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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

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By

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SOCIAL NETWORKS AND KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS AMONG THE CADDO AND
DELAWARE OF SOUTHWESTERN OKLAHOMA

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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Indian Country is a tricky place. It is not the homogeneous place of popular fiction and film, but extremely varied. And it's full of Tricksters, those perpetual characters in myths, legends, and stories. After awhile in Indian Country, anyone can become something of a Trickster, and one of my favorite stories about my time in Anadarko is when I took on this role.

My mother and several of her friends came to Anadarko for the Indian Fair. Officially known as the American Indian Exposition, the fair is one of the high points of the year in Anadarko. Members of all of the local tribes participate in the dances, competitions, pageant, parade, and rodeo (a recent addition). Many families, erecting teepees, brush arbors, and tents of every description, camp at the Caddo County Fairgrounds, and for a week, the entire town seems to revolve around this one area.

One of my mom's friends, shortly after arriving in town and having only ever seen Native people on television and in movies, asked "Where are all the Indians? I want to see some *real* Indians." I felt particularly mischievous that afternoon. I loaded them up in the car and drove directly to Wal-Mart, which everyone knows is the social center of Anadarko. As the sliding doors parted and we stepped inside, I said, "Look around. There are *real* Indians everywhere."

For me, writing a dissertation required me to be a little bit of a Trickster, too. While taking on this daunting task, I have tried, not always successfully, to balance a fulltime job, sometimes two, a full schedule of community activities, like dances, meetings, and fundraisers, a research program, and a "life." It is tricky work, fulfilling all

of these commitments. Of course, I benefited from lots of assistance, and for that, I make the following acknowledgments and offer my deepest gratitude.

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Chapter 1: Herding Cats, an Introduction to Fieldwork and Culture

Every anthropologist goes into the field with an idea of what to expect, and the first chapter of many classic ethnographies begins with how these expectations were dashed at the outset, how the entire situation was completely overwhelming and the culture shock almost insurmountable. My first field experiences in southern Mexico were no different, mostly because I did not know the language fluently enough to communicate with people on an intelligent level. With classic anthropological arrogance, I went about collecting data, measuring what I could measure, and squirreling it all away in my field notes. The people who I talked to, when I could manage to get out a complete sentence or convince someone else to act as interpreter, were subjects, informants, sources of data. I tried to be objective and relatively unattached to the people with whom I worked, and when I left Chilapa I missed the food more than anything else. Certainly, I knew the critiques of the approach I was taking, but I ignored them; that was easier than actually dealing with them. The field situation and my theoretical focus on ecological anthropology did not force me to confront issues of representation, power imbalances, or colonialism in a serious way. That was Mexico, a place where I have yet to return to do fieldwork for a variety of reasons. In many ways, perhaps, I left a lot of that anthropological arrogance south of the border. In the scramble to find a new area for my research, I noticed what was there in front of me all along: Indian Country.

I approached Indian Country very differently than I did rural Mexico, though undoubtedly, this approach is one that I should have had from the outset of my ethnographic research. My knowledge of the anthropological literature concerning Indian

people, except for a few ethnographic “classics”, was close to nil. I was not even sure of which term to use: Indian, Native American, American Indian.¹ Unlike most of the rural Mexicans with whom I worked previously, Indian people read, write, and speak English. This fact alone was a veritable minefield of possibilities. People might disagree with what I wrote about them. They might challenge me, argue with me, or publish unfavorable reviews of my work. They may judge me based on the transgressions of the anthropologists who came before me. Worse yet, they might judge me based on the transgressions of the White folks who came before me, in which case I carried not only an anthropological burden, but the dual burdens of colonialism and racism as well. And what if they did not like my research topic? What if they did not like me, for that matter? I could not just show up on the doorstep of some tribal office and announce, “I’m here to research you people. Here, sign this informed consent document, and tell me all about your culture. Oh wait! Let me turn on the tape recorder.”

These fears, though I had not thought critically about all of them at the time, actually made me very cautious in my work with Indian people, and hopefully this caution has made me more aware of the baggage that anthropologists bring with them to any ethnographic project. Two of my early experiences with some of the Indian folks in western Oklahoma did very little to allay my fears and confirmed the belief that caution was in order. I remember very clearly the first day I drove out to Anadarko, taking State Highway 9 through Blanchard, Chickasha, and Verden. The wind had a bite to it. The sun was bright, and it reflected off of the snow that remained from the weekend’s storm. It took forever to get to my destination, the Delaware Nation’s tribal complex, several miles north of Anadarko. As I headed west I felt that I was venturing into an unknown territory

– at least unknown to me. In the previous weeks, I tossed around research topics in my mind and hoped to focus on the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware tribes, who shared a reservation at one point in their history. I deliberated long and hard over my outfit so that I would look nice, but not too nice, and now I was sure that my pants were too short and my shirt too tight. I desperately wanted to make a good first impression.

Through an acquaintance, I heard that the Delaware Nation was looking for a volunteer for their tribal museum. After I arrived at the tribal complex, I met with some of the staff and toured the museum, which was a single room crammed with items and family photographs in large display cases. The museum definitely had potential. Afterwards, the tribal administrator, Margaret Bell, called all the Executive Committee members she could reach to meet with us in the tribe’s library. She was able to get in touch with Bruce Gonzalez, the tribe’s President, and Linda Poolaw, an Executive Committee member and widely recognized expert on Delaware culture and history. We gathered around a long table in the tribe’s library, and Margaret made the necessary introductions. I talked about my interest in Delaware culture and history but mainly focused on my experience working in museums, and I mentioned that I was a graduate student in search of a community with which to conduct field research. Not familiar with the silences that seem to be an integral part of many conversations in Indian Country, I continued to ramble. At a pause in my spiel, Linda gave me a hard stare and asked, “So, what’s in it for us? You get a dissertation out of this, but what does the tribe get?”

Several weeks later, back in Anadarko, I sat in the Palomino Café, a restaurant that was once part of Indian City, U.S.A., a local tourist attraction now fallen on hard times and up for sale to the highest bidder.² Across the table were Virgil Swift, a Wichita

tribal member who is friends with a lot of archaeologists whom I know, and his wife Lois, who is Kiowa. I had met Virgil on several occasions at the Oklahoma Archeological Survey, and we regularly discussed Wichita and Keechi tribal history. We all made a trip to the buffet and returned to our seats, plates heaping with food. Virgil said the blessing, and we began to eat. The conversation largely revolved around Wichita archaeology and history and to a lesser extent, my still ill-defined dissertation topic. At a break in the conversation, I went for a second helping of fried chicken and returned to find Lois and Virgil talking about me. With a mischievous twinkle in his eyes, a look I would later come to find so amusing and recognize as an indication that I was about to be given a very hard time, Virgil announced, “We were talking about you. I was telling Lois how you don’t know anything about Indians.” For once thinking quickly, I replied, “Well, if I knew all about Indians, I wouldn’t have to come out here, now would I?” We all chuckled, and continued to eat and chat, but secretly, I felt dejected.

Virgil was right. I did not know anything about Indians. He was really the first Indian person I had ever met and talked to for any length of time. Linda was right, too. I was thinking about my dissertation and what I was going to gain and not about the tribe’s needs at all. Even with all of my caution, I needed to be taken down a peg or two, and Virgil and Linda both did that very effectively and very efficiently. This was the first lesson I learned about doing research with Indian people: Approach the research “in the right way.” That means being humble and leaving the academic jargon at home. It means understanding that people will tell you things when they think you are ready to know them and not just because you asked them a question in the midst of an interview. It means having the utmost respect for Native people, their culture, and their ways of doing

things, even if those ways seem indecipherable at the time. It means appreciating another person's way of life and perhaps even identifying with that way of life, while at the same time realizing that you will never really *know* it. It means really listening to what people say (and what they do not). It means being thankful that people put up with your general ignorance, minor missteps, and occasionally glaring blunders.

After contacting members of the Delaware and Wichita tribes, two of the three tribes with which I hoped to work, I was left with the Caddo. In a stroke of luck, this was somewhat easier than the previous two. Little did I know at the time, but the relationships I developed with Caddo people would become some of the most meaningful and most important to me, as an anthropologist, as a (potential) community member, and as a person trying to do things "in the right way." The knowledge and perspectives that I gained through these relationships form the basis of the remainder of this work.

My academic advisor and boss at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History, Jason Baird Jackson, had a contact with the Caddo tribe. This person, Shirley Gouge, was the Caddo Nation's enrollment clerk and the head of one of its cultural organizations, the Hasinai Society. According to Jason, who cleared this with Shirley beforehand, all I needed to do was show up at one of the Hasinai Society's weekly meetings. That was my "in." And so, one Wednesday evening, after working at the museum, I drove out to Binger for my first meeting with the Hasinai Society. As I prepared to go, loaded down with Jason's tape recorder and miscellaneous other equipment he thought I might need during one of my first forays into ethnographic fieldwork in Indian Country, I asked what to expect. He warned, "It's a lot like herding cats" and left it at that.



Figure 1: Shirley Gouge addressing children at a Hasinai Society meeting
March 2007; Binger, Oklahoma

Not only did I eventually get the hang of herding cats, but I also grew to enjoy, even look forward to, these weekly meetings, evenings full of music and dance, good food, kids learning about Caddo traditions (and sometimes just horsing around), and rewarding conversations. As I became more involved in the activities of the Hasinai Society and developed personal relationships with several of its foremost members, I realized how critical it is that we, as researchers and social scientists, as cultural preservationists, and, if we are fortunate enough to be so considered, as members of the community, understand the role of cultural organizations in the preservation and

perpetuation of traditional culture. Cultural organizations are sites for much of the rich community life of the Caddo and Delaware people and are important spaces for the expression of traditional culture, among other things. Just as importantly, we must understand how these cultural organizations, and the culturally specific ways of knowing that they promote, operate in opposition to, as well as in conjunction with, other bodies of knowledge, be that traditional, non-traditional, scientific, intertribal, or other perspectives.³

This point of view allows us to examine what anthropologists witnessed for years and yet struggled to fully explain: Native communities persist, not only in spite of, but also because of, perceived threats to their traditional knowledge. What can be considered the deterioration of traditional Native culture – the loss of traditional practices and bodies of knowledge – has been lamented by Native people (and non-Natives too) for years. American Indians, forcibly exposed to non-traditional knowledge and cultural values through myriad United States government policies, including removal from their traditional homeland, settlement on reservations, and compulsory attendance at boarding schools, had little choice but to accept much of the dominant Euro-American system. However, as can be seen in Native communities all over the United States, forced acceptance of this system does not imply total displacement of traditional knowledge. Throughout Indian Country, and in the Caddo and Delaware communities discussed here, traditional culture is alive and well, not extinct or deteriorating. The vitality of traditional culture is apparent in the lives of those involved with cultural organizations, such as the Hasinai Society, the Caddo Culture Club, and Lenape Legacy, as well as in any of the similar cultural organizations, ceremonial societies, congregations, extended families, and

dance societies throughout Native American communities in Oklahoma. It is apparent in the conversations people regularly have about their tribal culture, their native language, and their songs and dances.

In a broader sense, what this situation tells us is that traditional and non-traditional knowledge systems can coexist, differentially drawn upon given the situation in which community members find themselves. For example, someone who is sick may turn both to traditional medicinal practices and ceremonies while simultaneously seeing a physician at the local Indian hospital. However, the coexistence of and reliance upon these (sometimes) radically different knowledge systems is not always easy or uncomplicated. These different systems are skillfully and proficiently navigated by community members in their daily lives and activities, just as speakers of different dialects may practice code-switching in the course of a day's activities.

In many ways, the potential threats that non-traditional knowledge systems pose to traditional knowledge, or at least awareness of these threats, inspires many tribally-sanctioned, formal cultural preservation programs. For example, the myriad threats to Native languages in Oklahoma inspired numerous language classes and instructional programs (Linn, Berardo, and Yamamoto 1998). Among the Caddo, funds from the National Park Service were used to document the Turkey Dance, one of the most important dances in the Caddo repertoire, and funds from the Housing and Urban Development program facilitated the construction of the Caddo Heritage Museum. However, the many issues that face tribal governments, from housing assistance to gaming, from issuing license plates for cars owned by tribal members to fighting attempts

by state and federal governments to erode tribal sovereignty, often leave little time and few resources to devote to cultural preservation.

Because of the numerous demands placed on tribal governments, many community members and organizations recognize these threats as serious and organize themselves into various organizations, like the Hasinai Society or Lenape Legacy, with the goal of preserving tribal traditions.⁴ Great variety exists among these organizations in terms of formal structure, frequency of meetings, and specific goals; however, on the whole, they take the preservation and perpetuation of traditional culture as an overarching aim. In particular, the efforts of these cultural organizations, and therefore the focus of the research presented here, concentrates specific forms of traditional knowledge – that of tribal music and dance, and the accompanying forms of tribal regalia, as well as on crafts and Native language. In many ways, these forms and expressions of traditional culture exist in the tribe’s public domain.⁵ The cultural organizations, at least within the Caddo and Delaware community, are the most publicly active sites of cultural life and likely serve as the counterpart to private instruction and cultural preservation within extended families and households. They are sometimes recognized by the tribal governments for the important work that they do, but generally exist outside of the formal structure of tribal government and are self-supporting, usually dependent on fundraising, and to a lesser extent grants, for financial support. In general they also object to any interference from tribal government. In fact, some efforts to bring these organizations into the tribal government’s organizational framework have been met with heated protest and overt resistance.⁶

Additionally, some types of knowledge that may be seen as threatening can be turned to the furtherance of traditional knowledge; certain aspects of these non-traditional systems are often put to very traditional means. For example, popular music and the technology intrinsic to that particular industry (e.g., portable digital audio players, recordable compact disks, etc.) could be seen as a threat to traditional music. More than once or twice, I witnessed a teenager getting a harsh rebuke from his grandmother for listening to a musical recording with headphones at a tribal dance. However, the technological advances that allow this young man to listen to his favorite rap artist also make recording and distributing audio recordings of traditional songs easier. All of the cultural organizations with which I worked support, encourage, or actively engage in such activities, particularly for instructional and documentary purposes. They have often called on me to do what I could to assist them in their efforts, particularly in terms of recording and duplicating audio and video recordings of public events, such as dances and powwows.⁷

These issues, specifically cultural preservation and continuity in the face of dramatic social change, ground many of the ongoing theoretical debates in Americanist anthropology. However these same discussions contribute to several of the general debates anthropologists have conducted since at least the 1920s, specifically, the direction of cultural change as local places meet global challenges, the nature of cultural systems, the linkages between knowledge and power, and the nature of tradition. In the very broadest terms, many of these general arguments can be captured in a single anthropological puzzle: Are cultural systems functionally integrated, harmoniously maintaining themselves without much effort, or are these systems entropic, doomed to

disintegrate or to be displaced? While such a question is rather nebulous, it lies at the heart of anthropological inquiry, from early examinations of sexuality (Malinowski 1929; Mead 1935) to historical approaches to cultural change in Native America (Boas 1908; Lesser 1933; Kroeber 1952) to discussions of globalization's impact on local cultural systems (Kearney 1995; Sklair 1995; Brysk 2000; Nash 2000). The terms and jargon used may change (acculturation, assimilation, bricolage, globalization, fragmentation, transnationalism, and hybridity all come to mind), but the debate remains.

Perhaps the very persistence of this debate and its centrality to what we do as anthropologists should alert us to the fact that there are no easy answers, or perhaps, more importantly, that the real answer lies somewhere between gross functionalism and systemic deterioration. The work of culture, that is, the very maintenance and continuity of culture, lies in maintaining a balance between cultural stasis and potentially destructive cultural change.⁸ Research in such diverse areas as network analysis (Jackson and Levine 2002; Jackson 2003a), discourse analysis (Urban 1996), and ethnohistory (Fowler 1982, 1987) explores the forces underpinning the renewal of culture as manifest in both cultural maintenance and change. Such work looks both to diversity within communities and to the larger social systems within which communities interact and generate cultural commonalities and differences.

Each general area within anthropology casts this debate in its own terms. For anthropologists studying American Indian cultures, the assimilation variant is most popular. According to this variant, American Indians evolved from a tribally-specific identity to pan-tribalism to complete assimilation (Howard 1955; Newcomb 1955, 1956,

1976; Rhodes 1967). In light of this perspective, W.W. Newcomb (1956:128) claimed that

Pan-Indianism has been made possible by the fact that through acculturation Indians of very diverse backgrounds have come to share a common language and to participate in the same economy. This means that they have been able to share, or perhaps to find out that they shared, a common core of tradition and a commonality of situation and purpose... In a sense, it is a final attempt to preserve a distinctiveness of being which a dominant civilization has tried to destroy.

While Indians themselves (and the anthropologists who work with them) know that this is a fairly inaccurate description of their lives today and that pan-Indianism is not the sum total of Native identity, we still struggle against the pervasiveness of this stereotype and the popular belief that all Indians are the same.

An approach based on an examination of the social networks that link communities allows for the investigation of tribally-specific and pan-tribal forms of identity, as well as everything in between. It is the middle ground here that was previously ignored in studies of Native communities, just as the macro/micro perspective, popular in studies of globalization and its impacts, ignored what happened between the local and the global levels of analysis (C. Smith 1983). An approach based on social networks is particularly appropriate to investigating what happens between the tribal and pan-tribal levels. Such an approach emphasizes the importance of social groups defined by individuals and communities, rather than units of analysis imposed by a governmental structure or a particular theoretical perspective. In doing so, a network-based approach undermines the assimilation-based approach of many pan-tribal theories. The culture-area approach, an approach which still has much organizational value, typifies the earliest forays into such an investigation of American Indian cultures (Kroeber 1939; Wissler

1940; Josephy 1968). More recent and theoretically sophisticated approaches include Joseph G. Jorgenson's examination of the Sun Dance religion (1972), Sylvia Rodríguez's discussion of the Matachines Dance (1996), and Jason Baird Jackson and Victoria Lindsay Levine's work with Woodland Indian communities (2002). These more recent manifestations of such an approach exemplify its applicability to American Indian knowledge systems and the work of culture within Native communities.

What is particularly exciting about an approach that places emphasis on social networks is that it demonstrates how different types of communities exist simultaneously and cohesively. These diverse communities can be successfully navigated by individuals as well as cultural organizations in a seamless way, and like an individual's identity, can be called upon in different situations or contexts. Cultural organizations, like individuals, can employ or emphasize different aspects of their total identity in different contexts. In his study of a national Indian identity, Jeffery R. Hanson (1997) portrays this situation as an ethnic hierarchy. Specifically, "As hierarchy, ethnic identity can operate at several levels: one can, for instance, be Oglala, Lakota, and American Indian all at the same time" (1997:203). While Hanson mainly deals with political action, the same approach is applicable to the realm of expressive culture. Different aspects of identity can be emphasized depending on one's physical location, e.g., at work at a multinational corporation in an urban area versus at home on the reservation. Similarly, the Social Dance songs of Woodland tribal communities indicate both local and regional identities; they are "a paradigm for a social world in which much is shared, but within which local identities persist" (Jackson and Levine 2002). Such is an apt description of the situation in the Caddo and Delaware communities. Each maintains a tribally specific body of

traditional knowledge, but given their 150-year history on the same reservation in Oklahoma, a community-specific system of knowledge developed through close contact, reciprocal participation in ceremonial life, intermarriage, and other forms of social and cultural exchange.

Because traditional knowledge is so closely linked to a tribally specific identity, its study has rarely moved to this level. For the Delaware in particular, a tribally specific point of view (Speck 1937; Weslager 1972; Hale 1984, 1987; Grumet 2001) or a pan-tribal perspective (Petrullo 1934; Howard 1955; Newcomb 1955) are most heavily relied upon, to the exclusion of an approach that acknowledges interaction with other communities (but see Roark-Calnek 1977). The same can certainly be said of the Caddo (Dorsey 1905; Newkumet and Meredith 1988a; Carter 1995a, 1995b; Swanton 1942). By focusing on the Caddo and Delaware cultural organizations and the larger intertribal worlds in which they interact, my goal here is to produce a more thorough understanding of traditional knowledge, its development and its perpetuation.

Prior to contact with non-Natives, tribes are recognized in the scholarly literature to have maintained extensive contact with their neighbors; however today's tribal communities are often portrayed as almost completely discrete cultural entities. Such a portrayal, though perhaps unintentional, is inaccurate, and little evidence exists to support such a perspective. As Chris Goertzen (2001) and others point out, no tribe exists in complete isolation; some level of exchange of traditional knowledge is often necessary for a tribe's continued existence. For example, many tribes in North Carolina rely on the reciprocal participation of neighboring tribes' singers and dancers to make powwows successful (Goertzen 2001), and communities in eastern Oklahoma rely on the

participation of neighboring ceremonial grounds to make their stomp dances successful (Jackson 2003a). Furthermore, the exchange of songs, symbols, and religious practices is well-known among participants in the Ghost Dance (Mooney 1896; Lesser 1933, 1996) and the Native American Church (Aberle and Stewart 1957; O. Stewart 1948, 1987; Swan 1990, 1999).

The same situation exists for the Caddo and the Delaware. For example, in early July of 2002, Lenape Legacy, a Delaware cultural organization, held its annual dance. Unable to produce enough participants from the ranks of their tribe and perhaps to honor the many ties between the two communities, the Caddo Culture Club was asked to co-host the dance. Jimmy Reeder, a man of Caddo and Wichita descent, sang at this Delaware dance, and especially important songs, like the Flag Song, were sung in Delaware, Caddo, and Wichita (see Figure 2). Buntin Williams, a respected Caddo elder and one of the few remaining speakers of the Caddo language, offered a prayer in Caddo before the evening meal. I have attended this dance every July since then, and more or less the same sort of integration was apparent each year. In fact, in an acknowledgment to their location among so many Plains tribes and in appreciation of the traditions of those tribes, Lenape Legacy featured Kiowa singers at their dance in 2003; this drum provided many War Dance songs to supplement the Caddo and Delaware songs provided by the Caddo Culture Club.⁹ Clearly, for such a regional system to be successful, as it is for the Delaware and the Caddo, the sharing of traditional knowledge is a necessity.¹⁰



Figure 2: Caddo, Delaware, and Wichita singers at the 2002 Lenape Legacy Dance, near Anadarko, Oklahoma; From left to right: Jimmy Reeder, Tom Blanchard, Mike Meeks, Buntin Williams, Ed Spaulding, and Thurman Parton

Music and dance are but several of the many types of traditional knowledge, and they, along with other more public forms of traditional knowledge such as clothing styles and Native language, were what I focused on in my research. As the research upon which this work is based progressed, I tried to distinguish traditional from non-traditional knowledge and to describe the content of each. In some cases, such as the Stomp Dance, this task was like herding the proverbial cats. The Stomp Dance is not Caddo or Delaware in origin, but members of both tribes perform this dance.¹¹ Because of the skill of their leaders and shell-shakers, the Caddo and Delaware consider it their own – while perhaps making a very brief acknowledgment of the role of Creek people in developing the dance as it is known and practiced today. In other cases, such an effort yielded a complex genealogy of a particular tradition, such as the spread and practice of the Ghost Dance or the Big Moon variety of Native American Church ceremonies.

In other cases, the result was a very strict, though not necessarily simple, dichotomy between traditional and non-traditional ways. As the active membership of the Hasinai Society is largely children and since children love to press the limits of appropriate behavior, I witnessed numerous instances of them getting fussed at for “acting White” – in other words, not acting traditional. Such infractions as bringing a handheld videogame to a stomp dance or forgetting to serve elders first at a meal would always yield a negative response from the Society’s leaders. Usually the children were told why these behaviors were not traditional, but were “White,” that is, non-traditional. On the one hand, this provides a view onto race relations in these communities. For example, most all of the behaviors that were categorized as “White” can be seen as self-centered, arrogant, pushy, neglectful, or disrespectful – qualities often assigned to the stereotypical White person (cf. Basso 1979; O’Neill 1994).

On the other hand, though, this contrast demonstrates those qualities most important to the older members of the Hasinai Society: thinking of others, particularly elders, first; acting in a dignified and respectful manner; appropriately behaving oneself at dances and cultural activities. These qualities, in reality, have nothing to do with the color of one’s skin. For several months, a particularly feisty young man came to the weekly meetings of the Hasinai Society; his brother regularly had attended with their grandmother for some time. One evening, an elder was discussing appropriate behavior with the children, probably in light of something they had done or in preparation for some event we would attend. She warned them against “acting White.” This feisty young man pointed at me and quickly blurted out, “Well, she’s White.” Shirley then launched into an explanation that “There’s White and then there’s White” and that sometimes White

people can “cross that line” and then they “aren’t White.” By this point, Shirley felt that I had crossed that line, and I was not White anymore, perhaps that I had checked (some of) my racial and cultural baggage at the door in my desire to understand Caddo culture or perhaps that I exhibited those qualities that she associated with Native people and did not associate with White people. I am both more and less at the same time: I am more than White since I have been adopted into a Caddo family and their traditions and less than White since I made the conscious decision to abandon some on my own attitudes and sentiments along the way. I am more than Caddo since there is no way to separate myself from the racial and academic privilege that comes with being a White woman affiliated with a university and less than Caddo since I was not born Caddo.

Many anthropologists who find themselves adopted into the communities in which they work have a story about how their communities claimed them through an event, a naming ceremony, or some other ritual (J. Miller 2001). In my case, it was much more akin to the handing off of a baton between runners in a relay race. Years ago, my mother came to visit me in Anadarko. This trip was her first time to visit Anadarko, her first time to see a large powwow, and her first time to meet Shirley and all of the other folks with whom I spent so much time. We met Shirley at the Caddo County Fairgrounds, just before the grand entry for the Saturday night powwow at the American Indian Exposition. Shirley was rushing to get all of the Hasinai Society’s members lined up and to make sure that every ribbon was in place, every shirt was tucked in, and every comb was sitting high on the girls’ heads. She took a break from all of that to meet my mother, and we talked for a little bit. As my mother and I said goodbye and headed to our seats in the stands, leaving Shirley to manage the Hasinai kids, my mother asked Shirley to look

out for her little girl. I thought nothing about this exchange, but then again, I am not a mother with a child living by herself in a community far away from home. Since Shirley's daughter, Shelby, was currently living away from home, she was particularly sympathetic to my own mom's unspoken concerns and knew exactly what my mom meant. She took her quite literally, and ever since then, I am, functionally at least, Shirley's daughter.



Figure 3: Ready for the dance at the Caddo Conference, 2005
Rhonda S. Fair and Shirley Gouge
Photograph by Jason Baird Jackson

Anthropologists in the field often learn the most from their mistakes. I tell my introductory anthropology classes that the people with whom you work in the field will make fun of you, pick on you, and harass you when you behave inappropriately. As someone who does not know the "rules," those unspoken norms that everyone else already knows, this is going to happen a lot. What I failed, previously, to tell my students

is that this does not only happen to novice ethnographers and that one of the best ways to learn about a culture is to break the rules (accidentally, of course) and get in trouble for it.

Because Shirley is my “Caddo mom,” her daughter Shelby is my sister. In fact, she is my little sister, since I am older than she is, but more often than not, she has to look out for me and tell me what to do. Once, Shelby told on me to Shirley, and I got in trouble. We were at a powwow in Greenville, Texas. I am not sure exactly what I expected of a powwow in Texas, but this came pretty close. Everywhere I looked, I saw what can be called “wannabes” – phenotypically white people who dress how they think Indians dress and who dance at powwows, but often have very little real-life experience with Native culture. Some had very nice regalia, but most had not gotten it quite right. They came pretty close, but there was almost always some small detail – the wrong color of beadwork, the misplaced elk ivories, the wrong kind of feathers – that gave them away. The most laughable example was a woman wearing a very tight mini-dress made of buckskin and edged with short fringe; the dress was worn off the shoulder and had been patched in several places. I could tell that she was hoping to approximate a Southern Plains style buckskin dress, but no self-respecting Southern Plains Indian woman I know would wear such a costume.

I am positive, or at least I sincerely hope, that these people were dressed as they were and dancing at this event for the most respectful of reasons. Maybe they were trying to show their appreciation for Native culture. Maybe they had bought in to some sort of New Age mystical idea of what Indian life must be like. Maybe they just did not know any better. Being a White girl dressed in traditional Caddo regalia in such an environment made me acutely aware of my own skin and what color it is (or is not). I have thought

long and hard about why I dress in Caddo clothes for dances and why I dance the Turkey Dance or shake shells all night at a stomp dance. I do it out of respect for and to honor the practices of my friends and family. I also do it, though this is something I rarely admit, as a way to prove myself; I want people to realize that I take their culture seriously and that I am not the sort of anthropologist who swoops in, collects “data,” leaves for the university, and writes a book. In other words, I do it because I am committed to behaving as my Native family and friends expect me to behave and because I am in this for the long haul.

White anthropologists who conduct research with Native communities sometimes work in a particularly awkward and racially charged atmosphere. Folks wonder if we are there “playing Indian.” Why do we want to know these things? Why do we need to know so much? What are we going to do with this information? How are we going to profit from what we are doing? As anthropologists, we realize that White folks have a long history of “playing Indian” (Deloria 1998) and manipulating stereotypes of Indian people for our own benefit (Berkhofer 1978). On the other hand, if we were working with a group of Natives in the Amazon basin, we would think little of the political and representational ramifications of adopting Native styles of dress while “in the field.” To do so in the United States, though, is problematic.

These are some of the thoughts that tumble around in my head almost every time I put on my hair ribbons, pick up my fan and shawl, and put on my moccasins. The climate of the Greenville powwow brought these thoughts to the forefront even more than usual. When Shelby and I, in full Caddo regalia, walked out of the arena and towards the bathroom to catch up with Shirley, I had a lot on my mind. Then, we were stopped by

two little blond headed boys, and one of them shyly asked, “Are you Indians?” Shelby said, “Yes, I’m Caddo.” I said, “No.” The boys walked off, a little confused, and Shelby turned to me, a little angry. “Why did you say that? My mom took you as her daughter. You’re my sister. That makes you Caddo.”

When we got to the bathroom that everyone was using as a dressing room, Shelby, just like my own biological little sister would, told on me to our mom. Shirley said much of what Shelby already had, and she just seemed so disappointed. I tried to explain that I did not want to claim to be Indian when I am not Indian and that I said that, not out of disrespect for her or our relationship, but because I did not want to be so presumptive as to tell people that I am Caddo. It did not matter. Shirley was disappointed, and I was still in trouble (and not for the last time, either).

Eventually, I got back into Shirley’s good graces, and I was always much more careful about honoring our relationship. As I became more integrated into the Hasinai Society and the Caddo community in general, I felt like I was coming to a much deeper and fuller understanding of Caddo culture. I also found it more difficult to employ some anthropological field methods. For example, formal tape recorded interviews were awkward and difficult to conduct when the person I was interviewing knew that I knew the answers to the questions I asked. The whole exercise felt strange and artificial. As such, I relied on extended and very intensive participant observation over the course of several years (conducted from 2002 until 2007). Everyone knew what I was up to in terms of my research.¹² When we were camping, Twila, an elder member of the Hasinai Society, often would tease me about going to my tent at night to write down field notes

by the light of a lantern, and after she would tell me something she thought was especially important, she would say, “Be sure to put that in your book.”

Regardless of circumstances, I tried to use the knowledge I accumulated from informal interviews, observations, conversations, and everyday participation with community members to build a community-specific model of traditional knowledge. In American Indian studies, both popular and academic, traditional knowledge is a familiar topic for a variety of reasons: it differentiates American Indians from other Americans, it appeals to New Age mysticism that focuses on Native spirituality (Deloria 1998; Aldred 2000, 2005), and it recalls comfortably stereotypical and romantic notions of the American frontier (Berkhofer 1978). Critical studies of the uses of such knowledge, in Native and non-Native contexts, largely draw upon the literature on the nature of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Glassie 1995; Harkin 1997). The general consensus of these works is that tradition is a way of selectively using the past to frame the present in order to accomplish a specific goal. The content of tradition is not necessarily stable, but neither is it ever-changing. Thus, rather than assume what constitutes tradition or traditional knowledge, I tried to elicit and observe how members of the community construct the domain of “traditional” as I built this community-specific model.

At times, this approach led to some surprising results. Much as with Luke Eric Lassiter’s work with the Kiowa demonstrates (Lassiter 2001, 2002), Christian hymns are often included in the domain of traditional knowledge, sometimes undermining widespread ideas about what is traditional. During the winter of 2005, members of the Hasinai Society undertook learning traditional Caddo Christian hymns, such as “Amazing Grace” and “I Shall Not Be Moved.” These songs are a vital part of Caddo funeral

services, and fewer people are able to sing them now than in the past. These hymns were therefore an important part of the *traditional* cultural instruction received by the Hasinai Society's children. In this sense, a careful determination of what constitutes the category of "traditional" can help to undermine popular stereotypes of the American Indian.

Perhaps one of the most persistent stereotypes of traditional Indian people is that they ardently oppose everything non-traditional, particularly the Western scientific tradition. Such a stereotype plays well in popular film and pulp fiction, but it is based on preconceived notions of what is traditional. As such, this opposition is unrealistic for the lived experience of Indian people, including those who regard themselves as very traditional. My hope is that this work undermines some of these popular stereotypes. Just as Shepard Krech (1999) deconstructs the myth of the ecological Indian, this research critically examines the opposition of traditional tribal knowledge to scientific knowledge upon which so many of these stereotypes are based. Research into other traditional systems of knowledge, including that of Micronesian navigation, Anasazi astronomy, and Mayan ethnobotany, demonstrates that traditional knowledge systems can be very scientific (Turnbull 1993/94, 2000; Goodenough 1996; Berlin et al 1996). Goodenough describes the navigation system in the Western Carolines as a "traditional science", and Turnbull argues that all knowledge systems, traditional and non-traditional, must be regarded as situated knowledges (also see Haraway 1988). These efforts move away from the "tradition as anti-science" perspective and move closer to viewing these different knowledge systems as complementary rather than oppositional. The growing body of work on traditional ecological knowledge further supports this point of view.¹³ In other

words, traditional knowledge is not automatically opposed to science, and *non*-traditional does not necessarily imply *anti*-traditional.

To investigate all of the foregoing issues, this work takes as its primary focus the cultural organizations within the Caddo and Delaware tribes. Though the Wichita shared a reservation with the Caddo and Delaware and currently have many ties with them, their cultural organizations are not fully examined in this work. The shared Woodland traditions of the Caddo and Delaware form such a cohesive basis for their community that it would have been an unreasonable stretch to try to include the Wichita in a social network into which they are not fully integrated. After addressing some issues regarding ethnographic representation and how knowledge is transmitted by the Caddo and Delaware, as well as by anthropologists (Chapter 2), I will examine the overall social network in Chapter 3. This social network prominently features several cultural organizations, including Lenape Legacy, the Caddo Culture Club, and the Hasinai Society. The inner workings of cultural organizations are the subject of Chapter 4, and in particular, I will discuss the immense and diverse pressure faced by cultural organizations' active members, individuals who usually have a high level of knowledge regarding traditional culture. The costs of being a central figure in a cultural organization range from the economic to the social. These central figures often find themselves subject to intense scrutiny and community pressure, and not coincidentally, the pressure faced by these culturally central individuals is not unlike that experienced by tribal politicians. Chapter 5 will focus on the intersection of tribal politics and traditional culture, in particular the role of women in politics and cultural organizations. Perhaps not surprisingly, women lead two of the three cultural organizations examined here (Lenape

Legacy and Hasinai Society). Just as tribal politicians navigate various social networks to gain support, so too do the Caddo and Delaware cultural organizations, and this is the subject of Chapter 6. Small cultural organizations, like Lenape Legacy, or organizations with a membership composed mostly of children, like the Hasinai Society, forge relationships with other organizations in order to build a base of support. In doing so, Caddo and Delaware cultural organizations can come into contact with the vast social networks that revolve around intertribal powwows and gourd dances in western Oklahoma and around stomp dances in Eastern Oklahoma. At the heart of the cultural organizations' work, though, is the preservation of traditional knowledge systems in balance with the demands of other ever-encroaching knowledge systems. Such negotiations lead to interesting interpretations and conflicts about what constitutes "tradition" and demonstrate the flexibility inherent necessary in any successful cultural system, topics addressed in Chapter 7. Many conflicts that take place in the Caddo and Delaware community, whether between cultural organizations or factions of the tribal government, are discussed in the foregoing chapters. These general patterns should be interpreted as descriptive of a moment in time, of the years during which this research was conducted, with the full understanding that the situation can (and probably will) change in the future. While the resulting model may be applicable to other communities facing similar situations, the model of cultural change and stability that I propose is by no means prescriptive. In conclusion, the flexibility of the Caddo and Delaware cultural system is what allows the social networks examined here to change over time and in response to new conditions, yet maintain long-standing bodies of traditional knowledge (Chapter 8). Interspersed between some of these chapters are various ethnographic

“interludes” that range in content from lyrics of songs to patterns for beadwork on moccasins. These intermissions are included to further illustrate some of the topics addressed less specifically and less descriptively in the surrounding chapters, while also (hopefully) being of some use to community members.

¹ In this work, I use all of these terms, though “Indian” is probably used more than other options. Though I am fully aware of the political implications of the use of these various labels (Yellow Bird 1999; Mihesuah 2005:xi-xii), I believe that it is important to use the self-referential terminology employed by those with whom I worked most closely in the Caddo and Delaware community. Further, I capitalize all racial terms, including White. I do this to ensure that the reader views Whiteness not as an empty category, but as a category that carries with it specific implications for race relations.

² Indian City, U.S.A. maintains a website that describes its facilities and attractions (<http://www.indiancityusa.com/>; accessed on 26 March 2007). Tourists can visit re-creations of seven Indian villages. From the perspective of local Indian folks, Indian City is important for the employment opportunities, particularly for dancers and craftspeople, it provides.

³ These culturally specific ways of knowing and definitions of tradition can sometimes vary even among the cultural organizations examined here, as seen in Chapter 7.

⁴ In many ways, the cultural organizations here function as non-governmental organizations. They provide services to the community, but (usually) are not funded by the tribal government. William Fisher (1997) provides good introduction to the literature on non-governmental organizations (or NGOs). Also see Carroll (1992).

⁵ Many other types of traditional knowledge exist within the community discussed here. These include botanical knowledge, religious practices and cosmology, historical discourses, and healing and medical knowledge, among others. Though some of the things I have learned about these forms of knowledge underlie this work, they are not its subject; rather I focus on public forms of traditional knowledge.

⁶ In an unsuccessful attempt to reorganize the Caddo tribal government in early 2004, a faction of the tribal council designed a new organizational chart. This reorganization gave the Caddo Nation government oversight of the various Caddo cultural organizations. While the members of the various Caddo cultural organizations do not agree on many things, they did agree that the tribe should not control their organizations and felt that the tribal government lacked any power to enforce this attempt to exert power over the cultural organizations.

⁷ Similar documentary efforts by other tribes are well-known, including those of the Yuchi (Jackson 2003a).

⁸ Here, I am using the “work of culture” in a different, more simplistic, way than does Gananath Obeyesekere (1990).

⁹ The term “drum” is widely used in Indian Country to refer to a recognized group of singers, who all sit around the drum and provide the dance’s music. In the Caddo and Delaware community, however, there are no “drums”, only singers. This reflects two interesting points. Firstly, the composition of singers at the drum at Caddo and Delaware dances is extremely fluid. Singers can come and go as they see fit, and generally any man with at least some knowledge of the songs is welcome. Women, however, almost never sing at the drum at Caddo and Delaware dances and do not seat themselves behind the male singers at the drum as is sometimes seen at powwows. Women can sing at the drum if they stand behind a male singer, but women only do this when they are sick and in need of healing. Also, women often sing while they dance—sometimes informally and softly to themselves, sometimes as part of a song’s formal structure, as with the Woman Dance. Fluidity in the composition of singers is often seen at powwows, but not to the degree usually seen at Caddo and Delaware dances where the practice of having a “host drum” or a head singer is mostly non-existent. Secondly, in keeping with their Woodland background, more emphasis is placed on the quality of the singing than on the drumming. Changes in the choreography of the accompanying dances are often signaled by a change from one song to the next, so it is important that the dancers can hear the singing itself, not just the drum beat. Though today singers at Caddo and Delaware dances sit around a large Plains-style drum very much like those used at powwows (Jackson and Levine 2002:298-299), in the past a small water drum was used (Medford 1972). The Woodland practice of playing the drum softly (as compared to how the drum is beat at powwows) carries over today, even though the larger drum is now used (Jackson 2003b:245-246).

¹⁰ A photograph from the 2002 Lenape Legacy Dance appears in Waselkov and Jackson (2004:695). This photograph depicts the Turkey Dance, a dance mostly closely associated with the Caddo and further discussed in Chapter 7 of this work. That the Caddo Turkey Dance is regularly performed at Delaware

dances and includes Caddo, Delaware, and Wichita participants is an excellent example of the exchange and interaction that Waselkov and Jackson (2004) describe.

¹¹ For a nice introduction to the stomp dance, see Howard (1965).

¹² Those with whom I worked most closely gave informed consent to participate in this research, and this research followed the protocols of the University of Oklahoma's Institutional Review Board.

¹³ The literature on traditional environmental and ecological knowledge is vast, and a full overview is outside of the scope of this work. However, the following works have been particularly useful to me: Sillitoe (1998); Turner, Ignace, and Ignace (2000); Bicker, Sillitoe, and Pottier (2004).

Interlude: The Caddo Prayer Song

During the annual Caddo Youth Camp, children receive instruction in a variety of subjects, from Caddo songs and dances to how to cook fry bread and *habushko*, a main course at many traditional meals. Before each meal, the children sing the following song, the Caddo Prayer Song, as a blessing. The words given here were transcribed by Jimmy Reeder.

Ah ah hi yo
Dako kay wuh taw kin
Ha wa in dako tsuh uh weh
Ha kuh quee bo tsuh
Dako no tsee yuh
Ah ah hi yo

Ah ah hi yo
Dako kay wuh taw kin
Ha wa in dako tsuh uh weh
Ha kuh quee bo tsuh
Dako no tsee yuh
Ah ah hi yo

Chapter 2: “Well... There’s a story about that”: Ethnographic Representations and Academic Storytelling

It’s like this soup. Some people like fat in theirs. They cut up the meat and leave a lot of fat on it for flavor. They put in potatoes. They mix it onions. They boil the meat just like grandma used to do until it’s so tender it falls off the bone. People tell stories just like people make boiled meat, Mom. All kinds of ways. – Gus Palmer, Jr.¹

Most ethnographers who work in Indian Country realize the need to present their information in a culturally meaningful way, a way that has resonance not only for our colleagues and fellow academics, who constitute their own unique culture, but also for a much larger, much more diverse audience.² As with the changing face of many museums’ audiences, this realization derives from who reads ethnographies. Once upon a time, ethnographies about Native Americans were read by other anthropologists, a few historians, and maybe ambitious hobbyists. We know this is not the case any more. Indian people are probably just as likely, if not more likely, to read what anthropologists write about them as our academic colleagues. For example, Virgil, who put me in my place early on in my fieldwork, is a voracious reader of books on tribal history and ethnography (as well as a mind-boggling range of other topics); he even asked for copies of papers I prepared for classes so that he could read and discuss them with me. Therefore, anthropologists must be particularly careful about what they say and how they say it. What we write not only gets dispersed throughout the academic community, but it also finds its way back to and impacts the daily lives of the people and communities with whom we work. In a very real way,

anthropologists are beginning to realize the multiple consequences of what they write and how they write it (Brettell 1993; Cruikshank 1993).

In my quest to present what I have learned for a meaningful way, a way that has resonance, I thought about what it is to write a book, to pass knowledge on to others. Thoughts and experiences are collected, compiled into a single volume, and presented to the world. Given that my audience will include those who are the subject of this work, I looked at the ways, regardless of the particular medium, that people in the Caddo and Delaware communities pass knowledge on to others. I wanted to draw upon the ways knowledge is transmitted within the Caddo and Delaware community as I prepared to pass on the knowledge that I had accumulated over the years as part of this same community.

