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RECLAIMING THE PAST: DESCENDANTS' ORGANIZATIONS, HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS, AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY IN KIOWA SOCIETY

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RECLAIMING THE PAST: DESCENDANTS' ORGANIZATIONS, HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS, AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY IN KIOWA SOCIETY

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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To my Mother, JoAnn Batte Jordan,

and the memory of my Father, Paul Nelson Jordan

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures……....ix

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

Chapter 2 – “All they did was battle.” : Historical Consciousness..... 40

Chapter 3: “We’re Kiowa, we’re not just a face in the crowd.” : Kiowa Descendants’ Organizations 108

Chapter 4 – “If they didn’t sacrifice for us, none of us would be here.” : Cultural Performance Events 162

Chapter 5 – “It’s a family name.” : Kiowa Intellectual Property..... 210

Chapter 6: Conclusion..... 283

Bibliography 297

Appendix 1: Figures..... 316

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Portrait of Setangya (Sitting Bear) 316

Figure 2: Portrait of Sétthâide (White Bear) 317

Figure 3: Portrait of Guipago (Lone Wolf) 318

Figure 4: Poor Buffalo on an expedition against the Pawnee. 319

Figure 5: White Horse. 320

Figure 6: Tipi with Battle Pictures 321

Figure 7: Tohausan, wearing a war bonnet and carrying his shield, a bow, and arrows, reaches for his lance 322

Figure 8: Sétthâide at a Jáifègàu dance 323

Figure 9: White Horse captures a Navajo boy 324

Figure 10: White Horse in an engagement with Mexican teamsters 325

Figure 11: Jáifègàu meeting inside Sétthâide's *Red Tipi* 326

Figure 12: A meeting of the Áljóyì:gàu in Big Bow's *Tail Picture Tipi* 327

Figure 13: The Áljóyì:gàu processing to Big Bow's *Tail Picture Tipi* 328

Figure 14: Five men standing in front of Big Bow's Tipi. 329

Figure 15: Kendall Washburn at the 2009 Satanta Days event in Satanta, Kansas.. 330

Figure 16: Kendall and Betty Washburn. 331

Figure 17: One of the displays at the 2010 Setangya celebration. 332

Figure 18: The *Red Tipi* at the 2008 American Indian Exposition. 333

Figure 19: Cassandra Bointy Chasenah wearing a dress featuring her ancestors' tipi designs 334

Figure 20: Vanessa Jennings wearing a dress painted with scenes of her ancestor and relative's war deeds 335

Figure 21: Vanessa Jennings wearing a dress bearing a depiction of Guhlahee capturing a Mexican officer's red cape 336

Figure 22: Goule-hae-ee Descendants organization dance shawl. 337

Figure 23: Betty Washburn and Prenella Tongkeamha dancing at the 2009 Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society's dance.. 338

Figure 24: Mia Fisher, Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants' Princess. 339

Figure 25: Alan Yeahquo dancing at the 2009 Kiowa Gourd Clan celebration.. 340

ABSTRACT

At the core of recent research on heritage and historical consciousness is the premise that interpretations and representations of the past must be understood as rooted in the contemporary moment. This study addressed the ways in which heritage and historical consciousness are implicated in the social dynamics of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma by focusing on formal descendants' organizations, groups organized by descendants to commemorate their nineteenth century ancestors. Research focused upon identifying individuals' motivations for participating in descendants' organizations, documenting cultural performance events sponsored by these organizations, and examining the ways in which contemporary Kiowa people employ intellectual property as a means of visibly asserting their ties to prominent nineteenth century ancestors. Ultimately, research on Kiowa descendants' organizations has contributed to anthropological understanding of the ways in which heritage and historical consciousness are produced, deployed, accessed, and contested in comparatively small, but culturally distinct social settings, providing a much needed counterbalance to previous studies that have focused on their role in large scale nationalist and separatist movements.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In the summer of 2005, I received a call from a longtime Kiowa friend, informing me that a group of Kiowa elders were planning a trip to Palo Duro Canyon and inviting me to come along. Palo Duro Canyon is the site of an 1874 battle in which the U.S. military attacked and destroyed a Kiowa village. The Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, who was sponsoring archaeological investigations of the battle, had invited the elders to visit the site. Having made our way down to the canyon floor, we paused while one of the archaeologists pointed out the location of the trail the cavalry troopers had descended before launching their assault. Then we wound our way through the mesquite and cactus strewn landscape to an area that had been identified as the site of the Kiowa camp. Standing where their ancestors had stood a little over 125 years before, the elders faces grew grave and pensive. They listened quietly as an archaeologist described how McKenzie's attack unfolded. Afterwards, a woman, choked with emotion, explained that it was hard to think about what her ancestors had experienced that day.

The following summer, Martha Koomsa Perez invited me to attend the Hall-Zotigh Reunion. The reunion was scheduled for July 1, the day before the start of the Kiowa Gourd Clan's annual celebration. While I appreciated the invitation, I have to admit that as I pulled up at the Koomsa family's camp, I was a little nervous. Attending someone else's family reunion made me uneasy. I need not have worried though, as Martha introduced me as her guest and made me feel welcome. After an amazing meal, memorable for my introduction to kidney gravy, and much visiting, the heads of the various families took turns introducing their children and grandchildren. The members of the Hall-Zotigh families are descendants of the nineteenth century Kiowa warrior

Setangya (Sitting Bear), and as the reunion drew to a close, Martha asked two of the men present to "sing Setangya's song." I watched, and as the two men sang, Martha and several other women danced in place, tears streaming down their cheeks, singing along.

The events of those summers revealed to me the reverence in which many members of the Kiowa community hold their nineteenth century ancestors. I was struck by the powerful emotions evoked while standing in Palo Duro Canyon and the way that an ancestor's song could bring tears to an elder's eyes. It was inescapable; here were things that were profoundly meaningful to Kiowa people. These experiences motivated me to learn more about the ways in which members of the Kiowa community identify with this turbulent period in their history.

Folklorist Henry Glassie (1994:961) draws a distinction between the study of materials in the present, for example archaeological artifacts and historical documents, which is aimed at reconstructing past ways of life, and the study of the ways in which contemporary people remember and commemorate their community's past. He views the latter as an endeavor aimed at elucidating the social dynamics of contemporary communities. When Glassie (1994:961) writes about "studying historical constructions to learn why and how history is important to the living," or studying "the ways people construct understandings of the past in order to speak about culture in the present," he is describing research on historical consciousness. The study of historical consciousness is viewed as distinct from the study of history. While historical research seeks to reconstruct or elucidate events that occurred in the past, research on historical consciousness seeks to understand people's perspectives on the past. The term historical consciousness can be defined as "individual and collective understandings of the past, the

cognitive and cultural factors which shape those understandings, as well as the relations of historical understandings to those of the present and the future" (Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, University of British Columbia 2009).

A growing body of literature since the 1980s has focused on how indigenous groups view their historical experiences. In a chapter entitled "Other Times, Other Customs: The Anthropology of History," Marshall Sahlins (1985:34) observes "that different cultural orders have their own modes of historical action, consciousness, and determination – their own historical practice." Raymond D. Fogelson (1989:134) refers to the effort to understand "non-Western histories" and "forms of historical consciousness and discourse" as the "ethno-ethnohistorical approach." Fogelson (1989:134) notes that "Such an approach insists on taking seriously native theories of history as embedded in cosmology, in narratives, in rituals and ceremonies, and more generally in native philosophies and worldviews. Implicit here is the assumption that events may be recognized, defined, evaluated and endowed differentially in different cultural traditions."

Prominent nineteenth century warriors occupy a privileged place in the historical consciousness of the contemporary Kiowa community. The emphasis placed on these figures and their roles in clashes with the U.S. military reflect longstanding practices of recognizing and commemorating individuals' war exploits. Nineteenth century Kiowa society placed great emphasis on male martial achievement (Mishkin 1940:37; Richardson 1940:8, 14). This "martial ideology" remains an important aspect of contemporary Kiowa society (Meadows 1999:422).

Kiowa descendants' organizations are one manifestation of community members' interest in their nineteenth century ancestors' and their historical experiences, particularly their martial exploits. Formed by the descendants of prominent nineteenth century warriors to honor their ancestors, the organizations also seek to foster increased interaction among these historical figures' descendants. Partly because the Kiowa practice bilateral descent, the living descendants of each of these nineteenth century men number in the hundreds (Levy 2008:910). Each descendants' organization draws its members from among this broader pool of descendants, and it would be incorrect to equate the two. In effect, a descendants' organization represents a voluntary association in which a subset of the descendants of a specific nineteenth century figure chooses to participate.

My research focuses on three descendants' organizations: the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh (Society of White Bear's People). Each is organized with a governing board of officers. Furthermore, all three are chartered as 501(c) (3) nonprofit organizations within the state of Oklahoma. While a number of Kiowa families hold annual reunions, these are, for the most part, private rather than public affairs. In contrast, descendants' organizations frequently sponsor public events, including annual powwows.

While I directly address issues of transformation and change as they relate to the Kiowa system of intellectual property rights, discussed below, it occurs to me that my dissertation also provides an implicit account of changing gender relations in the Kiowa community. Admittedly, this is a topic that I did not set out to address. During my

fieldwork, I discovered that women provided the impetus and leadership that led to the establishment of the three Kiowa descendants' organizations discussed in Chapter 3 and that women continue to occupy key leadership positions in these organizations. For example, women occupy all of the offices in the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants organization. And, although men serve as the titular heads of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh, it was evident to me that their female relatives are equally involved in the organizations' decision making and operations. While I was well aware of the longstanding practice of Kiowa women celebrating their male relatives' martial exploits (Meadows 1999:127), I was struck by the fact that women occupied such formal and public leadership roles in these organizations. It is my intention to revisit this topic in the future, devoting to it the space and attention that it so richly deserves.

Women's efforts to recognize their nineteenth century warrior ancestors through the establishment of descendants' organizations resonate with the long established role of Kiowa women in honoring the martial achievements of their male kin. In the nineteenth century, following the return of a successful war expedition, one that had secured an enemy scalp and had not suffered any casualties, women would hold a scalp dance, during which scalps and other war trophies were displayed suspended from poles (Boyd 1981:61-63; Mishkin 1940:29-31; Mooney 1978:291). During these dances women sometimes wore their husbands' war bonnets and carried their weapons, a practice depicted in several late nineteenth century Kiowa drawings (Boyd 1981:62-62; Swan and Jordan 2011:147, 150). Women also honored warriors by ululating following the public recitation of their war deeds (Mishkin 1940:30).

In the twentieth century these practices were adapted to honor Kiowa men's service in the United States military. Kiowa women formed three service organizations, the Kiowa Victory Club, the Kiowa War Mothers, and the Purple Heart Club, dedicated to honoring and supporting Kiowa veterans (Lassiter 1998:87-88, 96; Meadows 1999:127-128). Discussing the organization of the Kiowa War Mothers, Eric Lassiter observes that "this is new, this is not a revival, per se, it's a fashioning of older ideals modified to reflect the twentieth century" (Ellis 2003:24). Clyde Ellis (2003:23) notes that with the advent of service organizations "women came to take new and active roles in powwow culture." I would argue that the Kiowa service organizations established a precedent for women assuming leadership roles in organizations that sponsor powwows and that this is reflected in the prominent role that women play in the leadership of Kiowa descendant organizations.

No single factor alone motivated the formation of Kiowa descendants' organizations. Members cite pride in their nineteenth century ancestors and emphasize their role as warriors. A desire to honor these historic figures, who are viewed as having sacrificed on behalf of the Kiowa people, is certainly one factor that underlay the formation of these organizations and that continues to motivate members' ongoing participation. Leaders and some members also express concerns regarding the potential loss of genealogical, historical, and cultural knowledge, as well as lagging participation in Kiowa cultural practices, problems that they view as, at least in part, linked to intermarriage and incorporation into the wage labor economy. In addition, members express a desire to emulate their ancestors' generosity by providing assistance to Kiowa people affected by adverse economic circumstances.

These diverse motivations shape the types of activities in which descendants' organizations engage. These activities fall into four principal categories: participation in reenactments and celebrations sponsored by non-Indian entities, sponsorship of powwows or dances, cultural preservation activities, and philanthropic endeavors. The organizations differ from one another with regard to which of these activities each currently chooses to emphasize. However, all three descendants' organizations sponsor annual powwows and co-sponsor dances with other organizations,

Annual dances, or powwows, sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations serve a multitude of functions. Dances strengthen kinship ties by bringing together descendants who may not have opportunities to interact on a routine basis. They also provide senior members with an opportunity to share genealogical information through public oratory and the display of genealogical charts. Dances also serve as arenas in which members emphasize their descent from prominent nineteenth century ancestors. This is accomplished partly through public oratory, but also through their use of intellectual property associated with these historic figures, a topic to which I return below. The very fact that these organizations sponsor dances is a reflection of their commitments to cultural preservation. Through these events, descendants' organizations promote certain practices, including the performance of Kiowa songs and dances and the use of the Kiowa language. In their public discourse, members and their representatives actively encourage the maintenance of these and other practices.

Outside of the context of their dances, Kiowa descendants' organizations' have employed other strategies to promote the preservation and perpetuation of cultural practices. For example, the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants have utilized the

organization's newsletter to encourage members to learn Kiowa (Washburn 1996:2). Members of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants have sponsored Kiowa language camps for youth. And members of Satethieday Khatgomebaugh have sponsored a symposium on cultural preservation in conjunction with the Oklahoma Historical Society (Satepauhoodle 2010; Satethieday Khatgomebaugh 2005).

Through their philanthropic outreach, descendants' organizations seek to reach beyond the bounds of their membership to address the needs of the broader Kiowa community. These philanthropic activities take various forms, including the distribution of food and clothing in conjunction with the organization's annual powwow, emergency assistance rendered on a case by case basis, and the sponsorship and co-sponsorship of benefit dances. The last is a subject that I found particularly intriguing. Benefit dances, or powwows, are held to raise funds for a wide variety of causes. One of the principal ways in which funds are generated at these dances is through the sale of raffle tickets. Co-sponsors support these dances, in part, by providing items to be raffled and purchasing raffle tickets. The amount of money that can be generated at these dances surprised me. Benefit dances that I attended routinely raised in excess of a $1,000 in the course of an afternoon and evening. While outside the focus of my dissertation, a thorough analysis of benefit dances and the role that they play in Indian communities in southwestern Oklahoma is overdue. It is a topic that I intend to address in my future work.

An important component of my research centers on the ways in which the members of descendants' organizations mobilize intellectual property associated with their nineteenth century ancestors. I focus on three specific forms of intellectual

property: personal names, war deeds, and tipi designs. To provide a comparative perspective, I include accounts of how members of the broader Kiowa community access and utilize their ancestors' intellectual property. Mobilizations of intellectual property have at times sparked competing claims, and I address the tensions that emerge in these situations. Ultimately, I document an ongoing shift in Kiowa conceptions of intellectual property rights, noting that forms of intellectual property, the rights to which were viewed as being vested in individuals in the nineteenth century, are being recast as the corporate or communal property of these individuals' descendants.

Throughout this work, I deliberately use the term intellectual property to describe Kiowa songs, personal names, shield and tipi designs, and war exploits. While not without its own entanglements, which I will address shortly, I believe the term more accurately describes the phenomena I am discussing than alternative terms, such as incorporeal property, intangible cultural property, or intangible cultural heritage. Robert Lowie (1928) uses the term incorporeal property to distinguish between immaterial possessions, such as songs or spiritual power, and physical or material possessions. Yet, my own research suggests that these two types of property are not as distinct as the term implies. Some forms of incorporeal property, most obviously shield and tipi designs, find expression in material form. Adopting the term incorporeal property might obscure the important linkages that exist between material culture and intellectual property in Kiowa society.

Alternative terms, including intangible cultural property and intangible cultural heritage have enjoyed widespread popularity since the 1990s. According to Michael Brown (1998:194), one of the premises underlying the notion of intangible cultural

property is that "An ethnic nation - a people, in other words - can be said to have enduring, comprehensive rights in its own cultural productions and ideas." The concept of intangible cultural property is most often invoked in the context of indigenous groups' struggles over the appropriation of their knowledge or expressive culture by non-indigenous actors. The term is inextricably linked to notions of group rights and intergroup conflict (Brown 1998:194-195). During the nineteenth century, the rights to the types of intellectual property that I discuss were viewed as being vested in individuals. Granted, the descendants of some nineteenth century Kiowa figures are now claiming corporate or collective ownership of their ancestors' intellectual property. However, an important distinction must be made; the rights to these historical figures' intellectual property are seen as being vested in their descendants, not the Kiowa nation as a whole. Furthermore, my analysis of the Kiowa intellectual property system focuses on intragroup, not intergroup conflict over intellectual property. The concept of cultural property, rooted as it is in notions of bounded collectivities and intergroup conflict (Brown 1998:194-195, 2005:45; Coombe 2009:406-407), seems ill suited to describe the Kiowa context, in which Kiowa individuals and families contest one another's rights to access intellectual property associated with their nineteenth century ancestors.

I am aware that in utilizing the term intellectual property I may be seen as implying the existence of a legal framework. Most readers will be at least nominally familiar with the Western intellectual property system as expressed in copyright, patent, and trademark law. However, my intent is to call attention to the existence of an alternative legal framework, the Kiowa intellectual property system, which community members refer to as the "Indian legal way" or "Kiowa legal way" (Jennings 2009;

Washburn 2009). There are profound differences between the manners in which the Kiowa intellectual property system and U.S. intellectual property laws treat intellectual property. As Candace Greene and Thomas Drescher (1994:432) note "Reflecting their distinct origins, the Kiowa and Anglo-American legal systems diverge radically with respect to certain fundamentals of intangible property ownership rights." In utilizing the term intellectual property to refer to Kiowa personal names and tipi designs, my intention is not to suggest similarities between the Kiowa intellectual property system and the U.S. intellectual property law, or the Western intellectual property regime of which it is a component, but rather to establish Kiowa customary law on an equal standing with them.

Descendants Organizations in Cross Cultural Perspective

Morris Foster notes the existence of descendants' organizations among the Comanche, identifying three organizations, the Chief Wild Horse Descendants, Wahnee Descendants, and Yellowfish Descendants, each of which he categorizes as among "the more prominent Comanche organizations" that sponsor dances (Foster 1991:147). Lassiter (1998:87) identifies three additional Comanche descendants' organizations: the Esa Rosa Whitewolf Descendants, Quanah Parker Descendants, and Lookingglass Descendants. Unlike Kiowa descendants' organizations, which focus on prominent warrior leaders of the pre-reservation period, Comanche descendants' organizations honor both pre-reservation and reservation era leaders. Foster notes that the commemorative aspects of these dances has waned and that they have come to function less as an arena for venerating ancestors than as family reunions and homecoming celebrations. He writes, "Over time, descendant powwows have become less focused on the memories of the specific ancestors for whom they are named and more generally

centered on all the members of a particular family" (Foster 1991:146). Foster focuses on the role these descendants' organizations play in sponsoring dances, and it is unclear if they are also involved in the kinds of cultural preservation and philanthropic endeavors in which contemporary Kiowa descendants' organizations are engaged.

Descendants' organizations also exist among the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho. For example, shortly after I started my PhD program, I learned of the Fort Marion P.O.W. Descendants. The organization was formed by Cheyenne and Arapaho individuals whose ancestors were arrested in 1875 for participating in the Red River War and subsequently exiled to Fort Marion in Saint Augustine, Florida. I met several members of the organization at the Cheyenne-Arapaho Labor Day Powwow in Colony, Oklahoma. When they learned that I was studying drawings that the prisoners had created at Fort Marion, they invited to present a talk at one of their meetings. The organization was committed to increasing community members' awareness of the Fort Marion episode and working with the National Park Service to influence interpretation at the fort, which is now a National Monument. In addition, the organization sponsored dances, several of which I attended. There was also talk of retracing the prisoners' journey to Florida and possibly producing a documentary film chronicling their story. Kiowa and Comanche warriors were also incarcerated at Fort Marion in 1875, and the leadership of the organization hoped that the descendants of these men would join and support the organization. However, this support did not materialize during the period in which I was involved with the organization (Jordan 2004, 2005).

John Moore (1987:263) mentions another descendants' organization, the Sand Creek Descendants' Association, albeit only in passing. The organization is comprised of

individuals whose ancestors were present at the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre. Lassiter (1998:88-89) explains that although the organization, which he refers to as the Sand Creek Massacre Descendants, sponsors dances, it's primary goal is to pursue litigation against the Federal government. The organization was still active in 2010 when I attended its annual dance in Anadarko, Oklahoma. As a consequence of intermarriage in the years since 1864, some of the descendants are not enrolled members of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. For example, several of my Kiowa consultants are members of the organization. In contrast to the Kiowa descendants' organizations considered here, each of which honors a prominent nineteenth century Kiowa warrior, the Sand Creek Massacre Descendants and Fort Marion P.O.W. Descendants focus on collective experiences. The organizations serve to integrate individuals whose ancestors shared certain historical experiences. While I have chosen to focus on Kiowa descendants' organizations in this work, my intent is to broaden the scope of my future research beyond the bounds of the Kiowa community and to adopt a more comparative perspective, one that will allow me to explore the role of descendants' organizations cross culturally.

The Kiowa

Kiowa oral tradition locates the tribe's first homeland in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Yellowstone River in western Montana. From here the Kiowa moved southeast, allying with the Crow and establishing themselves east of the Crow in the area of the Black Hills. After residing there a period, the Kiowa resumed their migration southward. Information collected by the Corps of Discovery in 1805 places the Kiowa

near the North Platte River (Levy 2001:907; Meadows 1999:33; Mooney 1979:153-154). However, as William Meadows (199:33) points out, the Kiowa began making forays onto the southern plains by the late 1700s.

The Kiowa were accompanied on their migration southward by the Plains Apache.[1] Levy (2001:907) notes that the alliance between the Kiowa and Plains Apache dates to 1700. However, Mooney (1979:156) describes their relationship as an "ancient" one, noting that the Plains Apache "came down with the Kiowa from the north, and neither tribe has any tradition of a time when they were not associated."

During the course of their migration the Kiowa adopted many of the traits typically associated with Plains Indian societies (Meadows 1999:34). The Kiowa acquired horses during the early eighteenth century, and this development fundamentally transformed their way of life. Horses enabled the Kiowa to pursue a nomadic lifestyle focused on bison hunting and raiding (Foster 1992:viii-ix; Levy 2001:907-908; Mishkin 1940:19-22). Wealth was measured in horses, which were obtained through trade or raiding and prominent Kiowa individuals amassed herds of 20-50 horses (Foster 1992:ix; Levy 2001:911; Mishkin 1940:19).

The Kiowa developed their own version of the Sun Dance - the Qáujó. The ceremony was held in the summer (Levy 2001:913; Meadows 1999:36). The primary purpose of the religious ritual was to secure the continued availability of the buffalo herds and success in warfare. During a four day portion of the ceremony, supplicants danced,

[1] The Plains Apache are frequently identified in the literature as the Kiowa Apache or Kiowa-Apache owing to their association with the Kiowa (Wightman 2009:29). Meadows (1999:35) notes that the Plains Apache refer to themselves as the Naishan Dene (Those Who Carry Things About or Stealers) and that Kiowa terms for the Plains Apache include Tàugûi (Sitting on the Outside) and Sé:mhát (Thieves). According to Wightman, members of the community prefer the terms Plains Apache and Apache. The Apache Tribe of Oklahoma is the name utilized by the tribal government (Wightman 2009:29).

fasted, and prayed. Their suffering was a form of sacrifice, offered in hopes of securing blessings for their families and for all Kiowa people (Kracht 1997:18-19; Scott 1911:345, 347, 353, 364-365; Swan and Jordan 2011:208-209 n.19)

The Kiowa tribe was composed of six named divisions (Meadows 1999:35). Jerrold Levy (2001:911) identifies these divisions as the "Biters, or Arikara, so called because they had an intimate trading relationship with the Arikaras; Elks; Kiowa proper who were perhaps the original nucleus of the Kiowa tribe; Big Shields;… Black Boys or Sendeh's children, the smallest division; and Pulling Up, who were said to have been exterminated by the Sioux." Each division was comprised of multiple residence bands (Levy 2001:911; Meadows 1999:36). Residence bands ranged in size from 20 to 80 members. The total number of residence bands likely fluctuated over time, but may have approached 40 (Levy 2001:911). An extended family formed the nucleus of each band, and the eldest brother from this family typically served as the band leader. Residence bands camped independently throughout most of the year, but gathered together for the Sun Dance. During the Sun Dance, the residence bands camped together, forming an extended camp circle. Each of the six divisions was assigned a space within which to camp. At this time, they were joined by the Plains Apache, who also had a designated space in the camp circle ((Levy 2001:911; Meadows 1999:35-36; Mooney 1979:156, 227-229).

Warrior societies were another important component of nineteenth century Kiowa social organization. The societies recruited their members from the different residence bands, increasing tribal cohesion (Meadows 1999:53). There were six Kiowa warrior societies, collectively referred to as Yàpfàhêgàu (Levy 2001:912; Meadows 1999:39;

Mooney 1979:229-230). Meadows (1999:41) lists them as the Pòláhyòp (Rabbits), Áljóyì:gàu (Wild Mountain Sheep), Chèjánmàu (Horse Headdresses), Tò:kó:gàut (Black Legs), Jáifègàu (Unafraid of Death or Skunkberries), and Qóichégàu (Sentinel Horses). The members of a seventh society, Cáuitémgòp (Kiowa Bone Strikers) were decimated in a battle during the eighteenth century and the society was never revived (Meadows 1999:39, 41). The societies were active during the period when the residence bands gathered for the Sun Dance, recruiting new members and holding dances and feasts. They also performed important functions during this period, principally policing the camp and overseeing the communal bison hunts (Levy 2001:912; Meadows 1999:38, 62-67, 72, 84-87; Mooney 1979:230).

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Kiowa struggled to maintain and protect their new homeland. When the Kiowa entered the central and southern plains they encountered members of the Comanche tribe. Following initial hostilities the two tribes established a lasting peace in approximately 1790 (Levy 2001:908; Mooney 1979:161-164; Nye 1962:3-9). Warfare with the Cheyenne and Arapaho followed in the 1830s. In 1840, the Kiowa and the Cheyenne and Arapaho made peace (Levy 2001:908; Mooney 1979:172, 271-276).

Kiowa raids into Mexico intensified starting in the 1830s (Levy 2001:908; Mooney 1979:164-165). External markets for horses, both native and non-native, likely fueled Kiowa raiding (Foster 1992:ix; Mooney 1979:165). An additional factor motivating raiding was the desire for captives to offset losses due to disease. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Kiowa were ravaged by several cholera and

smallpox epidemics. The 1849 cholera epidemic may have killed as much as 20 percent of the population (Levy 2001:921).

Social rank was a pervasive concern among nineteenth century Kiowa men, who struggled to elevate their status. Kiowa society was divided into four hierarchical levels. Bernard Mishkin (1940:37), who worked with Kiowa elders in the 1930s, notes that "These grades were not sharply demarcated; there was a gradual shading of one into the other." In decreasing order of prestige the four ranks were the *ôdé*, *ôdé:gùfà*, *káuàun*, and *dàufô*. The *ôdé* were characterized as possessing wealth and exceptional war records. Members of the *ôdé:gùfà* differed from the *ôdé* primarily in that they lacked the latter's accomplishments in war. The *káuàun* lacked the wealth of the *ôdé:gùfà* and relied on the generosity of their wealthier relatives. Finally, the *dàufô* were those branded as lazy and dishonest (Levy 2001:911; Mishkin 1940:35-37; Richardson 1940:14-15)

War deeds and social status integrally linked in nineteenth century Kiowa society. Mishkin (1940:37) states unequivocally that, "At the root of rank differentiation was war." Similarly, Jane Richardson (1940:14), a contemporary of Mishkin, notes that "the war-record was the single most important determinant of status in Kiowa life." It was a man's accomplishments in combat more than any other factor that determined his standing in Kiowa society. Many respected and relatively wealthy religious specialists were never recognized as members of the uppermost echelon of Kiowa society, because they lacked the requisite war honors (Mishkin 1940:36). Furthermore, when Kiowa men quarreled regarding their relative status, they inevitably made recourse to their war

records, attempting to demonstrate the superiority of their courage and martial prowess (Mishkin 1940:37; Richardson 1940:15-16).

During the 1860s and 70s, the Kiowa came into increasing conflict with the U.S. military and were eventually confined to a reservation (Haley 1976; Levy 2001:916-917; Nye 1968, 1969). The unchecked destruction of the bison by commercial hunters undermined the Kiowa subsistence base and eventually led to the destruction of the bison hunting economy (Levy 2001:916; Lookingbill 2007:33-34; Mooney 1979:344-345; Nye 1969:250). The ensuing decades were marked not only by severe food shortages, but also outbreaks of epidemic diseases (Mooney 1979:342, 362-363). The U.S. Federal government's assimilationist policies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century spawned efforts to prohibit Kiowa cultural practices, convert the Kiowa to Christianity, and transform them into sedentary farmers (Levy 2001:917-918; Mooney 1979:340). Yet, the reservation period was also marked by an increase in intertribal contact and visitation (Levy 2001:918).

Observing that the late nineteenth century was a time of "accelerated and often cataclysmic change," for Plains Indian communities, Daniel Swan (2008:317) notes that "the adoption of new religious forms often resulted from the conscious efforts of American Indians to adapt their traditional values and religious practices to these new circumstances and conditions." This was certainly true of the Kiowa, who adopted both the Ghost Dance and the Peyote Religion during this period (Levy 2001:917-918; Mooney 1979:221-222, 238-239; Swan 1999:4, 2008:317). In addition, two prophetic movements emerged from within the Kiowa tribe, each predicting the return of the bison (Boyd 1981:89; Kracht 1997:23; Levy 2001:917; Mooney 1979:350, 356; Nye 1969:266)

In 1892, representatives of the United States government met with members of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache tribes seeking to secure their assent to the provisions of the Jerome Agreement. According to the agreement, each member of the three tribes would receive a 160 acre allotment, and the remaining reservation land would be opened to non-Indian settlement. A stipulation in the 1867 Medicine Lodge Treaty required that any future land cessations be approved by seventy five percent of the adult male population of the tribes. While the delegation was able to secure the signatures of 456 men, it fell short of obtaining the requisite number of signatures. Furthermore, members of the three tribes protested that the signatories to the agreement had been deceived. Despite these protests, Congress ratified the Jerome Agreement in 1900. Discussing the implementation of the Jerome Agreement, Levy (2001:918) notes that "In 1901, two-thirds of the original 2,968,893 acre reservation was opened to non-Indian settlement; 551,680 acres were reserved as pasture for common use; 443,338 acres were allotted to 2,759 members of the three tribes." Allotment effectively signaled the destruction of the Kiowa land base.

Conditions for the Kiowa improved over the course of the twentieth century, although the early decades of the century were marked by rampant poverty. During this period, the Kiowa played a major role in the development of the powwow. The passage of the New Deal provided a measure of economic relief and enabled tribal members to more easily secure jobs with the Federal government (Levy 2001:919).

Mishkin argues that during the early twentieth century rank became divorced from individual achievement and instead came to be inherited. He writes that, "At the present time the rank system is completely frozen. The rank held by Kiowa families at

the end of the last century has become the fixed hereditary status of their descendants" (Mishkin 1940:53). In contrast, Levy argues that the criteria for social advancement did not change during this period. Wealth and martial achievement remained factors that determined a man's status, but before World War II it was difficult for Kiowa individuals to acquire either wealth or martial achievements. Even in the aftermath of World War II, few individuals were able to amass the necessary combination of wealth and war honors to achieve social mobility (Levy 1959:77-79). Levy (1959:80) maintains that as a result "social mobility is practically impossible and the hereditary onde perpetuate themselves as a caste, in effect if not in principle." During this period another transformation occurred. Individuals ceased to make distinctions between the four ranks discussed above and instead adopted a more general distinction between the ô̲dè and ká:uaùn (Levy 1959:77). Commenting on this change, Levy (2001:920) observes that, "The old ranking system became moribund, although families were often referred to as high ranking or commoner on the basis of descent alone, and the term for the lowest class was still used as a derogatory epithet." Tensions between the ô̲dè and ká:uaùn manifested themselves in tribal politics. Drawing on his own fieldwork, Meadows (1999:430 n. 24) notes that, "While all four [rank] terms are readily known by elders today, they usually only speak of ô̲dè (high status) and ká:uaùn (poor or pitiful) as general reference terms and not as designated social statuses." In the course of my own research, I encountered only a handful of elders who were familiar with the Kiowa terms for the four ranks. While individuals talked of being descended from "prominent" individuals or members of the tribal "aristocracy," few actually employed the term ô̲dè.

Kiowa service in World War II sparked renewed interest in Kiowa songs and dances associated with honoring warriors and numerous powwows were held to both send off and welcome home servicemen. In the late 1950s, the Kiowa revived the Gourd Dance, a dance associated with the Jáifègàu warrior society, and in 1957 they formally established the Kiowa Gourd Clan. The Gourd Dance emerged as an important expression of Kiowa ethnic identity. At approximately the same time, Kiowa veterans of World War II and Korea revived the Tò:kó:gàut (Black Legs) warrior society, establishing the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society in 1958, as an exclusively Kiowa veterans' organization (Meadows 1999:136-142, 145-146, 151-154). While a portion of the population migrated outside of southwestern Oklahoma in search of economic opportunities (Levy 2001:919) many of these individuals return for the annual ceremonials sponsored by the Kiowa Gourd Clan and Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society. Today, the headquarters of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma is located in Carnegie, Oklahoma.

Methodological Issues

Fieldwork for my dissertation was conducted over a two year period. Grants from the National Science Foundation, Wenner-Gren Foundation, and the Whatcom Museum Society enabled me to conduct sixteen months of full time fieldwork in southwestern Oklahoma. During this time, I conducted over one hundred interviews and documented over thirty cultural performance events, including dances, ceremonials, and hand games.

During my fieldwork, I rented a house in the rural area between Fort Cobb and Carnegie, Oklahoma. I had initially hoped to find housing in Carnegie but was

unsuccessful. In retrospect, the rental property was ideally situated, placing me within a relatively short drive to Carnegie, Anadarko, and Apache, the towns where the vast majority of my consultants lived and where the overwhelming majority of the cultural performance events sponsored by members of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma take place. Daily trips to these towns afforded me numerous opportunities for informal interactions with community members, whom I routinely bumped into at the post office, gas station, and grocery store.

I worked most closely with members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants. I had established contacts with members of the former before moving to southwestern Oklahoma. Shortly after my arrival Betty Washburn, the organization's founder, hosted a meal at her home for the explicit purpose of introducing me to several additional members of the organization. It took several months to schedule interviews with members of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants. However, following our initial interviews, Alinda Yeahquo Yellowhair, the founder of the organization, and her brother Alan Yeahquo greatly facilitated my research by providing introductions to other members of the organization. Working simultaneously with the members of these two organizations did not pose a problem. As I explain in Chapter 3, the two organizations enjoy an amicable relationship and routinely co-sponsor one another's dances. In contrast, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh was formed by individuals who broke off from the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, and the events precipitating the schism, as well as subsequent events, have led to tensions between the two organizations. Initially, I worried that attempting to cultivate contacts with members of Satethieday Khatgomebaugh might damage my existing relationships

with the members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants. Near the end of my fieldwork, I finally felt confident that my relationship with the members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants was secure enough that I could pursue interviews with members of Satethieday Khatgomebaugh without placing it in jeopardy.

Interviews

Much of the information presented here was collected in the course of semi-structured interviews conducted with members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh. These interviews focused upon the history of the organizations, the activities in which they engage, and individuals' motivations for participating in the organizations. Additional questions dealt with intellectual property associated with the interviewees' nineteenth century ancestors. The majority of these interviews were conducted with the founding members of the organizations and members who belonged to their generation. However, I also interviewed members of the subsequent generation, particularly those who have taken on leadership roles in the organizations.

For comparative purposes, I conducted interviews with members of the broader Kiowa community. The interviews explored the ways in which these individuals accessed their ancestors' intellectual property, as well as their understandings of the protocols governing the use of intellectual property. A portion of these individuals provided specialized expertise regarding specific forms of intellectual property. For example, singers were able to provide insights concerning the ways in which certain songs function as forms of intellectual property. In addition, several Kiowa powwow

emcees were interviewed to better understand their roles in the context of cultural performance events.

I conducted additional interviews in order to better understand which historical figures occupy a prominent place in the historical consciousness of contemporary members of the Kiowa community. During this phase, I utilized a free listing task to elicit the names of individuals whom participants felt had played an important role in Kiowa history. Following the completion of the free listing exercise, I conducted semi-structured interviews to determine the criteria participants employed in selecting historical individuals to include on their lists and to determine if participants included ancestors or family members on their lists. This phase of my research incorporated both members of the Kiowa descendants' organizations, the three identified above and Kiowa members of the Descendants of Troop L, 7th Cavalry, and members of the broader Kiowa community.

I also sought to explore how the published literature has shaped historical consciousness within the Kiowa community by identifying those published works that Kiowa individuals, both members of descendants' organizations and non-members, consult. In addition, I wished to ascertain how these works are viewed by members of the community. During this phase, I provided consultants with a list of publications on Kiowa history and culture and asked them to mark those publications that they owned or had read. Following the completion of the questionnaire, I conducted semi-structured interviews to determine the participants' assessments of the accuracy of these works. In addition, I asked participants to identify any publications for which they, one of their ancestors, or one of their relatives had served as a consultant. These interviews yielded

insights into the ways in which members of the Kiowa community engage with these works and the criteria that they employ in evaluating them.

Participant Observation and Audio Recording at Cultural Performance Events

As I mentioned above, I also conducted audio recording and participant observation at cultural performance events, including benefit dances, annual powwows, the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society and Kiowa Gourd Clan's ceremonials, and hand games. By not restricting myself solely to events sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations, I was able to identify those contexts in which community members evoke the memory of their nineteenth century ancestors and those in which they do not. Participant observation focused on the ways in which intellectual property associated with nineteenth century Kiowa individuals is employed in public settings. I documented protocols associated with family songs, as well as naming ceremonies. Cultural performance events also provided an opportunity to observe the display of material manifestations of intellectual property, including painted tipis. My analysis of these events also focused on public oratory. I was particularly interested in the discursive construction of heritage and historical consciousness and the use of traditionalizing discourse to bolster calls for the preservation and perpetuation of Kiowa cultural practices.

Kiowa Personal Names

Throughout this work, I reference prominent nineteenth century warriors whose stories dominate the historical consciousness of the Kiowa community. Deciding how to identify these men in the text posed a problem. Within the Kiowa community, these men are referred to interchangeably by both their Kiowa names and the English translations of

these names. Complicating matters is the fact that non-Kiowa authors have employed Anglicized versions of some of these names. Thus, a single individual may be identified by three different versions of his name. Adding to the confusion is the lack of uniformity in the way Kiowa names have been spelled in published works. Consider the Kiowa name that is translated as Little Bluff. Wilbur Nye (1962, 1968) renders the name Do-hauson, while John C. Ewers (1978:13) and Greene (1996; 2001) employ an alternative version, Tohausen. Furthermore, the Kiowa community has not adopted a standardized orthography. In addition to the multiple writing systems being taught in various Kiowa language classes, individuals often devise their own unique writing systems for personal use. Linguist Sean O'Neill coined the term "heterographia" to refer to situations such as this, in which a single language is represented by multiple, competing writing systems (Neeley and Palmer 2009:272). Amber Neeley and Gus Palmer Jr. (2009:293) observe that the Kiowa community displays a "relatively strong attachment to heterographia." The lack of a standardized Kiowa orthography and the proliferation of individualized writing systems contribute to a situation in which there is a lack of consensus regarding how specific Kiowa names should be written. All of these factors complicated my decision regarding how to identify these historical figures in my text.

Deciding how to reference the nineteenth century Kiowa warrior White Bear proved especially challenging. Both the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh are descendants' organizations that honor this individual. Satanta is an Anglicized version of the Kiowa name White Bear, and it is this version of the warrior's name that appears in numerous historical documents and subsequent publications (Ewers 1978:19; Nye 1968; Mooney [1898] 1979:206) and that the

organizers of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants choose to utilize. However, when referencing their ancestor, members of the organization frequently employ the Kiowa pronunciation of his name, which is variously rendered as Set-tainte or Set'-tein'te in the organization's newsletters (Washburn 1992:2, 1995:2). Satethieday is the alternate spelling that has been adopted by members of Satethieday Khatgomebaugh (The Society of White Bear's People) (Lassiter 2002:134, 1998:167; Tanedooah 2010).

In referring to these two organizations, I utilize their official names: the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh, respectively. In deciding how to refer to the historical figure White Bear, I had several options. I could utilize "Satanta," however in doing so I would run the risk of alienating members of Satethieday Khatgomebaugh. Conversely, if I adopted the spelling "Satethieday," the spelling preferred by members of Satethieday Khatgomebaugh, I might offend members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants. Utilizing only the English translation of his name, "White Bear," seemed equally unsatisfactory. Therefore, I decided to render his Kiowa name in the writing system developed by Kiowa linguist Parker McKenzie – Sétth<u>á</u>ide (Meadows and McKenzie 2001; Neely and Palmer 2009:282-286). Admittedly, this writing system is not employed by the members of either organization. That said, it accurately captures the tonal qualities of the Kiowa language (Neely and Palmer 2009:286). Furthermore, it provides an alternative to having to select one of the variants preferred by the two organizations. In interviews and public oratory, consultants varied with regard to whether they employed the Kiowa or Anglicized pronunciations of White Bear's name. In quoting their speech, I have rendered the former in Parker McKenzie's

system (Séttháide) and the latter as Satanta. When consultants have utilized the English translation, White Bear, I have followed their example.

My treatment of other Kiowa names deviates slightly from this model. Because less disagreement surrounds the spelling of these names, I have not felt the need to render them in the Parker McKenzie system. Instead, I have utilized the spellings provided by my consultants, some of whom have adopted spellings utilized in published sources. Consequently, readers will notice that Kiowa names appear in different formats, for example some names are written with hyphens separating the words that comprise the name, while others are not. These differences reflect contrasting preferences among my consultants. This variation also accurately reflects the state of heterographia that characterizes the contemporary Kiowa community. Rendering all the Kiowa names in this work in the Parker McKenzie writing system would imply the existence of a consensus within the Kiowa community regarding how Kiowa should be written that does not exist.[2] Consequently, in referring to descendants' organizations, I have utilized the organizations' official names. When not quoting a consultant or a published source, I alternate between identifying individuals by their Kiowa names rendered as described above and English translations of their names. In transcribing my consultants' statements, I follow their usage, employing either English translations of Kiowa names, Anglicized versions of Kiowa names, or Kiowa pronunciations, the last written in

[2] Some members of the Kiowa community are adamantly opposed to the adoption of the Parker McKenzie writing system. Several elders indicated to me that they felt that the system was confusing. And Neely and Palmer (2009:289) point out that, "Parker McKenzie's association with the University of Oklahoma and his later distinction as a Ph.D. as well as his professional connections with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and his culturally mixed family history are mentioned as factors by community teachers who discount his system."

accordance with my consultants' instructions or in the absence of such instructions in a manner utilized in the published literature.

Considerations of Scale

I use the term powwow and dance interchangeably to refer to events sponsored by descendants' organizations, in which the performance of Kiowa songs and dances is central. In doing so, I follow the practice of my consultants. However, at the outset, I want to make a distinction between the type of events that Kiowa descendants' organizations sponsor and other celebrations to which the term powwow is applied. As Lassiter notes, "Most Americans are familiar with the contest powwow and its fair like atmosphere. These contest powwows, however, are radically different from the dances in Plains communities" (Lassiter 1998:98). The difference is, in part, one of scale (Kavanaugh 1992:115; Wightman 2009:34 n.5).[3] Lassiter (1998:98) draws a distinction between the "small-scale powwows" held in rural, southwestern Oklahoma and "large-scale contest powwows," noting that the latter attract thousands of participants.[4] The descendants' organizations' dances that I witnessed were attended by 200 - 300 people. In their analysis of Northern Plains powwows, Patricia C. Albers and Beatrice Medicine (2005:28) echo Lassiter's observations about the Southern Plains powwow, making a similar distinction between what they refer to as "the 'in-group' versus the 'Pan-Indian,' or intertribal, powwow."

[3] Abigail Wightman (2007:34 n.5) observes that members of the Plains Apache community also uses the term "powwow" to refer to events that vary greatly in terms of scale, noting, however, that smaller events are sometimes referred to "simply as dances."

[4] Attendance at the largest of these intertribal contest powwows sometimes exceeds 25,000 people, prompting Albers and Medicine (2005:35) to refer to these events as "mega-powwows."

Yet, scale is not the only difference between the large, intertribal, contest powwows and the dances Kiowa descendants' organizations sponsor. For the most part, contest powwows take place in urban settings. They also tend to be fairly commercialized affairs, charging spectators an entrance fee, marketing souvenirs emblazoned with the powwow's logo, and featuring scores of vendors (Albers and Medicine 2005:39, 41-42; Lassiter 1998:98). The dances sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organization are held in rural southwestern Oklahoma. During my fieldwork, the organizations held dances at the Kiowa Tribal Complex in Carnegie and at the Comanche Community Building in Apache. None of the organizations charge an entrance fee, and they all make a point of feeding their guests by providing a free dinner. In these respects, dances sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations conform to Lassiter's (1998:98) description of "small-scale powwows" and Albers and Medicine's (2005:28) characterization of "in-group" powwows.

Lassiter notes that dance contests are sometimes held in conjunction with smaller scale powwows in southwestern Oklahoma (1998:98). During my fieldwork, the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants sponsored several dance competitions at their powwow in an effort to attract additional dancers and boost attendance. In the past, the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants employed a similar strategy (K. Washburn 2009). Yet, even when descendants' organizations sponsor dance competitions the prize money that they offer has been modest in comparison to that offered at larger contest powwows. In 1994, the Red Earth Powwow, a large contest powwow held in Oklahoma City, offered $50,000 in prize money (Lassiter 1998:98). And advertising for the upcoming 2012 Gathering of

Nations Powwow, an annual powwow held in Albuquerque, New Mexico, promises $200,000 in prize money (Gathering of Nations 2011).

Furthermore, Lassiter (1998:98) observes that the popularity of the Gourd Dance in southwestern Oklahoma is a major factor that distinguishes dances in this area from larger contest powwows, observing that since the 1970s and 1980s, the Gourd Dance has eclipsed the War Dance in popularity.[5] While the War Dance and the men and women's dance styles associated with it are central to the contest powwow, descendants' organizations' annual dances may omit them entirely. For example, I have attended each of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants' annual dances since 2008 and each has featured an all Gourd Dance program. Satethieday Khatgomebaugh and the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants have recently sponsored both all Gourd Dance programs and split programs that feature both Gourd Dancing and War Dancing (Jordan 2009, 2010). For example, the 2008 Satethieday Khatgomebaugh Powwow flyer advertised a split program, while the organization's 2009 Powwow flyer showcased an all Gourd Dance program (Satetheiday Khatgomebaugh n.d.). Even when the program includes both Gourd Dancing and War Dancing, more time is typically devoted to the former than the latter. Often, the afternoon portion of the program is devoted exclusively to Gourd Dancing and the evening program features an hour or more of Gourd Dancing followed finally by War Dancing.

The most salient difference between the large scale, intertribal, contest powwows and those sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations relate to the protocols that govern the events and the particular axes of identity that each emphasizes. According to

[5] Foster (1991:203 n.59), discussing the relative importance of the War Dance and Gourd Dance in the Comanche community, notes that "for purposes of community participation, gourd dancing is the more significant form."

Lassiter (1998:98), "Contest powwows are usually held in urban areas where several different, transported powwow worlds intersect and create an altogether larger and separate Native American community revolving around a combination of traditions unique to the contest powwow." In Lassiter's view, intertribal, contest powwows represent an arena in which diverse cultural practices have combined to form a unique amalgamation. Similarly, Albers and Medicine (2005:41) argue that "the small, in-group powwows still celebrate family ties and local community links within tribally distinctive discourses, whereas the intertribal powwows speak to a more broadly based, widely shared sense of identity in which relationships cut across tribally diverse communities to articulate a regional and, increasingly, a national culture of celebration among American Indian people." Thus, intertribal powwows are viewed as promoting pride in a general Native American or American Indian identity rather than tribally specific identities, while local, or in-group powwows emphasize and bolster tribally specific identities and kinship ties.[6]

Overview of Chapters

The following four chapters can be conceived of as four concentric circles. Moving from the outer circle (Chapter 2) to the inner circle (Chapter 5), the focus of analysis grows increasingly tighter. In Chapter 2, I explore issues of historical consciousness and examine how members of the contemporary Kiowa community

[6] Ellis cautions against overemphasizing the extent to which intertribal powwows obscure tribally specific identities and practices. While acknowledging that "certain shared practices, assumptions, and values permeate powwow culture," he argues that "even at the most intertribal of powwows, there are actions taken, songs rendered, rituals engaged in, and beliefs affirmed that maintain their efficacy according to tribally specific ways" (Ellis 2003:171).

remember the tribe's violent encounter with colonialism during the late nineteenth century. Then, in Chapter 3, I examine Kiowa descendants' organizations, whose members comprise a subset of the broader Kiowa community. In Chapter 4, I analyze performance events sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations. Finally, in Chapter 5, I examine descendants' mobilizations of intellectual property associated with their nineteenth century ancestors, focusing on how certain types of intellectual property are objectified in material form and deployed in the context of cultural performance events. Thus, in each consecutive chapter I adopt a successively narrower frame. In the conclusion, I situate my analysis of Kiowa descendants' organizations within the context of broader theoretical concerns.

Prominent nineteenth century warriors occupy a privileged place in the historical memory of many contemporary Kiowa people. I identify several factors that have likely fueled community members' interest in these figures, including the fact that the majority of the published literature on the Kiowa focuses on the nineteenth century, which is itself a product of early ethnologist and anthropologists' infatuation with pre-reservation Plains Indian societies and historians' interest in Southern Plains military campaigns. However, I argue that the emphasis that contemporary community members place on biographic accounts of warriors' exploits reflects longstanding Kiowa practices associated with commemorating men's martial accomplishments. Many community members are critical consumers of the historical and ethnographic literature on the Kiowa, and I address this point, describing how individuals evaluate and utilize these works. In the remainder of the chapter, I investigate contemporary Kiowa narratives that focus on the exploits and experiences of prominent nineteenth century warriors, arguing that these narratives

constitute a form of counter memory, one that contests published depictions of Kiowa warriors as unduly violent and substitutes in their stead the image of men fighting in defense of their families and way of life.

While narratives concerning prominent nineteenth century warriors and their clashes with the U.S. military constitute an important component of Kiowa historical consciousness, they are not, of course, the sole component. Broadly construed, Kiowa historical consciousness concerns community members' views and opinions regarding an almost limitless array of historical events and actors. One aspect of Kiowa historical consciousness concerns the Native American Church and how individuals remember and commemorate historical figures involved in the formation of the religion and its transmission to other indigenous communities. Another facet is the way in which community members remember the introduction of Christianity. Based on my own experiences, individuals provide vastly different accounts of this episode. Some people point out with evident pride that their ancestors were among the first converts to Christianity and speak fondly of early Anglo missionaries, while others recall with resentment the fact that their ancestors were ostracized and condemned by missionaries and converts for their commitment to Kiowa religious and cultural practices.

By focusing on the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh, and the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants and tracing the origin of each organization, I demonstrate that each was formed, at least in part, in response to the perceived endangerment of Kiowa cultural practices.[7] Analysis of the activities in which

[7] Other Kiowa descendants' organizations have been active in the past. Lassiter (1998:87) includes the Stumbling Bear Descendants in a list of organizations active in sponsoring powwows in southwestern Oklahoma. However, the organization does not appear on a similar list compiled by Rhonda Fair. Fair's (2007:251-252) list includes organizations that sponsored dances between

the three organizations have engaged reveals a focus on promoting the preservation and perpetuation of cultural practices, as well as genealogical and historical knowledge, sponsoring dances, and engaging in philanthropic endeavors. A comparison of the three organizations' pursuits reveals both similarities and differences in their respective agendas.

Although, I interviewed members of the Descendants of Troop L, 7th Cavalry and actively participated in the organization's activities during my fieldwork, I ultimately decided that the organization differed in so many respects from the Kiowa descendants' organizations considered here that it represents a distinct phenomenon, one deserving of treatment in its own right. The membership of the organization is drawn from the descendants of Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache men who served as scouts at Fort Sill or who enlisted in Troop L of the 7th Cavalry, an all Indian cavalry unit organized at Fort Sill in 1891. Consequently, the membership of the organization includes not only members of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma, but also members of the Comanche Nation and Fort Sill Apache Tribe. Because the Descendants of Troop L is not comprised of the descendants of a single historical figure, as the Kiowa descendants' organizations are, the organization's members do not share the kinship ties that serve to integrate the members of each of the three Kiowa organizations. Furthermore, unlike the descendants' organizations considered in Chapter 3, which were organized by members of the Kiowa community, the Descendants of Troop L was organized by Towana Spivey, former

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2002 and 2007. This suggests that the Stumbling Bear Descendants were not active during this period. Nor were they active during the course of my fieldwork. The Goule-Hae-ee Descendants appear on Fair's list, indicating that they were active between 2002 and 2007 (Fair 2007:251). Yet, they were no longer sponsoring dances by the time I began my fieldwork. My decision to focus on the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh stemmed from the fact that they were the most active descendants' organizations in the Kiowa community when I initiated my research.

curator of the Fort Sill Museum and was envisioned as a volunteer organization that would support the museum's mission. In future research, I intend to explore the Descendants of Troop L both as an example of a unique museum and community partnership and as a counterpoint to the Kiowa descendants' organizations that I focus on here.

Kiowa society is comprised of a number of social institutions, of which descendants' organizations are only one manifestation. Other voluntary associations include religious organizations, such as Christian congregations or the Kiowa Chapter of the Native American Church (Lassiter 1998; Swan 1999:21). There are also a host of Kiowa organizations that sponsor dances. One could also include Indian softball teams and hand game teams under this broad rubric (Lassiter 1998:76, 87). Each of these organizations, despite the obvious and significant differences between them, provides a context in which individuals engage in social interaction.

I examine cultural performance events sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations, focusing on the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants' 2009 dance and the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants' 2009 and 2010 dances, as well as a 2010 commemorative ceremony that the descendants of Setangya (Sitting Bear) organized to honor their ancestor. This last event may well mark the birth of a nascent descendants' organization. In these contexts, public discourse, material culture, and songs serve as mediums through which descendants honor their nineteenth century ancestors, stress their ties to these historic figures, and promote the perpetuation of Kiowa cultural practices. This latter goal is achieved largely through the discursive process of traditionalization (Bauman 1992a:136-137, 140-141; Jackson 2003b:8-9; 2007:38).

While I focus on events sponsored by descendants' organizations, these are certainly not the only cultural performance events that occur in the Kiowa community. A host of other organizations and families sponsor dances. These may be benefit dances or more elaborate annual celebrations (Lassiter 1998:88). Nor are dances the only performance events in which Kiowa people engage. Hand game tournaments are held throughout the winter. And in early November, a delegation from the Crow Nation typically visits Oklahoma to play hand game with the Kiowa and other Southern Plains tribes (Jordan 2009). In addition, music plays a prominent role in the religious life of the Kiowa. Religious services within the Kiowa community often entail the performance of distinct genres of songs (Lassiter 1998:208). The singing of peyote songs is an integral component of the worship services or "meetings" conducted by members of the Native American Church. Throughout the all night service, participants take turns singing peyote songs to the accompaniment of a gourd rattle and a water drum (Swan 1999:27, 29). Kiowa converts to Christianity have composed numerous hymns that combine Kiowa tunes and lyrics. The hymns are sung during worship services, prayer meetings, and "hymn sings" (Lassiter et. al. 2002; Lassiter 1998:143, 145).

Finally, I analyze descendants' efforts to access their nineteenth century ancestors' intellectual property. After exploring descendants' assumption of their ancestors' personal names, I examine the production and display of material manifestations of intellectual property, including painted tipis and visual representations of nineteenth century warriors' exploits. The recent incorporation of tipi designs into new media, including beadwork and cloth appliqué is also addressed. I compare protocols governing the use of intellectual property in nineteenth century Kiowa society

with contemporary practices to demonstrate that the Kiowa system of intellectual property rights is in the midst of a historic transformation. Intellectual property rights that were once vested in individuals are being recast as the shared property of these historical figures' lineal descendants.

While I address the ways in which martial exploits and tipi designs are represented in material form, there are large domains of material culture that lie outside the scope of my study. Swan notes the existence of a vibrant artistic tradition associated with the Native American Church that incorporates featherwork, beadwork, wood carving, metalwork, and painting. Artists produce a wide variety of objects, including ritual instruments utilized in Native American Church services, jewelry inspired by the iconography of the religion, and easel paintings for the art market (Swan 1999:37, 40-42, 44, 46, 58-59, 62-64, 77-81). Furthermore, I attend to dance clothes and powwow regalia only in so far as they incorporate depictions of individuals' ancestors' war deeds or tipi designs. Consequently, I do not address another form of intellectual property that manifests itself in material form, geometric and curvilinear beadwork designs that are transmitted from generation to generation within Kiowa families (Jennings 2000:96). Admittedly, the material manifestations of intellectual property that I concern myself with constitute only a subset of the artistic production of members of the Kiowa community. However, these objects serve as an important means by which individuals signal their descent from prominent nineteenth century ancestors.

