November 1992 and written by Parker McKenzie, titled: EARLY YEARS OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN EXPOSITION, in the McKenzie Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, details events from its founding through the Expo's first years of operation.<sup>7</sup> Parker McKenzie reported that:

"During the early 1930's, talk amongst various Indian individuals of the Anadarko area begin to circulate about starting strictly an Indian-managed fair. There was at the time considerable dissatisfaction amongst Indians, who seasonally attended the Craterville fair near Cache, Okla., over the fact the promoter, Frank Rush, was plainly 'using' the Indians for his own financial benefit and allowing but a trickle to them.

"The matter definitely came to a head in early 1932 when the Caddo County fair board trimmed its operating budget for being faced with the prospect of reduced revenue at its next event on account of the depression that then

was rearing its ugly head. Naturally, the first whack fell on exhibits of Indian arts and crafts, the part of the fair handled by the late Susie C. Peters, who then was field matron for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. She was given word the board would no longer provide funds for payment of premiums on Indian exhibits and personnel expenses. She had maintained a booth for such exhibits for the fair the previous several seasons, begun largely by her own initiative. The Indian phase of the county fair, except for the encampment that blossomed annually for several years, seemed destined to end, but not for Susie C. Peters. It perhaps can be said that the Caddo county fair board unwittingly started the present Indian event by its action.

“Had it not been for that action, Susie Peters would not have gone to the then Supt. John A. Buntin of the Indian agency (then the Kiowa agency) regarding the possible funding of her efforts through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Supt. Buntin, aware of the fact many of his Indian charges then were farming, raising livestock and carrying on their traditional crafts, favored the idea and prevailed on the central office in Washington to allocate a small sum for the purpose and it came through with the

'tremendous' sum of \$75.00, which then was 'heap big' money!

"Upon receipt of information [that] funds were to be available, Supt. Buntin, knowing there had been much 'powwowing' amongst local Indians of starting a fair of their own, informed Jasper Saunkeah, who then was district game ranger (later, deputy U. S. marshal), that the BIA had set up a small amount for payment of premiums on Indian exhibits and suggested that the interested Indians should set up a committee to handle the Indian exhibits at the fair. He added to Saunkeah that perhaps the funding might be the beginning of the long-dreamed-of fair about he, Ware (first Kiowa to serve a term in the Oklahoma Legislature in the late 1920's), Wells, Bedoka, Reynolds, Bill Williams, Weryavah, Halfmoon, Ms Mahseet, Ms Grimes, the writer and some others had long 'powwowed' about, usually on the streets of Anadarko whenever any of them met by chance.

"When Saunkeah came to the desk of the writer at the BIA office where he then was employed, it was at once decided 'why not?' and that set off the work of planning. Being the writer was in the position of doing much of the paperwork, he thereupon set to work in preparing a premium

list on Indian exhibits at the upcoming 1932 Caddo county fair and mimeographing several hundred pamphlets. The premium list was patterned after that of the county fair, but prizes were limited to the fund[s] available, and it was earmarked only for exhibits prizes. The pamphlets announced the dates of the event, exhibiting rules, tentative entertainment program, etc. To make matters...seem businesslike, the writer made-up Southwestern Indian Fair Association for the enterprise to be, with Jasper Saunkeah as president and himself as secretary. Neither of the two was elected, for there was little time before the opening date for an organizational meeting. However, on conclusion of the four-day event, a meeting was called at the Indian camp, organized, and election held for selecting officials to manage the business of future fairs, and Lewis Ware was elected president, Herman Asenap, vice-president, and the writer, secretary-treasurer, with terms limited through only the 1933 and 1934 fairs.

“The writer recalls the premium list offered the top prize money of \$3.00 for the best dairy cow—the only ‘livestock’ prize offered. Most of the money for prizes was limited to 50¢ for the first prize and 25¢ for second on agricultural and garden products, poultry, and

needlework, canning, baking exhibits. To encourage Indian artisans of their crafts and art works, premiums offered for them were more liberal. All personnel for handling, displaying and supervising the Indian exhibits was volunteer, since set-up was not sharing in the county fair revenue, except the proceeds from an Indian dance program presented at the fair's grandstand for only one night.

"Arrangements had been made with the county fair officials for spaces in exhibit halls for the Indian exhibits along with the county fair exhibits, but separate in the special spaces assigned. The county fair had grandstand entertainment on three of the four evenings of the event, while the Indians had just the afore-mentioned single night for its program. Horse racing in the afternoons and the midway carnival were solely the province of the county fair, with none of the revenue therefrom finding its way to the Indians. It was on the issue of income that the Indian event defected after the 1933 county fair and held its first separate fair in August 1934—about a month in advance of the county fair. In discussing the issue late of the closing night of [the] 1933 county fair, the writer recalls how much amused the president and the secretary of the county fair became when President Ware

remarked, 'You know, men, one of these days the Indian fair is going to kill the county fair!'

"Local residents know the Indian fair did not kill the county fair, but it has caused it to remain just a small local event insofar as drawing outside visitors is concerned and the sweet jingling of many dollars going into the tills of Anadarko's business is no dream.

"The newly-organized event and its new leadership included a director from each of the seven Indian tribes under the-then Kiowa Agency (now Anadarko Agency). The group was to plan and carry out the 1933 and 1934 events. It is mentioned again that defection of the Indian fair occurred after the conclusion of the 1933 county fair. The Southwestern Indian fair went on its own with the 1934 event, and from that time to now, it has built up its reputation and now enjoys widespread recognition throughout the country; and, as many now know, it was indirectly instrumental in bringing about the 'by-products' known to many as Indian City, Hall of Fame of American Indians, Southern Plains Indian Museum and number of businesses doing well in dealing with Indian arts and crafts. Each of these developed into a year-round enterprise to the benefit

of Anadarko and environs. Much of Anadarko is now wide-awake of things Indian.

"President Ware served well for the 1933 and 1934 events, and then Maurice Bedoka took over the helm of directing the 1935 and 1936 fairs. The writer, besides being on the initial scene, also served under Ware and Bedoka as secretary-treasurer, and then returned in 1939 as vice-president, with Ware assuming his second term as president, but resigned following the death of Ware in Dec. 1939. It was a hard struggle to get the event going, but by 1935, the workings of it were beginning to take a definite form. Unfortunately, there was a temporary hindrance created that year when a trio of local Indians attempted to take over the control of the event via a State charter issued to them in the name under which the Indian fair operated the first three years—without a charter, and which the trio knew about. To offset the attempt then president Maurice Bedoka, Edgar Halfmoon and the writer, with the assistance of a local attorney, immediately obtained a charter in the name of the American Indian Exposition, and the 1935 event was the first to be carried through under the new name.



"Horse racing, Indian sports contests, pageants and dancing, as well as a midway carnival and all kinds of concessions were the principal features. The main attraction in the exhibit halls were the arts and crafts exhibits and artisans thereof are often on hand to demonstrate how such are made. In 1934 and 1935, the first-ever Indian baseball championship in which a dozen teams from over the state participated, was successfully sponsored as a side entertainment feature. It was also in 1935 when a special train bearing a large number of Exposition boosters arrived at the Texas state fair in Dallas where the boosters made it known what was to take place in Anadarko. The special brought back the boosters home way past midnight, but all aboard had much fun. It was one of the ambitious efforts of the Exposition to publicize the event and its fast-gaining reputation over the land as the only Indian-managed enterprise of the kind in the country.

"The 1937 and 1938 Expositions were under the leadership of Jasper Saunkeah, who with the writer happened to be on hand at the right moment in 1932 to give the Indian event a push. In 1939, Lewis Ware again took over as president as heretofore mentioned, but he died [a] few

months after that season's event. It was during this year when the sheet metal-covered Exposition teepee was built and it stood many years at a site adjacent to the present, historic Bryan hotel. It was finally moved to the lot of the present Christian Center and there it stood a number of years. In recent times, it was moved to the grounds of the Caddo County fair and it is now 'pasturing' there as a relic, its usefulness gone. To this writer, however, it is a personal memento for he was [the] one who designed the structure on his drawing board.<sup>8</sup>

"Exposition 1939 also successfully sponsored the first-ever princess contest in which a dozen or so Indian maidens participated. Three of the winners were sent to the New York World's Fair as sponsorees of the Exposition along with a chaperon from the teachers' staff of the Ft. Sill Indian school (now discontinued). They were back in time for the opening of the Exposition and were the attraction through the duration of the event. This publicity pitch spotlighted the Exposition with the national media.

"The first years of the enterprise were difficult and hectic. Those who had had a hand in its overall operation

are to be commended for their sacrifice and commitment to cooperation, particularly the management and directors, who toiled for about 60 days preceding each event and a few more thereafter in getting the grounds back in shape for the oncoming Caddo County fair—with just a bit of compensation.

“Finally, through the years, the Exposition remained the same in name only. It has changed almost completely. The former fervor for excellence in competition that was once evident in the exhibit hall of arts and crafts is no longer there; instead, one finds sales booth after sales booth of artifacts, genuine or imitation. [Today] just a semblance of artifacts [is] now strewn in apparent disorder in a back room, with prize-winning ribbons dangling. The event has mainly become commercial and its former traditional entertainment is now just an Indian show extravaganza.”

Parker McKenzie corresponded on a regular basis with a number of individuals including Bill Welge, head of the Oklahoma Historical Society’s Rare Book, Manuscripts and Archives Division. In a two-page letter to Welge dated August 28, 1992, McKenzie<sup>9</sup>

commented about the current year's Indian Fair, and provided some additional facts regarding the Exposition's early years, noting that:

"As I recall, the first parade was held in 1934—the summer the event was held a month before the Caddo county fair and separately from it. The first two fairs were held with the county fair. We had no parades the first two years.

"...Well, the parade [in 1992], was long, lasting about an hour, with the tail end consisting of floats and whatnots of candidates running for office. Indian exhibitors of their paintings and artifacts used to vie with one another for excellency [sic] are no longer around, except few who exhibit their wares in a backspace the promoters provided as a pretense of what used to be. The main portion of the exhibit hall is now filled with artifacts of every description (maybe some bearing 'made in Taiwan or Korea')—in what is more [like] a flea market than an exhibit hall for excellency [sic]. Guess I am just old fashion in this regard.

"...So we went again and visited through the exhibit hall. We elbowed through the crowded mass; in fact, even the vendors had room enough to move around. There were

dozens of stands outside, too, catering everything from Navaho turquoise jewelry and rugs to Indian tacos and fry bread. Where we had just two dozen concessionaires who provided much of our operating cash, the managers now must have ten dozen or more and perhaps collected \$50 to \$75 from each where we got (back in the 30's, that is) \$10 dollars from each. Well, so much for these high-dollar days.

"We seldom miss the final-day parade so we went again Saturday and milled around the exhibit hall. We didn't attend any of the events in front of the grandstand nor took rides on the carnival grounds...[At super] I mentioned my statements about the exhibits and Bill [Meadows] said I should have said that the exhibitors were Western 'Indians' of the Hong Kong and Taiwan tribes. Guess I can mention the Exposition wasn't much different from its usual character, but of course it drew another large crowd, much to the delight of businesses of the town.

"Incidentally, the Anadarko News reported [a] few days ago that the county commissioners did not approve funds for next year's [1993] Caddo County Fair. Unless the action is later reversed, there may be no more county fair. This

reminds me: At the conclusion of the 1933 county fair, and with which we then held the Indian fair, then under the name of the Southwestern Indian fair, the board of the latter was in a conference (past mid-night) with the county fair board about receiving a larger share of the income when Lewis Ware, then president of the Indian Fair, remarked with confidence, 'Men, you know one of these years the Indian fair will kill the county fair.' It was [the biggest] joke the president and secretary of the county fair board [had] heard in a long time, they thought.

"For years it struggled along with its usual character and drew its quota of the county's folk, while thousands came for the Expo. What happened at the start was the county fair just wanted the Indian fair to have the income of just the Friday night's program—of Indian Dancing. We were asking for a larger slice of the income. That was the splitting point of the two events and it has been the same since the 1934 events of both. Anadarko won't trade off the Indian event for a dozen of the county fairs. Oh, by the way, I was secretary the first 5 years of the Indian fair, which, in 1935, changed its name to what it is now. The position then combined with the treasurer. We were

brave to start the event right in the midst of the so-called Great Depression.”

Parker McKenzie mentions the Exposition in a subsequent three-page letter to Bill Welge dated October 3, 1994, but only in reference to other events. He notes that: “My visit to the Exposition along with Bill Meadows wasn’t exactly on the pleasant side, except the parade of course, for it is always exciting.” Recounting his activities on opening day of the 1994 Exposition, McKenzie told Bill Welge that, “we were at St. Patrick’s activity building for supper and where I was to be honored by the Exposition, but was ‘only seen’ and told to be at the fairground’s evening program instead...As directed, Bill Meadows and I drove to the fairgrounds and entered back of the impromptu crescent shape[ed], brush arbor stage, with a speaker’s platform in the middle.” In the process of making his way to the designated seating area, McKenzie tells of his stepping “into an uneven ground surface and down I went, with my head striking the ground real hard.” He was not seriously hurt in the fall, but no doubt did cause others concern for his wellbeing. “The Honor,” said McKenzie, “consisted of my being presented with a plaque—for being the only living one of the original group that originated the Exposition in 1932.” His last comment to Bill Welge regarding the Indian Fair was that he “did not attend last year’s [1993] Exposition—even passed up the parade, and thought ‘never will I see another.’” Known for his wry sense of humor, Parker McKenzie confided that: “The next 6 weeks, if I make it [till] then, I’ll celebrate my 97<sup>th</sup> birthday; and I guess the Kiowa saying is true: Nobodies live a long time.” He added, “another says, ‘Aulkaui jaude an a qacomthau’ (The wicked live a long time).”<sup>10</sup>

At intervals during the Exposition's existence there would inevitably arise, almost predictably, a murmur of discontent with the level and consistency of support the Exposition organization was receiving from the city of Anadarko. Understandably, there has always been a degree of justification for the Board's discontentment and frustration concerning the irregularity of financial and other support allocated by the local Chamber of Commerce, and businesses of Anadarko, those same parties who have profited each season because of the Expo's popularity.

Besides lack of real financial support, one of the recurring issues of concern for the Exposition organization was the upkeep and repair of facilities at the Caddo County fairgrounds. Annually, crowds by the thousands exacted their fair share of wear and tear on the county's buildings and grounds during Expo week. Without regular maintenance, these facilities were at minimum an eyesore, and at worst a safety hazard for the annual tourists visiting the Fair. This lack of upkeep by the County and other issues would prompt many local folks, Indian and non-Indian alike, to periodically engage in discussions rationalizing the Exposition's imminent relocation to another place. McKenzie, too, was alert to these conversations as is related below:

"I guess the matter of moving the Exposition out of Anadarko," wrote McKenzie in his letter of February 13, 1995 to Bill Welge, "has been resolved and that the Caddo County commissioners have agreed to do some renovation work on the old 'crate.' It has been written that the grandstand was built in the 1930's. As I remember about



it, it was already old when we had our first Exposition...I kind of remember that Gus Gangloff & Son, building contractors, did a lot of work on the old crate either in 1934 or 1935. It was probably the last time anything was done to it. I entered my permanent tenure at the—then Kiowa Agency on March 2, 1920; and am positive we attended the Caddo County Fair for the first time that fall—and then practically every fall to my retirement as of June 30, 1958. We hardly skipped the [Caddo County] fair for [a] good many years thereafter. All those years, I know we sat in the same grandstand that still graces the fair grounds.”<sup>11</sup>

From the same letter as quoted above, Parker McKenzie writes about the issue of moving the Exposition, the amphitheatre and other subjects on his mind concerning the annual show. Concerning the amphitheatre he recalled the following:

“I think it was in the late 1940’s when some wealthy Easterner (can’t think of his name) footed the bill for a kind of...amphitheatre in the open space some distance back of the grandstand and north of the exit road from the grounds. It was a good-sized structure and was specifically for showing the Exposition Pageant that became a part of the event a year or two early. The structure was

thusly used for a few years, but for reasons unknown to me, the show was performed at the grandstand instead. The structure stood [a] few years thereafter, and as I remember rodeos were held there. Next thing I know, the structure disappeared and campers took over the space thereafter, and still do. Then there was the 'middle campground'—between [the] entrance and the exit road—which made a big U-turn on the west side of the grounds. I often wondered why all that good money used for the amphitheatre wasn't used to completely overhaul the old 'crate' or even build a new one. Presumably, the rich fellow had all the say about it, being he was using his own 'dough.'"

Turning his thoughts back to moving the Exposition elsewhere, McKenzie mused:

"Well, I guess the Exposition stays in Anadarko, but it remains to be seen how much the county commissioners and Anadarko can put out to renovate the old structure. Anadarko had better wake up; Red Earth might become a much bigger thing than the Exposition—and there'll be very little 'dough' going into Darko's cash registers."

Then in closing remarks to Bill Welge, Parker McKenzie (Feb. 13, 1995) offered the following comments concerning solicitation of businesses to support the Expo enterprise:

"I remember each year I solicited the [area] businesses for donations. I went into the store of a Jewish clothier and 'hit him up.' He said, 'Vell, for me the Exposition doesn't bring me in extra money; the people celebrating don't take time to buy clothing.' I responded; you're right, but remember quite a number of concessions are run by local persons. They're too busy during the days of the event, but when it's over, they'll be piling into your store to buy your goods with the extra money they made. I had him! 'Vell, he said, here's a check for \$30.00.'"<sup>12</sup>

By July of 1995, work was nearing completion on renovations of the grandstands at the fair grounds. In a July 4 letter to Welge, McKenzie reported the following news:

"Yesterday, we drove around the fairgrounds and saw the renovation work being done on the grandstand seems to be near completion. There is so much new work done on the old grandstand that...it looks way different from its former appearance. All the former concessions stalls underneath are now closed out, so the concessions will have to operate in the opening. I don't know how the space under the grandstand is to be used. The 'old thing' really appears snazzy now. Am sure all work will be completed in plenty of time for the Exposition opening.

"It remains to be seen how I am on its opening day. If am in the 'up' condition, and you chance to be there, too, you'll spot me at the usual place under the large elm (if it's there yet) at the northwest corner—on opening day...I 'made' the opening day last year [1994] with the help of friend Bill Meadows of Norman...We saw the parade and visited the museums."<sup>13</sup>

Before moving on, it is worth reiterating that Parker McKenzie was a steadfast supporter of the Exposition his entire adult life. He reveals his dedication for and love of the event, even on those rare occasions when he's carping about the Expo organization's faults, or acknowledging his own diminishing stamina to attend the annual opening day festivities. A good example is the following comment made at the close of his letter to Bill Welge dated July 31, 1998 when McKenzie states:

"The Exposition opens Monday, but I don't intend to be there to watch the opening-day parade like I used to. I've missed the last two...A[s] every Exposition time gets around, I for one think about the hard times we had at first in getting the event on its feet. As its reputation grew, and dollars began to jingle in the cash registers of the businesses the city's business men began to see they have a good thing exclusively to themselves—and it has been ever since. I'll see the Exposition through the eyes of the

Anadarko Daily News. Selfishly, I won't mind if the Exposition parade [on] Monday morning gets rained out! Come by; at least once more."

### **Leonard Cozad Sr.**

The late Leonard Cozad Sr. (Goo-gooual-Thay / Red Wolf) is perhaps best known for his long-standing presence at the drum all across Oklahoma's Indian country, the United States and Canada. His notoriety as a composer of traditional Native American drum songs, and the senior member of the Cozads is well established. Thus, it was a distinct honor and privilege to finally be able to visit with this Kiowa gentleman at his Hog Creek home on August 28, 2003. The time and place for our meeting had been arranged earlier through his daughter Karen Pewo. I had asked Karen what I might bring? She told me that, "he likes 7up, and of course his coffee."<sup>14</sup> Thinking back to that late morning meeting with Leonard Cozad, I was both eager and nervous, not unlike the feelings one might have when anticipating a meeting with someone having high social rank, political power or religious status. On my drive from Norman to Anadarko, I discovered that the directions I had quickly scribbled onto a scrap of paper earlier that Thursday morning were, now, undecipherable.

Thankfully, it turned out that they were not needed since I would be following Karen Pewo's lead once we headed west out of Anadarko. After a short drive we arrived to the Cozad homestead. Admittedly, I breathed a sign of relief as I got out of my rental car and walked toward a white, wood-frame house situated several yards from the tree and shrub

lined creek that is the namesake of this community, and the birthplace of Leonard Cozad Sr. I was, at last, beginning “real fieldwork.” Entering his home I was surprised to find the front room and dining area filled with approximately fifteen family members. Leonard was seated at the kitchen table, with three of his sons at his side. After Karen made introductions, I was ushered to an empty chair at the table, to the elder Cozad’s right side. Whether it showed or not, I was nervous as we shook hands and exchanged greetings.

I noticed immediately Leonard Cozad’s infectious smile, and his friendly and cheerful manner. This very quickly put me at ease, though no less anxious. He sat patiently and listened carefully to my awkward first attempts at beginning the interview. However, it was not long before I was the one listening with rapt attention as he began telling his WWII stories and relating to me his experiences going to the Indian Fair. Members of his extended family, seated in the two adjoining rooms, remained attentive as he talked. This first meeting with Leonard Cozad lasted a little more than two hours; and, it was my first recorded consultant interview. Bidding the elder Cozad goodbye, he invited me to return at a future date and time to be arranged, so that we might continue our conversation. As I said goodbye to other family members, and as I moved toward the front door, I noticed that virtually every inch of wall space in the two rooms and every available table top or shelf was covered with trophies, plaques, certificates and awards presented to this family and its patriarch. I could not help but feel great respect and admiration for his having been so generous with his time, and allowing me the opportunity to visit with him.<sup>15</sup> We agreed to meet again in the near future.

Here, it is necessary to backup momentarily. Before interviewing him at Hog Creek, Leonard Cozad had graciously extended an invitation for me to visit him at the family home the first time we were introduced. This was at the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes' annual dance August 14-17, 2003, the weekend following that year's Anadarko Indian Fair. It so happened that evening I was sitting with Karen Pewo, one of Leonard's daughters, who I had met during Expo week. So it was, too, that an announcement was made during the Wichita's evening program that Stratford Williams and Wichita Tribal Chairman Gary McAdams wished to honor the senior Cozad. During a break between the evening's program of intertribal dancing, Karen had walked to the opposite side of the dance ground to where her father was sitting, and accompanied him to where Stratford Williams and Gary McAdams were standing.

I swiveled the video camera in their direction, pressing the record button just as Stratford prepared to speak. Delivering words of praise for Leonard Cozad Sr., Stratford presented him with gifts of appreciation. After accepting the commemorative plaques and blankets the senior Cozad removed his hat; and, taking the microphone he began offering his thanks and gratitude to the Wichita people and all those in attendance. Sentiments, offered that evening by Leonard Cozad Sr., aptly demonstrated his humility and unselfish service on behalf of his Indian people. His comments delivered that Sunday evening at the Wichita and Affiliated tribes' gathering follow below:

"A Ho! Thank you. This kind of, sort of surprised me...So, today, I got up in age now, and I have many, many things I have...been [pausing] thinking about people, my

Indian people [with emphasis]. Regardless of what tribe they are. Whatever tribe they are I try to get along with them. From coast to coast, California to the East coast, and the other one down in Florida, the other way down, back east [gesturing]. I have traveled like that many times. I have been asked to come, with my family. There is something [to be] bestowed upon me...[for] something I did. But I did not want to use it myself...I want to show you what I try to be. I'm including every tribe in the United States, and Canada too! I have been around there with my children, my family.

"And...a great feelin' among the Wichita. When I was a boy, a little boy, about seven or eight years old, I know where Camp Creek is. Back over this way, north, here, over the hill [gesturing again]. I have seen many great men among the Wichita people. And all these things that I have learned, I have great friends among them, and these others too, other tribes, many, many tribes [inaudible]. And I love them today. That's how it is for me. What ever you do, take care of yourself. And those of you [who] came here to partake...Indians, Wichita people...in this beautiful place...it's a beautiful place to get together. So, singers, [and] drummers, you have sung most beautiful songs. I



admire you for that! All [of] these things that I have done...[like] composing songs for the People, individually, family, [and] organizations, from California to [inaudible] and Connecticut...I have been places, many places. Top places, but it's not me alone.

"I want to be with you people...I want to be with you all...what ever you do...down to the ground people. That's who I am, simple...simple...common! I like the move[s]...the way you move [referring to the dancers]. Whatever you do I am with you people. And that's all I want to say for tonight. And thank the rest, the rest of you...all, the beautiful people that have dressed up in the costumes...they're very beautiful! So, a contest goin' on, and I wish you [good] luck. Good luck! Take em! Somebody has to win. But there's the day you'll have your place. So for all these things I thank you again [pausing] the Wichita and...Indian council. A Ho!"<sup>16</sup>

After being honored by the Wichita and Affiliated tribes' community that evening the elder Cozad returned to sit next to his daughter (Karen) and me. At intervals during the evening, I observed that many people made a point to come over to where Mr. Cozad was sitting to express their thanks, to pay him their respect and offer their well wishes. He greeted each of them warmly with a handshake, a smile or nod, and not uncommonly,

with his own voiced expression of appreciation. I, too, thanked him for inviting me to visit him at Hog Creek, and told him that I would call ahead in the coming week to arrange a day and time to come see him.<sup>17</sup>

Soon after, I arranged to meet with Leonard Cozad as detailed above. A couple of weeks after interviewing him at Hog Creek (late September 2003), I was back in the area conducting fieldwork interviews, and decided to stop by the senior Cozad's place at Hog Creek. Alas, no one was at home. Subsequently, I returned on a mid-week day in late October 2003 to find Leonard Cozad at home, but preparing to leave for a meeting with friends elsewhere. On that occasion I had brought a gift of coffee for him. Though it was not possible to visit long, it was good to give him the coffee, exchange a few words of small talk, and suggest that I call on him at another time. Mr. Cozad thanked me for the coffee and said that would be fine. I bid him goodbye.<sup>18</sup>

November passed, so did December; and then, an entire year had elapsed. During this time I had had a couple of opportunities to say hello to Leonard Cozad at different functions where he and I were both in attendance; however, for various reasons I had not been able to schedule another visit with him at his Hog Creek home. Then, one evening early summer of 2005, while talking with Caddo Expo Director Bobby Gonzalez after an AIE board meeting, our conversation turned to the elder Cozad. It was then I learned that Leonard Cozad Sr. had recently passed away on 23 May 2005.<sup>19</sup> Now, years after that evening's revelation, I am still angry at myself for not having been more diligent about making time to visit the elder Cozad. At the time, I tried consoling my disappointment

by declaring that my studies, archival research and other fieldwork commitments had prevented my visiting Mr. Cozad in 2004. While valid reasons then, now, they ring hollow. Unfortunately, the interview material shared with me by Leonard Cozad Sr. in 2003 has not been included here, because I do not have the consent forms (provided to him at our September 2003 meeting). I am still a bit embarrassed to say that this professional oversight reveals my naivety and lack of honed fieldwork practices at that stage of my research, an insight that has been learned and corrected only with time, more field experience and the perspective of hindsight. Therefore, his words (above) delivered at the Wichita gathering in August 2003 have a greater personal significance for me.

Regarded by his Indian people as a true American Indian cultural treasure, the elder Cozad is remembered for authoring literally scores of songs dedicated to individuals, families, tribes, societies and many other tribal organizations during his lifetime. Many of these have been performed at the annual Indian Fair. It has been written of him that, “Leonard Cozad, Sr. was blessed with special talents to sing and compose tribal music.” Moreover, “Through his additional ability to manage his talents he has been able to instill in his children a deep sense of desire and responsibility to learn the songs and history associated with each category of music” (Cozad and Wilson, 2003; See also: Timmons 1971, T-651 Doris Duke Oral History Project interview). Now, his presence at the American Indian Exposition’s evening drum, and many other gatherings across Indian country are sorely missed; however, he is not forgotten. His songs continue to be praised, remembered at Gourd Clan gatherings and sung at the drum, at all types of functions, keeping the circle of relationships intact. It is comforting to know that the Cozad

family's familiar and welcomed presence at the drum perpetuates the legacy of Leonard Cozad Sr., the patriarch of a large extended family, many of them having accompanied him at the drum the past several decades. Truly, he was a generous, gifted and unselfish man who long-supported the American Indian Exposition at Anadarko.<sup>20</sup>

### **Dorothy Whitehorse and Vanessa Mopope Jennings**

The section that follows comes from interviews with Dorothy Whitehorse and Vanessa Jennings conducted by the author in August 2005 at the Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians at Anadarko, Oklahoma. The original interview format and question sequence has been maintained; however, editing for clarity, relevance or grammar in the selected interview passages has been made where necessary. On numerous occasions, when talking with persons about the American Indian Exposition and their involvement with it, our conversation would inevitably turn to the large 3-ring binders filled with photocopied Expo images that I always carried with me when doing fieldwork. It so happened that my interview with Dorothy Whitehorse began with her browsing through some of these images and making observations, comments, and sometimes identifying unnamed subjects in some of the photographs. It was a common reaction for individuals viewing these images for the first time to exclaim with delight upon recognizing someone or something in the images. These images often served as memory-joggers for viewers, prompting them to recall some, but not all long-past events or settings, as is demonstrated in the following recorded comments made by Dorothy Whitehorse during our August 4, 2005 meeting, while she looked at early Exposition photographs from the 1930s through the 1950s.<sup>21</sup> Here are some of her observations:

**DW:** Elk Roach [Kiowa name] Ahbehill Greeves, Wilson Ware's wife was a [Pewo?] Pearl Ware [a Comanche], Ernie Keebone – 12 or 13 years old – we used to call him...Henry had such beautiful black hair and it wasn't dyed and it was always just in place – it was impeccable it just looked so noble. Not that this one [photo] doesn't. And here's...Kitty – they called her Kitty Ryan – Kitty Turkey. [Kibe] the long Kiowa name.

**EJG:** Nice shawl.

**DW:** Isn't it beautiful? And this is Alice Ware – she's married to a Kaulaity(?) – they left a lot of – they got a lot of remaining descendants. She came from the Ware family – from Hog Creek – there was about six or seven sisters – they had a big family. Walter Francis Kaulaity, he's a grown man now...a fine family. He's one of the heads...now for the Kiowa Gourd Clan, and his daughter is Alice Ann Kaulaity, who was our Kiowa princess several years ago, a fine family. I knew them since they were youngsters. That's a good picture. I know Grandpa [Francis] Bosin's wife went to Carlisle. I don't know if this one did. It's like I'm walking back into time. Maunkeah...she was old lady Blackhorse. Her last name for the Agency was Tahbone. She married a Tahbone [and has] several descendants. Her great-grandson runs this Casa

office there. And right here, I can tell you, that's another tribe [different] from the Kiowa, you know, this one [looking at archery contest picture].

**EJG:** Hats and overalls. I am sure they had several...[inaudible].

**DW:** Yea they did. I used to sit and watch. Dad got the award for the North side of the Fair, that's where the tracks are, by the grandstand. He shot the furthest. Ya know...they would stand in a row...I remember...they would stand in a row like this on the north side where the horses start.

**EJG:** And they would shoot south?

**DW:** Yes, south. And he [Dorothy's father] won several times for shooting [the] furthest. This kind of looks like dad in his "whiteman's" clothes, but I wouldn't really bet on it...but ya know...he dressed like this sometimes. They got pictures of him in a museum at Fort Sill where he's got a gun and holster, and he's with Burke Burnett, and so he must have been some kind of marshal at some time. Oh dear, I wish I could identify all these people.<sup>22</sup>

**EJG:** Those archery contests were a big deal.

**DW:** Oh they were. And this is how we used to do it [concerning storage of regalia and other items when camping], just store your stuff on a [inaudible]. We were so careful with our stuff. I was up at a powwow up north

and it rained the night before, boy we went running for the hotel [laughs]. The next day [we] drove through the campgrounds, and those all beaded tops some of them were lying out there like this one [drying in the sun]. That's a pretty camp...that's the way we used to camp. Grandma Keahbone, I call them all grandma, she always had white horses, for work horses. Okay, she always had white horses that pulled [her wagon], and she camped on the South side. We always camped in the horseshoe [area], by her campground [grandma Keahbone's]...I am surprised that in this area there are not any teepees [a 1941 photograph of the AIE camps]. O-Ho-Mah was right where the loop is, where the water fountain is, right before you start toward the camp crier. We were kind of midway [and] always had a sleeping camp [with] two tents and something to sit on.

**EJG:** That would be on the south side of the horseshoe...is that right?

**DW** Yes.

**EJG:** [Is that] just before you start coming around the curve?

**DW:** Yes, on the south side of the horseshoe. It's really a good place. There is Albert Atocknie...he was Spencer Asah's father-in-law, and he had the only pair of beaded brogans I ever saw.

**EJG:** Brogans?

**DW:** Yes, high top shoes...they were fully beaded. I remember this Caddo woman [referring to photo] with Wooster or Shemaeme, but I wouldn't stake my life on which one. This looks like Albert.

**EJG:** Parker [Emhola]?

**DW:** What is he doing?

**EJG:** He's on a blanket.

**DW:** Oh they must be giving him a special or...?

**EJG:** But he's on a blanket.

**DW:** But he's jumping...see?

**EJG:** Could they be dancing?

**DW:** He's dancing, but I wonder what kind of dance? They are all really looking at him.

**EJG:** Yes. Could that be a giveaway? Maybe they're honoring him?

**DW:** Yes, but through these years [1941] the gourd dance wasn't revived yet.

**EJG:** That's right, and they wouldn't have been doing the gourd dance at the Exposition. Maybe they would have been doing an honor of some sort.

**DW:** Uh huh, yes, not the...Jerome Hummingbird, he lives up in Crow country now...he's still alive.

**EJG:** He must be in his seventies, or eighties.



**DW:** Eighties. I'll be darned if this doesn't look like Dixon [Palmer] and...I think it looks like his brother who was killed in Europe.

**EJG:** Lyndreth?

**DW:** Lyndreth [Palmer], and this is Jerome Hummingbird. And if you notice, on the Snake dance...they used to put...oh! This is the Palmer cape of that era.

**EJG:** What do you mean Palmer cape? This could be [Dixon] Palmer right here.

**DW:** I've always identified [their] pictures 'cause one of them always wore this little...it's a cape with white fringe. And right here at the Heritage museum they have pictures with Lyndreth and Dixon with this cape on. So, he's going the other way but I think this is Dixon, and this is Lyndreth. Jerome Hummingbird...He's Kiowa and, now, when we Snake dance...you know doing something like that...like this in front of the Grandstand...we always just automatically place each other [in this order]...male leader, female, male, female, like that. Now, everyone just runs in there. There are kids interrupting it and it's not...

**EJG:** Yes, and if you're short on males, or short on females the order is not the same.

**DW:** Uh huh...but look how neat that is. They're just...all [inaudible] and it's done in the heat of the day. Nobody even thought about that [heat of the day]...but they have the [dancers] placed [in alternating order]. You don't see

[any] children...and, now, they just run in every direction. And you've got to...I am not...you know? There's a difference. And, that one, that's Tony Whitecloud. We don't identify him in that [way?]. This one stands like Mac Whitehorse but I wouldn't know. Dad had a [Deere?] tractor. I can't find hardly any pictures of my brother..

**EJG:** Father or Mac?

**DW:** No, Claude Whitehorse. One time in that taped series [Indians for Indians radio program] is he named. And they used to go to Don [Whistler?] all the time. If I could only...oh dear...looks so familiar. This was always the belt to the dress [buckskin dress with long belt].

**EJG:** Is that leather or buckskin?

**DW:** It's a sash. This looks like Norma Antisoota's mother Nema...gosh...I know her...if you could just walk into this picture! This is a little before my time...you [wore the headdress]. but I know this is Ada Asah, Spencer's wife. This is a group of Comanche women. Albert [Atochnie]. That's what makes me think they're Comanche. What are they [figures in a photo] doing? [See], two there and two there. And that looks like Jack Anquoe's profile. This woman has a bonnet on [and] there's Dan with that Billy Jack hat on. They're doing...?

**EJG:** What kind of dance do you think that is?

**DW:** I don't know...it...looks kind of fun [laughs] I am wondering if it's even at the Fair? Look at the drummer. They have blankets around their waists.

**EJG:** This almost looks like the [Puebloan?] groups that visited the Expo on several occasions].

**DW:** Yes, they might have been teaching us a dance. There are Pueblo drummers.

**EJG:** [Camps?] in the early 1940's often had the Navajo and Pueblo groups come visit. That could be...could be they're showing the dance.

**DW:** Look! They're teaching us a...teaching us some kind of friendship [dance].

**EJG:** A friendly hoe down?

**DW:** Yea [laughs]...teaching us some kind of friendship [dance]. This is Jack Anquoe...and this looks like a [Kaye?] Atochnie outfit. And that's my Dad! I can show you a picture with him and that hat on. He's watching.

**EJG:** I [think] I know what you mean, "Billy Jack hat." I know exactly [what]...?

**DW:** Boy they're getting down here. Look! Look at him look at them guys! She's got a shawl around her waist. Look at those there. I would venture to say, might be, or are Riverside students [by] the way they're dressed. Because they're high...ya know? They're different. You can't tell the tribe or nothing...see? I'd almost admit...[laughs].

They're stick balling [laughs]. They used to come and do their stick balling in front of the Grandstand. They're two seniors, those guys.

**EJG:** See, they're in street shoes too.

**DW:** Look!

**EJG:** Not [playing] bare foot, [but] playing this game in street shoes.

**DW:** They were, even then, strange them Creeks. They'd come up here and do demonstrations...they weren't even friendly...[looking at people, especially blacks in the street crowd]. In those days they [African Americans] couldn't even come on this side of the tracks after six o'clock [sundown laws]. Even [their] school and everything, was on that side of town. That's the truth! [I wonder], why [is] he [wearing] a holster and pistol?

**EJG:** Do you think this is a black man?

**DW:** Yes.

**EJG:** I wonder if he's just in shadow? Look! There's a whole truckload [of people] right there in front of him. Well, you are right, you're right yes!

**DW:** C\_\_\_\_\_ town [it was] right over there.

**EJG:** What do you call it?

**DW:** See?

**EJG:** He's got a pistol on. I think it's pretty strange for 1941 to be able to carry a pistol.

**DW:** I know. That's George Ashley. He's a Wichita. But, I am looking at them, and they weren't even allowed. They sat in the balcony at the Miller Theater. And, what is he doing with a pistol? He was always their leader [George Ashley], in Indian things...but [when] he died, that kind of ended there. His name was George Ashley. And they wore...this looks like one of them Miller [twins], but I wouldn't want to be too [definite]. That's surprising! Look! And Condio town is right over there, in this picture.

**EJG:** And that would be in what direction? Northeast?

**DW:** Yes. They [blacks] were not allowed...[looking at another photo she names one of the dancers] Tony Whitecloud.

**EJG:** See, I would not have picked that out...who's that? Tony Whitecloud?

**DW:** Yes, [from] Jemez Pueblo...later on Sandia [Pueblo]. Look, he has another singer with him...I better get assured by Vanessa...but, it was either Bright Star or Black...Bright Star...he's super...but, his other singer, I just knew him as Vivian. This was one of his first years to come [to the Exposition]. Look how arrogant he is. He was in movies and...he brought the Hoop dance.

**EJG:** But he was known for the Hoop dance.

**DW:** Internationally!

**EJG:** But he was not the only one that...

**DW:** [No] but he was the only one that got international acclaim.

**EJG:** International acclaim?

**DW:** Uh hmm, but in those days you didn't travel overseas, ya know. He was in several movies, and he died about fifteen or twenty years ago...at Sandia [Pueblo].

**EJG:** There's somebody who, after looking at Spencer Asah's gear, said, 'I think I'll wear one of those too.'

**DW:** [laughs] Yea. Oh, he brought his whole troop then. Look! They called him Vivian. I don't know why they got the war bonnet on.

**EJG:** Could they have been presented one to wear while they were here in the parade?

**DW:** Maybe, yea.

**EJG:** Because a lot of times...I've read accounts that when special guests came, sometimes the Lt. Governor or Governor, or sometimes an outside person or visiting dignitary, whatever, they would put a war bonnet on them...and take their picture.

**DW:** Later on, I want you to look [back] at Jack Hokheah's attire. That's magnificent gear that he has on. It's different from any I've ever seen.

**EJG:** Yes. Isn't the Eastern beadwork, or Eastern style or Woodland style more floral you know? [Referring to a photo] here are more spectators. I don't know what store that is [with spectators] there on Main Street.

**DW:** Ohhh...she looks mean [laughs]. I was scared of white women like that [laughs heartily]. They got one family named [was first name] Feegeebie. It's his real name. It must be Feegee [in the picture]. Is this an Indian woman [looking at another picture]?

**EJG:** I know the Kiowas [wear their hats/vests] [but] it's also Osage right?

**DW:** This must be the Caddo. Our Grandpa's an Apache leader and he has one [referring to regalia in the photo].

**EJG:** So is this Broadway or Main? I can't place which of the two streets it is.

**DW:** I thought that was BW Hamment's, but it's not. You know where that mural is...up there? This is coming down...

**EJG:** Do you think this is heading east or heading west?

**VJ:** What time of day is it?

**DW:** Well...evening. It used to be in the afternoon.

**EJG:** So it might even be East of where [Melton's] is now, or may be not. This is what I was trying to place because that [building] is still going to be there.

**DW:** Gas station he says, but I don't remember a gas station there. Let's see...the library would be right there.

The session continues below, with the additional comments of Vanessa (Mopope) Jennings. She was present during my visit with Dorothy Whitehorse at the Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, Anadarko. Both women are looking at and commenting on copies of different images in my fieldwork binders.

**DW:** Yes, there aren't more. I can help you better with these [photos in a different binder]. This is Lallo and his stepson is Kay [I don't know what it means].

**EJG:** What did you call him? That is Spencer Asah...by the way.

**DW:** Lallo...he has different hair...[laughs]. Ida had two boys before she married Lallo. And it's Kay Atochnie and Debeer Atochnie. And she had the two girls from him. But, this was his stepson Kay. Kay was older than me, so Kay was a little boy then [in the photo]. You know he died in 1949, in a car accident. He was already married. He's got kids by Justina. And, this is his [daddy] Spencer [Asah]. Look at the shield!

**EJG:** Now, he's...this is a braid but is that his hair, or not his hair?

**DW:** I don't think it's his hair. Probably a...

**EJG:** An attachment?

**DW:** It could be...but I know Kay...we all grew up...and that's a donkey there [laughs when she sees a photo with Spencer Asah on a mule]. And he always wore that type of beadwork, ya know. All the time...Kay always looks like he has white blood, ya know, half white. But he always went by Atochnie. That was her maiden name. I don't want to besmirch anybody [big laughter]...I am not doing that! What I've done in my lifetime it's fact. I'm not ashamed of anything I've done in my life. And it happens my Dad has



children...my Dad had three wives [but] one died, and the other one was on the side, and therefore, there are a lot of us. [Anna sue] and Florence, they are my full sisters. And I have Claude, Roland and Mac [Whitehorse]. There were six of us that were full brother and sister. And to me there is no half anyway. But it's just a...see...he always wore that cape [referring again to Asah Spencer]. And even his...they had beads that's white [phone interruption] still speaking about Asah's beaded cape...he [also] had a head wrap bit?

**EJG:** Well, but I've not seen this close up. I've seen it both dark and with beadwork at the top. It appears to look like that sheep wool used on a dancer's ankle wraps.

**DW:** Ya know, I didn't realize that, but maybe he put them on to match his horse. Something ought to be written on him, and that same shield as that boy had on.

**EJG:** As far as you know, did he [Spencer Asah] always wear that cape...that beaded cape?

**DW:** That was his trademark.

**EJG:** That was his trademark because...that's the only way I've seen pictures of him is with the cape.

**DW:** [With] blue beads, and did you notice all that...? Look at all of that [there]. Do Indians...maybe we'll get to the end of the parade route but, I think they're just...I don't,

I guess this was the old way, but I didn't care for all of it.

**EJG:** This is the bustle style of the 1930's up through the early 1940's and then it starts to change. When you get to...

**DW:** Yes, we know that. It's just that I never liked the...look at his shoes...now we're getting to home folks...see, look at that...now this glory is completely alien to me...strange...the cars...I'm trying to see...now, that's a typical campground for the Fair. [It] must be...but again, there's no teepees.

**EJG:** No teepees there, no...I can't place the [setting]. I don't know if this is the horseshoe or north or south campgrounds.

**DW:** It's not the Horseshoe, [look] Ursaline Hamilton.

**CJ:** [Vanessa's husband] she's still alive.

**DW:** Wait 'til you see, Carl...Wilson Ware and all of them at the start of this [Exposition]. It's a group of Caddo women. She was the Caddo princess. That's Ursaline.

**EJG:** She was Caddo princess?

**DW:** Yes, [in the 1941 Pageant]. Here we are again...interesting here [re: Exposition teepee]. You know who painted these [pointing to the painted designs]? Roland Whitehorse] did. The Daily News said the other day that they are about to lose it [the Expo teepee]...because

there's water trouble underneath it. It broke my heart because [images painted by Roland] these have faded...we've tried to re-do it.<sup>23</sup>

**EJG:** Well, somebody came back and painted that red around the top [of the Exposition teepee], but this is how it was...in the early days, because I don't remember the year when [Parker Mackenzie] said they built it. I want to say [it was built in] 1938 or 1939. So here, it is only three or four years old.

**DW:** Roland did...[painted] all of that...always so special. And all I knew [of] his [Tony Whitecloud's] partner...was Vivian. Carol and I journeyed out there [with] my husband, so it would have to be the 1970's...it wasn't the Longhorn Mountains it was Slick hills...look! Oh, my husband and I made a special trip when we first started going out West in 1970, and I asked, and we found Tony. He lived at Sandia Pueblo. And we visited with him several time...went on and he told us where Vivian lived. Vivian was a little recluse, drank a lot of wine, and he lived in a little adobe hut right there in front of that..

**EJG:** He's the one that was at Jemez [Pueblo]?

**DW:** Yes, Jemez Pueblo. And Tony had a nice, fine home at Sandia, in the Pueblo. And he died...but ah...look here's another one...I see no hoops...he's doing some other kind of [dance].

**EJG:** I've not seen any dances [like this one shown] until this reference [referring to] the horsetail dance [bustle]?

**DW:** Now, there you go...look! Look at all them backdrops [painted back drops for the pageant]. With artificial trees, and they even have hills. Oh-the audiences used to love this. They'd bring the house down when he performed. I wonder how much they paid him [Tony Whitecloud]? Oh, here we go again...the Palmers...either Gus or...yeah, it has to be Gus, because that's Lyndreth. That's Lyndreth, because we don't see the cape that Dixon has on, and that's been the same...Jerome Hummingbird [in another photo]...it's that same day. That's Lyndreth [in the photo]. Look at this...in the daytime [dancers in arena at Caddo county fairgrounds].

**EJG:** And there are lots of people in the Grandstands, too.

**DW:** Uh huh, and it's all them busy bees...yea.

**EJG:** I thought this was Jack Hokeah...but it's not...is it?

**DW:** No, this is Wilson Asah, and Charlie Whitehorse. That looks like Naho? But I wouldn't bet on that. George Washington Binko...Wilson, we've got to move. It's funny that the only guy I recognized [instantly] was Kay. This looks like that Asah type beadwork, you know. Butch Tohay further up...a lady with that [hat] this is silly. What do you think this is? [Is it a] Squat dance?

**VJ:** Ruffle dance.

**DW:** Yes, you can tell from a distance. It's Albert Atochnie. You've got quite a bit [referring to the photo binders].

At this point we agreed to take a short break. During the break I put away the binders filled with images spanning the Exposition's middle decades and prepared to continue the interview with Dorothy Whitehorse and Vanessa (Mopope) Jennings. This section begins with Dorothy White Horse, then switches to Vanessa Mopope Jennings, and ends with some final comments by Dorothy. Like above, their respective narratives are presented in a different typeface, making it easier for readers to distinguish their words from the author's. I began this second session by asking Dorothy about her earliest memories of the Anadarko Indian Fair. She began by saying:

**DW:** It [must have been] around 1933. At the settlement called Hog Creek, folks were camping there for Christmas and so after that I remember coming to the Fair every time on a wagon [and] putting up a camp about two weeks ahead of time and staying until the County Fair was over.

**EJG:** That was a long haul.

**DW:** Yes. [We camped] way through September and then we knew we had to go to school after that. It was always my time marker when I was young, knowing that after Indian Fair, [that] school started. And we, too, appreciate what

you are doing, because without this documentation, there are so many things that now are omitted that it's sad that we've lost it. The [Expo's story must be] revived by [people sharing] pictures and statements, [otherwise], it's lost forever. I had a discussion a few minutes ago with some elder women, and we don't ever remember it being this hot, there is something changing. It's scary, because even as youngsters we could walk around out there and it was never, never this hot. And oh...stamina...we could go to the swimming pool or walk all over and come back to the Fair grounds because it was all centered here. And [for] recollections you can just go through there [fairgrounds].

**EJG:** Have things changed?

**DW:** Sure things have changed. They're going to change like everything else does. But it's our job to try to preserve it by telling our youngsters how things used to be. It was nostalgic [for me] to go through the pictures from a long time ago. And to look and see people who you could just visualize dancing the way they used to with the pageant, and the princesses and the [inaudible] parades, and all that. I wish someday, you know, somebody could bring that back. A part of it, just a little part of it, but we are poor now because our great ones are gone. And all we have left, like they say in the old Kiowa, is [inaudible] the

ashes. We are sitting in the ashes of our great ones. And now, this is just me talking, where are the people...ah...Jasper [Saunkeah], and [Maurice] Bedokah? [I mean], the ones that started the [Indian Fair]. Where oh where? This was good. It was something to look forward to every year, the Indian Fair. Even when you lived out of state you looked forward in later years to coming home, and seeing people. And now, they're all gone.

**EJG:** But, stories and pictures, hopefully, will bring part of it back.

**DW:** Yes, and keep it there. It was always my dad, Whitehorse's belief to preserve things for the future generations. And in a small part, I hope we can do that. This isn't written, it's just me talking, and the pictures [we saw] this morning, they were so elegant. The people were so elegant [back] then. And Vanessa and I try in a small way [to do our part]. I don't care what you do in the world people are going to criticize [you], even [when] you are trying to preserve history. In a small way, that's our effort. And everything we do, with our cradleboards, with things that [we make like] our cedar bags, things our folks used to do, we try to do it [now]. And she's [Vanessa], you know, we're different ages, but together we can work as a real good team.

**DW:** Like I remember how hot she was when she came in and we were talkin' about the heat, and I made the statement, they used to say "it's so hot" in Kiowa, "that even the turkeys don't feel like dancing" [Dorothy repeats this anecdote in Kiowa]. Ya know "it's hot" even the turkeys want to hide [she laughs]. I'll think of a phrase and I'll have nobody to share it with, and some of it has no meaning in modern way of talking Kiowa, because it's old Kiowa, and I'm by no means an expert...I was just raised by a set of parents who spoke nothing but Kiowa. And that's where I think I am real rich.

**EJG:** But you can still speak your own language.

**DW:** Oh yes, uh huh! We speak it fluently! They're teaching it [now] and hopefully they'll bring part of it back.

**EJG:** Vanessa, I ask that you make a similar statement about yourself [like Dorothy Whitehorse].

**VJ:** I am Vanessa Jennings. I am the oldest granddaughter of Steven Mopope, and Jeanette Berry. I am a product of relocation, my mother was a nurse, and after she finished her schooling, the agency [and] the Bureau of Indian Affairs, sent her to Phoenix on the Relocation Program where she would work. She had an agreement or contract to work for Indian health to satisfy part of her requirements



for her education. She had to work for X number of years with Indian Health, and she was sent from here to Phoenix and then to a satellite hospital at [inaudible]. This was in Arizona. And my father was a Pima Indian. He was a Pima Indian, and he was [a] wild, good looking wild thing...and uh...he got hurt while he was riding a horse. [As a result], he was hospitalized and my mother was his nurse. Anyway, they met, and they got married. [Then] I was born and just shortly after I was born, my grandmother came by train to Arizona and got me, and brought me back home. And I've been here ever since!

**VJ:** So...ah...I am not a [speaker]. In my [own] way I feel I make up for that deficiency with my beadwork. You know, when I talk to people I tell them, 'we all know what a dinosaur is,' well Auntie here [referring to herself] is a dinosaur, because I make things that don't exist anymore. I make cradleboards, I make saddles, make lances, and I make shields...things that once were made by everyone. Now, people just sort of specialize. They specialize in teaching the [inaudible], and [beading] cigarette lighters. So, and you were speaking of the language being important to the culture.

**VJ:** Well this fits right in with my philosophy. I have no education beyond a high school education, and like Dorothy,

I was raised by fluent Kiowa speakers...my grandfather and my grandmother. But, but ...I'm being serious now, you know, because I don't have anything in the way of education like you, or anyone else, but this is a...it does not matter what nationality you are, it is a basic human need to want to belong. This is a very simple [idea], maybe it's too simple, but in each culture there are several factors that are important to that culture [such as] language, religion, a way to dress, [and] stories. And all of these [cultural parts] fit together like a human puzzle.

**VJ:** Now, you and I know [from common sense], there is a big beautiful oak tree out there. [It provides] beautiful shade, you could use part of it for wood, or you could sit, look at the birds, and enjoy the squirrels. But you can [also] look at that tree and it's like a culture. If you want to kill that tree, then what you would do is chop away at the roots, and that kills the tree. And so, you live to remember that...ah, in order to save the man, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the United States government believed that you had to kill the Indian in order to save the man. And so, they were trying to destroy the Indians' language, [their] culture, [their] dances, and songs. So, you're like that tree, once the roots are killed, then what do you have? Nothing!

**VJ:** Now, keep in mind this is just a simple little woman, that's the way I feel. And because of this human desire, this human nature, we have children who desperately want to be Indian, and if you allow them to grow up as these giggly things about, well that's an old Indian [inaudible]. Ha! Ha! Ha! Look at it, ya know...it's on a donut...everything is derogatory. Don't get mad at these kids, because they're going to grow up with a negative idea. Nobody is teaching them things like self-respect, self-worth, integrity, or honesty. I know these are things we admire. There are things that we look back at longingly. You know, because who else could be more dignified or elegant when you called their names?

**VJ:** They were known for their honesty and integrity...Charlie Whitehorse, Roland Whitehorse, [sighs], there was such [sighs]...This Kiowa royalty, whatever you want to call it, I mean it's something. You've heard the saying [sighs] "money can't buy class," or "you can't"...pretty common [saying] "you can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear." Well, that's the same, you know, this kind of [inaudible] these are goals we should be teaching our children to strive for. That integrity and that elegance...ah...you know, that's what's missing today. Where you walk out here and see these kids with their tattoos, and girls are walking

around with their underwear showing...um...there's no respect, and no self-respect. Um [inaudible] they all talk about the Hood, [and] being members of the Hood. That has absolutely nothing at all to do with Kiowa philosophy.

**EJG:** Why do you think that is?

**VJ:** Because it's almost a success, that idea of killing the Indian to save the man.

**DW:** It's the gathering [that is] so joyful when that was around, [referring to] the [annual] pageant. [Earlier] I was recollecting for Vanessa and Linda Poolaw, and yesterday we were talking about the pageant [Indian Fair], and I was asking them if they remembered [what] or which pageant it was that had the actual Iwo Jima Flag Raising in the pageant [program]. It looked so realistic. It could have been in the late 1940s. They would talk about Ira Hayes, and then [present] that rider-less horse. That is when the [program], and that [pageant] was so pretty. I would like to know who directed that, or who wrote it. I remember Margaret Pearson Speelman, and I remember it being in the pageant when she directed it.

**EJG:** What about moving the pageant from the grandstands to the amphitheatre?

**DW:** I had moved out of state then, but when I came for Fair time like everybody does it was at the amphitheater, and I was told later that it didn't last very long. The only

thing I miss about the Grandstand is [that] they closed [inaudible]. It was my joy to run up to the top and watch the carnival from the [upper-most] level.

**EJG:** Yes, they closed that up...

**DW:** Yes, for safety's sake. But that was fun. We used to sit way up there and watch the carnival. That was fun!

**VJ:** They didn't do the amphitheater until the spring of 1954. It was supposed to have been opened earlier, but they weren't ever able to get enough support [money] for it.

**EJG:** Wasn't there someone who was going to be paying for that...does [inaudible]?

**VJ:** Well, the Redman Foundation was incorporated. But it was great [inaudible], but it was so tiny there was no way it could accommodate the crowds that wanted to. It wasn't practical. It was pretty, but it wasn't practical. It was great though to take a cardboard and slide down the [slope]. Grandma [would] catch [us] and whip [us], 'cause that was a good way to get hurt you know.' But, I mean that's what all the kids did. You just improvised with that, or you got in a tire; and, I was never brave enough to get in a tire and roll down [the slope], that was just too dumb for me [laughs]. Yea, well the cardboard was as brave as I ever got. What was the woman's name, the writer

that you [asking Dorothy Whitehorse] were interested in for the pageant...[was it] Margaret Pearson Speelman?

**DW:** Lawrence I guess, and then she had...it seemed like, you know, they used the cast from Riverside.

**EJG:** Were you a Riverside student?

**DW:** Oh yes...ah...it seems like a Charlotte Minkset who was that girl [rides] at Riverside [inaudible]. But what I understand, even the townspeople...the men, you remember, they would take part in the parts of the soldiers, and have the uniforms on. Where did they get all of that stuff [the uniforms]?

**EJG:** Again, y'all see, looking through these [AIE] programs, that sometimes, those years when they published the transcript of the pageant in program itself, sometimes they will say that the uniforms or other costumes were gotten from Kansas City or St. Louis.

**DW:** The pageants [are] just daring, you know? People see the pageant. But if it was done then, and things are as modern as they are now, it seems like we could put on a giant show, or go back with one of these old scripts of Margaret Speelman. Go back and revise that. I remember the man. He was the narrator...what was his name? He had a voice that carried, and it sounded like a [inaudible]. He could put feeling to what he was describing.

**VJ:** Ironshield was like that.

**DW:** That was good. I think it was him...he was wonderful! And then this last time that I participated [in the pageant], I guess it was about 4 or 5 years ago...out there.

**EJG:** That was the last time that you participated?

**DW:** Yes. It just got too hot, I am getting too old to act in buckskin, and I missed, missed that voice when I was sitting out there. I missed that dancing all these years in front of the Grandstand, and going out there...oh...I know what I was getting at, whoever was managing the pageant that year, came over to where we were sitting and there was some [inaudible] they were following their riderless horse, and I was asked if I would put a black shawl on over my head as a mourning mother, and I said 'No, I don't want to portray that.' So, I think they found somebody else.

**EJG:** Typically, they wouldn't do that would they?

**DW:** No, you would say, and I might get corrected, but my mother would have said, I'm guessing but, you know, we couldn't even emulate the songs that our real elders [sung] when somebody passed away. They sang this...it was more like...it was crying but you were doing that in honor of the one that passed on, and it was like a song. And, if we imitated that crying or singing, oh goodness...we were [inaudible].

**EJG:** How could you do it, like you say emulating it, when it's only re-enacted, and [when] it should only be done in fact for [a funeral]?

**DW:** Uh huh...and the woman that died...I'm saying that happened because she done that, but she's not here now. We both danced at the Fair that year and it is my cousin Marianne Anquoe. But I said 'oh no, I don't want to.' There is just some things that Vanessa and I do have, we do respect our ways [and] there are just some things we know we can't step over, like imitating somebody crying [mourning]. But we used to do that you know, and we'd get punched in the head, ya know, because you don't do that. So, if your elders told you that [then], it wouldn't be permissible now.

**VJ:** Well, a good example too is the camp crier...they have him there...he serves an ungrateful purpose]. I remember one time, these little boys were playing, and he [one boy] was imitating, you know, children imitate what they see, anyway, the little boy came out and he had a towel draped over his shoulder, [and] he started making that sound, and then these elders came out and they boxed that little boy's ears. They went over to the [family's] camp and they made his family pay for the indiscretion. They had to, they gave Pendleton blankets and [inaudible] in order to compensate [for the boy s indiscretion].



**EJG:** Let me ask you Vanessa, I am [asking] under an assumption, so correct me if I am wrong, you participated in the Exposition in earlier years?

**VJ:** Yea! I am just like all these little kids. We'd set up camp, unlike Aunt Dorothy, you know we'd come...there was the Black Feet dance, the Apache Black Feet Society's Dance, [and] we went to Apache Home camp. We were as brown as pecans by the time Indian Fair came, but uh...I don't remember the...I am sure they were beer drinking, you know, but I remember people being polite and mannerly, dignified. You know the insanity that's running around out there now [it] makes me uncomfortable, so I stay away from it.

**EJG:** But as a little girl you went as a little girl, and young woman?

**VJ:** Yes, I went to contest.

**EJG:** What [dances] did you contest?

**VJ:** Buckskin. It was fun! And I remember how proud my Grandpa and Grandma was...and it was a lot of fun.

**EJG:** Who made your regalia?

**VJ:** My Grandmother.

**EJG:** Who was your Grandmother?

**VJ:** Grandma Jeanette Mopope, my Grandfather was Stephen Mopope. He was a member of the Kiowa Five, and he married Tennyson Berry's daughter, Jeanette.

**EJG:** Oh, that was Tennyson Berry's daughter, okay.

**VJ:** So, that was...Tennyson Berry sat on the Business Committee with Chuck Palmer and Jim Waldo. You know, Grandfather always referred to them as his association, they were not his friends, his buddies, [or his] compadres...they were just his associates. So, it was said in a very dignified and respectful way.

**EJG:** But not in a familiar way?

**VJ:** No. No. And it was [simply]...and it was a great honor if big sister asked me to serve lemonade. My Great Grandmother served lemonade [to them] but, you know, children...because you have that respect for grown ups, it was...you looked at that as an honor. And now, you tell your nephew 'hey...fix those [folks something to drink] and [he responds] 'Ah man.' It was just...I keep coming back to the same word...it was dignified. And I remember my Grandmother talking about 'how can you expect someone to respect you if you have no respect for yourself'? It's a very simple and direct question.

**EJG:** It underpins the whole thing. Tell me, I asked this of others and I'll ask Dorothy, too. What did camp or going to the Exposition and camping, what did that mean for you? I mean, what was that, aside from the dancing, what was going and camping...what did that mean or signify for you?

**VJ:** To the outside world it sounds like hard work, you know, because that isn't what women...it's not something they get excited about. This was, it was simple. It was the fellowship and the friendship. It was so much fun, and it was done in such a good way. My Grandmother used to say, 'Kindness has a long life, that's what you remember.' And I think that's what you are hearing from Dorothy and me both. It's these [things], the compassion, the friendship, the alliances, everything that was worthwhile, [everything] that happened [there].

**EJG:** When you mention your Grandmother...who is that?

**VJ:** My Grandmother Jeanette, and my sister. Now don't get me wrong, there was a [inaudible] back of us little kids. My Grandmother used to say, 'Go like this when I am talking to you' [makes an expression]. That's going to get me in trouble...so my nephew is going like this...and then he goes like this...then he goes like this...what are you doing? Nephew says, 'I don't hear nothing' [laughs]. But you really wonder, but I know my sisters...they were just as goofy. They'd get crazy things, and I got in trouble, because I was the oldest. My Grandma said: "You are the oldest. You should know better!" Well who's going to listen to me? Everybody likes to have fun, and when I was six or seven years old they were already calling me

grandma...old lady...they didn't want to hear what I had to say, 'no, no, don't do that, we're going to get in trouble.' Oh no, but my sisters, they really, they didn't mean to be hurtful or harmful to me.

**VJ:** But my Grandmother, my little sisters, the mother of my two little nephews, my Grandmother had a habit of taking her eyeglasses [hata in Kiowa/Apache] off and she'd lay them by the bed, on the table by the bed. Well, my sisters would take the eyeglasses and move them to the dining table under the arbor...and so, at night my Grandma would raise up...Grandma's do this...they check on you, and raise up and look over there [where you are supposed to be sleeping]. Well my sister would fluff up the blankets and pillows, so you know, so they made a lump. My Grandma would look over there, and yea, it looks like my little sister is over there, sleeping. In the meantime, she's slipped out of camp, and she's gone to the 49 [chuckles]. So, right here, this old woman...I slept with my Grandma, you know, I felt like my Grandma could read my mind. I was not going to do anything.

**EJG:** You didn't slip out to go to the 49 [dances]?

**VJ:** Uh huh...Oh no, no, no, no! And my sister was quite bold, she would come back, and my Grandmother would be out there making breakfast, putting wood on the fire, and my

sister would [say], 'Hello Grandma' [laughs], you know, but it was just we're different, you know, it's just...but I look back...you have to wonder. My Grandmother was [inaudible] my sister. My sister should be here talking to you, you know? But I guess, you know, some of us are in a hurry, and I guess her hurry was that she knew that she wasn't going to live to be an old woman. She had breast cancer and she died in 1998.

**EJG:** I am sorry. May I ask her name?

**VJ:** Evette Mopope. That was her legal name, and...ah...that was my baby sister. But she was named after my Grandpa and his mother. And, oh she was funny. I was the big coward, you know, to this day I am a coward. I don't like to make a scene. Don't you know, if you want to fight you'll never catch me, I don't like competition, I don't like turmoil, and it's just, you know, that just uses up too much of my energy. But my little sister, she lived, she was energized.

**EJG:** The Exposition was a different time for her, but you're sisters, you would say even though she isn't here to say it herself, but you two had different experiences at the Exposition, right?

**VJ:** Very different! Now, here's where we're colorful [big laugh]. Here's where we're memorable [laughs again]. You

know, but it was just, my sister...Aunt Dorothy has a talent for singing, [turning toward Dorothy] you can sing a song right through, one time, [snaps her fingers]. [She] can sing it, and she has it. That's the way my little sister was. You [could] sing a song to her, and she could sing it to you. You know, but me, I don't know what happened to my talent. I get lost easily.

**EJG:** But we all have [different] talents. Your talent is [making these things].

**VJ:** Gossip? [Laughs].

**EJG:** But you mentioned...about being a dinosaur, of keeping certain traditions alive. That's your talent, isn't it?

**VJ:** Yea! Well, I also think gossiping is a super talent! But that was, you know, it was just...it was innocent; there was none of this drive by shooting, there was none of this...I mean yea, they would have fights, but I mean it was...either that, or I was particularly shielded from all of that [if there was more].

**EJG:** Well, it's a different time...it's a different time, and we all experience these changes, part of what is happening out there today [in the 21<sup>st</sup> century versus the 1st half of the 20<sup>th</sup>, or latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century]. It's a big difference.

**VJ:** You know where the Wichita camps [are], you know where the Fort Sill Apache camps [are] and the...skid row...5th Avenue [laughs].

**EJG:** Let me ask you, is there a particular story or memorable experience, or time that stands out above others...maybe?

**VJ:** Two, I remember being about six or seven, and I remember they would practice several times before the pageant, before the first show. I mean it was...what would you call it? It was almost like professional...the rehearsals. And then, I remember the impromptu...that whenever, I guess whenever you go, it was a common courtesy to take something to eat, and I remember that was fun. You know, the grown ups would get to eat, and the kids, you know, we got to sit together, and try to figure out who got to sit by who and who...that was fun. That's what I remember. But, I remember also being in the pageant, and I remember my great-Grandmother singing.

**EJG:** Your great-Grandmother? Who would that be?

**VJ:** Anna Jones Berry. I remember her singing, and I remember her walking down the ramps.

**EJG:** And she was singing at the pageant?

**VJ:** Yes, singing at the pageant. And I remember us kneeling down, and my Grandmother made cradleboards, and so I got to carry [one]. Maybe this is why it's so important. I have a red wool cradleboard, a doll cradle that my great-Grandmother's Grandmother had made. And I got to carry it.

But I remember that, because it was the light. I remember a man. You could see his silhouette, way up on top of the Grandstand. I remember the carnival lights. You could see him walking along, you know, because he was trying to adjust the lights for the pageant. I remember that...[A] big light show. But I remember big Sister's [great-Grandmother] singing, and you know, that's intimidating you know. Here, that grandstand is filled up with people, and I remember a [inaudible] concert. And I remember, I must have, you know, little kids, they get stage fright. I remember I must have been just standing there looking, because my Grandmother had to gently reach and push me down, [to] kneel, [to] get down on the ground. And I remember whispering.

**EJG:** Were you practicing?

**VJ:** At practice, what the hell was practice? You know, as a little girl...but that was...I never experienced anything like that. And [as] a little girl, you know...because I remember I got to carry the cradleboard on my back, like my Grandma, but it was my great-Grandma that was singing.

**EJG:** Do you remember the title of the pageant, or what year that would have been?

**VJ:** No. My-gosh! I don't remember, maybe the 1950's, 1958, or 1959 [brings out two Exposition posters]. I brought two of these [posters]...I used to have lots a bunch of them. I



used to have all their posters. Oliver Woodward [still looking at pageant poster], he was a beautiful narrator.

**EJG:** [Question to Dorothy Whitehorse] What particularly stands in your memory now as special?

**DW:** Things that happened there?

**EJG:** Yes. Something that...one or two things that were particularly memorable to you at the Exposition, and then I'll follow that up with the same question that I asked Vanessa, what did it mean for you coming there to camp? What did that symbolize, what did that entail, not just the dancing part, but coming to camp?

**DW:** Well, to start with, I guess that's why...I don't really camp anymore. Vanessa and Carl put up a beautiful camp, and I know that I have a place there. My earliest recollection was starting at Carnegie on a wagon and team, and camping for powwow. One year there was even a controversy with the Fair Board, and they moved part of the Fair to Carnegie. I mean they didn't move the Fair...they just had a powwow the same time as the Indian Fair. So that was at the old Doug Apeatone place west of Carnegie, about two miles [west]. There was an encampment there, and they danced there [the] same time as [the] Fair. But many from Carnegie, going cross country to Murrow's [Caddo dance ground] at Binger, and even going to Chandler Creek by Porter Hill on a wagon and team with camping gear for a

powwow. Camping, different places like that. Camp Creek over here [gesturing] the Wichita have that [camp]. I can name them for you, where we went from.

**EJG:** Please do, if you don't mind.

**DW:** There was Carnegie, then Carnegie Park, and Chandler Creek over by Porter Hill. Murrow's was at the Caddo country, and then Camp Creek over in Wichita Country between here and Gracemont. We went the whole circuit that summer, and then by the time we got to the [Indian] Fair, that was the climax, you know, of the circle of the...oh and there was Boone, west of Apache. I can take you to every encampment you know and show [you]. But that was the circle, and when we finished that, then we came to the Fair.

**DW:** My earliest recollection is...I didn't know Acee Blue Eagle was a famous name then...he was the friend of Roland Whitehorse [Dorothy's brother]. And, he would come to visit. He called Roland brother. Like for instance, he would come by the house, and before the war, I remember after the war when he came he said...just a little instance, he said, 'where you girls going?' And we said, 'we're going to the Apache Y to get some kerosene,' and he said, 'what happened, a long time ago you all used to say coal oil' [laughs]. And they took trips. There are pictures of

Roland and Acee at San Ildefonso. And then, sometime during the middle 1940's or later 1940's, Acee brought a wife to us. She was in that movie...the Story of Dorian Gray, and she was Balinese from Java. Her name was Den Jat? But, I am surprised that there's not a picture [in the binders]. There was a picture where the folks all dressed him and he...well he has his own regalia stuff...buckskin with a bonnet...and she's sitting beside him, and his folks have put a buckskin dress on her. She was a little tiny woman. She done that exotic, you know, some kind of dance that they do in the movie. And I've often wanted to see if it [the movie] was still in existence, because he was still legally married to her when he died.

**DW:** But him coming to the Fair...we were always having to dress and then what, I guess, what we got paid for the pageant, they didn't have bracelets [for unlimited carnival rides] and stuff then. You just rode [rides] what you could, when you could. And Acee comes, and he took us through the carnival. And I got to ride every ride that was out there. Then he took us to...feed us a hamburger and that red drink that they used to have that was...and I seen him later on when I was a little bit older. And then, the next thing I heard was he passed away. I didn't realize he was [famous]. He was just Acee. And that's my

recollection of getting a trip through the Fairgrounds with all them kids. You know, just getting to order anything I wanted to.

**EJG:** I mean Acee was like your uncle, a family friend.

**DW:** Yea! And then, like I just [was] given the daily paper, and it said that my brother Mac [Whitehorse] is 'Grandfather of the Year.' He's our grandfather all year long. I wish. He is going to be 90. I wish that their [AIE] board, or somebody, in their compassion would have recognized the man, and some day before it's too late, [honor] him being Indian of the Year. He's a very unassuming, unbragging man. And he was affiliated with this Fair ever since the ones Vanessa and I have been talking about, through those years. He was drum keeper for many years. He was Kiowa director for many years, and all of his princesses and there...he was dignified...if [only] they could hunt for people that are still with us, of that stature. I'm sorry they never done anything like that for Parker out there.

**DW:** And, you know, it's too late now, but I mean if they could have recognized my brother. You know, one time for all he's done, that he carried on. He's the last one left of the Whitehorse's. The Mopopes, Jack Hoekeahs, Wilson Ware, all that era where those guys danced together since

[Spencer] Aash's [time], Mac is the last one left, the very last one. If [only] they could have honored them...Mac has never been recognized, and because he doesn't blow his horn about anything, he says, 'people know where you come from [and] they know what you are [so] be quiet.' Every year we try to honor him at his birthday.

**DW:** Vanessa got a proclamation from the Governor several years ago when he recognized Mac's birthday, but I would just like to honor him sometime and it doesn't happen at this time. I think he has contributed [equally] as a whole with everybody included. The rest are all gone, and he's the last one. The other ones...I'll say it: 'come latelies' and if we don't do that, it will be too late. But every year...I guess as I get older everybody is a youngster, and it's so easy to give advice, and then not contribute anything. I hesitate to do that because it's easy to talk and then not do anything. But as far as them trying to move the Fair to Lawton, like I've been hearing, let the one's who want to go, go. They'll never move the Fair from here. This is the American Indian Exposition!

**EJG:** Like Vanessa was talking about a tree, earlier, the roots...the roots for the Exposition are here. If you cut them...

**DW:** Yes, yes! It's Anadarko. I told Carolyn Aftana, I wanted to write something about that, you know, this is an

institution, and if you want to go to Lawton, that's fine. Go ahead, we'll keep what ones of us are left, we'll keep it and keep on...some way, you know, I've heard there are different factions who want to move it to Lawton.