One of my favorite forms of knowledge, one which reveals a lot about a community and the daily lives of its members, is gossip (e.g., Haviland 1977). While some authors may feel that anthropology itself is nothing more than “gossip about gossip” (Minh-ha 1989:68), the power and importance of gossip is undeniable.³ Gossip accomplishes a lot: it “provides opportunities for expression of moral values, for making sense out of aberrant or outrageous behavior, and for the clear definition of who one is by the delineation of who one is glad not to be” (Brenneis 1992:150). The content of gossip can do all of these things and many more when examined as a social interaction. Just about everyone, no matter what they may say, loves to hear a little bit of gossip from time to time. When I first began volunteering at the Delaware Nation’s museum, I would sit at the Senior Citizens Center, eating lunch with some of the tribal elders, and be completely lost about what was being discussed. I was lost,

not because I could not follow the conversation or because the elders were talking about cultural matters of which I was ignorant. I was lost because I did not know the back story. I lacked the context or knowledge necessary to understand why it was so shocking that a particular person made some remark at a general council meeting or that someone had not attended the last fundraiser at the Senior Citizens Center or that a certain man was courting someone's daughter. When, months later, I could make these connections and fully understand the conversation, I almost felt a sense of belonging. It was the same feeling I had the first time I went to the Wal-Mart in Anadarko and spent more time visiting with friends and neighbors than shopping. And it was the same feeling I had when people began to ask me when and where the next dance was instead of vice versa. Gossip, however, is not something I actually thought about much until a fellow anthropologist accompanied me to the community and afterwards remarked on how much everyone (including myself) gossiped.

Gossip, in many ways, is a community-specific shorthand, a way of passing on complex pieces of information in a compact format, much as place names function as contractions in Western Apache speech (Basso 1996). This shorthand relies on the listener knowing the context, the back story. If a listener does not know the background, the speaker has two options: forge ahead and disregard the listener's ignorance or pause and tell the story that provides the background. In larger groups, such as the one at the Senior Citizens Center, the speaker tended to forge ahead in the hope that the majority of listeners understood. In smaller groups or one-on-one conversations, I found that the speaker often paused and related the background or explained the context. Such was certainly the case on many afternoons, when I sat in

Charlene Wright's office at the Caddo Heritage Museum, discussing why someone said or did something that puzzled me. Charlene would look at me and say, "Well... There's a story about that." And she would then provide the story that would help me make sense of the otherwise puzzling information.

Stories, big and small, mythical, humorous, and educational, secular and religious, are told and re-told in people's daily lives. Stories comprise one of Indian Country's most basic forms of information and are "perhaps the most ancient of intellectual strategies" (Buckley 2002:23). Or as Julie Cruikshank so eloquently puts it, "The persistence of stories and storytelling suggests that oral narrative is central to an indigenous intellectual tradition and provides the core of an educational model" (1990:340). The central place of stories in Native Americans' lives probably explains many writers' fascination with collecting and anthologizing "myths" and "legends" from various tribes (e.g., Erdoes and Ortiz 1984; Edmonds and Clark 1989). Or, on a more cynical note, perhaps such anthologies merely support colonialist and ethnocentric views of Native religion and spirituality and the idea that Native people are "primitive" or serve to merely entertain non-Native readers. Regardless of underlying motivations, though, the importance of storytelling as a means of transmitting knowledge is almost undeniable.

As I think about the recorded stories of the tribes with whom I work, particularly those anthologized by George A. Dorsey (1905), Duane K. Hale (1984), and John Bierhorst (1995a, 1995b), I remember a trip I took to Dallas to attend a powwow. A large group of people, mostly members of the Hasinai Society, went down there for a dance, and we all stayed at the apartment of a local Caddo family.

The accommodations were smaller than needed for our large group – thirteen people in Kay O’Neal’s small apartment – but that did not seem to bother us at the time. We slept in beds, on the floor, and sprawled on couches. We jockeyed for position in the line for the bathroom and ate in shifts. We all had a fabulous time.

After Saturday’s powwow, we slept late on Sunday morning, and as we were getting ready to go to an event that afternoon, I sat on the couch with one of the members of our group. Jimmy Reeder began telling these great Wichita stories, old stories about warriors and their feats, the cosmology of the tribe, and the origins of people and animals. At a point in one of the stories, Jimmy forgot the name of one of the main places mentioned. But, he said, I could go look up the name of that place in Dorsey’s book about the Wichita (1904).

Of course, I am not the first anthropologist who listened with rapt attention to a story someone learned from a book.⁴ As I was researching Caddo dances in the University of Oklahoma’s Western History Collection, I came across an interview that Kenneth Beals conducted with Sadie Weller (Weller 1967a T-60). He asked her about how the Caddo got the Ghost Dance.

Sadie Weller: “It originated in Utah. The man who originated it was supposed to be a prophet. [Gives his Indian name.] That’s what I was going to see. That’s what the name was here. His name was Navajo.”

Kenneth Beals: “Navajo?”

Sadie Weller: “Uhuh. That’s according to the, this book here.”

Later, Beals asks Weller when the Caddo got the Ghost Dance, and with what I imagine as frustration, she replied: “That’s what I could have looked up here if you’d given me a little more time.” Beals noted that Weller was relying on Mooney’s work

on the Ghost Dance (1896). When discussing the songs of the Ghost Dance, Weller once again relies on Mooney's text as she sings several Ghost Dance songs. She tells Beals that people generally learned the songs "Just verbally. You hear them, this first song, that's an old song. I never did hear it but I picked it out of the book. If you know your music you can go ahead and pick it out."

While some anthropologists might not appreciate a good story or an old song recounted from a classic ethnographic source, much less the role that anthropology in general plays in the creation and re-creation of "traditional" culture, the length of Beals' interview with Weller indicates he probably did.⁵ Likewise, I found myself as interested in Jimmy's stories as I was in how he had taken a story recorded a hundred years previously and made it his own. In particular, Jimmy's energy and passion as he told the stories impressed me, and I cared less about how he came to learn the stories and more about what was going to happen next.

Stories often have a life of their own, a life that is not bound to their content and that continues on after the life of the person who told or recorded the story ends. With this in mind, I began to think critically about the life of stories, the way stories and knowledge circulate through communities, the effects of telling and re-telling a narrative, and how, like boiled meat, stories are made in different ways. As I thought about this, I realized that my own work, what I write here and what I may write elsewhere, is a story. This is the story of what I heard and saw, what I was told and learned, what knowledge I accumulated up to this point and how I made sense of it all. I can support my text with facts and figures, anecdotes and quotations, theories, and hypotheses, and maybe arrive at a few conclusions. I can order these facts in a

particular way so as to convince readers of the validity of my conclusions. But, my citations of other anthropologists and cultural theorists is really no different than Sadie Weller singing songs from Mooney's book. Strip away the scientific dressing, and what is left is a story that I constructed, a representation of my own experiences and my understanding of how social networks and knowledge systems function in the Caddo and Delaware communities.

Acknowledging such an approach may seem rather egocentric, and perhaps inappropriate to an academic work such as this. However, the position of the anthropologist within the community must be addressed (Miheisah 2005). As Robin Ridington (1988:x) states, "an anthropologist's own experience is a proper, even essential, subject of inquiry." That experience, that position must be addressed because it is the foundation upon which an author builds her work. Who I am, who I talked to (and just as importantly, who I did not), the fact that I am White, that I attended and taught at the University of Oklahoma, that I am a woman, even that I grew up in rural Louisiana and had long brown hair— all of these things affect my relationships within the community just as much as they potentially condition how I represent that community in my work.

Admittedly I am not objective, and this work is not definitive. I continue to learn about the traditions of the Caddo and Delaware; my understanding of the subject matter of this work will continue to be refined over time. In the midst of this refinement, though, my biggest mistakes have been made when I thought I knew enough and really did not. Those types of mistakes, though, are commonly associated with White folks. For example, when I told Shirley that I had a boyfriend and that I

wanted her to meet him, she was very guarded, especially when I told her that he was White. I emphasized how important it was to me that she approve of him. Her response was that she would *probably* like him just fine “as long as he doesn’t try to tell me how to be Caddo.” Between the time I first “herded cats” at a Hasinai Society meeting and when I introduced James to my Caddo family, I crossed some line, somewhat vague and ill-defined to me. In many ways, I now find myself in a liminal state, a place neither here nor there, neither White nor Indian. I was not born Caddo and I will never be Caddo. But, I now have a respect for the Caddo way that might approach that of a Caddo person, a deep appreciation of the knowledge that I have been given by elders, for a way of living and understanding the world around us, and for all that I do not yet know about this particular point of view.

That said, I have already broken with some longstanding anthropological traditions. Ruth Behar, a critic of such traditions, describes them thusly:

when the grant money runs out, or the summer vacation is over, please stand up, dust yourself off, go to your desk, and write down what you saw and heard. Relate it to something you’ve read by Marx, Weber, Gramsci, or Geertz and you’re on your way to doing anthropology. [1996:5]

That sort of anthropology seems so foreign to what I do most of the time. The biggest fieldwork-related crises I faced was not the end of the grant money or replacing my academic advisor, but figuring out how to tell folks in the community that I planned to move to a town an hour away or that I could not participate in as many dances and tribal events as I normally did because I desperately needed to finish my dissertation.

Until recently, anthropologists were almost entirely absent from the ethnographies they wrote, except in a short opening chapter on entering the community. After such opening vignettes, anthropologists generally (physically)

disappear from the text.⁶ What follows is a monolithic depiction of a culture that leaves little room to consider the author's potential prejudices or the ways that his perspective may color the information presented. Undeniably, though, the position of the anthropologist in the community (usually cast in terms of race, class, gender) affects the data she can collect, as well as conditions her interpretation of such data.

Ethnographers have experimented with various ways to surmount this problem, including being ever-present in the text. For example, in *Translated Woman* (1994), Ruth Behar is there at the kitchen table, interviewing her subject, talking to the kids, eating cookies, and learning about the life of a marginalized Mestizo woman. Similarly, Philippe Bourgois (1996) drinks malt liquor with crack dealers and gets frisked by police as a suspected drug addict while describing what life is like for people embroiled in the underground economy of Spanish Harlem. He recognizes his position in the community and incorporates that into his representation of life in Harlem. And in one of the most heartbreaking examples of this approach, Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1993) struggles to understand the difficult lives of women in one of the poorest regions of Brazil and to balance that with her desire to intervene, both medically and politically, on their behalf. The result of this approach, as is apparent in these works and others, is that the anthropologist's voice is present, right alongside that of community members. Having so many voices within a single text many prove cacophonous at times, but it also allows readers to better understand and interpret the work, to draw their own conclusions, and to challenge those of the author.

Thomas Buckley (2002:23-24) cites Ridington's work as an example of a collection of multiple stories told by theorists, ethnographers, and consultants, stories

over which the author retains editorial control. Readers then make their ways through this mosaic of stories and come to an understanding of the text, an understanding based as much on their own experiences as those which the author included in the text. This approach is messier than the more standard monolithic approach, but in my estimation, much more honest. The author needs not explain everything. Instead, she presents information to readers. The readers then come to their own conclusions and make sense of the stories, much in the same way that an ethnographer gradually comes to make sense of the “data” collected in the field. Thus, any two readers’ understandings of a story, text, or event may differ dramatically, yet both interpretations can retain their internal validity in terms of the ethnographer’s story. What is presented is not a monolithic depiction of a culture, but a mosaic of voices.

This mosaic-type approach also underscores how knowledge is constructed in many Native communities. For example, some anthropologists might feel that a person who re-tells stories from published sources is an unreliable informant, that anything this person says should be verified against or compared to published texts. Some people spend a lot of time teasing apart what Native people “know” from what they read in a book somewhere. While I can understand the desire to make this distinction, I feel that it misses a much larger issue, specifically how many Native people view knowledge as an integrated system that can incorporate different ways of knowing the world around them. To ignore this approach pigeonholes Native people into a particular way of knowing that is seen as “authentic” or “traditional.” Trusting only what is learned from a particular source, be that oral histories or the scientific method, is no more reliable than describing the world only in terms of scents or

textures or sounds. Such an approach yields an inherently incomplete description. Perhaps a better approach is to take all of the possible ways of knowing and integrate them into a cohesive worldview. This integration of different ways of knowing is what I repeatedly found in the Native communities described here.

Therefore, I feel that this approach, this combination and integration of multiple stories and voices, is one that has cultural relevance.⁷ Howard Meredith, a professor of Native American Studies, and Vynola Beaver Newkumet, a Caddo tribal elder, took a similar approach in their work *Hasinai: A Traditional History of the Caddo Confederacy* (1988a). In this work, the authors name each chapter after a Caddo dance and use that dance as a basis from which to describe other aspects of Caddo culture. For example, the chapter on the Bear Dance describes hunting practices, that on the Corn Dance discusses agriculture, and the one on the Quapaw Dance talks about relations with other tribes. In keeping with the mosaic-style of presentation, the authors present tribal dances as a way to examine traditional culture and as an explanatory perspective on par with and integrated with history, ethnography, and personal narrative.

I hope to take a similar approach here. The mosaic-type approach, the integration of ways of knowing that is so prevalent in these communities, is consequently why the format of this work is a little different. Rather than presenting this information in a monolithic, authoritative way, I am striving to provide it in a format that has some level of cultural relevance. I feel that privileging the story-telling presentation of my consultants accomplishes several things: It sets their ways of thinking and transmitting knowledge on par with anthropological discourse. It

allows multiple voices to be heard in the text, while acknowledging that I have ultimate editorial control. It demonstrates how various systems of knowledge work and complement each other. And finally, it is (hopefully) a culturally meaningful presentation and therefore may be more relevant to community members who read this work.

¹ Palmer (2003:xii)

² In many ways, anthropologists working in museums recognized the need for, and consequently led, this stylistic shift. Ames (1992:15-24, 77-88) characterizes this shift as a representational crisis due to the democratization of museums' audiences.

³ Mihn-ha (1989:67-70) argues that anthropology is "gossip about gossip" as a critique of the ethnographic endeavor and the imbalances of power inherent in authorship and the production of academic knowledge. While I find many of her points incomprehensible, this is one that I do find useful. Many attempts to incorporate the "native voice" into ethnographic writing would be better served by thinking of their work as nothing more than gossip, as nothing more than so-and-so said this and that.

⁴ For example, in *Yuchi Ceremonial Life*, Jackson (2003a:28-32) describes the history of the Cussetah town and the life cycle of the stories regarding its relationship to the Yuchi people. A version of this story is recounted by a Yuchi elder and specifically references the work of anthropologists, including Frank Speck.

⁵ As anthropologists and students of other people's culture, it is imperative that we recognize our own role in the creation of tradition—just as historians create history (Fogelson 1989) and ethnographers and museums create ethnographic objects (Krischenblatt-Gimblett 1998). By selecting what to record, what to write down, what photographs to take, and what items to put in museum exhibits, we condense a people's lived experiences.

⁶ In the book *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist As Author* (1988), Clifford Geertz presents the interesting argument that an anthropologist never fully disappears from the ethnographic text he produces.

⁷ Greg Sarris' book *Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts* (1993) is an excellent example of this approach.

Interlude: A Delaware Story

On June 18th, 1967, Letha Barksdale interviewed Bessie Hunter Snake (Snake 1967). Bessie, the mother of Gladys Snake Yackeyonny, one of the leaders of Lenape Legacy, told the following story.

Well, I know one [story]. My grandmother used to tell me. [She] said ah there was a - I don't know what kind of animal it was. Said it was great big old animal. Said it growed on a tree.

Said these twelve men they went hunting. Said they had some dogs. They seen that thing come out of that big rock like. Said they chased and he [the animal] killed all of 'em but one. One of 'em got away. Reason he got [away, she] said he had a little dog. You know one of these little fice. Said he killed that animal. And that's how come this one - he got safe.

Said this one when he got home he told it all. This was kind of funny. He told it all that it was and he told what was that thing at. They didn't believe. They thought he was the one killed all them twelve men - mean eleven men. And he was the twelve one. And after they said they told him we wanna see where you killed that thing.

And said they went up there and they burned that great big old animal. And after they burned they tied little ashes on their buckskin.

Said, well I'm going used this ashes for good hunter.

And some of 'em said well I'm gonna use this to doctor people.

And some of 'em said well I'm gonna use this here for good luck.

And one of the boys there said I'm gonna use this here—after he tied you know—said I'm gonna use this for the girls to like me. Said when he went home them girls just tear him to pieces.

Chapter 3: “You can’t sit on the fence”: Social Networks and the Social Order

After the usual morning of staff meetings and paperwork at the Caddo Heritage Museum, I drove into Binger with Shirley Gouge and Twila Leemhuis for lunch at our usual spot, Lindy Lou’s Café. Soon after I started working for the Caddo Nation’s tribal museum, I realized that while packing a lunch to work would have been more economical, the lunch hour was as much about socializing as satisfying hunger. The same pattern held for the lunch at the Delaware Nation’s Senior Citizens’ Program (more commonly referred to as “eating at AOA” – the Administration on Aging). While I was the director of the Delaware Nation’s historic preservation program, a job that I left for a position at the Caddo Nation’s museum, I ate with the elders at AOA. In both cases, if you ate lunch in your office or the break room, you missed out on much of the news of the community.

As usual, the topic of conversation was cultural politics, or in simpler terms, what the various cultural organizations were doing lately. At the time, the Board of Trustees for the Caddo Heritage Museum was largely composed of members of the Caddo Culture Club. After receiving pressure from the members of the Museum’s Board, I began attending the Caddo Culture Club’s twice monthly meetings over the winter of 2003 – 2004, in addition to my regular schedule of Hasinai Society meetings. At one of the Museum staff meetings, Charlene, the Museum’s resource coordinator, and I discussed the possibility of having Marilyn Burkhardt, a Delaware tribal elder and renowned craftsperson, come to the Culture Club’s meeting and teach us how to make Caddo moccasins. Charlene noted that too few people know how to

make Caddo moccasins, and subsequently, too few people actually wear them when they dance, opting instead for Plains-style moccasins or tennis shoes. As I am good friends with Marilyn from our shared lunches at the Delaware Nation’s AOA, I talked to her about the moccasin-making classes and provided her with a ride to the meetings when her son-in-law could not bring her. The class was a big success. Four participants completed a pair of moccasins, and a fifth was close to completing hers by the end of the class. Maybe the tradition of Caddo moccasins would continue on a little longer.



Figure 4: Marilyn “Franny” Burkhardt teaching a moccasin class at a meeting of the Caddo Culture Club; Binger

But the moccasin class that Charlene and I initiated was about the only thing I liked about attending the Caddo Culture Club's Thursday night meetings. The atmosphere of the meetings was often hostile. Deep rifts had developed between some of the Club's leading families, and these divisions played out publicly in the Club's business meetings. Personally, I only felt comfortable around those members who were associated with the Museum. My status as outsider was not negotiable here, probably in large part because of my stronger association with the Hasinai Society, which was seen by some members of the Culture Club as a competing, not complementary, organization. About this time, in the early spring of 2004, the debate over the Caddo tribal dance ground started. This debate ended up being very close to a stand-off between the Hasinai Society and the Caddo Culture Club, and while hostilities flared hotter and hotter, the end result was that the dance ground received a few much needed improvements.



Figure 5: Caddo tribal dance ground, looking south; June 2006. Arbors surround the dance area; singers sit in the center with the drum.

The tribal dance ground has been at the Caddo Nation's tribal complex since before any administrative buildings were erected. The land for the dance ground and the Community House was donated to the tribe by Fritz Hendrix and Ada Eva Longhorn Hendrix in 1940 (Lee 1998:283; Black 2003). The intent was that all Caddo people should have a place to speak. Charlene recalled to me once that she was there, as a young child, when her folks were working on the Community House and the dance ground. After the Caddo Nation established a Tribal Historic Preservation Office, the dance ground and community house were given the status of national landmarks.

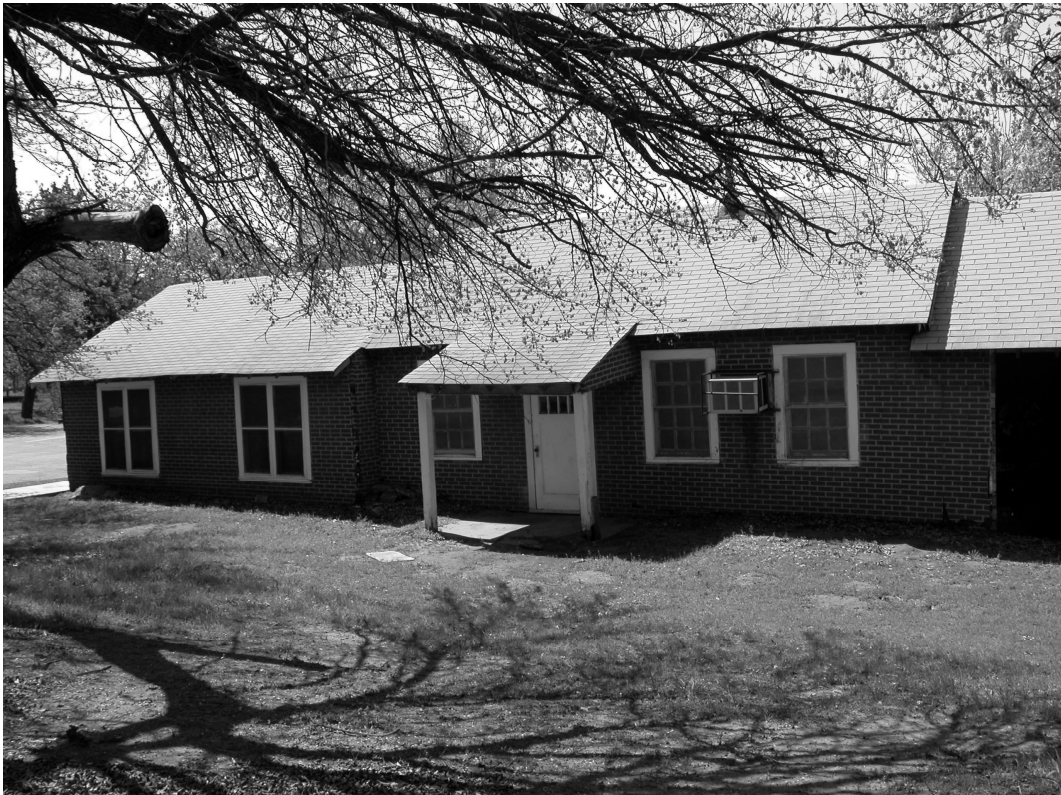


Figure 6: The Caddo Community House as seen from the dance ground

The dance ground itself is fairly simple. It has a mostly square shape immediately surrounded by arbors and further back, camps belonging to various families by right of use. On the west side is the speaker's stand, where an announcer (or emcee) sits, and the Community House, where dinners are usually served. To the north is the concession stand. In many ways, the Caddo dance ground is reminiscent of the ceremonial grounds of the Creek, Yuchi, and other Woodlands tribes in eastern Oklahoma, but with a few powwow influences.¹ The dance ground is surrounded by camps, areas where family groups stay during dances. The camps can be elaborate or simple, tidy or ramshackle. The dance area itself is situated on a hillside, though the surface of the dance area has been leveled. The topography, though, means that the northeast corner of the dance ground is more curved than square, giving the dance ground a somewhat square, somewhat round shape. In my mind, this small accident of topography symbolizes the blending of Woodlands-type town squares and ceremonial grounds with the round dance grounds of Plains tribes.

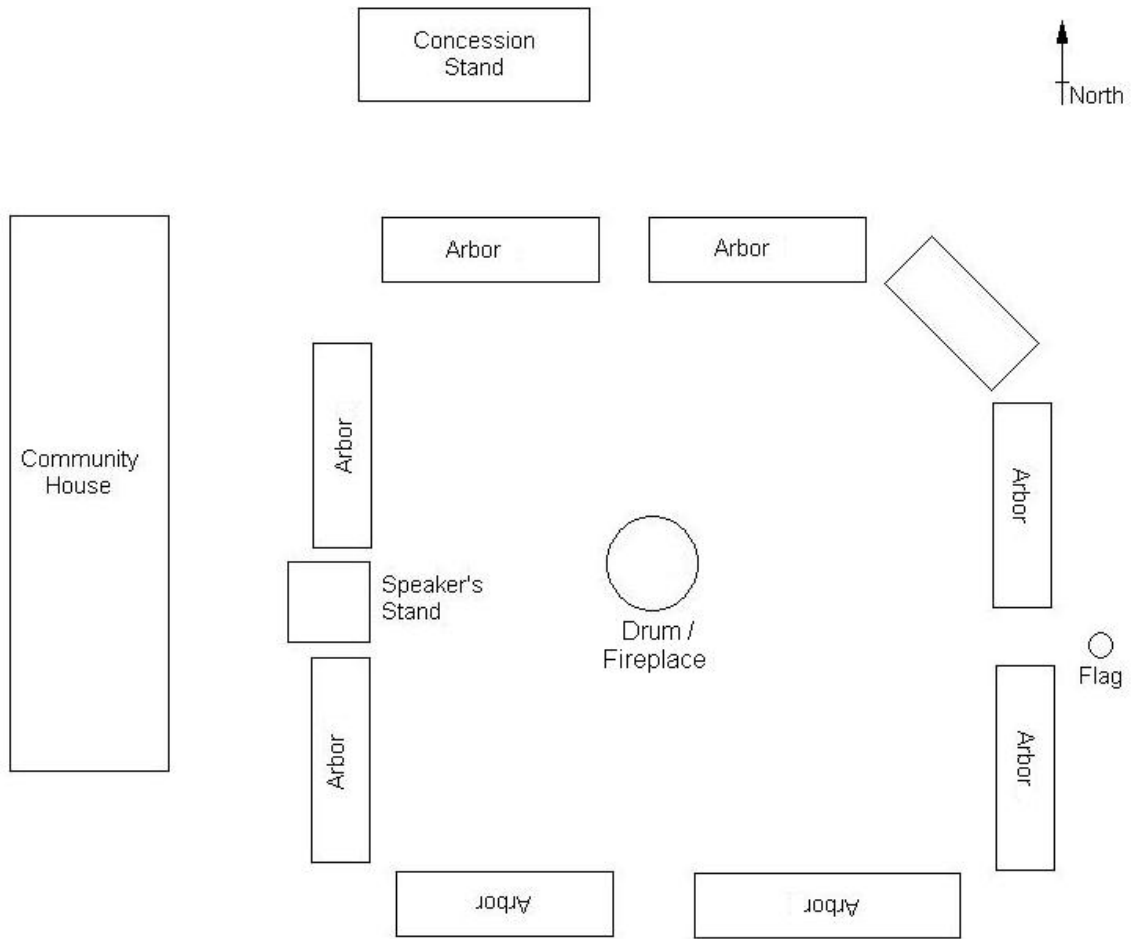


Figure 7: Layout of the Caddo tribal dance ground

Every spring, the arbors around the dance ground need to be tended. The arbors are covered with willow branches, and the old branches must be removed and replaced with new ones. This means that the old willows must be taken off the arbors and hauled away, and new branches must be cut and put on top of the arbors. Any repairs, such as replacing posts or boards, rebuilding benches, or replacing the chicken wire that supports the willow branches, are usually done at this time. This is also a good time to give the arbors a fresh coat of white paint. Taking care of the arbors is a lot of work and is a task best undertaken by a large group with ladders,

tools, plenty of willing hands, and a picnic lunch. I am always amazed at the Arbor Dances held by tribes in eastern Oklahoma, a time set aside when the whole community turns out to work on the ceremonial ground and in the process bring renewal to their community (Jackson 2003a:171-205). And one night, as I sat at the table at a meeting of the Culture Club, I could not help but wish that the Caddo people had Arbor Dances, too.

The debate over the dance ground started when the members of the Caddo Culture Club took it upon themselves to raise funds to help improve the dance ground by holding a dance. I thought that their efforts were commendable. The arbors needed new willows, the bathrooms in the Community House were always suffering from plumbing problems, everything needed a fresh coat of paint, and the steps to the speaker's stand and several of the benches under the arbors were not to be trusted, even to support the weight of a small child. Just about everyone in the community agreed about the bathrooms and the benches, but the dance ground debate centered on the willows.

In an effort to circumvent the annual maintenance associated with replacing the willows, members of the Culture Club began to think of other ways to cover the arbors and provide shade. Several ideas were proposed, including replacing the willows with corrugated tin roofing. Several other tribes in the area had dance grounds with permanent roofs over their arbors. They required little maintenance and provided much needed shade during the hot summer months and protection from the occasional afternoon rain shower.

When members of the Hasinai Society heard that the Culture Club wanted to put tin (or anything other than willow branches) on the arbors, they went into action. Shirley discussed the matter with the Chairperson of the tribe, LaRue Martin Parker, and several of the tribal elders. Eventually, word of the plans got to the Caddo Nation's Historic Preservation Department. Bobby Gonzalez, an employee in that office, sent a letter to the Culture Club stating that any modifications to the tribal dance ground had to be cleared with his office. Approval of the modifications was required since the dance ground and Community House were recognized tribal landmarks. In the meantime, Shirley organized a group of tribal employees to help remove the old willows and make a few of the other needed improvements to the dance ground. I spent a particularly slow workday painting the benches and arbors and was joined later by some of the other tribal employees. We got most of the willows off of the arbors before we went home that evening. Others came back later and removed the rest.

Some members of the Culture Club thought that Shirley's actions were a direct attack on their organization. They accused her of making an issue of the dance ground repairs because the Culture Club, not her organization, the Hasinai Society, was spearheading the efforts. Shirley made an issue of the proposed tin roof because, as she says, tin is not traditional; willows are. For Shirley it was simply a matter of keeping a tradition going, regardless of the annual inconvenience. For the Culture Club it was a matter of keeping the dance ground looking neat and tidy, even if it meant breaking with long-standing traditions.²

On a larger scale, the debate was not only about the willows but also about ownership of the dance ground itself and who within the tribe determines its fate. The Historic Preservation Office, Shirley, and other members of the community maintained that the dance ground belonged to the tribe as a whole and not to any single organization or group of people. Therefore, decisions that radically depart from traditional ways of doing things should be decided by the entire community. Some members of the Culture Club believed that the dance ground was theirs by right of use; they felt that they use the grounds for dances more than any other group and that they were the only ones who took care of the grounds. Thus, decisions about the care of the grounds should be made by the Culture Club's constituents.

Not all members of the Club felt this way, though. Charlene holds a dance every September in honor of her mother's birthday. Before the Annual Clara Brown Dance, sometimes called the Elders' Dance, Charlene's family adds willows to the arbors, paints, and makes other repairs. One year they rebuilt the speaker's stand; another time they worked on the bathrooms. Though a member of Culture Club, Charlene pointed out that it was her family who undertook these repairs and that she did not receive help, physical or monetary, from the Club. At the same meeting when Charlene pointed this out, I stated that the dance ground is the "Caddo tribal dance ground" and not the "Caddo Culture Club dance ground" and that the grounds did not seem to be owned by any particular group. I felt that changes should be decided by everyone and not one group or the other. The response was unpleasant: "You're not Caddo. What do you know?" and "You don't know everything!" Like a sulky child, I left at the end of the evening and never went back to another of the Culture Club's

meetings. I did help out when the Club scheduled a clean-up day the following Saturday after the Museum Board's meeting, and I finished the painting I started a few days earlier during the tribal employees' clean-up efforts.

The end result of the dance ground debate was that the old willows were replaced with new ones, the ground inside the arena was raked and smoothed, and the arbors were repainted. Also, the tribal employees, Hasinai Society, and Caddo Culture Club all contributed to the efforts to improve the dance ground, though separately and in their own ways. The improvements coincided with the Caddo Culture Club's annual dance in mid-June and the Hasinai Summer Youth Camp later that same month. In the end, everything came together, despite the infighting and political wrangling.

Being dismissed so offhandedly when I voiced my opinion about the dance ground's renovations colored all of my later experiences with the Culture Club, and I was in this frame of mind, weeks later, when I discussed cultural politics with Shirley and Twila over lunch at Lindy Lou's Café. Neither Shirley nor Twila liked that I went to the Culture Club's meetings, and they made no secret about their feelings. Because I was closer to them than members of the Culture Club, they were more frank about their feelings regarding my actions. They bluntly told me that I would never be accepted as "Hasinai" as long as I "sat on the fence" and went to the Culture Club's meeting. They continued to admonish me that "You can't sit on the fence."

As an anthropologist, I felt it was my duty to remain impartial and unbiased in terms of the various Caddo cultural organizations. Each of the organizations was ultimately working to promote and preserve traditional Caddo culture, goals with

which I wholeheartedly agreed and wanted to do my best to support in the ways that I could. In this situation, my race did not seem to matter but rather my actions and the affiliations I chose for myself. By choosing neither organization, or depending on your perspective, by choosing both organizations, I would have made a choice against Hasinai Society and would never have been considered a member by those in the organization. On the other hand, I would never have been truly accepted by the Culture Club either if I continued to attend the Wednesday night meetings of the Hasinai Society. This was truly an either-or decision imposed on me by the community and a situation in which the anthropological ideal of impartiality was a nice goal, but not a realistic possibility.

Shirley and Twila told me that whatever choice I made, they would have still tolerated me and even been friendly, but had I continued to participate in the Culture Club's meetings and activities, I could not have been a *real* member of the Hasinai Society. They were very explicit about the need for me to make a choice. As I became disillusioned with the Culture Club, I gravitated more toward the Hasinai Society. Over time, I expressed this choice through my actions. I continued to go to the Hasinai Society's meetings, faithfully every Wednesday evening, regardless of the 133 miles roundtrip commute to get to Binger. On Thursday nights, I caught up on reruns of favorite television programs. When I complained about the Culture Club and my less than tranquil relations with some of its members, Twila and Shirley, like the wise ladies they are, merely said, "We told you so." I learned the hard way that in some social networks, membership is exclusive and not overlapping for most participants. Every community, every social network has rules about memberships

and exclusivity. Sometimes impartiality and objectivity must be sacrificed in order to play by the rules of the community.

Even before I fully understood or could even describe the structure of the social networks in which I was enmeshed or the place of cultural organizations within these networks, I learned some valuable lessons regarding their rules. Mostly, like many ethnographers before me, I learned these rules by breaking them and suffering the consequences. As I gained more experience with the social organization of the Caddo and Delaware community, I saw that social networks were at work on both much larger and much smaller scales. Moving from largest to smallest, this scale included “Indian Country”, the tribes of Oklahoma as a whole (and as differentiated from tribes that maintain reservation lands), the Woodland tribes of eastern Oklahoma as differentiated from the Plains tribes of western Oklahoma, the Wichita-Caddo-Delaware (or WCD) community, specific tribal communities, cultural organizations, and extended family networks.

As I state in the Acknowledgements, Indian Country is a tricky place, and in many ways, it defies definition. In the common parlance, Indian Country refers to the real though in many ways imagined, construct of national Indian identity, an identity that is based on the shared experiences of Indian people. However, this homogenizing term misses a lot of the variation in the larger imagined community it seeks to describe (Anderson 1991). Indian Country in the northern Great Plains is not the same as in Oklahoma, where reservations are a distant memory, not an everyday lived experience. It is not the same on the Northwest Coast, where Native people still live in their indigenous communities, not hundreds of miles away from their ancestral

homelands. But even with these differences, commonalities exist based on a shared history of racism and discrimination, genocide, boarding schools, loss of Native languages, and the fight to maintain tribal sovereignty.

As opposed to the trickiness of the idea of Indian Country, the intertribal communities based in Oklahoma are much easier to describe. In some ways the state can be divided into Woodlands tribes and Plains tribes, a topic that will be more fully discussed in Chapter 7 (also see Jackson 2003b). In southwestern Oklahoma, two large intertribal communities, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache (or KCA) community and the Wichita, Caddo, Delaware (or WCD) community, have their basis in historical circumstance more so than broadly defined cultural areas. Both are composed of tribes who jointly held reservation lands and later controlled those lands for the benefit of their tribal members.

The Development of the Caddo and Delaware Social Network

The WCD community functions as a political, economic, and cultural association with deep historical roots. The Wichita and Caddo are both members of the Caddoan language family, along with the Pawnee, Arikara, and Keechi, and have long-standing historical connections (Lesser and Weltfish 1932; Parks 1977). Both tribes inhabited the border zone between the Southern Plains and the Eastern Woodlands, though the Caddo tended to be more closely affiliated with the Southeast and the Wichita more oriented to the Plains. Today, this area corresponds to the states of Oklahoma and Texas.

During the 1800s, Texas became a refuge for many tribes. The Delaware first occupied land in Texas in 1822 (Hale 1987:9); they had been forced ever westward, just ahead of the expanding American frontier. After traveling through the Midwest and then south through Missouri and Arkansas, the Delaware people arrived in Texas. They quickly recognized the similarities between their traditional culture and that of the Caddo, a similarly oriented Eastern Woodlands tribe. Being a smaller tribe and unfamiliar with the area, the Delaware people often sought protection from more aggressive tribes by allying themselves with the Caddo. On the other hand, the Caddo, having agreed to leave Louisiana in the 1830s, retreated into their Texas territory and experienced even greater contact with their Wichita neighbors. Given the hostilities that tribal peoples faced from their non-tribal neighbors, the Texas legislature set aside land to form the Brazos Reservation. By the late 1850s, the Wichita, Keechi, Caddo, Delaware, and other tribes were settled onto the Brazos Reservation and by some accounts were thriving (Hale 1987; F. Smith 1996).

The increasingly tense situation in Texas became untenable for tribal people, and Indian Territory became the only seemingly reasonable retreat for the tribes of the Brazos Reservation. In 1859, the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware were removed during an arduous journey north into present-day Oklahoma; some Caddo tribal members refer to this as the Caddo Trail of Tears. At this time, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains (Na-i-sha) Apache were given land on the south side of the Washita River, while the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware were assigned land on the north side of the river (Hale 1987:69; F. Smith 1996:70-81). Within this area, the Wichita resided on the north bank of the Washita River, just north of present-day

Anadarko (S. Mitchell 1950-1951). The Delaware chose an area north of the Wichita. The Caddo split into several different communities, largely based on band affiliation, divisions that are still recognized today by tribal members. Hasinai people live near Binger, Cogar, and Scott. The Kadohadacho established a community near Fort Cobb, a military installation in the area (Wright 1956).

The Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware reconciled themselves to life on yet another reservation, only to be uprooted once again during the Civil War (F. Smith 1996:70-94). Without adequate military protection from Confederate forces, they moved to Kansas. After the end of the Civil War, the three tribes returned to their reservation on the Washita River and remained there communally until allotment at the turn of the 20th century (F. Smith 1996:95-141). Allotment, as enacted by the General Allotment or Dawes Act of 1887, assigned each tribal member 160 acres of land and effectively destroyed longstanding patterns of communal land tenure (Tyler 1973:95-124; F. Smith 1996:142-152). Additionally, allotment led to the destruction of many of the cultural institutions that helped to maintain tribal identity (Hamill 2000:296).

Though separate sovereign entities, the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware tribes are as joined by politics, economics, and kinship as they are by geography and history. Today, the only vestige of communal landholding is several hundred acres of land held jointly by the Wichita, Caddo and Delaware tribes. Each tribe has an interest in this land and benefits from the money earned by leasing portions of the land to local farmers to graze cattle and to oil and gas companies. Any decision about the land's use must be agreed upon by all three tribal governments. The three tribes

also joined together to form WCD Enterprises, an economic development project, in 1973; for a time, WCD Enterprises ran a factory that made Western-style hats (Poolaw 1984).³ Additionally, intermarriage among the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware is frequent (Esposito 1984:61; Poolaw 1984:58).

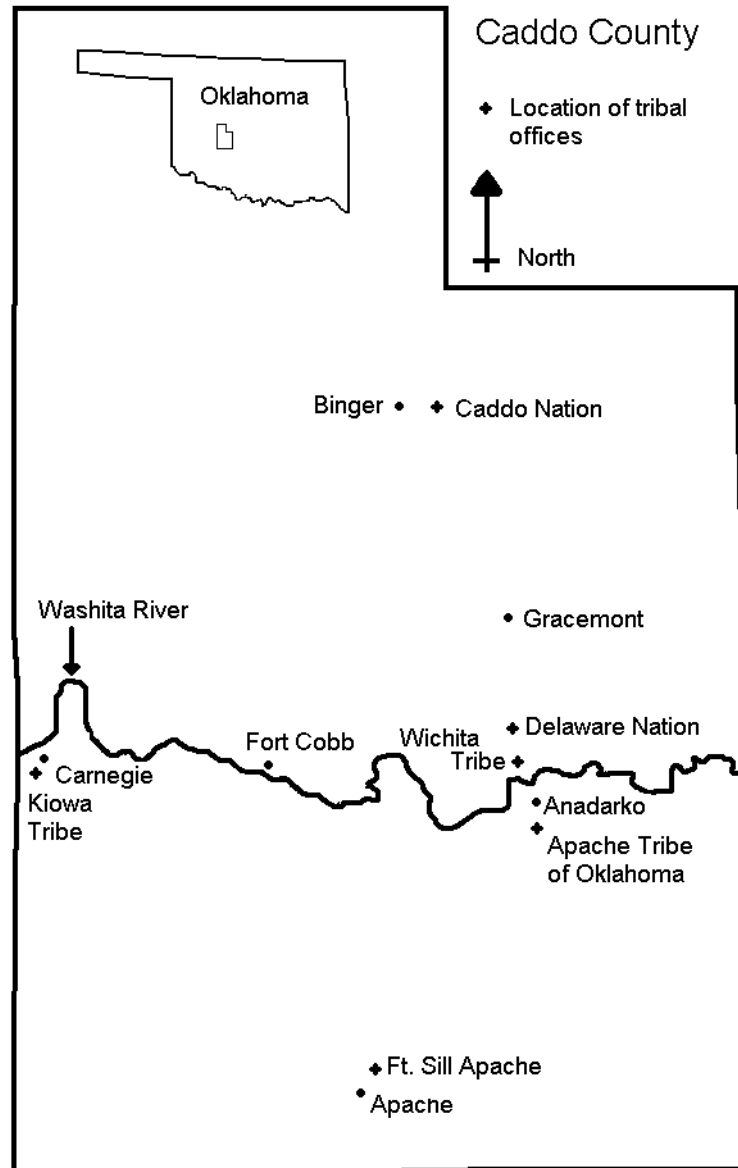


Figure 8: Map of Caddo County, Oklahoma

The identity of the WCD community is most apparent when seen in terms of attitudes towards Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache people. The often hostile relationship between the two communities is given geographic expression in the geography of Caddo County and in particular the Washita River. The Washita serves as the southernmost border of WCD land and the northernmost boundary for KCA land. In a manner similar to other boundaries between ethnic groups (Barth 1969), the river serves as an infinitely permeable barrier, allowing for contact while concurrently acting as a marker of difference.

The Washita River flows with tension, now as it has in the past. During fieldwork with the Wichita and Caddo, Karl Schmitt (field notes, 2 November 1948) noted that:

John Haddon said that when he was a boy there were two schools; one on the north side of the Washita River for Wichita, Caddo and Delaware children and one on the south side for Kiowas. Said that when they caught a Kiowa boy on the north side of the river they tried every way to kill him – would kick him in the stomache [*sic*] in the head – only the women present kept John from saying kicked him in the nuts. John also said that on the south side of the river (where Anadarko is now) were four stores of trading posts – when the Wichita kids would go over to the stores, if the Kiowa kids saw them they tried to do the same thing – John said you had to run as fast as you could to get across the river. Mrs. Haddon said that sounded awful but that the kids learned it from their parents (dislike of Kiowa). She said things are different now – some of the best friends of their boys at school were Kiowa.

Over fifty years later, I heard less violent, but no less disparaging, remarks about those on “the other side of the river.” Shirley’s own life history demonstrates both the strength of the Washita River as a boundary and its inherent permeability. Born of a Comanche father and a Caddo mother, Shirley devoted a great deal of her early life to learning the Comanche ways. Her husband, Thompson Gouge, once proudly showed me a picture of Shirley in Plains-style buckskin regalia with a Comanche cradleboard

on her back. Later, through a variety of circumstances, Shirley grew closer to her step-father, Roscoe Shemayme, a well-respected Caddo elder and prominent figure in the Caddo Native American Church. As a young woman, Shirley switched her enrollment from the Comanche Nation to the Caddo Nation. She became more active in Caddo cultural activities and the preservation of Caddo traditions. She was a member of the Caddo Culture Club, and after the death of her step-father, Shirley became the leader of the Hasinai Society. She still maintains close ties to her Comanche family, but they recognize her total commitment to Caddo tribal traditions. When they want the support of Shirley and the members of the Hasinai Society at one of their dances, they gently tease her about “crossing the river” and remind her that she still has familial obligations “on the other side.”