In the conclusion, I take a broader view and consider how the analysis of Kiowa descendants' organizations can inform anthropological understandings of heritage and historical consciousness. I situate Kiowa descendants' organizations within the context

of what Beverley Butler (2006:475) has termed the "indigenization of heritage," a global trend in which indigenous communities are asserting their authority to interpret their histories. Adopting a comparative perspective allows me to demonstrate similarities between the way in which historical consciousness manifests itself in Kiowa society and the manners in which other societies recall their own histories of violent struggle with external forces. Furthermore, I explicate the ways in which study of the ongoing transformation of the Kiowa intellectual property system can contribute to our understanding of other indigenous intellectual property system, most notably those being revived after long periods of dormancy. I conclude by arguing that the analysis of Kiowa descendants' organizations provides a counterpoint to previous studies of mobilizations of heritage and historical consciousness, one that suggests that scholars should temper their tendency to view such movements as inherently integrative.

Chapter 2 – "All they did was battle." : Historical Consciousness

In this chapter I situate the descendants' organizations within the broader context of the contemporary Kiowa community's relationship to its past. I begin by exploring contemporary expressions of historical consciousness and identifying those figures who dominate the community's memory. I then seek to demonstrate that the prominence of nineteenth century warriors in the historical consciousness of the contemporary Kiowa community is a reflection of the on-going reproduction of Kiowa society. In the process, I identify practices that nineteenth century Kiowa employed to record events, focusing on the creation of pictographic calendar histories, graphic art, and personal names inspired by martial exploits. Having considered nineteenth century Kiowa forms of record keeping, I address the historical and anthropological literature on the Kiowa. My interest here is in contemporary community members' consumption of these works, and I therefore pay careful attention to how community members evaluate these publications and utilize them in the context of their own projects.

In the second half of this chapter I focus on contemporary Kiowa narratives This leads to a consideration of these narratives as a form of "counter hegemonic memory" (Butler 2006:xx). Many of the Kiowa people with whom I worked rejected official versions of their history, providing alternative accounts and interpretations. For example, consultants frequently objected to how their nineteenth century ancestors have been depicted in published works, condemning portrayals of their ancestors as violent marauders requiring pacification, and emphasizing instead that they fought to defend their land, their families, and their way of life. In addition to redefining the root causes

and overarching meaning of the violent clashes of the 1860s and 1870s, Kiowa people provide alternative accounts of specific historical events. These counter-narratives provide a means by which members of the Kiowa community assert their right to interpret their ancestors' experiences.

Dominant Figures in Kiowa Historical Consciousness

Those figures that occupy the most prominent place in Kiowa historical consciousness share certain factors in common. They are all males who occupied leadership positions, having been band leaders, officers in warrior societies, or both. All are also remembered as having been warriors, each having on one or more occasions fought against the United States military. All but Tohausan, who died in 1866 (before the schism of the Kiowa into the so called "peace" and "war" factions) are associated with the portion of the tribe that advocated armed resistance to Anglo encroachment and U.S. government domination.[8] Furthermore, they are all individuals who died in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The events of the late nineteenth century and the Kiowa men who were active in tribal affairs during this period dominate the historical consciousness of the Kiowa community, providing an excellent example of what Raymond Williams (1961:50-52) terms a "selective tradition," one in which only certain time periods and individuals are singled out for commemoration. Discussing the concept of a "selective tradition," Dan Ben-Amos (1984:114) notes that scholars "have come to the conclusion that society does

[8] Multiple Kiowa individuals bore the name Tohausan during the nineteenth century (Greene 1996). Here I am referring to the individual who served as the principal chief of the Kiowa between 1833 and 1866. Whenever the name Tohausan appears in the text it is to this figure that I am referring. For a thorough discussion of this historic figure and the men who subsequently carried his name, see Greene (1996).

not treat tradition passively; often it creates its own tradition through the selection of historical events and heroes…" Sherman Chaddlesone recalled that elders with whom he had spoken had commented on the prominence of nineteenth century leaders in Kiowa historical consciousness, noting the existence of generations of Kiowa figures who had provided leadership in the preceding years, including during the tribe's migration from the Northern to the Southern Plains, who have received no recognition.

> [T]hey had pointed out that the ones that, the leadership that we're familiar with and a lot of people look up to, hold up and elevate in their family lines and all that, they're fairly recent actually. And these others… They figured approximately twenty five generations starting out about the year 1600 down to our record in this area, Tohausan, all those other chiefs. They thought maybe twenty or twenty five generations of leaders before them, during that movement. [Chaddlesone 2010]

Tellingly, when asked to identify individuals whom they felt had played a prominent role in Kiowa history, only two of my consultants identified figures from before the nineteenth century. Two men identified the leaders who served during the Kiowa migration to the southern plains. In addition, one of these men also listed "the first horse owner in the north." The names of these individuals are lost to history, and they were identified by reference to their accomplishments.

A distinction must be made between those historical figures whose images and stories are fairly widely known throughout the Kiowa community and those whose biographies are, for the most part, unfamiliar to all save their lineal descendants. The former include individuals such as Tohausan (Little Bluff), Sétthái de (White Bear), Setangya (Sitting Bear), and Guipago (Lone Wolf). These individuals are afforded a status akin to national heroes. As Ernest Toppah, former director of the Kiowa tribal

museum, once explained to me, "Sétthái de and Setangya, they're like our George Washington, our Abraham Lincoln" (Jordan 2000). Another man stressed that, "Every Kiowa should know who Sétthái de and Setangya are. Every Indian should know who they are" (Jordan 2005). While community members typically confined their remarks to their own ancestors' deeds, a number of individuals praised these figures, even in the absence of any kinship connection. For example, Dorothy Whitehorse DeLaune (2009) recalled that her father, Charlie Whitehorse, used to sing Setangya's song every morning.

Three of these figures were arrested by the U.S. military, and two died while in custody. Setangya (Fig. 1) and Sétthái de (Fig. 2), along with Big Tree, were arrested at Fort Sill in 1871. Setangya was subsequently killed while the military was transporting him to Jacksboro, Texas for trial (Mooney 1979:188, 328-330; Nye 1969:142-147). Sétthái de was eventually released, only to be incarcerated again in 1874. He died in 1878 in the penitentiary in Huntsville, Texas (Mooney 1979:206-207; 337, 343; Nye 1969:168-175, 219-220, 255). Lone Wolf (Fig. 3) was among 27 Kiowa men arrested following their surrender in 1875 and exiled at Fort Marion in Saint Augustine, Florida until 1878 (Earenfight 2007:13, 17; Mooney 1979:215-216; Nye 1969:231, 252, 255; Petersen 1971:119).

While it is evident that the leaders of the nineteenth century Kiowa resistance occupy a prominent place in the historical consciousness of contemporary Kiowa people, explaining how they achieved this prominence is a more difficult task. One cannot dismiss the role played by early ethnologists and historians who worked with the Kiowa and their preoccupations with nineteenth century Kiowa life. James Mooney conducted research among the Kiowa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and is

best known for his study of Kiowa pictographic calendars (Ewers 1978:8, 10, 1979:xii-xiii; Greene 2001:192, 201). The earliest entry in the calendars Mooney studied was for the winter of 1832-1833, therefore the information that he collected focused primarily on events that transpired after this date (Ewers 1979:x-xi). A number of anthropologists worked with members of the Kiowa community during the late 1920s and 1930s.[9] Motivated by a desire to reconstruct Kiowa social organization and cultural practices from the preceding century, these scholars interviewed community members regarding their memories of this earlier period. Consequently, much of the published material on the Kiowa focuses on the latter half of the nineteenth century (Parsons 1929; Mishkin 1940; Richardson 1940; Marriott 1945). Eva Williams (2010) recognized this factor, observing that, "Everything that's written about the Kiowa takes place between here and down in Texas and it's all that latter part when we were brought, when we were finally down here and in this area and then brought into [Fort Sill]."

In addition, a spate of books has been published on the Southern Plains Indian Wars. Among the earliest of these was Wilbur S. Nye's *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (1937), which he wrote while stationed at the post as an officer. A sense of the book's popularity within the Kiowa community can be drawn from the fact that of the twenty eight consultants whom I queried regarding their familiarity with published works on the Kiowa, twenty reported having read *Carbine and Lance*. In 1968, Nye published *Plains Indian Raiders: The Final Phases of Warfare from the Arkansas to the Red River*,

[9] Elsie Clews Parsons visited the community briefly in 1927 (Parsons 1929:IIX). Alice Marriott conducted extensive fieldwork in 1935 and 1936 and continued working with the Kiowa community thereafter (Marriott 1945:X). In 1935, Alexander Lesser led the Laboratory of Anthropology field school, comprised of Weston LaBarre, Donald Collier, Bernard Mishkin, and Jane Richardson (LaBarre 1935b).

his second history of the military campaigns waged against the Southern Plains Indians. In 1976, Haley's *The Buffalo War: The History of the Red River Indian Uprising of 1874* appeared. Works have also been published on specific Kiowa figures, including *Satanta: The Life and Death of a War Chief* (Robinson 1997); *Satanta, Orator of the Plains* (Rister 1931); and *Red Raiders Retaliate: The Story of Lone Wolf, the Elder (Guipagho), Famous Kiowa Indian Chief* (Jones 1980).

Nevertheless, none of these factors alone explains the community's preoccupation with nineteenth century warriors and their struggles against the United States government. Nor is there any reason to privilege the role of the external factors identified above. At the most basic level, descendants' organizations, like the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh (Society of White Bear's People), and the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, exist to honor these men's memories and promote awareness of their sacrifices. Granted, this is an oversimplification of their missions, but it is undeniable that the events that these organizations sponsor and in which they participate, the topics of Chapters Three and Four, serve to increase awareness of these historical figures. In addition to the formal descendants' organizations' activities, commemorative events have been organized by individuals and ad hoc associations of descendants. For example, in 1963, James Auchiah orchestrated the removal of Sétthái de's remains from the prison cemetery in Huntsville, Texas and their reburial at Chief's Knoll on the Fort Sill military base (Fort Sill National Historical Landmark and Museum [FSNHLM] n.d. Satanta Reburial Folder). In 1992, the descendants of Setangya participated in a ceremony to mark the transfer of Setangya's shield from the Newark Museum to the Fort Sill Museum (FSNHLM n.d. Satank [Sitting Bear] Kiowa

Biography Folder; Rebecca Buck, email June 29, 2011). More recently, Martha Perez and Phillip Lujan organized a reunion and celebration to honor Setangya and recognize his descendants (Jordan 2010; Perez 2010a). All of these activities have undoubtedly contributed to community members' awareness of these historic figures.

Ultimately, the emphasis on the biographies of nineteenth century warriors may be rooted in a specifically Kiowa way of viewing the past, one with considerable temporal depth. Marshal Sahlins (1985), Raymond Fogelson (1989), and Raymond DeMallie (1993) have argued that each cultural or linguistic group has its own way of conceptualizing history. Fogelson (1989:134) has termed the attempt to understand how a particular indigenous group views its past as the "ethno-ethnohistorical approach." Kiowa historical consciousness may be conceptualized as a collection of individual biographic narratives. These narratives are dominated by accounts of Kiowa leaders who participated in the armed resistance to Anglo-American encroachment during the late nineteenth century. The privileged place that narratives of prominent nineteenth century warriors occupy in the historical consciousness of many members of the contemporary Kiowa community reflects longstanding Kiowa practices of commemorating male martial achievement.

19th Century Expressions of Historical Consciousness

One mechanism for commemorating individuals' war exploits was the creation of personal names inspired by these deeds. Candace Greene (1996:222) notes that "Among the Kiowa a man did not normally change his own name based on his accomplishments, but rather earned the right to create a name to be given away, gaining prestige through

naming another." Kiowa men created names that referenced specific combat experiences, such as counting coup, killing an enemy, or capturing a war trophy. For example, during an 1874 engagement with a party of Texas Rangers, Tahbone-mah pursued one of the enemy horsemen. Realizing that his pistol was empty and having no time to reload, the desperate Ranger turned and threw his weapon at the warrior. Undeterred, Tahbone-mah struck his adversary, knocking him from his saddle, and capturing his mount. Tahbone-mah commemorated this event by naming his daughter "Threw a Pistol in his Face" (Nye 1968:199-200). Another warrior, who had killed a U.S. soldier during an attack on his camp, named his daughter Hotopahodalti (Killed at Long Camp) (Greene 1996:222). Undoubtedly, the exploits that served as the inspiration for war deed names were publicly narrated when the names were formally bestowed upon their recipients. Furthermore, the daily use of these names served to keep the accomplishments to which they referred fresh in peoples' memories.

The Kiowa also chronicled their history in pictographic calendars. Unlike other tribes, who maintained similar pictorial histories and in whose calendars each year was represented by a single event, the Kiowa recorded two events each year, one that occurred in the summer and another that transpired in the winter. Thus, each season was named for a specific event. For example, the winter of 1833-1834 was remembered as the "winter the stars fell," a reference to a spectacular meteor shower that occurred in early November. Each event was represented on the calendar by a drawing (Greene 2001:1-3; Mooney 1979:142-144, 146). These entries were not narrative drawings intended to relate a story, but rather "simple mnemonic images suggesting a key element of the seasonal designation that would serve to bring to mind the associated event"

(Greene 2009:2). The advent of pictorial calendars did not change the fact that Kiowa history was primarily transmitted via oral tradition. Far from supplanting oral narratives, pictorial calendars functioned in the service of the oral tradition, aiding individuals in recalling stories and preserving the order in which events transpired. The calendar functioned as a common point of reference, and individuals dated events in their own lives in reference to the events recorded in the calendar (Greene 2001:2; Mooney 1979:146). Consequently, it was important that the events selected for inclusion in the calendar be familiar to everyone. As Greene (2009:2) notes, "The events recorded in calendar entries were not necessarily ones of great importance. It was more important that they be distinctive or memorable." Hence, one must resist the temptation to interpret the inclusion of an event in a Kiowa calendar as an indication that the Kiowa deemed it the most important event that occurred that season.

A wide variety of events are recorded in the Kiowa calendars, including outbreaks of epidemic diseases, the establishment of peace treaties, and even the theft of prized horses (Mooney 1979:289, 295, 311, 319-320, 333, 341-342). Entries for the summer frequently record the location where the Kado, or Medicine Lodge ceremony, the Kiowa version of the Sun Dance, occurred, or an event that took place during the ceremony. Kiowa calendars also record a number of warfare related events. These include the destruction of a party of Cheyenne warriors in 1837 and an attack the Cheyenne launched on the combined Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche camps the following year. However, many of the warfare-related entries record the deaths of Kiowa warriors. During the 1830s, three consecutive winters, the winters of 1834-1835, 1835-1836, and 1836-1837, were named for the deaths of Kiowa warriors killed raiding in Mexico. For example, the

winter of 1834-1835 was known as the "Winter that Bull-tail was killed." What the calendar histories, with few exceptions, do not record are the martial exploits of individual warriors. One notable exception was the designation of the summer of 1869 as the "Sun Dance when they brought back the war-bonnet." In the Anko and Settan calendars, which each record the event, a drawing of a war bonnet appears above a depiction of the Kiowa Sun Dance lodge. Big Bow had killed a Ute warrior and seized his war bonnet, and he returned to the Kiowa Sun Dance encampment displaying this trophy (Mooney 1979:269-271, 272-273,326). While it is possible that the oral narratives that accompanied other warfare-related entries in the calendars contained accounts of the exploits of individual warriors, neither the names of these events nor the associated drawings make reference to these deeds.

Although the pictographic calendars largely ignore the martial accomplishments of individual Kiowa warriors, they nonetheless evidence a focus on the experiences of prominent male members of Kiowa society. For example, Settan records that in the winter of 1870-1871, Setangya travelled to Texas and recovered the remains of his son, who had been killed in a raid and whose body his compatriots had been compelled to abandon. He also notes the arrest of Sétthâide in the summer of 1871 and his subsequent release in the winter of 1873-1874. The entry for the winter of 1873-1874 in Anko's calendar records the killing of Lone Wolf's son and nephew during a raid (Mooney 1979:327-328, 333, 337). Thus, the emphasis on prominent nineteenth century warriors that characterizes the historical consciousness of the contemporary Kiowa community reflects, at least partially, the ways in which the custodians of nineteenth century pictographic calendars viewed Kiowa history.

In addition to calendar histories, Kiowa men also produced drawings depicting their martial exploits, a practice that was part of a broader pattern across the Plains. These drawings focused on individual achievements. Greene notes that, "Warrior art had developed to serve as a form of personal advertisement of coups, with combat depicted as a series of isolated individual triumphs rather than as a group activity (2001:96)." Due to a dearth of examples, very little is known about pre-reservation Kiowa warrior art. There are no documented Kiowa drawings on paper dating from before 1875. The sole surviving example of pre-reservation warrior art is a painted bison robe collected by Dr. Edward Palmer in 1868 (Greene 1997:44-45).[10] However, it would be incorrect to assume that Kiowa warriors did not produce drawings depicting their exploits during this period. The Kiowa residence band leaders Sétthái de and Lone Wolf are known to have depicted their martial accomplishments on a hide while they were being held prisoner by General Sheridan during the winter of 1868 and 1869 (Petersen 1971:23). Furthermore, Harris (1989:11) argues that the artistic ability demonstrated by the Kiowa prisoners at Fort Marion points to the existence of an established pictographic tradition among the Kiowa.

Plains pictographic art was intimately associated with warfare. As Greene explains, "Warfare was the driving force behind nineteenth century Plains graphic art (2001:87)." It is widely recognized that the production of warrior art was motivated by men's desire to advertise their war exploits, a pre-requisite for advancement in societies in which a man's social status was largely determined by his martial achievements

[10] The painting depicts a Kiowa warrior wearing a buffalo horn bonnet and armed with a bow and arrows surrounded by non-Indian figures armed with firearms (Greene 1997:44-45).

(Petersen 1971:63; Greene 2001:90, 96). As Joyce Szabo notes, "the warrior-artist of the Plains recorded his scenes after the fact of battle in order to portray his outstanding accomplishments . . ." (1994:69). Harris states the matter succinctly: "For a warrior on the Plains, art was a socially accepted way to validate one's achievements" (1989:11). In Kiowa society, a man's war record was the single largest factor in determining his social status (Richardson 1940:14; Mishkin 1940:36-37). One would therefore expect the Kiowa to have developed a tradition of graphic art focused on the recording of warriors' martial exploits.

Ledger drawings served as mnemonic devices and were intricately linked to the oral history of the communities in which they were created. Yet, in describing the drawings as mnemonic devices, one risks minimizing their importance, subordinating the visual to the oral. Perhaps it is more accurate to view ledger drawings as functioning as "sites of memory" (Nora 1989). The drawings were the embodiment of oral narratives. The oral and the visual narratives shared a symbiotic relationship, each reinforcing the other. Thus, reservation era ledger drawings provide a clue to the oral narratives that circulated among the Kiowa during the late nineteenth century. As Szabo explains, "ledger drawings were part of an ongoing history, a history that was not simply something that occurred in the past but also continued into the present by recounting and reliving important events (Szabo 1993:3)."

Ledger drawings provide insights into community interests and concerns. Szabo observes that drawings produced following the cessation of warfare on the Plains, "offer rich documentation of the attitudes and views prevalent during the early reservation years" (Szabo 1993:4). Reservation era ledger art explored a variety of subject matters,

including hunting, courtship, and ceremonial life (Greene 2001:13, 2004:24-28; Harris 1989:12; Szabo 1993:6). While Kiowa artists explored these themes, warfare and related activities continued to figure prominently in Kiowa drawings from this period.[11] For example, the Barber Collection consists of eleven drawings by a single artist, collected between 1878 and 1880. All but one of the drawings relate to warfare, either directly or tangentially (McCoy 1996:57). The fifty drawings in the Julian Scott Ledger represent the work of three artists, and were most likely created in 1880. Thirty two of the fifty drawings are related to warfare. Of these thirty two drawings, twenty six depict combat scenes, two depict warrior society meetings, two depict men returning from war with scalps, and the remaining two depict women scalp or victory dancing (McCoy 1987:4-5, 58-66). The Hannah Collection contains sixteen drawings by a single artist, collected between 1877 and 1885. Of the sixteen drawings, nine deal with warfare related themes (Szabo 1993:5, 10). The prevalence of martial imagery is indicative of a preoccupation with warfare among the reservation-era Kiowa.

While Plains ledger art is frequently defined as an autobiographical art form comprised of individuals' depictions of their martial prowess, the corpus of Kiowa ledger art suggests that Kiowa artists were actively engaged in producing works that were both biographical and historical in nature. Some sets of drawings may contain works that are autobiographical; however the identification of autobiographical scenes has proven difficult, not least because many of the Kiowa artists responsible for the drawings remain

[11] The one non-warfare related image in the Barber collection is a drawing of the Sun Dance (McCoy 1996:57). Both the Julian Scott ledger and the Hannah collection include drawings that depict the Sun Dance, hunting, and courting. The Julian Scott ledger also contains five drawings that depict other tribes, including the Osage and Caddo, and their dances (McCoy 1987:Plates 13, 14, 16, 22, 31, 34-35, 44, 52, 59-60, 63-64, 66; Szabo 1993:10, 20, 21).

unidentified. At the same time, the existence of muslin paintings and drawing books, executed by a single artist, which are the work of a single artist and include depictions of several prominent Kiowa individuals, provides evidence that Kiowa artists were actively engaged in producing biographical works during the late 1870s and 1880s (Szabo 1993:7, 10, 12; McCoy 1996:57-58; Greene 2001:91-92, 95).

Artists employed a variety of means to identify the individuals whose deeds they depicted. The most straightforward strategy included the use of name glyphs, a graphic representation of the protagonist's name. Detailed depictions of an individual's dress and accoutrements served the same purpose (Greene 2001:11). Szabo (1993:3) notes that artists utilized "renditions of shield designs, body and horse paint, or other personal paraphernalia to identity the protagonists." While among the Kiowa, multiple individuals might share the same medicine and the associated shield, body paint, and horse paint designs (Greene 2001:188-189; Mishkin 1940:49; Mooney 1979:231) the depiction of these designs nonetheless helped the viewer identify the protagonist in the drawing by greatly narrowing the pool of potential candidates. Painted tipis provided another means of identifying a specific individual in a drawing, and arguably a more precise means as well. Unlike shield designs, which might be simultaneously shared by a coterie of men, the rights to a tipi design were held by only one individual at any time (Ewers 1978:8; Greene 2001:187).

Barber Collection

The Barber Collection at the Cincinnati Art Museum contains eleven Kiowa drawings collected by Merritt Barber, an army officer, who served in Indian Territory between 1878 and 1880. Of the eleven drawings, ten depict martial themes, including

several combat scenes. Each drawing is accompanied by an inscription that describes the event depicted in the drawing and frequently identifies the Kiowa protagonist. The inscriptions contain the names of seven prominent nineteenth century Kiowa warriors: Sétthái de, Big Bow, Sun Boy, Fur War Cap/ Fox Skin Bonnet, Red Otter, Stumbling Bear, and Feathered Lance. Comparison of the inscriptions with the content of the drawings indicates that the author of the inscriptions possessed an understanding of the events depicted in the drawings. Ron McCoy (1996:57-58) surmises that the captions were written either by Barber or at his behest, and that one of the artists, or another member of the Kiowa community, provided an explanation of each of the drawings.

The drawings emphasize the martial prowess of prominent Kiowa men. One drawing depicts Stumbling Bear killing a Pawnee warrior. Blood spurts from the Pawnee warrior's mouth as Stumbling Bear drives his lance into his opponent's chest. A bullet fired from the Pawnee's rifle misses Stumbling Bear. In another drawing, Sétthái de uses his *zebat*, a medicine lance that resembled a large arrow, to kill two Pawnee warriors. Two of the arrows fired by the Pawnees miss Sétthái de, but a third strikes his leg. Big Bow is depicted surrounded by fourteen Navajo warriors, bullets and arrows raining down on him. In the midst of this fusillade, he manages to shoot and kill the leader of the opposing party (McCoy 1996:56-59). Kiowa individuals who viewed the drawing would have known that Big Bow survived this encounter. By emphasizing the overwhelming odds that Big Bow faced, the artist underscores the warrior's bravery and fighting skills. The same theme is evident in each of the previous two drawings. Stumbling Bear, armed only with a lance, faces an opponent who wields a rifle. Sétthái de, likewise armed with a lance, faces two warriors armed with bows. The Kiowa warriors' weapon of choice

requires them to close with their enemies, all the time exposing themselves to their opponents' long range fire.

Two of the drawings do not depict combat scenes, but nevertheless reference the subjects' status as warriors. Fox Skin Bonnet is depicted returning from a raid. He carries his weapons, a lance and a bow sheathed in a mountain lion skin case, and displays a war trophy - a scalp, identified in the caption as that of a Ute. The scalp serves as tangible evidence of the warrior's encounter with the enemy. According to its caption, another drawing depicts "Sun Boy dancing before his lodge. This picture represents an Indian custom of boasting of their deeds of prowess before their wives and the women of their camp." Thus, the drawings document the means by which prominent men publicized their war exploits.

The artist included painted tipis in two of his drawings. As we have seen, late nineteenth century Kiowa artists frequently identified individuals in their drawings by rendering them with distinctive possessions, such as painted shields or tipis. Here, the artist chose to depict Fox Skin Bonnet in front of his red striped tipi, known as the *Sausage Picture Tipi*. A second tipi appears in the drawing. The drawing of Sun Boy also contains two painted tipis, neither of which was owned by the protagonist (McCoy 1996:54, 60). The decision to include these three tipis in the drawings must have been motivated by something other than the desire to provide a clue to aid in the identification of the protagonist. A prominent man might be referenced by depicting the painted tipi that he owned, and the artist likely sought to evoke the memories of specific individuals by including their tipi designs in the drawings. Members of the Kiowa community would

have readily recognized the tipis in the drawing of Sun Boy as the *Red Tipi* of Sétthái de and the *Porcupine Picture Tipi* of Red Otter (McCoy 1996:60).

Hannah Drawings

The Hannah drawings consist of sixteen drawings on eight leaves in the collection of the School of American Research. Edwin P. Hannah collected the drawings between 1877 and 1885 while serving as the personal secretary to the Secretary of the Interior (Szabo 1993:5). Like the Barber drawings, the Hannah drawings highlight prominent Kiowa warriors and leaders. Szabo notes that, "The artist who created the Hannah drawings focused his attention on several noted Kiowa warriors and chiefs who were of particular prominence during the last days of the Southern Plains wars. Some of these men were leaders of various warrior societies as well as tribal leaders with large followings (1993:12)."

The captions that accompany the drawings identify three Kiowa warriors by name: Poor Buffalo, White Horse, and Tohausan. Poor Buffalo (fig. 4) is depicted either departing on or returning from an expedition against the Pawnee. He is shown mounted on a horse with its tail tied up for battle. He wears an eagle feather bonnet and carries a shield and a lance. The caption reads, "Poor Buffalo, Kiowa chief, he went after the Pawnee." White Horse also appears dressed for war. Surprisingly, the drawing (fig. 5) depicts him wearing a buffalo horn bonnet with a short trailer. Other Kiowa artists depicted him wearing the distinctive cow horn hair ornament which he wore in an 1891 photograph by James Mooney (Greene 2001:20, 98, Plate 15; McCoy 1995:64). Yet the caption on the drawing leaves little doubt as to the warrior's identity, stating, "This is Kiowa chief, his name is White Horse" (Szabo 1993:10).

Comparison of the caption that mentions Tohausan with the content of the accompanying drawing (fig. 6) suggests that the captions on the Hannah drawings are reliable. The caption, part of which is missing due to damage to the leaf, declares, "This camp (?) to Tohausen, he chief" (Szabo 1993:10). The drawing clearly depicts the yellow and black striped portion of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures*, which belonged to Tohausan. Three shields are displayed on tripods behind the lodge (Szabo 1993:18-19). A lance wrapped in otter hide is displayed attached to a pole in front of the lodge.

Another Hannah drawing (fig. 7) may depict Tohausan. The caption of the drawing declares, "This is a great chief" (Szabo 1993:10). The drawing is of a single figure wearing an eagle bonnet with a long trailer and carrying a bow, arrows, and a shield. The warrior reaches out to grasp a lance wrapped in otter hide, which stands before him as if it has been thrust into the ground. This appears to be the same lance depicted in the drawing of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures*.[12] Given the association of the lance with Tohausan's tipi, it seems likely that the man depicted in possession of the lance is Tohausan.

Sétthái̱de is referenced in another of the Hannah drawings (fig. 8). The drawing depicts a mounted warrior, his back to the viewer, facing a line of twelve men standing on the north side of painted tipi. Several of the men hold rattles, while the mounted

[12] In her discussion of the two drawings Szabo fails to identify this object as a lance. She identifies it as a black sash worn by the leader of the Qóichégàu. However, the point of the lance is visible in both drawings and the butt of the lance is visible extending beyond the hide wrapping in SAR.1990.19.2A. Despite misidentifying the object, Szabo correctly concludes that the individual is likely Dohausan based on his association with an object depicted alongside the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* (Szabo 1993:18-19).

figure holds a lance with a banner of feathers.[13] The caption describes the scene as a soldier society dance and identifies the mounted figure as the leader, or "Captain." Szabo correctly identifies the scene as a Jáifègàu dance. Inexplicably, she fails to mention the presence of the painted tipi or to attempt to identify the mounted figure. She concludes that "the leader here is another man yet to be identified." The drawing depicts the Jáifègàu dancing outside Sétthàide's *Red Tipi*.[14] Since Sétthàide was one of the leaders of the Jáifègàu and the owner of the *Red Tipi*, it seems reasonable to assume that he is the warrior addressing the assembly. Regardless of whether or not the mounted figure represents Sétthàide, the inclusion of his *Red Tipi* in a drawing of the Jáifègàu society would have surely been sufficient to evoke his memory.

Fort Marion Drawings

In the spring of 1875, the military sought to punish individuals who had participated in the recent Red River War, as well as earlier raids. The United States War Department ordered seventy-two prisoners from the Southern Plains tribes incarcerated at Fort Marion, a stone fortress in Saint Augustine, Florida. Shortly after their arrival at the fort, the prisoners acquired drawing materials and started producing sketches. Neither the materials nor the idea of recording events in this manner would have been new to the

[13] Szabo incorrectly identifies this lance as a *zebat*, a medicine lance (1993:19). A *zebat* resembled a large arrow and lacked the banner of feathers that adorns this lance. Sétthàide and his *zebat* are depicted in McCoy (1996:59). If the mounted figure in the drawing of the warrior society meeting was depicted with a *zebat* it would strengthen his identification as Sétthàide.

[14] According to the model collected by James Mooney the sun disc on Sétthàide's Red Tipi was painted green (Ewers 1978:19). The sun disc on the tipi depicted in the drawing is unpainted. Such minor variations between the designs as recorded by Mooney and as depicted in Kiowa ledger art are common. It is conceivable that Kiowa artists slightly modified or altered tipi designs when they drew them in recognition of the fact that they did not own the rights to the designs.

prisoners, at least twenty-six of whom created drawings. Between 1875 and their release in 1878, the men generated over 1,400 drawings, depicting scenes of their life on the Southern Plains, the journey to Florida, and their experiences at Fort Marion. Of the seventy-two prisoners, twenty-seven were Kiowa, and several of these men created drawings (Berlo 2007a:174-175; Earenfight 2007:3-5, 17). In this section, I examine drawings from three manuscripts in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Like the drawings in the Merritt A. Barber and Hannah Collections, which were produced in the reservation context, Kiowa drawings from Fort Marion also include scenes that focus on prominent nineteenth century warriors.

White Horse's exploits are depicted in two drawings from Fort Marion. The drawings are part of Manuscript 39C, a collection of drawings compiled by Burnet S. Reynolds. Reynolds lived in Saint Augustine and served as one of the prisoners' teachers. It was through this association that he acquired the drawings (Merrill et al. 1997:184). While White Horse was one of the Kiowa men imprisoned at Fort Marion and is known to have created drawings during his incarceration, these two drawings do not appear to be his work. One of the drawings has been attributed to Koba (Greene 2001:99; Merrill et al. 1997:198-199). Given stylistic similarities between the two drawings, the second drawing can be attributed to him as well. Both compositions span two pages. The first drawing (fig. 9) depicts White Horse's capture of a Navajo boy. The artist has depicted White Horse wearing his distinctive split horn bonnet, and an inscription beneath the image confirms that the protagonist is indeed White Horse. Armed with his lance and shield, White Horse has pulled the Navajo boy up behind him, and they are riding double. A Navajo warrior lies at the horse's feet, blood gushing from

his mouth. Horse tracks on the opposite page mark White Horse's path and lead past a Navajo woman, and another bleeding, prostrate Navajo warrior, indicating that White Horse dispatched or counted coup on these individuals before capturing the boy (Greene 2001:99).

In the second drawing (fig. 10), White Horse, wearing his split horn bonnet, approaches a kneeling teamster armed with a rifle. White Horse holds a ramrod in one hand and appears to be either loading his own weapon or preparing to count coup on the teamster. The two figures appear between two lines of wagons. Dashed lines indicate White Horse's path into the midst of the wagons and lead past a prostrate teamster who has already been dispatched. On the opposite page, a semi-circle representing either a hill or a depression encircles a party of forty warriors. The artist represents the warriors in short hand, depicting only their heads. The barrels of their guns and the tips of their arrows protrude beyond their defensive position. A dashed line leading to the opposite page marks the path of White Horse's charge. The caption on the back, likely written by the artist, describes the scene: "Kiowas & Apaches taking a wagon train, Mexican. Mexicans all afraid run off. One man killed. Other man wounded in the hip, chief kill [him] with spear by knocking him on the head." The drawing commemorates White Horse's valor, in leaving a defensive position to charge the enemy, and his prowess, in successfully vanquishing two opponents.

Manuscript 392,725 consists of eleven leaves of a formerly bound notebook collected by Brigadier General Henry W. Hubbell. Hubbell was stationed in Saint Augustine, Florida between 1873 and 1875.[15] The drawings appear to be the work of a

[15] Hubbell was transferred from Saint Augustine, Florida and served at Fort Sill, Indian Territory from 1875 to 1876 (Merrill et al. 1997:184). It is conceivable that Hubble acquired the drawings

single artist, who has not been identified (Merrill et al. 1997:184). One of the drawings (fig. 11) depicts Sétthái de. It is the first in a series of four drawings depicting the tipis of leaders of the Kiowa warrior societies and is inscribed "Lodges of Chiefs." The drawing depicts Sétthái de's *Red Tipi,* which was painted entirely red, except for a small green disc on the upper west side. A line extending from the tipi is connected to a lance. This is Sétthái de's *zebat,* or arrow lance (Swan and Jordan 2011:155-156). It is the same lance he is depicted wielding against the Pawnee in the drawing from the Barber collection. The cover of the tipi has been rolled up, revealing a group of men seated inside. Sétthái de is documented as having been one of the leaders or *fà:ujóqì:* of the J<u>á</u>ifègàu, and the scene depicts one of the society's meetings (Richardson 1940:23; Swan and Jordan 2011:155-156). A figure standing outside the lodge holds the reins of a horse. This figure is Sétthái de. Sétthái de is known to have worn red body paint, and the figure's upper body is painted red (Mooney 1979:210). In addition, the figure wears a peace medal. Sétthái de wore such a medal in a photograph taken at Fort Sill, and is also depicted wearing one in the Barber collection drawing (Nye 1968:186-187; McCoy 1996:59).

Big Bow's tipi also appears in this series of drawings. Big Bow was the *fà:ujóqì:* of the Áljóyì:gàu , or Young Mountain Sheep warrior society, and it is in this capacity that he was remembered by the incarcerated artist, whose drawing (fig. 12) depicts Big Bow's tipi in association with an Áljóyì:gàu meeting (Richardson 1940:23). The artist drew the *Tail Picture Tipi* with its cover rolled up and a meeting in progress. To ensure

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at Fort Sill. However, among the drawings is a panoramic battle scene, in which the combatants are drawn at a small scale (Merrill et al. 1997:204). Other Fort Marion artists, including Zotom and Etahdleuh, produced drawings that featured figures depicted in miniature (Berlo 2007a:175; Szabo 2007:67, 70, 78). In contrast, in drawings collected from Kiowa artists working on the reservation the figures appear at a much larger scale (McCoy 1987, 1996; Szabo 1993).

that the viewer understood that this was a meeting of the Áljóyì:gàu , the artist includes a name glyph for the society, a mountain sheep (Greene 2001:17; Swan and Jordan 2011:152).

Manuscript 98-54, a set of twenty drawings by another unidentified Kiowa artist, also contains drawings of Big Bow's tipi. The drawings were executed in a commercial composition book and an inscription on the inside of the front cover of the book indicates that the drawings were produced at Fort Marion. Although the name of one of the Kiowa prisoners, Zotom, appears on the inside of the back cover of the book, the drawings differ from his later work. However, documented examples of Zotom's earlier work are not known and these drawings may mark an earlier stage in the development of his artistic style (Smithsonian Institution 2011). Regardless of the identity of the artist, he, like the artist responsible for MS 392,725, also emphasizes the connection between Big Bow and the Áljóyì:gàu. In a two page drawing (fig. 13), he depicts the society processing toward Big Bow's tipi. Food positioned in the center of the lodge foreshadows the feasting that will take place (Swan and Jordan 2011:156-157). The artist's decision to depict the lodge from the front is a novel departure from the typical approach taken by Kiowa artists, who have almost invariably depicted lodges in profile. While the design depicted here differs in some particulars from the model of Big Bow's tipi collected by James Mooney, the artist includes sufficient detail to ensure its identification with the warrior (Ewers 1978:18). He depicts the red border around the bottom of the lodge and the distinctive eagle tails from which the tipi takes its name. In a second drawing (fig. 14), the artist depicts five men standing in front of the tipi. In this drawing, the artist sketches the tipi in shorthand, omitting even the eagle tail elements.

Implications for Historical Consciousness

Ledger drawings produced by Kiowa artists in the late nineteenth century are important historical documents. An analysis of their subject matter reveals those experiences that Kiowa artists deemed worthy of recording. While drawings of courting scenes and religious rituals exist, the majority of drawings depict martial themes. These include not only combat scenes, but also drawings of warrior society meetings (Swan and Jordan 2011:152-156, Fig. 145, 146), scalp and victory dances (McCoy 1987:63, Pl. 25, 26; Swan and Jordan 2011:147-148, Fig. 140), and the victorious return of raiding parties (McCoy 1987:63, 65, Pl. 29, 42; Szabo 1993:16-17, Pl. 2). Over a decade after the end of the Red River War, Kiowa artists continued to commemorate the warfare and raiding that characterized Kiowa life before 1875.

The drawings reveal not only a preoccupation with martial themes, but also a focus on individual protagonists and their martial exploits. Combat scenes typically feature a single Kiowa warrior in the process of vanquishing one or more enemy combatants. A number of these drawings focus on prominent warriors who served as *jò:fàujó:qì:* (residence band leaders) and/or *fà:ujóqì:* (warrior society officers) and their martial prowess. In addition, portraits of these men often depict them arrayed for war or in association with their iconic shields or lances. Other drawings portray these individuals acting in their capacities as the leaders of warrior societies.

Szabo (1993:3-4) argues that ledger drawings reflect the oral narratives that circulated within Plains Indian communities at the time of their production. Kiowa drawings produced in the late nineteenth century suggest that narratives concerning warriors', especially prominent warriors', martial achievements, occupied a prominent

place in the historical consciousness of the Kiowa community. Ledger drawings, along with pictographic calendars and war deed names, both reflected and reinforced Kiowa society's emphasis on male martial achievement. They are indicative of a form of historical consciousness that privileged accounts of individuals' bravery and continues to do so. The fact that prominent nineteenth century Kiowa warriors such as Sétthâide, Lone Wolf, and Setangya dominate the historical memory of the contemporary Kiowa community is an outgrowth of the longstanding emphasis on warfare and individual distinction.

The Ethnographic and Historical Literature

Few of the individuals that I interviewed reported reading books on the Kiowa merely for entertainment or pleasure, the exception to this trend being collections of Saynday stories. Several of my collaborators referred to specific ethnographies or historical works as "reference books," and the term aptly describes the way in which many community members utilize these publications (Onco 2010). Consider the following statement: "*Carbine and Lance* [is a] wonderful book. Everybody I know, they say, 'Go *to Carbine and Lance*. Go to *Carbine and Lance*. You will find your answer.' So, I know that that book by Wilbur Nye is a good book, because everybody that needs any sort of history they go to that book…" (Wermy 2010). While the statement is ostensibly about the authority some ascribe to Nye's book, it reveals a great deal concerning how community members make use of the ethnographic and historical literature. *Carbine and Lance* and other books are sources one turns to when one "needs"

an "answer." This is precisely how many community members describe their forays into the literature.

Based on my interviews, the "answers" people search for in the literature tend to be concerned first and foremost with genealogical questions. Researchers tend to be motivated by a desire to uncover details about their ancestors and their lives rather than an interest in any grand, encompassing narrative of Kiowa history. Eva, a member of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, explained what motivates her to delve into the Kiowa literature.

> Wilbur Nye, I've looked through his books. Most of these books that I've read have been in search of information, bits and pieces I can pick up in regard to Old Chief Lone Wolf. So, his book I've been able to pull… What was the name of his book that I've read? Well, he wrote *Bad Medicine and Good* and that has the Jimmie Queotone story in there, on how Jimmie Queotone got his name – Guitone. So, that's a good story [that] I got from there. So mainly I read these books to pull information about my family and then I usually go and talk to my aunts or somebody to verify, to talk about what I've read and see what shakes out as true or not. And then in one of his, well maybe it was Corwin's book, I read an interesting thing about Lone Wolf. He had two daughters, one grew to adulthood, but the other one… In Corwin's book he described that she was killed, I think when she was thirteen, during a thunderstorm and was struck by lightning or something. And so, I never knew what happened to the other daughter, but that was a bit of information that I didn't have that I put in my family fact file, you know. So, I read these books to glean information about my own history. I don't really read them to see if they're telling the true story about the Kiowas. I look for bits and pieces of my own history in these books. So, you have to read through a lot, but when you find a piece like that, where his other daughter hasn't been referenced anywhere else, it's an interesting fact. [Williams 2010]

Eva, like many individuals in the Kiowa community, reads historical and ethnographic works with an eye toward uncovering genealogical information.

While some community members scour the literature searching for pieces of information pertaining to their ancestors, others are able to turn to works that provide fairly detailed accounts of their ancestors' experiences. Isabel Crawford, a Baptist missionary, helped established Saddle Mountain Church between 1897 and 1906 and wrote several accounts of her missionary work among the Kiowa, including *Kiowa: A Woman Missionary in Indian Territory* (Ellis 1998:xiii, xvii). The book is viewed today as a valuable source of information on the Kiowa families that lived in the area surrounding Saddle Mountain, especially those that eventually formed the nascent congregation. As Melissa Tongkeamha Kaulaity, a member of the small congregation that still meets at Saddle Mountain, explained "by reading her book too there's lots of information. You can get all your info… where all we came from, all the descendants from there. She talked a lot about Kiowa people in there, so there's a lot in there that we got (2010)." The book is especially meaningful to Melissa and her family. Melissa is the great granddaughter of Sétthâide's son, Odlepaugh (Kaulaity 2010). Odlepaugh, who eventually became a deacon at Saddle Mountain, figures prominently in Crawford's book (Crawford 1998). Melissa described the importance of the book, noting that, unlike other books on the Kiowa, which she had merely skimmed, she had read *Kiowa* cover to cover.

> But [the] only one I did read everything was *Kiowa: Woman Missionary in Indian Territory*. And, that's where we learned a lot of our background, you know, and where she… Mostly where Odlepaugh, as fierce as he looked and he was and everything, he became her first deacon out there when she was teaching. And, he didn't want to. He sure didn't want to change, but I don't know what it was that he… He finally came around and he was one of her staunch supporters in bringing the others in, teaching and bringing them. That's why I say, I… *A Woman Missionary* that's the one I liked. I thought it was good. [Kaulaity 2010]

Melissa, and others whose families lived in the Saddle Mountain area, value Crawford's book because it contains information about their ancestors. Individuals whose families hailed from other areas of the former Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Reservation, and whose ancestors therefore do not enter into Crawford's narrative, manifest significantly less interest in her book. As one woman, whose family hailed from the Red Stone area, commented to me: "Isabel Crawford, who cares what she had to say?"

This is not to suggest that every Kiowa spends his or her time laboriously poring over the products of anthropologists and historians searching for genealogical tidbits. I encountered some individuals who had read few, if any, of the books on the list. However, many of the members of the Kiowa community who read extensively in the Kiowa literature do so with a specific purpose in mind, and that purpose, more often than not, is to learn more about their ancestry.

Authority

In my research, I sought to understand not only how community members utilize the ethnographic and historical literature on the Kiowa, but also their opinions of these works. I was interested in how individuals evaluate publications and judge their accuracy as well as the criteria that they employ in making such determinations. Interviews revealed that community members tend to focus on the Kiowa sources upon which a researcher based his or her account, and that their evaluations of these sources determines the relative authority they attributed to the published work. Individuals also compare published accounts of events to Kiowa oral narratives describing the same events. Individuals tend to privilege those published works that evidence the most similarities to the oral tradition, and reject those that contradict it.

Mooney's *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1898, has come to exert a profound influence on the historical consciousness of the Kiowa community. Discussing the work, McCoy (1995:65) notes that, "The account which blends tribal oral histories and pictographic chronicles with nontribal written sources, anticipated modern ethnohistorical methods and deservedly remains a classic." Over a hundred years since its publication, scholars continue to turn to Mooney's study. I was interested in learning how members of the contemporary Kiowa community view the work, and in determining whether it plays a role in shaping their perceptions of Kiowa history. It quickly became evident that many community members are familiar with Mooney's work and consider it an authoritative source.

In 2009, several members of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma formed a non-profit organization, Kiowa Chronicles, for the purpose of creating a documentary film about the tribe's history. During the preliminary planning stages for the film, Sherman Chaddlesone and Dewey Tsonetakoy held a series of public meetings in southwestern Oklahoma to solicit input from community members. I attended the meeting held at Indian City U.S.A in Anadarko. At one point, Dewey emphasized the filmmakers' intentions to rely solely on "Kiowa sources." His next sentence caught me off guard. "I'm sure you all know James Mooney's *Calendar History*." Dewey, like many other community members views Mooney's *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* as providing a Kiowa perspective on the tribe's history. Despite the fact that the work was authored by a non-Indian, its reliance on Kiowa documents and oral history renders it essentially a Kiowa source in the eyes of many community members.

Sherman discussed the importance of Mooney's work, explaining, "Well the one I keep referring back, the book I keep referring back to for records is James Mooney's *Calendar History of the Kiowa*. And the reason for that is… He is… That's basically a study of a Kiowa calendar and his interpretation of each event that happened through the period of the calendar… So it's basically a Kiowa record translated into English [laughs] (Chaddlesone 2010)." As is evident from Chaddlesone's statement, the book's authority derives not from Mooney's reputation as an ethnologist or his association with the Bureau of American Ethnology, but rather from the Kiowa sources, both visual and oral, upon which he drew.

Chaddlesone, a gifted painter and sculptor, has drawn inspiration for his art from Mooney's study of Kiowa calendars, producing a series of paintings interpreting events recorded in the calendars. For example, his 2002 painting *Song of the Antelope Priest* depicts a communal antelope hunt that occurred in the winter of 1848–1849 (Chaddlesone 2003). Another painting, *Scalp Dance on Kiowa Creek*, depicts a battle between the Kiowa and Pawnee and a scalp dance held to celebrate the Kiowa's victory, events recorded as having transpired in the winter of 1849-1850 (Chaddlesone 2006). At the bottom of each of his paintings, Chaddlesone includes the glyph used to represent the event in one of the original calendars studied by Mooney.

Given the important role graphic art played in the recording of Kiowa history during the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that members of the contemporary Kiowa community continue to turn to these images for insights into the tribe's past. Since the 1971 publication of Karen Petersen's *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion*, a number of works have been published on Kiowa pictographic art, making these drawings

available to a wider audience. These include several additional studies of art produced at Fort Marion (Harris 1989; Viola 1998; Szabo 2007; Earenflight 2007), as well as work focusing on art produced in the reservation context (McCoy 1987; Donnelley 2000; Greene 2001). Twelve of the twenty eight community members that I interviewed regarding their familiarity with the Kiowa literature indicated that they had read or consulted at least one of the aforementioned books, and seven of these indicated that they had read four or more of the books.

The popularity of these works stems from community members' recognition that the drawings they contain provide Kiowa perspectives on historical events. As expressions of their creator's lived experience, the drawings are viewed as authoritative records of nineteenth century Kiowa life. This is a point that Eva emphasized.

> Because artists paint what they know, what they feel, [and] what they see I feel that's a true depiction of our history, what the Kiowa artists or what artists in general paint. They document the time they're living in. I have a lot of Kiowa art and art books. … Those [drawings] are hard to dispute, because they come from a personal remembrance, what they're drawing. So, I look at those as, well, authentic. [Williams 2010]

Sherman likewise emphasized the artist's role in recording tribal history. Explaining why he included artists on a list of individuals who had played an important role in Kiowa history, he explained, "I listed the artists. Again they were record keepers, but not in the calendar form. Not in a calendar format, but they did record a lot of events. And you see a lot of that that came out of Fort Marion and even around here there were a few ledger books around here that illustrated specific events that happened within the tribe" (Chaddlesone 2010). It is this access to primary source documents, the drawings and

paintings reproduced in publications on Kiowa pictographic art, that community members value.

When Sherman concludes that Mooney's *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* is "basically a Kiowa record translated into English," he minimizes Mooney's active role in shaping the text (Chaddlesone 2010). Mooney's achievement is defined as one of translation rather than interpretation. A similar process is at work in Kiowa narratives that relegate authors to the role of scribe, whose task is simply to provide an accurate transcript of the consultants' stories. For example, Eddy Onco referred to Hugh Corwin as "the write-up man" (Jordan 2010). Corwin, an avocational historian, worked closely with Eddy's grandfather, Robert Onco. By designating Corwin "the write-up man," Eddy makes explicit his understanding of Corwin's role vis-à-vis his grandfather. In Eddy's view Corwin was engaged in the relatively straightforward task of recording and disseminating stories provided to him by Robert Onco and other Kiowa consultants. Comments such as these are revealing not because they present an accurate account of the production of anthropological knowledge or the dynamics that characterized interactions between researchers and Kiowa consultants, but rather because they provide insights into what members of the contemporary Kiowa community perceive to have been the roles of anthropologists and historians.

Kiowa people are not passive consumers of what has been written about their community. They read with a critical eye, comparing authors' descriptions and interpretations of events with those contained in oral narratives. Published accounts are rejected when they contradict or stray too far from received oral history. This was Melissa Kaulaity's experience with Corwin's book *The Kiowa Indians: Their History and*

Life Stories. During one interview, she commented "*The Kiowa Indians* [by] Hugh Corwin, I just read part of it, probably half of it and right then I didn't think it was true because of what I heard [my] parents say (Kaulaity 2010)." The fact that Corwin's accounts of certain events differed drastically from Melissa's parents' accounts of these same events led Melissa to doubt the reliability of Corwin's work as a whole.

Conversely, books are deemed credible when the information they provide conforms to that contained in oral narratives. Explaining why she felt that Maurice Boyd's *Kiowa Voices*, volumes I and II are reliable sources, Martha Koomsa Perez (2010b) notes the close correlations between the stories contained in the two books and stories that she had heard growing up, concluding that, "I found them to be very closely related to the stories that I knew. Basically, they pretty well ran parallel to what I was told." Such a correlation bolsters the authority of both the received oral history and the published work. For example, Martha describes her feelings upon discovering that Nye's (1969) *Carbine and Lance* contains an account of her ancestor's participation in the Battle of the Washita:

> *Carbine and Lance* is where I found the story of my great great grandfather that served in that Battle of Washita. And his name was Eoneah. That story was orally told to us, so to read it and actually see it recorded in a history book is amazing. It really is something to us to know that. And I can, when I talk of him or speak with him, I can always relate to the book to say he's recorded in history through *Carbine and Lance*. So, that's why I read those books. [Perez 2010b]

Having grown up hearing stories of her ancestor's bravery during the Battle of the Washita, she was excited to discover a published account that mirrored her family's oral history. She notes that now when she talks about her ancestor's story, she mentions

Nye's corroborating account. At the same time, the fact that Nye's account of Eonah-pah's exploits closely matches the stories Martha's elders told her makes her more inclined to accept the portrayal of other events in *Carbine and Lance*.

Elder relatives' evaluations of authors and their works play a prominent role in shaping individuals' perceptions of publications. Consultants frequently attributed their negative perceptions of certain works to having been admonished by an older relative that the work lacked credibility and should be avoided. One middle aged man recalled that when he was given the *Kiowa Voices* volumes, an aunt told him to "just look at the pictures," implying that the text wasn't worth reading.

Family stories about ancestors misleading unsuspecting authors lead some to doubt the veracity of specific publications. Charles Hines's (2010) commentary on Corwin's *The Kiowa Indians: Their History and Life Stories* is a prime example of this phenomenon.

> First on my list, number one is Hugh Corwin's book *The Kiowa Indians: Their History and Their Life Stories*. The *Life Stories* is… That's probably the worst book you're gonna find as far as accuracy goes and stories, because the stories are just B.S. They're just made up stories a lot of them. 'Cause my mom knows. My mom knew. She knew that Uncle Guy mostly was kinda joshin the guy, you know, more or less teasing him and saying, "Ah yeah let's talk about this." He'd come over here and he'd give 'em some meat or he'd give 'em something to eat or bring 'em something and it's for his stories, for their stories. They'd make up stuff and… It's kind of a… It's not accurate. That's my opinion. You can read it again and see how accurate it is and maybe some of them are, but a lot of them aren't. [Hines 2010]

A man whose relatives worked closely with Alice Marriott related a similar account. He was told that when Marriott started posing questions about sensitive aspects of Kiowa life, questions revolving around religious rituals, his relatives had deliberately fed her

misinformation and that she had been furious when she subsequently learned of the deception.

The circulation of stories in which Kiowa consultants provide anthropologists or historians with fictional or grossly exaggerated accounts concerns some members of the contemporary Kiowa community. Martha explained her concerns.

> The old oral versions of people telling the stories was that [laughs] people, perhaps like yourself, that are studying, anthropologists… Sometimes in the way back when days, it was kind of annoying for people to come in and be pushy, so people didn't like 'em around. But they didn't want to really come out and tell em, but they'd say… They'd say, "Gosh it's bad, 'cause here he comes again." And then they'd say, "Bako…" I'm trying to say "Lie to them, just tell 'em anything, because they don't need to know." And see, that's why it's written that way. And so here we are now, hearing it so much orally and knowing the way it was and then to read it that way, we know it's not so. But they didn't know any better, so they recorded it that way. So, here we are now wishing maybe they shouldn't have said it like that. [(Perez 2010b]

Martha at first assumes that community members possess the requisite grounding in Kiowa oral history to be able to evaluate published narratives and separate fact from fiction. Yet in the last sentence, she expresses regret that erroneous material was deliberately introduced into the written record, recognizing the problems this may pose for younger generations of Kiowas. Indeed, when asked to identify books that they felt contained inaccuracies, younger consultants shied away from the task, explaining that they had no basis for making such distinctions, since they had no firsthand knowledge of the events described in the texts.

These and similar accounts perform important social work within the Kiowa community. First and foremost, they seek to undermine the authority of works written by non-native authors. Such stories assert that written texts cannot be trusted and that the

most reliable sources of information on Kiowa history are oral narratives preserved by members of the community. They are cautionary tales that encourage individuals to seek information from other members of the Kiowa community rather than from publications, to search within, rather than without, for the answers to their questions. Consequently, the stories bolster the standing and social capital of individuals whom community members perceive to be repositories of oral history. Simultaneously, tales of misinformation call into question the expertise of academically trained historians and anthropologists, subverting the dominant society's tendency to privilege these sources.

Yet, as I have demonstrated, members of the Kiowa community continue to actively engage with the literature on the Kiowa. Many of my consultants view the published literature and Kiowa oral history as complementary rather than mutually exclusive sources of information. Recall Eva, describing how she vets information gleaned from published sources with her elders, asking them to evaluate the veracity of the information in light of their received knowledge.