**EJG:** But it would not be the same. This is the place where it all happens.

**DW:** [It would] not be the Indian Fair...yes...yes, and the tribes that are here, you know, we are centered here. The Wichitas, Caddos and Delaware, nobody hardly pays them anything, and they're just as much a part of this as the rest of us. They're gracious [people] maybe because they are so gentle. You know we're kind of...us KCA's are kind of more rugged. That's the difference, I guess. I'll come out and say it, but they have always supported the Fair, and they are there [still]. Yes. Yes. [About the others wanting to move the Indian Fair], if they want to go, go ahead. This is ours and we'll keep it here.

### **Robert Goombi, Sr.**

The American Indian Exposition marked its 75th anniversary the summer of 2006. It is fitting, I believe, to include a published statement made by Robert Goombi, Sr. mid-week of the Expo's Silver Anniversary celebration in August 1956. It was delivered four days before voting was scheduled to elect a new slate of officers and directors for the next cycle of two-year terms. At the time of Goombi's announcement, he had already served as President of the Exposition's Board of Directors longer than any other person before him. His record of having the longest period of continuous service for any president of the Indian Fair remains to the present day. Goombi's sentiments<sup>24</sup> and

decision to seek another term of office, expressed August 14, 1956 in the *Anadarko Daily News*, follows:

"I realize more than any other person that I have held a position of responsibility for a long time. This has meant considerable personal sacrifice of time and money for me and for my family. However, I feel that I still owe much to the hundreds of my fellow tribesmen and other Indians who have urged me to seek this office again. Particularly it is important that an experienced hand is here to guide the exposition next year when Oklahoma celebrates its Semi-Centennial celebration. The American Indian Exposition will be a high point of interest for this semi-centennial. We must do all that we can to make the exposition [the] greatest [it's ever been] in 1957.

"I accepted this appointment [by Governor Raymond Gary as ex-officio committeeman for the semi-centennial] because of my desire to serve my state and to be a full-time representative of Indians in state endeavors. Without the help of such men as Tully Morrison, treasurer; Roe Kahrahrhah, vice president; and Francis Pipestem, secretary, it would not be possible to carry out the heavy responsibilities of presenting the exposition...These men have stood by me. I know how much work must be done and

how much work these men will do. Therefore, as candidate for the presidency, I urge you to select men such as these to serve as officials also.

“For many years I have dreamed that the exposition would have a place of its own to hold this all-Indian show. The amphitheatre now in use is a realization of that dream. I have put my whole heart and soul into this job. My dreams are becoming a reality. And within the next two years I want the completion of this new amphitheatre to be my responsibility...I want to thank the Indians and all of our white friends, particularly the Anadarko chamber of commerce, for their cooperation in helping the American Indian Exposition to grow. My services as president are offered the participating Indian tribes for another two years.

Statements like Robert Goombi's have been published in the local newspaper since the 1940s. They are one avenue by which voting members of the various Indian tribes affiliated with the Exposition have been kept informed concerning their representatives contributions made on behalf of their specific tribes and collectively as Indians in the community. That Goombi was able to maintain a delicate balance between competing



interests, while at the same time move the American Indian Exposition enterprise forward in meaningful ways is a testament to his skill as a businessman, leader and negotiator.

### **Amos Toahty**

When Expo President Robert Goombi Sr. suffered a heart attack in 1960, vice-president Amos Toahty assumed temporary responsibilities of managing the show, but only after ironing out difficulties resulting from Goombi's unilateral decision, made from his hospital room, to put someone other than the vice-president in charge of the Expo's affairs. As 1960 was also an election year, Toahty published his statement of intent to compete for the office of president in the August 17 issue of the *Anadarko Daily News*.<sup>25</sup> Under much pressure as a result of his sudden change in responsibilities, Toahty had to rely solely on his statement of intent to generate the necessary votes for him to win the office. Ultimately, Toahty would only serve the remainder of Goombi's 1960 term; even so, regardless that Toahty's presidential election bid was unsuccessful, his words recorded below merit a place in this story. During the 1960 election campaign he offered Indian voters the following statement:

"Today I, Amos Toahty, wish to formally announce my candidacy for the office of President of the American Indian Exposition. I feel very humble and proud to have been associated these past 10 years serving you people and the American Indian Exposition. I have been your official master of ceremonies many, many years and have also served as a member of the board in many capacities. I have tried

to be your good and faithful vice president for four years. I am a full-blooded member of the Kiowa-Pawnee tribe and also am a member of various Veterans organizations, having served with the old 45<sup>th</sup> Division in World War II. I had most of my schooling at several Indian schools, such as Pawnee Indian school, Fort Sill Indian school, but attended college at Wichita, Kansas University.

"I shall not make any rash promises that I may not be able to fulfill, but I will make two promises to the people. They are: If the people want the constitution changed, then I will recommend the constitution be revised. I shall and will always try to serve the people. I feel that...my many years of being associated with you people and the American Indian Exposition better qualifies me to be the next president of the exposition. As you people know...during my short term as your leader, we have had more radio and television coverage and more newspaper publicity than under any other administration. I know that by working together we can attain even greater success through this media.

"Because of the weather and pressing demands of the exposition, it will be impossible to make an extensive

campaign, because I will be doing my utmost to fulfill the responsibilities, that you entrusted to me. But I humbly pray that you will observe that I have sincerely done the best I could under the circumstances. I am fully aware of all the requirements the exposition needs to better its program, such as better sanitation facilities, more roads leading in and out of the exposition grounds, more people on the payrolls and most important, that the agricultural and livestock exhibits be reestablished so that we might provide a program that younger people might be encouraged through FFA and 4-H club activities. I know that a better public relations program should be worked out between the American Indian Exposition and the civic-minded people of Anadarko. In our need they were more than willing to cooperate with us by providing a new restroom at the south campground.

"We are going to do our best to meet your requests for a secret ballot election. But I would like to state the system that we plan will not be iron-clad or fool-proof, so I am asking the candidates as well as the Indian people to understand so that they can have a dignified election and still be able to vote the American Democratic way. So in conclusion, once again I am asking you to consider and vote

for me to be your next American Indian Exposition president. I will do the best I can with your cooperation and God's help to move the exposition forward because of the personal interest and pride that you have expressed in so many ways. Signed: Amos Toahty.

When all the votes were counted, Toahty came in third place behind Robert Goombi Sr., in a surprise upset resulting in Philemon Berry being declared the winner, and the Exposition's next president. However, Philemon Berry's heavily criticized tenure lasted but two years. It was, admittedly, a disappointing and financially stressed presidency that never quite seemed to get organized.

### **Vernon Keahbone**

When the next election cycle came round, Vernon Keahbone tendered his statement of intent to run for the office of Exposition vice-president for the 1963-64 seasons. Published in the August 7, 1962 issue of the *Anadarko Daily News*, it is indicative of the ways individuals attempted to distinguish themselves from other candidates, especially in years when many office-seekers competed for the people's vote.<sup>26</sup> Statements like Keahbone's were plentiful each election cycle, and often made direct and indirect reference to their opponent's shortcomings, as his campaign platform below illustrates:

"I am a Kiowa Indian from Anadarko. I am a high school graduate and attended business college in Anadarko. In my work experience, one was as bookkeeping machine operator

for six years in the payroll and accounts section of the Anadarko Area Office. Through this line of experience for approximately 10,000 Indians and through my interest and average knowledge of affairs and ways of the Indians, I feel that I am qualified for this post. I will work for rebuilding the fair in close cooperation with the president and board members of the Exposition.

"If elected, I will stand up for what the position calls for and will not yield to any source that may jeopardize the fair or my friendship with the Indians. With the president's permission I will ask the merchants of Anadarko for a donation in the line of food for the camp. The camp is a big attraction and money source in itself. The Exposition and the city of Anadarko have been very fortunate in getting it for nothing. I am in favor of purchasing a cover, such as ball field covers, for the seats and pageant grounds of the amphitheatre and using the theater for more profitable purposes. Money would not be lost for lack of space and this would lessen a possible danger of the grandstand collapsing under day and night use.

"I am for putting more emphasis on horseracing arrangements. I have been asked to suggest that board members vote on the question of amending the constitution to permit other tribal members to hold office, and to make this a final decision. I would like the carnival [to] be set up lengthwise along the grandstand in order that more booths for concessions may be sold. I am definitely against the four-year term of office [proposal]. I am sure that all candidates bear in mind that proper settlements should be made with all workers and performers.

"Although this is known as an Indian Fair, the Exposition cannot do without the white people and the city of Anadarko would not be where it is now without the Indians, therefore, both sides should work for more harmony, and as a result I think better things will come. Study closely and when you go to the polls, do not vote from sympathy or popularity, but from facts as they really are, and no one will know how you voted.

**Arthur Thomas**

Incumbent and Expo vice-president Arthur Thomas's<sup>27</sup> campaign statement for president, published July 6, 1964 in the *Anadarko Daily News*, was addressed "to the

people of the American Indian Exposition.” Like other candidates, Thomas was expressing his hopes for a recommitment to the ideals central to the Exposition program writing that:

“On July 11, 1964, the American Indian Exposition will open its doors for its 33<sup>rd</sup> presentation. The color and the pageantry in the past has been due to the many, many Indian people that took part, regardless of the type of participation or role the individuals played. Once again, you as Indian people will be called upon to perform a duty and service to the American Indian Exposition, that being the casting of your ballots during the election on July 11, 1964. I take this time to solicit your votes for the President’s office of the American Indian Exposition. If I am elected, I can offer you as an individual and The American Indian Exposition, experience; hard work; loyalty to the Indian people; the ability to be present at all times during the preparation of future expositions as I have been in the past six years, and most of all, the promise to place the 1964-1966 Expositions on a sound business basis, as it should have been placed many years ago.

“It is time that this famous Exposition of ours be explored as to its potential, not only as an attraction of

tourist[s], but to the depicting the pageantry and the ceremonial ways of our forefathers. It is long past time that our many Tribes be allowed to depict their true ways of yester-years. We as Indian people are all proud of our ancestry to the extent that we would like to depict our fore-fathers' way of life rather than merely continue the almost pow wow ways of our past Expositions. It is truly a desire of mine to present pageants for 1965 and 1966 Expositions that can be called pageants. It has been many, many years since a true colorful story was told to the public as to the lives, ideas, and religious ways of our ancestors. Let us get together on a new concept of future Expositions, Expositions that we can be proud of and be proud to take part in.

"It has been stated that the Indian people should be charged admittance to the afternoon and evening performances. This is one idea I do not, and never will believe in. I believe that we, as Indian people, have paid our admittance to this and to the future Expositions by the mere fact that we are Indians. You campers have shown that you are an important part of the Exposition by the fact that you have taken your valuable time and efforts in pitching your camps. I say that the many campers



contribute as much, if not more, to the Exposition than the dancers, signers [sic], traffic police, etc.; therefore, how could anyone have the nerve to even suggest that a monetary admittance be required by Indian people to see any part of our American Indian Exposition.

"The Exposition voters are aware that there are three candidates running for the President's office for the term of 1965 and 1966. It is not my desire to attempt to slander the other two candidates in any way, because I believe that my devotion and my merits to the Exposition will speak for me. I realize that many voters have already selected and are standing behind their candidate, and I say that this is good, even if the candidate is one of my opponents in this year's election. We are free people, we can speak our minds, and we can cast our ballots as we see fit; therefore, I urge each and every voter, regardless of your candidate, to take part in this year's election.

"This is our election and by casting a ballot it shows that we are not only interested in the Exposition but we are a part of it as well. It also shows that we are interested in its future. It is my regret that I cannot meet each and every one of you, due to the fact that my

time will be spent in the preparation of this year's Exposition. I take this opportunity to ask for your help and your vote in this important election on July 11, 1964. Respectfully yours, Art Thomas, Vice-president American Indian Exposition.

### **Roe Kahrahrh**

Running against Arthur Thomas and Adolphus Goombi, brother of Robert Goombi Sr., in the 1964 election was incumbent Expo President Roe Kahrahrh, a Comanche. His campaign statement, published July 9, 1964 in the *Anadarko Daily News*, outlined his intentions for the 1965 and 1966 seasons.<sup>28</sup> Kahrahrh wrote:

"To the voters of our Indian people who represent the American Indian Exposition. On July 11, 1964, you will elect the executive officers and tribal directors for the years of 1965 and 1966. I would like to encourage each of you to exercise your freedom of voting because this Exposition belongs to you people, the Indians of Oklahoma. We, the officers and directors, encourage you to cast your ballot for the candidate of your choice. We encourage you to carefully examine each candidate prior to casting your vote on July 11. We want you to vote intelligently for the best-qualified candidate of the executive office and tribal directors.

"I have served you people as vice president since 1955, except the years of 1959 and 1960, which I remained inactive from the Exposition. I became president after the untimely death of Robert Goombi Sr. I felt that I wasn't worthy of this honor to be the president of the American Indian Exposition but I accepted with one thing in mind: to be honest and treat everyone who have interests in the Exposition with great respect. In my past experience as vice president, I felt this Exposition could be successful in every aspect and opportunity to be a great Indian Fair, a place where our Indian people can proudly participate and operate because this Exposition is the granddaddy of all powwows. Also, to reveal to the public of our Indian heritage and culture we Indians hold with the highest esteem.

"Success can only come in any organization such as ours when cooperation is given by all the people who participate in all its functions. The American Indian Exposition was a success in all aspects and we are looking forward for another successful year in 1964. So with this in mind, I would like to make public my candidacy for the president of the Exposition and to have a chance to make a success of this Exposition so that we can be proud of our

self-supporting Exposition where you can add prestige for our Indian people throughout the country. I am asking for your support to re-elect me to the presidency of the American Indian Exposition for the next two years. I want to implement new ideas for a bigger and more successful Exposition in 1965 and 1966. All I can promise is that I will proudly serve you and execute my duties to the utmost of my ability. Signed: Roe Kahrahra (Comanche from Lawton) for Expo President.

### **Adolphus Goombi**

Adolphus Goombi, too, was a candidate in the 1965 and 1966 Expo election.<sup>29</sup> His statement, published June 28, 1964 in the *Anadarko Daily News*, is presented here:

"I Adolphus Goombi, hereby make my announcement as candidate for President of the 1965-66 American Indian Exposition. My experience with the Exposition began many years ago as a laborer under the administration of the late Louis Ware and the late Maurice Bedoka. The late Jasper Saunkeah promoted me to the position of manager of the maintenance and grounds crew. I held this job under the presidencies of William Karty, Phil Berry and the late Robert Goombi. Some 24 years of service to the Exposition has given me experience in all phases of the Exposition

from laborer to the executive board, of which I am now a part.

“Close observations of the workings of each president I have worked for has given me the experience necessary. I have profited by the ideas that have helped in the promotion of this once great Indian show. I have also profited much in seeing the mistakes that have been made. [These] mistakes have been costly to us—the Indians. I believe my close association and years of experience with the Exposition can put our Indian Fair back on solid footing, an Indian show that we can be proud to show our white friends of our wonderful past. Let us, the Indians of this great show, the show operated and owned by the Indians, make it truly the greatest Indian owned and operated show. There are many places and departments that can be improved, with less expense to the Exposition and more money for our Indian workers and performers.

“Another point of great concern to me for some time is the parade. The parade should be the outstanding focal point of the fair. To me, the parade participants are as important in putting over the fair as the pageant cast. The people who parade are the people who sell the show to

the public. Their participation and effort should be paid for the same as the pageant cast. I know that there is much expense involved for those who parade. There is much expense involved in the costumes and the mode of transportation used. As such those that parade should be paid the same as those that take part in the pageant. With the above, I offer you, my Indian people, my experience, interest and whole-hearted efforts in showing and giving our best in every department of the American Indian Exposition. Signed: Adolphus Goombi.

### **Pat Hayes**

With each election cycle came the opportunity for the Expo board of directors and the voting public, to reconsider policy issues regarding the question: Who was qualified to seek and serve as an executive officer. This issue was one of the most debated and contested of the American Indian Exposition's management policies. The following statement by Pat Hayes, a Chickasaw and a presidential hopeful, was published July 10, 1964 in the *Anadarko Daily News* column Our readers have a voice, and calls attention to this thorny and reoccurring topic of discussion that, for a number of reasons, has never been satisfactorily resolved, even though it has been used in multiple election cycles to differentiate contenders for executive office.<sup>30</sup> Pat Hayes challenged existing Expo policy again in 1964 with his statement transcribed below:

"My refilling for the presidential office in this year's American Indian Exposition to the treasurer has virtually been ignored. The election is supposed to be this Saturday, July 11, 1964. Ballots have been printed without my name being on them. Despite the fact that the secretary has declared this, an open exposition and persons from any tribe may seek executive office. For some 31 years, the executive offices have been open to persons of any tribe, hence, the name American Indian Exposition. However, tribal directors must be elected from each of the 12 associated tribes. My dad, a Chickasaw, and Tully Morrison, a Creek, have held executive offices. They were not members of the 12 associated tribes.

"The state appropriation of \$5,000 is appropriated to the name American Indian Exposition and not 12 associated tribes. I desire my right to seek executive office. According to state laws, all non-profit incorporated organizations must have complete money records. Incomplete records could lead to a state and federal investigation. This type of investigation would involve all expo officials. The expo election date should be re-set to the last Saturday of the Exposition and ballots printed which would include my name and a place designated other tribes

so that they might have a place to vote on the ballot. There is little chance of me winning since I would have less than a week to campaign while my opponents have had all winter. I simply wish to express my right to seek executive office. I do not wish to initiate various investigations. Sincerely yours, Pat Hayes.

### **Gladys Keahbone**

Expo executive office seekers were not the only ones to make their voices heard, during the designated filing period each election cycle. Persons seeking election to tribal directorships would often provide campaign statements such as the one that follows by Gladys Keahbone, who was vying with the incumbent Wichita director for election to a two-year term.<sup>31</sup> Like many of her contemporaries seeking elected office, Gladys Keahbone's July 9, 1964 campaign bid, published in the *Anadarko Daily News* and noted below, was brief and to the point:

"I am for an open Exposition, open to any tribe to executive offices. Our present director is not. It is time for a change. We live in a modern world and must think modern. We are not backward Indians. We know that the American Indian Exposition reported that it made \$30,000 last year and then showed \$2.15 profit. I cannot believe that it took \$30,000 to manage last year's Exposition. If I am elected your director, I will see to



it that exhibit money goes to the exhibitors and not to tribal officials. I will ask for an accounting of Exposition finances. I will ask for more work to be given to Wichita people, and I will also ask for more pay for them. Sincerely yours, Gladys Keahbone, for Wichita Director.

**Robert L. Goombi, Jr.**

By the start of the 1975 Exposition, Robert L. Goombi, Jr. had already served three terms as president and a two-year stint as vice-president. He, like his father before him, was providing a distinctive quality of leadership and length of service that has rarely been matched by others. In a published interview (Anadarko Daily News, August 10, 1975), Robert Goombi, Jr.<sup>32</sup> provided the following observations and comments: “When you see the people together...especially the old Indian people...talking and laughing and having a good time, that’s what makes all the headaches worth it.” The year before, Goombi had told the local press: “I grew up with the exposition. I helped my dad during the summers, when I was in college, with the details of the show.” “I guess it was my family’s affiliation with the exposition that led me to run for office in the first place” (ibid.).

Concerning the job itself Goombi<sup>33</sup> offered that, “Being president is a challenge. There are so many people involved in the performances of the pageant.” Moreover, he said, “There are a lot of decisions that I and the board of directors must make concerning how the exposition will be run.” This means taking action Goombi continued, regarding

“things that most people take for granted that someone has to make a decision on or be responsible for” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 11, 1974). The Expo president acknowledged the pressure inherent in the top leadership role telling the reporter: “Many times, the week before the fair, I will get off work at 5 p.m., drive to Anadarko and work until 1 or 2 a.m. Then I drive back to Norman.” However, there are also rewards Goombi affirmed: “A lot of doors have opened for me because I am the president of the only all-Indian show in the United States.” He added, “My family is proud of me and there is quite a bit of prestige that goes along with the job.” “I sometimes wonder,” he said, “if all that is worth all of the headaches that go along with the job. But the experience I have received is worth quite a bit to me” (ibid.).

### **Dixon Palmer**

This interview took place on May 26, 2005 at Dixon Palmer’s home, west of Anadarko, Oklahoma.<sup>34</sup> I first met Dixon when he stopped by my camp at the time of the 2003 Indian Fair to introduce himself; and, to inquire what this anthropologist was up to. From the moment he introduced himself, Dixon’s animated way of talking convinced me that he was a master storyteller. Indeed, I filmed the occasion and his jovial personality fills every frame. I am truly grateful for having had the opportunity to meet and visit with him regarding the American Indian Exposition, and his participation in the event for all these many years. Editing, except for clarification or grammatical purposes, has been kept to a minimum, and the format is the same as that for Dorothy Whitehorse and Vanessa Jennings above. A selected portion of our lengthy conversation follows below:

**DP:** Yes...aw...it's a good idea to record the history, because, there's a lot of things we've already lost. We've lost a lot of good history. This [project] what you're doing it's good. But what I started to say is that...ah...some people would object to...you know, something like this. They [might] say ah...you know...

**EJG:** Why does he need to do this?

**DP:** Yes. [They might think] he's going to make a lot of money...so what!

**EJG:** Actually, I don't. If this study gets published, the royalties, [if any], as I've already stated will be donated to the Exposition board so that a scholarship fund might be started for young Indian children who wish to go to college. You know I want to see them...I am an educator, and so I want to see them be able to have that opportunity...I don't want [the money]. I want to be able to do something and to give back [to the American Indian communities of Anadarko].

**DP:** Good!

**EJG:** So, so let me start by asking you to tell me a little bit about yourself.

**DP:** I am [one] quarter Choctaw, and ah...well my dad was half Choctaw and English. So, on my mother's side we are Kiowa. So I am on the Kiowa rolls...[and] I'll be eighty-five in September. [I was born] September 20, 1920. But, I've lived a good life, [a] long life, and I try to tell young

people...ya know, to do things right. You live a long time...you don't regret anything. Everybody knows me.

**EJG:** Do you still have a farm? Are you still raisin' cows?

**DP:** Yes...yes. I raise cattle, and farm [at the] same time. You see, when I come back from over seas in 1945, there was nothing for me to do. Back then it was hard, really hard times. You know, in 1945, and I worked here and there, you know. And then I went to GI farm school. [This was at] Fort Cobb...Fort Cobb, Oklahoma. This is where I really, you know, I really enjoyed farm work because I was raised here...my dad was a good farmer and we learned everything from him. But, I wanted to learn a little more, you know, so I did on the job training under the GI Bill. So that was back in...probably in '46.

**EJG:** When you came back from the service...how old were you?

**DP:** I was twenty-five.

**EJG:** So you were in the service six years?

**DP:** Yes. I was right out of High School, and like I tell these young guys...I said, 'you have to make up your mind what you goin' to do.' I said, 'I got married in October 1945. I am still married...same person. It's how you live...you're compatible, your wife and yourself, [and] you don't fuss and fight. We work together.'

**EJG:** You make a choice.

**DP:** Yes. And that's the way I did. Hard work. My wife and I we worked for other people, you know, we custom farmed...ah...on this place, on this trust land. It was my mother's. When she passed away, the land, all the kids got 16 acres apiece...and they all come to me because I moved up here, and I paid them, paid them rent. And they said, 'we'll just sell our share to you.' And I said, 'well I'll sure try and buy it.' I said, 'go to the agency, and you tell them that I want to buy, buy all the shares,' which I did. You know, a lot of people say, 'how did you get this land?' I say, 'I bought it.' And, I bought it at government appraisal...and that's the only way I buy land.

**EJG:** Let me ask you...you told me a moment ago, that you danced at Craterville, you and your brothers?

**DP:** Yes.

**EJG:** How old were you when you started dancing there?

**DP:** Well, when I started dancing...probably I was seven, eight years old. The four brothers were taken in the O-Ho-Mah, the Kiowa O-Ho-Mah lodge. I was seven, [or] eight years old.

**EJG:** Please tell me, tell me again...you're the third oldest...the oldest is George, and then Gus Sr., and then you, and then your youngest brother, Lyndreth.

**DP:** George, Gus, uh huh, Lyndreth, and four sisters, and then ah...there was a baby brother.

**EJG:** And all four of you boys were inducted into the O-Ho-Mah lodge?

**DP:** Yes. And, I think at that time we were the only ones...youngsters...taken into the society. Ah...old man Whitehorse, Charlie Whitehorse, he was like, you know he was an instructor...and he was telling us, 'you sing these songs,' and he said, 'this is the way you dance.' He said, 'when you go in there'... we were all small, but he...they, sang to us. All the time he was talkin' Kiowa. And we learned. We learned all that. You go in the teepee, and this is where they took us in. I said, 'they don't...they don't do that now...you know...the younger generation, [they don't join] the O-Ho-Mah society today.' I still belong to the society, but they don't, they don't...it's not really like it was then.

**EJG:** They don't take you in...why do you think that is?

**DP:** I don't know.

**EJG:** So, you went into the society when you were seven or eight...so, 1927, 1928?

**DP:** Yes.

**EJG:** And in those years, the O-Ho-Mah society members, did they dance at Craterville? Did they do the O-Ho-Mah dances, or did they do other dances?

**DP:** Yes, they danced. I would tell you this here. You know back then, these old...older people, my grandpa, Mopope, George Mopope...and Steve Mopope, he was kind of ah...he wanted us to belong to O-Ho-Mah. See, he didn't have no boys, and he would take us to New Mexico, ya know, the five artists [the Kiowa Five]? Uh Huh, and he used to take us. We [would] dance at...I was twelve years old, and I danced at Gallup [the] ceremonial.

**EJG:** So, that was like, what 1932?

**DP:** Yes, twelve years old. We went to Taos, and we danced at Taos. But the O-Ho-Mah was the only dance that took place. You know, because the government, you know, they stopped all the dances.

**EJG:** Yes...prohibited, no praying, no language, no dancing.

**DP:** Yes, they did it. They're the ones caused all this...and that's why the younger generation...they didn't know...they didn't understand. And today, they try to teach Kiowa, and I blame our government for doing that.

**EJG:** Yes.

**DP:** Our dad, he was raised by Kiowas...ya know, we asked him, 'dad when you were little, how, when [did] you come into this area?' And he said, 'he was a little boy and his mother and dad they were in a covered wagon, it was coming across the country here.' And they got here to the Kiowa

reservation and they met up with some Indians, and I guess his mother was praying...you know, [thinking] that, [they were] going to kill them or...ya know, coming across here. And this, this old Kiowa man he said, 'that little boy,' he said, 'I don't have no children.' And he said, 'I want to raise that little boy,' and she [Dixon's grandmother] was probably afraid, scared, and [so] gave him to them.

**DP:** So, [my father] was raised by Kiowas. And, he spoke better Kiowa than some of these Kiowas. He ran around with a Comanche boy, ya know, he rode horse back. He spoke Comanche because the family was [inaudible] so he learned Comanche. Ya know, he...everywhere he went he learned their language. And I [asked my father], 'what did you do when you, you grew up, ya know? And he said, 'he broke horses for the Kiowas.' He was a [bronk] rider, and he broke horses. This one Indian man, he was telling me, he said, 'your father, he was a good bronc rider. He was a good roper.' And I believe it, 'cause when I was growing up he had a roping horse, ya know, and he always roped [horses]. Getting back to the O-Ho-Mah, ya know at that time, there were no other dances.

**EJG:** Just the O-Ho-Mah?

**DP:** Just the O-Ho-Mah. Ya know, the Kiowas, they had the gourd dance...and ya know, ghost dance, and there were



other...ya know, there was six societies, ton-con-ga, Black Leggings...ya know, one time I was working at Riverside Indian School, in 1936...ya see, there were no dances...there were no dances...there was O-Ho-Mah. In 1936, at Riverside Indian School, of all the places, an Indian school, and they wanted us, they wanted the Kiowas to come over there and teach the dances to those children. And those Kiowa girls, ya know, they said, 'we didn't know...we didn't know how to dance.' They didn't know...when we danced there in 1936, the four brothers...heck, we were already in 1936 sixteen years old, and I said, 'shoot I'll dance [for] anybody.' And those kids said, 'those Palmer boys...they [are] the ones that taught them.' We knew all the different, different kind of dances. We knew all the songs.

**EJG:** So, did you do the straight dance, and grass dance, and O-Ho-Mah?

**DP:** No, we didn't do the grass dance...those are later. But just what the O-Ho-Mah was dancing, ya know.

**EJG:** Well, in the first Southwest Indian Fair...those first two years...right, [at the] 1932, 1933 Southwest Indian fair that became the Exposition, did you dance in those years? Did your family go, or did you go?

**DP:** Oh yea.

**EJG:** Parker McKenzie, Maurice Bedoka, and Lawrence Ware...

**DP:** Yea, Bedoka, McKenzie, I knew all those men.

**EJG:** I think you said, didn't you say that you danced from the very beginning, the founding of the Exposition, from its beginning?

**DP:** Yes...yes...we were the starters...we'd go to Comanche country. They didn't know anything about dancing. You know, I was telling you about Deitrich...where the Kiowas and Cheyennes danced? [Well], the chief of the Comanches...what was his name...Quanna Parker, and probably some of his assistants, ya know, leaders, they go over there and...and they were [chuckling], this old Kiowa man said, 'it's like' I said, 'they come over spying on us'...[laughing]. They want to learn, ya know. And, the Kiowas, ya know, they dress [in] beautiful, white buckskin. And the Comanche, they didn't have white buckskin. [Theirs]...it's a, kind of rust color. Quannah Parker, he saw this young Kiowa boy, a young man...a ze-batai [White Arrow]. He was dressed really beautiful, and Quannah [Parker], he said, 'that young man over there,' he said, 'I like his buckskin.' He said, 'I'd like to have one like that.' And those Kiowas made him one. They made him leggings, white...[leggings].

**EJG:** You know the Comanche, but when you talk to the Comanche, they're gonna say we did this, and we did that...they might not agree with you.

**DP:** Yea, [smiles]. In 1936, this Comanche man, he was one of the big leaders, you might know him...Albert Attocknie.

**EJG:** I know the name...yes.

**DP:** OK...his boy, his boy, used to stay with us. His name was Joe Attocknie. His sister was married to one of the artists...Spencer Asah. OK. So, old man Attocknie, he came to that dance in 1936. He said, 'I wanna say something,' he said. So they let him talk. He said, 'I come over here.' He said, 'I want my son Joe, I want him to learn Kiowa dance.' And sure enough, after that...why he started dancing.

**EJG:** Was that in 1936 at Riverside, or 1936 at the Exposition?

**DP:** Riverside, yes. Ah...the superintendent...I think he was part Cheyenne. His name was Shields.

**EJG:** Like at Riverside Indian School, did St Patrick's School also do dancing programs?

**DP:** Yes, Yes, we danced. Well they...Riverside used to harvest. They'd come to the mission and they'd say, 'we want those Palmer boys to come over there and dance.' So we danced...ah...with the Wichita, the tribe, we danced there. And then later, some of those guys they saw us dance, so they wanted to dance, [too]. So we said, 'OK.' And I tell those Comanche boys, ya know, I said, 'you didn't have no dances, you didn't have no songs,' ya know, they didn't know what to say [chuckles]. I said, 'I know! I was a

little boy, and they wanted us to come over there and dance. They didn't have no Comanche singers.' I said, 'O-Ho-Mah, O-Ho-Mah, Kiowa' [inaudible]...I said, 'you can't tell me,' I said, 'cause I was there!'

**EJG:** You were there...yes? So, did you and your family, and your brothers, did you dance at Craterville from what 1927 to 1929, or 1929 to 1931, about two or three years, four years...do you know how many years?

**DP:** The last, the last part. Yes, because I was about nine years old...somewhere in there, yes. And they were strict...old man Frank Rush...the old man...he was the one...you couldn't go in the gate, ya know...if...you gotta be dressed, you gotta have moccasins on.

**EJG:** Did the Indians like him? Did they think he was really fair, or is that just the story?

**DP:** Well...I think he, ya know, 'cause I was young...and...I thought he treated 'em...ya know, well if you're going to be Indian...ya know, dress Indian.

**EJG:** Well, I remember reading, ya know, Parker McKenzie, you remember Parker McKenzie?

**DP:** Yes.

**EJG:** He said, the whole reason the Expo got started, one of the main reasons was that, the Indians, mainly Kiowa, but some Comanches and others, but mainly the Kiowas, they were upset with Frank Rush. Because the Indians, like they did with Anadarko with the County fair, the Indians didn't get any of the money, or got very little. They kind of felt

used. I mean, they were told this is what you're going to do. So, when Lawrence Ware, Maurice Bedoka, Parker McKenzie and Steve Mopope and others did the Expo, when the southwest Indian Fair started, they left. I mean they created their own [affair] instead of doing Craterville...so that they could make those decisions for [themselves].

**DP:** What I can say, what I saw, ya know...the old Indian Fair, [the] Exposition, Indian...back then, the Indians...farmed, they raised livestock, vegetables [and] they had race horses, and all that...chickens...everything. It was good. And I don't know what happened.

**EJG:** Well, after WWII they stopped doing the livestock, and agriculture [exhibits]. I mean it kind of just stopped.

**DP:** It just quit...stopped.

**EJG:** Did your mom...did she used to do canning?

**DP:** My mom used to can [preserve food in jars]. There was this lady, Susie Peters.

**EJG:** Yes...yes. Did you meet her when you were young?

**DP:** She lived...right over here [gesturing with his hands]...just about a half mile.

**EJG:** Just up the road?

**DP:** Yes. She was a government, ya know, she was an agent. I got some old pictures. If it weren't for her, Indians wouldn't know anything about [domestic arts like canning food].

**EJG:** So, she was good?

**DP:** She was good. She taught, ya know, they had sewing clubs for those women. I remember.

**EJG:** Those Home Demonstration Clubs?

**DP:** Yea...that was Susie [Peters]. Canning...They canned everything. And my mother, she was an expert.

**EJG:** What all did she can? Did she can corn, chokecherries?

**DP:** Everything! Dried corn, I know...we, dad had a big garden. We lived by that.

**EJG:** Did she can traditional Kiowa foods? Ya know, things...

**DP:** Dried meat, dried corn...and then fresh meat that was, ya know, left over...they didn't have no refrigeration...so you had, you either had to dry it or [use it up]. My mother used to can it...you had canned meat...I am saying, ya know, dehydrated corn, beans, you name it. Well they had that exhibit...they had everything. You go in there in that [Indian Fair] exhibit hall they had everything.

**EJG:** Did your mother win premiums?

**DP:** Yes. The Indian schools...see, they were teaching these young guys farming...pigs, dairy cattle, [horses and chickens]. Chilocco, Riverside, Concho, [and] Ft. Sill...the four Indian schools, they'd compete [for premiums].

**EJG:** Do you think that was important...do you think that was a good thing to do?

**DP:** Yes...I do. Now they don't...all they think about is, [going to] powwow contests.

**EJG:** Do you think that, between how it was...right, the Expo in the beginning up till about WWII, and then, what it is now...what do you see is different? I mean, good [or] bad, what has changed...how do you see it now?

**DP:** Well it, ya know, it's...it's all right...it's OK. The difference is back then, ya know, I never heard the word powwow. I never did, never did hear that.

**EJG:** [Is it] after WWII when you start hearing the [reference] powwow?

**DP:** Yes...because when you talk powwow...goon-ban-mah [are you going dancing?]. See...that's what they say.

**EJG:** Not powwow?

**DP:** Yea...they don't say powwow! Goon-ban-mah...ya know, they say goon-ban-mah [are you going dancing?]. You don't say, 'are you going powwow? No, [nor do you say], 'where is powwow.' You say, 'ha-gae-e-goon-mah' [where are they dancing?]. And, then they say, 'ho no-gota-goye-kilea' [over there where the Apaches live]. They describe...yea...and you know...and today, see, they powwow, powwow, powwow...it's not exactly a powwow...it's more.

**EJG:** What about the fellowship? [Here] I am going to change direction a little bit. [Did] your family camp at Expo, [and] you would go year after year and camp?

**DP:** Yes.

**EJG:** Did you camp in the horseshoe, in the middle there, or did you camp on the side.

**DP:** [We camped] on the south side.

**EJG:** [That's] on the south side with the Cheyenne and Kiowa?

**DP:** Cheyennes, Kiowa, Arapaho...it seemed like you kept the same location.

**EJG:** Year after year?

**DP:** Yes. And people knew...[and would] say, 'oh, that's'...'[so-and-so].

**EJG:** Well, that's like the Goombi [family], ya know, were right there [at the top of the horseshoe area].

**DP:** Yes...in that horseshoe...yea...right there.

**EJG:** Where the big tree is now?

**DP:** Yes...right there.

**EJG:** And, [the] Gooday [family] were over here...[looking at photos of the Expo campgrounds].

**DP:** Goodays...yes.

**EJG:** Comanches like grandma, Bea Saupitty, and Katherine Klinekole, ya know, they camped in one spot thirty years, thirty years [in] one spot. The Goombi [family has been camping more than] seventy years in this [same] spot; and, the Palmers over here, ya know, [and] Horace Poolaw over here, year after year.

**DP:** Ya know, the only thing I see different, and as I told you...they're just like Red Earth in Oklahoma City. I told the Red Earth president...what was his name? Ya know...he was



a former pitcher of the New York Yankees. What was his name? [He was from an] Eastern group...see, and there's a difference too. Eastern groups, they didn't have war dancing [and] all this stuff. And that's what I told him. I said, 'you can say all you want about how many tribes are dancing out there.' I said, 'I was sitting up there and I was looking,' and I said, 'to me, they all were the same.' You could say, that's so and so tribe and...I said, 'they look like the Kiowas, the way we were dressed,' ya know.

**EJG:** Do you think that's a product [of being] here in Oklahoma, because there were sixty-seven different tribes here? Or, do you think, [that] the O-Ho-Mah, or Ilonshka...that drum and that bustle, and those songs given one-to-one-to one...that that sharing of the dance...[caused this]?

**DP:** Yes.

**EJG:** Then, over time, everybody is...is doing sort of the same dance.

**DP:** Same thing...yes. But what I am saying is that, ya know, when the Indian Fair was started, it was started with [only] seven tribes. But, when you dance...they say, 'Fort Sill Apaches will perform their tribal [dance]. And they dress their way. Their way! They go out there and they put on a show. That's a show! OK, Kiowas...Kiowas because they're the ones that started the war dance, and the Cheyennes. And [then] they call the Cheyennes, [and they]

come out and they put on their dance. You can see it [the differences between tribes' regalia and dances]. Their beadwork and their dress, I can tell a difference. I say, 'oh...that's a Cheyenne,' ya know.

**DP:** They call the Wichitas out, and they dress like they did a long time ago. They didn't have...ah...now they call, ya know, ribbon shirts, Indian shirts. They didn't have those; they had their own shirts. Big sleeves. [With] arm bands...on each side. And they wore big hats...and you can tell! That's the Wichitas [To-koot], The Face...ya know, that's the way they named them. To-koot. Ya know, when the Kiowa saw the Wichita [to-koot]...they marked, 'face mark' [to-koot]. And [then] they [would] call the Caddos out [to dance]. The women wore Caddo dresses. And those Caddo men, they dressed their way, [with] big handkerchiefs, and bright colors, ya know, for their shirts, and a big hat...a feather...a bald [eagle] feather. Today, [when] you go to the Indian Fair, ya know, and you look...they say, 'here comes the Caddos;' and some of them [Caddos] will have bustles on, ya know, they didn't have bustles.

**EJG:** Well, maybe that's a product or result of the contesting.

**DP:** Maybe it was.

### **Lupe Gooday Recalls His Family's Exposition Camp Experience**

I was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of Lupe Gooday during the 2003 Exposition season, when I was invited by then Expo President Morgan Tosee to camp for the show's duration. While I was not able to schedule a lengthy interview with Mr. Gooday, we were able to discuss the importance of the Exposition for him and his extended family members.<sup>35</sup> Lupe pointed out the area where his relatives camped at the annual Exposition, as he shared with me some of his recollections of seasons past.

The following comments made by Lupe Gooday<sup>36</sup> to an unidentified *Anadarko Daily News* reporter, appeared in the paper's August 11, 1974 issue. His statements were in reply to a question about who or which family had camped the most years at the Exposition fairgrounds. One candidate for this honor was Lupe's mother, Mrs. Mary Gooday, who was said to have set up camp in the same location, all but one season since the Fair's beginning. Lupe told the reporter, "my older sister sets up mother's camp ground and her own." Then "the rest of us kids try to camp somewhere in the general location" of her camp he said. Regarding how one is assured of camping in the same location year after year Gooday noted that, "people seem to respect our stake to the area. Also people notice where certain families camp and it is an unspoken agreement to allow them to camp in the same area." Even so, most families stake out their respective campsites well in advance of the Fair. "We set up the stakes for people from out-of-town who don't know where everyone camps" Gooday offered.

When the conversation turned to the topic of food, Gooday noted that, “Mother still cooks the old way when she camps with an old washtub over a wood fire. She fixes boiled meat, dry corn and fry bread.” He added that, “We usually try to gather at my mother’s camp site once during the exposition week for a meal together.” Lupe Gooday is no stranger to the Expo camping experience, recalling that, “I think that camping is the biggest part of the exposition. It gives people a chance to renew old friendships and make new ones.” “When I was younger,” Gooday reminisced, “the week of the exposition was a vacation for me. It also was associated with the beginning of school, so it marked the end of summer vacation.” Camping at the exposition for the Gooday family is equally important for its older and younger generation members. Lupe Gooday told the reporter, “My own children have the same feelings toward the exposition.” Adding, “One year, my youngest son chopped cotton for a week so he would have enough spending money at the fair” (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 11, 1974).

### **Paul Jay (Nesahkluah)**

Equally exciting and fascinating for the annual influx of tourists attending the American Indian Exposition at Anadarko, was Indian City U.S.A., a simulacrum of seven Indian dwellings. For nineteen years, Paul Jay served as a principle guide for visitors taking the paid tour of the Tonkawa Hills attraction. A Robert Medley story published in the August 16-17, 1986 weekend edition of the *Anadarko Daily News* captures a bit of the colorful and humorous personality of the man.<sup>37</sup> In August 1986, while conducting one of the standard forty-five minute Indian City tours, Jay admonished: “Now remember, don’t get ahead of your tour guide, the copperheads are thick this summer.

They are in the shade and sometimes in the wicki-ups.” For emphasis he noted that, “we almost had a little girl bitten a few days ago.” Interestingly, the Kiowa-Apache guide observed: “Most men [taking the tour] don’t ask questions, they just stand and look around. I don’t know if they’re mad at their wives or what...” he quipped.

Jay also recalled that women seemed more comfortable asking questions. Often they would ask him: “Why do the women do all the work all the time?” Know for his rapid reply, Jay had a practiced explanation that went like this: “Lady, the men hunted for the meat and protected the women and children from death and mutilation from other tribes.” As different groups of visitors meandered through the outdoor exhibits, the Kiowa-Apache guide would often remind them that, “you’ve got to ask me questions when you come out of the Caddo cabins because we only have 12 minutes to cover five houses.” Not surprisingly, after so many years conducting such tours, Paul Jay managed each ¾ hour tour with observable ease. Regarding the Exposition, 1986 was his nineteenth year to participate in the annual festivities. “The biggest change he has observed over the years is the number of people who attend;” he said, “today’s Expo is not different, just larger” (Anadarko Daily News, August 16-17, 1986). It was people like Paul Jay at Indian City who constantly affirmed for tourists visiting the various attractions in the Anadarko area, that it was worth their time, trouble and dollars to experience first-hand.

### **Libby B. Littlechief**

In a letter to the editor, published in the Sunday, August 19, 1979, issue of the *Anadarko Daily News*, Libby B. Littlechief “immediate past Secretary” of the American

Indian Exposition provided insight and advice concerning a topic of discussion important for many local Indians, the organization's recent financial operations.<sup>38</sup> She told readers:

"I want to elaborate on comments I have heard about the financial state of the American Indian exposition now that a new administration is in its first year of a three-year tenure; and hope to clarify the position of any board when assuming a new task—especially of running the largest Indian show in the United States.

"First of all, the American Indian exposition is a non-profit corporation, owned and operated by 14 local tribes through an all-Indian board of directors composed of four executive officers and 14 tribal directors. I was the secretary of the board whose tenure was from 1976 through 1978 and when this board took over operation, the Exposition had a \$9,000 deficit, which was accepted by the board along with the job. We were able to secure a bank loan with the help of a few Anadarko merchants who co-signed with us and paid off all previous debts. After the 1976 Exposition we were able to pay off the note as well as all the expenses of the Exposition. After all expenses of the 1977 Exposition were paid, the board purchased the eight-horse racing gate, the tractor, disc and harrow for the racetrack, all the stalls in the horse barn and the

public address system—all of which had to be rented before that time.

“The State of Oklahoma through the Southwest Oklahoma Arts and Crafts Board funds the Exposition \$5,000 each year but all other funding is derived from sale of concessions and gate receipts from grandstand shows. Needless to say, the daily expenses are tremendous because everyone working and participating in any of the many events and operations of the Exposition are paid. We paid all expenses daily in cash. [Members of] the Board of Directors [were] paid a stipend, [but] only for Expo week, [same] as the tribal princesses to help [defray] expenses.

“The deficit at the end of the 1978 Exposition was almost \$5,000 and included a \$1,000 light bill. Over the years the Exposition had electric poles, lines and drops placed in the camp areas for convenience of campers and those using the service asked to pay a small daily fee. A few did this but some did not pay so this added expense had to be absorbed by the Exposition. The gate receipts for several grandstand shows were small because of inclement weather but performers and workers were always paid and this added to the money shortage. There are many good

things to say about our exposition but there is always room for improvement so we all need to work together to make it better as we near our 50<sup>th</sup> year celebration.

“I want to express my appreciation to all who have helped in the past and those who serve now and in the future to make our fair the only and largest all-Indian operated affair of its kind. I hope the 1979 Exposition will be successful financially so they will have funds to start in 1980 but if not, I hope I have clarified some of the reasons why there sometimes are expenses that cannot be met because the fair proceeds were not sufficient.

It should be noted that Littlechief served during the last cycle of Robert L. Goombi’s tenure as Expo president, and the one-year presidency of Leon “Buzz” Carter.

### **Georgette Palmer-Brown**

The following letter to the editor appeared in the Wednesday, August 26, 1987, issue of the *Anadarko Daily News*. It was written and submitted by Georgette Palmer-Brown, one of only a few women to have competed in and won fancy war dance competitions at the American Indian Exposition.<sup>39</sup> She wrote:

“The 1987 American Indian Exposition was reality and now it is history. Another year has gone by, leaving us with the opportunity to voice our opinions on what was good



and bad about the Expo. For many years, I have had my opinions, both good and bad, and I have decided to exercise my rights as an American citizen, and voice those opinions publicly. My opinions will not change what events take place at the Expo, but I will feel extremely better to get it off my chest!

"I cannot help but compare the Expo to the Red Earth 87, in terms of publicity, organization, support and overall attraction. When you hear the Expo referred to as an all Indian-owned and Indian-operated, you can count on many non-Indians not becoming involved in building up the Expo to what it should be. It was a good number of non-Indians who supported Red Earth 87 in every aspect imaginable. Without the full support of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce and many non-Indian followers who believed in attracting thousands to Oklahoma City, Red Earth 87, would have been another "Indian Fair."

"If the Expo board would work diligently with the City of Anadarko and the Chamber of Commerce, for instance involve them more in planning, the Expo could possibly be as great of an event as Red Earth 87. Indian people may find it hard to believe, but without the full support of

the non-Indian community, an event just isn't as spectacular as they think it would be. The Expo board may not be aware of the fact that they are deceiving the public as far as the National Senior Division War Dance is concerned. I know for a fact that this is one of the main attractions of the Expo. People pay top dollar to see the dance competition on Friday night. The people, who drive many miles to see only the dance competition and feel the height of excitement and adrenal flowing, are only left to feel empty by the time they leave. And why? The winners are not announced for another 24 hours. I mean let's get real! I'm sure the dancers feel the exact same letdown.

"The ultimate high of watching the dance contest is waiting to see if your favorite dancer wins the National Title. It's unfair policy and practice to deceive the public in such a way. It's understandable that the Expo board would want a large number of dancers to dance on Saturday, but let's be realistic about how and why you need a crowd on pageant night. As far as the Fancy Dance contest is concerned, it seems as if it is turning into an endurance competition. True, dancers must uphold a great deal of endurance, but as fast as the drum is beating, one cannot tell if the dancers are dancing or running in place.

If dancers are to be exposed to such competition, I believe the Olympics are coming up soon. When the drum is beating during contests these days, dancers are not readily able to express their true dance form. I believe the drummers are just seeing how bad they can make a dancer look.

“Why call it Fancy Dance competition? Why not call it National Senior Division 100-Meter-Dash-in-place. There is such beauty in watching a fancy dancer gracefully move in time with the song. That is the art of being a fancy dancer. Many people did not like my dancing in the fancy dance competition, but I did win a number of contests, and I know for a fact that one cannot dance fancy when the drum is going at a rate of 90 miles per hour.

“Obviously I could go on and on about what’s hot and what’s not at the Expo, but I do feel much better that I expressed my feelings on a personal level. My family has always and probably always will participate (my mom and dad makes us all new costumes every year) at the Expo. That will never change for generations to come. I just wish that things will improve not deteriorate. Jealousy runs rampant among Indian people, if the Expo board can overcome

that aspect, Anadarko will earn its place on the map. I praise Linda Poolaw for taking on that challenge!

### **John Williams**

Writing to the Exposition constituency via a letter to the editor published July 25, 1991, in the *Anadarko Daily News*, President John Williams (1990-1993) expressed his and the organization's intention to deliver a meaningful and enjoyable annual production.<sup>40</sup> His complete and unedited letter to the editor follows below:

"I had a visit from one of the elders, remembering in his youth about the Oklahoma State Indian Fair—known as a fair where everyone showed or exhibited his labor—gardening, canning different kinds of vegetables, stock show, cattle, hogs and horses, arts and crafts show. The family would start planning and readying everything about two months before fair time. First, the tent, living quarters needed to be tidied, see that it is still presentable to put up. Get the team of horses ready, start currying their hair, comb and brush their manes. Make sure the harness is clean. Polish if needed. Make sure fly nets over harnesses are in good shape, if not, buy new ones. These fly nets came in different colors. These were the early years of the Indian Fair.

"Now it's The American Indian Exposition incorporated by seven tribes for the last 60 years that has kept this annual celebration perpetuating. Along with eight other fellow tribesmen, they make up a 15-member board of tribal directors. Your wish and memories of the past years remind us that we must try to make each year of the Exposition a memorable one for each of you. This is a homecoming for many of us. We give you a pageant you will remember, a carnival you can enjoy with your children and arts and crafts show to display the works of Indian pride. This year, the Aztec dancers from Mexico will again perform for you and other performers are being contacted.

"This year, the 60<sup>th</sup> annual celebration, we are dedicating to our brave men and women who served in the Persian Gulf conflict and supported by all the men and women who have bravely served in the past wars—the World War II, Korean War, Vietnam war, Granada and Panama conflicts. It is by their bravery and sacrifices defending us that we are forever a great nation. In memory, we all salute you and pay tribute to all brave men and women of all services.

"This year we, the executive officers, 15 tribal directors and their tribal princesses are honored to present you and your fellow tribesmen, our Outstanding Indian of the Year, Rodney A. Grant, a member of the Omaha tribe, who performed in the Oscar-winning motion picture, Dances With Wolves. He will be with us Aug. 21 as that is honor day at the Exposition. On opening day of our 60<sup>th</sup> annual celebration, we will be honoring one of our own beautiful princesses as Indian Celebrity of the Year...Miss Indian World, Janet Saupitty, a member of the Comanche, has been chosen by the Exposition board of directors for the honor. We believe it is more fitting to choose someone from our American Indian family.

"We, the members of the American Indian Exposition Inc., officers and tribal directors have in the past months of planning exchanged ideas, dreams and thoughts from the past memories of the Indian Fair and with the best of our ability and knowledge to bring to you through your thoughts and prayers another successful American Indian Exposition annual celebration and home coming

### **Russell L. Bates**

Members of local Native American communities were just as likely to offer criticism as praise for the Exposition, as the following letter to the editor, published Wednesday, August 9, 1995, in the *Anadarko Daily News*, indicates.<sup>41</sup> The main subject of Russell Bates' comments pertain to the Exposition campgrounds, condition of its facilities and criticism of certain management decisions concerning the 1995 Anadarko Fair. His letter, presented unedited and in its entirety, follows below:

"The flurry of discussion and action over the decrepit grandstand at the Caddo County Fairgrounds overlooked the larger picture of that locale. Both Anadarko and the county expressed much concern when it seemed that the American Indian Exposition might relocate because the stadium structure was unsound, unsafe and unsightly. It is the entire fairgrounds and the attitudes of both city and county officials that needs repair, address and adjustment, or the event that has been taken for granted likely will be taken for leave.

"The land was ceded long ago with a proviso that it be held as long as county fairs were held. There were no county fairs during WWII, so a larger question comes up. The campground area at the fairgrounds has been shrunken many times by many factors. There are two large

storage/construction sites built and maintained on the west side that slowly have crept eastward, absorbing camping space as they progressed. For decades, there was an area of the campground that annually was taken over by the Paddlety, Toyebo, Littleman, Bates and other related Kiowa families to serve as their temporary home during the Indian Fair. That area now is lost forever beneath expanded horse and livestock barns, never again to see the track of stakes, tents, arbors or the tread of descendants of the original campers.

“In front of the recently, cosmetically refurbished grandstand were placed a lot of “temporary” rodeo stanchions that later have been proven to be as temporary as the national income tax. Therefore, the dance and pageant grounds there also are decrepit, cramped and unsightly, becoming much problematic to pageant presentation or even the national war dance competitions. More years than not, rodeo activities have torn and muddied the ground so badly that dancing there or even wearing a valuable tribal costume on it has become an unattractive proposition.



"And even the Exposition itself must be called to the carpet because they are allowing the event to be used for a surreptitious and hidden agenda. The Native American Marrow Recruitment Project is seeking, at no compensation, donors who consent to be placed on a registry [to] possibly be called if they match a patient, at a future time. The realities here are that Native Americans in particular are being sought to surrender blood samples and consent so that the material eventually can be made available for the DNA database of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It has been made known that this is the destination of blood samples taken by the Indian Health Service for the Heart Strong Project.

"No one should volunteer their personal and private DNA information to anyone else at all, if it means that it and related information can lead to it being used against them or anyone else in a court of law. If such information is desired, it should be sought openly and the donor...paid compensation commensurate to the value it possesses. Someone is getting paid to collect the information, to be sure.

“And everyone used to believe that going to the Indian Fair only meant a good time.

### **Sammy Tone-kei White**

Just as I began this chapter by introducing Parker McKenzie, I have chosen to conclude it by sharing the remarks of Sammy Tone-kei White, both men of the Kiowa Nation, and each having a long association with the Indian Fair. Recognized throughout Indian Country as one of its most talented and entertaining emcees, Mr. Tone-kei represents one of the most important elements of the Exposition, the Master of Ceremonies. This responsibility requires an individual who can assess the situation on the ground, as it happens. It requires an emcee alert to changes in scheduling, one that can carry the “conversation” during delays or between contest rounds, and a personality that unifies rather than alienates. The role of emcee demands a person with a sharp memory, and a civil, but engaging humor. Sammy Tone-kei White is just such an individual. He has full command all of these important skills, and raises the craft of emceeing to a very high standard. It is no wonder, then, that he is in constant demand across the country at many of the most celebrated and prestigious American Indian powwows and gatherings. Our conversation of September 1, 2005, was conducted at his home west of Anadarko, and mirrors the format as the author’s discussion with Dixon Palmer, Dorothy Whitehorse and Vanessa Jennings earlier in this chapter.<sup>42</sup> Sammy Tone-kei White’s recollections follow below:

**STW:** My name is Sammy Tonekei White. I am a Kiowa Indian, 74...75, I am sorry, years old. I was born in 1930, April 5,

and I've traveled pretty much throughout Indian Country. Most recently I moved back here from Scottsdale, Arizona. I came back here to Anadarko. It was a little over five, maybe [inaudible] years ago that I moved back, and I am certainly glad I did. Ah, because I like what goes on in this area. There's powwows, handgames, sports with a lot of Indian partnerships. I think there's a lot of Indian activity here, that's one main reason I like living back here. And, I have five children and several grandchildren. I was married to a Choctaw lady; she's full-blood Choctaw. She passed away about three years ago. And, I travel a lot. I go to powwows all over, everywhere, and I enjoy what I do. Otherwise, I would not do it.

**EJG:** And people appreciate you doing that.

**STW:** Why...thank you.

**EJG:** I've had the honor of seeing you around a lot of places before introducing myself to you [at the Expo] so...

**STW:** Yes.

**EJG:** I am going to ask you a number of questions and actually let you also go off on as many tangents as you want related to this.

**STW:** Sure.

**EJG:** And if I interrupt too much, just say, wait a minute...let me go on, so I apologize ahead of time.

**STW:** [laughs]

**EJG:** Before I was setting up, and we were talking about VJ Day. So, let's start with VJ Day if you don't mind. You made the remark about remembering that morning...

**STW:** I remember the exact time of the day...I was around fifteen years old and like all the other young people, I was very much there at the American Indian Exposition. When VJ Day took place, it took place...ah...as the day was breaking for me. The camps started coming alive, the encampment, and people were singing, singing victory songs. Oh...it was beautiful! And I had stayed up all night, as was the rule when you were about fifteen. I went to the 49 [dances]. I was with a lot of my companions, other Indians, young Indian people. Seems like at that particular time they had bales of hay stacked just west, next to the carnival there, that is part of the Exposition.

**EJG:** Yes.

**STW:** So we were up, jumping around, singing, dancing, and I...thinking back, I wondered if I really knew why we were singing and dancing? I think I did, because everyone said, VJ Day [with emphasis added]. And one of my good friends, his name was John Frank Anquoe, ah...his parents gave him a horse on that particular day to ride in the Indian horse races there at the Exposition. And so he said, 'well, I get my horse today.' That was VJ Day, and he said, 'Sammy

what do you think I ought to name it?' He said, 'we ought to give it a good name.' I said, 'name it VJ Day.' So, he named it VJ Day, and he raced, he raced in the Indian horse races. But, VJ was a very special time. Many of us had brothers and sisters. I had a sister in the service at that time. We were overjoyed, because we knew people would be coming home. Our warriors were returning and it was a special day. That particular Exposition I remember real well because of VJ Day.

**EJG:** It intensified [feelings]...don't you think?

**STW:** Oh yea...it did, it certainly did. And for years we spoke of VJ Day. It was like ah...the most...ah...victorious token of that time that we could celebrate. It was wonderful...VJ Day, because so many of our Indian people were killed during that war. And, so we were very thankful and happy that it was finally over with.

**EJG:** Was your sister in the 45<sup>th</sup>? [The Oklahoma Thunderbirds division]

**STW:** No. She was in, what do you call it? The WAACs. Do you remember the word WAAC [laughs]? Women's Army Auxiliary Corp. And she was from here...Anadarko. She had been a student at Riverside. She joined as soon as she had graduated from high school at Riverside Indian School. And, she got to come home. So, we were very happy in my family.

**EJG:** Very good. Um...to kind of bookend this...a little bit...did you participate in the 1944 Exposition?

**STW:** Ya know...I cannot pin point it. I only remember VJ year because it was something outstanding that happened. So, that is why I remember that. But I've gone to the Exposition every year...ah, since I was...well before I could even walk or talk. I had a brother that was a jockey. His name was Lee White. He, we would go and camp...not where the other Indians camped...but across the racetrack, east of where they had all the horses and all. So, we would camp over there. And, ah...all the Indians would come see us, ya know, to our camp, eat with us, and all. I can remember being a part of what all that went on.

**STW:** In fact, it was in those years that I was [had] a part in the pageant. There was a Mrs. Speelman, a director, who I believe she was a teacher from Haskell in Lawrence, Kansas. And she would ask me to be in the pageant a lot of times...[to] like ride a covered wagon 'cause I looked like a little white [boy]. So, I would be a settler on a covered wagon. And so, off and on I'd be that or I'd be a pioneer's child, ya know, a little white boy running across the arena as part of the pageant. And I can remember it, probably because I was so young in those days, before VJ Day, the wonderful stories that were told

as part of the pageant, there in front of the grandstand. And the grandstand...there was standing room only. Full of people! And, it was truly a holiday for me, and my entire family. You've seen the movie "State Fair," where they go with their big prized pig and all? Well we would go and my mother would take her canned goods...yes.

**EJG:** Did she enter for the premiums?

**STW:** Yes. She would win ribbons.

**EJG:** So, now, what did she do?

**STW:** She did canning...and ah...I just remember the canning part. She won ribbons. She also would...we had a farm west of Anadarko, and she would sell eggs...gather eggs and keep them all week, and bring them into town to sell them. But I know that during the Fair, she would sell a lot of her eggs, and milk, cream and butter to the campers. And we, the children in my family, would go around telling everybody that we had eggs and butter and all that kind of stuff.

**EJG:** Did you have a large family?

**STW:** Pretty large. There were about eight of us in my family, and it was...people thought my mother was unusual. She was a beautiful lady. This is her picture up here [pointing to her picture on the wall]. She farmed, ya know, she milked the cows and disciplined us [laughs]. But

she would look forward, very much so, to the American Indian Exposition. So, we would come every time to the Fair. I remember in those days...there was, they would box [fight]. [They would] have a ring built just for the Exposition on the carnival grounds. And the barker would say, 'if there is anyone here that can beat my man...'

**EJG:** Seriously?

**STW:** Yes! A boxer standing there, ya know, a macho picture. [And the barker] would say, 'I will give you a lot of money,' like ten or fifteen dollars. So, I was at this that time hanging around with a good friend named Karl Sands. He was a boxer, [a] very good boxer. He won state golden gloves and all those things. So, I volunteered him. I said, 'yea, this guy will fight him.' So me and about three other Indian children pushed him [Karl] up into the ring, and he beat the guy. Immediately, BAM! Just knocked him out! So, we got some good money and we got to eat. So, that's another thing I have not mentioned, I was always hungry, whether I was at the Indian fair or not. And so, the next day we went there [again]. Did it again. I pushed Karl Sands into the ring...and so, the next day after that the barker would not allow him to fight anymore [laughs]. He was afraid.

**EJG:** Was Karl Sands an Indian?



**STW:** Oh yes. He was a Chickasaw. And he's still around...he is, I think he's older than I am, I am 75. But I see him when I am emceeing powwows in the Lawton area. He's married to a Comanche lady. And, I wrote about this in the newspaper...I used to write a column called Tone-kei Speaks, in the [Midwest City] Journal. And so he saw it, Karl did, [laughs] and it was, it just so happened that during one of those Expositions several years ago, he came up with the paper and said, 'Tone-kei...I read your story' [laughs]. He said, 'it's true,' he said, 'people were saying it wasn't true, but it's true...that's what happened' [laughs].

**EJG:** He didn't hold a grudge against you?

**STW:** Oh no...and I remember long ago, too, this midnight ramble, I believe it was called, where someone would jump off a high tower into this tank of water that was burning, around the edge of the tank.

**EJG:** Was it part of the carnival [entertainment]?

**STW:** Yes. Ya know, like a midnight special. And ah...they would have different kinds of things as a specialty so that people would stick around until midnight back, in those days. I wrote another column about how the gypsies would come to the carnival ground during the Exposition. Beautiful people. Gypsies. They were sort of olive skinned, some had green eyes, curly hair and they could

talk you out of whatever they wanted it seemed. But, the Indian girls really thought they were handsome. They were handsome guys. Gypsy ladies were beautiful. So, one particular year, after the Exposition, the Indian Fair, they came to where we lived, west of Anadarko, just north of Hog Creek. We had timber on our land with a little stream running through it.

**STW:** So they came to our house and asked my father if they could camp, and sort of catch their breath after the Indian fair, before they traveled on. Rest up. And so my father said, 'yes you can.' So, right away, my mother told us, 'stay away from these people; stay away from those people.' So, that was the first place we'd go to, down to the timber, to play with the gypsy kids. And, so, it was time for them to leave, [to] pull up stakes [and to] take down their tents and wagons and all. And, uh, as they were leaving, my brother was there with me and another brother, we had a good time playing. They [gypsies] stole my brother George. He was a little older than I was, and they took him.

**STW:** And so they had, while they were camped down there [in the woods], they would come up to our house, ya know, and work around, repair our harness for our horses, and fix up around the house and do odd jobs. Well anyway, they left

and I ran home immediately and told my mother, 'they stole George,' [that] 'they kidnapped him, they took him.' She got so excited and she got our father who, the first thing he said was, 'oh let um have him' [laughs]. So, they [parents] took off and caught up with the gypsies. [The gypsies] denied it. This is a true story, it doesn't sound like one, but after it came out in the newspapers, many Indians came and said I remember that time.

**STW:** And so they stopped the gypsy caravan and said, 'you have taken my son.' My mother said, 'you have taken George.' And so, he [gypsy] said, 'no we don't have him.' But they searched and found George. He was happy; he didn't care. What an adventure! And so, the head of the gypsy people was not going to give him back to my mother. [Earlier], while he [gypsy] was repairing harness and stuff for my father, he saw a beautiful, big, strong water barrel. A wooden barrel in those days, that [was used] for [catching] rain water off the roof. So, he said, 'I'll give him back to you if you give me the barrel.' And so my father said, 'No...oo...oo.' And then of course my mother said, 'yes we'll do that.' And so they gave him the wooden barrel and [the gypsies] gave George back to the family. And, to this day, many of the old Kiowa people still refer to my brother as 'iduwal,' which means wooden barrel.

That's where he got his Indian name...from being traded for a wooden barrel.

**EJG:** Please say that again in Kiowa. "Iduwal?"

**STW:** Yes. That was one of the stories from the Exposition. There were so many stories from way back then because that was the only exciting time in our lives for the year...with the American Indian Exposition.

**EJG:** Did your family make the circuit of other dance grounds like Murrow, or the Apaches, [Mopope's] or Camp creek?

**STW:** No. No. We were all too busy on the farm. I started going to Murrow's and Camp Creek when I was about, I guess twelve years old.

**EJG:** Did you go with friends or family?

**STW:** No, [I went] with friends. So when I started going to the powwows, when I was twelve or thirteen, I was bewitched by what went on. I went to every one of them [that] I could. I would hitchhike. It was the most wonderful time in my life that I can remember, being part of the powwows. And so, I went to all the powwows around Anadarko, Especially the Exposition [laughs]. That was the number one [event].

**EJG:** I term the Expo...I say the Expo's the grandmother of everything that comes later. I mean particularly when you talk about the late 1950s and 1960s and 1970s. There were

[other] things [that] were going on before. Gallup was going on ten years before [the Exposition]. I think it started in 1924, or thereabouts. Crow Fair started in 1905, but as far as it being All-Indian managed and organized, this Exposition is the grandmother [event].

**STW:** Yes.

**EJG:** And it's significant for that.

**STW:** Sure.

**EJG:** For what it did. Tell me, those sorts of memories...

**STW:** Speaking of memories let me say this. I remember when Jim Thorpe came. You know, the greatest sports hero the world has ever seen. He was the Indian of the year, about 1950. And, I was like most of the young Indians. I was old enough to go in bars at that time. By the way, Anadarko made [a] fortune from the people who came to the Exposition, especially the bars and grocery stores.

**STW:** So, I was sitting in the bar, just having a great time. I probably sneaked into the bar. And someone said, 'Jim Thorpe is here.' Ah, I got so excited. [He] was in the parade, the Monday parade starting the Exposition. So, I ran out of the bar, and there he was, riding on a car. Ya know? And I ran up, tapped him on the shoulder, [and] I said, 'you're my hero'...or something to that effect. He was a nice guy, kind of an old man [then]. I said, 'I just

want to shake your hand, that's all.' And I shook his hand. I'll remember that for a long time. And I remember other Indians of the year—celebrities—like Roy Rogers and Dale Evans, and I believe Maria Tall Chief...and all other people, but no one as great as Jim Thorpe.

**EJG:** That is a highlight for you?

**STW:** Oh...it's wonderful!

**EJG:** There are lots of things I'd like to cover. You have a really special insight having emceed, and emceeing still, at all these events [powwows]. I remember you mentioning to me [that] you started emceeing the Expo in 1967, or something like that, [during the] late 1960s?

**STW:** [Beginning] late sixties.

**EJG:** And before, if not every year, a majority of the years since then you have been a part of the Expo?

**STW:** Yes, it's not been every year but, and I moved away, but then even when I lived in Scottsdale, Arizona, I would come home to emcee a powwow [or the Exposition], like every two or three years. But you know, I've always thought that it was almost like my duty to do that. Because, since I was old enough to understand what was going on, at the Expo, that it seemed to me the local tribes here in Anadarko worked toward making it a good and successful Exposition. So, even to this day, if I can help, I will

help and be a part of it. Because there are other things going on that I could do, you know, at the same time, I'd rather be a part of the Exposition—even to this day!

**EJG:** Because you're tied to it. You have roots here.

**STW:** Yes!

**EJG:** I mean there is a certain feeling...it's not just nostalgia, I would say. [Rather], you feel...I mean you're linked to it from a very early age.

**STW:** Like for instance, here in the community. Like we're a big family, and I've got to help the family out. And, although there are times when people seem to be very critical, way down deep, you know, they hope and they wish it [would] be successful. And if they're not there on hand to help, they have a relative that usually, most usually is a part of it or a child or someone [else representing their family].

**EJG:** With that perspective...of your being an emcee...talk a little bit, if you will, how you see the Expo having changed from VJ Day forward. [I ask this] because you have been a part...I mean there's some years away, but you've been a part [of the Expo] for a number of years.

**STW:** You know...thinking back, I can't see that much of a change. We use the same pattern, you know, having Indian of the Year, Celebrity of the Year, having the carnival, having the Indian horse races, [and] greyhound races...for

the afternoon and the pageant on a couple of nights during the week, and the competition dancing the other nights. And it's always been from Monday to Saturday. To me, it's pretty much the same agenda. But, the people, the leaders, the one's in charge may have, you know, have changed a bit. There are [now] twelve tribes, fourteen tribes that are a part of it...and it's still...it's as though, ya know...it's the unwritten book of rules up in the sky...it all seems to be the same. You know, there's this attitude of we just have to make it a success. And many times, [we] don't have the funds, or...most usually there's enough manpower...people here come around. Maybe that's why I like the Exposition so much. It has not changed that much. And it's always...the leadership has always been Indian, you know, no Chamber of Commerce!

**EJG:** That's important isn't it?

**STW:** Yes. Very important to me!

**EJG:** Do you think it's important, I mean I am asking, [do] you feel for not only your Kiowa people, but the other tribes as well, that that is a significant aspect about it, regardless of how big it is...[or] how well attended?

**STW:** Yes! It's the main ingredient, I feel. It's run by Indians, it's a fair election, any tribe can run, a member of any tribe can run for President of the Board. And



that's what is good about it. I know the big celebration in Oklahoma City...Red Earth...almost got away from the Indians. You know, it started out with the Chamber of Commerce and all those things. But, it's coming around...I've exceeded that [event] the last couple of years and a lot of Indian participants. This [statement] is strange coming from me. I find that there are a lot of dancers in the arena, but there are a lot of Indians in the audience [as well], which is a bit unusual for Red Earth. I saw that this year at Red Earth.

**EJG:** Because often times it's...the audience is different?

**STW:** The audience, not very many [Indians] in the audience, just Indians in the arena competing. And I would like to mention the crowd getting [smaller], and it's been this way at the American Indian Exposition. [It] is the world championship war dance contest! I am not sure if they still use that title. That used to really draw the crowds. And it's all there, the ingredients are there, [but] sometimes it, you know, it just doesn't click. I've been to a lot of wonderful, colossal powwows where one year it's just kind of...pew...you wonder what happened. And then the following year it's great, wonderful, you know, just something magic. So, it's just like anything else in this world, you can't have it good all the time. But I [do]

think the American Indian Exposition, when I travel to places and I speak of the Exposition, everyone knows about it, ya know, the other Indians.

**EJG:** [Do] you think [there is] widespread understanding [recognition for the Exposition] throughout the lower forty-eight states?

**STW:** Yea sure...[I believe] Anadarko, [and] the American Indian Exposition [are both acknowledged].

**EJG:** Do you meet many people in your travels that have, at some point in their life, participated or danced here, or their families camped here? Do they reminisce with you about that?

**STW:** Sure! Yes! Absolutely! I know there have been champions...and while I am speaking, I am trying to think of the name of that other war dancer that danced against Dixon Palmer. He is Cheyenne...I know him so well. Beard! Yes, a wonderful [man]. I would have worried about that...

**EJG:** And they joked with each other after that [Tone-kei laughs] [asking each other], 'You want another go?'

**STW:** And you know the Palmers...they have been just strong, strong supporters of the Exposition. Because they, too, you know, belong to Anadarko. And as I mentioned before, it's like we're a big family; and we would like for it to be a success.

**EJG:** Can you...[or] do you recall in the camping, because you went there as a child, [where] your family camped? I have asked a number of people this...do you remember your favorite foods [when camping at the Exposition]? [In] that sort of sense...can you talk about that camping experience? What you liked about it? What you remember about it? [What were your] favorite foods [that] your mom might have made, or your grandma, or your aunties...those sorts of activities that centered on the camp?

**STW:** Yes, it is still that way whenever you go to any powwow, if you camp. It's a special time. I think it reminds us of how...how it was. I used to say that we camped East of the racetrack because my brother was a jockey. And, I remember being very, very happy, but I was happy because my parents were happy. I know there is a word for that. But it was a happy time for my parents and the rest of the grownups as well. And for sure the children were happy. We had the aroma of the food, the smells, and everyone...it was like a village that was all kin, like relatives.

**STW:** And people would come and see that you had maybe too many in your camp to feed and they would invite them over to their camp. But, ah, most of all it seemed that everyone cooked fry bread, you know, you could smell fry bread for miles around. And, [there was] always beef. You know, good beef, good beef and steaks...'cause you know, you

would always kind of save up during the rest, the other parts of the year...for the Exposition. Because you knew you would not only be feeding your family, but other people as well. It was amazing to me that they could cook...the Indian women could cook a meal as good, if not better, than they could in their own homes. You know?