Even within the WCD community, as well as within the KCA community, divisions exist. The Caddo and Delaware tribes participate in each others cultural activities more than either participates in Wichita activities. My guess is that this is a result of the shared Woodland orientation of the Caddo and Delaware, as evidenced by their shared music and dance traditions. On the other hand, the Wichita, though linked to the Caddo linguistically, have always had more of a Plains orientation in terms of their cultural traditions, and in particular are more often linked with the Pawnee than the Caddo. Within the WCD community, each tribe maintains its own unique identity. In fact, some older community members see the association of the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware tribes as completely artificial. For example, Cora West, a Wichita elder, told Karl Schmitt that “the Wichita, Waco, Towakoni, and Kichai were the ‘Wichita and affiliated bands’. She said that later the government put

the Caddo and Delaware in with the ‘affiliated bands’ but this wasn’t really right.— they didn’t really belong” (field notes, 28 September 1948).⁴ West probably made these remarks in light of the fact that the Caddo and Delaware were allotted lands along with the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, but maintain separate tribal governments and traditions. In fact, today, the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware each work separately to maintain their traditions and pass these on to future generations.

As they do for many tribes, traditional songs and dances, native languages, rituals, and ceremonies form the basis of identity for the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware people. Throughout the year, dances are held that publicly express various facets of Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware identity. Though they may hold separate tribal dances, such as the Murrow Family Powwow in June, the Lenape Legacy Annual Dance in July, the Wichita Annual Dance in August, or the Caddo Princess Dance, the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware people help each other out. As Ives Goddard (1978:234) noted “The Caddo County Delawares generally attended Caddo and Wichita powwows,” and the opposite also holds true. For example, the Wichita Annual Dance usually features Wichita tribal dances on its Thursday evening program; in 2006, Wichita language performances were featured. Friday’s and Saturday’s schedule focuses on events, such as a Spirit Walk to promote exercise in the community and intertribal dances, inclusive of the larger community. A similar pattern holds for the Murrow Family’s annual powwow. Thursday night features Caddo social dances. Friday evening’s program consists of War Dance and other intertribal dances. Saturday’s activities start in the late afternoon with the Caddo Turkey Dance, followed by supper, then the Caddo Drum Dance. After the Drum

Dance, intertribal dances follow. The night concludes with a stomp dance at midnight, with Caddo social dances interspersed throughout the early hours of the morning. Similar patterns of reciprocity are found among tribes in North Carolina (Goertzen 2001) and between family networks among the Upper Skagit (B. Miller 1994).

Year after year, these public gatherings are organized by extended families and tribal organizations, groups that assemble the required financial and cultural resources to make sure the dance is a success. Lots of time, sweat, money, and love go into these dances in the hope that when people leave, they leave with good feelings in their hearts. A dance is considered a success if those in attendance, however few they may be, leave knowing that the tribal dances and traditions have been upheld and will continue into the next year, that the community is functioning “in a good way,” and that they enjoyed themselves (see also, Krouse 2001:402). As in the Comanche community studied by Morris Foster (1991), participation in these public events is a statement of membership in the community. “Such participation need not be frequent, but community members are required somehow to ‘stay in touch’ with the community through physical presence at some public gatherings in order to remain in good standing... Public gatherings are vital to community maintenance” (Foster 1991:28). Thus, the burden of community maintenance is placed both on the participants attending dances and powwows and on those organizing these events. Much of this community maintenance, the “work of culture,” is done by organizations like Lenape Legacy, the Caddo Culture Club, and the Hasinai Society.⁵

Cultural Organizations among the Caddo and Delaware

Throughout southwestern Oklahoma, various tribal organizations are usually hard at work. One organization or another is always planning a dance, a dinner, or a fundraiser. In a larger sense, though, many of these organizations focus on preserving tribal heritage, and the formation of many of these organizations can be seen as a response to the threat of losing tribal traditions. In many ways, these organizations are the heart and soul of Indian Country.

Basis of Membership	Examples of Organization
Tribal affiliation	Kitikiti'sh Little Sisters (Wichita) Na-i-sha Manatidie (Apache)
Powwow committee	Cheyenne and Arapaho Labor Day Powwow Committee Comanche Nation Homecoming Committee
Intertribal organization	Oklahoma City Powwow Club Southwest Intertribal Club
Gourd Dance Societies	Comanche Little Ponies Kiowa Gourd Clan Kiowa Tia-Piah Society
Veterans, War Mothers, and Victory Clubs	Comanche War Mothers Kiowa Victory Club Southwest Oklahoma Vietnam Veterans
School-related	Anadarko Middle School Indian Club Riverside Indian School Alumni Association USAO Intertribal Heritage Club
Princess Sorority	American Indian Exposition Former Princess Sorority Comanche Nation Princess Sorority Wichita Princess Sorority
Service club	Apache Service Club Walters Service Club Kadohadacho Service Organization
Descent-based	Comanche Nation Code Talkers Descendents Old Chief Lone Wolf Descendents Sand Creek Massacre Descendents Satethieday Khatgomebaugh

Figure 9: Types of cultural organizations in southwestern Oklahoma

Many cultural organizations exist in southwestern Oklahoma, and the basis for membership in any particular organization varies greatly. Some are based on descent and extended family networks; others are voluntary associations of people with a shared military background or an expressed interest in gourd dancing. Though certainly not inclusive of every organization in southwestern Oklahoma, Figure 9 summarizes the main types of organizations according to the basis of their membership and gives examples of each.⁶ Given that the basis of membership differs for the various types of organizations, so too do the organizations' goals. Gourd dance clubs are devoted to the continuation of that particular form of dance and its associated practices. Descent-based groups honor a particular ancestor (e.g., Chief Lone Wolf) or group of ancestors (Comanche Nation Code Talkers). Service clubs are generally women's organizations that provide assistance to tribal members. For example, the Wichita Service Club is one of the oldest organizations within the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes; according to information provided by the tribe (Wichita and Affiliated Tribes 2006):

The club was organized in 1918 during World War I. During that era there were many participants. These women all came out to help the other families and each other, which is still one of their main endeavors today. In order to accomplish this, the Wichita Service Club will raise funds for Veteran and Active Armed Service Personnel activities such as homecoming dinners and dances. Also, the club prepares bereavement dinners with financial assistance of the Wichita Tribal Council and assisting all Wichita Tribal organizations with their activities.

The goals of Service Clubs, though broadly defined, often overlap with those of veteran's organizations and chapters of the American War Mothers; these groups generally focus on support of veterans and family members who currently serve in the military.

On a more analytical level, these organizations provide individuals with a social identity beyond that associated with a particular tribal government. This is even more important given that the focus of many tribal governments is on political action and economic development more so than on cultural preservation. Even when tribal governments do make some effort in the realm of traditional culture, they are sometimes ineffectual. For example, Frank J. Esposito (1984:61) describes how the Delaware Nation's tribal government assembled a collection of books on Delaware culture and heritage in an effort to provide young people access to their tribal traditions, but such a library is no substitute for participation in cultural activities or hands-on instruction. In many ways, then, these organizations represent action on the part of tribal members to take the preservation and perpetuation of tribal traditions into their own hands, for as Morris Foster (1991:29) points out, these social identities

represent the alliances and memberships that obligate and empower social action within the community. Thus, social identities enable participants to identify themselves as belonging to those social units and provide a framework in which members may conceptualize the internal social arrangements and divisions of their community.

This framework of social arrangements, whether based on voluntary associations, tribal affiliation, or extended families, comprise systems of mutual support that control a multitude of resources, both material and ceremonial. This holds true in southwestern Oklahoma as it does in others parts of Indian Country (B. Miller 1994:27-28; Jackson and Levine 2002; Jackson 2003a).

The organizations with which I worked most closely are those based primarily on tribal affiliation and express a strong commitment to the preservation and perpetuation of a specific tribe's traditions. The Caddo Nation has at least two

organizations: the Hasinai Society and the Caddo Culture Club. Other organizations within the tribe include the Caddo Chapter of the Native American Church, the Kadohadacho Service Organization, the Caddo Senior Citizens group, and the Caddo Heritage Museum's Board of Trustees. The Delaware Nation has at least one cultural organization, Lenape Legacy. Lenape Legacy was one of the first organizations I encountered when I came to Anadarko, and I had lunch everyday with its central figures, Marilyn Burkhardt and Gladys Yackeyonny. Only because this group is almost inactive was I able to support both it and the Hasinai Society; however its close affiliation with the Caddo Culture Club sometimes made this support problematic.

Caddo Culture Club

The Caddo Culture Club, the largest of the three organizations discussed here, was founded in 1990 by Laura Tahbonemah, Lowell "Wimpy" Edmonds, Thurman Parton, Tony Williams, and others Caddo tribal members. The formation of this club marked a renewed interest within the community on the preservation of traditional Caddo culture, in particular in Caddo music and dance (Tanner 1996:xi-xii). Interest had waned a bit in the preceding years, and Dayna Bowker Lee (1998:283) says that the Caddo Culture Club filled a place vacated after the Whitebead Hasinai Cultural Center disbanded.⁷ According to Lowell "Wimpy" Edmonds (1995:68), the first leader of the organization,

It's important to keep the culture, the songs and dances, alive. My dad was the last of the Caddos to know all the songs. I started singing at 15, I sat at the drum at 8. I took up these songs that we have now. It looked like we might lose them, but we started the Caddo Culture Club... and the kids are learning.

When we first started, we'd have to tell them what we were going to sing or dance—we'd tell them how to do it. But now we start a song, they know what dance it belongs to. I think our language is gone, but I think we can keep the songs going.

So far, Edmonds' prediction is correct, and the songs have kept on going. After his death in 1997, Thurman Parton was elected leader of the organization and served in this capacity until his death in 2006. Twice a month, members of the Caddo Culture Club meet at the tribal complex. After conducting a business meeting, everyone takes part in a pot-luck dinner. Following dinner, the singers gather around the drum while other members of the organization dance or work on craft projects. The Club hosts several dances each year, including an annual dance in mid-June. They also co-host dances for other organizations in the area, including Lenape Legacy.

Hasinai Society

While Lee states that the Caddo Culture Club formed to fill a vacuum left by the dissolution of the Whitebead Hasinai Cultural Center, the current leader of the Hasinai Society, Shirley Gouge, traces her organization's history back to the Whitebead Center. This genealogy makes sense, as Shirley is a descendent of the Whitebead family on her mother's side (her mother was Etta Whitebead Shemayme). She also cites her father, Roscoe Shelby Shemayme, as playing an active role in the formation and leadership of the organization.

The Whitebead Hasinai Cultural Center was founded in 1975 as a way to ensure the retention of traditional Caddo culture. Newkumet and Meredith (1988a:99-100) state that the original founders included Rueben Whitebead, Winona M.

Williams, Ellen Williams, and Justine Whitebead and that the organization's stated purposes included:

1. The perpetuation of Caddo culture;
2. The preservation of Caddo lands, customs, music, dances, crafts, and traditions;
3. The encouragement of youth to maintain a strong interest in tribal values and traditions;
4. The evaluation of the best aspects of bicultural life;
5. The study of the Caddo language, dances, and history.

Of the purposes that Newkumet and Meredith list, the third, that of encouraging Caddo youth to maintain interest in traditional culture, has become the primary focus of the Hasinai Society. Members of the Society organize the Hasinai Youth Camp each summer. With financial assistance from the Oklahoma Arts Council, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Caddo Nation's tribal government, and the vigorous fundraising efforts of the organization's members, the Hasinai Society sponsors this weeklong camp that focuses on tribal culture. Children who participate in the camp 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. In some sense, a division of labor exists between the Caddo Culture Club and the Hasinai Society in that Hasinai focuses more on children and the Culture Club caters more to older adults. This division is reflected in the membership of the Hasinai Society, which has many fewer active adult members than the Caddo Culture Club. The Hasinai Society participates in many local powwows, often as co-hosts, and frequently travels to eastern Oklahoma to participate in stomp dances.

Lenape Legacy

Even more than the Caddo, the Delaware people are faced with the possibly impending loss of their traditional culture. According to Linda Poolaw, a well-known cultural activist, “Like many other Indian groups, the Delaware of Western Oklahoma have lost much of their tradition and culture. The Delaware language is spoken by only five people, all of them over seventy years of age” (Poolaw 1984:58). In response to this situation, a group of Delaware elders started the Lenape Legacy organization. When the group was more active, they regularly met at the home of Marilyn Burkhardt, one of the organization’s founders. They receive sporadic financial support from the Delaware Nation’s business committee and therefore rely mostly on donations. They no longer meet regularly, but they still hold an annual dance in July. Lenape Legacy relies heavily on support from the Caddo Culture Club, but maintains no ties with the Hasinai Society. Even at the peak of their membership, Lenape Legacy had a small number of members relative to organizations like the Culture Club. The importance of the organization in the community has steadily declined, and in many ways, Lenape Legacy could be at the end of its lifespan. I sincerely hope that I am wrong.

Applying Social Network Analysis

In terms of analytical methods, social network analysis can provide a lot of information on how hard it would be to maintain affiliations with multiple cultural organizations (i.e., just how hard it would be to sit on that proverbial fence). Multiple affiliations signify multiple and complex relationships, and social network analysis is

particularly well suited to the investigation of relationships. Relationships are the basis of human organization and the building blocks of social structure (Firth 1963:41). And as Joseph Galaskiewicz and Stanley Wasserman (1994:xii) point out “social network analysis focuses its attention on social entities or actors in interaction with one another and on how these interactions constitute a framework or structure that can be studied and analyzed in its own right.” Focusing on relationships can reveal the “emergent properties of social systems that cannot be measured by simply aggregating the attributes of individual members. Furthermore, such emergent properties may significantly affect both system performance and the behavior of network members” (Knoke and Kuklinski 1982:11). In other words, social network analysis provides the tools to examine individual behavior, as well as the functioning of entire groups of actors within a social system.

Barry Wellman (1983:156) describes social network analysis as a “broad intellectual approach,” and in keeping with this description, I use it as both a technique to analyze data and a heuristic device to think about theories of social structure. My goal here is to look at these three cultural organizations, Lenape Legacy, the Caddo Culture Club, and the Hasinai Society, on several different levels. On an individual level, I want to identify the key players, examine how they attain their central status, and discover at what cost they maintain their positions. Taking a broader perspective, I also want to explore what organizations must do to maintain their connections with other organizations within the larger social networks in western and eastern Oklahoma. Finally, I want to investigate how and why ideas about tradition differ within these groups.

In its application, social network analysis employs a very specific vocabulary, one which may not be familiar to everyone and is not even consistent among its practitioners. Even more daunting than its terminology may be the statistical analyses on which the method is founded. Therefore, before I start using jargon, I want to lay out the basic premises upon which the rest of this work is based. Many good reviews of social network analysis are available (J. Mitchell 1974; Knoke and Kuklinski 1982; Wellman 1983; Johnson 1994; Scott 2000; Carrington, Scott, and Wasserman 2005; Hanneman and Riddle 2005). I have drawn a lot from each of these works, as well as from seminars conducted by Jeffrey Johnson, Steve Borgatti, and H. Russell Bernard during the National Science Foundation's Summer Institute for Research Design in Cultural Anthropology. Almost all of these scholars agree that social networks are based upon relationships or ties between people, events, or objects. These relationships can be friendly or antagonistic, reciprocal or one-sided, voluntary or involuntary. Solid ethnographic fieldwork can help distinguish between these various characteristics. Lack of relationships can be just as important, as these signify holes in the fabric of a social network; overall, "[t]he configuration of present and absent ties among the network actors reveals a specific network structure" (Knoke and Kuklinski 1982:12).

Beyond the structure of the social network, the presence and absence of relationships can also tell us about the density of social networks. *Density* refers to "the general level of linkages among the points in a graph" (Scott 2000:69), or in other words, how well integrated a social network is. A network with a high measure of density has more links between the members of that network. Among other things,

a high measure of density can indicate that a particular network is strong and well integrated because more of its members are linked with each other.

On an individual level, some points or individuals within a network can be more well-connected than others. These points are said to have a high level of centrality. *Centrality* can function on both a local and a global level: “A point is locally central if it has a large number of connections with other points in its immediate environment... A point is globally central, on the other hand, when it has a position of strategic significance in the overall structure of the network” (Scott 2000:82). Centrality can have many different implications for individuals and can only be maintained at a cost, topics addressed in Chapter 4.

Within large social networks there are likely to be subgroups of various types.⁸ Social networks can have internal *clusters*. A cluster is an “area of relatively high density in a graph” (Scott 2000:127). Individuals within the cluster are more well-connected to each other than to other people or groups within the social network. Family groups, church congregations, and cultural organizations are all examples of clusters. If these clusters are composed of mutually exclusive groups of individuals, they are called *factions*. For many people, cultural organizations function as factions, and membership in such an organization precludes membership in others. In part, this is because of the high demands placed on members of an organization, though some individuals manage to maintain membership in several different organizations simultaneously.

The Caddo and Delaware Social Network

Over the last several years, I have attended many Caddo and Delaware dances, sometimes as a passive observer, sometimes as an active participant. During this time, I noted that the same people attend many Caddo and Delaware dances and that these individuals form the core of the Caddo and Delaware cultural scene. In my field notes, I frequently noted who attended a particular dance. The table below summarizes attendance of fifteen of these key individuals (A through O) at five dances held over the course of three years. An “X” indicated that the individual attended that dance.

	Lenape Legacy Annual Dance 2003	Caddo Heritage Museum Dance 2004	Annual Murrow Powwow 2005	Olivia Woodward Princess Dance 2005	Hasinai Society Gourd Dance 2006
A				X	X
B	X	X	X		
C	X		X		
D	X	X	X		
E				X	X
F	X	X	X		
G					X
H	X		X		X
I		X	X		X
J	X	X	X		
K	X				
L	X	X	X		
M	X	X	X		
N				X	X
O	X	X	X		

Figure 10: Attendance at Caddo and Delaware dances for 15 individuals⁹

So far, this table does not tell us much except that attendance from dance to dance can vary greatly. Many of the people for whom information was collected attended the Lenape Legacy dance, the dance hosted by the Caddo Heritage Museum, and the Murrow family's annual powwow; fewer of these individuals attended the dance for Olivia Woodward. However, this table has a lot more to tell than just this. The information provided here can be rearranged to form an *adjacency matrix*, a table that provides the basic information needed to analyze a social network (see Appendix 1). Two software programs, UCINET 6.0 and NetDraw 2.043 (Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman 1999) and can provide a visual representation of the relationships depicted in this matrix.¹⁰ This software depicts the presence of a relationship between individuals as a line connecting those individuals, as in the following illustration.

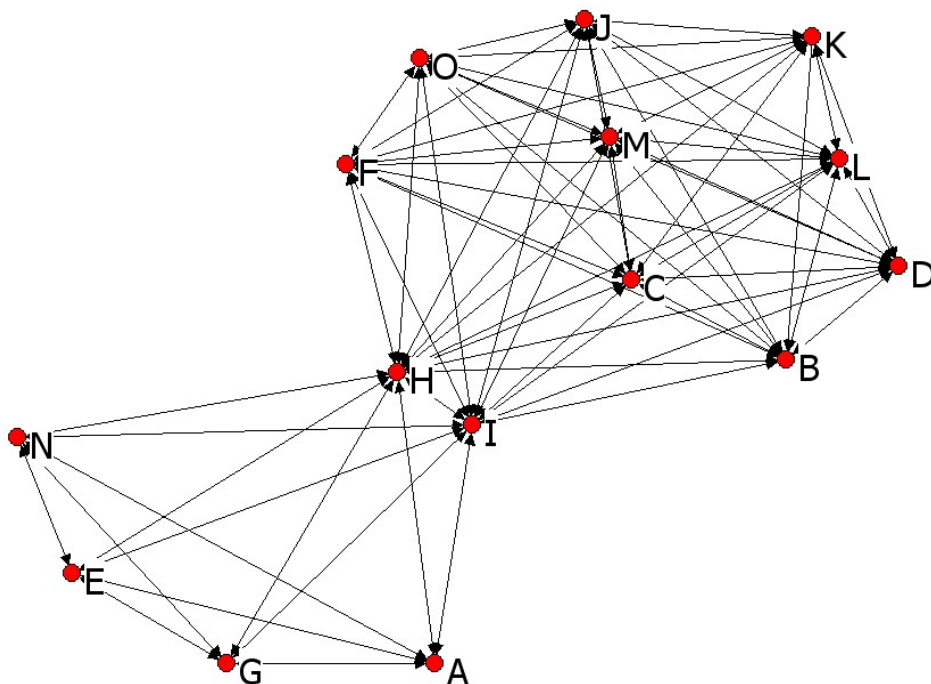


Figure 11: A representation of the Caddo and Delaware social network

Very clearly, the Caddo and Delaware social network breaks down into two subgroups (or clusters). The larger group consists of B, C, D, F, J, K, L, M, and O. The smaller group consists of A, E, G, and N. These two subgroups form collections of individuals within which the density of ties is greater than the density of ties between groups.¹¹ With two exceptions, members of the larger group identify themselves as affiliated with the Caddo Culture Club. The smaller group consists of individuals who consider themselves members of the Hasinai Society.

What is particularly interesting is that two individuals who identify themselves as members of Lenape Legacy are included in this dataset and are represented by individuals C and K. However, Lenape Legacy does not appear as a separate subgroup in the social network. Perhaps then, in a functional sense at least, Lenape Legacy is subsumed by the Caddo Culture Club. They exist as a separate entity, but they interact with the Caddo Culture Club to such a degree that their existence is in some ways dependent on that larger organization. My own observations bear this out. For example, Lenape Legacy's annual dance depends on the participation of the Caddo Culture Club's singers and dancers, and the dance is sometimes advertised on flyers and signs as a "Delaware-Caddo dance." In recent years, classes on moccasin making and sewing traditional men's shirts were taught by Marilyn Burkhardt, the leader of Lenape Legacy, at the regular meetings of the Caddo Culture Club. Similar patterns of social and cultural dependency have been documented in other Native communities (French 1961).

Another interesting thing shown by this illustration is that two individuals do manage to "sit on the fence" in a way that I could not. These individuals both have a

high level of centrality in the social network and actively participate in events hosted by both subgroups. Not surprisingly, both of these individuals are tribal elders. One is widely known for her skill in painting and making traditional craft items. The other is a leader in the Native American Church, frequently sings at Caddo dances, and continues to speak the Caddo language. Their personal knowledge of Caddo songs, language, art, history, and religion allow these elders access to a body of knowledge that is increasingly rare in the community. These elders' status and knowledge is enough to silence most disparaging remarks, and the accompanying community pressure, regarding their affiliation with either group. They are elders, and they have the respect of the community, the entire community. Not everyone, though, has the symbolic capital required to maintain such a position, and in a way, that is what Shirley and Twila were telling me at Lindy Lou's Café when they admonished me for "sitting on the fence." For others in the community, people who maintain similarly visible and central positions, such a status comes at a cost.

¹ For more on the blending of Woodlands and Plains elements, see Jackson's article (2003b) on the place of the Plains-style War Dance in the community of stomp dancers in eastern Oklahoma.

² According to Jackson (2007), "this same debate has played out in some other Woodland communities in Oklahoma."

³ WCD Enterprises today focuses on leasing the land held jointly by the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware tribes and on administering the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (also known as WIC).

⁴ The main "Affiliated Bands" of the Wichita are generally given as the Tawakoni, Waco, and Keechi. In fact, the Keechi were a separate tribe altogether and spoke a completely different language (though the Keechi language is still classified in the Caddoan language family). The Wichita, Tawakoni, and Waco are all classified, linguistically at least, as speaking dialects of the Wichita language. The Caddo and the Delaware are improperly classified as "affiliated" because neither of them speak a dialect of Wichita and were not politically affiliated with any of the Wichita-speaking bands. The Caddo spoke a related, but separate language; the Delaware language belongs to a totally different language family. The idea that the Caddo and Delaware are not truly "affiliated" with the Wichita persists today.

⁵ These Caddo and Delaware cultural organizations are the focus of the remainder of this work. The Wichita are not considered herein because they were not as close to the Caddo or the Delaware as the Caddo and Delaware are to each other. To extend the social network analysis to include the Wichita, and perhaps specifically the Kitikitish (Wichita) Little Sisters or the Wichita Service Club organizations, would have been unwieldy.

⁶ Additional information on organizations can be found in (Lassiter 1998).

⁷ More information on the Whitebead Hasinai Cultural Center can be found in Newkumet and Meredith's book (1988a:99-100) and in the liner notes for the *Songs of the Caddo: Ceremonial and Social Dance Music, Volumes 1 and 2* recording by Canyon Records.

⁸ In terms of analytical rigor, one type of subgroup is a *clique*, or "a subset of points in which every possible pair of points is directly connected by a line and a clique is not contained in any other clique" (Scott 2000:114). Therefore, cliques always have a high level of density. Social network analysts differentiate between different types of cliques with the designation *n-clique*, where "n" equals the number of ties required to connect all individuals within a clique. For example, in a 1-clique, all individuals are directly connected to each other; they are all connected within a single link to all other members of the clique. In a 2-clique, however, all individuals can be connected directly or by sharing a common neighbor; in other words, an individual can be connected to any other individual within two linkages (Scott 2000:115). For present purposes, though, the less rigorous term, *cluster*, will be used.

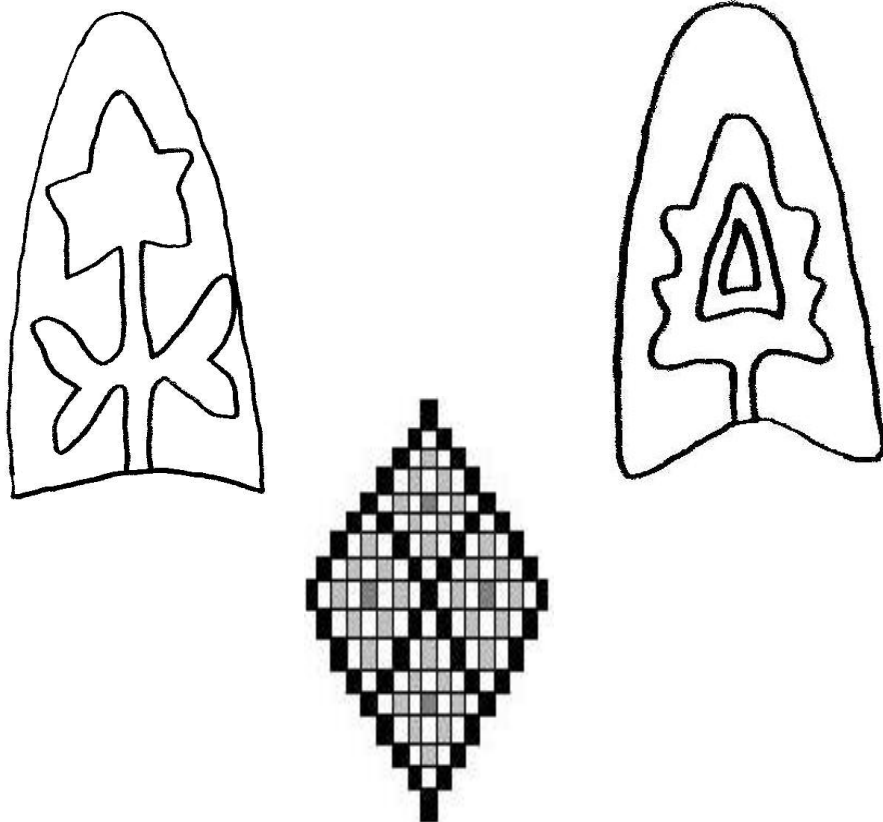
⁹ In part, these individuals were selected because I was acquainted with them or introduced to them early on in my field work. In turn, they then introduced me to others included in this sample, so that in a very loose way, this represents a snowball sample. Also, these fifteen people were ones that I consistently saw (and continue to see) at Caddo and Delaware cultural events, such as dances and fundraisers.

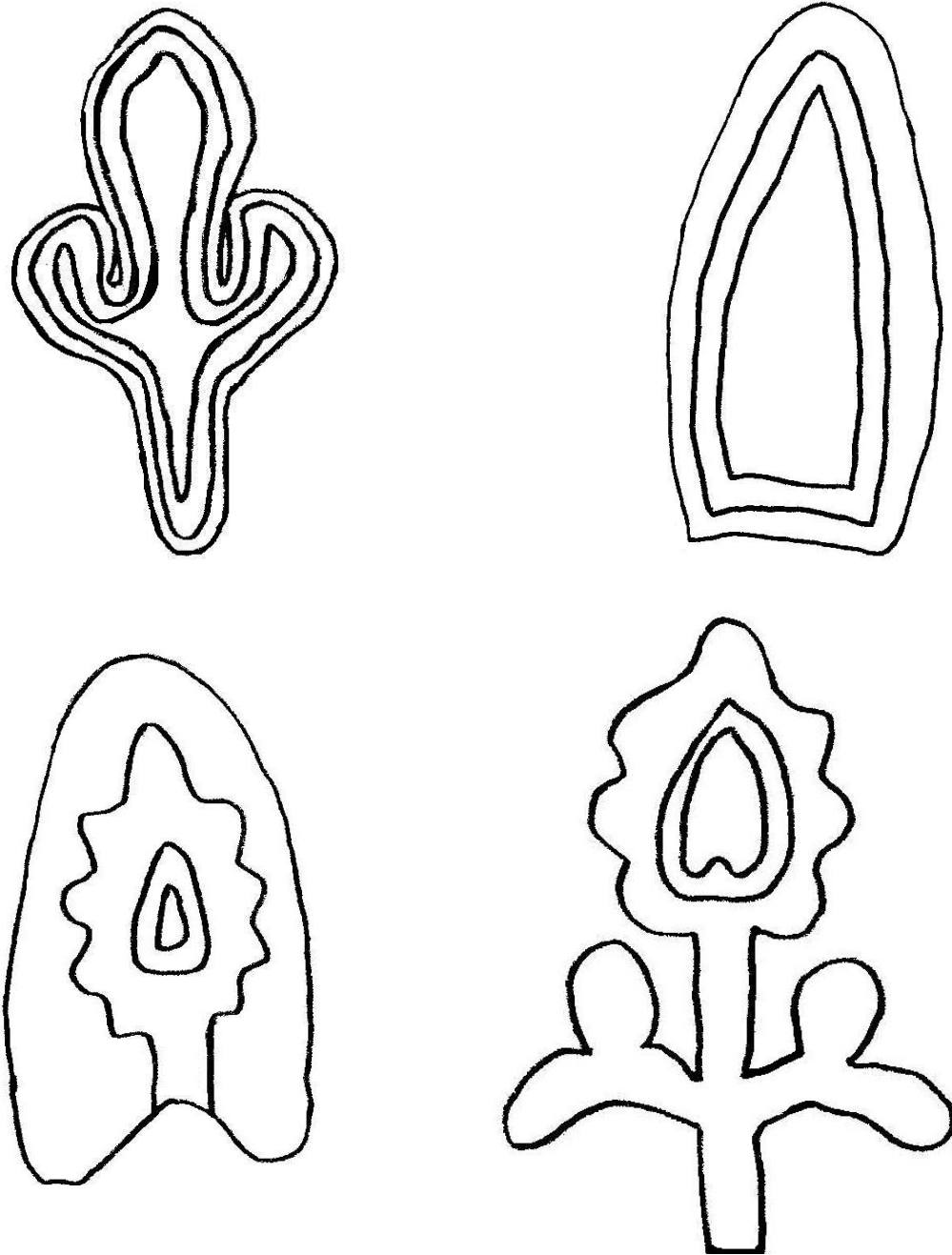
¹⁰ NetDraw 2.043 is bundled together with UCINET 6.0.

¹¹ The density of ties within the larger group is 0.96 and within the smaller group it is 1.00. A density of 1.00 indicates that every member of the group is connected to every other member, thus forming a 1-clique.

Interlude: Moccasin Patterns

Caddo and Delaware moccasins today are very similar in appearance, but of course, community members say that they can tell them apart. Franny Burkhardt taught me to make moccasins several years ago, and after a lot of practice, she finally gave me an “A” on a pair. Franny has by far the largest collection of original beadwork patterns for the toes of moccasins of anyone I know in the Caddo and Delaware community, and she has been gracious enough to share them with me. The best that I can do is to collect photographs of the moccasin beadwork in the collections of museums and to draft patterns based on them. Below are pictured a few of them.





After drawing a pattern on brown paper (like the kind from paper bags), Franny usually folds the paper in half lengthwise to cut it out; this ensures that the pattern will be symmetrical.

Chapter 4: “You know, she’s a witch” and Other Stories: The Many Costs of Centrality

Centrality is hard work. For members of the community to maintain a high level of centrality, they must cultivate and manage relationships with many people. Within the social networks of the Caddo and Delaware, many of these relationships are with members of one’s extended family. And in the absence of a long distant, probably long dead, common ancestor, kinship can be created and re-created through adoption. While a very formal process in some Native communities (J. Miller 2001), adoption among the Caddo and Delaware can be very informal. As soon as someone refers to you by a kin term, you are a member of their family. For example, all of the children at the Hasinai Summer Youth Camp refer to Shirley as “grandma.” As the tribe’s enrollment clerk, Shirley knows she is somehow related to many of these children. On a functional level, however, these sometimes distant connections matter very little. Shirley has taken on the role of grandmother by instructing these children; they recognize her as an elder and treat her as such. In my own case, I was admonished into adoption by a tribal elder during the 2006 Caddo youth camp. After several days of working in the kitchen together, preparing food for fifty hungry campers, youth leaders, and parents, Charlotte Bentley and I got to know each other a little better. Charlotte is a great storyteller, and I am a pretty good audience. When someone asked me who my Caddo family was, Charlotte overheard me reply, “No one, I’m just *inkanish*.” After that, she jokingly called me *Sah-inkanish*, or Miss White Lady, but lectured me on my place in the Caddo social world. She told me that

she is my *e-kah*, or grandmother, and that I should never feel like I do not belong. She pointed to her sister, Hazel, and said that Hazel is my *e-kah* now too; for her part, Hazel accepted me but decided to change my name to *Sah-yah-tee*, or Miss Old Lady. By cultivating relationships like this, whether based on kinship, friendship, adoption, or some combination thereof, members of the community can maintain their central positions.

Maintaining these relationships requires a lot of effort. Thus, central positions in the community and in the social network at large, come at a price. In some cases, the cost is a financial one; in others it is a matter of time and energy. In still other instances, a social cost accrues to those who are particularly central. People who are highly central and therefore highly visible often come under close scrutiny because of their public activities in the community's social network. In this chapter, I want to take a closer look at these central figures and the various prices they pay for maintaining their positions.

When examined on a community-wide level, tribal elders are often central figures within larger social networks. In less formal terms, they are able to navigate between otherwise contentious subgroups. The figure below shows two elders, labeled H and I, and their position between two of the cultural organizations.

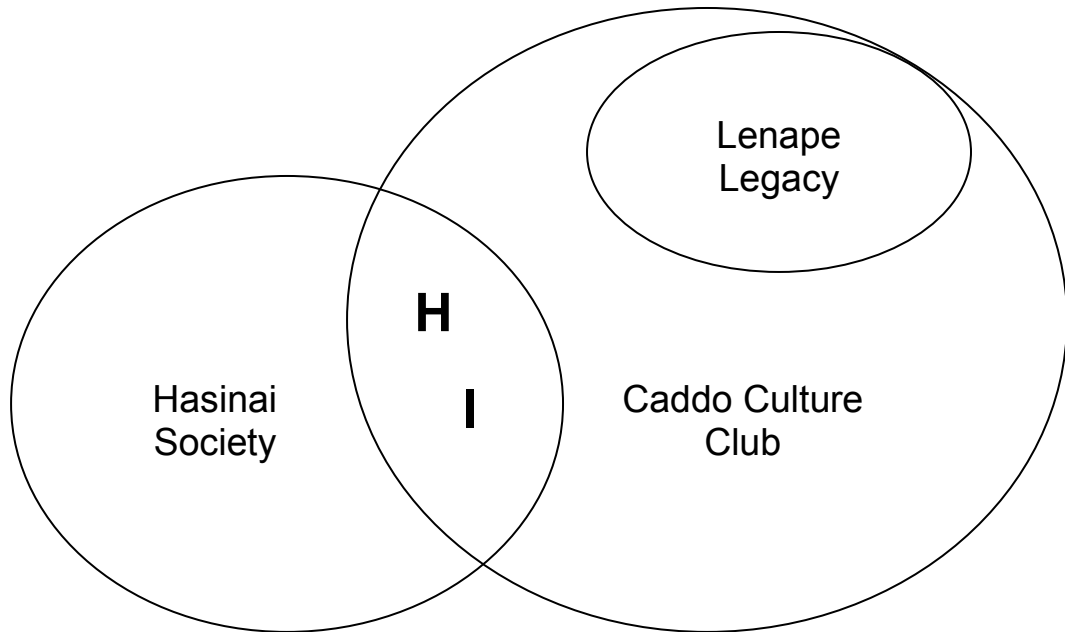


Figure 12: Co-membership of central figures in cultural organizations

Tribal elders are able to maintain such central positions because they have access to scarce resources that are often inaccessible to others. Their cumulative knowledge and their command of tribal history, language, and traditional culture and religion make them a valuable resource to other members of the community. When some question of proper behavior arises or when someone needs a prayer said at a memorial dinner, tribal elders provide what is necessary. When no one can remember the Caddo word for “alligator” or the words to a song have become garbled after repeated performances by those who do not speak the Caddo language, tribal elders can help. Consequently, elders are respected and valued in a way that other members of the community are not. In more theoretical terms, elders have symbolic capital, and in some ways, their access to this capital and the respect that they command puts

them above criticism (Bourdieu 1977:171-183). They have knowledge, and this knowledge gives them the ability to maintain a valuable social position, a position that others would not be able to maintain. Having such a position in the social network also gives these tribal elders social capital (Putnam 2000:19). In a very real sense, then, the traditional knowledge of these tribal elders gives them power (Foucault 1980). Because of this status, this power, they are able to participate in cultural events with all organizations without any reprisal.

On a smaller scale, within the cultural organizations, different factors are at play. The most central individual within a cultural organization is usually the group's leader. These leaders can attain their position in various ways.¹ For example, members of the Caddo Culture Club often state that Thurman Parton was the "Keeper of the Caddo songs," so it is not surprising that he served as their leader for many years.² In the Hasinai Society, Shirley Gouge took over the leadership of the organization after her father, the organization's previous leader, passed away. Because the organization is so small, almost every single member has a personal relationship with Shirley; we are all either her friends or family members. Though both Thurman and Shirley would cringe at the comparison, they both occupied very similar roles in the structure of the cultural organizations. As such they, and to a slightly lesser extent other highly central and very active members, face many of the same obstacles in maintaining their positions. The following figure depicts the internal structure of the Hasinai Society and the Caddo Culture Club; the leaders of the organizations, Shirley (shown as the individual labeled "S") and Thurman (shown

as the individual labeled “T”), are the most central figures in the organizations. Lines between individuals show the existence of a mutual relationship.

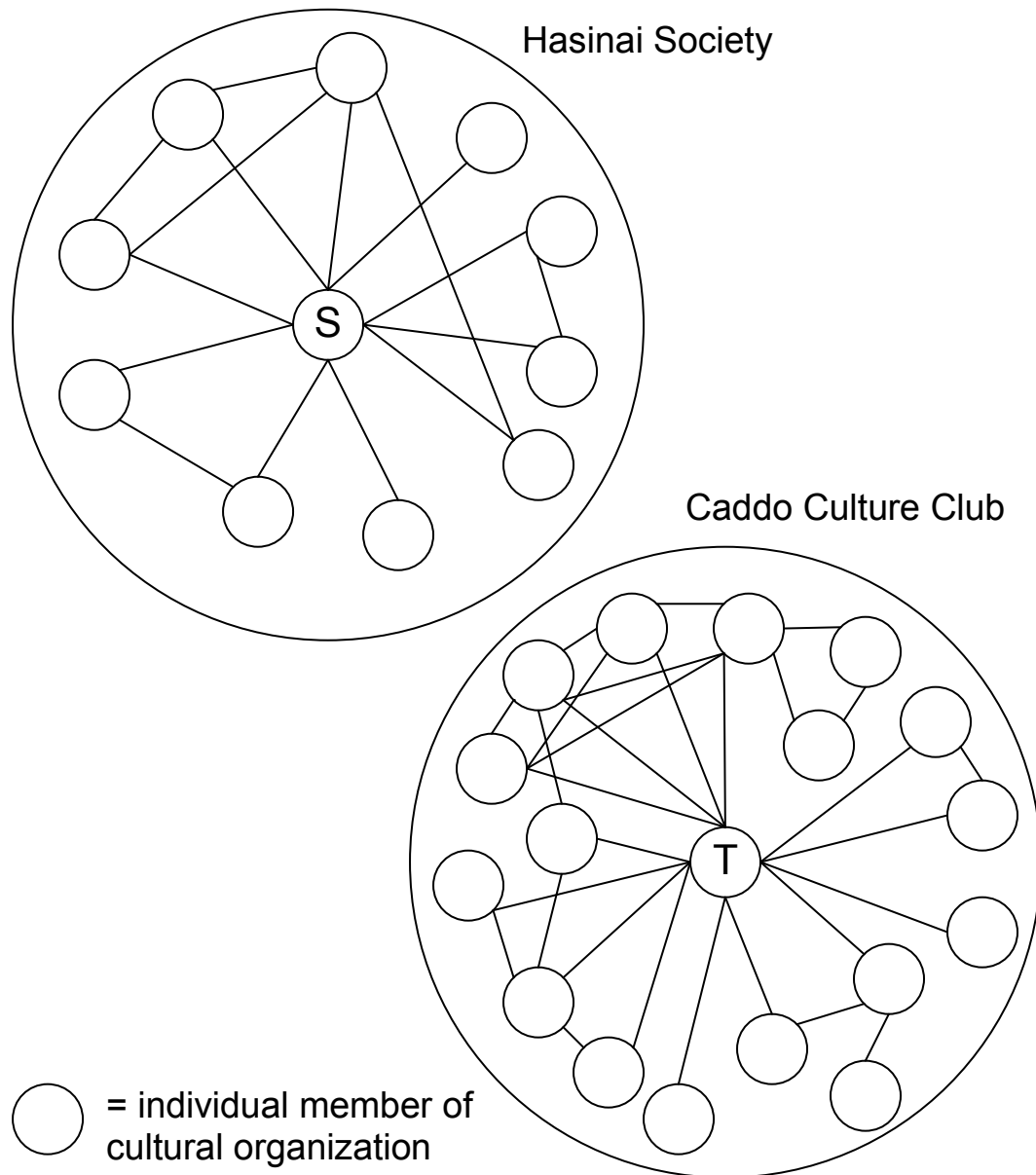


Figure 13: Internal structure of cultural organizations

The Financial Costs of Centrality

One of the most easily measurable types of cost accrued by members of cultural organizations is financial. The people who are active in the Caddo and Delaware cultural organizations are no different than most folks in Caddo County. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the median household income for Caddo County was \$27,347, though 16.7% of households earned \$10,000 or less in 1999. Even more disconcerting, 16.7% of families and 21.7% of individuals lived below the poverty line in 1999 (United States Census 2000). In light of this, the costs associated with active participation in cultural activities can take up a large portion of one's income.

One of the largest expenses for members of cultural organizations is gas to travel to events. Both the Hasinai Society and the Caddo Culture Club travel extensively to attend dances and events throughout Oklahoma, as well as in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. In 2004 and 2005, I recorded the places visited by the Hasinai Society and the roundtrip mileage (Figure 14).

Binger to...	Mileage
Colony, OK	48 miles x 1 trip = 48 miles
Lawton, OK	120 miles x 1 trip = 120 miles
Anadarko, OK	40 miles x 8 trips = 320 miles
Chickasha, OK	76 miles x 3 trips = 228 miles
Norman, OK	172 miles x 2 trips = 344 miles
Little Axe, OK	188 miles x 1 trip = 188 miles
Kellyville, OK	318 miles x 2 trips = 636 miles
Glenpool, OK	342 miles x 3 trips = 1026 miles
Dallas / Ft. Worth, TX	538 miles x 1 trip = 538 miles
Greenville, TX	570 miles x 1 trip = 570 miles
Robeline, LA	1054 miles x 1 trip = 1054 miles

Figure 14: Mileage traveled by the Hasinai Society, 2004 – 2005

In just two years, this organization traveled 5,072 miles to attend dances and other events. However, this figure does not include mileage traveled to attend events held in Binger, nor does it include the miles traveled by members to attend the organization's regularly scheduled meetings. Having been active with this organization for a number of years now, I can attest that these were not two abnormally travel-heavy years. Adding up the mileage in this way, though, I am a bit surprised to think of the wear and tear on my car.