Furthermore, not everyone in the community believes that Kiowa consultants working in the early and mid-twentieth century deliberately misinformed the authors with whom they worked. In fact, some community members fiercely contest this notion. Donald Tofpi (2010), former Chairman of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma, said, "I ask these people, 'Are you calling our grandparents liars?'" Eddy expressed confidence in the works that resulted from his grandfather's collaboration with Hugh Corwin, explaining "I know that's right, because all that history was given to him by my Grandpa Robert. So, all the books he wrote or articles he wrote I know they are, they're all… They are all true, because my Grandpa Robert had a lot to do, had a lot to do with his

stories – Hugh D. Corwin. So, I… Those books are o.k." (Onco 2010). Similarly, Dorothy expressed pride in the fact that her father, Charlie Whitehorse, had worked with anthropologists Elsie Clews Parsons and Jane Richardson Hanks, and thereby contributed to the preservation of elements of Kiowa culture (DeLaune 2010).

Thus, two distinct narratives regarding past interactions with historians and anthropologists coexist within the Kiowa community. One envisions the researcher as a vehicle for preserving and disseminating valuable information imparted by Kiowa elders. The other casts the researcher as a naive outsider who is easily taken in by community members' deceptions. Despite their obvious differences, these two versions of events have one thing in common. In both instances, the Kiowa individuals involved are portrayed as being in control of the situation. It is the Kiowa consultant, rather than the historian or anthropologist, who is in command of the interaction. In one version, the non-Indian writer is little more than a scribe, dutifully recording those stories which the community member wishes to relate. In the other version, Kiowa individuals demonstrate that they can handle interviewers who overstep their bounds or make nuisances of themselves. In the aforementioned story about Alice Marriott, the consultants outmaneuver the interviewer whose curiosity has strayed to topics they feel she has no right to inquire about. In other stories, the Kiowa consultants are cast in mischievous roles that recall the exploits of the Kiowa trickster Saynday. The consultant tricks the interviewer, accepting the proffered gifts, but providing only meaningless information in return.

Despite differences in how they perceive past interactions with anthropologists and historians, members of the contemporary Kiowa community agree on the importance

of implementing new preservation initiatives. In the lead up to my fieldwork and throughout its duration, I was repeatedly struck by the sheer number of requests I received to document aspects of Kiowa history and record cultural performance events. Community members attributed their interest in documentation to anxiety stemming from the passing of elders, and a desire to leave a record for future generations. Martha's comments are indicative of how many community members feel.

> So many things now that they knew are gone, because it was all oral. And that's why I always say when our elders pass away, "Oh gosh, there goes a history book." But, there's so many things that we don't know, because they're not written and now we're clinging, we're clinging on to anything we can get, anybody that we can find that can tell us these things we need to know. And, so it's very important to tell you, anymore, tell you the truth about anything. That's what I'm trying to do right now. [Perez 2010b]

Thus, my research evolved into a truly collaborative endeavor, and I found myself recruited to assist with community members' efforts to document and record their history.

For example, in an initial meeting with Florene Whitehorse, she expressed her desire to create a documentary on her nineteenth century ancestor Tohausan. Subsequently, I, along with Dr. Daniel C. Swan, Curator of Ethnology at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History (SNOMNH), and Michael McCarty, Exhibits, SNOMNH, worked closely with Florene to produce the documentary. Florene was the driving force behind the project, which she viewed as a way of recording her ancestor's story and preserving it for future generations. She decided what information she wished to include in the documentary and selected the individuals who would appear in the piece. Our efforts culminated in *Dohasan's Legacy*, a DVD documentary chronicling

Tohausan's life. And although an excerpt from the documentary was incorporated into SNOMNH's 2009 exhibit *One Hundred Summers: A Kiowa Calendar History*, the DVD's intended audience was Tohausan's descendants.

Following the completion of this project, I was contacted by Martha, who explained that the oral history maintained by her family contained an account of her ancestor Eonah-pah's participation in the 1868 Battle of the Washita and that she wanted me to record it for her. In December, 2009, we met in her home so that I could record the story. Several months later, she informed me that she was planning an event to honor another of her nineteenth century ancestors, Setangya, and asked if I would document the event. Consequently, I and my colleagues from SNOMNH filmed the commemorative ceremony and provided Martha with DVD's of the event.

Scholarly interest in the Kiowa dates back over a century, and my own work with members of the Kiowa community represents a recent chapter in the long history of Kiowa people's interactions with anthropologists and historians. Contemporary community members consult the publications stemming from this research, viewing them as a means of accessing the knowledge previous generations of Kiowa people shared with the authors of these works. Individuals gauge how much authority to invest in these publications based on their fidelity to received oral history and their elder relatives' assessments of the works.

Dominant Themes in Kiowa Historical Narratives

I now turn to Kiowa historical narratives, specifically accounts of nineteenth century Kiowa peoples' violent encounters with the forces of Anglo-American

expansion. These narratives exist alongside stories that address a wide variety of topics. For example, while visiting Rainy Mountain Baptist Church and Saddle Mountain Baptist Church, I heard stories concerning the early Kiowa converts to Christianity. Sitting in her home in Mountain View, Oklahoma, elder Margie Tahbone (2009) laughed as she recounted the story of her grandfather's first visit to a movie theater. When the image of a building engulfed in flames appeared on the screen, he ran from the theater, believing that it was on fire. That stories concerning the deeds of nineteenth century warriors coexist alongside other genres of stories in no way diminishes their import. As Gus Palmer, Jr. observes, "By means of these stories Kiowas are able to remember people and relive events important in tribal history and culture. Indeed, the miracle of those heroic and noble times is evoked and comes alive in the imagination and memories of Kiowas every time the old stories are told" (2003:57). In the remainder of this chapter, I explore narratives of nineteenth century warriors' martial exploits, identifying several themes that these narratives share in common.

A dominant theme in Kiowa historical narratives is the role medicine played in affecting the outcome of events. Some men received their medicine in visions or dreams. Recipients often received instructions authorizing them to share their medicine with a set number of individuals. Consequently, not all men acquired their medicine as the result of a revelatory encounter with the sacred. Some inherited their medicine from male relatives. The sons of wealthy families preferred to seek medicine from older men, whose successful war records testified to the efficacy of their power. However, only the wealthiest men could afford the gifts required of one making such a request (Mishkin 1940:49-50; Greene 2001:187-189). In combat, a warrior's medicine afforded personal

protection and endowed him with the means to overpower his enemy. Men might possess medicine that bestowed other abilities as well. For example, buffalo medicine conferred the ability to heal wounds, while owl medicine enabled an individual to prophesy (Marriott n.d.; Kracht 1997:16-18; Boyd 1983:95-96; Nye 1962:151, 1963:193-194).

In several of the following narratives medicine emerges as the crucial factor enabling Kiowa individuals to emerge safely from violent encounters with the U.S. military. Thus, these stories are closely related to nineteenth century Kiowa drawings depicting warriors, typically wearing body paint and carrying shields or other manifestations of their medicine, overcoming their opponents and emerging unscathed. Both can be read as testimonials to the efficacy of individuals' medicine. In Sherman's account of Stumbling Bear's exploits during the repulse of Colonel Christopher Carson's force, it is the warrior's medicine, represented by a magpie tied to the crown of his bonnet, which enables him to charge the enemy without being injured (Chaddlesone 2010). Melissa and Burnadette Toyebo Rhoades provide stories in which medicine enables two Kiowa parties, the survivors of an attack on a Kiowa camp, and the members of a revenge raid, to elude their pursuers and avoid capture (Kaulaity 2010; Rhoades 2000:74).

In his study of Kiowa storytelling, Palmer (2003:15, 33) notes the prevalence of stories involving "supernatural occurrences" and "aspects of the supernatural." Palmer stresses that Kiowa people view these stories as accurate representations of the events they describe. He writes, "I've talked to many Kiowas concerning these aspects of tribal tales and myths and legends, and all largely agree that the stories reflect how things

actually were" (Palmer 2003:41). Yet, Palmer acknowledges that such stories are unlikely to find a receptive or credulous audience outside the Kiowa community. In discussing an account of the origin of the *Taime*, he writes, "To most people, unless they're Kiowa, the story is going to seem a fantasy or tall tale. There are just too many fantastic things going on in it" (Palmer 2003:41).

While Palmer did not study narratives concerning medicine's role in warfare, his observations are relevant, and point to debates within the field of ethnohistory. Discussing the challenges of writing Native American history, DeMallie (1993:525) notes that "native understandings frequently involve supernatural events that are causal and fundamental to the story but, from western rationalist perspectives, are not acceptable as true." He points to criticism leveled at Father Peter J. Powell following the publication of his history of the Northern Cheyenne, *The People of the Sacred Mountain*. Powell was criticized for privileging Cheyenne accounts of historical events, even when these narratives challenged western epistemologies. For example, Powell includes an account of a Cheyenne man transforming members of his party into buffalo in order to pass military patrols undetected. DeMallie (1993:525) concludes that "The controversy over Father Powell's massive and insightful history centers around the issue of narrative. Whose story comprises legitimate history?" Yet, Palmer argues that "the kinds of things that happen in Kiowa stories are, for Kiowas, real events and not supernatural ones, no matter what anybody says. Kiowas tell stories and the events in stories as if they know that they happened, and that's the way many of those stories have come down to us (Palmer 2003:56).

In the narratives that follow, medicine casts a protective mantle over the Kiowa protagonists, effectively neutralizing the numerical and technological advantages of their Anglo adversaries. It is interesting to note that a similar theme is found in stories about Indian doctors, which emphasize their ability to affect cures in cases where Western medicine, with its scientific knowledge and technological innovations, has failed. In several of the stories consultants shared with me, they emphasized that White doctors had pronounced that the patient's condition was hopeless and sent him or her home to die. Thus, narratives focusing on medicine's role in warfare are the precursors of a larger corpus of stories that emphasize the comparative superiority of Kiowa medicine in its various forms over Western technologies and ways of knowing.

As has been seen, warfare dominates the historical consciousness of the Kiowa community. In discussing their ancestors, descendants frequently mentioned their armed resistance to Anglo domination and participation in violent clashes with the U.S. military. For example, Betty Washburn prefaced her telling of the story of Sétthái de capturing a cavalry bugle by observing, "Oh, they had been in so many battles with the cavalry. That's all they did was battle. He was fighting the army. And he had been in so many [battles], they said even his warriors were tough." With few exceptions, these accounts lack specificity. More often than not, no particular engagement is identified. Nevertheless, certain battles have achieved a prominent place in Kiowa memory, including attacks on Kiowa and allied villages in 1864, 1868, and 1874.

Adobe Walls, 1864

On the morning of November 25, 1864, Colonel Christopher "Kit" Carson led an attack on a Kiowa village located along the South Canadian River. Carson's force consisted of 335 volunteers, seventy two Ute and Jicarilla Apache auxiliaries, and two

mountain howitzers. After fighting an initial delaying action, the Kiowa were forced to abandon their village. However, warriors from Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache villages located downstream soon arrived on the scene and launched a counter attack. In the face of this opposition, Carson decided to burn the village and withdraw. Warriors harried the retreating column, making repeated attacks before finally breaking contact (Mooney 1979:314-317).

Kiowa accounts of the battle largely ignore the participation of Apache and Comanche warriors, focusing exclusively on the exploits of Kiowa warriors, particularly a handful of prominent men, including Tohausan, Sétthái de, Stumbling Bear, and Lean Bear (Chaddlesone 2010; Mooney 1979:315; Nye 1968:36-37). With the exception of Lean Bear, each of these men was the leader of a either a residence band or a warrior society, or both (Greene 1996:224, 226; Mooney 1979:179, 185-186, 206, 321, 342; Mishkin 1940:54; Richardson 1940:23). Sherman provided the following account.

> We have a lot of tribal history on it and recorded history also. There's a lot of it in the military archives. On the tribal side, there was like a… I have a etching hanging on the wall here, where you see Satanta blowing his bugle. That was a major part of that engagement. It happened. Something that everybody remembered, even the… It's in the military archives about that. Another thing that happened was that… The Kiowa story is that Stumbling Bear, who was a cousin to Sétthái de, he was one of the others that was there left in camp. Actually, there was four of them left when Carson's troops attacked, but they went out and met them and were able to hold them back long enough for the other Kiowas to start coming back into camp and also give time for the women and children to get out of camp, get out of harm's way. [Chaddlesone 2010]

This description of the engagement emphasizes many of the same themes found in other Kiowa accounts of the late nineteenth century. Kiowa warriors are portrayed in a very literal sense as fighting to defend their homes and families. Sherman stresses that the

warriors were fighting to allow the women and children time to reach safety. Furthermore, the warriors are depicted as facing overwhelming odds. In his account, only four warriors ride out to face Carson's force.

Sherman depicted the Kiowa counter attack in a 1986 painting titled *Thunder on the Plains*. In the quote above, he refers to a print of this painting that hangs above his kitchen table. It is one of the few pieces of his art that Sherman displays in his home. Kiowa warriors dominate the space of the canvas. In contrast, Carson's troops are depicted in a form of pictorial shorthand and are represented by the two mountain howitzers and the muzzle blasts of their carbines. Thus, Sherman employs a convention utilized by nineteenth century ledger artists to shift the focus of attention to the protagonists, while simultaneously conveying a sense of the numerical strength of the enemy forces.

Sherman chose to portray his ancestor Sétthâide in the center of the action.[16] He depicts him carrying his distinctive shield and *zebat*, or arrow lance. Sétthâide rides into battle blowing a captured bugle, which he employed during the fighting to confuse Carson's troops. Sherman explained,

> He had the bugle for quite a while before the thing over there in the panhandle, the battle over there. But, he did learn all the cavalry calls on it and he was able to blow counter commands. The cavalry'd blow charge. He'd blow retreat and vice versa and all that, you know, so that kept them in a state of confusion. The cavalry - they couldn't really charge when they thought they were supposed to retreat and all that. And, so that's also mentioned of course… There's military, U.S. military archives [that] records that. [Chaddlesone 2010]

[16] Sherman is the great, great grandson of Sétthâide (Chaddlesone 2010).

To sway any potential skeptics who might doubt the veracity of the story of Sétthái de and the bugle, Sherman cites the existence of military reports that corroborate Kiowa accounts of the battle. Mooney (1978:315-317) also cites these reports in his description of the battle.

Another account focuses on Stumbling Bear's actions during the battle, emphasizing his bravery. While Mooney mentions Stumbling Bear's participation in the battle, noting that he killed one of the Ute auxiliaries and a soldier, the following story is not found in his *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* (Mooney 1979:315). Sherman provided the account.[17]

> But, some of the women said [that] they were hiding in the bushes and rocks and stuff, watching the engagement down there. Stumbling Bear put on a war bonnet and he kept charging the troops and all that. And they were firing at him and it was close range. It was all close range and he would charge right into their flanks. And, then he ended up having all the feathers shot away on his war bonnet and on the back, on the inside, he had a magpie fastened up in the back – the crown of his bonnet. And, they said when he would charge, after the feathers were gone, they could see the wings of that magpie flapping like it was alive or something. So, we have stories like that that come down through families. [Chaddlesone 2010]

While the story focuses on Stumbling Bear's bravery, exhibited in his willingness to repeatedly charge the enemy, it also alludes to the efficacy of his medicine, the stuffed magpie tied to his bonnet. The implication is clear, Stumbling bear's ability to ride unscathed through the enemy's fire is the result of his medicine.

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[17] In 1935, George Hunt and Andrew Stumbling Bear provided Wilbur Nye with an account of Stumbling Bear's participation in the battle. They recalled that he had donned his daughter's shawl before charging Carson's forces, hoping that it would provide him with protection. Although he charged the enemy repeatedly, Stumbling Bear emerged from the fighting unscathed. However, his daughter's shawl was riddled with bullets, a testimony to the ferocity of the fighting (Nye 1968:37).

Writing about Kiowa storytelling, Palmer (2003:27) observes that "many storytellers will open up a story and leave some parts of it unclear or unfinished so that the listener can provide some of the answers or comments or conclusions on his or her own." Chaddlesone leaves his story open, allowing the listener to decide whether the magpie came to life during the midst of battle or if its wings merely flapped as if it were alive. The story is a prime example of Kiowa storytelling, in which, "There is little separation between what happened and what might have happened, and the storyteller does not reveal such distinctions (Palmer 2003:14-15)."

Although Sherman has done much through his painting to increase awareness of the 1864 Battle of Adobe Walls and the exploits of the Kiowa warriors who fought in the battle, he is not the only member of the Kiowa community who has turned to art to commemorate the encounter. Bessie Horse James described her participation in poetry slams in Norman, Oklahoma as a way to explore her experiences as a Kiowa woman. In a poem entitled *Kit Carson: Killer of Buffalo, Women, and Children*, James challenges the popular image of Kit Carson as a dashing frontier scout and shifts attention to his role as an agent of manifest destiny. "It's kind of a political piece," she explained (James 2010).

Battle of the Washita, 1867

My consultants also shared with me accounts of Kiowa warriors' participation in the Battle of the Washita.[18] On November 27, 1868, the 7th Cavalry under command of Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer attacked a Cheyenne encampment on the Washita

[18] Kiowa interest in the battle may have been rekindled by recent developments at the Washita Battlefield National Historic Site. On August 25, 2007 the National Park Service opened a new visitor center and museum at the site (website http://www.nps.gov/waba/parknews/index.htm, accessed August 11, 2010).

River. The village, which contained approximately fifty lodges, belonged to Black Kettle, a leader of the "peace faction" among the Southern Cheyenne. Official reports indicate that 103 Cheyenne were killed and an additional 53 women were captured. As had occurred during Carson's attack on the Kiowa camp in 1864, warriors from villages located downstream started making their way to the scene of the fighting. Concerned by this development, Custer decided to withdraw. Before abandoning the village, the troopers shot the captured horses and burned the lodges and their contents. Major Joel Elliott led a detachment of nineteen men in pursuit of the Cheyenne who were fleeing toward the villages located downstream. Warriors arriving from these villages cut Elliot's detail off from the main force and annihilated it (Moore 1987:199; Nye 1968:136-137; 1937:62-70).

Despite the attention that the battle has received, Kiowa participation is not well documented in the literature. Nye (1969:64-67) provides an account of Eonah-pah's participation, which he evidently received from George Hunt. However, the citation scheme he employs makes it difficult to determine the precise source of the information. Other published accounts are silent regarding Kiowa participation. It is perhaps with an eye toward correcting these omissions that individuals offered the following accounts. Vanessa Jennings prefaced her remarks by noting,

> During the Battle of the Washita there were Kiowas who were there. And, during that time… People say, "No there were no Kiowas." But, I think Custer somewhere has… You know, he kept a wonderful journal, and as much as I didn't like the man, I found it interesting that he recorded things through his journals. But, he witnessed several Kiowas who had come and this [pointing at a scene on her dress] represents the Kiowas who were there at the Battle of the Washita. [Jennings 2009]

Martha also encountered skepticism regarding Kiowa participation in the battle. She recalled that when she initially approached National Park Service personnel with her ancestor Eonah-pah's story and inquired about taking part in events commemorating the battle, she was told that she would need to provide documentation confirming the account (Perez 2009).

Martha, who is Aonhahpau's great granddaughter, provided the following narrative. Aware that my coworkers and I from the SNOMNH had worked with Florene to produce a video documentary on her ancestor Tohausan and his descendants, Martha actually contacted me to ask if I would record the story for her family. She explained, "It was just a heroic thing, you know. And of course a lot of the Kiowas knew that story and all the old people knew it, but you know we never boasted about it or anything, but it's come to the point where you know we're gonna have to say something about it" (Perez 2009). Initially we hoped to visit the battlefield so that I could film Martha telling the story where the events transpired. When this plan fell through, we decided that I would record her telling the story in her home. It seemed fitting that she was recounting Eonah-pah's deeds in the midst of winter, because, as she noted, he had fought in the bitter cold and snow of a November morning.

> Well, it was at this time that… It was during the winter months, getting cold, during the winter season in November, that as they were encamped my great grandfather Eonah-pah decided to leave the encampment, because he was going hunting. He wanted to go hunt deer, whatever he could find to bring home, fresh meat for the family. And my dad says… Now, if he went off with a war party or another group of people, I'm not familiar with that part. I don't know that. My dad just said that he went out. He was going hunting. So he left and he was travelling westward, southwestward I guess you might say. They were encamped… At the time, they really didn't know that they were camped downstream from

where the Cheyenne and Arapahos were camped, where Black Kettle had his camp. And being… So, it was real cold. It was snowing. He decided, it was getting evening time, and he decided to fix him a place to sleep for the night. So, he went and fixed him up more or less a wickiup, just something to… a lean-to perhaps to keep him out of the cold and build a fire inside.

And then, after he got settled in and so forth, he decided to go into the encampment, where Black Kettle's camp was. But, as he was going on his travels, he noticed there was the hoof prints, noticed where horses had gone through the snow. And, when he had looked at 'em they had the horseshoe on 'em and that told him one thing – that that was a soldier's horse, a White man's horse. As he prepared to go down into the camp… He went into the camp of Black Kettle and they were all getting ready for a big celebration and… Of course, they welcome him in, welcomed him in and ask him to sit down and eat, gave him something to eat and everything. And then he told the chiefs at that time that he had seen the hoof prints, the horseshoes, but they didn't pay attention. They were so engrossed in making their plans of what they, or either [in] their celebration they were having. I don't know what it was. So, they had invited him to stay, but he decided not to.

And, he decided to go back up into his wickiup, which was set back up into the hills… If you go to Custer's battlefield, not Custer's, the Battle of Washita its located more or less in a gully, gully area. There's like red stone hills. It's kind of like a plateau area. You could see the hills there. Somewhere in that area, he had built his lean-to. And, so as he went back into his… Before it got real, real dark, he went back into his own little encampment, that he had built for himself, and built his fire and was very cozy. [He] took off his shoes and everything and went to sleep.

Well, during those times there was no radios, there was no t.v.'s. We didn't have no telephones, airplanes, cars, trains, whatever. Very quiet. Just… Only the still of the night and animal sounds or whatever. And, as he was sleeping, just… It must have been close to dawn, just about dawn, when all of a sudden there was just chaos that broke out. Just wham! Just chaos! Just… [claps her hands several times] And, he didn't know what was going on. He could hear crying, shouting, guns firing, people hollering, horses running – just chaos. Just… ladies, women screaming. And, he jumps up, and he grabs his bow and arrow and he takes off down into the encampment, to the sounds, 'cause he heard the women screaming and everything. Well, as he got closer, he couldn't hardly see, because of the smoke that the guns that they were using was making. He was running right into the battle and didn't realize it, and then, he said [that] as he was running, he was shooting his bow and arrows at these soldiers. Well, I guess he was doing pretty good at it, because he ran out of arrows.

Oh, and he saw the women, and he kept telling them to run, run, keep going, that there was shelter up in those cliffs there. And, as he was

> running, he ran out of the bow and arrows, and when he reached back, he didn't have any. But, he said, there's this young boy come running and start handing him some arrows that he had and he was shooting 'em. He told the boy to run also. And, all of a sudden, he was picked up by both arms, and he was drug by two cavalrymen. Two soldiers grabbed him from behind and drug him. They drug him and then, for quite a way, and then they dropped him. And, when he dropped on his stomach, he hit the snow. And, he said, as he fell into the snow, his arms went out, his hands. But, he said, just when his hand went out like that, it hit something in the snow, and when he lift[ed] it up, it was a revolver. Well, [he] didn't really know how to work it or anything, but he began firing it, and it scared the soldiers, so they stopped, and they took off from him. Evidently, he might not have hit 'em, because he didn't even know how to shoot the thing, but he was firing it.
>
> And, he kept telling the ladies, the women, and the children to keep running. And, after that, I guess he took refuge up there and… But that's the only part that… That's about how much we were told. But, the only part that we were told after that was that he was able to save a group of women and children at the time. And, it was later on, [that] he realized [that] he didn't even have no shoes on. He got up so fast, he didn't even have time to put his moccasins on, and his feet were almost frozen from running in the snow. [Perez 2009]

Martha's father reported that, in his later years, Eonah-pah began to wonder about the fate of the Cheyenne boy who had furnished him with arrows during the fighting. He tried in vain to learn the young boy's name and to determine if he had survived the battle. According to Martha, years after Eonah-pah's death, her father learned that the boy had survived and raised a family in Colony, Oklahoma. His descendants recalled his story of assisting a Kiowa warrior. Martha concluded her story, noting, "His relatives knew the story also, because they were able to get it from him. He said there was a Kiowa, but he didn't know who the Kiowa man was either" (Perez 2009).

Steven Redbird provided the following account of Eonah-pah's participation in the battle of the Washita. Steven carries Eonah-pah's name, which was bestowed upon him at the Tanedooah family reunion. Martha, Steven's aunt, conducted the naming

ceremony and recited the story of Aunhaupau at that time. Steven's version, although more abbreviated and less detailed than Martha's, contains some additional elements.

> It's a story about Eonah-pah saving about thirteen, fourteen Cheyenne-Arapaho kids, along with another chief called Little Chief. And after that battle was over, that Cheyenne-Arapaho lady said, "Those were the two bravest Kiowa men I've ever seen." Because, Eonah-pah was fighting barefooted. He didn't care. He was trying to save them. He didn't care about himself. That's what kind of man he was. But, he was going hunting the other day, day before it. He ran across some tracks, bunch of cavalry tracks, and he came back and tried to warn them. They didn't heed his warning, so he camped out, kind of far away. He wasn't dressed. He was hoping it wouldn't happen, but it happened. He heard them bugles, and he heard General Custer on Black Kettle's camp. So, all he could do is just ride down there, run down there with what he had and help. And that's the story of Eonah-pah, Trailing the Enemy. [S. Redbird 2010]

Two elements contained in Steven's version that are not present in the account I collected from Martha are the presence of an additional Kiowa warrior, Little Chief, and the testimony of a Cheyenne or Arapaho woman who witnessed the fighting.

Martha's narrative focuses solely on Eonah-pah and his exploits. Indeed, she makes it clear that her father never indicated that Eonah-pah was accompanied by other Kiowa warriors. In contrast, Steven places Little Chief alongside Eonah-pah during the fighting. Nye, apparently drawing on George Hunt's account, reports that two Kiowa warriors visited Black Kettle's camp the night before the attack. However, he does not identify Eonah-pah's companion (1937:64).

In 2004, Vanessa commissioned the painting of a dress depicting her ancestors' war deeds.[19] During our interview she explained the events that inspired each scene and provided the following account of her ancestor's participation in the Battle of the Washita.

> And, my grandfather's maternal grandfather was one who was there. And, during that fight there were four names that came out of that. Kintaddle was telling this story, retelling this story. And, she was telling, she was describing that the officer, the officer had brass, so those are epaulets that they're talking about. Anyway, this name… This one Kiowa man he received four names out of this fight. One of them… He is shot in the chest, and it's such a horrible wound [that] he can't sit up. I mean he can, but it's with great difficulty. And, he's laying there, so he's in pain. He's covered with blood. And, the soldiers are just walking around through there, and they're looking for the dead and trying to see if there's anybody alive, because then they shoot, they kill 'em. After he's shot, he's laying on the ground, and the soldier takes his rifle, the end where the muzzle [is], and he pokes him. And, he's still strong enough that he reaches up, and he grabs the gun and jerks it away from him and flips the gun around and shoots the soldier and kills him. So that [is] one name, Shoots Him With His Own Rifle. [Jennings 2009]

Vanessa's account underscores the close connection between personal names inspired by war deeds and historical consciousness. The perpetuation of this particular name has undoubtedly contributed to the perpetuation of the narrative which it encapsulates.

I would argue that a similar process is at play with regards to Eonah-pah's name and the account of his participation in the Battle of the Washita. There is no evidence that Eonah-pah adopted a new name inspired by his experiences during the battle or that he drew inspiration from his experiences to compose names for others. Nevertheless, the perpetuation of Eonah-pah's name seems to be linked to the survival of his story. No

[19] This dress is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

doubt, Steven's interest in Eonah-pah's participation in the Battle of the Washita stems from the fact that he carries Eonah-pah's name today.

Kiowa accounts of the Battle of the Washita, like other Kiowa accounts of nineteenth century warfare, depict the warrior in a defensive posture, responding to U.S. military aggression. However, in these accounts the warriors' sacrifices seem all the more selfless as they are fighting not only in defense of members of their own families or bands, but also in defense of members of another tribe.

Palo Duro Canyon, 1874

In their accounts of the Indian Wars period, Kiowa people depict their ancestors as having been constantly harried and pursued by the cavalry. These stories accurately reflect the tactics employed during the military campaign of 1874-1875. In 1936, Tsoodle recounted for Alice Marriott his memories of this period.

> The soldiers were after the Indians then. They were trying to drive them. Then we were up there on the prairies, and some came southwest, in this direction. We were scattering because the soldiers were after us. I was in the group that went north. Then we went over there and camped on the Canadian. There was quite a group of us. We never stayed in one place. [Marriott 1936b]

Tsoodle describes the Kiowa's attempts to evade the patrols that were scouring the Southern Plains, searching for them.

In the summer of 1874 four military columns converged on the Southern Plains with orders to locate and destroy native villages. The goal of the operations was to force these bands to return to the confines of the reservations assigned to their respective tribes in the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The resulting engagements, collectively referred to as the Red River War, effectively destroyed the Kiowa's ability to wage an armed

resistance against the U.S. government. Several Kiowa, Comanche, and Cheyenne bands camped in Palo Duro Canyon, where they hoped to avoid detection by the military patrols that were scouring the plains. The column commanded by Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie located the villages and on the morning of September 28, 1874 launched a surprise attack. The inhabitants hastily gathered what few belongings they could, abandoned the villages, and fled up the main canyon and adjacent side canyons where the men occupied positions to cover the women and children's escape. Mackenzie's force, which consisted of eight companies of the 4th Cavalry and Tonkawa, Lipan, and Black-Seminole scouts and auxiliaries, succeeded in capturing the villages and over 1,400 horses (Haley 1976:176-180; Nye 1962:199-201, 1968:174, 1969:221-223).

Skirmishing continued throughout the day, with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Cheyenne warriors firing from protected positions on the rocky slopes of the canyon walls. Late in the afternoon Mackenzie, ordered the villages burned. Concerned that the warriors would attempt to recapture their horses, Mackenzie selected several hundred to serve as remounts and as payment for the services of the native scouts and auxiliaries and ordered the rest, over 1,000 animals, to be shot. The Kiowa refugees from Palo Duro Canyon now faced the prospect of spending a winter on the Plains without adequate shelter or supplies, including reserves of food. Furthermore, the loss of so many horses compromised both their mobility and their ability to secure subsistence. Making matters worse, in the days after the battle, as many as half of their remaining horses were stolen by a party of New Mexican traders or buffalo hunters. Eventually, the Kiowa from Palo Duro Canyon made their way east and surrendered at Fort Sill (Haley 1976:180-182; Nye 1962:201-204, 206, 1968:174-175, 1969:223, 225).

Rhoades recounted her ancestor Poor Buffalo's participation in the fighting at Palo Duro Canyon in an essay included in *Gifts of Pride and Love: Kiowa and Comanche Cradles*. Rhoades' great grandmother Keintaddle, a cradle maker and the principal subject of the essay, was Poor Buffalo's daughter. She was approximately twenty-six years old when Mackenzie's forces attacked her father's village.

> Pautaudletay and his group went up the south trail to escape. He was wounded so he directed his people to put him down behind a rock so that he could hold off the pursuing soldiers with his rifle. He was able to give the escapees some time and managed to escape himself. He had many wives as was the custom and one of his children was a young boy who was crippled. He said that this son was one of the main reasons he fought so hard to escape: "What would happen to the poor boy, who would take care of him if I couldn't make it?" … Keintaddle would tell this story to my mother and would teach her the song he sang as he held off the soldiers. [Rhoades 2000:92]

As in the accounts of Sétthâide and Stumbling Bear at Adobe Walls and Eonah-pah at the Washita, Pautaudletay is portrayed as risking his life to secure the safety of Kiowa women and children. Nye collected a similar account of Poor Buffalo's stand from Botalye, a member of Poor Buffalo's band who witnessed the fighting in Palo Duro Canyon (1962:184, 200-201).

Melissa provided the following account of her ancestor's escape from Palo Duro Canyon. She first related the story while we were having lunch following a church service at Saddle Mountain. I had offered to screen the 1916 silent film *Old Texas,* which was shot at Charles Goodnight's ranch and includes footage of Melissa's ancestor Odlepaugh. Since several of her relatives attend church at Saddle Mountain - the small congregation is comprised almost entirely of her relations - Melissa suggested that I show the film after church one Sunday. Because of the nature of the film and the fact

that it is set in Palo Duro Canyon, much of our lunchtime conversation focused on historical topics, including the founding members of Saddle Mountain Church. It was in this context that Melissa shared the story. During a subsequent interview, she allowed me to record the following version.

> That's just what I heard. Some people will dispute it or what… [It's] just what I heard. They were all in there and they couldn't get out. They were trapped in there, and they didn't know how to get out. And they said… I guess their… I wish I'd remember what his name was, but their medicine man at the time said… I guess he was over there making medicine or whatever they do, praying about everything. And he said, "Well, we can." He said, "I'm gonna tell y'all one thing, but you gotta be… Y'all got to be quiet. You gotta be awfully quiet with the horses, and when we come out there'll be no noise." He said, "When you hear this owl, when you hear it hoot, follow it, follow the sound." He said, "But move quietly, so we can get out of here." So, they heard it and then they went. They kept going, going, going, going, going and then they stop. Then pretty soon, they heard it again. So, they followed it again, followed that noise – hoot. Went on and on. He said, they went through everywhere. And he said, finally at the end, the last time they heard that, there was a little place they could come out, and they all went through it. And, that's how they got out of the Palo Duro Canyon.
>
> That's the way I heard it. There could be other stories, but that's just the way our grandma told us. So, that's what we… I said, "God it was…" I mean especially her, she has… When they tell stories, they put emphasis on 'em and everything else, and then it gets you scared and I just… I always sit. I don't know why I was like that when I hear stories. But, I'm almost in that story. When she was telling us about their sneaking through and trying to keep quiet and everything else, oh, I said, "Don't even make a noise they're gonna hear y'all [laughs] and they're gonna come. They're gonna come and get y'all." But I said… Oh, I just sat on the edge of my seat waiting. I could just picture them in my mind, going through there in the dark and trying to get out, but just listening to that one sound to get out. And they did get out, she said. So, it was through that, that they made it, through that sound, listening to the owl. I said… And here I wonder how come she was talking about owls when

> now we've… Most look to them as bad omens. It was a bad omen now days when you see anything about an owl. [Kaulaity 2009]

Melissa leaves little doubt that her grandmother's story captured her imagination and made a lasting impression on her. Others grew up with similar stories of their ancestors' attempts to elude the military. Hearing such stories sparked Grace LaCour's (2009) curiosity and prompted her to ask her mother how Kiowa women were able to keep their children quiet while attempting to sneak past the soldiers. Both accounts demonstrate Kiowa individuals' interest in stories pertaining to their ancestors' ability to outmaneuver the military.

Christina Simmons shared her maternal grandmother's memories of the aftermath of McKenzie's attack on the Kiowa camps at Palo Duro Canyon. Her grandmother had recalled scaling the walls of the canyon to escape and then fleeing onto the staked plains. Her band was pursued by soldiers and eventually forced into confinement at Fort Sill. There she was held in the stone corral along with the other women and children. The military had confiscated their horses and possessions when they surrendered, and she remembered hearing the soldiers kill the horses and seeing the smoke rising from the bonfires as their possessions were burned. Christina imparted these stories to her nephews, who when he was a child would refer to the stone corral at Fort Sill as "sister's corral," *pisan,* or little sister, being the Kiowa term for one's great grandmother. Christina stated with evident pride, "They were the last of the holdouts, my mother's group" (Christina Simmons personal communication, August 23, 2009).

Contesting Dominant Accounts

These accounts comprise an alternative version of Kiowa history, one intended to counter portrayals of the Kiowa as aggressive or unduly prone to commit violence. Such stereotypes abound in the literature on the Plains Indian. Consider this excerpt from the foreword to Nye's *Plains Indian Raiders*: "The nomadic Indians of the central and southwestern Plains were untamed, frequently hostile to the whites, and of uncertain temper, even as late as 1875. A man had to be constantly alert to danger when dealing with them, as with any feral, predatory creature," lest he be, "speared, shot, scalped, and mutilated" (Nye 1968:vii). Similarly, in the preface to *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill,* Nye refers to the Kiowa and Comanche as "men who in fierce exultation have torn reeking scalps from their enemies."

This rhetoric is not entirely a thing of the past. Decrying the way in which many Plains tribes are often represented in the historical literature, Devon Mihesuah focuses on Allen Lee Hamilton's 1988 book *Sentinel of the Southern Plains: Fort Richardson and the Northwest Texas Frontier, 1866-1878*. She notes that "Hamilton describes the 'lurking' (p. 127) Comanches as living in 'lairs' (p. 126), refers to Indian females as 'squaws' (p. 132) and takes delight in describing Comanche atrocities without mentioning those committed by whites" (Mihesuah 2004:151).

Sétthái de's Death

Sétthái de's death in the penitentiary in Huntsville, Texas on October 10, 1878 has long been treated as a suicide by Anglo historians. However, many Kiowa, including his descendants, are unwilling to accept this version of events. They view his death while in the custody of the Texas authorities as the result of a more sinister chain of events

(Lassiter 2002:133-134). Stan Hoig (2000:252) presents the standard version of events, writing that "he jumped headlong from a second-story balcony onto the prison courtyard and successfully killed himself."

A brief reference to Sétthái de's death in Alice Marriot's field notes suggests that the struggle to define how he died, and by extension the meaning of his death, dates back to at least the 1930s. Tsoodle provides his version of what transpired at Huntsville, explaining, "Finally White Bear was trying to escape and jumped out of the upstairs window. He was killed." It is interesting to note that Marriott wrote the word "Suicide" in the margin next to Tsoodle's account. Tsoodle never refers to Sétthái de's death as a suicide. In his account, Sétthái de dies in a failed escape attempt. It appears that Marriott was so wedded to the dominant narrative of Sétthái de's death that she could not allow Tsoodle's version of the event to go unchallenged, even within the confines of her field notes (Marriott 1936b).

The descendants of Sétthái de with whom I worked vehemently rejected the idea that he willingly jumped to his death, believing instead that he was thrown out of the window by his guards. As Betty Washburn, vice president of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants explained:

> Hey, they's probably thinking, hey this man's a trouble maker, you know. He's keeping them from surrendering. We need to get rid of him because otherwise we can't conquer these people, you know. You know, he eventually wound up in Huntsville. And I've thought about it. I said God, I bet he went through a lot, you know just… And, I really, I firmly believe it's just like a, it's a, it's a, my… I firmly believe that he didn't jump out of there. See there was guards, what six or eight guards escorting him and they were probably shoving him you know, you know cause they knew, "How can he get all six or eight of us?" And he probably hit back at them cause he was a chief. He ain't gonna let no mere white man, [an] enemy shove him around, so he probably got back at

> 'em shove or hit one of them and that's when they probably jumped in and just pushed him toward the window. You know, that's my thinking. Cause uh… I don't … I don't know… I can't really believe, but that's [what] they have to say they did or else, you know there's going to be trouble. You know, naturally, you know, he probably fell on his head or something, cause you know committing suicide's not really the thing, you know. They always say that he committed suicide, you know. I don't believe that way, cause it's kind of a no no [among] Indians. You don't take your own life, you know. That's a coward's way. And, he's no coward. [B. Washburn 2009a]

Betty's narrative of the events surrounding Sétthái de's death contains the same essential elements found in the other accounts that I collected. Sétthái de is presented as a defiant figure, an obstacle to the U.S. government's attempts to pacify the Kiowa. Indeed, it is his advocacy on behalf of the Kiowa people that marks him for imprisonment. Despite his confinement, he remains proud and defiant and is unwilling to accept a slight from his captors. Betty's narrative emphasizes his fearlessness, his willingness to face overwhelming odds. Ultimately, he dies engaged in an act of resistance.

In support of her alternative version of events, Betty stresses that the idea of taking one's own life was alien to the Kiowa. This was an argument repeated time and time again by my consultants. Consider the following statement:

> The second time he got thrown in prison down there they say that he jumped out the building and committed suicide. Those Kiowas don't believe that. To me and to us that's not true. Cause like they say, Kiowas, chiefs they don't do that. They don't commit suicide by jumping out a window. They commit suicide by staking themselves in the ground and fighting to the death and we believe um that he was thrown out that window. And that's, this is the Indian story. The, what do they call that [snaps his fingers] the oral, oral tradition as compared to the hearsay of the white man. Because the white man will tell you, "Oh he was rebellion and he just went nuts and he just jumped out the window and landed on his neck." Does that really make sense if you really know Indians, the way you probably should know Indians. No, umum. Nope. Indians don't go

> out like that. Indians would rather go down fighting, that's why we never became - some tribes did, the little bity smaller tribes, but other tribes never became slaves. That's why the white man hated us. [S. Redbird 2010]

Steven's statement that Kiowa chiefs "commit suicide by staking themselves in the ground and fighting to the death" is significant (S. Redbird 2010). He is making a reference to the fact that some nineteenth century Kiowa warriors took vows not to retreat during the midst of heavy fighting. The symbol of this vow was a sash made of hide or trade cloth that was worn over the right shoulder and trailed to the ground on the opposite side. In battle, warriors would stake themselves to the ground by passing an arrow or lance through the end of the sash. Having pinned himself to the ground, the warrior was obligated to remain and fight unless a comrade freed him by removing the arrow or lance that held him in place (LaBarre 1935b:531-532, 534, 538, 1221; Lowie 1916:848-849; Meadows 1999:40).

Steven was not the only individual who cited the existence of no retreat sashes and their associated obligations in refuting the claim that Sétthái de committed suicide. Emily Satepauhoodle's (2010) comments regarding Sétthái de's death echoes Steven's observations. Together, their statements define fighting to the death as an acceptable way to die, a noble death by Kiowa standards, and contrast it with taking one's own life. The implication is that committing suicide is an act of cowardice, tantamount to retreating in the face of the enemy.

The circumstances surrounding Sétthái de's death are hotly contested, because his death is so heavily laden with significance. In the official version of events, Sétthái de's suicide is comparable to surrender, a despondent prisoner's response to a hopeless

situation. Grace, a descendant of Sétthái de, explained that the government wanted people to believe that "he was a coward [and that] he killed himself" (LaCour 2009). Kiowa accounts attribute an entirely different meaning to his death. Sétthái de loses his life contending against overwhelming odds. He dies undaunted, defiant to the last. His death in the penitentiary is a proxy for death on the battlefield and is ultimately recast as a symbolic victory. He dies, but he is never truly defeated. In the process, he assumes a place alongside Kiowa warriors who died resisting the U.S. military such as Setangya and Gulhaee.

As we have seen the figure of the warrior facing difficult or desperate odds is a popular theme in Kiowa historical consciousness. Indeed, the earliest example of Kiowa warrior art, a hide painting collected by Dr. Edward Palmer in 1868, depicts a Kiowa man surrounded by a host of adversaries (Greene 1997:44-45). Drawings on paper from the 1870s and 1880s depict Kiowa warriors facing enemies who possess superior numbers or weapons (McCoy 1996:56-59). When the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* was renewed, a space was always reserved for a "circle picture," which depicted the deeds of warriors who had escaped after having been surrounded by the enemy (Greene and Drescher 1994:423). In each instance, the drawings or paintings celebrate the Kiowa warriors' ability to surmount overwhelming odds. They call attention to both the warrior's martial prowess and the efficacy of his medicine.

As prominent warriors lost their lives in the turbulent events of the 1870s, the established narrative had to be broadened to encompass their stories as well. While the new accounts attributed the same qualities to these men that had been honored in earlier combat narratives - courage, readiness to risk personal injury or death, and martial

prowess - these new narratives culminated not in the protagonist's victory over his foes, but rather in his death. Whereas previous narratives had celebrated the warrior's ability to triumph in the face of long odds, the new narratives emphasized the protagonist's willingness to forfeit his life. These figures were defined as martyrs who willingly sacrificed their lives on behalf of their people. In the account of Gulhaee's death, he dies fighting to ensure that Kiowa women and children have sufficient time to escape the pursuing cavalry troopers. In the cases of Setangya and Sétthâide, the men die defying their captors, unwilling to be subjugated.

Conclusion

Prominent warriors who participated in the armed resistance to Anglo American encroachment during the latter half of the nineteenth century occupy a privileged place in the historical consciousness of members of the contemporary Kiowa community. These men served as the leaders of residence bands and warrior societies during this tumultuous period. While many of these men participated in intertribal wars during the first half of the nineteenth century, it is their militant opposition to U.S. government domination that individuals emphasized in interviews. Conspicuously absent in these interviews were discussions of figures from earlier periods in Kiowa history, such as the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. While two men mentioned the Kiowa chiefs who had provided leadership during the Kiowa people's migration onto the Southern Plains, and one of these men mentioned the first Kiowa to acquire a horse, both men indicated that the names of these individuals had been lost to history. The late nineteenth century seemingly dominates the historical consciousness of the Kiowa.

A variety of factors accounts for the prominent place that the nineteenth century occupies in the historical consciousness of Kiowa community members. First, a great deal of ethnographic research was undertaken in the Kiowa community during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Influenced by the salvage ethnography paradigm, these researchers were interested in reconstructing pre-reservation Kiowa society and therefore sought to document community members' memories of this period. Consequently, the publications that they produced focus primarily on nineteenth century Kiowa life. In addition, a number of books have been published on the Southern Plains Indian Wars. Kiowa figures such as Tohausan, Lone Wolf, Sétthâide, and Setangya figure prominently in these works. Furthermore, members of the Kiowa community have engaged in sponsoring events honoring their nineteenth century ancestors. These include events sponsored by formal descendants' organizations, the topic of the next two chapters, as well as events orchestrated by individual descendants or informal associations of descendants, often working in concert with the Fort Sill National Landmark and Museum. Yet, neither the extensive literature on the nineteenth century Kiowa nor recent commemorative events entirely account for this phenomenon.

Ultimately, the focus on prominent nineteenth century warriors and their martial exploits that characterizes contemporary Kiowa historical consciousness must be seen as an outgrowth of longstanding Kiowa practices. In nineteenth century Kiowa society, a man's status was largely determined by his war deeds. Individual warrior's martial achievements were commemorated through the creation of war deed names and pictographic drawings. These drawings not only depict prominent individuals engaging in combat, but also returning from raids and acting in their capacity as *fà:ujóqì:* of their

warrior societies. While Kiowa pictographic calendars contain few references to individual warriors' martial exploits, they nevertheless evidence a focus on prominent individuals and their personal experiences. Biographical narratives of prominent warriors and their deeds continue to occupy a privileged place in the historical consciousness of members of the Kiowa community, much as they have since the nineteenth century.

Intense interest in Kiowa history, particularly as it pertains to their own ancestors, has prompted many of the individuals with whom I spoke to consult the published literature on the Kiowa. Members of the Kiowa community tend to be critical consumers of published works, carefully considering the Kiowa sources upon which the authors base their accounts, vetting information with elders, and comparing published accounts with oral narratives before deciding how much authority to invest in these works. Consultants tended to minimize the role the authors played in shaping these texts, emphasizing instead the Kiowa sources upon which the works rely. Publications are valued because they are seen as providing access to Kiowa sources from an earlier period, including narratives shared by Kiowa people who are now deceased, pictographic calendars, and drawings of war exploits. Granted, accounts of previous generations of Kiowa consultants duping gullible researchers and providing misinformation circulate within the community. These narratives call into question the reliability of information contained in published works and bolster the authority of Kiowa oral narratives. Nevertheless, many individuals reject these claims and continue to engage with the published literature, utilizing it to augment the oral history that they have received.

Much of the discourse surrounding nineteenth century Kiowa warriors makes no reference to specific battles or skirmishes and consists instead of statements intended to convey the frequency with which Kiowa warriors clashed with the military. However, Kiowa narratives concerning individual warriors' exploits in specific engagements do exist. Accounts of the 1864 Battle of Adobe Walls, the 1868 Battle of the Washita, and McKenzie's 1874 attack at Palo Duro Canyon portray Kiowa warriors fighting in defense of women and children. In each narrative it is the military and its allies not the Kiowa who are the aggressors. The stories emphasize the warriors' courage, as well as their skill.

These narratives represent a form of counter memory. On one level, community members contest portrayals of their ancestors as violent marauders, framing their ancestors' armed struggle as one waged to preserve their land base, families, and way of life. At the same time, Kiowa narratives also challenge accounts of specific events, such as the circumstances surrounding the death of Sétthâide. His descendants reject official claims that he committed suicide, arguing instead that he was killed in an altercation with prison guards. They provide an alternative account of Sétthâide's death, one in which he dies locked in struggle with his adversaries.

Ultimately, nineteenth century Kiowa warriors are remembered as having risked their lives on behalf of their people. Setangya, Sétthâide, and Lone Wolf emerge as martyr figures, who sacrificed their freedom and ultimately their lives to ensure the physical and cultural survival of the Kiowa. Members of the contemporary Kiowa community who wish to promote the preservation and perpetuation of Kiowa cultural practices viewed as endangered find inspiration in these men's sacrifices. Indeed, as I

outline in the next chapter, their sacrifices are seen as creating an obligation on the part of contemporary Kiowa people to maintain those cultural practices.

Chapter 3: "We're Kiowa, we're not just a face in the crowd." : Kiowa Descendants' Organizations

Having provided a broad overview of the factors influencing the development of Kiowa people's understandings of their past, I seek now to examine how collectives within contemporary Kiowa society have sought to mobilize interpretations of the past. In doing so, I focus on the activities of descendants' organizations, formal groups comprised of the descendants of prominent nineteenth century figures. I limit my analysis to three organizations: the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, Satethieday Khatgombaugh (Society of White Bear's People), and the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants. I identify the factors that motivated individuals to form these organizations and that continue to compel their participation.

At the core of recent research on heritage and historical consciousness is the premise that interpretations and representations of the past must be understood as rooted in the contemporary moment. Their significance, it is argued, must be seen as lying not in the past, but rather in the cultural work that they are made to perform in the present (Beier-de Haan 2006; Kirshenblatt-Gimblet 1998; Glassie 1994). I hasten to add that these anthropological insights would come as no surprise to my consultants, most of who would readily admit that their organizations' activities are in many ways more about the future than the past, a concept rendered explicit in the slogan of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants "Linking the past with the present to determine the future" (K. Washburn 2009).

The formation of Kiowa descendants organizations constitutes a case of what Jason Baird Jackson (2007) has referred to as the "paradoxical power of endangerment," the tendency for threats to indigenous languages and forms of expressive culture to spark community based efforts to preserve and transmit these cultural expressions.

> Describing something as endangered is a way of both highlighting its special value (perhaps as yet not widely recognized) and of mobilizing people to intervene to prevent the loss – the disappearance – that is being evoked. More powerful in some ways than its conceptual neighbors tradition and heritage, endangerment can galvanize people to action, even as all these ways of thinking about culture significantly change the very phenomena they seek to celebrate. [Jackson 2007:38]

Kiowa descendants' organizations emerged in response to the perceived endangerment of Kiowa cultural practices.[20] The founders of these organizations express anxiety concerning the future of the Kiowa language and Kiowa cultural practices. The following quote illustrates this viewpoint, "I think about [if] I could see all the people that are gone… They would be proud that we're trying to do something, carry on and uphold. 'Cause, I always think in our generation, after we're gone, with this new one, everything's going to be… It's gonna die out, you know, even our language and some of the ways, the dances, the tradition" (Tehauno 2009). The activities in which these organizations engage represent responses to the declining use of the Kiowa language and

[20] Rhonda Fair notes that similar concerns regarding the endangerment of cultural practices motivated the formation of organizations within the Caddo community. The Caddo Culture Club was founded in 1990 to respond to a perceived decline in interest in Caddo expressive culture, particularly songs and dances. Similarly, the Hasinai Society was formed to foster interest in Caddo cultural practices among the community's youth (Fair 2007:68, 70). Abigail Wightman (2009:31-32) notes that members of the Plains Apache community expressed concern regarding lagging participation in dances, writing that, "Many tribal leaders are very concerned about non-participation because of its association with cultural loss and assimilation…" Such concerns prompted the tribal government to sponsor a "culture camp" intended to stimulate interest in Plains Apache cultural practices and participation in community dances (Wightman 2009:175).

lagging participation in markedly Kiowa cultural activities among younger generations of Kiowa.

At the same time, members of these organizations seek to preserve and transmit their family history, including genealogical knowledge and accounts of their nineteenth century ancestors.[21] Members work to compile this information. Sometimes, as outlined in Chapter 1, descendants comb through the anthropological and historical literature, searching for stories pertaining to their ancestor. Dances and reunions sponsored by descendants' organizations provide venues in which members share this information with both their fellow descendants and the public. In addition, oral history and published accounts are repackaged and shared through newsletters or compiled in binders for the benefit of these future generations. Indeed, these efforts seem to be fuelled by a powerful sense of obligation. Individuals feel compelled to ensure the transmission of information that they received from their parents and grandparents.

Studies of heritage and historical consciousness have frequently focused on large scale ethnic nationalist movements, including those in Quebec (Handler 1984, 1986, 1987; Handler and Linnekin 1984), Hawaii (Handler and Linnekin 1984; Linnekin 1983), and Northern Ireland (Glassie 1994). In these contexts, evocations of heritage are viewed as means of fostering social solidarity within a populace and mobilizing it for sustained political struggle (Handler 1983:247). By contrast, the Kiowa descendants' organizations discussed in this chapter do not espouse a shared political agenda. They are neither engaged in political struggles vis-à-vis the state or federal government nor are they

[21] Wightman (2009:31-32) observes that members of the Plains Apache community expressed analogous concerns regarding "maintaining appropriate kin relationships," and worried that youth would "not only eschew powwow participation, but the ties of kinship, respect, and propriety that bind the community together."

involved in the internal politics of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma. While individual members of these organizations may be active in tribal politics, the descendants' organizations are not political instruments. For example, the organizations do not endorse specific candidates for tribal office or engage in fundraising activities on behalf of candidates.

While the descendants' organizations share certain objectives, including the preservation and promotion of Kiowa cultural practices, they pursue these goals largely independently. Although the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants and Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants enjoy a reciprocal relationship in which they co-sponsor one another's dances, they have not cooperated in other ventures (B. Washburn 2009a; Yellowhair 2009). The Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh are descendants' organizations dedicated to the memory of Sétthái de. However, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh was organized by dissidents who splintered off from the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, and the two organizations have not supported each other (Satepauhoodle 2010; Tanedooah 2010; B. Washburn 2009a). Furthermore, the emphasis that these organizations place on biological descent mitigates against the integrative function typically attributed to heritage movements. The leadership of all three organizations remains firmly in the hands of descendants of Sétthái de and Guipago (Lone Wolf), and these descendants seek to maintain their control over the intellectual property associated with their ancestors, including personal names, tipi designs, and songs. While descendants' organizations sponsor dances and events in which members of the broader Kiowa community are invited and encouraged to participate, each

organization simultaneously seeks to retain control over its ancestor's image and intellectual property.

Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants

The Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants was founded by a small group of descendants interested in locating their ancestor's shield and securing its return to Oklahoma. Betty Sankadota Washburn, the driving force behind the formation of the organization, began her quest to secure the shield's return after a conversation with her father, Clarence Sankadota. Séttháide was Clarence's great grandfather. Betty described how her father had charged her with the task of locating the shield.

> I was following up my daddy's wishes, 'cause we used to sit on the porch in [the] evening, my mom and daddy, and he'd smoke a pipe. One day, out of the blue, he said, "Bee." He talked in Kiowa. He said, "Where is that shield at?" He said, "Séttháide's shield." I said, "Daddy, I don't know. " I said, "I heard it was out of state, somewhere in a museum." He said, "You must find out about it." [B. Washburn 2009a]

According to Kendall Washburn (fig. 15), Betty's son and the current president of the organization, this conversation was the catalyst for the formation of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants.

> I remember [in the] late eighties my mother talking about it. The idea was there. And interest was there. I always relate it to my grandfather asking her about the shield or Satanta's war shield. And it seemed to stem from that one question and the idea came for an organization, eventually an organization where we were gonna find that shield, but then the direction became… Well, let's… [It] became more of a cultural, education type organization. But, I remember late eighties, early nineties when it really kicked off. And that's how it got started with her. Well, I would like to say Grandpa with that one question. [K. Washburn 2009]

Betty and the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants' struggled almost a decade to secure the shield's return to Oklahoma (B. Washburn 2009a). At this point, it is sufficient to understand that the formation of the organization provided a means of mobilizing Sétthâide's descendants for the anticipated struggle over the shield.

Betty was not the first individual to attempt to establish a Sétthâide descendants' organization. In the 1970s, three sisters, Henrietta Tongkeamha, Margaret Methvin, and Evelynn Chalepah, descendants of Sétthâide's son Odlepaugh (Buffalo Bird), took steps to form a similar organization. Melissa Tongkeamha Kaulaity explained that the failing health of two of the organizers, including her mother Henrietta, led to the abandonment of the concept.

> They started the first group… We went and then she got sick and then her sister got sick. And then it never got off the ground. It never got off the ground. They got the shawls. They got the vests. They got everything, but it just never got off the ground, because after she started getting sick, you know, [we] couldn't go on anymore. And then we completely didn't think about it anymore after she was gone." [Kaulaity 2010]

Although the organization was short lived, it served to stimulate among the women's children an interest in Sétthâide, an interest that Betty was able to tap into years later.