**EJG:** [Do you mean cooking] out there on the [camp] fire?

**STW:** Yes, and, without [having] air-conditioning in their homes and all that. But the food was just as good. In the camp[s], you know, [there was] great fry bread. Just puffed up and you know, it took a long time and you had to have it sit a long time before you fixed it. And potatoes, everything...it was a real happy time. I say most usually that our people are the most happy when they're eating or feeding someone. Well, it's that way in all groups of people I [have] found, as I got older, and went around the world, that all people are that way. But it's innate, you know, [it's] something with the Indian, especially meat.

**EJG:** [You would say] there's a kind of cultural comfort there?

**STW:** Yes, and meat...maybe from the buffalo days. Just cutting big bits of meat, and cooking it and feeding someone else...meat...a lot of meat!

**EJG:** But there is also a significance isn't there...I mean being able to provide that [food] for your guests or family?

**STW:** Yes, that's true.

**EJG:** Especially in the context of a special gathering together where you are sharing that [food]?

**STW:** Yes, and it is amazing too that the Indian women who cook and keep camp are strong...very strong. Many of them put up their camps, you know. But I find our younger people have been taught well [too]. Our younger people, Indian people, they can go and set up a camp with no, you know, no two ways about it. And they set it up good. I remember, camping at a big powwow, [a] Ponca powwow up by Ponca City, at a place called White Eagle; and I [laughs]...we got there in the nighttime.

**STW:** So, we put up the poles for the shade and whatever else it takes [for a camp]. Well, we were still asleep in the morning when there was a popping sound. And some Kiowa people who were also camped there, they came and they stretched my canvas just as tight as you can get it. They were embarrassed because I had this sloppy camp that I'd put up during the night [laughs]. And one [of those people] was my sister, her name was Bohay, and she was saying: 'Brother we can't have that, you're Kiowa.' And

she had a fifty-cent piece, [and] she said [as] she flipped it: 'You ought to be able to flip this off the top of your shade.' But it taught me to really make sure I put up a camp the right way. That was many years ago...by the way [laughs].

**EJG:** And, to get there before dark so that you can see what [your doing]. Vernon [Bull Coming], a close Cheyenne friend, is really particular about [his] camp. It's the same thing...just so.

**STW:** Yea, I notice I am the same way when I am invited to someone's camp. I go, without saying anything, I look at the posts, I look at the tarp over the shade, [and] see how, you know, if it's stretched tight. And most of all, I look at the teepees that I see set up.

**EJG:** [To] make sure they're done right?

**STW:** Yes. I probably would not know the difference, all I know it's supposed to be tight. Everything tight. But, it's [mostly that] I am so happy that people still camp. I just [hope that] it [camping] will never go away.

**EJG:** Well, I do too. I remember as a kid, ah...going there to the Expo...I marched in that parade...1958 and 1959 or 1959 and 1960, two or three years in the band, the Sunset band, behind the Mud Daubers...[the] mud men. And, I remember there being lots of teepees and a lot of shades. And I've read accounts [that] at some year's [event], there

was anywhere from 1500 to 5000 camps [at the Exposition]. There are fewer today...many fewer today.

**STW:** Yes there are fewer. I think it has to do with...people...it seems. Well, long ago, hardly anyone had, you only had one car. That was your main car, your family car. But now days, all the children have cars, you know, why camp when you can drive from home? But that's not the reason why people camp. And I've talked to a lot of people, you know, about our...asked them point blank: 'Do you like to camp?' Well, a big smile comes across their face and they say: 'Yes...I sure like to camp.' But sometimes the older people, you know, they just can't quite swing it. They aren't physically able to erect their camps anymore.

**EJG:** Do they not have people to help them setup? Or [is it] just a matter of all the other rigors that come with camping?

**STW:** Most usually, it's just taken for granted that your children and grandchildren will help you put up the camp. But, like I mentioned, you know, there's so much going on in the Indian world now that our young people, it seems, don't even have time, going to college or living far away or all that.

**EJG:** [And you believe this is so because the children are away] at their jobs?

**STW:** Yes. But I am pleasantly surprised [too] finding that most young Indian people can put up a camp in no time at all and it's [a] good tight canvas all around.

**EJG:** Did you help erect camps when you were a kid? I remember talking to Dorothy Whitehorse who mentioned the Palmer brothers a lot of times helping [others] to erect [their] camps. And, [likewise], younger people doing that for their grandparents or for their parents.

**STW:** Sure, yes! I remember, I had an uncle...Homer Buffalo. He always put up a camp and a teepee. And I would help him with his. I barely remember helping my mother, but it seems that the parents, then and now, they get a little edgy [laughs] when you're putting up a camp because it's like what we were speaking of...it has to be proper. And I guess, I just kind of stayed away, you know, from my folks when they were camping. Of course, I don't know, I didn't want to be hollered at, I suppose [laughs].

In the following account, originally published in the August 10, 1976 issue of the *Anadarko Daily News*, Sammy Tone-kei White<sup>43</sup> recalls some of his earlier experiences at the Indian Fair in a piece he titled "Tonekei Coming Back in Style." Making reference to topics touched on in our own conversation above but with different emphasis, Tone-kei's recollections reported in the newspaper story are transcribed below:



"My first recollection of the American Exposition at Anadarko was way back in the latter part of the 1930s. If my brother Lee, were not a jockey, I don't think I would have gone at all. Since the entire family decided to camp, my younger brother and I were allowed to go. We were too young to stay alone at home in the country. I remember my family camping southeast of the race-track away from the other Indian campers. Any Indian would have been proud of our encampment, the canvas on the arbor and tent were so tight you could flip a coin off of them. I think my brother being a professional jockey had something to do with our camping in a remote area by the race-tracks.

"During the morning daylight hours most of my brother Lee's friends and my father's farmer friends who were mostly white hung around our camp. During the afternoon when the racing was going on, my mother, my younger brother, Uncle Clyde (Tonekei) and I stayed at the camp getting the place in shape and visiting. I remember it being very hot and dusty as it is nowadays. My brother and I had our chores to do just like on the farm. We hauled wood and water and kept the dogs away from the camp.

"Since Uncle Clyde was camped next to us, we all had a good feeling that everything would be all right. Most of our Indian friends came to visit us during the afternoon when most of the family was away from camp. My mother was very pleased [as] she had not seen some of the visitors since a year ago at the last Indian fair. My Uncle Clyde was very happy too, he liked seeing his old friends again. After everyone in camp was asleep my Uncle Clyde and I would lay awake enjoying the cool night breeze. He would tell me stories he had heard during the afternoon from our Indian friends and we laughed at all the gossip.

"A deaf Cheyenne lady came to visit us each day during the fair. My mother couldn't sew on my brother's horse racing shirts cause her hands were so busy talking. I remember my mother's aunt, Mary Buffalo, making a special trip from across the way to show us her buckskin dress. She brought us a present in a shoe-box, a kitten. Like all seven-year-olds, I remember being very excited about all the commotion. I can't remember my folks being out of sorts when we were setting up or taking down our camp. Now-a-days most of us putting up or taking down our camps seem to be mad at each other. I guess they were more used to doing that kind of thing in days gone by.

"A few years later, I remember going to the carnival at the Indian fair and watching the pageant. We didn't camp any more since my brother Lee was too big to jockey. There were more sideshows then, with hootchie-cootchie girls, gypsies and con artists. The specialty act at midnight was a burlesque show called the 'Midnight Rambler' and a dare-devil diving from a high tower into a flaming two-foot water tank with spears all around it. I remember when one sideshow featured boxing. Anyone beating one of the professional boxers got a prize and free passes. They had to close down cause the local Indians had defeated all of them.

"Finally, I was old enough to be on my own. I began to notice all the pretty girls and I started 49ing. About this time, I became a part of the pageant cast, which was directed by Margaret Speelman. One year I doubled as a covered wagon driver and a Yankee soldier. The following year I asked to be a part of the pageant again but when they told me I had to play the part of a white farmer I refused. I already had a complex about being half white. I sold souvenir program booklets and played in the grandstand band the next couple of years.

"I remember seeing Jim Thorpe, and many other outstanding Indians in the downtown parade in Anadarko setting off the Exposition. I've seen Indians from all over the nation represented in the parade and pageant and I've seen many proud tribal princesses who represented their respective tribes with much dignity. I've met the performers from Mexico with their fiery dances and I've met the world champions competing for the national title for war dancing. I've met many beautiful people at the Indian fair.

"I've noticed down through the years that most of the old timers come to the Indian fair for the same reason I have. We see old friends [and] make new friends, [visit] the Indian-made exhibits, the exciting parades, pageants, outstanding horse racing and feel good again about remembering when we were young and on the go. In those good old days I remember having to go without food or a place to stay in order to last through the Indian fair and since I didn't have the price of a ticket I had to look through the cracks of the wooden fence to see the front of the grandstand. This year I will have a front row seat throughout the entire exposition for I have come back in style, I'm the official master of ceremonies.

Finally, *Anadarko Daily News* The Cornerstone columnist Jack Stone reprinted an earlier interview given by Sammy Tone-kei White in the Wednesday, August 17, 1977, issue of the paper.<sup>44</sup> In that interview Tonekei had been asked, “Do you think the younger Indians are getting away from the old ways?” His response in 1977 mirrors in many ways aspects of our own conversation above, and reveals the optimism that many of the older generation of Exposition supporters maintain. The full transcription of Stone’s 1977 interview with Sammy Tone-kei White follows:

“As a people, we’ve been attuned to psychological change for a long time. It is extremely hard to trade our time honored philosophies for today’s fast pace of living. I believe a succeeding generation of Indians dreamed of a different, better life for their children. They hoped for a better way of life more than any other group because of so many hardships in the past. Today’s generation of Indian youths who set out on a quest to ‘find themselves,’ in other words to modify their old identities, run smack into where they came from, because they are looking for the truth. I know more young Indian people than old people. The overall message I get from young Indians is they are more into knowing about the ways of our grandfathers than the young Indian five or more years ago.

"When my generation was in the formative years (1940's), we as Indian students in Indian institutions were forbidden to speak our language or sing our tribal songs. We therefore thought it was passé or regressive to do any Indian activity. We grew up imitating the non-Indian leaders of that era. The old as well as the young Indians of today are much more aware of the good and the bad of being Indian. Pride is in today.

"The American Indian Movement has a great deal to do with our young Indians' new awareness of our proud culture. If AIM had not rattled the pumpkin in the first place, I think the non-Indian way would have won out. People still would be looking at us from an objective point of view saying, 'How unique.' More than 50 per cent of all Indians live in the urban area now and although social services to urban Indians are slow in coming, the average Indian is surviving thanks to the more knowledgeable Indians who are dedicated, because of an awakening of the proud beautiful ways of our grandfathers.

He finished the story with his customary ending: *AND THUS; Tonekei spoke.* It should come as no surprise that Tonekei's observations, eloquently delivered in the comments above, were in keeping with many local Indians' expressed sentiments,

regarding their own communities' cultural longevity. Indeed, this theme was and continues to be an integral concern to and part of the message shared by those Indian families and individuals gathering together each Exposition season.

## NOTES CHAPTER SIX

1. Basso, H. Keith. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. 1st ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1996, 7.
2. Ibid. p. 6.
3. Basso (1996, 7) writes: “Even in societies where writing and other devices for ‘preserving the past’ are absent or devalued, historical knowledge is produced and reproduced.” Moreover, he advises that: “It is well to keep in mind that interpreting the past can be readily accomplished—and is everyday—without recourse to documentary archives, photographic files, and early sound recordings. It cannot be accomplished, readily or otherwise, without recourse to places and the place-worlds they engender.”
4. Bourdieu, Pierre. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
5. Urban, Greg. *Metaphysical Community: The Interplay of the Senses and the Intellect*. 1st ed. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996, xiii.
6. Tennyson Berry
7. Transcription of unpublished typewritten manuscript. See: McKenzie, Parker. 1992. Early Years of the American Indian Exposition of Anadarko, Oklahoma. In *Parker McKenzie Collection, Rare Books, Manuscripts and Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society*. Oklahoma City.
8. Dorothy Whitehorse, Roland “Mac” Whitehorse’s sister, informed me that it was Roland Whitehorse who painted the artwork on Parker McKenzie’s Expo Teepee. Author’s fieldwork notes, 2003.
9. McKenzie, Parker. 1992. Letter to Bill Welge. Parker McKenzie Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, August 28, 1992.
10. McKenzie, Parker. 1994. Letter to Bill Welge. Parker McKenzie Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, October 3, 1994.
11. McKenzie, Parker. 1995. Letter to Bill Welge. Parker McKenzie Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, February 13, 1995.
12. Ibid.
13. McKenzie, Parker. 1995. Letter to Bill Welge. Parker McKenzie Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, July 4, 1995.
14. Leonard Cozad’s Kiowa name, Goo-goual-Thay / Red Wolf, was conferred to him by “old man Lonebear” according to the wishes of his “Grandfather, Kiowa Charley” who had requested that upon Leonard Cozad’s return from service during WWII that he receive the name Red Wolf after the culture hero of the same name. For the Kiowa legend of Red Wolf see also: Cozad, Ruby and Pat Wilson. Leonard Cozad, Sr. Honor Day – March 9, 2003: Wyandotte Nation, 2003; Author’s fieldwork notes, 2003.
15. Ibid.
16. Comments made by Leonard Cozad Sr., August 2003 at the annual Wichita and Affiliated Tribes’ gathering at the Wichita Tribal Complex dance grounds, upon special recognition by the Wichita dance committee and Wichita and Affiliated



- Tribes. Leonard Cozad's comments were transcribed from videotape of the evening's program. Videotaped by the author. Author's fieldwork notes, 2003.
17. Author's fieldwork notes, 2003.
  18. Ibid.
  19. Author's fieldwork notes, June-July 2005.
  20. Cozad, Ruby and Pat Wilson. Leonard Cozad, Sr. Honor Day – March 9, 2003: Wyandotte Nation, 2003; Author's fieldwork notes, 2003.
  21. Author's fieldwork notes, August 2005.
  22. Dorothy Whitehorse, like so many of the different people I met and talked to regarding the American Indian Exposition, responded in almost identical ways to the half-dozen or so three-ringed binders filled with photocopied images by Tartoue (a local Anadarko photographer), of people at the Indian Fair or other area gatherings. Tartoue's images (Manuscript and Archives Collections at the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City) cover roughly a two-decade period in the 1940s and 1950s. I carried the images with me whenever I went to different powwows, gatherings or to Anadarko for fieldwork. The images were memory-joggers for many Indians who I had an opportunity to share them with. This part of our interview, while not in a standard question and answer format, provides a sense of the continuous dialogue about, reflection on and recollection of events that happened years before.
  23. Parker McKenzie's Expo teepee was, in its time, an important Indian Fair icon. The wood-framed, metal-clad painted teepee was used as a tourist information center, and was located in downtown Anadarko for many years. During the period I conducted fieldwork (1998-2005), the slowly deteriorating structure barely evoked any resemblance to its earlier proud state. In those years, faded and rusted, it sat adjacent to the Baldwin building at the Caddo County fairgrounds.
  24. See: "Goombi Seeks Re-Election." *Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 14, 1956, 2.
  25. See: Toahty, Amos. "Amos Toahty Issues Statement Asking Vote for Presidency." *Anadarko Daily News*, Wednesday, August 17, 1960, 3.
  26. See: "Keahbone for Vice President." *Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 7, 1962, 2.
  27. See: Thomas, Arthur. "Expo Hopefuls Speak." *Anadarko Daily News*, Monday, July 6, 1964, 3.
  28. See: Kahrahrhah, Roe. "Expo Hopefuls Speak: Roe Kahrahrhah for President." *Anadarko Daily News*, Thursday, July 9, 1964, 3.
  29. See: Goombi, Adolphus. "Expo Hopefuls Speak." *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, June 28, 1964, 2.
  30. See: Hayes, Pat. "The Daily News Forum: Our Readers Have a Voice." *Anadarko Daily News*, Friday, July 10, 1964, 6.
  31. See: Keahbone, Gladys. "Expo Hopefuls Speak: Gladys Keahbone For Wichita Director." *Anadarko Daily News*, Thursday, July 9, 1964, 3.
  32. See: "Goombi Says It's Worth It." *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 10, 1975, 5.

33. See: "Goombi Name Has Long Been Associated with Exposition." *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 11, 1974, 4.
34. Author's fieldwork notes, May 2005.
35. Author's fieldwork notes, August 2003.
36. See: "Campers Carry on Exposition Traditions." *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 11, 1974, 6.
37. See: Medley, Robert. "Indian City Guide Tells It Like It Was." *Anadarko Daily News*, August 16 & 17, 1986, 8.
38. See: Littlechief, Libby. "Letters to the Editor: Expo Finances Explained." *Anadarko Daily News*, Sunday, August 19, 1979, 8.
39. See: Palmer-Brown, Georgette. "Opinions on Expo." *Anadarko Daily News*, Wednesday, August 26, 1987, 10.
40. See: Williams, John. "Letter to the Editor: Another Exposition to Remember." *Anadarko Daily News*, Thursday, July 25, 1991, 8.
41. See: Bates, Russell. "Letter to the Editor: Larger Picture Overlooked." *Anadarko Daily News*, Wednesday, August 9, 1995, 10.
42. Author's fieldwork notes, September 2005.
43. See: White (Tonekei), Sammy. "Tonekei Coming Back in Style." *Anadarko Daily News*, Tuesday, August 10, 1976, 7.
44. See: Stone, Jack. "The Cornerstone." *Anadarko Daily News*, Wednesday, August 17, 1977, 8.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### **Conclusion: Perpetuating the Founders' Dream**

*“Our forefathers’ deeds touch us, like strokes of a painting. In endless procession their deeds mark us. The Elders speak knowingly of forever.” James Auchiah, Kiowa Five<sup>1</sup>*

The primary objective for initiating this project was, and still remains, to explore all facets of the American Indian Exposition—first called the Southwest Indian Fair—and to document the predominant influences in its more than seven decades-long history. As I have detailed elsewhere in this study, distinguished as the first all Indian managed agricultural and cultural arts fair, genesis of the American Indian Exposition exemplified the unwavering determination of its founders and earliest participants to preserve their traditional lifeways, despite the government’s intrusive assimilation initiatives. My attention in this seventh and final chapter will focus on three key points: First, the abjuration by Indians of agricultural models patterned after white farmers; Second, their efforts to invert the dominant culture’s stereotyped images of Indians; and Third, the emergence of Anadarko as a cultural tourism destination solely because of the American Indian Exposition. Collectively, these three points represent an overarching framework, or Turner’s “context” referenced earlier in Chapter Two, within and upon which the emergence, florescence and decline of the Exposition enterprise can be better understood. All ancillary venues’ successes were a direct result of the Expo’s national acclaim, and are inextricably linked to “place,” not only the dance arena at the campgrounds, but to the Anadarko region as well.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the story about how and when this happened has been presented above; however, here I return to these three points as a way to frame my concluding remarks. It can be demonstrated that between 1932 and 1950 Anadarko's diverse Indian communities modified agricultural and home economist programs to reflect their own sensibilities and needs. At the same time, it can be argued that the Exposition's organizers inverted cultural stereotypes of Indians by altering their contextual use and meaning. In the process, Indians effectively wrested control over how they would (or could) be represented. Finally, it has been shown that the Exposition quickly became a must see annual attraction, generating a groundswell of attention from America's tourists. This new stage upon which to exhibit and express their cultural traditions, brought local Anadarko Indians some measure of financial success, and garnered for them national recognition as the premier venue personifying American Indian cultural pride; moreover, the American Indian Exposition became the catalyst for the establishment at Anadarko, of other tourism venues like Indian City U.S.A. (1955), The Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians (1952), and the Southern Plains Indian Museum (1948).

As has been outlined in earlier chapters of this work, several key motivators prompted Anadarko's Indians to organize and charter the first all Indian managed Exposition. The foremost local issue was how to end economic exploitation of their expressive culture by white promoters. Another issue of concern to Indians was how to mediate assimilation agendas bent on refashioning their families' values and lifestyles to mimic the white dominant society; moreover, these agendas exerted strong pressures on Indians via bureaucratic mechanisms at both state and national levels. Indians' response to each

situation manifested as resolute efforts to achieve self-governance and economic control of their expressive arts. It is not too strongly stated that Indians retaliated against these unacceptable circumstances by forming a multi-tribal collective (the Exposition), in effect delivering a *coup de grace* to their civil and social oppressors.

It has already been established that initially, Indians chose the Craterville Park Fair and only later, organized the American Indian Exposition to provide a public forum in which to declare their independence and celebrate their cultural traditions. It is worth reiterating that Expo officials exercised astute business acumen in those early years, while gaining unprecedented success at promoting their cultural heritage. Considering the circumstances at its inception in 1932, the first Southwestern Indian Fair (chartered in 1934 as the American Indian Exposition) had an auspicious beginning. Though now diminished in scope, the Exposition continues today and is recognized by many as the precursor or “granddaddy” of numerous all-Indian managed cultural arts events to emerge since the 1950s.

One must acknowledge key initiatives orchestrated for assimilating Indian groups to gain a better understanding of the forces at work that lead to the organization of the American Indian Exposition. Numerous measures regarding the affairs of Indians occupied both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives between 1870 and 1934. The importance of the General Allotment Act of 1924 granting citizenship to Indians; the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934; and establishment of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in 1935 (Barsh and Henderson, 1980) was discussed in earlier chapters of this

work. Even so, it is worth remembering that American policy exemplified by these legislative activities maintained the government's role of wardship over Indians. The reality of citizenship was, as Berkhofer(1979) and others have declared, quite different from its symbolic manifestation. Berkhofer (ibid., 177) has acknowledged that "in many Western states White prejudice against the Indian continued to discriminate in [the] area of civil rights..." Oklahoma, and more specifically the Anadarko region was no exception.

It is important to also remember that from its establishment in 1859, the Territory outpost that later became Anadarko, was first and foremost an Indian Agency. As such, the post's Indian residents were compelled to relinquish most of their traditional practices—dances, ceremonies, languages and modes of dress. Moreover, American Indians were compelled to forfeit their right to self-determination, or suffer the withholding of their annuity rations or to suffer other punitive measures. Annuities distributed to the tribes and bands included such essential staples as coffee, sugar, flour, beans, and bacon or beef. The agent overseeing local Indian communities existed as the *gatekeeper* of their affairs, making all decisions on their behalf, whether beneficial or not. Such jurisdiction over Anadarko's Indian residents by their appointed agents persisted well into the twentieth century.

With passage of the legislative acts mentioned above, Oklahoma became a fertile testing ground, and an ongoing experiment for assimilating and acculturating its Indian populations (See: Barsh and Henderson 1980). Agricultural extension programs, 4-H

clubs, boarding schools and home economist workshops were prime forums for persuading Indians to assimilate.<sup>3</sup> Each program exerted its own form of inculcation across generational groups. Some households holding strict traditional beliefs refused outright to submit to these organized campaigns. Others, for various reasons, were more accepting of the agents' admonition to set aside some of their cultural traditions in exchange for alternative life styles. And yet, even these Indians assimilated on their own terms, keeping hold of certain traditions and practices whenever possible. I submit that the agent's goals to convert Indian households to agrarian-based nuclear family units, patterned after white models, secured questionable success.

Not to be over looked is the fact that the official chartering of the annual Indian Fair coincided with the passage of John Collier's New Deal era policies. Especially important was the passage of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act in 1935. These progressive legislative policies made it possible for the Kiowa, Delaware, Comanche, Caddo, Apache, Cheyenne, Arapaho and Wichita peoples to regain significant control of their traditional cultural practices. The images, pageants, dance performances and cultural traditions they have been presenting for consumption by non-Indian residents of and visitors to Anadarko each summer for the past seventy-five years express, in explicit ways, Indians' steadfast resolve to proclaim and, more importantly, control how their collective tribal identities are represented.

Locally, this desire reached a crescendo between 1932 and 1936. As has been argued elsewhere in this study, one of the most compelling agents of discontent for some Indians

was their lack of self-determination. Interestingly, by the late 1920s a large number of Indian families were participating in one or more of the following BIA mandated County Extension programs: planting gardens, growing cash crops, pasturing and breeding livestock, drying or canning meats and vegetables, sewing dresses and reconditioning furniture. Their finished handiwork was often exhibited at white controlled fairs. For the Indians, there was the hope of winning acknowledgement or the meager premiums offered to the best entries. For whites, it demonstrated that the Indians, outwardly anyway, seemed to be conforming to lifestyles patterned after the dominant white society; but in fact, these same individuals were also incorporating, in subtle ways, many of their own tribe's traditional subsistence practices and expressive arts in the process. Moreover, items Indians produced or exhibited, first at the Craterville Fair and later at the American Indian Exposition, reflected a practical and aesthetic contrast to their non-Indian counterparts. My argument is supported by extension agent documents and in scarce, but surviving exhibit photographs documenting and illustrating the progress being made by Indians engaged in these domestic arts programs.

To date I have located few pre-1940 photographs of these early Exposition sponsored Indian exhibits. However, those I have seen are probably representative of most Indian exhibits on display at district fairs and the Anadarko Exposition from the mid-1920s to mid-1940s. The few surviving photographs depict homemaker projects, or feed and cash crops grown by members of agricultural and home economics clubs operating in each tribal district. Looking at the agricultural displays one can see border designs comprised of geometric shapes, stacked produce arranged with an assortment of ribbon tied or metal



girded grain bundles (See: Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 28, 1938, for two examples). On closer study the design elements bear an uncanny resemblance to bead work, parfleche patterns, roach-style head pieces, and inverted wrapped or tied braids or horse's tails. No doubt the exhibits provided the viewer with a three dimensional perspective enhanced by the bright, natural colors of the combined items. The addition of shaped, colored pails, saucers, and metal pans accentuate and segregate specific items, patterns and colors. They appear to have been deliberately oriented or combined to form contrasting bands of color, chevrons, triangles, diamond and boxed motifs, the same types of motifs regularly utilized by Indians in their traditional expressive arts. Although they are sometimes sparse in quantity or variety, the agricultural exhibits of that era have a distinctively Indian arts and crafts aesthetic.

Like the farm exhibits, home economics projects made by Indian women offer similarly interesting contrasts. On surface the items do not seem out of the ordinary. Represented in their displays are quilts, aprons, dresses, children's clothing, curtains, canned goods and embroidered cloth napkins and towels. Most could be found in any typical household and all were hand crafted. The differences I want to emphasize here are subtle, yet important. Local Indian women were constrained by economics and availability of materials to make the workshop projects. Many of them had only feed bags, flour sacks, remnants or discarded military surplus to work with. Yet, their creativity and methods of production demonstrate not only a high degree of adaptability, but at the same time, maintain a discernible connection to their cultural traditions. Cloth napkins are embroidered with superimposed flatware that forms a star pattern. Other

cloth items incorporate designs that can be associated with traditional Indian motifs. Even more telling are the numerous canned goods in glass jars. They are filled with choke cherries, uncooked corn meal, dried skunk berries, wild plums, pounded sun cured meat and other items common to Indian households of the era.

All of these were traditional food items. Not visible in the archival photographs, but ever present in such displays (often, just outside the photographer's frame), were traditional items like beaded belts, buckskin dresses and moccasins, dolls, baskets, shawls, jewelry, pottery and tanned hides. Like the women's craft guilds of earlier times, members of district clubs met at regular intervals to work collectively on their projects. It is clear that these meetings provided an important social context by which traditional activities could survive. In later years (post WWII), the visual and sculptural arts, combined with a continuance of traditional handcrafted buckskin, feather and beaded objects, would replace these early and heavily emphasized domestic arts as the focal point of American Indian expressive visual culture on display, and for sale to tourists at the American Indian Exposition.

This shift in aesthetic brings me now, to the second of three focal points presented in this chapter—i.e., inverting cultural stereotypes. Few people would disagree that “media” in this day and age, in all its various forms, is a powerful communicator of cultural norms. It is routinely used to shape opinion, reify images of the cultural “other,” and as a tool of economic and political persuasion. The mass media available to residents of Oklahoma in the 1930s and early 1940s was markedly different, but it too was a

persuasive tool. There was radio, but no television, black and white motion pictures, but no internet. Moreover, because of the expense or availability, newspaper editors printed few photographs. However, advertisements with illustrations were regularly matched with written text. Ads were employed, often in creative ways, to solicit customers, announce important public events, and then, like now, as commercial leverage.

Based on research conducted for this study, I believe that organizers of the 1934 Exposition were compelled to host entertainment venues that would appeal to both Indian and non-Indian visitors to the fair. Likewise, they needed to maximize their use of the media to promote the first autonomous event, proclaim their independence from previous venues, and bottom line, to ensure its financial success. They might have asked themselves: “How are we to accomplish these goals?” One answer to this question can be ascertained by examining and comparing visual images and text used to advertise the fledgling event with images utilized in later years. For example, the paid advertisement for the second Southwest Indian Fair found in the July 4, 1934, issue of *Anadarko Daily News* dwarfs all other ads, being five columns wide and half the total height of the page. Until this issue, few ads of comparable size had ever been published in that newspaper.

It has already been noted that the main entertainment feature for this second Indian fair was the State all-Indian baseball tournament. The first tournament of its kind, it premiered during the first Southwestern Indian Fair in 1933 and became a popular attraction for many years. Like the county fair, the Indian Exposition contracted with an amusements company to provide midway rides, shows, and other entertainments. These

two venues, especially the baseball tournament, were the Indians' guarantee of attracting the non-Indian paying public. These attractions are announced in the ad with bold face type and obviously considered the premier entertainments. More importantly, the images used in these first announcements incorporate the standard stylized and stereotypic representations of Indians readily available to letter press printers of the period. Four images are visible in the ad.

First, centered at the top of the page, an Indian bust in profile faces left wearing a feathered war bonnet. There are scroll flourishes to either side. Second, an image depicting two figures looking off to the right is situated in the center of the ad. Clearly, one is an Indian wrapped in a blanket, with a single feather in his hair and pointing to some distant place out of view. The second figure, a white trapper or woodsman, wears a buckskin jacket, leggings and coon skin cap—Davy Crockett style. Both figures are standing outdoors, overlooking a lake or valley below them, and mountains are in the distance. The last two illustrations are situated in each corner at the bottom of the ad. The one on the left depicts a kneeling Indian brave with bow drawn and pointed almost diagonally to the upper right corner. The drawing in the lower right corner is a standing warrior wearing a war bonnet and with a raised tomahawk in his right hand (Anadarko Daily News, July 4, 1934).

Listed in smaller typeface on the 1934 advertisement are secondary attractions including the following in ranked order: "Agricultural Exhibits by Indians;" "Display of Home Products and Indian Arts and Crafts;" "Daily Band Concerts;" and "Indian Dances,

Horse Races,” and other entertainments (Anadarko Daily News, July 4, 1934). I argue that between 1934 and 1940 these could not be advertised as the principal entertainment venues if the Exposition organizers were to realize success. Instead, promoters had to offer amusements that ensured attendance by the mostly white paying public. Once there, fair-goers would see the pageant and dances, events that by the mid-1940s had grown in popularity from separate, or secondary entertainments to become world class, big prize money contests. As earlier chapters have chronicled, it is no coincidence that by 1945 the American Indian Exposition was being proclaimed the most colorful show of its kind in the United States (AIE Program 1945). There is no question that advertisements were effectively used to broadcast the image of the American Indian celebration to every corner of the state, and well beyond.

The following account serves as a good example. A full page advertisement in the August 12, 1945 issue of the *Anadarko Daily News* announcing that year’s Exposition was significantly different than those of previous seasons. Fourteen portrait photographs of the fair’s directors, ten of them wearing full feathered headdresses and blankets wrapped around their shoulders, presented a striking set of images. This self-representation to the public-at-large turns the symbol of photographed Indians on its head. Similarly, Rick Hill (1996, 111) appears to support my own conclusions when he notes, “it is also important to see how Indians themselves are using photography to counteract such stereotyping.”<sup>4</sup> A closer examination of the 1945 Expo announcement reveals that a variety of typeface sizes were used to emphasize premier events.

Also noticeably different from earlier Exposition ads of the 1930s, is that the pageant program and the nightly dance contests had become headline entertainments. There was no mention of midway or amusement rides as in earlier fairs. They were present, but no longer relied upon to guarantee a successful event. Instead, one was invited to “visit the natural Indian village [with] thousands of Indians encamped at the Exposition grounds living the Native way” or to “visit the arts and crafts, agricultural and livestock displays [and] to see famous Indian work” (Anadarko Daily News, August 12, 1945)). While it might appear contradictory that Indians were using the same photographic tropes as Anglos, they were now images controlled by the Exposition organizers, by Indians and not the whites.

I assert that the marketing strategies and promotional materials used to advertise the Indian Fair over the past seven decades demonstrates a high level of sophistication. There is an unmistakable standardization of these promotional strategies in place by the late 1930s and early 1940s. This advance was made possible first, because Exposition officials started recruiting or soliciting local American Indian artists to create unique program covers for or permit their earlier work to be reproduced on various promotional ephemera. For instance, from 1940 to 1949 the paintings of two well-known and popular artists, James Auchiah and Stephen Mopope, members of the famed Kiowa Five, graced the annual Exposition souvenir program covers and other advertising media.<sup>5</sup> This early practice of featuring Indian artists’ creative work on Exposition programs, flyers, posters, newspaper advertisements and, in the 1950s as painted storefront windows, continues in some form or fashion to the present time.

The official Exposition program booklet's format, size, images and content were fitted to a specific goal, i.e., to inform visitors about the Exposition and local Indian history, and to serve as tourist souvenir. Once purchased, the Exposition program served as the visitor's daybook or entertainment schedule. Some intrepid tourists even made it a point to get their programs autographed by the tribal princesses and war dance contestants. As a cherished souvenir, the programs were not discarded at the end of the Fair, but shared with others when visitors returned to their hometowns in California, New Jersey, Kansas, Ohio, other states and abroad. Indeed, the majority of my own collection of Exposition memorabilia has been procured not in Oklahoma, but from all over the United States and Europe. The visually appealing and graphically sophisticated ephemera proved to be a savvy marketing tool. Within twenty years of its chartering in 1934, the American Indian Exposition and Anadarko by association, had achieved international acclaim. It was, I suggest, Exposition officials who were most instrumental, if not the explicit source, for seeding Anadarko's tourism boom.

With this in mind, it is no coincidence that as early as 1945 the American Indian Exposition was being proclaimed the "United States most outstanding and colorful display of Indian history and talent" (Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 12, 1945). Anadarko still claims it is the "Indian Capital of the World" despite the reality that other modern day annual cultural tourism venues like Gallup, Red Earth and the Santa Fe Indian Art Market have out paced the Exposition. From its fledgling start in 1932, the Exposition has withstood the ravages of dustbowl and depression years, the sorrow and sacrifice resulting from WWII, the Korean Conflict, Vietnam, and the social upheavals of

the 1970s. It has always emerged from these various trials intact, uncompromised and as popular as ever. From its earliest years of operation, Exposition organizers have intentionally and effectively utilized advertising media to broadcast the public image of the American Indian celebration to every corner of the state, the nation and abroad. All forms of media have been utilized to publicize the Indian Fair including, photographs, graphic arts, newspaper ads, storefront windows, radio broadcasts, posters, flyers, billboards, mass mailings, TV and more recently, though less effectively, the Internet.

Beginning in the 1940s, and continuing since then, a standardized format and message has been presented to fair-goers. Historical images sprinkled throughout the souvenir program depicting tribal life, early Expo parades and regalia clad dancers have been gathered from archives and solicited from local families for reproduction. Similarly, images by the late Horace Poolaw, a Kiowa photographer, have been a constant source of material embellishing the Expo's program. Many of Poolaw's Exposition images were reproduced as real-photo postcards for sale to memento hungry tourists. Though not readily available today, his postcards can be found on eBay from time-to-time. For Exposition organizers, participants and tourists alike this eclectic mix of photographic images, stories and intertribal dance performances are a tangible public expression signifying "authentic" Indian identity, community values and the tribal histories associated with them. I sense that performers have, with the arrival of each annual Indian Fair, witnessed a continuing coalescence of tribal values, a deeper appreciation and significance of their shared cultural heritage in Oklahoma, and a collective strengthening of their confidence and pride as American Indians. So, too, they are reminded each



passing year of those elders, friends and relatives who came before them. Memories of and stories about them help perpetuate the American Indian Exposition.

Notable American Indian artists have also contributed to the marketing, promotion and success of the Exposition. The long list includes, Lee Tsa-toke, son of the famed Kiowa Five artist Monroe Tsa-toke; Black Bear Bosin; Moses Turkey; Woodie Big Bow; Spencer Asah, Al Momaday, Steve Mopope and Roland Whitehorse, each of them highly respected Kiowa artists. One must include Doc Tate Nevaquaya, a Comanche musician and painter; Archie Black Owl, Cheyenne; Carl Sweezy, Arapaho; and many others. Perhaps one of the most important visual references that can be directly linked to the popularity and success of the Exposition, however, are the ubiquitous and delightfully humorous illustrations created by local resident and Cherokee artist William Vann Flores. For several years his witty, often sarcastic illustrations covered many Anadarko merchants' windows during the week of the Fair. Moreover, since the early 1940s Flores' caricatures and illustrations have accompanied the majority of advertisements published in the annual Anadarko Daily News special Exposition Souvenir Edition.

During the 1940's and 1950s newspaper ad space solicited by Exposition organizers took a dramatic turn from the standard format used in previous years. In place of the generic motifs and border designs inspired by "tribal" cultures, there were satirical cartoons drawn by accomplished Indian artists like Bedoka, Flores, Hess, Redbone and others. Flores' work is worth particular mention here. Many of his caricatures depict Indians having exaggerated features or allude to characteristics and stereotypes habitually

attributed by non-Indians. The artist's creativity partnered with publicity for the Indian Fair immediately found a receptive audience in the public at large. His keen humor and crafty designs, the artwork of choice for non-Indian businesses during the Exposition, intentionally pokes fun at Indians. In fact, I maintain that his creative wit was consciously utilized by Exposition organizers as a way to invert stereotypes of Indians. As a result, the caricatures convey multiple messages. One is that the Indian community is in charge of their own representation. Caricatures like these are particularly intriguing because they allude to a shift, or a subversion if you will, in the symbolic use and meaning normally attributed to pictorial images of the Indian.

Exposition organizers and the local press have been using these same images for more than fifty years to promote the Anadarko event. I submit that their tongue-in-cheek use by Indians is significant. I have suggested elsewhere that the American Indian Exposition organizers were using or sanctioning—in a counter hegemonic sense—these images in various media as a means to ensure success of their venture. I believe that the original founders were well aware of the non-Indian public's fixation with images depicting Indians as slow, fat, big-nosed, headdress wearing curiosities still living as they did in the 19th century. If the present day use or implicit sanctioning of these images by Exposition officials seems contradictory, is it not even more difficult to imagine the non-Indian public of the 1930s through the 1970s paying admission to an Exposition depicting Indians as happy assimilated souls navigating their way through a very real white world of poverty and racism?

The entertainment value of their traditional culture—dances, pageants, history, and images—was not lost on Exposition organizers. Nor did it go unnoticed by local non-Indian businessmen who quickly scrambled onboard the tourism wagon. As is perhaps already evident, cultural tourism is the third point of focus in this chapter’s summation. Here, I will confine my comments to one of several cultural tourism venues that emerged in the early 1950s meant to capitalize on the Exposition’s growing cache as a must see American Indian attraction. With their focus on cultural tourism, Hill’s (1996, 114) “Indian as tourist prop” trope comes into full force. If Indians could use their cultural traditions as a means to exert self-determination, why would it not also work for non-Indian entrepreneurs?

Opening with great fanfare and celebration its first season in 1955, Indian City U.S.A. quickly became a complimentary site for the throngs of tourists flocking to Anadarko each summer for the American Indian Exposition. Indian City boasted of recreating seven “authentic” Indian villages, including Apache wickiups, Wichita grass houses, teepees, and a Pawnee earth-covered lodge. Situated on 165 acres in the rugged Tonkawa Hills,<sup>6</sup> and only two miles south of Anadarko, Indian City enticed visitors with its scenic vistas and Indian guided tours, its fancy war dancing programs, the museum with 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century examples of Indian material culture, and a gift shop where tourists could spend their dollars on locally-made arts and crafts. Indeed, Indian City, as an entertainment venue, was marketed as though it offered visitors everything they could dream about concerning American Indians’ art, culture and history. It was an early experiment attempting to create a simulacrum of the Indian’s past modes and traditions.

In many ways, Indian City complimented what the Indian organizers of the Exposition were doing, except Indian City operated on a year-round basis and was managed primarily by non-Indians. For many years it could be described as a grand success. However, the public's fascination with the attraction eventually began to wane, just as it did for the Exposition; and, in 2003, Indian City U.S.A. was but a vestige of its former self; and, by 2005, the whole endeavor was put up for sale.

To reiterate, the thrust of this chapter has centered on three key points: First, the mediation of assimilation agendas by Indian households pressured to lay aside their longstanding cultural traditions in exchange for proper citizenship patterned after white society's rules; Secondly, how American Indian Exposition organizers inverted the symbolic meaning of white stereotyped images of Indians to publicize and successfully promote the first all-Indian managed cultural arts fair; and, Third, the emergence of other, non-Indian organized tourist venues capitalizing on Anadarko's Indian culture. Clearly, members of Anadarko's Indian communities were desirous of pursuing their rights to self-governance and self-expression. By founding and chartering the annual American Indian Exposition I have suggested that they chose to follow a different path, rather than the one promulgated by Indian agents and mandated by the government's bureaucratic programs. It was a decision of their own fashioning that blended old and new traditions. I have attempted to show, however briefly, that under the auspices of the early years of the Exposition, Indian farmers and members of home economics clubs were provided a supportive public forum that permitted a wide latitude of creative and expressive freedom at a time when local Indians were testing the boundaries of their recently won civil rights.

I have argued that as the Exposition enterprise grew more popular, its organizers utilized images, discourse, and cultural performances to change, shape, and in some instances reinforce non-Indians' attitudes about American Indians generally, and Anadarko's Indians more specifically. At every turn, place and context were alluded to, referenced or emphasized.

Similarly, I have suggested that the usage of caricatures by Expo officials to promote the Indian Fair can be interpreted as a form of symbolic appropriation. Whether or not its organizers were conscious of inverting cultural stereotypes, the same series of images have been utilized year after year because they have enhanced the popularity and commercial success of the American Indian Exposition. Returning once more to Hill (1996, 114), he asserts that: "Nearly every stereotype of Indians that exists in literature, paintings, and more popular writings, especially newspaper articles of the past, can be seen in photographs of Indians." One form of stereotyping outlined by Hill (1996, 114, 116), is worth mentioning here, because this stereotype has been employed repeatedly by Exposition organizers as well as others for promoting their particular forms of cultural tourism; that is, "The Indian as tourist prop...where the sole purpose of Indians is to verify the cultural and racial stereotypes held by the tourist-turned-photographer." Moreover, Hill claims, "the stoic or dancing Indian serves as a backdrop for the reaffirmation of the myths of literature, Hollywood, and photography" (Ibid. 116). Ultimately, questions about whether or not Indians intentionally or subconsciously designed their exhibits in the manner I have described, or knowingly inverted the symbolic meaning of stereotypic images can only be answered by them; however, it

appears that such strategies were directly or indirectly employed to enhance the viability of the attractions being offered each year to tourists visiting the region.

Before concluding, I must mention that generating interest in and awareness of American Indian cultural traditions, publicizing of the annual Exposition, and Anadarko tourism more generally, has not been the sole responsibility of the Fair's organizers. The Anadarko Chamber of Commerce and the local press has contributed, too, by answering thousands of prospective visitors' letters, initiating booster campaigns and by publishing full length articles, photographs or illustrations featuring American Indian history, art and culture. Such promotion has served to champion the Exposition's cause, while at the same time strengthening Anadarko's standing as one of Oklahoma's most important tourist destinations. Even so, these campaigns have sometimes been interpreted by Exposition organizers as efforts by non-Indians to wrest control of the Indian Fair, or to capitalize on the Exposition's substantial popularity merely for the sake of enhancing the economic prosperity of area businessmen. This has, at times, exacerbated existing tensions between supporters, Indians and non-Indians alike, and tested the patience of the Fair's organizers.

Yet, the American Indian Exposition has flourished, and has held on to its unique status over the years. While it is true that the Indian Fair's zenith of popularity, its record-breaking crowds, and national acclaim is now past, it will always remain the first all Indian organized and managed event of its kind in the world. Indeed, my Comanche, Kiowa and Cheyenne consultants have expressed that the Indian Exposition is the

venerable elder and honorable grandmother of all other comparable venues. Its dance arena and campgrounds have been the locus of countless contests, stories, songs, and experiences. For seventy-five years families and visitors have returned each summer to share their fellowship with one another and to witness some of the most extraordinary public presentations of Plains Indian cultural traditions. Ultimately, the town of Anadarko and all who have ever attended the Exposition are in debt to the original founders, Maurice Bedoka, Lewis Ware, Jasper Saunkeah and Parker McKenzie who knew they had a good thing going when they created the American Indian Exposition.

While conducting research for this study I was constantly reminded of a number potential topics that could be pursued. It is clear that Anadarko has a rich history, and represents a diverse mix of Native American populations that have played an instrumental leadership role in its national recognition and its cultural and economic prosperity. In as much as history is the collective product of human endeavors, there are those whose contributions make a good story worth telling. For instance, the life histories of several 20<sup>th</sup> century Anadarko Indians would offer important insight regarding their abilities for navigating productive lives lived in two worlds, that of being an American Indian, and that of succeeding in the dominant society's world. Interesting considerations for such biographical treatments include: Parker McKenzie, known for his unquenchable passion for researching Kiowa language and history; Leonard Cozad Sr., concerning his music and service at the drum; Robert Goombi, Sr., notable for being the longest serving Exposition president in its history, as well as a highly respected Kiowa tribal leader; similarly, Anadarko Indian artists like Monroe Tsatoke, Big Bow, Mac

Whitehorse, and Van Flores with others would be well received. Too little attention, I suggest, has been placed on individuals such as these, who have spent their lives working on behalf of their fellow Indian peoples living in or nearby Anadarko.

So, too, a further investigation of topics introduced in this dissertation merit a fuller treatment. For instance, a semiotic analysis of the pageant discourse (scripts) could provide an interesting topic of research; likewise, an in-depth study of the development, history and significance of Indian City, as well as the Southern Plains Museum and Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, especially with respect to cultural tourism of the region, might prove worthwhile, especially if treated as a comparative study. Perhaps a thesis topic could be developed focusing on the history of the Anadarko Indian Agency in relation to U. S. Indian policy. Lastly, research is needed that centers on the anthropology of American Indian tourist venues—i.e., how certain aspects of popular and traditional culture of the region have been reified in the course of Anadarko's participation in the cultural tourism market. Discoveries, insights and conclusions to be gained by such avenues of research could inform or generate new studies concerning other locales, individuals, or venues.

It was alluded to in Chapter Five that the American Indian Exposition's longevity over more than seven decades is all the more amazing considering that its perennial success became much more tenuous and difficult to sustain after the Bicentennial celebrations in 1976. Indeed, it is readily evident after reading the archive of newspaper accounts that the Exposition has been enduring persistent and vexing challenges from its very



inception. It is my studied opinion that many of the problems encountered by the enterprise over the course of its long existence need not have been. This is particularly the case regarding the Exposition's financial stability. Had both sides of the cultural tourism equation (Anadarko businessmen and the Exposition organizers) been more amicable concerning working together, instead of oftentimes working toward opposite goals, a different assessment might be possible now, in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and with the Expo approaching its eightieth anniversary. Still, it must be remembered that significant forces responsible for fueling changes in attitudes or contributing to the diminishing reciprocity between partnering groups can be situated, though in disproportionate and different ways, within and without both local Indian and non-Indian communities. To a certain degree, all parties, Indian and non-Indian, bear some portion of responsibility for the Exposition's current state.

A closer scrutiny of the period beginning in the late 1920s and early 1930s when the Exposition emerges out of Frank Rush's Craterville Park Indian Fair, compared and contrasted with post-bicentennial reactions when Oklahoma's newest American Indian tourism spectacle, Red Earth, hosted by Oklahoma City, emerged during the latter part of the 1980's, has served to illuminate the shifting levels of support for the Exposition across its seventy-six plus year history. While current (2003-2005) alliances are clearly divided, Red Earth has unquestionably achieved national prominence, surpassing Anadarko's American Indian Exposition in its ascendancy. Since the mid-1990s Red Earth has been hailed and recognized as the state's premier Native American cultural event.

Unlike the Anadarko Indian Fair, Red Earth attracts more Indian participants (dance contestants) and nationally acclaimed Indian artisans. Likewise, it is better funded, pays higher dance contest and artist premiums, is perceived as being more sophisticated, and currently caters to a disproportionately affluent white clientele, though as Sammy Tonekei White has observed, this audience now includes many American Indian spectators.<sup>7</sup> Depending on whom you talk to, the Anadarko Exposition presently falls well short in all these categories when compared with the annual Red Earth festival. Yet, American Indian Exposition organizers, participants and supporters return each year to affirm its continuing importance. While Red Earth cannot be wholly blamed for the Exposition's decline, its rise in statewide, then, nationwide popularity as a "must see" cultural event is a contributing factor that is not to be ignored. Lastly, Red Earth's rapid rise in significance as a national tourist venue in the 1980s and 1990s stands in sharp contrast to the slow spiraling decline from local, regional and national appreciation and participation that has come to characterize the American Indian Exposition's fate during these same span of years.

Moreover, economic success for both Indian organizers and white businesses in Anadarko is inextricably linked with the emergence of tourism as the 'Holy Grail' for local enterprises. When I began this project the reason seemed clear: As non-Indian interest in and popularity for the Exposition grew, there resulted an increasing influx of tourists with hungry appetites for all things Indian; and, tourists readily spent their dollars to satisfy that craving. Subsequently, support by the Anadarko Chamber of Commerce and local business leaders redoubled once these non-Indian citizens began acknowledging

the Exposition's demonstrated potential for generating local tourism and the economic infusion accompanying it. However, and this is important, Anadarko's support (civil, financial and political) was inconsistent, mercurial, and always conditional. Historically, there has been an implied conditionality imposed on the Exposition organization. That is, before the quality, quantity and type of support necessary for the Expo's success was to be disbursed by local businessmen, civil authorities, and local residents, the Exposition's elected officials were often required to satisfy unrealistic demands. If these were met, funding of all sorts would be forthcoming. This is easily discerned by a careful and thorough study of the newspaper archive. In many ways, this mirrors the approach Indian agents employed in earlier years when Anadarko was but an agency.

To be fair, my research has also revealed that newspaper editors and reporters did their civic duty by presenting publicity meant to maximize the American Indian Exposition's attraction for tourists willing to spend their dollars in Anadarko. It is true, too, that in some years their media coverage of the Exposition fell short of the mark; however, in the broad context of the Exposition's history, the media was and still remains the Exposition's steadfast friend. The local press and its reporters have routinely been critical of non-Indians' lack of support when, had that support been forthcoming, Anadarko, the Exposition, and all the region's residents and related tourist enterprises would have reaped the benefits of an ever growing cultural tourism boom. This revelation regarding the critical importance of non-Indian support for the American Indian Exposition, if it were to truly succeed, seems irrefutable. My assessment is based on the following rhetorical question concerning mutual goals: Wouldn't everyone

involved, Indians and non-Indians alike, reap the dividends assured by cultural tourism, if they only maintained a consistent and reciprocal partnership? If the efforts by non-Indian businesses boosting the annual Exposition were successful, would not Indians prosper as well?

While the answer to these questions perhaps should be yes, such equity or parity was not automatically assured, was not always possible, and was not necessarily the outcome in any given year of the Fair. Admittedly, the assessment presented here might appear biased to some readers. I will accept that criticism, with this caveat: Whatever the motivating factors were, it is my assertion that long-standing tensions between Indians and whites, attitudes whites held about Indians generally, and the hegemony of the dominant culture imposed on Indian traditional cultural practices from the agency's establishment, did in fact color the motives of local businesses, and influenced as well, the tenor of the press, thereby, helping perpetuate long-standing perceptions and attitudes concerning American Indians.

However, as stated above, criticism cannot nor should it be directed only towards non-Indians. The Exposition's organizers inability to partner exquisitely with local white businesses, and the Expo's slow spiral of decline, as evidenced during the post bicentennial years, can also be attributed, in part, to intensified intrapersonal and intertribal tensions. A close reading of letters, editorials and articles published in the *Anadarko Daily News* during consecutive years of the Exposition's history, reveal that a more cohesive camaraderie between individual Indians vying for leadership positions

predominated in the Expo's earlier years; and, in contrast, during the event's past two decades, a noticeably more divisive, or at minimum, contentious mood has prevailed between contenders for elected executive offices and positions on the Board of Directors as representatives of the participating tribes.

Even so, despite these occasional internal struggles, officiating board members representing the participating tribal populations have managed to prevent a total collapse of the annual Exposition from occurring in any given season. So why has the Exposition continued to decline in prominence over the last several years? I suggest the answer is as follows: During occasional periods of interpersonal and intertribal tension, it has been a combination of economic pressures and constraints, intensified by the unsupportive attitudes of whites towards Indians, and the emergence of better financed competing venues like Red Earth, and not strained relations between Indians that are the most significant causes for diminishing tourism dollars in Anadarko's coffers. Dollars and tourists, then, once the boon fix for Anadarko's regional economy, began drying up after the mid 1980s; and, the truth is that tourist revenue, once enjoyed by many local businesses, has slowed to a mere trickle and is now being spent elsewhere in the state.

It was, as I have suggested elsewhere, the intrinsic marginalization of Indians by whites that produced the kinds of tensions sparking the initial quest by Anadarko Indians to formally organize and manage their own event. From the very beginning, the odds for success were not in the Indians' favor. Even so, something inspired them to act. What did they hope to achieve through their collective efforts? Unfortunately, those early

founders who could tell are now gone. The answers to questions concerning their motives are forever clouded by the passage of time; and, their voices are but whispers among the generations who have taken their place. This makes living participants' stories all the more critical to any comprehensive history about the Exposition. It is these current participants' stories, and their own recollections and anecdotes that carry the original founders' ideas and notions about the Indian Fair to the present. Thus, reporting what their own personal participation across the years has meant to them can provide critical insight regarding not just their own involvement, but their forbearers as well.

All of the original founders of the American Indian Exposition are now gone. However, their legacies live on through their families and in their communities; moreover, they are renewed with each successive year's Exposition. Members of so many different families still return to Anadarko each summer to camp, dance, and reconnect with old friends, to enjoy one another's fellowship. What is it about this annual event that sustains such long-lived participation? As Sammy Tonekei White told me in September 2005, the answer is one word: "Fellowship."<sup>8</sup> This time of fellowship and reunion is the sustaining force that helps signify the individual's or family's sense of belonging, their sense of being an American Indian, and their connection to place. We non-Indian observers and supporters of Indian culture and tradition, even as outsiders, can easily discern the importance of constancy for three generations of Exposition campers, dancers, exhibitors, artists, and musicians. While some older Indians have lamented that the times are changing, and perhaps not as good as in the past, the majority of the people I have talked with are in agreement that the perpetuation of fellowship is

reaffirmed every season when new members of the younger generations of Native Americans are brought into the Exposition's circle of relationships connecting individuals with their families and friends for the first time.

Even though many of the wonderful stories associated with the early days of the Indian are now gone forever, there remain individuals who do remember, who still hold memories of their relatives' participating in and contributing to the Indian Exposition's success; moreover, they are Indians who willingly and earnestly strive to pass on the legacy of notable dancers, to recite the honors and deeds of their tribal princesses, to recall the eloquent oratory and colorful excitement of each year's parades and pageantry. In doing so, they inspire the generations now competing or with aspirations to participate in their tribe's cultural traditions. For how many more years the American Indian Exposition will continue to offer its annual reunion festivities and ceremonies is uncertain. However, there is always hope. Recently I received emails from two Exposition officials with whom I worked and visited with between 2003 and 2006. One is the former Kiowa Director Tracy Gabehart, and Gladys Nowlin, the former Arapaho Director. Each of them reported to me that as of the most recent election (2008), all the winning candidates for Executive office were women. It is the first time in the Exposition's long history that this has occurred, and can be looked at as an historical accomplishment. It is hoped that under the able guidance and leadership of these mothers and grandmothers, that the American Indian Exposition will continue to provide its greatest gift, the opportunity for fellowship amongst friends and families.

## NOTES CHAPTER SEVEN

1. James Auchiah's words are quoted in an Internet document written about the famous Kiowa Five artists. N. W. Hager, Melton Art Reference Library Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, wrote the brief biographical sketch in which Auchiah is quoted. The document can be accessed via the Internet at [www.fineartstrader.com/kiowa\\_five.htm](http://www.fineartstrader.com/kiowa_five.htm)
2. The author first presented these ideas in two papers, in slightly different form. The most recent paper titled "The Art of Persuasion: Using Images for Marketing Plains Indian Culture to White Audiences at the American Indian Exposition, Anadarko, Oklahoma 1932-2006," was presented as part of a series of lectures hosted by the Leroy V. Good Library, Monroe Community College at Rochester, New York on February 29, 2008.
3. District and county fairs provided one such avenue for acculturation. For instance, Circular No. 1079, a Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs policy document, was sent by then Commissioner Cato Sells on January 26, 1916 to all Indian Superintendents. It exemplifies just the sort of long-standing bureaucratic pressure that could and was levied on Oklahoma's Indian peoples. In this circular, the commissioner wrote: "'I feel that the possibilities of Indian fairs as a potent factor in the industrial progress of the Indians have just begun to be realized.'" Sells went on to direct the following: "I understand that at some of the fairs the exhibits are contributed by a comparatively small number of the more intelligent and progressive Indians, in proportion to the whole number farming." Every effort should be made he wrote, "to make the fairs more representative of the industrial accomplishments of all the Indians." However, the Commissioner also made it clear that, "previous instructions limiting the fair to three days, prohibiting the old-time dancing entirely, and restricting the horse races, if any, to two each day" were still to be enforced. (See: Letter Press Books, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Darlington CCA 49 Cheyenne and Arapaho Fairs 1916-1918, 1919-1932. Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City).
4. See: Hill, Rick. "High-Speed Film Captures the Vanishing American, in Living Color." *American Indian Culture And Research Journal* 20, no. 3 (1996): 111-28.
5. See: N. W. Hager, Melton Art Reference Library Oklahoma City, Oklahoma for a brief biographical sketch about the famous Kiowa Five artists. The document can be accessed via the Internet at [www.fineartstrader.com/kiowa\\_five.htm](http://www.fineartstrader.com/kiowa_five.htm)
6. See: Chapter One for more information about the Tonkawa Hills and the massacre that occurred there or nearby. I suggest that Indian City's location is not coincidental, and that place and context associated with the location are part of the mystique conveyed by the tourist attraction.
7. Author's fieldwork notes 2005.
8. Author's fieldwork notes 2003-2005. While I have attributed this statement to Sammy Tonekei White, several other people have mentioned the exact same word, including Dorothy Whitehorse, Bea Saupitty, and Dixon Palmer and others.



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## APPENDIX I

### AMERICAN INDIAN EXPOSITION EPHEMERA

Material contained in this appendix is grouped as Exposition related ephemera. The category, ephemera, is interpreted in the broadest possible sense and includes among other things, a transcription of the American Indian Exposition Constitution and By-Laws; a chronology of dance and arts and crafts winners; and, any information, data, or material that did not appropriately fit in Appendix II or III.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN EXPOSITION

##### PREAMBLE

We, the Indian tribes of Oklahoma, listed in Article IV, Section I, hereunder, in order to establish a more responsible Organization, promote the general welfare of all Indians, revive and perpetuate Indian arts and crafts, do hereby ordain and establish this Constitution for the American Indian Exposition, incorporated under the laws of the State of Oklahoma.

##### ARTICLE I

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be "American Indian Exposition."

##### ARTICLE II

Section 1. The headquarters of this organization shall be at Anadarko, County of Caddo, Oklahoma.

##### ARTICLE III

Section 1. The purpose of this organization, in order to achieve its objectives as set forth in the foregoing Preamble, shall sponsor an annual Indian Exposition and other activities pertinent thereto, and which shall be within the corporate limits.

Section 2. The American Indian Exposition shall be a non-profit organization, and funds and property derived from any of its activities, by gift, bequest or other wise, shall be used exclusively for its operation, improvement and enlargement of its activities.

##### ARTICLE IV

Section 1. Tribal ownership of this Organization shall be confined to the following tribes of Indians in Oklahoma: Apache, Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita, Caddo, Delaware, Fort Sill Apache, Osage, Pawnee, Otoe, Arapaho and Cheyenne. Other Indian tribes may be accorded honorary tribal membership in a manner as may be designated in the By-laws or as may be ruled upon by the Executive Board of this organization after approval of such membership by the recognized tribal council of such tribe or other duly constituted governing body. To date, these honorary members include the Ponca, Iowa and Sac & Fox Tribes of Oklahoma.

Section 2. Tribal representation in this organization shall be by one member on the Directors Board, as hereinafter set forth.

## ARTICLE V

- Section 1. Officers shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Treasurer and Secretary.
- Section 2. The Board of Directors shall consist of one representative from each tribe.
- Section 3. The Officers and Board of Directors shall constitute the Executive Board.
- Section 4. All elected Officers and Directors shall be members in good standing with their representative tribes.

## ARTICLE VI

- Section 1. Election of Officers and Directors shall be held every three years on Saturday, prior to the opening date of annual events sponsored by this Organization.
- Section 2. Officers and Directors shall serve for the term of three years, which term shall begin on the first day of the year following the time of election.
- Section 3. The Executive Board shall prescribe the rules and regulations governing all elections.
- Section 4. The Executive Board shall certify to the election of the officers and directors within 10 days after the election, and such certification, together with the minutes, shall be furnished to each of them.
- Section 5. Any Indian who has reached the age of 18 years and who belongs to a member tribe, shall be eligible to vote. Member tribe shall be defined as set forth in Article IV, Section 1, or as qualified in Article IV, Section 2. Said election shall be by a secret ballot.

## ARTICLE VII

- Section 1. If a member of the Executive Board shall die, resign, or be removed from office, said Board shall declare the position vacant and appoint a successor to fill such vacancy for the remainder of the term of office.
- Section 2. Any member of the Executive Board who is found guilty of improper conduct or neglect of duty, or is physically unfit to properly discharge his duties, or who shall absent himself from three (3) regular meetings, shall be expelled or removed from said Board by a two-thirds vote of the membership; provided, however, the accused shall be notified in writing of the charges against him and provided further, that the accused shall be given the privilege of reinstatement upon proof that such charges were insufficient to cause expulsion or removal, such answers to such charges shall be filed by the accused with the President within ten days after notice of removal or expulsion.

## ARTICLE VIII

- Section 1. The executive Board shall maintain accurate and complete accounts of all financial transactions of the organization, and shall furnish an annual statement through the President and Treasurer.
- Section 2. The Treasurer shall be the custodian of all monies which shall come under the jurisdiction or control of the Executive Board. He shall pay out in accordance with the orders and resolution of

the executive Board and no disbursement shall be made without his approval and the signature, counter-signed by the President. He shall keep accounts of all receipts and disbursements and shall make a written report of the same to the executive Board as is required. The President and Treasurer each shall be bonded in such an amount as may be designated by the Executive Board.

Section 3. The Board of Directors shall direct that an audit be made of the Books at a time no later than 60 days after the close of the annual Exposition, and the results of said audit shall be printed and made available for public use and such audit shall be made available to the President.

Section 4. The executive Board shall have the power subject to any limitations imposed by statutes directly regulating this organization.

- a. To regulate all activities of this organization consistent with the Constitution.
- b. To employ legal counsel for the protection and advancement of rights of the American Indian Exposition.
- c. To negotiate, advise and consult with any person, group or organization on behalf of the American Indian Exposition.
- d. To approve or veto any sale, disposition, lease or encumbrance of any property or the American Indian Exposition.
- e. To create and maintain a general fund by accepting grants or donations from any person, organization, state and United States,
- f. To adopt resolutions or ordinances to effectuate any of the foregoing powers.

Section 5. The Executive Board may exercise such further powers as may be granted through change of statutes.

Section 6. Any rights or powers heretofore vested in this organization and Executive Board, but not expressly referred to in this Constitution, shall not be abridged by this article but may be exercised through the adoption of the appropriate By-Laws and Constitutional Amendment.

#### ARTICLE IX

Section 1. Once each year, prior to the annual Exposition, the exact time to be determined by the Executive Board, each member of the Board may select or elect an Indian maiden to represent his or her tribe as Princess at the American Indian Exposition. To qualify as a candidate for the selection as an Indian Princess, the candidate must be of the age of 16 years and have the status of never having been married. Other qualifications for the candidate of Indian Princess may be set at the discretion of the executive Board by majority vote.

#### ARTICLE X

Section 1. This Constitution and By-Laws may be amended by a majority vote of the qualified voters of the American Indian Exposition; but no amendment shall become effective until approved by the Executive Board. It shall be the duty of the President of this organization to call an election on any proposed amendment at the request of two-thirds of the Executive Board, or upon a petition being filed with the President containing no less than 100 signatures of the qualified voter members of the American Indian Exposition.

## **ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION**

BE IT KNOWN, that the undersigned citizens of the State of Oklahoma do hereby voluntarily associate ourselves together for the purpose of forming a private Corporation under the laws of the State of Oklahoma and do hereby certify

FIRST, that the name of this Corporation shall be "American Indian Exposition" (whose membership is to be composed of Indians or persons of Indian descent as described in Article IV).

SECOND, that the purpose for which this Corporation is formed is to promote and hold an Indian fair and exposition to encourage agricultural and industrial pursuits, stock and poultry raising, and to perpetuate Indian arts and crafts among its membership.

THIRD, that the place where its principle business is to be transacted shall be at Anadarko, Oklahoma, with branch offices as designated by the executive Board.

FOURTH, that the term for which the Corporation is to exist is to be perpetual.

FIFTH, the number of Directors or Trustees of this Corporation shall be eleven (11).

SIXTH, that the amount of capital stock of this Corporation shall be: none. (There shall not be any capital stock issued in the Corporation for the reason that it is formed for education, benevolent and scientific purposes; that is a non-profit organization).

Certificate of incorporation to be issued subject to the following constitutional requirements: That the Corporation to which it is issued will submit any difference it may have with employees, with reference to labor, to arbitration, as shall be provided by law.

## **BYLAWS OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN EXPOSITION**

### **ARTICLE I. OFFICERS/DUTIES**

Section 1. The officers of the American Indian Exposition will be designated as:

- A. President
- B. Vice-President
- C. Secretary
- D. Treasurer

Section 2. The President will preside at all meetings of the menial functions of the Exposition. He or she will have general supervision of the affairs of the American Indian exposition and will perform all duties appertaining to the office of President.

Section 3. The Vice-President in the absence of the President, the Vice-President will perform the duties of that office. In the case of vacancy, the Vice-President will succeed at once to the office of the President until a President is regularly selected.

Section 4. The Secretary will record correctly all the proceedings of all meetings of the American Indian Exposition. In the case of vacancy of the President and Vice-President the Secretary will conduct the American Indian Exposition meetings. He or she will issue notices of all meetings and conduct all general correspondence as directed.

Section 5. The Treasurer will receive all monies of the American Indian Exposition and keep accurate account and will disburse said funds only upon orders of the Executive Board of the American Indian Exposition. All such monies disbursed by the Treasurer are to be countersigned by the President or Vice-President.

At all duly authorized regular meetings or special meetings, the Treasurer will present a full account of all expenditures, accounts receivables and payables.

## ARTICLE II MEETINGS

Section 1. That special meetings may be called by the President at his or her discretion or will be called by him within two weeks after receiving written request by certified mail, by at least five members of the American Indian Exposition.

Section 2. If the President does not respond after two consecutive requests, unless excused due to illness or other causes for which he or she cannot be held responsible, he or she will be in direct violation of the bylaws and will be dismissed from office by a majority vote.

## ARTICLE III MISCONDUCT OF AN OFFICER OR BOARD MEMBER

Section 1. Misconduct is defined as:

- A. Excessive improper behavior as public intoxication and/or drug abuse
- B. Obscene actions or activities
- C. Mismanagement of duties and responsibilities
- D. Intentional wrong doing
- E. Deliberate violation of Law or Standards and all other actions resulting in adverse or unfavorable publicity
- F. Violation of the Constitution

Section 2. The American Indian Exposition will use these same definitions to determine misconduct.

Section 3. Removal of an Officer/Board member

- A. If an officer/board member is suspected to be in violation at an authorized meeting. After which the majority vote will determine the final decision.

**OFFICIAL AMERICAN INDIAN EXPOSITION BAND**  
(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 5 N0. 198; Vol. 73, No. 257)

For both the 1933 and 1934 Indian Fairs, Phil Cato's Band provided afternoon and evening musical entertainment for fair-goers. His band received high praise. A list of some members performing in Cato's band follows:

**Phil Cato, director; Marcelus Bradshaw, David Woodward, Floyd Kiefer, Anthony Saruba, McBritain Edwards, and Norton (Where-do-we-eat) Lawton; also, Crus McDaniels, Concho; Tully and Bill Morrison, Mountain View; George Beaver, and Charles Williams, Fort Cobb; Jake Wyatt, Robert Waitsox, E. W. Gallaher, Chamber W. Prickett, Frank Keotah, Buddy McCown, Jackson McClain and T. Toyboy, Anadarko; James Beaver, Binger; David Frizzlehead, Apache; Joe Asah, Clinton; Phil Caley and Linn Pauwatty, Carnegie; and Jackson Redbird, Mount Scott.**

For several of its later early years the Exposition boasted of having an official band whose members marched in the annual parade and provided musical entertainment during the afternoon and evening programs. Some of its early members were as follows:

**Charles Williams, Jones Beaver, George Beaver, Mark Sadongel, Steve Tahome, T. C. Prickett, Wesley Gallaher and Samuel Brown Wilson.**

**OUTSTANDING INDIAN OF THE YEAR RECIPIENTS**

1951 Jim Thorpe  
1952 Elizabeth Roe Cloud  
1953 Allie Reynolds  
1954 Johnston Murray  
1955 Helen L. Peterson  
1956 Fred H. Massey  
1957 Joseph R. Garry  
1958 Acee Blue Eagle  
1959 Harry J. W. Belvin  
1960 Will Rodgers, Jr.  
1961 W. W. Keeler  
1962 Maria Tallchief  
1963 Oral Roberts  
1964 N. B. Johnson  
1965 Mrs. Fred (La Donna) Harris  
1966 Robert L. Bennett  
1967 Roy Rodgers  
1968 Dale Robertson  
1969 N. Scott Momaday  
1970 Orville Moody  
1971 Wilma Victor  
1972 Dr. George Blue Spruce  
1973 Lewis Ballard  
1974 Bill Willis  
1975 Billy Thundercloud



1976 Former Indians of the Year Title Holders (Bicentennial program change by Expo Board)  
1977 Jay Silverheels  
1978 Will Sampson  
1979 Joe Exendine  
1980 Peter McDonald  
1981 Willie Nelson  
1982 Ray Tracey  
1983 Billy Mills  
1984 Iron Eyes Cody  
1985 Crystal Gayle  
1986 Claude Akins  
1987 Willie Nelson  
1988 Leander Eckiwardah  
1989 Mildred Cleghorn  
1990 Kit Fox  
1991 Janet Saupitty  
1992 Nathan Chasing Horse  
1993 Larry Echohawk  
1994 Enoch Kelly Haney  
1995 Kelvin Sampson  
1996 Dr. Everett Rhoades  
1997 Barbara Warner  
1998 Walter E. Lamar  
1999 Leonard Cozad, Sr. (Googhoul–Thaye / Red Wolf)  
2000 Inman Gloyde Gooday, Sr.  
2001 Lorena K. DeRoin  
2002 Nelson BigBow  
2003 Yvonne Monetathchi  
2004 Buntin Williams  
2005 Grace LoneBear Tsonetokoy

#### **CELEBRITY INDIAN OF THE YEAR RECIPIENTS**

1988 Timothy Bottoms  
1989 Johnny Westmorland (Special Guest)  
1990 Eddie Little Sky  
1991 Rodney A. Grant  
1992 Michael Horse  
1993 (None)  
1994 William Lee Golden  
1995 Elaine Miles  
1996 Litefoot  
1997 Kristy Lee Boyd  
1998 Branscombe Richmond (Steve Reeves)  
1999 Pato Hoffman  
2000 Floyd Red Crow Westerman  
2001 Maree Cheatham  
2002 Judy Ann Herrera  
2003 Roger Willie  
2004 Irene Bedard  
2005 Michael Spears

**TYPICAL PARADE LINEUP – August 11, 1956**  
**(Order in Parade Determined by Drawn Lots)**

**Section One**

1. Colors – United States Marines
2. American Indian Exposition Band
3. American Indian Exposition Officials
4. Dignitaries – State & Federal Officials
5. American War Mothers
6. American Legion Float
7. Comanche Princess
8. Women in Buckskin
9. Men in Costume
10. Other Comanche Floats
11. Kiowa Princess
12. Women in Buckskin
13. Men in Costume
14. Other Kiowa Floats
15. Indian Travois – Homer Buffalo
16. Sha-kot-gi Thlinget from Alaska “Little Mountain Root”
17. Kiowa-Apache Princess
18. Women in Buckskin
19. Men in Costume
20. Other Kiowa-Apache Floats
21. Christian Center Float
22. Jemez Pueblo Dance Troop

**Section Two**

23. Ute Indians
24. Pawnee Princess
25. Women in Buckskin
26. Men in Costume
27. Other Pawnee Floats
28. Navajo Troop
29. Delaware Princess
30. Women in Costume
31. Men in Costume
32. Other Delaware Floats
33. Visiting Indians, Out of State Indians
34. Caddo Princess
35. Women in Costume
36. Men in Costume
37. Other Caddo Floats
38. Indian City U.S.A.
39. Anadarko Band
40. Osage Princess
41. Women in Costume
42. Men in Costume
43. Other Osage Floats

**Section Three**

44. Wagon Drawn by Ox Team
45. Otoe Princess
46. Women in Costume
47. Men in Costume
48. Quapaw Princess

49. Cheyenne Princess
50. Women in Buckskin
51. Men in Costume
52. Seminole Nation Princess
53. Creek Indian Princess
54. Creek Indian [Stick] Ball Club
55. Other Creek Floats
56. Arapaho Princess
57. Women in Buckskin
58. Men in Costume
59. Other Arapaho Floats

**Section Four**

60. Ft. Sill Apache Princess
  61. Women in Costume
  62. Men in Costume
  63. Other Ft. Sill Apache Floats
  64. Fire Dancers
  65. Wichita Princess
  66. Men in Costume
  67. Women in Costume
  68. Other Wichita Floats
  69. Cacque – Troop 15 Dallas
  70. Mud Daubers
  71. Kickapoo Tribe
  72. Sac and Fox Tribe
  73. Indian Agency Representatives
  74. Indian School Floats
  75. Commercial Floats
- (Other units were added for a total of ninety)

**TYPICAL PARADE LINEUP – August 17, 1987**  
**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 87 No. 1)**

1. Police car
2. Honor Guard
3. Band
4. Indian of the Year
5. Exposition President
6. Exposition Vice-President
7. Exposition Secretary
8. Exposition Treasurer
9. Apache Tribal Princess and Director
10. Arapaho Tribal Princess and Director
11. Caddo Tribal Princess and Director
12. Cheyenne Tribal Princess and Director
13. Comanche Tribal Princess and Director
14. Delaware Tribal Princess and Director
15. Fort-Sill Apache Tribal Princess and Director
16. Iowa Tribal Princess and Director
17. Kiowa Tribal Princess and Director
18. Osage Tribal Princess and Director
19. Otoe Tribal Princess and Director
20. Pawnee Tribal Princess and Director

21. Ponca Tribal Princess and Director
22. Wichita Tribal Princess and Director
23. Miss Indian Oklahoma
24. Junior Miss Indian Oklahoma
25. Visiting Tribal title holders
26. Apache Tribal Group
27. Arapaho Tribal Group
28. Caddo Tribal Group
29. Cheyenne Tribal Group
30. Delaware Tribal Group
31. Fort-Sill Apache Tribal Group
32. Iowa Tribal Group
33. Kiowa Tribal Group
34. Osage Tribal Group
35. Otoe Tribal Group
36. Pawnee Tribal Group
37. Ponca Tribal Group
38. Wichita Tribal Group
39. Visiting Tribes
40. Indian Dance Groups
41. Indian Floats
42. Indian Organizations
43. Indian Health and Bureau of Indian Affairs
44. Non-Indian Organizations
45. Political Groups
46. Riding Clubs [Parade Line-up Director: Opal Hail]

**AMERICAN INDIAN EXPOSITION  
TYPICAL DANCE CONTEST RULES**

(Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century)

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Souvenir Edition August 1-2, 1998)

The rules are:

1. Junior division contestants must register Tuesday, be in grand entry and grand exit and participate Tuesday and Thursday nights in order to be eligible for the contest. No exceptions. Age limit 13-17 years.
2. Golden Age Men and Women will need to register Tuesday to be eligible to participate in the dance contest Thursday and be in grand entry and grand exit Tuesday and Thursday to be eligible for the contest. No exceptions. Age limit 55 years and over.
3. Senior Division Women will need to register Tuesday and be in two grand entries and grand exits before Saturday night to be eligible to participate in the dance contest Saturday. Age limit 18-54 years. Contestants will register in one category only! No changing of categories will be allowed once contestants registration is completed!
4. Contestants registered in a category will wear that regalia in each grand entry and exit to be eligible for the contest. (Example: Women's Buckskin category will wear a buckskin dress in all grand entries and exits.)
5. Senior Division Men must register Tuesday and participate in two grand entries and exits before Saturday night to be eligible to participate in the dance contest Saturday. Contestant will register in one category only. No changing of categories will be allowed! Age limit 18-54 years.