Within each of the Caddo cultural organizations, a core of active members ensures that the group is properly represented at any event it attends. Peripheral members are encouraged to attend, but the most active, most central members can always be counted on to attend and participate. The leaders of the organizations, in particular, are obligated because of their status to attend all of the organization's functions, as well as all of the events in which the organization participates. These often include exhibition dances at larger events. For example, in 2004, the Caddo Culture Club performed at an exhibition dance at the Santa Fe Train Depot in Oklahoma City, and the Hasinai Society participated in an exhibition dance at the Fort Worth Western Heritage Festival and Trail Ride in 2006. Both organizations regularly attend the annual Caddo Conference. The Conference is a forum for scholars to present their research on the Caddo and is well-attended by Caddo tribal members. The conference closes on Saturday evening with a dance in which the Caddo Culture Club, the Hasinai Society, and the participants in the conference take part. The location of the conference rotates among the four states of the Caddo homeland: Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas.



Figure 15: Hasinai Society dancers performing the first phase of the Turkey Dance at the Caddo Conference; Caddoan Mounds State Park, Texas; March 2006. During this phase of the Turkey Dance, women are the only dancers.

Other dances are attended to lend support to friends and extended family members; this is the case with many of the stomp dances in eastern Oklahoma. Oftentimes the cultural organizations raise enough money to help offset the expenses of participants, or the groups are invited and a portion of expenses are covered by a local host. Consequently, money for gas and lodging may be provided. But rarely are all expenses covered, and those who work full-time jobs must use their leave time in order to participate. The more active one is in an organization, the more they feel an obligation to attend all of the dances and events. I am speaking here as much based on observation of the members of the organizations as I am on my own participation with the Hasinai Society. If an event is scheduled, I feel obligated to attend unless there is some very pressing reason I cannot.

2005 Activities of Cultural Organizations			
	Hasinai Society	Caddo Culture Club	Lenape Legacy
January	Co-hosted for Comanche Little Ponies gourd dance; Polecat ceremonial ground stomp dance (Yuchi); Greenville powwow (intertribal)		
February	Hosted gourd dance fundraiser; Gouge family stomp dance (Creek); exhibition dance at University of Arts and Science of Oklahoma	Family-style bingo fundraiser	
March	Hosted gourd dance fundraiser; Caddo Conference	LaRisha Wabaunasee honor dance (Caddo); Caddo Conference	
April	Co-hosted for USAO Intertribal Heritage Club's spring powwow; University of Oklahoma stomp dance and powwow (intertribal)	Co-hosted for Wichita Gracemont Johnson O'Malley Program (intertribal); Caddo Nation Head Start powwow (Caddo and intertribal)	
May	Hosted gourd dance fundraiser; shawl making class		
June	Murrow family annual powwow (Caddo and intertribal); hosted gourd dance fundraiser; Hasinai Summer Youth Camp and dance (Caddo)	Murrow family annual powwow (Caddo); honor dance for Mikayla Meeks (Caddo and intertribal); organization's annual dance (Caddo)	
July	Polecat ceremonial ground's Green Corn (Yuchi)	Co-hosted for Lenape Legacy's annual dance (Delaware, Caddo, and intertribal); Caddo social dance	Organization's annual dance (Delaware, Caddo, and intertribal)
August	American Indian Exposition (intertribal); Binger Town parade; Little Axe War Dance (Absentee Shawnee)	American Indian Exposition (intertribal); Binger Town parade; family-style bingo and cake walk	
September	Annual Clara Brown Memorial Dance (Caddo); honor dance for Hasinai Society Princess (Caddo)	Annual Clara Brown Memorial Dance (Caddo)	
October	Co-hosted for Satethieday Khatgomebaugh gourd dance (Kiowa); Caddo Adai annual powwow (intertribal); Anadarko Little League Football Benefit powwow (intertribal); Halloween party	Co-hosted for Anadarko Band Boosters (intertribal); Caddo Adai annual powwow (intertribal); Intertribal Wordpath Society event (intertribal); Halloween party	
November	Hosted gourd dance fundraiser	Caddo Heritage Museum dance (Caddo); Thanksgiving dinner; Louisiana Northwestern State University powwow (intertribal)	
December	Christmas party	Christmas party	

Figure 16: 2005 schedules of activities for the Hasinai Society, the Caddo Culture Club, and Lenape Legacy

Other than time and gas money, other expenses start to add up for active participants in these many activities. Members who participate in the dances must have the appropriate traditional clothing and regalia to wear. For women, this attire consists of a cloth dress with an apron (T. Stewart 1973; Hartman 1988). Most women that I know make their own dresses and aprons; however, I did hear of one woman who paid \$150 to have a dress and apron made for her daughter. Moccasins are also rather expensive, whether you make them yourself or purchase them. Only one person, Marilyn Burkhardt, still makes and sells Caddo moccasins, and she charges \$175 for a pair. Women also wear a silver comb in their hair. Many of these combs have been handed down from generation to generation, but several silversmiths still make them. I purchased one from William “Kugee” Supernaw, a Quapaw-Osage man who was once married to a Caddo woman, for around \$200.³ The *dush-tooh* is the traditional women’s headdress, and women generally make their own. Materials can cost upwards of \$50. Shawls are carried by all women and are generally easy to come by. The cost of a shawl depends on the spacing of the fringe, how the fringe is knotted, and whether a design has been added. I once purchased a shawl at a gourd dance for \$35 but have also spent \$110 for ones with an elaborate painted design or intricate ribbon work. Women also carry a fan, and like combs, these are generally handed down. Prices can vary greatly depending on the type of feathers used, how the fan is constructed, and the type and amount of beadwork on the fan’s handle. For stomp dances, women need a long skirt and leg rattles made of condensed turtle shells or condensed milk cans; these can range in cost from \$75 to \$200 or more (Howard 1965; Jackson 1998, 2003b).⁴



Figure 17: Caddo women's dress as modeled by Hasinai campers
Binger, Oklahoma; July 2006

Men's regalia is much less elaborate than women's dress for most Caddo and Delaware dances and includes a traditional ribbon shirt worn with dress pants or blue jeans and moccasins (Howard 1976). Louise Keechi, the last person to make and sell Caddo ribbon shirts, passed away several years ago; this was a huge loss to the community, and unfortunately no one has stepped forward to take her place.



Figure 18: Caddo man's shirt exhibited at the Caddo Heritage Museum
Unknown maker. Worn by Lowell "Wimpy" Edmonds. On loan from Pat Edmonds.

Men sometimes wear a Western style hat with a beaded hatband, a neckerchief or bolo tie, a vest, a beaded belt, and cowboy boots. If they are singing, men also need a drumstick and drum, which is usually provided by one of the singers. Gourd dances and war dances require a whole other set of regalia, including a bandolier of mescal beans and silver beads, arm bands, and a roach headdress, as well as a fan and a rattle. Of course, money spent on regalia is generally a one-time expense for adults, though a recurring expense for growing children. Most items are used repeatedly, and if it is in good condition, can be passed from one generation to the next.



Figure 19: Caddo boys dressed for a powwow
Fay, Oklahoma; February 2006

Organizations that host or co-host dances are often expected to participate in giveaways. In giveaways items are given to the head staff of the dance, princesses, and special visitors, such as honored elders, as a token of appreciation. These items can include very valuable things, like Pendleton blankets and quilts, as well as more affordable items such as grocery baskets or small gift bags. In the Hasinai Society, the members all contribute food and household items to the grocery baskets. Other items for giveaways are made by members (such as beadwork), are purchased and donated by members, are purchased by the organization, or were received in previous giveaways. This sort of re-gifting is totally acceptable, and I myself have given as

well as received items that were re-gifted from previous giveaways. Giveaways most frequently occur at powwows and intertribal dances and are a way to reinforce and display relationships in the community (Albers and Medicine 2005:35-36; Roberts 2005:162-169; Theisz 2005:104-107). Caddo dances often do not feature giveaways and the dance's organizers will explicitly state this on the flyer used to promote the dance. Some elders believe that if you have something to give to another person, you do it privately and do not make a public display of it.⁵ Other people feel that giveaways are a financial drain on the community. And others find them simply boring; of course, unless you are on the giving or receiving end of a giveaway, that perspective is understandable. Regardless of their own beliefs, though, Caddo organizations that participate in intertribal dances are expected to have giveaways, and the members of the organization bear the burden of the costs.

The Social Costs of Centrality

There are other costs associated with being particularly central in the cultural organizations, and these are things that cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents. People who are more central to the cultural organizations, generally the leader and the most active members, are highly visible individuals. They attend a lot of events and lead a very public life in the community. As such, they are often the targets of gossip and innuendo. As discussed earlier, gossip is important in many communities (Haviland 1977), and the Caddo are no exception. In some ways, gossip goes hand in hand with the cultural politics of the organizations. At the time of this research, the members of each organization are critical of the other organization

because of their somewhat antagonistic attitudes toward each other.⁶ Oftentimes, disparaging remarks are launched at the particularly active members as a way to criticize the entire organization.

This is perhaps the best explanation for a somewhat unsettling story that I was told once. One day I was talking to a Caddo person and the name of an active community member came up in the conversation. The person to whom I was speaking got very serious and said, in a wary, almost hushed tone of voice, “You know, she’s a witch, don’t you?” She then told me the following story.

A long time ago, this woman’s mother was at one of the Caddo dance grounds. In the old days there were several dances grounds throughout the Caddo community, most maintained by prominent extended families; only two grounds are still active today. The woman’s mother got into an argument with other ladies at the dance ground. The topic of the argument was no longer remembered, and not really important, but the discussion was particularly passionate. The argument escalated and became heated. Then, in the middle of the disagreement, the woman’s mother turned into an owl and flew away. The storyteller heard about this incident from a woman who, as a child, claims to have seen it happen. Supposedly, because this woman’s mother was a witch, she was probably a witch, too.

After hearing this story, I was at a loss. Naturally, I did not want to believe that this woman was a witch. She was a good friend of mine, a tribal elder who I respected and genuinely liked. Witches exist, but surely she was not one. Noticing my discomfort and as evidence to further support her story, the storyteller pointed out that this woman “has a way with people.” They usually end up doing exactly what she

wants. In fact, she theorized that this was the way she got support for the cultural organization of which she was a member. Rather than convincing me of the validity of the accusation, this only made me doubt it that much more. Certainly, I was not “witched” into volunteering my time and energy to any organization; surely others were not either. Of course, I never wanted to be on this elder’s bad side, not out of fear of some supernatural reprisal, but because I respected her and valued her friendship.

Once I recovered from the initial shock of hearing this accusation, I shifted into what can be called “anthropologist mode.” Many questions raced through my head: What exactly is meant by *witch*? Why was this accusation being made against this elder? Can there be a reason for such an accusation, other than that her mother seemed “witchy” and that this woman is not particularly known for her friendliness? What social function do such accusations have? As I ran through these questions, I thought about my friend. She would think it was pretty funny that someone thought she was a witch. She probably would even encourage such an idea, just for laughs, and to keep people on their toes when they were around her.

Anthropologists have looked at witchcraft and accusations of witchcraft in many different ways (Kluckhohn 1944; Basso 1969; Fogelson 1975; Evans-Pritchard 1976; Blanchard 1982; Mooney 1891). Some anthropologists have even been drawn to these marginal members of communities because of their peripheral status (Behar 1994). When I teach introductory cultural anthropology, I always discuss witches as both knowledgeable people and disruptive social forces, and I usually throw in a few examples from my own fieldwork. While in Anadarko, I heard many vague

accusations of witchcraft.⁷ Delaware folks told me that the Wichita in particular were known for their witchcraft. Caddo folks talked about Delaware witches. I even heard about the power of witches long-deceased and told to avoid the areas where they were buried. Of course, I was not the first anthropologist to hear these things; sixty years ago, the same was told to Elsie Clews Parsons (1941). Parsons (1941:32-34) reported that the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware all had witches and that witchcraft was passed on to children and grandchildren, in keeping with what I was told about my friend. Witches could use owls to spy on their victims or take the form of the screech owl. Parsons' statements corresponded to the things I too had heard about witches and their familiar, the owl. I had the nagging suspicion, though, that there was something else going on here, something much more social than supernatural in nature.

In many ways, a witchcraft accusation is nothing more than a criticism launched by one person against another. The complaint is one that addresses the accused's behavior and the perceived unrest caused by their activities, whatever those activities may be. This is what distinguishes a doctor or medicine person from a witch: doctors heal people and solve problems; witches cause illness and create problems. In many ways, an accusation of witchcraft is a way of saying that a particular individual's behavior is inappropriate, unacceptable, or otherwise socially disruptive. These accusations are a form of social control, and social control is a part of the social structure and organization of all communities (Firth 1963:42). Not everyone in a particular social network is the victim of such accusations or gossip, even when they behave in similar ways. One explanation for this may be that some individuals face more intense scrutiny because of their higher levels of visibility (and

therefore centrality) within the community. They do not make more mistakes or act more antisocial or disruptive than other community members, but when they do behave inappropriately, a multitude of community members can act as witness.

To articulate this in terms of social network analysis, criticisms are more likely to be raised against those people who are highly central within the community. As Robert Hanneman and Mark Riddle (2005) point out, the manner in which an individual is embedded in a social network imposes constraints on behavior, while at the same time offering various opportunities. Central actors have the ability to exert power within their social network, whether that is by influencing other people's opinions or by making decisions for their organizations. These actors have this ability, this power, because they have more ties within the community and can therefore influence more people. In other words, "Actors who have more ties have greater opportunities because they have choices. This autonomy makes them less dependent on any specific actor and hence more powerful" (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). Because of their high visibility and due to their position within the structure of the social system, though, the behavior of central actors, and therefore their ability to use power, is constrained (Wellman 1983:157).

Based on these ideas, my suggestion is that individuals who are central within networks also pay a social price for their centrality, and accordingly for their influence. They must endure an extraordinary amount of criticism as a result of their higher level of public visibility. These criticisms may come in the form of witchcraft accusations, as we have seen, or in terms of gossip and innuendo, hearsay about the misappropriation of funds, or rumors about the general manipulation of people. This

social commentary on one's seemingly inconsequential activities leads these central figures to become acutely aware and considerate of the criticism, and in many ways this provides pressure for these individuals to act in more traditional, more socially acceptable ways.

In terms of social theories, this system of centrality and observation is not so very different from Michel Foucault's ideas about surveillance. Within these social networks, as within the prison he describes, "Inspection functions ceaselessly. The gaze is alert and everywhere" (Foucault 1977:195).⁸ In the system Foucault depicts, each inmate is constantly visible, and the invisibility of the guard guarantees order since the observed never knows exactly when he is being watched or by whom (Foucault 1977:200). Consequently, this arrangement induces "a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power" (Foucault 1977:201). The central actors in a social network face a similar type of visibility, and while they maintain some degree of power, they are also subject to the automatic functioning of the power that Foucault describes. Power is a primary concern for Foucault, and in his estimation, power lies in the distribution of individuals and their arrangement in such a way that produces an "anxious awareness of being observed" (Foucault 1977:202). Highly integrated social networks, such as those forming the subgroups or cultural organizations identified here, also produce a distribution of bodies and of social relations, in which individuals are caught, power is dispersed, and observation is nearly constant.

The feeling of constant observation produces "interiorisation." As Foucault states, "He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes

responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection” (Foucault 1977:202-203). This is why gossip works. People conform to societal norms in order to prevent gossip, and the more well-known a person is, the more likely people are to gossip about her or him. In turn, though, gossiping about others creates the system that forces one’s own compliance with society’s rules. That is, the fear of gossip creates pressure: “the constant pressure acts even before the offences, mistakes or crimes have been committed... in these conditions, its strength is that it never intervenes, it is exercised spontaneously and without noise” (Foucault 1977:206).

Foucault recognizes this system as a general model, a way to think about power and discipline but not a literal representation of society. Social networks provide societies with structure, but for the participants, this structure comes at a cost, a cost never expressly stated in the social contract of a network, but present nonetheless. Those who are central must conform; they are compelled to act appropriately or risk losing their social position. Such a model makes sense given the conditions Foucault envisions, but it divests individuals of volition. Why would anyone want to remain central and have their behavior closely monitored and even criticized by other community members? Perhaps a central individual accepts these restrictions on their personal freedom because they believe passionately in their social network’s overarching goal. For central actors in a social network, the trade-offs they make are accepted. For example, a leader such as Shirley may think that having other community members criticize, misinterpret, or misunderstand her behavior is a small

price to pay for the very important work that her organization does. In this way, individual choice and the compromises that sometimes must be made by individuals are important aspects that Foucault completely overlooks.

Factoring in the importance of social networks also reverses another feature of Foucault's model – the role of the guard. In his model, the central guard is the arbiter of proper behavior. The guard watches and judges the behavior of the majority of people. When applied to real social networks, the central person in the model is not the guard, but like Foucault's prisoners, is the one whose behavior is most closely monitored. In this sense, society at large fulfills the role of guard, observing the behavior of central individuals and ensuring conformity with society's standards of behavior.

Finally, in terms of revising Foucault's model, an analysis that focuses on social networks highlights the importance of social capital – one of the main reasons why certain members of the network are central in the first place. A high level of traditional knowledge frequently translates into symbolic capital, and with high levels of symbolic capital come non-monetary benefits, like prestige or renown (Bourdieu 1977:171-183; Portes 1998). Less knowledgeable community members often forge relationships with these individuals so as to have access to the resource that this traditional knowledge represents. Therefore, within the cultural organizations examined here, traditional knowledge translates into symbolic capital, which in turn translates into the network of relationships that form the basis of social capital. This position gives central individuals the power to influence members of their community and thereby affect the behavior of others (Putnam 2000). Central individuals

participate in this system because it rewards them with social capital for conformity, in this case, maintaining traditional knowledge and conforming to societal norms. This model of a social structure, one based on surveillance, interiorisation, and conformity, seems to provide an explanation of why people in central positions act as they do. They put themselves in highly visible positions and consequently face all manner of costs and criticisms. They are willing to accept these costs because of the power such a position affords them. On a more general level, however, such a system ensures conformity to society's ideas about proper behavior. In tribal organizations that are working to protect and preserve traditional knowledge, conformity to these standards ensures the survival of cultural traditions.

¹ Different organizations select their leaders in different ways. The Caddo Cultural Club elects its leader during regularly scheduled elections. The membership also elects a Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Chaplain. The Club is largely divided between two large extended families, and the leadership of the organization seems to alternate between them. On the other hand, organizations like the Hasinai Society and Lenape Legacy are much smaller and the selection of a leader is the result of consensus (and willingness to serve) rather than formal election.

² Thurman Parton passed away in August of 2006. The next leader of the Culture Club has yet to be determined by its membership and is reportedly a source of contention.

³ Supernaw operates Supernaw's Oklahoma Indian Supply in Skiatook, Oklahoma. He also maintains a website affiliated with this store (<http://www.supernaw.com>) and often lists items, both silverwork and craft supplies, for sale on eBay (<http://www.ebay.com>). He also serves on the Osage Nation Congress. Other silversmiths who make the combs worn by Caddo women include his son, William "Son" Supernaw (Quapaw, Osage, and Caddo), and Bruce Caesar (Pawnee, Sac and Fox), son of the famous Southern Plains silversmith Julius Caesar. For a history of German silverwork in the Anadarko area, see the article by Davis, Gallagher, and Schneider (1965).

⁴ Oftentimes, turtle shells are considered to be more traditional than condensed milk cans, but are not always preferred. Some shell shakers prefer the louder, brighter sound and lighter weight of milk cans, while others prefer the softer sound of the turtle shells. Leg rattles made of milk cans are also less expensive to purchase and easier to make. In 1986, the Creek Nation produced a documentary film on the construction of turtle shell leg rattles (*Turtle Shells*). This film follows Christine Henneha as she prepares the turtle shells and makes a set of rattles. Ms. Hennaha is also featured in an article on the art of Native American music (Brown 1989:38-40). She is widely regarded as an expert at making turtle shell leg rattles. I purchased a set of turtle shells from her in 2003 for \$175.

⁵ This opinion speaks to a more general attitude among many Woodland communities that display and competition during dances is contradictory to the "coordinated, collective character of stomp dance performance and to some basic cultural values" (Jackson 2003b:244).

⁶ Again, I cannot emphasize enough that the antagonism described here is just that – a description of a moment in time. A time may come when the cultural organizations are not antagonistic towards each other, but work together. As they have in the past, allegiances to a particular organization can shift, new alliances can form, and the cultural landscape can change dramatically.

⁷ In some ways, talk about witches and witchcraft may be used by community members to gauge an outsider's willingness to accept their worldview, as well as to "break them in" to that worldview, much as menstrual talk is used in the Creek community where Amelia Rector Bell worked (1990).

⁸ By no means do I intend to imply that tribal culture is a prison. Indeed, such a literal reading of Foucault would be incredibly misguided. Tribal culture as I have experienced it among the Caddo and Delaware is extremely fluid and open to new ideas and ways of knowing. This flexibility is one of the aspects of tribal life that I hope to highlight in this work, as I feel that such adaptability is key to the persistence of any cultural system. However, like any cultural system, tribal culture does maintain ideas about what constitutes appropriate behavior and culturally-specific expectations for its members.

Chapter 5: Things Fall Apart: When Tribal Politics, Language, and Gender Collide

Sometimes as outside observers, and sometimes even as participants, anthropologists find themselves in the middle of situations that will undoubtedly become significant for the community where they work. These events can disrupt fieldwork as well as provide opportunities for key insights. The twentieth of January of 2004 did not feel as though it was going to be anything other than just another Tuesday at work. I arrived at the Caddo tribal complex just before eight in the morning, unlocked the museum, disabled the alarm, turned on the lights in the main gallery, and read through some emails. I went “up the hill” to the main office building to check the mail and visit with Shirley in the Enrollment Office. After that, I returned to the museum to open the mail, catch up on paperwork, and wait for Charlene to arrive at nine. Charlene and I chatted most of the morning, deciding what books to buy for the library and what artwork to hang in the new exhibit we were installing in the main gallery. Charlene’s office has a direct view of the driveway to the main office building, and we noticed a lot of traffic that morning, more than is typical during a regular morning. When lunchtime rolled around, we walked outside and noticed that many tribal employees were standing around in the parking lot. So was LaRue Martin Parker, the chairperson of the tribe. Conversation was buzzing, and obviously something very unusual was happening. In fact, the tribe was under siege from Chairperson Parker’s political opposition, who occupied the tribal conference room and refused to leave. None of Chairperson Parker’s supporters

among the tribal employees knew what to do about it other than stand in the parking lot and try to regroup.

In retrospect, the protesters' occupation of the tribe's conference room, the room in which tribal council meetings were held, had been coming for months. During the summer, the tribe held an election. According to the tribal constitution and election ordinance, elections are overseen by an Election Board. However, rifts developed among the members of the election board, some members said they would resign but may not have filed the proper paperwork to resign, and new members were appointed by the tribal membership. The uncertainties regarding the composition of the election board called the results of the tribal election, as well as the composition of the tribal council, into question. A split developed between Chairperson Parker, Vice-Chairperson Joyce Hines, and Frances Cussen Kodaseet, the Oklahoma City District Representative, on one side and the remaining five council members on the other. These five women, Marilyn Threlkeld (Secretary), LaCreda Weller Daugomah (Treasurer), Anna Donaghey (Anadarko District Representative), Mary Pat Clark (Fort Cobb District Representative), and Christine Noah (Binger District Representative), called themselves the "Council Five" and began holding their own council meetings separate from the rest of the tribal council.¹ Many of their decisions were extremely controversial. For example, they voted to turn over administration of tribal programs such as the Higher Education Department (which administers scholarships and financial aid for Caddo college students) and the Enrollment Office to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.² They also tried to implement a new tribal organizational chart that not only reorganized the tribal offices but also tried to put

the cultural organizations under the supervision of the tribal government; this move that was disapproved vehemently by members of both the Hasinai Society and the Caddo Culture Club. For their part, Chairperson Parker and her supporters tried their best to thwart the efforts of the Council Five; they attempted to remove these council members and appoint replacements for them. By January of 2004, the situation seemed to be at a deadlock; neither side seemed to make progress, either within the tribe or with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the tribal government was grinding to a standstill.

As the morning of January twentieth passed into the afternoon, the situation quickly deteriorated. LaRue tried to get the protesters to leave the tribal offices, but they refused to budge. She called Steven Edmonds, the Caddo Nation's police officer for assistance, as well as the Bureau of Indian Affairs' law enforcement officers (who refused to do much of anything). The Council Five and their supporters had brought several armed guards for protection, and rumors flew as to how armed they were and how inebriated they might be. While the latter was pure speculation, the BIA's police confiscated several guns from the guards. Just as that incident calmed down, a locksmith showed up to change the locks on the doors of the tribal complex. LaRue stood in the doorway and told the locksmith that she was the elected leader of the tribe, that without her approval he had no authority to change the locks, and that he would not be paid for doing so. Sensing the turbulent situation in the building, the locksmith prudently left the tribal complex. The situation continued to worsen as afternoon turned to evening.

These events really should have come as no surprise. For some reason, December of 2003 and January of 2004 saw many takeovers and sieges of tribal headquarters. After a tribal election, some Ponca tribal officials refused to cede power to the newly elected officials; supporters of the newly elected officials occupied the buildings of the tribal complex from 22 December 2003 until the beginning of January of the following year (Anadarko Daily News 2004a). Several Kickapoo women took over their tribal headquarters to demonstrate their opposition to the tribal government and were later forcibly removed (Anadarko Daily News 2004b); court hearings on the charges against the Kickapoo protestors continued into the following year. And in Carnegie, five members of the Kiowa Business Committee took over the tribal complex after being barred from the offices by then-Chairperson Clifford McKenzie (Anadarko Daily News 2004c). This drastic means of protest, that is occupying tribal offices by force, seemed to be quite en vogue, but no one knew exactly how to handle these situations when they occurred. Most tribal governments found ways to remove the protestors from the tribal offices (eventually).

Once attempts to remove the Council Five and their supporters from the tribe's conference room failed, the unique approach taken by the Caddo tribal employees and the sitting tribal government was to sit-in right alongside the protestors. The employees and tribal officials feared that if they left the premises, the opposition would immediately phone another locksmith and have the locks changed. Many of the employees felt they had nothing to lose in this situation, as many of us were reportedly fired by the Council Five. Many of the employees openly supported the tribal chairperson, LaRue Parker, and knew that the Council Five would react in

the one way they thought they could – by firing and hiring whoever they liked. If the employees could hold the line and support the Chairperson and her allies on the tribal council, then there was a chance that the government would stabilize itself. Leaving the building was tantamount to turning our backs on the tribe and on our jobs. Since the tribal complex was such a congenial workplace, many of the employees were close friends and sometimes even family. None of us could leave our friends and family, and a sort of “one for all and all for one” spirit took hold among the tribal employees.

In this atmosphere of desperation, on both sides, the situation continued to worsen. No one really planned to stay after work for so long. In an effort to clear the building the electricity was cut off, but to no avail. Everyone stayed put. The BIA informed LaRue that no one could be forced to leave the building, because as tribal members, they had the right to be there. However, no one had to be admitted to the building after hours, and if anyone left, they did not have to be readmitted. The office building has four exits and LaRue ordered that they remained locked; tribal council members and employees stood at all four doors to ensure that no one entered and that those who exited did not re-enter. This strategy, while somewhat effective, did not last more than a few hours, particularly after one of the Council Five’s supporters took to smashing windows and pounding on the doors.

Everyone started to get tired and cranky and hungry. The Council Five camped out in the conference room, while the employees walked the halls and sat on the sofas in the lobby. A few minor scuffles occurred between the factions, but no one sustained serious injury. People from both sides began to leave, craving a warm meal

and a bed rather than adrenaline and a cold floor. Supporters began to show up with pizza, soda, bedrolls, and other necessities. No one dared to go to sleep for long for fear of what the other side might do. The dark of night crept toward dawn, but the situation was no closer to resolution.

The next day came, and the next, and the offices were opened for business as usual, with the exception of the tribal museum. While the situation within the tribal complex remained relatively peaceful, the battle for public opinion was waged heatedly on an Internet message board and website sponsored by those in opposition to LaRue Parker and her administration (www.thecaddo.com). Rumors flew wildly on the message board, and vague coverage in the local newspaper did not help matters. The *Anadarko Daily News* described the cause of the “peaceful protest” thusly: “Tribal members wanting to attend a committee meeting conflicted with opposing tribal members Tuesday, resulting in a lock-in at the Caddo Tribal Complex near Binger” (2004d). The brief article stated that “Tribal members and officials then locked themselves inside the business offices. Family members took blankets and food to those inside the complex after Parker ordered shut down of electrical power. Power was restored before midnight and the protest continued peacefully” (Anadarko Daily News 2004d).

On the message board at www.thecaddo.com, people reported that the Council Five were locked inside the conference room by LaRue and her supporters (despite the fact that the conference room’s doors can only be locked from the inside). They reported that elders were beaten and abused, that one woman was sexually molested, and that all manner of other atrocities occurred. Having been at the scene of these

alleged events, I cannot say that I witnessed any of these things. After the initial scuffles in the hall, which were perpetrated by both sides, the whole event was rather boring. Or rather, peaceful, as was reported in the local paper. And in the end, the whole thing was much more like a sleep-over than a take-over, a point lampooned by the *Native American Times*' gossip column, *The Whisper* (Native American Times 2004).

As I sit here now and write this, many months have passed since the siege of the tribal offices by the Council Five. Curious about how this period compared to other turbulent seasons in Caddo tribal politics, I asked Charlene one day if she had ever seen things this bad. She had not. In June of 2006, the Caddo Nation Election Board held the first election since the take-over, and later they met to hear the one protest filed against the election. They ruled against the protesters and upheld the validity of the election. In this election, LaRue Parker won another four years in office and her supporters won several of the other open seats. These victories stacked the tribal council in LaRue's favor and ousted several of the Council Five. During the summer of 2006, it seemed like the end of all this conflict may be near, that maybe all of the political turmoil will settle down. The new tribal council had a lot of work to do to pick up the pieces from the previous three years; so much damage had been done to the tribe. Many of the tribe's programs were administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Reputable gaming companies put their proposals for Caddo casinos on hold until the political situation was settled. Grants were returned to funding agencies. Some local banks and businesses refused to transact business with the tribe. Indeed, the new tribal council had their work cut out for them.

Looking back on the past several years of Caddo tribal government, I cannot help but wonder: What is wrong with tribal government? What effect does the political turmoil have on the cultural organizations that are so vital to the traditional life of the tribe?

Political Organization

American Indian tribes, including the Caddo and Delaware, had always governed themselves according to their own internal dictates. However, in an effort to homogenize tribal practices across the country, the United States government passed the Indian Reorganization Act and, in Oklahoma, the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act was enacted. These acts, also known as the Indian New Deal, returned to tribes a greater amount of self-governance, and many tribal governments trace their formal governmental structure back to the 1930s and this legislation. Under these acts, tribes could write their own constitutions and by-laws and determine for themselves, to some extent, how to manage their affairs (cf. Biolsi 1991).

The Caddo, like many tribes, established a form of representational government presided over by a tribal council. The Caddo tribal council is composed of eight elected officials: Chairperson, Vice-chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer, and representatives for four districts (the communities of Binger, Anadarko, Fort Cobb, and Oklahoma City). Though established only in the 1930s, this form of representative government can be seen in some of the tribe's oldest stories (though undoubtedly the traditional form of government was subverted by the will of the

United States' government). Newkumet and Meredith (1988a:284-287) recount the following:

The first Hasinai man, Neesh (or Moon), told the Caddo people that they should choose a leader. The leader would be called *cah-de*, or chief. "The *cah-de* should be the wisest and most able among them. He should be obeyed in all things and should be looked upon as a 'great father.'" The people returned to their homes to review their choices and make a selection. Afterwards, Neesh called the people together again and asked who they selected for their leader. Ta'-sha (or Wolf) spoke for the group and answered that the people had chosen him, Neesh, to be their *cah-de*. Neesh accepted the responsibility and appointed Ta'-sha as the *tum'-mah* or town crier. Later, Ta'-sha called all of the people together again to hear important news from Neesh. Neesh declared that there were too many people and that they should divide into smaller groups. Each group should select a *cah-nah-ha* or community leader. Neesh called all of the *cah-nah-ha* together and gave each one a drum: "He explained to the *cah-nah-ha* that they must sing and beat their drums as the people moved from the world in darkness to the new world.

In the new world, the Caddo people settled into various communities that correspond to the bands known historically. Citing John Swanton (1996:7), J. Daniel Rogers and George Sabo (2004:616) identify three main bands of the Caddo: the Hasinai, the Kadohadacho, and the Natchitoches. These bands were clusters of communities located on the upper Neches and Angelina Rivers in Texas, near the Great Bend of the Red River, and farther down the Red River in Louisiana, respectively. Other communities of Caddo people, including the Adai, Cahinnio, Ouachita, Yatasi, and Eyeish were scattered throughout this area. The Yatasi lived in the area where I grew up, near a cypress swamp in northwestern Louisiana, where the location of Caddo mounds is still known to local folks and Caddo pottery washes up after every heavy rainstorm. Dispersed as they were, these communities "cannot be considered a single entity until the middle of the nineteenth century, when their remnants were consolidated in Oklahoma" (Rogers and Sabo 2004:616). Even after the political

consolidation of the tribe during the 1930s, Caddo people today still debate the differences between various bands, particularly in terms of dialects of the Caddo language. The main bands recognized by tribal members today include the Hasinai, Kadohadacho, and Hainai; they continue as loose-knit clusters of extended families living around several communities in Caddo County. Today, these communities correspond to the districts from which representatives are elected to the tribal council. In some ways, then, the person elected to the position of Chairperson of the tribe functions in a way similar to the *cah-de* and the people elected as district representatives act as the community leaders referred to as the *cah-nah-ha* in the Caddo origin story.

Speaking of Caddo Politics...

Even with some degree of continuity, the post-Removal era brought many dramatic political changes to the Caddo people. However, “Caddo communities kept their sense of place and ritual life... Every person participated in the community’s cultural traditions. They lived as Hasinai, Caddos, and Hainai with a *cah-de* or tribal headman, *cah-nah-ha* or community headman, and *tum ’mah* or village crier in their respective communities” (Meredith 2001:281). The Caddo traditions of song and dance remained in place and coalesced into the form known today: “In the afternoon, each woman dancer was called into the arena in her own language – Hasinai, Neche, Hainai, Yona, or Keechi – to dance the history... of the Caddoan peoples in the Turkey Dance” (Meredith 2001:282). Then, as today, the Turkey Dance exemplifies the integrated nature of Caddo culture. This traditional dance, one of the oldest in the

Caddo repertoire, recognizes female dancers in terms of their band (and political) affiliation and recounts the history of the tribe. The Turkey Dance connects current political differences between Caddo communities, differences that can be traced back to before the Caddo emerged into the world they now inhabit, with the tribe's traditional culture and articulates this through the medium of the Caddo language (Carter 1995a, 1995b; Sabo 1987, 2003, 2005).

Language is one of the most powerful markers of tribal identity in Indian Country today. Many Native speakers take great pride in the ability to speak their tribal language, even if they have difficulty finding anyone else with whom to converse. For the Caddo, their situation is desperate, but not hopeless. According to Lee (1998:284), "There are less than one hundred fluent speakers today and none are under sixty years old." Lee's estimate is now generous; with a group of tribal elders, I compiled a list of current speakers, all sixty or older, which totaled no more than two dozen people. However, Caddo continues to be used in many venues. Lee (1998:284) found that "Caddo language has evolved into a kind of liturgical language. Speakers are called upon at tribal events – dances, birthdays, funerals, reburials, etc. – to pray in Caddo, but Caddo is rarely spoken conversationally or outside of a ritual context." Caddo language also lives on in song, in both the music of social dances performed at the tribal dance ground and in the music sung inside the nearby teepee of the Native American Church.

In other tribes, the ability to speak the tribe's language is seen as an indicator of traditional knowledge and a connection to tribal history, and this is especially important for tribal politicians (Bell 1990). Twila said that at one time an unofficial

requirement to be on the tribal council was to speak Caddo. But, she laments, this is not the case anymore, and few, if any, of the tribal council members can speak Caddo now. The political power of language was brought home for me during work with the Higher Education Department on the Caddo Language Project (CLP). This was an attempt to develop instructional material in the Caddo language, and the end result was a coloring book of animals and the numbers one through ten. This coloring book was used with great success in the weekly meetings of the Hasinai Society and at the summer youth camp. Even more popular than the coloring book was a version of bingo that used the names of animals instead of the standard letters and numbers.

The Caddo Language Project was not the first attempt to record and teach the Caddo language, nor was it the most successful. When I first came to Binger, Caddo language classes met once a week at the tribal complex. Charlene, with the assistance of linguists Brian Levy and Alice Anderton, organized the classes. Usually, an elder would attend and serve as the instructor. Previously, Charlene's mother, Clara Brown, served as teacher for the classes, and until his death, Wilson Kionute volunteered in this capacity. These classes were a continuation of language classes that had been held sporadically by the community over the last several decades. Through these classes, a large amount of instructional materials and several vocabularies were developed, much of it in conjunction with Kiwat Hasinay. Kiwat Hasinay is an organization founded to preserve and perpetuate the Caddo language, and their stated goal is Caddo language for Caddo people (Kiwat Hasinay Foundation 2004; Rogers and Sabo 2004). The most notable accomplishment of this organization was a Caddo dictionary and audio recordings compiled by Levy and Randlett Edmonds, a Caddo

elder (R. Edmonds 2003). These language materials are available at the gift shop at the Caddo Heritage Museum and are frequently referenced by Caddo tribal members.

Not everyone in the community supported these classes or found the associated materials very useful. A particular point of contention was the orthography developed by scholars and linguists affiliated with Kiwat Hasinay and used in the weekly classes. Some community members felt excluded by this unfamiliar system of writing their language and believed that the linguists' way of writing Caddo was unnecessary (at best) and condescending (at worst). As one elder told me, "I've been writing Caddo for years. I don't need someone to come here and tell me that way is wrong." She then told me about writing and passing notes in Caddo to her classmates; she said that they had no trouble reading the notes (though their teacher did). The efforts of Kiwat Hasinay to preserve the Caddo language are commendable, but in the process of standardizing the language to make it more accessible, they alienated some community members. Other Native communities, like Cochiti Pueblo, have faced this same dilemma and opted to use no writing system at all (Johansen 2004).

In a sense, the Caddo Language Project began as a reaction against Kiwat Hasinay. The CLP did not involve any of those who were active in Kiwat Hasinay's language classes, though these people were not actively excluded in any way. None of the instructional materials developed in the course of the program would ever be sold, again unlike Kiwat Hasinay. Also, everyone involved in the project agreed to develop a new orthography. This was more than a rebellion against strange diacritical marks and the International Phonetic Alphabet, but rather a comment on how some scholars approach Native communities. Many scholars, Anderton and Levy included,

have done fine work documenting the complexities of the Caddo language, but much of this work is inaccessible to Caddo people, mostly because of the complexity and technical specificity with which it is written (e.g., Melnar 2004). Community members wanted the Caddo language to continue as a living language, not preserved like a specimen in a glass jar: visible, maybe useful on some level, but ultimately inaccessible to most people.

The members of the Caddo Language Project wanted to perpetuate the language, not just preserve it. When the CLP came into being, it was organized on the principle that Native ways of writing the language should be given priority. The unfamiliar diacritical marks were tossed out in favor of a more easily recognizable orthography. The new orthography (which was really closer to the older Native orthography) lacked the exactness of the linguists' version (see for example, Melnar 2005). For example, there was no symbol for glottal stops, which are fairly common in Caddo. The members of the CLP spent a lot of time writing and re-writing the spellings of various words in an effort to get it as close as possible to the actual pronunciation. However, the orthography used by the CLP forced interaction with the spoken language. One could not correctly pronounce words strictly from looking at it in a written form, but rather had to work with and listen to Native speakers. This interaction in some ways approximated traditional ways of teaching.

Though it started rather quietly with modest goals, the Caddo Language Project became controversial, and the debate over the CLP became tinged with political undertones. Members of the Council Five and their supporters launched personal attacks against members of the Caddo Language Project, in particular, their

ability to manage the project, the distribution of the materials that the CLP developed, and their basic ability to speak Caddo at all. Many of the Council Five's supporters were also members of the Caddo Culture Club and objected to the involvement of members of the Hasinai Society; Shirley and Twila, both prominent members of the Hasinai Society, worked on the Caddo Language Project.³ The dissenters began to manipulate tribal politics to undermine the participants in the project. They rallied their forces on the Caddo Heritage Museum's Board of Trustees to exert pressure on me, as curator of the tribal museum, to disassociate from the Project; not surprisingly these members of the Board were also members of the Caddo Culture Club. The Board and the Caddo Culture Club both tried to insinuate their own members onto the CLP in order to claim control. Interestingly enough, the CLP was not controversial and people did not vie for its control *until* it became somewhat successful, that is after the production of a Caddo language coloring book (Caddo Language Project 2004).

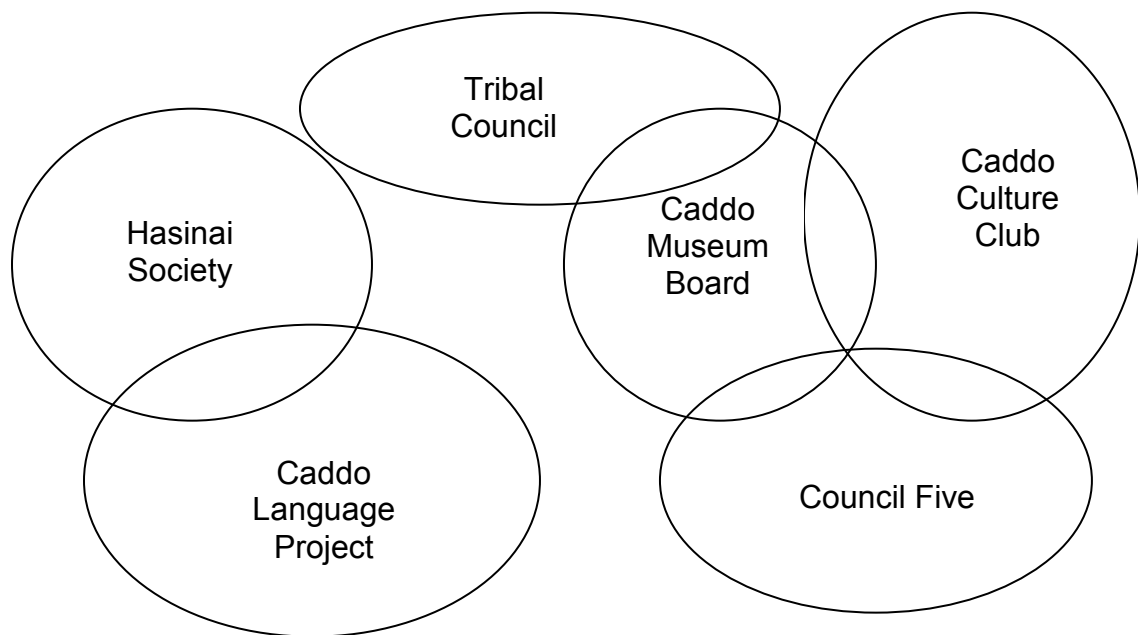


Figure 20: Alliances between groups within the Caddo community⁴

The resulting conflict between the cultural organizations, various tribal programs, and political factions soon became extensive. The ultimate goal of the Project, to teach the Caddo language to children, was lost in the shuffle, and as a tribally sanctioned and funded endeavor, the Project ended. Unlike the conflict surrounding the renovations and repairs to the dance ground, this struggle was not so easily or so happily solved. The only efforts to continue teaching the language have been sporadic since then, though the Hasinai Society continues to place language education among its top priorities.

Many elders today feel that understanding the Caddo language is essential to understanding the very meaning of being Caddo; this is one reason why they believe it is so important to teach young people the language. As Newkumet and Meredith (1988a:84) state “The traditional essence of the people is passed from generation to generation through language as well as through genetic ties.” The Caddo language provides additional insight into Caddo culture. Take, for example, the Caddo words *nee-hee* and *oo-oosh*. One is the word for an owl, but the other indicates an owl that is, for lack of a better word, witchy (much like the owl discussed in Chapter 4).⁵ This distinction is one that the English word *owl* simply does not and cannot make without creative circumlocutions like “witch-owl” or “witch-in-owl-form.” This is but one example of the information that knowing the Caddo language can provide and demonstrates how “The added insights provided by the Hasinai words for objects and actions offer a glimpse into the richness that characterizes their world” (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a:84).