At the outset, the Chief Satanta Descendants consisted of Betty, her two sisters, Patsy and Esther, and their spouses and children. The three sisters trace their descent from Tsalosaun (Cry of the Wild Goose), Sétthâide's eldest son. Their paternal grandmother was Aitsonpoiyah (Putting Her First), who was Tsalosaun's daughter (B. Washburn 2009a). Over time, other descendants gravitated toward the organization. A

number of these individuals were descended from Odlepaugh. Melissa explained how her family became involved in the organization.

> Lula Grace came one day and she said, "Hey," she said, "there's… You know Betty Washburn?" I said, "Yeah." She said, "She's starting up… She's starting up a Sétthái de club. Why don't y'all come and listen?" So we went there. My sister and I, we went there and we listened. And she said, "I want to start this up again to… I want to start going on." So, we said, "Yeah we'll help you since it was Momma, Mom's idea and Aunt Margaret's idea." We said, "Yeah, we'll help." So we joined and then hence here came our kids, our daughters. My daughters were eager to [join] and then my granddaughter Leah, she became our princess. So then Raymond came and… See, we all came. We were just really glad that it was revived again, something our mother planned a long time ago and just didn't get going. And that's why we're with her now and we still enjoy, you know, enjoy being in the club and supporting it and doing what we can for [it]. When she needs us we're there. And I'm proud of that. [Kaulaity 2010]

During the sixteen months during which I conducted my research, Melissa, her brother Raymond Tongkeamha, and their cousin Grace LaCour were among the most active members of the organization.

One of the first events hosted by the organization was a family reunion for the descendants of Sétthái de that was held in 1990. The organization hosted its second reunion in November of 1991 at Ambrosia Springs Park on the Fort Sill Military Base (Sanderson 1991:1C). The 1992 reunion was attended by over 125 descendants. The event featured an evening meal and entertainment, including a turtle race and a session of songs and dancing. The reunion also offered an opportunity for the heads of the various families to introduce themselves and identify which of Sétthái de's children they

descended from (Washburn 1992:1).[22] The organization continued to hold its annual reunions at Fort Sill until security measures instituted after the September 11, 2001 attacks forced them to seek an alternative venue (Kaulaity 2009).

The Chief Satanta Descendants held its first powwow in July, 1991 at Ambrosia Springs Park. The inaugural powwow was held in honor of Clarence Sankadota, Betty's father (Schucker 1991). The organization has continued to hold dances on an annual basis. While the reunions were held in the fall, the dances were held in early June. In 2005, the reunion and powwow were combined into a single annual celebration.

Another event the organization has participated in since the early 1990s is the American Indian Exposition in Anadarko, Oklahoma. Held each August, the weeklong event features dance competitions, a nightly pageant, and a carnival. The members of the Chief Satanta Descendants set up a camp at the Expo, which provides a place to socialize and share meals.[23] Parades through downtown Anadarko mark the first and the last days of the Exposition and the organization has been a regular participant in the annual parades (fig. 16). From the outset, the parades have provided the organization with an excellent way to publicize its existence and recruit members. Kendall admitted that initially he did not understand the importance his mother assigned to the organization's participation in the parades.

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[22] Such public recitations of genealogies are rare outside of the speeches made in the context of giveaways. During the course of my research on Kiowa performance events, I recorded numerous giveaways. Typically, the spokesperson selected to speak on behalf of the individual sponsoring the giveaway will recount the sponsor's genealogy. However, the information provided rarely extends beyond the individual's grandparents or great grandparents' generation.

[23] Although an individual is usually left in charge of the camp, members typically do not spend the night at the Expo grounds, preferring instead to return to their homes. Most of the socializing occurs in the evening, when the August heat has dissipated some and the temperature is more pleasant.

> That Indian parade in Anadarko is so important to mom. And I never could understand it, honestly. To me, it was a parade. But, people… It's a big deal to [that] generation and I'm sure it's to some other people. But, I think that really opened a lot of people's eyes [to] who we were and opened other people's eyes that… we're descendants of, of him. Let's get involved. And I think a combination of those two were a little more powerful than I really gave it credit. [K. Washburn 2009]

Participating in the parade also provides the organization with an opportunity to demonstrate that it is still active and to showcase the strength of its membership. For example, in 1993, approximately 75 descendants gathered for lunch at the organization's camp following the opening parade (Washburn 1993:1). In 2009, the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants still had one of the larger contingents involved in the parades, although fewer than twenty members of the organization participated.

In order to increase the organization's visibility within the Kiowa community, the members of the Chief Satanta Descendants also began attending and co-sponsoring dances. Frequently, the sponsors of a dance will recruit several co-sponsors to assist them. Initially, the Chief Satanta Descendants focused on establishing contacts with other Kiowa organizations (K. Washburn 2009). Newsletters published by the organization during the early 1990s indicated that the Chief Satanta Descendants co-sponsored dances with the Victory Club, Princess Sorority, Kiowa Tia Piah Society, and Kiowa War Mothers, Chapter 18 (Washburn 1992:2, 1993:1). Kendall recalled this period in the organization's history.

> Seems like we really were exclusively Kiowa related. If it was a Kiowa dance and especially if we're invited, we were there. Or if it involved in some way a chance to share Satanta's legacy, we were there. Yeah, I

> remember being [at] a lot of powwows that were in Red Buffalo [Hall] in Carnegie. Seems like we did a lot of stuff there. Over time, it was okay to go to different tribal powwows and spread that. Which I think that's good. I think that's good too, to share among, share intertribally instead of being exclusively Kiowa. [K. Washburn 2009]

Through its members' active participation in the southwest Oklahoma powwow scene, the Chief Satanta Descendants organization was able to recruit additional members and grow their organization. Kendall Washburn (2009) explained, "eventually [after] getting out there, making a few powwows, people started coming in and saying, 'We're descendants from this line, and so we'd look into it and welcome 'em with open arms just to build numbers, obviously. So it continues on and we're real happy with it."

It would be incorrect, however, to give the impression that the members' attendance and participation in these dances was merely a recruiting strategy. I frequently observed members attending dances when the organization was not serving as a co-sponsor. This included ceremonials sponsored by the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society and the Kiowa Gourd Clan, as well as smaller benefit dances. At these events, the members sometimes sat together, as they typically do when the organization is serving as a co-sponsor, while at other times they did not.

Cultural Preservation

The preservation and perpetuation of Kiowa cultural practices has been a goal of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants since its inception. In a November, 1991 newspaper interview, Betty observed, "Nobody's keeping records, and that's what I want to do. The old ways are really dying out. We are trying to hand down a way of life to take it seriously, to keep it up. I always thought, we're special people" (Sanderson 1991:2C). Betty's statement contains several elements that surfaced repeatedly in my

conversations with members of the organization. First and foremost is the critical assessment that Kiowa cultural practices are endangered or at risk of disappearing. She characterizes them as "really dying out." At the same time there is the belief that these practices are essential elements of a uniquely Kiowa identity, hence her statement that she "always thought, we're special people." According to this belief it is only in practicing these "ways" that individuals are able to maintain their Kiowa identity, which sets them apart from the members of mainstream society. The following quote by Raymond is illustrative of this perspective, "I said we have an organization, White Bear, Satanta White Bear Descendants. The reason they got this together is we keep the legacy going for our people. We don't like for anything to go away, because we're Kiowa, we're not just a face in the crowd. We are a people. We're somebody. We have our own traditions, our own things" (Tongkeamha 2009). Betty and Raymond's statements define Kiowa identity as linked to the maintenance of a unique set of cultural practices and express anxiety over the survival of the Kiowa people as a distinct entity.

Writing about the relationship between song and social memory in the Kiowa community, Lassiter (2002:138) observes that "Satetheiday's nineteenth century struggles to resist settlement continue to be relevant to current KCA [Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache] struggles to remain ethnically distinct." My own research bears this out. In Sétthái de's opposition to Anglo-American encroachment and his efforts to preserve the Kiowa people's autonomy and way of life, members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants see a model for contemporary Kiowa people. Asked what lessons Kiowa people might learn from Satanta, Melissa said "Be who you are. Don't let anybody take that away from you. Know who you are. Know who you came from and be proud of it.

Be proud of who… You're a Kiowa" (Kaulaity 2009). Melissa hopes contemporary Kiowa people will take pride in Satanta's defense of Kiowa cultural practices and be moved to embrace them themselves.

Medicine Lodge Indian Peace Treaty Pageant – Medicine Lodge, Kansas

The Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants organization actively participates in the Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty Pageant and has done so since 1991. Hosted by the Medicine Lodge, Kansas chamber of commerce, the pageant portrays the history of the Southern Plains, including the signing of the 1867 Treaty of Medicine Lodge (B. Washburn 2009b). The website for the event advertises that, "The Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty re-enactment compresses 300 years of history into two hours of entertainment and education" (Indian Peace Treaty Pageant 2004a). The pageant was first held in 1927 and has been held every three to five years since (Indian Peace Treaty Pageant 2004b). Native American participation in the pageant is longstanding and Kiowa delegations have been attending the event since at least the 1940s. Several Kiowa elders with whom I spoke recalled their parents participating in the pageant or having taken part themselves (Nimsey 2009; G. Tahbone 2009). Indeed, Betty Sankadota Washburn and Patsy Tehauno's maternal grandparents attended the pageant (B. Washburn 2009a). There is therefore ample precedent for the Chief Satanta Descendants organization's participation in the event.

The Medicine Lodge Chamber of Commerce invites twenty individuals from each of the five tribes associated with the 1867 treaty negotiations to participate in the pageant. The Chief Satanta Descendants have formed the cornerstone of the Kiowa delegation since the early 1990s (Washburn 1995:1, 1997:1, 2009b). The five delegations camp

adjacent to each other and a prominent feature of the Kiowa camp is Satanta's *Red Tipi*, which the organization erects as both a practical shelter and as a mobile memorial to their ancestor. Betty explained, "We always set our *Red Tipi* up and it's always sitting in a special place" (Washburn 2009b).

In addition to the pageant, which is performed on three consecutive days, the descendants also participate in daily parades and powwows (B. Washburn 2009a, 2009b; K. Washburn 2009). Members of the organization emphasized that they stayed so busy that they never had an opportunity to change out of their dance clothes, which they wore for the parade, the pageant, and the evening powwow (Tehauno 2009; B. Washburn 2009b). Kendall described the daily routine.

> They had us in our Indian camp. And they would bus us. Every day, I think every day we did a parade. Every day we did a little powwow. Every day we did a pageant. It was a lot. I think it was two or three days in a row and uh they'd come in with these buses and the buses would say Indian Buses. [Laughter] We'd get in, bus up to the parade. Do that right quick. Bus us over here, do a little powwow. Bus us out to the pageant. [K. Washburn 2009]

An evident point of pride for members of the organization is the fact that since they first started attending the event they have been asked to lead the parades each year (B. Washburn 2009a, 2009b).

Describing why they choose to participate in the event, several members stressed Séttháide's involvement in the historic treaty negotiations. Describing the organization's participation in the pageant, Betty explained, "I thought it was right, because that's where Séttháide signed that peace treaty" (B. Washburn 2009a). On another occasion, she emphasized that she felt the organizers of the event singled her ancestor out for

recognition, "To me they held Satanta highly. They focused on him. Maybe that's why they always put us first. I don't know. But, they mostly focused on Satanta. I mean to me. Course you know the others were there" (B. Washburn 2009b). Members also cite other reasons for participating in the event. Kendall stressed that when he first started travelling to Medicine Lodge, he had just become interested in his ancestry and was eager to learn more about Sétthâide.

> I heard 'em mention Satanta's name, but I didn't know the hard history, exactly who he was or what he did. And trips, to like Medicine Lodge, you know we were there to represent Satanta and I got to play him in the pageant, which was cool. But, in the other hand, on the other side of the coin, I was there just learning, just as much as anyone, a tourist you know. Wow, he was the second signer of the Medicine Lodge Treaty. I was just as… I was learning just as much as we were out there trying to teach. [K. Washburn 2009]

For others, it is the opportunity to visit a site their ancestor once visited. Describing Medicine Lodge, Kansas, Patsy told me, "Oh, it's awesome. Beautiful. It's out in the open. It's east of town I think. I always think about them guys. There's nothing out there, just a prairie, a little town. I always say, just think, they were here in that peace treaty" (Tehauno 2009). On a more mundane, but nonetheless meaningful level, the event affords an opportunity for visiting and socializing. The pageant brings together members of the organization who live in Oklahoma and Kansas and rarely see one another more than once or twice a year and provides an opportunity for intertribal visiting in the camps at night.

Satanta Days - Satanta, Kansas

In addition to participating in the Medicine Lodge Indian Peace Treaty Pageant, the Chief Satanta Descendants have also attended the annual Satanta Days celebration in Satanta, Kansas, a small town in western Kansas that bears their ancestor's name. Representatives of the town contacted the descendants and requested that they consider participating in the event. Kendall explained, "I understand they actually found us. In fact, they found us at Medicine Lodge. They sent a contingent of town folk over to meet us… And they found mom and then she told me, 'They have this festival every year. We should go up there and check it out'" (K. Washburn 2009). The descendants initially visited Satanta in 1992 and, with a few exceptions, have sent a delegation to Satanta Days every year since (K. Washburn 2009; B. Washburn 2009a).

Prior to learning about Satanta Days, the descendants were unaware that there was a town named after their ancestor. Kendall described how he felt when he learned of the town's existence, "Oh, my goodness, that was just amazing to me. At that point, you know a little bit more [about Sétthâide], but then, wow, there's a town named after him" (K. Washburn 2009). Curiosity about the town and the fact that several citizens had taken the time to extend a personal invitation to the organization, prompted the descendants to make their initial trip to Satanta. The descendants' decision to continue participating in the Satanta Days celebration was motivated by several factors. First, it stemmed in part from their desire to acknowledge the honor they perceived as having been bestowed on their ancestor when the town was named. As Betty explained, "One thing I like about it… [It's the] only place in the world, only United States town named Satanta. That's an honor you know… But it's a nice town and I feel honored that its

name's Satanta" (B. Washburn 2009a). Furthermore, the town's desire to host ambassadors willing to share information about Satanta and the Kiowa meshed well with the organization's educational goals and the activities the descendants were being asked to participate in during Satanta Days mirrored the activities they were already engaged in at Medicine Lodge.

In addition, friendships formed between some of the descendants and citizens of Satanta. When Betty Washburn's father, Clarence Sankadota, passed away in April 1992, a delegation from the town, including Jean Hix, travelled to Oklahoma to attend his funeral and pay their respects. Later that year, members of the organization travelled to Kansas to attend the funeral of Mrs. Hix's husband (Washburn 1993:1). As Betty explained, "I think a lot of them, because they're friends. They're really warm, you know. I can tell they mean it" (B. Washburn 2009a). In addition to the descendants travelling to Satanta Days, groups from the town have twice attended the Chief Satanta Descendants' annual powwow (Jordan 2009; B. Washburn 2009a).

Kiowa Language Preservation

While the eldest members of the Chief Satanta Descendants regret the widespread breakdown in the transmission of the Kiowa language, most members with whom I spoke felt that little could be done to rectify the situation. As Betty noted, "I know they'll never talk fluently, unless they really want to" (B. Washburn 2009a). Others are more pessimistic regarding the prospects of their children or grandchildren learning Kiowa. Melissa lamented the breakdown in the transmission of the Kiowa language.

> Like I said, it's gonna be lost with my children, because we don't do this… talk to them. We were talked to all day in Kiowa, so we know it and when we hear it we understand what is being said, but to speak it to

> our own children… We speak it among ourselves, you know, husband and wife, but we don't never… 'cause the kids never learned and we never taught 'em. So there it's lost. [Kaulaity 2009]

Nevertheless, the organization has continued to promote the use of the Kiowa language. A note in a newsletter sent out before the organization's 1993 reunion encouraged members who could speak Kiowa to do so during the celebration. It read, "We are asking everyone who speaks Kiowa to talk it when they can at the reunion/gathering so our younger generations may learn some of it" (Washburn 1993:2).

In 1996, a new section, "Kiowa Words To Learn & Teach," appeared in the organization's newsletter. The accompanying article contained the following instructions, "Throughout our newsletter series, we will be giving you some Kiowa words to teach to the children or to yourself. You should not stop learning our language with these words alone, however. Everyday [sic], we should strive to learn as much about our Kiowa heritage [as we can] while there are still those around who can teach us" (Washburn 1996:2). This segment and those that followed contained Kiowa and English translations of six to seven words or phrases. Some of the phrases are intended for use in everyday conversation, such as Day-ohn-day-aim-bon (I'm so happy to see you). Others, such as Tohn-daw-ah (coming for revenge), Hodle (kill), and Ho-ah-lay (put them on the run), reflect the organization's focus on Sétthái de as the embodiment of the nineteenth century Kiowa warrior (Washburn 1997:2, 2005:2). The segment is intended to promote the use of the Kiowa language and to encourage members to seek out additional instruction.

Genealogical Knowledge

It is perhaps the awareness that their descendants do not speak Kiowa that prompts senior members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants to stress the importance of other forms of cultural knowledge. For example, a tremendous emphasis is placed on knowledge of one's ancestry and relations. Melissa lamented, "Like I said, now days people don't know who they are or where they came from, who's who in their families, because a lot of 'em hadn't really found out…" (Kaulaity 2009). Raymond recalled the importance his mother assigned to such knowledge and his effort to share the knowledge with his daughter.

> Mom explained this thing to us some time ago. Let us know where we came from, who we are. Like I said… She said, "Well how you gonna prove that you're Kiowa if you don't speak it." And, well we knew anyway. I said to my daughter… One time, there I was explaining [to] 'em how we're kin to these people, our… She's been in eastern Oklahoma a long time. She's married to a Seminole. She don't hardly come around here, but she was trying to move back. I said, "You got a lot of people over here. You got a lot of relatives. I'm gonna tell you who they are as best I can." [Tongkeamha 2009]

According to Raymond's mother, being able to speak the Kiowa language and being able to situate oneself within a network of kinship relations are markers of Kiowa identity.

One can see in the organization's annual family reunion an effort to create a space in which genealogical information can be shared among the members and imparted to younger generations. Describing the importance of the reunion, Betty Washburn (1992:2) explained, "We want the children to know each other, and to know from where they came. They are our future, and when we tell them what our elders have passed down to us, hopefully they will pass it on to their children, grandchildren, etc." In the

organization's newsletter, Betty noted that during the third annual reunion "Each head of family introduced himself/herself and their family, gave their Indian name, what it meant, how it came to be their name, and who gave them their name. They also told which line they claimed descendency from Satanta" (Washburn 1992). Time was set aside for each family to explain how they were descended from Sétthái de and by extension, how they were related to the other members of the organization.

Satethieday Khatgombaugh

Disaffected members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants formed their own organization, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh. For the most part, these individuals were reluctant to discuss the circumstances that led to the break. Discussing the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, one woman simply stated, "we thought we would all get together on it, but it didn't work out." Steven Redbird, another member, was quick to dismiss the notion that any ill will existed between the two organizations.

> We're not in it to compete with any other organization. We love and respect all the descendants. There's a lot of 'em from Sétthái de. We just happen to be one of 'em. They have theirs [and] we have ours. There's no animosity, as far as I know, between us and that's the way I want it to be. We're not trying to compete at all whatsoever. It's not our way to be like that. We all come from the same person, why should we fight over it? You know what I mean? We don't think like that. [S. Redbird 2010]

The fact that I had previously conducted interviews with members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and had attended events sponsored by the organization was common knowledge in the Kiowa community and I believe awareness of my association

with Betty's organization led some members of Satethieday Khatgombaugh to speak less candidly about the events that led to the establishment of their organization.

Nevertheless, others were willing to address the issue directly. Emily Satepauhoodle (2010) described how she and her mother, Shirley Tanedooah, initially became involved in the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and started attending the organization's meetings. However, she eventually severed her ties with the organization.

> And the Satanta (White Bear) Descendants every year they meet at Fort Sill and they have like a family reunion thing. So, that year… I never went… But that year that we went, I had gathered a bunch of information and stuff and had put together, put 'em together in frames to show everybody… what I found. And when we got there, we weren't welcome too much. [Satepauhoodle 2010]

According to Emily the dispute at the family reunion signaled the end of her association with the organization. One factor that was not cited by members of Satethieday Khatgomebaugh, but that likely precipitated the split was the removal of Billy Evans Horse from the position of Chairman of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants. Although Billy was initially selected to serve in this position, minutes from a meeting of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants held January 17, 1993 indicate that he was later deposed by the membership (CSWBD n.d.). The precise circumstances surrounding the change in leadership remain unclear.

After leaving the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, Billy, his sister Shirley, and her daughter Emily, decided to form their own descendants' organization. Joquetta Tanedooah Redbird, Billy and Shirley's cousin, joined them in the endeavor after moving back to southwestern Oklahoma from New Mexico. In Kiowa kinship there are no cousins. Individuals address their parents' siblings' children as brother or sister

and this is how Joquetta, Billy, and Shirley refer to one another. Joquetta and Billy share an even closer bond than most, having been raised together by their grandparents (J. Redbird 2010a; Tanedooah 2010). Thus, the nucleus of the organization was comprised of a close knit group of kin.

One of the first debates to emerge concerned the name of the new organization. The discussions centered on whether to use the Anglicized or the Kiowa pronunciation of their ancestor's name. Proponents of Satanta, argued that the Anglicized version would be more familiar to the general public (Tanedooah 2010). As Shirley explained, she was adamantly opposed to using the Satanta name.

> You know, when we were choosing the name… Satanta, well that's a White man [version]. We're not White people, we're Indians and he's got his name. Hey, what are you gonna go and use a White man name? Give him… Use Sate-thie-day. "Oh man they're not gonna be able to pronounce it. They're not gonna even know what it's about." So what, we've learned the White man's words. We read, went to school. We read it and we know how to talk White. Well, they want to know about our organization well it's Satethieday and that's who he is. Satanta, it's supposed to be Satethieday Khatgomebaugh and that's Satanta, that's his people. [Tanedooah 2010]

Shirley succeeded in persuading her relatives to name the organization Satethieday Khatgombaugh. It is clear that she wanted the organization to have a distinctive name that set it apart from the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and it is difficult not to interpret the way in which she dismisses the name Satanta as a slight against the other organization. Yet, her insistence upon using the Kiowa pronunciation of her ancestor's name also likely functioned as a means of asserting control over his representation. Shirley eschews the pronunciation and spelling frequently utilized by non-Indian authors. She refuses to utilize the Anglicized version of her ancestor's name for the convenience

of non-Indians, insisting that they make the same effort to understand her language that she has made to understand theirs.

The desire to be able to apply for grants eventually prompted the decision to organize along more formal lines. Emily assumed responsibility for chartering the organization with the State of Oklahoma, and Satethieday Khatgombaugh was officially recognized as a non-profit corporation in 1994 (Tanedooah 2010; J. Redbird 2010a; S. Redbird 2010; Satepauhoodle 2010). Shirley described the chain of events that led to the selection of officers.

> And then we sat down and thought about [it]. Well, yeah we need to do something. There's some money out there. Why don't we try to get some of that, you know, and bring it in, grants or whatever ? So that's how that came into being and then my sister moved home, so we put her… I mean she came in there. So it was like a board. She got their 501(C)(3) number and then they got, you know how they have to do the White man's way, you got to get a board and board of directors. [Tanedooah 2010]

Billy was appointed president, Joquetta was selected to serve as vice president and Emily occupied the position of secretary (Satepauhoodle 2010). When Emily stepped down due to health problems, Steven, Joquetta's son, took over as secretary/treasurer (S. Redbird 2010). This was the composition of the board during the period of my fieldwork.

The core of the membership of Satethieday Khatgombaugh consists of Billy, Shirley, Joquetta, and their children and grandchildren. As we sat in Joquetta's apartment looking over a powwow program that contains a list of the members, Shirley commented, "[I]t's mostly my sister and her family and my brother and his family. I mean she has eleven kids. My brother has eleven kids. Now think of the grandkids. I mean that's a whole slew, a bunch of children" (Tanedooah 2010).

Satethieday Khatgombaugh has had some difficulty attracting broader support from among White Bear's descendants. Shirley recounted a conversation that she had with a Séttháide descendant, who did not participate in the organization's activities.

> Well, I was telling him, I said, "Hey, how come ya'll don't come and help us out, you know, the Satethieday Khatgombaugh, this organization?" And he says, "I don't have to. I'm already from that. You know, I'm already a Séttháide khatgombaugh. Why do I want to go and belong to… Why do I want to join that? I'm already a…" So, see how they're thinking? [Tanedooah 2010]

The man makes a distinction between being a descendant of Séttháide and being a member of the Satethieday Khatgombaugh organization. He asserts that he is "already a Séttháide khatgombaugh," a descendant of White Bear and feels no need to support the organization. According to Shirley and Joquetta they have encountered a number of descendants who have expressed the same perspective (Tanedooah 2010; J. Redbird 2010a).

Satethieday Khatgombaugh counts among its members a number of "associate members" who are not descended from Séttháide, including individuals who claim no Native American ancestry (J. Redbird 2010a; S. Redbird 2010; Tanedooah 2010). Referring to these associate members, Shirley comments, "we got a lot of those" (Tanedooah 2010). "We have more of those than descendant members," Joquetta adds (J. Redbird 2010a). Many of these "associate members" are Indian hobbyists, non-Indians who are intensely interested in Native American expressive culture. The recruitment of these individuals has no doubt been facilitated by the organization's participation in powwows outside of Oklahoma. Steven explained the connection.

> Oh yeah, we've been to Florida. We've mainly done a lot of co-hosting down… you know, Oklahoma, we're Oklahoma, but Indiana, Georgia, and Florida are mainly our… We have a lot of … What do you call it? Associate members. See, we're not like you have to be descended from Sétthái de to be in our organization. You can be an associate member, but the only people allowed to vote, make decisions, and [serve as] headsmen are the direct descendants." [S. Redbird 2010]

Members also recounted trips to West Virginia, Tennessee, and Texas (Satepauhoodle 2010). Satethieday Khatgombaugh was able to establish this extensive network of contacts within the powwow world, because its president, Billy is a well known Kiowa singer. Years before the formation of the organization, Horse and his relatives were being invited to sing at powwows, including dances sponsored by non-Indian hobbyists (Lassiter 1998:27, 36).

Although the organization has cultivated ties with powwow organizations outside of Oklahoma, it was unable to establish a lasting relationship with the sponsors of the Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty Pageant. Members of the organization attended the event once, setting up historical displays and interacting with the public. However, they were not part of the official Kiowa delegation and did not participate in the pageant. This was the only time Satethieday Khatgombaugh participated in the event (Satepauhoodle 2010).

The officers of Satethieday Khatgombaugh also tried to establish a relationship with the organizers of another event that the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants routinely attend, Satanta Days in Satanta, Kansas. However, according to Emily, their overtures were rebuffed.

> The other thing that we tried to become involved with was that Satanta Days celebration that they have in Kansas, but because Washburn… We sent a letter asking 'em… [telling them] that we wanted to participate and they wrote us a letter back saying that they have a good relationship with

> Mrs. Washburn and they didn't want to mess with that. So, our elders got mad and they said we don't want nothing to do with that. [Satepauhoodle 2010]

As Emily makes clear the organization's exclusion from the Satanta Days celebration was a source of frustration for its members.

Cultural Preservation and Genealogical Knowledge

Like members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, members of Satethieday Khatgomebaugh view the maintenance of Kiowa identity as inextricably linked to the preservation of genealogical knowledge and Kiowa cultural practices. Emily explained that she inherited her interest in family history from her mother and described the genealogical research she had conducted.

> [T]he bug bit me, kind of like hunting for treasure, so I started going around to the museums, the historical society, just everywhere where I could find information; libraries, old people, the archives… Just bits and pieces, you know, started coming together and what I started finding… I was like wow, I found this treasure [and] I want to share it with everybody. [Satepauhoodle 2010]

During our first interview, she showed me several three ring binders in which she had organized the information she had amassed, including photocopies of probate records, genealogical charts, and historic photos. For Emily, assembling information on her ancestry and sharing it with her children and other members of the organization has been a deeply meaningful endeavor.

Joquetta expressed her hope that Satethieday Khatgomebaugh's activities would contribute to the preservation of Kiowa cultural practices.

> [W]e still like to keep it going though, you know, in the interest of preserving whatever heritage and culture we have left, 'cause being raised in what some people say [is the] White Man's World [and the] Indian World that wasn't easy. But, we've managed to get this far. And like my sister was sayin, we're in part very proud of who we [are] descended from and our family heritage, and we'd like to see that continue on and hopefully some of our kids will pick that up and continue on with the culture, traditions, and heritage that we have, because so much of it is being lost today. And the people don't have a lot of interest in it anymore like they used to, because they have to compete so hard just to survive in the economy and everything else that's going on today, so it is kind of a struggle for them. But, we we're in this to try to help them see how important it is to carry these on, 'cause I feel like one day there's not going to be any Indians left, I mean full blood Indians left. They're all going away and the society is so mixed today, which is bound to happen I guess. But… You know, I'm thankful that my sister and my brother are still living and that we're still trying to go on with this. [J. Redbird 2010a]

Joquetta clearly sees Kiowa cultural practices as endangered. Indeed, she expresses her desire to preserve "whatever heritage and culture we have left," implying that she believes a significant amount of knowledge has already been lost. She hopes that the organization and its activities will spark her children's' interest in Kiowa "culture, traditions, and heritage." Joquetta attempts to explain the apparent lack of interest in Kiowa cultural practices, attributing it in part to the demands people face in their daily lives. She also raises the topic of intermarriage, observing that "society is so mixed today," but stops short of attributing the declining interest in Kiowa culture to intermarriage with non-Indians. Ultimately, she frames the organization's mission as one of convincing Kiowa people, her children included, of the importance of maintaining Kiowa cultural practices.

Philanthropic Endeavors

In addition to the goal of promoting cultural preservation, Satethieday Khatgombaugh was also formed with the intention of conducting philanthropic work on behalf of members of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma.

> The thought was just for our Indian people here, right where we see, we see the need at. 'Cause we can't see the needs all over, but I'm pretty sure they're out there. But it was just the needs that we seen here among this Indian community, here in Oklahoma. I mean, you know between Carnegie, Hobart, and all that – the Kiowas. That was the main thing. And then we sat down and thought about [it]. Well, yeah we need to do something. [Tanedooah 2010]

This sense of mission has motivated the members of the organization to engage in a variety of charitable activities.

One of the principal charities administered by Satethieday Khatgombaugh is a college scholarship fund. Anthropologist Luke Eric Lassiter, who has worked extensively with Billy Evans Horse since the late 1980s, set up the scholarship fund using the proceeds from the publication of his book, *The Power of Kiowa Song: A Collaborative Ethnography*. Lassiter and members of Satethieday Khatgombaugh sit on the scholarship committee (Lassiter 1998:V, 253-254; J. Redbird 2010a; S. Redbird 2010). The scholarship fund is a source of evident pride for members of the organization. Steven explained, "This year we still have another scholarship and my own daughter is gonna put in for that. It's just a thousand dollars, but that's the monies from the book *The Power of Kiowa Song*. And we still do that. People don't know that. We still try to tell 'em everywhere we go" (S. Redbird 2010). The organization also contributes to the scholarship fund, as Joquetta explained, "And we also give scholarships out to Native

American students. You know we work all year having our little benefits and doing all that we can and the money that we raise from those benefits we put into a scholarship fund and that goes to a deserving student who has worked hard to try to get their education" (J. Redbird 2010a). While children of members of the organization are eligible to apply for the scholarship, any child enrolled in the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma is eligible to apply (J. Redbird 2010a).

Satethieday Khatgombaugh also assists families in need, offering emergency assistance; including food, clothing, and small amounts of cash when possible (J. Redbird 2010a). Describing the economic conditions that some members of their community face, Joquetta commented, "So, you can see that it's a struggle for a lot of people. Not just the elderly, even a lot of young people, you know, are having a rough time. And, so this is what we try to do and we work hard at it" (J. Redbird 2010a). The organization does not operate a food pantry, instead members pool their resources when needs arise. Emily pointed out that the financial resources provided by non-Indian, associate members who live outside southwestern Oklahoma also play an important role in the organization's ability to assist local families.

> But then there's a few that we have that are not descendants that are members of the organization. They're like in Florida. They're in California, Texas, Kansas… They're all over. And they more or less... If we need [assistance for] a family, like I said [we] beat the bushes. That's who we go to. We go to our membership and say, "Okay we need this can you help?" "Yeah, we can." "Okay." "Well, no we can't not now." "Alright, great, keep us in mind next time." You know, that kind of thing. [Satepauhoodle 2010]

Through this extended network, the officers of Satethieday Khatgombaugh are able to solicit donations to help meet needs within their local community.

All three of the descendants' organizations considered in this chapter have participated in benefit dances either as sponsors or co-sponsors. Benefit dances provide one means of raising funds locally to redistribute within the community. The dances typically feature an all Gourd Dance program that starts at approximately 2pm and ends sometime between 10pm and midnight, with a break between 6pm and 7pm for supper. The most common form of fundraising at benefit dances is the raffle. Members of the organization or family sponsoring the dance donate raffle items, which can include blankets, shawls, beadwork, jewelry, small kitchen appliances, and plastic laundry baskets filled with groceries. Throughout the dance, youth and adults not participating in the singing or dancing are recruited to sell raffle tickets. Cake walks form another type of raffle and at most benefit dances, several tables near the speaker's stand will be covered with a mix of homemade cakes and store bought desserts. While the evening meal is provided free of charge, the sponsors usually operate a concession stand selling soft drinks, coffee, chips and candy. Joquetta emphasized the importance of benefit dances, describing how they enabled Satethieday Khatgomebaugh to generate funds for local students.

> There's just a few of us, but we get together and we do the best we can. And with the help of the community that come to our powwows and help us out on our raffles and all these things... You've been to powwows so you know what goes on. But after all that's said and done, then a lot of people don't realize that what little we get, you know, we try to keep it and preserve it till the end of the year and give it to some student that needs it. [J. Redbird 2010a]

Satethieday Khatgombaugh has also sponsored benefit dances for other causes. For example, Shirley recalled one dance the organization held to raise funds for a toy drive organized by the Anadarko Police Department (Tanedooah 2010).

The members of Satethieday Khatgombaugh with whom I spoke commented without fail that the organization was less active today than it had been in the past. For example, Steven noted, "We're not very active. We've been active in the past. But we're not gone yet either" (S. Redbird 2010). As Steven's comment suggests, the organization has scaled back some of its activities. For example, the members of Satethieday Khatgombaugh now rarely travel outside of Oklahoma to participate in powwows (Tanedooah 2010; J. Redbird 2010a). Yet the organization continues to hold its annual powwow and to co-sponsor dances in southwestern Oklahoma. When I interviewed Steven, the organization was actually preparing to co-sponsor a benefit dance for the Kiowa Tia Piah Society the following Saturday (S. Redbird 2010). The organization also continues to engage in philanthropic endeavors, although at a reduced scale.

> And low and behold, who would know that we would still be able to give out scholarships and still… We still, every now and then if we run across a family that needs help, we still get out there and we beat the bushes and we get that help for those people, for that family. So, it still goes on in the background, not on a scale like we'd like it to, but it's still there. [Satepauhoodle 2010]

While the organization is no longer as active as it once was, it retains a presence in the Kiowa community through its participation in the powwow world and charitable activities.

Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants

The descendants of Guipago (Lone Wolf) formed the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants. Lone Wolf was a *jò:fàujó:qì:* or band leader who assumed the status of principal chief of the Kiowa people following the death of Tohausan in 1866 (Ewers 1978:14; Nye 1969:40). However, Lone Wolf was unable to exert his influence over the entire tribe and some *topotoki* acted on their own initiative and pursued their own course during his tenure (Nye 1969:40).

Events that transpired in late 1873 and early 1874 had a profound effect on Lone Wolf. In the winter of 1873, Lone Wolf's son Tauangya (Sitting in the Saddle) participated in a raid into Mexico. In December, on the return leg of the journey, his party was intercepted in Texas by elements of the Fourth Cavalry, and in the ensuing engagement, Tauangya was killed by Lt. Charles L. Hudson. Having been routed, the warrior's comrades were unable to recover his body. Lone Wolf sought to recover the remains of his son and launched an expedition to do so. However, after locating and retrieving his son's body, his party was tracked by a cavalry patrol, and Lone Wolf was forced to hastily bury his son en route so that his party could outdistance and elude their pursuers (Nye 1969:182-184, 188-189). These incidents solidified Lone Wolf's militant opposition to the U.S. government (Hoig 2000:199-200; Nye 1969:183-184).

Lone Wolf emerged as a proponent of armed resistance to the occupation of Kiowa territory and the decimation of the bison by market hunters. During the Red River War of 1874-1875, he and his followers abandoned their reservation. Pursued by converging columns of troops, they sought sanctuary in Palo Duro Canyon. As discussed in Chapter 2, their respite was short lived. Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie attacked their

camps on September 28, 1874. The Kiowa were forced to retreat, abandoning their lodges and possessions, which the soldiers burned. Mackenzie also succeeded in capturing most of the Kiowas' horses, which he ordered shot. After enduring a winter on the Plains without adequate provisions or mounts, Lone Wolf and his people surrendered to the U.S. military (Lookingbill 2007:32-35; Nye 1969:213, 221-223, 230-231).

As a prominent participant in the Red River War, Lone Wolf was one of twenty seven Kiowa warriors exiled to Florida. He was incarcerated at Fort Marion in Saint Augustine, Florida from 1875 until 1878. In 1879, a year after returning to his Kiowa people and the Southern Plains, he contracted malaria and died (Ewers 1978:14; Lookingbill 2007:36; Nye 1969:231, 255). According to Lone Wolf's descendants, he was already striken with malaria when he returned home, having contracted the disease while in Florida (Alinda Yellowhair telephone conversation July 27, 2011).

Asked to describe Lone Wolf, Alinda Yeahquo Yellowhair, one of his descendants, provided the following account.

> Actually, he was a war chief. He was not really… He wasn't like Kicking Bird or the other ones. His son got killed in Texas while he was chief. His son got killed as a young man down there by the United States government and after that he didn't want to have anything to do with the United States government. He just went on raids and did whatever… Sorta like revenge… So, he became the enemy of the United States government and then he became a prisoner, prisoner of war. So, that's actually what happened to him… So, he was actually a warrior. A war chief is what he was. And he used to go on raids down on the Staked Plains and stuff like that, him and Sétthâide and the other chiefs, Big Tree... There was White Horse, he was one of his warriors. White Horse and Komalty. So, he had his own warriors also. Their descendants still live around Carnegie. [Yellowhair 2009]

Alinda emphasizes Lone Wolf's association with the Kiowa faction that advocated armed resistance to the U.S. government, identifying him twice as a "war chief." She notes that

he "wasn't like Kicking Bird," who urged the Kiowa to peacefully submit to U.S. government authority. Attributing his antagonism toward the government to the death of his son, Alinda describes how he embarked on a campaign of revenge. Twice she mentions the fact that he participated in raids. After acknowledging that Lone Wolf eventually became a prisoner a war, she concludes by providing a list of prominent nineteenth century Kiowa warriors who fought alongside her ancestor. It was Lone Wolf's role as a "warrior" and "war chief" that prompted his descendants to feel he was deserving of commemoration.

When asked about the origin of their organization, members of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants repeatedly identified Alinda as the organization's founder (A. Yeahquo 2009; Roubideaux 2009; Spotted Horse 2009). However, Alinda credits her aunt, Gertrude Hines, with providing the initial impetus for the formation of the organization. She explained, "My aunt Gertrude Yeahquo Hines is the one that wanted to organize this group… I give all the credit to her, because she's the one that wanted it from the beginning and now she's gone. She's passed away. And she is my… My dad, our father Maurice Yeahquo, that's his sister. So she's my aunt" (Yellowhair 2009). Just as Betty frames her quest to secure the return of Sétthái de's shield as the fulfillment of her father's wish (Washburn 2009a), Alinda makes it clear that in forming the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants she was acting in accord with her Aunt's wishes.

From the outset, Alinda felt that it was important that the organization be incorporated as a nonprofit entity. She described how she sought her aunts' permission before taking steps to form the 501(c)(3) organization.

> [W]hen I wanted to put this descendancy on the paper… See we, my aunts, we already knew the story and all that, the descendency, but I had to do it the Kiowa way. I had to go to my aunt, my two aunts and ask their permission if I could do that, if I could go to the Secretary of State and form an organization. I had to get their permission. So they said, yeah, it was okay. That's why I did it. So, that's how you have to do, you're supposed to do in the Kiowa, if you're, if you know the Kiowa tradition. In that way, you're showing respect. They're your elders and you always have to go to your elder and ask them. [Yellowhair 2009]

After securing her relative's support, Alinda filed the necessary paperwork and the organization was officially recognized as the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, Ltd. on November 6, 1996 (Yellowhair 2009).

With the formation of the nonprofit corporation came the selection of officers. Alinda provided the following information on the initial slate of officers.

> Our first officers were myself, Charles "Chuck" Hines, who's my cousin. He's my Aunt Gertrude's son. And Jason Cutnose, he's the grandson to Gertrude. And then we had a board of advisors, which was her, Gertrude Hines and Grace Thompson who are descendants of Old Chief Lone Wolf. And my aunts, other two aunts, Wanda Yeahquo Campbell and Irene Yeahquo Spotted Horse. And that's it. [Yellowhair 2009]

Three of the members of the advisory board, Gertrude, Wanda, and Irene, were siblings, the daughters of Edward Yeahquo and Mae Queotone. These women were Alinda's aunts on her father's side.

Guipago (Lone Wolf) Bust

One of the earliest projects the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants engaged in was the creation of a lasting monument to their ancestor.[24] The organization commissioned

[24] Unlike other prominent nineteenth century Kiowa leaders, such as Setangya (Sitting Bear) and Satethieday (White Bear) who are buried on Chief's Knoll in the Fort Sill Cemetery, Guipago (Lone Wolf) was buried on the north side of Mt. Scott in an

Kiowa artist Sherman Chaddlesone to sculpt a bust of Guipago to be cast in bronze. At the descendants' request, Sherman modeled the sculpture on a photograph of Lone Wolf taken in 1872 by Alexander Gardner. Although the descendants contemplated installing the bust at the National Hall of Fame of Famous American Indians in Anadarko, Oklahoma, they decided instead to place the bust on loan to the Fort Sill National Monument and Museum (A. Yeahquo 2009).

Initially, the museum displayed the bust in a cell in the old post guardhouse, where it appeared alongside artifacts that had belonged to Setangya (Sitting Bear) and Sétthái de (White Bear). At least one member of the organization was uncomfortable with the idea of the bust being displayed in the guardhouse. Alan Yeahquo (2009) recalled the conversation he had with his sister Alinda, "I told her, I said, 'You don't need to put it down there, you know.' I said, 'He been in prison and everything too, but y'all put him back in there.' I don't know. I don't know if it's still there. They might have moved it by now you know, but when they took it over there, it was over there you know." After checking, I discovered that the bust had recently been moved to a barrack's building as part of the instillation of the new *Warrior's Journey* exhibit.

Sponsorship of Dances

In 1999, the members of the organization decided that they wished to host a powwow the following year to honor their ancestor. They formed a powwow committee comprised of Alan, Tom A. Spotted Horse, and Ernest Toppah (A. Yeahquo 2009). In the interim they engaged in fundraising activities to defray the cost of the celebration. For example, they held frybread sales and garage sales in Carnegie, Oklahoma

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unmarked grave. According to his descendants the precise location of his grave is unknown today (Yellowhair 2009).

(Yellowhair 2009). In addition, the organization hosted a benefit dance on May 29, 1999 at Red Buffalo Hall in Carnegie to raise funds for the more ambitious powwow (Anadarko Daily News 1999:4). The flyer for the dance identifies some of the ways in which the organization intended to generate funds, including charging vendors fees for booth spaces, holding raffles, and operating a concession stand (OCLD n.d.).

Alinda described the costs associated with sponsoring both the benefit dance and the subsequent celebration.[25] She focused on the expenses associated with providing an evening meal for those in attendance.

> The first powwows we had we bought everything. Meat, meat is high. Meat is expensive. And then you've got to buy those cookers, to cook it in. We had to buy cookers to cook the meat in. So, there's your prices. They're going higher and higher. People don't realize what you've got to spend to… Like I said, if you want a "any kind of way powwow" you can have one, but if you want it better and [you want to] have better food too, you have to spend money on it. So, that's how we do it. Then, we've got to buy paper goods, everything, plastic forks and spoons and everything. That stuff runs into money. [Yellowhair 2009]

While an established organization might benefit from a member of the head staff or one of their relatives pledging to provide the meat for the next dance or even pledging to provide the entire meal, an organization that is just starting out must absorb these expenses without assistance.

The inaugural Chief Lonewolf Celebration and Honor Dance was held on Saturday, May 27, 2000 at Red Buffalo Hall in Carnegie, Oklahoma. The event began

[25] In her research, Wightman (2009:152-155) encountered similar observations regarding the economic costs of sponsoring dances. One woman, who had served as treasurer of one of the Plains Apache Blackfeet Societies, emphasized the expenses associated with hosting the organization's annual ceremonial, explaining that, "Of course it's expensive… You can't do anything without money. I don't care, you just can't. You got to have a base" (Wightman 2009:155).

with a flag raising ceremony followed by a cedaring ceremony and the unveiling of the aforementioned bust of Lone Wolf. The rest of the day was filled with Gourd Dancing from 2pm to 5pm, a supper break from 5pm to 6pm, an additional hour of gourd dancing, and then social/war dancing from 7pm to midnight. The social dancing featured contests in three dance categories: buckskin dress, jingle dress and fancy shawl, and men's southern straight. Each contest was sponsored by an individual or family, who provided the prize money, and was named in honor of someone. For example, the buckskin dress contest sponsored by Tim and Ivy Yeahquo was held in honor of Chrystal Yeahquo, who was serving as the Kiowa Tribal Princess (OCLD n.d.; A. Yeahquo 2009).

The organization recruited five co-sponsors for their inaugural dance. As Alan explained, one factor that influenced which organizations were invited to serve as co-sponsors was the number of their members who were likely to attend the celebration. This was especially important since this was only the second dance the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants had ever sponsored and the organization was still a relatively unknown quantity in the powwow world at this time. The powwow committee recruited three Kiowa organizations to serve as co-sponsors, the Kiowa Tia-Piah Society; Kiowa War Mothers, Chapter 18; and the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants. In order to draw attendance from outside the Kiowa Tribe, the committee invited the Thomas Service Club, a Cheyenne organization, and the Comanche Little Ponies. Their strategy proved effective. Commenting on the attendance the dance drew, Alan noted, "And we had a good crowd. There was a lot of people there. It was like packed out. Everybody was there" (A. Yeahquo 2009).

Since the celebration in 2000, the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants organization has continued to sponsor dances. It frequently co-hosts the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendant's annual dance and receives reciprocal help from the organization at its own annual celebration. Alinda discussed the bond the two organizations share.

> They co-host for us, we co-host for them. It's what we do. Because, historically Old Chief Lone Wolf and Sétthâide were together in those… They were together in the raids and stuff like that. And then now we're like… Some of them… We're related to each other too, now. So we go. We help out Betty and them a lot. Every year we help 'em. They help us. So that's the main one we do. [Yellowhair 2009]

The reciprocity that characterizes the organizations' relationship is explained, at least in part, as an outgrowth of the historical bond that Sétthâide and Lone Wolf shared. Alinda suggests that the two men were comrades or brothers in arms in the violent struggles that characterized the third quarter of the nineteenth century, noting that they were "together in the raids." Yet, the reciprocal relationship the two organizations enjoy is also the result of kinship ties that connect the leadership of the two organizations. Kinship ties also explain the close connections between the OCLD and two other organizations. Alinda's brother, Pershing Yeaquo is a member of both the Veterans Affairs Warrior Group (VAWG), an organization that sponsors an annual dance in honor of Native American veterans, and the Native American Marine Corps Veterans (NAMCV) (Yellowhair 2009). The VAWG has co-sponsored a number of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants' dances, including its celebrations in 2002 and 2007. While the NAMCV organization does not officially co-sponsor dances, the officers of the OCLD have invited its members to attend their dance as special guests. Alinda noted that she and her sisters

often assist at the NAMCV's dance, decorating the stage or setting up a display or booth to honor Pershing (Yellowhair 2009).

The dances the organization sponsors provide descendants who do not regularly participate in Kiowa dances with an opportunity to become more involved in this arena of Kiowa life. Through the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants' dances, the youngest members of the organization are exposed to Kiowa forms of song and dance and encouraged to participate in these cultural expressions. Dances also provide numerous opportunities for what Harry Wolcott (1996:486) terms "peripheral participation," the performance of seemingly mundane tasks that are nevertheless crucial to the success of the event. Some of these activities take place before or after the dance or occur off-site. One can view these activities as occurring backstage or offstage. Such activities include purchasing snacks for the concession stand and food for the dinner, preparing the food, baking cakes for the cake walk, decorating the venue, setting up and tearing down the public address system, and cleaning the facility after the dance. Opportunities for peripheral participation also exist during the course of the dance, as assistance is always needed to sell raffle tickets, operate the concession stand, and serve the evening meal. Peripheral participation provides people who lack the knowledge, experience, or confidence to serve on the head staff, sing, or dance with opportunities to nevertheless be involved in the production of the dance. Furthermore, peripheral activities or roles may serve as avenues to fuller participation, allowing individuals to gain experience and identify roles they may wish to take on in the future (Wolcott 1996:486). Thus, the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants' dances serve not only to draw members into a deeper

involvement in the organization's own activities, but also as a springboard into broader participation in the world of Kiowa song and dance.

The officers of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants also recruit younger members of their families to serve on the head staff at their powwow. In 2010, Spencer Spotted Horse served as the arena director for their dance. This was the first time he had served in this capacity. The arena director plays a less active role in the performative aspect of the powwow than the emcee, head singer, or head dancers. His tasks include taking coffee, water, and sodas to the drum, providing water for the dancers, and cleaning up spills on or off the dance floor. In addition, he is charged with picking up the money thrown at individuals' feet when they are honored, so that neither the honorees nor those who honored them must bend down to pick it up. This latter responsibility requires vigilance on the part of the arena director, who must keep an eye on the dance arena, as an individual may be honored during almost any song. The dance provided Spencer with an opportunity to learn the responsibilities of the position under the tutelage of his relatives, who were available to assist and encourage him.

During this same dance, Timothy Yeahquo served as one of the emcees. I was sitting at the speaker's stand, helping to run raffles, when he leaned over and volunteered that he was a little nervous because this was his first time serving as an emcee. He was one of two men the officers of the organization had recruited to serve as emcees. The other, Eddy Onco, is an experienced hand. In pairing the two men, the officers ensured that their relative would have both an opportunity to try his hand at being an emcee and an opportunity to learn from a more experienced figure.

While the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants organization's dance provides opportunities for adult descendants to engage with Kiowa song and dance at least one weekend a year, the organizers of the dance emphasized that it is staged primarily for the benefit of younger descendants and their peers within the Kiowa community. When we spoke shortly before the organization's 2009 dance, Alinda lamented that many Kiowa youth were not interested in learning how to sing or dance.

> We try to make 'em, encourage them to dance, but they don't want to. Like in our family, they… I don't know what's wrong with 'em. It's like they're brainwashed, you know. It's kind of hard dealing with 'em, but we've got contests and we're trying to make 'em come out. Like during our powwow, we're gonna have a contest for the kids, so they'll come out and learn how to dance, learn how to sing, because it's dying out. The old people are gonna die out pretty soon. So we have to leave it, leave 'em something, you know. So that's mainly what our focus is, for the kids. [Yellowhair 2009]

Confronted by what she perceives to be rampant apathy, Alinda has tried to identify ways to encourage youth participation in Kiowa cultural activities. One strategy she has fixed upon is to incorporate kids' dance contests into the organization's powwow. She believes the contests provide an incentive for youth to participate. She views these youth as divorced from what she views as "traditional" expressions of Kiowa identity and hopes that the Old Chief Lone Wolf Descendants' powwows will foster their interest in these cultural forms.

Kiowa Language Preservation

The preservation and revitalization of the Kiowa language is another important goal of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants. Julia Roubideaux (2009) pointed out that she and two of her sisters, Alinda and Dorla Yeahquo grew up in a home where Kiowa

was spoken. During part of the time Alinda lived in California, she worked with linguists from the University of California system. As a Kiowa speaker, Alinda was paired with students, who were learning how to conduct elicitation exercises and document languages (OCLD 2010; Yellowhair 2009).

Alinda discussed the difficulties the organization has encountered trying to teach the Kiowa language.

> We go to tribal members and we try to teach the language to our young ones. But you know it's kinda hard to teach the young one's their language, because they don't know zero about nothing. It's just all English, you know. And that's one of our main focuses is to do that, to teach our language to the young kids. They might know their name, Indian name, but that's about all. [Yellowhair 2009]

The organization's efforts have focused primarily on providing enrichment activities. In the summer of 2009, the organization sponsored a weeklong youth language camp in Carnegie.[26] In addition to seeking to expand the participants' Kiowa vocabularies and teach them every day phrases, the camp also sought to provide instruction regarding dance regalia and Kiowa songs. For example, Ernest, an accomplished Kiowa singer, assisted, teaching the children Kiowa hymns. Given the brief duration of the camp, its

[26] Language/ culture camps and classes have emerged in many Native American communities that view their languages and expressive culture as endangered. Like the camp sponsored by the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, these camps often feature instruction in a variety of subjects. Linn and Jackson (2004:369-370) note the existence of such programs among the Yuchi. Annually, the Hasinai Society sponsors a weeklong Hasinai Youth Camp, where participants "learn to sing Caddo songs and to perform the accompanying dances, to cook Caddo foods, to do beadwork and make some of the components of their dance regalia, and to make Caddo pottery" (Fair 2007:70). The Apache Tribe of Oklahoma sponsored a similar "culture camp" for Plains Apache youth. The camp focused on "important aspects of Apache culture – including Apache history, song and dance, language, arts and crafts, and even gendered behavior expectations" (Wightman 2009:175).

contribution must be seen in providing the youth with an introduction to the Kiowa language and a positive evaluation of both the language and Kiowa cultural practices.

Descendants' Organizations in Comparative Perspective

Having addressed the history and operations of each descendants' organization independently, I now examine them from a comparative perspective. My goal is to highlight similarities in the objectives that the organizations pursue and the activities in which they engage, while simultaneously acknowledging the unique factors that make each one distinct. I focus on the organizations' efforts to promote the transmission of Kiowa historical knowledge and cultural practices, their incorporation as 501(c)(3) organizations and pursuit of external funding, and their quests for the dominant society's acknowledgement and affirmation of both their ancestors' sacrifices and their own work on behalf of Kiowa people.

Cultural Preservation and Public Outreach

In addition to sponsoring and co-sponsoring dances, descendants' organizations have promoted educational activities focusing on Kiowa history and cultural practices. The Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants organization's participation in Satanta Days and the Medicine Lodge Indian Peace Treaty Pageant has provided it with an opportunity to educate the public about the Kiowa in general and Sétthâide in particular. In addition to taking part in these events in Kansas, the organization has also participated in events in Oklahoma, including the Rattlesnake Festival in Apache, Oklahoma, where several members of the organization reside (K. Washburn 2009). Given the events in which the organization has participated, it is evident that its educational efforts are not directed

exclusively or even primarily at Kiowa audiences, but are instead intended to increase the general public's awareness of Sétthái de and the role he played in the history of the Southern Plains.

Nevertheless, Betty has sought to use the organization's newsletter to disseminate historical information. Brief articles in the newsletters focus on Sétthái de and nineteenth century Kiowa history. The February 8, 1995 issue of the newsletter featured a discussion of Sétthái de's membership in the Elk band and various warrior societies, as well as an article on the Kiowa Sun Dance, which is described as having been practiced "during our ancestor's time" (Washburn 1995:2). Subsequent issues of the newsletter focused on events chronicled in the Kiowa pictographic calendars. For example, the July 10, 1996 edition contained descriptions of the entries for the Summer of 1837, the Winter of 1837-1838, and the Summer of 1838. Working from descriptions of the events contained in James Mooney's *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, Washburn provided brief synopses for her readers (Washburn 1996:2, 1997:2, 1998:2, 2005:2).

Perhaps because they have been unable to establish relationships with the sponsors of the Medicine Lodge Indian Peace Treaty Pageant or Satanta Days, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh's educational efforts have been focused in southwestern Oklahoma. On March 13, 1999 Satethieday Khatgombaugh and the Oklahoma Historical Society presented *Preserving Our Kiowa Heritage: Challenges and Solutions*. As the name of the conference suggests, the target audience for the event were members of the Kiowa community, a fact underscored by the decision to hold the conference in Anadarko, Oklahoma. The one day event, which was organized with the assistance of Luke Eric Lassiter, provided seven members of the Kiowa community with the

opportunity to address the topic of cultural preservation and transmission as it related to specific aspects of Kiowa culture. Presenting at the event were David Paddlety (language), Ralph Kotay (song), Evalu Ware Russell (story), Billy Evans Horse (religion), Vanessa Paukeigope Jennings (material culture), Terry Ware (dance), and Rita Quetone Gaddy (education). Pulitzer Prize winning Kiowa author, N. Scott Momaday served as the discussant for the panel (Satepauhoodle 2010; Satethieday Khatgomebaugh 2005).