6. There must be a minimum of four (4) contestants in each category or the categories will be combined. Failure to participate in grand entries and exits will automatically disqualify contestant.
7. Judges will judge contestants on head, body and foot movements. Any judge having a relative in the category he/she is judging will disqualify him/her self and the dancer.
8. If any major part of a contestant's regalia breaks or drops off during the actual contest song, the contestant shall be disqualified. If a contestant misses the beat of the drum, such as overstepping, stopping too soon or stopping and starting again, the contestant shall be disqualified.
9. Prize money for all divisions will be paid Saturday night; with the exception of the Tiny Tots and Little Boys and Girls. All contestants must stay in full regalia and show their contest number in order to receive their money.
10. Protest fee is \$100 up front, cash only! The protesting must be done by the contestant only (not by friends or relatives). All decisions made by the contest committee are final.

**AMERICAN INDIAN EXPOSITION  
TYPICAL AWARD WINNER CATEGORIES**

(An Abridged and Incomplete Chronological Selection of Award Winners—Various Years)

**1933**

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 4 No. 61, 83, 84, 85)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Tribal Dance Contests held Friday – Saturday – Sunday Nights 8:30 p.m.**

Dances performed included the rabbit Dance, War dance, Shield Dance, Round Stomp and Indian two Step Dances. Performances of the Buffalo, Eagle and Feather Dances were presented, and a special attraction, the Geronimo Apache Fire Dancers from New Mexico.

**Men's Division War Dance Contest**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Steve Mopope

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jimmy Little Chief, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Archie Black Owl, Cheyenne

**Other Dancers:** Spencer Asah, Kiowa; Joe Attocknie, Comanche; Gregory Hauny, Kiowa

**Women Dancers in Buckskin:** Fay Attocknie, Ida Wearaki, and Gene Wanakado all Comanche

**Apache Fire Dancers:** Joe Poyiddle, Stecker Archita, and Mason Kawaykle

**Grand Entry Awards**

**Best Dressed Woman:** Mrs. Enoch Smokey, Kiowa

**Best Dressed Man:** Andrew Pidosofy, Comanche

**Best Dressed Maiden:** Cleo Ware, Kiowa

**Best Dressed Young Man:** Archie Black Owl, Cheyenne

**Indian Livestock Premium Awards**

**Senior Boar and Sow**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Elton Kaulaity, Kiowa

**Junior Sow pig**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Elton Kaulaity, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Matthew Motone, Kiowa

**Best Herd of Hogs**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Matthew Botone

**Best Jersey Cow:** Fred Butler, Caddo

**Grand Champion Boar:** Elton Kaulaity, Kiowa

**Grand Champion Sow:** Matthew Botone

1934

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 5 No. 195, 196; Vol. 93 No. 302)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division War Dance Contest (Prize money ranged from \$5.00 top prize to \$1.00)**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Steve Mopope

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Chester Lefthand

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** James Auchiah

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Joe Achiletta

**5<sup>th</sup> Place:** Spencer Asah

**6<sup>th</sup> Place:** Joe Attocknie

**7<sup>th</sup> Place:** Wilson Ware

**Most Beautiful Girl's Costume**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jennie Whiteskunk, Cheyenne

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Imogene Geikaunmah, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Josephine Inkinish, Caddo

**Arts and Crafts Awards**

**Traditional Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Monroe Tsatoke

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Steve Mopope

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** James Auchiah

**Traditional War Bonnets**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Big Bird Chief, Cheyenne

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kias, Cheyenne

1935

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 6 No. 2)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Tribal Dance Contests**

Kaw tribal dancers (visiting), and local Plains tribal dancers

1938

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 7, 96 No. 296)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Spencer Asah

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** (N/A)

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** (N/A)

1945

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 19, 1945)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Dixon Palmer, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lester Meat, Cheyenne

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Wilson Ware, Kiowa

**Boy's Division Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Newton Sewell, Caddo

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Scott Harrison, Arapaho  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Lee Tsatoke, Kiowa  
**Women's Senior Division Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Shalah Rice, Sac and Fox  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Arlie Geikaunmah, Kiowa  
**Girl's Division Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kay Rice, Sac and Fox-Otoe  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Dolores Rice, Sac and Fox-Otoe  
**Child's Division Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Warren Weller, Caddo (4 years old)  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jack Anquoe, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** George Todd, Cheyenne

1952

(Source: The Anadarko Tribune, Vol. 52 No. 2)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Elmer Brown, Otoe  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Raymond White Buffalo, Cheyenne  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Ted Moore, Otoe  
**Junior Division Fancy War Dance (N/A)**  
**Women's Senior Division Buckskin (N/A)**  
**Men's Straight War Dance (N/A)**  
**Women's Cloth Dance (N/A)**  
**All-Girl's Fancy War Dance Division (N/A)**  
**Women's Junior Division Buckskin (N/A)**

1955

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 90 No. 4)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Elmer Brown, Otoe  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Nick Webster, Arapaho  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Scotty Bradshaw, Osage  
**Junior Division Fancy War Dance (N/A)**  
**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Vanette Williams, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Edwina Standing Bull, Cheyenne  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Mollie Yellow Bull, Cheyenne  
**Men's Straight War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Smokey Lookout, Osage  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Otis Oberly, Osage  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sidney Moore, Otoe  
**Women's Cloth Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Gayle Cussens, Caddo  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ida Asah, Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sophia Lookout, Osage  
**Women's Feather**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Marla Brown, Delaware  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Marie Garcia, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Delores Rice, Sac and Fox  
**Women's Junior Division Buckskin (N/A)**

**1957**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 58 No. 9; Vol. 90 No. 4)**

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ted Moore, Otoe  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Johnny Moore, Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Scotty Bradshaw, Quapaw-Osage

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** William Anquoe, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** (N/A)  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jeep Wahnee, Comanche  
**Women's Senior Division Buckskin (N/A)**

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Smokey Lookout, Osage  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Alfred Oberly, Osage  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Earl Plumly, Otoe

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Marie Helen Anquoe, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Marie Moore, Otoe-Pawnee  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Nora Keyes, Otoe-Pawnee

**Girl's Feather Division**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Charlotte Hensley, Winnebago  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Vivian Big Bow, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Margaret Blackowl, Cheyenne

**Women's Junior Division Buckskin (N/A)**

**Boy's Junior Division**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** William Anquoe, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** (N/A)  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jeep Wahnee, Comanche

**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**

**Grand Award Winner:** Carl Woodring

**Traditional Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Carl Woodring  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Al Momaday  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Acee Blue Eagle  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Jimmy Anderson

**Special Category**

Winners included, Lee Tsatoke, Acee Blue Eagle, Carl Woodring, Al Momaday, Louis Shipsee

**Amateur Indian Painting**

Winners included, Don Trujillo, Tommy Virgil, D. Hollowbreast, Rosemary Waqui, Felipe Chinana, and Evangeline Goshupen.

**1959**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 61 No. 3)**

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ted Moore, Otoe



**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Nick Webster  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Warren Weller

**1960**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 61 No. 5)**

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Billy Wayne Wahnee, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Bill Koomsa, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Rusty Wahkinney, Comanche

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jeep Wahnee, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kickapoo Rice, Sac and Fox

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Gus Palmer Jr., Kiowa

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Karol Wilson, Cheyenne

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lorene Bigeagle, Cheyenne

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Alice Ann Bradshaw, Osage-Quapaw

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** (N/A)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Abe Conklin, Osage-Ponca

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Charles "Smokey" Ballard, Sac and Fox-Quapaw

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Florence Chestnut

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Mary Helen Anquoe, Osage-Quapaw

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Marian Anquoe, Kiowa

**Hoop Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** (N/A)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Morris LaDue, Sioux

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Randy "Bunny" Moore, Otoe

**Girl's Feather Dress Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** (N/A)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Margaret Blackowl, Cheyenne-Arapaho

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Susan Weaver (sp?), Caddo

**Women's Junior Division Buckskin (N/A)**

**Tiny Tots**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sandra Kramer, Wichita

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Wallace Mountain Jr., Arapaho-Comanche

**1961**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 62 No. 10, 13)**

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Tribal Dance Contest**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Comanche Tribe, War Dance

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kiowa-Apache, Blackfeet Dance

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Cheyenne

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Osage-Pawnee

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Bill Koomsa Jr., Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Elmer Brown, Otoe

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Warren Weller, Caddo  
**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Norman Kaubin, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Hank Childs, Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Chebon Dacon, Creek  
**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Vanetta Williams, Kiowa-Apache  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lorene Big Eagle, Cheyenne  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Delores Lumpmouth, Arapaho  
**Men's Straight War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Colonel Moore, Pawnee  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Amos Peweenofkit, Kiowa-Apache  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Abe Conklin, Osage-Ponca  
**Women's Cloth Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Glena Pekah, Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Pat Anquoe, Caddo-Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Suzie Blackowl, Cheyenne  
**Women's Junior Division Buckskin and Cloth**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Pamela Chibitty, Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Llyn Toyebo, Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Mary Mose, Kiowa  
**Boy's Feather Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Willard Sugar Brown, Otoe  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Gideon Bison, Sioux-Cheyenne  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Lester Edwards, Comanche  
**Girl's Feather Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Janice White Cloud, Otoe  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Eugenia Lee, Pawnee-Wichita  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Juanita Yackeyonny, Delaware-Comanche  
**Girl's Cloth and Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Janice Wilson, Cheyenne  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Cindy Berry, Kiowa-Apache  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Marthy Kaulaity, Kiowa  
**Tiny Tot Boys**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Gene Sovo, Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ted Sovo, Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Earnie Norman, Pawnee  
**Tiny Tot Girls**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Vanessa Mopope, Kiowa-Apache-Pima  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Vicki Stephenson, Wichita  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Patricia S. Nimsey, Kiowa-Apache

1963

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 63 No. 297)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Elmer Brown, Otoe  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ted Moore, Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jeep Wahnee, Comanche

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Tugger Palmer, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Willard Sugar Brown, Otoe

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Bubbie Butler, Otoe

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Bettye Bailey, Cheyenne-Arapaho

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Opal Hail, Cheyenne

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Lorene Big Eagle, Cheyenne

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Fred Maker, Osage

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Smokey Ballard, Quapaw

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Franklin Jim, Pawnee

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Rosemary Hail, Arapaho

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Pat Pahcuddy, Kiowa-Caddo

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Gloria Whitethunder, Winnebago

**Hoop Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sidney Moore Jr., Otoe

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Randy Moore, Otoe

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tommy Ware, Kiowa

**Women's Junior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jeri Toyebo, Comanche-Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Pamela Chibitty, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Olivia Hail, Cheyenne

**Tiny Tot Boys**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** (NA)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Charles Chibitty Jr., Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** (NA)

**Tiny Tot Girls**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** (NA)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Patricia Nimsey, Kiowa-Apache

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Lynn Cobb, Delaware

**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**

**Grand Award Winner:** Marleene Riding-In, Pawnee

**Traditional Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Marleen Riding-In, Pawnee

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Carl Woodring

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** C. Terry Saul

**Special Category**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Doc Tate (Nevaquoya)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Leroy Paddlety

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Spencer Two-Hatchet

**Amateur Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Lucille Cizek

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Doc Tate

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Ralph Beard

**Feather Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Mrs. Rose Pipestem—War bonnet with tail; Mrs. Margaret Lewis—War bonnet without tail

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lenn Pauahty

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Mrs. Maude Campbell

**Other:** Ceremonial feather fan and beaded gourd—Nestler Poahway

**Bead and Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Mrs. Maude Campbell—Beaded vest, Woman's buckskin dress, Men's moccasins; Mrs. Martha Thomas—Child's buckskin dress, Ladies moccasins; Lenn Pauhty—Tanned buckskin; Mrs. May Sovo—Decorated robe or buckskin;

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lenn Pauhty—Beaded vest, Men's Moccasins; Linda Poolaw—Child's buckskin dress; Mrs. Eva Botone—Woman's buckskin dress; Mrs. Rose Pipestem—Decorated robe or buckskin;

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Mrs. Evelyn Goose–Woman’s buckskin dress; Mrs. Jessie Poahway–Decorated robe or buckskin  
**Other:** Mrs. Margaret Lewis; Mrs. Winifred Littleman; Mrs. Horace Poolaw; Mrs. Louise Paddlety; Mitzi Clem; Rosella Mallory;

**Wood Carving**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Bryce Poolaw–Wooden doll; Mrs. Eva Botone–Bow and arrow

**Cloth Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Mrs. Rose Pipestem

**Needlework**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Angeline Wetselline

1964

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 64 No. 288)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men’s Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** George Smith “Woogie” Watchetaker, Comanche (fourth time to win title in Expo’s 33 year run)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Norman Kaubin, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Rusty Wahkinney, Comanche

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Tommy Ware

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Bobby Butler

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Johnny Whitecloud

**Women’s Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Lucy Hoffman, Cheyenne

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Cardine Rowwalk, Pawnee

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Opal Hail, Cheyenne

**Men’s Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Billy Wahnee, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Abe Conklin, Pawnee

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Amos Peewee, Kiowa-Apache

**Women’s Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Linda Naneto

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Caroline Hancock

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sharon Martinez

**Hoop Dance (N/A)**

**Women’s Junior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Vanesa Santos, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Debra Pahdapony, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Patricia Nimsey, Comanche

**Girls in Feathers**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Wilma Blackcow

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Gwendolyn Williams

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sandra Cramer Devilla

**Boys in Feathers**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Randy Moore

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Chiefie Butler

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Joe Conklin

1965

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 65 No. 284)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** George Smith "Woogie" Watchetaker, Comanche  
(His 5<sup>th</sup> Exposition title win—unmatched in Expo History)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Nick Webster, Arapaho

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tugger Palmer, Kiowa (His first time to compete in the senior division)

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Johnny Whitecloud, Otoe

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Gene Sovo, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Wallace Mountain Jr., Kiowa

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Opal Hail, Arapaho

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Olivia Hail, Arapaho

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Lucy Hoffman, Cheyenne

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Billy Wayne Wahnee, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Abe Conklin, Osage

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Amos Peewee, Kiowa-Apache

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Barbara Warner, Ponca

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Carol Ancock, Cheyenne

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Merle Littlechief, Comanche

**Girls in Feathers**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Wilma Charlene Pehashe, Comanche

**Women's Junior Division Buckskin (N/A)**

**Tiny Tot Boys**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jeffrey Toahty, Comanche

**Tiny Tot Girls**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jackie Anquoe, Kiowa

**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**

**Roland N. Whitehorse and Jesse Poahway—Directors**

**Grand Award Winner:**

**Traditional Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Herman Toppah, Kiowa—"Buffalo Hunt"

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Bobbie Hill, Kiowa—"Scout"

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Wolf Robe Hunt, Acoma—"Primitive Buffalo Hunt"

**Special Category**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Doc Tate, Comanche—"Buffalo Chase"

**Amateur Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** David Paddlety, Kiowa—"War Dancer"

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Clyde Otipoby, Comanche

**Crafts Winners**

Chizomana, Linda Tofpi, Wilifred Littleman, Mrs. Victor Paddlety, Mrs. Louise Paddlety, Earnest Paddlety, Horace Poolaw, Linda Poolaw, Bryce Poolaw, Margie Wood, Gay Pofpi, Cynthia Wermey, Jesse Poahway, Martha Nell Poolaw, Jane Thomas, Hattie Ako.

1968

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 68 No. 3)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Johnny Whitecloud, Otoe

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Bill Koomsa Jr., Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tugger palmer, Kiowa

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance (N/A)**

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Opal Hail, Cheyenne

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Diane Poritras, Klamath

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sharon Tsatoke, Kiowa

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kenneth Goodeagle, Pawnee-Quapaw

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Amos Pewenofkit Sr., Kiowa-Apache

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Floyd Moses, Pawnee

**Women's Cloth Dance (N/A)**

**Women's Junior Division Buckskin (N/A)**

1969

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 69 No. 2)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Johnny Whitecloud, Otoe (2<sup>nd</sup> consecutive title win)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Terry Williams, Pawnee-Arapaho

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Allen Butler, Otoe-Creek

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Bill Koomsa, Kiowa

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance (N/A)**

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Opal Hail, Cheyenne (2<sup>nd</sup> consecutive title win)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jodie Miller, Wichita-Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jonita Anquoe, Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Deborah lee Bass, Otoe

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Floyd Moses, Pawnee

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Milton (Bubba) Noel, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sidney Moore, Otoe

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Bill Blackowl, Comanche-Cheyenne

**Women's Cloth Dance (N/A)**

**Women's Junior Division Buckskin (N/A)**

1970

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 70 No. 3, 23)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Tribal Ceremonial Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kiowa Tribe

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Otoe-Missouri Tribe

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Comanche Tribe

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Osage Tribe

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Johnny Whitecloud, Otoe-Missouri (defending champion 1969, winner also in 1966 and 1968)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Airman Lyndreth (Tugger) Palmer, Kiowa (sponsored by USS Constellation CVA-64)

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Bill Koomsa Jr., Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Dixon Palmer, Kiowa (championship title winner in 1945)

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Johnette Lane, Pawnee-Osage (a 12 year-old girl)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Joe Bointy, Comanche-Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Joe Old Bear, Arapaho

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Pamela Dacon, Comanche-Sac and Fox

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Carolyn Whitecloud, Cheyenne-Arapaho

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jodi Miller, Comanche-Wichita

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Mrs. George (Eva) Watchetaker, Comanche

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ronnie Harris

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Floyd Moses

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Amos Pewenofkit

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Abe Conklin

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Deedee Green

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Mable Tsoodle

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jean Bullbear

**Junior Division Girl's Cloth**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Rita Franklin

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Paula Blackowl

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Edie Conklin

**Toddler Tot War Dance Boys**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Marcus Palmer, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Leadra Smith, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Albert Lorenz Jr., Pawnee-Wichita

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Rudy Oheltoint Jr., Kiowa

**Toddler Tot Dance Girls**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sonya Owings, Kiowa-Wichita

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Reta Sadongle, Kiowa-Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Laurie Carter, Kiowa-Caddo

1971

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 71 No. 4, 5, and 6)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sidney Moore Jr., Pawnee-Otoe

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Johnny Whitecloud, Otoe-Missouri

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Bill Koomsa Jr., Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** James Cozad, Kiowa

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Georgette Palmer, Kiowa (second consecutive year that a female wins this title)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Cricket Shields, Pawnee-Otoe-Sioux

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jackie Anquoe, Kiowa

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Carolyn Whitecloud, Arapaho-Choctaw

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Roberta Ann Whiteshield, Cheyenne

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Thomasine Moore, Osage-Sac and Fox

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Pat Nimsey, Apache  
**Men's Straight War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Floyd Moses, Pawnee  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Johnny Hughes, Otoe-Kaw  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Amos Pewenofkit, Comanche-Kiowa-Apache  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Ronnie Harris, Pawnee-Sac and Fox  
**Women's Cloth Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Margaret Blackowl, Cheyenne-Arapaho  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Dee Dee Green, Osage-Sac and Fox  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sharon Gritts, Kiowa  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Emalyne Collins, Pawnee  
**Junior Division Girl's Cloth**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kimberly Chesnah, Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Edie Conklin, Otoe-Osage-Ponca  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Liane Anquoe, Kiowa-Cherokee  
**Little Boys (ages 5-9)**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Norman Keel Jr., Pawnee-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jeffery Tohay, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Pete Moore Jr., Pawnee-Otoe  
**Little Girls (ages 5-9)**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Tracy Anne Moore, Osage-Sac and Fox  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jennifer French, Kiowa-Apache  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Connie Mae Moore, Pawnee  
**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**  
**Grand Award Winner:** Rance Hood, Comanche  
**Traditional Indian Painting**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Doc Tate Nevaquaya, Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ernie (Blue Jay) Keahbone, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sharon Ahtone Harjo, Kiowa  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Robby McMurtry Aquasa, Comanche  
**Special Category**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Don Ahdunko, Caddo-Delaware  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sharon Ahtone Harjo, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Clyde Otipoby, Comanche  
**Amateur Indian Painting**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** George Stevens, Apache  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sharon Ahtone Harjo, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Robert Paddlety, Kiowa  
**Feather Work (N/A)**  
**Bead and Buckskin (N/A)**  
**Needlework (N/A)**

1972

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 72 No. 4, 5)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Johnny Whitecloud, Otoe-Missouri (his fourth consecutive, and fifth total championship title)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Terry Williams, Otoe

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** June Sovo, Comanche

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Tommy Ware, Kiowa

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Cricket Shields, Otoe-Pawnee



**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Roscoe Conklin, Ponca-Osage-Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Larry Black, Cheyenne  
**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Amy Annette Tiger, Euchee-Delaware  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Carolyn Whitecloud, Arapaho  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Joanna Bigbow, Kiowa-Comanche  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Carrie Wilson, Quapaw  
**Men's Straight War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Amos Pewenofkit, Kiowa-Apache-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Abe Conklin, Osage-Ponca  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Kenneth Goodeagle, Pawnee-Quapaw  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Leonard Mark Anquoe, Kiowa  
**Women's Cloth Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Emalyne Collins, Pawnee  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Margaret Blackowl, Arapaho-Caddo  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Pat Nimsey, Apache-Comanche  
**Junior Division Girl's Cloth**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ida Wahnee, Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ruby Cable, Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jamie Warledo, Quapaw-Otoe  
**Little Boys**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Wade Weller, Caddo  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ray Doyebi, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Scott Curtis, Cheyenne-Navajo

1973

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 73 No. 1, 4)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Peewee Clark, Ponca  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sid Moore Jr., Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Joe Bointy, Comanche-Kiowa  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Bill Koomsa Jr., Kiowa  
**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Norman Keel Jr., Pawnee-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jeffrey Tohay, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Rosco Conklin, Ponca-Osage-Otoe  
**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Raelene Lasley, Osage-Sac and Fox  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Thomasine Moore, Osage  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Kimberley Chasenah, Comanche  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Johanna Bigbow, Kiowa-Comanche  
**Men's Straight War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jim Anquoe, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ted Moore, Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Amos Pewenofkit, Kiowa-Apache-Comanche  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Abe Conklin, Osage  
**Women's Cloth Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joe Kay Dowell, Quapaw  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Emalyne Collins, Pawnee  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Lula Jean Smith, Comanche  
**Girl's Cloth**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Shanon Cussen Freeman, Caddo  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lavena Horse, Kiowa-Apache  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tammy Conklin, Osage-Otoe  
**Women's Junior Division Buckskin** (No contest offered)  
**Little Boys**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Wade Weller, Caddo  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Steven Smith, Kiowa-Creek  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Marcus Palmer, Kiowa-Choctaw  
**Little Girls**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Tamara Anquoe, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Tracy Moore, Otoe-Osage  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Cricri Klinekole, Apache  
**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**  
**Grand Award Winner:** Sharon Ahtone Harjo, Kiowa  
**Traditional Indian Painting**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Robert Redbird  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Virginia Stroud  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Clarence Allrunner  
**Special Category-Contemporary Painting**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sharon Ahtone Harjo  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Robert Redbird  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Clara Archilta  
**Amateur Indian Painting**  
**Grand Award Winner:** Mitch Boyiddle, Kiowa  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** David Paddlety  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Gary White  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Mitch Boyiddle  
**Sculpture**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jean E. Bales  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jean E. Bales

1975

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 74 No. 258; Vol. 75 No. 1,2)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sidney Moore Jr., Otoe-Pawnee  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Joe Bointy, Comanche-Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Gee Gee Palmer, Kiowa  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Jim Kemble, Ponca-Creek

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kelly Aunquo, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jeffrey Tohay, Apache  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** James Reeder, Wichita-Caddo  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Ron Aunquo, Kiowa

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Johanna Big Bow Tsatoke, Comanche-Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Carolyn White Cloud, Cheyenne-Arapaho-Choctaw  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Barbi White Thunder, Cheyenne-Arapaho  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Patricia Hoffman, Cheyenne-Arapaho

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ronnie Harris, Sac and Fox  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Floyd Moses, Pawnee

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Donald Tosee, Comanche

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** George Shannon, Osage

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Debra Jo Childe, Otoe

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Wynema Jesepe, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Susan Arkeketa, Otoe-Creek

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Jeane Blackowl Smith, Comanche

**Girls Cloth**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Janelle Orange, Arapaho

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Tammy Boyd, Kiowa-Sac and Fox

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tracy Satepauhoodle, Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Patti Hall, Kiowa-Comanche

**Girl's Junior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kim Lonebear, Cheyenne

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Norma Black, Arapaho

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tamra Aunquo, Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Donna Shawnee, Quapaw

**Little Boys**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Rudy Oheltoint Jr., Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Marcus Palmer, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Albert Lorenz Jr., Pawnee

**Little Girls**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Fancy Freeman, Caddo

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sonja Taryole, Creek-Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sandy Harris, Ponca-Sac and Fox

**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**

**Professional Indian Painting**

**Grand Award Winner:** Doc Tate Nevaquaya, Comanche

**Amateur Indian Painting**

**Grand Award:** Elroy Randel

**1976**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 75 No. 259)**

**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**

**Grand Award Winner:** Frank Nevaquoya, Comanche

**Traditional Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** George Curtis, Cheyenne

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Blanche Wahnee, Kiowa-Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Buddy Pappio, Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Larry Hood, Comanche

**Special Categories**

**Contemporary Indian painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Frank Nevaquoya, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sharon Ahtone Harjo, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Carrie Wahnee, Comanche

**Amateur Indian Painting**

**Grand Award Winner:** Hardy Ahtone, Kiowa

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Hardy Ahtone, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** V. Tawkoyty, Kiowa-Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Max Tawkoyty, Kiowa-Comanche

**Feather Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Horace Poolaw

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Nettie Standing

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Ruby Lopez

**Bead and Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Bessie Littleman

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Winifred Littleman

**Silver Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Leonard Notah

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Leonard Notah

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Thomas Tointigh

**Wood Carving**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Horace Poolaw

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ruby Lopez

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Horace Poolaw

**Cloth Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Nettie Standing

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Nettie Standing

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Nettie Standing

**Other**

**Beadwork:** Darrell Underwood; Nettie Standing

1977

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 77 No. 3, 4)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance (N/A)**

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ron Anquoe, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jefferey Tohay, Kiowa-Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Norman Keel Jr.

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Darren Ahaitty, Kiowa

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin (N/A)**

**Women's Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Wilma Blackowl, Cheyenne-Caddo

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sandra Deer, Wichita

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Alphie Goombi, Kiowa

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Gerald Chesenah, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ronnie Harris, Sac and Fox

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Leonard Anquoe, Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Tommy Ware, Kiowa-Comanche

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Frieda Tapedo, Kiowa-Apache

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Vera White, Iowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Janice Wermey, Kiowa-Comanche

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** LaQuita Pratt, Cheyenne-Arapaho

**Girls Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Charlotte Bright Path Kill, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lucinda Reeder, Wichita

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Bonita Reeder, Wichita

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Michele Yellowfeather Tate, Comanche

**Women's Junior Division Buckskin (N/A)**

**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**

**Grand Award Winner:** Parker Boyiddle, Kiowa

**Traditional Indian Painting**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sharon Ahtone Harjo, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Barthell Little Chief, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Blanche Wahnee, Kiowa-Comanche  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Larry Hood, Comanche

**Contemporary Indian Painting**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jackie Tointigh Jr., Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Charles Wells Jr., Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Alice Souligny, Cherokee

**Special Category**

**Surrealism-abstract**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Place:** A. Monroe Tsa-toke, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Carrie Wahnee Water Bird, Comanche  
**Any Media Winners:** Rudy Batista, Kiowa; Blanche Wahnee, Kiowa-Comanche

**Amateur Indian Painting**

- Grand Award Winner:** Larry Redbone, Kiowa-Apache  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kevin Connywerdy, Kiowa-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Robert Tohay, Kiowa

**Amateur Contemporary Indian Painting**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Thompson Williams, Caddo-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kevin Kodaseet, Cheyenne-Arapaho  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Gene E. Tsa-toke, Kiowa

**Wood Carving**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ted Millert, Miami-Peoria

**1978**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 78 No. 2, 3, 4, 5)**

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joe Bointy, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** James Reeder, Wichita  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jeff Toehay, Comanche  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Terry Ware, Kiowa

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ron Anquoe, Kiowa-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Wade Weller, Caddo  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Albert Wishy LoRanche, Pawnee  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Roger Reeder, Wichita

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Carolyn Whitecloud, Arapaho-Choctaw  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Pauline Atkins, Quapaw-Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Johanna Tsatoke, Kiowa  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Kimberly Cozad, Kiowa

**Men's Straight War Dance**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Raymond Naumi Jr., Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Vance Horsechief, Pawnee  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Steven Pratt, Osage  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Tahbone, Kiowa

**Women's Cloth Dance**

- 1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Roberta Tohay, Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jodi Miller, Comanche-Wichita  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Denise Todome, Comanche

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Janice Wermey, Comanche

**Women's Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Verla Howell, Pawnee-Sioux

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** G. G. Palmer, Kiowa-Choctaw

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Marie Ware, Kiowa-Comanche

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Benetta Reeder, Wichita

**Girl's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Linda Chesnah, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Suzette Whitebuffalo, Cheyenne

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Cheryl Onco, Kiowa-Caddo

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Connie Moore, Pawnee

**Girl's Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Pam Boyd, Sac and Fox-Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lucinda Reeder, Wichita

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Charlotte Keel, Pawnee-Otoe

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Michelle Tate, Comanche

**Heavyweight Division**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Virgil Swift, Wichita

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Bubba Noel, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** George Oheltoint, Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Fred Shunkamolah, Osage

**Little Boys Contest**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Buffy Ahhaitty, Kiowa-Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Arron Beartrack, Kiowa-Cheyenne

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Christian palmer, Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Duffy Ahhaitty, Kiowa-Comanche

**Little Girl's Contest**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Stephanie Pocowhait, Kiowa-Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Tracy Kauley, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Angela Standing, Wichita-Sac and Fox

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Cindy Bitseedy, Kiowa-Apache

**Grandpa Division** (its third year as a contest category)

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Dixon Palmer, Iowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** David Paddlety, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Wilson Ahboah, Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Wayne Miller, Wichita

**Grandma Division** (first introduced as contest category this season)

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Francis Neely, Arapaho

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Opal Goodeagle, Pawnee

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Pearl Ware,

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Eva Watchetaker, Comanche

**Other: Appreciation dances:** For Leon (Buzz) Carter, Exposition President; Sallie Kaulaity; and Myles Stephenson, president-elect and Rusty Wahkinney, vice president-elect.

**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**

**Grand Award Winner:** Elgin Lamar, Wichita

**Traditional Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sharon Ahtone Harjo, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Charley Powell, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Lee Tsatoke Jr., Kiowa

**Contemporary Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Buddy Pappio, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** David New Rider, Osage

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jim Red Corn, Osage

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Dan Ahdunko, Caddo-Delaware

**Amateur Indian Painting**

**Grand Award Winner:** Tim Saupitty

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Larry Redbone, Kiowa-Apache

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kevin Konnywerdy, Kiowa-Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** William S. Moses, Wichita-Pawnee

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Coach Mithlo, Apache

**Amateur Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Delores Autaubo, Caddo

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Thompson Williams, Caddo

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** William S. Moses, Wichita-Pawnee

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Tom Poolaw, Kiowa

**Sculpture**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Frank Nevaquoyah, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jereaux Nevaquoyah, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Ted Miller, Peoria-Miami

**Ceremonial Dress**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Steve Littleman, Kiowa-Cheyenne

**Feather Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Marvin Saddleblanket, Kiowa-Apache

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** James Querdibitty, Comanche

**Beadwork**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Gladys Parton, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Darrel Underwood, Chickasaw

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Pat Mithlo, Chiricahua Apache

**Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Linda Poolaw

**Shawls**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Beatrice Saupitty, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Joyce Vinyard, Chickasaw

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Nettie Standing, Kiowa

**Silverwork**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Casey Atgen, Navajo

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Edger Atgen, Navajo

**Wood Carving**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Horace Poolaw, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ernest Hunt, Kiowa

**Cloth Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sandra Quoetone, Kiowa

**Ribbon work or appliqué**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Cynthia Wermey, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Mrs. Alice Welter, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Elsie Monroe, Comanche

**1979**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 79 o. 2, 4)**

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Indian Group Contest**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Comanche Dancers directed by Dick Nauni

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Carnegie Victory Club

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Apache Fire Dancers (Gooday family)

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Apache Fire Dancers (Watson family)

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joe Bointy, Kiowa-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** (N/A)  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** (N/A)  
**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Wishy Lorentz  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Junior Pigeon  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jon Kill  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Guy Pocowatchit  
**Women's Senior Division Buckskin (N/A)**  
**Men's Straight War Dance (N/A)**  
**Ladies' Cloth Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Nan Yellow Mule  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Donna Beaver  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Vera White  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Janice Wermey  
**Junior Girl's Cloth**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sheryl Onco  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Becky Samaunt  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Zonnie Schrock  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Lanette Asepermy  
**Junior Girl's Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** CriCri Britton  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Suzatte White Buffalo  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Lennie Dushane Pewenofkit  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Peggy Scott  
**Tiny Tot Boys (N/A)**  
**Tiny Tot Girls (N/A)**  
**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**  
**Grand Award Winner: (N/A)**  
**Traditional Indian Painting**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jackie Tointigh  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ron Anderson  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Robert Redbird  
**Special Category**  
**Watercolor/tempera**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Pappio  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sharon Harjo  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sharon Harjo  
**Graphics**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sharon Harjo  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** David Newrider  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sharon Harjo  
**Sculpture**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ted Miller  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Frank Nevaquaya  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** David Newrider  
**Amateur Indian Painting**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Thompson Williams  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Marilyn Padecony  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Yonabia Gunn  
**Youth Division Amateur Indian Painting**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jeffie Yellowhair  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Mary Horsechief  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Kevin Conneywerdy



**Bead and Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Beula Larney

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Heddy Ware

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Kathy Toehay

**Cloth Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joyce Vinyard

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Joyce Vinyard

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Joyce Vinyard

**Needlework/ Quilts**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Unice Isom

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Eva Taft

**Dolls**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Robin Capes

**1980**

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 79 No. 260; Vol. 80 No. 1, 2)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Indian Group Dance Contest**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Pawnee tribe

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Caddo tribe

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Comanche tribe

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Fort Sill Apache

**Honorable mention:** Ponca tribe

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Randy Moore

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Norman Newrider

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Darrell Wildcat

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Sidney Moore

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Wishy Lorentz

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Billy Pewo

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Donnie Kawaykla

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kim Cozad

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Thomasine Moore

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Cri-Cri Britton

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Mary Chestnut

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** George Tahbone

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Raymond Nauni

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jerry Sadongel

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Wayne Miller

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Roberta Toehay

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sharon Tsatoke Gritts

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Irene Sadongel

**Girl's Cloth**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jolynne Toehay

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kim Black

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Leslie Tsonetokoy

**Women's Junior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Unnamed (only one contender due to confusion regarding what night contest would be held)

**Young Girl's Cloth and Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Peggy Scott  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Thomasine Kaudlekauley  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Toni Miller  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Cynthia White Buffalo

**Tiny Tot Boys (N/A)**

**Tiny Tot Girls (N/A)**

**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**

**Grand Award Winner: (N/A)**

**Traditional Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** E. W. Lamar

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sharon Harjo

**Special Category Student Awards**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jeffery Yellowhair

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kevin Connywerdy

**Amateur Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Mary C. Horsechief

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lee Tsatoke

**Basketmaking**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Mavis Boering

**Bead and Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Bill Karty

**Sculpture**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ted Miller

**Pottery**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Thelma Toehay

**Cloth Work/Shawls**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joyce Vinyard

**Needlework/Quilting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Eva Taft

**Dolls**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Nettie Standing

**1981**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 81 No. 8, 10, 11)  
Exposition's 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary**

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Indian Tribal Group Dance Contest**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** The Traditional Dancers (Intertribal)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Fort Sill Apache Tribe

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Caddo Tribe

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Bill McClellan Sr., Sac and Fox-Otoe and Iowa (\$1,000 prize money and a trophy)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Joe Bointy, Kiowa-Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Randy Moore, sac and Fox-Osage

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Billy Pewo, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Dewight White Buckle, Cheyenne

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Freddie Galindo, Kiowa-Apache-Delaware

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Franda Kaubin, Kiowa (Trophy presented by Imogene Geikaunmah Carter, 1<sup>st</sup> AIE princess)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Angela Satepauhoodle, Osage-Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Mable Cozad, Kiowa

**Men's Senior Division Straight Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Floyd Moses, Pawnee

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ron Harris, Sac and Fox

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Fred Standing, Wichita

**Men's Traditional War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ray Tomahsah, Comanche-Choctaw

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ronnie Good Eagle, Comanche-Osage

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Morgan Tosee, Comanche

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Denise Tadome, Kiowa-Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jolynne Toehay, Kiowa-Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Roberta Toehay, Kiowa-Comanche

**Women's Junior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Peggy Scott, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Darryl Tap\_\_\_\_, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Pamie Tsat\_\_\_\_, Comanche

**Little Girl's Buckskin and Cloth**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Crystal Pewo, Kiowa-Apache

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lanette Aseper\_\_\_\_, Kiowa-Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** (N/A)

**Little Boys**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Gabe Morgan, Kiowa - Fred Bushyhead, Cheyenne-Sac and Fox

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Edgar Redbone, Kiowa - Aaron Beartrack, Kiowa-Cheyenne

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** J. J. Ahboah, Wichita-Kiowa - A. J. Wetselline, Apache

**Tiny Tot Girls and Boys (N/A)**

**Other:** Zuni Olla Maidens

**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**

**Grand Award Winner:** Jackie Tointigh

**Traditional Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jackie Tointigh

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Charles W. Pebeahsy

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Cruz M. Daniels

**Amateur Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jeffrey Yellowhair

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Diana Woodward

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Diana Woodward

**High School Painting Division**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Carlton B. Tanequodle

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Carlton B. Tanequodle

**3<sup>rd</sup> place:** Carlton B. Tanequodle

**Bead, Feather and Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Elaine Bear

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Joyce Vinyard

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Hattie Ware

**Honorable Mention:** Charles Pebeahsy

**Graphics**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Barbara Woodward

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Dean Ahdokobo

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Frank Nevaquoya

**Sculpture**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Charles Pebeahsy

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** William Poafpybitty

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Ted Milles

**Cloth Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Loraine Miller  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Joyce Vinyard  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Elaine Bear  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Sandra Quetone  
**Other**

**1985**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 85 No. 2)**

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Morgan Tosie (Tosee), Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Andy Vasquez, Apache  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** (N/A)

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Rudy Oheltoint Jr., Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Phillip Narcomey, Kiowa-Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Buffy Ahhaitty, Kiowa-Comanche

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Franda Kaubin, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Cherie Kaulaity, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Opal Pewenofkit, Comanche

**Junior Girl's Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kort Kaubin, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jackie Tsonetokoy, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Thomasina Kaudle Kaule, Comanche

**Men's Straight War Dance (N/A)**

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Patricia Gomez, Ponca  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Charlene Cozad, Osage  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Almeta Harris, Ponca

**Junior Girl's Division Cloth**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Darryl Tapedo, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Alicia Harvey, Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Charlotte Keel, Comanche-Ponca

**Junior Boy's Straight and Traditional Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Greg Wahwasuck, Pottawatomie (Kenneth Cozad, Kiowa-Comanche)  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** R. C. Ahtone Jr., Kiowa-Ponca (Frisco Vasquez, Shoshone)  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Conrad Bointy, Kiowa (Marvin Cha\_\_\_\_)

**1986**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 86 No. 9)**

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Randy Moore, Otoe-Pawnee-Osage  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Billy McClellan, Iowa-Sac and Fox  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Joe Bointy, Kiowa

**Men's Traditional Dance Contest**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Morgan Tosie (Tosee), Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lance Allrunner, Cheyenne-Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Vincent Longhorn, Shawnee

**Junior Boy's Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Rudy Ohiltoint Jr., Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Justin Nesahkluah, Apache  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Michael Bigman, Apache  
**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sarah Pacheko, Kiowa-Comanche-Cherokee  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Cory Standing, Sac and Fox  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jamie Franklin, Comanche-Kiowa-Sac and Fox  
**Men's Straight War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Thomas Ware, Kiowa-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Leonard Anquoe, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Ron Harris, Sac and Fox  
**Junior Boy's Straight and Traditional Contest**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Hiram Edwards, Pawnee  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Conrad Bointy, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Ronald Ahtone, Ponca  
**Women's Cloth Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Patricia Gomez, Ponca  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jerri Henson, Otoe-Kiowa-Apache  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jody Miller, Comanche-Wichita  
**Junior Girl's Cloth**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Tonya Cozad, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ronnie Ahtone, Apache  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Julia Cozad, Comanche  
**Junior Girl's Division Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jackie Tsonetokay, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Cheryl Mowatt, Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Maurine Scarborough, Mandan  
**Boys 6-11 Fancy Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jeff McClelland, Sac and Fox  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kevin Cozad, Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Kenneth Cozad, Kiowa-Comanche  
**Girls 6-11 Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Chalene Tohay, Kiowa-Osage  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Michelle Wetseline, Apache-Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Dinine Lane, Osage-Sac and Fox

1987

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 87 No. 3, 4, 8)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Indian Group Dances**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Apache Fire Dancers  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Comanche Dance Group and Chalepah Blackfeet Society (tied for second place)

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joe Bointy, Kiowa-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Don Murray, Ponca-Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Billy McClellan Sr., Iowa

**Men's Senior Division Traditional Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Morgan Tosee, Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Tony Shawnee, Shawnee-Quapaw  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Edmund Nevaquaya, Comanche-Hidatsa

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Amos Littlecrow

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jeffrey McClellan  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Kevin Paddyacker  
**Junior Boy's Division Straight and Traditional**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** H. A. Edwards  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Conrad Bointy  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Frisco Vasquez  
**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Shannon Freeman, Caddo  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Cheryl Mowatt, Apache-Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Carla Wildcat, Comanche  
**Men's Straight War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Billy Wahnee, Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ted Moore, Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Warren Weller, Caddo  
**Women's Cloth Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Lori Murray, Ponca-Otoe-Iowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Syndra Yellowfish, Osage-Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tammy McClellan, Otoe-Sac and Fox  
**Junior Girl's Division Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sally Kerchee  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jackie Tsonetokoy  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Morina Scarborough  
**Junior Girl's Division Cloth**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Tonia Cozad  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Toni Miller  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tracie Hart (Junior Miss Indian Oklahoma)  
**Girl's Buckskin Division**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Cody Chiano, Kiowa-Delaware  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Charlene Tochay, Kiowa-Osage  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Lana Whiteshirt, Osage-Arapaho  
**Girl's Cloth Division**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Emma Ahhaity, Kiowa-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lela Osceola, Seminole-Creek  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Kamaya Scarborough, Mandan  
**Boy's Division**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Elwood McClellan, Iowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** James Edwards, Pawnee-Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Spike Pratt, Osage  
**Little Girl's Division**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Mindy Wildcat, Pawnee-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Rachel Horse, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Beverlee Ahhaity, Kiowa  
**Little Boy's Division**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** David Unruh, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Wayne Longhorn II, Cheyenne-Delaware  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Howard Cozad, Kiowa-Comanche  
**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**  
**Grand Award Winner:**  
**Traditional Indian Painting**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jeffrey Yellowhair  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Wilson Spottedbird  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Wilson Spottedbird  
**Special Category Watercolor**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Raul Acosta

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sharon Ahtone Harjo

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sharon Ahtone Harjo

**Amateur Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kevin Connywardy

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Walter Cannon

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Carleton Tanequodle

**Amateur Beadwork**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Beth Giles

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Rita J. Barnhart

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Beth Giles

**Feather Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Darris Cisco

**Beadwork**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joyce Vineyard

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Hattie Ware

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Patricia Bointy

**Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Darrell Underwood

**Pencil-Charcoal**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Frank Nevaquoya

**Sculpture**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ron English

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ted Creepingbear

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Ted Creepingbear

**Cloth Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joyce Vinyard

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:**

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Ruby Lopez

**Needlework**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Grace Tsontokoy

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Hattie Ware

**Other**

Romona Wahahrockah, mixed media; E. W. Lamar; Thelma Toehay, clay; Karen Gray, quilts; Patta Joest.

**1990**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 90 No. 7, 8, 11)**

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Henry McClellan, Sac and Fox

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Dwight WhiteBuffalo, Cheyenne

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** R. G. Harris, Sac and Fox

**Men's Traditional and Grass Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kenny Shane, Crow

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Cricket Shields, Otoe-Sioux

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Gary Tomasa

**Men's Traditional and Straight**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Rod Youngman, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Bobby Pewo, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Norman Keel, Pawnee

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Janet Saupitty, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jacqueline Tsontokoy, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tammy Chasenah, Kiowa  
**Men's Straight War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Terry Tsothigh, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Joe Fish Dupoint, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Darrell Wildcat, Pawnee  
**Women's Cloth**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sondra Tate Nevaquoya, Ponca-Sac and Fox  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Patricia Yarholer, Pawnee  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Delilah Moses, Pawnee-Otoe-Ponca  
**Women's Fancy Shawl**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Pasquieta Eisenberger, Kiowa-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Tracy Moore, Osage-Sac and Fox-Otoe-Pawnee  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Lana Hamilton, Cheyenne-Kiowa  
**Women's Jingle Dress Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jennifer Alley, Navajo-Cheyenne  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Julie Noel, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Cory Standing, Iowa-Osage-Sac and Fox  
**Golden Age Men's Division**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Rudy Oheltoint, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Truman Ware, Kiowa-Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Rusty Wahkinney, Comanche  
**Golden Age Women's Division**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sylvesteen Shield, Pawnee-Otoe  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Laverne Drew, Arikara  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Naomi Svitak, Kiowa  
**Girl's Cloth**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kerrie Whitlow, Cheyenne-Arapaho  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Cookie Pratt, Osage  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Shayne Hughes, Seminole-Kaw  
**Girl's Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Cody Chiano, Kiowa-Delaware  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Michelle Wetseline, Kiowa-Apache  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Rachel Horse, Kiowa  
**Boy's Fancy Dance Contest**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joey Bointy, Kiowa-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Elwood McClellan, Iowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Thomas Ware, Kiowa-Comanche  
**Boy's Straight and Traditional Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Howard Cozad, Comanche-Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jason Pacheco, Kiowa-Sioux  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Elvis Keel, Pawnee-Comanche  
**Tiny Tot Boys**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Mike Pratt Jr., Osage  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kyle Pacheco, Comanche-Sioux  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Heston Lang, (N/A)  
**Tiny Tot Girls**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ashley Cozad, Sac and Fox-Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sienna Ramirez, Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Many Harris, Sac and Fox-Pawnee  
**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**  
**Grand Award Winner:** Mitchell Boyiddle (Peyote Fan)  
**Traditional Indian Painting**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Gary Whitdeer  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ron English



**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Gary Whitedeer

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Kevin Connywerdy

**Amateur Indian Painting**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Susan Ruckman Garland

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kevin Vinyard

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Robert Knox

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Uhduh Nauni

**Feather Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Forrest Kassanavoid (Amateur division)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Mitchell Boyiddle (Professional division)

**Bead Work**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Grace Fields

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Mitchell Boyiddle

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Beth Giles

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Hattie Wade

**Amateur Beadwork**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Morris Dyer

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Charlene Pebeashy

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jalaine Aitson

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Morina Scarborough

**Ceremonial Dress**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Terrell Tanequodle

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** La Verna Capes

**Cultural Attire Division**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** La Verna Capes

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Marian Kassanavoid

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Marian Kassanavoid

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Berdena Poolaw

**Pottery**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Thelma Toehay

**Jewelry**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Lorrain Miller

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ron English

**Sculpture**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ron English

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ron English

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Bobby Creepingbear

**Other:** Phyllis Whitecloud, amateur attire; Sandra Quotone; Betty Luana; Barry Burgess; Melissa Moore; Susan Garland; Eunice Isom; Betsy Aguilar; Lovene Ross.

**1991**

**(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 91 No. 8, 9, 10)**

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Tribal Group Contest:**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Pawnee

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kiowa

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** R. G. Stroud, Sac and Fox

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Joe Bointy, Kiowa-Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Billy McClellan, Iowa-Sac and Fox

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Dwight WhiteBuffalo, Cheyenne

**5<sup>th</sup> Place:** Mike Whitecloud, Otoe-Arapaho

**Northern Traditional Dance (N/A)**

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jasper Mithlo, Comanche

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jeff McClellan

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Cortney Yarholan

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** J. J. Lonelodge

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Alice Ann Kaulaity, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Dede Bointy, Cherokee-Choctaw

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Terese Satepauhoodle, Kiowa-Osage

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Sylvestine Shields, Otoe

**5<sup>th</sup> Place:** Lisa Ross, Sioux

**Junior Girl's Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Crystal Pewo

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Summer Morgan

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Lynda Blackstar

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Johnny Hughes, Otoe-Kaw

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ralph Haymond Jr., Pawnee-Otoe

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Joe Fish Dupoint, Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Terry Tsotigh, Kiowa

**5<sup>th</sup> Place:** Paul Roughface, Ponca-Omaha

**Men's Grass Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Redcloud Anquoe, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Bobby Rosas, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Dennis Nevaquoya, Comanche

**Junior Boy's Straight Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Benjamin Chasenah

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Hubert Kaulaity

**Junior Boys Traditional Contest**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Bill Elkins, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** (N/A)

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** (N/A)

**Golden Age Men's Division**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Dixon Palmer, Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Vincent Pocowatchit, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Truman Ware, Kiowa

**Golden Age Women's Division**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Doris Goodeagle, Osage-Sac and Fox

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Alta Reyes, Cheyenne-Arapaho

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Laverne Drew, Arikara

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Lynette Aspermy, Cheyenne-Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Charlotte Niyah, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Amber Hughes, Seminole

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Nellie Yarholan, Sac and Fox-Otoe

**5<sup>th</sup> Place:** Debbie Tieyah, Kiowa

**Ladies Fancy Shawl**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Angie Glenn

**Women's Jingle Dress Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Mickie Littlecreek, Chippewa-Kiowa

**Junior Girl's Cloth**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Emma Ahhaitty

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Karol Coffey

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Katie Flynn  
**Junior Girl's Fancy Shawl**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Alana Sadongei, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** (N/A)  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Meta Roubedeaux, Otoe  
**Junior Girl's Jingle Dress Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Queen Loman, Comanche  
**Boy's Grass Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jason Paheco, Comanche-Sioux  
**Little Boys Division**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Elwood McClellan, Iowa  
**Little Girl's Cloth**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Danya Keahna, Mesquakie  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Eria Chibitty, Comanche-Creek-Seminole  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sienna Ramirez, Comanche-Delaware  
**Tiny Tot Boys**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Eric Poemoceah, Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Beaushee Wildcat, Pawnee-Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Joel T. Motah, Cheyenne-Comanche-Ponca  
**Tiny Tot Girls**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Darla Youngbear, Southern Cheyenne-Arapaho  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lawren Galindo, Comanche-Apache  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tiauna Ricker, Sioux

1993

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 93 No. 302)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Randy Moore  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** (N/A)  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** (N/A)  
**Junior Division Fancy War Dance (N/A)**  
**Women's Senior Division Buckskin (N/A)**  
**Men's Straight War Dance (N/A)**  
**Women's Cloth Dance (N/A)**  
**Women's Senior Division Fancy Shawl and Jingle Dress**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Nikki Owings Wahnee, Wichita  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Jackie Whitebuffalo, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tahnee Harjo, Kiowa-Creek  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Tommie Moore, Pawnee-Otoe  
**Junior Division Buckskin (N/A)**  
**Junior Division Cloth**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Karel Coffey, Otoe-Comanche  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Emma Ahhaitty, Kiowa-Comanche  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Anna Pewo, Kiowa  
**Girl's Jingle Dress Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Tahnee Harjo, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Julia Noel, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jennifer Standing, Kiowa-Wichita  
**Golden Age Women's Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sylvestine Shields, Otoe-Missouri-Pawnee  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Myra Aitson, Comanche

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Deloris Aitson, Comanche

1994

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 94 No. 6, 7, 8)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Randy Moore (Six-time National Champion War Dancer)

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Billy McClellan

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Henry McClellan

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Billy Pewo

**5<sup>th</sup> Place:** Bobby Jameson

**Men's Traditional and Grass Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Kenneth Cozad

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Clarence Yarhola

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Bill Sage

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ben Davis

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Josh Ahhaitty

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Richard Camarena

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joneta Sage

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Crystal Pewo

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Randi Tsotigh

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Pamela Tsatoke

**5<sup>th</sup> Place:** M. A. Anquoe

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joe Fish Dupoint

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Gerald Chasenah

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Bubba Noel

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Donald Chasenah

**5<sup>th</sup> Place:** Darrell Wildcat

**Junior Boy's Straight Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Windy Boy White Cloud

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Elvis Keel

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** David Unah

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Nellie Yarhola

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Tammy Chasenah

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sandy Nevaquaya

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Telly Liebe

**5<sup>th</sup> Place:** Kennitha Simmons

**Jingle Dress and Fancy Shawl**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Tomahsah Kemple

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Danielle Goodblanket

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tahnee Ahtone

**Junior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Michelle Wetselline

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Stephanie Franklin

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Amelia Cozad

**Junior Division Cloth**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Gina Marie Gray

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Tish Thompson

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Mindy Wildcat  
**Men's Golden Age**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Amos Pewenofkit  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Rudy Oheltoint  
**3<sup>rd</sup> place:** Dixon Palmer  
**Women's Golden Age**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Frankie Kaudle Kaule  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Marie Kaulaity Lorentz  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Delores Aitson  
**Boy's Fancy**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Thomas Ware III  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kyle Pahcheco  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Darius Kopepassah

1995

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 94 No. 302)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Randy Moore (Seven-time National War Dance Champion)  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Billy Pewo Sr.  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Kevin Connywerdy  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Charlie Horse

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sly Isaac  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Richard Camarena

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Franda Flyingman  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Alice Ann Kaulaity  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Crystal Pewo  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Tracy Pewo

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Zack Morris  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Gary Unah  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Bubba Noel  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Farley Horsechief

**Junior Boy's Straight Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Howard Cozad  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Chad Toehay  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Hubert Kaulaity

**Men's Traditional Dance Contest**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Damon Roughface  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kenneth Cozad  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Victor Tahchawwichah  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Dusty Parton

**Junior Boy's Traditional dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Darrell Cable Jr.  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Elvis Keel

**Men's Grass dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Ed Black Jr.  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Mike Stumblingbear

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Deanna Pewo

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Angela Del Castillo  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Charlotte McCurtain  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Sandra Nevaquaya  
**Women's Jingle Dress Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Julia Noel  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Bobby Tahchawwachah  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Chalene Toehay  
**Women's Fancy Shawl Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Dione Bartmess  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Angie Newcomb  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jamie Beartrack  
**Junior Girl's Division Buckskin**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Toni Kaulaity  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Emily Goombi Smith  
**Junior Girl's Cloth**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sonya "BeBe" Liles  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Lisa Jonathon  
**Junior Girl's Jingle Dress Dance**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Regina Youngbear  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sarah Black  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Kalonie Hulbutta  
**Men's Golden Age**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Rodrick Youngman  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Vincent Pocowatchit  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Bernard Kahrahrhah  
**Women's Golden Age**  
**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Grace Tsonetokoy  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Rene Youngbear  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Irene Sadongel

1996

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 95 No. 305, 307)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Dwight Whitebuffalo, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Randy Moore  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Charles Horse  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** R. G. Harris

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joshua Henry Ahhaitty  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sly Issac  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Pius Horsechief

**Men's Traditional Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Danny Reyes, Cheyenne-Sioux  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Comanche John Keel, Comanche-Pawnee-Otoe  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Dusty Parton, Cheyenne  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Damon Roughface, Ponca

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jackie Whitebuffalo, Kiowa  
**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Tracy Redbird, Kiowa  
**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Pamela Satepauhoodle, Comanche  
**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Johanna Tsatoke, Kiowa-Comanche

**Women's Fancy Shawl Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Tracy Moore, Otoe-Osage-Pawnee-Sac and Fox

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kalonie Hulbutta, Apache-Seminole

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sonya Reeder, Kiowa-Comanche

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Joanna Beartrack, Kiowa

**Women's Division Jingle Dress Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Bobbie Tahchawickah, Comanche-Kiowa

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Regina Roughface, Arapaho

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Mary Carter, Sac and Fox

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Christina Mendivil, Cheyenne-Yuma

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Berwyn Moses Sr., Pawnee-Apache-Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Terry Tsothigh, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Zack Morris, Sac and Fox

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Warren Weller, Caddo

**Men's Grass Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** David Reyes, Cheyenne-Arapaho

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Garland Kent Sr., Ponca

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Red Cloud Anquoe, Kiowa

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Ed Black Jr., Comanche-Apache

**Junior Boy's Traditional and Grass dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Darrell Cable Jr.

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Thomas Black

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Elvis Keel

**Junior Boy's Straight Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** William Tosee Jr., Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Chad Toehay

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Denny Medicine Bird

**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Janet Tiger, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Roberta McClellan, Pawnee-Sac and Fox

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Amber Toppah, Kiowa-Cheyenne

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Annette Rice, Sac and Fox

**Junior Girl's Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Chalene Toehay

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Pearl Roy

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Toni Lynn Kaulaity

**Junior Girl's Cloth**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Carolee Bible

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Bebe Liles

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Kara Toppah

**Junior Girl's Fancy Shawl and Jingle Dress Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Rachele Tosee, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Abby Weryackwe, Kiowa

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Sarah Black

**ARTS AND CRAFTS AWARDS**

**Best of Show Winner:** R. W. Geionety, Kiowa

**President's Award Winner:** Barthell "Buddy" Littlechief, Kiowa-Comanche

**Director's Award Winner:** Marilyn Yeahquo Reid, Kiowa

1997

(Source: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 96 No. 303)

**CONTEST DANCING:**

**Men's Senior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** John Keel, Comanche

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Henry McClellan

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Charles Pocowatchit

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Billy Pewo

**Men's Traditional dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Joe Fish Dupoint

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Terry Tsothigh

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jason Lightfoot

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Tom Ware

**Junior Division Fancy War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Thomas Ware III

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Kyle Pacheco

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Dolly Wells

**Women's Senior Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Christie Tsatoke

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Donita Sovo

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Crystal Pewo

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Stephanie Franklin

**Junior Girl's Division Buckskin**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Pearl Roy

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Beverlee Ahhaitty

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Erin Chibitty

**Women's Fancy Shawl and Jingle Dress Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jonna Beartrack

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Sally Maynahonal

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Tracy Moore

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Bob Tahchawwickah

**Junior Girl's Fancy Shawl**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Jessie Bohay

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Rachelle Tosee

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Clarene Ware

**Men's Straight War Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Danny Reyes

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Bill Sage

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Victor Tahchawwickah

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Cecil Gray

**Men's Grass Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Drew Supernaw

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ed Black Sr.

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Ed Black III

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Lynn Schanchin

**Junior Boy's Grass and Traditional Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Elvis Keel

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Thomas Black

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jason Pacheco

**Junior Boy's Straight Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** William Tosee

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Denny Medicinebird

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Robert Tsoataddle Jr.



**Women's Cloth Dance**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Melanie Motah

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Deanna Pewo

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Diana Sovo

**4<sup>th</sup> Place:** Alice McClellan

**Junior Girl's Cloth**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Sonya Bebe Liles

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Ponka-we Victors

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Jeana Rush

**Golden Age Women**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Helen Poolaw

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Myra Burgess

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** Grace Tsonetokoy

**Golden Age Men**

**1<sup>st</sup> Place:** Floyd Moses

**2<sup>nd</sup> Place:** Vincent Pocowatchit

**3<sup>rd</sup> Place:** A. D. Tall Bird

**APPENDIX II**  
**Chronology of American Indian Exposition**  
**Officers, Directors, Staff and Princesses 1931–2005**

Appendix II presents a chronological listing of all identified or documented officers, tribal directors, tribal princesses, master of ceremonies, arts and crafts and agricultural exhibit directors and judges (when relevant). This is not an exhaustive listing, and some information could not be located. Nonetheless, it is the most comprehensive list that exists at the present time. It the author's wish that the information compiled herein, will be of use for those Indian families who have participated in the American Indian Exposition throughout its more than seven-decade existence.

**Southwestern Indian Fair 1931**

(Whether a Fair was held this year is questionable but not ruled out. Most sources indicate this first Southwestern Indian Fair was held in conjunction with the Caddo County Fair.)

President: Jasper Saunkeah – Kiowa  
Secretary – Treasurer: Parker McKenzie – Kiowa  
Assistant Secretary: Edgar Halfmoon

**Southwestern Indian Fair 1932**  
**(Corroborated by Parker McKenzie)**

**Officers**

President: Jasper Saunkeah - Kiowa  
Secretary - Treasurer: Parker McKenzie - Kiowa  
Assistant Secretary: Edgar Halfmoon – Delaware

**Directors**

Arapaho: Jessie Lowlodge  
Caddo: Malcome Hazlett  
Cheyenne: John Fletcher  
Kiowa: Luther M. Brace  
Fort Sill Apache: John Loco  
Delaware: Maurice Bedoka  
Comanche: Otto Wells  
Wichita: Dennis Warden  
Apache: Frank B. Methvin  
Sergeant-at-arms: Joseph Weller, Caddo  
Mrs. Sarah Grimes  
Mrs. Julia Mahseet in charge of women's exhibits  
Weryavah  
Bill Williams

**Southwestern Indian Fair 1933**

**Officers**

President: Lewis Ware  
Vice-President: Herman Asenap  
Secretary-Treasurer: Parker McKenzie - Kiowa  
Assistant Secretary: Edgar Halfmoon (?)

**Directors**

Kiowa: (N/A)

Comanche: Otto Wells (Tony Martinez)  
Kiowa-Apache: Howard (Henry) Soontay  
Caddo: Bill Williams  
Wichita: Dennis Warden  
Delaware: Elizah Reynolds  
Ft. Sill Apache: Robert Gooday (?)