Applying this semantic lesson to the Caddo political domain, two Caddo words can designate a group's leader: *cah-de* and *nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah* (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a:91). A *cah-de*, a position sanctioned by some of the tribe's oldest stories, is a traditional leader of the Caddo people. He had both sacred and governmental duties and was selected for his wisdom. He was to be obeyed in all things. Through the 1930s, the position of *cah-de* was hereditary, and his leadership was generally accepted by all Caddo people.⁶ The *cah-de* regularly presided over meetings at which *cah-nah-ha* or headmen and other elders were given an opportunity to speak and be heard before any decision was made. According to Newkumet and Meredith (1988a:53), "The welfare of the tribe remained uppermost in the minds of all present... At no time, however, did the United States government recognize this legitimate government of the Hasinai people." Therefore, though the *cah-de* led the tribe, he was not recognized by the U.S. as the tribe's official leader.

On the other hand, a *nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah*, which literally means "one who takes the chair," is a leader equivalent to a tribal chairperson, a position that did not exist until the organization of the Federally-recognized Caddo government in the 1930s. These were men who led the tribe and were recognized by both the community and the government of the United States as the Caddo Nation's official representative. The *nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah* had to be a good negotiator, familiar with the people he led as well as with the policies of the Federal government. In the 1930s, with the adoption of the first tribal constitution and the establishment of a formal government, "there was confusion among the people as to the roles of the *nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah* and the *cah-de*. This complex knot of traditional and imposed forms of

government and leadership finally came under great tension with the relatively large infusion of money and programs in the 1970s” (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a:54).

The differences between these two leaders, between the cah-de and the nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah, are vast. According to the tribal constitution, the nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah or chairperson can be any tribal member over the age of 21. The cah-de is always a man. The chairperson is elected, while the office of cah-de is a hereditary position. The nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah is supposed to represent the Caddo people to the federal government, while “The cah-de retains the role of seeing to it that all factions within the confederacy have the opportunity to have a voice in decisions that affect the whole” (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a:99). As the nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah gained more power and control over tribal money and programs, the importance, though not the need for, the cah-de declined and the position was left (and remains) unfilled.

Much about the tribe’s current political infighting is understandable in light of the disjuncture between traditional forms of leadership and those imposed by the federal government. Divisions develop between families and communities. The nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah lacked the sacred charter of the cah-de and did not have to be obeyed in all matters. The constitutional government organized under the nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah allowed ways to manipulate and challenge the government that did not exist before. Various groups argued with each other over their interpretations of the tribe’s constitution and by-laws, the tribe overall became factionalized, and conflict erupted, as seen in the take-over of the tribal offices in 2004. Many members of the community see the lack of traditional leaders as one of the reasons why cultural

knowledge is slipping away, for the Caddo, as well as for the Delaware and other tribes (Hale 1987:125).

Tribal Politics and Traditional Gender Roles

The Caddo people were able to postpone the inevitable conflict between the positions of nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah and cah-de for many years. They did so by electing a chairman who would have traditionally been a cah-de. Some confusion between the duties and responsibilities of the two positions remained and became unavoidable when a woman was elected as chairperson (according to customary notions of governance, a woman could never be a cah-de). Newkumet and Meredith (1988a:91) point to the election of Mary Pat Clark as a defining moment in the evolution of Caddo tribal leadership. “With the election of the first woman nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah, confusion escalated to consternation. Elected tribal government was brought to a standstill in the spring of 1983 for this very reason. In this crisis, the differences between the nit-tso-sah-dos-cha-ah and the cah-de are all too real” (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a:91, 99). In light of this, perhaps it should come as no surprise that all of the elected offices were filled by women when tribal politics once again erupted into chaos during the take-over of 2004. I distinctly remember a friend of mine, a Kiowa woman living in Anadarko, blaming this for the Caddo people’s political problems (as well as problems other tribes were having at the time). She said, quite bluntly, “Women shouldn’t run for office. They shouldn’t be the leaders of the tribe.”

This begs the question: “Why not?” If women are incapable of running the tribal government, why are they elected over and over again, not just for the Caddo and Delaware but in many other American Indian tribes? LaRue Parker has been chairperson for many years, and the Caddo Nation has come a long way under her leadership. I remember comments at the Delaware’s Senior Citizens Center about Myrtle Parton Holder. Some of the ladies complained that Wilma Mankiller, former chief of the Cherokee Nation, always got the recognition of being the first woman to be elected leader of a tribe even though Myrtle Parton Holder was President of the Delaware for about six years in the 1940s (Hale 1984:47). However, holding politically savvy women in high esteem does not insulate them from community members’ criticisms, and sometimes these criticisms extend beyond their effectiveness as leaders and delve into their personal lives. Be that as it may, women are just as well-suited as men to be leaders of the Caddo Nation and Delaware Nation, both tribes with long histories of powerful women (Mathes 1975). Conflict may occur and traditional forms of leadership may be subverted, but in the end women have effectively managed tribal programs, secured grants and contracts for the tribe, furthered economic development, and increased interest in traditional tribal culture and language. That they have accomplished these things while weathering intense scrutiny and criticisms speaks to their commitment to lead their tribes.

Among the Caddo and the Delaware communities, women are an important part of extended family networks, and when it comes time to cast a vote in a tribal election, these extended families often vote as blocs. Bruce Miller’s work with the Upper Skagit provides one of the best examinations of this pattern and women’s

involvement in tribal politics (Miller 1994). Like the Caddo, Upper Skagit women progressed from relatively little political importance to holding 53.6% of tribal council seats between 1975 and 1992. Upper Skagit women often worked their way into leadership roles on the tribal council because of their “specialized education, training, and expertise in dealing with external bureaucracies” whereas most male leader obtained their positions because of their status as leaders of family networks (Miller 1994:28). Miller refers to these women as *technocrats* and states that they have been very successful in their bids for political offices (1994:29). Many of the Caddo women in political offices combine both of these qualities; they are often prominent members of extended family networks and also have the ability to deal with the external bureaucracies that Miller describes. As among the Caddo, “at Upper Skagit patterns of voting and widely held attitudes are favorable to women as candidates” and as leaders (Miller 1994:37-38). Women also get involved in tribal politics earlier in life and stay involved in tribal politics over longer periods of time.

I hypothesize that the conflict surrounding Caddo governments headed by women has much more to do with issues other than their gender. The “great tension” that Newkumet and Meredith describe likely had much more to do with the sweeping changes the Caddo, like other tribes, faced in the 1970s. The most notable of these changes was brought on by Public Law 93-638, which allowed Indian tribes to contract government programs formerly administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This allowed the tribes to control funding and the direction of programs that serve their tribal members. Not surprisingly, deciding how to administer these new programs led to conflict.

The conflict that surrounded the tribal government in 2004 also probably had little to do with gender. Granted, at that time, participation in the Caddo tribal government by men was at an all-time low. Men as politically important players were a distant memory for most Caddo people, though it remains lamented that men are not any more involved than they are. The tensions faced by the tribe now include efforts to advance economic development projects, mainly through a casino and other large-scale endeavors. This puts more at stake for everyone. The tribe in 2004 did not have much in terms of economic development, but they had potential. This is demonstrated by what has happened since the tribal political situation calmed down. The tribe is soon to break ground on a large casino and resort hotel north of Anadarko. They are also planning to build another casino on U.S. Interstate 40, north of Binger. Both of these developments would put the Caddo into the league of other gaming tribes in Oklahoma, and the potential for great economic benefit to the tribe as a whole is there. The great changes this can, and probably will, bring to the tribe make tribal politics that much more contentious, regardless of the gender of the tribal chairperson and the conflict this may pose for traditional ideas about gender.

The fact that women have and will continue to lead the Caddo Nation poses much greater difficulties for them as individuals than it does for the fate of the tribal government. The problem is something that the women themselves have to deal with on a personal level. Of the politically active women in the Caddo tribe, almost all of them are also active in the cultural organizations or other cultural activities. One of the Council Five served on the Museum's Board of Trustees, while one of her fiercest political opponents sat across the table from her at the monthly meetings of the

Board. Several members of the Hasinai Society are committed supporters of LaRue Parker's administration. A woman in the Caddo Culture Club was also a member of the Council Five, while another woman in the Culture Club supported LaRue. This sort of political tension can detract from the work of the cultural organizations unless the leaders of the organizations keep a close eye on the situation. For her part, Shirley does. When one member of the organization brought a petition for the removal of a council member to one of the weekly meetings and asked people to sign it, Shirley gave her a stern lecture on keeping politics and culture separate. Maybe this is a battle on the scale of keeping church and state separate, and not all of the cultural organizations are able to keep things separate. Those organizations that do keep this division can devote themselves more fully to preserving their traditional culture; those members who do not maintain this separation often use their affiliation with a cultural organizations as a way to manipulate tribal politics and vice versa.

The fact is that culture and politics will never be truly separate, and even as I recall the time someone brought a petition to a meeting of the Hasinai Society, I remember when political issues were discussed freely as we prepared the evening meal. The weekly meetings of the Hasinai Society are an interesting space to explore in terms of culture, politics, and gender. I never realized how structured the division of labor between men and women at the meetings was until I became part of a couple. Once James, my partner, began attending meetings and learning to sing Caddo songs, I was expected to act, for lack of a better expression, more womanly. Truth be told, I was always expected to act in a manner appropriate to my gender, but I had previously thought of this in terms of common courtesy, not gender. For example, the

boys and men would sing at the drum while the girls and women danced and then prepared the evening meal. I always thought of serving the men first as a sign of appreciation for their singing, not something I was expected to do because I am a woman. After James started coming to meetings, which in many ways was an official announcement of our relationship in the community, I was informed that I needed to make sure he was “taken care of,” and I had to do so whether he sang at the drum or not.

One Wednesday night, on the long drive back to Norman, James and I discussed my research, and we realized one of the reasons why women are so politically powerful in Caddo community. That night, James decided not to sing with the guys; everyone needs a night off now and then. The ladies sat around the table, checking on the spaghetti that was cooking in the kitchen as needed, talking about the most recent events happening at the tribe, the latest news of our families and friends, the last Caddo tribal membership meeting, some rather controversial plans for the dance ground, and whether we would attend this or that dance. It was the same type of conversations I had held with these ladies for years. Little did I know, at least until James pointed it out, these were not the topics that men discussed. At the drum, the men tended to talk about the subject at hand—music. Sitting at the dinner table, apart from the women, the men discussed trips they had taken, dances they had attended, religious beliefs, history and geography. On this particular night, Jimmy spent a great deal of time telling James a story about the Wichita arrows. The difference in the content of men’s and women’s discussions is striking and evident even in this fragment of a description. Our organization’s meetings, and most likely other public

events where women are charged with “womanly” duties like food preparation, give women a forum to exchange ideas, gather information, and influence other people’s opinions. In a very Foucaultian sense, the knowledge that women acquire in these settings gives them influence, and thus power. Therefore, women’s political involvement in the tribal government should come as no surprise. The very structure of cultural events enable women to have extended and wide-ranging discussions of tribal politics, among many other things; the culturally-bound division of labor facilitates women’s political participation. Women have access to the most valuable commodity in tribal government, i.e., information, and the power to wield their influence, whether behind the scenes or from a seat on the tribal council.

¹ For a tribal council meeting to be considered legitimate, a quorum of five members must be present, thus an alliance of five council members could be very powerful. However, many of the meetings held by the Council Five did not follow the tribal Constitution's protocol for conducting an officially recognized council meeting (for example, the meetings were not called by the Chairperson, were not held in the Conference Room, and so forth).

² The Council Five passed a resolution (#04-2004-03) to retrocede many tribal programs. Retrocession would give control of these programs to the Bureau of Indian Affairs; previously these programs were contracted by the Caddo Nation from the Bureau of Indian Affairs in accordance with Public Law 93-635. Therefore, the Council Five authorize the Bureau of Indian Affairs to implement administrative control over the PL 93-638 Indian Self-Determination contracts, including the Aid to Tribal Government programs, the Bison Herd Preservation program, the Wildland Fire Management program, and the 2% Transportation Improvement Planning program. The only tribal program that the Council Five exempted from this retrocession was the Indian Child Welfare program.

³ Other people involved in the CLP were either unaffiliated with either of the Caddo cultural organizations or were non-Indian tribal employees.

⁴ This qualitative representation of the alliances between the various groups is based on my own observations of the community. Kiwat Hasinay does not appear in this figure because they were not (and at the time of writing, still are not) holding Caddo language classes at this time. As such they were not really involved in the split illustrated here. However, if the Kiwat Hasinay Foundation were added to this figure it would illustrate their close association with members of the Caddo Culture Club, namely Charlene Wright.

⁵ This distinction exists in other communities, such as the Creek, as well.

⁶ Sabo (1998) provides an excellent overview of Caddo politics throughout the colonial era, and in particular discusses the connections between the Caddo political systems and religious beliefs. By the 1930s and with the many changes in the nature of both Caddo politics and traditional religion, many of these connections were no longer of the great importance as they once were.

Interlude: Caddo Numbers and Animals

The Caddo Language Project was sponsored by the Caddo Nation's Higher Education Department and involved tribal employees and members of the Hasinai Society. The Higher Education Department funded the production of a coloring book that would help Caddo children (and adults) learn the numbers and the names of some animals (Caddo Language Project 2004). The orthography used was one generated by the CLP's committee and differs from the orthography used in Kiwat Hasinay's Caddo language phrase book (R. Edmonds 2003). Since both of these publications have widely circulated in and are readily available to members of the community, the orthographies used by both are given below, mainly as a point of contrast.

English	Caddo Language Project	Kiwat Hasinay
One	Wist see	Wísts'i?
Two	Bit	Bít
Three	Dah hoe	Daháw?
Four	Hee we	Hiwi?
Five	Dee sik uhn	Díssik'an
Six	Dun kee	Dánkih
Seven	Bit sik kah	Bíssikah
Eight	Dah hoe sik kah	Daháwsikah
Nine	Hee wee sik kah	Híiwiisikah
Ten	Bi nay ah	Bináy?ah

English	Caddo Language Project	Kiwat Hasinay
Cow	Wahk us	Wáakas
Horse	Dee tah mah	Dìitamah
Dog	Deet see	Dìitsi?
Pig	Nahk oosh	Nahkush
Cat	Mee yu	Miyu?
Skunk	Wehit	Wihit
Toad	Ee chunt	Ich'an
Mouse	Dut	Dat
Turtle	Ch eye yah	Ch'ayah
Fish	Buh tah	Batah

Chapter 6: Back East and Out West: The Social Life of Dances

Interstate 35 is more than just Oklahoma's main north-south corridor. In a very real sense this highway divides Oklahoma's Plains tribes from its Woodlands tribes, powwow country from stomp dance country. Notable exceptions occur, particularly in the intertribal communities around Tulsa and Oklahoma City and in some of the Indian communities in eastern Oklahoma where the intertribal war dance and the stomp dance coexist in a distinctive way (Jackson 2003b, 2005, also Hamill 2000). But the heart of Oklahoma's powwow country is in western Oklahoma, particularly the communities and towns surrounding Anadarko and Lawton. Here, the Caddo and the Delaware, two tribes that originally lived in the Eastern Woodlands, are completely surrounded by Plains tribes like the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho, and Na-i-sha Apache, among others.

This geography has an interesting impact on the cultural organizations within the Caddo and Delaware tribes. To varying degrees, they navigate powwow country and the stomp dance world while staying ever mindful of their own distinct tribal traditions. As noted by Jackson (2003b:245) and others, the Caddo and Delaware tribes form a "special performance circuit within which the stomp dance and the powwow connect in a distinctive way." More specifically, the Caddo tradition of music and dance encompasses "the full repertoire of social and stomp dance music, as found to their East, and a rich array of genres that derive from the Plains traditions of southwestern Oklahoma" (Jackson 2003b:245). Therefore, the geographical isolation of the Caddo and Delaware tribes from their Woodland cousins and their current

interaction with Plains tribes presents an interesting dilemma – not only for the members of these communities, but also for anthropologists. The dilemma is: How can Caddo and Delaware people, and by extension the cultural organizations, find a balance between their own practices and that of surrounding communities in the interest of getting along with neighboring tribes?

How can the possible answers to this dilemma provide insight into the place of tradition, tribal identity, and the preservation of knowledge systems with social networks?

Back East: The Woodland Social Network

Late one Friday afternoon several years ago, the Hasinai Society hit the road. We loaded up in vans and cars and headed east, toward Bartlesville and the Delaware Tribe's annual dance. We were told that the Eastern Delaware tribe, a tribe related to the Delaware Nation near Anadarko, was performing their social dances and having a stomp dance this night. By the time we arrived, the sun had set hours ago. The social dances were drawing to a close. We got out of the vehicles, set out some lawn chairs, and the women started to put on their stomp dance cans. Just as we got on our cans, a Delaware man, obviously the leader of the next dance, started to sing: "Yo ha-jee-nay, yo ha-jee-nay, yo ha-jee-nay, yo ha-jee-nay..." The Hasinai kids looked toward Shirley for an approving nod, which they received, and then quickly joined the line of dancers. The words were not exactly familiar, but the dance steps were the same; what the Delaware call the Bean Dance, the Caddo refer to as the Bell Dance. We all joined hands with the dancers ahead of and behind us and formed a long line of

alternating men and women. The women shook their cans to set the rhythm of the song, and we all swapped hands and faced the other direction as one song lead into the next. The line of dancers snaked into a tight spiral and then unwound itself as a new song began. The singer finished up, the dance ended, and we returned to our lawn chairs. Later, some of the Delaware folks asked us how we knew about their dance. Teasingly, Shirley responded that we had heard them calling us when they sang the Bell Dance: “Yo ha-cee-nay...” When Caddo folks sing this song, the first line, “Yo ha-cee-nay” repeated several times, is a way to call in the dancers, much like when Caddo singers call out the different bands when singing the Turkey Dance or when Creek people yell “Locv” (meaning turtles) to get the shell shakers to join a stomp dance. Even though the Delaware singer “mispronounced” a few words to the song (at least according to some of the Caddo folks), he was asking the Hasinai people to join in the dance.

The Caddo and Delaware people share many songs, like the Bell/Bean Dance, with other tribes in eastern Oklahoma, tribes who once lived together in the eastern Woodlands. By my count the Caddo have eighteen named social dances, only sixteen of which are still performed today. Each social dance, listed alphabetically in the following figure, has anywhere from a few to a few dozen individual songs associated with it.

Social Dance	Frequency of Performance	Other Tribes Performing This Dance
Alligator Dance	Performed 2 to 4 times per year	Shawnee
Bear Dance	Performed at most dances (at least 5 times per year)	Creek, Shawnee, Delaware
Bell (Bean) Dance	Performed at most dances (at least 5 times per year)	Delaware, Shawnee, Iroquois, Western Cherokee, Creek
Cherokee Dance	Performed at most dances (at least 5 times per year)	Delaware, Shawnee
Coon (Raccoon) Dance	No longer performed	Delaware, Seneca, Shawnee, Iroquois
Corn Dance ¹	Performed no more than twice a year	
Doll Dance ²	No longer performed	Absentee Shawnee, Eastern Delaware
Drum Dance and Caddo 49	Performed at most dances (at least 5 times per year)	
Duck Dance	Performed at most dances (at least 5 times per year)	Yuchi, Creek, Iroquois
Fish Dance	Performed at most dances (at least 5 times per year)	Eastern Delaware, Iroquois, Loyal Shawnee
Garfish Dance	Performed no more than twice a year	Creek, Delaware, Shawnee, Iroquois' Yuchi
Ghost Dance ³	Performed no more than twice a year	
Morning Dance	Performed 2 to 4 times per year	Absentee Shawnee, Creek, Delaware, Eastern Shawnee, Seminole, Yuchi
Quapaw Dance	Performed no more than twice a year	Absentee Shawnee; Delaware, Loyal Shawnee Quapaw
Skunk Dance ⁴	No longer performed	Creek, Seminole, Shawnee, Yuchi
Stirrup Dance	Performed 2 to 4 times per year	Eastern Delaware, Loyal Shawnee
Swing (Go Get'em) Dance	Performed 2 to 4 times per year	Eastern Delaware, Shawnee
Turkey Dance	Performed at most dances (at least 5 times per year)	Absentee Shawnee, Delaware, Kickapoo, Loyal Shawnee Quapaw
Wah-sha-nee-kee Dance ⁵	Performed no more than twice a year	
Woman Dance	Performed 2 to 4 times per year	Delaware, Shawnee, Iroquois
Sources: Speck 1911; Parsons 1941:55; Howard 1981; Hale 1984:33; Hale 1987:126; Rementer and Donnell 1995		

Figure 21: Ceremonial and social dances of the Caddo and western Delaware⁶

Because the singers at western Delaware dances are often the same singers as at Caddo dances, these songs are found among both communities.⁷ Some elders, like Sadie Weller, acknowledge that the Caddo did not originate many of these dances; Weller (1967a:8) stated that:

There's a lot of different dances of all kinds... Why sure they're Caddo dances. In fact what you would call not Caddo proper, but Woodland dances. See, all the Woodland tribes have one specific dance that they have which is the stomp dance and the woman dance and the... oh... various names of dances.

However, many Caddo people today claim that all of these songs are Caddo in origin, and any other tribe that sings these songs either were given the song or “borrowed” (or less politely, “stole”) it from Caddo.⁸ As Jackson and Levine (2002:300) note, such an attitude, much like the social dance songs it describes, is widely shared: “Groups who sing such songs all claim them as their own, and hold them up as a symbol of their unique cultural traditions.” The “original” source for any particular song is something that is frequently and hotly debated and is often the fodder for joking between friends from different tribal communities.

One dance that I have not included in this list is the Green Corn Dance. Some of the songs associated with this dance are recorded on Indian House's *Caddo Tribal Dances* (American Indian Soundchiefs Recording #SC300). This recording of Caddo music includes four Green Corn Dance songs sung by Mr. and Mrs. Houston Edmonds, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Edmonds, and Lowell “Wimpy” Edmonds in 1955. I am uncertain what to make of these songs and have never seen or heard them performed at any of the Caddo dances I attended. Some references to this dance describe it more as a total dance event rather than a body of related songs, much more

in keeping with the its current usage by tribes in eastern Oklahoma. For example, in the 1930s, Ella Evans, a White resident of the area, described the Green Corn as a dance hosted by the Caddo and attended by the Shawnee (LaVere 1998:133-134).

Evans attended the first day of the event:

It seemed to be a thanksgiving day to these Caddo and Shawnee Indians, as the feast was opened with prayer by the Chief. This ceremony seemed to be very sacred and was unlike any gathering I ever saw. There was a big square of ground cleared off and a fire built in the center... After they prayed the bucks and squaws assembled around this fire in a circle, and began a weird chanting in their native tongue, accompanied by the tom-toms, the rattling of gourds, and chanting; then they would have a big feast. Barbecued meat, bread and different kinds of Indian dishes. I think this ceremony lasted three days and each day was different. The days had different meanings.

Overlooking the derogatory remarks in this description, Evans gives a general account of what this event looked like. Perhaps a more sensitive description of the event and its place in Caddo spirituality comes from Mrs. Frank Albin, a Caddo woman who stated in the 1930s, that:

The Caddos have very few ceremonies. Sometimes in the spring when the corn is planted, there will be a field that almost everyone has a part in. Before planting this field the Caddos would gather and go around the field stopping at every corner to offer a word of prayer. The corners representing the four corners of the earth. When the corn was harvested they had the Green Corn Dance. This was a dance of thanksgiving. [LaVere 1998:133]

Albin's description, while only briefly mentioning the Green Corn ceremony, gives a sense of the importance of ceremonial activities related to planting and harvesting and of the importance of these rituals in the larger Caddo cosmology. Clearly, Evans and Albin both describe an event, not a particular collection of songs. Perhaps, then, the songs recorded in 1955 were ceremonial songs used during this event only. Since the Green Corn ceremony is no longer held by the Caddo, the accompanying songs are no longer needed. Thus, their place in the Caddo musical repertoire and any associated

choreography is unclear and will probably remain so. However, this would contrast with the use of another genre of ceremonial songs sung by the Caddo. Ghost Dance songs, once used ceremonially and religiously, which now serve a primarily social function (Carter 1995b).

The widespread distribution of social dance songs and ceremonies among tribes formerly living in the Eastern Woodlands is interesting for many reasons. In many ways, the distribution of these songs lends insight into the social network of tribes, both as extant today and probably reaching far back into tribal histories (Jackson and Levine 2002).⁹ The Delaware, given that their homeland included large parts of present-day New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, were active participants in the Woodland social network; as they were forced westward by colonial expansion, they came into contact with many other eastern tribes before their arrival in Oklahoma and their close association with the Caddo. It should come as no surprise, then, that both the eastern and western Delaware communities share many songs with other Woodlands tribes, such as the Shawnee, Cherokee, and Creek.

On the other hand, the Caddo homeland, including portions of the present-day states of Louisiana, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas, positions the Caddo people between the Eastern Woodlands and the southern Great Plains. Though the other members of the Caddoan language family are Plains tribes, the Caddo people tended to have a culture more similar to their eastern neighbors than their western counterparts (Swanton 1996). Swanton noted that “the connection of the Caddo with the Southeastern tribes is evident in every aspect of their lives—material, social, and ceremonial—such differences as existed being in matters of detail and never in

fundamentals” (1996:239). More expansively, Sadie Weller, a Caddo elder, remarked: “they just traveled, these prairie tribes. See, we [Caddo] belong to the Woodland Indians. They were not of warrior tribes” (Weller 1967b:13). In terms of material culture, Weller noted that Caddo moccasins were of the style worn by eastern tribes: “They’re always... see this the Woodland type of moccasin. All the Woodland Indians wear those. Soft soled moccasins as they’re called. All one piece” (Weller 1967c:19). Within the region, though, tribal affiliation could be recognized by differences in particular designs. Thirty years earlier, Weller explained: “Ribbons were used on soft-soled flaps of moccasins, which were made all in one piece. These were used only by the woods Indians, such as the Caddoes, Delawares, and Northern Indians. Among these tribes you can’t tell the difference except in designs” (Caddo Nation of Oklahoma 2003:10).



Figure 22: Caddo and Delaware moccasins

The sharing of material culture and music does not represent “cultural homogenization among people whose sense of social boundaries have eroded after being jammed together in Oklahoma and pressured into such modern institutions as boarding schools” but rather “an older social world fragmented, but not broken, by the invasion from Europe” (Jackson and Levine 2002:300). Moccasins are but one material signifier of this world. Much like the Woodlands musical repertoire, this is “a paradigm for a social world in which much *is* shared, but within which local identities persist, even as people and groups are constantly in motion in time and space” (Jackson and Levine 2002:301).

Today, this network is evident in many ways, not the least of which are styles of dress and Caddo and Delaware interaction with Eastern Woodland tribes in Oklahoma. The Woodland social network in which the Caddo and Delaware were active survives, and indeed flourishes. However, this network and its expression through the stomp dance and social dances of its participants are relatively unknown to the non-Indian public and even among some tribal communities, especially when contrasted to that of the Plains style powwow (Jackson 2003b, 2005). Central to the survival of the Woodland Indian social world is visiting between communities, interactions which are the basis of this vast social network. Much of this visiting occurs when one community (or ceremonial ground) hosts a stomp dance that members of the other communities attend (Jackson 2003b:238-239). These dances are generally held after the conclusion of daytime ceremonies and rituals and ideally continue until sunrise the following morning. As Jackson (2003b:240) notes:

Such visitation establishes reciprocal relationships of support in which groups benefiting from the participation of visiting communities, in turn, attend the

dances of their former and future guests. It is through such 'visiting,' that groups come to know their neighbors, appreciate patterns of cultural similarity and variation, and perceive and acknowledge one another in corporate rather than strictly individual terms.

This pattern of reciprocity among communities forms the basis of the Woodland social network and "support[s] local communities in the work of preserving their own distinct ceremonial traditions" (Jackson and Levine 2002:302).

The Caddo and Delaware are present-day participants in this regional social network, though not to the degree of the many ceremonial grounds in eastern Oklahoma. However, their participation in previous years is evidenced both in the vast number of social dance songs sung in common by the Caddo and Delaware, songs they share with their eastern neighbors, and in the rate of intermarriage between them and the Creek, Seminole, and Shawnee communities (Lee 1998:287). For example, within my relatively small circle of close friends, one woman is married to the former *Mekko* (chief) of a Creek ceremonial ground and has family ties with a Shawnee ceremonial ground at Little Axe and with the Creek ceremonial ground near Cromwell. Another Caddo family regularly participates in the Green Corn ceremonies at a Yuchi ceremonial ground. Another friend is of Caddo and Seminole heritage. These family ties, sometimes indirect and somewhat vague, continue to bind Caddo and Delaware people to communities in eastern Oklahoma.

On the other hand, connections with some ceremonial grounds can come about from nothing more than hospitality and friendship. An example of this is the connection between the Hasinai Society and the Tallahassee *Wvkokaye* ceremonial ground. The Hasinai Society, with the permission of the *Mekko* and the encouragement of the ground's medicine person, Sam Proctor, decided to "make

camp” at Tallahassee Wvkokaye. I was not really sure what this entailed, but when Shirley asked, I volunteered to help out nonetheless. One Friday evening I met Shirley and Tom, her husband and a Kialegee Creek tribal elder, at a gas station on the outskirts of Norman and followed them to the ceremonial ground. Tallahassee is located near Okemah, but feels very much like the middle of nowhere. Not until we stopped for fuel and a snack at a gas station did I notice that another car was part of our caravan. We got to the ceremonial ground after dark so I really did not have a chance to get the lay of the land or properly meet the passengers of the other car. We all just pitched our tents and went to sleep.

Tallahassee Wvkokaye was not the first ceremonial ground that I visited, but it would become the one I knew most intimately. This early spring weekend (not long after I started field research with the Caddo), our goal was to get the camp ready for the summer’s stomp dances. In other words, I got a hands-on crash course in the architecture of camps at ceremonial grounds. The Mekko of the ground had selected a spot for our camp; someone else had camped there in previous years, but had not been back in a long time, thereby forfeiting their claim to the site. A rather shaky scaffolding of posts and rafters was left behind. Our job was to add a roof, build a hearth for cooking, rig together a shower stall, and organize the kitchen area.

Bright and early Saturday morning, Shirley took off for town to procure groceries for breakfast and some building supplies. I met Twila and Patty, the mother and daughter who were passengers in the other car, for the first time. Patty and I, being the youngest of the crew of volunteers, started to get to work. Tom assured us that he had “five good men” who were going to help us; they would be here any time

now. They never showed. Rather independent and self-sufficient by nature, Patty and I jumped right into the project without much of a plan. Or rather, we had several people who had several different plans, none of which correlated to each other, so we made one up as we went along. For the most part, we just started hammering. We added support posts, put up more rafters, and nailed up plywood and tarpaper. The end result was something of which we were proud. In fact, I was always glad to go back to Tallahassee and look at that camp, as ramshackle as it might appear to others. I felt that sense of accomplishment that you get from building something with your own two hands.

Helping to build this camp was also my “in” with Twila, a Caddo elder who I respect a great deal and from whom I learned many things. In a functional sense, Twila is like Shirley’s older sister; at least that was how she was introduced to me. I never really figured out how they are related, if at all, but in classic anthropological lingo, we would call them fictive kin. When we get to reminiscing, Twila often says that she did not know what to make of me when we first met. When I met Shirley and Tom at the gas station in Norman, I did not realize that Twila and Patty were following them. Fearful that I would be lost in unfamiliar territory, I cut right in front of Twila’s car. By being an aggressive, impatient driver, I did not make a great first impression. However, by swinging a hammer all day, by demonstrating that I was willing to work hard and not complain (too much), I earned (a bit of) Twila’s respect and found my place in the web of relationships that binds together the members of the Hasinai Society. In demonstrating our willingness to turn an eyesore into a habitable camp, our willingness to drive long distances to attend stomp dances, and our

readiness to feed large groups visitors at dances, the Hasinai Society earned its place among the other camps at the Tallahassee Wvkokaye ceremonial ground and became an active part of their social network.

Out West: Powwow Country

On the other side of Interstate 35 lies another vast social network of tribal communities and cultural organizations. Rather than stomp dances, these groups hold powwows. Like stomp dances, powwows depend on reciprocal participation by other organizations and individuals. Everyone has different reasons for going to powwows. Sometimes I go because we are co-hosting the dance (and upholding our reciprocal obligations) or because there will be good singing and contest dancing. Sometimes I go because there will be vendors, selling beadwork and jewelry or Indian tacos and nachos with goopy yellow cheese and jalapeno peppers. Sometimes I go to help out by selling raffles tickets or working in the kitchen. Sometimes I go just to sit and gossip with friends, because there is nothing better to do on a Saturday evening in the summertime. I have no doubt that some of the folks in the lawn chairs around me are there for some of these same reasons, among many others. Tribes and communities all over the country have powwows and their reasons for hosting them are as varied as mine for attending. The powwow in its current incarnation(s) is a recent phenomenon, but one with the power of tradition behind it. What is particularly interesting, to powwow people, as well as to anthropologists, is to witness how different communities interpret the powwow, how they arrange and rearrange its various components, very much like musical variations on a theme.

Anthropologists, historians, and scholars in the field of Native Studies, as well as community members, have written extensively about the powwow from many different perspectives (Kracht 1994a, 1994b; Arkeketa 1995; Young 1995, 2001; Hamill 2000; Browner 2000, 2004; Ellis 2003; Ellis, Lassiter, and Dunham 2005). Many of these authors agree (and some passionately disagree) on the basic history of the powwow and its diffusion to tribes all over the United States. The primary components of the powwow can be traced to several different sources that came together and coalesced into the powwow known today. Gloria A. Young and Erik D. Gooding (2001:1011) state that many of these sources were widespread among tribal people, including men's society dances, the Ghost Dance, gift-giving dances and the Drum or Dream Dance. "The styles of all these intertribal dances were greatly influenced by the tribal music, dances, customs, and religion of the participants" (Young and Gooding 2001:1011) and led directly to the variation observable today. In terms of this variation, powwows are generally characterized as either Northern style or Southern style. The Northern style powwow is found throughout the northern and central Plains, the Great Lakes area, and Canada, while the Southern version originated in southwestern Oklahoma (Browner 2000:217). Given that the Southern Plains style originated in a comparatively small geographic area, i.e., southwestern Oklahoma, much less variation exists in its style when compared to the Northern Plains style of dancing (Browner 2000:223).¹⁰ The biggest factor distinguishing Northern style and Southern powwows is the type of music sung by the people gathered around the drum.

Powwows are usually organized (or hosted) by a committee, an organization, or an extended family. Much work goes into planning a powwow and even more work goes into ensuring its success. The host must decide the event's program, including if it will be all gourd dance or a mix of gourd dancing and intertribal dances; if there will be contests and if so, in what categories and what prizes will be awarded; if there will be giveaways and specials; what types of raffles or fundraising activities will be held; and if dinner will be served and if so, what will be on the menu, who will provide the groceries, and who will cook. After deciding if the dance will be held indoors or outside, the host must also find a venue to accommodate the dance, make sure their event is on the schedule, and pay a deposit and cleaning fee, if such is required. They must also publicize the event by making flyers or handbills and remembering to distribute them at other dances, to drop some off at McKee's Indian Store in Anadarko, and to post them around town, and by placing an announcement in the *Anadarko Daily News*' "Powwows and Handgames" section. Dozen of other decisions have to be made along the way: Will there be a concession stand? Will vendors be allowed to set up tables and will they be charged a fee? Will elders, veterans, or any community members be honored at the dance? Will a public address system be needed? Does the dance ground or building need to be cleaned beforehand? Do the arbors or benches need any repairs? Do people need to bring their own dishes or will plates and eating utensils be provided?

The most important decision to be made (except maybe for the dinner menu) however is who will serve as the head staff and co-hosts. As James Hamill (2000:300) points out, members of the head staff "usually come from outside the host

group. The head man dancer, the head woman dancer, the emcee, and the arena director are selected for their skill at those particular positions and their prominence in the Indian community” (Hamill 2000:300). As Sue N. Roark-Calnek (1977) demonstrated in the 1970s, the right choices can ensure a dance’s success; the wrong choices can result in poor attendance or a disorganized program. When a host chooses a member of the head staff or a co-host, a lot of factors come into play, such as the prominence of that person in the community, the size of that person’s family (and thus their base of support), the size of the organization, and the ability of the chosen person or organization to do the job successfully. A good emcee will keep the audience entertained and keep things on schedule, a good head singer will help build and maintain the momentum of the dance, a good arena director will take care of many incidentals that come up throughout the evening, from taking out the trash to bringing refreshments to the singers, and a good head dancer will start the dancing and thereby encourage others to join. These choices “not only contribute significantly to the execution of the powwow but also represent the Indian communities that congeal around the powwow” (Hamill 2000:300).

Reading the *Anadarko Daily News* for a few weeks helped me to learn about the communities that Hamill refers to and who the communities’ movers and shakers are. I quickly got a sense of which organizations were called on to co-host large powwows and which organizations were so large that they could co-host two events at the same time. Some people were acting as members of head staff nearly every weekend it seemed, and in a way, they are the celebrities of the powwow community. Maybe this was the reason I was shocked one evening at a Hasinai Society meeting

when I learned that Ralph Kotay, a renowned Kiowa singer, would be the head singer at our next dance. The Hasinai Society is relatively well-known, but we are a small organization. Ralph Kotay is a very well-known singer, and I thought we were lucky to have him helping us out. He showed up early, got things started on time, and kept things moving throughout the evening. A lot of people turned out to support the dance that evening, and even though we served some really good chicken and dumplings for dinner, I think they showed up because of the head staff we had, in particular Mr. Kotay. Everything just seemed to fall into place that night, and I look back on that as one of the most successful gourd dances that the Hasinai Society has hosted to date.

Sometimes everything seems to come together. Having a strong base of support can make that happen, and in the absence of that support, choosing head staff with strong support can help. In many ways, the powwow world mirrors the support network among tribes in eastern Oklahoma. When one organization asks another group to co-host, the co-host will expect support from them at a later date. Oftentimes this is taken for granted, but not always. When the Hasinai Society asked the Thomas Service Club to co-host a dance, the Service Club agreed – on the condition that the Hasinai Society would co-host for them the following month at their annual dance. Even when not this explicit, the assumption is made that support will be given when needed. The Hasinai Society often asks the Comanche Little Ponies to co-host dances, and the Comanche Little Ponies have called on the Hasinai Society to co-host for them several times. However, even when not asked to co-host, the members of the Hasinai Society will attend the Comanche Little Ponies' dances as a show of support. The same model applies to members of the head staff. Most active participants in

powwows are usually members of at least one organization. When a member is asked to act as a head dancer, the organization will attend to support its member.

Consequently, the careful selection of head staff can ensure lots of support for a dance. But in ensuring support from other organizations and community members, the host organization agrees to reciprocate when called upon. This reciprocity forms a complex web of relationships that bind organizations and powwow people together and makes powwows “sites where people intensely negotiate social relationships” (Lassiter and Ellis 1998:487).

Also negotiated at powwows is tribal identity, and nowhere is this more apparent than at the American Indian Exposition. Once the temperature starts to creep towards the 80° mark, which is pretty early in the year in southwestern Oklahoma, everyone in Anadarko starts talking about the Indian Fair, as it is known to locals. Nearly every day when I ate at the Delaware Nation’s Senior Citizens’ Center, the Indian Fair came up in conversation. One day I heard about the time the Seminole folks from Florida demonstrated alligator wrestling. They then gave an alligator to the Fair’s President, and it got loose in the Arts and Crafts Building out at the county fairgrounds. Another time, I learned how families would camp at the fairgrounds for weeks at a time, before and after the Fair. I also heard about “Forty-nines” (large informal dances held after the close of the evening’s official program) that got out of hand, fortunetellers on the midway, and the politics of the Fair’s Board of Directors.¹¹ The general consensus from these stories is that the Fair today pales in comparison to that of decades before.



Figure 23: The Caddo Nation Youth Color Guard marching in the American Indian Exposition Parade, Anadarko, Oklahoma; August 2002

The American Indian Exposition began in 1933 as an all-Indian organization with its own constitution and by-laws; Lewis Ware served as President and Parker McKenzie acted as secretary and treasurer (Wright 1946:159). Muriel H. Wright (1946:159) claims that the Exposition was a continuation of the All-Indian Fair held in previous years at Craterville Park. While Frank Rush, a white resident and owner of the park, did sponsor an Indian fair in the 1920s, the Exposition did not develop from this event, except perhaps in a reactionary way (Ellis 2003). Instead, these events competed against each other with the Craterville fair administered by Rush and the Exposition managed by local tribal members. In fact, the Exposition started so that Indian folks would have an event that was by and for them, not for the profit of

someone else (Ellis 2003:138-141). The Craterville event ended once Frank Rush died, but the Exposition continues to this day.

The Caddo and Delaware have always had an active role in the Indian Fair. Each year, a tribal representative is nominated to serve on the Fair's Board of Directors. For example, years ago, Charlene served in this capacity for the Caddo; more recently, Bobby Gonzalez has taken on the responsibility. Bobby's relative, Evelyn Kionute, recently served as the tribal representative for the Delaware Nation. In 1935, Maurice Bedoka, a Caddo tribal member, was the President of the Board of Directors (Young 1995:22). Two years later, in 1937, the Caddo Turkey Dance was a featured event, along with a Blackfoot ceremonial dance and an archery competition (Wright 1946:162). The Caddo and Delaware participants always stand out from the crowd because of their distinctive style of dress. For example, Lillian Gassaway, daughter of J.J. Methvin, gave an excellent description of the Indian Fair in 1937 (LaVere 1998:102-103).¹² In her account of the annual parade, she briefly mentioned the buckskin dresses worn by some ladies, but instead described the Caddo dresses at length:

The Caddo women wore their two-piece dress, which consisted of a full skirt with a full length apron, the waist made a deep collar with a ruffle around it. On this collar were ornaments placed around the ruffle. The sleeves were long. These Caddo women wore in their hair a German silver roach comb, which was a circular comb reaching almost around the head with ribbons about four or five inches wide fastened to it. These ribbons reached below the knees of these Caddo women. [LaVere 1998:102]

At the fairgrounds, a Kiowa teepee, a Caddo bark house, and a Wichita grass house were erected. While a teepee can generally be set up rather quickly, bark houses and grass houses required a considerable amount of time to gather the necessary

materials, to recruit willing volunteers, and to be built. Gassaway concludes that “The whole Exposition is being carried out in real Indian style and almost everything is typical of the old Indian customs” (LaVere 1998:103).

In general, the Caddo and Delaware hold fewer powwows and intertribal dances than other tribes in southwestern Oklahoma. Consequently, the Indian Fair is a chance for them to interact with other tribes, see these tribes’ dances, and demonstrate their unique dances for others. In a very real sense, then, the Indian Fair annually demonstrates both that the Caddo and Delaware tribes are part of the powwow culture of southwestern Oklahoma and that they remain distinctive because of their different dances and styles of dress.

Navigating the East-West Divide

The Caddo and Delaware have been forced, because of their current location in southwestern Oklahoma, to navigate between these two communities, the stomp dance world and the powwow world. They found themselves relatively isolated from the Woodland social network at a time when new social networks were emerging among the Plains tribes. These networks, fostered by life on reservations, the boarding school experience, and religious practices, among other things, found cultural expression in the intertribal powwow, the war dance, and later in the gourd dance (as well as in the Ghost Dance, the Native American Church, Christian church congregation, hand games, baseball and softball teams, and golf). Yet, familial ties and cultural affinity continued to pull the Caddo and Delaware people eastward, reminding them of their cultural background as a Woodland tribe. In some ways the

Caddo and Delaware were faced with several choices: preserve their culturally distinct tribal traditions without the assistance of the social network that facilitated its continuity, reject tribal traditions in favor of pan-tribalism, exert the extra effort needed to participate in the Woodland social network or the Plains social network, or some combination of these options.

Based on the actions of the various tribal cultural organizations, different groups handled this situation in different and very distinct ways. Each of the organizations, Lenape Legacy, Caddo Cultural Club, and Hasinai Society, have somewhat different priorities and available resources; they are also at different points in their life cycles, and this too affects their activities.