Members of the organization also held a program at Riverside Indian School, a boarding school in Anadarko, Oklahoma. Emily discussed the contributors and the variety of subjects they addressed.

> [W]e did a little teaching at Riverside. I think one was a drum… Billy Horse taught on the drum. Mrs. Horse talked about babies and how they took care of them. In another one, my sister taught about beadwork. Another lady taught about clay pots. Another one taught about luluing. Just little different things that was done in the tribe. And, I think Georgia Dupoint too, at that time, came out there and she told stories. And Vanessa Mopope Jennings also came out and shared what she knows about culture. [Satepauhoodle 2010]

As the list of topics reveals, the program was not focused on providing historical information on Sétthái de (White Bear), but was instead focused on contemporary practices such as beadwork and singing.

Among the programs members of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants have offered have been visits to historical sites in southwestern Oklahoma. Alinda laments that the youth the organization works with seem less interested in learning about Kiowa history than she had hoped.

> So we just try to do stuff like that… take 'em around, go sightsee. Try to tell 'em about historical stuff, but [it] seems like they're not interested. I don't know why. I guess 'cause they go to school and they learn different things and all that. But, we're gonna work on it. We're still working on it. We have to do that, 'cause they don't know. And it would be like us, when our dad didn't tell us anything, you know. [Yellowhair 2009]

Alinda feels an obligation to at least make this information available to Kiowa youth. While she is puzzled by their seeming lack of interest in the tribe's history, she remains convinced that she and the other members of the organization must do what they can to share their knowledge. She regrets that her father did not take an active interest in teaching her and her siblings about Kiowa history and wishes to be actively involved in preserving and transmitting that history.

501(c)(3) Status and Funding Opportunities

Unable to secure sufficient funding for their activities from the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma, the descendants' organizations applied for 501(c)(3) status, which they hoped would assist them in securing external funding. Morris Foster (1991:147) notes that financial considerations prompted various Comanche powwow organizations, including descendants' organizations, to do the same as early as the 1970s. Emily indicated that other than a onetime donation of $250 the tribe had done little for Satethieday Khatgomebaugh, noting that, "the tribe's not set up like that" (Satepauhoodle 2010). Betty noted that the tribe had occasionally provided funds to assist the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants in sponsoring their annual dance, but that the availability of funds varied from year to year (Betty Washburn personal communication, May 18, 2011).

Discussing the decision to charter Satethieday Khatgomebaugh as a 501(c)(3), Shirley (2010) explained " We's trying to be a White man's organization, trying to run it like a White man's organization, so we could get the funds, the money." The burden of securing non-profit status for the organization and applying for grants fell to Emily. When asked who had prepared Satethieday Khatgombaugh's application for non-profit status, she explained, "I did, because that way… If we had that status then, you know, we can go after those grants and stuff. But I was also the one who, you know, I guess more or less knew how to do things. So the majority of that fell on me, but like I said, when I got sick everything just kind of died down" (Satepauhoodle 2010).

Emily applied for one grant on behalf of the organization, but was unsuccessful. She explained, "[T]here was only one that I think… that I started out applying for. It was for the Oklahoma Tourism Board. I did a little deal for a tipi display, but it came back and I think that's when they were working on that museum. And plus, we didn't have anything that showed where we did anything. It was just kind of like the beginning. So nothing's really taken off since then" (Satepauhoodle 2010). Since Emily has scaled back her involvement with Satethieday Khatgomebaugh, no one else in the organization has expressed an interest in applying for grants. As Shirley explained, "We never had enough people involved who were knowledgeable about going out and getting grant money and all of that. 'Cause, me, hey I'm not one of them kind. I'm not a, whatcha call it… I mean, I'll do whatever I can, but I'm not one of them…" (Tanedooah 2010). While the organization sought 501(c)(3) status in order to position itself to be able to apply for grants, so far it has been unable to take advantage of any funding opportunities.

In contrast, the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants organization has enjoyed some success in securing grants. As with the other descendants' organizations, the desire for 501(c)(3) status emerged from the organizations' fundraising needs. As Alinda, president of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants noted, "when you're doing things like powwows and different things, fundraisers, you have to have a nonprofit organization in the state of Oklahoma, so that's what we did" (Yellowhair 2009). Julia explained that she and her sisters had gained experience in the nonprofit sector through their association with the Intertribal Dialysis Association (Roubideaux 2009). The Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants organization has secured support for its annual dances from the Oklahoma Arts Council, receiving grants in 2002 and 2008 (Oklahoma Arts Council 2009:9; 2003:8). While the desire to more actively pursue grants exists, a number of individuals lamented that they lack the time required to search out funding opportunities and develop grants. As Alinda explained, "I'm supposed to be going on the internet looking for grants, but I can't. I don't have time. I've got to do all kinds of other stuff. And what I do in my spare time is people call me and they don't have transportation, [so] I go and I haul them around and stuff like that" (Yellowhair 2009). In Alinda's case, attending to the immediate needs of family and community members prevents her from investing more time in researching and pursuing funding opportunities for the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants.

By far, the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants have enjoyed the greatest success in applying for grants. Since 2000 the organization has received eight grants from the Oklahoma Arts Council to support its annual celebrations (Oklahoma Arts Council 2009:9, 2007:9, 2005:8, 2003:8, 2002:9, 2001:8; Kendall Washburn personal

communication, July 16, 2011). During this period the organization has developed a good working relationship with the agency, and representatives of the Oklahoma Arts Council routinely attend the organization's dances. It is important to note that these grants do not cover all of the costs associated with putting on a large dance, and the organization must raise a considerable sum of money to cover the remaining expenses. The organization augments the funding that it receives from the agency with contributions from its members, donations, and revenue derived from raffles and concession stand sales (K. Washburn 2009). These are the same mechanisms that the organization has depended upon to fund the dance during those years in which it has not been the recipient of a grant.

Proclamations

Descendants' organizations seek formal recognition of both their ancestors' historical stature and the importance of the organizations' activities. For example, Alinda persuaded the governor of Oklahoma to issue a proclamation declaring Saturday, May 27, 2000, the day of the organization's dance honoring Guipago, Old Chief Lonewolf Day. The proclamation reads in part:

> Whereas, the descendants and volunteers of Old Chief Lonewolf, Ltd., wish to honor their ancestor, who was Principal Chief of the Kiowa Tribe in the 1860's; and
>
> Whereas, the descendants and volunteers wish to convey valuable information to the public of Old Chief Lonewolf, namely his songs, dances, and other cultural activities; and
>
> Whereas, the descendants and volunteers believe Old Chief Lonewolf has earned his honor and place in history, preserving the cultural heritage of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma; (OCLD n.d.)

The proclamation carries an explicit affirmation of Kiowa cultural practices. Lone Wolf is recognized as deserving of recognition because of his efforts toward "preserving the cultural heritage of the Kiowa Tribe." By extension, the organization's efforts to promote and perpetuate Kiowa cultural heritage are to be viewed positively. Community member's knowledge regarding Kiowa songs and dances is defined as "valuable information."

While some might question the impact such a symbolic gesture could have, members of the organization certainly felt that the proclamation was significant. Flyers advertising the dance carried a notice regarding the proclamation and a copy of it was displayed during the celebration (A. Yeahquo 2009). Furthermore, the proclamation came up repeatedly in my interviews with members of the organization, even though almost a decade had passed since it was first issued (A. Yeahquo 2009; Yellowhair 2009).

Less than a month after the proclamation of Old Chief Lonewolf day, Sétthái de was honored in a similar manner. Flyers created by members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants to advertise the organization's tenth annual powwow included a notice indicating that Governor Frank Keating had declared June 3, 2000, the day of the powwow, Chief Satanta (White Bear) Day (CSWBD n.d.).

The program for Satethieday Khatgombaugh's 2002 annual powwow featured similar endorsements. The members had decided to honor the organization's president, Billy Evans Horse, who had recently retired after serving as the tribal chairman. Included in the powwow program was a proclamation from Mayor Beverly Willhoite, proclaiming October 20, 2002 Billy Evans Horse day in Anadarko, Oklahoma (Satethieday

Khatgomebaugh 2002). In addition, invitations to the event indicated that the state of Oklahoma had issued a similar proclamation (Satetheiday Khatgomebaugh n.d.). The organization's 2005 powwow program contained a letter from Mayor James Hamilton, welcoming visitors to the city of Anadarko, as well as a letter from Tom Cantrell, the Superintendent of the Anadarko Public Schools (Satethieday Khatgomebaugh 2005).[27]

Gubernatorial proclamations and letters from city officials signal approval and acceptance of the activities in which descendants' organizations engage, including the veneration of nineteenth century Kiowa ancestors and the promotion of Kiowa culture. Organizations seek these decrees as part of their broader efforts to encourage young people to be proud of their ancestry and Kiowa identity. The proclamations identify Kiowa ancestors, specifically Sétthâide and Lone Wolf, as important historical figures whose memories are worthy of commemoration and celebration. They represent, at least symbolically, the dominant society's reappraisal of these Kiowa ancestors and vindication of their armed resistance to Anglo-American encroachment and U.S. government domination. Simultaneously, they identify Kiowa cultural practices as worthy of perpetuation.

Conclusion

An analysis of the activities in which these three descendants' organizations engage reveals both similarities and differences in their respective agendas. Comparing their statements, it becomes evident that the members of the three organizations view their nineteenth century ancestors as providing the charters for their organizations.

[27] The powwow was being held in a gymnasium on the school district's property.

Individuals repeatedly pointed to Sétthái de (White Bear) and Guipago's (Lone Wolf) twin roles as protectors and providers. And it is these roles that members emphasize in justifying their own efforts in the fields of cultural preservation and philanthropy. Members see a clear corollary between their nineteenth century ancestors' efforts to defend the Kiowa people and the Kiowa way of life in the face of Anglo-American encroachment, U.S. military campaigns, the destruction of the bison, and the dispossession of tribal lands and their own attempts to preserve and perpetuate Kiowa cultural practices in the face of increasing rates of intermarriage, incorporation into the wage economy, and the distractions posed by popular culture. Cast as martyrs who sacrificed their lives to preserve the Kiowa people it becomes incumbent upon their descendants to honor their sacrifice by taking steps to ensure the survival of Kiowa cultural practices.

Motivating the members of all three organizations is the perception that Kiowa cultural practices are threatened or endangered. While the organizations share a commitment to cultural preservation broadly defined, each has brought its own emphasis and approach to bear on the problem. For example, Satethieday Khatgombaugh, at least initially, focused on the deliberate transmission of Kiowa cultural practices in fairly formalized settings, such as the symposium the organization co-sponsored with the Oklahoma Historical Society, an approach that I believe reflects the membership's ties to Lassiter. Of the three organizations, the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants has been the most active in addressing issues related to language loss and revitalization, sponsoring youth language camps and, as we will see in the next chapter, explicitly promoting the use of the Kiowa language at the organization's dances.

Differences are also apparent in the types of philanthropic endeavors in which the organizations engage. The Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants primarily assist community members by co-sponsoring benefit dances, although the latter has also occasionally organized distributions of food and clothing in conjunction with its annual celebrations. As described above, Satethieday Khatgombaugh is involved in a more diverse array of charitable activities, including providing scholarships for Kiowa students and emergency assistance for community members.

In the interest of preserving and promoting their ancestors' memories, the members of each of the three organizations have embraced means borrowed from the broader U.S. society. This is perhaps most evident in the organizations' decisions to incorporate as not for profit entities and apply for grants to support their endeavors. Jackson (2007:40) notes that this is a strategy that has been adopted by other indigenous organizations in Oklahoma. For example, the Hasinai Society, a grass roots organization devoted to the preservation of Caddo cultural practices, has secured support for its annual Hasinai Youth Camp from both the Oklahoma Arts Council and the National Endowent of the Arts (Fair 2007:70). Thus, the Kiowa descendants' organizations discussed in this chapter are part of a larger trend in which Native American organizations in Oklahoma are seeking external assistance to fund their programming.

The family reunions sponsored by the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants during the early 1990s provide another example. While descriptions of the reunions indicate that they featured distinctive Kiowa practices, such as the performance of Kiowa songs, the family reunion is a cultural concept that lacks a historic antecedent in Kiowa

society. That said, Kiowa people embraced the family reunion early on, for example the Tanedooah family started holding reunions in the first half of the Twentieth Century, and today a number of Kiowa families, including the Yeahquo, Tartsah, Onco, and Hunting Horse families, hold annual reunions (Cutnose 2010; Hunting Horse Reunion 2009; Onco 2010; J. Redbird 2010b; Tartsah Family Reunion Benefit Dance 2009).

Several strategies have been adopted more recently, including the use of newsletters to aid in the teaching of Kiowa history and cultural knowledge. And while I have focused on the newsletters published by the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, I should point out that both the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh have at times published newsletters that contained similar content. In addition, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh's administration of a college scholarship fund bears a striking resemblance to the practice of endowing a scholarship to honor a deceased loved one. While the scholarship is not named for Sétthái de, the fact that Satethieday Khatgomebaugh oversees the scholarship is sufficient to ensure that it will evoke his memory. Having considered some of the more "innovative" strategies members of descendants' organizations have adopted to commemorate their ancestors and transmit cultural, genealogical and historical knowledge, I now turn my attention to their engagement with cultural forms that many within the Kiowa community would define as "traditional."

Chapter 4 – "If they didn't sacrifice for us, none of us would be here." : Cultural Performance Events

In this chapter I analyze cultural performance events sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations, arguing that their decision to sponsor celebrations featuring Kiowa songs and dances reflects both a specific view of Kiowa identity and an emphasis on the preservation of Kiowa cultural practices. All three of the organizations discussed in the preceding chapter, The Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh, and the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, sponsor annual dances in which the Kiowa Gourd Dance plays a prominent role. In addition, these organizations participate in an intertribal performance network that encompasses southwestern Oklahoma.[28]

[28] In the Native North American context Sue Roark-Calneck (1977:525) notes the existence of social networks throughout Oklahoma comprised of indigenous organizations that sponsor cultural performance events. Jackson (2003a, 2005) has studied the social networks of indigenous communities in eastern Oklahoma who engage in the Stomp Dance. He observes that "Like the powwow, the Woodland tradition of dance and song embodied in the Stomp Dance represents an old and complex social institution that links local communities into larger social networks" (Jackson 2005:172). He documents the existence of multiple Woodlands performance circuits, including one comprised of ceremonial ground people, another comprised of tribes who have incorporated the performance of Stomp Dances into the context of powwows, and a third composed of indoor stomp dances that are held in the winter and frequently function as fundraisers. Rhonda Fair provides an analysis of the Hasinai Society, a Caddo organization dedicated to cultural preservation, and its efforts to bridge two distinct performance circuits, one comprised of organizations in western Oklahoma that sponsor and participate in powwows and another comprised of Eastern Woodland ceremonial grounds. Her work directly addresses the performance network in which the Kiowa descendants' organizations discussed in the preceding chapter are enmeshed. Indeed, she notes the existence of a reciprocal relationship between the Hasinai Society and

By way of examples I focus on three annual dances, the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants' 2009 dance, held at the Comanche Community Center in Apache, Oklahoma and the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants' 2009 and 2010 dances, held at Red Buffalo Hall in Carnegie, Oklahoma. I made extensive audio recordings at all three dances. At Betty Washburn's urging, I danced at the Chief Satanta Descendants' dance, while at the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants' dances, I assisted with the raffles, sitting at the speakers stand with the emcees and leadership of the organization.

In addition to these dances, I also analyze a commemorative celebration organized by Martha Koomsa Perez and Phillip Lujan, descendants of Setangya (Sitting Bear) (Perez 2010a). Setangya, like Sétthái de, was a nineteenth century *jò:fàujó:qì:*, or band leader. He was also the *fà:ujóqì:*, or head, of the warrior society known as the Qóichégàu and as such was regarded as one of the ten bravest individuals in the tribe (Nye 1969:144-147; Mishkin 1940: 54; Mooney 1979:185, 328-330). In interviews and conversations, community members repeatedly identified him as one of the most important figures in Kiowa history (Jordan 2009, 2010). I was curious why the descendants of Setangya had not organized and formed a descendants' organization, and I told Martha that I found it puzzling that Setangya's descendants were not more actively involved in promoting their ancestor's memory. Several months later, Martha informed me that she had decided to organize an event to honor Setangya, explaining that for years she had wanted to do something to recognize Setangya and his oldest living descendants and that my comments

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Satethieday Khatgomebaugh, in which the two organizations co-sponsor one another's events (Fair 2007:159-164).

had prompted her to action. The commemorative ceremony and associated Setangya descendants' reunion were held at Carnegie Park on July 1, 2010.

Performance Events

In referring to the events analyzed in this chapter as performance events I draw on the work of a variety of scholars, including Richard Bauman (1992, 1986, 1994), Beverly Stoeltje (1993, 1987), Deborah Kapchan (1995), and Webb Keane (1997, 1994). Bauman (1992:46) writes that, "All performance, like all communication, is situated, enacted, and rendered meaningful within socially defined situational contexts. The comparative study of performance, however, has tended to emphasize those events for which performance is a criterial attribute, what the U.S. anthropologist Milton Singer has called 'cultural performances.'" Thus, a performance event is one that necessarily entails a demonstration of communicative competence (Hymes 1975a) with regard to an "aesthetically marked and heightened mode of communication" (Bauman 1992b:41). For example, the dances sponsored by descendants' organizations necessitate the performance of Kiowa songs and can therefore be classified as performance events. In a similar vein, the honoring of a prominent historical figure, such as Setangya, entails the singing of the individual's personal song.

Stoeltje's insights regarding the role of festivals are also relevant to the discussion of performance events. According to Stoeltje (1992:261) festivals perform important social work, including "the expression of group identity through ancestor worship or memorialization, the performance of highly valued skills and talents, [and] the articulation of the group's heritage." The dances sponsored by the descendants'

organizations and the Setangya celebration fulfilled each of these functions. Given their explicit focus on nineteenth century Kiowa ancestors, the events entailed a definite commemorative aspect. They also provided an occasion to highlight the performance of Kiowa songs and dances, as well as the use of the Kiowa language. Finally, public oratory at the events frequently focused on elucidating Kiowa cultural practices and identifying those practices, which speakers felt were deserving of preservation and promotion, a factor that I address more fully below.

Festivals make recourse to the past, both through their emphasis on the community's shared history and experiences, as well as their frequent focus on the commemoration of ancestors (Stoelje 1992:261, 263). Despite this fact, Stoelje (1992:263) notes that, "In all socially based festivals… the messages will be directly related to the present social circumstances as well as to the past." This perspective on festival resonates with research on heritage and historical consciousness (Beier-de Haan 2006; Handler 1984, 1983; Handler and Linnekin 1984; Kirshenblatt-Gimblet 1998; Glassie 1994) that suggests that interpretations and representations of the past must be understood as rooted in the contemporary moment. Indeed, Stoeltje (1992:268) concludes that, "festival happens in the present and for the present, directed toward the future." While the dances and commemorative events sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations feature the performance of songs and dances rooted in the nineteenth century and the veneration of Kiowa ancestors who lived during this period, these events are ultimately rooted in contemporary concerns regarding the transmission of cultural and genealogical knowledge.

Like Kapchan (1995:480), I view performance events as "multisemiotic modes of cultural expression." Recognizing the "many semiotic systems at work in the construction of performative reality," Kapchan (1995:481) encourages scholars to address the role of non-verbal communication in their analyses of performance events. Similarly, Stoeltje (1992:270) notes that during cultural performance events such as festivals, "Language, music, objects, actions, and humans are all available for symbolic communication." In analyzing the descendants' organizations' dances and the Setangya celebration, I seek to understand the roles of public discourse, material culture, and song.

The Kiowa Gourd Dance

As outlined in the preceding chapter, the Gourd Dance figures prominently in the dances sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations. Few scholars would classify the Gourd Dance as an endangered cultural form. Indeed, a great deal has been written regarding the proliferation and rapid, continental spread of the Gourd Dance following its revival by the Kiowa in the late 1950s. Scholars have noted that the dance quickly spread to other tribes and beyond to non-Indian hobbyists (Ellis 1990:19, 24-25; Howard 1976:243, 253-255, 257; Lassiter 1998:122-123, 126-127, 243-244 n.1, 245 n.7). Commenting on the Gourd Dance, one member of the Kiowa Gourd Clan reported that an elder had summed up the situation saying, "That's the horse that got out of the corral and we ain't getting it back in."

Community members are interested in preserving a unique, Kiowa, version of the dance (Ellis 1990:28-29; Lassiter 1998:126). For example, several Kiowa elders with whom I spoke complained that younger singers frequently mispronounce Kiowa words

contained in songs, because they do not speak the language. Others doubted whether these individuals understood the meaning of the Kiowa words and phrases they were singing. Lassiter encountered similar concerns in his work with Kiowa singers (Lassiter 1998:171). That community members continue to express these concerns over a decade after Lassiter conducted his fieldwork indicates the existence of a persistent anxiety concerning the survival of the uniquely Kiowa aspects of the Gourd Dance.

Most Kiowa individuals are aware that the Gourd Dance was revived twice during the twentieth century. The dance was originally associated with the nineteenth century Jáifègàu warrior society. Following the end of armed resistance to Anglo-American encroachment in 1875 and the subsequent cessation of the Kiowa Sun Dance in 1890, many of the roles the society had formerly performed disappeared, and the society eventually disbanded. The society was revived in 1912 and continued to hold annual summer dances until 1928. Between 1928 and 1938, dances were held only intermittently and were frequently smaller in scale than those that characterized the preceding period. Aside from a single dance held in 1946 to celebrate the end of World War II and honor veterans, the Gourd Dance was not performed again until 1955 when a group of Kiowa men staged a performance of the dance at the American Indian Exposition. The exhibition stimulated interest in the revival of the dance, and in 1957 Kiowa elders presided over the organization of the Kiowa Gourd Clan (Meadows 1999:104-105, 110-112, 136-137). When Kiowa people, including members of descendants' organizations, emphasize the importance of maintaining the Gourd Dance and its associated repertoire of songs, they do so with keen awareness that dances and songs, unless actively maintained, can fall into disuse and become dormant. The current

vitality of the Kiowa Gourd Dance is a direct result of Kiowa people's deliberate efforts to maintain this specific cultural form.

Yet, the number of Kiowa people actively involved in dances, either in southwest Oklahoma or the broader powwow circuit, is relatively small. Kiowa singer Jim Anquoe estimates that out of the entire Kiowa population of over 12,000 individuals "probably four hundred of them dance" (Ellis 2003:163). Clyde Ellis (2003:163) points out that if Anquoe's estimate is accurate, then less than four percent of the Kiowa population actively participates in dances. Even if Anquoe underestimates the number of Kiowa people who dance, the fact remains that the overwhelming majority of Kiowa people do not participate in dances, be they large contest powwows or local benefit dances, as either singers or dancers. Many of the members of descendants' organizations with whom I spoke expressed concern that the demands of the wage labor economy left their children and grandchildren with little time to participate in dances. Emily Satepauhoodle (2010) statement that "for some reason the generation after my generation are not that interested in it for whatever purposes, living life and going after that dollar maybe," is indicative of this view. Concern over what they perceive to be lagging participation in this arena of Kiowa life leads members of descendants' organizations to sponsor dances and to encourage family members, especially those who do not typically engage in such activities, to participate. Thus, descendants' organization's dances are intended to promote the preservation and perpetuation of forms of expressive culture, such as singing and dancing, central to these cultural performance events. This is achieved in part through the deployment of discourse, material culture, and song in a manner that

underscores the connections between contemporary community members, their nineteenth century ancestors, and specific cultural expressions.

Public Discourse

My analysis of the role of public discourse in the context of performance events sponsored by established and nascent descendants' organizations is informed by the theoretical insights offered by studies of the ethnography of speaking and performance. Central to both approaches is the idea that society is discursively constructed (Bauman and Briggs 1990:60; Sherzer 1992:79). Joel Sherzer (1992:79) notes that for proponents of the ethnography of speaking, "Discourse is considered the focus of the language-culture-society-individual relationship, the place in which culture is conceived and transmitted, created and recreated." Similarly, Bauman and Charles Briggs (1990:60) highlight performance theory's emphasis on "language use and the central place it occupies in the social construction of reality." Specifically, I am concerned with how speakers at these events address the ongoing maintenance of Kiowa identity within the context of settler colonialism. I argue that these events function as the setting for promulgating discourses that emphasize the importance of preserving and perpetuating specific Kiowa cultural practices. At the same time, these discourses implicitly challenge the homogenizing discourses of the dominant society, of which the "English-only" ballot initiative overwhelmingly approved by Oklahoma voters in November 2010 is a prime example (Oklahoma Election Board 2010a, 2010b).[29]

[29] State Question No. 751, which requires that official state actions be conducted in English, except when this would contradict Federal law, contains a provision permitting the use of Native American languages (Oklahoma Election Board 2010a). Yet, it

In formulating my analysis, I draw on the work of Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin (1981). Bakhtin argues that societies are characterized by competing forces - "centripetal" forces which seek to impose uniformity and univocality and "centrifugal" forces which promote diversity and polyphony. These forces are constantly at odds both within society and individuals (Bakhtin 1981:270-273; O'Neill 2006:652; de Peuter 1998:31). However, multivocality is part of the natural order, and centripetal forces are never able to entirely eradicate different ways of speaking and different ideologies. Consequently, both societies and individuals are characterized by what Bakhtin refers to as "heteroglossia" – a state marked by linguistic diversity and the existence of a multitude of competing ideologies. (Bakhtin 1981:263, 271-273, 2000:270; Burke et al 2000:250-251; O'Neill 2006:652).

In recent years, many scholars have recognized the utility of Bakhtin's model as a theoretical tool (Gardiner and Bell 1998:5; O'Neill 2006:652). For example, Burke and colleagues (2000:251) have stressed its usefulness for exploring "strategies of resistance to linguistic and cultural hegemony in colonial and postcolonial contexts." Related to these specific topics are Bakhtin's concepts of "authoritative discourse" and "internally persuasive discourse" (Freedman and Ball 2004:8). Bakhtin describes authoritative discourse as the entrenched discourse of the powerful and refers to it as "the words of the fathers" (1981:342). Internally persuasive discourse by contrast lacks this stamp of authority or legitimacy and has been referred to as the "everyday discourse of the

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nonetheless privileges the English language. A member of Satethieday Khatgomebaugh, speaking at a dance in 2009, drew a comparison between the proposed ballot initiative and historical efforts at forced acculturation, recalling that Kiowa children in boarding schools were punished for speaking the Kiowa language and forced to learn English (Jordan 2009).

common people" (Freedman and Ball 2004:8). It is important to note that there can be more than one authoritative discourse. Indeed, Bakhtin observes that individuals may encounter "various kinds and degrees of authority" (1981:345). For example, a distinction can be made between supralocal authoritative narratives, those imposed by hegemonic forces outside the local community and local authoritative discourses, those discourses perpetuated by influential members of a local community.

These competing discourses are related to the concept of ideology. For Bakhtin the term ideology does not refer to a specific political focus, but rather to a more general worldview. The multitude of ideologies to which one is exposed comprises what Bakhtin refers to as the "ideological environment." Individuals are constantly engaged in the process of evaluating the various ideologies they encounter and modifying their world-views. Bakhtin refers to this as the process of "ideological becoming" (Freedman and Ball 2004:5). Discourse plays an important role in the expression of ideologies. Voloshinov, a contemporary of Bakhtin argues that, "any human verbal utterance is an ideological construct in the small" (Shotter and Billig 1998:19). Bakhtin (1981:342) himself notes that the discourse of others "strives to determine the very basis of our ideological interrelations with the world, the very basis of our behavior."

Voloshinov and Bakhtin's interpretations of the relationship between discourse and ideology dovetail well with the basic premise of discourse analysis. At the heart of discourse analysis is the argument that communication is action. Discourse analysis seeks to understand what people are doing through their speech (Wood and Kroeger 2005:4-5). I seek to integrate the work of Bakhtin and Voloshinov with a discourse analytic approach to explore the relationship between discourse, ideology, and identity in

the Kiowa community. Specifically, I address processes of traditionalization (Bauman 1992:136-137, 140-141; Jackson 1997, 2003:7-9; Mould 2005) and the articulation and contestation of language ideologies (Kroskrity 2000, 2004).

Traditionalization

Dances sponsored by descendants' organizations function as sites of cultural production. In the context of these events, members seek to discursively define what it means to be Kiowa. Much of the public discourse at these events can be categorized as metapragmatics and metadiscourse, observations regarding the protocols governing these events and comments concerning the events themselves (Kapchan 1995:479). Speakers routinely emphasized the antiquity of the cultural forms displayed at these events, identifying them as inherited from previous generations and citing past practices as the basis or model for contemporary practices. While such discourse is not unique to dances sponsored by descendants' organizations, it plays a prominent role in these events.

Attempts to establish a connection between contemporary and past practices represent a component of traditionalizing discourses. Recent scholarship defines tradition not as an inherent quality of a practice or cultural expression, but rather as a label or designation assigned in the present (Hymes 1975b:353-355; Bauman 1992a:136-137, 140-141; Linnekin 1983:241-242; Jackson 2007:38, 2003:7-9, 1997; Mould 2005:256-261). While the tradition label is typically applied to practices that originated in the past, it references more than the mere historical depth or antiquity of a practice. Jason Jackson provides the following explanation of the process of traditionalization.

> To call something traditional within the family circle or in a public gathering, such as a community celebration, is to make a statement about its importance. Such framings emphasize continuity through time within a

> circumstance in which such continuity has become worthy of comment rather than being taken for granted as an unspoken norm. Some idea, belief, or practice… is singled out as an important part of a wider heritage that ties people, usually specific people, in the present to particular people in the past. [Jackson 2007:38]

In the context of dances sponsored by descendants' organizations, it is often the continuity between contemporary practices and cultural practices that prevailed during the late nineteenth century that is emphasized. Viewed against the backdrop of the federal government's assimilationist policies, the survival of these practices is viewed by Kiowa people as "worthy of comment," even in cases, like that of the Gourd Dance, where practices have been briefly abandoned and subsequently revived. Individuals with whom I spoke also identified a variety of factors associated with contemporary lifestyles, including intermarriage and wage labor that they feel militate against the continuation of these practices, making their endurance even more noteworthy (Kaulaity 2010; Satepauhoodle 2010).

A prime example of such traditionalizing discourse is a speech offered at the 2010 Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants powwow. The officers of the organization had invited Speedy Oheltoint to conduct a cedaring ceremony[30] before their dance. Alinda Yeahquo Yellowhair offered the following comments after the completion of the ceremony.

[30] A smoking ceremony involves the placement of cedar or other dried plant material on smoldering coals to produce fragrant incense. Because cedar is often used, the ceremony is frequently referred to as a cedar ceremony or simply as a *cedaring*. Other plants used in this manner include bear root and sweet grass (Phil "Joe Fish" Dupoint at the Setangya Celebration 2010). The resulting smoke is thought to carry the participants' prayers to God. Typically, the individual conducting the ceremony prays for each of the participants as he wafts the smoke over them with an eagle fan. Objects and spaces, as well as people, may be purified and prayed for in this manner.

> I'm so glad Speedy did our smoking ceremony. That's the original Kiowa way, with the pipe. You use the pipe. That's what was done today. I'm blessed. I thank for God that. You know when we were looking for head staff we had to pray about it. Asked the Lord, who's supposed to do our cedaring. That's who God told me to pick was him. Because he's sincere, he's for real, he's old traditional. He knows the old tradition ways and we're glad that… cause a lot of people have left us. We respect him. We thank God for him and his life. When you're sincere, the Lord he's fast when you pray for your people, and I know that's what he does. So, I'm really glad and thankful that he could be here today, for all of us, not just me, for everybody. So, we need to keep our traditional ways, some of us. We need to hold onto some of our traditions and some of 'em we can do away with, that are no good, but some of 'em we need to keep. I felt so good when I saw him with that pipe out there, cause I haven't seen that in a long time. Get, the four directions. Get the four directions, that's the way we're supposed to do the cedaring. So, I'm just glad it happened. [OCLD 2010]

Alinda calls attention to the fact that Mr. Oheltoint prayed using a pipe, referring to this as "the original Kiowa way" of conducting such a ceremony. In so doing, she establishes a link between the cedaring ceremony conducted that day and those conducted in the distant past. Alinda defines this particular version of the ceremony not only as the "original Kiowa way," but also as "the way we're supposed to do the cedaring." Noting that "a lot of people have left us," she expresses her admiration for Mr. Oheltoint for preserving the knowledge of this ceremony, which she implies might have otherwise perished with the passing of previous generations of Kiowa people.

The centrality of singing and dancing to Kiowa identity is a theme often repeated in the course of performance events sponsored by descendants' organizations. The statement that nineteenth century Kiowa leaders, specifically Sétthái de and Lone Wolf, sacrificed to ensure the survival of their people and their way of life was one I frequently encountered in my interviews with the members of these organizations, and it finds expression in public discourse at their dances. At the 2009 Chief Satanta (White Bear)

Descendants dance, Alinda addressed the crowd in the course of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants' giveaway.

> We need to keep our traditions. Need to hand it down to our young people. Keep our traditions, our songs and our dance. Keep the traditions of the Kiowa people. And that's what it's all about, because one of these days, we're not gonna be here, but we want our chiefs to live on, because they sacrificed for all of us. If they didn't sacrifice for us, none of us would be here.[31] So, I want you to always remember that. This is why we celebrate. This is why we're memorializing Sétthái de, Guipago, and all the chiefs. We want to remember, remember them the same way as the Euro-Americans remember George Washington and all the presidents and all of them. Well, we have that same right to remember our chiefs, to celebrate them. So, I just wanted to say that tonight before we do our giveaway. [CSWBD 2009]

On one level, Alinda's statement is about the need to remember and memorialize nineteenth century Kiowa leaders, yet it is also about the need to perpetuate certain Kiowa cultural practices. Indeed, she sees the two goals as closely linked. She attributes the physical and cultural survival of the Kiowa people to the sacrifices of historical figures like Sétthái de and Lone Wolf. She suggests that contemporary Kiowa people owe a debt to these figures and implies that ensuring the perpetuation of Kiowa cultural practices, including singing and dancing, is a means of repaying that debt. Indeed she

[31] Abigail Wightman encountered the same sentiment during her work with the Plains Apache. She reports that the Chairman of the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma told her "this tribe is only here today because of our men, our warriors" (Wightman 2009:31). The Plains Apache fought along side the Kiowa at the 1864 Battle of Adobe Walls when forces under Christopher Carson attacked their camps. However, during the 1874 Red River War, Plains Apache warriors served as scouts for the U.S. military, fighting against the Kiowa, Comanche, and Southern Cheyenne (Mooney 1979:315-316; Wightman 2009:54-55, 58). One of Wightman's consultants recalled with pride that her great-grandfather had served in this capacity. Indeed, Wightman (2009:59) notes that, "this history of cooperation with the American army is still proudly remembered in the Apache community today." While members of the Plains Apache community emphasize their male ancestors' service as warriors, in doing so, they reference not only their resistance to the U.S. government, but also their subsequent role as allies of the U.S. military.

identifies the transmission of these practices to future generations as a means of ensuring that "our chiefs live on."

While Alinda seeks to encourage those already involved in the perpetuation of Kiowa cultural practices to continue their efforts, her comments are also directed at those who do not actively participate in Kiowa dances. Clyde Ellis (2003:163) observes that, "powwows do not satisfy everyone's idea of what it means to be Indian," noting the existence of multiple arenas in which Southern Plains people participate and through which they express their indigenous and tribal identities. This is certainly true of the Kiowa, and Luke Eric Lassiter identifies participation in the Native American Church, various Christian congregations with predominantly Kiowa or Indian memberships, hand games, and Indian Softball tournaments as meaningful contexts in which individuals choose to live out their lives as Indian people. These are not mutually exclusive endeavors, and individuals may participate in two or more of these arenas (Lassiter 1998:76-78, 86). Alinda articulates a specific vision of Kiowa identity, one in which Kiowa songs and dances play a central role, and in her speech she encourages individuals to embrace this aspect of their identity.

An emcee plays an important role in controlling the flow of a dance, communicating with the singers and dancers so that they know what is about to transpire. Yet an emcee's announcements may also serve to provide assurances that the "proper" protocols are being followed and to comment on the meaning or significance of the events taking place. For example, at the outset of the 2010 Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants' dance, the emcee, Eddy Onco, provided the following observations.

> The memorial song is a good song to honor all the deceased Kiowas [and members of] the other tribes… They left us with good traditions, good cultures, but it's up to us to carry them on to our future generations. So, it's always good to have a memorial song. And well, for veterans too it's good to have the flag song at the beginning of each gathering and a prayer. Dad always told me, pray before anything – prayer meetings, church gathering, powwow, and just the family reunions. We pray. Ba dachi (pray) anywhere you go, so just thank Dawkee (God) for this day. Gonna be a good day. We'll get the program started, the afternoon program, with a series of Jáifègàu [songs]. Aho (Thank you)." [OCLD 2010]

Eddy begins by explaining the meaning or purpose of the memorial song and ends by announcing that the Gourd Dance portion of the program is about to begin. He identifies those actions which mark the opening of most Kiowa dances – a prayer and the singing of the Kiowa flag song, followed by a memorial song. In the process, he affirms the importance of each of these actions.

In addition, Eddy acknowledges that the deceased bequeathed to the living "good traditions [and] good cultures." Ostensibly, he is referring, at least in part, to those practices that opened the dance. Referring to these traditions, he charges his peers, asserting it is "up to us to carry them on to our future generations." He bolster's his authority by citing his father, the late Atwater Onco, who was highly respected as both a tribal historian and a powwow emcee.

Statements are also made linking contemporary practices with specific historical antecedents. For example, at the start of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants 2010 dance, Eddy emphasized the Gourd Dance's martial origins.

> Good singing. Good dancing. Jáifègàu. What it's all about. Jáifègàu means you dance the dance before you go on the war journey. And when you come back you celebrate your victory. You celebrate your, the trophies that come back with the [men] from the war journey. And that's what Jáifègàu is about. But the songs, the songs they're singing are… [It]

> means you're a warrior, you're unafraid to die. So every time you get out there to dance, you're not afraid to die when you face the enemy. [That is] what Jáifègàu is all about. That's what that all means. [OCLW 2010]

Eddy establishes a connection between the performance of the Gourd Dance at the organization's event and past performances by nineteenth century Kiowa warriors. By highlighting the martial ideology associated with the Gourd Dance, Eddy emphasizes the dance's association with what is, as I demonstrated in Chapter 2, a period in Kiowa history that occupies an important place in the historical consciousness of the Kiowa community.

Language Ideologies

As outlined in the preceding chapter, the revitalization of the Kiowa language is a goal of both the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants. While Kiowa is still utilized in the context of dances, it is spoken with less frequency than it once was. Commenting on the use of Kiowa at dances, Kendall Washburn (2010) observed, "that's always neat to see, cause even [in] my short lifetime you don't… you've seen the evolution from lots of Kiowas speaking at powwows and not so much now." Sponsoring cultural performance events provides descendants' organizations with an opportunity to promote the use of the Kiowa language. In addition to encouraging individuals to speak Kiowa at their events, participants employ the discourses of traditionalization and endangerment to define the Kiowa language as a cultural expression deserving of both preservation and perpetuation.

One obvious strategy employed to promote the use of the Kiowa language within the context of a specific event is to select an emcee who is a Kiowa speaker. For example, the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants regularly utilize the services of

Bobby Thompson, a Kiowa elder. Similarly, the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants asked Eddy to serve as an emcee at their 2010 dance. Both men peppered their discourse with Kiowa words and phrases. Often these were simple commands, such as get up, dance, and come here, that are known even to individuals who are not "fluent" Kiowa speakers. Yet, sometimes emcees employ more Kiowa. During the 2009 Chief Satanta Descendants dance, Mr. Thompson frequently communicated with the head singer, Parker Emhoolah, using the Kiowa language, advising him regarding what was about to transpire and requesting specific songs.

The most explicit effort to promote the use of the Kiowa language that I witnessed occurred at the 2010 Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants Dance. The organization sponsored a Kiowa storytelling competition during the supper break, offering a one hundred dollar prize for first place and a fifty dollar prize for second place. At the conclusion of the afternoon session of Gourd Dancing, Alinda encouraged audience members to sign up for the competition.

> We're gonna sign up. If you have a story, you have to tell it in Kiowa [and] then you interpret it in English. It doesn't have to be a long story. Short story that's… The reason why we're doing this, [is] because when I had to learn Kiowa it started coming back to me. When I was teaching it at U.C.L.A. it started coming back to me, 'cause I was giving it out. All them words started coming back for me. That's what we have to do. If you start talking Kiowa… The purpose of this story telling is to teach and learn the Kiowa tribal language and songs and dance, including our Kiowa hymns, upholding the tribal traditions of our ancestors and elders.
>
> And the language, the Kiowa tribal language has different dialects, like the English language has… I'm gonna tell y'all today [that] the Kiowa language is alive and constantly changing in a dialectical process. [We] have old Kiowa words and modern Kiowa words, or a mixture. Some speak old and mix it with the new, modern. Some of the old Kiowa words have died out, but we can bring them back through the drum or through classes or speaking to one another.

> And the benefits of speaking Kiowa are, to keep our tribal status, as a tribe, our identity. We can become bilingual, speak English and Kiowa. We can keep our tribal roll. If you are on the tribal roll, you are Kiowa. You are not [a] half-breed, captive, or any other tribe. We all have the same rights. Last, but not least, the Lord, Dawkee, God, gave us our language and he told me by his Spirit, the Holy Spirit, to tell the Kiowa people to speak Kiowa or learn it. And then the Spirit spoke to me in my spirit while I was praying. This is what came to me. He said, "Bat Cautozahnma, hon Takoi bat dau" and the interpretation… That means "Speak Kiowa you are not English."[32] And learn your language. This is why I'm doing this today. Some of you might not like it, but I encourage you to speak Kiowa. Things are changing. Times are changing and we have to keep our tribal roll. We have to keep our tribe intact. [We] have to keep it and this is why I'm saying this today…
>
> If you're an elder, you can tell a story. If you're young, you can tell… I said, it doesn't have to be a long story. It can be short. If you want to sing a song, you can sing one. This is what the purpose is of this language storytelling. And when you get signed up here, I'm going to tell you my story, which I learned by teaching Kiowa. But you're gonna have to sign up if you want to win a hundred dollars. If you wanna win second place, you'll get fifty dollars. You can win it today. So, let's start talkin Kiowa. Come sign up. [OCLD 2010]

During my fieldwork I heard several elders express the opinion that it was too late to preserve or revitalize the language. Typically, such opinions were voiced to underscore the futility of efforts being launched to document or teach the Kiowa language. Here, Alinda anticipates this criticism and directly challenges the notion that the Kiowa language is too far gone to be saved. She maintains that the language "is alive" and that words that have fallen out of use can be reintroduced into the lexicon.

In listing the benefits of learning the Kiowa language, Alinda emphasizes that it is an integral component of Kiowa identity. Alinda seems to be promoting a definition of Kiowa identity predicated on cultural knowledge, specifically knowledge of the Kiowa

[32] Subsequently, Alinda worried that this statement might be misinterpreted as a slight against Whites or other non-Indians. She emphasized that her intent was to inform members of the Kiowa community that they had an obligation to learn the Kiowa language (Alinda Yellowhair telephone conversation July 27, 2011).

language, rather than blood quantum. She seems to eschew the idea of making distinctions between individuals on the basis of blood quantum, arguing that individuals who are enrolled are "not half-breed, captive, or any other tribe." She defines the Kiowa language as something that is available to all enrolled members of the Kiowa tribe regardless of the specifics of their ancestry, countering the claims one sometimes hears that specific individuals are not qualified to speak or teach Kiowa because they are not "truly" Kiowa.

According to Alinda, not only are all Kiowa individuals entitled to speak Kiowa, they all have an obligation to do so. She identifies the Kiowa language as God given, exhorting those present that, "the Lord, Dawkee, God, gave us our language." She reveals that she received a message from the Holy Spirit telling her to instruct the Kiowa people to learn and speak their language. When the Holy Spirit speaks to Alinda, he speaks to her in Kiowa, instructing her to relay his message that the Kiowa people are not White and should be speaking their own language. Furthermore, Alinda argues that the storytelling competition itself is a divinely inspired event, prefacing her story with the following statement.

> So, I'm not trying to… I'm not trying to act like I know everything and you don't know anything. That's not the attitude that I have. My attitude is or my thinking is that we need to learn our language and this is why I want to do this. The Lord put it in my heart to do this. None of my family told me to do this. This is what the Lord gave me when I was in prayer. That's why I'm doing it, what God told me to do. Anyway, I'm gonna tell you another Saynday story. So we told you… Like I said, [we had] different dialects and all that. So, this is my Saynday story. [OCLD 2010]

Alinda identifies the competition as "what God told me to do." Attributing the impetus for the event to the "Lord," she frames the competition as an enactment of God's will.

Statements made by members of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants indicate that they realized that the storytelling competition had the potential to offend people. For example, Alinda was aware that individuals might interpret her storytelling as showing off or feel that she had called undue attention to herself. Hence, her statement, "I'm not trying to act like I know everything and you don't know nothing." She was also sensitive to the possibility that those who could not speak Kiowa might feel devalued. As she introduced Kiowa elder Lucille Aitson, she observed, "This is a Kiowa talkin woman right here. You can learn lots from her. I'm encouraging you today. I'm not trying to put anybody down. I'm encouraging you. Okay?" (OCLD 2010). While Alinda was eager to recognize those Kiowa speakers who were present at the event, she tried not to alienate those who cannot speak Kiowa.

When no one initially signed up to participate in the contest, Julia Roubideaux volunteered to tell a story. Before she started, she commented, "Practice makes perfect. I don't qualify they say, cause I'm a Yeahquo.[33] But I just want to start this thing off. I don't qualify for prize money. But I see a lot of Kiowa speakers out there and I'm going to try it. You might not like what I say. I might say it wrong, but I'm gonna try. So come up here and sign up and let's enjoy this Kiowa language class" (OCLD 2010). In her comments she seeks to allay the fears that might be preventing some from participating in the contest. She volunteers that she might make some mistakes, but that she is at least

[33] As a member of the organization sponsoring the competition, Julia was not eligible to enter the competition.

going to try. Noting the presence of Kiowa speakers in the audience, she encourages them to sign up for the competition.

The winner of the competition was Mrs. Aitson, a Kiowa elder. Her story, which she learned from her grandfather, was a humorous tale about a Kiowa camp that lived in fear of a lurking monster that in the end turned out to be nothing more than a rabbit. The Kiowa version of her story lasted over eight minutes. Second place went to two youth who attend Kiowa language classes in Carnegie. The duo sang the Kiowa Birthday Song, which they had recently learned in preparation for the Oklahoma Native Youth Language Fair. Alinda acknowledged their participation in the Kiowa classes and recognized two of their instructors. Their performance drew applause from the audience and prompted Pershing Yeahquo to comment, "I think they're the winners. They didn't say one English word. Not one English [word]" (OCLD 2010). Ultimately, the competition recognized both the eldest and the youngest participants.

At the end of the competition, Irene Spotted Horse, Alinda's Aunt asked for the microphone.

> I don't have a story, but I just have to say something. I want to thank Alinda for taking the initiative to do this. And I think we've heard more Kiowa tonight than we have in the past year probably. And, I'm really… Lucille and I are same age. And I'm really ashamed of myself for not speaking as good Kiowa as she, but you almost have to live with it to learn it and I was in government school and all I heard was Comanche, so when I came home I knew mostly Comanche. Unless I went… [In] the summer time I was with my grandpa… But anyway, I just want… I admire her for doing this and I just want to encourage the younger ones to learn [to] speak Kiowa. And I try and teach my kids, but boy they can't put the right pronunciations at the right places, you know. And sometimes I'm afraid they're gonna say something wrong or different. We just have to keep trying I guess, because we're old now and we're gonna be going pretty soon and I should be up here speaking Kiowa. I know I can understand anything you might have said. You can't say anything about me in Kiowa

> that I don't understand, but speaking it is really hard for me. And I'm at home by myself a lot and I should be talking Kiowa to myself a lot, but I don't have anybody to talk to.
>
> So, I just admire her for doing this. And again, I want to encourage everybody to talk Kiowa as much as you can. And I really, really regret that I don't speak it every day. And she grew up with her grandma and I grew up in a Comanche environment and Thakoi (White) environment. So, at government school they were trying to teach us to be White people. So, we had to learn how to be Indian when we went home. So, you know it's kind of difficult for us. So, I just want [to] tell everybody [that] I'm old and I guess I'm the elder of our group here and I'm really glad they took it upon themselves to do this. And we're trying to keep tradition going. And I want to thank them for this. I want to thank everybody for coming and we appreciate it. Aho (thank you). [OCLD 2010]

Irene expresses regret that she cannot speak Kiowa as well as some of her peers, particularly Mrs. Aitson, a fact she attributes to having attended a predominantly Comanche boarding school. Yet, most of her comments are focused on the storytelling competition itself. After identifying herself as an elder and the senior member of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, she registers her approval for the event, thanking Alinda and the other members of the organization for putting on the competition. She encourages everyone to "talk Kiowa as much as you can" and encourages the children and youth to endeavor to learn the language. Acknowledging the difficulties that she had encountered in attempting to teach her own children the Kiowa language, she encourages her fellow elders to persevere in their attempts to pass on the language, stating that they "just have to keep trying." Ultimately, she echoes Alinda's statements regarding the importance of the Kiowa language and the need to preserve and revitalize it, while at the same time lending her authority as an elder to sanction the storytelling competition.

The competition operated on several levels. At the most basic level, it served to elevate the standing of the Kiowa language. Discursively, this was accomplished through

the identification of the Kiowa language as a God given gift and repeated references to the importance of preserving the language. Kiowa speakers were publicly recognized and applauded for their proficiency, and in the process the ability to speak Kiowa was framed as a desirable skill. The competition also served as a platform for publicly discussing issues related to language preservation and revitalization. Alinda and Irene contest the argument that the Kiowa language is too far gone to save and therefore destined for extinction. Alinda's comments regarding the existence of Kiowa dialects and differences in the ways in which some words tend to be pronounced in various Kiowa communities and Julia's admission that she might make mistakes in the course of telling her story speak to notions of language purism. They acknowledging the existence of different ways of speaking, as well as the fact that language learners will inevitably make mistakes and that this is part of the learning process. The competition was intended to be a vehicle to promote the teaching and learning of the Kiowa language and to encourage those already involved in efforts to preserve and revitalize the language to continue their efforts.

Names

Dances sponsored by descendants' organizations and commemorative events like the Setangya celebration provide settings to recognize the individuals who bear their nineteenth century ancestors' names. Individuals are rarely identified by their Kiowa names outside of the speeches that accompany a giveaway held in their honor. Within this context, a spokesperson chosen by the individual will provide background information on the honoree that typically includes their Kiowa name and genealogical

information. However, individuals who carry the names of prominent ancestors are sometimes recognized outside this context.

The acknowledgement may be fairly understated. For example, at the 2010 Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants dance, Alinda introduced the head staff. Her nephew was serving as the arena director, and she seized the opportunity to assert his ownership of the Guipago (Lone Wolf) name. Addressing the crowd, she explained, "I want y'all to know Spencer. This is Guipago right here. [The] A.D. His name is Guipago. He took that name. That's his Kiowa name. Y'all remember that."

Kendall Washburn, who carries his ancestor's name Sétthái de, was acknowledged at the 2009 Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants dance. During his giveaway, Parker Emhoolah, who was serving as the head singer, explained how Kendall had assisted him in the past.

> Also during that time I was in the hospital, there was an individual that came there to see me. And I was quite elated when I saw him, when I kind of come to and I saw him. And it was Sétthái de, Kendall. Stand up Kendall, let the people see you. This man, he was with that emergency unit that took care of me, got me to the hospital okay and I was very grateful for them. [CSWBD 2009]

Parker makes a point of referring to Kendall by his Kiowa name. In the process, he publicly acknowledges Kendall's rights to the Sétthái de name.

The commemorative event held in conjunction with the 2010 Setangya reunion included the recognition of the warrior's namesake, Lawrence Keith Brown. He was introduced by Phillip Lujan, who served as the master of ceremonies for the event.

> At this time I'd like to have Lawrence Keith Brown step forward. And Lawrence Keith Brown is Setangya's namesake. He carries the name of Setangya and he was born in 1958 in Lawton, Oklahoma. And he's the great grandson of Lynn Brace and his grandparents were Parker and Jannette Brace. His parents are Herbert Brown of Acoma Pueblo, New Mexico and Wynema Brace Brown of Carnegie. And he received a bachelor of arts, majoring in theater and communication from the University of San Francisco. [Setangya Celebration 2010]

Mr. Lujan's scripted statements closely follow the format used in introducing an honoree before his or her giveaway. He not only acknowledges Lawrence's Kiowa name, but also provides genealogical information and briefly mentions his accomplishments.

Events focusing on nineteenth century Kiowa figures provide a platform for recognizing the heirs to these historical figures' names. In the case of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendant's dance and the Setangya celebration, these individuals were recognized by the event sponsors, who seized the opportunity to publicly assert their relatives' ownership of these names. However, at the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants dance, it was a member of the head staff who acknowledged Kendall as Sétthái de. It is conceivable that Kendall's immediate family may have been reluctant to call attention to his ownership of the Sétthái de name, feeling that their statements might be interpreted as being too boastful.

Authority

As the quotes in the preceding sections illustrate, speakers often bolster the authority of their interpretations of Kiowa cultural practices by attributing them to Kiowa elders or ancestors. This is frequently achieved through the use of indirect reported speech. Speakers evoke prior speech events, recontextualizing the discourse of their elders and ancestors for the contemporary audience. Scholars of performance theory

have identified the indexing of prior speech events as contributing to the "illocutionary force" of utterances (Bauman and Briggs 1990:64). For example, Jason Jackson (1997:197) argues that, "This textual linkage of the present with the past can be used to promote feelings of cultural continuity and to enhance the authoritativeness of speech and its authors." Similarly, Mould (2005:257) notes that, "narrators draw on the past in order to authorize their own performances," describing how individuals frequently, "link themselves to the authority of the past through attribution."

In their public discourse, Kiowa speakers routinely identified the source of their knowledge, especially when making statements identifying the correct or proper way for people to behave or conduct themselves. Almost invariably, the source is a relative of the speaker, frequently a parent or grandparent. For example, when she emphasized the importance of recognizing visitors during giveaways, Alinda prefaced her remarks by stating, "This is what our mother taught us" (OCLD 2010). Similarly, Eddy prefaced his remarks on opening dances with a prayer with the phrase, "Dad always told me…" (OCLD 2010). Individuals seek to invoke the authority of their parents' or grandparents' generation. Because Kiowa-specific cultural knowledge is perceived as diminishing with each successive generation, previous generations are seen as having possessed more accurate and detailed knowledge of cultural practices.

In Kiowa society, grandparents are viewed as bearing a great deal of responsibility for enculturating their grandchildren. Consequently, time spent with one's grandparents is frequently evoked as a measure of one's knowledge of Kiowa cultural practices. This role of grandparents was made explicit at the Old Chief Lonewolf Dance. Discussing the way in which he and his brother had been raised, Eddy observed, "That's

the way the people taught us, mom, dad, and grandparents. Grandparents are your teachers. They're supposed to teach the young ones. And dad taught his grandchildren Kiowa ways, so they're all good, good kids, good nieces and nephews" (OCLD 2010). In addition to identifying himself as the beneficiary of his parents' and grandparents' knowledge, Eddy equates the role of grandparent with that of teacher. At the 2009 Chief Satanta (White Bear) Dance, Tina Emhoolah introduced her husband Parker, stating, "I wanna tell you a little something about this man standing up here. I wanna say something about this man that I'm married to. We were both raised by our grandparents. Parker was *adetali* (favored boy) to his grandma. I was *adematon* (favored girl) to my grandpa. So, we're a married couple that was traditionally raised by our grandparents" (CSWBD 2009). Tina cites the fact that they were raised by their grandparents as evidence of their traditional upbringing.

Speakers also bolster their arguments by identifying the cultural practices that they wish to promote as divinely inspired. For example, at the 2010 Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants' dance, Andy Cozad offered the following remarks.

> The things that they told us, we're trying to uphold that. We treasure these things and we're trying to teach our children, our young ones about these things… And there was so much to put together here, but you know we thank God for all these things. Like today, we're singing and dancing this afternoon. Well, where do these things come from? Who made 'em? God Almighty, Dawkee. He's the one. [OCLD 2010]

Cozad emphasizes the importance of Kiowa cultural practices, which he glosses as "the things they told us." Here, "they" are Kiowa elders. He describes efforts to educate Kiowa youth regarding these practices and then thanks God for the knowledge that elders transmitted to his generation and that they are in turn seeking to pass on to their children.

Finally, he assures his audience that Kiowa songs and dances ultimately originated from "God Almighty, Dawkee."