#### **Southwestern Indian Fair 1934**

##### **Officers**

President: Lewis Ware – Kiowa  
Vice-President: Herman Asenap  
Secretary-Treasurer: Parker McKenzie - Kiowa  
Assistant Secretary: Edgar Halfmoon – Delaware

##### **Directors**

Kiowa: (N/A)  
Comanche: Otto Wells (Tony Martinez)  
Apache: Howard Soontay  
Caddo: Bill Williams  
Wichita: Dennis Warden  
Delaware: Elizah Reynolds

##### **Princesses**

Imogene Geikaunmah – Kiowa (Beauty Queen)  
Josephine Inkanish – Caddo (2nd Place)  
Maudie Grayless – Cheyenne (3rd Place)  
Jennie Whiteskunk – Cheyenne (Most beautiful girls costume)

##### **Pageant Authors and Directors**

Enoch Smokey  
E. W. Gallaher

#### **American Indian Exposition 1935**

##### **Officers**

President: Maurice Bedoka  
Secretary: Parker McKenzie – Kiowa  
Assistant Secretary: Edgar Halfmoon – Delaware  
Assistant: Elijah Reynolds

##### **Directors**

Kiowa: Lewis Ware  
Comanche: Otto Wells  
Kiowa-Apache: Howard Soontay  
Caddo: Bill Williams  
Delaware: Eliza Reynolds  
Wichita: Dennis Warden  
Ft. Sill Apache: Robert Gooday

##### **Exposition Princess**

Beatrice Ahpeatone – Kiowa

##### **Attendants**

Margaret Lonewolf (2nd place princess runner up)  
Catherine Frank (3rd place princess runner up)

##### **Pageant Author and Director**

Mrs. Lock Morton

**Pageant Assistant**  
Mrs. Kemp Martin

### **American Indian Exposition 1936**

**Officers**

President: Maurice Bedoka  
Secretary-Treasurer: Parker McKenzie - Kiowa  
Assistant Secretary: Edgar Halfmoon

**Directors**

Kiowa-Apache: Howard Soontay  
Caddo: Bill Williams  
Comanche: Lewis Ware  
Delaware: Elija Reynolds  
Kiowa: (N/A)  
Wichita: Dennis Warden  
Ft. Sill Apache: Robert Gooday

**Exposition Princess**

Maggie Tahome Poolant (Wahnee)– Kiowa  
Leona Wolfe – attendant  
Oma Tofpi – attendant

**Pageant Author and Director**

Riverside Indian School Program

### **American Indian Exposition 1937**

**Officers**

President: Jasper Saunkeah – Kiowa  
Secretary-Treasurer: Parker McKenzie – Kiowa  
Assistant Secretary: (Edgar Halfmoon)

**Directors**

Kiowa-Apache: (N/A)  
Caddo: (N/A)  
Comanche: (N/A)  
Cheyenne: (N/A)  
Delaware: (N/A)  
Kiowa: (N/A)  
Wichita: (N/A)  
Ft. Sill Apache:

**Exposition Princess**

Augustine Campbell Barse– Kiowa-Wichita

**Pageant Author and Director**

Mrs. Margaret Speelman

### **American Indian Exposition 1938**

**Officers**

President: Jasper Saunkeah - Kiowa  
Vice-President: James Daugomah  
Secretary-Treasurer: Edgar M. Halfmoon  
Assistant Secretary: Charles Toyebo

**Directors**

Kiowa: Albert Attocknie  
 Comanche: Joseph Kaulaity  
 Apache: Tennyson Berry  
 Cheyenne: Henry Inkanish  
 Caddo: John Haddon

**Exposition Princess**

Katherine Wolf Frank– Caddo-Wichita (Katherine Frank was reported to have been the selected Expo princess for 1938. See: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 38 No. 6 Tuesday, August 23, 1938)

**Pageant Author and Director**

Margaret Pearson Speelman  
 (Revised and adapted from pageant written by E. W. Gallaher)

**Pageant Narrator**

Frank Jones

**American Indian Exposition 1939****Officers**

President: Lewis Ware (Passed away in December 1939 followed in office by William Karty)  
 Vice-President: Parker McKenzie  
 Secretary-Treasurer: Edgar M. Halfmoon  
 Assistant Secretary: William Karty

**Directors**

Wichita: Tony Martennez  
 Comanche: Joseph Kaulaity  
 Kiowa: Howard Soonty  
 Apache: George Keechi  
 Delaware: William Collins  
 Caddo: Ralph Murrow

**Exposition Princess**

Ester Riddles – Comanche  
 Vivian Saunkeah – Kiowa – Second Place  
 Eva Lou Ware – Kiowa – Third Place

**Pageant Director**

E. W. Gallaher – Kiowa

**Arts and Crafts Superintendent**

Julia Mahseet

Assistants: Alice Cussen, Margaret Leader, Lorene Tsoodle, Joshephine Inkanish, Christine Coosewoon, Hazel Botone, Katie Lorentz, Amelia Bates, Sadie Bedoka, Ruby Cable

**Agricultural Products and Livestock Superintendent**

James Daugomah

Assistants: George Bosin, Linn Pauahty, Joe Yackytooahnpah, James Ware, Philemon Berry, Joseph Weryavoli, benedict Toahty John Tahsuda, Frank Butler, Walter Pickard, Elijah Reynolds, Jacob Ahtone

**American Indian Exposition 1940****Officers**

President: William J. Karty – Comanche  
 Vice-President: Joe Kaulaity – Kiowa  
 Treasurer: Edgar M. Halfmoon  
 Secretary: Joe Hayes – Chickasaw  
 Assistant Secretary: Wesley Gallaher

**Directors**

Apache: Owen Tah  
Wichita: Wesley Rose  
Caddo: Ralph Murrow  
Cheyenne: TBA  
Delaware: Frank Exendine  
Kiowa: James Daugomah  
Comanche: Antonio Martinez

**Exposition Princesses**

Miss Madeline Frank – Caddo  
Mabel Atewoofakwa – Comanche – Attendant  
Buena Kishketon – Shawnee – Attendant

**Pageant Director**

Margaret Pearson Speelman

**Pageant Narrators**

Matthew Botone and Frank Jones

**American Exposition 1941****Officers**

President: William J. Karty – Comanche  
Vice-President: Joe Kaulaity – Kiowa  
Secretary-Treasurer: Joe Hayes – Chickasaw  
Assistant Secretary: Wesley Gallaher

**Directors**

Apache: Owen Tah  
Wichita: Wesley Rose  
Caddo: Ralph Murrow  
Delaware: Frank Exendine  
Kiowa: James Daugomah  
Comanche: Antonio Martinez  
Cheyenne: TBA

**Exposition Princesses**

Margaret Luttrell – Osage  
Eva Lou Ware (Russell)– Kiowa  
Dorothy Walker – Wichita  
Madeline Frank – Caddo  
Pauline Komah – Comanche  
Delaware – TBA  
Apache – TBA

**Pageant Author and Director**

Margaret Pearson Speelman

**Pageant Narrators**

Wesley Gallaher – Kiowa  
Wesley Rose – Wichita  
Maggie Tahome – Kiowa  
Libby Botone – Kiowa

## American Indian Exposition 1942

### Officers

President: William J. Karty – Comanche  
Vice-President: Joe Kaulaity – Kiowa  
Secretary-Treasurer: Joseph W. Hayes – Chickasaw  
Assistant Secretary: Wesley Gallaher – Kiowa

### Directors

Apache: Owen “Oswea” Tah  
Wichita: Wesley Rose  
Caddo: Ralph Murrow  
Delaware: Frank Exendine  
Kiowa: James Daugomah  
Comanche: Antonio Martinez

### Exposition Princesses

Beatrice Tahmahkera – Comanche  
Roberta Archilta – Apache  
Lahoma Willingham – Chickasaw  
Yvonne Lyons – Choctaw  
Vera Reynolds – Delaware  
Vivian [Susan] Saunkeah – Kiowa  
Augustine Campbell – Wichita  
Margaret Inkanish – Caddo

### Pageant Author and Director

Margaret Pearson Speelman

### Pageant Narrators

Oliver Woodard  
Wesley Rose  
Libby Botone Boynton  
Elanor Takawana

## American Indian Exposition 1943

### Officers

President: Jasper Saunkeah  
Vice-President: Robert Goombi, Sr.  
Secretary-Treasurer: Philemon Berry

### Directors

Apache: Tennyson Berry  
Arapaho: David Meat, Sr.  
Caddo: Stanley Edge  
Cheyenne: John Fletcher  
Comanche: Albert Attocknie  
Delaware: Willard Thomas  
Kiowa: Benedict Toahty  
Wichita: William Collins  
Chickasaw: Floyd Maytubby

### Exposition Princesses

Melcine Toho – Caddo  
Wanda Fawbush – Comanche  
Beatrice Tahmahkera - Comanche  
Marlene Bointy Taptto – Kiowa  
Myrtle Thomas – Delaware

Hilda Wheeler – Wichita  
Ruth Archiltah – Kiowa-Apache  
Opal Fletcher – Cheyenne  
Cordela Walker – Arapaho  
Margaret Luttrell – Osage  
Lahoma Willingham – Chickasaw

**Pageant Director**

Margaret Pearson Speelman

**Exhibits Superintendent, Men's Division**

George Bosin

**Exhibits Superintendent, Women's Division**

Alice Cussen

**American Indian Exposition 1944**

**Officers**

President: Jasper Saunkeah – Kiowa

Vice-President: Robert Goombi

Secretary-Treasurer: Philemon Berry – Kiowa-Apache

**Directors**

Apache: Tennyson Berry

Comanche: Albert Attocknie

Caddo: Stanley Edge

Wichita: William Collins

Cheyenne: John Fletcher

Delaware: Willard Thomas

Kiowa: Benedict Toahty

Arapaho: David Mead

**Exposition Princesses**

Beatrice Tahmahkera – Comanche

Roberta Archilta – Apache

Lahoma Willingham – Chickasaw

Yvonne Lyons – Choctaw

Vera Reynolds – Delaware

Patricia Toyebo – Kiowa

Augustine Campbell – Wichita

Margaret Inkanish – Caddo

Colleen Rhoads Cometsevah - Cheyenne

**Pageant Author and Director**

Margaret Pearson Speelman

**Exhibits Superintendent, Men's Division**

George Bosin

**Exhibits Superintendent, Women's Division**

Alice Cussen

**Anadarko Indian Exposition 1945**

**Officers**

President: Robert Goombi – Kiowa

Vice-President: Paul W. Edge – Caddo

Secretary: Joseph W. Hayes – Chickasaw

Treasurer: Philemon Berry – Kiowa-Apache



**Directors**

Cheyenne: Peter Birdchief  
Delaware: Willard Thomas  
Caddo: Andrew Dunlap  
Arapaho: David Meat  
Kiowa-Apache: Alfred Chalepah  
Kiowa: Benedict Toahty  
Wichita: Stacy Luther

**Exposition Princesses**

Vanette Mopope – Apache  
Jenny SpottedHorse – Arapaho  
Wynema Diamond – Caddo  
Lahoma Willingham – Chickasaw  
Arlene Wockmetooah – Comanche  
Beulah Hawk – Cheyenne  
Irene Hunter – Delaware  
Ramona Tahsuda – Kiowa  
Mariam Hunt – Wichita

**Pageant Author and Director**

Margaret Pearson Speelman

**Assistant Pageant Directors**

Tennyson Berry  
Albert Attocknie

**Exhibits Superintendent, Men's Division**

George Bosin

**Exhibits Superintendent, Women's Division**

Alice Cussen

**Indian Exhibits**

Mrs. Alma Tilden

**American Indian Exposition 1946****Officers**

President: Robert Goombi – Kiowa  
Vice-President: Paul W. Edge – Caddo  
Secretary: Joseph W. Hayes – Chickasaw  
Treasurer: Philemon Berry – Kiowa-Apache

**Directors**

Caddo: Andrew Dunlap  
Delaware: Willard Thomas  
Kiowa-Apache: Alfred Chalepah  
Arapaho: David Meat  
Cheyenne: Peter Birdchief  
Kiowa: Benedict Toahty  
Wichita: Stacy Luther

**Exposition Princesses**

Wandalee White – Delaware  
Dorothy L. Rhoades – Kiowa  
Vanette Mopope – Kiowa-Apache  
Beulah Hawk – Cheyenne  
Lahoma Willingham – Chickasaw  
Jennie Spotted Horse – Arapaho  
Darlene Grace Caley – Wichita

Lois Weller – Caddo  
Gloria Marie Yokesuite – Comanche  
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Albert Attocknie  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
Ethel Horse  
**Exhibits Superintendent Men's Division**  
George Bosin  
Assistants: Tully Morrison, Joe Yackus, Frank Caddo, Leonard Caddo, and Vincent Redbird  
**Exhibits Superintendent Women's Division**  
Alice Cussen  
Assistants: Mrs. Mary Hunt, Mrs. Sarah Grimes, and Mrs. Winford Littleman

### **American Indian Exposition 1947**

#### **Officers**

President: Robert Goombi – Kiowa  
Secretary: Judson Tonemah – Kiowa  
Treasurer: Philemon Berry – Kiowa-Apache

#### **Directors**

Caddo: Madelene Hamilton  
Kiowa-Apache: William Archilta  
Delaware: Alfred Hunter  
Kiowa: Benedict Toahy  
Arapaho: David Meat  
Comanche: Edgar Monetahchi  
Wichita: Joe Wheeler  
Cheyenne: Peter Bird Chief

#### **Exposition Princesses**

Marie Snake – Delaware  
Wanda Stephens – Wichita  
Mabel Jean Coosewoon – Comanche  
Dana Arlene Smith – Caddo  
Dorothy L. Rhoades – Kiowa  
Lahoma Willingham – Chickasaw  
Maribelle Curtis - Cheyenne  
TBA – Arapaho  
Alecia Keahbone – Kiowa-Apache (She is named as a princess, but unclear whether this year)

#### **Pageant Author and Director**

Margaret Pearson Speelman  
**Assistant Pageant Directors**  
Albert Attocknie  
Tennyson Berry

### **American Indian Exposition 1948**

#### **Officers**

President: Robert Goombi - Kiowa  
Secretary: Judson Tonemah – Kiowa

Treasurer: Philemon Berry – Kiowa-Apache

**Directors**

Caddo: Madelene Hamilton  
Kiowa-Apache: William Archilta  
Delaware: Alfred Hunter  
Kiowa: Benedict Toahty  
Arapaho: David Meat  
Comanche: Edgar Monetahchi  
Wichita: Joe Wheeler  
Cheyenne: Peter Bird Chief

**Exposition Princesses**

Wandalee White – Delaware  
Vanette Mopope – Kiowa-Apache  
Rose Ann Parker – Comanche  
Jennie Spotted Horse – Arapaho  
Eulamae Narcomey – Seminole  
Lahoma Willingham – Chickasaw  
Mary Belle Curtis – Cheyenne  
Donna Arlene Smith – Caddo  
Wanda Stephens – Wichita  
Libby Ann Hines – Kiowa

**Pageant Author and Director**

Mrs. Clarissa A. Lowry

**Assistant Directors**

Albert Attocknie  
Tennyson Berry

**Pageant Narrator**

O. M. Woodard – Kiowa

**American Indian Exposition 1949**

**Officers**

President: Edgar Monetathchi – Comanche  
Vice-President: Joseph Kaulaity – Kiowa  
Secretary: Andrew Dunlap – Caddo  
Treasurer: Henry Lookingglass – Comanche

**Directors**

Cheyenne: John Yellowbull  
Comanche: Wiley Yellowfish  
Kiowa: Yale Spottedbird  
Kiowa-Apache: Wallace Redbone  
Delaware: Alfred Hunter  
Ft. Sill Apache: Robert Gooday  
Pawnee: Joseph Toahty  
Wichita: John Haddon  
Otoe: Francis Pipestem

**Exposition Princesses**

Josephine Goodwin – Cheyenne  
Patricia Ann Haozous – Ft. Sill Apache  
Myrtle Thomas – Delaware  
Charlotte Clayton – Caddo  
Annawake Bates – Wichita  
Arlene Sue Tahkofper – Comanche

Eulamae Narcomey – Seminole  
Vanette Mopope – Kiowa-Apache  
Georgene Ware – Kiowa  
Delores Wilde – Pawnee  
Claudia Lee Brown – Otoe  
Thomasine Greer – Osage  
Mary Ellen Eaglenest – Arapaho-Cheyenne  
Other Tribes: TBA  
**Pageant Author and Director**  
Claude Kennedy – Cherokee  
**Pageant Narrator**  
O. M. Woodard – Kiowa

### **American Indian Exposition 1950**

#### **Officers**

President: Edgar Monetathchi – Comanche  
Vice-President: Joseph Kaulaity – Kiowa  
Secretary: Truman Daily – Otoe  
Treasurer: D. M. Madrano – Caddo  
Office Secretary: Mary Whiteman

#### **Directors**

Cheyenne: John Yellowbull  
Comanche: Wiley Yellowfish  
Kiowa: Yale Spottedbird  
Kiowa-Apache: Wallace Redbone  
Delaware: Alfred Hunter  
Ft. Sill Apache: Robert Gooday  
Pawnee: Joseph Toahty  
Wichita: John Haddon  
Otoe: Francis Pipestem

#### **Exposition Princesses**

LaRue Martin – Caddo  
Wanda Childers – Creek  
Patricia Ann Haozous – Ft. Sill Apache  
Thomasine Green – Osage  
Mary Ellen Eaglenest – Arapaho-Cheyenne  
Beverly Johnson – Chickasaw  
Valera Pewenofkt – Kiowa-Apache  
Coleen Little Sun – Pawnee  
June Boettger – Kiowa  
Marlene Kihega – Otoe  
Shirley Yackeyonny – Comanche  
Imogene Inkanish – Delaware  
Idalene Miller – Wichita

#### **Pageant Author and Director**

Claude Kennedy

#### **Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

## American Indian Exposition 1951

### Officers

President: Robert Goombi - Kiowa  
Vice-President: Amos Toahy Pawnee-Kiowa  
Secretary: Leon Carter – Caddo  
Treasurer: Tully Morrison – Creek  
Office Secretary: Mrs. Peggy Tsoodle

### Directors

Arapaho: Alfred Whiteman  
Wichita: Arthur Punley  
Otoe: Murray Littlecrow  
Kiowa-Apache: Wallace Redbone  
Ft. Sill Apache: Robert Gooday  
Comanche: Wiley Yellowfish  
Pawnee: Joseph Toahy  
Osage: Rose Pipestem  
Caddo: Henry Weller  
Cheyenne: Peter Bird Chief  
Delaware: Alfred Hunter  
Kiowa: George Bosin

### Exposition Princesses

Caroline Zurega – Ft. Sill Apache  
LaRue Martin – Caddo  
Trula Ware – Kiowa-Apache  
Chloe Eagle – Ponca  
Gerlene Hill – Cheyenne  
Jean Marie Blackowl – Comanche  
Ione Jeunesse – Chippewa  
Mildred Bear – Osage  
Mary Lou Bringing Good – Arapaho  
Esther Tiney White – Delaware  
Mae Goodeagle – Pawnee  
Beverly Johnson – Chickasaw  
Patricia Anita Deroin – Otoe  
Chesa Gabbard – Wichita  
Barbara Jo Pappio – Kiowa

### Pageant Author and Director

Mrs. Clarissa A. Lowry

### Assistant Pageant Directors

Tennyson Berry

Joe Attocknie

### Pageant Narrator

O. M. Woodard – Kiowa

Master of Ceremonies (N/A)

## American Indian Exposition 1952

### Officers

President: Robert Goombi - Kiowa  
Vice-President: Amos Toahy – Pawnee and Kiowa  
Secretary: Leon Carter - Caddo  
Treasurer: Tully Morrison – Creek

Office Secretary: Mrs. Peggy Tsoodle – Kiowa

**Directors**

Kiowa-Apache: Wallace Redbone

Ft. Sill Apache: Robert Gooday

Comanche: Wiley Yellowfish

Pawnee: Joseph Toahty

Osage: Rose Pipestem

Caddo: Henry Weller

Cheyenne: Peter Bird Chief

Delaware: Alfred Hunter

Kiowa: George Bosin

Arapaho: Alfred Whiteman

Wichita: Arthur Punley

Otoe: Murray Littlecrow

**Exposition Princesses**

Geraldine Fuller - Kiowa

LaRue Martin - Caddo

Nona Punley - Wichita

Mildred De Roin - Otoe

Caroline Zurega - Ft. Sill Apache

Beverly Plumley - Pawnee

Mary Lou Bringing Good - Arapaho

Dareth Williams - Delaware

Gerlene Hill - Cheyenne

Annie Goombi - Kiowa-Apache

Mildred Bear - Osage

Yvonne Simmons - Comanche

**Pageant Author and Director**

Joseph Toahty – Pawnee

**Arts and Crafts Director**

Alfred Momaday

**Master of Ceremonies**

**American Indian Exposition 1953**

**Officers**

President: Robert Goombi – Kiowa

Vice-President: Lin Pauahty - Kiowa

Secretary: Francis Pipestem – Otoe

Treasurer: Tully Morrison – Creek

Office Secretary: Mrs. Peggy Tsoodle – Kiowa

**Directors**

Kiowa-Apache: Wallace Redbone

Ft. Sill Apache: Robert Gooday

Comanche: Paul Attocknie

Pawnee: Sam Osborne

Osage: Ira Hamilton

Caddo: Charlie Williams

Cheyenne: Sophia Rhoades

Delaware: Alfred Hunter

Kiowa: Fred Tsoodle

Arapaho: Ralph Beard

Wichita: Arthur Punley

Otoe: Truman Dailey  
**Exposition Princesses**  
Carrol Williams - Caddo  
Sandra Bear - Kiowa:  
Darwina Good Chief - Pawnee  
Alfreda Jo Munro - Otoe  
Caroline Zurega - Ft. Sill Apache:  
Lillian White Thunder - Cheyenne  
Novalene Swift - Wichita  
Fannie Beartrack - Osage  
Betty Gooday - Apache  
Mary Jo Tahsuda - Comanche  
Onita Mae Klinekole - Kiowa-Apache  
Dareth Williams - Delaware  
**Pageant Author and Director**  
Miss Sarah Gertrude Knott  
**Pageant Narrator**  
Oliver M. Woodard – Kiowa  
**Master of Ceremonies**

#### **American Indian Exposition 1954**

##### **Officers**

President: Robert Goombi - Kiowa  
Vice-President: Lin Pauahy - Kiowa  
Secretary: Francis Pipestem – Otoe  
Treasurer: Tully Morrison – Creek  
Office Secretary: Mrs. Peggy Tsoodle

##### **Directors**

Kiowa: Fred Tsoodle  
Delaware: Alfred Hunter  
Pawnee: Sam Osborne  
Cheyenne: Sophia Rhodes  
Comanche: Paul Attocknie  
Arapaho: Ralph Beard  
Caddo: Charlie Williams  
Otoe: Murray Littlecrow  
Ft. Sill Apache: Robert Gooday  
Wichita: Arthur Punley  
Osage: Ira Hamilton  
Kiowa-Apache: Wallace Redbone

##### **Exposition Princesses**

Carol Williams – Caddo  
Darwina Goodchief – Pawnee  
Christine Miller – Wichita  
Judith Ann Butler – Delaware  
Julia Quetone – Kiowa  
Lavonn Clark – Arapaho  
Letha Mae Beaver – Creek  
Eva Joy Wetselline – Kiowa-Apache  
Lillian White Thunder – Cheyenne  
Fannie Beartrack – Osage  
Lura Asah – Comanche

**Pageant Author and Director**

Linn Pauaty – Kiowa

**Pageant Narrator**

Oliver Woodard – Kiowa

**Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

**American Indian Exposition 1955**

**Officers**

President: Robert Goombi – Kiowa

Vice-President: Roe Kahrahrah – Comanche

Secretary: Francis Pipestem – Otoe

Treasurer: Tully Morrison – Creek

Office Secretary: Mrs. Peggy Tsoodle

**Directors**

Cheyenne: Richard Boynton

Comanche: Joe Attocknie

Arapaho: Willie Hail

Otoe: Murray Little Crow

Caddo: Henry Weller

Wichita: Bill Campbell

Delaware: Alfred Hunter

Ft. Sill Apache: Robert Gooday

Kiowa-Apache: Wallace Redbone

Pawnee: Sam Osborne

Osage: Ira Hamilton

Kiowa: William Koomsa

**Exposition Princesses**

Marlene Hawkins – Cheyenne

Loretta Little Bird – Arapaho

Loy Kay Rice – Pawnee

Anita Lookout – Osage

Frances Cussen – Caddo

Marian Nauni – Comanche

Patricia Zotigh – Kiowa

Reba Homeratha – Otoe

Larue Kaywaykla – Ft. Sill Apache

Betty Jo Rowlaine – Wichita

Milicent Maynahonah \_ Kiowa-Apache

Lois Snake – Delaware

Other Tribes: TBA

**Pageant Narrator**

Oliver M. Woodard – Kiowa

**Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

**American Indian Exposition 1956**

**Officers**

President: Robert Goombi-Kiowa

Vice-President: Roe Kahrahrah-Comanche

Secretary: Francis Pipestem-Otoe

Treasurer: Tully Morrison-Creek



**Directors**

Kiowa-Apache: Wallace Redbone  
Comanche: Joe Attocknie  
Kiowa: William Koomsa  
Wichita: Bill Campbell  
Arapaho: Willie Hail  
Caddo: Henry Weller  
Delaware: Alfred Hunter  
Pawnee: Sam Osborn  
Otoe: Murray Little Crow  
Cheyenne: Richard Boynton  
Osage: Ira Hamilton  
Fort Sill Apache: Robert Gooday

**Exposition Princesses**

Isa Attocknie – Comanche  
Myrna Jo Beaver – Delaware  
Charlotte Lumpmouth – Arapaho  
Anita Lookout – Osage  
Frances Cussen – Caddo  
Inabell Kawyle – Fort Sill Apache  
Marlene Hawkins – Cheyenne  
Martha Nell Kauley – Kiowa  
Ella Lou Chalepah – Kiowa-Apache  
Elizabeth Leading – Pawnee  
Betty Jo Rowlaine – Wichita  
Claudette Moore – Otoe

**Pageant Author and Director**

Linn Pauahty – Kiowa

**Arts and Crafts Director**

Alfred Momaday

**Master of Ceremonies****American Indian Exposition 1957****Officers**

President: Robert Goombi-Kiowa  
Vice-President: Roe Kahrahrh-Comanche  
Secretary: Francis Pipestem-Otoe  
Treasurer: Tully Morrison-Creek

**Directors**

Wichita: Wayne Miller  
Cheyenne: Peter Birdchief Jr.  
Arapaho: Willie Hail  
Caddo: Leon Carter  
Fort Sill Apache: Robert Gooday  
Comanche: Stacy Pahdopony  
Kiowa: Kenneth Anquoe  
Otoe-Missouri: Murray Little Crow  
Delaware: Alfred Hunter  
Osage: Ira Hamilton  
Kiowa-Apache: Elmer Jay  
Pawnee: Sam Osborn

**Exposition Princesses**

Berdena B. Thompson – Wichita  
 Monana Birdchief – Cheyenne  
 Nancy Ann Welbourne – Arapaho  
 Yvonne Chisholm – Caddo  
 Sonya Pellman – Fort Sill Apache  
 Patricia Yackeschi – Comanche  
 Tommascina Tsoodle – Kiowa  
 Pharabe Jane Little Crow – Otoe-Missouri  
 Rosemary Ware – Delaware  
 Anita Lookout – Osage  
 Ruth Carmen Tah – Kiowa-Apache  
 Sandra Sue Ellis – Pawnee

**Pageant Author and Director**

Sarah Gertrude Knott

**Pageant Narrators**

Oliver Woodard

Francis Pipestem

**Art and Crafts Directors**

Fred Beaver, Creek

Alfred Momaday, Kiowa

Mrs. Francis Pipestem, Arts and Crafts Exhibit

**Master of Ceremonies**

Amos Toahty

**American Indian Exposition 1958****Officers**

President: Robert Goombi-Kiowa  
 Vice-President: Roe Kahrahrah-Comanche  
 Secretary: Francis Pipestem-Otoe  
 Treasurer: Tully Morrison-Creek

**Directors**

Cheyenne: Peter Birdchief Jr.  
 Comanche: Stacy Pahdopony  
 Arapaho: Willie Hail  
 Caddo: Leon Carter  
 Delaware: Alfred Hunter  
 Fort Sill Apache: Robert Gooday  
 Kiowa: Kenneth Anquoe  
 Kiowa-Apache: Elmer Jay  
 Pawnee: Sam Osborne  
 Wichita: Wayne Miller  
 Osage: Ira Hamilton  
 Otoe-Missouri: Murray Little Crow

**Exposition Princesses**

Carol Ann Wilson – Cheyenne  
 Franc Ella Poafpybitty – Comanche  
 Margaret Hamilton – Arapaho  
 Pat Carter – Caddo  
 Freda Mae Cordell – Delaware  
 Sonya Pellman – Fort Sill Apache  
 Marion Kaulaity – Kiowa

Esther Louise Jay – Kiowa-Apache  
Paula Fern Brown – Pawnee  
Carol Ann Paddlety – Wichita  
Anita Lookout – Osage  
Mary Mae Hall – Otoe-Missouri  
**Pageant Author and Director** (N/A)  
**Pageant Narrator** (N/A)  
**Master of Ceremonies** (N/A)

### **American Indian Exposition 1959**

#### **Officers**

President: Robert Goombi – Kiowa  
Vice-President: Amos Toahty – Kiowa-Pawnee  
Secretary: Yale Tanequoot – Kiowa  
Treasurer: Leon Carter – Caddo

#### **Directors**

Arapaho – TBA  
Caddo – Vivian Bigbow  
Comanche: Stacy Pahdopony  
Osage: Ira Hamilton  
Fort Sill Apache: Robert Gooday  
Wichita: Bill Campbell  
Pawnee: Sam Osborne  
Kiowa: Gus Palmer, Sr.  
Kiowa-Apache – TBA  
Otoe-Missouri: Murray Little Crow  
Cheyenne: Ed Burns  
Delaware: Arthur Thomas

#### **Exposition Princesses**

Delores Lumpmouth - Arapaho  
Linda Edwards - Caddo  
Jacquelyn Violet Oberly – Comanche  
Anita Lookout – Osage  
Henrietta Gooday – Fort Sill Apache  
Linda Carol Standing – Wichita  
Paula Fern Brown – Pawnee  
Glenna Schrock – Kiowa  
Susie Burgess – Seminole  
Nora Marie Moore – Otoe-Missouri  
Carol Ann Wilson – Cheyenne  
Mildred Keechi – Delaware  
Ester Louise Jay – Kiowa-Apache

**Pageant Author and Director** (N/A)

**Pageant Narrator** (N/A)

**Master of Ceremonies** (N/A)

### **American Indian Exposition 1960**

#### **Officers**

President: Robert Goombi, Sr. - Kiowa  
Vice-President: Amos Toahty – Kiowa-Pawnee

Secretary: Yale Spotted Bird - Kiowa

Treasurer: Leon Carter - Caddo

**Directors**

Apache: Elmer Jay

Arapaho: Willie Hail

Caddo: Vivian Bigbow

Cheyenne: Ed Burns

Comanche: Stacy Padhapony

Delaware: Arthur Thomas

Fort Sill Apache: Robert Gooday

Kiowa: Gus Palmer, Sr.

Otoe: Murray Littlecrow

Osage: Ira Hamilton

Pawnee: Sam Osborne

Wichita: Bill Campbell

**Exposition Princesses**

TBA – Apache

TBA – Arapaho

Gayle Cussen Satepauhoodle– Caddo

Georgia Sapcut – Comanche

TBA – Cheyenne

Pat Nestell Parton – Delaware

TBA – Fort Sill Apache

TBA – Iowa

Audrey Dion Palmer – Kiowa

Katherine Redcorn – Osage

TBA – Otoe

TBA – Pawnee

TBA – Ponca

TBA – Sac & Fox

Priscilla Zadoka Lee – Wichita

**Pageant Author and Director**

Gus Palmer, Sr., Stacy Padhapony, Yale Spotted Bird

**Master of Ceremonies** (N/A)

**American Indian Exposition 1961**

**Officers**

President: Philemon Berry – Kiowa-Apache

Vice-President: Roe Kahrahrhah - Comanche

Secretary: Fran Poafybitty - Comanche

Treasurer: Leon Carter - Caddo

**Directors**

Apache: Wallace Redbone

Arapaho: Willie Hail

Caddo: Fred Parton

Cheyenne: Ed Burns

Comanche: Stacy Padhapony

Delaware: Arthur Thomas

Fort Sill Apache: Robert Gooday

Kiowa: Oscar Tsoodle

Otoe: Sidney Moore, Sr.

Osage: Leonard Maker, Sr.

Pawnee: Levi Horsechief  
Wichita: Miles Stephenson  
**Exposition Princesses**  
Betty Margaret Komardley – Kiowa-Apache  
Dorothy Old Crow – Arapaho  
Adele Williams – Caddo  
Darlene Joyce Codopony – Comanche  
Carol Ann Wilson – Cheyenne  
Melody Holder – Delaware  
Henrietta Gooday – Fort Sill Apache  
Velma Ruth Domebo – Kiowa  
Beverly Wemego – Osage  
Ramona White Cloud – Otoe  
Nancy Levier – Pawnee  
Gladys Louise Williams – Wichita  
Harjo - Seminole

**Pageant Author and Directors**

Wallace Redbone, Stacy Padhapony, and Fran Poafpybitty

**Pageant Narrator**

Joe Shunatona – Pawnee-Otoe

**Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

**American Indian Exposition 1962**

**Officers**

President: Philemon Berry – Kiowa-Apache

Vice-President: Roe Kahrahra - Comanche

Secretary: Fran Poafpybitty - Comanche

Treasurer: Leon Carter - Caddo

**Directors**

Apache: Wallace Redbone

Arapaho: Willie Hail

Caddo: Fred Parton

Cheyenne: Ed Burns

Comanche: Stacy Padhapony

Delaware: Arthur Thomas

Fort Sill Apache: Robert Gooday

Kiowa: Oscar Tsoodle

Otoe: Sidney Moore, Sr.

Osage: Leonard Maker, Sr.

Pawnee: Levi Horsechief

Wichita: Miles Stephenson

**Exposition Princesses**

Houstine Klinekole – Kiowa-Apache

Gladys Louise Williams – Apache

Audrey Weeks – Arapaho

Adele Williams – Caddo

Margaret Kerchee – Comanche

Olivia Hail (Audrey Weeks) – Cheyenne

Judith Yackeyonny – Delaware

Delores Gooday – Fort Sill Apache

Mary Francis Kodaseet – Kiowa

Jerri Barnes – Osage

Shirley Childs – Otoe  
Margaret Haymond – Pawnee  
Gladys “Babe” Williams – Wichita  
Jeannetta Burgess – Seminole  
**Pageant Author and Director** (N/A)  
**Pageant Narrator** (N/A)  
**Master of Ceremonies** (N/A)

### **American Indian Exposition 1963**

#### **Officers**

President: Robert Goombi-“Mr. Exposition” (deceased Feb. 19, 1963)  
President: Roe Kahrahrhah- Comanche (succeeded Robert Goombi)  
Vice-President: Arthur Thomas-Delaware  
Secretary-Treasurer: Leon Carter-Caddo  
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer: Adolphus Goombi-Kiowa

#### **Directors**

Arapaho: Willie Hail  
Caddo: Andy Smith  
Cheyenne: Edward G. Burns  
Comanche: Stacy Pahdopony  
Delaware: Lawrence Snake  
Fort Sill Apache: Robert Gooday (tribe resigned from membership in AIE this year)  
Kiowa: Oscar Tsoodle  
Kiowa-Apache: Wallace Redbone  
Osage: Leonard Maker  
Otoe-Missouri: Loran M. Little Crow  
Pawnee: Sam Osborne  
Wichita: Myles Stephenson

#### **Exposition Princesses**

Audrey Faye Weeks – Arapaho  
Joyce Ruth Hendrix – Caddo  
Olivia Hail – Cheyenne  
Lahoma Tahquechi – Comanche  
Barbara Ann Snake – Delaware  
Delores Gooday – Fort Sill Apache  
Tommie Louise Doyebi – Kiowa  
Kryleene Redbone – Kiowa-Apache  
Rosemary Shaw – Osage  
Winona Lee Whitehorn – Otoe-Missouri  
Carol Louise Nuttle – Pawnee  
Betsy Lou Ross – Wichita

**Pageant Author and Director** (N/A)

**Pageant Narrator** (N/A)

**Master of Ceremonies** (N/A)

### **American Indian Exposition 1964**

#### **Officers**

President: Roe Kahrahrhah- Comanche (succeeded Robert Goombi 1963)  
Vice-President: Arthur Thomas-Delaware  
Secretary-Treasurer: Leon Carter-Caddo

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer: Adolphus Goombi-Kiowa

**Directors**

Arapaho: Willie Hail  
Caddo: Andy Smith  
Cheyenne: Edward G. Burns  
Comanche: Stacy Pahdopony  
Delaware: Lawrence Snake  
Fort Sill Apache: Robert Gooday  
Kiowa: Oscar Tsoodle  
Apache: Wallace Redbone  
Osage: Leonard Maker  
Otoe: Loran M. Little Crow  
Pawnee: Sam Osborne  
Wichita: Myles Stephenson

**Exposition Princesses**

Rosharon Archilta – Apache  
Arvilla Blackman – Arapaho  
Joyce Ruth Hendrix – Caddo  
Carla Tahamahkera – Comanche  
Lucy Melvina Hoffman – Cheyenne  
Judy Marie Yackeyonny – Delaware  
TBA – Fort Sill Apache  
Marcele Sharon Ahtone – Kiowa  
Grace Ann Logan – Osage  
Janice Ellaine Whitecloud – Otoe-Missouria  
Betty Sue Good Chief – Pawnee  
TBA – Ponca  
Gladys Louise Williams – Wichita

**Pageant Author and Director**

Henry W. Lookingglass (see: Appendix Two, 1949 pageant note)

**Pageant Narrator**

Francis Pipestem

**Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

**American Indian Exposition 1965**

**Officers**

President: Roe Kahrahhah - Comanche  
Vice-President: Robert Goombi, Jr. - Kiowa  
Secretary: Kenneth Anquoe - Kiowa  
Treasurer: Leon Carter - Caddo

**Directors**

Apache: Houston Klinekole  
Arapaho: Willie Hail  
Caddo: Andy Smith  
Cheyenne: Ed Burns  
Comanche: Stacy Pahdopony  
Delaware: Lawrence Snake  
Warm Springs Band-Apache: Flora Weryackwe (Ft. Sill tribe did not participate, and protested this entry)  
Kiowa: Tom Littlechief  
Otoe-Missouria: Loran Littlecrow  
Osage: Leonard Maker, Sr.  
Pawnee: Sam Osborn

Wichita: Myles Stephenson  
**Exposition Princesses**  
 Judy Redbone Tselee – Apache  
 Virginia Hamilton – Arapaho  
 Cheryle Ann Connor – Caddo  
 Pamela Chibitty – Comanche  
 TBA – Cheyenne  
 Leila Sue Snake – Delaware  
 Machella Ann Merritt – Warm Springs Band of the Ft. Sill Apache  
 (Fort Sill Apache tribe voted not to participate in Exposition this year)  
 Cheryl “Sherry” Davenport – Kiowa  
 Lee An Yarbrough – Osage  
 Mary Louise DeHaas – Otoe-Missouria  
 TBA – Pawnee  
 TBA – Ponca  
 TBA – Sac & Fox  
 Carla Rae Niastor – Wichita  
**Pageant Author and Director**  
 Libbie Botone Littlechief – Kiowa  
**Publicity Director**  
 George Monetatchi – Comanche  
**Head Drummer**  
 Mac Whitehorse  
**Master of Ceremonies**

### **American Indian Exposition 1966**

**Officers**

President: Roe Kahrahra - Comanche  
 Vice-President: Robert Goombi, Jr. - Kiowa  
 Secretary: Kenneth Anquoe - Kiowa  
 Treasurer: Leon Carter - Caddo

**Directors**

Arapaho: Willie Hail  
 Apache: Houston Klinekole  
 Caddo: Andy Smith  
 Cheyenne: Ed Burns  
 Comanche: Stacy Pahdopony  
 Delaware: Lawrence Snake  
 Fort Sill Apache: Flora Weryackwe  
 Kiowa: Tom Littlechief  
 Otoe: Loran Littlecrow  
 Osage: Leonard Maker  
 Pawnee: TBA  
 Ponca: TBA

Wichita: Myles Stephenson

**Exposition Princesses**

Sherrell Archilta – Kiowa-Apache  
 Lillian Chaino – Kiowa  
 LaDonna Capes – Wichita  
 Kathryn Ann Roberts – Osage  
 Wilma Ruth Antelope – Arapaho  
 Cheryl Conner – Caddo



Sharon Martinez - Comanche  
Donna Walker – Delaware  
Lillian Chaino – Kiowa  
**Pageant Author and Director**  
Libby Littlechief – Kiowa  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
Rose Pipestem – Osage  
**Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

### **American Indian Exposition 1967**

#### **Officers**

President: Robert L. Goombi, Jr. – Kiowa  
Vice-President: Myles Stephenson – Wichita  
Secretary: Bell Haney – Osage (transferred to another BIA post; replaced by Irene Permansy  
Treasurer: Leon Carter, resigned; Willie Hail – Arapaho moved up from Arapaho Directorship

#### **Directors**

Apache: Houston Klinekole  
Comanche: Stacy Pahdopony  
Pawnee: Sam Osborne  
Osage: Leonard Maker  
Kiowa: Matthew Whitehorse  
Delaware: Jesse R. Coffey  
Cheyenne: Ralph Beard  
Otoe-Missouri: Loren Littlecrow  
Wichita: Bill Campbell  
Arapaho: Riley R. Hail  
Caddo: Ed Longhat

#### **Exposition Princesses**

Jan Nell Robinson – Osage  
Walthena June Chapman – Pawnee  
Carol Williams – Caddo  
Cleo Heap of Birds – Cheyenne  
LaDonna French – Wichita  
Toma Ella Asepermy – Comanche  
Carolyn Hancock – Arapaho  
Martha Kaulaity – Kiowa  
Pamela Kaye Taylor – Delaware  
Linda Jane Bassett – Otoe-Missouri  
Delornia Jean Williams – Apache

#### **Pageant Director (N/A)**

#### **Arts Director**

Roland Whitehorse, Kiowa

#### **Crafts Director**

Mrs. Jesse Poahway, Comanche

#### **Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

### **American Indian Exposition 1968**

#### **Officers**

President: Robert L. Goombi Jr. – Kiowa  
Vice-President: Myles Stephenson – Wichita

Secretary: Bell Haney – Osage  
Treasurer: Willie Hail – Cheyenne

**Directors**

Cheyenne: Ralph Beard  
Wichita: Bill Campbell  
Arapaho: Riley R. Hail  
Delaware: Jesse R. Coffey  
Apache: Houston Kline Cole  
Comanche: Stacy Pahdapony  
Caddo: Ed Longhat  
Kiowa: Mathew Whitehorse  
Osage: Leonard Maker  
Otoe-Missouri: Loran M. Littlecrow  
Pawnee: Sam Osborne

**Exposition Princesses**

Vanessa Kay Vance – Wichita  
Sharon Yeahquo – Delaware  
Margery Haurey – Arapaho  
Kay Frances Weryackwe – Comanche  
Jeannie Carter – Caddo  
Sharon Kay Tsatoke – Kiowa  
Delornia Jean Williams – Apache  
Roberta Ann White Shield – Cheyenne  
Mary Joan Barnes – Osage  
Eva Laura Munroe – Otoe-Missouri  
Sue Ann Morgan - Pawnee

**Pageant Author and Director**

Marcus Fuller

**Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

**American Indian Exposition 1969**

**Officers**

President: Robert L. Goombi – Kiowa  
Vice-President: Myles Stephenson – Wichita  
Secretary: Irene Permansu – Comanche  
Treasurer: Willie Hail – Arapaho

**Directors**

Osage: Leonard Maker  
Comanche: Stacy Pahdapony  
Caddo: Ed Longhat  
Kiowa: Matthew Whitehorse  
Delaware: Jesse R. Coffey  
Apache: Houston Klinekole  
Arapaho: Riley R. Hail  
Wichita: Bill Campbell  
Cheyenne: Ralph Beard  
Otoe-Missouri: Loran M. Littlecrow

**Exposition Princesses**

Deborah Lee Bass – Otoe-Missouri  
Lana Klinekole – Apache  
Freda Roman Nose – Cheyenne  
Sharon Gail Onco – Arapaho

Sharon Moore – Delaware  
Freda Tate – Comanche  
Marilyn Miller – Wichita  
Sharon Kay Tsatoke – Kiowa  
Wilma Black Owl – Caddo  
Mary Barnes – Osage  
**Pageant Author and Director**  
Marcus Fuller  
**Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

### **American Indian Exposition 1970**

#### **Officers**

President: Robert L. Goombi  
Vice-President: Myles Stephenson  
Secretary: Irene Lane  
Treasurer: Alene M. Martinez

#### **Directors**

Apache: Houston Klinekole  
Arapaho: Stanley Sleeper  
Caddo: Harry Guy  
Cheyenne: Ralph Beard  
Comanche: Elton Yellowfish  
Delaware: Thomas Holder  
Fort Sill Apache  
Kiowa: Mac Whitehorse  
Otoe: Loren Littlecrow  
Osage: Leonard Maker, Sr.  
Pawnee: Edwin Horsechief  
Wichita: Stuart Owings

#### **Exposition Princesses**

Lana Klinekole – Apache  
Helen Beard – Arapaho  
Mary Rose Hamilton – Caddo  
Michelle Poafpybitty – Comanche  
Rachel Little Coyote – Cheyenne  
Esther Smith – Delaware  
Mabel Tsoodle – Kiowa  
Alice Jake – Osage  
Kathleen Homeratha – Otoe-Missouria  
Liana Chapman – Pawnee  
Brenda Akoneto – Wichita

#### **Pageant Author and Director**

Elton Yellowfish

#### **Director of Arts and Crafts**

Harvey West

#### **Camp Crier**

Adolphus Goombi

#### **Master of Ceremonies**

TBA

## American Indian Exposition 1971

### Officers

President: Robert L. Goombi – Kiowa  
Vice-President: Myles Stephenson – Wichita  
Secretary: Irene Lane  
Treasurer: Alene Martinez

### Directors

Apache: Houston Klinekole  
Arapaho: Stanley Sleeper  
Caddo: Harry Guy  
Cheyenne: Ralph Beard  
Comanche: Milton Sovo, Sr.  
Delaware: Edgar French  
Kiowa: Mac Whitehorse  
Osage: Leonard Maker  
Otoe-Missouri: Kenneth Heragara  
Pawnee: Edwin Horsechief  
Ponca: Wilford Clark (tribe officially admitted as twelfth member AIE in July this year)  
Wichita: Stewart Owings

### Exposition Princesses

Patricia Nimsey – Apache  
Vicky Ellen Pratt – Arapaho  
Harriet Denise Guy – Caddo  
Beulah Mae Hawk – Cheyenne  
Susan Perkaquanard – Comanche  
Sharon Moore – Delaware  
LaDonna Beaver – Kiowa  
Mary Frances Hopper – Osage  
Deana Jo Harragarra – Otoe  
Sue Ann Roubideaux – Pawnee  
Thomasine Roughface – Ponca  
Jodene Rene Irving – Wichita

### Pageant Director (N/A)

### Arts and Crafts Director

Roland Whitehorse

### Camp Crier

Adolphus Goombi

### Master of Ceremonies

Amos Toahty

## American Indian Exposition 1972

### Officers

President: Robert L. Goombi – Kiowa  
Vice-President: Myles Stephenson – Wichita  
Secretary: Irene Lane  
Treasurer: Alene Martinez

### Directors

Apache: Houston Klinekole  
Arapaho: Stanley Sleeper  
Caddo: Harry Guy  
Cheyenne: Ralph Beard

Comanche: Milton Sovo  
Delaware: Edgar French  
Kiowa: Mac Whitehorse  
Osage: Leonard Maker, Sr.  
Otoe-Missouri: Loran M. Littlecrow  
Pawnee: Edwin Horsechief  
Ponca: Wilford Clark  
Wichita: Stewart Owings  
Quapaw: Christine Pettit  
**Exposition Princesses**  
Charlotte Lana Klinekole – Apache  
Carol Sue James – Arapaho  
Karen Louise Smith – Caddo  
LaQuita Lone Bear – Cheyenne  
Kimberly Chesnah – Comanche  
Rachel Parton Smith – Delaware  
Joanna Big Bow – Kiowa  
TBA – Osage  
Gwendy Williams – Otoe-Missouri  
Minnie Horsechief – Pawnee  
Debbie Buffalohead – Ponca  
Marsha Ann Lamar – Wichita  
Carrie Vee Wilson – Quapaw  
**Pageant Director**  
Edwin Horsechief  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
Rollin Whitehorse  
**Master Of Ceremonies**  
Amos Toahty

### American Indian Exposition 1973

#### **Officers**

President: Robert Goombi, Jr. – Kiowa  
Vice-President: Myles Stephenson – Wichita  
Secretary: Mrs. Irene Lane (elected but did not serve); Mrs. Pat (Zotigh) Espinoza  
Treasurer: Mrs. Alene Martinez – Delaware

#### **Directors**

Apache: George Komardley  
Arapaho: Clinton Youngbear  
Caddo: Leon “Buzz” Carter, Jr.  
Cheyenne: Ralph Beard  
Comanche: James Chasenah  
Delaware: Linda Sue Poolaw  
Kiowa: Durrell “Jumbo” Cooper  
Otoe: Kenneth Harragarra  
Osage: William Supernaw  
Pawnee: Kenneth Goodeagle  
Ponca: Wilford Clark  
Quapaw: Christine Pettit  
Wichita: Shirley Davilla  
**Exposition Princesses**  
Mary Prentiss – Apache

Dana Lynn Franklin – Arapaho  
Rhetta Smith – Caddo  
Jamie Sue Hitchcock – Comanche  
Ella Newakis Lamebull – Cheyenne  
Anita Arkeketa – Delaware  
Huberta Jean Tsothigh – Kiowa  
Susan Renae Brumley – Osage  
Susan Arkeketa – Otoe  
Cherisse Murphee – Pawnee  
Rose Marie Lieb – Ponca  
Debbie Ahboah – Wichita  
Jo Kay Dowell - Quapaw  
**Pageant Narrator**  
Linn Pauahy  
**Camp Crier**  
Henry Kaubin  
**Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

### American Indian Exposition 1974

#### **Officers**

President: Robert Goombi, Jr.  
Vice-President: Myles Stephenson  
Secretary: Mrs. Pat (Zotigh) Espinoza  
Treasurer: Mrs. Alene Martinez

#### **Directors**

Apache: George Komardley  
Arapaho: Clinton Youngbear  
Caddo: Leon “Buzz” Carter, Jr.  
Cheyenne: Ralph Beard  
Comanche: Joe Attocknie  
Delaware: Linda Sue Poolaw  
Fort Sill Apache: Charlotte Gooday  
Kiowa: Durrell “Jumbo” Cooper, Jr.  
Otoe: Kenneth Harragarra  
Osage: William Supernaw  
Pawnee: Kenneth Goodeagle  
Ponca: Wilbur Waters  
Quapaw: Christine Pettit  
Wichita: Shirley Davilla

#### **Exposition Princesses**

Rhonda Klinekole – Apache  
Tona Bailey – Arapaho  
Rhyannon Kay Colton – Caddo  
Carla Codopony – Comanche  
Isa Attocknie – Comanche  
Karen Rose Washa – Cheyenne  
Gwen Kopepassah – Delaware  
Charlotte Gooday – Fort Sill Apache  
Jalaine Marie Aitson – Kiowa  
Anita Eaves – Osage  
Arlene Grant – Otoe  
Cherisse Murphee – Pawnee

Lavonna Sue Biggoose – Ponca  
Elizabeth J. Romick – Quapaw  
Anita Faye Ross – Wichita  
**Pageant Director**  
Written and Compiled by Linda Poolaw  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
Rollin Whitehorse  
**Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

### **American Indian Exposition 1975**

#### **Officers**

President: Robert L. Goombi, Jr.  
Vice-President: Myles Stephenson  
Secretary: Pat (Zotigh) Espinoza  
Treasurer: Alene Martinez

#### **Directors**

Apache: George Komardley  
Arapaho: Clinton Youngbear  
Caddo: Leon “Buzz” Carter, Jr.  
Cheyenne: Ralph Beard  
Comanche: Joe Attocknie  
Delaware: Linda Poolaw  
Fort Sill Apache: Charlotte Gooday  
Kiowa: Durell Cooper, Jr.  
Osage: William Supernaw  
Otoe: Kenneth Harragarra  
Pawnee: Kenneth Goodeagle  
Ponca: Wilbur Waters  
Quapaw: Christine Pettit  
Wichita: Shirley Davilla

#### **Exposition Princesses**

Francine Tointigh – Apache  
Lenora Parton – Caddo  
Sandra Lynn Sleeper – Arapaho  
Jamie Lee Franklin – Comanche  
Roberta Ann Whitethunder – Cheyenne  
Mary Beth Wilson – Delaware  
Jalaine Aitson – Kiowa  
Susan Shannon – Osage  
Debra Childs – Otoe-Missouri  
Georgana Gardipe – Pawnee  
Harriet Cerre – Ponca  
Kathleen Reeder – Wichita  
Elizabeth J. Romack - Quapaw

#### **Pageant Writer and Director**

Linda Poolaw

**Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

## American Indian Exposition 1976

### Officers

President: Robert Goombi, Jr. - Kiowa  
Vice-President: Leon Carter, Jr. - Caddo  
Secretary: Libby Littlechief - Kiowa  
Treasurer: Alena Martinez – Delaware  
Public Relations: Linda Poolaw - Delaware

### Directors

Apache: George Komardley  
Arapaho: Stanley Sleeper  
Caddo: Pat Carter Pahcuddy  
Cheyenne: Robert White Thunder  
Comanche: Rusty Wahkinney  
Delaware: Donna Thompson  
Kiowa: Mac Whitehorse  
Osage: Charles O. Tillman, Jr.  
Pawnee: Floyd Moses  
Ponca: Wilbur Waters  
Wichita: Shirley Davilla

### Exposition Princesses

Carmelita Archilta – Apache  
Janelle Orange – Arapaho  
Renee Whitebear – Caddo  
Cheryl Whitewolf – Comanche  
Karen Little Coyote – Cheyenne  
Shirley Subieta – Delaware  
Lynette Tsotigh – Kiowa  
Julie Ann Brave – Osage  
Debra Howell – Pawnee  
Adaline Roughface – Ponca  
Kay Luther – Wichita

### Pageant Director (N/A)

### Master of Ceremonies

Sammy Tone-kei White

### Arts and Crafts Director

Roland Whitehorse

## American Indian Exposition 1977

### Officers

President: Robert L. Goombi, Jr. - Kiowa  
Vice-President: Leon “Buzz” Carter - Caddo  
Secretary: Libby Littlechief - Kiowa  
Treasurer: Alena Martinez - Delaware

### Directors

Apache: Joe Komardley  
Arapaho: Stanley Sleeper  
Caddo: Edwin Paul Edge  
Cheyenne: Robert Whitethunder  
Comanche: Rusty Wahkinney  
Delaware: Donna Thompson  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday



Kiowa: Mac Whitehorse  
Otoe- Kenneth Harragarra  
Osage: Charles Tillman, Jr.  
Pawnee: Floyd Moses  
Ponca: Wilbur Waters  
Quapaw – Christine Pettit  
Wichita: Shirley Davilla

**Exposition Princesses**

Shirely Ann Whiteshield – Apache  
Beverly Ann Morton – Arapaho  
Peggy Ann Pahcuddy – Caddo  
Mary Chasenah – Comanche  
Norma Black – Cheyenne  
Carol Moore – Delaware  
Rebecca Darrow – Fort Sill Apache  
Crystal Fawn Deer – Iowa  
Lou Ann Hall – Kiowa  
Tami Fugate – Osage  
Debbie Mahickteno – Otoe  
Carol Lewis – Pawnee  
Sandra Irene Hinman – Ponca  
Delana Bowman – Wichita  
Pauline Atkins – Quapaw

**Pageant Writer and Director**

Libby Littlechief

**Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White (This is Tonekei's second appearance as emcee)

**Arts and Crafts Director**

Roland Whitehorse

**Camp Crier**

Adolphus Goombi

**American Indian Exposition 1978**

**Officers**

President: Leon "Buzz" Carter  
Vice-President: (N/A)  
Secretary: Libby Littlechief  
Treasurer: Alene Martinez  
Public Relations Director: Linda Poolaw

**Directors**

Apache: George Komardley  
Arapaho: Stanley Sleeper  
Caddo: Pat Carter  
Cheyenne: Esther Kaulaity  
Comanche: Raymond Wahkinney  
Delaware: Dona Thompson  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday  
Iowa: Nelson White  
Kiowa: Matthew Whitehorse  
Otoe- Kenneth Harragarra  
Osage: Joe Shunkamolah  
Pawnee: Floyd Moses

Ponca: Wilbur Waters  
Wichita: Shirley Davilla  
Quapaw: Sue Valliere  
**Exposition Princesses**  
Betty Tah (Tall?) – Apache  
Laketa Ann Pratt – Arapaho  
Brenda Shemayme – Caddo  
Dannita Pahcuddy – Comanche  
Michelle Hoffman – Cheyenne  
Elizabeth French – Delaware  
Martha Mitchell – Fort Sill Apache  
Brenda Rowe – Iowa  
Lois Tsatoke – Kiowa  
Billie Jones – Osage  
Pauline Atkins – Otoe  
Nan Yellowmule – Pawnee  
Dianna Roughface – Ponca  
Martha McCurdy – Wichita  
Jamie Clemons - Quapaw  
**Pageant Director** (N/A)  
**Master of Ceremonies**  
Sammy Tonekei White

#### **American Indian Exposition 1979**

##### **Officers**

President: Myles Stephenson  
Vice-President: Rusty Wahkinney  
Secretary: Martha Perez  
Treasurer: Alene Martinez

##### **Directors**

Apache: Stephanie Kosechata  
Arapaho: Stanley Sleeper  
Caddo: Wanda Kostzuta  
Cheyenne: Esther Kaulaity  
Comanche: TBA  
Delaware: Donna K. Thompson  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday  
Iowa: Nelson B. White  
Kiowa: TBA  
Otoe: Kenneth Harragarra  
Osage: Joe Shunkamolah, Sr.  
Pawnee: TBA  
Ponca: Wilbur Waters  
Quapaw: Sue Valliere  
Wichita: Shirley Davilla  
**Exposition Princesses**  
Gwyn Guy – Apache  
Marlene Hamilton – Arapaho  
Yonavea Gunn – Caddo  
Jan Yeahquo – Comanche  
TBA – Cheyenne  
Carol Moore – Delaware

Jackie Kawaykla – Fort Sill Apache  
Sondra Taylor – Iowa  
Mari Frances Sahmaunt – Kiowa  
Carlolyn Shannon – Osage  
Denise Plumley – Otoe-Missouria  
Connie Moore – Pawnee  
Roberta Davilla – Ponca  
Benetta Reeder – Wichita

**Pageant Director**

Martha Perez

**Pageant Written by**

Charles Wells, Jr. – Caddo

**Arts and Crafts Director**

Keith Sofner

**Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

**American Indian Exposition 1980**

**Officers**

President: Myles Stephenson

Vice-President: Rusty Wahkinney

Secretary: Martha Perez

Treasurer: Alene Martinez

**Directors**

Apache: Stephanie Kosechata

Arapaho: Stanley Sleeper

Caddo: Wanda Kostzuta

Cheyenne: Esther Kaulaity

Comanche: Martin Weryackwe

Delaware: Donna K. Thompson

Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday

Iowa: Nelson B. White

Kiowa: Mac Whitehorse

Otoe: Kenneth Harragarra

Osage: Joe Shunkamolah, Sr.

Pawnee: Kenneth Goodeagle

Ponca: Wilbur Waters

Quapaw: Sue Valliere

Wichita: Shirley Davilla

**Exposition Princesses**

Felepia Marie Banderas – Apache

Charlene Curtis – Arapaho

Leta Beth Wilson – Caddo

Linda Chasenah – Comanche

Lois Haumpy – Cheyenne

TBA – Delaware

Robin Lynn Regan – Fort Sill Apache

Sandra Dee Taylor – Iowa

Marlene Hamilton (Lois Haumpy)– Kiowa

Tracy Anne Moore – Osage

TBA – Otoe-Missouria

Florissa Kanuho – Pawnee  
Marcia Roy – Ponca  
Betty Ann Davilla – Wichita  
Melinda Waters – Miss Indian Oklahoma  
Bunty Anquoe Meggesto – Miss National Congress of American Indians  
Pamalita Whitefeather – Miss Indian Texas

**Pageant Director**

Marth Perez

**Arts and Crafts Director**

Keith Sofner

**Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

**American Indian Exposition 1981**

**Officers**

President: Myles Stephenson

Vice-President: Rusty Wahkinney

Secretary: Martha Perez

Treasurer: Alene Martinez

**Directors**

Apache: Stephanie Kosechata

Arapaho: Stanley Sleeper

Caddo: Wanda Kostzuta

Cheyenne: Esther Kaulaity

Comanche: Martin Weryackwe

Delaware: Donna K. Thompson

Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday

Iowa: Nelson B. White

Kiowa: Mac Whitehorse

Otoe: Kenneth Harragarra

Osage: Joe Shunkamolah, Sr.

Pawnee: Kenneth Goodeagle

Ponca: Wilbur Waters

Quapaw: Sue Valliere

Wichita: Shirley Davilla

**Exposition Princesses**

Ruthie Wetselline – Apache

Christina Morton – Arapaho

Jackie Williams – Caddo

Shana Jo Scott – Comanche

Marilyn Osage – Cheyenne

Carolyn Walker – Delaware

Robin Lynn Regan – Fort Sill Apache

Lahoma Horse – Kiowa

Angela Satepauhoodle – Osage

Karen Faw – Otoe-Missouria

Larissa Kaneho – Pawnee

Delilah Arhiketa – Ponca

Shirley Davilla – Wichita

**Pageant Author**

Charles Wells, Jr.

**Director**

Sammy Tonekei White  
**Pageant Narrator**  
Ernest Old Shield  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
Junior Weryackwe  
**Master of Ceremonies (N/A)**

## American Indian Exposition 1982

### **Officers**

President: Myles Stephenson  
Vice-President: Manfred Kaulaity  
Secretary: Martha Perez  
Treasurer: Alene Martinez

### **Directors**

Apache: Roger "Pete" Williams  
Caddo: Roscoe Shelby Shemayme  
Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher hail  
Comanche: Martin Weryackwe Sr.  
Kiowa: Joe Fish Dupoint  
Delaware: Bonnie Stephenson  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday  
Iowa: Nelson B. White  
Otoe-Missouri: Mildred Hudson  
Osage: Thomasine Moore  
Pawnee: Kenneth Goodeagle  
Wichita: Virgil Swift  
Ponca: Wilbur Waters  
Arapaho: Willie Hail

### **Exposition Princesses**

Lois Wetselline – Apache  
Kelly Lynn Howell – Caddo  
Dorthey Heap-of-Birds – Cheyenne  
Rona Tahah – Comanche  
Cherie Kaulaity – Kiowa  
Debbie Beaver – Delaware  
Carolyn Lang – Fort Sill Apache  
Gabrielle Sine – Iowa  
Marcella Grant – Otoe  
Meg Standingbear – Osage  
France L. Murie – Pawnee  
Chesa Kadayso – Wichita  
Betty Davilla – Wichita  
Cynthia Roughface – Ponca  
Nancy McCord – Arapaho

### **Arts and Crafts Director**

Doc Tate Nevaquaya

### **Pageant Director (N/A)**

### **Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

## American Indian Exposition 1983

### **Officers**

President: Myles Stephenson – Wichita  
Vice-President: Manfred Kaulaity  
Secretary: Martha Kooms Perez  
Treasurer: Shirley Davilla

### **Directors**

Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher Hail  
Comanche: Martin Weryackwe Sr.  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday  
Apache Tribe of Oklahoma: Roger “Pete” Williams  
Otoe-Missouri: Mildred Hudson  
Caddo: Roscoe Shelby Shemayme  
Arapaho: Willie Hail  
Ponca: John M. Williams  
Delaware: Bonnie Stephenson  
Iowa: Nelson B. White (Acting)  
Kiowa: Joe Fish Dupoint  
Osage: Thomasine Moore  
Wichita: Virgil Swift  
Pawnee: Kenneth Goodeagle

### **Exposition Princesses**

Montoya Whiteman – Cheyenne  
Donna Gail Sovo – Comanche  
Carolyn J. Lang – Fort Sill Apache  
Leslie Gaye Tselee – Apache  
Jonnie De Childs – Otoe-Missouri  
Tamra Kay Guy – Caddo  
Elenor Jo Youngbear – Arapaho  
Patricia Gail Gomez – Ponca  
Mary Ann Davies – Delaware  
Tammy McClellan – Iowa  
Vivian Ware II – Kiowa  
Tracey Moore – Osage  
Quetha Mary Inkanish – Wichita  
France L. Murie – Pawnee  
Dionne Kay Boydiddle – The First Junior Miss Indian Oklahoma

### **Pageant Director**

Delores Twohatchet

### **Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

## American Indian Exposition 1984

### **Officers**

President: Myles Stephenson – Wichita  
Vice-President: Manfred Kaulaity  
Secretary: Martha Perez  
Treasurer: Shirley Davilla

### **Directors**

Apache: Joe Wetselline  
Delaware: Bonnie Stephenson

Otoe-Missouri: Mildred Hudson  
Comanche: Martin Weryackwe Sr.  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday  
Caddo: Roscoe Shelby Shemayme  
Kiowa: Joe Fish Dupoint  
Ponca: John M. Williams  
Osage: Thomasine Moore  
Wichita: Virgil Swift  
Pawnee: Kenneth Goodeagle  
Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher Hail  
Arapaho: Willie Hail  
Iowa: Dollie Modlin

**Exposition Princesses**

Tanya Sue Banderas – Apache  
Mary Ann Davies – Delaware  
Angela Dawn Oyebi – Otoe-Missouri  
Pamela Tsatoke – Comanche  
Daneal Cripps – Fort Sill Apache  
Gina Wooster – Caddo  
Leslie Tsonetokoy – Kiowa  
La Vina Spotted Bear – Ponca  
Margeret Lynn Shannon – Osage  
Melody Tanner – Wichita  
Cecilia Briana Hawkins – Pawnee  
Roberta Ann Burns – Cheyenne  
Theda Ann Whiteshirt – Arapaho  
Alicia Diane McClellan – Iowa

**Pageant Director**

Alice Stevens

**Arts and Crafts Director**

Dorothy Palmer Bacon

**Master of Ceremonies**

Chris White

**American Indian Exposition 1985**

**Officers**

President: Myles Stephenson – Wichita  
Vice-President: Linda Poolaw – Delaware  
Secretary: Martha Perez  
Treasurer: Shirley Davilla

**Directors**

Apache: Joe Wetselline  
Delaware: Bonnie Stephenson  
Otoe-Missouri: Mildred Hudson  
Comanche: Aruilla Sapcut Craig  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday  
Caddo: Roscoe Shelby Shemayme  
Kiowa: Joe Fish Dupoint  
Ponca: John M. Williams  
Osage: Thomasine Moore  
Wichita: Margaret Bell  
Pawnee: Vance Horsechief

Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher Hail  
Arapaho: Willie Hail  
**Exposition Princesses**  
Carrie Lynn Washee – Apache  
Mary Lou Shawnee – Arapaho  
Beryl Ann Sifford – Caddo  
Bobbie Tahchawwickah – Comanche  
Suzanne French – Delaware  
Jeanette Shaw – Fort Sill Apache  
Kimberly Lynne Clark – Kiowa  
Kimberly Lee Whiteshield – Cheyenne  
Alicia Corrine Harvey – Otoe-Missouri  
Georgina Pappan – Ponca  
Lara Beth Parker – Wichita  
Verona Moore – Pawnee  
Olivia King – Osage  
**Pageant Author and Director**  
Georgette (G. G.) Brown  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
Dorothy Palmer Bacon  
**Master of Ceremonies**  
Chris White  
**Camp Crier**  
Patrick Hayes

#### **American Indian Exposition 1986**

##### **Officers**

President: Myles Stephenson – Wichita  
Vice-President: Linda Poolaw – Delaware  
Secretary: Martha Perez  
Treasurer: Shirley Davilla

##### **Directors**

Apache: Joe Wetselline  
Delaware: Bonnie Stephenson  
Otoe-Missouri: Mildred Hudson  
Comanche: Aruilla Sapcut Craig  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday  
Caddo: Roscoe Shelby Shemayme  
Kiowa: Joe Fish Dupoint  
Ponca: John M. Williams  
Osage: Thomasine Moore  
Wichita: Margaret Bell  
Pawnee: Vance Horsechief  
Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher Hail  
Arapaho: Willie Hail

##### **Exposition Princesses**

Ronnee Jean Ahtone – Apache  
Resi Delaine Allen – Arapaho  
Kara Wooster – Caddo  
Kathy Martinez – Comanche  
Evelyn Kionute – Delaware  
Lisa dawn Pack – Fort Sill Apache



Quinn Cussen Satepauhoodle – Kiowa  
Mary Frances Boyiddle – Cheyenne  
Laura Mae Sigwing – Otoe-Missouri  
Melissa Creepingbear – Ponca  
Jerri Deaneane Bell – Wichita  
Thomasine Sue Moore – Pawnee  
Olivia Dawn Gann – Osage

**Pageant Author and Director**

Linda Poolaw

**Pageant Narrator: 1931 pageant remembrance reading**

Hammond Motah

**Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

**Camp Crier**

Ralph Kotay

**American Indian Exposition 1987**

**Officers**

President: Myles Stephenson  
Vice-President: Linda Poolaw  
Secretary: Martha Perez  
Treasurer: Shirley Davilla

**Directors**

Apache: Joe Wetselline  
Arapaho: Willie Hail  
Caddo: Roscoe Shelby Shemayme  
Comanche: Aruillia Sapcut Craig  
Delaware: Bonnie Stephenson  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday  
Kiowa: Joe Fish Dupoint  
Iowa: Elvina McClellan  
Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher Hail  
Ponca: John Williams  
Wichita: Margaret Bell  
Pawnee: Vance Horsechief  
Osage: Thomasine Moore  
Otoe-Missouri: Mildred Hudson

**Exposition Princesses**

Mary Louise Wetselline – Apache  
Mary Francis Boyiddle – Arapaho  
Alena Yvonne Edge – Caddo  
Sally Florence Kerchee – Comanche  
Anna Joyce Pedro – Cheyenne  
Evelyn Gail Kionute – Delaware  
Kathy Gooday – Fort Sill Apache  
Lori Ann Kaulaity – Kiowa  
Jodie K. Revard – Osage  
Angela Barnett – Otoe Missouri  
Kim Ellen Murie – Pawnee  
Patricia Gail Gomez – Ponca  
Debra Lynn Jonathan – Wichita

**Pageant Director**

Ruby Guy Cozad

**Arts and Crafts Director**

Lyn Pittenridge

**Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

**American Indian Exposition 1988****Officers**

President: Linda Poolaw – Delaware

Vice-President: Joe Fish Dupoint – Kiowa

Secretary: Patricia Zotigh Espinoza

Treasurer: Shirley Davilla

Bookkeeper: Sandra Ward

**Directors**

Apache: Violet Klinekole

Arapaho: Willie Hail

Caddo: Sondra L. (Beaver) Dupoint

Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher Hail

Comanche: Kimberly Chasenah Cozad

Delaware: Bonnie Stephenson

Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday

Iowa: Elvina McClellan

Kiowa: Lewis Cozad

Otoe-Missouri: Mildred Hudson

Osage: Thomasine Moore

Pawnee: Darrell Moore

Ponca: John Williams

Sac & Fox: Webster K. Bearbow

Wichita: Stuart Owings

**Exposition Princesses**

Tonilynn Soontay – Apache

Kayty Curtis – Arapaho

Denae Priddy – Caddo

Kimberly Joyce Dankei – Cheyenne

Jolene “J J” Jimenez – Comanche

Lisa Smith – Delaware

Kathy Gooday – Fort Sill Apache

Frankie L. Modlin – Iowa

Marissa Horse – Kiowa

Tara Dawn George – Otoe-Missouri

Trish Alley – Osage

Shauncee Renee Matlock – Pawnee

Heather Roy – Ponca

Ursula Ann Bernice Walker – Sac & Fox

Nikki Owings – Wichita

**Pageant Director****Arts and Crafts Director**

Lyn Pittenridge

**Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

**Dog Racing Director**

Philemon Berry

**American Indian Exposition 1989****Officers**

President: Linda Poolaw – Delaware  
Vice-President: Joe Fish Dupoint – Kiowa  
Secretary: Patricia Zotigh Espinoza  
Treasurer: Shirley Davilla  
Bookkeeper: Sandra Ward

**Directors**

Apache: Violet Klinekole  
Arapaho: Willie Hail  
Caddo: Sondra L. (Beaver) Dupoint  
Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher Hail  
Comanche: Kimberly Chasenah Cozad  
Delaware: Bonnie Stephenson  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday  
Iowa: Elvina McClellan  
Kiowa: Lewis Cozad  
Otoe-Missouri: Mildred Hudson  
Osage: Thomasine Moore  
Pawnee: Darrell Moore  
Ponca: John Williams  
Sac & Fox: Webster K. Bearbow  
Wichita: Stuart Owings

**Exposition Princesses**

Victoria Bandaras – Apache  
Capacina Doreen Watson – Arapaho  
Tamara Francis – Caddo  
JoNita Twins Sweetwater – Cheyenne  
Janet Leanne Saupitty – Comanche  
Melanie Ann Watkins – Delaware  
Dasha Ann McCoy – Fort Sill Apache  
Frankie L. Modlin – Iowa  
Stephanie TahBone – Kiowa  
Kennetha Siemens – Otoe-Missouri  
Asa Cunningham – Osage  
Tonya Moore – Pawnee  
Kristy Ann Street – Ponca  
Charlene Crane – Sac & Fox  
Toni Sheree Miller – Wichita

**Pageant Director****Arts and Crafts Director**

Lyn Pittenridge

**Master of Ceremonies**

Chris White

## American Indian Exposition 1990

### **Officers**

President: John Williams  
Vice-President: Lewis Cozad  
Secretary: Pat Espinoza  
Treasurer: Shirley Davilla  
Bookkeeper: Sandra Ward

### **Directors**

Apache: Violet Moses  
Arapaho: Willie Hail  
Caddo: Sondra L. (Beaver) Dupoint  
Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher Hail  
Comanche: Kimberly Chasenah Cozad  
Delaware: Bonnie Stephenson  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday, Sr.  
Iowa: Elvina McClellan  
Kiowa: Mabel Cozad  
Otoe – Missouriia: Joann Aitson  
Osage: Thomasine Moore  
Pawnee: Darrell Moore  
Ponca: Diane Kauahquo  
Sac & Fox: Webster K. Bearbow  
Wichita: Stratford Williams

### **Exposition Princesses**

Henrietta Redbone – Apache  
Jamie Scabbyhorse – Arapaho  
Tina Marie Subia – Caddo  
Tona Gray – Comanche  
Lynn White Shield – Cheyenne  
Tracy Lynn Walker – Delaware  
Amy Gooday – Fort Sill Apache  
Jennifer Alley – Iowa  
Alice Ann Kaulaity – Kiowa  
Danita Cornelison – Osage  
Elaine Grant – Otoe  
Jennifer Ruth Horsechief – Pawnee  
Mattie Biggoose – Ponca  
Shannon Rochelle Franklin – Sac & Fox  
Jeanne Davilla – Wichita

### **Pageant Director**

Carol Cizek

### **Master of Ceremonies**

Chris White

## American Indian Exposition 1991

### **Officers**

President: John Williams  
Vice-President: Lewis Cozad  
Secretary: Pat Zotigh Espinoza  
Treasurer: Shirley Davilla  
Bookkeeper: Sandra Ward

**Directors**

Apache: Tonilynn Soontay  
Arapaho: Willie Hail  
Caddo: Wildena Moffer  
Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher Hail  
Comanche: Gerald Chasenah  
Delaware: Elizabeth Tippeconnie  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday  
Iowa: Elvina McClellan  
Kiowa: Mabel Tsoodle Cozad  
Otoe – Missouri: Theodore Moore, Sr.  
Osage: Thomasine Moore  
Pawnee: Pete L. Moore, Sr.  
Ponca: Dianna Kauahquo  
Sac & Fox: Webster Bearbow  
Wichita: Anita Ross

**Exposition Princesses**

Marquita Conny Wilden – Apache  
Holly Long Warrior – Arapaho  
Hallie Dee Files – Caddo  
Lydia Blackstar – Comanche  
Angie Glenn – Cheyenne  
Billie Kionute – Delaware  
Amy Gooday – Fort Sill Apache  
Ginger Kent – Iowa  
Nesha Onco – Kiowa  
Dunene Lane – Osage  
TBA – Otoe  
Jenifer Ann Gover – Pawnee  
TBA – Ponca  
Angela Thurman – Sac & Fox  
Tara Tartsah – Wichita  
Cre Cre Jean Hughes – Jr. Miss Indian Oklahoma  
Carla Jolyn Carey – Miss Indian Oklahoma  
Janet Saupitty – Miss Indian World

**Pageant Director**

Georgette Horse

**Arts and Crafts Director**

Charles Wells, Jr.

**Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

**Horse Racing Director**

Dukes Tsoodle, Jr.

**Dog Racing Director**

Philemon Berry

**Maintenance Director**

Paul Tate Tooahimpah

**American Indian Exposition 1992****Officers**

President: John Williams  
Vice-President: Lewis Cozad

Secretary: Patricia Zotigh Espinoza  
Treasurer: Shirley Davilla

**Directors**

Apache: Tonilynn Soontay  
Arapaho: Willie P. Hail  
Caddo: Wildena Moffer  
Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher Hail  
Comanche: Gerald Chesenah  
Delaware: Elizabeth Tippeconnie  
Fort Sill Apache Inman Gooday  
Iowa: Elvina McClellan  
Kiowa: Mabel Cozad  
Otoe: Ted V. Moore Sr.  
Osage: Thomasine Moore  
Pawnee: Lily D. Harms  
Ponca: Dianna Kauahquo  
Sac & Fox: Webster Bearbow  
Wichita: Anita Ross

**Exposition Princesses**

Taysha D. Bitseedy – Apache  
Sunny Carolyn Wilson – Arapaho  
Sara Harjo – Caddo  
April Dawn Rivers – Cheyenne  
Nicole White Rose Baker – Comanche  
Endreya M. McCabe – Delaware  
Rhonda McCoy – Fort Sill Apache  
Kathryn R. McClellan – Iowa  
Sophia Hovakah-Wolf – Kiowa  
Melissa Dawn Thornton – Otoe-Missouri  
Joyce Shield – Osage  
Jennifer Gover – Pawnee  
Lana Cole – Ponca  
Shana Rae Boyd – Sac & Fox  
Lorena Hokeah – Wichita

**Pageant Director**

**Arts and Crafts Director**

Charles Wells Jr.

**Horse Racing Director**

Ronnie Birch

**Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

**American Indian Exposition 1993**

**Officers**

President: John Williams  
Vice-President: Lewis Cozad  
Secretary: Patricia Zotigh Espinoza  
Treasurer: Shirley Davilla

**Directors**

Apache: Tonilynn Soontay  
Arapaho: Willie P. Hail  
Caddo: Roscoe Shelby Shemayme

Cheyenne: Opal Fletcher Hail  
 Comanche: Gerald Chesenah  
 Delaware: Elizabeth Tippeconnie  
 Fort Sill Apache Inman Gooday Sr.  
 Iowa: Elvina McClellan  
 Kiowa: Mabel Cozad  
 Otoe-Ted V. Moore Sr.  
 Osage: Thomasine Moore  
 Pawnee: Sandra Moore  
 Ponca: Dianna Kauahquo  
 Sac & Fox: Webster Bearbow  
 Wichita: Anita Ross  
**Exposition Princesses**  
 Reansa Tselee – Apache  
 Stephanie Franklin – Arapaho  
 Sara Harjo – Caddo  
 Chelsea Dawes – Cheyenne  
 JoNell Heminokeky – Comanche  
 Ofelia Monique DeLaRosa – Delaware  
 Lisa Gooday – Fort Sill Apache  
 Lori Switch – Iowa  
 Amber Catharine Toppah – Kiowa  
 Yolanda Lynn Thornton – Otoe-Missouri  
 Walena Fields – Osage  
 Marcey Muth – Pawnee  
 Shane Greenwood – Ponca  
 Ursela Walker – Sac & Fox  
 Edwina Rose Horsechief – Wichita  
 Lisa Trice – Miss Indian Oklahoma  
**Pageant Director** (N/A)  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
 Charles Wells Jr.  
**Horse Racing Director**  
 Jack Asenap  
**Master of Ceremonies**  
 Sammy Tone-kei White  
**Parade Marshall**  
 Doc Tate Nevaquaya

### American Indian Exposition 1994

**Officers**

President: Richard “Sunny” Tartsah, Jr.  
 Vice-President: Jo Jo Lane  
 Secretary: LouAnn Hall-Haddon  
 Treasurer: Mamie Bohay

**Directors**

Apache: Sam Redbone  
 Arapaho: Gladys “Jean” Nowlin  
 Caddo: Lowell “Wimpy” Edmonds  
 Cheyenne: Norma (Fisher) Black  
 Comanche: Gaylon Motah  
 Delaware: Anne Pemberton

Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday

Iowa: TBA

Kiowa: Dareen Wolf-Hauakah

Otoe: Ted Moore

Osage: Tomasine Moore

Pawnee: Sandra Moore

Ponca: TBA

Wichita: Nikki Owing

**Exposition Princesses**

Teala Banderous – Apache

Tracy Stevens – Arapaho

Chonda Nicole Williams – Caddo

Karel Ann Coffey – Comanche

Leslie Panana – Cheyenne

Marie Taylor – Delaware

TBA – Fort Sill Apache

Lori Switch – Iowa

Sharon Bailey – Kiowa

TBA – Osage

Veronce Lynn Deer – Otoe

Judy Eaves – Pawnee

Roberta McClellan – Ponca

Jennifer Standing – Wichita

Jamie Barse – Miss Indian Oklahoma

**Pageant Directors**

Danieala Vickers, Lillie Pinnell and Dorla Goombi

**Art and Crafts Director**

Van Codynah

**Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tonekei White

**American Indian Exposition 1995**

**Officers**

President: Richard “Sonny” Tartsah, Jr.