In many ways, Lenape Legacy has taken the most exclusive or isolationist approach of the three cultural organizations. The organization focuses almost exclusively on Delaware traditions, though does support the perpetuation of Caddo traditions in instructional classes taught by Marilyn Burkhardt and at its annual dance in July. Lenape Legacy started strong, but is (perhaps) reaching the end of its life cycle as an active organization; of course, this is subject to change without notice and hopefully there will be a revival of interest in the organization. Its membership has never been large, but has shrunk to just a few members, all of whom are elderly. With the exception of extending invitations to its annual dances to the Eastern Delaware, seldom does Lenape Legacy as an organization interact with tribes other than the Caddo, and specifically with the Caddo Culture Club.¹³ In fact, Lenape Legacy's annual dance would not take place except for the support provided by the Caddo Culture Club, and the network analysis in Chapter 3 illustrates the dependency of

Lenape Legacy on the Culture Club. In some ways, the organization’s efforts reflect an attempt to recreate the Woodland social network on a much diminished scale. And because this effort is on such a very small scale, Lenape Legacy does not need to have a large support network.

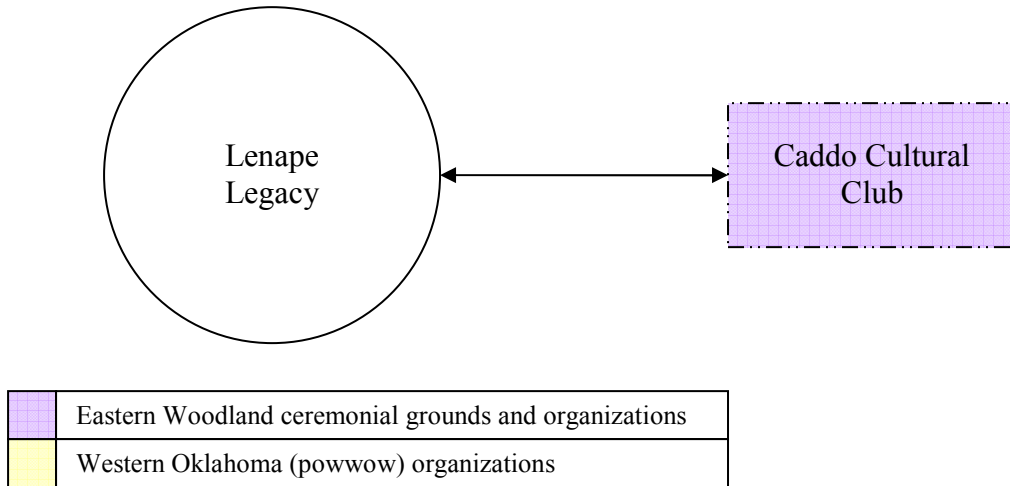


Figure 24: Lenape Legacy supports and is supported by the Caddo Culture Club

In many ways, the Caddo Culture Club is at the opposite end of the spectrum; they are the largest of the Caddo and Delaware cultural organizations in terms of membership. Their bimonthly meetings are attended by about twenty or so members, and their fundraisers and holiday dinners can draw a crowd of fifty or more. The Culture Club hosts an “annual powwow” during the second weekend of June each year (Caddo Cultural Club n.d.). This dance, like most Caddo dances, primarily features Caddo social dances. The event begins with the Turkey Dance in the afternoon, followed by the Drum Dance and other social dances after the evening meal. Oftentimes, the evening’s program will include several War Dances or

intertribal dances and giveaways of the type common at powwows. In part, these dances encourage participation by non-Caddo people, including spouses or friends of tribal members who may be Kiowa or Comanche, and their choreography is simple and familiar to many people. Though they sometimes incorporate intertribal dances into the evening's activities, the Caddo Culture Club does not host dances that are strictly intertribal, that is, dances that do not include any Caddo dances (gourd dances, for example). In the past several years, they have infrequently co-hosted or participated in such events for other organizations. At one of the meetings I attended, members of the Culture Club debated about whether they should co-host a gourd dance for another organization. Some members argued that co-hosting was a financial drain on the organization. Others felt that gourd dances are not Caddo and said their elderly family members had told them not to participate. Some people just find gourd dances boring and did not want to obligate themselves to attend. Just as infrequently as they co-hosted intertribal dances, the members of the Culture Club attended stomp dances at one of the Absentee Shawnee ceremonial grounds and the annual stomp dance sponsored by the University of Oklahoma's American Indian Student Association. Through these activities, the Caddo Culture Club reached out both west and east, both to the powwow community and to the stomp dance community. However, their participation is so irregular and so sporadic that they are not highly integrated into these social networks. The following figures show the organizations which receive support from the Caddo Culture Club, as well as those that support the organization.

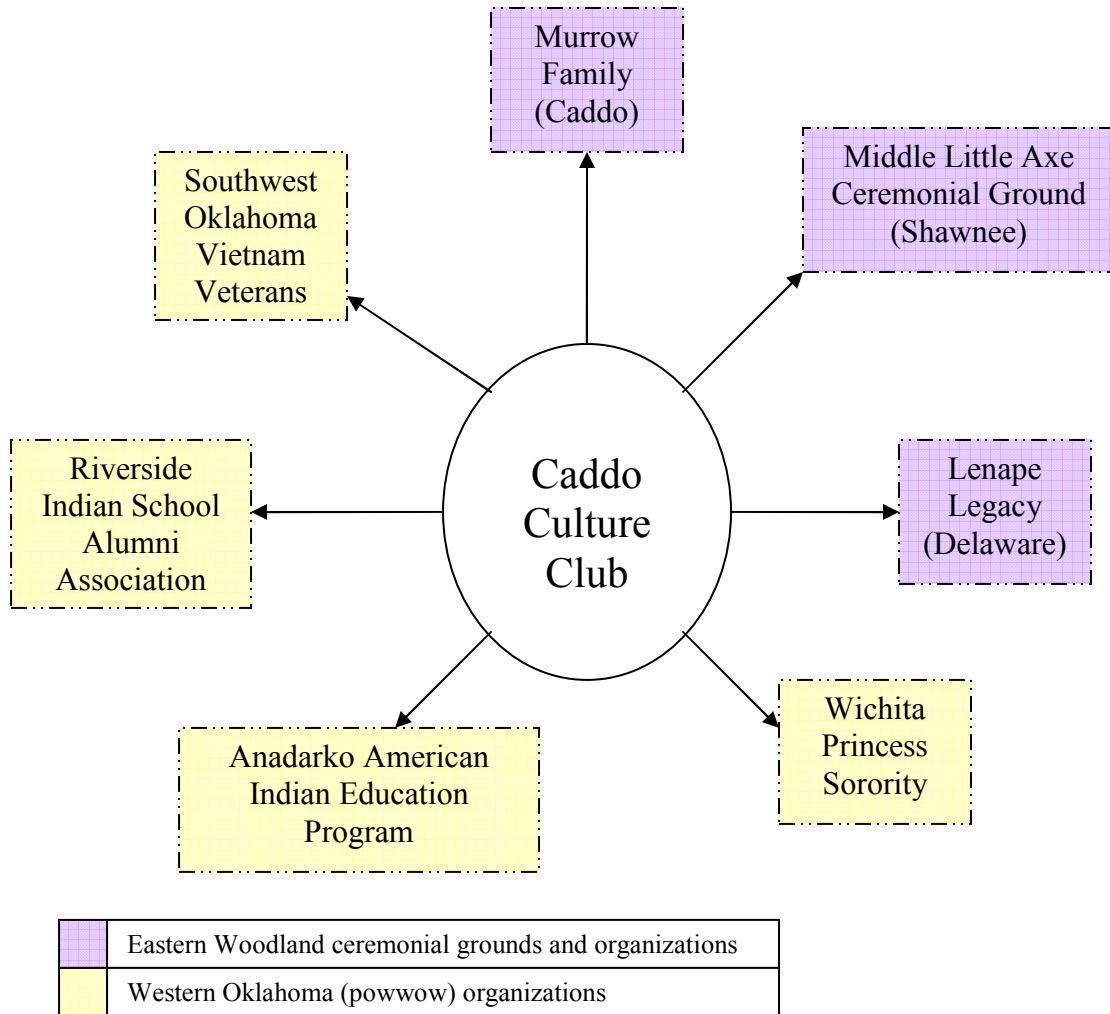


Figure 25: Organizations and ceremonial grounds supported by the Caddo Culture Club

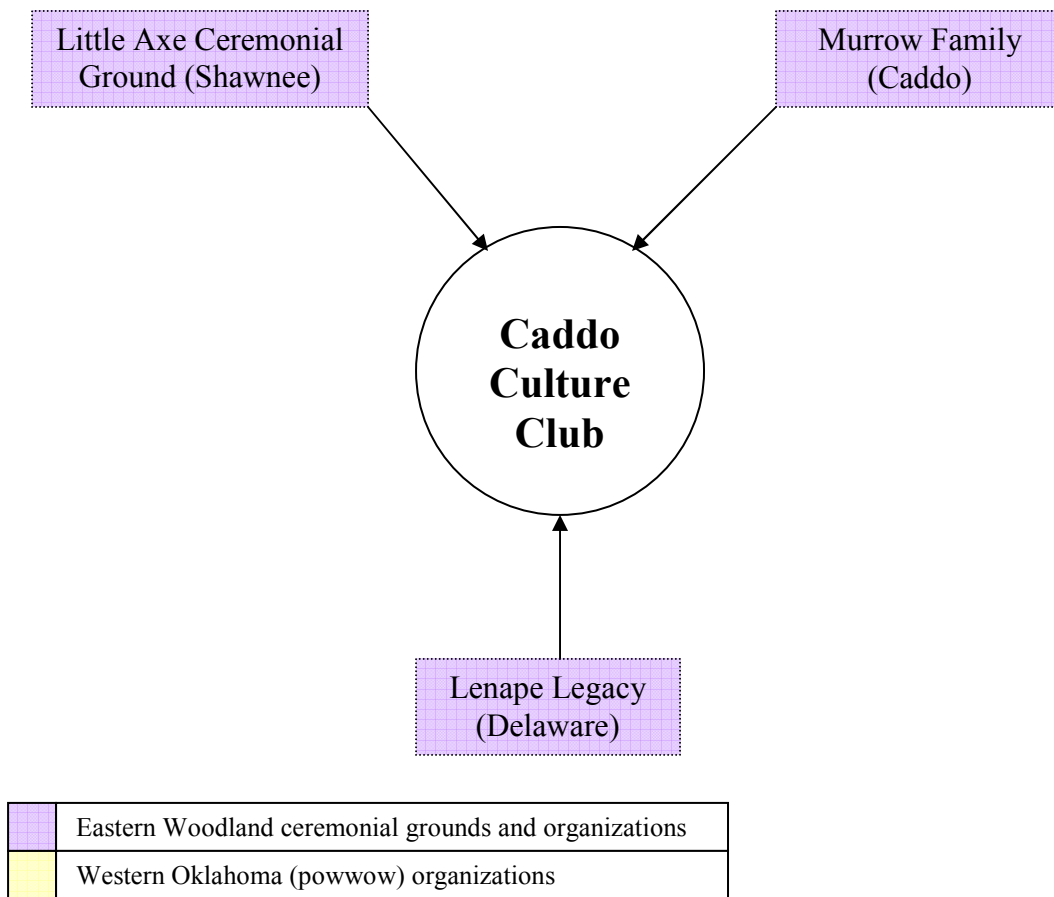


Figure 26: The Caddo Culture Club's network of support

These figures illustrate the Culture Club's participation in both the Eastern Woodlands social network and the powwow network. Several things can be noted about the Culture Club's participation: They generally only lend their support to organizations that are affiliated with local tribes, like the Wichita and Delaware, or that are located in the vicinity of Anadarko, like the Riverside Indian School's Alumni Association. The outlier here is the Little Axe ceremonial ground affiliated with the Absentee Shawnee Tribe. While this may not appear to fit the pattern, the

close relationship between the Shawnee and the Caddo explains this apparent anomaly. The Shawnee and Caddo people are intermarried with one another, and the members of the Caddo Culture Club told me that the organization “gave” the Turkey Dance to the Shawnee ceremonial ground where they visit.¹⁴ Overall, the Culture Club supports those organizations, though limited in number, that in turn support its activities.

Another notable thing here is the lack of support that is available to the Caddo Culture Club as illustrated in the above figure. This should not signify that the Culture Club’s dances are poorly attended, as they are not. What this does indicate, however, is that the Caddo Culture Club is an organization that does not need a large base of support outside of its membership. Its activities, such as its annual dance and fundraisers, can be carried out without relying on support from other organizations. Furthermore, the Culture Club’s dances are all largely Caddo dances and other than a few intertribal dances, do not appeal to the powwow community of southwestern Oklahoma. In many ways though to a much lesser extent, this mirrors the isolationist approach taken by Lenape Legacy.

The Hasinai Society, which is smaller than the Culture Club in terms of active membership, focuses more on teaching children their tribal traditions. In contrast to the (somewhat) isolationist approaches of Lenape Legacy and Caddo Cultural Club, the Hasinai Society is almost fully integrated into the powwow and stomp dance networks. Its members regularly participate in dances hosted by the Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, as well as several intertribal organizations, and regularly take on the responsibility of acting as co-hosts. While sponsoring and co-

hosting powwows and gourd dances occupies much of the fall and winter months, the spring and summer are filled with trips to eastern Oklahoma for stomp dances. Members of Hasinai Society are regular participants at stomp dances held at Creek, Yuchi, and Shawnee ceremonial grounds; they regularly attend the annual Green Corn ceremony at the Polecat ceremonial ground (Yuchi) and the annual War Dance at one of the ceremonial grounds at Little Axe (Absentee Shawnee).¹⁵ When dancing back east, the Hasinai Society participates as any other visiting ceremonial ground's delegation would; they sit together and dance together as a group. The Hasinai Society also hosts several dances each year, including gourd dances as fundraisers and Caddo social dances and stomp dances. The Caddo dances hosted by the Hasinai Society are often held in conjunction with the Hasinai Summer Youth Camp and the induction of a new Hasinai Society princess. As shown below, the Hasinai Society actively supports many organizations, and in turn receives support from many different sources.

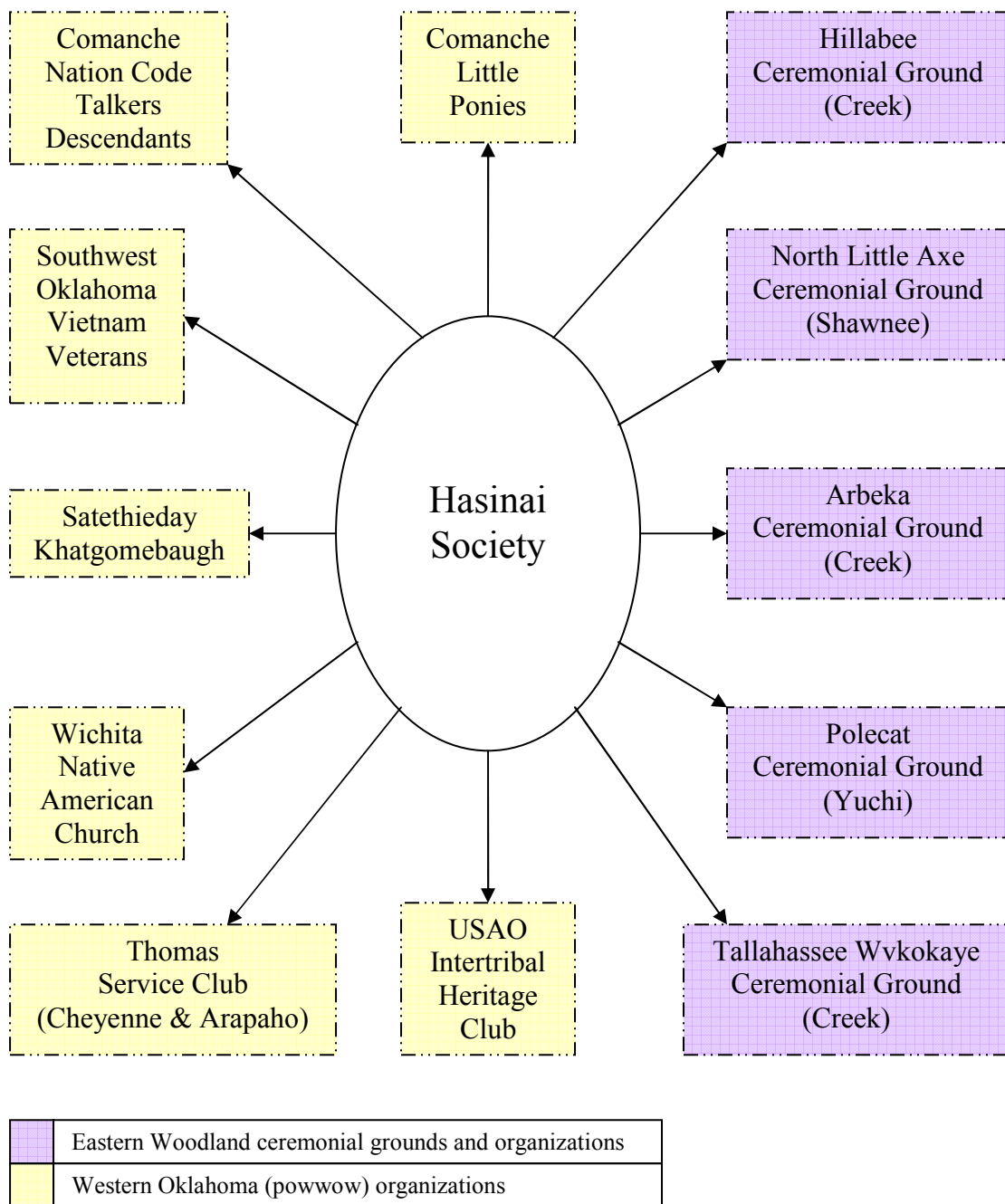


Figure 27: Organizations and ceremonial grounds supported by the Hasinai Society

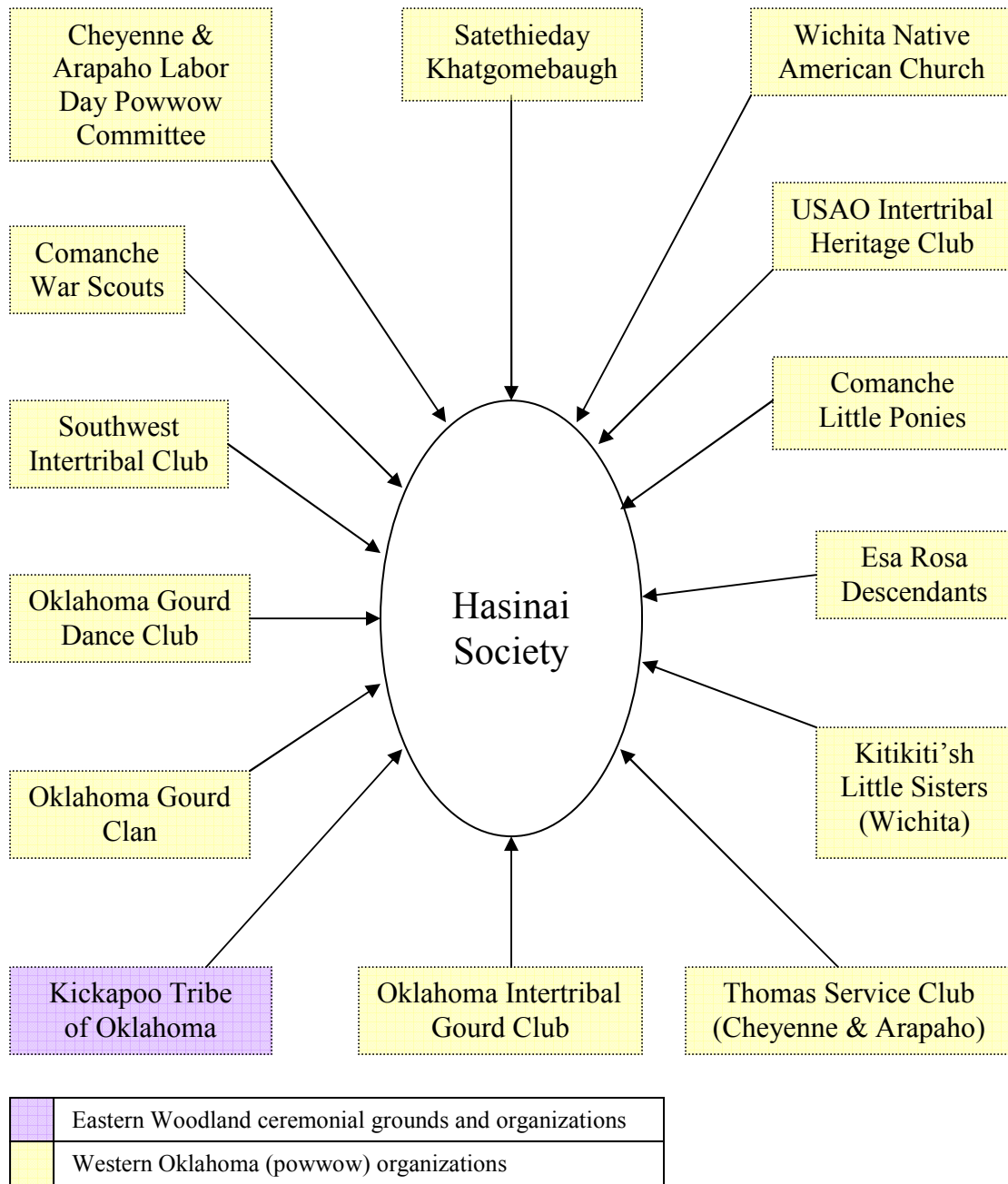


Figure 28: The Hasinai Society's network of support

Once again, the organization's participation in both the eastern and western social networks is apparent. However, the Hasinai Society's support network is almost entirely based on organizations from Western Oklahoma. Its support among these groups is strong. In the cases of the Comanche Little Ponies, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh, the University of Arts and Sciences of Oklahoma's Intertribal Heritage Club, the Thomas Service Club, and several others, the support is reciprocal. Sometimes this support is quite substantial. For example, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh co-hosted a gourd dance for the Hasinai Society in 2005. As part of their giveaway, the members of the organization pledged meat for the youth camp. When the week of camp arrived several months later, Satethieday Khatgomebaugh came through with enough meat to feed the hungry campers for a week and provide meat for the dance at the close of camp.

The Hasinai Society's pattern is in marked contrast with that of the Caddo Cultural Club, which receives all of its support from Eastern Woodlands groups and does not cultivate the extensive connections and relationships that the Hasinai Society manages. Maintaining these many relationships is important work for the Hasinai Society, but requires a lot of effort and commitment on the part of the organization's members. Members have to shift gears from stomp dances to gourd dances from week to week and have the regalia appropriate to these very different dance genres. They also have to travel extensively and work hard to raise money to fund this travel.

Why do they do this? Why do they (in some ways) stretch themselves so thin? The answer is complex, but in many ways these extensive connections outside of the Caddo community make up for a dearth of more local support. The Hasinai Society,

as Shirley would be quick to point out, does have local support: from elders, from the tribal government, and from many people who support its efforts to pass on Caddo culture to children. However, the core membership of the organization, those members who actually attend the weekly meetings and will pitch in at fundraisers and the youth camp, is small compared to the Caddo Culture Club. Further exacerbating the situation is that many of the Hasinai Society's supporters do not live in the immediate vicinity, but rather in Oklahoma City or the Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas area. While the "Texas Hasinai" provide critical support to the summer youth camp and at major dances, distance prevents them from supporting the organization on a weekly or even monthly basis. To make up for this situation, the Hasinai Society cultivates relationships with local organizations. This ensures that support is there so that the organization's main goals can be accomplished, and it brings about an appreciation of other tribes' traditions in the Society's younger members, many of whom are of mixed tribal heritage.

Apparently, these three cultural organizations have all taken very different approaches to navigating the east – west divide, from relative isolation to attempts at full integration. And each organization, particularly the Culture Club and the Hasinai Society, does so while claiming to be "traditional" and criticizing the other for being "intertribal." It is this tension between ideas of what is traditional and what is intertribal that leads to the subject of cultural complexity.

Maintaining Tradition amidst Complexity

Something really interesting happened at a gourd dance last year. The Hasinai Society co-hosted the dance, and after the evening's events got underway, the powwow's organizers approached Shirley about an exhibition dance. They felt that it would be something interesting, even novel, if the Caddo folks there performed one of their social dances, in this case, the Bear Dance. Shirley consented, and later on, the master of ceremonies announced that the Caddo would perform the Bear Dance. Jimmy Reeder sang, and the Hasinai kids lined up for the dance. With a few gentle reminders from Shirley during the dance, it came off without a hitch. The crowd, mostly composed of people whose tribes do not have anything like the Bear Dance in their repertoire, applauded. The head singer started the next set of songs, and the gourd dance continued.

The exhibition dances also continued. Almost every time that the Hasinai Society co-hosted a powwow or gourd dance in the following year (and up until the time of my writing), the hosts asked them to do an exhibition dance of one of the Caddo social dances. In response to the reception these exhibitions were getting at local powwows, we started doing them as a regular part of the gourd dances we organized as fundraisers. At the most recent dance we held, we performed a shortened version of the Turkey Dance. During the last part of the Turkey Dance, the women, who have danced by themselves through all the preceding parts, ask men to dance with them, so that our only vendor, the arena director, the man running the concession stand, and a handful of others all participated. Later that night, as I stood at the end of the line of people waiting to eat dinner, I overheard comments about the Hasinai kids:

people were very impressed with their commitment to learning their tribal dances, as well as to participating in intertribal events, like gourd dances. Bruce Caesar, who had left his vendor table to join the Turkey Dance, quickly pointed out that not only did the Hasinai kids participate, but they were good dancers too; he remembered that one of the boys recently won the straight dance competition at a powwow at the Kiowa tribe.

This story demonstrates both cultural complexity and the maintenance of tradition, two ideas that should not work together, but do. This situation is akin to the dynamic equilibrium that Jackson and Levine (2002:296) note among Woodland Indian people who balance tribalism and intertribalism. In this case, the cultural complexity inherent in intertribal dances reinforces as well as reifies the importance and uniqueness of traditional Caddo dances. The dancers feel a sense of pride in performing a dance that is unfamiliar to and appreciated by the audience, and for the Hasinai Society's children especially, the positive reinforcement is priceless. What the Hasinai Society, under Shirley's leadership, has done is to carve out a distinctly Caddo niche within the larger network of Plains tribes. In a very real sense, then, the Hasinai Society declares its various identities and appreciations all at once: Caddo, Eastern Woodland, Plains, intertribal. But, of course, Caddo always comes first.

On a more concrete level, the Hasinai Society's participation in the eastern and western intertribal networks is exactly what makes their Caddo activities – whether that be the summer youth camp or a Caddo dance – so successful. Both the organizations in western and eastern Oklahoma recognize the Hasinai Society's mission, to pass along tribal traditions to youth, as one that is incredibly important

and willingly contribute to this effort. Organizations from western Oklahoma often contribute financially at fundraisers or donate supplies to youth camp. Folks from eastern Oklahoma, those from tribes who share similar traditions with the Caddo, often volunteer as teachers at the youth camp. In this sense, the Hasinai Society has navigated the split between Oklahoma's Woodlands and Plains tribes successfully and has done so to further their own ends, namely the perpetuation of their own unique tribal culture. Therefore, by participating in both the Woodland social network and in the activities of powwow country, the Hasinai Society's members ensure community and financial support for its Caddo activities.

However, as in most things, there is a cost. The Hasinai Society's participation in these intertribal activities, whether stomp dances or gourd dances, opened them up to criticism from the other Caddo organization, the Caddo Culture Club. The Caddo Culture Club and the Hasinai Society struggled against each other in an overtly competitive way, mostly for recognition from within the Caddo community. The hostility between the two organizations was so deeply entrenched during the period discussed in this work that they fail to realize that they are working toward the same goal – the preservation of traditional Caddo culture – though they approach this goal in different ways. By way of illustration, the Hasinai Society was frequently criticized for sponsoring gourd dances or for going to stomp dances because these activities are not, in the strictest sense, Caddo. However, this criticism was predicated on the idea that the Hasinai Society's members do not recognize these activities as Kiowa or Creek in origin and consider them Caddo. Of course, this is not the case.

The criticisms launched against those who participate in intertribal activities, though, brings up many interesting questions: What is tradition and who defines it? How are tribal traditions, and thereby traditional knowledge, reconciled with participation in intertribal activities? Do they even need to be reconciled? How is tradition intimately connected to tribal identity? What is the relationship between tradition and culture? It is to these questions that I now turn, in the following chapter.

¹ The Caddo Corn Dance is a different dance (different songs and choreography) than the Corn Dance performed by the Iroquois. The Iroquois Corn Dance has similar songs to the Caddo Bell Dance, also known as the Bean Dance among other Woodland communities.

² The Doll Dance is a ceremonial dance of the Delaware (Speck 1937), and it was not danced by the Caddo. The Absentee Shawnee are reported to have danced it, but it was introduced to them by the Delaware (Howard 1981).

³ I have listed the Ghost Dance among the Caddo people's social dances as today it is most often performed in this context rather than in the more religious and ceremonial context of previous years.

⁴ Swanton (1996:234) reports that in 1912 the Caddo had a dance called the Skunk Dance, but I have not seen reference to this dance anywhere else.

⁵ Newkumet and Meredith (1988a:125) state that the Wah-she-nee-kee Dance is the second segment of the Drum Dance. Even so, I have seen it performed separately from the Drum Dance; e.g., at Randlett Edmond's 90th birthday dance held on 12 June 2004 (dance flyer in possession of author).

⁶ The information presented in this table is partial at best and continues to be refined as I gain further experience with the Caddo and Delaware, as well as other Woodland communities. What this table does, though, is give a general sense of the social and ceremonial dances of the Caddo and Delaware, and how widely these songs are or (and in some cases) are not shared with their Woodland neighbors. Jackson and Levine, in addition to their work together on the Garfish Dance (2002), are currently working on documenting the distribution of the Eastern Woodland social dances from a less Caddo-centric perspective than I have taken here.

⁷ Many of these songs are also sung by the Eastern Delaware near Bartlesville. According to Adams (1991:110-112) and based on his interviews with Nora Dean, the Eastern Delaware have the following social dances: Woman Dance, Cherokee Dance, Bean Dance, Coon Dance, Go Get'em (Swing) Dance, Alligator Dance, Quapaw Dance, Duck Dance, Chicken Dance, Stirrup Dance, Fish Dance, Sheep Dance, Lead (Stomp) Dance, and Bunch (Morning) Dance.

⁸ For example, it is widely acknowledged that the Caddo "gave" the Turkey Dance to the Shawnee, Kickapoo, Quapaw, and Delaware people (Howard 1981:335-337; Carter 1995a).

⁹ In several ways, this network and its expression today have many of the characteristics of the persistent cultural systems described by Spicer (1971). This network has historical depth, built up over centuries. Furthermore, this social network serves as a "storage mechanism for human experience, a means for organizing the accumulating experience of people" (Spicer 1971:796).

¹⁰ A similar situation exists for the dances of the Eastern Woodlands. Whereas they were once common in an area that covers much of the eastern United States, they are now condensed into eastern Oklahoma.

¹¹ See the work of Feder (1964) and Ellis (2003:117-118) for a discussion of the history of the Forty-nine and its place in the development of the Southern Plains powwow.

¹² Methvin was a missionary to the Kiowa and Comanche people and was well-known in the Anadarko community. Today, a local Methodist church with a largely Indian congregation is named for him.

¹³ Even though these invitations were extended to the Eastern Delaware, none have attended any of Lenape Legacy's dances from 2002 to the present time.

¹⁴ The Caddo Culture Club generally dances with the Middle Little Axe ceremonial ground, while the Hasinai Society dances with the North Little Axe ceremonial ground.

¹⁵ The Absentee Shawnee War Dance is an annual ceremony akin to the Green Corn ceremony of the Creek and Yuchi and should not be confused with the War Dance as performed at powwows.

Interlude: Caddo Hand Game, Songs, and Dances, 9 April 1949

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Karl and Iva Schmitt conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the Anadarko area. They had widespread contact with the Caddo and Wichita communities and left an extensive collection of field notes, materials now housed at the Western History Collection at the University of Oklahoma, Norman. Among their copious notes was the following, written by Karl Schmitt and reproduced here.

Caddo Hand Game: April 9, 1949.

I had told the Beavers that I would like to go to another hand game if the Caddos were going to have one. Mrs. Beaver said they liked to have one and that maybe they could get one up. The following week I saw her again and she said there was going to be a game on Easter ----unfortunately I had planned to go on a trip over Easter and said that I would not be able to go then. The next week she told me they had changed the date of the game to April 9 so that I could come. They also wanted me to bring the recorder and get some more music. That evening I was to speak for the Itanaha Club, the statewide Indian students club. I spoke to the club and then took off for the Caddo community house at 9:00 pm.

When I got there everyone seemed happy to see me again. After talking some with various people we got ready to do some recording. They finished up a handgame which was in progress first. There was considerable indecision as to what was going to be sung. There had been plans made for this affair, too. George Beaver told me a week before that Wilber Williams was making up a program of songs so that they wouldn't have to discuss what they were going to sing after every song. Wilber was there and had given a program of songs to Bill Hunt (who had preceded me ---along with Don and Sue Deitrich). Just before they started to sing Bill Bedoka and Hank Weller came in and everybody was glad to see them. Someone said, 'Those two always liven things up.' The drummers who started out were Hank Weller, Bill Bedoka, Ralph Morrow [Murrow], Houston Edmonds and his son, George Beaver and Joe Beaver. Later in the evening Wilber Williams and Amos Longhat took over as some of the drummer dropped out ---Edmonds

son, Ralph Morrow, George Beaver on some occasions. George Beaver never got up from the bench, but he didn't sing all the time.

In starting to sing they didn't know how to start or what they should sing --- someone told Hank Weller to tell them what to sing. He started to do this and then someone else said that Wilber Williams had a program ----- the drummers looked over it and decided to follow that ----and then decided to sing 4 songs of each kind listed. They deviated from both the number and the kinds of songs after they got started.

Notes of various songs and dances:

Turkey Dance: Some of the songs don't have words. Again I was told that those which do have words are about the Osage.

Caddo Victory Dance: Vynola Beaver Newkumet told me after that these had come in since the last war ---- 'sort of like the 49 songs came in after World War I.'

Flag Song: Vynola said that this was also since the last war ---I was at Morrow's dance in July '48 when the Caddos seemed to be learning it from the visiting Kiowas.

Caddo Round Dance: Was told by the people there that this was danced by the participants in a big mass and going around and around ---"sort of like the 49." In the other round dance there is a single line of dancers.

Vine Dance: This was a very poor non-translation on the part of Wilber Williams ---he thought it was a good description of the dance. Mrs. Beaver, Hank Weller, Nettie Choctaw later decided that the Caddo name of the dance meant "leading people around." This is the dance that was announced as the "Cherokee Dance" at Morrow's dance in July 1948. The above people don't know why it is called the Cherokee Dance ---they say they didn't get it from the Cherokee.

Women Songs: For the recording the men get the women to sit on bench as near the drum. One of the men would start the song and then the women take it up. When sung at regular occasions at night in the summer the women stand in a mass by the drummer ---no dancing. Hank Weller called the women the "Caddo Glee Club."

Women Dance Songs: These are for the dance we saw at Morrow's in the summer of 1948. This is the dance that Grandma ---Old Mrs. Williams led.

Old Caddo Bell Dance Songs: Didn't get the information for these.

Bean Dance or Bell Dance: These are the songs that went with the Bell Dance we danced at Morrow's in 1948. The stylized opening was new to me, but Vynola Newkumet said that she had heard it done lots of times.

Pay Songs: It told [took] them a long time to think up a title for these songs. I never did get what they were for, but Bill Hunt said that he understood that they were sung while the Caddos were traveling to the agency to get their rations in the old issue days.

Ghost Dance: Hank Weller said that these were "Caddo Ghost Dance songs" ---they weren't Cheyenne-Arapaho songs, they had Caddo words. The people think these are really pretty songs.

Coon Dance: Several people got up to dance this one. Women get men to dance with them. Ralph Morrow, Wilber Williams, Amos Longhat, Grace Aikens, Mrs. Morrow were among those I remember dancing. They formed a circle which went counterclockwise with partners dancing facing each other. At a change in the song they would reverse so that if the man had been dancing backwards, he now danced forwards and vice versa. The movement was always counterclockwise. At the change in dancing Wilber Williams would let out high pitched yelps ---I don't think these were too well appreciated by most of the people. When Wilber gave the first yelp, Ralph Morrow said, "Caddos get drunk at one o'clock." This was based on an earlier joke by Wilber who interrupted the singing and starting the eating by saying "Caddos drink coffee at eleven o'clock." This was of course based on the fact that they were teaching us things about the Caddo way of life. (Wilber wasn't drunk.)

Duck Dance: This has been recorded before. Again Wilber Williams and Henry Weller imitated ducks ----in a sort of tired fashion.

Corn Dance: They sang two of these songs and the people said they were very pretty. A few times Hank Weller interjected a recurrent phrase Na ti/ayheh. After they finished the singers were discussing the song and said that that phrase should have been sung over and over during the whole song. So they sang a third corn dance song and Hank Weller sang this phrase over and over ----he seemed a little self conscious and laughed often when he was singing ---spectators laughed at him also.

Alligator Dance Songs: This was led by Bill Bedoka. The songs were in three parts: one group of men sang Yo wi o, another group answered Hay he, and Bill Bedoka would sing the sort of melody at the same time.

Bear Dance: People got up and danced this one. It started with two circular lines ---men side by side facing the women in the inner circle, women side by side facing the men in the outer circle. I don't remember for sure but I

think at some breaks in the songs men and women would change positions. A later phase in the dance was for men and women to get in the same line with the partners facing each other, one dancing forward and the other backwards. At changes in the songs the partners would change positions. Both phases of the dance were counterclockwise.

Stirrup Dance: No one danced this one that night. However, Stella Beaver and Nettie Choctaw demonstrated it for me Easter Sunday. They put their arms around each other (one each—side by side) and Stella put her inside foot on Nettie's inside foot which were both held in the air. Then they hopped around on their two outside feet. At a change in the song they walked around sort of resting. At another change in the song they reversed feet in the "stirrup." This was a rather amazing performance since Stella weighs at least 185 and Nettie about 230 or more.

The night of the hand game I asked someone to show me how this one was danced. Stella Beaver asked Bill Bedoka to dance with her --- Hank Weller said "He's a sick man" and Bedoka said, "Yea, I couldn't get my foot in the stirrup." Stella really likes this dance ---she has told me several times to ask the men to sing it.

Buffalo Dance Songs: People got up and danced this one too. Again this was danced by couples facing each other in a circle going counterclockwise. At changes in the songs the couples would reverse positions. Wilber Williams, and to a lesser extent Morrow, were clowning. Wilber was lifting his feet up high and sort of stamping around like a buffalo bull.

Morning Dance: They sang about 30 songs. On Tape #4 they dedicated one to me. Grace Aikens remarked that they still hadn't sung the one which means "go ahead and live with her, if you want to starve." Grace finally asked them to sing it for me. So Weller dedicated it to me and then they started to sing the wrong song ---Finally they started to sing "go ahead and live etc." They followed this with one meaning "All Shawnee women dance, all dance good." And then one meaning "I asked my friend's niece to marry me." I asked Grace Aikens how this one was danced. So she volunteered to show me. Couples held hands and dance forward in step to the singers and then backwards to the edge of the dance space, then in to the drummers, and so on. The step is just to put one foot forward after another to the time of the music.

Vynola Newkumet later showed me in Norman that they dance to the side, also ---like a round dance. She said, 'You sure can have a lot of fun under a blanket if you're unmarried.' She also said that 'Sometimes the couples dance right out of the circle into the brush.' (Implication, for romance)

Hand Game: Somewhere about 2:00 am in the morning we stopped recording. Then they decided to play a handgame. Grace Aikens handed the

bead to me ---so we played each other the first game. I won that one and then the next two (against two different guessers, of course). Finally I lost the fourth one. I gave our bead to Joe Beaver and he lost another game. Even though some people wanted to keep playing until one side won four games, most seemed to be too tired to play any more. So we quit at a little after 4:00 am with the score 3 games to 2 for our side.

There was a lot of fun associated with these games. Both sides were trying to cheat at a great rate. Stella Beaver threw one bead all the way into the kitchen trying to switch hands on me. Another time I caught her without the bead in either hand -it was in her lap. Mrs. Edmonds was doing her usual good job of switching hands -Grace was also trying. (I was much better at detecting cheating than at other games.)

Joe Beaver on my side really was a wonder with the bead. He was so good at cheating that he had the other side just a little put out on occasion. Ralph Morrow and Houston Edmonds were also expert.

Joe Beaver got a laugh from the crowd on a number of occasions when he put his fists up to his head with the index fingers extended. The effect was one of horns pointing toward the opposing guesser. This may have been just a funny gesture or it may be related to the gestures imitating animals (in this case buffalo) which A. Lesser mentions in Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game.

Misc notes:

Drum and singers were not against east wall as before, but along south wall near the west end of the room.

Turkey Dance: When the men started to sing Mrs. Morrow got some bug dance bells out of her bag and gave them to one of the singers --he told me that she said to shake the bells, that was what they used in the old days with the turkey dance.

Bell or Bean Dance: Vynola Newkumet told me later (when I played the recordings for her) that these songs were so pretty. They were a pleasant remembrance for her ---she remembers as a small child falling asleep to the sounds of the bells and the singing. The mothers would put the children to bed and they would fall asleep listening to the bell dance.

Chapter 7: “Caddos Don’t Gourd Dance”: Diverse Thoughts on Traditional Culture

The Caddos didn’t wear those mescal beans like that. They used them for medicine... But the Kiowas, you know they use it for bandoleers. They put it around their shoulder. They dance that gourd dance. We didn’t do that.
– Lillie Whitehorn¹

It is a typical Saturday morning in southwestern Oklahoma. The heat is already forcing the mercury to climb ever higher, and the last of June’s rains make the air humid. All across the area, people are loading up their vehicles with necessities: ice chests, lawn chairs, battered old suitcases filled with dance regalia, a spare roll of toilet paper, enough dollar bills to buy a couple of raffle tickets. They are headed to Lawton or Anadarko, maybe Carnegie or Concho. The question usually asked is not “Are you going to the powwow?” but rather “Which powwow are you going to?” During summer, the high season for powwows, the choices are many.

Southwestern Oklahoma is the center of the world – the powwow world, anyway. My guess is that more powwows occur in this small area than in any other place in the entire country. For those who actively participate in powwows, just about every weekend from May until September is booked with dances; more often than not, summer weekends are double- or triple-booked with dances.² For an anthropologist who throws herself into the powwow world, this is a lot to keep up with. During that first summer of field research in Anadarko, by the time I got my laundry washed, my shawls folded and stowed in their suitcase, and my tape recordings of dance music put away, it was time to load the camping gear for the next

dance. I decided that it was simpler to leave all the gear in the back of my car and periodically restock with blank cassette tapes and rolls of film.

Every Wednesday evening at the Hasinai Society's meeting, the weekend's possibilities were discussed. A complex mental calculus determines which dances or powwows should be attended. Sometimes the decision was an easy one, especially if there were only a few choices or the Society was asked to co-host a dance. Just when I thought that we could not get any busier, Shirley decided that the Hasinai Society would start hosting a series of gourd dances to raise money for our various activities, in particular traveling to the annual Caddo Conference and sponsoring the summer youth camp.

The dances themselves require a substantial outlay of resources: supplies for the concession stand, items to be raffled off to raise money, gifts for the head staff, and cakes and baked goods for the cakewalk.³ That is just the short-term obligations. Because the dances required head staff, singer, and co-hosts, folks come to expect that the Hasinai Society will in turn support them at their own events, and long-term obligations accrue. Suddenly, our social calendar was packed with dances and other commitments.

One morning at the Caddo museum, Charlene and I discussed the upcoming Hasinai Society gourd dance. She asked me if I had heard any of the other Caddo folks talking about "Shirley's gourd dances," intimating that not everyone in the Caddo community supported the Society's fundraising efforts. Myron, Charlene's nephew, the tribe's maintenance man, and a member of the Caddo Culture Club, walked into the office as he did nearly every morning and stood in the doorway. He

listened to us talk about the dance for awhile. He then proclaimed, “Caddos don’t gourd dance” and walked out.