Similar statements were made at the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants dance in 2009. Sonny Tartsah offered a few initial remarks before providing the closing prayer.

> This has truly been God's day today. I can feel it. It's good that I could be here today and I know that each one of you are proud of your families. God's blessed the White Bear Descendants with this weekend. Twenty years God has blessed 'em. And I know each one of you, again, is proud of your families. It's a beautiful sight. Our Cauigus (Kiowas) can come here and listen to these songs, these dances; that God, Dawkee gave to our elders, and to hear and respect them the best way that we can [CSWBD 2009].

Like Cozad, Tartsah identifies the Kiowa songs and dances performed that day as cultural expressions that Kiowa elders received from God. He reconstructs a chain of transmission in which songs and dances passed from God to the Kiowa elders of previous generations and hence from them to the current generations. These sentiments were echoed in the subsequent prayer that he offered: "Today, Lord we thank you again for our Cauigu ways of singing and dancing. We thank you." Tartsah emphasizes his belief that Kiowa cultural practices were ordained by God and that Kiowa people should respect them and be thankful for them.

As we have seen, Alinda emphasized the divine origins of the Kiowa language in her comments at the 2010 Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants dance. While other speakers identify Kiowa cultural practices as God given, Alinda is alone in providing a divine mandate for the preservation of such a practice. In an example of direct reported speech,

she conveys a message from the Holy Spirit, instructing the Kiowa people that they should speak their own language.

Material Culture and Performance

A significant aspect of the cultural performance events sponsored by descendants' organizations is the material environment in which these events are staged. Having considered the role of public discourse in performance events, I now turn my attention to the ways in which material culture is deployed in these contexts. While I have chosen to treat these two phenomena independently, I argue that ultimately the discourse and displays of material culture work in tandem to influence the perceptions of those in attendance. Alinda describes how the members of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants decorate Red Buffalo Hall in preparation for their annual dance.

> We decorate the whole stage in our powwow. We decorate and we have to buy all those things that we put up there… But, we want to have a nice powwow and we want to make people feel good, like the… How do you say it, uhm? The atmosphere. Event. You create an atmosphere. So that's how we do it. We have to create an atmosphere. So, I learned that in doing a… I used to live in California, so I know how to… how they do props and stuff in the movies and stuff. So, I learned that in California. We put all kind of stuff up there. We don't have the same thing every year. We put up, of course we put up Guipago's big ole poster. One year we had tumble weeds up there and we had blankets. We put our, like different stuff from the Kiowa, you know. We decorate those boards, put blankets and stuff over them. [Yellowhair 2009]

As Alinda explains, the members' goal in decorating the hall is to create an "atmosphere" and thereby influence how people experience the dance. She draws a comparison between the organization's displays and the props and sets employed in film production.

It is an apt comparison that underscores the important role material culture plays in the production of cultural performance events.

The stage at Red Buffalo Hall, where the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants held their 2009 and 2010 dances provides a prominent place to display materials. The edge of the stage was covered with blankets, providing a bright backdrop for the speaker's stand, which was set up just in front of the stage. A yellow vinyl banner bearing the name of the organization in black letters was suspended from the edge of a table positioned in the center of the stage. Atop the table sat a poster sized photo of Lone Wolf. Two "lances" decorated with feathers, horsehair, and faux fur flanked the table.

Positioned along the length of the stage were poster frames containing information on Old Chief Lone Wolf and his descendants. One of these collages seemed to emphasize Lone Wolf's participation in the Kiowa Sun Dance. In addition to a photo of Lone Wolf, the frame contained copies of two nineteenth century Kiowa drawings of episodes in the Sun Dance, as well as a photo of the interior of an Arapaho Sun Dance Lodge bearing a notation that the Kiowa Sun Dance had never been photographed. Nearby, was a diagram, based on one contained in Mooney's *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, depicting the Kiowa encampment during the 1867 Sun Dance and the location of each of the bands within the camp circle.

Another frame contained an account by Hugh L. Scott of Lone Wolf's proficiency in hunting buffalo. The Library of Congress had posted the document online, and one of the descendants had printed it off and mailed it to Alinda, who had incorporated it into the display. In the document, Scott describes Lone Wolf as "the best man I ever heard to kill buffalo…" He notes that while most hunters succeeded in killing no more than three

buffalo as they rode through a herd, Lone Wolf was known to have harvested as many as seven to nine animals. Scott also praises Lone Wolf's prowess at hunting antelope and deer, observing that "all Kiowa know how well he shot arrows, nobody equaled him." The excerpt from Scott's notes suggests that Lone Wolf was the preeminent Kiowa hunter of the late nineteenth century.

Other displays focused on descendants who had served or were currently serving in the U.S. military. One combined a newspaper clipping featuring a photo of SFC Timothy Yeahquo, dressed in fatigues and carrying an assault rifle, shaking hands with Afghan civilians and copies of two Kiowa drawings from circa 1875-1878 depicting Kiowa warriors dancing and mounted on horseback. The juxtaposition of the photo of SFC Yeahquo and the ledger drawings seemed to draw a connection between his military service and the sacrifices of nineteenth century Kiowa warriors. A label in the display identified SFC Yeahquo as a "Kiowa Warrior."

The Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants organization's display communicated multiple messages to the audience. At the most basic level, it allowed members of the organization to situate their ancestor, Lone Wolf, within a specific historical and cultural context. This was achieved by displaying Kiowa drawings produced during the period in which he lived and emphasizing his association with practices such as the Sun Dance and buffalo hunt. Furthermore, the inclusion of photos of both Old Chief Lone Wolf and his descendants within the display served to underscore the latter's connection to their ancestor, a message that Alinda sought to drive home by including a copy of a family tree, detailing precisely how she, her siblings, and her cousins are descended from Old Chief Lone Wolf.

The Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants also decorate the venue where they hold their annual dance, the Comanche Nation Community Building in Apache, Oklahoma. Red tablecloths covered the tables along the north side of the dance arena that formed the speakers stand. This is where the emcee sat, along with the individuals who were orchestrating the raffles. Atop the table sat a miniature version of Sétthái de's Red Tipi. It is the same model that sits atop the vehicle pulling the organization's float during the American Indian Exposition parades.

Two enlarged photographic portraits of Sétthái de flanked the speaker's stand. Measuring roughly two by three feet, the photos were propped up against the edge of the tables, facing into the arena. Both were taken by William S. Soule, who photographed members of the Southern Plains tribes between 1867 and 1874. In the photograph on the left Sétthái de wears a military coat with an officer's shoulder insignia. Suspended from his neck on a ribbon is what appears to be a peace medal, although its surface is obscured in the photo. Soule took this photograph in the spring of 1867 at Fort Larned, Kansas (Nye 1968:186). In the second photo, Sétthái de strikes a more martial appearance. Although he is seated with a blanket wrapped around his waist, he holds a bow and several arrows and a quiver and bowcase lean against his left leg. The presence of the bow and arrows references Sétthái de's role as a warrior. In the other photo, the military coat and officer's shoulder boards recall Sétthái de's clashes with the military, even if as is almost certainly the case, Sétthái de received the coat as a gift.

In addition to the photos, the organization also displayed a beaded lance and an eagle-feather war bonnet during the dance. Both objects belong to Kendall Washburn. A wooden base held the lance as if it had been thrust in the ground, and the bonnet was

draped over the butt end of the lance and tied in place. Kendall's father commissioned the bonnet, which was made by Charlie Silverhorn, another member of the organization. Charlie also beaded the lance, which is over five feet long and beaded along its entire length. Kendall explained that the lance was a gift intended to honor his grandfather, Clarence Sankadota.

> As mom always tells me, Charlie's mother, she wanted the lance made and she wanted to honor my grandfather. That was her way of honoring him. He'd already passed away and it was her way of honoring him and what he stood for. And I just… It just amazes me the work that went into it and then just to [present it] as a gift to me. To this day, it just amazes me. [K. Washburn 2009]

Sétthái̇de is known to have owned a *zebat*, a lance that resembled a large arrow (McCoy 1996:59; Mooney 1979:210, 338); however, Kendall's lance is not a facsimile of his ancestor's lance. Nevertheless, it references the nineteenth century when Kiowa warriors wielded such weapons.

Martha Koomsa Perez, the organizer of the Setangya celebration set up a display at the event. A table set up in front of the speaker's stand held an eagle-feather war bonnet mounted on a stand consisting of a Styrofoam head attached to a wooden base. Draped over the table was a blanket on top of which was spread a buffalo robe. Flanking the bonnet were framed copies of two late nineteenth century Kiowa ledger drawings depicting members of the Qóichégàu. Setangya was, for a time, the leader of this warrior society (Mooney 1979:284-285). Leaning against the table was a poster featuring a photograph of Setangya also by Soule (Merrill et. al. 1997:302). In the portrait, he wears a cloth shirt and a buffalo robe. Passing over his left shoulder and extending diagonally across his chest is a strip of hide, which several of my consultants identified as a no

retreat sash. As the leader of the prestigious Qóichégàu, Setangya possessed such a sash. As discussed in Chapter 2, in an especially desperate engagement, a man who owned a no retreat sash was expected to stake himself down by thrusting a lance or arrow through the trailing end of his sash. This act represented a vow to stand his ground, and the man could not retreat unless one of his comrades released him by pulling the arrow or lance out of the ground (Mooney 1979:284-285). The photo of Setangya wearing the sash references his membership in the Qóichégàu and his commitment to protecting the Kiowa people as exemplified in the obligations associated with the sash. A blanket draped chair to the left of the table held a contemporary oil painting based on Soule's portrait of Setangya.

Another table (fig. 17) was placed near the center of the arena, facing the speaker's stand. The table, which was covered with a blanket, held four war bonnets. Leaning against the table were two large framed photographs, one a copy of the previously mentioned photograph of Setangya and the other a copy of Soule's portrait of Sétthái de in which he is wearing what appears to be a military coat with an officer's insignia.

While a photo of Sétthái de might seem out of place at an event intended to celebrate the life of Setangya, I believe its presence served several purposes. Martha's father, the late Bill Koomsa Sr. was descended from both Sétthái de and Setangya (Perez 2009). Including the photo of Sétthái de served to remind the audience of the Koomsa family's connections to both historic figures. Furthermore, the event occurred the day before the start of the Kiowa Gourd Clan's annual dance. Because Sétthái de is remembered as having been a leader of the nineteenth century Jáifègàu warrior society,

the historical antecedent of the Gourd Clan, the organization honors him during their annual celebration. Knowing that Sétthái de's memory would be evoked several times during the following three days, the organizers of the reunion may have been seeking to place Setangya on an equal footing with Sétthái de in people's estimation and to link the two men in their memory. Displaying the two men's portraits together suggests that they were not only contemporaries, but also compatriots.

Although Lone Wolf, Sétthái de, and Setangya were all photographed by Soule during the 1860s and 1870s, there are no known photographs of any of the men wearing a war bonnet (Nye 1968:186-187, 212-213, 220-221). Yet, Kiowa drawings produced between 1875 and 1878 attest to the fact that Kiowa men wore eagle-feather bonnets during the third quarter of the nineteenth century (National Anthropological Archives n.d. MS 39C, MS 98-54; MS 392,725; Petersen 1971:Color Plate 2, Plate 34, Plate 55). It would seem that Kiowa men made a conscious decision not to wear their bonnets when they were being photographed. In contemporary Kiowa society, war bonnets are primarily associated with the leadership of the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society and the Oh-ho-mah Lodge (Jordan 2008, 2009, 2010). For example, the officers of the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society don war bonnets during the Turn Around or Reverse Dance (Meadows 1999:168). Because of their status as icons of leadership, the display of headdresses at the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants' dance and the Setangya celebration reinforces the sponsors' messages that Sétthái de and Setangya were important nineteenth century Kiowa leaders.

Descendants' use of material culture to communicate messages regarding the prominence of their nineteenth century ancestors and their ties to these historical figures

likely represents a response to Kiowa cultural proscriptions against bragging. As Alinda explained, "Kiowas when you're [a] child, a long time ago, they taught you respect. So, not to be proud and boastful even though you come from, may come from a chief or somebody that's prominent. You don't brag about it and you don't act like it. So that's what my, our parents taught us" (Yellowhair 2009). Descendants who emphasize their ties to prominent nineteenth century ancestors run the risk of being perceived as being boastful. For example, in discussing descendants' organizations, one woman observed that "You don't have to be shoving it in people's faces all the time. They know who you are and what family you come from. You don't have to tell them." For a descendant, at a dance, to repeatedly call attention to their ancestor's stature in nineteenth century Kiowa society and recount their deeds and accomplishments might strike those present as unseemly behavior. Displays of material culture may communicate the same messages in what is perceived to be a less overt and more acceptable manner.

Song

Another important component of events held to honor nineteenth century Kiowa warriors is the singing of their personal songs. Lassiter (2002:133) notes that songs are "one of the most vital traditions for maintaining and transmitting a distinctive social memory." In nineteenth century Kiowa society, songs were a form of intellectual property. A man owned any songs that he composed, and others were barred from singing these songs without first securing his permission (Greene and Drescher 1994:423). Men composed songs to be used in the dances performed by their warrior society. For example, Sétthàide, who is known to have served as the *fà:ujóqì:* of the

Jáifègàu, composed songs for use by his warrior society (Lassiter 2002:136-137; 1998:167). Although little has been written regarding the rules governing the use of songs in the nineteenth century, contemporary practice suggests that a man could retain ownership of a song, while at the same time granting individuals permission to sing the song (Lassiter 1998:171). An individual might also transfer ownership of a song to a new recipient. Kiowa singer Phil R. "Joe Fish" Dupoint (2009) explained that if a man dies without bequeathing his song to a specific individual, then ownership of the song passes to the man's descendants. This accounts for the fact that the personal songs of prominent nineteenth century figures such as Sétthàide and Guipago are viewed as belonging to their descendants.

Kiowa singers make a distinction between "songs with words" and "songs without words." Songs without words employ what ethnomusicologists refer to as vocables and constitute the majority of Kiowa Gourd Dance songs. Songs with words are created when an individual composes Kiowa lyrics to fit a song without words. When singers refer to a song as a song with words, they are acknowledging the existence of Kiowa lyrics that can be substituted for the vocables employed in the original composition. Whether this substitution is actually made depends largely upon the context in which the song is being sung, a point I elaborate on below. Thus, singers can sing a song with words using either the Kiowa lyrics or the vocables, a practice they refer to as singing the song "straight" (Lassiter 1998:157, 168-170).

The owner of a song can grant a sort of blanket permission allowing singers to freely use their song. Such a song is referred to as being "on the drum." A singer can sign a song that is on the drum regardless of whether the owner is present (Lassiter

1998:171). Consider the following statement by Parker Emhoolah at the 2009 Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants dance.

> First of all I want to thank the singers for singing my personal song. In 1999, December, I was in the hospital at Comanche County Memorial Hospital in Lawton. I had a little problem, heart problem. While I was in the hospital there one of my grandsons came and he told my wife he was going to do something for me. He made that song and he gave it to me. That song was composed by Cheevers Toppah, my grandson. I'm very grateful to him for composing that song and giving it to me. And it's on the drum, so all you singers any time you want to sing it, sing it. [CSWBD 2009]

If an individual does not place their song on the drum, then singers will not sing it unless the owner specifically requests that it be sung.[34]

Additional protocols govern the use of songs with words. Even when a song with words is considered to be on the drum, singers typically refrain from singing the Kiowa lyrics and instead sing the song straight. This is because the owners of these songs are viewed as retaining the rights to the Kiowa words, or lyrics. As Lassiter notes, "the words are not on the drum" (1998:170-171). An individual or family may request their song at a dance and ask that it be sung with the lyrics. It is also considered appropriate for singers to employ the lyrics when singing these songs at certain Kiowa celebrations, such as the Kiowa Gourd Clan's annual ceremonial or one of the descendants' organizations' annual dances. Occasionally, a singer, moved by the emotions that often

[34] The treatment of songs as a form of intellectual property is not unique to the Kiowa. Foster (1991:150) notes that among the Comanche "certain songs are considered the property of particular families and dance organizations and are reserved for their exclusive use." Commenting on the qualifications for serving as a head singer, he observes that a man "must have a detailed knowledge of the dance songs and the families, individuals, and organizations that are said to 'own' each" (Foster 1991:151).

accompany the climax of the Gourd Dance, will sing a song with the lyrics outside these contexts (Lassiter 1998:170-174).

Melissa Tongkeamha Kaulaity (2009) explained that Sétthái de's song is on the drum and is sometimes sung in the regular course of Gourd Dances. She described how individuals respond when their family song is sung.

> And they come out there and they sing and they dance to them, but it's always somebody's [song]. But you see the person getting up. Who's ever getting up and dancing to that song, they're honoring that song. So that's why, when we hear Sétthái de's song, we'll get up and dance. And that's Sétthái de's song and we're honoring the song by dancing to it. And we [are] usually looking for someone to honor and usually there's always somebody, some Sétthái de descendant, there that we'll pick and bring 'em out [and] dance with 'em. [Kaulaity 2009]

As Melissa points out, when a family song is sung, the members of the family to whom the song belongs will enter the arena and dance to it.[35] Typically, they will honor a family member, placing money at the individual's feet and possibly wrapping a shawl or blanket around their shoulders. At the conclusion of the song, the money and items are given away to the singer who started the song, to the family or organization that is sponsoring the dance, or to some other recipient.

It should be pointed out that when the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants dance and honor someone during Sétthái de's song, they are not only "honoring the song," but also their ancestor to whom the song belonged. By entering the arena, dancing on his

[35] Lassiter (2002:140) urges scholars to pay closer attention to the ways in which social memory "becomes enacted in the body." This is a prime example of this phenomenon. As he notes, The ritual performance of song and memory is not merely an intersection of actors and action; it is a process of consciousness enacted, felt, and made real in the body" (Lassiter 2002:140). Through their movements descendants' visibly claim their ancestors' songs and assert their connections to these ancestors.

song, and giving away gifts, they are identifying themselves as Sétthái̇de's descendants. At the same time, they are publicly asserting their rights to the song. The same is true of the descendants of other nineteenth century figures who honor songs associated with their ancestors.

In contrast to the spontaneous giveaways described above, descendants' organizations also participate in formal giveaways, or specials.[36] When these take place, the members of the organization will request that their ancestor's song be sung so that the they and other dancers may dance to it. Requesting a song and utilizing it for one's special is a way of asserting one's ownership of the song. Consequently, an individual who is having a special and wishes to use a song that belongs to another person or family must first secure their permission, even if that song is normally considered to be on the drum (Bointy 2009; Chasenah 2009). If the individual receives permission to use the

[36] Kiowa people use the term "special" to refer to a formal giveaway that interrupts the normal flow of a dance. Both individuals and organizations may request time to conduct a special, and there is an expectation that individuals serving on the head staff at a dance and organizations serving as co-sponsors will have a special. In addition, the sponsors of a dance always have a special, and theirs is held at the conclusion of the dance. Individuals and families might sponsor a special for a variety of reasons. For example, a family might wish to honor one of its member's achievements, such as graduating from high school or college. On a more somber note, a family might request a special to mark their reentry into the dance arena following a period of mourning. I use the term honoree to refer to the sponsor of a special, recognizing that the honoree might be an individual or an organization. A special may be seen as consisting of three components: the performance of a song, a brief statement, and the public distribution of gifts. The honoree will request that the drum sing a specific song, to which the honoree and others dance. If the special occurs during the Gourd Dance portion of a dance the song will be a Gourd Dance song. Occasionally, an individual or entity will request a "one and one," a War Dance song followed by a Gourd Dance song. Following the song or songs, the honoree and his or her family or the members of the organization, if it an entity being honored, will line up in front of the speaker's stand. At this time, a spokesperson, chosen by the honoree, will make a few brief remarks, providing information on the honoree and explaining the reason for the giveaway. Following these comments, recipients are called up to shake hands with the honoree and receive a gift.

song, then they are expected to publicly acknowledge the owner(s) of the song during their giveaway.

Sétthái de is recognized as the composer of a number of Gourd Dance songs (Lassiter 2002:136-137; 1998:167). Betty Washburn learned about Sétthái de's songs from her father. She recalled, "My dad used to be around the house. He'd be singing. Sometimes he'd sing songs and he'd say that's one of Satanta's songs. I remember him saying that he had thirty songs or thirteen. And I said God that's a lot of songs you know" (Betty Washburn 2010). One of Sétthái de's songs is among those routinely sung at the beginning of a Gourd Dance. There are two sets of Kiowa lyrics for this song (Lassiter 1998:168-169). Significantly, the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and Satethieday Khatgombaugh have adopted different versions of the song.

Betty provided the following translation and discussion of the version that the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants use when they have a special. She refers to the song as "Sétthái de's Battle Song."

> Yeah, he's saying that the wolves, if the wolves eat me don't cry for me, 'cause I won't know. He was going and he knew that there was many battles he was gonna fight, you know… He was preparing the people that he may not come back. The wolves means the enemy, you know. They eat him, he meant kill him. He said, "Don't cry for me, cause I won't know." So, that's the song we use. It really… Sometimes it sends chills down me, 'cause we're so close down that line it… I think golly, you know, he went through a lot and I feel sorry that he did have to go that way instead of enjoying life like we are now, you know. But he made it where we can enjoy life, you know. But him he had to kind of hide around, always be leery of the enemy coming. I think that's why he made that song, 'cause he knew he was gonna eventually be taken down some way. I really respect him and all the other leaders. They all went through the same thing, but he was especially brave and I believe that he kept [his] people going. [B. Washburn 2010]

Betty attributes the words in the song to Sétthái de, noting that "He was preparing the people that he might not come back." For Betty, the song recalls not only the violent struggles in which Sétthái de was involved, but also his bravery and willingness to risk his life in battle. It serves for her as a stark reminder of the sacrifices her ancestor made on behalf of his people. Part of the emotional impact of the song resides in the fact that it was composed by Sétthái de in the very midst of these traumatic events.

The other version is used by Satethieday Khatgombaugh. In 2009, the organization co-hosted a benefit dance for Botone Methodist Church and requested the song be sung during their special. Martha, a descendant of Sétthái de and a member of Satethieday Khatgombaugh, was serving as the emcee. As a singer started the song, she announced, "This song belonged to Chief White Bear, Sétthái de. The words to it says, 'If I were to die by the enemy, who will cry for me? My brother will cry for me.'[37] That's the words that belong in that song, and this was his song. There's a lot of history behind this." While Martha does not delve into the history behind the song, she does ensure that the audience recognizes it as having belonged to Sétthái de. In addition to translating the song, she notes that these are "the words that belong in that song," in effect asserting that this particular version of the song is the "correct" version. While the members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh disagree regarding which lyrics should accompany their ancestor's song, the members of both organizations claim the song.

At the conclusion of their 2010 dance, the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants held their special and danced to the Guipago (Lone Wolf) Song. Weeks before, the organization had made arrangements for Kiowa singer Charlie Horse to lead the song.

[37] These are the lyrics that Billy Evans Horse also attributes to the song (Lassiter 2002:138).

He was selected, I was told, specifically because he knew the Kiowa words to the song (Alinda Yellowhair personal communication, May 29, 2010). Indeed the fact that he would be singing the song was advertised on the fliers for the dance. The singing of the song at the end of the night marked the culmination of the dance. Immediately following the song, Alinda, physically spent after an extremely long day and filled with emotion, addressed the audience.

> Alright, we wanted Charlie Horse to sing that song for us, 'cause the words have a lot of meaning. We wanted to say that we had some great, great Kiowa war chiefs. They were great Kiowa war chiefs, not just Guipago, but others – Sétthái de, Big Bow, all of these, Sitting Bear. All these other ones… Stumbling Bear and all of them… You know, I'm glad and proud to be Kiowa today, because I read my Kiowa history and it makes me feel good that you can still… Our grandpas' songs are still here and it makes me feel good in my soul tonight. That he's… That song is saying that his spirit is still looking over us, watching over us. And tonight I thank God for that. Because I know that they were warriors. Warriors, like not the warriors [of] today, but they had to fight for their people their lands, and everything. And they're great, great warriors to me. I don't know how you feel about it today, but I know how I feel. And that's why I say that tonight, because he is… Guipago is still watching over us and all the other… The blood that was shed for our people, [so] that we were not annihilated, we were not all killed off like some of the other tribes were… That's why I'm rejoicing tonight that we're still here as the Kiowa people and we still have our songs. But we should be glad and thankful tonight for all these good things that they left us. We're not here in competition, but we're here to come together as one people. So, I thank God for all of you beautiful Kiowa people that are here today, tonight. So, God bless you. We're going to have our giveaway. [OCLD 2010]

For Alinda, as for most Kiowa people, songs like Guipago's represent a link with the past. Lassiter (2002:139) observes that to experience the power of a Kiowa song is to "sense the past in the present, to participate through sound in a Kiowa continuity story of struggle and survival that is generations old." It is the singing of her ancestor's song that

prompts her to list "Kiowa war chiefs" and to expound on their role as defenders of the Kiowa people and their homeland. She finds assurance in the words of the song that her ancestor is still watching over the Kiowa people. In a sense, the song is an expression of her ancestor's presence. She expresses elation, observing that "Our grandpas' songs are still here and it makes me feel good in my soul tonight." On another level, the song is to be viewed as one of those "good things that they left us." As such, its survival references the Kiowa people's successful efforts to preserve their cultural practices.[38]

Song also figured prominently in the commemorative event held in conjunction with the Setangya reunion. While most published works focus on Setangya's membership in the Qóichégàu (Mooney 1978:329; Nye 1969:144; Richardson 1940:54), some Kiowa people remember him as having also been a member of the Tò:kó:gàut (Black Legs warrior society), and his personal song is recognized as a Tò:kó:gàut song (Dupoint 2009).[39] Because of this association, the organizers of the 2010 celebration invited the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society to take part in the event honoring their ancestor. Remarks made immediately prior to the singing of the Black Leggings songs emphasized Setangya's membership in the organization and its nineteenth century origins.

[38] The singers who had preserved Kiowa songs prior to the revival of the Gourd Dance were highly esteemed within the community. Without their knowledge the revival of the Gourd Dance would not have been possible (Lassiter 2002:136-137).

[39] Lassiter notes that during the revival of the Gourd Dance, Kiowa singers augmented the existing body of songs associated with the Tiampego society by incorporating songs associated with inactive Kiowa military societies, including the Qóichégàu, as well as Ghost Dance and Sun Dance songs. He writes that, "The Kiowa Gourd Dance thus became a conduit for Kiowa song revival, and its song repertoire became a storehouse of older Kiowa songs" (Lassiter 2002:137; 1998:132). It is possible that Setangya's song was originally a Qóichégàu song and that it was incorporated into the repertoire of the Tò:kó:gàut through a similar process.

Following this, Bill Koomsa, Jr., a descendant of Setangya, was asked to sing his ancestor's song. By way of introducing the song, Bill provided the following brief statement.

> This song, we sang this at Fort Sill when they first brought back the shield to Fort Sill… [I]t was returned there and my aunts, the ones that are being honored here today, were there at that time. So, I was invited over to sing his… You know, he's got a personal song. It's funny how us people, us Kiowas, Indians we have our own tribal, our own personal songs. And he also had a song that he sang when he faced death, but of course we don't sing that song. But the song I'm gonna sing… I wanna sing it a couple of times through and then the boys will pick it up. It's a standard song, but it was one of his personal songs. [Setangya Celebration 2010]

It is almost impossible to convey the emotions that the singing of this song evoked in Setangya's descendants, especially in Bill and his sister Martha. Bill started the song, singing alone and without a drum. Eventually, the singers picked up the song, their voices and drumbeats swelling the sound. As they did, Bill wiped tears from his eyes and Martha added her voice to the chorus of women, singing as tears rolled down her cheeks.

Conclusion

Descendants' organizations sponsor cultural performance events for the twin purposes of honoring their nineteenth century ancestors and promoting the preservation and perpetuation of Kiowa cultural practices. The veneration of prominent nineteenth century ancestors manifests itself in public oratory, the display of material culture, and song performance. Speakers routinely reference these historical figures in their oratory, affirming their stature as "great chiefs" and calling attention to the sacrifices that they made in defense of the Kiowa people. Similar messages are communicated via the use of

material culture. The exhibition of these ancestors' portraits provides them with a visible presence at events, while the display of symbols of chiefly authority serves to underscore their prominence in nineteenth century Kiowa society. In addition, the display of objects and images associated with the late nineteenth century aids in situating these individuals within a specific historical context. Finally, the singing of these historical figures' personal songs serves as a powerful means of evoking their memory.

Yet, while these events ostensibly focus on the past, they also function as important sites of cultural production. Descendants' organizations seek to promote the preservation and perpetuation of Kiowa songs and dances, as well as the Kiowa language. Discursively this is achieved through the process of traditionalization. Speakers emphasize that the maintenance of these cultural forms provides a means of maintaining a connection with the past. They seek to bolster their arguments by citing the divine origin of these practices and invoking the teachings of Kiowa elders and ancestors.

Finally, these events provide descendants with a public arena in which to emphasize their ties to prominent nineteenth century figures. Here discourse plays a less prominent role than displays of material culture and mobilizations of intellectual property. The juxtaposition of descendants and photographs of their nineteenth century ancestors visually reinforces connections between the living and the deceased. Displays may also emphasize, either implicitly or explicitly, continuities between the past and present, as when members of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants combine facsimiles of historic Kiowa drawings depicting nineteenth century warriors with photos of descendants' recent military service or display a copy of a genealogical chart that illustrates precisely how certain members of the organization are descended from

Guipago (Lone Wolf). Furthermore, descendants mobilize intellectual property associated with their nineteenth century ancestors, including their names and songs, as a means of publicly asserting their status as the rightful heirs of these historic figures.

Chapter 5 – "It's a family name.": Kiowa Intellectual Property

Few specific objects of material culture associated with prominent nineteenth century Kiowa warriors have survived, and these are typically found in museum collections. It is in part descendants' inability to lay claim to these objects that has prompted them to emphasize intangible heritage associated with their ancestors. Forms of intellectual property historically recognized by the Kiowa include personal names, martial exploits or war deeds, tipi designs, shield designs, songs, and medicine (Ewers 1978:10; Greene 1996:222, 236, 2001:189; Greene and Drescher 1994:423-424; Mishkin 1940:49-50) In this chapter, I examine descendants mobilizations of intellectual property claims associated with their nineteenth century ancestors' tipi designs, war exploits, and names. This leads me to an examination of the Kiowa system of intellectual property rights, which community members variously refer to as the "Indian legal way," "Kiowa legal way," or the "Kiowa way of ownership" (Jennings 2009; .B. Washburn 2009a). A comparison of contemporary and nineteenth century practices reveals that the Kiowa system of intellectual property rights is in the midst of a historic transformation in which rights historically understood as being vested in individuals are being recast as the shared or corporate property of historical figures' descendants. These competing interpretations are ultimately a source of conflict and contestation in Kiowa society.

James Mooney, an employee of the Bureau of American Ethnology, was among the first scholars to conduct extensive research on the intellectual property system of a Native American community. He devoted over a decade to studying the painted designs emblazoned on Kiowa shields and tipis. Mooney was interested in documenting the

origins of the designs and their symbolism. In addition, he sought to reconstruct the history of the ownership of each design, tracing the transfer of the rights to the design from one owner to the next (Ewers 1978:10; Greene 2001:190-191).

By the time Mooney embarked on his study in 1891, shield and tipi designs had fallen into disuse. The impetus for the production of shields had faded with the cessation of warfare. And only one painted tipi remained in use (Ewers 1978:8; Greene 2001:189-191; McCoy 1995:68). Mooney interviewed the current and former owners of tipi and shield designs. When the former owners were deceased, he interviewed their descendants. He commissioned Kiowa artists to produce drawings of the designs and models of painted tipis and shields. Despite having collected a tremendous amount of information over the course of sixteen years of fieldwork, Mooney never published the results of his extensive study (Ewers 1978:10; Greene 2001:191-193; McCoy 1995:67-69).

Mooney was not alone in recognizing the importance of intellectual property in Native American societies. As Jason Baird Jackson notes, Franz Boas and his students expressed a keen interest in intangible property:

> In our disciplinary folk histories, we have tended to accord to kinship studies the status of primary ancestral obsession, but I would argue that the cross-cultural study of property, including the ethnography of what [Franz] Boas's student Robert Lowie, in a 1928, *Yale Law Review* article termed "incorporeal property," looms nearly as large in the history of our field. [Jackson 2010:42]

In the article, Lowie noted the existence of various forms of intangible property, citing several examples drawn from Plains Indian societies. And Alexander Goldenweiser's 1937 anthropology textbook included a discussion of intangible or intellectual property.

Likewise, Clark Wissler, Curator of the American Museum of Natural History, included a section on intellectual property in his 1938 book, *The American Indian: An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World*. Yet anthropological interest in the cross-cultural study of intellectual property systems is not merely an artifact of the past (Jackson 2010:42).

The last decade has been marked by a renewed interest in intellectual property issues among anthropologists, and scholars have focused considerable attention on Western appropriations of indigenous forms of intellectual property (Brown 1998, 2003; Coombe 2008; Riley 2004). Research has addressed the appropriation of indigenous artworks (Hollowell 2004; Myers 2004, 2005; Nicholas and Bannister 2004). Ethnomusicologists have focused on the lack of protection afforded to indigenous music under Western notions of copyright law (Feld 2000; Seeger 2004a, 2004b). And a growing body of literature addresses the appropriation and protection of indigenous ecological knowledge, often referred to as traditional knowledge or TK (Bannister 2004; Coombe 2001, 2009; Moran 2004). In addition, Brian Noble (2007), Kimberly Christen (2006, 2007), Jackson (2010), and others have outlined the need for case studies of indigenous intellectual property systems or customary law, citing the necessity of identifying alternatives to the prevailing Western model.

By focusing on the ways in which descendants utilize intellectual property associated with their nineteenth century ancestors, I contribute to the cross cultural study of intellectual property systems. I compare contemporary Kiowa understandings of intellectual property rights with the protocols that governed the use of intellectual property in nineteenth century Kiowa society. Adopting this diachronic approach allows

me to avoid the tendency to see indigenous intellectual property systems as static and unchanging. My analysis reveals that the Kiowa intellectual property system is in the midst of a historic shift, in which rights once viewed as being vested in individuals are being recast as collective property. Disagreements over the individual versus collective nature of intellectual property rights have spawned conflicts within the Kiowa community.

The bulk of research on indigenous intellectual property has focused on the appropriation of indigenous intellectual property by non-indigenous actors and entities. These studies have typically focused on inter-group conflict and have not addressed the ways in which debates over intellectual property play out within indigenous communities. By focusing on internal conflict, my research reveals another facet of the connection between heritage and identity politics. The conflicts that stem from descendants efforts to lay claim to and utilize their ancestors' intellectual property demonstrate that mobilizations of heritage can play a divisive role by fueling debates concerning the ownership of symbols associated with a meaningful past.

Shield and Tipi Designs

Nineteenth Century Kiowa Shield and Tipi Designs as Heraldry

In the nineteenth century, the rights to tipi designs and certain shield designs tended to remain within specific families, consequently Mooney viewed the designs as analogous to the heraldic emblems employed by European nobility and referred to his investigation of the Kiowa system of intellectual property rights as the study of Kiowa "heraldry" (Greene 2001:190; Washington Post 1902:32). In a 1902 interview with a

reporter from the Washington Post, Mooney drew a comparison between Kiowa tipi and shield designs and heraldic emblems employed by European nobility:

> The tepees of the prominent families both of the original Kiowas and of the other bands were highly decorated with streamers and shields bearing their heraldic devices or coats-of-arms. Although not generally known, it is a fact nevertheless that the Kiowa during their existence as a tribe had a system of heraldry almost exactly similar to that which prevailed in Europe during the Middle Ages. It was hereditary, and one family could not, under the Kiowa law, appropriate the coat-of-arms or family symbol of another, and in my work among these people I have in searching over their records discovered numerous cases where disputes have arisen over the right of certain families or individuals to certain heraldic devices. [Washington Post 1902:32]

Unfortunately, the comparison of Kiowa shield and tipi designs with European heraldic markings obscures much more than it reveals about the way in which these designs functioned in nineteenth century Kiowa society.

The primary purpose of shield and tipi designs was not to identify the members of a specific family, as their comparison with European heraldic devices might suggest. As Mooney was well aware, shield and tipi designs originated in visions and dreams. A design was inseparably linked to the spiritual power or medicine that revealed itself in this encounter (Greene 2001:188; Harris 1989:9-10; McCoy 1995:65-66; Mishkin 1940:49). Shields were carried for the protection and power the medicine associated with the design afforded (Marriott n.d.; Greene 2001:189; McCoy 1995:65; Mishkin 1940:49).[40] The painted designs on tipis were also associated with medicine and were

[40] Certain types of shields were associated with specific kinds of power or medicine. Buffalo shields were associated with curing and the owners of such shields were believed to be especially adept at treating wounds sustained in combat. Owl shields were associated with prognostication. The owners of an owl shield were believed to possess the gift of prophecy (Marriott n.d.; Nye 1969:193-194).

believed to offer protection to the individuals who lived in the dwelling (Ewers 1978:8; Greene 2001:187).

Often associated with the medicine was a complex set of rules that would henceforth govern the visionary's behavior (Greene 2001:188-189; Harris 1989:9-10; Mishkin 1940:49). Along with a shield design, the warrior typically received instructions regarding "how to paint his shield, on what side to carry it, when to take it out of its case, its tabus, [and] how to make its power efficacious" (Mishkin 1940:49). The revelation of a tipi design was accompanied by a similar set of instructions (Mooney 1979:231). For example, one particular tipi design, known as the Sausage Picture Tipi, carried with it a dietary proscription, a prohibition against the consumption of intestines (Ewers 1978:41).

The instructions that accompanied shield designs frequently authorized the visionary to share the medicine with others, allowing him to produce multiple copies of the shield (Greene 2001:189; Mishkin 1940:49). According to Candace Greene (2001:189), this resulted in a situation among the Kiowa in which "Most of the shields in use derived from the vision encounters of relatively few individuals, replicated and dispersed through the community…" Consequently, most shield designs were shared by a cadre of men. Mooney (1979:231) noted that, "There were formerly about fifty shield patterns used in the two tribes [Kiowa and Plains Apache], and all the warriors carrying shields of the same pattern constituted a close brotherhood with similar war cries, body paint, and ceremonial taboos and regulations." Thus, Mooney confirms that shield designs were not individually distinctive.

Unlike shield designs, tipi designs did not circulate outside of families. John Ewers (1978:8) notes that, "Among these tribes the ownership of tipis could only be

transferred to a relative by blood or marriage. The tipi medicine, if any, was thought to be family property and members were reluctant to let it be given outside the family for fear that death or some other misfortune would be visited upon them." However, it is important to note that tipi designs were not considered family property. Each design was owned by an individual who held the exclusive right to use of the design. For example, when an individual transferred the rights to a tipi design to a new recipient, he or she relinquished the right to use that design thereafter, even when the individuals involved were close relatives (Ewers 1978:8; Greene 2001:187). Mooney was certainly aware of this. He attempted to reconstruct the chain of ownership for each design, recording the names of the individuals who had owned the design throughout its history (Ewers 1978:10).

Ironically, Mooney's characterization of tipi designs as heraldic devices representative of specific families is a fairly accurate description of the way in which these designs are currently employed by the descendants of several prominent historical figures. These individuals feel that they and their fellow descendants hold the rights to their ancestor's tipi design in common. In contrast, some Kiowa individuals continue to view the rights to tipi designs as personal property. Having provided an overview of tipi designs in nineteenth century Kiowa society, I examine these competing perspectives below.

A Renewed Interest in Tipi Designs

During the last quarter of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty first century, Kiowa people have expressed a renewed interest in painted tipis. This may in part be attributed to exhibitions sponsored in the 1960s and 1970s by the Fort Sill

Museum and the Southern Plains Indian Museum which featured replicas of historic Kiowa tipis. In 1961, Roland Whitehorse painted a replica of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* for the Fort Sill Museum. Roland was the great grandson of Tohausan, the nineteenth century Kiowa political leader who had received the rights to the design from a Cheyenne ally in 1845. This was the first time the design had been used since 1916 (Greene 1993:76; 1996:236; Greene and Drescher 1994:421). It is likely that Roland's painting of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* marked the painting of the first Kiowa tipi in almost half a century.

On December 12, 1970, representatives of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache participated in a ceremony to mark the dedication of four tipis at Fort Sill. Kiowa representatives at the event included Roland, James Auchiah, and Rev. Linn Pauahty. In the program for the event, Major General R. Wetherill, Commanding General, U.S. Army Field Artillery Center and Fort Sill, indicated that the tipi display was intended as a visual reminder of the historic connections between Fort Sill and "the native dwellers of the plains." After the General's opening remarks, a cedar ceremony was conducted inside one of the tipis. The entire event was closely scripted. A memo titled "Proposed Sequence of Events for Teepee Dedication Ceremony" contains the following notation: "0941 -0946 Mr. Chalepah sprinkles sacred cedar needles over small fire in center of tepee and with ceremonial fan wafts the ensuing incense around the tepee." Following the ceremony, members of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache communities participated in a dance held in the post corral (FSNHLM n.d. Tipi Dedication Folder). Although the program for the event does not indicate whether the four tipis were painted, given the level of fanfare surrounding their dedication, it seems likely that they were. If nothing

else, the event demonstrated for Kiowa participants the extent to which non-Indians viewed tipis as icons of Plains Indian identity.

In the early 1970s, the U.S. Department of the Interior's Indian Arts and Crafts Board organized an exhibit of contemporary painted tipis. The exhibit was a joint venture of the Board's three museums, the Southern Plains Indian Museum in Anadarko, Oklahoma, the Museum of the Plains Indian in Browning, Montana, and the Sioux Indian Museum in Rapid City, South Dakota. The museums commissioned artists to both recreate historic designs, as well as to develop new compositions. The Southern Plains Indian Museum recruited Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache artists to paint tipis for the exhibit (New 1973:5; Indian Arts and Crafts Board [IACB] 1973:39, 41-43).

Three Kiowa artists, Dixon Palmer, Ernie Keahbone, and Bobby Hill, participated in the project. Ernie Keahbone produced two tipis for the exhibit, both original compositions. His *Kiowa Calendar Tipi* was inspired by the pictographic calendar histories produced by nineteenth and early twentieth century Kiowa artists. The tipi featured depictions of notable events in Kiowa history beginning with the 1833 Cut Throat Gap Massacre and ending with the raising of the American flag on Mt. Suribachi during the battle of Iwo Jima. Keahbone's *Peyote Tipi* was inspired by his participation in the Native American Church. Bobby Hill produced two tipis, an original design titled *Ghost Dance Tipi* and a replica of a historic Cheyenne tipi identified simply as *Cheyenne Ceremonial Tipi* in the exhibition catalog (IACB 1973:34, 36-37, 42).

Of the three artists, only Dixon Palmer was commissioned to paint a replica of a historic Kiowa tipi design. Palmer was commissioned to recreate the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* (IACB 1973:34). A comparison of Palmer's 1973 version of the *Tipi with Battle*

Pictures with a model of the tipi collected by Mooney indicates that Palmer followed the model closely (Ewers 1978:15). Although the exhibition catalog notes that the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* is a "traditional design passed from generation to generation within a particular family" and elsewhere identifies it as "hereditary in the family of Dohasan" (IACB 1973:34, 37), it contains nothing to indicate that the Museum consulted the descendants of either Tohausan or any of the other individuals who had once owned the rights to the design before commissioning the reproduction.

In contrast, the catalog acknowledges Blackfeet notions of ownership. Discussing Blackfeet tipi designs, the catalog notes that, "A genuine sense of propriety surrounding the ownership of a specific design still exists and is highly respected by tribal members. Specific designs may be copied by others who have sought and received permission from the family heirs of the design" (IACB 1973:35). According to the catalog, the Blackfeet artist Howard Pepion secured permission from the appropriate custodians to use the two tipi designs that he reproduced for the exhibit (IACB 1973:35). Reading the catalog, one might be left with the impression that the Kiowa were much less interested in the ownership of the tipi designs than their Blackfeet counterparts.

The Southern Plains Indian Museum exhibited the twelve tipis in 1973 (1973:39). Since then, the Museum has displayed a selection of these tipis during the annual American Indian Exposition.[41] Before the exhibition, painted tipis had not yet made their appearance at Kiowa ceremonials and gatherings. Aside from the tipis created for exhibition at Fort Sill, Kiowa artists had not produced a painted tipi since approximately

[41] The Southern Plains Indian Museum has continued the practice of exhibiting painted tipis from its collection during the American Indian Exposition and most recently exhibited Dixon Palmer's version of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* in August, 2010.

1916 (Ewers 1978:15). The Museum's exhibition seems to have sparked renewed interest in painted tipis.

In 1974, the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society commissioned the creation of a painted tipi to be used by the Society during its ceremonials. The Society, which had been organized in 1958 by Kiowa veterans who wished to honor the sacrifices Kiowa service men had made during World War II and Korea, represented a revival of the Tò:kó:gàut , a nineteenth century Kiowa warrior society. The members of the Society asked Dixon Palmer, a World War II veteran and a charter member of the organization, to design the tipi (Greene 1993:76; Greene and Drescher 1994:421; Meadows 1999:108-110, 139-140; D. Palmer 2008; Palmer and Palmer 2011:171).

Palmer, who had recently completed the commission for the Southern Plains Indian Museum, modeled the Society's tipi on the *Tipi with Battle Pictures*. This seemed fitting as the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* had long served as a record of Kiowa warriors' martial exploits (Greene 1993:76; D. Palmer 2008; L. Palmer 2008; Palmer and Palmer 2011:171). Furthermore, Tohausan was remembered as having been a member of the Tò:kó:gàut , and some community members believe he served as its head (Greene 1993:76; Meadows 1999:141). Nevertheless, subsequent events demonstrate that the Society's officers felt that they could not simply appropriate the design. The *Tipi with Battle Pictures* had last been renewed by Charley Buffalo in approximately 1916. Consequently, the Society approached Charley Buffalo's granddaughter and secured her permission to use certain elements of the design (Jordan 2009). Their actions suggest that they believed that the rights to the tipi had passed to the descendants of the last individual to utilize the design.

It is important to note that the Society's tipi is not an exact replica of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures.* Furthermore the organization emphasizes that its tipi, typically referred to as the *Black Leggings Tipi* or *Battle Tipi*, is not an incarnation of the historic tipi (Greene 1993:76; Greene and Drescher 1994:426; Meadows 1999:141-142; D. Palmer 2008; L. Palmer 2008; Palmer and Palmer 2011:171). Dixon Palmer retained the bilaterally asymmetric design of the historic tipi, which features alternating black and yellow stripes on the south side and pictographic scenes of combat on the north side (Greene 1993:76; Greene and Drescher 1994:426). However, he omitted elements of the historic design while adding new ones to create a unique design (Greene 1993:76; Meadows 1999:141-142; D. Palmer 2008; Palmer and Palmer 2011:171-172).

The Renewal of Historic Designs

Ewers 1978 publication *Murals in the Round: Painted Tipis of the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache Indians* likely increased Kiowa interest in historic tipi designs. The book was heavily illustrated with photographs of the tipi models Mooney had commissioned. Aside from the model of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures,* which had been published in Mooney's (1898) *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, none of the models had been previously published. Drawing on Mooney's field notes, Ewers provided descriptions of the designs and discussions of their symbolic content. He also traced the ownership of the designs through time, chronicling the transfer of the rights to each design from one owner to the next (Ewers 1978:6, 10). With the publication of *Murals in the Round* the Smithsonian placed information in Kiowa people's hands, which had heretofore only been available to those with the means to travel to Washington, D.C. to visit the museum.

Tohausan owned two painted tipis, The *Tipi with Battle Pictures* discussed above and the *Yellow Tipi,* which he inherited from his father (Ewers 1978:14; Greene 1993:70, 1996:236). Some years following the publication of *Murals in the Round*, Roland Whitehorse and his siblings renewed the *Yellow Tipi*. These individuals are the grandchildren of Baadai, one of Tohausan's sons (DeLaune 2009; Greene 1996:236; Whitehorse 2008). In the past, the family set up the tipi when they sponsored peyote meetings. Occasionally, it has also been set up at Mathew Whitehorse's camp during the O-ho-mah Lodge's ceremonial. According to Florene Whitehorse (2008) and Dorothy Whitehorse DeLaune (2009), the design belongs to all of Tohausan's descendants rather than to any single individual. In their view, the design is the collective property of Tohausan's descendants. This represents a shift from the past when tipi designs were viewed as being vested in individuals.

In 1992, the Washburn family renewed Sétthái de's *Red Tipi* (fig. 18) (Anonymous 1995:37; B. Washburn 2009a). Describing the appearance of the historic tipi, Ewers (1978:19), observed that "it was of simple, but very conspicuous design. It was solid red in color, including the door, except for a small green sun at the tip of the center of the back." The design incorporated three buffalo tail pendants, one attached below the green disc on the back of the tipi, and one suspended from each smoke flap. Adding to the striking appearance of the tipi, red cloth streamers were attached to the tips of the tipi poles (Ewers 1978:19).

In renewing the design, the Washburn family opted to purchase a tipi cover made of red canvas rather than a white canvas cover that would have to be painted. They painted the green sun disc on the back of the tipi cover and added the buffalo tail

pendants (B. Washburn 2009a). The use of the commercially dyed red canvas suggests that the materials used in the tipi's construction were considered less important than fidelity to the design. It should be pointed out that almost all of the tipis that had been painted by Kiowa artists in the preceding years had been constructed of canvas and painted with commercial paints, rather than locally produced pigments.

When I inquired about the history of the *Red Tipi* design, Betty Washburn (2009a) chronicled the chain of individuals who had owned the design, "Togudlkapta and then it went to Satanta and then to Grey Goose and then it came down in our family. And Kendall, it's his you know." Betty is adamant that the rights to the *Red Tipi* design are linked to the name Sétthái de, and her son Kendall inherited the rights to the *Red Tipi* when he received the name from his grandfather, Clarence Sankadota (B. Washburn 2009; K. Washburn 2009).[42] According to Betty, the rights to the *Red Tipi* design belong to her son Kendall and not to the collective descendants of either Togudlkapta or Sétthái de. Her statements make it clear that she views the rights to tipi designs as being vested in individuals rather than descent groups.

During our discussions regarding Kiowa naming practices, Betty had emphasized that the transfer of names and other forms of intellectual property, including tipi designs, should be conducted in public settings. Such public ceremonies were part of what she referred to as the "Kiowa legal way" (B. Washburn 2009a). By renewing the *Red Tipi* in 1992, Kendall was exercising rights that he had received several years prior (K. Washburn 2009). Although the renewal of the tipi did not mark the transfer of the rights to the design, the Washburn family felt that the renewal of the *Red Tipi* for the first time

[42] There are several historical cases in which a man transferred both his name and the rights to his tipi design to the same recipient (Ewers 1978:15, 37, 40, 41).

in over a century was an event that should be witnessed by members of the broader Kiowa community.

The dedication of the tipi occurred at Betty's home outside of Apache, Oklahoma. The Washburns asked Nelson Big Bow, a Kiowa elder, World War II veteran, and roadman in the Native American Church, to preside over the rites for the tipi. Big Bow burned cedar incense and prayed for the *Red Tipi*, the Washburn family, and the members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants. Following the cedaring, the Washburn family provided a meal for their guests. The guests included prominent Kiowa elders, men who served as the leaders of Kiowa organizations or were recognized as knowledgeable regarding Kiowa history and cultural practices (Anonymous 1995:37; B. Washburn 2009a; Kendall Washburn personal communication, July 16, 2011). Their presence at the dedication of the *Red Tipi* sanctioned the event and ostensibly signaled their recognition of Kendall Washburn's rights to the design.

The Descendants utilize the *Red Tipi* as a mobile memorial to their ancestor. In addition to including the tipi as a regular part of their encampment at the annual American Indian Exposition in Anadarko, Oklahoma, the Descendants have also exhibited the tipi at Fort Sill. For example, in 2001, the Phoebe Hearst Museum at the University of California, Berkeley placed Sétthái de's shield, which the museum had acquired in the late nineteenth century, on a long term loan to the Fort Sill Museum. The staff at the Fort Sill Museum worked closely with Betty Washburn to develop a ceremony to mark the shield's return to the Kiowa homeland. As part of the celebration, the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants set up the *Red Tipi* on the post's parade ground. The Descendants have also taken the tipi with them when they've travelled to events outside

the state. In the past, the organization displayed the *Red Tipi* at the Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty Pageant in Medicine Lodge, Kansas and Satanta Days in Satanta, Kansas (B. Washburn 2009a, 2009b). The tipi attracts attention and prompts members of the public to stop and speak with the descendants at these events, providing them with an opportunity to share their knowledge of Séttháide.

The *Red Tipi* played an important role in how I first met Betty and other members of the organization. Driving around the grounds of the American Indian Exposition in 2006, I spotted the tipi. Recognizing the *Red Tipi* from several nineteenth century Kiowa drawings that I had studied, I was eager to discover who was using the design. I parked my car and walked over to a camp that I later learned belonged to the Chief Satanta Descendants. My initial inquiry about the tipi provided an opening for Betty to tell me about her ancestor, Séttháide, as well as her organization. This exchange and the subsequent invitation to join the descendants at their camp for dinner launched me on the path of my current research.

Proponents of the study material culture (Allerton 2007; Keane 2005; Miller 2005:31-32) have encouraged researchers to pay attention to the material attributes of objects. Given this admonition, it is worth noting that tipis were designed with mobility in mind (Ewers 1978:6). The same design characteristics that allowed tipis to serve the needs of the nomadic inhabitants of the Plains for centuries enable individuals to transport contemporary tipis with relative ease. Unlike the bronze bust of Séttháide at the National Hall of Fame of American Indians in Anadarko, Oklahoma or his headstone in the Fort Sill Cemetery, the *Red Tipi* is not rooted in place, waiting for visitors to pass by.

Expressions of Tipi Designs in New Media

Although the number of actual painted tipis currently in existence in the Kiowa community is extremely small, the designs themselves have persisted in greater numbers. These designs find expression in a variety of media today including beadwork and cloth appliqué. The tipi designs most frequently employed in this manner include the *Red Tipi* associated with Togudlkapta (Red Tipi Man) and Sétthái de and the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* associated with Tohausan.

For example, Betty Washburn made a dress (fig. 15) for herself that incorporates the *Red Tipi* design. The dress follows the typical pattern of a Southern Plains cloth dress and features a red top and a yellow skirt. Betty refers to these colors as Sétthái de's battle colors, noting that they appear on the inner and outer covers of his shield (B. Washburn 2009a). Two red cloth tipi appliqués, one on the front of the skirt and one on the back, stand out against the yellow background. For Betty, wearing the dress is a means of emphasizing her descent from Sétthái de, and she typically wears it during events in which the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants have a formal role, such as dances that the organization is sponsoring or co-sponsoring and the Anadarko Indian Fair and Satanta Day parades.

While Betty uses the *Red Tipi* design to express her descent from Sétthái de, the design is sometimes utilized by individuals wishing to express their descent from Red Tipi Man, Sétthái de's father**.** These are typically the descendants of four brothers; Bointy, Tsoodle, Kaulaity, and Ahaitty. The descendants of these four men recognize

them as Red Tipi Man's sons and half brothers to Sétthái de (Kiowa Gourd Clan 2007:2; Satepauhoodle 2006:2).

I noted several examples of dance clothing incorporating the *Red Tipi* design worn by the descendants of Tsoodle and Bointy. During her reign as the Kiowa Tribal Princess, Catlyn Tsoodle wore a beaded medallion featuring a stylized version of the *Red Tipi* design. The medallion had been beaded for Catlyn's sister Casey when Casey was elected Kiowa Tribal Princess. The medallion identified Casey and Catlyn as the descendants of Tsoodle and Red Tipi Man (Jordan 2010, 2011).

The *Red Tipi* design also shows up on a dress belonging to Patricia Bointy. The dress (fig. 19) is unique in that it incorporates two historic tipi designs – the *Red Tipi* and the *Tipi with Battle Pictures*. Patricia's daughter Aurora made the dress for her when the Comanche Little Ponies organization invited her to serve as the head lady dancer at one of their events. Patricia explained the symbolism of each of the elements on the dress:

> My daughter put that design together and she put both sides – Bointy and Lone Bear side – that's where the design come from. And she put the Red Tipis on there for the Bointy side and she's got the striped tipis[43] for Tohausan's side. And then she put… Bear claws are in it, because of Lone Bear. And then she's got the, she got the hammerhead, the flickers, you know, the yellow orange. She's got those on. [They] still come from my grandfather's [Lone Bear] side because he used to doctor with that. He was a medicine man. Yeah, he used to doctor with that. He used a crow feather and he used flickers for his medicine. So that was on that and… I told her when she gave it to me, I said, "Oh, that's just purty." I said, "Oh, you can tell right there that everything - all the history's right there, you know." It was just for special occasion[s]. I wanted it for special occasion[s], but my daughter wanted to use it in a contest. It's not a contest dress, but she wore it. And I said, "Okay, go ahead." She put it on. So she wore it and she had a lot of compliments to when they were telling us, "Oh God, that thing says everything on there, you know, where

[43] The Tipi with Battle Pictures appears on the dress in a slightly modified form. Aurora replaced the combat scenes that comprise the northern half of the design with a mirror image of the alternating black and yellow stripes from the southern half of the design.