Vice-President: Norma (Fisher) Black

Secretary: Ernestine (Ware) Hernasy

Treasurer: Joe Lucero

**Directors**

Apache: Sam Redbone

Arapaho: Gladys “Jean” Nowlin

Caddo: Lowell “Wimpy” Edmonds

Cheyenne: Steven “Dink” Parton

Comanche: Gaylon Motah

Delaware: Anne Pemberton

Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday

Iowa: Christie Modlin

Kiowa: Yvette Zotigh

Otoe: Ted Moore

Osage: Thomasine Moore

Pawnee: Sandra Moore

Ponca: Diana Roughface Kauahquo

Sac & Fox: Frank McClellan



Wichita: Nikki Owings  
**Exposition Princesses**  
 Anna Pewo – Apache  
 Regina Youngbear – Arapaho  
 Nicole Kay Rotan – Caddo  
 Jill Parker – Comanche  
 Jeanna Dunham – Cheyenne  
 Sonya Smith – Delaware  
 Kerrin Gooday – Fort Sill Apache  
 Carrie McClellan – Iowa  
 Amber Tahbone – Kiowa  
 Chalene Renee Toehay – Osage  
 TBA – Otoe  
 TBA – Pawnee  
 TBA – Ponca  
 Maliah Smith – Sac & Fox  
 Lisa Jonathan – Wichita  
 Sharon Bailey – Miss Indian Oklahoma  
 Mary Alyce Attocknie – Exposition Rodeo Queen  
**Pageant Director**  
 Yvette Zotigh  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
 Lloyd Van Codynah  
**Rodeo Director**  
 Chuck Tsoodle  
**Horse Racing Director**  
 Barbara Cook  
**Dog Racing Director**  
 Philemon Berry  
**Camp Crier**  
 Lincoln Tartsah, Jr.  
**Master of Ceremonies**  
 Dean Whitebreast – Mesquakie

### American Indian Exposition 1996

**Officers**

President: Richard “Sonny” Tartsah  
 Vice-President: Norma Fisher  
 Secretary: Ernestine Ware Hernasy  
 Treasurer: Joe Lucero

**Directors**

Apache: Sammy Redbone  
 Arapaho: Gladys Nowlin  
 Caddo: Lowell Edmonds  
 Cheyenne: Steven Parton  
 Comanche: Gaylon Motah  
 Delaware: Ann Pemberton  
 Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday  
 Iowa: Christie Modlin  
 Kiowa: Yvette Zotigh  
 Otoe: Ted Bravescout  
 Osage: Thomasine Moore

Pawnee: Sandra Moore  
 Ponca: Diane Kauahquo  
 Sac & Fox: Frank McClellan  
 Wichita: Nikki Owings  
**Exposition Princesses**  
 Christina Redbone – Apache  
 Cristina Mendivil – Arapaho  
 Kristie Payne – Caddo  
 Shana Tahhahwah – Comanche  
 Rique Richardson – Cheyenne  
 April Parton – Delaware  
 Lisa LeFlore – Fort Sill Apache  
 April Carson – Iowa  
 DeAndrea Robin Twohatchet – Kiowa  
 Charlene Toehay – Osage  
 Carolee Bible – Otoe  
 Francis L. Kent – Pawnee  
 Lucy McClellan – Ponca  
 Crystal Nanaeto – Sac & Fox  
 Kelly McAdams – Wichita  
**Pageant Director**  
 Dorla Yeahquo  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
 Karen Quintana  
**Mistress of Ceremonies**  
 Martha Koomsa Perez (First woman to serve as Expo emcee)  
**Dog Racing Director**  
 Jerry White  
**Camp Crier**  
 Patrick Redbird

### American Indian Exposition 1997

**Officers**

President: Sam Redbone  
 Vice-President: Lincoln Tartsah, Jr.  
 Secretary: Jodi Miller  
 Treasurer: Sondra Dupoint

**Directors**

Apache: Houston Klinekole, Jr.  
 Arapaho: Dara Franklin  
 Caddo: Charlene Wright  
 Cheyenne: Karen Quintana  
 Comanche: Morgan Tosee  
 Delaware: Roberta Raffety  
 Fort Sill Apache: Inman C. Gooday  
 Iowa: Christie Modlin  
 Kiowa: Tracy Clark-Pewo  
 Otoe: Ted Bravescout  
 Osage: Thomasine Moore  
 Pawnee: Sondra Moore  
 Ponca: Gordon Roy  
 Sac & Fox: Frank McClellan

Wichita: Dewey Beartrack  
**Exposition Princesses**  
Jenette Medicine Bird – Apache  
Crystal Wilson – Arapaho  
Valerie Harjo – Caddo  
Shannon Raylene Sovo – Comanche  
Leslie Wilson – Cheyenne  
Amber Kamp – Delaware  
Kerrian Goody – Fort Sill Apache  
April Carson – Iowa  
Christian Nicole PoorBuffalo – Kiowa  
Shannon Shaw – Osage  
Carole Lee Bible – Otoe  
Tiffany Frieze – Pawnee  
Jeana Rush – Ponca  
Crystal Nanaeto – Sac & Fox  
Casandra “Cassie” McAdams – Wichita  
**Pageant Director**  
Martha Koomsa Perez  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
Ron English  
**Parade Marshall**  
Dixon Palmer  
**Master of Ceremonies**  
Sammy Tonekei White

### American Indian Exposition 1998

**Officers**  
President: Gary L. Clark – Pawnee  
Vice-President: Morgan Tosee Sr. – Comanche  
Secretary: Karen Quintana – Cheyenne  
Treasurer: Tracy Pewo – Kiowa  
**Directors**  
Apache Tribe of Oklahoma: Augustine Maldonado  
Arapaho: Dara Franklin  
Caddo: Charlene Wright  
Cheyenne: Karen Quintana  
Comanche: Ila Tosee  
Delaware: Lisa Smith Longman  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday  
Iowa: Christie Modlin  
Kiowa: Tracy Clark Pewo  
Osage: Tracy Moore  
Otoe-Missouri: Ted Bravescout  
Pawnee: Sandra Moore  
Ponca: Gordon Roy  
Sac & Fox: Frank McClellan  
Wichita: Frances Wise  
**Exposition Princesses**  
Rackel Enrique Maldonado – Apache  
J’Shon Youngbear – Arapaho  
Sasha Smith – Caddo

Jamie Lyn Tosee – Comanche  
Veronoca Whitecloud – Cheyenne  
Susan F. Smith – Delaware  
Michelle Eagleshield – Fort Sill Apache  
P. J. Modlin – Iowa  
Toni Lynn Kaulaity – Kiowa  
Jessica Moore – Osage  
Johnnie Morris – Otoe-Missouria  
Tiffany Frieze – Pawnee  
Emily Smith – Ponca  
Karen Rice – Sac & Fox  
Juana Chaddlesone – Wichita  
**Pageant Director**  
Martha Koomsa Perez  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
Alan Yeahquo  
Assistant Tena Tracy

**Parade Marshall**

Alexander H. Matthews

**Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

**American Indian Exposition 1999**

**Officers**

President: Morgan Tosee – Comanche

Vice-President: Robert McClellan

Secretary: Ernestine Hemasy

Treasurer: Karen R. Tso

**Directors**

Apache Tribe of Oklahoma: Houston Klinekole

Arapaho: Dara Franklin

Caddo: Charlene Wright

Cheyenne: Karen Quintana

Comanche: Ila Tosee

Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday

Iowa: Christie Modlin

Kiowa: Sharon Komahcheet

Osage: Larry Maker

Otoe: Moran (Babe) Bible

Pawnee: Berwyn Moses

Ponca: Gordon Roy

Sac & Fox: Frank McClellan

Wichita: Drusilla Beartrack

**Exposition Princesses**

Doni Grace Pewo – Apache

Kay Kay Franklin – Arapaho

Shelby Howery – Caddo

Ellen Tahhahwah – Comanche

Michelle Kauhquao – Cheyenne

Jennifer Palmer – Fort Sill Apache

P. J. Modlin – Iowa

Marissa Nell Poolaw – Kiowa  
Jennifer Standingbear – Osage  
Dy Daylain Alley – Otoe  
Michelle Rice – Pawnee  
Muffin Arkeketa – Ponca  
Ni'vy Starr – Sac & Fox  
Melissa Standing – Wichita  
Marcia Sahmaunt – Marine Veterans Princess  
Morgan Kyli Bullcoming – Tiny Tot Cheyenne  
Pearl Roy – Junior Miss Indian Oklahoma  
**Pageant Director**  
Martha Koomsa Perez  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
Alan Yeahquo  
**Master of Ceremonies**  
Hammond Motah

### American Indian Exposition 2000

#### **Officers**

President: Morgan Tosee – Comanche  
Vice-President: Joe Fish Dupoint, Kiowa  
Secretary: Carla Whiteman  
Treasurer: Ida Lura Asah Jones

#### **Directors**

Apache Alonzo Chalepah  
Arapaho: Dara Franklin  
Caddo: Maureen Dean  
Cheyenne: Karen Yeahquo  
Comanche: Ila Tosee  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday  
Iowa: Christie Modlin  
Kiowa: Adolf Paukei  
Osage: Larry Maker  
Otoe: TBA  
Pawnee: Berwyn Moses  
Ponca: Gordon Roy  
Sac & Fox: Frank McClellan  
Wichita: Jimmy Reeder

#### **Exposition Princesses**

Neysha Autaubo – Apache  
Leah David – Arapaho  
Heather House – Caddo  
Megan Stone – Comanche  
Jacqueline Beard – Cheyenne  
April & Arian Gooday – Fort Sill Apache  
Julia Deer – Iowa  
Chrystal Janelle Yeahquo – Kiowa  
Megan Oberly – Osage  
Diana Grant – Otoe  
Amy Hodshire – Pawnee  
TBA – Ponca  
TBA – Sac & Fox

Candace French – Wichita  
Julia A-Kee-Mah Noel – Miss Indian Oklahoma  
**Pageant Director**  
Dorla Yeahquo  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
Norma Tsoodle

**Master of Ceremonies**  
Sammy Tone-kei White

### American Indian Exposition 2001

#### **Officers**

President: Morgan Tosee – Comanche  
Vice-President: Joe Fish Dupoint  
Secretary: Carla Whiteman  
Treasurer: Ida Lura Asah Jones

#### **Directors**

Apache Alonzo Chalepah  
Arapaho: Dara Franklin  
Caddo: Maureen Dean  
Cheyenne: Karen Yeahquo  
Comanche: Ila Tosee  
Delaware: Sharon Gomez  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday  
Iowa: Christie Modlin  
Kiowa: Adolf Paukei  
Osage: Larry Maker  
Pawnee: Berwyn Moses  
Ponca: Gordon Roy  
Sac & Fox: Frank McClellan  
Wichita: Jimmy Reeder

#### **Exposition Princesses**

Jennifer Bonilla – Apache  
Shashana Birdshead – Arapaho  
Syreeta Edwards – Caddo  
Lanette Tahchawwickah – Comanche  
Ameilia Beaver – Cheyenne  
Elena Marie Gomez – Delaware  
Charity Isom – Fort Sill Apache  
Robin McClellan – Iowa  
Angel Lomavaya – Kiowa  
Whitney Freeman – Osage  
Sunny Hare – Otoe  
Joyce NewRider – Pawnee  
Cheryl Brown – Ponca  
Sami Pennock – Sac & Fox  
TBA – Wichita

**Pageant Director** (N/A)

**Arts and Crafts Director**  
Norma Tsoodle

**Master of Ceremonies**  
Sammy Tone-kei White

## American Indian Exposition 2002

### **Officers**

President: Morgan Tosee – Comanche  
Vice-President: Joe Fish Dupoint  
Secretary: Carla Whiteman  
Treasurer: Ida Lura Asah Jones

### **Directors**

Apache Alonzo Chalepah  
Arapaho: Dara Franklin  
Caddo: Maureen Dean  
Cheyenne: Karen Yeahquo  
Comanche: Ila Tosee  
Delaware: Bruce Gonzales  
Fort Sill Apache: Inman Gooday  
Iowa: Christie Modlin  
Kiowa: Adolf Paukei  
Osage: Larry Maker  
Pawnee: Berwyn Moses Sr.  
Ponca: Gordon Roy  
Sac & Fox: Frank McClellan  
Wichita: Dewey Beartrack

### **Exposition Princesses**

Candice Monique Chalepah – Apache  
Caroline Botone – Arapaho  
Mikayla Darlene Meeks – Caddo  
Randi Lyn Attocknie – Comanche  
Sheena Nicole Sharp – Cheyenne  
Jessica Lynn Nixon – Delaware  
Charity Isom – Fort Sill Apache  
Stephanie Raenell Taylor – Kiowa  
Mary Grayce Big Horse Jr. – Osage  
TBA – Iowa  
TBA – Otoe  
Autumn Marie Moses – Pawnee  
Cheryl Brown – Ponca  
TBA – Sac & Fox  
Sara Rose Chaddlesone – Wichita

### **Pageant Director (N/A)**

### **Arts and Crafts Director**

Debra Smith

### **Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

## American Indian Exposition 2003

### **Officers**

President: Morgan Tosee – Comanche  
Vice-President: Ted Satoe Sr.  
Secretary: Carla Whiteman  
Treasurer: Karen Smith-Thompson

### **Directors**

Apache Jimmie Komardley

Arapaho: Gladys Nowlin  
Caddo: Bobby Gonzalez  
Cheyenne: Winnie Mendivil  
Comanche: Jame Lyn Tosee  
Delaware: Evelyn G. Kionute  
Fort Sill Apache: Adrian & Keith Gooday  
Otoe-Missouri: Michael Kihega  
Kiowa: Tracey Gabehart  
Osage: Larry Maker  
Pawnee: TBA  
Ponca: TBA  
Sac & Fox: Frank McClellan  
Wichita: Nicolette K. Chaddlesone

**Exposition Princesses**

Martina Stumblingbear – Apache  
Melanie Youngbear – Arapaho  
Jennifer Rico – Caddo  
Rhoda “Darci” Codynah – Comanche  
Bridget Blackowl – Cheyenne  
Alixandra Hubbard – Delaware  
Stephanie Mann – Fort Sill Apache  
Peggy Kyle Tsoodle – Kiowa  
Tara Damron – Osage  
Andrea Kihega – Otoe  
Marlene Issacs – Pawnee  
TBA – Ponca  
Isabelle PoorBuffalo – Sac & Fox  
Janet Franklin – Wichita

**Pageant Directors**

Corrinda Tsatoke  
Tomah Yeahquo  
Glen Heminkey

**Arts and Crafts Director**

Gina Gray

**Master of Ceremonies**

Stratford Williams  
Hammond Motah

**Parade Marshall**

Sammy Tonekei White

**American Indian Exposition 2004**

**Officers**

President: Morgan Tosee – Comanche  
Vice-President: Robert McClellan  
Secretary: Carla Whiteman  
Treasurer:

**Directors**

Apache: Tremayne Wells  
Arapaho: Gladys Nowlin  
Caddo: Bobby Gonzalez  
Cheyenne: Winnie Mendivil  
Comanche: Jame Lyn Tosee



Delaware: Evelyn G. Kionute  
 Fort Sill Apache: Adrian & Keith Gooday  
 Otoe: Michael Kihega  
 Kiowa: Tracey Gabehart  
 Osage: Larry Maker  
 Pawnee: Berwyn Moses  
 Ponca: Gordon Rey  
 Sac & Fox: Frank McClellan  
 Wichita: Jauna Chaddlesone  
**Exposition Princesses**  
 Linda Harrison – Apache  
 Tewa Naranjo – Arapaho  
 Courtney Gonzalez – Caddo  
 Kimberly Blackstar – Comanche  
 Sarah Fanman – Cheyenne  
 Elissa Holder – Delaware  
 Hillary Buckner – Fort Sill Apache  
 Kandyse Denys Gilmore – Kiowa  
 Randa Moore – Osage  
 Jessica Moore – Otoe  
 Alicia Joy Watashe – Pawnee  
 Candice Three Stars – Ponca  
 April dawn Holder – Sac & Fox  
 Dava Beartrack – Wichita  
**Pageant Directors**  
 Corrinda Tsatoke  
**Arts and Crafts Director**  
 Gina Gray  
**Master of Ceremonies**  
 Sammy Tone-kei White  
**Afternoon Drum**  
 Parker Emhoolah

### American Indian Exposition 2005

**Officers**

President: Morgan Tosee – Comanche  
 Vice-President: Robert McClellan  
 Secretary: Carla Whiteman  
 Treasurer: Karen Smith-Thompson

**Directors**

Apache: Treymayne Wells  
 Arapaho: Gladys Nowlin  
 Caddo: Bobby Gonzalez  
 Cheyenne: Winnie Mendivil  
 Comanche: Jame Lyn Tosee  
 Delaware: Evelyn G. Kionute  
 Fort Sill Apache: Adrian & Keith Gooday  
 Otoe: Michael Kihega  
 Kiowa: Adolf Paukei  
 Osage: Larry Maker  
 Pawnee: Berywn Moses  
 Ponca: Gordon Roy

Sac & Fox: Frank McClellan

Wichita: Jauna Chaddlesone

**Exposition Princesses**

Clara Archilta – Apache

Cecelia Littlecreek – Arapaho

Kourtney Gonzalez – Caddo

Jessica Tahah – Comanche

Sarah Fanman – Cheyenne

Lauren Kionute – Delaware

Hillary Buckner – Fort Sill Apache

Joy Flores – Kiowa

Julie Maker – Osage

TBA – Otoe

Holly Watashe – Pawnee

Autumn Moses – Ponca

TBA – Sac & Fox

Haley Williams – Wichita

Savannah RedBone Osceola – Bull explosion Queen

**Program Dedication**

Leonard Cozad, Sr. – Goo~gooual~Thay / Red Wolf

**Pageant Directors**

Corrinda Tsatoke

**Arts and Crafts Director**

Gina Gray

**Master of Ceremonies**

Sammy Tone-kei White

**Parade Marshall**

Wallace Coffey

**Camp Crier**

Rev. George E. Daingkau

**Afternoon Drum**

Parker Emhoolah

## **APPENDIX III**

### **Chronology of American Indian Exposition Pageant Scripts 1933 – 2003 (Incomplete)**

The first pageant production held in conjunction with the American Indian Exposition occurred in 1934. From that point onward, annual pageants have been an essential, and core component of the Indian Fair. Pageants, whether elaborate or simple, have served the Fair's participating Indian communities as a vehicle and venue for discourse, an instrument for resisting white dominance, for asserting an identity politic and forum for expressive and performance culture. More importantly, each pageant has presented chapters from the living history of American Indians in story form. Whether young or old, Indian or non-Indian, those who have witnessed one or even fifty pageants, are privileged recipients of a gift from America's Native Peoples. The texts that follow are some of the stories that have been told across the span of years representing the American Indian Exposition's

Appendix III contains chronologically ordered, verbatim transcriptions of Pageant scripts as they have appeared in Exposition program booklets beginning with the 1934 program. Not all Pageant scripts are reproduced here; gaps do occur for years where no pageant script was printed, or no American Indian Exposition program has been located. The author's own collection of Exposition programs is the source for many scripts that are presented in this appendix.

#### **1932 The 1st Southwestern Indian Fair September**

No pageant produced this year.

#### **1933 The 2nd Southwestern Indian Fair September 13 - 16**

No pageant produced this year.

#### **1934 The 3rd Southwestern Indian Fair August 15-18**

First year a pageant was produced.

**Pageant Theme: "Indian Life of Early Day"**

Written and Directed by: Enoch Smokey and E. W. Gallaher

No script available. The following account, published August 10, 1934 in the Anadarko Daily News, provides the only description as yet located by this writer. Reproduced in its entirety below, it reads: Indian life unhampered by the white man will be depicted with color and noise in the highlight evening pageant of the Southwestern Indian fair, Friday, August 17, at the county fairgrounds...

The only modern note given to the large crowds expected will be the band concert by the Southwest all-Indian band directed by Phil Cato, Lawton, from 8:00 to 9:30.

The dog travois, earliest mode of travel by tribesmen will be shown in the pageant, followed by the horse travois introduced by the Spanish soldiers.

Camp life, with inhabitants at work tanning hides, dressing meat, making bows and arrows, painting tepees, and children at their games, will be presented as it used to be. All implements used will be authentically Indian, many of them now valuable museum pieces.

Intricacies of the needle game, game of chance that employed the Indian woman before bridge came to the Southwest; and the hand game, also of chance, with its accompanying songs, will be played. Skill in shooting arrows through rolling dogwood hoops will be tried by youngsters.

The Kiowa marriage ceremony with its exchange of gifts, and elaborate ritual of early days, will be performed with a costumed bride and groom to be selected from reservation Indians.

A sham war raid using guns brought by the white man will be made on the camp after the wedding. Climax will be the rousing war dance in which the invaded stir themselves for the revenge on their raiders.

[NO SCRIPT LOCATED]

**1935 The 4th American Indian Exposition August 28 - 31**  
(First year under this name AIE)

**Pageant Title: "Indian Progress of the Washita Valley"**

(Alternatively published as "Indian Progress On the Washita" TADN Aug. 17, 1935; "Progress of the Indian in the Washita" TADN Aug. 20, 1935; "Indian Progress in the Washita Valley" TADN Aug. 27, 1935.)

Written and Directed by Mrs. Lock Morton, with assistance from Mrs. Kemp Martin, with 45 Riverside Indian School students in the production. Riverside students also participated in the 1934 pageant, the first one produced.

[NO SCRIPT LOCATED]

Note: Alfred Kodaseet sang "Indian Love Call" solo; Kenneth Hoig acted as pageant narrator.<sup>00</sup>

**1936 The 5th American Indian Exposition September 2 - 5**

**Pageant Title: (N/A)**

Written and Directed by: Riverside Indian School

(24 Riverside Indian School students perform a "program of native songs and dances" in tribal regalia)

[NO SCRIPT LOCATED]

### **1937 The 6th American Indian Exposition August 18 - 21**

**Pageant Title:** (N/A)

Written and Directed by:

The only mention of pageant related program news appeared in the Anadarko Tribune, Wednesday, August 18, 1937 issue noting that the “evening program” will include eight Indian dances” representing “12 tribes in costume” for visitors’ entertainment.

[NO SCRIPT LOCATED]

### **1938 The 7th American Indian Exposition August 24 - 27**

**Pageant Title: “The Spirit of the Washita”**

[Script transcribed from the 1938 program of the American Indian Exposition, Anadarko, Oklahoma. August 24 through 27. Program cover reads: “Pageant of ‘The Spirit of the Washita,’ August 24th and 26th at 8:00 p.m. under auspices American Indian Exposition Anadarko, Oklahoma.”]

Written by: E. W. Gallaher and Directed by Margaret Pearson Speelman

Pageant Narrator: Frank Jones

[Cast included 75 principle characters and 600 total participants.]

#### **THE PAGEANT OF “THE SPIRIT OF THE WASHITA”**

[Black & white illustration, profile of two silhouetted Indians seated in canoe which they are paddling on river, reflection of canoe is visible on water’s surface.]

To the honor of all those Indians of our Tribes who have gone on before this Pageant of the Spirit of the Washita is dedicated.

WASHITA is the spelling of Wichita first used by Sibley in 1806. Wichita is of Caddoan stock, closely related to the Pawnee. OUACHITA was a former tribe apparently of Caddoan line, residing on Black or Ouachita River in N. E. Louisiana. Until after the Civil War, the Washita was called FAUSSE or False Washita (Vol. 2, Handbook of American Indians by Hodge).

The name of Anadarko is a corruption of a Caddo word, the name for a band of the Caddo Tribe. It was originally Nahdahko.

“THE SPIRIT OF THE WASHITA”

This year the six tribes which comprise the Anadarko jurisdiction present their first historical pageant. These Indians were originally scattered over a much larger area. The Kiowa, from whom the name of the Agency was taken, hunted and camped from north-eastern Colorado, down the Arkansas Valley, the valley of the Red River and down even into Mexico. The Wichita built their grass houses along the Arkansas River and their territory extended deep into Texas. Down in Louisiana the Caddo made their home, and not until the great yellow fever plague of 1832, when they lost about two-thirds of their number, did they begin their trek to Texas, after their first Treaty with the Government in 1836. They are of the same linguistic stock as the Wichita and Pawnee. When the first English came to found their colony in what is now Pennsylvania they found the Delaware, the Lenni Lenape. Later these Indians withdrew because of treaties to the Ohio Valley. One band went further south down even into Mexico, returning later to Texas and eventually with the Treaties of the Nineteenth Century, into Oklahoma.

With such historic material is the pageant concerned. It hopes to portray the best traditions of the Red Man, and hundreds of Indians, both young and old, are dramatizing the Story of the Washita.

JASPER SAUNKEAH  
President of the American  
Indian Exposition  
W. B. McGOWN  
Supt. of the Kiowa Agency

MARGARET PEARSON SPEELMAN  
Director  
Some of the Data Compiled by  
WESLEY GALLAHER and  
ROSS HUME

Musical Setting For the Pageant Of  
"THE SPIRIT OF THE WASHITA"

The Pageant Is Announced By A Kiowa  
FLUTE CALL

Indian Theme...

EPISODE I  
"British Air." "Capriccio Espagnol"...Spanish 16th Century.  
"Adoramus Te."

"Portant Pour La Syrie"...French 16 Century. "Gregorian Chant."

Indian Theme, Spanish Air. "LaMarseillaise." "Hall Columbia."

EPISODE II  
Indian Theme, Military Air of 1834. Indian Theme. "Dixie."  
"Yankee Doodle." Military air. Indian Theme.

EPISODE III  
"Gregorian Chant." Early Hymn." Kiowa Hymn. "Early Hymn."  
"Oh Susanna."

EPISODE IV  
Indian Theme. March. "Star Spangled Banner." Stately March.

#### THE FLAGS

EPISODE I  
Flag of John Cabot, English 1497. Spanish Flag of the 16th century. French Flag of the 16th century. The French Tri-Color. American flag of 1804.

EPISODE II  
Seal of the Department of war (The Indian Service was under this Department until 1849). American Flag of 1834. Confederate Flag. American Flag of 1867. Flag of the Department of the Interior. Seal of the State of Kansas. Seal of the State of Oklahoma.

EPISODE IV [sic]  
The American Flag

Address of Welcome.....Jasper Saunkeah President of The American Indian Exposition

The Pageant

“THE SPIRIT OF THE WASHITA”

[Black and white silhouette illustration of standing Indian in three-quarter profile wearing arrow quiver, viewed from behind with bow drawn, arrow ready to release.]

The Prologue

This Pageant is presented to the Glory of the Great Spirit of us all who guides through the centuries the destiny of Man. The Indian was and is deeply religious in nature and in all his undertaking he looked to the Great Spirit for direction.

THE ORIGINAL INDIAN SPEAKS:

Friends of the Indian, attend us patiently,  
While we present before you on this ancient soil,  
In story and in song, and in ceremonial,  
From days long past,  
The Story of the River—the River Washita.

We come before you in ancient tribal rites,  
To celebrate the glories of the past,  
To honor those of us who've gone before;  
To keep alive within our hearts  
The story of the Tribesmen who call these prairies—Home;  
To consecrate again this land of woods and streams and hill  
To all those attributes which make a people great.

O Holy One, Great Spirit of the Washita,  
Listen, We beseech Thee, to the cry of all our Tribes.  
Keep our hearts brave, restore our ancient honor,  
Further our crafts and make our children, Men.  
(Here is given a ceremonial dance of all the Tribes,  
such as was given in the old days when they met to council).

Episode I

THE PERIOD OF EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION

Behold the Spanish Conquistadors with Coronado,  
Who led by Indian Guides seek Seven Fabled Cities of Quivera.  
From out of the South appear these men,  
Riding on strange beasts and hunting here for gold.  
On, on they come and reach a Wichita village,  
To rest a while, to feast, to ask for gold;  
To give us horse and gun,  
To claim the land for Spain  
And tell the story of the Crucified One.

Behold La Salle, Chevalier de France,  
Who leads an expedition down the Father of Waters,  
Taking the Great Valley for his King.  
It is these Franch [sic] who early meet the Caddo, in Louisiana,  
Give them their Faith  
And open up the streams for trade.

Down comes the Spanish Flag and in its place  
Are flung the Lilies of France.

Now where the peaceful Delaware flows,  
‘Tis autumn and the Lenni Lenape  
Council each night around the firelight’s friendly glow  
How best to meet the fast increasing Whites,  
And save their homes and hunting grounds.  
Suddenly from out the woods appear three men  
Their lack of arms proclaiming them friends,  
And devoted men of God.  
The mighty Taminent received them graciously,  
Sends for his allies throughout the neighboring tribes,  
Smokes the peace pipe and listens to Penn’s words;  
That while the sun shall shine, the rivers run,  
These gentle Friends and warriors bold shall live  
In peace and amity and Christian love.  
So do our fathers, if the White man would,  
Meet him with gifts of corn for food, tobacco brown, and peace.

Years pass, and many changes come,  
Great strifes that never reach our River’s edge.  
Here on our prairies we lead our Tribal lives,  
War with our enemies and council with our friends.  
Nor do we know that broad-visioned Jefferson  
Buy from napoleon this land of ours,  
And that over prairie, stream and Indian  
Floats a new flag, the flag we now all love.

(The Tribes dance in honor of their visitors).

#### Episode I - Continued

Any time before 1541. A Wichita camp as night comes on, preparing for a feast so to which come bands of Kiowa and Comanche. It is a friendly gathering and the tribe’s smoke and dance in celebration of a successful buffalo hunt. These are the tribes that originally roamed over this part of Oklahoma.

In 1497 John Cabot from his vessel claimed all the Western Hemisphere for England. However, no English influence was felt in our valley until several centuries later.

The coming of the Spanish, 1541. Guided by two southwestern Indians, Coronado, hunting for the fabled cities of Quivera, visited the camp of the Wichita, accompanied by his followers, Spanish Conquistadors and a Franciscan monk. It is from these same Spanish that the Indians first learned of the horse and its use, and the use of the gun.

The coming of the French to Louisiana, April 1682. Down the river Mississippi in canoes paddled by Indians and with Indians as guides came Robert de La Salle, to explore the Mouth of the Father of Waters and to take the land for France. In 1719 another Frenchman, Claude Charles du Tiane, came up the rivers from New Orleans, turning his face toward the West to visit the Great Village of the Padonca (Comanche). La Salle met and traded with the Caddo, and early did this tribe feel the influence of the French culture and the Roman Catholic religion.

The Pennsylvania Colony made in 1682 under William Penn a treaty with the Delaware Indians and their great Chief Taminent, held inviolate as long as the Penn family controlled the colony.



In 1763 this western land, then called the Province of Louisiana, returned to Spain at the close of the French Indian War. The Delaware was the only one of the tribes who was aware of the conflict or the Revolution. In both wars they fought with the British.

The Louisiana Purchase May, 1804. President Jefferson sent an envoy to France to purchase New Orleans. Napoleon, in urgent need of funds to finance his European campaigns sold to the United States for \$15,000,000 the whole Province of Louisiana. In this province lay the valley of the Washita.

March 9, 1804 the transfer of the upper Louisiana was made in St. Louis.

[Black and white illustration of crouching Indian warrior with rifle in one hand, moving from left to right in profile, near bottom of page.]

Episode II

#### THE PERIOD OF TRIBAL TREATIES

Years pass, moons rise and wane,  
And to the West a Nation turns her eyes,  
To look with envy on our Prairie lands,  
And dreams of greater empire fill her heart.  
Still along our river we hunt and fish and pitch our summer camps,  
To dance the Sun Dance in thanks for blessings given.

The Trader comes to bring us guns and cloth  
In exchange for peltry, but little do we know  
That Eastern Tribes are already on the march  
Driven from their lands to take new homes near us.  
So does our State become the Indian's home.

Deep in the fastness of the Wichita Hills  
The Kiowa, Comanche, and the Wichita  
Believe themselves secure.  
Suddenly comes riding a troop of many men,  
Who search along the Washita  
And make their camps to council with the Indian.  
Captive children are exchanged  
But yet we're not disturbed.

Then rose a mighty conflict, a struggle between brothers,  
And not until peace comes to a war-torn land,  
Did the Western Tribesmen  
Learn that our free days are over  
And our right to roam is gone.

The [sic] comes the Great Council, the Council held in Kansas,  
Where met all our greatest Chieftains  
To Treat with the White Father and learn our destiny.  
Then back to our good River, the Washita, our Tribesmen,  
By bounds, by soldiery, by guns.

#### THE PERIOD OF TRIBAL TREATIES

Over all the ancient Indian Trails came the frontiersmen and traders. With the close of the Colonial Wars and the Revolution, and with the purchase of western lands and the increase in population, the adventuresome and those anxious to make money started west to see what opportunity lay there. They brought the Indian trinkets, guns, and cloth in exchange for furs, buffalo hides and food.

'In July, 1834, Col. Richard C. Dodge and the First Dragoons, (United States Soldiers) met the Wichita and Comanche Indians on the Great Southwestern Prairies near Red River. The officers had brought a Kiowa Maiden named Gun-pan-d-da-ma (Medicine tied to tipi polo[sic] woman) who had been taken captive by the Osage the previous year in a raid, to return her to her people. The Kiowa raiding in eastern Indian Territory had killed the father and taken captive his eight-year-old son Matthew Wright Martin. As the officers and chiefs sat around the campfire, Col.

Dodge demanded the return of the white boy. The Indians denied having him but when he was discovered they brought him in, and delivered him to the officer who then delivered the Kiowa girl to her uncle the chief. By this exchange faith, goodwill and confidence were established between the red man and the white man; and the prophecy of old 'A little child shall lead them' was fulfilled. Gun-pan-d-da-ma became the wife of the chief, and mother of warriors and brave men. Although the hunting grounds were lost to her people and they were crowded on to a small reservation and within narrow limits she always remembered the kindness of the soldiers, and always counseled peace and friendship. In turn she saw the soldier, the hunter, the trader, the missionary and the Boomer come into this 'Land of the Fair God' where she and her people had lived. Matthew Martin returned to his kinsmen along the borders, and he too in time grew and raised a family of sons and daughters, who went to war and were in the marts of trade. They saw the fair land before them, and he remembered the valleys and prairies with abundant game. To the White race along the border this became the 'Land of Promise,' which they longed to go in and possess.' —Ross Hume.

#### IN 1859 THE KIOWA INDIAN AGENCY WAS ESTABLISHED.

The Indians of this jurisdiction did not become involved in the Civil War except as they fled from its horrors in the territory. Captain Pike, Confederate officer, rode west from Fort Smith in May 1861. He went as far as the Wichita Agency in the western part of the leased District where he made treaties with the bands of Wichita, Kiowa and Comanche. However these Indians did not take up arms in the War Between the States. Many of the Indian Tribes became refugees from their lands, fleeing to Kansas and Texas—during the Strife.

In 1867 occurred the Great Council at Medicine lodge, in Kansas. Here the Chiefs of the Comanche, Kiowa and Apache met government agencies and agreed to boundaries and a reserve of land for each tribe. Fort Sill was established in 1868 by Gen. Phil Sheridan to keep the Indians on their reserve and to insure peace.

(Albert Attocknie delivers a part of his grandfather's Ten Bears, famous speech.)

Speech of Ten Bears at Medicine Lodge Treaty gathering:

'My heart is filled with joy when I see you here, as when the brooks fill with water when the snow welts[sic] in the spring. I feel glad, as the ponies do, when the fresh grass starts in the beginning of the year. I heard of your coming when I was many sleeps away and I made but few camps when I met you. I know that you have come to do good to me and to my people. I look for benefits that will last forever and so my shines with joy as I look upon you.

My people have never first drawn a bow or fired a gun against the whites. There has been trouble on the line between us, and my young men have danced the war dance. But it was not begun by us. It was you to send the first soldier and we who sent the second. Two years ago I came upon this road, following the buffalo that my wives and children might have their cheeks plump and their bodies warm. But the soldiers fired on us, and since that time there has been a noise like that of the thunderstorm, and we have not known which way to go. So it was upon the Canadian. Nor have we been made to cry once alone. The blue

dressed soldiers and the Utes came from out of the night when it was dark and still, and for campfires they lit our lodges. Instead of hunting game they killed my braves, and the warriors of the tribe cut short their hair for the dead. So it was in Texas. They made sorrow come in our camps, and we went out like the buffalo bulls when the cows are attacked. When we found them we killed them, and their scalps hang in our lodges. The Comanches are not weak and blind, like the pups of a dog when seven sleeps old. They are strong and far-sighted, like grown horses. We took their road and we went on it. The white women cried and our women laughed, etc.’

The Wichita, with a few bands of Waco, Keechi, Towacoie were brought here from Kansas in 1876.

The Delaware were brought here from Texas in 1859.

Episode III

#### THE PERIOD OF ADJUSTMENT

The missions come and open friendly schools,  
To educate our children and comfort our bewildered hearts.  
The gentle Quaker in our government schools;  
The kindly Father and the patient Sisters;  
The stalwart, fearless Preachers, who teach God’s love.

See how down each prairie trail comes the Mothers,  
Bringing their young to learn the newer way.  
Timid they are, like little prairie creatures  
But hope shines in their eyes and simple faith.  
Now from the east, year after year,  
Comes the slow but steady tramp of feet,  
Treading our ancient trails, seeking the grass lands, and  
Hunting for new homes.  
Yet from these white invaders our Indian learns much,  
To sow, to reap, to practice all the arts  
Of husbandry and kindly housewifery.

In 1807[sic]—The first Government School at Riverside was established—The Superintendent was a Quaker, Thomas L. Battey.

In 1883—The Indians made grass leases with the Indians—The Cowmen arrive.

In 1891—The Roman catholic Church established St. Patrick’s Mission—The founder was Father Isadore, a Benedictine. The Sisters were Franciscans.

In 1895—The first Protestant Missionary arrived—Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist—They established mission stations among the Tribes.

July 4, 1901—By Executive proclamation—Lands opened to settlement— Registration at Fort Sill or El Reno.

August 6—Town sites for Hobart, Lawton and Anadarko established.

[Black and white illustration, profile facing left of dancing Indian warrior with full headdress, lance in right hand, tomahawk in left. Situated at bottom of page.]

Episode IV

## THE PERIOD OF ACHIEVEMENT

Four Hundred years since this my tale began  
Four Hundred years of wars and hate and lust,  
Four Hundred years of faith and hope and good;  
Four Hundred years of tramping feet and drum beat,  
Four Hundred years of buffalo and camp fires,  
Four Hundred years of courage, strength and love.

Great Spirit of our River, the Washita, the Kind One,  
The God of all your people, no matter where they dwell,  
Accept our gifts, the tribute of the Tribesmen,  
Remember all our struggles  
And give us hope and peace.

Take from our arms, the corn and the tobacco,  
The skins of animals and the ancient trails.  
Take from our hearts, our music and our folk-lore,  
Our art and sense of beauty and our grace.  
Take from our souls the fresh lives of our young folk,  
Our peace with all men, and our country's good.  
Restore to us the best that was our father's,  
Help us to use the best our Conqueror's brought us.  
Keep this bit of land forever Indian,  
Our Tribes in honor and our children, Men.

Today the ancient tribesmen are pursuing the useful arts of husbandry and home-making. Their children are in American schools and colleges. And they worship the Great Spirit of their ancestors as the Great God of all peoples. They bring at the end of their tribal histories their tribal gifts to America and Oklahoma. They stand ready to take their places in the great drama of modern American life.

[Black and white illustration, three-quarter frontal profile of running Indian warrior, upraised tomahawk in right hand, knife in left hand. Situated near bottom of page.]

### The Cast

Address of Welcome.....	Jasper Saunkeah
President of the American Indian Exposition	
Narrator.....	Frank Jones—Kiowa
The Reader of the Sign Language.....	Maggie Tahome—Kiowa
The Pipe Smoker.....	White Horse—Kiowa
The Flute Player.....	Belo Cozad—Kiowa
Chief of the Kiowa.....	Tanedoah
Chief of the Comanche.....	Attocknie
Chief of the Wichita.....	Stevenson
Chief of the Apache.....	Berry
Chief of the Caddo.....	Kiwin
Chief of the Delaware.....	Hunter

### Dancers, Drummers and Singers from all of the Tribes

#### Episode I

English Sailor with Cabot—1497.....	Ray Nieto
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Indian Runner.....Mead Chibitty—Comanche  
 Coronado.....Knox Takawanna  
 Conquistadors  
 Ruben Keys—Jack Portillo—Bill Koomsa  
 Herbert Red Bone—Melton Tahmahkera  
 Chief of the Wichita—  
 Women, children and men of the Wichita Camp—Stevenson family  
 Franciscan Monk.....Malcolm Hazlett  
 Robert De La Salle.....Jack Valliere  
 French Explorers.....John Hendrix—Paul Edge  
 Indian Guides and Canoe Men—  
 Caddo men, women and children of the Camp.....family  
 Franciscan Father.....William Kaulity  
 Kiowa Family—  
 Comanche Family—  
 Apache family—  
 William Penn.....Delos Botone  
 A Quaker.....Randlett Edmonds  
 A Quaker.....Evans Anquoe  
 Taimement, Chief of the Lenni Lenape.....Richard Hunter  
 A Delaware Family—  
 Delaware Warriors—  
 American Soldiers of 1803.....Herbert Dupoint—Glen White Fox  
 Spanish Soldiers of 1803.....George Smith—Nathaniel Woomawovah  
 French Soldiers of 1803.....Virgil Bates—Herman Ashley  
 Traders:.....Frontiersmen:  
 John Chibitty.....Winston Rose  
 Newton Purdy.....Raymond Noni  
 Red Codynah.....Joe Yackus  
  
 Col. Richard Dodge.....Haddon Noni  
 Calvary men with Dodge:  
 Willie Poafhybitty.....Harry Wanahdooh  
 Robert Kaulity.....Rickey Kaulity  
 Harding Kaulity.....Roger Morgan  
 Billie Botone.....William Methvin  
 Manford Kaulity.....and Others  
  
 White Captive.....Gladys Komality  
 Kiowa Captive.....Vernon Haddon  
  
 5 Confederate Soldiers: Stecker Achilta—Sam Pahdapony—Robt. Tsoataddle—Pat Pahdapony—Capt. Pike  
 Chiefs at Medicine Lodge, Chiefs from the Camps—  
 Tanedooah—Attocknie—Stevenson—Berry—Kiwin—Hunter—Red Bird—Black Owl  
  
 Government Agents at Medicine Lodge—  
 Indian Commissioner.....Joe Conover  
 Gen. W. S. Harvey, U. S. Army, 1867.....Albert Clark  
 Gen. H. H. Terry, U. S. Army, 1867.....Allen Burgess  
 Comanche Interpreter.....Otis Chappy  
 Soldiers—

Episode III

First superintendent at Riverside.....John Haddon  
 2 Quaker teachers.....Florence Botone—Ida Botone  
 Father Aloysius F. Hitta, Benedictine.  
 Franciscan Sisters.....Students at St. Patrick’s Mission  
 Methodist Missioner.....Emmett Williams  
 Reading of Twenty-Third Psalm.....Libby Botone  
 Baptist Missioner and Choir.....Enos Haumpo  
 Soloist.....Big Eagle  
 Children with parents from the Camps—  
 Cowboys:.....Conrad Mausape—Carl Dupoint—Tecumseh Reeder  
 The White Migration.....Anadarko Chamber of Commerce (sponsor)  
 Flag Bearers—Roland White Horse—Wallace Keahbone—Tommy Salou  
 The Flag Bearer.....Joe Pappio  
 Peace.....Juanita Geikaunmah  
  
 Corn—Caddo—Josephine Inkanish—Eleanor Thomas—Viola Beaver  
  
 Hospitality, Delaware—Betty Ann Laurence—Marriee Parton—Leona Parton  
  
 Furs, Wichita—Catherine Frank, Pearl Keyes—Richard Smith  
  
 The Trails—Comanche—Patricia Ticeahkie, Margaret Ticeahkie, Mary Portillo  
  
 Musicians, Kiowa—Thelma Poolaw—Libby Botone—Augustine Campbell  
  
 Tobacco, Apache—Rozella Jay—Virginia Jay—Ruby Red Bone  
  
 The Dancers.....Joe Attocknie—Charles Chibitty—Gus Palmer  
  
 Soldiers of the Great War—  
  
 Red Cross Nurses.....Doris Miller—Verbena Fisher  
  
 The White Migration Group is under the direction of the Chamber of Commerce  
  
 Music in Charge of.....Nelson Rose  
  
 Instructor of the Sign Language.....George Hunt  
  
 Sponsore [sic] of Groups from the Agency Office, Riverside School and Friends of the  
 Exposition:  
 Miss Martha Hall, Miss Helena Higgins, Miss Maud Grayless, Mrs. Jessie Van Flores, Mrs. Delos Botone,  
 Mrs. Albert Mahseet, Mrs. Katie Dandridge Holland, Mr. and Mrs. Ira Davenport, and Mr. Hugh S. Snyder.  
  
 European Costumes and American Uniforms were secured from: The Harrelson Costume Company, 1015  
 Grand Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri  
 The records were procured from the Jenkins Music Company, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

## 1939 The 8th American Indian Exposition August 23-26

### Pageant Title: "Spirit of the Redman"

Written by: E. W. Gallaher, Kiowa, and Directed by Margaret Pearson Speelman (this is contradicted by news story published Sunday, August 20, 1939 in the *Anadarko Daily News* giving Gallaher full credit).

Narrator: Frank Jones, Kiowa

#### SCENE I — Pre-Columbian Indian Camp, Year 1541

Everyday activities in an Indian Camp.

Men and women begin a Round Dance. In the midst of their dance Scouts bring news that men riding strange beasts are approaching. Thinking there is danger of an attack the people desert the camp.

Coronado's scout comes into the deserted camp followed by the explorer and his men and their priest. The scout motions to the people to come back as they are on a friendly mission. The chief comes in warily but through the interpreter learns that these people mean them no harm and wish to find out if they have gold. The chief invites Coronado to partake of food and orders his young men to entertain them with a dance. After the dance Coronado trades two horses for food and goes on his way.

INTERMISSION — Poses of Famous Indian Pictures.

#### SCENE II — Indian Camp, 1850

French troops appear and run up the tricolor, symbolizing the time when France lay claim to this territory.

In turn United States troops appear and run up their flag, symbolizing the time when America purchased Louisiana territory from France.

Soldiers of the Confederacy appear, symbolizing the time of Civil war when the Southern troops occupied Fort Cobb nearby.

An evening dance in camp is interrupted by Scouts bringing news that a wagon train is sighted. Blaming the emigrants for the rapid disappearance of the buffalo, the warriors do their war dance and rush on horseback to repulse the invaders.

The emigrants, accompanied by their out-rider Scouts, come on unsuspectingly. They hear the war cry and rush to a vantage spot. Their wagons are fired. They escape but lose their horses to the Indians. The warriors celebrate in a Victory Dance.

INTERMISSION — Poses of Famous Indian Pictures.

#### SCENE III — Treaty Making, 1865

The tribes gather at a central place to meet the United States Commissioners. It is proposed that they give up the wandering life and their raids and settle down on reservations, take allotments and begin the life of American citizens.

The chiefs listen to the terms, discuss them with their counselors and sign the agreement. There is great rejoicing and many dances to celebrate peace.

INTERMISSION — Vocal Solo, Miss Augustine Campbell.

SCENE IV — Period of Adaptation, 1865 to 1939

Missionaries come and preach the Gospel. Parents, realizing that education in the white man's way would be a great advantage to their children, offer them to be taken to the Mission schools.

The Catholic religion comes to the Indians and the Priest and sisters gather pupils for their school — Anadarko Boarding School.

Government schools are established — (Riverside, Fort Sill) — and a young Indian woman, graduate of one of the white man's universities, returns to pass on her knowledge to the Indian boys and girls.

FINALE — The Old and the New in the Indian Life.

**1940 The 9th American Indian Exposition August 14-17**

**Pageant Title: "Teepee Tales A Folk Pageant"**

Written and Directed by: Margaret Pearson Speelman  
Assistant Pageant Directors: Albert Attocknie and Tennyson Berry  
Pageant Narrator: Frank Jones, Kiowa

[See 1947 entry for script of pageant]

"Belo Cozad, Kiowa, played the flute and Inez Blackowl, Comanche, was a performer, and her son played the infant Eagle Nest, the central figure of the ceremonial. Albert Attocknie, Comanche, was the medicine man, while the grandmother of Eagle Nest was played by Mrs. Belo Cozad. Mathew Botone, Kiowa elder, gave the invocation. The two lovers [were] portrayed by Augustine Campbell, Kiowa and Addeson Thompson, Seneca. Henry Tenadooah, Kiowa, played Eagle Nest as a grandfather. Libby Botone [recited] the 23rd Psalm in Kiowa. Participants in the old chiefs' dance [were] Frank Exendine, Delaware; Joe Kaulaity, Kiowa; William Collins, Wichita; Chief Red Bud, Cheyenne; Howard Soontay, Apache; Harold Kawaykee, Apache; and Belo Cozad, Kiowa" (TADN August 1940).

**1941 The 10th American Indian Exposition August 20-23**

[The 8th Annual Pageant of 1941, was titled "Peace on the Prairie." The only record available comes from a photocopy of the program from the Tenth Annual American Indian Exposition. The script is less elaborate than that for 1938.]

**Pageant Title: "PEACE on the PRAIRIE"**

Written and Directed by: Margaret Pearson Speelman—Dean of Women at Haskell Institute  
Historian: George Hunt, Kiowa  
Narrators: Wesley Rose, Wichita; Wesley Gallaher, Kiowa; Maggie Tahome, Kiowa; Libby Botone, Kiowa

The tribes are called to the Ceremonials by the Flute Call of Belo Cozad [sic], Kiowa. "The Sunset Song." A member of each tribe asks the blessing of the Great Spirit upon their undertakings.

A Communal Dance of all the Tribes  
"Ba-Co-Tau-Haddle" —The Prologue—"Gifts of the Great Spirit to the Indians."

Dances for the Great Gifts:

Harvest Dance

Hunting Dance



Buffalo Dance  
Tobacco Ceremonial

Ghost Dance  
Fire Dance

“Gau-Tuam-Da”—Episode I—”The beginning of Peace in the New World—1862.”  
Peace with the Delaware  
Peace Dance

Peace with the Caddo  
Turkey Dance

“Sa-Tau-Da”—Interlude—”The Years of Tribulation.” “The Sacrifice.”

The Death Song of Sa-Tan-k

War Dances of All Tribes

Comanche Scalp Dance

“Ya-Guat-Ya-Day”—Episode II—”The Great Peace on the Prairie.”

Wichita Treaty with the Republic of Texas—1843

The Medicine Lodge Treaty—1867

Friendly Dances:

Quail Dance

Women’s Dance

Children’s Rabbit Dance

Blackfoot Dance

Yanpirica Comanche Ceremonial

Brush Dance  
Cheyenne Chief Dance  
Arapaho Squaw Dance  
Dances from New Mexico

“Hay-Gau-O-Bau-Hau”—Epilogue— “Democracy on the Prairie”

Dances:

Stomp Dance

Flag Dance

Communal Dances

“God Bless America”.....Augustine Campbell and Addison Thompson

The Princesses presented by their Tribal Directors

Benediction.....The Rev. Mathew Botone and Father Aloysius Hitta

“The Star Spangled Banner”.....Audience

“Hay-Ga-O-Ta-Ha-Ga-Dau”—Recessional.

**1942 The 11th American Indian Exposition August 19 - 23**

**Pageant Title: "War Drums Along the Washita"**

[The ninth annual Pageant was presented at the eleventh annual Exposition, first on Wednesday evening opening day, again Thursday evening August 20th, and a final performance on Saturday, August 22nd.]

Written and Directed by: Margaret Pearson Speelman – Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas  
(Indian terms used are Comanche)

PROLOGUE — Tseu-ma-ko  
Invocation—Prayer from the Hako—Albert Attocknie.

Signal Fire to call Allied Tribes to Great Council  
Flute Call—Belo Cozad  
War Chant

Messengers bring word that Enemy has been sighted  
Song of the Messengers

Warriors prepare and leave on raiding party  
Mourning Song—Led by White Horse

Victorious Return  
Victory Dance

THE CONQUEST — Ma-de-chiq-sun

Great Indian Chiefs of the 17th and 18th Centuries  
King Phillip returns arrows for bullets (1675)  
Speech of the Delaware Prophet  
Ancient War Dance  
Indian warriors of the French and Indian War (1754 - 1763)  
Snake Dance

Indian Warriors of the American Revolution (1775 - 1783)  
Circle Dance

The Indians and George Washington (1783)

Rabbit Dance—Children  
Buffalo Dance

ACROSS THE CONTINENT — O-de-ni-yun

The Osage leading Lewis & Clark to the Mandan (1806)  
Sacajawea, the Bird Woman, Shoshone—Part taken by Fay  
Attocknie Blackowl (descendent of Sacajawea)  
Indian Two-Step  
The "Trail of Tears"—The Great Removal of Southeastern Indian to Oklahoma (1817 - 40)  
Stomp Dance of Cherokee and Muskogean Tribes

The Wichita meeting Sam Houston (1834)  
Wichita Dog Dance

Black Beaver, the Delaware, leading troops to the Border, Mexican War (1845).  
Part taken by John Osborne, grandson of Black Beaver  
Delaware Women's Dance  
Harvest Dance

The Indians in the War Between the States (1860 - 1865)  
Caddo Women's Dance  
Gourd Dance

The Last Stand of the Plains Indian (1867)  
Song of Satanka—Sung by White Horse  
Women's Dance  
Ghost Dance Song  
Shield Dance

AMERICANS ALL — O-yet-nun-hich

The Spanish-American War (1898)  
A Pawnee rides with Col. Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders  
Eagle Dance in Honor of Pawnee

The Great War (1917 - 1918)  
Presented by All American Indian Post No. 3748, Veterans of Foreign Wars  
Women's Flag Dance  
Modern War Dances  
Jack Hokeah, Spencer Asah, Steve Mopope and Others

The World Conflict (1942)  
Mescalero Apache Fire Dance

Presentation of Princesses

EPILOGUE — Na-bu-ei

Indian Death Song — Sung by White Horse  
"There Is No Death" (Johnstone-O'Hara) — Addison Thompson  
Our Honored Dead  
Benediction — The Reverend Mathew Botone, Kiowa  
Flag Ceremony  
The National Anthem

RECESSIONAL — "America the Beautiful"

#### NARRATORS

Oliver Woodard.....Libby Botone Boynton  
Wesley Rose.....Eleanor Takawana

#### CHIEFS

Henry Tanedoah.....George Ashley  
Belo Cozad.....Red Bird  
White Horse.....Jimmie Bobb  
Tennyson Berry.....Ralph Murrow  
Albert Attocknie.....Daingkau

### 1943 The 12th American Indian Exposition August 18-21

**Pageant Title: (Death of Satank-pageant theme, exact title not known)**

Written and Directed by:

[NO SCRIPT PRINTED IN PROGRAM, NONE LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

While the exact title of this year's pageant has not been identified, the following account, Death of Satank was theme of 1943 pageant was republished in the Anadarko Daily News, Souvenir Edition August 1-2, 1998. It had appeared in the same paper August 15, 1948. The story follows below:

Condemned to life imprisonment in 1871 for his part in resisting the government, Satank, the Kiowa warrior, succeeded in breaking his fetters and killing one of his guards. He was shot and while dying, chanted his death song.

In the sixth Indian pageant in 1943, the death of Satank was related in the "Lighting of the Signal Fires." Belo Cozad gives the following explanation of the famous warrior's death:

"Satank was a great man. He had power. Long before he had swallowed a feather. It was medicine. Nothing could hurt him. When bullets hit him they went flat against his breast. They could not hurt him.

"He would not die a prisoner. He would not go to the penitentiary. He was a brave man. He was searched. He was stripped. He had chains. He had no knife, or gun or anything. Satank knew he was to die. He sang his song. First he sang the song that he had sung at the grave of his only son, who had been in Mexico during a raid.

"I am coming soon, get ready the tobacco for the ceremonial pipe."

"Then he sang the song of his clan that Little Bluff had sung in a battle many years before. The song sung by all members of his society:

"Although I may roam, I'll not roam forever, only the sun is here forever. Only the earth is here forever. I'll not roam forever."

"The soldier mocked him. Satank said, 'You will die, too. We will die before I pass that big tree ahead.' Then he used his great power and brought up from his throat a knife. He made the knife with his power out of the feather he had swallowed. Then he cut his shackles and stabbed the driver. He took the driver's gun. He was shot by the soldiers and fell from the wagon. But he fought until he was shot full of holes. He did not die a prisoner."

### 1944 The 13th American Indian Exposition August 16 - 19

**Pageant Title: "The Pageant of Great Gifts"**

[The 11th Annual Pageant was presented at 9:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 16th and Friday, 18th of August "with a cast of over 400 fully costumed Indians of Southwestern United States."]

Written and Directed by: Margaret Pearson Speelman – Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas

PROLOGUE:

The Camp Caller Frank Bosin summons all of the Tribes to assemble and present to America the Gifts, which the Great Spirit has bestowed upon the Indians.

The Processional led by Chief Red Bird of the Cheyenne

The Flute Call—Steve Mopope.

Invocation.

Communal Dance of all the Tribes.

The Original American Speaks—before 1492.

The Gift Dance—Women from all the camps.

Episode I—The Spirit of Discovery Speaks:

The Coming of Columbus—The Gift—Hospitality—1492.

The Coming of the Conquistadors—The Gift—Arts and Crafts—1540.

The Coming of the French—The Gift—Furs—1624.

Dances showing Hospitality and Friendliness.

Episode II—The Spirit of Colonization Speaks:

The Virginia Colony—The Gift—Tobacco—1607.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony—The Gift—Maize and its Culture—1620.

The Pennsylvania Colony—The Gift—Peace—1628.

Pipe, Corn and Peace Dances.

Interlude:

The Iroquois Confederacy—The Gift—Democratic Form of Government.

Washington—The Gift—Open Warfare.

The English language—Indian Words and Place Names which have been accepted.

War Dances

Episode III—The Spirit of Great Trails and Treaties Speaks:

The Lewis and Clark Expedition—Gift—The Trail and Guides—1804.

The Trail of Tears—Gift—Land—1830 - 1837.

The Great Council at Medicine Lodge—Gift—Land—1867.

Trail of Black Beaver and Jessie Chisholm—Gift—Trails and the Cattle Industry 1865.

Fire Dance of the Ft. Sill Apache.

Episode IV—The Spirit of World Strife for Freedom Speaks:

World War II—Gift—Indian Men & Women for the Armed Forces to Save all Precious Gifts.

Epilogue—

Color Guard—War Veterans of World war I.

Flags of the Allies.

Flags of the Episodes.

Tribal Service Flags.

Princesses and Directors.

War Mothers' Chapters and Victory Clubs of World War II.

Returned Service Men and Women of World War II.

Flag Dance—In Memoriam [sic].

“There Is No Death”. O’Hara—Augustine Campbell.

Great War Dance.

The National Anthem.

Benediction.

Recessional.

### **1945 The 14th American Indian Exposition August 14 - 18**

#### **Pageant Title: “Indian Heroes”**

Written and Directed by: Margaret Pearson Speelman, Girls Advisor at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas.

Assisted by: Tennyson Berry, Kiowa-Apache, of Fort Cobb, Okla., and Albert Attocknie, Comanche, of Apache, Oklahoma.

[The 12th Annual Pageant was presented at 9:00 p.m. on Tuesday, 15th, Thursday, 17th and Saturday, 18th of August “with a cast of over 400 fully costumed Indians of Southwestern United States, telling the dramatic story of Oklahoma, Caddo County, and Anadarko; the California Trail, the Indian migrations, Indian raids, the Washita Treaty, opening of Caddo County and Anadarko.”]

A Pageant of Indian Heroes in Caddo County, Oklahoma.

Much of the historical material contributed by Wanda W. Gray, head of the home economics department, Riverside Indian School, Anadarko, Okla., and C. Ross Hume, lawyer and Caddo County historian, Anadarko, Okla.

“A Pageant is the drama of the history and life of a community, showing how the character of that community as a community has been developed.”

Miss Oklahoma.....Marilyn Taptto, Kiowa  
Miss Caddo County.....Wandaline Coffey, Caddo  
Miss Anadarko.....Ramona Merrick, Cheyenne-Comanche

Narrators.....Oliver Woodard, Kiowa; Ioleta McElhaney, Kiowa  
Head Drummer.....James Silverhorn, Kiowa  
Stage Director.....Adolphus Goombi, Kiowa

White costumes from Harrelson Costume Company, Kansas City, Mo.  
Sound under direction of Ernest M. Moore, Chickasha, Oklahoma.  
Lights under direction of Clark Lee.

Prelude—”Oklahoma”  
Processional.

The Flute Call by Mopope—Kiowa Artist.  
“Afar I Hear a Lover’s Flute”—Augustine Campbell, Teacher at Riverside  
Indian School—Kiowa-Wichita. (Cadman)  
A Comanche Prayer—Albert Attocknie.  
A Communal Dance of All the Tribes.  
THE PAGEANT

The Original Oklahoman Speaks:

We beg you, our good friends, attend us patiently,  
While we present before you on this ancient soil,  
Scenes most forgotten, though the time’s not long,  
Lives our great heroes lived, and dared; and dangers met  
In warfare on the prairie. The primitive people first,  
The brave and hardy Wichita, the gentle Caddo,  
The Delaware, long absent from Penn’s woods,  
The Waco, Tawakonie and Kichai,  
The Nadarko, all friendly, peaceful tribes  
When this, our tale, begins,  
Who tended corn and squash, fished,  
Traded and trapped, and rode the prairies for the hunt.  
Theirs was the agency on Leeper Creek.  
Here rode Black Beaver, trusted guide and scout for Col. Emory.

Here also was the hunting range of many Kiowa, Comanche and Apache,  
Who grew no corn or squash  
But followed close behind the buffalo herds,  
And took a heavy toll of lives and captives  
From wagon trains of early, white adventurers.

Oklahoma, land of the Red People—  
How many Tribes have learned to call you home!  
Hear now our tale, the tale of Caddo County,  
One of your daughters on the western Plains.

(The name "Oklahoma" is a Choctaw word meaning "Red People" and was suggested by the Rev. Allen Wright, a Choctaw, in 1866.)

## EPISODE I

### Period of American Exploration and Expansion

Listen, the steady, ruthless, determined march to the West is beginning.  
America, expanding, growing, developing,  
Eager for lands and for homes on the prairie,  
Seeking adventure and gold toward the sun sets;  
Driving great spikes in the rails for the Iron horse,  
Soldiers, argonauts, surveyors, adventurers,  
Slowly but surely destroying the buffalo.  
Listen, the war drums,  
They call the Plains Tribes forth on the war path.

## WAR DANCES

The first English speaking Whites to enter Caddo County were the officers and men of a Dragoon expedition under Captain Nathan Boon, returning from central Kansas in 1942 [sic]. They camped in the valley of Deer Creek. They visited both Comanche and Wichita camps and were brilliantly uniformed to impress the Indians.

Captain Randolph B. Marcy in 1849 conducted a large party of California Argonauts to the Rio Grande in New Mexico through the north part of Caddo County over the California road. This led from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Santa Fe, New Mexico.

In 1850 a survey was made for the Pacific railroad westward through Caddo County under the direction of Lt. A. W. Whipple. Fort Cobb was selected by Col. Emory and constructed under Capt. W. S. Cabell. This was abandoned by Federal Troops March 5, 1861.  
The first Indian Agency was at Leeper Creek under the control of the Confederate Army for a year and a half.

During the War Between the States many of the Tribes fled to Kansas and there was much confusion in this section of the country until after the close of the war. Then to restore security for communication and traffic to the West over the California Trail, the Federal government began to pay attention to the situation in what is now Caddo County. Col. William B. Hazen became the United States Indian Agent at Fort Cobb. After the Black Kettle Massacre, under Custer's direction, November 27, 1869, General Custer and Sheridan came from Fort Supply to decide upon a new site. It was then Fort Sill was selected and Fort Cobb abandoned.

## EPISODE II

### The Establishment of the Reservation

Listen, the Comanche Ten Bears is pleading  
And Santanta, the Kiowa, is addressing the Council.  
But the trails must be free to the Westward,  
Raiding and forays must be ended.  
Down from the Medicine Lodge Council,  
Where the Comanche, the Kiowa, Apache,  
The Cheyenne and Arapaho put their mark to the paper,  
The Plains tribes are driven to set up their lodges  
Between the Red and the Washita Rivers,  
South of the Delaware, Wichita and Caddo.



Then did the great Kiowa Chieftains,  
Santanta and Lonewolf and Big Tree,  
Satanka, Big Bow and Stumbling Bear,  
With the Quahadi Comanche,  
Resist the White interference,  
And persist in raiding and plundering  
Until three of the Chiefs were made prisoner  
And, the warrior Satanka, killed while resisting.

#### INDIVIDUAL WAR DANCES

The Medicine Lodge Treaty was made in Kansas in 1867. The Agency for the Plains Tribes was established at Fort Sill.

The Wichita and affiliated Tribes, the Timber Indians, had no reservation but an Agency was established for them across the river north of the present city of Anadarko. The Kiowa and Comanche Agency was moved from Fort Sill September 1, 1878, to the Wichita Agency. There were estimated at this time to be 2500 Comanche, 1900 Kiowa, 500 Kiowa-Apache, 1200 Wichita and affiliated Bands. The following spring 1500 acres were planted, and Agent Tatum asked for \$1,000 for prizes. This was undoubtedly the first Indian Fair.

Some of the groups of both Kiowa and Comanche continued their raiding and there were difficult times for several years.

#### EPISODE III

##### The Establishment of the Agency and Schools

The call went out to the Quakers  
From the Great White Father of Indians  
To come at once in their kindness  
To open good schools for the children;  
To issue beeves and the flour,  
The coveted sugar and coffee;  
To encourage the Tribes on the White Road,  
Put and end to the raiding and pillage.

Out from the camps of the Wichita, the Delaware and the Caddo  
Came eight frightened, under clothed children  
To learn the strange ways of the White man,  
But from the camps south of the river  
No answer came but denial.

Encouraged by Quadalupe the Caddo, and the Delaware scout, the Black Beaver,  
The school gradually grew in importance.  
While to the camps of the Kiowa  
Kindly Kickingbird invited the Quaker.

#### CADDO DANCE

#### WICHITA DANCE

#### DELAWARE DANCE

In 1871 Jonathan Richards, Quaker, was in charge of the Wichita Agency. Thomas C. Battey, Quaker, was the school teacher. President-elect Grant asked for list of names suitable for agents. The Quakers had had long success with the Indians.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs declared that the Indians must have legal rights, live on reservations, learn agriculture and the arts of civilized life. Those Indians who refused to abide by his decision would be put under military control. Indians of the Indian Territory and Kansa were turned over to the orthodox Friends. Laurie Tatum, Quaker, became the agent for the Kiowa, Comanche and Kiowa-Apache, July 1, 1869.

#### EPISODE IV

The establishment of Anadarko

“Stay out” the Great Father warned them,  
This is the land of the Red Man,  
These are his acres and grass lands”  
Yet in spite of the warning,  
So great was the thirst for green valleys  
So steadily westward the marching,  
So loud was the low of the cattle  
That the Indian lands were allotted  
And the surplus opened for homesteads.

Behold then the day of the drawing,  
Behold a plains city arising;  
These are the pioneers coming  
To bring schools and free institutions;  
To bring faith and hope for the future;  
To bring democracy’s teachings;  
To bring progress and light to the prairie.

#### WOMEN’S DANCE

Old Oklahoma was opened in 1889. White men came to the north bank of the South Canadian, and looked longingly at the Indian lands to the south. In the same way the land that now comprises Kiowa, Comanche and Caddo counties, was sought for the settlers from North Texas. The Cherokee Commission met in 1891 and plans were made for the allotment of Indian lands and for the sale of the surplus. The Treaty with the Wichita and affiliated Tribes was signed at Anadarko.

Anadarko was opened for settlement August 6, 1901. Caddo County was established.

The drawing of surplus Indian lands was taking place at the same time. This was done at El Reno for Caddo County.

The following Anadarko firms opened their doors for business on that day, and have helped in developing a typical American community, which lived amicably with the original inhabitants of Caddo County:

Adolph Youngheim, Clothing; B. W. Hammert, Groceries; John Pfaff, Hardware; Harry Brown Lumber Yard; Leazenby Bros., Groceries.

#### EPILOGUE

A hundred years in the telling  
A hundred years in the growing  
Wandering tribes on the prairie  
Tribes who raided and plundered,  
Whites who were ruthless and lawless.  
Soldiers and forts and long treaties,

Treaties that rarely were sacred,  
But often caused only more bloodshed.

Until today on the prairie  
In the homes of the County of Caddo,  
On the farms of the Washita Valley,  
On the streets of the town, Anadarko,  
Old hurts are forgotten  
Old wounds have been healed.  
And the Wichita, Delaware, Caddo,  
The Comanche, The Kiowa, Apache  
Open their hearts and their purse strings  
Offer their sons and their daughters  
To you, our loved State Oklahoma,  
To add to your gift to the Nation.

Members of all these tribes hold honored positions as teachers, professional men and women, farmers, tradesmen and artisans in this and other communities. Certainly the manner in which these Indians have given both their means and their lives to the Allied cause is no small example of their love of country and their acceptance of the responsibility they assumed when they left the ways of their forefathers.

#### FINALE

The Princesses of the exposition, presented by the leading men of the Tribe they represent.

The War Mothers and Victory Clubs of the Indian Women of the Kiowa Jurisdiction.

The Service Men and Women of the Tribes.

The Indian Star Spangled Banner.

A Victory Dance.

A reproduction of the Iwo Jima Flag Raising, from which a Pima Indian, Ira Hayes is one of the three survivors. Clifford Chebotah, Comanche, Indianoma, Oklahoma, was an eye witness of the historical event.

The National Anthem.

Recessional.

### **1946 The 15th American Indian Exposition August 20 - 24**

#### **Pageant Title: "The Pageant of the Peace Pipe"**

Written and Directed by: Margaret Pearson Speelman  
Assistant Pageant Directors: Tennyson Berry and Albert Attocknie

[The thirteenth annual Pageant was presented at 9:00 p.m. on Tuesday, 20th, Thursday, 22nd and Saturday, 24th of August "with a cast of over 400 fully costumed Indians of Southwestern United States and being presented in honor of our war heroes and in solemn memory of our war dead." Black and white illustration (3.5" X 5") standing Plains Indian warrior in full regalia with arms uplifted, holding peace pipe, offering it to the Creator—by Clarence Ellsworth.]

In Honor Of Our War Heroes and In Solemn Memory of Our War Dead

PROCESSIONAL

INVOCATION — Frank Bosin.

COMMUNAL DANCE  
THE PAGEANT

PROLOGUE:

“I am coming soon  
Get ready the Tobacco  
For the ceremonial Pipe” — Sung by White Horse — Death song of Santanka,  
Great Kiowa Chief (Killed June 8, 1871, at Fort Sill, Okla. A prisoner of war.)

“Bring out the Pipe, my Brothers  
The Ceremonial Calumet, the Peace Pipe  
Carefully unwrap it.  
Reverently take it from its gaily-beaded buckskin bag;  
Tie the sacred number of eagle plumes and streamers upon it;  
For this is a solemn hour.  
Into the light of the Council Fire,  
Step only the wise ones,  
The Peace Chiefs, the sage ones,  
To light with the burning coal,  
The symbol of honor, the Peace Pipe.

Peace in the New World

Bring out the Peace Pipe, my Brothers.  
Where the Delaware flows, we will smoke it.  
It is autumn and the Lenni-Lenape  
Council with William Penn’s Quakers;  
Calling the neighboring Tribesmen together  
To listen to Penn’s message of friendship.  
While the sun shines and the rivers  
Run to the sea in the woodland,  
The Friends and brave Tamenend’s warriors,  
Shall live in peace, friendship, and safety.

DELAWARE PEACE DANCE

(William Penn made a Treaty with the Delaware Indians in November, 1682, in what is now Pennsylvania.)

Bring out the Peace Pipe my Brothers,  
By the Father of waters, we’ll smoke it,  
La Salle and the Caddo will smoke it.  
Then the French, led by the same gentle Caddo,  
Claim all the lands the streams border,  
In the name of their King and Religion.  
Thus we smoke the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
We smoke and put hand to the paper,  
But later we found, we Indians,  
We found that the treaties were broken.

## A CADDO DANCE

(The French met the Caddo in 1682 in what is now Louisiana)

### Peace in the Colonies

Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
The Red Coats and Frenchmen are smoking,  
The Iroquois and Hurons are smoking,  
Montcalm lies dead, and the Long knives  
Have driven the French from the valley.  
Indian trails to the Westward,  
Made broad by the feet of men marching,  
Made broad by the wagon wheels turning,  
The pioneers are claiming our Valley.

(Black and white illustration)

## A WAR DANCE

(At the close of the French and Indian Wars, 1763, France gave up her northern possessions in this continent, and the British colonists began pouring over the Appalachians. The Indian resisted, to no avail, the white occupancy of the Ohio valley.)

Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
Cornwallis and our Tribesmen will smoke it,  
George Washington, the "Old Fox" will smoke it,  
Our enemy, yet to defeat us,  
He fought in the Indian Manner.  
He conquered us with our open warfare,  
His stealth of our very existence.

(All Eastern Indian tribes with the exception of the Oneida, who remained neutral, were allies of the British; although some individuals and small groups fought with the Colonists. After the War was won, the Eastern Tribes were obligated to make new treaties with the new nation, establishing the Tribal boundaries.)

Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
Red jacket, the Seneca, will smoke it,  
The peace Chief of the Iroquois Long House,  
Will smoke with the newly born Nation.  
Hear the words of the Seneca Chieftain,  
When he learns that Big Turtle is vanquished,  
"Brothers," he says to the Council,  
"Brothers, we sign this in sadness."  
"We stand a small isle in the midst of great waters,  
We are encircled, encompassed on all sides,  
The wild spirit rides upon every blast,  
The waters are disturbed, they rise,  
They press upon us. The waves settle over us.  
We disappear forever.  
We are mingled with the common elements."

(One of the first Treaties made by the United States government with the Indians was made with members of the Iroquois Confederacy, on November 11, 1784, the famous 'cloth' Treaty of Canandalqua [sic]. Red

Jacket, the Seneca, refused to sign until word came that Mad Anthony Wayne had defeated Big Turtle in the West. Today the Tribes live in New York, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma.)

#### A WAR DANCE

Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
Tecumseh, the Shawnee has brought it,  
To call all the Tribes of the Southland,  
To stand with his ally the British,  
And save for his people, the Valley.  
But the sage Pushmataha, the Choctaw,  
Has smoked with his ally, our Nation,  
And his braves drop their bows and their arrows,  
And refuse to join in the War Dance.

(Tecumseh, great Shawnee warrior and statesman, attempted to form an Indian Confederacy to keep the pioneers out of the Ohio Valley. When he visited the Muskogean Tribes, Pushmataha, the Choctaw, and his warriors refused to join.)

#### A WAR DANCE

Yet when the ash in the Peace Pipe  
Is cold and gray, all the Tribesmen,  
The Cherokee and the Muskogean  
Left their homes in the East and their acres,  
To Cross the Father of waters;  
While the Tribes from the Ohio Valley  
Are steadily pushed to the Westward.  
Thus we smoke the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
We smoke and put hand to the paper,  
But later we found, we Indians,  
We found that the Treaties were broken.

#### STOMP DANCE

(Brought from the southeastern part of the United States)

(The White Migrations are steadily pouring into the Valley. Old treaties become obsolete. The Indian's March to the West begins with the infamous Trail of Tears in 1835.)

#### Peace on the Prairie

Bring out the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
The Wichita, Ki-shi-ka-roque  
Will solemnly smoke you in Texas.  
Hear how he answers Sam Houston,  
Yet his people are scattered and broken.

#### DOG DANCE OF THE WICHITA AND PAWNEE

(In 1834 the Wichita attempted through Treaty to hold their Tribal lands in the Republic of Texas.)

Bring out the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
Perhaps now that Texas is taken  
To the north bank of El Rio Grande

There'll be room for the Caddo and Wichita,  
The Delaware scouts, the two Falleafs,  
And Black Beaver, lead troops to the border.