In that one short statement, Myron indexed the complexity faced by Caddo people who actively participate in the powwow world. While the powwow is seen as traditional by many Indian people in southwestern Oklahoma, and indeed by many Indian folks throughout the United States, it is usually not considered *traditional* for Caddo people and can be directly contrasted with traditional Caddo dances. However, for many Caddo people, the powwow and the gourd dance, like the stomp dance, have a strangely liminal status as both *traditional* and *non-traditional* at the same time. The seemingly contradictory status of powwows and gourd dances raises many interesting questions about how communities, and more specifically the cultural organizations examined here, define tradition and engage with ideas of authenticity.

The “Original” Caddo dances: Turkey Dance and Drum Dance

Caddo traditions, like traditions everywhere, have never remained static and unchanging, even as they seem primordial and permanent.⁴ Some parts of the Caddo culture are so old that no one remembers from where they came, and community members, historians, and anthropologists can only guess as to their origins, or their origins are attributed to some mythical time in the past (Carter 1995:31). For example, in one story about the Turkey Dance:

a young warrior was hunting through the woods one day when he heard beautiful music. Tracing it to the source, he discovered a number of turkey hens singing and dancing around a group of gobblers. He watched and listened until he had memorized their songs; later he informed his tribe of his discovery and told them that he had learned a new dance. [Heflin 1953:39]

As far as I know, the Turkey Dance is the only Caddo song with its own origin story, although the Drum Dance actually recounts the Caddo people's origin story.⁵

Together, the Drum Dance and the Turkey Dance detail the total history of the Caddo people, from creation through to the present day, and are seen by many community members as the most Caddo of all the Caddo dances.⁶ No one in the community contests the centrality of these dance forms to Caddo understandings of their past, what scholars would call Caddo historical consciousness.

Given its important place in Caddo tribal identity, the Turkey Dance is taught to the girls at the Caddo Youth Camp every summer. An elder usually instructs them in how to properly “kick the dirt” and when the choreography changes from one set of songs to the next. By the end of the week, at the dance at the close of the camp, many of the girls have finally learned the basics. Two summer camps came and went before I would join them for the Turkey Dance. To me, and to many tribal members, the Turkey Dance is the quintessential Caddo dance.⁷ Only a few other tribes in Oklahoma, including the Absentee Shawnee, the Delaware, the Kickapoo, and the Quapaw currently have the Turkey Dance.⁸ Many of these tribes were “given” the dance by the Caddo (Rementer and Donnell 1995:38).⁹ The songs of the Turkey Dance recount the history of the Caddo people, and when the Turkey Dance is performed, the participants are retelling their tribal history (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a:101-106; Carter 1995:40-49; Lee 1998:284). The cultural weight that the Turkey Dance carries in part explains my reluctance to join the dancers in retelling their tribal history. However, at the urging of some of the elders and after learning as much as I could about the Turkey Dance and watching it performed for several years,

I joined the campers in learning the steps of the dance. In a very real sense, I was learning more than how to “kick the dirt”; I was learning how to retell properly the history of the Caddo people through this dance.

The Turkey Dance always starts in the afternoon and must be completed before sunset. During the first set of songs, the men at the drum call the women of each band of the Caddo Nation out to the dance ground.¹⁰ In years past, women would dance all the way from their families’ camps down to the dance ground. Now most women are already under the arbors surrounding the dance ground when the Turkey Dance starts, and they do not dance in from the camps. Only once have I seen a family, Frances Cussen Kodaseet, her daughters, and her sister Gayle Satepauhoodle, dance in from their camp.¹¹ The dance continues with the women dancing on the balls of their feet and clockwise around the drum. Dancing in such a way forces the dancers to “kick the dirt”, and my moccasins are usually filled with the powdery red dirt of dance ground by the end of the Turkey Dance.

The second set of Turkey Dance songs recounts the history of the Caddo people before they came to Oklahoma, and particular attention is given to recounting victories in battles (Lee 1998:285). According to Eugene Heflin (1953:40), “This dance represents an old scalp dance that was brought from Louisiana. It formerly took place when scalps were brought into the *kiwat* or village at night.” In part, the subject matter of the this set of Turkey Dance songs is explained by the way the songs were originally composed. Sadie Weller (1967c:1) says that a runner would return to a Caddo village ahead of the warriors. He would bring the news of the war party to a

special man who would compose the songs and have them ready when the warriors returned home. Some of the lyrics to the songs are quite descriptive:¹²

Siya naabaw kaniki?ah.	They killed the Cheyenne.
Kan?ikawnah sii tanaahah.	He bellowed like a buffalo.
Siya naabaw kaniki?ah.	They killed the Cheyenne.

Another song recounts a confrontation with the Tonkawa:

Witu? Náttih dawkaywab,	All right, women, listen,
Witu? Náttih dawkaywab.	All right, women, listen.
Nihaynaayun ha?ahat.	When he followed, it was all right.
Nihayniyuudih ha?ahat.	When he caught up with us, it was all right.
Tayawkudah Tankaway.	The Tonkawa whooped.
Sawt'anaayah kutsini?ah.	He thought, "They'll be afraid of me."
Nidimbi?nah na sik'uh.	They beat him with a rock.
Ana Shuuwi? ta?iyaasa?.	It's because a warrior was there.

In a later song, the Tonkawa is eaten by buzzards. Battles with the Comanche, Osage, Kiowa, Choctaw, and whites are also recounted in some of the Turkey Dance songs. However, "Many of them are no longer sung, out of respect for friends" (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a:103).

Just as songs can drop out of the Turkey Dance repertoire, new songs can be added. According to Newkumet and Meredith (1988a:103-104):

New events may be added to the traditional history, by any of the dancers. One of them dances over to the drummers and grabs the drumsticks of one of the singers. The dancer then relates the event and the singers make up a song that is the key to recalling the event. It may be sung that one time or incorporated into the pattern of songs of the people's history. In this way, new events are keyed again and again for subsequent generations.

Adding new songs to the body of Turkey Dance songs, though, requires something that is in extremely limited supply these days: fluent speakers of the Caddo language. Turkey Dance songs are composed and sung in the Caddo language. A limited number of people still speak Caddo today, and even fewer of these folks are singers.

Even after years of instruction at the Hasinai Society's weekly meetings and intensive work during the summer youth camp, young men today struggle to master the entire body of Turkey Dance songs. For all practical purposes, then, no new Turkey Dance songs will probably ever be written; however it is interesting to note that the possibility, however remote, still exists.



Figure 29: The third part of the Turkey Dance; Clara Brown Dance 2004

The third and fourth sets of Turkey Dance songs are shorter than the second set. The choreography changes as the dancers trot closer to the drum and then quickly back away in the third set. In the final set of songs, women go out and choose men as dance partners. The chosen men are obligated to dance with the women who choose them, or they must forfeit a possession, e.g., an item of clothing, a small amount of money. As the women are selecting their partners, the sun is usually dropping lower

in the sky, and everyone knows that the Turkey Dance will soon be completed. There are numerous reasons given for why the Turkey Dance must be finished before sunset, as well as several reasons given as to why women remove their *dush-tooohs*, the traditional Caddo women's headdress, upon its completion. The most common reason given is that the light reflecting off of the mirrors on the ribbons would alert enemies to the location of the camp. Another reason, based on practicality, was related to me by Tracy Newkumet; her grandmother, Vynola Beaver Newkumet, told her that women removed their *dush-tooohs* because they were uncomfortable and difficult to wear. This explanation seems logical since after the end of the Turkey Dance, the women would help serve the evening's meal.



Figure 30: The first part of the Drum Dance; Lenape Legacy Dance, July 2002
Singers, left to right: Tom Blanchard, Jimmy Reeder, Mike Meeks, Thurman Parton,
and Randlett Edmonds

Dancing resumes after dinner with the Drum Dance. Like the Turkey Dance, the Drum Dance repertoire is composed of about fifty songs (L. Edmonds 1995:54). The various parts of the Drum Dance tell of the origins of the Caddo people: how they emerged into this world from that below and settled into villages, the origins of plants, the sun, the cardinal directions, the Caddo political system, and the drum itself. The songs also describe the creation of the Caddo ceremonial mounds, the basis of the Caddo people's religion beliefs, and the westward migration of the Hasinai people (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a:2-12, 1988b). According the Newkumet and Meredith, "The origins and collective thought of the Hasinai are reflected in the Drum Dance cycle. This tradition is complex; it frees the individual within society to reflect on that vision that is singularly for that person." Most importantly, though, the Drum Dance connects Caddo people today with their ancestors since the Caddo world cannot exist or persist without knowledge of the ancestors (Newkumet and Meredith 1988b:293).

These two dances, the Turkey Dance and the Drum Dance, are widely agreed upon as traditionally Caddo. As a matter of course, they are performed at every Caddo social dance. The performance of these dances is generally social in nature, but that should not be taken to imply a lack of seriousness on the part of the participants. The Turkey Dance and Drum Dance are the Caddo people's connection to their past, from their emergence to their struggles to maintain a place for themselves among the tribes of the southern Plains. In performing these dances, the Caddo people proudly proclaim their place in the world and the value of their traditions.

The Ghost Dance and the Native American Church

For every tradition so old that no one remembers how it began, there are those for which people can pinpoint exact origins. For the Caddo and Delaware, the Ghost Dance and the Native American Church are two examples.¹³ Both of these traditions were introduced to the Caddo and Delaware after their removal to Oklahoma, but the comparative newness of these traditions in no way undermines the Caddo and Delaware people's commitments to them or the sense that these are important traditions and worthy of preservation and respect.

Nä'nisa'na, nä'nisa'na
Wû'nti ha'yano' di'witi'a ha'yo',
Wû'nti ha'yano' di'witi'a ha'yo',
A'ă ko'ia' ha'yo',

A'ă ko'ia' ha'yo',

Wû'nti ha'ya'no ta'-ia' ha'yo',
Wû'nti ha'ya'no ta'-ia' ha'yo'.

Nä'nisa'na, nä'nisa'na
All our people are going up,
All our people are going up,
Above to where the father
dwells,
Above to where the father
dwells,
Above to where our people live,
Above to where our people live.

Shortly after the Caddo began to practice the Ghost Dance in 1890, James Mooney recorded this Ghost Dance song along with fourteen others (1896:458). Caddo people had begun composing their own Ghost Dance songs and relying less on ones borrowed from other tribes. In his examination of the Ghost Dance, Mooney gives several Caddo Ghost Dance songs with translations and a little background on them, including the composer (1896:458-464). He identified several women, including Nyu'taa and Niaha'no', as the composers of several of the songs and members of the Hainai band of Caddo as the composers of two other songs. The women sang the songs for Mooney and explained how they came up with the songs and what they meant and presumably supplied the translations. These songs were so important that

just singing them for Mooney, completely out of context, was still a serious matter. “While singing this song Nyu’taa was sitting near me, when she suddenly cried out and went into a spasm of trembling and crying lasting some minutes, lifting up her right hand toward the west at the same time. Such attacks were so common among the women at song rehearsals as frequently to interfere with the work, although the bystanders regarded them as a matter of course and took only a passing notice of these incidents” (Mooney 1896:460). Even today, the Ghost Dance is regarded with a reverence that is accorded to very few other aspects of Caddo culture.

Beginning with Mooney, anthropologists have written much about the Ghost Dance, a tradition many assume is today only a distant memory for Indian people. The Ghost Dance was first given to a Paiute prophet named Wovoka in 1889. As a revitalization movement, the Ghost Dance was supposed to usher in a return to the old ways – Whites were to vanish, the buffalo would return, and the ancestors would come back; these things would transpire through committed dancing and peaceful living. Within a year, Wovoka’s message spread from Nevada to Indian Territory. On the banks of the South Canadian River, the southern Cheyenne and Arapaho held a Ghost Dance in September of 1890, and several Caddo and Delaware people attended.¹⁴ Sitting Bull, the Arapaho leader of the Ghost Dance, gave feathers to seven Caddo men, thereby making them leaders of the Ghost Dance in their own right (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a:57, 69; Carter 1995:92-93; Meredith 2001:285).¹⁵

Going into a trance was an important part of the Ghost Dance. As people would dance, they would go into a trance and fall on the ground. When they came to, they would report what they had seen and compose songs about their visions. The

first Caddo-Delaware person to go into a trance during a Ghost Dance was John “Moonhead” Wilson: “When he regained consciousness, he told of seeing many wonderful visions, and he composed a new song—a Caddo song” (Carter 1995:93).¹⁶ This composition was a significant first, since before this time the Ghost Dance songs used were Arapaho in origin. Wilson helped make the Ghost Dance something to which the Caddo people could connect in a very specific way. As J. Daniel Rogers and George Sabo point out, Wilson translated “Wovoka’s Ghost Dance theology into a version congruent with Caddoan ideology concerning how the maintenance of relations with ancestors provided the community with an effective means of coping with social and demographic stresses arising from the severe population losses of the time” (2004:620; see also Lee 1998:249-271).

On the level of material culture, the dance centered on the *ee-cha’* or Ghost Dance pole (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a:69).¹⁷ As summarized by Cecile Elkins Carter (1995:92), Grace Akins described the pole thusly:¹⁸

Grandpa and Grandma White Bread made the pole from the heart of a tall, straight, cedar tree... At least twenty feet tall, the tree was black on one side, green on the other. When there was a Ghost Dance or some other special reason to use the pole, it was erected with the black side facing north and the green side facing south. The leader stood on the invisible dividing line at the west side of the pole. He faced east and began the first song, which told that the feather signifying the right to lead the Ghost Dance was given to seven men.

As a focal point of the Ghost Dance, the pole was used continuously through the 1940s, even though the frequency of trances and visions among the Ghost Dance’s practitioners steadily decreased (Carter 1995:96; Parsons 1941:49). In 1945, Joe Weller, keeper of the Ghost Dance pole, became increasingly ill, and his wife Lucille put on one last dance in honor of her husband. At the conclusion of the dance, the

pole was retired and donated to the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History (then known as the Stovall Museum).¹⁹ The pole remains there to this day. Under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, the pole was repatriated to the Caddo Nation. The details—transporting the pole to the tribe, providing storage for it, and possibly using it at future dances—have not been worked out, and until they are, the pole remains high on a shelf in the Museum’s storage area. Twice in the last five years have members of the tribe visited the Ghost Dance pole at the Museum.



Figure 31: Ghost Dance Drum
Used by Lowell “Wimpy” Edmonds and loaned by Pat Edmonds to the Caddo
Heritage Museum for an exhibit

Even though the pole is retired and the seven men who were given the responsibility to lead the dance are dead, the Ghost Dance persists among the Caddo people. As Alexander Lesser (1933:108) wrote in an article on the Ghost Dance, “In human culture, as in human experience, what has come to attention and prominence never disappears. Either is it retained in some form as a part of culture thereafter, or it leaves its impress and influence upon other aspects of culture.” The circular movement of the dance continues, even without the pole as a focal point. The old songs are sung still and passed from generation to generation. Even though no one is composing new Ghost Dance songs, as they did when dancers still went into trances, the Caddo people continue to “use the old songs because there’s plenty of them. Hundreds of them” (Weller 1967a:21). The Ghost Dance has been transformed by the Caddo into a ritual “of healing for the community and individuals” (Meredith 2001:285). Without the pole or the trances and visions, the Ghost Dance is more of a social dance.²⁰ According to Sadie Weller, “we don’t observe it; we just go there for the fun of it” (Weller 1967a:2, 19). And as a social dance, White folks are as apt to join in as anyone.

In many ways, the Ghost Dance today is very different than it was when the Caddo people “were really religious about it” (R. Edmonds 1995:55). Before, according to Randlett Edmonds, “They did the Ghost Dance for one day and one night before the other dances. They never did them together – they always picked one night for the Ghost Dance” (R. Edmonds 1995:55). Now the Ghost Dance is done in the afternoon before the powwow and other Caddo dances. The Ghost Dance was also held in a separate area from the other dances: “I remember my grandmother used to

camp right by the Ghost Dance arena. She'd camp right there where they'd dance, just south of where the arena is now at Binger Y. The Ghost Dance part of the ground was south of the present arena in a special place" (R. Edmonds 1995:55). Today, the Ghost Dance is most often performed at the Murrow Family Powwow held every June and now in its ninth decade. It occurs in conjunction with other Caddo social dances and in the same area as the other dances.

That the Ghost Dance is more like other Caddo social dances should not be taken to imply that people do not revere it or treat it with seriousness. Some members of the community feel a bit of trepidation about the return of the Ghost Dance pole. They are unsure of how it should be cared for and are afraid of caring for it improperly and suffering severe consequences. But, a legend currently circulating among Caddo folks holds that when the pole comes back to the community, the Caddo tribe will be one again; all of the factionalism and in-fighting will cease. In some ways this legend is a self-fulfilling prophesy since the tribe has to agree to the conditions under which the pole is brought back and cared for first. But seen in another way, the Ghost Dance as a religious practice required that people live peacefully with one another. This prophecy harkens back to a song Mooney (1896:464) recorded in the 1890s.

E'yeyhe'! Nă'nisa'na,
 E'yeyhe'! Nă'nisa'na,
 Wi'tŭ' Ha'sini' di'witi'a'a.

Wi'tŭ' Ha'sini' di'witi'a'a

Ki'wat ha'ime' – He'e'ye'!
 Ki'wat ha'ime' – He'e'ye'!
 Na'hayo' na',

E'yeyhe'! Nă'nisa'na,
 E'yeyhe'! Nă'nisa'na,
 Come on, Hasinai, we are all
 going up

Come on, Hasinai, we are all
 going up

To the great village – He'e'ye'!
 To the great village – He'e'ye'!
 With our father above,

Na'hayo' na'ă'ă' ko'iă' – He'e'ye'!

I'na ko'iă – He'e'ye'!

I'na ko'iă – He'e'ye'!

With our father above where he
dwells on high – He'e'ye'!

Where our mother dwells –
He'e'ye'!

Where our mother dwells –
He'e'ye'!

Mooney notes that “The sentiment and swinging tune of this spirited song make it one of the favorites. It encourages the dancers in the hope of a speedy reunion of the whole Caddo Nation, living and dead, in the ‘great village’ of their father above” (1896:464).

Caddo people, like many Indian people, often temper serious things, even sacred subjects like the Ghost Dance, with a dash of humor. Charlene and I went to visit Thompson Williams, a well-known Caddo artist, one afternoon to pick up some paintings for an exhibition at the Caddo Heritage Museum. One of Thompson’s paintings draws on the Ghost Dance, and he and Charlene started talking about the old times when it was still danced as a religion, when participants went into trances and had visions. Charlene recalled things her mother, Clara Brown, had told her about the dance. In a properly reverential tone, Thompson launched into a story about one particular dance where a man went into a trance-like state. People often had important visions when in such trance-like states, and as the man fell to the ground, everyone quickly crowded around him to hear what he might have to say. “And this is what he said...” and Thompson made a loud snoring noise.

As the Ghost Dance lost its place as a religious ritual, the Native American Church gained prominence in Native communities throughout Oklahoma. While many sources suggest that the Native American Church came into being as a replacement for the Ghost Dance (Swanton 1942:120), Omer Stewart (1987:86)

describes the two as contemporaneous. John Wilson, so prominent in the development of the Ghost Dance in the Caddo and Delaware community, was a peyote roadman, or ceremonial leader, for a decade prior to leading the Ghost Dance and continued to practice both ceremonies simultaneously (Swan 1990:144). Wilson's unique interpretation of the peyote religion, known as the Big Moon Ceremony, gained him a large following among the Caddo and Delaware, as well as the Quapaw and Osage (O. Stewart 1987:93, Swan 1990). The Caddo used peyote for medicinal purposes for centuries prior to the advent of the Native American Church (Meredith 2001:285), and its use continues (Rogers and Sabo 2004:620). The Native American Church remains a powerful form of religious expression among the Caddo today. The Caddo Nation's Historic Preservation Office maintains records on abandoned altars used in decades past for peyote ceremonies, and the tribal museum has a collection of Caddo peyote songs recorded over the years. The Caddo chapter of the Native American Church remains very active and holds meetings quite frequently. Oftentimes, I arrived to work at the museum on a Monday morning, and the teepee would still be up from the previous weekend's meeting. However, this is not an area of traditional Caddo life to which I was directly exposed during my field research, in part because of a longstanding prohibition against the involvement of White people in the affairs of the Church.²¹

Powwows and Gourd Dances

Unlike the songs of the Turkey Dance, the Ghost Dance, or the Native American Church, those of powwows and gourd dances typically hold no special

ceremonial significance for most Caddo and Delaware people today.²² In this sense, they are akin to the many other social dances discussed previously. That said, participation in powwows and gourd dances holds an ambiguous position among the Caddo and Delaware. Many community members see participation in powwows and gourd dances as an authentic and traditional expression of their Indian identity. Others feel that they are not traditional for the Caddo and Delaware people because they are traditions that originated with other tribes. Or as it was put so bluntly to me once, “Caddos don’t gourd dance.”

Powwows are an integral part of the cultural lives of many Indian people in southwestern Oklahoma. As presently understood, a powwow “indicates to people that somewhere in Indian Country a particular Indian tribe will be sponsoring an event featuring intertribal dancing and singing” (Arkeketa 1995:25). More often than not, though, powwows are sponsored by cultural organizations rather than a particular tribe. For example, from 2002 through January of 2007, over ninety organizations hosted or co-hosted powwows in the Anadarko area.²³ These events can be held for any number of reasons: fundraisers, annual tribal celebrations, giving thanks, in memory of loved ones, naming an infant, crowning of a new princess, in honor of veterans, a holiday celebration, and so forth. Powwows also accomplish less tangible, but no less important, ends: “to share... dances and songs, renew friendships, and reaffirm... shared experiences as members of a tribe, organization, family, or community” (Ellis and Lassiter 2005:vii).

Powwows throughout southwestern Oklahoma follow the same basic format (Ellis and Lassiter 2005:viii). The event’s program often includes a Grand Entry,

wherein dancers in their regalia dance into the arena or dance ground, prayers, the presentation of colors or raising of the flag, recognition of individuals during specials, giveaways, a break for dinner, and contests. Not every powwow contains all of these elements. At smaller events, contests may be absent, but dinner will be provided to everyone in attendance. At larger events, contests may be held in a variety of categories and divided into several age gradations, but dinner is not provided or must be purchased. The similar formats of powwows throughout the area means that those in attendance always know what to expect when they sit down in their lawn chairs to enjoy the evening's activities, even though "local customs and ways inevitably frame dances as events that are situated in specific contexts with particular meanings" (Ellis and Lassiter 2005:viii).

Caddo and Delaware cultural organizations and families often host social dances, but rarely host powwows. Caddo and Delaware events almost always focus on dances, such as the Turkey Dance, Woman Dance, and Drum Dance, which are specific to the community. Many of these dances do not hold the same significance for those outside of the community as they do for Caddo and Delaware people, though these dances would resonate with people from other Woodland communities. Intertribal dancing may be included in dances hosted by Caddo and Delaware groups, but it is usually of secondary importance. Two exceptions to this general rule are the Murrow family's annual powwow, which evenly splits the program between Caddo social dances and intertribal dances, and the Lenape Legacy Annual Dance, which in some year's exclusively features Caddo and Delaware dances and in others focuses on intertribal dances. The general consensus is that these split programs allow a much

larger community to be involved in the dance. This is especially important since many Caddo and Delaware folks are married to people from other tribes, such as the Kiowa and Comanche.

The focus of most powwows, regardless of the elements included, is the music. Without the beat of the drum, the voices of the singers, and the steps of the dancers there is no powwow. Many of the songs sung at powwows were “composed to honor a specific individual or event of a particular society of a tribe in the conduct of a particular ceremony” (Arkeketa 1995:25). The very composition of many powwow songs, at least in Oklahoma, imbues them with the kind of importance that Turkey Dance songs hold for Caddo people. While Caddo and Delaware folks can appreciate these songs, I would argue that they do not feel the same connection to them that they do to the songs of the Turkey Dance, Drum Dance, or Woman Dance. On the other hand, Newkumet and Meredith point out that “Though the Hasinai have adapted the present forms of war dance from adjoining Plains tribes, they compose and use their own songs. These are danced shortly after the drum dance, which begins the night sequence of Caddo dances” (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a:70). Though it is not accompanied by dancing as are war dance songs, the Flag Song is an example of an intertribal tradition that is present at most all Caddo dances. Almost every tribe has its own version of the Flag Song, a song that honors the nations’ flags. Usually around dinner time, the American and Caddo Nation flags are taken down, folded, and put away, while the men at the drum sing the Flag Song. Like the Caddo Flag Song, Caddo war dance songs exist within a very narrow realm. Unlike many songs sung at powwows, songs that may be widely circulated throughout a broader

intertribal community, these Caddo compositions are only ever sung at Caddo dances, and in the dances that I have observed over the last several years, are usually secondary to the Caddo social dances.²⁴

Feelings about war dances and powwows in general are mixed within the Caddo and Delaware communities, as they probably are within many Indian communities. Some Caddo and Delaware folks have excelled at the styles of dancing found at most powwows. When traditional men's shirts and dance regalia were exhibited at the Caddo Heritage Museum, items belonging to Warren "Warney" Weller were prominently displayed; Weller, a Caddo man, was a nationally recognized war dancer. Also exhibited were a photograph of Roscoe Shemayme in his straight dance regalia and several shirts worn by Haskell Brown when he straight danced. Both of these men wore traditional Caddo shirts, marking their identities as Caddo men, while they participated in these intertribal dances. The young men of the Hasinai Society are carrying on in the tradition of these elders and now regularly straight dance at powwows throughout Oklahoma.

On the other hand, many folks see the war dance as specifically intertribal and therefore not Caddo. In 1967, Sadie Weller said that "We just want to get away from this war dance. Now, that's the actual fact" (Weller 1967a:6).

They (the executive committee) invite these other Indians and they come there and have that war dance and there's a lot of our Indians and they come and that don't care a thing about that war dance at all. You know, it's tiresome. All you have to do is sit there and watch them until midnight. [Weller 1967a:6]

This sentiment is widely held throughout eastern Woodland communities and is understandable. As with the stomp dances held in eastern Oklahoma, Caddo and Delaware social dances are participatory. Those in attendance usually dance. In fact,

the success of a Caddo dance is often measured by the degree of participation by those in attendance. Powwows, especially large ones, can be quite different. Emphasis is often placed on competition through contests and other special types of dances which require very specific regalia, quite unlike a Caddo dance where “street clothes” are as welcome in the dance arena as traditional regalia.²⁵ According to Leon Carter, who was interviewed by Cecile Carter in 1974, “Just about all of them [Caddo dances] are social, purely” (Carter 1995:46).

Sentiments similar to that of Sadie Weller are amplified when it comes to the gourd dance. Even more so than powwows and intertribal dances, gourd dances are apt to elicit disparaging remarks from Caddo people, perhaps in part because the gourd dance is so closely associated with the Kiowa tribe. Only one of the cultural organizations discussed here, the Hasinai Society, regularly holds gourd dances, though the Caddo Culture Club does occasionally co-host gourd dances for other organizations in the area. The gourd dances held by the Hasinai Society, as well as most of those co-hosted by them and the Caddo Culture Club, are fundraisers.²⁶ As a small organization with a membership made up of children and only a few adults, the Hasinai Society depends on these fundraisers, as well as donations, garage sales and Indian taco dinners, to provide much needed funding for travel and the summer youth camp. In fact, gourd dances as fundraisers are common throughout southwestern Oklahoma. For example, when local schools have the chance to participate in state or national sports competitions, a gourd dance is often held to raise the funds needed for travel. Cultural organizations also frequently hold a series of gourd dances to raise funds for their larger annual powwows and other activities (Lassiter 1998:125). These

social type gourd dances can be directly contrasted with the more ceremonial, less public dances held by gourd dance societies, usually held annually near the Fourth of July weekend (Lassiter 1998:125-127; Young and Gooding 2001:1019).

Unlike the Ghost Dance or the Native American Church, the origins of the gourd dance on the Southern Plains are not exactly known. Originally a traditional men's warrior dance society, the gourd dance in its ancestral form was known among the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, Ponca, Omaha, and Wind River Shoshone (Ellis 1990:19-21). Furthermore, "the tangled history of these early types of the dance makes it difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty their precise role and function in the cultural life of various tribes" (Ellis 1990:21). The dance was revived and took on its present form in the late 1950s when Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho gourd dance societies organized (Ellis 1990:19-21). However, as both Ellis and Lassiter seems to attest, very few Kiowa people accept any origin account other than one that specifically credits the Kiowa for the gourd dance's present form.

As the various gourd dance societies and clans known today developed, they revived songs or composed their own. And similar to powwows, music is central to the gourd dance. The songs often "commemorated events and families, communicated to participants and audience on several different levels of meaning, and evoked an appreciation of the inherent power of song" (Young and Gooding 2001:1019). Perhaps even more importantly in the intertribal realm of the southern Plains, "In whatever context there were held, Gourd Dances created a feeling of

community” (Young and Gooding 2001:1019). This sense of community could bridge differences in tribal affiliation.

Unlike their Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho neighbors, however, the Caddo and Delaware have no gourd dance clans and societies, even though many individuals do participate in gourd dances.²⁷ As such, there are no Caddo and Delaware gourd dance songs, and the intimate feelings that people have for songs composed in their own language or that describe their tribe’s history are lacking. As with war dance songs, I do not want to imply that the Caddo and Delaware people do not connect to the gourd dance in a real and meaningful way, though many would agree that Sadie Weller’s comments on war dances apply equally to the gourd dance. I do think, though, that the connection Caddo and Delaware people have to the gourd dance is different than that they feel to their own tribal songs or that their feelings differ from the feelings that Kiowa people, for example, would attach to gourd dance songs (Lassiter 1998:64-65, 1999). One way to bridge this gap would be the development of a Caddo or Delaware gourd dance society and the composition of gourd dance songs in these languages. However, as the population of Caddo and Delaware speakers is diminishing at an even faster rate than that of Caddo and Delaware singers, this is unlikely to happen.

Tradition in Context

Given the widely diverging ideas on the Gourd Dance and other intertribal dances within the Caddo community, defining what is traditional is a complex endeavor and in many ways is meaningless without context. Obviously many Caddo

people feel that intertribal activities are traditional aspects of their lives and connect to these traditions, whether they be stomp dancing or gourd dancing, in meaningful ways. Taken together, all of these traditions are vital in terms of identity and the creation and maintenance of a person's and a community's identity, but their importance varies given the context. These community-level debates about what is traditionally Caddo or Delaware reveal a lot about the nature of traditional knowledge, the importance of its preservation, and the ways in which it is perpetuated.

For Caddo people who are active in their community's cultural life, and probably even for those who are only marginally involved in the community, dances such as the Turkey Dance and the Drum Dance are traditional without question. As Lee states, these songs and dances "form the core of tribal identity and are the focus of tribal social and ceremonial activities... they are still the means by which traditional history is related" (1998:284). This history is a critical part of tribal identity for Caddo people and in part explains why so much emphasis is placed on the Turkey Dance. More than all other Caddo dances, the Turkey Dance, and to a certain extent the Drum Dance, are the embodiment of Caddo history and therefore Caddo tribal identity.

Today as never before, though, Caddo people contend with a whole other realm of traditions that are not specifically Caddo in origin. In some ways, though, these traditions relate to general ideas present within Caddo tribal identity. The importance of recognizing warriors and veterans is central to both the Turkey Dance and the Gourd Dance (Carter 1995a, 1995b; Lassiter 1998). The moon, so important

in Caddo mythology, figures prominently in the Big Moon ceremonies of the Native American Church (Dorsey 1905; J. Miller 1996). The importance of ancestors is critical in the Drum Dance and in the Ghost Dance (Newkumet and Meredith 1988a; Mooney 1896). Yet, these other traditions can be seen as Caddo and not Caddo simultaneously. They are often classified as intertribal, which in some community members' estimation, gives them a status as less than traditional, less than authentic, and less than Caddo.

Anthropologists have written extensively about intertribal (or pan-tribal or pan-Indian) traditions. Perhaps the first and most widely cited works are by James Howard (1955) and W.W. Newcomb (1955). Both Howard and Newcomb observed that specific elements of the tribal cultures with which they worked were disintegrating and in fact disappearing. As Howard (1955:215) observed, "rather than becoming nondistinctive members of the dominant culture, many Indians have instead become members of a supertribal culture, which we here term *pan-Indian*." Furthermore, "By *pan-Indianism* is meant the process by which sociocultural entities such as the Seneca, Delaware, Creek, Yuchi, Ponca, and Comanche are losing their tribal distinctiveness and in its place are developing a nontribal 'Indian' culture" (Howard 1955:215). Newcomb looked specifically at the eastern Delaware, a community related to the western Delaware tribe near Anadarko, and found that "although Delaware culture was rapidly disappearing, the Cherokee-Delaware participated in a number of customs and institutions which were describable only as Indian" (1955:1041). Many factors combined to produce the pan-Indian phenomenon that Howard and Newcomb witnessed; these included marriage to people of other

tribes; education at boarding schools; a shared history of colonialism; removal, allotment, and termination; and a whole host of other Federal government policies bent on assimilating Indian people into the majority White culture of the United States (Howard 1955; Newcomb 1955; Mihesuah 1998a:195). As evidence of the pervasiveness of pan-Indian culture, both the prevalence of the powwow and the Native American Church are frequently cited.

Anthropologists today are still dealing with the pan-Indianism and assimilationist literature of the 1950s. The idea that tribal culture was being supplanted by pan-tribal culture seemed evident to many anthropologists at that time; however, in the last fifty years many of the dire predictions made by this body of work seem overly ominous. As Clyde Ellis and Eric Lassiter point out, powwows are not necessarily evidence of the disintegration of tribally specific cultural practices as they “simultaneously encourage tribally specific and community-specific senses of identity as well” (Ellis and Lassiter 2005:ix); many of the fine articles in this edited volume echo this sentiment (Ellis, Lassiter, and Dunham 2005). Furthermore, “communities have accommodated the powwow to their particular needs, purposes, and cultures in a variety of ways... powwow culture began as – and remains – a complicated amalgam of sources and practices reflecting both particular and generalized notions of identity” (Ellis and Lassiter 2005:viii). That the Murrow family’s powwow splits its program between Caddo dances and war dances is evidence that this community has found a balance. The Hasinai Society’s gourd dances, used to raise money for the annual Caddo youth camp, is further proof. And even within these fundraisers, events that focus on an intertribal tradition, specifically

Caddo traditions, from the singing of the Caddo Flag Song to the exhibition of a Caddo social dance to the tiny cups of water served before the evening meal, are pervasive.

At the same time that the dire predictions about the disintegration of tribal culture failed to come to pass and assimilationist Federal policies seemed to be thwarted, the importance of these “new” intertribal traditions increased. Many tribal communities, like the Northern Ponca with whom Beth Ritter worked, “have been forced to perpetually reinvent themselves as a people and an Indian nation (1994:251). In southwestern Oklahoma, at least on the level of music and dance, some of this reinvention finds expression in the powwow and the Gourd Dance. Indeed, the Gourd Dance is the perfect example of the invention of a modern tradition. It draws on the past and reframes it to suit the needs of the present. The fact is that the needs of the Kiowa, Comanche, and others are now similar to many tribes throughout Oklahoma. The ability to reinvent traditions and reinforce tribal and even pan-tribal identities has given Native communities “a remarkable resiliency that has enabled them to weather repeated assaults against their cultural institutions” (Ellis 1990:19). In the end, these intertribal traditions have not supplanted tribally specific traditions, but have supplemented them.

Consequently, for the Caddo and Delaware, as for Native communities everywhere, tradition is an idea that must be put into context. As Devon Mihesuah (1998b:50) points out,

The term *traditional* changes over time. An Indian who speaks her tribal language and participates in tribal religious ceremonies is often considered traditional, but that term is applicable only within the context of this decade, because chances are that she wears jeans, drives a car, and watches television

– very ‘untraditional’ Indian things to do. Plains Indians who rode horses in the 1860s are considered traditional today, but they were not the same as their traditional ancestors of the early 1500s who had never seen a horse.

The same is true for people in the Caddo and Delaware communities. A Caddo woman today may consider herself traditional if she makes her regalia and dances the Turkey Dance, helps prepare memorial dinners to commemorate a family member’s passing, and knows how to cook *habushko*.²⁸ She may equally rely on the prayers of the Native American Church and the services of the doctors at the Indian Hospital in Lawton to treat a serious illness. And she probably also wears jeans, drives a car, and watches television. Of course, her car probably has a tribal license plate, and she is watching a DVD with her daughter while doing beadwork. All of these many activities are seamlessly integrated into daily life.

Tradition must be understood according to its historical context, as Mihesuah points out, and also placed within that context. As Michael Harkin, following Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983) points out, traditions are not created so much as they are “the selection and ritual framing of latent symbols, which are already present within the culture” (Harkin 1997:98). This selection and reframing is what gives allochthonous traditions their power. They are able to move people, because like heritage, they are a “mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:7).

Intertribal traditions are still traditional, because participants can connect to them in a meaningful way. Powwows, Gourd Dances and the Native American Church all draw on symbols shared among many tribal cultures, and these “Shared symbols unite social groups, giving them a sense of identity and solidarity, and

making them capable of unified action” (Harkin 1997:98, see also Fowler 1987).

Consequently, these traditions, while not strictly tribal in nature for the Caddo or the Delaware are authentic traditions because of “their ability to constitute and motivate a group” (Harkin 1997:100).

A variety of traditions, of systems of knowing the world, of ways of connecting with other people in order to form a larger community are not threatening to traditional cultural values. Rather, diversity reflects the many ways that communities continually negotiate native identity in dynamic and sometimes unexpected ways. In this way, being “traditional” at a gourd dance and being “traditional” at a Caddo or Delaware dance are the same, and yet very different. Being a traditional person gives one a sense of belonging, a sense of solidarity with other like-minded people, while at the same time creating divisions and controversies within the larger tribal community. And, of course, being a traditional Caddo person is not contingent upon membership in any cultural organizations or participation in any of the dances or ceremonies described here, as is readily apparent when one looks at the diversity of Caddo cultural life, particularly in its expression in the context of local Christian churches, tribal politics, and other local community groups. In this way, then any definition of tradition must be contextual. Tradition is not merely something that is invented and maintained, but is inherently situational and depends on who is giving the definition. The result is an incredibly complex situation in which individuals make competing claims regarding traditional culture. However divergent these statements may seem at first glance, a clearer understanding of them and of the meanings that people assign the idea of tradition comes when the contextual role of

social and historical networks, in particular how these networks may be manipulated or used in support of the preservation of traditional knowledge systems in examined more closely.

¹ Interview with Lillie Whitehorn conducted in 1985 by Jim Rementer (Caddo Nation 2003:33).

² See Appendix 2.

³ See work by Krouse (2001) and Jackson (2005:185-186) for more information on cakewalks.

⁴ Maurice Bedoka (Caddo and Delaware) told Eugene Heflin in 1938 that only the Turkey Dance and the Scalp Dance or Round Dance (also known as the Drum Dance) are “original”, implying that they were not borrowed or adopted from other tribes (Heflin 1953: 39).

⁵ This is the most common explanation for the origin of the Turkey Dance, however “Another explanation given is that in the old days villages were located near a tree that turkeys used for a roost at night. That was a good place because the turkeys would be disturbed and gobble a warning if enemies tried to sneak into a sleeping community” (Carter 1995:31). The Caddo Drum Dance is also known as the Round Dance or Caddo 49.

⁶ One other very small genre of songs, Riding Songs, includes the history of the Caddo people. Some songs, like one of the Riding Songs known by Lowell “Wimpy” Edmonds, Sr., can be traced to a particular historical period. The translated words are:

An enemy rode through camp,
Taunting the warriors;
They shot their arrows, they couldn't kill him.
Two brothers rode after to catch him.
One brother got lonesome for his new bride;
He returned to camp.
His brother rode on
And killed the enemy with a lucky shot.
He returned to his brother and said,
'If you had come with me, you would have seen it, too.'

What he would have seen, according to Edmonds, is that the enemy was wearing Spanish armor (L. Edmonds 1995:54; Lee 1998:287). The manuscript containing this transcription of lyrics and their translation is in the archives at the Caddo Heritage Museum (CHM File #A00025). Riding Songs were sung when people rode by horseback and do not have an accompanying choreography.

⁷ Though the Caddo, Absentee Shawnee, Delaware, Quapaw, and Kickapoo are the only tribes that currently dance the Turkey Dance, the Wichita reportedly had the Turkey Dance as well. According to Cora West, a Wichita elder interviewed by Karl Schmidt in the 1940s, the Wichita “had been dancing it since she was a little girl—they were doing it when she was growing up. ‘When the Wichita were dancing more—town crier announce certain woman getting up Turkey Dance.’ ‘When (the Wichita) get in war with other tribes—when come in with good news, captured or killed somebody, got a lot of horses—someone announce going to have turkey dance.’ It was a woman dance. The Turkey Dance was named *Na’a* which means a chickens or fowl of any kind” (30 November 1948, Karl Schmitt field notes). According to some Delaware tribal elders, “Long time ago it belonged to the Pawnees. When their friends, the Wichitas went over there, they got those songs. After that, we began dancing the Turkey Dance. Delawares earlier had the Cherokee Dance and the Woman Dance. Cherokee Dance was at night, but Turkey Dance was in daytime... Turkey Dance the man and woman face one another and dance in circles. It is a sidestep movement. If man doesn't dance with woman when they choose you, then the woman will take something of the man's—his hat or something” (Hale 1984: 33).

⁸ The Delaware sometimes call the Turkey Dance the Women Dance. According to Willie Snake, Bessie Snake, and Willard Thomas, “Turkey Dance was nothing but Women Dance. Women were sitting on the side and go get a man to dance with them. They had one woman leader, and just women dancing. They went over to men drummers and sang. After they sang, then they got partner. Women went around the circle in single file to their right or clock-wise following their leader. They danced as long as the drummers sang. When they got tired, one went over there and got a stick and hit the drum and they quit. It had the same beat or tempo all the time” (Hale 1984: 33). Perhaps not coincidentally, then, the Women Dance was performed at one of the Lenape Legacy's annual dances in lieu of the Turkey Dance.

⁹ In at least once case the Turkey Dance was purchased rather than given to a tribe. According to Howard (1981:336), “Victor Griffin, the Quapaw chief, purchased the [Turkey] dance for his daughter Ardena when she was a small girl. Griffin observed that his daughter enjoyed the dance while he and his family were visiting among the Caddoes, so he gave the Caddoes valuable gifts of horses and blankets and was allowed to take the Turkey Dance back to the Quapaw dance ground at the Devil’s Promenade, near Quapaw, Oklahoma. Ardena Griffin danced the Turkey Dance most of her life, and was the only woman allowed to wear bells around her ankles when she danced, a symbol of her being the ‘head turkey.’ When she became too old to dance she gave a speech, very sad and moving according to Ranny, and turned over the leadership of the dance to someone else, accompanied by many gifts. According to Ranny, Bill Shawnee is the only singer from northeastern Oklahoma who can lead the Turkey Dance songs. He has sung for the Turkey Dance for many years, perhaps since Griffin purchased the dance for his daughter.”

¹⁰ Today, as with all Caddo dances, a large powwow-style drum is used. However, in years past, a small water drum was used (Weller 1967c:2). Very few people today remember a water drum ever being used at Caddo dances, and most people associate it only with Native American Church ceremonies. The exact date of the switch from a water drum to a powwow drum is not known, but it is associated with a shift from singers sitting anywhere that is convenient to sitting in the middle of the dance ground. Sources from the 1940s, in particular Elsie Clews Parsons’ *Notes on the Caddo*, describe the Turkey Dance as performed by “women only, circling two by two around the centre pole, their step a turkey trot. To sing for them is a choir of three or four men, who sit down around their drum, anywhere convenient. There is no dance leader. . . . The Turkey Dance is not accounted a religious dance, it is merely to ‘pass the day away’” (Parsons 1941:55). No other source I have found mentions the use of a pole as part of the Turkey Dance, however, as will be discussed later in this chapter, a pole was used during the Caddo Ghost Dance.