> you come from and all that," and complimenting [us]on that dress. So, yeah, she's the one made that. She sews. She's the one that sews, makes all our dresses. [Bointy 2009]

Patricia's husband is a descendant of Bointy, hence the inclusion of the *Red Tipi* design. Her maternal grandfather was Lone Bear, whose own maternal grandfather was Tohausan. The inclusion of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* was intended to reference Patricia's descent from Tohausan. Lone Bear, in addition to having participated as a young man in the last Kiowa raid into Texas, was renowned as an Indian doctor. As Patricia explained, the depictions of the tail feathers of the yellowhammer reference his medicine and his abilities as a healer (Bointy 2009).

In addition to the dress, Aurora also created a set of beadwork featuring the *Red Tipi* and *Tipi with Battle Picture* designs. She made the matching set, which includes a crown, hair ties, and a necklace, for her niece when she was elected the Kiowa tribal princess. Each piece features a hybrid tipi design that combines the south side of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* design with the north side of the *Red Tipi* design (Chasenah 2009).

Patricia Bointy's daughter, Cassandra Chasenah, stressed that only members of her family can utilize dance regalia that incorporate both tipi designs, like her mother's dress and her niece's beaded accessories. She explained, "We're still here and there's only a few of us and it's only my dad and my mom's children that can wear it and the grandchildren, our children, and of course the great grandchildren. We're the only ones" (Chasenah 2009). Furthermore, she worried that individuals might not understand the significance of the tipi designs and might appropriate them, noting, "So, you've got to be real careful when you put out things that are your family tradition or your family bloodline, 'cause people will take it and like it so much that they'll use it and they don't know why" (Chasenah 2009).

Less common than the expression of tipi designs in beadwork and cloth appliqué is the incorporation of design elements into other aspects of dancers' dress. One individual, a descendant of Tohausan, has used elements of his ancestor's tipi design to decorate the regalia he uses in the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society's ceremonials. A lance is an essential part of each Society member's regalia, and individuals adorn their lances according to their own preferences. This man's lance is decorated with alternating yellow and black stripes that recall the south side of the *Tipi With Battle Pictures*. He currently carries a beaded lance that incorporates the stripes into the design. Previously, he used one decorated with yellow and black electrical tape (Jordan 2008).

In addition to the lance, the porcupine hair roach is another element of a Black Leggings Society members' clothing. Constructed of bundles of porcupine guard hair sewn to a cloth base, roach headdresses are trimmed with an outer and an inner row of short deer hair. The white deer hair can be dyed, and some dancers purchase roaches with colored trim to accent their dance clothes. The yellow and black dyed deer hair trim on Lawrence's roach, like the design on his lance, replicates the alternating stripes featured on the south side of his ancestor's tipi.

This man's use of the alternating black and yellow stripe design is particularly effective in identifying him as a Tohausan descendant because of the context in which he employs it. The Black Leggings Warrior Society's ceremonials take place against the backdrop of the Black Leggings Tipi, or Battle Tipi, the south side of which is painted to resemble the south side of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures*. Furthermore, during the ceremonial, the masters of ceremony discuss the Society's tipi, acknowledging that it was inspired by the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* and identifying Tohausan as the original Kiowa

owner of the historic design. The trim on his roach and his yellow and black striped lance tie this individual to the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* and by extension to his ancestor Tohausan.

Alan Yeahquo, a descendant of Guipago (Lone Wolf), used his ancestor's tipi design to decorate his hand game set (A. Yeahquo 2009). The design, known as *Lone Wolf's Yellow Tipi* to distinguish it from the similar tipi owned by Tohausan, consisted of a solid yellow tipi devoid of any trim or accents (Ewers 1978:14). Alan is an avid hand game player and makes and sells hand game sets.[44] The sets are used for scoring the game and consist of a wooden rack or base that holds the scoring sticks. Alan's personal set features *Lone Wolf's Yellow Tipi* flanked by two horses. The tipi design identifies Alan as a descendant of Guipago, while the horses represent specific animals Alan has owned over the years (A. Yeahquo 2009).

Lone Wolf's Yellow Tipi inspired the design of the shawls worn by female members of the Old Chief Lone Wolf Descendants. According to Alinda Yellowhair, the organization's shawls are yellow, because yellow was the color of Guipago's tipi. The bright yellow shawls with black lettering and fringe make it easy to identify members of the organization at dances. Unlike other organizations, the Old Chief Lone Wolf Descendants have not created vests for their male membership. However, the male members sometimes wear yellow shirts to identify themselves as members of the organization (Alinda Yellowhair personal communication, July 27, 2011).

Descendants' use of their ancestors' tipi design to adorn clothing, dance regalia, and other objects is indicative of their belief in the shared ownership of these designs.

[44] In 2009 Alan sold a hand game set to the Sam Noble Museum. He decorated the rack with a painting of the north face of the Wichita Mountains as viewed from his aunt's home near Meers, Oklahoma.

Along with their fellow descendants, they view themselves as heirs to their deceased ancestors' tipi designs. The exception is Betty Washburn who views her right to use the *Red Tipi* design as deriving from her son's ownership of the design.

Contrasting Notions of Ownership

There is general agreement that an individual has no right to use a specific tipi design unless he or she is descended from an individual who once owned that design. However, beyond this point, there is relatively little consensus regarding the protocols that should govern descendants' use of their ancestors' designs. Indeed, the issue of whether the rights to tipi designs are vested in individuals or constitute collective property remains unsettled.

Disputes sometimes emerge even among those who agree that tipi designs belong to the descendants of the designs' historic owners. The vast majority of Kiowa tipi designs were owned by more than one individual in the past. Many designs were owned by a series of individuals before they fell into disuse in the late nineteenth century. According to nineteenth century Kiowa notions of intellectual property rights each owner relinquished his or her rights to the design upon transferring them to the next recipient (Ewers 1978:8; Greene 1996:236, 2001:187; Greene and Thomas Drescher 1994:422, 424). This enables individuals to assert that only the descendants of the last person to own a tipi design have a legitimate right to revive and use that design. This is the logic employed by those who claim that the rights to the *Red Tipi* belong to Sétthái de's descendants.

Nevertheless, the descendants of the original or prior owners of certain tipi designs persist in using these designs. They reject the notion that their ancestors'

relinquished their rights to these designs. They maintain that, as the descendants of the tipi designs' original owners, they have a right to utilize the designs. For example, Red Tipi Man is documented and acknowledged as having transferred the rights to the *Red Tipi* design to his son Sétthái de (Ewers 1978:19; Mooney 1971:337), yet the descendants of his other children frequently employ the *Red Tipi* design. Similarly, the descendants of Tohausan continue to claim and utilize the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* design despite the fact that Tohausan bestowed the design on his nephew, Gathering Feathers (also known as Shoulder Blade), in 1864, who subsequently passed the rights to the design to his son White Bull (Ewers 1978:15).

Although individuals sometimes hold divergent views regarding who has the right to use certain tipi designs, these differences of opinion are not acknowledged or acted upon publicly. In all my time attending cultural performance events in the Kiowa community, I never witnessed anyone publicly challenge another individual regarding their right to use a tipi design, nor heard of such an exchange. However, consultants did identify, in interviews and private conversations, individuals whom they felt had claimed or utilized tipi designs to which they were not entitled.

Martial Exploits

During the nineteenth century, Kiowa men owned the right to relate or depict their martial accomplishments. War deeds were a form of personal property similar to names and tipi designs, and an individual could not depict another man's exploits without first obtaining his permission (Ewers 1978:16; Greene 1993:72; Greene and Drescher 1994:423). In Kiowa society, a man's social status was largely determined by his martial

achievements (Mishkin 1940:36-37; Richardson 1940:14). Consequently, men were unlikely to refuse such a request because it ensured them greater visibility and notoriety. Nevertheless, individual ownership of war deeds was recognized and respected (Ewers 1978:16; Greene 1993:72; Greene and Drescher 1994:423).

This is evident in the procedures followed when the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* was renewed. The *Tipi with Battle Pictures* was the only Kiowa tipi that incorporated pictographic representations of combat into its design. When the tipi was to be renewed, the owner would select several warriors whose exploits he wished to have painted on the new tipi cover. He would then approach these men and secure their permission to include their exploits. A warrior might choose to paint the scene himself or to entrust its execution to a man with a more skilled hand (Ewers 1978:16; Greene 1993:72; Greene and Drescher 1994:422-423).

An example of this practice is found in Marriott's field notes. In 1936, Saíoma recalled that her husband had been summoned when the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* was being renewed. He and a friend had been surrounded in battle by a party of Anglos. Although both of them had been wounded in the fight, they had managed to escape, an outcome that the she attributed to the medicine of her husband's Eagle Shield (Marriott n.d.). To hold off the enemy and escape after having been surrounded was considered a remarkable feat, and an area at the top of the north side of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* was reserved for depicting deeds of this nature (Ewers 1978:15-16; Greene 1993:70-72; Greene and Drescher 1994:422-423). Saíoma's husband preferred to paint the scene himself and would paint two men enclosed inside a circle. The two men represented him

and his comrade, and the circle represented the men who had surrounded them (Marriott n.d.).

Individual ownership of war deeds was still being recognized around 1916, when Oheltoint (High Forehead) renewed the *Tipi with Battle Pictures*. Oheltoint, also known as Charley Buffalo, invited elderly warriors to participate in the renewal of the tipi, requesting their permission to include their exploits on the new cover (Greene 2001:204; Greene and Drescher 1994:426; Petersen 1971:168). Among the men who consented to the depiction of their deeds were Tanetone (Eagle Tail), Old Man Hummingbird, Pauahty (Walking Buffalo), and Old Man Sankadota (Petersen 1971:168). The warriors recounted their exploits, which were painted by a group of artists that included Charley Buffalo's brothers: Silver Horn, White Buffalo, and James Waldo (Greene 2001:204). Stephen Mopope, who would later gain fame as a member of the Kiowa Five, was another of the artists who participated in the painting of the new tipi (Jennings 2010).

Ancestral Exploits

In contemporary Kiowa society, the descendants of some nineteenth century warriors have claimed their ancestors' exploits as a form of intellectual property. Gulahee , a Spanish captive who grew up to become an accomplished warrior and a member of the Kiowa Tò:kó:gàut (Black Legs warrior society), is widely remembered for having captured a Mexican officer's red cape in hand to hand combat (Boyd 1981:74; Meadows 1999:141). In 1958, the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society was revived through the efforts of several Kiowa veterans, including Gus Palmer Sr. and Dixon Palmer, descendants of Gulahee. To commemorate their ancestor's deed, the Palmer brothers gave the society's members the right to wear red capes (Meadows 1999:139-

141). The red capes soon became one of the most distinctive aspects of the society members' dress.

Female descendants of Gulahee have also found ways to visibly commemorate their ancestor's martial exploit. Vanessa Jennings commissioned a muslin dress (fig. 20) painted with scenes of her ancestors' and relative's war deeds. Gulahee figures prominently in three scenes, one of which depicts the capture of the Mexican officer's cape (fig. 21). On a quiet afternoon, Vanessa and I sat in the lobby of the National Hall of Fame of Famous American Indians in Anadarko. Vanessa unfolded her dress and spread it out on the carpet, so she could refer to the different battle scenes.

While the Kiowa do not have a history of painting war exploits on dresses, Vanessa pointed out that war honors had, in the past, been recorded in symbolic rather than representational form on other items of women's clothing (Jennings 2009a). In fact, she published an article on Kiowa beadwork in which she identified the stripes painted on Kiowa women's leggings as tallies of male relatives' martial accomplishments (Jennings 1995:46). Such practices provided a precedent for the making of the dress (Jennings 2009a). Several examples of Sioux dresses painted with martial exploits, including a Hunkpapa Lakota example, were included in the National Museum of the American Indian's exhibit *Identity by Design* and the accompanying catalog (Berlo 2007b:132, 134-137). Vanessa assisted with the exhibit and catalog, both of which featured examples of her own artistry (Berlo 2007b:137-139; Her Many Horses 2007:150). While Vanessa did not identify them as such, the painted Sioux dresses provide a precedent for the dress Vanessa commissioned.

The battle scenes on Vanessa's dress were painted by Peter Bowles, an English artist who has studied Plains Indian drawings for decades (Jennings 2009a). Bowles paints in the "ledger art style," and his work is reminiscent of Plains pictographic drawings produced in the late nineteenth century. Vanessa commissioned Bowles to paint the combat scenes, just as nineteenth century warriors sometimes authorized especially talented artists to represent their exploits (Greene 1992:53). In a process reminiscent of a warrior recounting his deeds so that an artist might paint them on the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* (Ewers 1978:16; Greene 1993:72; Greene and Drescher 1994:423), Vanessa narrated her ancestor's deeds, which Peter Bowles then depicted on the dress (Jennings 2009a). Possessing the rights to represent her ancestors' exploits, Vanessa was in a position to authorize an artist to execute the paintings on her behalf.

When I asked why she had selected Bowles to paint her dress, Vanessa explained that she had adopted him as her grandson, noting "[A]s you well know, Kiowas make family. They adopt" (Jennings 2009a). So, while Bowles is not of Native American descent, Vanessa views him as a member of her family. Furthermore, she admires his artistic skills.

> When you do anything there's this unwritten code among Kiowas. It has to be the best and they'll even scold you. If it's not the best you can do, don't mess with it. That's just how specific they are. You don't do something half way… [I]f you're going to do something it better be the best you can do. Certainly, I don't have the artistic abilities to do this. [Jennings 2009a]

Thus, Vanessa turned to Peter because he possessed the skill to ably complete the task.

In nineteenth and early twentieth century Kiowa society, the representation of combat scenes was an exclusively male pursuit (Greene 2001), and this likely influenced Vanessa's decision to select a male artist to paint her dress. Admittedly, this was not a factor Vanessa cited in our interview. To the contrary, she asserted that pictographic art "wasn't done just by men. Because I know that there's an undiscovered, unpublished book done by a Kiowa woman at Fort Sill, at the museum" (Jennings 2009a). The book Vanessa mentions is a pictographic calendar history attributed to a Kiowa woman named Ananthay (Corwin 1967:66). On this occasion, Vanessa challenged the notion that Kiowa women did not create representational drawings. Yet when she presented on her dress during a panel that I organized at the 2009 Native American Art Studies Association meeting, she explained that as a Kiowa woman, it would have been considered inappropriate for her to have painted the combat scenes herself (Jennings 2009b).

In discussing her ancestor Gulahee, Vanessa began by pointing out a scene that features a small boy in the back of a wagon loaded with goods, explaining that this was a depiction of Gulahee's capture by the Kiowa. In her narrative, Gulahee emerges as the son of a wealthy Spanish family. She points out, "He was a Spanish captive. And his family, his mother and father, they had wagons loaded up and evidently they were getting ready to set up a trading post. And they were crossing, making their way out west. I'm assuming [they were going] toward Santa Fe. And they were raided by a group of Kiowas with some Comanches" (Jennings 2009a). Vanessa, like other descendants of Gulahee, emphasized that he was a Spaniard, not a Mexican, noting that "[T]here's a difference between a Spaniard and a Mexican. Spanish are usually lighter than the Mexican" (Jennings 2009a).

According to Vanessa, Kiowa accounts of the raid emphasized how bravely Gulahee's father had conducted himself. She explained that, "the Kiowas had seen him and the way they described him he was riding this beautiful, beautiful horse and he was incredibly brave. He wasn't afraid" (Jennings 2009a). In recognition of his courage, the Kiowa warriors decided to spare him, but a Comanche warrior killed him. Vanessa recalled that, he "was so brave [in] fighting back that the Kiowas were going to let him live, but this one Comanche rode out ahead of everybody and killed this Spaniard" (Jennings 2009a) Thus, in Vanessa's account, the responsibility for the death of Gulahee's father rests with a Comanche warrior and not Gulahee's adoptive people. Vanessa then recounted how a Kiowa warrior, the leader of the raiding party, searched the wagon the man had been so fiercely defending and discovered Gulahee. (Jennings 2009a).

Next, Vanessa turned to the scene depicting Gulahee's capture of the red cape. Gulahee is pictured standing over the prostrate body of the officer, holding a saber in his right hand and the red cape in his left hand. He is portrayed wearing a green buckskin shirt, beaded buckskin leggings, and moccasins. A red and blue blanket is wrapped around his waist and a set of hairplates hang down from the back of his head. His depiction in Kiowa dress signals his assimilation into Kiowa society. Vanessa described his transformation into a Kiowa warrior and the episode in which he captured the officer's red cape, "[W]hat I find ironic is that this child is of Spanish descent and he's been captured by the Kiowas. He's [been] raised. He's become a respected warrior. And in this one battle, he picked a Spanish officer, deliberately picked him. And he killed him. And Gulahee captured his red officer's cape" (Jennings 2009a). She then

explained the meaning of the green and yellow handprints that appear on the wide sleeves of her dress. Describing the moment when Gulahee seized the cape, she explained that he "pushed him, you know, when he was taking [or] pulling the cape off as a war trophy. He's left a mark on this dead man's face and that's what these hands represent" (Jennings 2009a). The handprints appear at the bottom of both the front and back sides of the sleeves, the yellow handprint on the viewer's right and the green handprint on the viewer's left.

A third vignette portrays the incident in which Gulahee roped the leader of a party of Texas Rangers. This is the deed for which he earned the name Pokeetay and the event is described in detail later in this chapter. The scene wraps around the bottom of the dress and depicts mounted Kiowa warriors pursued by Texas Rangers. Gulahee's goal in roping the Ranger's leader was to drag him away from the engagement, forcing the Texans to abandon the fight and attempt to rescue their comrade (Jennings 2009a). Consequently, the depiction of Gulahee dragging the Texas Ranger appears apart from the pursuit scene. The figures wrap around the left shoulder of the dress. Gulahee is depicted wearing the captured red cape. The unhorsed Ranger officer struggles at the end of Gulahee's lariat.

Vanessa (2009a) noted that her right to depict these martial exploit derives from her descent from Gulahee, explaining, "We're related. We share this, you know. But this is just for our family. And believe me I've had lots of people who will ask, you know, 'Well I would like to have a dress like that. I'll give you ten thousand dollars.' They don't understand that it's personal. It's something that belongs just to us. It has no

meaning to anyone else." While Vanessa felt she had the right to recount her ancestor's war deeds, as a female she did not feel comfortable painting them.

The red cape is also depicted on dance shawls worn by female members of the Goule-hae-ee Descendants (fig. 22).[45] These shawls are red with red fringe. The organization's logo is embroidered in the center of the shawl and the name of the organization appears in yellow letters above the logo. The cape is one of several symbols that comprise the logo. Other elements of the design include an eagle feather bonnet, two crossed lances, a shield, and two handprints, one yellow and the other green. The red cape indexes Gulahee's most celebrated exploit, overcoming a Mexican officer in hand to hand combat and seizing his cape as a war trophy. By including the cape in the organization's logo, the membership of the Goule-hae-ee Descendants asserted their ownership of their ancestor's war deed, as well as their right to represent or recount it.

It is important to note that the individuals who organized and participated in the Goule-hae-ee Descendants represented only a portion of the historic figure's descendants. The organization was started by the descendants of Gulahee's daughter, Sindi Keahbone. Many of the descendants of Gulahee's son, including Gus Palmer Sr., never became active in the organization. In authorizing members of the Black Leggings Warrior Society to wear red capes, Gus Palmer Sr. had emphasized his own family's ties to Gulahee. It seems probable, that the organization of the Goule-hae-ee Descendants

[45] The Goule-hae-ee Descendants is a Kiowa descendants' organization similar to those discussed in Chapter 3. It was founded in the early 1990s by the descendants of Gulahee's daughter Sindi Keahbone. In the past, the organization sponsored and co-sponsored powwows. However, by the time I started conducting my research, the organization was no longer actively involved in these activities, although one member continued to participate in the parades held in conjunction with the Anadarko Indian Exposition.

represented an attempt by Sindi Keahbone's descendants to remind the Kiowa public that they too were descended from this historic figure.

The Goule-hae-ee Descendants inclusion of the red cape in their logo can be seen as an attempt to publicize their connection to their ancestor and to reassert their rights to represent his war deeds. Jim Anquoe reported that prior to the organization of the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society his brothers had performed Tò:kó:gàut dances as part of an exhibition in Tulsa, Oklahoma and that on this occasion they had worn red capes. He emphasized that his family's use of red capes and performance of Tò:kó:gàut songs and dances predated the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society's organization in 1958 (Anquoe 2008). However, Anquoe and the other members of the organization that I spoke with never questioned or challenged Gus Palmer Sr.'s right to authorize the wearing of red capes by members of the Black Leggings Warrior Society. Instead, the members of the Goule-hae-ee Descendants asserted that they had retained the right to represent their ancestor's martial exploits, in this case by depicting one of his war trophies on their shawls.

In Kiowa historical consciousness Sétthái̇de is best remembered for capturing a cavalry bugle and learning to blow the various calls or commands. Sétthái̇de is reported to have used this knowledge to the Kiowa's advantage in battle, confusing the troopers by blowing the opposite command each time the cavalry's bugler sounded a call (B. Washburn 2009a; Lassiter 2002:137; Kiowa Gourd Clan 2007:7). In an April 21, 1999 letter to the Public Affairs Office at Fort Sill, Betty Washburn requested the services of a bugler at the organization's powwow. She explained the significance of the bugle to Sétthái̇de's descendants, writing that, "Our ancestor, Chief Satanta, was the only one in

the Indian nation who captured a bugle in a battle with the cavalry. He had been in so many battles with them that he learned the calls and used them to confuse the enemy and won many battles in this way… It is in history books about Satanta and the bugle" (CSWBD n.d.). The bugle is therefore a powerful symbol of Séttháide (Lassiter 2002:138), one that indexes both his bravery in capturing the instrument and his cunning deployment of it to outwit his adversaries.

As noted in chapter three, there are currently two organizations comprised of Séttháide's descendants: the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh or Society of White Bear's People. Both of these organizations have incorporated the bugle into the designs featured on their female members' dance shawls. The shawls worn by members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants (fig. 23) are red with yellow fringe. These colors appear on the outer cover of Séttháide's shield and Betty refers to them as Séttháide's war colors (2009a). In addition to the bugle, the organization's emblem features other symbols of Séttháide, including his *zebat* or arrow lance, an eagle feather headdress, and a rope. By depicting the bugle on their shawls, the members of both organizations remind the public of the stories of Séttháide's exploits with the bugle and assert what they perceive to be their rights to reference and represent their ancestor's war deeds.

The shawls are not the only objects of material culture that employ the bugle imagery. Betty Sankadota Washburn, the founder of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, made a dress decorated with symbols of Séttháide, including the bugle. Like the organization's shawls, the dress combines the colors red and yellow. Red cloth appliqués of bugles adorn the sides of the dress, a few inches above the hem. This is the

dress Betty wore when the organization took part in events such as the Satanta Days Parade in Satanta, Kansas and the American Indian Exposition Parade in Anadarko, Oklahoma. She also made an almost identical dress for the organization's princess, Mia Fisher. In addition to the dress, the bugle has also been incorporated into the beadwork design on Mia's crown (fig. 24).

Sétthâide's capture of the bugle is also referenced in other ways. For example, the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants invite a bugler to play bugle calls during their annual celebration and to ride on the organization's float during the American Indian Exposition parades. Initially, the organization would file a request with the Public Affairs Office at Fort Sill and arrange for a member of the Fort Sill Band to perform the service. In a request dated April 21, 1999, Betty outlined arrangements that by then had become standard. The organization would pay the bugler's mileage and furnish him with a meal. In addition, if the bugler had a family, they were welcomed to attend the dance or parade as well. Betty emphasized that the bugler would be "held with high respect and honor," and that during the dance he would be afforded "a place of honor" (CSWBD n.d.). Since the late 1990s, John Mootz, an emeritus professor of music at Cameron University in Lawton, Oklahoma has served as the organization's bugler.

The parades held each August at the beginning and end of the week long American Indian Exposition provide an important arena in which the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants celebrate their ancestor's capture and deployment of the bugle and thereby assert their ownership of his exploits. As the organization's float makes its way slowly through the streets of Anadarko, the notes of charge echo off the downtown buildings. You hear the organization's float before you can see it. It matters little that

Professor Mootz is playing a trumpet rather than a bugle. It is the combination of the bugle calls and Gourd Dance songs that evoke the story of Séttháide and the bugle. While the story is principally referenced through the combined musical performance of the singers and the bugler, one of the decorations on the float, a plastic coronet, also indexes Séttháide's exploits with the bugle.

The members of Satethieday Khatgomebaugh have also asserted their right to commemorate their ancestor's war deeds. Like the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants organization, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh has incorporated a bugler into its performance events. Joquetta Redbird, a founding member of the organization, purchased a bugle at an antique store, intending to incorporate it into an educational display about Séttháide. However, when her son Steven saw the bugle he had a different idea. The bugle appealed to Steven's interest in music and his curiosity about the instrument opened the door for his mother to recount the story of Séttháide capturing the bugle and later using it in battle (S. Redbird 2010).

Steven borrowed the bugle and set out to learn how to play cavalry calls. He eventually succeeded, although he admits he did not master the instrument immediately.

> And people said, "Well, I'm sure you could do better than that." And, "You could probably blow it better than that." But, the way I see it, Séttháide was in the same boat as I was when he got this bugle… Chief Satanta didn't go to an academy and have formal training to blow this bugle, you know. According to tribal lore he captured it. And you know how he had to learn? By hearing them. Sitting there on a hill, listening to them do their calls, their retreats. Like him, I'm not a professional, I can barely blow a couple of calls, but neither was he. [S. Redbird 2010]

Steven excuses his limited repertoire and skill, arguing that his proficiency with the instrument likely reflects that obtained by his ancestor.

Eric Lassiter (1998:63-65, 150-151, 204-211) has written about the way "spirit" manifests itself in Kiowa song. As Steven observed, "[W]hen I blow this, even though I'm not the perfect bugler, when you're out there dancing you feel the spirit" (S. Redbird 2010). Redbird (2010) recalled one of his relatives telling him that, "When you blow that bugle that sends chills down my spine. And when you blow that bugle out there and the spirit's moving you get all them dancers riled up. You bring that spirit into the arena to where aaawww. It's an adrenaline rush, you know. You get riled up. And that's what that's all about." Anxious that he might sound too boastful, he quickly adds, "I'm getting a little bit of recognition, but I'm not in it for titles. I'm in it because I feel it in my heart and that's who I am. And that's what I've been blessed with. And that's the way I should be, you know. I am a proud Kiowa" (S. Redbird 2010).

According to Steven, his right to play the bugle derives from his descent from Sétthái de. He explained, "We have our legitimate descendancy, which you can look up through my mother and my aunts, and my uncle. Even my uncle Billy Evans Horse will tell you who we come from. And that's why I'm privileged to be able to blow this bugle in the Gourd [Dance]" (S. Redbird 2010). For Steven, blowing the bugle is a way to express pride in his descent from Sétthái de, his family, and his Kiowa identity. Summing up his feelings, he said, "My philosophy is if you're proud and you're native and you're proud of who you are, don't talk about it, be about it and do it. But, I just wanted to give you a little insight about my history, my philosophy, why I do what I do [shakes the bugle]. How I feel about this" (S. Redbird 2010).

Sétthấide is recorded as having blown the bugle during the dances of his warrior society, the Jấifègàu (Mooney 1979:327). The bugle has been part of the modern Gourd Dance since its revival. For example, the bugler or trumpeter has been a fixture at the Kiowa Gourd Clan's annual ceremonial since the organization's inception. Marriott, who attended the Kiowa Gourd Clan's first dance in 1958, noted the presence of a bugler, a serviceman from Fort Sill (Marriott 1958:14-15. Describing the organizations early celebrations, she observed that, "Usually the trumpeters have worn full Civil War (and Plains Indian Wars) dress uniforms, complete with epaulets, horse-tail-plumed helmets, and side arms" (Marriott 1958:15). According to Marriott's consultants, leading members of the Kiowa Gourd Clan who worked as civilian employees at Fort Sill would request the bugler's services each year. The commander at Ft. Sill routinely agreed to provide the bugler in honor of the Kiowa individuals who had served in the United States military (Marriott 1958:15)

The bugler continues to be an important part of the Kiowa Gourd Clan's annual ceremonial (Lassiter 1998:167). Since the mid-1980s, Bill Bartee has served as the bugler for the organization. Bartee, a non-Indian, is married to a Kiowa woman. Since, the Kiowa Gourd Clan does not allow non-Indians to gourd dance, serving as the bugler provides him with a means of participating in the annual celebration (Phil R. "Joe Fish" Dupoint personal communication, July 18, 2011). Like the first buglers furnished by Fort Sill, Bartee dons a cavalry uniform, although the clothing he wears is more reminiscent of a soldier on campaign than the fancy dress uniforms Marriott described.

When Bartee has been unable to attend the ceremonial, Kyle Spotted Horse, a descendant of Séttháíde, has served as the bugler. This was the case at the Kiowa Gourd Clan's 2011 ceremonial (Phil R. "Joe Fish" Dupoint personal communication, July 18, 2011). Phil R. "Joe Fish" Dupoint, Vice-President of the Kiowa Gourd Clan and a descendant of Séttháíde, explained that he had been thinking about asking Kyle to play the bugle at the Kiowa Gourd Clan's ceremonial alongside Bill Bartee. He noted that having two buglers, one Kiowa and one non-Indian, would allow the organization to reenact how Séttháíde had used the bugle in battle. Each time Bill Bartee sounded charge or retreat, Kyle would sound the opposite command (Dupoint 2010). Whenever Dupoint has a special at the Kiowa Gourd Clan's annual dance, he asks Bill Bartee to stand next to him while he dances. This is his way of drawing attention to the bugler and to the stories of Séttháíde's exploits that the bugler's presence evokes (Kiowa Gourd Clan 2009). At the same time, it allows him to emphasize his connection to Séttháíde.

In addition to the Kiowa Gourd Clan, there are two other organizations in southwestern Oklahoma that sponsor annual Gourd Dances around the fourth of July, the Tia-Piah Society of Oklahoma and the Kiowa Tia-Piah Society. Although, members of the Kiowa Gourd Clan maintain that the bugle should only be employed at their dance, the other organizations have both incorporated the bugle into their annual dances (Lassiter 1998:167). In addition, to playing bugle calls during Satethieday Khatgomebaugh's annual dance, Steven Redbird also serves as the bugler for the Tia Piah Society of Oklahoma (S. Redbird 2010). While a bugler is not a permanent feature of the Kiowa Tia-Piah Society's annual dance, the society has in the past sometimes recruited

individuals to perform this role, including both a Kiowa member of the organization and a non-Indian student from a local high school.

As the aforementioned examples demonstrate, the martial exploits of nineteenth century Kiowa warriors have been recast as the intellectual property of the warriors' descendants. This is a process that began in the late 1950s with the revival of the Tò:kó:gàut and the Gourd Dance and the organization of the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society and the Kiowa Gourd Clan. Both organizations sought to underscore their connections to their nineteenth century antecedents. This was accomplished, in part, by harnessing symbols associated with the leaders of these nineteenth century warrior societies. This process was aided by the fact that the officers of each organization included men who were descended from these historic figures. For example, Gus Palmer Sr., a descendant of Gulahee, served as the Commander of the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society from its inception until his death in 2006 (L. Palmer 2008 and James Auchiah, a grandson of Sétthàide, served as the Secretary of the Kiowa Gourd Clan from its organization in 1957 until 1967 (Kiowa Gourd Clan 2007:3). These individuals authorized their respective organizations to utilize symbols associated with their nineteenth ancestors' war exploits.

The descendants of these nineteenth century warriors formed the Goule-hae-ee Descendants, Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh. The members of these organizations have asserted claims to their ancestors' exploits. Indeed, each organization's emblem incorporates a war trophy captured by its members' ancestor. In addition, individuals reference their ancestors' war deeds by wearing

personal clothing and regalia decorated with depictions of their war deeds, a practice that descendants who are not affiliated with a descendants' organization engage in as well.

In contemporary Kiowa society, the rights to martial exploits have not been the subject of contestation in the same way that the rights to tipi designs and names have been. I attribute this to two factors. First, martial exploits were not historically transferable in the same way that the rights to a tipi design or name were. Martial exploits were a form of inalienable property. While a warrior might authorize or even commission an artist to depict one of his exploits, he always retained ownership of his deeds and the right to depict them. In contrast, when an individual transferred the rights to a tipi design or name to a new recipient, he or she relinquished their rights to the property (Greene 2001:187, 189; Marriott 1936c; Mooney 1979:231). Because ownership of war deeds was not transferable, it is difficult for a single descendant or a subset of the larger pool of descendants to claim exclusive rights to their nineteenth century ancestor's exploits. Individuals seem to view the deeds and the right to depict them as the shared property of all of the historical figure's descendants.

In addition, nineteenth century warriors were inclined to grant requests to include their martial exploits on the Tipi with Battle Pictures because it ensured that knowledge of their deeds would reach a broad audience (Ewers 1978:16; Greene and Drescher 1994:423). Similarly, the descendants of these men understand that public commemorations of their ancestor's exploits serve to keep their memory alive in the historical consciousness of the Kiowa community. In a sense, any effort to publicize a nineteenth century warrior's exploits benefits all of his descendants by presenting the

historical figure in a positive light and increasing awareness of the figure and his deeds within the broader Kiowa community.

Names

Personal names were another form of intellectual property in nineteenth century Kiowa society. Mooney (1979:231) notes that they were considered valued personal possessions, observing that a name was "as much a part of the owner as his hand or his foot." It is clear that individuals were free to dispose of their names as they saw fit. An individual might give his or her name to a relative or another worthy individual, thereby relinquishing all rights to the name. Thereafter, the former owner no longer used the name (Marriott 1936c; Mooney 1979:231). Writing about nineteenth century naming practices, Mooney notes that elderly individuals who had given away their names might adopt new names, but more often chose to spend their "remaining years without a name" (1979:231). The important point here is that a name could belong to only one individual at a time.

The notion of individuals becoming nameless as a result of giving away their names strikes many contemporary community members as humorous, and Kiowas who find themselves in this position today are apt to be teased. Steven Redbird (2010) recounted joking with his mother after she had given her name to his daughter. Having given her name to her granddaughter, Steven's mother, Joquetta Redbird no longer had a right to use the name. Steven explained,

> My mother gave her her name Itsohn. Now my momma no longer exists because she gave her name away. That's old way right there. So, you

> know my mom, she caught herself [saying], "I'm Itsohn." [I said], "No you're not Itsohn anymore. You gave that name to Angel. You no longer exist." [Claps, laughing] She said, "Yeah." She started cracking up. She said, "Yeah, you're right." So you know that's how it works if you believe in the old school. [S. Redbird 2010]

At the 2009 Hunting Horse family reunion, Vivian Komartly described how she had received the name Olanoi from her grandmother. She explained that she had recently given the name to her granddaughter, observing, "Now, I don't have no name" (Hunting Horse Reunion 2009). These examples demonstrate the persistence of the belief that individuals cannot share a name.

Prohibition Against Speaking the Names of the Dead

Among the Kiowa, a sanction existed against speaking the names of the deceased (Marriott 1936a; Mooney 1979: 231). Marriott (Marriott 1958:8) observed in her field notes that "There was a strong tabu against naming the dead, so kinship terms were frequently employed between individuals to avoid any risk of speaking a forbidden name." Twice Mary Buffalo relinquished a name because she felt it was too similar to the name of a recent decedent, however it is unclear if her actions were representative of a broader pattern of behavior (LaBarre 1935a:20).

According to Mooney (1979:231), if an individual died "without having bestowed his name upon a successor, the name dies with him and cannot be revived." While Mooney maintains that such names passed permanently from use, he is mistaken. Marriott explicitly states that "A name could be reinstated by the relatives of a dead person" (Marriott 1936c). And Lesser (1935:20) observes that, "the name of a dead ancestor may be used, if the individual is long dead, or dead beyond immediate recall of sorrow." So it seems there existed a waiting period during which the deceased's name

could not be utilized. However, it is unclear precisely how long the deceased's name was expected to remain dormant before being conferred on a new recipient.

Types of Names

Historically, Kiowa names took a variety of forms. According to Greene, "Names were of three types: nicknames, war deed names, and medicine names" (1996:222). Marriott notes the existence of hereditary names (Marriott 1936c), but these do not really comprise a distinct genre of names. Any name handed down by an individual to his or her lineal descendant could be considered a hereditary name, regardless of its origin. Based on my own research, I propose that nineteenth century Kiowa names can be divided into the following categories: names that refer to physical traits, names that refer to an individual's non-Kiowa ancestry or origin, medicine names, mythical names, names derived from possessions, and war deed names. Admittedly, not all nineteenth century Kiowa names fit easily into one of these categories. In many cases, we lack sufficient information regarding the origin of a name to classify it. Contemporary Kiowa people continue to compose names in the first four categories, as well as names that do not fit within any of the established categories.

In the nineteenth century, individuals were sometimes named for distinctive physical traits. This was especially true of individuals whose non-Indian ancestry expressed itself phenotypically (Bointy 2009). Sometimes individuals received names derived from physical disabilities. Mooney recorded the name Tanhodlma (Lame Woman), which had been bestowed on a woman with a malformed foot (Greene 1996:222). Today, individuals sometimes receive the name of an animal or bird with which they are believed to share some physical characteristic. For example, Timothy

Kauley was named Dom-Tile (Frog), because he had skinny legs and Morgan Kauahquo received the name Tsah-Nee-Tah-Lee (Kingfisher Boy), because his hair reminded a relative of the feathers on the bird's head (Kauley n.d.).

In the past, captives living among the Kiowa were sometimes bestowed names that referenced their origins. For example, two children captured in Texas received the name Tehan. One was a female captive, believed to have been Mary Hamilton. The other was a young man whose identity was never established (Nye 1962:139, 208, 281-282). Similarly, Mooney (1979:378) notes the death in 1892 of a Ute captive bearing the name Iatäkía or Ute Man. This practice persists today in names that reference recipients' non-Kiowa ancestry. For example, one individual with White ancestry received the name Ho-Tsaw-Koy or Covered Wagon (Kauley n.d.).

Indian doctors occasionally conferred a new name on a patient whom they had successfully healed. This practice seems to be connected to a broader pattern of renaming chronically ill children in order to stimulate their recovery (Marriott 1936c; Greene 1996:223). Doctors seem to have bestowed names after having affected a cure, perhaps as a means of commemorating their success and ensuring the patients continued health and vigor. Christina Simmon's mother, Ruth Mary Toyebo, was doctored by Old Man Haumpo, who was both an Indian doctor and a bundle keeper. After he doctored her, he named her K'iyaah, which translates as Walking Together (Simmons 2009). Marriott recorded this event in her field notes, in which she identifies the woman's illness as pneumonia and translates the name she received as Walking Along Together (Marriott 1936c). The name refers to her going through life accompanied by the medicine, or spiritual power, responsible for her recovery and renewed health. Christina suggested

that Ruth's parents might have requested that Old Man Haumpo name her (Simmons 2009).

In another example, Tone-a-koy (Snapping Turtle), whose medicine derived from underwater creatures such as turtles, alligators, and mythical underwater monsters, is reported to have cured Clyde Cocoa.[46] Snapping Turtle carried the boy into a body of water, where they disappeared beneath the surface. When they emerged hours later, the boy had been cured. Snapping Turtle gave his patient a new name, Water Wave (LaBarre 1935a:14).

Men sometimes adopted names associated with a unique possession. For example, several men adopted names derived from the tipi designs they owned. White Bear's father took the name Red Tipi Man, and when Howling Wolf bestowed the rights to the *Black Stripe Tipi* design on his son, the latter adopted the name Black Stripe Tipi Man (Ewers 1978:19, 40). Tangible as well as intangible possessions might provide fodder for a name. Tohausan is remembered as the first Kiowa to have owned a wagon. His first conveyance, an ambulance wagon, was a gift from military officers whom he had befriended, and he appears to have acquired additional vehicles later. When Tohausan gave his name to his nephew in 1864, he adopted a new name, Gadadlkyapta (Old Man Wagon), and he was known by this name until his death (Greene 1996:228).

Names derived from men's experiences in warfare comprised another genre. Nineteenth century warriors composed names to commemorate their personal exploits

[46] Snapping Turtle was the name adopted by a Kiowa teenager who had experienced a vision in which he received medicine from various underwater creatures, including a snapping turtle (Nye 1962: 257-258; Ewers 1978: 27). He possessed a painted tipi, the design of which was likely revealed to him in his vision. The upper portion of the tipi, the ears, and the door were painted green to symbolize water. On either side of the door was painted an otter, while on the back of the tipi was painted a composite form that combined the shell and the tail of a snapping turtle with the head and wings of a bird (Ewers 1978:27).

and experiences and bestowed them on their children and grandchildren (Greene 1996:222). For example, during an engagement in 1874, Tahbone-mah pursued a Texas Ranger. Having emptied his pistol, the Ranger turned and threw it at his pursuer. Tahbone-mah eventually succeeded in unseating his adversary and capturing his horse. To commemorate the event, he named his daughter Threw a Pistol in his Face (Nye 1969:199-200).[47]

Vanessa Jennings recounted the following story regarding the origin of the name Pokeetay (Roped Him). Her ancestor Gulahee had led a raid into Texas, and his party was driving a herd of captured horses when they were intercepted by Texas Rangers. Hoping to create a diversion that would allow the rest of his party to escape, Gulahee roped one of the rangers and began dragging him away from the fighting (Jennings 2009a).

> Gulahee picked out the leader and he roped him. And he pulls him off of the horse. And so, the Kiowas are going one direction with the horses and Gulahee has captured the leader of the Rangers and he's pulling him off in different direction. And he's watched so that he knows when this leader has run out of bullets and he's trying to reload while they're on a horse, that's when Gulahee roped him. And so, now he's pulling their leader off in a different direction from the Kiowas. Well who do the Rangers go after? Hey, they're going after their boss, their commanding officer. They chased Gulahee and that's where that name Pokeetay, that's where it came from. [Jennings 2009a]

Gulahee's party escaped with the horses, and he eventually joined them, having eluded his pursuers. Vanessa offered the story as evidence of her ancestor's bravery and his commitment to the wellbeing of his men. The name has been passed down in Vanessa's family. It was given to Stephen Mopope, Vanessa's

[47] The event described occurred on July 12, 1874 during the Lost Valley Fight. Unfortunately, Nye only provides only the English translation of the name (Nye 1969:190-200).

maternal grandfather. It was his little boy name. He later bestowed the name on Vanessa's oldest son, Gabriel Morgan (Jennings 2009a).

Another example of a war deed name derived from an incident involving Setangya (Sitting Bear). Setangya was in the process of scalping an Anglo woman when he discovered to his surprise that she was wearing hair extensions. Out of this event came the name Awl-tāy-dī (Hair Spliced Together), which he bestowed upon his daughter, Julia Given Hunt (Simmons 2009).

The practice of creating names to commemorate war deeds persisted into the 1910s. Donald Horse explained that his aunt, Elsie Horse, had been given a war deed name by her uncle, who had served in World War I.

> He heard what he thought was horses walking. He said that he's listening and he hear, hear that… what sound to him like horses coming up on the street, making that… You know how horses hooves hit? Well, he heard that sound. And he crawled, he crawled around and he seen it was women walking with wooden shoes, so when he got home, well, he named my aunt – his niece – [her] name's Elsie. She's probably a little girl then. [He] said, "I'm gonna give her Kiowa name from my experience I had in this military - these wooden shoes that those women were wearing, so Atode, Wooden Shoes". [Horse 2009]

While this name and others like it continue to circulate within the Kiowa community, I did not encounter any war deed names associated with men's experiences in World War II or later conflicts, and it is possible that this was the last war deed name composed by a Kiowa warrior.

Contemporary Desire for Names

The bestowal of a Kiowa name, or "Indian name," to use the term my consultants frequently used, is considered a serious matter. Florene Whitehorse (2008) noted that she had ensured that all her children and grandchildren had received names. As we sat in her

home, surrounded by photos of her family, she recalled the circumstances attending each one's naming. She identified the elders she had enlisted to perform the ceremonies and recalled the peyote meetings she had sponsored and the meals she had prepared to celebrate and mark each event. Discussing the importance of naming, she observed, "[T]he most important thing a young family can do is to give their child a Kiowa name, so your people will know you when you go beyond this life. Um-huh. Otherwise, how are they gonna know you?" (Whitehorse 2008). Like others, Florene views the receipt of a Kiowa name as establishing a metaphysical link between an individual and their deceased relatives and ancestors.

Vanessa Jennings stressed that it was important that one not only receive a Kiowa name, but that one also make use of it. Specifically referencing hereditary names, names that have been passed down from generation to generation, Vanessa explained, "And you can tell your kids, you know, when you have a name it's meant to be used, because every time you call that name those old people, it's their responsibility to come back and to take care of you… But in our rush to be modern and progressive many people have chosen to just walk away from the Kiowa names and forget them and that's not right" (Jennings 2009a). Vanessa stresses that when an individual who has inherited the name of a deceased ancestor utilizes the name their ancestors will intervene to assist them. Her concern that those who possess Kiowa names rarely utilize them was echoed by others.

Betty Washburn noted that young people were eager to secure Kiowa names; but once they had received them, they rarely made use of them in their daily lives.

> [E]ven when they get Indian names… They're clamoring, you know, the younger generations they're… They get Indian names. They don't use them. They just got 'em. They don't use 'em. You know in the old days, that's all they called their people by… And it was just one name. It wasn't a first, middle name, and last name. It was just one name. That was it. [B. Washburn 2009a]

Betty recalls her mother and her aunt addressing one another using their Kiowa names and remembers being called by her Kiowa name as a child. She laments that today people rarely address one another by their Kiowa names (B. Washburn 2009a).

While Kiowa names are employed in the context of performance events, they are rarely used in everyday interactions. If an individual who is being honored at a dance has a Kiowa name, this fact is almost invariably acknowledged during the individual's giveaway. The family's spokesperson will identify the honoree's Kiowa name and frequently recount how they received the name. Yet outside the context of dances and naming ceremonies, Kiowa names rarely surface in discourse. I cannot recall ever having witnessed someone address an individual by their Kiowa name or refer to an individual by their Kiowa name in conversation.

In Kiowa society, names have long been seen as a form of personal property, however, the decline in their use in day to day discourse signals a shift in their valuation. Kiowa names are now associated with marked or highly formalized arenas. Kiowa names, like the Kiowa language of which they are a part, are viewed as markers of Kiowa identity. Receiving a Kiowa name marks an individual as a member of the Kiowa community in several important ways. It establishes a connection between the recipient, who almost invariably is not a Kiowa speaker, and elders who possess the ability to compose Kiowa names, as well as to translate them into English and interpret their meaning. The receipt of a name also reinforces kinship and genealogical ties. This is

clearly the case when the recipient receives a name that previously belonged to a relative or ancestor. Yet, it is also true of other names, which are likely to be bestowed by one of the recipient's relations or at the behest of the recipient's family. Finally, there is the aforementioned metaphysical connection with the deceased that the receipt of a Kiowa name is believed to establish (Whitehorse 2008).

In discussing younger individuals and their relationship to their Kiowa names, Betty Washburn commented that, "They just got 'em. They don't use 'em." Her observation is perceptive. While the use of Kiowa names in public discourse has waned, the importance of having or possessing a Kiowa name has not. Kiowa names have largely ceased to serve as terms of address or referential markers, as they did in the past, but they have not lost their symbolic value. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995:369) defines heritage as the "transvaluation of the obsolete," or "outmoded." For younger generations of Kiowa people, names have become a form of heritage culture. This is not to suggest that Kiowa names are not meaningful, quite the contrary. In interview after interview, my consultants recalled with great emotion receiving their Kiowa names. Their descriptions of these events reveal that receiving a Kiowa name is an extremely meaningful, personal experience. Names, despite having fallen into disuse in many contexts, continue to be viewed as important pieces of intangible property.

Naming Practices

In this section, I outline the various paths by which an individual might receive a Kiowa name. Describing events they witnessed growing up, elders recalled that children were often named by a relative who lived in their home or who came to visit them shortly after their birth. It seems that such names were not given at the behest of the parents, but

rather by an individual who felt entitled to bestow a name on the child based on the kinship connection they shared. A grandparent or great grandparent might take the initiative and name their grandchild or great grandchild (Horse 2009; Whitehorse 2008). For example, Betty Washburn reported that she received her little girl name from her paternal grandmother, as did her two sisters (B. Washburn 2009a).

Children continue to be named in this manner. Donald Horse described how he named his brother's granddaughter.

> [A]nother brother of mine, by the name of Larry, lived just west of Anadarko and he had a newborn granddaughter come into this life. And when I arrived there to see the child for the first time, I walked in there [and] upon looking at the girl, the baby, a name came to me… Keetagyamah, Good Day Girl, is the name I bestowed upon my brother's granddaughter. [Horse 2009]

Donald explained that when he saw the baby, he immediately thought of a Kiowa hymn, a prayer to God requesting a good day. He sang the song and then named the girl (Horse 2009). The naming was unplanned and unscripted, and it unfolded spontaneously.

Names bestowed in this manner can take any form. The name might refer to the child's physical appearance or an ancestor's war exploits (Kauley n.d.; B. Washburn 2009a). A relative might also give their own name to the child. For example, Anna Sue Whitehorse Nimsey's paternal grandmother, Doyetone, bestowed her name on Anna Sue when she was an infant (Whitehorse 2008).

A name might also refer to the circumstances under which the child was born. Donald Horse (2009) described how his great granddaughter's name came to him. He explained that when their granddaughter went to the hospital to give birth, she experienced a prolonged labor, noting that his great granddaughter had "delayed her entry

into this life." The following morning, their granddaughter was still in labor, and Don and his wife decided to go to the hospital and check on her. A drought had gripped the Southern Plains for months. But just as they arrived at the hospital, a thunderstorm struck, bringing with it heavy rains. He explained, "And then as I was walking into the [hospital] door it struck me Sepautaubop – she's Waiting on the Rain. That's the name I gave my great granddaughter… Waiting on the Rain – Sepautaubop" (Horse 2009).

Sometimes individuals will request an elder's assistance in naming their child or grandchild. While families that have already decided upon a name often enlist an elder to preside over the naming ceremony and publicly bestow the name on their loved one, there are also cases in which the elder is asked to compose or select the name. Frequently, the task falls to a relative. For example, when Luanne Clark's son joined the military, she asked her aunts, Florene Whitehorse and Dorothy Whitehorse DeLaune, to give him a Kiowa name (Whitehorse 2008).

Similarly, Donald Horse was asked to find names for both his brother's son and his cousin's grandson (Horse 2009). Donald explained how his nephew's name was revealed to him.

> [A]fter a day's work I was rather tired and I came home and I recall a storm was brewing or rain. And I could see at a distance that the clouds are beginning to gather and begin to… I could hear the rumbling of thunder and lightning, as I lie down to rest. I was maybe half asleep and all of a sudden a real big thunder bolt hit just behind my house. It was so loud it startled me. And I sat up and instead of getting frightened, I said… I gave thanks to the Lord. I said, "Aho." I found that name. Pausot means thunder. Pausotchen, Thunder Horse, is the name that came to me. [Horse 2009]

Donald describes how the name "came to" him and how he "found" it, acknowledging that he believed that God had revealed the name to him through natural forces.

The discourse Donald employs in describing how names are revealed to him is similar to the way in which Kiowa singers describe the revelation of new songs. Lassiter (1998:145) notes that "Although singers use the verb compose to describe the process of crafting new songs, many would agree… that these songs exist 'out there' waiting to be caught by singers who are in tune with the world around them." Similarly, Donald talks about the way his nephew's name "came to" him (Horse 2009). Kiowa singers use the same phrase to explain how they receive songs. For example, Ernest Doyebi explained that, "Songs just naturally come to me…" (Lassiter 1998:163).

Because an individual owns their name, they are free to dispose of it as they see fit, and some individuals decide, without any solicitation or prompting, to give their name to a new recipient, most often a family member. The ethnohistorical record contains numerous references to such events (Ewers 1978:15; Greene 1996:239-240; Nye 1969:200), and the practice continues today. This was the case when Joquetta Redbird gave her name, Itsohn (The Cougar Follows Her) to her granddaughter (S. Redbird 2010). Similarly, Patricia Bointy gave her name, Khuen-haw-gyah (Takes the Shield) to her daughter Cassandra Chasenah (Chasenah 2009; Bointy 2009).

Occasionally, an individual is asked to bestow their name on a relative. Louis Toyebo was asked to bestow his name on one of his niece's sons. Christina Hunt Simmons made the request, asking him if he would be willing to bestow his name,

Gotebo,[48] on her sister's son, Phillip Lujan. He agreed, and conferred the name on Phillip. Christina stressed that this was the proper way to handle such a situation. She felt it would have been improper to have bestowed the name on Phillip without first securing Louis Toyebo's assent, since he owned the name, having received it directly from Gotebo (Jordan 2009; Simmons 2009).

Though seemingly less common, individuals sometimes request a close relative's name for their own use. I learned of only two examples of this, one involved a daughters asking for her mother's name, and the other involved a granddaughter requesting her grandmother's name (Jordan 2008). At the Hunting Horse family reunion in September 2009, Vivian Komartly described how her granddaughter had come to possess her name.

> And my other grandma Peetmah was the one that named me Olanoi… [B]ut my granddaughter wanted that name and you know when you take somebody's name you better, you're supposed to pay for it. That's the right way. One evening she came to the house. [She said,] "Grandma I want your Indian name." I said, "Oh it's no good." [She said,] "No I want it." She brought me groceries. She brought me a Pendleton. She brought me money. She said, "Here, I want your name." So, what can I say? I have to give it to her. [Hunting Horse Reunion 2009]

Vivian approves of her granddaughter's actions, defining them as "the right way" to seal the transfer of a name. However, I documented several instances in which parents and grandparents passed their names on to their children and grandchildren without receiving any corresponding gifts or payments. Granted, in these instances, the recipients had not requested their relatives' names. It is possible that Vivian's remarks pertain to cases in which someone directly asks for or requests an individual's name. Yet, no payment was

[48] The name Gotebo translates as Swift Fox Hat and refers to a turban made from the hide of a swift fox, a small species of fox that inhabits the Northern Plains. Gotebo was born in 1847 and died on November 27, 1927 (Meadows and Harragarra 2007:229, 243).

made in another instance in which a woman requested and received her mother's name (Jordan 2008).

As in the past, names fall dormant when their owners die without having bequeathed them to a new owner. When I asked Betty Washburn about the name Grey Goose, which had belonged to one of Sétthâide's sons, she explained, "It's just kind of dead now. I guess it… I don't know. I guess it kind of died out, but daddy had it when he was young. I guess when he was little… That Grey Goose name it's just sort of buried, buried you know" (B. Washburn 2009a). The name had belonged to Betty's father, Clarence Sankadota, and had been his childhood name. He retained ownership of the name even after he received his adult name. Although he eventually passed his adult name on to a grandson, he inexplicably never transferred the rights to his childhood name (B. Washburn 2009a). Upon Clarence's death in 1992, the rights to the name Grey Goose passed to Clarence's closest living relatives, who are free to decide when, if ever, the name will be revived.

Convention dictates that an individual who wishes to revive the dormant name of a deceased relative should first seek the permission of the deceased's closest relations. Most often, the person seeking permission does not wish to adopt the name themselves, but rather wishes to bestow the name on one of their children or grandchildren. Cassandra Chasenah (2009) explained, "if it's in your family you have to go ask the oldest living person or the one that remembers it the most, the closest you know, to that name, to that person. Then they want to know who's gonna receive it. And then its talked about, you know, thought about. And more than likely, you get an answer pretty

quick." As Cassandra makes clear, the deceased's closest relatives are vested with the authority of deciding who will receive the name.

Melissa Kaulaity explained her desire to give her grandmother's name, Ananthay (Footprints of the Buffalo) to her great granddaughter. The name had passed to one of Melissa's aunts, who is now deceased. Melissa noted that she would have to confer with her deceased aunt's children and secure their permission before she could bestow the name on her great granddaughter. She explained, "Like I said, now my aunt's gone that had the name. Aunt's gone now, but she has daughters, so I'd have to ask the daughters how they would feel. Cause they might want to name their daughters, so I'd have to ask and if they say, 'No, we're gonna name our daughter,' then I can't do it" (Kaulaity 2009). Thus, the direct descendants of the deceased are seen as collectively holding the rights to the deceased's name.

When the individual wishing to revive the dormant name is not related to the deceased, the protocol followed is nearly identical. The individual is expected to ask the deceased's relatives for permission to bestow the name on a new recipient. However, in such instances it is customary for the individual to pay the deceased's family for the name (Horse 2009). He illustrated his point by providing the history of one of his aunt's names. He recounted that "She carried the name and then later in years, well, another person they wanted that name for someone else, so when they asked permission from that family, well they had to make payments to them, cause it's outside their family" (Horse 2009). Donald suggests that one is required to pay for a name only when one wishes to utilize a dormant name that belongs to another family and not when one is seeking to revive the name of one's own relative or ancestor (Horse 2009).