#### RABBIT DANCE

(Delaware scouts lead troops to the Mexican War in 1845. Colonel Leavenworth and his troops followed the trail marked by the brothers Fallen. Black Beaver was showing the way farther South.)

Bring out the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
Smoke to heal the wounds of Manassas,[sic]  
To heal the heartbreaks after Shiloh,  
The Red Man fights for both causes.  
Again Black Beaver leads troops into battle.  
The Caddo and Wichita are homeless,  
The Muskogean Nations are shattered.

(Indians from Kansas and from the Indian Territory fought on both sides in the War Between the States. Black Beaver led troops through to the western forts.)

Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
Smoke for a peace on the prairie.  
Call all the Plains Tribes to the Smoking,  
The Comanche, the Kiowa, the Apache,  
The Arapaho and their allies, the Cheyenne,  
To meet 'neath the oak for the Treaty.  
Hear the speech of Ten Bears, the Comanche,  
As he puts his hand to the paper;  
As he turns his face to the Southland,  
And gives up the raiding forever.  
Thus we lead our conquerors to battle,  
And aid him to win these great prairies,  
Then we smoke the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
Forfeit much land, and our folk-ways.

#### APACHE FIRE DANCE

(The Plains tribes in 1867 by the Medicine Lodge Treaty made in Kansas, agreed to go onto Reservations in the Indian Territory. The old free raiding and hunting days were over.)

Peace for the World

Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
"Remember the Maine" was our War Cry,  
And Indians rode up San Juan's hillside  
Now fighting America's battle.

Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
"Over there, over there," comes the order.  
And Indians answer this challenge  
And fight to bring peace to all nations.

Bring out the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
Hold it high that all nations may see it.

Let the smoke rise and fall on us all like a blessing.  
 How our hearts yearn for a peace that is honest and lasting.  
 Down through the years our warriors fought for our freedom.  
 Down through the years our Peace Chiefs put hand to the paper.  
 Down through the years we sacrificed homelands and folk-ways.  
 Have we yet learned if we are to gain peace  
 Old ways must be forfeit?  
 That no Clan, nor no Tribe, no, nor no Nation itself is important,  
 Unless every man in all the Tribes has his share of good living;  
 And the Nations are one, in hope, in friendship, in honor.

THE WOMEN’S FLAG DANCE

1. THE EMPTY SADDLE

On December 21, 1944, Pvt. Clarence Spotted Wolf, a full-blood Gros Ventre was killed in action in Luxemburg. Hear the letter he had written his people, should he fail to return to them!

“If I should be killed, I want you to bury me on one of the hills east of the place where my grandparents and brothers and sisters and other relatives are buried.

“If you have a memorial service I want the soldiers to go ahead with the American flag. I want cowboys to follow, all on horseback I want one of the cowboys to lead one of the wildest of the T over X horses with saddle and bridle on.

“I will be riding that horse.”

2. TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN BLESSED MEMORY OF:  
 Kiowa Agency Boys Killed in action, World War II

Harry Mothlo.....	Fort Sill Apache.....	Italy
Thomas Chockpoyah.....	Comanche.....	France
Eli Hosetosavit.....	Comanche.....	France
Melvin Meyers.....	Comanche.....	France
Raymond Brown.....	Wichita.....	France
Ben Trevino.....	Comanche.....	Europe
Donald Beaver.....	Caddo.....	Europe
Gilbert Vidana.....	Comanche.....	Europe
Louis (John) Rivas.....	Comanche.....	Europe
Lyndreth L. Palmer.....	Kiowa.....	Europe
Mathew Hawzipta.....	Kiowa.....	Europe
Joel (Joe) Guoladdle.....	Kiowa.....	Pacific
Virgil Edw. Brown.....	Wichita.....	Pacific
Henry Kosechata.....	Comanche.....	Europe
Henry W. Conowoop.....	Comanche.....	Pacific
George Neconie.....	Kiowa.....	Pacific
Charlie Edwards.....	Caddo.....	U.S.A.
Eastman Spencer.....	Caddo.....	Canal Zone
Ted Tahsuda.....	Comanche.....	U.S.A.
Daniel Madrano, Jr.....	Caddo.....	Ascension Island
Bruce Williams.....	Caddo.....	U.S.A.
Yoeman Williams.....	Caddo.....	U.S.A.
David Cross.....	Caddo.....	Pacific



Bring out the Peace Pipe, my Brothers,  
Hold it high that all Nations may see it.  
Let the smoke rise and fall on us like a blessing  
Now our hearts yearn for a peace that is honest and lasting.

3. THE FLAG CEREMONY

4. FLAG RAISING AT IWO JIMA

(Pfc. Ira Hayes, a full-blood Pima Indian from Bapchule, Arizona, is one of the three survivors of the historic incident on Mount Surivache, when six Marines raised our American Flag on the summit of the volcano, under heavy enemy fire.)

5. THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

6. RECESSIONAL

**1947 The 16th American Indian Exposition August 12 - 16**

**Pageant Title: "Teepee Tales A Folk Pageant"**

Written and Directed by: Margaret Pearson Speelman  
Assistant Pageant Directors: Albert Attocknie and Tennyson Berry

[The 14th Annual Pageant was presented at 9:00 p.m. on Tuesday, 12th, Thursday, 14th and Saturday, 16th of August "with a cast of over 400 fully costumed Indians of Southwestern United States. I have discovered one source<sup>1</sup> that indicates this pageant—"TeePee Tales" was first produced at the 1940 American Indian Exposition]

Presented In Honor of  
The Old Men and Women of the Tribes,  
Who Keep Alive the Ancient ways.

Processional—The New World Symphony.....Dvorak

Invocation—Frank Bosin.  
Communal Dance.

THE PAGEANT

Prologue:

The Prairie Indians Speaks:

Friends of the Indian race,  
Friends of another race, children of a Culture with roots in alien shores,  
Listen, we beseech you, and do not scorn a way of living as ancient as your own,  
An eye for beauty, which saw God in everything;  
A love for freedom and of individual rights;  
A reverence for a Spirit permeating all.

Our Holy Man speaks often with Wakan-Tanka,  
The Great Mystery, and from him learns

What is best for all our people.

See how our tribesmen gather round him,  
Beseech the way to educate our young.  
Hear now the chant for the safety of the Mothers,  
The Mothers of the Warriors, who will defend the Tribe.

“Far to the East,  
Far by the sky,  
Stands a blue Elk.  
That Elk standing yonder  
Watches o’er all the females  
On the Earth.”  
—Dakota.

Hear now the chant of the Wise One,  
As he descends from off his sacred hill:

“In this circle  
O ye Warriors;  
Lo, I tell you  
Each his future,  
All shall be  
As I now reveal it,  
In this circle,  
Hear ye.”  
—Dakota.

THE BUFFALO DANCE  
THE SNAKE DANCE

The Life Story of an Indian Boy—Eagle Nest

The Papoose

“Little good baby he-ye,  
Sleepy little baby  
A-ha-h’m.”  
—Cheyenne.

With such a song a Mother soothes her baby.  
Singing gently, sweetly, o’er and o’er.  
Tightly she winds him and ties him on a back-board,  
Where from teepee pole or branch of friendly tree,  
He swings for hours, and early learns his lessons  
In patient self-control.  
And when the camp moved on, the Mother  
Bears on her back the youngest of her brood.

The Lullaby—Kiowa

CADDO WOMEN’S DANCE

The Grandmother’s Story

When nights are cold and long, and winds are howling,  
Beside the teepee fire, the little children  
Draw close around some ancient woman of the tribe  
To listen to her songs of war, and stories  
Of how the beaver got his tail, and how the bear lost his.

“It is not safe for me to tell you stories in the summer time,  
The Grandma warns, “Your Grandfathers, the Snakes,  
Would angry be, and they would do us harm.”

So do we learn their rules of conduct,  
Which animals are friends, and those that we should shun.  
So did we learn the folklore of our People,  
The stories of Creation, the God’s gracious gifts to man.

#### The Legend

In the early days there was a great hill that used to open and shut like a pair of jaws and devour men and animals. The hill would open in the middle and the sides would fall back till they lay flat upon the ground, and all the land looked like good, smooth prairie.

Then herds of elk and deer and buffalo would come to graze, and when the place was full, the jaws of the hill would close, and crack! All the animals would be crushed and killed. This hill killed so much game that the Earth-Maker feared that all the people would starve. So he sent his son, Wash-ching-geka, to destroy the hill.

When the Little Hare came there the hill opened and all the ground was smooth; and Wash-ching-geka made himself like a small stone and lay quite still. Then the elk and the deer and the buffalo came to graze, but as soon as the mouth began to close on them, see! Wash-ching-geka quickly changed himself into a great stone, and so, when the hill shut on him, hoo! The jaws were broken all to pieces. The hill lay scattered and never could devour men or animals anymore. —Cheyenne.

#### THE CHILDREN’S RABBIT DANCE

##### The Hand Game

“O Spirit Great, Protector of the Prairies,  
O Star of evening, and our Mother Moon,  
Bless now our games, and make your People happy,  
Give us good luck, health, comfort, and old Age.”

With such prayer begins the friendly hand game,  
To teach our children to be quick of eye,  
Alert and skillful for their lives of chance.

Then do the men and women and the children  
Gather round to play the rhythmic and game,  
Chant far into the night.

#### THE INDIAN TWO-STEP

#### EAGLE DANCE

##### The Ordeal

High on a lonely hill, far from his tribal camp,  
An Indian youth holds vigil day and night,  
With arms outstretched, imploring strength  
To keep his fast, and win the warrior's place.

Each day from dawn to setting of the sun,  
His steady eye has scanned the prairie wide,  
For bird or beast as messenger from Gad.[sic]

Suddenly an Eagle, as if direct from Heaven,  
Swoops down from out of the clouds,  
And eagle Nest, son of Riding-in, Well knows  
His prayer is answered, and his fast at end.

He may return now to his father's waiting lodge,  
To sit among the elders and smoke the Calumet.

WAR DANCES  
WOMEN'S SOLDIER DANCE

The Agricultural and Domestic Arts

"Hither the Mother Corn  
Greet we the Mother Corn  
Thanks to the Mother Corn

Now she cometh,  
Hither the Mother Corn,  
He-ye."  
—Pawnee

O, Spirit Wise, O father of thy children,  
Provider of all fruits and nuts for food.  
Our girls are taught to gather them at morning,  
And rejoicing in thy bounty bring[s] them home.

Wild rice from sky-blue northern lakes is gathered,  
Shaking full ears over birch canoes.  
Dried fruits and berries for the winter's storing,  
For sweets the wild bee's hoarding and the maple's blood.

With fire they clear the grounds of woods and bushes,  
With sharpened sticks and hoes of bone and shell  
Our women till the ground. Spring comes, rains fall,  
And Mother Corn grows for all our Tribes.

Of softest skins, of sinews strong and pliant,  
With needles of the sharpest fashioned bone,  
Our girls are taught to make our clothing, and then adorn them  
With brightest shells, and quills of porcupine,  
With shiny seeds, with claws of bird and bear.

The feathers from the eagle and the partridge,  
The beards of turkey and the rabbits fluff,

The shells of mussel and the strips of rawhide  
Become the warrior's bonnet or the dancer's crest.

From roots as fine as hairs they make our baskets,  
From roots our wise ones knew, they brew strong teas,  
Which heal our sick and keep our love ones true.

Of bark, of stone, of leaves, of tender saplings,  
They weave our baskets and decorate mats.

#### THE WOMEN'S GIFT DANCE

##### The Tryst

"Up the creek I stand and wave;  
See, all alone I wave,  
Ah, hither,  
Ah, hither,  
Haste thee to me."  
—Dakota

A Love Song.....On a Cedar Flute  
It's evening, and by the friendly watering place,  
The women of the camp go quickly to fill their bowls and bags of skin.  
Old Raven with her brave son's lovely daughter, Fair Cedar Tree,  
Draws close to gossip with wise Cries-for-Ribs.

A Wolf barks, and Old raven,  
Anxious for the safety of her grandchild,  
Sends the women scurrying for the camp.

Only the maiden, Fair Cedar Tree, seems not afraid.  
Later that same night, she knows, from the elder thicket  
A Lover's flute will call, and she will steal away  
To meet him in their secret trysting place.

And soon her father's teepee will be filled high  
With gifts from eagle Nest's good folk,  
And Cedar Tree and Eagle Nest begin another lodge.

#### CHEYENNE WEDDING CEREMONIAL AND DANCE

##### The Religious Ceremonial

Now as the father of another camp,  
Good eagle Nest from time to time  
Goes forth to offer prayer and praise  
To Wakan-Tanka, the Great Mystery.

The lodge is ready, and the tribesmen come,  
To dance the Ghost Dance.  
To pray, to chant, to smoke the sacred pipe,  
And ask God's blessing on their homes and friends.

## THE GHOST DANCE

(This cult grew up among the Plains Indians when they were bewildered by the rapid encroachment of the Whites, and were seeking deliverance. Ahpeahstone, a Kiowa, journeyed to the land of the Utes to investigate the source of the religion. He returned to his people, saying it was futile and meaningless. The cult gradually died out.)

### The Mission

Of Singing Wind, his dainty grand-daughter,  
Old Eagle Nest is always very proud,  
When from the Mission School she joins the summer camp.  
Pitched high beside the Washita.  
And through the summer twilight,  
She tells her grandsire and her other kin,  
Of songs and stories that the Sisters said  
Are of an ancient faith.  
Old Eagle Nest does not understand,  
Except perhaps that God and Wakhanta, are one.

### AN INDIAN HYMN

#### THE TWENTY-THIRD PSALM

(Our visitors from the Southwest dance to entertain their friends of the Plains.)

### The Death Song of Eagle Nest

The sun is setting, and in the brilliant west  
The colors of the blanket flame before they die,  
Old eagle Nest knows now his days are spent,  
And quietly he gathers strength to wrap his blanket close about him  
And from his teepee moves toward the dying sun,  
Chanting his death song, as he goes  
To find peace and happier hunting days across  
The world's bright edge.

### THE DEATH SONG OF A KIOWA

#### The Epilogue—

Thus were the old days spent.  
So have the old ways gone,  
With the passing of such men as eagle Nest.

But in his place there stands today  
A host of eager young  
Men and women of his ancient race  
Prepared and ready for the newer ways,  
To serve their people and their country's good.

(Today in America the Indians are increasing both in numbers and in importance. They are entering all fields of endeavor. Among them are to be found professional men and women, successful farmers and stockmen, clergymen, merchants, etc. They gave magnificently in money and in numbers to save our way of life in both World Wars I and II.)

Presentation of the Princesses and Prominent Indians.

The National Anthem.

Recessional.

NARRATOR—Oliver Woodard, Kiowa Indian.

**1948 The 17th American Indian Exposition August 17 - 21**

**Pageant Title: “Smoke Signals to Indian Youth”**

Written and Directed by: Mrs. Clarissa A. Lowry, Teacher, Wheelock Academy, Millerton, Oklahoma

Assistant Pageant Directors: Albert Attocknie and Tennyson Berry

Pageant Narrator: O. M. Woodard

[The 15th Annual Pageant was presented at 9:00 p.m. on Tuesday, 17th, Thursday, 19th and Saturday, 21st of August “with a cast of over 400 fully costumed Indians of Southwestern United States.]

AN INDIAN PAGEANT

Presented by the American Indian Exposition In Honor of OUR INDIAN YOUTH who are making a place for themselves in the White World.

Processional—Largo from “Xerxes” .....Handel

Invocation—Frank Bosin

Communal Dance

WAR DANCE

THE PAGEANT

Prologue:

The Grandfather Speaks:

Grandson, many moons have passed  
Since first this place I saw.  
Gaze now upon the scene.  
These are our people—dancing, playing, working  
Yes, working together to make our  
Fair a growing, vital thing.

WICHITA DOG DANCE

SNAKE DANCE

The moon has come to rest  
On yonder hill, a scout watches,  
Waits to warn of coming danger.  
But here, the village

Calmly goes about its work.

See yonder where Mother Earth  
Meets the sky, a sentry beckons.  
Up, up, in spirals, comes the signal,  
Watch now the answering wave.  
Young braves are restless,  
Children grow solemn. And their play. [sic]  
The wise ones council as they eat.

Our people these;  
The warlike Kiowa, Comanche and Apache,  
The gentle Caddo, Wichita, and Delaware,  
While to the east, the Osage,  
Quapaw and the Pawnee  
Called this land, their home.

(No fewer than 10 tribes of Indians claimed dominion over parts of the State of Oklahoma, when the white man came to explore it. Wichita, Waco and Tawakony, an agricultural people, lived in the western, while the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache roamed over the western and central parts. The Osage, Quapaw and Caddo lived in the eastern part and were an agricultural people.)

What does this day hold for our people,  
What land, what homes shall we now give?  
What pain, and grief shall we all suffer  
Before we find the peace we now enjoy?

Now comes a band of weary travelers.  
What evil has befallen them?  
What devils nip their heels in torment  
To drive them beaten to our door?

#### SONG OF THE MOURNERS (Comanche)

(The Government of the United States negotiated treaties of concentration with the tribes of the east, but the Georgians were not satisfied with this. They were determined to drive out the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws and Seminoles and have their lands. Thus the Cherokee and Muskogean Nations began their journey to the Indian Territory in 1832. The "Trail of Tears" was ended in 1848.)

Leaders of the Cherokee and Muskogean Nations Speak:

We are of the Cherokee Nation, the Choctaw,  
Chickasaw, Seminole and Creek.  
We seek a home, a haven from the vultures  
Who would pick our bones before we  
Scarce are dead.

Can this be done  
A haven for the Redman?  
Oh tell us that today we reach the end.  
This Oklahoma, Land of Safety.  
Where we may find surcrease from grief—from pain.

Chief of the western Indians Speaks:



Welcome brothers, welcome.  
While we council on your coming.  
Share our evening and rest you.  
There is no need for traveling onward.

(There was no actual meeting of the Plains Indians and the Cherokees and Muskogean nations until later years when a Peace Pact was made.)

#### PAWNEE FIRE LIGHTING CEREMONY

Prayer from the Hako:

The Medicine Man Prays:

“I know not if the voice of man can reach the sky;  
I know not if the Mighty One will hear us pray;  
I know not if the gifts I ask will all be granted;  
I know not if the word of old hath been received;  
I know not what will come to pass in days to be.  
I hope that only good will come, my children, unto thee.”

(Makes the fire and when flame comes)

“Now I know that the voice of man can reach unto the heaven;  
Now I know that The Mighty One hath heard me when I prayed;  
Now I know that the word of old—we have truly heart [sic] it;  
Now I know that Tirawa Atius, Heaven, our Father harkeneth unto man’s prayer;  
Now I know that good, and good alone, hath come, my children, unto thee.”

#### PIPE CEREMONY

The Chief Speaks:

(Blows puff toward sky)

“I offer this Wakan Tanka for all the good that comes from above.”

(Blows puff toward earth)

“I offer this to Maka-kin, the earth, whence comes all good gifts.”

(Puff blown and pipe pointed to each of cardinal points)

“To you, Wiyo peyata, who dwells where the sun falls—help us with the strength of the thunder.  
“To you, Wazi Yata, who dwells, whence comes the cold, send us the cold winds and let the tribe live.”  
“To you, Wiyo hinyanpata, who dwells where the sun continually returns, send us good days, and let the tribe live.”  
“To you, Ito Kagata, who dwells in the direction we face with outstretched arms, may the sunshine out in full to us and let the tribe live.”

Chief of the Western Indians Speaks to eastern Indians:

A home we humbly offer,  
In this land we love and cherish,

In this land of many Redmen.  
Now may we call on Wakan Tanka,  
The Great Spirit, to give you  
Peace and everlasting hope.

COMANCHE PRAYER  
MUSKOGEAN STOMP DANCE  
WAR DANCE

The Grandfather Speaks:

Ho! I see my mother now,  
Young she is and light of foot,  
As to the waterhole she hurries on,  
For now, the women cook the evening meal,  
While the young ones play at hunting,  
Warring, and Old Ones gamble as they wait.

HAND GAME

Now goes the Maiden, Spotted Fawn, to the water hole,  
Where now the Cheyenne, Eagle Nest, seeks her out,  
To play his flute and offer love to win her.  
This maiden of the laughing eyes and dancing feet.

Dakota Love Song:

“High above I stand and wave,  
See, all alone I wait.  
Hither thou, hither,  
Oh haste to me now.”

The Elders seek the family chosen.  
Gifts are placed outside the teepee door,  
While family councils long,  
For this daughter grown to womanhood,  
Must go unto another tribe.

SHIELD DANCE

Moccasins she makes, corn is ground,  
The menial tasks that try a winsome maid.

INDIAN TWO-STEP

At last, the happy day has come.  
At last, the work is finished,  
At last, she sets her eyes upon him,  
He who will shield her, for whom she'll make a home.

CHEYENNE WEDDING CEREMONY DANCE  
EAGLE DANCE  
WAR DANCE  
HOOP DANCE

(Visiting Tribesmen from New Mexico dance to celebrate the feast.)

So life goes on,  
Comes now the harvest,  
The Great Spirit is good to these, His people,  
Time to offer thanks.

HARVEST DANCE  
MESCALERO APACHE FIRE DANCE

So offer we our songs and thanks.  
A year has passed, a papoose strapped to cradle  
Has come to Spotted Fawn and Eagle Nest,  
His mother croons an ancient lullaby to  
Soothe him and gently swings [sic] him,  
Sings him, now to rest.

KIOWA LULLABY  
CADDO WOMEN'S DANCE

Many moons have passed, a name he must have.  
The Elders talk of braves, and times and deeds,  
They study long before they choose one,  
For success or failure follows in a name.

NAMING CEREMONY  
ANCIENT WAR DANCES

Epilogue:

The Grandfather Speaks:

Red Bird's family starts upon their journey  
That leads forever on to brighter days.  
Look yonder, see that small brown baby,  
Look carefully, lest you forget.

He is your grandfather, Small One,  
Your grandfather standing at your side,  
Your grandfather, who tells you this in leaving:

Be brave, my son, do not stoop to anger,  
Be brave, your tribesmen need you tall and strong.  
Be brave, we must forget our vengeance.  
Our journey is forever long.

To help our tribesmen striving ever onward,  
To give each one a kindly helping hand.  
To take our place among all people.  
To this end,  
Our journey is just begun.  
Presentation of Tribal Princesses and Prominent Indians.

The National Anthem.

Processional.

Pageant Narrator:

O. M. WOODARD  
Kiowa

### 1949 The 18th American Indian Exposition August 16 - 20

#### Pageant Title: "Drums on the Plains"

Written and Directed by: Claude Kennedy, Cherokee

[Note: In an article published June 28, 1964, Henry W. Lookingglass, that year's pageant author and director, claimed to have been the author of this pageant.]

Pageant Narrator: O. M. Woodard, Kiowa

[The 16th Annual Pageant was presented at 9:00 p.m. on Tuesday, 16th, Thursday, 18th and Saturday, 20th of August "with a cast of over 400 fully costumed Indians of Southwestern United States and being presented in honor of our old people and to perpetuate our customs.]

IN HONOR OF OUR OLD PEOPLE AND TO PERPETUATE OUR CUSTOMS

Processional

Invocation—Henry Goodfox, Pawnee.

#### PROLOGUE

I want to tell you a story about the ritual dances of my people.  
I want to share with you the customs and heritage of my people.  
This story will be a journey into the past to the sound of a drum.  
Recalling and remembering by-gone years is the sound of a drum.  
The sound of "Drums on the Plains."

I remember the days of my youth, the pow-wows and pow-wow grounds that are no more.  
I remember the legends and the stories told by the elders; old men who are no longer with us.  
I remember the names of war dancers of yesteryear and their songs.  
These things I remember and recalling is the sound of a drum.

I am a citizen of today, the age of atomic power, this twentieth century.  
I am the voice of many; I am the voice of the mix-blood and the full-blood.  
I may be the voice of the person sitting beside you.  
I want to share with you the ceremonial pageantry of my people.

I remember college yells, big cities, army posts and far off places.  
Champs-Elysee, Taj-Mahal, London and Japan are familiar places.  
I remember the dragon's teeth of the Siegfried line, the Pacific Theatre, and the flak filled skies of yesterday.

Yes, I remember all these things, but I remember best the sound of the "Drums on the Plains."  
The cycle of a lifetime pass before me and always—the sound of Drums—my roots are deep and my past is ancient.

Listen—and look at the ritual dances and customs of my people.  
PAGEANT

Love is the beginning.  
In the hush of evening time the serenade of a maiden can be heard.  
In the still evening the echo of the flute haunts the hills,  
Love is the beginning.

#### A FLUTE CALL

(The flute call at sundown is an ancient custom. The serenade to an unmarried maiden was a familiar sound in the old days. Now there are only a few flute makers and flute players in this country.)

Laughter and songs by starlight  
Happy are the braves and the maidens,  
Gay is the beat of the drum.  
Life is two people—  
Life is a brave and a maiden.

#### A TWO-STEP DANCE A RABBIT DANCE

(The two-step with its intermittent whirls and the two-by-two dance in which a caller directs the steps of the dancers are social dances. Young men and women dance arm-in-arm.)

Strange and difficult are the rituals of my brothers,  
Agile and creative are my brothers.  
And I say to these dancers, “We are of this land,” and this ceremony that you share with us is a part of this land.

#### HOOP DANCES SPECIAL DANCES

(This series of dances is [sic] creative and interpretive dances and are works of art, for the interpretation of a song or the creation of a dance such as the hoop dance is a work of art.)

Fire, water, earth and sky shape our thinking.  
The darkness of the night and the light of the sun shape our thinking.  
An eagle in flight, shadows by firelight and a night-long prayer are the ways of my people.  
“Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name,” is not unknown to the ways of my people.

#### APACHE FIRE DANCE EAGLE DANCE AMERICAN NATIVE CHURCH SONGS

(The religious dances and customs are very sacred, having its presentation in prayer. The imitation of birds such as the eagle is a part of the prayer. The four songs and this whistle used by the native church is as sacred a worship as any Christian rite.)

The harshness of the winter wind,  
The brave edge of the earth against the sky,  
The burning glare of the sun and the magic surface of water shall give us courage.  
The sound of a drum is our emotion;  
The sound of a war song is our emotion;

Visions of glory are our emotion;  
For the war dance is for courage.

SLOW WAR DANCE  
RUFFLE DANCE  
FAST WAR DANCE

(The war dances are another series of interpretive dances except that in the old days these dances were used for courage. Each clan or tribe had a different time for the performing of the war dance.)

And so this story comes to a conflict  
And so my ancestors lived again their battles,  
And these battles became a ritual.

SHIELD DANCE

(The shield dance is the battle between two warriors. Sometimes the dancers use lances and other times tomahawks are used. The pattern of the dance step is always the same.)

Home is just over the hill,  
The sky is high and the sun is friendly—  
For home is just over the hill.  
There is a song in the rhythm of my returning and I give this song to the wind.  
There is a song in the twirl of my rope and the sound of my horse's hooves and I give this song to the wind—  
For home is just over the hill.

COMANCHE HORSEMEN

(The riding songs have been for the most part forgotten. The rhythm of the song is to the rhythm of a loping horse. A long time ago these songs were sung by horsemen either returning from a hunt or a battle.)

The dance ground is empty.  
Foot prints in the dust from before.  
Gone is the laughing warrior who danced here before.  
Never to return is the dancer whose footprints are in the dust of the dance ground.  
Empty is the stage and the song is low and melancholy.  
The beat of the drum is muffled with sadness.  
Only the widow dances;  
Mother and father stand and remember.  
The dance ground is empty.

DANCE OF THE SHROUDED MOURNER

(When a warrior is killed in battle, the widow or a relative of this warrior asks for his war song or his favorite song to honor him. This custom is practiced and enacted in the present day pow-wow for a casualty of World War II.)

Honor the brave,  
Honor the courageous.  
Let this man stand alone as a tribute to bravery and courage.  
Let this man lead the procession.  
Sing a song and sound the drum while lesser hearts follow.  
Follow this brave warrior in a dance proclaiming his heroism and valor.

Honor a brave man.

#### THE CHIEFTAIN [sic] DANCE

(This dance to honor a brave is not performed today. The leader of this dance group is one who has performed an act of gallantry beyond the call of duty. Only the bravest of the warriors could lead this dance.)

Victory is the end.  
Circle in a round dance and look around this circle and give thanks for a blessing.  
These are my people.  
Victory is a reunion—once again together.  
Circle in a round dance and look across the circle and give thanks for a blessing.  
Victory is the end.

#### ROUND DANCE

(The round dance in recent times has been used as a Victory dance. This dance when used as a Victory dance is to give thanks for the safe return of the warriors and the realization of victory or success in battle.)

The echo of the flute is still in the air.  
Bells and drumbeats in the night.  
The sound of a chant for a boy and a girl.  
Happy maidens dancing in the arms of plumed dancers.  
The sound of a drum is still in the air.  
The artistic creative dances, the religious rituals sacred still in the land of the Redmen.  
The war dance, the shield dance, the riding songs are the rituals of the Indian.  
The dance of the shrouded mourner and the honoring of the living warrior. . . the victory dance for a blessing. . . are rituals and customs of the Native American.  
A cycle of life set to the sound of “Drums on the Plains.”

Then, stand to flag song and in retrospect view the dances and customs of the Indian.  
Remember this story and give dignity to the ceremonial pageantry of a way of life that is of this land.  
Then, stand to the flag song,  
For this is the end of the story “Drums on the Plains.”

#### FLAG SONG

### **1950 The 19th American Indian Exposition August 15 - 19**

#### **Pageant Title: “Buffalo Dreamers”**

Written and Directed by: Claude Kennedy, Cherokee

[The 17th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:30 p.m. on Wednesday, 16th, Thursday, 17th, and Saturday, 19th of August “with a cast of more than 400 native Indians wearing the authentic costumes of their particular tribes. The most colorful scene in the world.”]

OUR PAGEANT IS PRESENTED TO THE  
DIRECTOR OF ALL MANKIND — THE GREAT  
SPIRIT, OUR FATHER.

National Anthem

Presentation.....Princesses With Directors

Communal Dance.....Plains Buffalo Dance

Invocation.....Joseph Kaulaity

Interpretation.....Francis Pipestem

Prologue:

Friends – We now call our Paleface Brothers,  
 Friends, whose ancestors are from foreign nations,  
 Listen to the cry of all our people.  
 Patiently attend your friends, the Red Man,  
 Never scorn a culture as ancient as your own.  
 We come before you in our ancient ceremonial regalia,  
 Sharing with you, portraying to you, glorious days that are no more,  
 Holding within our memorable hearts days that have flown –  
 Like the passing of the buffalo.

Yes, an eye for beauty, which sees God in all Nature,  
 A love of freedom and individual rights,  
 A reverence for a spirit that permeates all.  
 Our Wise Men speak often with WAKON-TONKA, Our Keeper,  
 We learn the Great Mystery of life from the Sun,  
 Which gives to our people the courage, honor and wisdom,  
 To know the Great Spirit by the beat of the drum.

THE PAGEANT

Bring forth the drum; Oh Spirit Buffalo Singers from distant lodges.  
 Chant the story of the chosen Fire Maidens,  
 How, chosen by Spider Woman, pure ones to light the way –  
 In beauty, truth, fortitude and love.

Solo.....Indian Flute

Fire Maidens Prayer

Light my tepee made of fine buffalo skin,  
 Never have dark mist curtain my doorway.  
 Make my rainbow path not zig-zag –  
 Like the path of a wounded buffalo.

With beauty before me I dance.  
 With beauty behind me, I dance.  
 With beauty below me, I dance.  
 With beauty above me, I dance.  
 With beauty all around me, I dance.  
 I live and dance in Our Keeper’s beauty.

Plains Two-Step or Rabbit Dance



Fort Sill Apache Fire Dance  
The Plains Snake Dance

Over yonder distant prairies the sun has gone to rest,  
While the moon climbs, forcing it's way through Spider  
Woman's webs of mystery.  
All Nature is made more beautiful by the rituals of my people.

Solo.....Addison Thompson

Fort Sill Apache Love Dance

Our people are very old in this land of custom and tradition,  
Our wisdom was very great before the coming of the White Man,  
Having to be remembered by our young braves from the councils of our elders.  
AH things of Nature shape our way of thinking.  
A soaring eagle, the night owl's cry, the lowing of the buffalo, shape our way of thinking.

Jemez Pueblo Eagle Dance

Ruffle Dance or Squat Dance

Each day from dawn until far into the night  
Our young men kept vigil watch on some distant hill,  
Ready to give the signal of approaching friend or enemy,  
While others hunted for the buffalo, antelope and deer  
That the people might the necessities have – food, shelter, and clothing.

Buffalo Dance.....Jemez Pueblo

War Dance

Grandsires were not forgotten in the early days of my people,  
Much loved were they by the young braves and maidens of the camp site.  
For they were the voices of experience in peace, in war and religion.

Plains Shield Dance

Solo Hoop Dance.....Tony White Cloud, Jemez, N. M.

Gourd Dance

Many, many moons passed and mothers were faithful in their teachings,  
Chanting stories of courage that daughters might follow in their footsteps,  
Scraping and tanning the skins  
Children were taught to make clothing and adorn them always with greatest care – family designs not to be mistaken.  
Planting the Mother Corn and offering a prayer with each planting,  
Planting the Mother Corn six colors for each direction,  
Offering a prayer by color,  
That the harvest might be bountiful,  
Be thrifty, be faithful and honest – were the teachings of our mothers.

Women's Dance

Ruffle Dance or Squat Dance

### The Plains Harvest Dance

Many thousands of moons our people lived a simple life close to Nature,  
Listening to the voices of the earth, water, wind and sky – gaining wisdom from the Great One.  
Happy were our people then living in a land of plenty,  
Where for thousands of moons trees, grass, meat and skins had never failed us and were nearby for the taking.  
Our hearts were soon made sad by the coming of the white man.  
Too soon the buffalo were gone and our children were crying with hunger.  
Sad, Sad! Were our hearts for too soon all would be gone –  
Works of Nature that had taken many thousands of moons to build  
Soon would be no more.

### The Plains Ghost Dance Scalp dance

Oh, Great Spirit of Nature –  
Great Permeator of men's souls,  
Bring to our White Brothers and to us all great wisdom and knowledge.  
Teach us to obey Your laws  
That we might heal the great wounds made by civilization upon our Good Earth.  
Restore to us our grassland, our buffalo, our blue clear running streams,  
Restore the richness of our soils, which strengthens men's bodies.

### Sun Dance

Down through thousands of moons  
Our people sacrificed homelands and folkways.  
Down through thousands of moons  
Our warriors have gone forth to battle;  
Always with greatest courage to fight for individual rights and freedom.  
Oh, Great protector, Great Keeper, Great Permeator of men's souls,  
Bring to all clans, tribes and nations the Power to realize that only great people are made to live –  
Through the bounty of the Good earth.

### Victory Dance – Circle

### Flag Song

### Recessional

You have journeyed with us many thousands of moons into the land of Indian reminiscence –  
Visioning our portrayal of the glorious days that are no more.  
Go back to your distant lodges Oh, Sacred Buffalo Dancers,  
Holding within your hearts the memorable customs and traditions,  
To live a life of courageous emotional beauty,  
In a land of Buffalo Dreams.

**1951 The 20th American Indian Exposition August 13 - 18**

**Pageant Title: "Ordeal of a Brave"**

Written and Directed by: Mrs. Clarissa A. Lowry  
Assistant Pageant Directors: Tennyson Berry and Joe Attocknie

Pageant Narrator: O. M. Woodard

[The 18th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:30 p.m. on Monday, 13th, Wednesday, 15th, Thursday, 16th and Saturday, 18th of August "with a cast of over 200 fully costumed Indians of Southwestern United States."]

Presented by the American Indian Exposition In Honor of

OUR OLD CHIEFS

Who Are an Inspiration to all Our Indian Youth

National Anthem  
Invocation—Chief Frank Bosin Sr.  
Presentation of Princesses by Directors  
Processional—Indian Music  
Communal Dance

THE CHIEFS DANCE

THE PAGEANT

Prologue:  
The Grandfather Speaks:

My son—you ask if you must go  
To fight on foreign shores.  
This is your duty.  
You say you are not ready.  
Tis so. We are never ready.  
This is your ordeal then.  
Accept it and ask the Great Spirit,  
Wakan Tanka, for strength to guide you,  
And courage to make of you a man.  
Put aside your troubles for a moment,  
Look upon the earth, it is good.  
Look upon our people, they rejoice.  
Give yourself unto this evening.  
Tis a night for remembering  
Share it then, with us.

THE WAR DANCE  
THE SNAKE DANCE

The Life Story of Red Bird:

The Grandfather Speaks:

Many moons have gone since first  
I passed this way.  
T'was as a child, eager, alert,  
To learn the many ways of the living.  
Quickly now the camp is readied.  
Women and Braves go about their tasks,  
While children play about the camp,  
Intent upon their game of learning,  
Eager always to out-shine another.

#### THE CHILDREN'S RABBIT DANCE HOOP DANCE

Life was not always easy.  
Lo, here come the military men  
To enforce the Treaty of Medicine Lodge,  
To move them, much against their wills.

(Under the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, the many tribes first agreed to be placed on a reservation. The Peoria, Wyandotte, Quapaw, Shawnee, Seneca, Ottawa, Apache, Delaware, Kiowa and Comanche were brought in 1867. In 1869, the Cheyenne, Sac and Fox, Arapaho, Pottawatomie and Kickapoo. In 1871, the Osage, Kaw and Pawnee were brought into the Indian Territory, and in 1881, the Otoe and Missouri, 1874, the Modoc, 1878, the Nez Perce, 1884, the Tonkawa and in 1891 the Poncas.)

How strange and bewildering were those days,  
With life confined to a reservation.  
No weapons to hunt the dwindling buffalo.  
Food was given us.  
T'was a wretched life for one who loved his freedom.  
How easy then to drift into idleness,  
How easy then to sink into despair.

#### THE BUFFALO DANCE INDIAN TWO-STEP

Very soon there came a maiden  
Graceful, lithe and fair to see.  
Yes, t'was my own Prairie Flower,  
Who has gladness brought to me.

Twenty horses did I tether  
Near her father's lodge one day.  
Tethered there to be accepted  
Or to be returned to me.

Long did her father look,  
Long did her brothers study each.  
Long, long, it seemed  
Yet, not so long.

See how they leave without approval,  
Back into the teepee walking,  
Long now, I wait and watch.  
Oh Patience, come and wait with me.

Oh Great Spirit, Kind, Kind Spirit,  
You who are merciful,  
You who are good to me.  
Behold the preparation, Behold the Ceremonial.

#### CHEYENNE WEDDING CEREMONIAL AND DANCE

Visiting Indians Dance to entertain their friends.

So Life goes on, yet ever changing.  
The soldiers leave and life we think is good.  
Peace has come and we are glad,  
Wakan Tanka has been merciful.

#### FIRE LIGHTING CEREMONY

The Medicine Man Speaks:

Keep aglow forever the light in our hearts,  
And the love and understanding for all those  
Who are members of this Council.  
May the embers of this first bright fire,  
[line appears to be missing from program]

Fire of the West:

As the last ray of sunset falls upon the earth  
In fading light, so shall I light the fire  
That shall keep its spirit always near us.  
I light the Spirit of the West!

Fire of the North:

I light the fire of Ke We Din  
The North Wind that he may warm  
Our trails in the many winters to come.  
I light the Fire of the North!

Fire of the east:

In the light where the sun rises,  
May we share the sunshine that  
Dwells there always.  
I light the Fire of the East!

Fire of the South:

To the Southland we send our prayers  
That we may have the warm winds upon us.  
Warming our hearts that we may dwell  
Always in the warmth of friendship.  
I light the Fire of the South!

#### PEACE PIPE DANCE

Peace Pipe Ceremony: (performed by Chief)

To the Sky,  
We offer the Peace of the Council.  
As our Council Fire sends its first flames  
Into the land of the sky,  
Home of the Great Spirit, Wakan Tanka.

To the Earth, to Ma Ka Kin, the earth in which we dwell,  
So we also offer peace.

To the west, the land of the setting sun.  
To the North, the land of Ke We Din.  
To the East, the land of the sunrise.  
To the South, the warm lands.  
Do we send our Peace.

#### APACHE FIRE DANCE

The Grandfather Speaks:

And so our children came to bless us.  
Seven times the Great Spirit blessed us.  
And now our camp is filled with laughter,  
Filled with fun, and youth at play.  
Now the Great White Chief calls them  
Sends them far away to school.  
Once again we are asked to give,  
First our lands and now our children.  
Ah 'tis hard to understand this.  
Yes, my son, 'tis hard to bear.  
Why can they not learn as we did,  
Listening to the Grandfather's song.  
Hearing now the tales and legends,  
Learning all our ways of living,  
Learning to be kind and true.

#### THE LEGEND OF THE DIPPER (Kiowa) (Sign Language)

Seven girls and their brother were playing bear. The youngest girl was made to be the bear against her wishes. At first she did not bite hard, but soon her bite became vicious. The children became frightened and began to run away. The little girl was turning into a real bear. "Do not bite us so hard," they begged, but the bear was powerless to stop. "If I catch you, I will bite you so hard that you shall die."

Soon the whole village was frightened of the bear who steadily grew worse. Though they tried to kill the bear, they could not, so the bear destroyed everyone in that part of the world.

The brother and sisters were hiding in a cave near the Devil's Tower. Soon the bear came and chased them to the top of that mountain. The bear said, "You shall not live because it is your fault that I am a bear." The bear began to jump to reach them. The frightened children begged the good mountain to save them, so the mountain began to move. It grew taller and taller until it reached the sky. Still the bear was gaining on them. The children decided to go on into the sky and now you may see the seven children any time in the stars called the "Big Dipper."

Comes now our children back among us,  
Looking strange in whiteman's clothing  
But underneath it, still an Indian.  
Until once more the White Father calls them.  
Calls them to protect our country,  
Calls them to defend our freedom.  
So now our sons we send to battle  
Enemies we do not know.

But all youth must go and answer,  
Indians, White, and Black and Yellow  
All must listen, heed the call.  
As is always in the battle  
There are those who say goodbye,  
Those who go to meet their Maker,  
Those who answer that last call.

#### AN EMPTY SADDLE

"If I should be killed, I want you to bury me on one of the hills east of the place where my grandparents and brothers and sisters and other relatives are buried."

"If you have a memorial service, I want the soldiers to go ahead with the American flag, I want cowboys to follow, all on horseback. I want one of the cowboys to lead one of the wildest of the T over X horses with saddle and bridle on."

"I will be riding that horse."

(These were the instructions written by Private Clarence Spotted Wolf, full-blood Gros Ventre, to his tribesmen. He was killed December 21, 1944, in Luxembourg, and this memorial service was carried out.

This ceremonial we dedicate to all Indian youth who have been killed in the Korean conflict.)

#### WOMEN'S SOLDIER DANCE

Epilogue:

The Grandfather Speaks:

Eighty years, now have I tarried,  
Eighty years, I've lived and seen.  
Eighty years, have given me patience.  
Patience to accept the life  
The Great Spirit planned for me.

My son, look first for happiness,  
Look for gladness all around.  
Forget your fears, seek not sorrow,  
Learn to live each dawning day.  
Live and taste each sparkling droplet  
Lest it go, before you say.

Be brave, for courage is noble,  
Lead, that others now may follow

And thank the Great Spirit, Wakan Tanka,  
That you may do your part today.

THE THANKSGIVING DANCE  
FAST WAR DANCE

Processional

**1952 The 21st American Indian Exposition August 18 - 23**

**Pageant Title: "The Thunderbird"**

Written and Directed by Joseph Toahty, Pawnee

[The nineteenth annual pageant was presented on Monday 18, Wednesday 20, Thursday 21, and Saturday 23 of August 1952. With a cast of over 200 fully costumed Indians from the Southwestern United States.]

Presented In Honor of:

OUR GREAT WARRIORS

Who have been an Inspiration to all Indian Youth

National Anthem

Invocation — Lord's Prayer (Sign language)

Presentation of Princesses by Directors

THE PAGEANT

Indian Brave:

Let the flaming arrow of peace be a symbol for our ancient tribal ceremonies to begin.

WAR DANCE — ENTIRE CAST (2 fast songs)

Prologue:

The Thunder Bird Speaks:

Ho, my people,

I have been a symbol of peace for many moons.

You come before me asking these questions that are

Nearest and dearest to you.

You ask — why do we have to fight?

Why do we go into battle on foreign lands?

And why is our best always selected for these conflicts?

Why? You ask —

They go because it is our duty to the Great Spirit,

Wakunda, and our country.

They go because this is our native soil.

They go because their hopes and dreams are invested

In this great heritage of ours.



I shall tell you a story of our people.  
And the peaceful ways that we live  
That have been handed down to us.  
We are not a war-like people  
We only want to live and let live.  
This story will be a journey into the past,  
When great warriors gathered together to seal treaties.  
These treaties signified — no more wars between tribes.  
As the Chiefs gather around the council fires  
Talking in our universal sign language —  
We remember yester-year of life on the Plains.  
We remember camp fires and camp fire scenes.  
We remember happy hours spent on the reservations,  
Where buffalo, fish and wild game were plentiful.  
We remember and hope, and think, and pray.  
As the ceremonials of our forefathers begin.

PARADE — Led by a returned warrior. Kiowa Flag Song

This tradition to pay respect to a returning warrior is a great honor. This leader is one who has performed an act of gallantry beyond the call of duty. He is accompanied by only his closest friends and relatives. Only the bravest of the warriors can lead this parade.

CHIEFS DANCE — (Gourd)

Only the great leaders of tribes participate in this dance.

WAR DANCE — Entire Cast

Soft Drumming:

We remember our childhood days.  
Our pow-wows and pow-wow grounds that are no more  
Scenes most forgotten, though the times not long.  
We beg you, our good friend, attend us patiently  
As we present an ancient soil.  
Our youthful days and dances.

LITTLE SCOUT — HOOP DANCE

CHILDREN'S RABBIT DANCE

LITTLE SCOUT — EAGLE DANCE

This series of dances are interpretation of a creature. The Hoop Dance pertains to the hoop snake and is very intricate and graceful. The Rabbit Dance is to baby rabbits playing. The Eagle Dance or imitation of an eagle in flight, is part of a prayer.

Flute Solo:

The flute call at even-tide is an ancient custom. The love song of a brave for an unnamed maiden was a familiar call in olden days. Today there are only a few Indian flute players and makers in this country.

Soft Drumming:

Love is everything  
And love is everywhere.  
It is in the wind, the sky, the moon, and the sun, and the earth.  
At even-tide, the flute sounds echo in the air

For a brave and a maiden in love  
For a Brave and a Maiden.

INDIAN TWO STEP  
INDIAN LOVE CALL (Solo or Duet, Sign Language)  
APACHE LOVE DANCE

These are social dances and are for a brave and a maiden to dance arm in arm. To us Indians, it is the same as your modern ballroom dancing.

Soft Drummings:  
We share with you our priceless heritage.  
Oft times our dances are strange and difficult.  
But Indians are creative in their minds,  
And through our vision, we now enjoy these,  
The sacred rituals of our dances.  
These are part of us and this land,  
And these ceremonials that you share with us are a part of this land.

THE APACHE FIRE DANCE (With Legend)  
THE STOMP DANCE (Creek, Caddo, Delaware and Wichita.)  
VISITING TRIBES DANCES — Jemez Indians of Jemez, N. M.

1. Buffalo Dance
2. Rainbow Dance
3. Harvest Dance

Our Indians have tried to be useful.  
Treaties that to us have been sacred  
Often only caused more blood shed,  
We are all alone and have no one to turn to.  
Listen — Listen to the sound of the war drums,  
That call the Indian forth to the war path.

SLOW WAR DANCE — Entire Cast  
RUFFLE OR SQUAT DANCE — All Fancy Dancers  
FAST WAR DANCE — Entire Cast

These dances are interpretive dances, and in olden days were used for courage. Each tribe danced these only on certain occasions.

As the Indian grew in courage  
And danced into battle  
These dances became a ceremonial  
And these ceremonies live again.

SHIELD DANCE

This dance is a battle between two warriors. No step or rhythm is changed. Shields, tomahawks and lances are used.  
The war drums are low and mournful  
Some warriors have left — never to return  
How lonely are the pow-wow grounds  
For only the echo and memory remain.

All hates and passion subside  
As we honor our fallen warriors.

#### DANCE OF THE SHROUDED MOURNER (Cheyenne version)

This dance is practiced among all Plains Indians but in various ways. The braided tail of the horse and the beautiful streamers from the bridle signify that a loved one has left for the Happy Hunting Grounds. The blankets and piece goods on the horse are gifts to be given to very close friends and relatives. The receiver of the gifts is thankful and the song and wail are saying, "Our Father, have pity on us."

#### Song

When a warrior is killed in battle, the widow if relative of this warrior asks for his war song or his favorite song to honor him. This custom still exists and is enacted in the present day ceremonies for the casualty of the Korean campaign.

#### Yebechi Night Chanters: (Navajo Feather Dance Ceremonial)

Our warriors have seen this world —  
Paris, Rome, London, Japan and Korea  
Are familiar places.  
We have traveled on the war path in many ways  
Fast airplanes, iron ships and strong weapons  
Are familiar tools  
And we have never brought disgrace to our race and nation.  
Our warriors have served in every war and served well  
"Remember the Maine" was our war yell  
And our warriors rode up San Juan Hill,  
And we still fight today.  
We have sung "Over There" as we dabbed on war paint  
And Indians answered the challenge of Pearl Harbor  
And we still fight to bring peace to all nations.

#### SCALP DANCE

This dance is a serious interpretive dance with the scalp hanging from the lance. A scalp in olden days is comparable to the present day campaign ribbon. It signified that you have met and conquered the enemy.

Bring out the Peace Pipe my people,  
Hold it high that all nations may see it.  
Let the smoke rise and fall on us like a blessing  
How our hearts yearn for peace  
That is honest and lasting.  
Down through the years, our peace chiefs put hand to the paper.  
Down through the years we have sacrificed home lands and folk ways.  
Have we learned yet?  
If we are to gain peace  
Old ways must be forfeit  
That no clan, tribe or nation itself is important —  
Unless every man in all tribes has his share of good living.  
And the nations are one, in hope, in friendship, and in honor.

The Peace Pipe Ceremony:

Chiefs gather around and smoke this pipe of peace. Great reverence is shown. Only great warriors and leaders are in this group.

Bring out the pipe, my people,  
The ceremonial Calumet, the peace pipe,  
Carefully unwrap it.  
Reverently take it from its gaily beaded buckskin bag,  
Tie the sacred number of eagle plumes and streamers upon it  
For this is a solemn hour.  
Into the light of the council fires  
Step only the wise ones.  
The Peace Chiefs, the Sage Ones,  
To light with the burning coal  
Our Symbol of Honor, the Peace Pipe.

#### PEACE PIPE DANCE

Put more wood to the council fires, my people,  
Proclaim for a peace on the prairies  
Call all the tribes to our council fire  
For our warriors are returning.  
Great Hearts beat with happiness

As we honor our brave heroes.  
Let us stand and give thanks for a blessing —  
As Wakunda has been good.  
He has brought them safely home,  
While our great heroes lived and dared  
And dangers met in warfare on the battlefields,  
They have been safely delivered home.  
So look around you,  
Give thanks for a blessing  
For Wakunda has been good.  
Today, on the reservations, in the homes,  
On the farms and in the streets,  
Old hurts are forgotten  
Old wounds have been healed  
As we look and give thanks for a blessing,  
For wakunda has been good.

#### VICTORY DANCE

##### THUNDERBIRD SONG (With story)

While we dance — we give thanks to wakunda  
For we are small and He is kind  
That is why I have tried to answer your questions.  
[Circle] in this Victory Dance.  
Be brave, for courage is noble.  
Lead that others now may follow  
And give thanks to the Great Spirit Wakunda,  
That you may do your part today.  
Then stand to a flag song  
And remember our great heroes and fallen warriors.

Remember these returning braves  
For we are of this land  
And are safely delivered.  
We open our hearts and our purse strings,  
And offer our sons and daughters  
To add as our gift to our nation.  
This generation goes with the setting sun  
And a new generation is coming on,  
And may they never leave our native land,  
For Wakunda has been good.

Recessional.

### 1953 The 22nd American Indian Exposition August 17 - 22

#### **Pageant Title: "On The Trail To Brotherhood"**

Written and Directed by Sarah Gertrude Knott of St. Louis, Missouri

Pageant Narrator: Oliver M. Woodard, Kiowa

[The twentieth annual pageant was presented at 8:30 p.m., on Monday 17, Wednesday 19, Thursday 20, and Saturday 22 of August 1953. With a cast of over 300 fully costumed Indians of the Southwestern United States.]

NATIONAL ANTHEM

INVOCATION

SLOW WAR DANCE

THE PAGEANT:

"ON THE TRAIL TO BROTHERHOOD" is dedicated to the high objective of helping to create more genuine understanding between the American Indian and his neighbors in this great country, which until recent times was the Indians' land — from coast to coast, from north to south.

We believe that a better acquaintance with some of our deeply-rooted customs of song, dance and other lore will show something of how we think and feel, and will at the same time help to develop in our own people a pride in the rich and ancient traditions which a new way of life threatens to destroy. Let us glimpse backward:

Whence came the Indians to this land? When? Why? The answers are buried in the dim past. The legends of the various tribes tell different stories. The Alabamas say they "walked across the Lost Atlantis."

A number of tribes claim their forefathers came up from Old Mexico, or "somewhere South." Modern Chickasaws and Choctaws say they emerged from the ground at the "Great Sacred Mother Hill," in Winston County, Mississippi. When asked whence came their fathers, the Sioux point to the West and say, "Whence sleeps the Sun, Our Fathers came hence."

However, while opinions still differ, it is known that once in the long, long ago, tribes of red-skinned people wandered across the Bering Straits from Asia into Alaska and moved southward into the unknown land of great wilderness, deep valleys, high mountains, wide deserts and rolling plains. As time passed, and others followed, they broke the trails and set up primitive homes from Alaska to Patagonia, spreading

over what is now Canada, the United States, Mexico, Central and South America. Years passed and white strangers set foot on these shores.

The spirit of brotherhood for which many of the nations of the world are now so consciously groping was evident in the Indians' treatment of these early explorers until the inhuman attitudes of the newcomers made the Indians skeptical and caused them to lose faith in the white men.

Around the turn of the century, Hiamovi (High Chief), Chief among the Cheyennes and the Dakotas, expressed the brotherhood ideal which has been further developed since, as the Indian and white man have lived side by side.

“There are birds of many colors — red, blue, green, yellow; yet it is all one bird. There are horses of many colors — brown, black, yellow, white; yet it is all one horse. So cattle, so all living things — animals, flowers, trees. So men; in this land where once were only Indians, are now men of every color — white, black, yellow, red; yet all one people. That this should come to pass was in the heart of the Great Mystery. It is right thus.”

#### SCALP DANCE FAST WAR DANCE

When early white explorers found the Indians carrying on their ancient customs of the fire lighting or dancing to the Sun, they had no understanding of the significances of these ancient rites to the Indians. “Wild pagan practices,” they explained. Little did they dream that it had not been long since their own ancestors and peoples in many other lands had been carrying on the same practices.

Fire and Sun Rituals are among the most ancient of Indian ceremonies. They are among the most ancient of the customs in many far away lands. Many of them are too sacred to do in a program like this.

#### BRUSH DANCE TWO-STEP DANCE

#### PAWNEE FIRE LIGHTING CEREMONY:

The Medicine Man speaks:  
May the embers of this first bright fire,  
Keep aglow forever the light in our hearts,  
And the love and understanding for all those  
Who are members of this Council.

Fire of the West:  
As the last ray of the sunset falls upon the earth  
In fading light, so shall I light the fire  
That shall keep its spirit always near us.  
I light the spirit of the West!

Fire of the North:  
I light the fire of Ke We Din  
The North Wind, that he may warm  
Our trails in many winters to come.  
I light the Fire of the North!

Fire of the East:  
In the light where the sun rises,  
May we share the sunshine that

Dwells there always.  
I light the Fire of the East!

Fire of the South:  
To the southland, we send our prayers  
That we have the warm winds upon us.  
Warming our hearts that we may dwell  
Always in the warmth of friendship.  
I light the Fire of the South!

For centuries, there was no peace in the Indians' land. But with the passing of time, the dream of peace was born. Wars grew fewer and farther between. Old feuds are now almost forgotten and many old wounds are healed. We see tonight the once warring Indian tribes, who once struggled against each other. Now they are at peace. At peace are we also with the white man in this country. In the old Indian way, we smoke the Peace Pipe in friendship and brotherhood, thankful that we are all Americans and struggling for the freedom of men everywhere.

#### PEACE PIPE CEREMONY BETWEEN INDIANS AND WHITE MEN:

To the Sky,  
We offer the Peace of the Council  
As our Council Fire sends its first flames  
Into the land of the sky,  
Home of the Great Spirit, Wakan Tanka.  
To the Earth, to Ma Ka Kin, the earth in which we dwell,

So we offer peace.  
To the West, the land of the setting sun.  
To the North, the land of Ke We Din.  
To the East, the land of the Sunrise.  
To the South, the warm lands.  
Do we send our Peace.

#### PEACE DANCES:

The Pipe Dance  
The Chief's Dance

Common to peoples in European countries and other nations, as to the American Indian, are the Spring Ceremonies, or fertility rites annually observed even yet in many Indian communities in the United States. Once when farmers went into the fields to plant their crops, there were ceremonial prayers in the form of songs and dances. These songs and dances were performed to the "power beyond" for fertility of seeds and the abundant harvest. Although these customs are less often observed in Oklahoma than in olden times because of the changed way of life, they have not altogether passed. Once the ancient customs were a part of every day life. Now only occasionally are they observed.

#### SPRING DANCES:

Green Corn Dance  
Rainbow Dance

When summer winds begin to blow and parch the crops, Indian Farmers, as well as those of other races and nationalities who till the soil, look upward to the Mighty Spirit who controls the mysterious elements of the season. Generation after generation of Indians have had their Rain Songs and Dances on this land. They have had their prayers for seasoning the dry land so that crops might mature into a good harvest. In

countries of the Far East, in Europe, South America and many of the scattered Islands in between, the Rain Ceremonies have answered the same needs.

SUMMER DANCES AND SONGS:  
RAIN SONGS and DANCES  
BASKET DANCE

When autumn has rolled around and harvest time drew near, an inborn spirit of Thanksgiving seems to have always welled up in the human heart and everywhere has demanded expression in some form of song and dance ceremonial. In our country long before Thanksgiving Day was ever proclaimed a national holiday, American Indians observed their own Thanksgiving to express the outpouring of grateful hearts to the Supreme Being who controls the destinies of mankind. Indians did not ask whether the harvest had been meager or bountiful, but with thankful hearts, through songs and dances, they expressed humble appreciation for whatever fortune had come their way.

HARVEST AND OTHER AUTUMN DANCES:  
WOMEN'S HARVEST DANCE  
STOMP DANCE

The Oklahoma Indians, known as "Hunters of the Plains" depended on the buffalo for their chief meat supply. The magic formula of song and dance was used to help guarantee success on the hunt. In the days when the old way of life seemed doomed, Oklahoma's beloved Hunting Horse encouraged his wife to take part in a Ceremonial in which the Indians were desperately trying to bring back the buffalo and restore the magic of the old Indian customs. After it was evident that the Ceremonial had not had the desired effect, sadly but wisely facing the future, Hunting Horse said:

"The 'old time power' was dead. The buffalo took it away when he went. I think there is a new kind of life starting now. I think we will need a new kind of power to live in it" ("Oklahoma," Angie Debo, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman 1949).

The Hunting and Animal Dances found among the Indian groups are the same as those in many countries. Sometimes they imitate the movements of the animal or bird; at other times they simply honor them. Although the Buffalo, Deer, and other such dances seem to have lost their magic power in serving their original purpose, they are still an important part of Indian culture. They serve as social dances today. When they reflect something of the Indians' past and of the present, and show his spirit, they are serving as "a new kind of power" recognized by Hunting Horse. They help to explain the Indian.

Animal Dances similar to those of the Indians can be found among other groups in our country. They were brought here from England, Scotland, Scandinavia, Poland and other countries. They, too, were once ceremonials. Now they are merely social, but they are highly valued by those who inherited them as a living cultural link with the past. It is also of great importance to our race to keep the living link with our ancient past.

HUNTING AND ANIMAL DANCES:  
BUFFALO DANCE  
EAGLE DANCE  
SNAKE DANCE  
PUEBLO HORSETAIL DANCE

As standardization, and a new and more complex way of life has come about for his white brother, so it has come to the Indian. After the treaty of the Medicine Lodge in 1867, and other such treaties around that time, it became evident that the red man and white man could not carry on warfare much longer.

Cadets, Apache Chieftain, spoke for the Indian warriors when he said to the white man:



“You are stronger than we. We have fought you so long as we had rifles and powder; but your weapons are better than ours. Give us like weapons and turn us loose, we will fight again. But we are worn out. We have no more heart. We have no provisions, no means to live. Your troops are everywhere. Our springs or waterholes are either occupied or overlooked by your young men. You have driven us from our last and best stronghold, and we have no more heart. Do with us as may seem good to you, but do not forget we are men and braves.”

Since that time, War Songs and Dances have not been as necessary as before. They have become more social, less ceremonial in life had its special ceremonial observance which give significant meaning to that event. [sic]

Coming-of-age Ceremonies were occasions of great importance and the whole tribe celebrated the event.

#### GERONIMO APACHE FIRE DANCE

##### Geronimo's Song

As time passed, the social dances increased in favor, and with the passing of the old religion, the ceremonies waned. Men and women continued to play games, to dance and sing, but they did not take the old legacies so seriously.

Thus music gradually assumed a more secular character. The young Indians of today do not always care for these songs nor, in a majority of instances, understand their original significance.

#### SOCIAL DANCES — Legend:

Flute Song — Dramatized

Caddo Stirrup Dance

Frost Singing on Horseback

Children's Rabbit Dance

Bell Dance

Kiowa Naming Song

Cheyenne Wedding Dance

High on the rolls of honor of World Wars I and II stand the names of Oklahoma Indians who fought with their brothers on the World's battlefields. When the War Songs and Dances were performed in the old days, they seemed to encourage the war spirit; these songs and dances, although modified, continue today.

#### WAR DANCES AND SONGS:

Women's Victory Dance

Fast and Slow War Dance

Shield Dance

Indians had other ceremonial songs and dances; some of those with magic powers helped to cure the sick; epic-like songs, praising man's bravery; songs of success or outstanding feats; lullabies and love songs with magic power. There were songs and dance ceremonies for every important incident in life showing that the Indian's reactions and his need for self-expression have never been basically different from those of the white man.

#### CURE CEREMONY — Navajo Night Chant:

Lullabies

Mourner's Song

Give Away Dance

Families, as well as individuals, had their own songs and dances — some they obtain in dreams, others are purchased in such a way as to give them the only right to sing the song. Every period modern methods of

communication have made possible more general knowledge of the customs of peoples in many lands, it is now evident that the Indian's way of life, and the traditional customs long part of it, are not as strange as they first appeared to the white man. They differ from the ordinary folk dances and other lore more lately brought here, yet they represent a type of basic culture which has been almost universal with all peoples in the same comparative stage of civilization. American Indian music and dances, both ceremonial and social, are important because they are the fundamental cultures of a genuinely artistic race — the first Americans.

Indian cultures are a part of the cultural mosaic of our country.

Our late President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, said: "We in the United States are amazingly rich in the elements from which to weave a culture. We have the best of man's past on which to draw, brought to us by our native folk and folk from all parts of the world.

In binding these elements into a national fabric of beauty and strength, let us keep the original fibers so intact that the fineness of each will show in the completed handiwork."

Two World Wars in which Indians and other Americans have fought for a common cause under the stars and stripes which flies alike over tepee and palace, bind us all together, as only peoples of different races and nationalities can be bound in a democracy like the United States of America!

FINALE

ALL TRIBES IN FRIENDSHIP DANCE

### **1954 The 23rd American Indian Exposition August 16 - 21**

**Pageant Title: "The Last Great Indian Peace Council"**

Compiled and Directed by: Linn Pauahy, Kiowa

Pageant Narrator: Oliver M. Woodard, Kiowa

[The 21st Annual Pageant was presented at 8:30 p.m. on Monday, 16th, Wednesday, 18th, Thursday, 19th and Saturday, 21st of August "with a cast of over 300 fully costumed Indians of Southwestern United States.]

AN INDIAN PAGEANT

THE 1954 EXPOSITION PAGEANT

INVOCATION:

PROCESSION OF THE PAGEANT CAST:

THE PAGEANT

PROLOGUE:

IN HONOR OF GREAT WAR CHIEFS OF YESTER-YEARS AND IN SOLEMN MEMORY OF THE LAST PEACE COUNCIL AND THE COVENANT THAT HAS NEVER BEEN BROKEN.

"THE LAST GREAT INDIAN PEACE COUNCIL" ever held on American soil of eminent Indian Chiefs from all the prominent reservations of the United States, in the Valley of the Little Big Horn, Montana.

The Chiefs assembled in council in noble and faithful fashion and lived out in ceremonial dress the history and tradition of their tribes. They came from widely separated sections of the great west, every western state holding an Indian reservation being represented, their regalia varying with the tribe, and each tribe spoke a different dialect and had its own interpreters.

They were strangers to each other, never having met save in years gone by and on the battle plains. In the Valley of the Little Big Horn, Montana, they lived together as a family of brothers, and told the story of their days in the universal sign language of the Plains Tribes.

In presenting the dramatic version of this great event, the director will attempt to carry out some of the actual scenes as nearly as possible. As the actual signing of the Historical Peace Covenant by the thumb mark of each Chief, many tribes of the northwest will be lacking, but in all fundamentals and essentials the scene is a true representation.

#### Episode 1

##### AN INDIAN HOME LIFE

Far stretches of prairie, winding watercourses, some places desert with only the shadow of the clouds on the blistering sand, great many of buttes and crags, storm carved, forests whose stillness mocks the calendar of man, the haunt of the eagle, the antelope, the deer, and the buffalo — The edge of the curtain is lifted on the land where once the Red Man roamed and where he made his home. These semi-circles of cone-shaped tepees that you see also dotted the green of the plains; a stream fresh from the mountains flows by the camp — a camp that in earlier times was pitched upon some high ground as an outlook for the enemy, white or red.

##### Scene 1

A Camp Scene.

1. Christening Ceremony — by Chief “Many Achievements”
2. Friendship Dance: Slow War Dance
3. “Tegua” or snake dance — Plains Tribe version.

##### Scene 2

The Voices of the War Spirits.

The Indian composes music for every emotion of his soul. He has a song for the Great Mystery; for the animals of the chase; for the maiden he woos; for the rippling waters.

His prayers are breathed in song. His whole life is an expression of music. These songs are treasured down through the ages and old age teaches youth the import of the melody so that nothing is lost, nothing forgotten.

A song of the Water Spirits; “Flower of the Wigwam”  
An Indian maid sits at the water edge.

A flute solo — From the mount.

A communal Dance; — Round Dance and Two-step Dance.

#### EPISODE 2

##### AN INDIAN RELIGIOUS LIFE

The Indian sits in the tabernacle of the mighty forest or on the heights of some deserted and wind-swept mesa, beats his tom-tom or drones song upon song.

He prays to the Great Spirit, pleads with the fires of the sun to give him strength and life and health. Tells his tale to the clouds. He peers into the depth of the stars, watches the aurora as the death dance of the

Spirits answer the high call of the Thunder as the voice of the Great Spirit, utters the cry of his soul to the lightning.

He communes with the moon, the legion of wild beasts, and all of it with a pitiful longing that his days of fasting and his sacrificial devotion may bring upon his life and his tribe the favor of the Gods.

A Song to the Spirit — solo by the medicine man (mount)  
Ghost Dance — Pawnee and Wichita Tribes  
Geronimo Apache Fire Dance — Geronimo Apache Tribe.

The American Indian possesses a strange love for growing things, tall grasses with lace-like plumes forming a lattice for the deep green of the slender bushes that bear the rich clusters of crimson buffalo berries.

He knows and loves the wild flowers that hang their golden heads along the banks of the purling stream, or, that in gleaming colours enamel the wide stretches of the plains.

#### HARVEST AUTUMN DANCES

When autumn comes and harvest time grew near, an inborn Spirit of Thanksgiving seems to have always welled up in the human heart and everywhere has demanded expression in some form of song and dance ceremonial. Long before Thanksgiving day was ever proclaimed a national Holiday in the United States, the American Indian observed their own Thanksgiving to express the outpouring of grateful hearts to the GREAT SPIRIT who controls the great destinies of mankind. Indians did not ask whether the harvest had been meager or bountiful, but with thankful hearts, through songs and dances, they expressed humble appreciation for whatever fortune had come their way.

Green Corn Dance — Caddo Tribe  
Four Corner & Stomp dance — Creek & Seminole Tribes

#### EPISODE 3 INDIAN WARFARE

An Indian has lived such a life of hazard for long centuries they have a War Star in the sky, and when it moves the time to make war is heavy upon them. That he had trained into him first a great instinct to fight. Before the coming of the white man there were no general or long-continued wars among the Indians. There were no motives for war. Quarrels ensued when predatory tribes sought to filch women or horses. Strife was engendered on account of the distribution of buffalo, but these disturbances could not be dignified by the name of War. The country was large and the tribes were widely separated. Their war implements were of the crudest sort. A shield would stop a stone-headed arrow, and it necessitated a hand-to-hand conflict for the use of flint-head lance  
And the ponderous war club.

War Dance of the Braves — War Chiefs Society.  
Bow and Arrow Dance — By 6 Braves.  
Warriors Shield Dance — Exhibition of hand-to-hand combat

Before the horses became plentiful, warfare was transformed into an exciting sport, as in medieval Europe, a game in which the player's life was always at stake. Leaders organized war parties in many instances not to avenge wrongs or for conquest, but simply for the purpose of capturing horses from enemy tribes. This has been called "Horse Stealing" but the Indian regarded it as an honorable capture, like the taking of German guns by the allies during the First World War. Instead of medals such as are displayed by white soldiers, we learn that Plains Tribes warriors wear eagle-feathers, the way they are cut and painted, the manner in which they are worn, all have a meaning. The first rank Chief wears a bonnet with a trailer, the

second rank Chief; only the crown bonnet. We are interested to learn that to count “coup” (pronounced — “coo”) on an enemy, that is to strike him with something held in the hand, may rate as a braver act than killing, and scalping him, for the killing may have been done from a safe distance. An especially, brave deed is to strike an armed enemy with the bow or an arrow and men who have done this, in some tribes are entitled to paint the deed on the painted tepee, or on the flank of his war horse. Or to have it emblazoned on his privilege to name his son or grand-children.

Dance of the Warriors — Depicting battle scenes.  
Exhibition of scalping an enemy.  
Victory or Scalp Dance — Women.  
Depicting Warrior Death Chant.  
An Empty Saddle.

#### EPISODE 4

##### THE PEACE COUNCIL

These Indian councils were the legislative halls of the tribes all matters of importance were brought by the Chiefs and the Warriors. Here the destiny of any particular tribe was settled. Here the decisions to make war or peace were reached. In these council lodges, around the blazing fires, the Indian Chiefs have uttered speeches more eloquent than white political silver-tongued orators in Senate halls. These representatives of former greatness and prowess gathered from their peaceful wigwams from many and faraway lands to hold once again and for the last time a council of the old days. On this day the council was for peace. This last Great Peace Council of the American Indian equal in dignity as the Peace Conference at the Hague. The covenant stamped by the thumb mark of each Chief have stamped the integrity of the American Indian —  
PEACE THAT HAS NEVER BEEN BROKEN.

The Story of the Peace Pipe (Legend)  
Peace Pipe Ceremonial Dance.

##### Scene 3

CHIEF — “Many Achievements” speaks: “I will send my runners to the lodge of the Blackfeet in the far North. I will send them across the fiery desert to the lodges of the Apaches in the South. I will send them East to the lodges of the Sioux, warriors who have met us in many hard battles. I will send them to the west where the mountains dwells the Cayuse and the Umatillas. I will have my runners to make smoke signals on all high Hills, calling the Chiefs of all the tribes, together, that we may meet here as brothers and friends in one great last Council, that we may eat our bread and meat together, and smoke the Council Pipe, and say farewell as brothers, and live in peace in the future in the land our GREAT FATHER SPIRIT GAVE US.

Runners sent to all four directions — East, West, North and South

A smoke signal — on the mount

Weeks passed on, runners came into camp rushing into the lodge of the great Chief, announcing the approach of a procession of Chiefs from the north, east, and south and west. Chiefs from all the great tribes had heard the call, they had seen the smoke signal, and answered the call of the Great Council.

Chiefs ride in on horseback — dismount and enter Council lodge.  
Dance of the Chiefs.  
Ceremony of Communion — women.  
Chief: “Many Achievements” lights two pipes and passes them to the chiefs.

WHITE MEN — Give American Flag to the Chiefs.

The flag is hoisted — rope held by all the chiefs  
an Indian flag song is sung until flag is half-mast,

NATIONAL ANTHEM IS PLAYED BY THE BAND;

when the flag is raised up to the top.

RECESSION.

Sources for this story are “Running Bird — Kiowa, and “Apache John” — Kiowa-Apache. The book “The Vanishing Race” by Dixon was also used to authenticate material.

OLIVER WOODARD — Kiowa  
Narrator

### **1955 The 24th American Indian Exposition August 15 - 20**

**Pageant Title: “The Southern Plains Indians Salutes the Stars and Stripes”**

Written and Directed by: Paul Attocknie with assistance from other tribal members

Pageant Narrator: Oliver M. Woodard, Kiowa

[The 22nd Annual Pageant was presented at 8:30 p.m. on Monday, 15th, Wednesday, 17th, Thursday, 18th and Saturday, 20th of August “with a cast of over 300 fully costumed Indians of Southwestern United States.]

PROLOGUE

Narrator

The Southern Plains as referred to in our story is that part of our Country that is present day Texas, also what is now the state of Oklahoma. The Southern half of Kansas we include too. So we ask you to move up closer to us as we stir up and make brighter our campfire that by its cheerful light you may be able to look into that dim and near forgotten past of the South Plains Indian. It is a glorious and proud past, a noble past that is living boldly in the hearts and minds of present day South Plains Indians. A glorious past throbbingly alive, a glorious inspirational fire that burns unquenched in the bosoms of all present day Southern Plains Indians who have any remnants of the pride and valor that won these South Pains [sic] for the original mounted warrior plainsmen of the 18th and 19th centuries.

SCENE I

The Southern Pains [sic] Indians, 1955

As we want to act more for you than we want to talk for you, we now present the 1955 American Indian Exposition’s PAGEANT CAST. They make their entrance with the “Stomping Dance”, which is one of the numerous forms of the well-known War Dances of the American Indians.

INVOCATION

A prayer for inter-racial understanding

Almighty and most merciful Creator, through your all-knowing wisdom, make what we are humbly portraying here to shine forth as an enlightening truth which will cause better understanding between your

children as we live together here on this Earth. we ask that You do this for the sake of that which is dear unto You.  
Amen.

Almost all the Tribes in America dance the "CIRCLE DANCE." The music and names for this popular dance may differ in various localities. The PAGEANT CAST in the South Plains

#### CIRCLE DANCE.

#### SCENE II

A South Plains Camp Scene, Late 18th Century

The South Pains [sic] people of this period had no thought of greed or territory conquering. They had the abundance of food provided by the vast stretches of grassy prairie. They lived, learned, spoke and worshipped [sic] as they chose. Intruders into their land of plenty had long ago learned or had been harshly taught respect for that period's invisible but nevertheless factual boundary lines. True, women were expected to do some work but what people's womenfolk do not work? The men hunted, killed, butchered and transported the meat to camp but then stopped there. They did not slice, prepare, cook and serve it to their womenfolk. A mounted camp-caller, who was usually the village Headman announced news and events of interest to the teepee village. This camp-caller calls together a "BUFFALO DANCE." Contrary to popular belief the BUFFALO DANCE is a form of WAR DANCE and is not a hunting ceremony. The telling of personal war coups is interspersed throughout the dance with the thunderous cracks of gunfire adding a war-like background to the singing and dancing.

#### A NIGHT EPISODE

(A) Of the many forms taken by Love on the Plains, one of the best known is the love call through the delicate cedar flute. Tunes to songs were played or a person well familiar to the art of flute playing would improvise attractive tunes as he walked along. A maiden could recognize her loved one's flute playing.

(B) To those lovesome but shy members of the village, the discreet darkness provided by nightfall was one of thoughtful Nature's most subtle gestures of encouragement. So it happened that darkness and love hand-in-hand shyly stole into the Plains village.

#### SCENE III

A South Plains Village Scene, early 19th Century

The women did not live in drudgery. they had time to play. They had time [to] visit and, of course, gossip. For those so inclined there was time to gamble with the hand-games and other games of chance or skill. They enjoyed what is a popular pastime even today; they gathered berries and nuts. They had sewing bees where women gathered to sew together a buffalo skin teepee. One game played by the women was the hooked stick game. The object of this contest was to score on designated goals, each side having an opposite goal. The two opposing teams had playing tactics very similar to that man-to-man defense employed by some present day basketball teams. The women play with a short rope with knots tied at each end.

#### (GAME)

Into this carefree and joyful score is suddenly injected a note of excitement. Two braves hurry in to tell of the approach of strange appearing people. With this news the village's warriors quickly arm themselves and mount up to be ready for any eventualities. The village leaders are summoned to convene in council with their headman. After a discussion the council decides that from what they hear, the approaching strange people appear to have friendly intentions so the village will meet with the strangers from the Northwest. A mounted warrior emissary is sent to meet the stranger people.

#### SCENE IV

An alerted South Plains village scene

The village awaits the arrival of the stranger tribesmen from the North. At length the village's mounted emissary warrior appears. Mounted behind him is the headman of the strange visitors, strange unmounted people with pack-dogs and travois dogs. Some of their belongings the people themselves back-carry. As they approach near the village the visitors stage a goodwill dance to entertain their hosts: THE SNAKE DANCE OF THE PLAIN. After this dance the hosts ply their visitors with horses and other gifts.

#### SCENE V

The Alliance

This meeting between two hitherto enemy tribes results in a long-lasting visit of peace. Besides fraternization, inter-marriage strengthens the peace. Hosts and visitors dance together the DANCE OF THE LITTLE HORSES. This dance in which rattles are carried by the dancers was formerly known as the dance of the "Little Soldiers" or Little Horse Soldiers." It is presently called the "Gourd Dance" because of the gourd or tin can rattles. This dance is reserved for the able warriors of the tribes. Now they dance together the Northern Plains "FEATHER BUSTLE WAR DANCE."

#### SCENE VI

The White Man, 1834

(A) As the [Plains] tribes strengthened their alliance by taking part together in projects that were of mutual benefit to them all, a new and powerful element was marched on to the South Plains. The 1st United States Dragoons under Colonel Henry Dodge came to what is now northern Comanche County in Southwest Oklahoma. A Root-Eater Comanche camp welcomed the mounted troops who brought the thrilling star-studded, red and white striped banner that the South Plains Indians were to grow to love and willingly defend against all of the enemies of what it stood for.

This feeling of love and respect did not come spontaneously, that is most certain. First there was a feeling of curiosity, maybe even friendly curiosity about the blue clad Horse soldiers who hung close together, later a feeling of indifferent coolness. Then a resentfulness that grew deeper and deeper. This growing resentment could not help but turn into glowing hatred that burst into the flames of war. [A] war between the South Plains horse-warriors and the blue dressed troops under the Stars and Stripes. The allied horse-warriors fought the white enemy whenever they came in contact with him, in all the main directions and the in-between directions.

The Red Allies of the White Man

(B) In this struggle for the SOUTH PLAINS, not all of the PLAINS Indians fought against the encroaching enemy white forces. Some of the Plains Tribes, for reasons that seemed plausible to themselves, fought on the side of the Whites against their fellow Red Men. They scouted and helped the White cause in the best way their limited numbers would allow.

CADDO  
WICHITA  
CREEK

In this bitter struggle, the former enemy tribes, former mortal foemen, now fought side by side against the ever-pressing, relentless, blue-clad enemy. There were setbacks. There were victories. The plains warriors who fought for the thrill of battle and the high honor of taking part in hand to hand combat had to fight an enemy who fought from long distances, long gun-shot distance.



THE HUMMINGBIRD WAR DANCE, variously called the “Ruffle” or “Squat” dance is another form of the well-known plains war dance. This dance is in four phases, the music for each phase growing progressively faster. the pause between each phase signifies the pause between each battle charge.

THE VICTORY SCALP DANCE of the Northern Plains Indians is the original scalp dance of all the tribes who came out of the North Plains. They dance in a circle. All of the last tribes to come out from the North Plains dance a circular scalp dance. These tribes are the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapahos, Poncas and the other late comers to the South Plains.

#### SCENE VII

##### The South Plains Alliance Grows

Other Northern tribes continued to wage war with the new alliance. They fought bitterly. Each side’s fighting ability greatly impressed the other. Temporary truces were formed. These temporary truces thrived into honorable and lasting peace pacts.

These newcomers were to prove to be fearless and faithful allies.

#### CHEYENNE AND ARAPAHO NUMBER

#### PAWNEE AND OTOE NUMBER

#### SCENE VIII

##### Allies in the West

An indirect but nonetheless effective ally of the South Plains tribes was the tribe of Mountain Warriors with the turned-up moccasin toes from the Southwest. These Mountain Apaches had at first been mortal enemies to the South Plains Indians. This state of enmity had existed in the all but dim past before the coming of the white man. Individuals and various sized groups of plains horse-warriors, some taking along their womenfolk went to the southwest and sought out these mountain warriors and cast their lot with them, fighting side by side with them against their enemies on both sides of the international line, this same line being a non-existent factor to these allied warriors fighting for the preservation of their beloved way of life.

#### THE DEVIL FIRE DANCE

Before this time and also during this critical time, traders came from the Spanish-Mexican settlements to the west of the Plains. Some of these traders were friendly Pueblo Indian Tribes. These Pueblo Indians kept up their trading trips to the South Plains Indians up until the establishment of trading posts on the plains reservations.

#### PUEBLO “COMANCHE” DANCE

#### SCENE IX

##### The Tide Turns

Some Indian leaders realized the situation and sought honorable peace. Other disdained such steps and carried on the struggle. The defeats of these die-hard plainsmen began to outweigh their successes. The end was in sight. Some went into the southwestern mountains and on across into the mountains of Mexico. The last die-hards finally drank of the bitter cup of defeat. They were corralled on the reservation into a life of captivity. Some died of broken spirits. Vast numbers died of disease. The white man started showing and teaching the Indian the white man’s way of life. Some Indians prospered. The more they learned about the White Man’s way, the more the red man found that he liked it. Christianity helped in more ways than one to help the red man adapt himself to his new environment. The white influence showed in various ways.

#### THE OWL DANCE

##### (Indian Two-Step)

SCENE X

The salute to the Stars and Stripes

Living under the white man’s troops and government, the various Indian tribes who had formerly been bitter enemies now felt at ease to go and visit each other. Thus it was that the northern tribes brought and formally introduced the feather-bustle war dance, or northern plains war dance, to the Southern Plains reservation Indians.

- THE STRAIGHT WAR DANCE
- THE TROTTING WAR DANCE
- THE FAST FANCY WAR DANCE (Tricky)

The white man’s ideals and his ability earned the deep respect of the Southern Plains people. About two decades of living with him completely won over this Southern Plains Indian. He demonstrated he was completely won over by the way he responded to the “colors” in World War I.

“OVER THERE” ..... Band.

On a larger scale he again demonstrated his love for the United States in World War II.

“STARS AND STRIPES FOREVER” Band.

Not that he need to, but once more he demonstrated his love for the Stars and Stripes of his country in the bloody Korean police action.

“MARINE HYMN” .....Band.

COLOR GUARD FORMED

In all these major wars of his country the Southern Plains Indian freely sacrificed his personal liberty, blood and precious irreplaceable life. He freely sacrificed that the Stars and Stripes and all that it stands for would once again survive in glorious victory.

THE SOUTHERN PLAINS WOMEN’S VICTORY DANCE  
(In 3 Parts)

“Song to Stars and Stripes”

1. Up in the clouds our most prized weapon strains at its rope. It has red stripes that are colored red by the blood of those who have defended it. Its spangled stars, its red and white stripes.
2. Up in the clouds the great war horse strains at its rope. battlewise, fearless in the smoke of guns, and spangled with stars Striped, ten and three times, with red and white.

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER.....Band

Recessional to Slow War Dance Songs

## 1956 The 25th American Indian Exposition August 11 - 18

### Pageant Title: "The Redman's Sacred Peace Pipe"

Compiled and Directed by: Linn Pauahy, Kiowa

Pageant Narrator:

[The 23rd Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Saturday, 11th, Sunday, 12th, Monday, 13th, Wednesday, 15th, Thursday, 16th and Saturday, 18th of August "with a cast of over 400 fully costumed Indians.]

### PROLOGUE

#### A LEGEND OF THE REDMAN'S SACRED PEACE PIPE

"The GREAT SPIRIT at an ancient period called the Indian nations together, and, standing on the precipice of the red pipe-stone rock, broke from its wall a piece, and made a huge pipe by turning it in his hand, which he smoked over them, and, to the east, the south, the north, and to the west, told them stone was red – that it was their flesh – that it belonged to them all, and that the war-club and scalping knife must not be raised on its ground. At the last whiff of his pipe his head went into a great cloud, and the whole surface of the rock for several miles was melted and glazed; two great ovens were opened beneath, and two women (guardian spirits of the place) entered them in a blaze of fire; and they heard there yet (Tso-mec-cos-tee and Tso-me-cos-te-won-dee) answering to the invocations of the high priests of Medicine Men, who consult them when they are visitors to this sacred place."

In writing of "The Coming of the First White Man in 1837," George Catlin, the historian, relates the Indian legend concerning the birth of the Peace Pipe:

"The American Indian is the only Race that makes a solemn ceremony of smoking a Peace Pipe. Incense has always been the symbol of prayer; it rises from the mystery of the fire below; and ascends to be lost in the mystery of the all GREAT SPIRIT above. The ceremony of smoking the Peace Pipe – and remember it was always a "Peace Pipe" never a war pipe – differs among the various tribes. More clearly than before, we now see that our earthly security is in obedience to God, Our Father, and His Son, Jesus Christ, the "Prince of Peace" who has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth."

We Dedicate This Pageant Story to "World Peace"

#### SOURCES FOR THE STORY:

1. The Coming of the First White Men in 1837, by George Catlin, historian.
2. Indian Affairs—Laws and Treaties, Dec. 1927 to June 1938, by Charles J. Kappler.
3. Quotone (Jimmie Quotone – Kiowa – deceased) recorded testimony, Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Tribes vs. U. S. Government, Claims hearing in Lawton, Okla., March 23, 1949.
4. Excerpts from Lyrics, by Rachael Nixon.
5. Excerpts from "Song of Hiawatha, by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

#### OPENING INTRODUCTION

##### SCENE I

For the Opening; On the mound – representing the statue of Liberty, an Indian girl dressed in Tribal costume holding a Peace Pipe. The statue of Liberty is a white man symbol of Freedom and Peace. An Indian Peace Pipe is an American Indian symbol of Peace.

Narrator:

Ladies and gentlemen, the American Indian Exposition presents the 1956 Pageant. "The Redman's Sacred Peace Pipe," the author and director, Linn Pauahty, Oklahoma City, and the narrator for the Pageant, Francis Pipestem, Chilocco.

#### NATIONAL ANTHEM

##### INVOCATION:

"Almighty Eternal father, who hast made of one blood all nations and hast determined the bounds of their habitations, we beseech Thee to bless the people whom Thou hast created. Grant that the families of the earth may live together in the spirit of brotherhood. We pray for those who rule over us and guide our nation. May they lead us in the path of peace and justice. May this great nation, which Thou hast wonderfully blest, take its place among the people of the earth as one that serveth. Fill our hearts with love of God and with understanding sympathy for all mankind. May we, as a nation, be ambitious to practice Peace and Good Will. Teach us to walk in the path of Christian righteousness and service with patience and humility. We ask this in the name of the "Prince of Peace" Jesus Christ,  
AMEN.

##### THE GRAND ENTRY

The entire pageant cast, alphabetically as to tribe.

##### EPISODE ONE

The Life of the Redman Before the White Man Found Him

Narrator:

On the mountains of the prairie, on the Great Red Stone Quarry, Gitche, The Mighty. He the master of life, descending on the red crags of the quarry, stood erect and called the Nations, called the tribes of men together. down the rivers, o'er the prairies came the Warriors of the Nations, all the warriors drawn together by the signal of the "Peace Pipe." To the Great Pipe Stone Quarry.

##### THE MEDICINE MAN SPEAKS

"Bring out the Peace Pipe, my Brothers, the ceremonial "Peace Pipe" carefully unwrap it. Reverently, take it from the gaily-beaded buckskin bag; tie the sacred number of eagle feathers upon it; for this is a solemn hour. Into the council fire, step only the wise ones, the Peace Chiefs, the sage ones to light with the burning coal, the symbol of honor, "The Peace Pipe."

##### SCENE II

The Medicine man and Four Peace Chiefs in Pipe Ceremony

(Medicine Man proceeds with the ritual – take pipe and light pipe from coals of the fire. And speaks.)

Narrator:

"Great Spirit! May great wisdom be with us."

(EAST)

"Oh! Great Sun, I speak, "Father of Light" Power for all life, send us food, from food we have strength."

(SOUTH)

"Hot winds! Do not harm us with angry, hot winds and heat."

(NORTH)

"Winter wind! Do not strike us with cold, and spare our buffalo and deer, for they give us clothes and life."

(WEST)

"Our hearts are made glad, for good light, now, close your eyes, while body may rest."

PEACE DANCE – Special dance by women troupe.

O-HO-MAH DANCE – Entire pageant cast.

## EPISODE TWO

### PEACE IN THE NEW WORLD

(The Period of Exploration and Colonization)

A Spanish Flag and Music

Narrator:

Behold the Spanish Conquistadors with Coronado, who led by Indian guides seek the Seven Fabled Cities of Quivera. From out of the south appear these men, riding on strange beasts and hunting here for gold.

On, on they come and reach a Wichita village, to rest awhile, to feast, to ask for gold; to give horse and gun, to claim the land for Spain and tell the story of the Crucified One.

(The coming of the Spanish in the year of 1541, led by an Indian guide “Turk” Coronado, hunting the Fabled Cities of Quivera, visited the camp of the Wichitas, accompanied by soldiers and a Franciscan Monk. It is from the Spanish that the Indians first learned of the horse and the use of guns.)

## SCENE III

The Head Chiefs of the Wichita tribe greets the Spanish graciously. The women brought food and the Chiefs and the Spanish ate together. After the feast the soldiers taught the Indians how to mount a horse, and the use of the gun.

### WICHITA and PAWNEE TRIBES DANCE for the VISITORS

Pawnee Ceremonial Prayer Dance

Pawnee and Wichita Ghost Dance

After the dance, Coronado inquired of the Chiefs, the city of Quivera, a land of gold. Failing to gain information, he departed North into what is now Kansas. The Priest (Father Padilla) remained and later called the Indians together and preached to them.

(A cross is placed where the Priest preached.)

## EPISODE THREE

### THE PERIOD OF EXPLORATION

French Flag and Music

Narrator:

Behold, La Salle, Chevalier de France who leads the expedition down the Father of waters, taking the Great Valley for the King. It is these French, who early meet the Caddos, in Louisiana. Give them their faith and open up the stream for trade. Down comes the Spanish flag and in its place are flung the Lilies of France.

### THE MEDICINE MAN SPEAKS

Narrator:

“Bring out the Peace Pipe, my Brothers, by the father of Waters, we’ll smoke it. La Salle and the Caddos will smoke it. Then the French, led by the same gentle Caddos, claims all the land, the stream’s border, in the name of their King and Religion, thus, we smoke the Peace Pipe, my Brothers, we smoke and put hand to the paper, but later, we found, we Indians, we found that the treaties were broken.”

(The French met the Caddo in 1682, in what is now Louisiana. La Salle traded with the Caddos, and early did this tribe feel the influence of the French and the Roman Catholic Religion.)

## CADDO TRIBAL DANCE

### DELAWARE TRIBAL DANCE

Narrator:

Years passed, moons rise and wane, many changes came, great strife that never reach our River's edge. Here on our prairies we led our tribal life. Still along our rivers, we hunt, fish and pitched our tepees in summer time, to dance the Sun Dance in thanks for blessings given, war with our enemies and council with our friends. But little did we know that eastern tribes are already on the march driven from their homelands to take new home near us. Deep in the fastness of the Wichita Mountains the Kiowa, Comanche, and the apache tribes believe themselves secure. Nor do we know that broad-visioned Jefferson buy from Napoleon this land of ours, and that over prairies, streams and Indian, floats a new flag, the flag we now all love.

(During the period of exploration and settlement the Cherokees were "squeezed farther into the hills, away from the rich fields and fertile valleys." Gold was discovered in Georgia, land grabbers, rushed in, and the doom of the Cherokees was sealed. In 1838, the forced removal began. The story of that mass exodus, one of the most dismal pages in American history. well was it named "The Trail of tears." Today it would be called a Death March.)

### GERONIMO CROWN DANCE (Sometimes called fire dance)

Lights out in the grandstand for the dance.

Narrator: Comments on the dance.

### THE PERIOD OF SETTLEMENT

American Flag and Music

Narrator:

Again the years roll on, along the path made by the sunrise, the prairie schooners toil its way – but step by step the Redman defends his ancient heritage; in conflict grimly contesting the right of way. He makes the prairie's breast a battle ground, her river's veins run blood.

(The discovery of gold in California in 1849, was the cause of the great migration across the prairie of the southwest.)

### SPEAR AND SHIELD DANCE (5 pairs of dancers)

FLUTE SOLO – Victors win Chief's daughters

### SCENE IV

A Scene of a typical evening camp of a group of settlers, a detachment of a wagon train traveling west. The settlers unload and prepare an evening meal. Then a square dance, a short period of singing, and finish with a simple devotion. The Indians are preparing for an attack upon the settlers. The war drums and singing heard in the background. Suddenly the warriors appear and encircle the camp and attack. The soldiers appear and drive the Indians away.

### THE MEDICINE MAN SPEAKS

Narrator:

"Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers, the Red Coats and Frenchmen are smoking. The Iroquois and Hurons are smoking, "Montcalm" lies dead, and the Long Knives have driven the French from the Valley, Indian trails to westward. Made broad by the feet of men marching, made broad by the wagon wheels

turning, The pioneers are claiming our Valley. “Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers, our enemy, yet to defeat us, he fought in the Indian Manner. He conquered us with our open warfare, his the stealth of our very existence.” “Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers, we will smoke with the newly born nation. Hear the words of the Seneca Chieftain, when we learned that “Big Turtle” is vanquished, “brothers,” he says, to the council “brothers, we sign this in sadness.” We stand a small isle in the midst of great waters, we are encircled, encompassed on all sides, the wild spirit rides upon every blast, the waters are disturbed, they rise, they press upon us, the waves settle over us. We disappear forever.”

#### INDIAN TRAILS WESTWARD

#### FOUR SOLO SINGERS WITH HAND DRUMS

(Travois, horse, some on foot, Indians move west)  
(Song of Lamentation)

#### PEACE ON THE PRAIRIE American Flag

Narrator:

#### THE MEDICINE MAN SPEAKS

“Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers, smoke for a peace on the prairie. Call all the Plains tribes together for the smoke, the Kiowa, Comanche, the Apache, the Cheyenne and the Arapaho. To meet beneath the oak for the Treaty. Hear the words of “Ten Bears” the Comanche, as he puts his hand to the papers; as he turns his face to the southland, and gives up the raiding forever. Thus, we lead our conquerors to battle, and aid him to win these great prairies, then, we smoke the Peace Pipe, my Brothers, forfeit much land, and our folk-ways.”

(The Medicine Lodge Treaty, October 1867, between U. S. Government and the five tribes of the Plains. The treaty was planned to take the Indians farther south into Indian Territory what is now the state of Oklahoma.)

Narrator:

For centuries, there was no peace in the Indian’s land, but with the passing of time, the dream of peace was born, wars grew fewer and farther between. Old feuds are now almost forgotten and many old wounds are healed. We see tonight, the once warring Indian tribes, who once struggled against each other; now they are at peace. At peace are we also with the white man in this country. In the old Indian way, we smoke the Peace Pipe in friendship and brotherhood, thankful that we are all Americans and struggling for the freedom and peace of men everywhere.

#### OSAGE TRIBAL WAR DANCE

#### AUTHENTIC “TEGUA” DANCE (sometimes called snake dance)

Narrator:

Comment on the origin of this dance.

#### EPISODE FOUR

#### PEACE FOR THE WORLD United Nations Flags

Narrator:

“Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers, ‘Remember the Maine’ was our war cry, and Indians rode up “San Juan’s” hill side now fighting America’s battle. “Put the coal to the Peace Pipe, my Brothers, hold it high that all nations may see it. Let the smoke rise and fall on us all like a blessing. How our hearts yearn for peace that is honest and lasting. Down through the years, we sacrifice home land and folk-ways. Down through the years, our warriors fought for our freedom. Down through the years, our Peace Chiefs put hands to paper. Have we yet learned, if we are to gain peace old ways must be forfeit. That no clan, nor tribe, nor nation itself is important unless every man in all people has his share of good living and the Nations are one in hope, in friendship, and in honor.

#### PLAINS TRIBE VICTORY DANCES

1. Scalp Dance – four solo singers with hand drums.  
(women dance)
2. Victory dance – round dance, every tribe participating.  
(each group as to tribe)

Narrator:

Two World wars, and the recent Korean war in which Indians and other Americans have for a common cause under the Stars and Stripes, which flies alike over tepee and palace, bind us all together, as only people of different races and nationalities can be bound in a democracy like the United States of America!

In Blessed Memory of Those Indian Americans Who Gave Their Lives for World Peace.

#### THE EMPTY SADDLE

(Dramatized)

Narrator:

On December 21, 1944, the late Private Clarence Spotted Wolf, a full blood Indian American was killed in action in Luxemburg. Hear the letter, he wrote to his people, should he fail to return to them:

“If I should be killed, I want you to bury me on one of the hills, east of the place, where my grand-parents, brothers, sisters, and other relatives are buried. If you have a memorial service, I want the soldiers to go ahead with the American flag. I want cowboys to lead one of the wildest of the T over X horses with saddle and bridle on. I will be riding that horse.”

#### BATTLE MEMORIES NEVER DIE

The late Pfc. Ira H. Hayes, a full blood Indian American, one of the six marines who raised the American flag in Iwo-Jima under heavy fire. Later came home from the war at the personal request of President Roosevelt. These two Indian Americans typify great numbers of our American soldiers in the fire of tragedy and glory that was the battle of Iwo-Jima and other battles both land and sea. Their battle memories will never die – and now at last their restless spirits are forever at “Peace.”

#### THE MEDICINE MAN SPEAKS

“Bring out the Peace Pipe, my Brothers, hold it high that all Nations may see it, let the smoke rise and fall on us like a blessing. Now, our hearts yearn for Peace that is honest and lasting.

#### THE WAR SONG OF THE THUNDERBIRDS (entire cast)

#### THE VICTORY SONG OF THE THUNDERBIRDS

(Cavalcade – United Nations Flags)



Narrator:

Around the turn of the century, “Hiamovi” High Chief among the Cheyenne and Dakotas, expressed the brotherhood idea, which has further developed, since as the Indian and the white man lived side by side. “There are birds of many colors – red, blue, green and yellow; yet it is all one bird. There are horses of many colors – black, brown, yellow and white. Yet, it is all one horse. So, cattle, so all living things, animals, flowers, and trees. So, men. In this land where once were only Indians, are now men of every color – white, black, yellow and red, yet; all one people. That this should come to pass, was in the heart of the “Great Spirit.” More clearly than before, we now see that our earthly security is in obedience to the Great Spirit, our father, and His Son, the “Prince of Peace” who has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth.”

OPENING SCENE REPEATED (on the mound)

VOCAL SOLO: “God Bless America”

Narrator:

Ladies and Gentlemen, this concludes the Pageant story;  
“Indian Peace Pipe” May God Bless All of You With “Peace.”

THE PROCESSIONAL

### **1957 The 26th American Indian Exposition August 19 - 24**

**Pageant Title: “Drums Along The Washita”**

Written and Directed by: Sarah Gertrude Knott

Pageant Narrators: 1) Oliver M. Woodard and 2) Francis Pipestem

[The 24th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:30 p.m. on Monday, 19th, Wednesday, 21st, Thursday, 22nd and Saturday, 24th of August “with a cast of over 300 fully costumed Indians of the Plains.]

SCENE:

An Encampment Along the Washita River in Oklahoma.

OPENING:

Camp Crier on Horseback.

Narrator 1

“Drums Along the Washita” features the age-old customs, songs, dances and fragments of rituals both old and new which serve as living records and connecting links with the long, long past of our most artistic race – the American Indian. These rich and ancient heritages are important to the Indian as he takes his place with other Americans – a changing race in a changing world.

PROCESSION OF PARTICIPANTS

INVOCATION:

Kiowa-Apache – Tennyson Berry, Fort Cobb.

WAR DANCE OF TODAY

DRUM FANFARE AND MUSIC:

Drummers and Singers.  
FLASH-BACK TO YESTERDAY

Narrator 2

Drums ! Drums! Drums! Drums! Drums sounding out from the Indian's land met the first white men who set foot on this soil. Explorers and adventurers who came from the East and South, West and North, heard the drums – Indians' drums, large drums, small ones, water drums – all varying moods of life itself were expressed by the drums and their songs–moods of long ago, moods of now–moods that know not time or place.

Narrator 1

Less than three-quarters of a century ago, Oklahoma was still the domain of roving herds of buffalo grazing on the trackless prairies; council fires blazed on the mountain sides and the stillness of night was often broken by the shrill cry of the coyotes.

INDIAN MUSIC

Although Oklahoma is a young state which this year celebrates the 50th anniversary, its real history reaches far back through the centuries – no one knows how long! The ancient American Indian heritages give Okla[homa] and the country a culture with richness and depth which only time can create.

Narrator 2

PEACE PIPE CEREMONY:

Kiowa-Apache Tribe. Early English settlers heard the drumbeat of Eastern Indians as they landed along the Atlantic coastline and made their settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. Spanish nobleman, Don Francisco Vaquez de Coronado who came up from Old Mexico, searching for the fabled "Seven Cities of Cibola," the seven golden cities, was met with wonder by the Indians and their welcoming drums, when he came to claim the land for the Crown of Spain in 1540. Indians and their drums also met Spanish Onate, who also came to the Indians' land and stopped at "Hawikuh," near Zuni, New Mexico, where he made the first permanent Spanish settlement, around 1598. Since that time the Indians' drumbeat and his customs, music, dances and legend have met and mingled with those of the Spanish-Americans in the fiesta land of neighboring New Mexico.

Narrator 1

Frenchman La Salle found Indians and heard talking drums when he came exploring in 1682. French voyagers singing and paddling down the St. Lawrence and Mississippi Rivers, seeking to claim the land for the Crown of France were met by friendly Indians, who during the struggle of pioneer days remained loyal to the French.

Narrator 2

The years from 1817 to 1859 were important ones to many tribes who later were to assemble in new homes along the winding Washita River with its steep banks and blue, blue water.

Narrator 1

WAR DRUMS' MUSIC

Drums! Drums! Drums! Fierce war drums soon began to ring out over the once peaceful and quiet valley! Tribe fought against tribe! White men fought the Indians! Indians fought the Whites! Confusion and antagonism reigned in the Indians' land! There was little understanding among these early Americans who lived side by side!

STRAIGHT WAR DANCES

Narrator 2

Before Plains Indians settled in Western Oklahoma a tragic chapter in Indian history was being written. That historic trek which history later named “The Trail of Tears,” was taking place as the Five Civilized Tribes: the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws and Seminoles came to make their homes in Eastern Oklahoma. Further and further were the Indians driven from old homes when the white man ruled that the Indians should find homes in the Western part of the country. Whether the Five Civilized Tribes entered into exile with heartbroken submission or were driven as desperate captives, their suffering on the trails was one of the tragic episodes in American history.

Narrator 1

From time immemorial Indian drums have chanted prayers for the good harvest or thanksgiving. Whether the harvest is meager or abundant, Indians have lifted thankful hearts to the “Power Beyond.” One of the early rituals heard along the Washita was perhaps the Green Corn Dance. Early explorers who came to the Indians’ land in the Southwest heard and saw it in the early part of the 16th century. The ceremony takes place after the green corn is matured. The real ceremony is preceded by purification ceremonies. There is chanting around the glowing fire to the rhythm of the turtle shell rattles.

RIBBON DANCE:

The women’s dance, which precedes the men’s dance in the Green Corn Dance.

GREEN CORN DANCE:

Creek Tribe.

Narrator 2

Later, as more Indians came, the Washita Indian Agency, the first Indian Agency in Western Oklahoma was established in Anadarko (1859) to help control the situation. Great was the excitement as leaders for the Caddo, Wichitas, Delawares, Penetaka Comanches and the Tonkawas arrived from the Brazos in Texas and joined the group from near Fort Arbuckle in the Indian Territory, at Anadarko, searching for homes for those tribes who had been moved from one location to another. They were all heartsick and tired! They longed for peace and homes! When they reached a high spot on a hill overlooking the present site of Anadarko, they looked over the fertile valley below and saw the blue waters of the Washita, abundant vegetation, with herds of buffalo and deer roaming at will.

Narrator 1

“This is the place!” they exclaimed. “This is Eureka valley! Here they established homes along the Washita. Into the new surroundings, they brought their ancient songs, dances and customs, which they had carried on for centuries in the Southwest.

Narrator 2

When the government decreed the opening of Indian Territory to white settlement in 1889, Indians were scattered throughout the state, except in the Panhandle. The Cherokee Commission was appointed and entered into treaty with the various wild tribes, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Delaware, Kiowas, Comanches and certain tribes in the Eastern part of the state, for the allotment and purchase of their surplus lands.

Narrator 1

After a delay of 10 years, the lands along the Washita were allotted and surplus lands were opened for settlement. Since then many Indians have lived along the Washita – lived and sung, and danced and dreamed – and told their children of Indian life in the olden times when buffalo roamed these plains! A familiar sight among the Caddos, in old homes in Louisiana, in the Brazos section of Texas, or in later homes along the Washita is the Caddo dance such as the Corn Dance.

Narrator 2

THE CORN DANCE: Caddo and Delaware Tribes.

A dance of harvest time long used by Caddos.

BELL DANCE: Caddo and Delaware Tribes.

A Caddo follow-the-leader-dance. The leader carries a bell, the dancers wind and unwind, somewhat like “wind-the-clock” figure in the square dance.

Narrator 1

COMANCHE RIDING SONG: Comanche Tribe.

The Comanches were expert riders and often they rode into camp singing a variety of songs still known, although seldom used today.

Narrator 2

President Thomas Jefferson felt the necessity and saw the wisdom of understanding what was back of the actions of the “strange” race, and asked Lewis and Clark to find out, as they explored the Western frontiers around 1804, but it was not until Theodore Roosevelt’s day that any President took active interest to make definite steps to give the Indians freedom of racial consciousness and action, and spiritual liberty previously denied them.

Narrator 1

President Roosevelt gave Natalie Curtis, collector of Indian songs, the right openly to collect from Indians for her book “The Indian’s Book” and warmly endorsed her plan. He said: “These songs cast a wholly new light on the depth and dignity of Indian thought – the simple beauty and strange charm – the charm of a vanished elder world of Indian poetry.”

CHEYENNE INDIAN WEDDING:

Cheyenne Tribe, including wedding songs and customs of the “Give Away.”

American history tells of Indian wars, it tells of treaties, and shows some of the impact the Indian has made on our history, but all too few Indians, or their white brothers, especially in Oklahoma, have dealt with the cultural contribution of the Indian to Oklahoma or to our national life. All too few have recognized the natural artistic and creative ability of the Indian as seen in such dance creation as the Eagle Dance of the Pueblo and Plains tribes.

RABBIT DANCE – OWL DANCE: Arapaho Tribe.

Narrator 2

All tribes revere the eagle, some dances simply honor the bird, others imitate the movements as is done here. The Plains Indians got the dance from the Pueblos.

THE EAGLE DANCE: Several Tribes.

More and more silent has been the Indian on the war path since the treaty of the Medicine Lodge in 1867. After that time it was evident that no longer was it possible for the Indian to succeed in warfare against the superior equipment of the white man and gradually the war dances, once ceremonial in character became largely social dances.

THE SHIELD DANCE: Several Tribes.

Some claim that this is a form of war dance used to develop agility. It is a “mock battle” now performed with highly decorated non-metal shields.

Narrator 1

Cadets, a Mescalero Apache chieftain, spoke for the Indian warriors when he said, “You are stronger than we. We have fought you so long as we had rifles and powder; but your weapons are better than ours. Give us like weapons and turn us loose, we will fight again. But we are worn out. We have not more heart. We have no provisions, no means to live. Your troops are everywhere. Our springs or waterholes are either

occupied or overlooked by your young men. You have driven us from our last and best stronghold, and we have no more heart. Do with us as may seem good to you, but do not forget we are men and braves.” Times changed the old time war dances after they lost their original significance – after they ceased to be used ceremonially to prepare for war or celebrate victory.

HUMMINGBIRD DANCE: Kiowa Tribe.

STRAIGHT WAR DANCES OF TODAY:

Arapaho, Otoe, Pawnee, Cheyenne and Osage Tribes.

The Osage and most Oklahoma tribes still know and on occasions do the old style or “straight” war dances; but modern times has given a more fancy costume all hand-made, and usually by those who wear them; and the steps have become ”more fancy” and faster.

GENERAL WAR DANCES, FAST WAR DANCES: All Tribes.

Young men of the Kiowa, Comanche and other tribes, for a long time, the flute song was a part of the romantic Indian custom, it sealed the love bargain between the Indian brave and the Indian maiden. At nightfall, the Indian youth appeared at the teepee of the maiden of his choice and played a love song on his hand-made symbolically decorated flute. If the girl accepted his love, she came out and he placed the Indian blanket which he had hopefully brought along, around her shoulders sealing the troth much as the engagement ring seals the understanding between white girl and boy.

THE INDIAN FLUTE SONG

Narrator 2

A race without a printed history has created its own chapter in American art. A race without a Bible, or printed word, found its own Great Spirit; found its own Power Beyond the Human to lean upon when there was need. The Indian created his own orderly life fashioned after the natural forces to which he is closely related. Many of his songs, dances and customs reflect that closeness to nature, to animals or birds.

Narrator 1

DOG DANCE: Wichita Tribe.

DEER DANCE SONG: Wichita Tribe.

These dances imitate the movements of the dog and deer. Around a hundred years ago, scholars started to studying Indian pottery, paintings, bones, implements of warfare and other objects which they dug up from old historic locations where Indians had lived long ago. They wanted to find out something of the history of the race, of which there is little written record. Today other scholars and Indians themselves have come to see that the songs, dances, customs, tales still living and still used by the many Oklahoma Indian tribes can also tell much about the Indian past.

Narrator 2

The music of the next song reflects a more recent chapter in Indian history – The Ghost Dance enthusiasm. In more recent times Indians of many tribes have prayed and looked to the day when the land would be free of pale faces, with the red man throughout eternity in their own hunting ground. The Ghost Dance was an effort in that direction. About March in 1891, Apiaton [sic] a young Kiowa, later a chief, returned from Northern Utah where he had gone to investigate the claim of a Piute Indian that he was the Messiah. He denounced the man as a fake, Cheyenne, Caddos and Wichitas accepted him and for several months had regular dances, Ghost Songs were translated into Wichita language. Dances were held in this area several years.

GHOST DANCE SONG: Wichita and Pawnee Tribes.

Narrator 2

The Brush Dance is the social part of the Sun dance, once the most sacred of all dances to a number of Oklahoma and other tribes. The “brush” or “reeds” are gathered as preparation is made. There is song and gaiety.

BRUSH DANCE: Several Tribes.

#### WAR DANCES

Narrator 1

The Indians’ songs and dances were, and in some cases now, are his prayers. “Unless we do it this way, our prayers will not be answered.” This is the Indians’ attitude about his ceremonial dances. This reaching out and up for a divine power is familiar to all people who have the religious impulse.

COMANCHE CURE SONG:

Handed down for generations among the Comanches. It is of many such Indian songs used in old days to calm and help cure the sick.

PRAYER SONG: Kiowa and Comanche Tribes.

A Christian song, with Kiowa tune and words. A song of prayer mood. The stamp of today is being put on music of out times, the traditional expressions are not static but still living and changing as they have down through preceding generations. Songs and dances continue to be made.

THE HOOP DANCE: Navaho Dancer.

Narrator 2

A recent dance in which the dancer uses from one to six hoops into which he steps in and out; keeping all hoops in action at all times. Almost all peoples, including the Indians, have their dances and customs which once had sacred and significant meaning, but have become social dances and the original meaning lost. When these deeply rooted legacies no longer serve religious or sacred purposes, they are carried on simply through habit, or because they still serve recreational or artistic needs. Several Oklahoma Indian tribes had their Scalp Dances, which were originally used as a kind of Victory War Dance when the successful warrior returned from the scalp hunt. Women as well as men of the tribe met him and there was rejoicing. This helped prove the warrior’s place in the tribe.

THE SCALP DANCE: Now a social dance, used by several of the “wild” tribes of today.

Narrator 1

Indian dances and ceremonies show that the Indian is master artist in detail. His is not a show for amusement only. It is that incidentally and occasionally but in many cases even get a presentation for the gratification and satisfaction of the Indians’ own soul. It is his spiritual dream enacted. Each in his own way is manager of the scene he is playing. The “Devil” or “Crown” or “Maiden’s Dance” of the Apache tribe is one of the ceremonies with great artistic possibilities. This is the “debut” party of the young Apache girl. It is her “coming out” party when she comes of age. Originally it followed days of solitude and fasting. Four colorfully dressed Apache men, ceremonially painted by Medicine Men in old days, dance from the four directions, East, North, West and South, to bless the Apache girl and bring her fruitful womanhood. The girl’s mother and clown-like person also take part.

THE MAIDEN’S DANCE OR CROWN DANCE: Fort-Sill Apache Tribe.

Narrator 2

It has been said that when the Indians or any race ceases to be proud of its heritages, which reflect racial characteristics, it is practically dead as a race. Individuals of that race lose their sense of "belonging," they lose an inner peace of mind, and a basic fundamental culture which cannot be replaced by a more superficial alien culture. Deeply rooted or sacred expressions seldom, if ever, entirely pass, they change and come forth in other forms. That is happening with many Indian legacies today.

Narrator 1

The Gourd Dance an old Kiowa dance said to have been a part of the Sun Dance. It was for men. Recently revived in Carnegie after 33 years. It has been handed down at least three generations.

GOURD DANCE:

Narrator 2

A Caddo dance with its trot-like movement, includes two women and one man. At a certain drumbeat the man swings both women around and on they go until the proper drumbeat for the next swing.

SWINGING DANCE: Caddo Tribe.

Narrator 1

An old Kiowa dance called the Blackfeet Dance is remembered and recently revived. It might have been influenced by the Blackfeet tribe long ago when the Kiowas lived near the Blackfeet.

BLACKFEET WAR DANCE: Kiowa Tribe.

Narrator 2

The Snake Dance, a dance with a serpentine movement found in many countries. It's like the "figure eight" in the American square dance. Some claim the Kiowas borrowed it from the Pueblos of New Mexico, perhaps from the Hopis. It is known to have been done in Oklahoma for two generations.

SNAKE DANCE: Various Tribes.

WAR DANCES OF TODAY: All Tribes.

Narrator 1

Museum directors and other cultural leaders are making efforts to collect Indian relics of the past weaving, carving stone work, paintings, pottery all existing material cultures of the Indian; but, collecting of these material cultures is not enough. Old-style teepees can perhaps be built again; weaving and beadwork can be faithfully copied if a single pattern is found; but, once the Indian has lost his basic spiritual culture, close relation with nature; once he has forgot the urge that prompted his racial songs and dances or lost the knowledge of what lies behind the creation, these treasures cannot be brought back in their original strength and beauty.

Narrator 2

INDIAN DRUMMING SINGING:

Drums! Drums! Drums! Drums! Along the Washita! Old drums! New drums! Old times new times blended! Older Indians have seen 26 summers pass since the drums sounded calling all tribes to the first American Indian Exposition.

Older Indians of today who have seen Oklahoma grow from arrows to atoms, know now that the buffalo has left the plains for good; they know that they must live side by side with the white man and peoples of other races from now on. In the original Indians' land that in a few hundred years has become a World

Power; they know now that there must be a blending of Indian customs, with old Indian philosophy, an adaption [sic] of the old-time Indian power, to meet modern needs in a rapidly changing civilization.

Narrator 1

Eagle plume, son of sitting Bear wisely said:  
(Ten Grandmothers)

“You have to learn new things. You have new Springs to make the grass grow. But grass grows out of old earth. You have to have old things for new things to have roots in. That’s why some people have to push new things along. It’s right for both of them. It’s what they have to do.”

Narrator 2

And so Oklahoma Indians of today look back with pride and reverence to the glorious past of ancestors who long, long ago first peopled this great land. They look back and salute that splendid past, and take from it inspiration, substance and strength, as they shall play their roles with other American citizens. They salute the Stars and Stripes which wave over our country and make many peoples one nation!

FINALE:

Indian Service Men present the fourteen flags which have waved over Oklahoma, followed by Inter-Tribal War Mother’s Club.

NATIONAL ANTHEM:

### **1958 The 27th American Indian Exposition August 18 - 23**

**Pageant Title: “The Song of the Red Man”**

Written and Directed by: Kenneth Anquoe, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Pageant Narrator: Francis Pipestem, Chilocco, Oklahoma

[The 25th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:30 p.m. on Monday, 18th, Wednesday, 20th, Thursday, 21st and Saturday, 23rd of August “with a cast of over 300 fully costumed Indians of the Plains.]

Our pageant is presented to the Director of all Mankind, The Great Spirit, Wa-kon-da.

Narrator:

Ladies and Gentlemen: The American Indian Exposition presents the 1958 pageant, “The Song of the Redman.”

The Flag Song of the Indian is not an old traditional song but a tradition borrowed from our white brothers. The Indian is exceptionally proud of his Flag and the Warriors that have fought to protect it. Many songs are sung about this Flag and the deeds of its Warriors. The Flag Song of the Kiowas is believed to have been composed just prior to World War I. Other Oklahoma tribes having their own Flag Song are the Otoes, Poncas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Sac and Fox and Pawnees.

THE KIOWA FLAG SONG

Narrator:

Christianity was unknown to the American Indian before the coming of the White Men. Since neither could understand the other’s language the sign language was the only means of communication. It was



through this medium that the Missionaries were able to bring Christianity to the Indian people and eventually teach them their language; and some in turn learned to speak the language of several different tribes. From this came the interpretation of the Lord's Prayer and other passages of the Bible in sign language.

INVOCATION:  
"LORD'S PRAYER"  
Interpreted in sign language.

## PRESENTATION OF PRINCESSES AND DIRECTORS

### THE PAGEANT

#### PROLOGUE:

Friends, in the beginning, exploration found a continent abounding in a wealth of natural resources, primitive, exuberant and perennial beyond human capacity to enjoy, or even to intelligently waste.

There existed forests to supply every human need, precious metals, food supply was universal, every lake, stream, glade and glen abounding in wild life. The very heavens peopled with feathered birds – denizens of the air. The people who enjoyed this wonderful paradise was the Redman whose very existence relied on a song. Music is coextensive of Tribal life, prayer songs for existence, songs for the Warrior, clan songs, society songs, individual songs that never die. "The Song of the Redman" supplies his expression of his inner soul, from the cradle – through life – to death. For they trust not in worldly riches, but in the Creator who understands their song.

#### PROCESSIONAL

Narrator:

The Southern Plains Indians had very few dances exclusively for women – The Round Dance is one of them. The background of this dance is rather vague but the general consensus is that the women danced this to show off their beautiful costumes. The songs of this dance are some of the most beautiful of all Indian songs.

#### THE ROUND DANCE

Narrator:

The War Dance is the most colorful and widely known of all Indian dances. Many tribes, though not all tribes dance the War Dance. It is most common among the Plains Tribes and this, the Oklahoma Plains Indian version of the dance. In the original war dance the dancer wore no fancy colored plumes nor elaborate beadwork, only the ornaments that nature provided him with – such as porcupine quill headdresses, buckskin ornamented with shells and quill-work. Eagle, hawk and scissor-tail feathers, herb and clay paint. With the White Man came the beads, dye, and colored fabrics. The original war dance was a slow dignified dance. As the years went by the tempo of the dance increased, consequently the tempo of the songs increased, which gradually brought about the present day Fancy War dance. It became more of a dance of skill with elaborate and colorful costumes. The Indian people with their natural love for competition tried to out-do one another in beautiful costumes and difficult dance steps which inevitably brought about the War Dance Contest. The War Dance is a dance of victory, a dance for homecoming Warriors.

#### THE WAR DANCE

Narrator:

One of the simplest and most delightful of all Tribal dances are the routines of the Caddos who make their home in the Washita Valley. They are classified as Woodlands Indians, a peaceful and conscientious tribe. The charm of their dances rest in the simplicity and naturalness of the manner in which they are presented, which make them enjoyed by spectators and participants alike.

#### THE CADDO SOCIAL DANCE

Narrator:

It was in the month of new leaves when a party of Arapahos went on the Warpath to a land that is known today as New Mexico. Strange lands were identified only by landmarks or rivers. A Warrior was lost from the group and in his wanderings came upon an encampment of Indians. He could not identify them as friend or foe so he remained in hiding. Because he was so fascinated by the dance that was in progress that he vowed to learn the dance and song and take them home to his people. He listened and watched very closely. In due course of time he found his way back to his people who rejoiced at his homecoming for he was presumed dead. He told them of his experience, showed them the dance step and taught them the song. They were very pleased with the dance and showered him with gifts. The Arapaho called this the "First Step Circle Dance."

#### THE CIRCLE DANCE OF THE ARAPAHOS

Narrator:

The tradition of the Apache Fire Dance began in southwestern New Mexico and southeastern Arizona among the Warm Spring and Chiricahua Apaches. This ceremonial dance is based on a story handed down from generation to generation. There were two Apache boys, one was blind and the other was a cripple, they were left behind to fend for themselves. They made use of their facilities by having the blind boy carrying the crippled boy, and they wandered for many days suffering dire privations. Death was inevitable and as they sat resting in the sweltering heat of mid-day, a super-natural being appeared to them. It told them not to be afraid, that if they would do as instructed they would be made well and could then return to their people. The two boys built a fire and cooked the meat that was provided and ate. The super-natural being sang and danced. After the ceremony the blind one could see and the crippled one could walk. They were told to observe everything carefully, to remember the songs and the dances so that when they returned to their people they could tell them about it. This is the story of the origin of the "Apache Ceremonial Fire dance".

#### THE APACHE FIRE DANCE

#### THE WAR DANCE

Narrator:

War Dance Contests are held at almost every major Indian celebration. The dancers are judged by the time they keep with the drum, the variety and originality of their dance steps. They must stop on the exact beat the drum stops, consequently the dancer has to know every song. With the modern methods of communication and transportation there is a gradual mixing of Tribal customs and songs. A Comanche may be observed wearing Cheyenne beadwork, a Kiowa singer singing Pawnee songs. Parents today as in olden days teach their children to dance as they learn to walk.

#### A CONTEST WAR DANCE FOR PAPOOSES

Narrator:

The Hoop Dance is a dance of skill, the dancers usually being young men and boys. The Sioux Indians are believed to have been the originators of this dance, although the dance was made famous by the Taos Pueblo and later adopted by the Oklahoma Plains Indians.

#### THE HOOP DANCE

Narrator:

The Navajo religion presents one of the most interesting aspects of Indian life. Basically, they are Nature Worshipers. Navajo religion is so intimately interwoven with all phases of life that it cannot be set apart. Rituals are held to restore health, to obtain food, for the continuation of life, to bless a new home, to insure a safe journey. A ceremony may be held for a certain individual but blessings may also flow over the whole group, so when there is sickness, much grief and woe in their land thus only can the sick be healed, the grieving consoled – by the medicine of the Nine-Day Night Chant.

#### THE NAVAJO NIGHT CHANTERS—(Yei-Be-Chie)

Narrator:

The Kiowa Gourd Dance Clan is a Society of Warriors and their descendants. This Society is believed to have been started by Satanta (Whitebear) one of the Great Kiowa Chiefs. Their war trophies, which are held almost sacred, are displayed with honor at their dances. Their costume, different from any other society, is uniform in many respects though different in color and material. The songs and dance command respect from the audience and participants alike in the manner in which they are presented.

#### THE KIOWA GOURD DANCE

Narrator:

As the young Indian boys get older, their dance steps and costume become more and more like the adults. Their activities include more of the adult activities as they prepare themselves to be Warriors. They are given an adult name, they begin to wear eagle feathers and they finally attain an Indian boy's highest honor that of participating in War party and becoming a full fledged Warrior. A dance contest is held also for the group of boys.

#### CONTEST WAR DANCE — Junior Division

Narrator:

The Kiowa Blackfoot Society is a Warrior Society, one whose membership is reserved only for the bravest Warriors. These men had performed extraordinary brave deeds. They dressed in Red Robes and painted their legs black from the calf down giving them a striking and ferocious appearance. A service man today getting the Medal of Honor was no greater honor than becoming a member of this Society.

#### THE KIOWA BLACKFOOT DANCE

Narrator:

The Straight War Dance is the predecessor of the present day Fancy War Dance. It is so named because the dancers use only the basic War Dance step, with no variation whatsoever. The origin of this dance is believed to have been from the Osage and Pawnee tribes, however in later years other tribes copied this style of dance and dress. The dancers wear very few feathers, one for the headdress, sometimes two hanging from the headdress in front of the forehead and one for ornament on the otter hide hanging from the back of the neck. The rest of the costume is fabric with a little beadwork.

## THE OSAGE PAWNEE STRAIGHT DANCE WAR DANCE

Narrator:

The dancers you are about to see are dancers who have attained the epitome of Indian dancing, that of being named Champion. These young men have deservingly gained the reputation of being one of the best dancers in Oklahoma.

## CHAMPION DANCERS

Narrator:

The Shield Dance is a ceremonial dance performed during the Victory Dances. It is a pantomime of the actual battle, usually the experience of one of the dancers. The design on the Shield is the Warrior's own design, identifying this Warrior only. The Shield is not carried actually for protection but as War Medicine, to keep the Warrior safe and inspire him to greater deeds. The war paint is also the Warrior's own design and sometimes this same design is handed down from generation to generation in the same family.

## THE SHIELD DANCE

Narrator:

The Eagle was regarded by the Indians as the King of all bird and animal life. The Eagle held certain powers, it was the most beautiful, the most powerful and the wisest of all wild life. The Eagle feather ornament was reserved for only the Warriors, the war bonnet which was adorned with many Eagle feathers could only be worn by chiefs. It was used by medicine men and considered "strong medicine". Some tribes feared the Eagle feathers and would not allow anyone to touch them until the feathers were "smoked and cleaned" by a person gifted with this special authority. Many Tribal medicine bundles contained Eagles preserved in weird forms. Very few tribes had an Eagle Dance ceremony, some plains tribes and one or two Southwest Tribes. The Indian praised the Eagle in song, ceremony, dance and stories. The following is the San Ildefonso Pueblo version of the Eagle Dance.

## THE EAGLE DANCE

## THE RUFFLE DANCE

Narrator:

## THE COMANCHE RIDING SONGS

## RECESSIONAL

Narrator:

My friends, you have traveled with the Redman through the story of people whose life is expressed by song. The prayer song of the mother for her child from cradle to grave—every race, every people has a soul. Through the "Song of the Redman" may we take courage and faith—look to our Creator for strength through a song.

THE END

**1959 The 28th American Indian Exposition August 17 - 22**

**Pageant Title: "The Ceremonial Moccasins of the Redman"**

Written and Directed by:

Dedicated to the Famous American Indian Artist ACEE BLUE EAGLE

[The 26th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:30 p.m. on Monday, 17th, Wednesday, 19th, and Saturday, 22nd of August "with a cast of over 200 fully costumed Indians of the Plains.]

(NO PAGEANT SCRIPT LOCATED)

**1960 The 29th American Indian Exposition August 15 – 20**

**Pageant Title: "The Sacred eagle Feather of the Red Man"**

Written and Directed by: Gus Palmer, Sr., Stacy Padhapohy, and Yale Spottedbird

[The 27th Annual Pageant was presented in the amphitheatre at the fairgrounds at 8:30 p.m. on Monday, 15th (rained out on Monday), first performance was Tuesday, 16th, then, Wednesday, 17th and Saturday, 20th of August with a cast of 300 fully costumed Indians of the Plains.]

(NO PAGEANT SCRIPT LOCATED)

**1961 The 30th American Indian Exposition August 14 - 19**

**Pageant Title: "Teepee Tales"**

Written and Directed by: Wallace Redbone, Stacy Pahadapony, and Fran Poafpybitty

Pageant Narrator: Joe Shunatona

[The 28th Annual Pageant was presented in front of the grandstands at the fairgrounds, first time since 1956, at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 14th, then, Wednesday, 16th and Saturday, 19th of August with a cast of 300 fully costumed Indians of the Plains.]

(NO PAGEANT SCRIPT LOCATED)

**1962 The 31st American Indian Exposition August 13 - 18**

**Pageant Title: "Peace Pipe on the Prairie"**

Written and Directed by:

[The 29th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:30 p.m. on Monday, 13th, then, Wednesday, 15th and Saturday, 18th of August with a cast of 300 fully costumed Indians of the Plains.]

(NO PAGEANT SCRIPT LOCATED)

**1963 The 32nd American Indian Exposition July 15 - 20**

**Pageant Title: "Smoke Signals to Indian Youth"**

Written and Directed by:

[The 30th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 15th, Wednesday, 17th, and Saturday, 20th of July.]

(NO PAGEANT SCRIPT LOCATED)

**1964 The 33rd American Indian Exposition July 13 - 19**

**Pageant Title: "Spirit of the Drum"**

Written and Directed by: Henry W. Lookingglass – Comanche  
[See 1949 entry for a note concerning authorship of these two pageants.]

Pageant Narrator: Francis Pipestem

[The 31st Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 13th, Wednesday, 15th, and Saturday, 18th of July.]

(NO PAGEANT SCRIPT LOCATED)

**1965 The 34th American Indian Exposition July 12 - 18**

**Pageant Title: "From Sunrise To Sunset"**

Written and Directed by: Libby B. Littlechief – Kiowa

[The 32nd Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 12th Wednesday, 14th and Saturday, 18th of July.]

(NO PAGEANT SCRIPT LOCATED)

**1966 The 35th American Indian Exposition July 11 - 16**

**Pageant Title: "Flaming Arrow, Spirit of the Prairie"**

Written and Directed by: Libby B. Littlechief

[The 33rd Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 11th, Wednesday, 13th, and Saturday, 16th of July highlighting a cast of 150 singers, drummers, dancers, and special performers.]

(NO PAGEANT SCRIPT LOCATED)

**1967 The 36th American Indian Exposition August 14 - 19**

**Pageant Title: "Scrap of Paper"**

Written and Directed by: Marcus Fuller

[The 34th Annual Pageant was presented in front of the grandstands at the fairgrounds at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 14th, Wednesday, 16th, and Saturday, 19th of August.]

CELEBRATING THE 100<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE "MEDICINE LODGE TREATY"

SCENE I CHEYENNE INDIAN VILLAGE LOCATED ON THE BANKS OF PAWNEE RIVER IN KANSAS.

SCENE II A FARM DWELLING SOMEWHERE IN KANSAS

SCENE III THE NORTH BANK OF MEDICINE LODGE CREEK IN KANSAS OCTOBER 1867.

LIST OF CHARACTERS

SPEAKING ROLES

N. G. TAYLOR.....	DELMAR HAMILTON
SWIFT BEAR (MEDICINE MAN).....	MARK KEAHBONE
SATANTA (KIOWA).....	GARY NIMSEY
TEN BEAR (COMANCHE).....	GEORGE WATCHETAKER
LITTLE RAVEN (ARAPAHO).....	GLEN LUMPMOUTH
POOR BEAR (APACHE).....	RALPH SPOTTED CROWN
GREY BEARD (CHEYENNE).....	CLARENCE TALLBULL
GREY BEARD (CHEYENNE).....	FLOYD MOSES

ABOUT THE 1967 PAGEANT:

"SCRAP OF PAPER" IS REENACTED IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 100<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE "MEDICINE LODGE TREATY" A PACT CONSIDERED THE CROWNING DIPLOMATIC EFFORT FOR THE PACIFICATION OF THE PLAINS, BUT LIKE ALL PREVIOUS TREATIES IT SOON BECAME A MERE "SCRAP OF PAPER" DUE TO FAILURE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO ACT WITH INTEGRITY IN FULFILLING THE PROMISE MADE IN THE TREATY AS A RESULT OF THIS LAST "SCRAP OF PAPER" THE PLAINS EVENTUALLY CAUGHT FIRE AND BECAME THE LAST BIG STAND OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN DEFENSE OF HIS NATIVE AND NATURAL RIGHTS TRIBES PRESENTED IN THE PAGEANT ARE THE

COMANCHE – KIOWA – CHEYENNE – ARAPAHO – APACHE – WICHITA – CADDO – DELAWARE – OSAGE – OTOE – PAWNEE

PRODUCTION STAFF — STAGE MANAGERS

LLOYD GOOMBI - BOBBY BEARD - TOM TOINTIGH - RAY BLACKBEAR

ANADARKO RIDING CLUB: SEVENTH CAVALRY

PROP MAN: WENDELL TSOODLE

**1968 The 37th American Indian Exposition August 12 - 17**

**Pageant Title: "Black Kettle's Massacre" ("Black Kettle's Death" was a variant title)**

Written and Directed by: Marcus Fuller

[The 35th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 12th, Wednesday, 14th, and Saturday, 17th of August.]

[NO SCRIPT IN EXPOSITION PROGRAM – NO SCRIPT LOCATED]

**1969 The 38th American Indian Exposition August 11 - 16**

**Pageant Title: "The Arrest and Death of Satank"**

Written and Directed by: Marcus Fuller

Pageant cast members included among others: Bill Boren, narrator; the Chickasha and Anadarko Roundup Clubs, Fourth Cavalry Troops; Gordon Howard, Col. Grierson; Floyd Moses, Satank (Sitting Bear); Virgiol Swift, Wichita and Clarence Tallbull, as Satanta (White Bear); [and] Rusty Wahkiney, [as] Kicking Bird; Collier Oyebi as Kicking Bird; Martin Weryackwe as Lone Wolf; also, Houston Sayerwinnie, as the young Matt Lepper; David Paddlety as Eagle Heart; Ewan Kaulaity as Big Bow; Joe Aitson as Fast Bear; Ozmun Parton as Caddo George; and, Bennie Toahty as Big Tree; (Sources: Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 68 No. 255, Wednesday, August 6, 1969; and Vol. 68 No. 260, Wednesday, August 13, 1969).

[The 36th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 11th, Wednesday, 13th, and Saturday, 16th of August.]

[NO SCRIPT IN EXPOSITION PROGRAM – NO SCRIPT LOCATED]

**1970 The 39th American Indian Exposition August 17 - 21**

**Pageant Title: "Drums and Feathers"**

Written and Directed by: Elton Yellowfish

Pageant Narrators: Ernest Old Shield, Edward Yellowfish and Arthur Thomas

[The 37th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 17th, Wednesday, 19th, and Saturday, 21st of August.]

[NO SCRIPT OR TITLE LISTED IN EXPOSITION PROGRAM – NO SCRIPT LOCATED]

**1971 The 40th American Indian Exposition August 16 – 21**

**Pageant Title: "American Indian – His Dance and Music"**

Written and Directed by: Edwin Horsechief, Pawnee [it is unclear whether this is the director, however, He presents the same pageant program in 1972. Press stories in 1971 did not name director of pageant]

[The 38th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 16th, Wednesday, 18th, and Saturday, 21st of August.]



PAGEANT

(Narrator will explain each dance as it is being performed)

PROCESSIONAL — The Pageant Cast

ROUND DANCE — The Pageant cast

STRAIGHT WAR DANCE — Otoe, Osage, Ponca, Pawnee

RABBIT DANCE — (children) Wichita, Apache, Comanche

WAR DANCE — The Pageant Cast

BELL DANCE — Caddo, Delaware, Wichita

WAR DANCE — The Pageant Cast

SNAKE DANCE and BUFFALO DANCE — The Pageant Cast

TWO STEP — The Pageant Cast

HORSE STEALING DANCE — The Pageant Cast

FANCY WAR DANCE — Feathered Costume Dancers

WAR DANCE — The Pageant Cast

SCALP DANCE — Women in Buckskin Dress Costume

GOURD DANCE — The Pageant Cast

VETERANS DANCE and SONGS — The Pageant Cast

RECESSIONAL — The Pageant Cast

**1972 The 41st American Indian Exposition August 14 – 19**

**Pageant Title: “The First American Music”**

Written and Directed by: Edwin Horsechief, Pawnee

[Note: The 39th Annual Pageant, a repeat of the 1971 Pageant, was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 14th, Wednesday, 16th, and Saturday, 19th of August. Note the slight change in title]

[NO PAGEANT SCRIPT IN EXPOSITION PROGRAM; SEE PREVIOUS ENTRY]

**1973 The 42nd American Indian Exposition August 13 - 18**

**Pageant Title: “The Ritual Dances of the Southern Plains Indians”**

Written and Directed by: James Chasenah – Comanche  
Assisted by: Linda Poolaw and Shirley Davilla

[The 40th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 13th, Wednesday, 15th, and Saturday, 18th of August.]

[NO SCRIPT IN EXPOSITION PROGRAM; NO SCRIPT LOCATED—For a pageant synopsis  
[See: “Pageant shows ritual dances” – Anadarko Daily News, Sunday, August 12, 1973]

**1974 The 43rd American Indian Exposition August 13 - 17**

**Pageant Title: “Recalling Yesteryear’s Dances” alternate “Recalling Yesteryear”**

Written and Directed by: Linda Poolaw – Delaware

[The 41st Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 13th, Wednesday, 15th, and Saturday, 17th of August.]

[NO SCRIPT IN EXPOSITION PROGRAM; NO SCRIPT LOCATED]

**1975 The 44th American Indian Exposition August 11 - 16**

**Pageant Title: “Our 200 Years”**

Written and Directed by: Linda Poolaw – Delaware

[The 42nd Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 11th, Wednesday, 13th, and Saturday, 16th of August.]

[NO SCRIPT IN EXPOSITION PROGRAM; NO SCRIPT LOCATED]

**1976 The 45th American Indian Exposition August 9 - 14**

**Pageant Title: “Spirit Voices of the Drums”**

Written and Directed by: Libby Littlechief  
Pageant Narrator: Ernest J. Old Shield – Seneca-Sioux

[The 43rd Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 9th, Wednesday, 11th, and Saturday, 14th of August.]

[NO SCRIPT LOCATED; See: ANADARKO DAILY NEWS, SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, Sec.3, 3]

**1977 The 46th American Indian Exposition August 15 - 20**

**Pageant Title: “Sacred Power of the Circle”**

Written and Directed by: Libbie Little Chief  
Pageant Narrator: Ernest J. Old Shield – Seneca-Sioux

[The 44th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 15th, Wednesday, 17th, and Saturday, 20th, of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN EXPOSITION PROGRAM; NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1978 The 47th American Indian Exposition August 14 - 19**

**Pageant Title: "Close Encounters of the Indian Circle"**

Written and Directed by: Libbie Littlechief

[The 45th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 14th, Wednesday, 15th, and Saturday, 19th, of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN EXPO PROGRAM – NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1979 The 48th American Indian Exposition August 13 - 18**

**Pageant Title: "The Old Ways of Our Grandfathers"**

Written by: Charles Wells, Jr.

Directed by: Martha Perez

Opening Prayer by: Sammy Tonekei White

[The 46th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 13th, Wednesday, 15th, and Saturday, 18th, of August]

[NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1980 The 49th American Indian Exposition August 11 - 16**

**Pageant Title: "Cultural Changes and the Indian Way"**

Written by: Charles Wells, Jr.

Directed by: Martha Perez

Pageant Narrator: Ernest J. Old Shield – Seneca-Sioux

[The 47th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 11th, Wednesday, 13th, and Saturday, 16th, of August]

[NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1981 The 50th American Indian Exposition August 24-29**

**Pageant Title: "Dancers of A Proud People"**

Written and Directed by: Charles Wells, Jr.

Directed by Sammy Tonekei White

Narrator: Ernest Old Shield

[The 48th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 24th, and Saturday, 29th, of August]

[NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1982 The 51st American Indian Exposition August 9-14**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by:

[The 49th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday]

[NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1983 The 52nd American Indian Exposition August 8 - 13**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by:

[The 50th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 8th, and Saturday, 13th of August.]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1984 The 53rd American Indian Exposition August 13 - 18**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by:

[The 51st Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 13th, and Saturday, 18th of August.]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1985 The 54th American Indian Exposition August 12 - 17**

**Pageant Title: "My Grandfather Was The One Who Said It"**

Written and Directed by: Georgette Palmer Brown

[The 52nd Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 12th, and Saturday, 17th of August.]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1986 The 55th American Indian Exposition August 18 - 23**

**Pageant Title: "The Pride and the Pleasure of Indian Dancing"**

Written and Directed by: Linda Poolaw

Pageant committee members: Joe "Fish" Dupoint, Marge Hudson, and Thomasine Moore

Narrator for 1931 Pageant remembrance reading: Hammond Motah

[The 53rd Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 18th, and Saturday, 23rd of August.]

According to the show's author and director, Linda Poolaw, this pageant was written in 1973 and 1974.

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

The following account by reporter Robert Medley, was reported in [Expo pageant thrills spectators here](#) from the Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 86 No. 4, and is transcribed here as it appeared in the newspaper story: “After each tribal princess was introduced, remembrances of the 1931 pageant were read by narrator Hammond Motah. Sammy Tonekei White of Yukon, master of ceremonies, announced the time for the Lord’s Prayer. The prayer was given in Indian sign language over the whizzing noises of the carnival background.”

“With a full moon looming in the east, the Kiowas entered the arena from the north toward the Comanche tribe coming from the south. The two lines came face-to-face before veering off and forming two adjacent spheres. The women broke into a half oval facing the audience while the men danced with crowd exciting energy in the center.”

“Each tribe was given its moment to shine under the arena lights. The tribes danced with traditional pride and formed unique patterns symbolic of their tribal customs.”

The Apache tribe presented a coyote skin costumed dancer with other figures from days long past. The Apache Fire dancers conjured the spirits of the crowd as they circled a burning cardboard box and performed their ritual dance. The single file line of fire dancers with black diamonds painted on their chests and traditional antennae-like headdresses flirted with the flames from the box without leaping into them.”

“Motah read an Apache legend of a blind man and a crippled man who came down from a mountain as a dance was performed in their honor.”

“The Caddo tribe offered a dance harmonious with nature and water. The swing dance gave the male members of the tribe a chance to choose a female dance partner. The women danced the Fish Dance in which they imitated the movements of a fish, giving blessings to the water. The Cozad family who handled the drums softened their beats for the Caddo dances.”

“After an Indian flute solo by a member of the Arapaho tribe, the Cheyennes exchanged war bonnets and a ceremonial staff. The Dogman, on leashes with bells, led the Comanche Tribe into the arena. Six warrior brothers carrying rifles placed chairs in a circle and protected the women from any enemies that might enter the arena. Firing blanks, the Comanches ended their presentation with a bang and a shower of sparks.”

“The tiny tot dancers introduced heart warming laughter with the popular rabbit dance. Running amuck until the drum beat started, the tots hopped like rabbits. All the Little Rabbits ended their dance time with low to the ground war dances.”

The entire cast participated in the two-step dance. Every warrior found a maiden for a partner. The Iowa and Kiowa tribes rampaged into the arena with hoping and hollering fancy war dances that drew cheers from the grandstand seats. An eagle dance, shield dance and hoop dance followed courtesy of the Indian City dancers.”

“When the Pawnee finished with their rendition of the straight dance, Ponca Indian John Williams placed a feather in the center of the arena. The object of the “Feather Dance” is to see if the dancer can pick up the feather in his mouth without losing his balance or missing a beat of the drum. Tiny Tot dancer Antoine LeClair picked the feather up and then, with some difficulty, he picked up a \$1 bill in his mouth without falling.”

“A tribute to the fancy war dance winners since 1941 ended the pageant. Motah read the list of names and the entire cast filled the arena. A spectacle of war dancers, princesses and tribal members in costume closed out the expo pageant...”

**1987 The 56th American Indian Exposition August 17 - 22**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by:

[The 54th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 17th, and Saturday, 22nd of August.]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1988 The 57th American Indian Exposition August 15 - 20**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by:

[The 55th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 15th, and Saturday, 20th of August.]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1989 The 58th American Indian Exposition August 7 - 12**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by:

[The 56th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 7th of August.]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1990 The 59th American Indian Exposition August 20-25**

**Pageant Title: "Clashing of the Spirits"**

Written and Directed by: Carl Cizek, Comanche

Narrator: Chris White

[The 57th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday,

"The theme of the pageant describes the three spirits inside the Indian people—the spirit of plenty, the spirit of culture and the spirit of self-determination" (Anadarko Daily News, Vol. 90 No. 6, 1990).

Opening Prayer: Nelson Big Bow

Kiowa Flag Song: Leonard Cozad

[NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1991 The 60th American Indian Exposition August 19 - 24**

**Pageant Title: "The Dance of Timeless Yesteryears"**  
(Theme of pageant is the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864)

Written and Directed by: Georgette Horse  
Assisted by Evalu Ware Russell (sign language), Sherri Hokeah,  
Vicki Little, Delores Two Hatchet, and the 50-member All American Indian Youth Choir

[The 58th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 19th and Saturday, 24th of August]  
See: Anadarko Daily News Vol. 91, No. 5 August 20, 1991 for pageant synopsis

[NO SCRIPT PRINTED IN PROGRAM, NONE LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1992 The 61st American Indian Exposition August 17 - 22**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by:

[The 59th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 17th  
Wednesday, 19th and Saturday, 22nd of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1993 The 62nd American Indian Exposition August 16 - 21**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by

[The 60th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 16th  
Wednesday, 18th of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1994 The 63rd American Indian Exposition August 15 - 20**

**Pageant Title: "From Grandfather's Past To Our Children's Future"**

Written and Directed by: Danieala Vickers, Lillie Pinnell and Dorla Goombi

[The 61st Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 15th  
Wednesday, 17th (cancelled due to rain) and Friday 19th of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1995 The 64th American Indian Exposition August 7 - 12**

**Pageant Title: "Grandmother Teach Me My True Path"**

Written and Directed by: Yevette Zotigh

[The 62nd Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 7th  
Wednesday, 9th and Friday 11th of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1996 The 65th American Indian Exposition August 5 - 10**

**Pageant Title: "Creator Help Us To Remember"**

Written and Directed by: Dorla Yeahquo

[The 63rd Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, 5th  
Wednesday, 7th and Friday 9th of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1997 The 66th American Indian Exposition August 4-9**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by:

[The 64th Annual Pageant was presented at 8:00 p.m. on Monday, and  
Wednesday]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1998 The 67th American Indian Exposition August 3 - 8**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by: Martha Koomsa Perez

[The 65th Annual Pageant was presented at 7:30 p.m. on Monday, 3rd  
Wednesday, 5th and Friday, 7th of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**1999 The 68th American Indian Exposition August 2 - 7**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by:

[The 66th Annual Pageant was presented at 2:00 p.m. on Monday, 2nd, and 7:30 p.m.  
Wednesday, 4th and Friday, 6th of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]



**2000 The 69th American Indian Exposition August 7 - 12**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by:

[The 67th Annual Pageant was presented at 7:30 p.m. on Monday, 7th, Wednesday, 9th and Friday, 11th of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**2001 The 70th American Indian Exposition August 6 - 11**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by:

[The 68th Annual Pageant was presented at 7:00 p.m. on Monday, 6th, and 7:30 p.m. on Wednesday, 8th and Friday, 10th of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**2002 The 71st American Indian Exposition August 5 - 10**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by

[The 69th Annual Pageant was presented at 7:30 p.m. on Monday, 5th of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]

**2003 The 72nd American Indian Exposition August 4 - 9**

**Pageant Title:**

Written and Directed by

[The 70th Annual Pageant was presented at 7:30 p.m. on Monday, 4th of August]

[NO SCRIPT IN AIE PROGRAM AND NO SCRIPT LOCATED ELSEWHERE]