The protocols described above are cultural ideals. They represent individuals' understandings of how people should ideally behave in particular circumstances. Yet, members of the Kiowa community are well aware that individuals frequently violate these norms and mores. While Melissa Kaulaity intends to seek her cousins' permission before bestowing their deceased mother's name on her great granddaughter, she noted that people frequently appropriate dormant names and bestow them on new recipients without first consulting the deceased's closest kin and securing their permission.

> But a lot of 'em don't do that, don't go that route. Some will just do it and don't ask permission you know. But that would be… The proper way is to go and ask [the] surviving [relatives] if that person is no longer here. You ask the surviving [relatives] because who knows, they might [have] their own daughters or granddaughters… And that wouldn't be just right for me to go out there and say I'm gonna name my granddaughter this and look they're sitting out there or they heard it. Bring up some kind of bad feelings or something… But a lot of them though go ahead and do it anyway, which isn't proper. [Kaulaity 2009]

Melissa makes two important points. First, individuals sometimes ignore the accepted protocols, appropriating ancestral names without consulting the relatives of those who most recently held these names. Second, such breaches have the potential to create tensions and foster ill. Her concerns were echoed by others.

When a name has been allowed to lay dormant for a prolonged period of time, it can be difficult to determine precisely who holds the rights to the name. According to some, the name belongs equally to the oldest descendants of the last individual to carry the name, and these individuals must reach an agreement regarding any allocation of the name. Others disagree, holding that the decision making power rests with the oldest descendant. The lack of consensus regarding who has the right to allocate such names is

a potential source of conflict. One elderly Kiowa woman complained that each time she set out to bestow an ancestor's name on one of her children or grandchildren, she discovered that a relative had already claimed the name and given it to one of their own offspring. "They're always grabbing for them," she explained. The fact that her relatives had not consulted her regarding their intentions to use the names was a definite source of irritation. Her comments painted a picture of relatives scrambling to lay claim to the names of their nineteenth century ancestors.

Witnesses

In discussing naming ceremonies, my consultants often expressed differing opinions regarding such matters as what constituted the proper venue in which to conduct a naming and whether one was required to sponsor a meal or a giveaway in conjunction with a naming; however, there was near unanimous agreement that the naming must be conducted before witnesses. Florene Whitehorse (2008) explained, "And when you get somebody to do a naming for you, you have to have gifts and you have to furnish a meal. And you have to have other people there that can witness this. Witness that some… [Witness] that this is a great event and [that] it took place, you know."[49] Likewise, Patricia Bointy (2009) observed that, "You have to do it in public. You have to have someone there, maybe it don't have to be a lot, you know, just so it's witnessed. So people witnessed it." Patricia's statement that the naming has to occur "in public" and Florene's statement that "you have to have *other* people there" suggest that the witnesses to the event must be drawn from the broader Kiowa community. The salient distinction

[49] Albers and Medicine (2005:30), working on the Northern Plains, make a similar observation regarding the practice of inviting guests to attend "family doings," noting that these witnesses' "very presence validates the significance of the occasion and confirms and the social relationships it maintains."

here is between naming ceremonies that are witnessed by representatives of the broader Kiowa community versus those that are not. Obviously, conducting the naming at a public event, such as a dance, is one way to ensure that the event is witnessed by the broader community. However, it is possible to imagine less public settings, such as a peyote meeting or a dinner in someone's home, where members of the broader Kiowa community might be present as invited guests.

Families may request time at a dance or ceremonial to conduct a naming. Betty Washburn (2009a) recalled when she received her adult name, Atesohnpoiyah, stating, "I was probably about eighteen. We went to a powwow and I remember they had a special song and momma gave stuff away." Similarly, Perry Horse's son was named at the Kiowa Gourd Clan's annual celebration (Horse 2009). Less frequently, a family will sponsor a dance to mark the bestowal of a name. Sponsoring a dance is a serious undertaking, requiring a considerable investment of time and resources. Vanessa Jennings (2009a) recalled that her grandparents, Stephen and Janette Mopope, sponsored a dance when she received her adult name. Ross Bointy was named at a dance sponsored to celebrate both his return home from the military and his receipt of a Kiowa name (Bointy 2009; Chasenah 2009). When Clarence Sankadota passed the name Séttháide to his grandson Kendall Washburn in 1991, the family sponsored a dance at Red Buffalo Hall (B. Washburn 2009a; K. Washburn 2009).

Several of my consultants stressed that dances were not the sole arena in which names could be bestowed. Melissa Kaulaity (2009) recounted what her father had told her, "'But now days,' he said, 'It don't have to be a powwow. It can be a church… It can be a church doing. It can be… Maybe [you] just take a special day or something or just

[a] special time to do this.' He said, 'Don't have to be a powwow.'" Similarly, Marjorie Tahbone (2009) indicated that a family might sponsor a meal to coincide with the naming ceremony.

Christian functions appear to have a long history of serving as venues for conducting naming ceremonies. Throughout much of the twentieth century, Kiowa Christians did not participate in dances and powwows (Lassiter 1998:77-79). During this period, church gatherings emerged as venues in which Kiowa Christians conducted naming ceremonies. Marriott, who conducted research among the Kiowa in 1935, recorded that naming ceremonies were being conducted at church meetings at that time (Marriott 1936c). Gotebo gave his name to Louis Toyebo one Sunday at Rainy Mountain Baptist Church. Louis Toyebo was Gotebo's niece's son (Harragarra 2010). One of my consultants, Lavetta Yeahquo recalled that she had received her name in a church service in the 1970s (L. Yeahquo 2009). And this practice continues today.

Naming ceremonies also take place within the context of Native American Church services (Dupoint 2009; Whitehorse 2008).[50] Indeed, parents or grandparents sometimes sponsor services, also referred to as peyote meetings, for the purpose of having a child named. One of Florene Whitehorse's sons and one of her grandsons were named at peyote meetings she sponsored (Whitehorse 2008). Phil "Joe Fish" Dupoint, a leader in the Native American Church, recounted being instructed by his elders regarding the procedures involved in naming an individual (Dupoint 2009).

[50] The Kiowa practice what is variously referred to as the Little Moon, Half Moon, or Tipi Way version of the peyote ceremony. This is the form that the ceremony assumed during its development among the Kiowa and Comanche during the 1870s and 1880s. The other major variant of the ceremony is identified as the Big Moon ceremony and was developed and spread by Caddo tribal members (Swan 2008:320). Daniel Swan (1999:35) notes that naming ceremonies are also conducted in the context of Big Moon services as well, typically in the morning.

Who Can Bestow a Name

Regardless of the context in which the naming takes place, families endeavor to recruit a respected elder to conduct the naming ceremony. This elder may or may not be asked to select a name for the recipient. Frequently, the family has already chosen the name the individual will receive, and the elder is simply asked to bestow the name the family has selected. Florene Whitehorse discussed the practice of securing an elder to conduct a naming ceremony.

> And this is what I have so much admiration for is they always had a person do the naming who was an elder. One who was thought of very highly by all of the people, you know, because he was a good… He or she was not only a good person, but they gave off this, I can't even say charisma, that made everybody… Everybody was drawn to them and they were good people. [Whitehorse 2008]

Betty Washburn (2009a) stressed that an elder's participation is an essential component of a legitimate naming ceremony. She explained that "It's a legal way. It's not like, you know, White people. When they have a special and give away and like a feast and it's announced by a well-known older person, it's legal way cause they're telling the public, Indian public, that [their name], it's now this" (B. Washburn 2009a).

It is clear from their two statements that age alone does not qualify one to serve in this capacity. Florene notes that people seek elders who are "thought of very highly" (Whitehorse 2008). Similarly, Betty describes this figure as a "well known older person" (B. Washburn 2009a). A brief review of a few of the elders who have served in this capacity is revealing. When Betty received her name, it was bestowed upon her by James Silverhorn (B. Washburn 2009a). James Silverhorn served as the keeper or custodian of

several of the Kiowa tribal medicine bundles (Silverhorn 1969:38, 40). When Clarence Sankadota gave the Sétthâide name to his grandson Kendall Washburn, he recruited the late Oscar Tsoodle to conduct the naming (K. Washburn personal communication, July 16, 2011). Oscar Tsoodle is remembered as having been extremely knowledgeable regarding Kiowa history and cultural practices (Short 2010; B. Washburn 2009a). Not surprisingly, his name came up repeatedly in reference to naming ceremonies. He also presided over the naming of Perry Horse's son and one of Grace LaCour's sons (Horse 2009; LaCour 2010). In securing the assistance of respected elders, families seek to legitimize their naming ceremonies. These elders lend their stature and authority to the proceedings over which they preside. Furthermore, when the name being bestowed upon the recipient is a hereditary name, the elder's participation signals that he or she has evaluated and confirmed the recipient's claim to the name. As elders, these individuals are perceived as possessing the genealogical knowledge necessary to evaluate an individual's claim to a name.

Public vs. Private Context

During my fieldwork, I documented several naming ceremonies that were held in less public and more intimate settings. For example, one young man received his Kiowa name during the O-Ho-Mah Lodge ceremonial. However, he was not named out in the arena during the course of the society's proceedings, but rather during the supper break, back at one of the family's campsites. No public announcement was made, notifying those in other camps that the naming was going to take place. With the exception of myself and a Lakota friend of the family, those who assembled for the naming were members of the recipient's family, several of whom who had travelled from out of state

to participate in the O-Ho-Mah Lodge ceremonial. Thus, this weekend was chosen for the naming not because the event brought together members of the broader Kiowa community who might witness the naming, but because it brought together members of the recipient's family.

In addition, individuals may be named at family reunions or family gatherings. Alan Yeahquo (2009) received the name Tauangya (Sitting in the Saddle) at the annual Yeahquo family Christmas breakfast. His nephew received the name Guipago at the same time (Spotted Horse 2009). Steven Redbird (2010) reported being given the name Eonah-pah at the Tanedooah family reunion. I also witnessed a naming at the Hunting Horse family reunion in the summer of 2009. In some cases, the concentration of family members that occurs at the reunions is not replicated at dances or ceremonials. In these cases, those involved in the naming must choose between conducting the naming in the absence of witnesses or in the absence of certain relatives. The emergence of family reunions as a venue for conducting naming reflects a shift in which individuals seem to assign more importance to conducting naming in the presence of family members rather than witnesses drawn from outside their family.

Alternatively, individuals may be choosing to conduct naming ceremonies in less public settings because they wish to avoid the inherent risks involved in publicly laying claim to an ancestor's name. Harry Wolcott notes, in discussing the Kwakiutl potlatch, that "Any public display of authority invites questions as to its legitimacy" (1996:483). If the role of witnesses at a naming ceremony is to legitimize the event, to affirm and subsequently attest to the fact that the individual who bestowed the name had the right to do so, then one must recognize the risk that witnesses might invalidate the naming by

calling into question the ownership of the name. Although none of my consultants cited this as a rationale for conducting naming ceremonies out of the public eye, I think it must be considered. It is possible that the potential for disputes to erupt over ancestral names has led people to seek more private venues in which to conduct naming ceremonies.

Disputes Over Nineteenth Century Ancestors' Names

Alan Yeahquo, a member of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, was given the name Tauangya (Sitting in the Saddle) by his aunt, Irene Spotted Horse (Spotted Horse 2009; A. Yeahquo 2009). Tauangya, the son of Old Chief Lone Wolf, was killed in 1873 by the U.S. military (Nye 1969:182-183). He was still a young man at the time of his death, and he had no children (Spotted Horse 2009). The Tauangya name had remained dormant until it was bestowed on Alan a few years back at the annual Yeahquo family Christmas breakfast (Spotted Horse 2009; A. Yeahquo 2009).

In 2008, Alan joined the Kiowa Gourd Clan (A. Yeahquo 2009). Each day of the Gourd Clan's ceremonial features a processional in which the dancers file into the arena. One of the emcees stands at the entrance to the arena, holding a microphone, and as the dancers file past, they call out their Kiowa names. This is one of the few occasions on which individuals publicly identify themselves by their Kiowa names (Jordan 2009, 2010). As he had stood, waiting for his turn to enter the arena, Alan heard a man in line in front of him identify his grandson as Tauangya. Neither the grandfather nor his grandson are descended from Old Chief Lone Wolf (A. Yeahquo 2009). Alan felt his rights to the name had been impinged upon, and he discussed the incident with his relatives. During the discussion, it emerged that another individual, an adult, was also claiming the name Tauangya. Like the individuals involved in the incident at the Gourd

Clan Ceremonial, this man is not a descendant of Old Chief Lone Wolf. These discussions were the catalyst for Alan and his family's subsequent effort to publicly lay claim to the Tauangya name (Jordan 2009).

Having joined the Gourd Clan in 2008, Alan was expected to have a giveaway in 2009 to express his appreciation for having been admitted to the society. Alan's giveaway at the 2009 Kiowa Gourd Clan ceremonial (fig. 25) provided an opportunity for his aunt Irene Spotted Horse to assert Alan's right to the Tauangya name. Alan had asked his aunt to speak for him. In Kiowa society, it isn't considered appropriate to talk about oneself. Individuals are expected to ask someone else, preferably an elder, to speak on their behalf. Nodding toward Alan, Irene addressed the crowd.

> Some time ago I gave him a Indian name. Nau Tauangya kau. Lot of you know the story about Tauangya. He was a only son of Old Chief Lone Wolf. So, that's his Indian name and we want it to stay in the family. I'd like for the descendants of Old Chief Lone Wolf to come up and dance with Tauangya. We try and teach our young ones our descendancy and we're very proud of ours because he's one of the old chiefs in the Kiowa Tribe and so I just want everyone to know what Alan Yeahquo's Indian name is and [that] it's a family name. [Kiowa Gourd Clan 2009]

Irene argued that Alan is the rightful owner of the Tauangya name by virtue of the fact that he is the only one of the three recipients who was descended from Old Chief Lone Wolf and therefore the only one entitled to receive the name.

The rights to the name Guipago (Lone Wolf) are also contested. Following his son Tauranga's death in 1873, Lone Wolf organized a revenge raid into Texas. The Kiowa party attacked a detachment of Texas Rangers west of Jacksboro. The ensuing engagement came to be known as the Lost Valley Fight. A warrior named Mamay-day-te

was the first to count coup on one of the Rangers, and Lone Wolf gave his name to Mamay-day-te to thank him for avenging his son (Nye 1969:195-200). Today, the descendants of the original Guipago have organized the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, and one of the younger members of the organization, Spencer Spotted Horse, has been given the name Guipago (Spotted Horse 2009). However, at least one descendant of Mamay-day-te protests that these individuals have no right to use the Guipago or Lone Wolf name, since their ancestor gave it away. As Ernestine Kauley (2009) explained, "Those other Lone Wolfs don't have a name. They gave it away."

While families must strive to prevent individuals from outside their lineages from appropriating their ancestors' names, attempts to regulate or control access to names within the lineage can prove equally, if not more, daunting. Kendall Washburn received the name Sétthái de from his grandfather, Clarence Sankadota, who had carried the name throughout his adult life. Betty Washburn described the chain of men who had owned the name. The original Sétthái de gave his name to his son Tsaulotsain (Grey Goose) prior to his imprisonment in 1874. The latter man carried the name for the remainder of his life. Following his death, his daughter bestowed the name on her son Clarence Sankadota, who was Betty's father (B. Washburn 2009a). In reciting this genealogy, Betty seeks to demonstrate that the rights to the Sétthái de name have been passed down from generation to generation within her family.

Nevertheless, the descendants of Sétthái de's other children have also laid claim to the name, bestowing it upon members of their own families. One consultant was able to identify four different individuals who had been given the name Sétthái de. She observed, "I guess everybody's got the name White Bear in there, cause he's got a lot of

descendants you know. There's a lot of 'em named White Bear in their families." When I asked another woman who had the Sétthái de name, she responded, "Too many, now," and then identified Kendall Washburn and two other individuals. She stressed that the proliferation in the number of individuals claiming a single name was a recent development, noting that in the past, individuals owned exclusive rights to their names and that multiple individuals could not legitimately claim the same name.

Neither Kendall nor Betty mentioned the existence of other individuals who claimed the Sétthái de name. Whether they were unaware of the existence of these individuals or simply refused to acknowledge them is unclear. However, based on our conversations, I believe the former is the more likely explanation. Betty spoke freely about individuals whom she felt had appropriated other elements of intellectual property that she views as belonging to her son, especially the *Red Tipi* design (B. Washburn 2009a).

It is conceivable that neither Betty nor Kendall were aware that the descendants of Sétthái de's other children were utilizing his name. During my fieldwork, I never heard anyone other than Kendall publicly identified as Sétthái de. Furthermore, I have already noted the trend toward conducting naming ceremonies in less public settings. A family that intended to bestow a name that was already recognized as belonging to another individual might well be tempted to eschew a public naming ceremony in favor of a more private setting. Indeed, one of the consultants with whom I discussed the situation surrounding the Sétthái de name attributed the problem to the fact that people no longer consult with their relatives before conducting a naming, preferring to proceed quietly rather than to publicly declare their intentions.

Nature of Conflict

While community members dispute one another's rights to certain names in private conversations, direct confrontations are extremely rare. However, they sometimes occur. In one case, a man learned that his son's Kiowa name was going to be given to another individual. Upon learning of the plans, he drove straight to the dance where the naming was set to occur and confronted the family who was sponsoring the naming and the elder they had recruited to assist them. The man maintained that at the very least the family needed to ask his son if he was willing to share his name. The family eventually backed down and selected a different name. Had the man not intervened before the naming took place, he would have had little if any recourse.

Consultants frequently cited this lack of recourse as one reason that individuals do not openly contest one another's rights to names. When one woman's sister became upset upon learning that her cousin had given her name to his daughter, the woman chided her, admonishing "Don't worry about it. It's done. What can you do?" Kendall Washburn (2009) expressed a similar sentiment when I asked how he would feel if another community member claimed the Sétthái de name. He explained, "I probably wouldn't take too kind to that. And you know, what can I do? What can I do? From the Indian point of view, there's no legal action or nothing like that. It's just recog… It would just be recognized amongst the Kiowas as bad show, you know on their part. But yeah, I probably wouldn't, I probably wouldn't take too much liking to that." Without any formal mechanism for resolving the dispute, individuals place their faith in public opinion.

Speculating regarding how he would feel if someone appropriated the Sétthái̇de name, Kendall indicated that knowing that public sentiment was on his side would be extremely important. He explained, "I know in my mind that okay, you done it, but a lot of people, especially the elders, which would be big to me, especially the elders don't approve of that and that's probably my only recourse and what can make me, I don't know, sleep at night I guess" (K. Washburn 2009). For Kendall, having Kiowa elders recognize his right to the name would be of paramount importance.

It is precisely this notion of swaying public sentiment that motivated Alan Yeahquo and his aunt, Irene Spotted Horse, to publicly assert his right to the Tauangya name at the 2009 Kiowa Gourd Clan Ceremonial. As was previously noted, Irene spoke on Alan's behalf on this occasion. Her use of the Kiowa language served as a demonstration of communicative competency that simultaneously identified her as a Kiowa speaker and bolstered her authority as an elder. Furthermore, it served to define her audience as those elders who understand the Kiowa language. Recall the premium Kendall Washburn placed on the approval of Kiowa elders. Anthropologists who have studied the role of witnessing in cultural performance events have noted that the organizers of these events often seek to recruit witnesses from amongst the most prestigious segments of their societies. For example, in the Tsimshian potlatch there is an emphasis on recruiting elites to serve as witnesses (Roth 2002). Among the Mandak a big man's agency can only be validated by the participation of other big men in the events he sponsors (Clay 1992:723-725). Similarly, Irene addressed her appeal to Kiowa speakers, a distinct and highly respected subset of Kiowa society. Although she

addressed Kiowa speakers initially, she eventually code switched to English, which enabled her to address everyone present.

Florene Whitehorse (2008) described how she responded when she learned at a dance that a young woman had been given her name, Yianholda (Two Killed).

> But we found out at, like I said, at this Indian dance over at Red Buffalo Hall and I just immediately went… I went to the microphone and I said, "They mentioned a name here in this giveaway," and I said, "I want you Kiowas to know that it is my name and I'm way older than she is." And I said, "I was told that when my grandpa first went out on his war party he killed two Utes and that's how that name came about – Two Killed." I announced it. I just said it. [Whitehorse 2008]

That Florene addressed the crowd rather than approaching the young woman and her family privately demonstrates that she was interested in obtaining public affirmation of her ownership of the name. She begins by establishing that her claim to the name predates the young woman's claim and then bolsters her claim by demonstrating her knowledge of the origin of the name. Since war deed names tend to be retained by the lineal descendants of the men whose exploits they commemorate, the fact that the name is derived from one of Florene's grandfather's war exploits underscores her connection to the name, while at the same time raising questions regarding the young woman's right to it.

After Florene made the speech, the young woman and her grandmother approached her. She explained that her deceased husband had named their granddaughter, and that none of the family members were aware that anyone else owned the name. Florene described what happened next, "And then his widow and I we hugged and I told her, 'Well, it doesn't matter.' I told her, 'I'll share my name with you Jerry.

I'll share it with you'" (Whitehorse 2008). Having publicly made her claim that she was the rightful owner of the name, Florene sought to diffuse the situation by agreeing to share her name with the young woman. She indicated that she could agree to share her name, because she had already named her daughter and her granddaughters and did not intend to pass her name on to any of them (Whitehorse 2008).

It is important to remember that Florene Whitehorse and Alan Yeahquo and his aunt Irene Spotted Horse's efforts to publicly affirm their ownership of Kiowa names is the exception rather than the rule. Such public assertions of an individual's right to a Kiowa name are rare. More often, individuals seek to sway public opinion by asserting their rights to a name or questioning another claimant's rights in private conversations (Jordan 2009, 2010).

Conclusion

Disputes over intellectual property can be attributed to several factors. First, tipi designs are being revived after a prolonged period of dormancy. Following the production of the 1916 *Tipi with Battle Pictures* commissioned by Charley Buffalo, approximately fifty years passed before the production of another Kiowa painted tipi. Some designs, such as the *Red Tipi* and *Lone Wolf's Yellow Tipi,* had been dormant for over a century, when they were revived in the 1990s and 2000s. A breakdown or hiatus in the renewal or use of a specific tipi design can make it difficult to reconstruct who last held the rights to the design.

Furthermore, there is a tendency to ignore historic transfers of intellectual property, even when the chain of ownership of a design or a name can be reconstructed. The descendants of an individual who owned a tipi design are likely to claim and utilize the design despite their ancestor having relinquished his rights to the design by transferring it to another individual. These individuals view the fact that their ancestor once held the rights to the design as conferring upon them rights to the design. This is the case with the *Red Tipi*. Togudlkapta (Old Man Red Tipi) is documented as having transferred the rights to the *Red Tipi* to his son Séttháide (Ewers 1978:19). Yet, the descendants of Séttháide's siblings utilize the design, claiming rights to it by virtue of their descent from Old Man Red Tipi. Similarly, Tohausan, is documented as having transferred the rights to the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* to his nephew shortly before his death (Ewers 1978:15; Greene 1996:236; Greene and Drescher 1994:424). Nevertheless, the descendants of Tohausan continue to claim the rights to and to utilize the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* design (Jordan 2008, 2009).

Similar situations arise with regard to Kiowa names. While the members of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants acknowledge that their ancestor Guipago gave his name to Mamay-day-te in 1874, they none the less feel that they still have the right to use his name. And, as previously mentioned, Irene Spotted Horse, a member of the organization, bestowed the Guipago (Lone Wolf) name on her grandson (Spotted Horse 2009, Jordan 2009).

In justifying their use of a name or tipi design that their ancestor once owned but subsequently bequeathed to another individual, descendants often emphasize that their ancestor was the original or fist owner of the intangible heritage in question. For

example, the descendants of Tohausan stress that their ancestor was the original Kiowa owner of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures*. Similarly, the members of the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants emphasize that their ancestor was the first to carry the Guipago name, a fact underscored by his designation as the "Old Chief" Lonewolf in the organization's name.

Finally, I've documented a trend in which transfers of intellectual property rights once conducted in public contexts and before witnesses are now being conducted in more intimate or private settings. Consequently, individuals are, for instance, sometimes unaware that a name has already been bestowed upon a recipient.

Kiowa society is currently undergoing a shift from a system of intellectual property rooted in a concept of individual rights to a regime based on familial ownership of intellectual property. The underlying premise of the new system – that the descendants of nineteenth century individuals are the rightful heirs of their ancestor's intellectual property – is, for the most part, widely acknowledged and accepted in the Kiowa community. However, the absence of formal mechanisms to allocate intellectual property rights amongst the pool of potential heirs has led to conflicts, and the question of who has the authority to allocate intellectual property remains largely unresolved.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Kiowa descendants' organizations may be seen as part of a global phenomenon that Beverley Butler (2006:475) terms the "indigenizing of heritage." According to Butler, indigenous communities are manifesting a growing interest in heritage projects, as evidenced by the proliferation of tribal museums and cultural centers. According to Patricia Erikson (1999:577), these institutions "demonstrate a presumed authority to interpret the cultures of their respective tribes and to participate in projects in which knowledge is made about their tribes." Furthermore, Butler (2006:475) notes that indigenous communities' heritage projects often adopt a "critical edge" that seeks to draw attention to past injustices and commemorate historical traumas. Kiowa descendants' organizations offer an example of the indigenization of heritage on a different scale. They afford an opportunity to study the ways in which local voluntary associations operating outside the confines of tribal governments and Alaska Native Corporations mobilize heritage.

The "critical edge" that Butler describes as characterizing indigenous heritage projects is likely a reflection of the historical consciousness of the communities under consideration. Kiowa descendants' organizations are certainly a manifestation of the historical consciousness of the Kiowa community, particularly the emphasis that it places upon prominent nineteenth century warriors and their struggles against the U.S. military. Kiowa narratives that I collected during the course of my fieldwork depict the military as the aggressor and portray Kiowa warriors as fighting in defense of their families and homes. These narratives tend to emphasize the warriors' sacrifices, as well as their staunch resistance to Anglo-American encroachment. This memorialist approach is

evident in both the descendants' organizations' and the broader Kiowa community's commemoration of these figures' lives.

My analysis of Kiowa historical consciousness is informed by the work of Marshall Sahlins (1985), Raymond Fogelson (1989), and Raymond DeMallie (1993), who argue that each indigenous group possesses its own unique way of recording and remembering the past, its own historical consciousness. DeMallie (1993:524-525) writes that "Rather than restricting history to written traditions or western epistemology, it may be argued that every cultural tradition, each linguistic group, has its own particular sense of the past." The prominent place that accounts of nineteenth century Kiowa warriors and their war exploits occupy in the historical consciousness of members of the contemporary Kiowa community reflects historical practices that emerged as means of commemorating individual men's martial accomplishments. These included the public recitation of war deeds, the depiction of these deeds in graphic art, and the bestowal of names inspired by these deeds.

Recognizing that each society has its own mode of historical consciousness, there are nevertheless striking similarities between the way in which historical consciousness manifests itself in the Kiowa community and in other communities that share a history marked by violent conflict with external forces. The biographic nature of Kiowa accounts and their focus on resistance during a period of intense intercultural conflict show them to be similar to historical narratives that anthropologists have studied in other societies. For example, Richard Price (1983) has focused on historical narratives among Saramaka (maroon) communities in Suriname. Saramaka narratives focus on the period between the 1680s and 1762 and consist of biographic accounts of ancestors that recall their

escape from slavery, subsequent raids that they conducted against plantations, and their establishment of settlements. Similarly, Susan Oakdale (2001:381), working among the Kayabi, has documented a genre of sung narratives, Jowosi, that she describes as a "type of war narrative, similar to coup accounts in North America." In these accounts, some of which have been passed down for generations, the singer describes an encounter in which he or one of his paternal relations vanquished an enemy. Though Oakdale focuses on the role of Jowosi in mourning rites, she notes that the narratives also function as a form of counter memory, or alternative history, intended to challenge portrayals of the Kayabi as pacified and acculturated (Oakdale 2001:381, 391-393).

At the core of recent research on heritage and historical consciousness is the premise that interpretations and representations of the past must be understood as rooted in the contemporary moment. Their significance is seen as lying not in the past, but rather in the cultural work that they are made to perform in the present. Sociologists Jeffrey K. Ollick and Joyce Robbins (1998:124) note that "Collective memory does not merely reflect past experiences (accurately or not); it has an orientation function." Similarly, Barry Shwartz observes that "collective memory is both a mirror and a lamp - a model of and a model for society" (Ollick and Robbins 1998:124). Terrence Turner (1988:241), writing about Amazonian and Andean historical narratives, argues that they "are not to be understood primarily as what most of the texts overtly purport to be, namely representations of the events of contact. Rather they must be understood as programs for the orientation of action within the situation of contact and as keys for the interpretation of interaction within that context."

The role historical consciousness plays in providing a mandate for contemporary action is perhaps most evident in Kiowa descendants' organizations' commitments to the preservation and transmission of Kiowa cultural practices. While several factors motivated the founding of the three organizations considered here, the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, and Satetheiday Khatgomebaugh, the perceived endangerment of Kiowa cultural practices was a central concern in each case. The privileged place that prominent nineteenth century warriors occupy in the Kiowa community's historical consciousness and the emphases placed on their resistance to Anglo-American domination and their commitment to Kiowa cultural practices provide a charter for cultural preservation efforts. Kiowa narratives identify Sétthái de and Lone Wolf, as well as other nineteenth century warriors, as individuals who fought to ensure the physical and cultural survival of the Kiowa people. In public discourse they are held up as historical figures to whom members of the contemporary Kiowa community owe both a debt and an obligation. Alinda Yeahquo Yellowhair exhorting that because their ancestors sacrificed to preserve Kiowa ways, members of the contemporary Kiowa community have a responsibility to ensure the perpetuation of these practices is a prime example of such discourse.

Turner (1988:244) argues that an important component of historical narratives is the role they play in demonstrating the agency of historical figures. Narratives focus on the ways in which the exercise of agency has impacted the outcome of events in the past and contributed to the present situation. This in turn demonstrates to individuals that their own actions have the potential to transform present social relations. Consequently, historical consciousness is linked to "consciousness of the present as actively determined

by the social beings who inhabit it" (Turner 1988:244). Turner (1988:245) writes that "historical consciousness in these respects may become an important component of the realization of the consciousness of the potential for social self-determination from which it springs." In attributing the survival of Kiowa cultural practices to the sacrifices of nineteenth century figures, Kiowa historical consciousness underscores that the continuation of these practices rests in the hands of the current generations.

Kiowa descendants' organizations also exist to revitalize kinship connections amongst individuals who share a common nineteenth century ancestor. As outlined in Chapter 3, senior members of these organizations wish to provide their children and grandchildren with the genealogical knowledge that they need in order to situate themselves within a network of Kiowa kinship relations. Demonstrating command of such knowledge is seen as a means through which individuals may establish and validate their Kiowa identity vis-à-vis other community members. The copy of the genealogical chart displayed at the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants' powwow was likely exhibited, at least in part, for the benefit of the organization's younger members. Similarly, Emily Satepauhoodle (2010) described preparing genealogical materials for display at Satethieday Khatgomebaugh's functions. The events descendants' organizations sponsor, including powwows, are viewed as providing important opportunities for descendants to socialize and interact with one another. For example, the introduction of the various families in attendance was a regular feature at the reunions sponsored by the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, suggesting that emphasis was placed not only on being able to trace one's descent from Sétthâide, but also on being able to identify one's living relatives.

Powwows sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations function on multiple levels. On one level, powwows provide descendants with an opportunity to proclaim their descent from prominent nineteenth century figures in culturally acceptable ways. One of the ways in which descendants do this is by publicly asserting ownership of their ancestral figures' intellectual property, including their songs and names. The sponsorship of powwows is also linked to these organizations' efforts to promote Kiowa cultural practices. The organizations' events provide an arena for the performance of Kiowa songs and dances, the use of the Kiowa language, and the observance of Kiowa religious practices. Descendants' organizations' dances furnish the youngest members of these organizations with exposure to Kiowa song and dance and an encouraging environment in which they can participate. Powwows also constitute an important public arena in which members of descendants' organizations and their representatives espouse the importance of maintaining Kiowa cultural practices. They are sites where the process of traditionalization unfolds (Bauman 1992a:136-137, 140-141; Jackson 2003b:8-9; 2007:38).

Analysis of cultural performance events sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations has revealed insights into processes of traditionalization. As I outline in Chapter 4, tradition is viewed not as an inherent quality of a phenomenon, but rather a designation that is attributed to it in the present (Hymes 1975b:353-355; Bauman 1992a:136-137, 140-141; Linnekin 1983:241-242; Jackson 2007:38, 2003:7-9, 1997; Mould 2005:256-261). Scholars employ the term traditionalization to refer to a discursive strategy in which continuities between contemporary cultural forms or practices and those of the past are emphasized (Jackson 2003b:8-9; 2007:38). While I

acknowledge the primary role discourse and public oratory play in processes of traditionalization, it is evident that material culture, at least in some contexts, plays a role as well. Recall the way in which material culture is deployed during events sponsored by Kiowa descendants' organizations, events in which speakers often employ traditionalizing discourse. By displaying photographs of their ancestors and representations of their intellectual property, such as the model of the *Red Tipi* displayed during the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants powwow, the event sponsors emphasize their descent from prominent nineteenth century warriors. War bonnets, symbols of authority, are displayed as a means of calling attention to the leadership positions these historical figures occupied. Association with these objects bolsters the image of descendants and their representatives as individuals who are familiar with Kiowa history and past practices and are consequently able to speak with authority regarding what constitutes "traditional" aspects of Kiowa life. Future studies of processes of traditionalization should take into account the physical context in which statements are made and the role material culture may play in shaping how listeners respond to both speakers and their discourse.

Descendants' mobilizations of intellectual property associated with their prominent nineteenth century ancestors reveal that the Kiowa intellectual property system is in the midst of a transformation. In the nineteenth century, the rights to personal names, war exploits, and tipi designs were vested in individuals. Today, the descendants of several historical figures have claimed the rights to their ancestors' martial exploits and tipi designs. These individuals espouse a concept of corporate or collective rights. Intellectual property rights that were once vested in individuals are being recast as the

shared property of these historical figures' descendants. However, this interpretation has not gained universal acceptance.

Complicating matters further is the fact that certain tipi designs and names are being revived after a period of prolonged dormancy. The passage of time often makes it difficult to identify who the last individual to hold the rights to a specific name or tipi design was. Even when this information is known, there is a tendency to ignore historic transfers of intellectual property. Descendants whose ancestor owned a name or tipi design typically view this as furnishing them with a claim to this property, regardless of whether their ancestor relinquished his rights to the property by transferring it to another party. There also appears to be a lack of consensus regarding the proper protocol for allocating dormant names amongst the pool of potential recipients. As a consequence of these factors, descendants' mobilizations of intellectual property frequently arouse tensions and conflict.

Research on the ongoing development and refinement of Kiowa conceptions of intellectual property can provide insights relevant to the broader study of indigenous systems of intellectual property rights, especially those being revived after a period of relative dormancy. Furthermore, analysis of the historic transformation of the Kiowa system of intellectual property rights challenges the tendency to view indigenous intellectual property systems, or customary law, as static and unchanging and recognizes the potential for the existence of competing discourses within indigenous intellectual property systems.

Research on Kiowa descendants' use of intellectual property associated with their nineteenth century ancestors takes on added relevance when viewed against the backdrop

of a world in which identity politics are increasingly expressed in indigenous communities and nation states' demands for control over their tangible and intangible heritage. Indeed, the concepts of cultural property and cultural heritage have been expanded to encompass not only material phenomenon, such as portable art and archaeological sites, but also various forms of expressive culture, identified as intangible cultural heritage or traditional cultural expressions in the literature and policy documents (Brown 1998:194, 197, 2005:40-41; Coombe 2009:405, 406). Michael Brown (2005:41) refers to this development as the "dematerialization of heritage." Yet, this should not be interpreted as an indication of waning interest in tangible heritage or cultural property. Magnus Fiskesjö (2010:10) hails the advent of a "new wave of global repatriation activism" reflected in the "rising tide of demands for the repatriation of items" held in Western museums, citing the efforts of Ethiopia, Egypt, and Greece to recover archaeological materials in Italian, British, and German collections.

These developments have prompted anthropologists to investigate how the semiotic potential of material culture has been harnessed by individuals and movements seeking to assert and shape their ties to the past, a widespread practice documented in Jocelyn Linnekin's (1983) work in Hawaii, Richard Handler's (1984) work in Quebec, and Ray Cashman's (2006) work in Northern Ireland. Notions of intellectual property are relevant in this context as well, as certain aspects of intellectual property, such as designs, find their expression in material forms. Worldwide, indigenous attempts to control the use of such designs have attracted considerable attention from scholars, Fred Myer's (2004, 2005) work with Australian aboriginal painters being only one prominent example. However, these studies have typically focused on inter-group conflict and have

not addressed the ways in which debates over intellectual property play out within indigenous communities. By focusing on internal conflict, my analysis reveals another facet of the connection between heritage and identity politics.

Cohesion and Conflict

Mobilizations of heritage and historical memory have been recognized as highly politicized endeavors. Arjun Appadurai (1996) argues that ethnic movements appeal to heritage and historical consciousness in an attempt to strengthen group solidarity and mobilize political support. For example, research has focused on the ways in which nationalist and separatist movements have made use of heritage and historical consciousness in Ireland (Glassie 1994), Hawaii (Friedman 1992; Handler and Linnekin 1984; Linnekin 1983), and Quebec (Handler 1984, 1983, 1987; Handler and Linnekin 1984). These studies tend to ascribe heritage an integrative function. However, the emphasis on ethnic movements has overshadowed other contexts in which heritage may also be mobilized. This analysis of Kiowa descendants' organizations contributes to our understanding of the ways in which heritage and historical consciousness are produced, deployed, accessed, and contested in comparatively small but culturally distinct social settings, providing a much needed counterbalance to previous studies which have focused on their role in large scale nationalist and separatist movements.

Previous research has tended to ascribe mobilizations of heritage and historical consciousness an integrative function, viewing them as contributing to group solidarity and cohesion (Appadurai 1996; Glassie 1994; Handler 1984, 1983, 1986; Handler and Linnekin 1984; Linnekin 1983). On one level, Kiowa descendants' organizations

conform to this model. The Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh each espouse the existence of a collective Kiowa identity linked to the maintenance of a unique set of cultural practices. One can see parallels between this aspect of Kiowa descendants' organizations and the ideology of ethnic nationalism. Handler argues that ethnic nationalism is rooted in the ideology of possessive individualism.

> In the ideology of possessive individualism, the existence of a national collectivity depends upon the 'possession' of an authentic culture; as people told me in Quebec, where I learned about nationalist ideology, 'we are a nation because we have a culture.' And an authentic culture is one original to its possessors, one which exists only with them: in other words, an independently existent entity, asserting itself (to borrow Cassirer's words) against all other cultures. [Handler 1986:4]

Members of Kiowa descendants' organizations view the perpetuation of specific practices, including the performance of Kiowa songs and dances, as linked to the maintenance of a distinct Kiowa identity. Recall Raymond Tongkeamha's (2009) statement in Chapter 3, "We're Kiowa. We're not just a face in the crowd. We are a people. We're somebody. We have our own traditions, our own things."

Furthermore, each of the Kiowa descendants' organizations sponsors events that serve to integrate members from the broader Kiowa community. For example, the organizations host powwows that draw participants and spectators from outside their memberships and co-sponsor powwows with other Kiowa organizations and families. In addition, their philanthropic efforts reach beyond the confines of their memberships. The same can be said for their cultural preservation programs, such as the Kiowa language camps sponsored by the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants.

Yet, the very nature of descendants' organizations limits the extent to which they are able to function as integrative mechanisms. Membership in the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants and the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants is limited to the descendants of specific historical figures. And although Satethieday Khatgomebaugh allows individuals who are not descended from Sétthái de to join as associate members, these individuals are not allowed to serve as officers, ensuring that the leadership of the organization remains firmly in the hands of descendants. Nor are the descendants' organizations considered here entirely successful in their efforts to integrate the descendants of Sétthái de and Lone Wolf. This is most evident in the cleavage within the membership of the Chief Satanta (White bear) Descendants that led a handful of descendants to establishment a new organization, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh. However, it is also true that some descendants simply choose not to affiliate with a descendants' organization.

In addition, my findings indicate that mobilizations of heritage occasionally play a more divisive role at the local level. As members of descendants' organizations and the broader Kiowa community access intellectual property associated with their nineteenth century ancestors, disagreements arise concerning the rights to this property. The dispute over the name Tauangya is a prime example of this phenomenon. While the tensions surrounding competing claims to intellectual property rarely surface in public contexts, they are nonetheless real. They are the topic of private conversations and influence the ways in which individuals interact with one another, or to be more accurate, choose not to interact. Furthermore, I would argue that it is, in part, an awareness of the potential for

conflict surrounding the bestowal of hereditary names that has prompted some individuals to conduct naming ceremonies in less public settings.

Ultimately, the intense interest in the intellectual property of prominent nineteenth century warriors and the heightened emotions that attend debates concerning its ownership and use speak to the powerful hold that these figures have on the historical consciousness of the Kiowa community. Fogelson cogently observes that

> [T]he factor that may prove most decisive for Indian persistence is a highly developed level of historical consciousness, a continuing sense of identity as separate peoples for whom power resides in maintaining their distinctiveness. History, so viewed, is not something that *happens* to Indians; it might better be conceived as a potent force that they actively utilize, refashion, and manipulate as a survival mechanism. [Fogelson 1989:139-140]

In accounts of their nineteenth century ancestors' resistance to Anglo-American domination, members of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants, the Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants, and Satethieday Khatgomebaugh find a charter for their efforts to preserve and perpetuate select Kiowa cultural practices, practices that they view as linked to the maintenance of a distinct Kiowa identity.

Epilogue

On June 4, 2011, I took a welcome break from working on my dissertation to attend the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants powwow. Having been cooped up in my windowless office for months, the drive through the wide open countryside of rural southwestern Oklahoma offered a pleasant change of pace. Most of all, I was eager to catch up with many of my friends from the Kiowa community, most of whom I had not

seen in over a year. I enjoyed the wonderful singing and the opportunity to Gourd Dance. One scene from that evening struck me as the epitome of what Betty Washburn and others involved in Kiowa descendants' organizations hope to achieve through their efforts. I watched as Betty's son Kendall entered the dance arena accompanied by Max, his three year old son. As Betty danced behind them, the other dancers in the arena made their way over and honored Max by dropping dollar bills at his feet, a gesture intended to register approval of his desire to participate and to encourage him. As I watched three generations of Sétthái de's descendants dancing together, I wondered if Betty was savoring the moment, basking in the knowledge that her grandson was being raised to honor Sétthái de's memory and to cherish the ways that he fought so hard to defend.

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Appendix 1: Figures



Figure 1: Portrait of Setangya (Sitting Bear). National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., NAA INV 01625102



Figure 2: Portrait of Sétthâide (White Bear). National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., NAA INV 01158300



Figure 3: Portrait of Guipago (Lone Wolf). National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 9n-01382a1



Figure 4: Kiowa Artist. Poor Buffalo on an expedition against the Pawnee. School for Advanced Research, Catalog Number SAR.1990-19-8A



Figure 5: Kiowa Artist. White Horse. School for Advanced Research, Catalog Number SAR.1990-19-1A



Figure 6: Kiowa Artist. Tipi with Battle Pictures. School for Advanced Research, Catalog Number SAR.1990-19-3B



Figure 7: Kiowa Artist. Tohausan, wearing a war bonnet and carrying his shield, a bow, and arrows, reaches for his lance. School for Advanced Research, Catalog Number SAR.1990-19-2A



Figure 8: Kiowa Artist. Sétthàide at a Jáifègàu dance. School for Advanced Research, Catalog Number SAR.1990-19-3A



Figure 9: Koba. White Horse captures a Navajo boy. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [NAA INV 08547612]

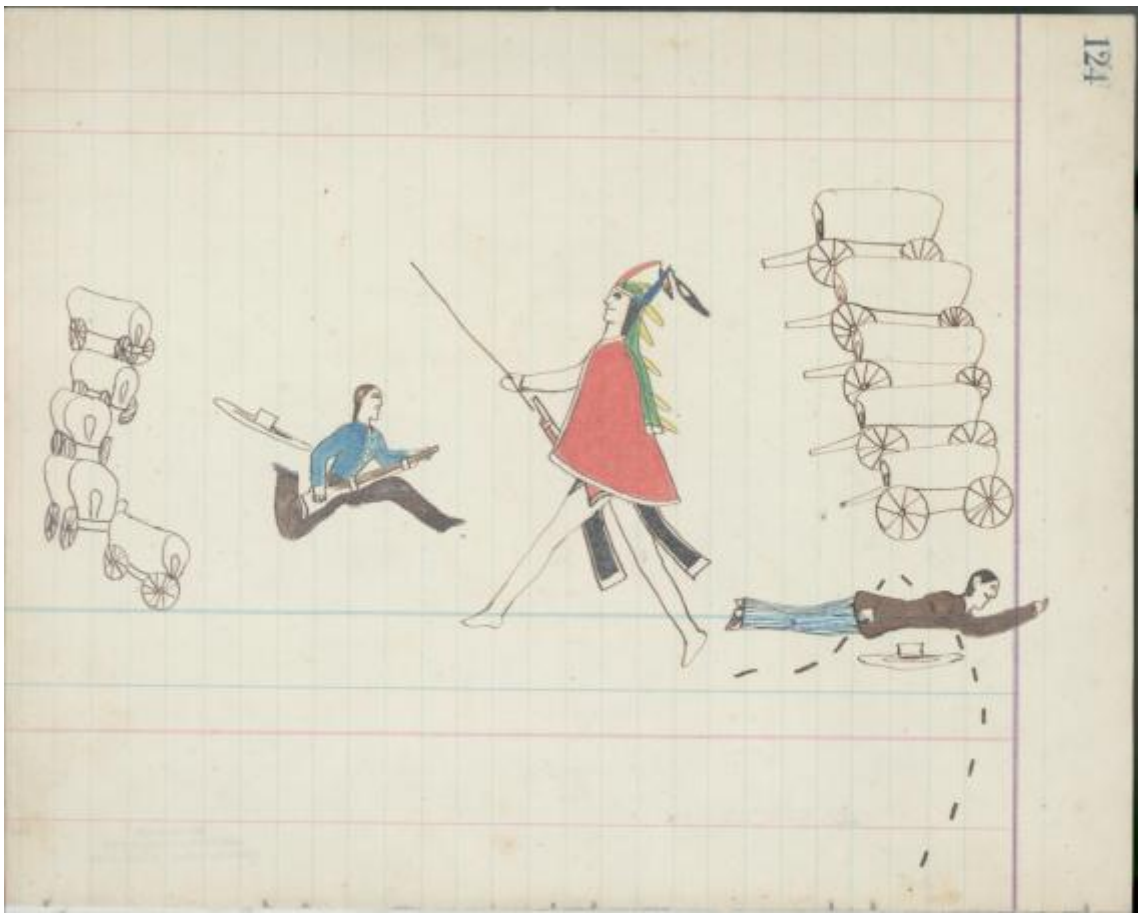

Figure 10: Koba. White Horse in an engagement with Mexican teamsters. White Horse has dispatched one opponent and prepares to count coup on a second. He wears his distinctive cow horn hair ornament. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [NAA INV 08547602]

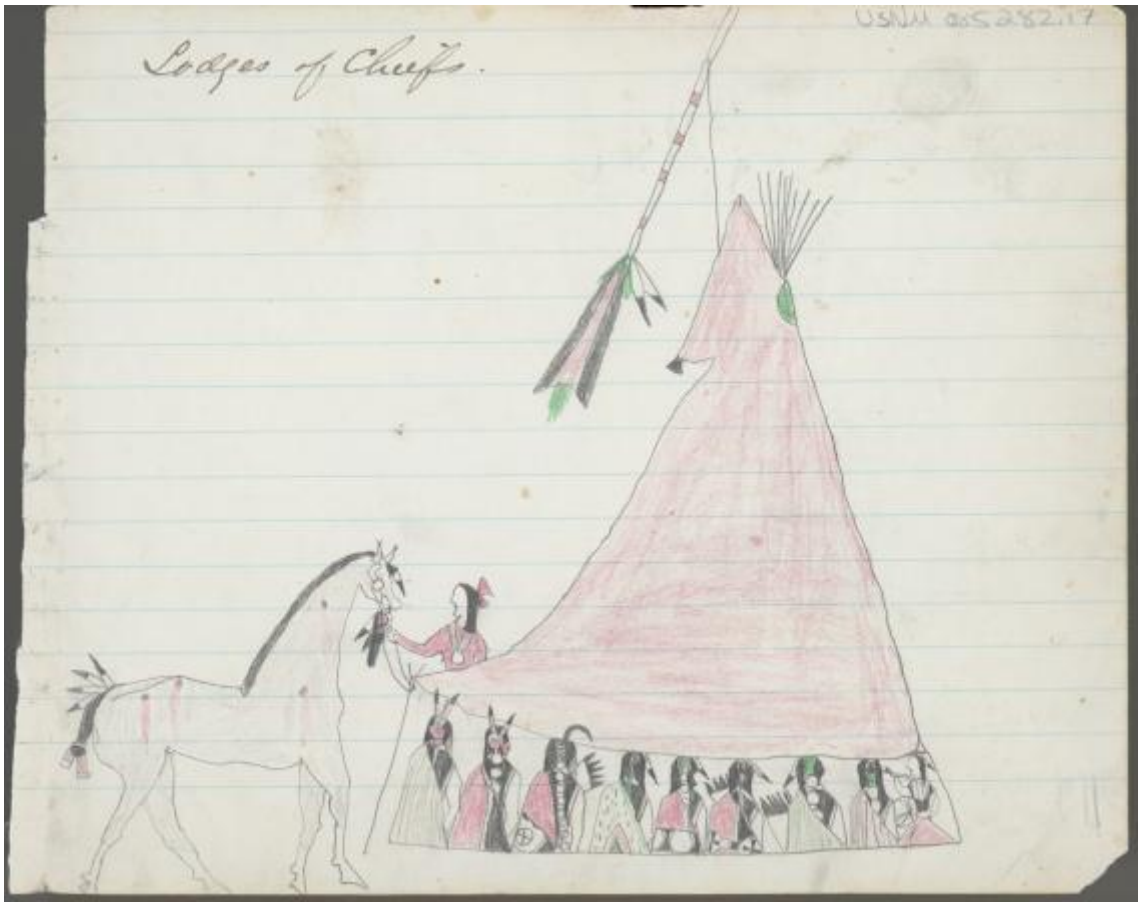

Figure 11: Kiowa Artist. J<u>á</u>ifègàu meeting inside Sétthái de's *Red Tipi*. Sétthái de, wearing red body paint and a peace medal, stands outside the lodge, holding the reins to a horse. The artist includes Sétthái de's *zebat* or arrow lance in the drawing to aid in the warrior's identification. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [NAA INV 08528217]

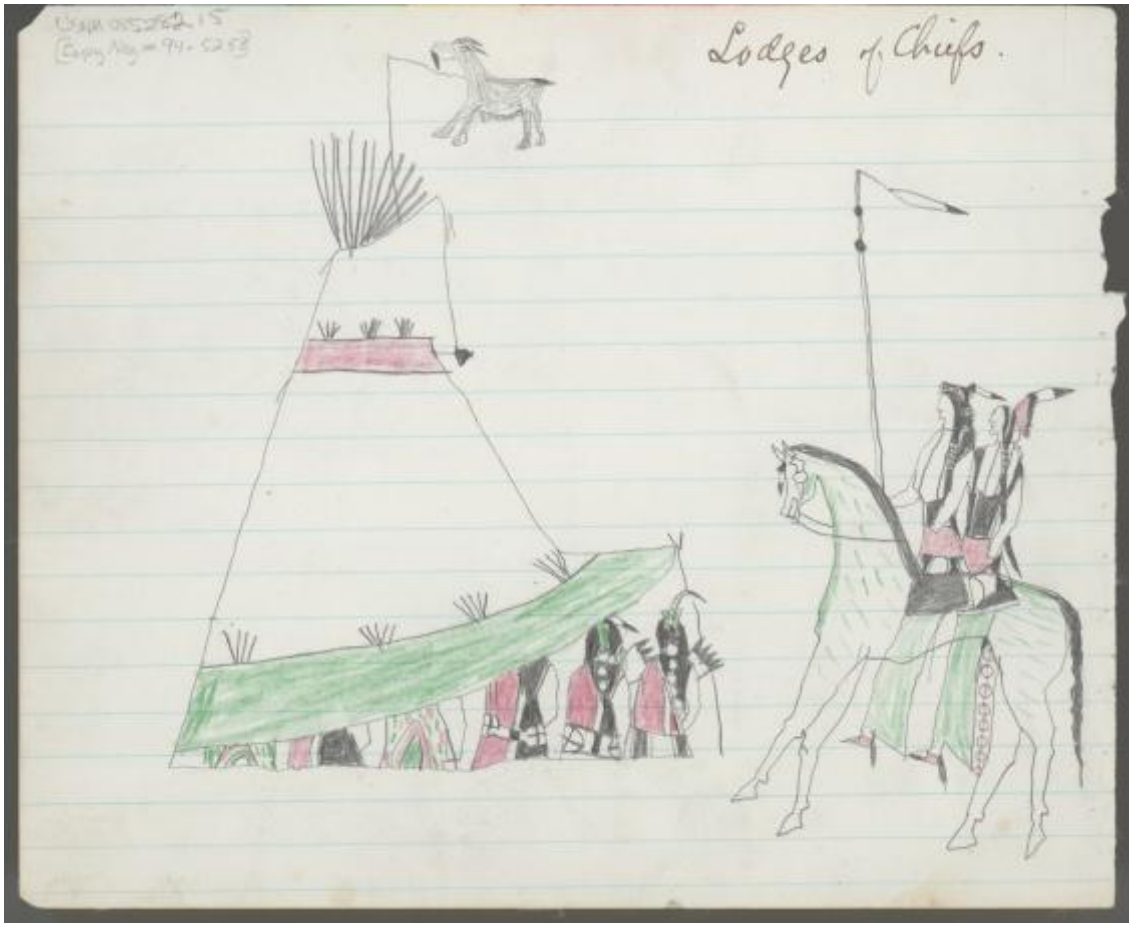

Figure 12: Kiowa Artist. A meeting of the Áljóyì:gàu in Big Bow's *Tail Picture Tipi*. Note the Mountain Sheep glyph indicating the name of the society. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [NAA INV 08528215]



Figure 13: Kiowa Artist. The Áljóyì:gàu processing to Big Bow's *Tail Picture Tipi*. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [MS 98-54 NAA INV 98-54-06, 98-54-07]



Figure 14: Kiowa Artist. Five men standing in front of Big Bow's Tipi. In this drawing the artist renders the tipi in an extreme form of pictorial shorthand, omitting even the bird tail devices from which the tipi took its name. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [MS 98-54 NAA INV 98-54-14]



Figure 15: Kendall Washburn at the 2009 Satanta Days event in Satanta, Kansas. Kendall received the name Sétthái de from his grandfather, Clarence Sankadota, who had also carried the name.



Figure 16: Kendall and Betty Washburn at the 2009 American Indian Exposition Parade in Anadarko, Oklahoma. Note the *Red Tipi* design on Betty's dress.



Figure 17: One of the displays at the 2010 Setangya celebration.



Figure 18: The *Red Tipi* at the Chief Sétthâide (White Bear) Descendants' camp at the 2008 American Indian Exposition in Anadarko, Oklahoma.



Figure 19: Cassandra Bointy Chasenah at the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society's 2009 celebration wearing her mother's dress. The dress is decorated with her ancestor's tipi designs. Note the *Red Tipi* design on the bottom of the dress and the stylized version of the *Tipi with Battle Pictures* design on the sleeve.



Figure 20: Vanessa Jennings scalp dancing at the 2009 Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society's ceremonial. The dress she wears features depictions of her ancestors and relatives' war deeds rendered in the Plains pictographic style.



Figure 21: Vanessa Jennings wearing her dress at the 2009 Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society's ceremonial. The scene on the upper back depicts her ancestor Gú:lhèì: claiming a Mexican officer's red cape as a war trophy.



Figure 22: Goule-hae-ee Descendants organization shawl draped over the side of a pickup truck during the 2009 American Indian Exposition Parade. The organization's logo contains a depiction of the red cape that Goule-hae-ee captured as a war trophy.



Figure 23: Betty Washburn and Prenella Tongkeamha dancing at the 2009 Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society's dance. Both women are wearing the distinctive shawls of the Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants.



Figure 24: Mia Fisher, Chief Satanta (White Bear) Descendants' Princess at the 2009 American Indian Exposition in Anadarko, Oklahoma. Note the bugle design on her beaded crown.



Figure 25: Alan Yeahquo (center) dancing at the 2009 Kiowa Gourd Clan celebration. Alan received the name Tauangya from his aunt Irene Spotted Horse. The name had previously belonged to Lone Wolf's son, who was killed by the U.S. military in 1873.