¹¹ This family is also in possession of the staff carried by the lady who leads the Turkey Dance. In 1979, the staff was passed from Winona Williams to Reatha Cussen, the mother of Frances Kodaseet and Gayle Satepauhoodle. Leon Carter described the history of the Turkey Dance staff in a speech at the Caddo dance ground when it was passed on to the Cussen family. Carter said that the staff came from Louisiana and had been carried to Oklahoma by “Grandma Inkanish” (probably Mary Inkanish). The head lady dancer carried the staff as a symbol of honor and authority: “Grandma Inkanish would take her staff and go around and make the girls dance, get in there and dance, whether they were in costume or not” (Caddo Nation 2003:27). A photograph of Frances Cussen Kodaseet carrying the staff during the Turkey Dance can be found in Carter (1995a). However, the staff is very rarely ever used at dances now.

¹² This transcription of Turkey Dance song lyrics and their translation are on file at the Caddo Heritage Museum Archives (CHM File #A00025).

¹³ According to Mooney (1996) and other sources, Caddo people often used the Arapaho word *Nā'nisa'na* to refer to the Ghost Dance. Mooney (1996:465) also notes the use of the term *Nā'nisa'na gao'shān*, a combination of the Arapaho term and *gao'shān*, the Caddo noun for dance. In their orthography, Newkumet and Meredith (1988a:109, 121) refer to the Ghost Dance as *Nah-nee'-sah'-nah* or *Cah-ah-see-cha'-nee* (literally, to hold hands).

¹⁴ From the western Delaware, the Ghost Dance spread to the Delaware community near Bartlesville, Oklahoma; Reed Wilson from Bartlesville visited the Anadarko Delaware and returned to his community with the Ghost Dance. It was known to them by the name *Kehkaitehutin* (Adams 1977:70). The Ghost Dance was sporadically done, and the songs were accompanied by a water drum. Even though some of the songs had Delaware words in them, Nora Dean, a Delaware elder, thought that they did not sound Delaware, but were probably Caddo in origin (Adams 1977:71-72).

¹⁵ The names of the seven original leaders of the Ghost Dance are unclear. Several different sources give different names, which I have listed below. I have matched similar names when possible and given alternative names, nicknames, and traditional Caddo names when available.

Michael Martin (Parsons 1941:49)	Sadie Weller (Weller 1967a:15)	Grace Akins (Carter 1995:93, 369)
Moonhead (or John Wilson)	Moonhead (or John Wilson)	
Whitebread	Old Man Whitebread	
Mr. Blue		Mr. Blue (or Thomas Wister/Wooster)
Tsa'owisha (or John Shemamy)		
T'amo'	Joe Hainai	T'amo' or Tompmo (or Joe Hainai)
K'aaka'i (or Crow or Billy Wilson)	Billy Wilson	Buzzard (or Su ka tee)
Mr. Squirrel		Squirrel (or Shewah)
	Joe Edmond	
	Old Man Hainai	
		Billy Bean
		Strongman (or Hah dus kats)
		Billy Spybuck

¹⁶ More information on John Wilson can be found in Speck's 1933 article (Speck 1933).

¹⁷ Carter (1995:92) gives the word for Ghost Dance pole as *itcha kaa-nah*, literally "that kind of pole."

¹⁸ As with the names of the seven men who received the feathers from Sitting Bull, the name of the person who carved the pole is a point of contention. Some community members say that Squirrel, not Whitebread, actually carved the pole.

¹⁹ The Caddo Ghost Dance pole's catalogue number is NAM-9-5-14. The catalogue card contains the following information: "The pole was donated to the Museum at the conclusion of the 'last Caddo Ghost Dance'; held all night long, July 16, 1946. It was made about 1895 by Chief and Mrs. Whitebread and used up until his death (1922) by the well-known ghost dancer, Mr. Squirrel. Mr. Joe Weller fell heir to the pole and put on dances annually, whenever possible, until his death in 1945. Mrs. Weller felt that she did not completely understand the Ghost Dance and wished to retire the pole after one last dance in honor of her husband. I was present at the Ghost Dance and persuaded Mrs. Weller and the Caddo tribe to donate the pole to the museum rather than destroy it at the completion of the dance. The pole is constructed of the 'heart of a large cedar tree.' It is painted black on the north side and green on the south side. The dance takes place in a circular manner around the pole. The east-west division of the pole (where the longitudinal black and green paint meet) represents the 'road' through which communication might be had with the dead."

²⁰ This is an interesting contrast to the Delaware's Big House ceremony, which ended for many reasons, among them that no one had visions any more. For more information on the Big House Ceremony, see Speck (1931, 1937), Miller and Dean (1976), Prewitt (1981), Grumet (2001).

²¹ Adherence to the prohibition against White people participating in Native American Church ceremonies among the Caddo is only partial and not always strictly enforced. Several years after the death of Fred Parton, an important contemporary leader in the Caddo Native American Church who passed away in 2003, his adopted son held a memorial service ("meeting") in honor of Mr. Parton. This meeting was somewhat controversial to some members of the community since the adopted son was White, and it should be noted that he was not formally adopted into the Caddo tribe. In at least one case, a White man was able to attend a meeting because he was assumed to be a Delaware from northeastern Oklahoma (Petruzzo 1934:87-95).

²² This is not the case for other tribes where these songs do hold ceremonial significance (Kracht 1994a:322; Lassiter 1998).

²³ This number is based on powwows listed in the *Anadarko Daily News*, flyers that were distributed at dances that I attended or that I picked up at McKee's Indian Store in Anadarko, and listings on the website Powwows.com. For a complete listing of these organizations, see Appendix 3.

²⁴ Several lines of evidence support my assessment of war dances as secondary to Caddo social dances at Caddo dances. First, war dances are not often featured (or even listed) on flyers for Caddo dances, whereas many of the social dances, such as the Turkey Dance, Bear Dance, Stirrup Dance, and so forth will be specifically named. Second, I observed a general lack of enthusiasm for the war dance among those attending Caddo dances; for example, children are likely to run out and join the Cherokee Dance, but must be "reminded" to go dance when a war dance song is played. Finally, Caddo people discuss the war dances as not as important at a Caddo dance as are the social dances. They are not an integral part of the event, certainly not in the same way that the Turkey Dance or Drum Dance are; if no war dances were performed at a Caddo dance, no one would miss them, but if the Turkey Dance was not performed, people would be puzzled and wonder why it was skipped.

²⁵ An exception to this might be the Turkey Dance. According to Leon Carter, "The only traditional dance we have in costume in the women's Turkey Dance" (Carter 1995:46).

²⁶ In many ways the secularization of the gourd dance in a fundraising context mirrors that of the indoor stomp dances described by Jackson (2003b). Both gourd dance fundraisers and indoor stomp dances are removed from their ceremonial context, are primarily social in function, and incorporate elements of intertribal powwows.

²⁷ I should reiterate here that this comment excludes the eastern Delaware who do have a gourd dance society called the Lenape Gourd Clan. The Lenape Gourd Clan is active in hosting and co-hosting gourd dances and powwows in northeastern Oklahoma.

²⁸ *Habushko* is a dish served at all traditional Caddo meals. It consists of thinly sliced beef that cooks in its own juices until gravy forms.

Interlude: The Caddo Pottery Tradition Continues

Caddo pottery is probably one of tribe's most recognized and most recognizable art forms (Townsend and Walker 2004). Currently, three Caddo women work as potters: Mary Lou Downing Davis, who uses old Caddo symbols on contemporary pieces; Jeraldine Redcorn, whose work is often featured in museums across the country, and Tracy Newkumet, who strives to recreate the older Caddo forms and designs as accurately as possible. In my mind, Tracy's pottery probably looks like what would be seen in a prehistoric Caddo village - high quality pieces that are elegant in their simplicity. At an early age, she received a glimpse of Caddo pottery thanks to her grandfather, Philip Newkumet, an archaeologist (among other things) who worked at Spiro Mounds. Tracy's grandmother, Vynola Beaver Newkumet, also worked hard to preserve Caddo traditions and was the co-author of the book, *Hasinai: A Traditional History of the Caddo Confederacy* (1988a). One afternoon, Tracy and I sat down to talk about her early experiences with Caddo pottery and her efforts to pass on her knowledge at the Caddo Youth Camp. What follows is an excerpt from our discussion.

I know where to start. I took my first ceramics class summer after second grade and my grandparents, Vynola and Phil, would baby-sit me during the weekend, and my mom's parents would baby-sit me during the week. So on the weekend... we would get the results of our class on the weekend, you know, because classes lasted two weeks. And then they started a new class and I liked it so much I took like five classes. And I started bringing home pottery to Grandma and Grandpa's house, and Grandpa got really excited about me loving pottery. And so he said "you want to see some pottery that's really good?" And he showed me all these dirty, old, ugly, uncolorful,

boring sherds and thought that I was going to be excited about it. And uh that was my introduction to Caddo pottery. And granted I was what eight years old. I thought it was horribly boring.

But it wasn't until the summer after the third grade and Grandpa got a little creative. I'd be over there, and so what he was doing was, he was putting together a pot like a puzzle. And that was gobs more interesting for me, right? And so that summer I built a pot out of sherds which was way cool.

And then I thought maybe this stuff isn't quite so ugly and boring. And we got lots of neat ideas from the stuff that he had. He had a lot of Spiro pottery at his house. And you know when you're really young and you're taking classes, they don't really explain to you technique. All I knew was that my pots were fat and heavy and his pots were fine and smooth and thin. And so I was really young when I started making pots that were better quality by years than the other students.



Figure 32: Tracy with her daughters, Alaina and Kira. Tracy set up a table at the 2006 Caddo Conference to sell some of her Caddo pottery.

After that, Grandpa taught me how to find clay at the river bottom and suggested that I mine my own clay and try making pottery out of it. And he had temper, and you know, you can't just use clay. You have to put stuff in it: sand, already fired pottery, or shell, or bone, or something, so it holds together when it's firing. And I thought, this was freshman year of high school, "Wow, that'd be great fun."

And this whole time, the place I was taking classes was at the Firehouse [Arts Center in Norman, Oklahoma]. So I went and mined my own clay down at the South Canadian River and it's kind of a dark red and I used shell temper. I used a mortar and pestle and gathered up a whole bunch of those little bitty brown mussels. You know what I'm talking about? And boiled them all off so that they wouldn't stink and have goobers in them. And I boiled them in a big pot outside. And then, so, I pounded them all into powder and made clay, and I put it in this pot this huge container with a lid on it 'cause you have to let it sit so that all the water absorbs and so that everything kind of... And I left it at the Firehouse 'cause it was a five gallon thing of clay. It was a lot of clay.

And about four or five days later, the director of the firehouse calls me up and says, "I don't know what you did but you need to get down here." And I'm like, "Oh God. I'm in trouble." And I go down there and I walk into the gallery, which is on the other end of the building from the studio, and it smelled like ... it smelled like a turkey farm. Not real strong, but you could tell there was turkey farm in there somewhere.

And then as you get closer, you realize that's not turkey farm... that's kitchen compost. And then, you know, you're changing your mind as you're walking through and you finally get into the studio and it smells like something died and rotted. And the studio director said, "Get rid of it." And I'm like "Get rid of what?" And he said "That clay is the most disgusting thing I have ever seen." And I said "Well, can I, you know, take it home, make something and after it's dry bring it up?" And he said "Okay, you can do that."

So I took it home and I made a few things and brought them up after they were dry. They didn't smell quite as bad. You know, I couldn't smell it at all. And we put them in the kiln to fire them. And it was an electric kiln and you have to heat it up slow... Okay, they made me buy a new kiln. It coated the inside of the kiln with some sort of hinky, oily, funky, goobery and so after this, the whole thing takes like three weeks, you know this whole process, and I go to Grandpa and I'm like "What happened?"

And he said "Well, Tracy, I think that what you're supposed to do is not boil the shell. I think you're supposed to put them in a fire."

And I'm like, that was one of those times when I'm like, that information could have been given earlier.

But after that experience I never tried it [mining clay]... I don't like mining my own clay around this area. There's just too much animal and plant matter in it. It's just disgusting. According to Grandpa, most of that clay

was all mined over in Louisiana and probably not mined anywhere near here. But it was an interesting learning experience.

I think that the designs have been wonderful to copy and it's almost like, the more you copy, the more you come up with your own.

And the ones that intrigue me the most are the ones that are on the shells, but the ones that are on the pottery that intrigue me are the ones that are done with fingernails. You know, 'cause you can actually put your fingernail in the fingernail hole and know...

You know what I think the best part about the pottery is... besides the fact that I'm totally compelled to do it. I'm not okay in the universe without a good coating of mud at least once a week... is that the best part is that everybody loves mud. So, teaching the kids at camp how to make a pot, teaching them how to make a pinch pot... You can teach them Indian way and it's a whole lot more comprehensive. It's not just make a hole and make it round. It's "Well what do you want to put on it? What shape do you want it to be?" You want to think about it and because of thinking about it they're doing so much better, you know...



Figure 33: Tracy teaching pottery at the Caddo Youth Camp
June 2005; Binger, Oklahoma

Chapter 8: Some Concluding Thoughts, and One More Story Before I Go

We're here. We're still here. —Frances Cussen Kodaseet

The idea that Caddo and Delaware people are “still here” came up frequently during my field research. Sometimes this came up in talking to members of the community about what they would like me to write; they asked that I make sure that people know that they are still here. Sometimes exhibition dances at public events were seen as a way of telling others, both non-Indians and Indians of other tribes, that “We're still here.” At the annual Caddo Conference in 2004, Shirley Gouge spoke passionately about the activities that the Hasinai Society undertakes and its efforts to preserve Caddo culture. Her declaration that “We're still here” seemed especially poignant when delivered to an audience comprised mostly of archaeologists who study prehistoric Caddo archaeological sites. Furthermore, Frances Cussen Kodaseet, a Caddo elder whose family keeps the Turkey Dance staff, said the same thing at a meeting of an organization that was raising money to take Caddo people to see the Art Institute of Chicago's *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand* exhibit: “We're here. We're still here.”¹

The fact that Caddo and Delaware people are still here, after wars and colonialism, boarding schools and missionaries, removal and allotment, termination and the ongoing battle to preserve tribal sovereignty, is remarkable. Even more remarkable is not the mere existence of Caddo and Delaware people but their tenacity. In spite of all of the challenges faced by the community, the tumultuousness

of tribal politics, and disagreements between the cultural organizations, the Turkey Dance is still performed no less than seven times a year. Children still learn the Duck Dance, Alligator Dance, Stirrup Dance, Woman Dance, and all of the other social dances. Caddo hymns are sung at funerals, and memorial dinners are held four times annually after a tribal member passes away. The Native American Church's teepee still goes up at regular intervals in preparation for meetings. People still get together to talk about years gone by, elders who have passed on, and how people are related to each other. In other words, the community remains, persists, and flourishes.² This is one of the many things that I find particularly beautiful about the Caddo and Delaware way of life: it balances and integrates different forms of knowledge into a flexible system of knowing and experiencing the world.

I would argue that one reason for the persistence of the Caddo and Delaware community is the flexibility of its knowledge system. It accommodates other forms of knowledge, other traditions, without losing its own distinctive identity. This is seen repeatedly in the lives of Caddo and Delaware people. For example, the Ghost Dance was adopted in the 1890 to deal with a specific set of circumstances facing the community. Once other means for dealing with those circumstances, such as the Native American Church, became available, the Caddo adopted those practices; however, they continued to practice the Ghost Dance and integrated it into their repertoire of dances even as other tribes in the area abandoned it totally. Even now, Caddo people continue to feel a connection to the Ghost Dance, not as a historical artifact, but in a very vibrant, very alive way. Meredith finds that this flexibility was characteristic of the post-removal era, "as the Caddo and Hasinai people conserved

the best elements of their culture and found new alternatives for revival of their heritage in the Southern Plains” (Meredith 2001:278), and such an approach continues to this day.

This type of adaptability and flexibility is frequently remarked upon by researchers who study indigenous knowledge systems, particularly in terms of how traditional knowledge is affected by globalization (Bicker, Sillitoe, and Pottier 2004:xi) and how local knowledge responds to other social and natural environmental changes (Antweiler 2004:1). Indigenous knowledge systems are often described as dynamic: “new knowledge is continuously added. Such systems do innovate from within and also will internalize, use, and adapt external knowledge to suit the local situation” (Grenier 1998:1). These studies, conducted in indigenous communities around the world, echo the findings of those conducted in Native communities across the United States. As such, Duane Champagne and Carole Goldberg predict that “Native communities may develop many creative ways to preserve their communities and cultures, while accommodating to the intensity and globalization of the world economy, culture, and technology” (2005:49). Some of these “creative ways” will require Native communities to “manage technology and science and use it to their advantage” (Champagne and Goldberg 2005:50). In the end, “Native communities will most likely make an alliance with science and technology. But selectively and in ways that further their own interests and values” (Champagne and Goldberg 2005:63). An example of this alliance is the use of the Internet by tribes, both to promote economic endeavors such as casinos and to provide cultural information and language materials to tribal members (Fair 2000).

One of the creative ways that Caddo and Delaware people have used to preserve their traditional culture required a sort of structural reorganization. Beginning in the 1970s and continuing through the 1980s and 1990s, the cultural life of the Caddo and Delaware community shifted from a relatively informal mode to one that was much more formalized. During this time, the three active cultural organizations, the Hasinai Society, the Caddo Culture Club, and Lenape Legacy were formed. Each of these organizations became a location for cultural preservation and reproduction in the community. Traditions were selected, especially those related to music and crafts, and these were promoted. The reorganization of the community into cultural organizations helped to ensure the preservation and perpetuation of traditional culture and other tribally specific practices. In some ways, the tension between organizations, particularly the Hasinai Society and the Caddo Culture Club, breeds a sense of competition. However, this competition is beneficial, as each group strives to maintain traditions, songs, dances, and the Caddo language to the best of their ability; the result of the competition is one that is beneficial, rather than destructive, to the community at large.

The formation of these cultural organizations helps to elucidate the very nature of community among the Caddo and Delaware people. The Caddo and Delaware community is very much like that defined by Steven Brint (2001:8): “aggregates of people who share common activities and/or beliefs and who are bound together principally by relations of affect, loyalty, common values, and/or personal concern.” On the whole, regardless of affiliation with any of the various organizations within the tribes, this accurately describes the Caddo and Delaware community. The

common activities of the community, as well as broadly crosscutting links through kinship and friendship, form a vast social network that links people whose goal is the reproduction of traditional Caddo and Delaware culture. Of course, to form a viable community, “relations among members of the community need not be exclusive or even extremely frequent” (Brint 2001:9), and this non-exclusivity accurately depicts the aggregation of Caddo and Delaware people into various cultural organizations. As Brint and others point out, this sort of definition of community significantly varies from those that rely of spatial locations of people as a means for defining a community (see also Wellman 1982:63).

Defining community by these terms emphasizes social ties and relationships and consequently lends itself to social network analysis (Brint 2001:4). It also raises the level of analysis from the community to the social structure underlying that community, as social structure is inherently a network phenomenon (Wellman 1982:63). Therefore, the behaviors that link people together must be considered. Since these behaviors can change how people are linked, social structure is something that is built and re-built constantly by the members of the community, much like Thomas Buckley describes culture as “a process, not a thing” (2002:3). This perspective also allows for conflict, since “not all communal social relations are amicable” (Brint 2001:9). As Barry Wellman puts it, “Communities are not necessarily nice things” (1982:79). The flexibility of the network approach means that conflict, whether on the level of political factions or between cultural organizations, can be accommodated. Analytically at least, the network approach allows for the examination of such conflicts at a distance, rather than focusing on the points of

contention. Such a perspective demonstrates that conflict, such as that between the cultural organizations, is sometimes beneficial in that it accomplishes specific objectives, in this case adherence to community-wide traditions. At the same time, members of the community have a social order, a way to make sense of these sometimes tense, sometimes chaotic relationships.

In many ways, the Caddo and Delaware community is a persistent cultural system. Edward Spicer states that these systems “are subject to total disintegration, just as they are subject to being built up through processes of integration” (1971:796). The Caddo and Delaware community is somewhere in-between these two possible outcomes. The flexibility of the community’s social structure allows it to change, continually resetting its equilibrium to avoid disintegration, as well as to avoid becoming something else altogether unrecognizable. As Raymond Firth states, “the operation of a social system... involves continual tendencies to change. Basic relations in the system are not a balanced order; they are often unbalanced, requiring continual readjustment in order that the system may work at all” (1963:82). This is the recalibration, the resetting that gives the Caddo and Delaware community the flexibility that is necessary to its persistence. In sum, the structure of the Caddo and Delaware community is flexible and changes in order to ensure the persistence not only of the community itself, but also of its distinctive traditions and knowledge. In the end, the social structure of the community changes over time; it does not give in to entropy, but also does not remain unchanging. It changes, like the beat of the drum and the voices of the singers change from one song of the Turkey Dance to the next. It changes, and it continues.

One More Story Before I Go

Much of this work has been extremely personal for me. When I write about the Turkey Dance, the songs run through my mind and my feet want to “kick the dirt.” When I describe the political turmoil that affected the tribe a few years ago, I realize just how important it is that tribes determine their own fate and that tribal governments make the decisions that are best for their members. When I complete a new pair of moccasins or a new *dush-tooh*, I show them to Franny or Twila with the same anxiety that a child has bringing home a report card, the hope that it is good enough and the fear that it might not be. Belonging to a community is a beautiful thing, reassuring, comforting, and challenging at the same time, but also something that can break your heart.

People from many different tribes find their way to the Caddo and Delaware community. One person who I was particularly close to was Tom Gouge, Shirley’s husband. Just as Shirley would introduce me as her daughter, Tom would frequently introduce me the same way. With a measure of pride in his voice, he would tell people that I shake shells (which I do sometimes) and that I speak Creek (which I do not). Tom sat with me for many hours, trying to teach me words and phrases in Creek. Whenever we were around his family and friends who spoke Creek, he liked to show off our work together by getting me to say something, which inevitably I would bungle; his sister always teases me because once she asked me (in Creek) where I was from and I answer (also in Creek) that “I’m doing fine.”

Tom liked to tell people that we were working on a book of his stories. Tom had great stories, ones that always made everyone laugh. Sometimes I would come

home from work, and his pickup truck would be parked in my yard. He would sit on the front porch of the house I rented in Anadarko and wait until I came home. Then, we would drink iced tea, and he would tell stories. I now wish that I had a tape recorder running on those evening, but I did not. We started tape-recording Tom's stories for a life history project about three years ago, but we never got to finish it. I took a fulltime job and moved away from Anadarko, and we did not see each other as much. Tom became ill, from both diabetes and cancer, and during the spring of 2007, he passed away. At the same time, I am sad because I miss my friend, my Creek father, and relieved because I know that Tom was ready to move on.

After Tom passed away, I tried to keep in close contact with Shirley and Shelby. I knew that Shirley would need support but would not ask for it; she had stayed with Tom at the hospital during his last days and would have yet another funeral to plan. When James and I arrived at the services, Shirley looked exhausted, but composed and impeccably dressed. The funeral home's usher seated James and me in the back, but Shirley demanded that we sit with her, Shelby, and the rest of Tom's family. We settled in to our seats, and the services got under way.

Tom's funeral was just what I imagine that he would have wanted. It was truly a celebration of his life, with people telling funny (and often bittersweet) stories about him, a slide show of family photos, and several songs sung by his grandsons (who like their grandfather, have a gift for music). Having worked on a life history project with Tom gave me a unique perspective on this funeral. What immediately struck me was how well integrated all of the seemingly disparate parts of Tom's story were, both in how he lived his life and how the services were conducted.

Tom grew up in Hanna, Oklahoma, and as a young child, he was sent to Yuchi Boarding School, and then Sequoyah Indian School. When he arrived at school, he was punished for speaking Creek, the only language he knew at the time. Once, he was locked in a broom closet as punishment, and the teacher forgot he was in there until most of the day passed. While he was in that closet, he told me, he swore that no matter what happened, he would never forget his Creek language. He never did, even when the only person he could talk to could barely recite the numbers and thought she came from a place called “I’m doing fine.” Yet, Tom worked for many years at the Riverside Indian School in Anadarko. For him, no contradiction existed in disliking a system that punished him for speaking his own language and then working for that same system. Many of the people at Tom’s services that morning were his students from Riverside. Anytime we went anywhere in Anadarko, it seemed like everyone knew Tom from his time at the school.

Creek ceremonial life meant a great deal to Tom, and he was at one time the *mekko* of the Hillabee ceremonial ground near Hanna. He freely admitted to me that he did not always know what he had to do as *mekko* and would have to ask the elders of the ground for instruction. Once he married Shirley and became active in the Hasinai Society, Tom’s connections to the ceremonial grounds in eastern Oklahoma expanded upon those of the Hasinai Society. He worked hard with the Hasinai Society’s boys, teaching them how to lead stomp dances, how to play stick ball, and how to act like respectable young men. At the same time, Tom loved church. He was an ordained minister and regularly attended church services in Anadarko. He spoke passionately about his religious beliefs. This always seemed a little contradictory to

me as participation at stomp dances (driving hours to attend dances and staying up all night Saturday at those dances), often precludes attending Sunday morning church services. For Tom, there was no contradiction, in life or at his funeral services. Tom was buried in a ribbon shirt with his Western style hat, a cane that I beaded for him with his Creek name on it, and his Bible. At the church, his pastor spoke of Tom's commitment to his Christian faith. At the graveside services, the men of the family filled in the grave and piled the dirt over it, as was traditional. Tom was buried at the Rainy Mountain cemetery, a Kiowa cemetery, as his first wife and the mother of his children was Kiowa. Tom's cousin, Felix Gouge, spoke over the grave in Creek. At the conclusion of Felix's speech, a speech that reminded me so much of those given at ceremonial grounds, Tom's Caddo family and friends circled the mound of dirt, holding their hands over the grave and then passing their hands over their bodies, moving clockwise around the mound, partaking in a blessing, saying goodbye.

Saying goodbye to Tom has been one of the hardest things that I have done since I entered "the field" years ago. Tom would probably tell me that I am making it too complicated, but I felt like his funeral services reaffirm the conclusions I make here. As in his life, Tom's funeral service drew upon very different bodies of knowledge and integrated them into a seamless whole. His services, and in particular Shirley demanding that I sit beside her during them, reaffirm for me my place in the community. Caddo ideas about kinship are flexible enough to incorporate, after the passing of time and a lot of proving of oneself, an outsider, a non-Indian, a total stranger. I have a Caddo family now, and they are just as much my family as the one I have in Louisiana. In many ways, this relationship "heightens the awareness of the

ethnographer and helps to bring into focus the relationship between the researcher and the researched” (Stoeltje, Fox, and Olbrys 1999:160). These relationships, to Shirley and Shelby, to the wider Caddo and Delaware community, force me to be more responsible. I know that they will read this. I know that they expect me to behave appropriately, to go to dances, to make moccasins, to record the songs, to take an obnoxious number of photographs, and to make sure that those outside of the community know that they are still here.

Perhaps more importantly, I know that I cannot simply depart. As I sum up this work, I have come to appreciate the following statement from Dorothy Noyes (1995:454):

If, after long and patient self-insinuation, we do reach the center, we learn that we can no longer simply depart. Our entry has changed the shape of the network, and we are part of it. Not that we have assimilated, become like them; on the contrary, our difference is often what makes us valuable.

Once you are part of a community, you cannot just leave, because in leaving, you are neglecting a responsibility that you have and you are leaving a debt unpaid. Just as I need the Hasinai Society and the other organizations and people I discuss here – because without them I would have nothing about which to write – they need me. My difference, that is, being an outsider, working at a university, knowing how to get grant money for cultural activities, makes me valuable. In this way, by accruing and (at least partially) repaying a debt, my relationship with the Caddo and Delaware community continues and is strengthened. And I know, at least for as long as I am able, that during the last week of June each year, I will be sleeping in a tent at the Caddo Youth Camp.

¹ A very nice book was prepared in conjunction with this exhibit and copies were given to the Caddo folks who made the trip to Chicago (Townsend 2004). After visiting the museum, Caddo tribal members toured Cahokia Mounds. Funding for the trip was raised by the Kadohadacho Service Organization (KSO), a small group whose sole purpose was to raise money for this trip. The KSO is dormant at this time, but plans to regroup in the near future and select another trip for Caddo people.

² Regna Darnell describes a similar situation among the Cree: “Although the Cree of northern Alberta have been considerably influenced by missionaries, ethnic diversity, and depreciation of Indian culture and language by Indian and white alike, traditional Cree genres of formal speaking persist and adapt... The Cree narrative tradition is not a static thing; its strength lies in the ability to adapt to whatever lives its performers may come to live” (1989:335-336).

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Appendix 1: Adjacency matrix for the Caddo and Delaware social network

A simple adjacency matrix is a table indicating the presence or absence of a relationship between any two individuals. For present purposes, an adjacency matrix can visually represent who among these individuals attends dances with each other. For instance, the individual labeled “A” attended two events, the Olivia Woodward Princess Dance in 2005 and the Hasinai Society Gourd Dance in 2006. The other people at those dances were the individuals labeled E, G, H, I, and N.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
A	--	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
B	0	--	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
C	0	1	--	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
D	0	1	1	--	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
E	1	0	0	0	--	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
F	0	1	1	1	0	--	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
G	1	0	0	0	1	0	--	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
H	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	--	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
I	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	--	1	0	1	1	1	1
J	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	--	1	1	1	0	1
K	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	--	1	1	0	1
L	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	--	1	0	1
M	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	--	0	1
N	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	--	0
O	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	--

In this adjacency matrix, a “1” is entered in each space (or cell) to indicate co-attendance. The same is done for each of the other fourteen other individuals. The matrix is described as symmetrical because if A attended a dance with E, then E also attended the dance with A. The designation “0” indicated that two individuals did not attend any dances together; for example, A did not attend any dances that were also attended by B, C, D, F, J, K, L, M, or O.

Appendix 2: Powwows and dances, 2005-2006

The following information on powwows and other dances in southwestern Oklahoma was collected from the *Anadarko Daily News*' listing of local powwows, as well as from flyers I received at dances I attended or I picked up at McKee's Indian Store in Anadarko, Oklahoma. Some dances were also listed on the Powwows.com website. While I have tried to make this list as comprehensive as possible in order to demonstrate the many dances that take place in the area, I have most likely and inadvertently omitted some smaller, less publicized dances.

2005	
01.01.2005	Comanche Little Ponies Annual New Year's Day Powwow
01.08.2005	Oklahoma City Powwow Club New Year's Dance
01.08.2005	Oklahoma Gourd Dance Club Benefit Dance
01.08.2005	Satethieday Khatgomebaugh All Gourd Benefit Dance
01.22.2005	Hannah Grace Long Birthday Dance
01.28.2005	Carnegie Elementary, Junior, and High School Mini Indian Club Mini Powwow
01.29.2005	Dorothy Wood Birthday Honor Dance
01.29.2005	LaRisha Wabaunasee Graduation Honor Dance (rescheduled to 03.05.2005)
02.03.2005	Red Hake, Inc.'s Valentine All Gourd Dance Program
02.05.2005	Oklahoma City Powwow Club Benefit Dance
02.05.2005	Riverside Indian School Class of 2005 All Gourd Dance Benefit Powwow
02.12.2005	American War Mother's Kiowa Chapter #18 Annual Valentine's Dance
02.13.2005	Comanche War Scouts 7 th Annual Valentine Celebration
02.17.2005	Oklahoma Drug and Alcohol Professional Counselors Association Contest Powwow
02.18.2005	Hasinai Society Benefit Gourd Dance
02.19.2005	Southwestern Oklahoma Vietnam Veterans Association Honor Dance for Senior Princess Amber Littleman
02.19.2005	Esa Rosa Descendants Benefit Powwow
02.25.2005	Hunting Horse Birthday Heritage Celebration
02.26.2005	Benefit Powwow for Mary Moses
03.04-05.2005	Comanche Nation Princess Kimberly Blackstar Honor Dance
03.05.2005	LaRisha Wabaunasee Graduation Honor Dance
03.05.2005	Cheyenne and Arapaho Labor Day Powwow Committee Benefit Powwow
03.05.2005	Kiowa Gourd Clan Benefit Dance

03.05.2005	Oklahoma Gourd Dance Club Benefit Dance
03.07.2005	Anadarko Warriors and Lady Warriors Basketball Honor Powwow
03.08.2005	Carnegie Boys Basketball Team Benefit Powwow
03.11.2005	Hasinai Society Benefit Gourd Dance
03.11.2005	Comanche Little Ponies Benefit Powwow
03.12.2005	Oklahoma City Powwow Club Benefit Dance
03.12.2005	Esa Rosa Descendants Benefit Powwow
03.13.2005	Southwest Oklahoma Vietnam Veterans Association Dance
03.19.2005	Kiowa Young Men's Association Benefit Powwow
03.26-27.2005	Wichita Tribal Princess Dance
04.01-03.2005	Nina Burgess Appreciation Powwow
04.02.2005	Oklahoma City Powwow Club Benefit Dance
04.08-09.2005	University of Oklahoma American Indian Student Association Spring Stomp Dance and Powwow
04.15-16.2005	University of Arts and Sciences of Oklahoma Intertribal Heritage Club Spring Stomp Dance and Powwow
04.29.2005	Wichita and Affiliated Tribes Gracemont Johnson O'Malley Honor Powwow
04.30.2005	14 th Cache Johnson O'Malley Program School Powwow
04.30.2005	Southwest Oklahoma Vietnam Veterans Association Princess Election Powwow
04.30.2005	Wanda Miller-Whiteman and Joan Candy Fire Graduation Honor Dance
05.06-08.2005	Comanche Little Ponies Annual Celebration
05.27-29.2005	24 th Annual Southwest Oklahoma Vietnam Veterans Association Celebration
06.03-05.2005	Oklahoma Gourd Dance Club 7 th Annual Dance
06.03-05.2005	Red Earth
06.04.2005	Chief Satanta White Bear Descendants 16 th Annual Celebration
06.09.2005	Mikayla Williams-Meeks Birthday Honor Dance
06.10.2005	Hasinai Society Benefit Gourd Dance
06.17-18.2005	Caddo Culture Club Annual Dance
06.18-19.2005	46 th Annual Naisha Manatidie Ceremonials
06.23-25.2005	90 th Annual Murrow Family Powwow
06.24-26.2005	33 rd Annual Esa Rosa Descendants Powwow
06.30.2005	Hasinai Youth Camp Caddo Dance
07.01-04.2005	Kiowa Tia Piah Society Annual 4 th of July Celebration
07.02.2005	Lenape Legacy Club Annual Dance

07.02-04.2005	Kiowa Gourd Clan Annual Ceremonies
07.02-04.2005	Tap Piah Society of Oklahoma's 45 th Annual July 4 th Celebration Powwow
07.15-17.2005	53 rd Annual Comanche Homecoming
07.21.2005	Gary Woods Birthday and Farewell All Gourd Dance Powwow
07.22-24.2005	71 st Annual O-ho-mah Lodge Ceremonials
07.23.2005	Caddo Culture Club Social Dance
07.24.2005	Native American Leadership Alliance of Oklahoma Honor Dance for George Akeen, Jr.
07.29-30.2005	Kiowa Apache Blackfoot Society's 45 th Annual Ceremonials
07.29-30.2005	Oklahoma City Powwow Club's Indian Hills Powwow
08.01-06.2005	74 th Annual American Indian Exposition
08.05-07.2005	16 th Annual Oklahoma Indian Nation Powwow
08.11-14.2005	30 th Annual Wichita Tribal Dance
08.12-14.2005	Southwest Intertribal Club's 5 th Annual Powwow
08.20.2005	American Cancer Society's Celebration of Hope Powwow
08.21.2005	Sergeant Quanah Parker Honor Dance
08.27.2005	Esa Rosa Descendants Appreciation Powwow
09.02.2005	Memorial Honor Powwow for Sammy Pewo
09.02-05.2005	Cheyenne and Arapaho Labor Day Powwow
09.03-05.2005	15 th Annual Dirty Shame Gourd Club Summer Powwow
09.05.2005	31 st Annual Kiowa Warrior Descendants Labor Day Powwow
09.10.2005	Esa Rosa Descendants Benefit Powwow
09.10.2005	19 th Annual Honor Dance for Saint David Pendleton Oakerhater
09.16-17.2005	13 th Annual Clara Brown Dance (also known as Caddo Elders Dance)
09.16-17.2005	26 th Annual Fort Sill Apache Celebration
09.17.2005	Hurricane Katrina Benefit Dance
09.23-25.2005	14 th Annual Comanche Nation Fair
09.24.2005	Hasinai Society Honor Dance for Princess Olivia Woodward
09.24.2005	Memorial Dance for Opal Fletcher Hail and In Remembrance of Arapaho Chief Willie P. Hail
09.24.2005	3 rd Annual Hobart Powwow
10.01.2005	Benefit Powwow for the Kiowa Emergency Youth Shelter
10.04.2005	Anadarko Band and Band Boosters Honor Powwow
10.07-08.2005	48 th Annual Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society Veteran's Day Celebration
10.07-09.2005	Satethieday Khatgomebaugh Annual Powwow

10.08.2005	Timothy Ototivo Memorial Dance
10.15.2005	Comanche Native American Church Benefit Gourd Dance
10.15.2005	Ittanaha Club Celebration Dance
10.20.2005	Anadarko Little League Football Benefit Powwow
10.20.2005	Oklahoma Drug and Alcohol Professional Counselor Association Native American Division Contest Powwow
10.22.2005	Oklahoma Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative 50 th Birthday Dance
10.22.2005	Kiowa Young Men's Association All-Gourd Benefit Dance
10.29.2005	Benefit Powwow for the Anadarko Warriors and Lady Warriors
10.29.2005	Francene Eagle Big Goose 75 th Birthday Honor Dance
11.03.2005	Comanche Nation College Teaching and Learning Youth Powwow
11.04.2005	Veterans Affairs Native American Veterans Warrior's Group Honor Dance
11.04-05.2005	34 th Annual Esa Rosa Anniversary and Thanksgiving Powwow
11.05.2005	Alfred Chalepah, Sr. 95 th Birthday Naisha Manatide Ceremonial Celebration
11.05.2005	4 th Annual Caddo Heritage Museum Dance and Symposium
11.05.2005	Native American Marine Corps Veterans' United States Marine Corps' 230 th Birthday Celebration
11.06.2005	Benefit Powwow for the 2006 Apache Tribal Princess
11.10.2005	Anadarko Indian Education Program All Gourd Dance Powwow
11.10.2005	Riverside Indian School and VFW Post #1015 Veteran's Day Gourd Dance
11.15.2005	Benefit Gourd Dance for the Carnegie High School Football Team
11.17-18.2005	Benefit Powwow and Bingo for Melvin Kerchee, Jr.
11.18.2005	Wahnee Descendants Princess Honor Powwow
11.19.2005	Hasinai Society Benefit Gourd Dance
11.19.2005	OU American Indian Student Association Fall Benefit Powwow
11.25.2005	Ponca Native American Church Benefit Dance
11.25-27.2005	Comanche War Scouts 15 th Annual Thanksgiving Celebration
12.03.2005	15 th Annual Sand Creek Descendants Gathering
12.17.2005	5 th Birthday Powwow for Jeffrey Levi Lightfoot
12.25.2005	4 th Annual Christmas Celebration Powwow
12.26.2005	Comanche Native American Church Benefit Powwow
12.31.2005	5 th Annual New Year's Eve Sobriety Powwow
2006	
01.01.2006	Comanche Little Ponies Annual New Year's Day Powwow
01.07.2006	Geronimo Centennial Powwow Club Benefit Powwow

01.07.2006	Oklahoma City Powwow Club New Year's Dance
01.14.2006	Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribal Princesses Coronation Dance
01.14.2006	Hasinai Society Benefit Gourd Dance
01.21.2006	June Rose Warden Black Memorial Dance
01.21.2006	Hannah Grace Long Birthday Honor Dance
01.21.2006	Stone Nation Empowerment Center Benefit Gourd Dance
01.27.2006	Carnegie Mini Indian Club Mini Powwow
02.03.2006	Cheevers Toppah and Alex Smith Benefit Gourd Dance
02.04.2006	Thomas Service Club Dance
02.04.2006	Celia Romannose Cruz Honor Dance
02.04.2006	Geronimo Centennial Powwow Club Benefit Dance
02.04.2006	Ruben Dale Watan Soldier Dance
02.10.2006	Christopher Wermey Soldier Dance
02.10.2006	Riverside Indian School Alumni Association Benefit Powwow
02.11.2006	American War Mothers Kiowa Chapter #18 Valentine's Dance
02.12.2006	Jim and Nora Antelope Wedding Anniversary Dance
02.12.2006	Wichita Native American Church Benefit Dance (rescheduled to 03.11.2006)
02.16.2006	Oklahoma Drug and Alcohol Professional Counselors Association Native American Division Contest Powwow
02.18.2006	Russell Cozad, Jr. 14 th Birthday Powwow
02.18.2006	Hasinai Society Benefit Gourd Dance
02.19.2006	Wichita and Affiliated Tribes Princess Honor Dance
03.03.2006	Comanche Homecoming Benefit Dance
03.04.2006	Hasinai Society Benefit Gourd Dance
03.04.2006	Kiowa Gourd Clan Benefit Dance
03.04.2006	Geronimo centennial Powwow Club Benefit Dance
03.11.2006	Oklahoma City Powwow Club March Benefit Dance
03.11.2006	Wichita Native American Church Benefit Dance
03.12.2006	Kiowa Head Start Home-based Students All Gourd Dance Benefit
03.16.2006	Purple Heart Descendants Club Benefit Powwow
03.18.2006	Kiowa Princess Joy Flores Honor Dance
03.18.2006	Coach Herman Boone Honor Dance
03.18.2006	Southwest Intertribal Club Princess Honor Dance for Kristen Amber Onco
03.19.2006	Dirty Shame Gourd Dance Club Benefit Dance
03.19.2006	Kiowa Casino Information and Celebration Powwow
03.25.2006	Theodore Chink Toppah Birthday Honor Dance

03.25.2006	Comanche Nation College Benefit Powwow
04.07.2006	Caddo Nation Head Start Program Benefit Powwow
04.07-08.2006	University of Arts and Sciences of Oklahoma Intertribal Heritage Club Spring Stomp Dance and Powwow
04.08.2006	C.A.P. Expo Tribes Benefit Dance
04.08.2006	Comanche Nation Child Development Program 4 th Annual Children's Powwow
04.08.2006	Kiowa Gourd Clan Benefit Dance
04.08.2006	3 rd Annual Chasenah Family Powwow
04.09.2006	Dirty Shame Gourd Club Benefit Powwow
04.15.2006	Kiowa Tribal Princess Election Dance
04.15.2006	13 th Birthday Honor Dance for McKagan Redbird
04.21.2006	Kiowa Tribe Indian Child Welfare Program 12 th Annual Powwow
04.21-22.2006	University of Oklahoma American Indian Student Association Annual Spring Stomp Dance and Contest Powwow
04.22-23.2006	Comanche War Dance Society 36 th Annual Spring Celebration
04.23.2006	Maxine Candy Honor Dance
04.23.2006	Geronimo Centennial Powwow Club Benefit Dance
04.28-30.2006	Comanche Nation College Spring Powwow
04.30.2006	Kiowa Head Start Program Powwow
05.04.2006	10 th Annual Gracemont Johnson O'Malley Honor Powwow
05.06.2006	Comanche Nation Princess Powwow
05.06.2006	Hasinai Society Caddo Dance
05.06.2006	Kiowa Gourd Clan Benefit Powwow
05.07.2006	American War Mothers Kiowa Chapter #18 Annual Mother's Day Dance
05.13.2006	Anadarko Indian Education Program Student recognition Ceremony and Dance
05.13-14.2006	Comanche Little Ponies Annual Mother's Day Powwow
05.18.2006	Brandon Sankadota Pewo Honor Dance
05.18.2006	Riverside Indian School Graduation Powwow
05.20.2006	11 th Annual Clinton Service Unit Employees Youth Powwow
05.20-21.2006	Annual Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society Ceremony
05.26-28.2006	25 th Annual Southwest Oklahoma Vietnam Veterans Celebration
05.26.2006	Carol Whiteskunk Graduation Dance
05.27.2006	Hasinai Society Benefit Gourd Dance
05.27.2006	Rita and Barbara Monoessy Honor Dance Powwow
06.02-04.2006	Oklahoma Gourd Dance Club Powwow

06.03.2006	Chief Satanta (Whitebear) Descendants 18 th Annual Celebration
06.10.2006	Incoming Wichita Tribal Princess and Kitikitish Little Sisters Princess Dance
06.10.2006	Kiowa Tia Piah Society Benefit Dance
06.16-17.2006	Caddo Culture Club Annual Dance
06.16-18.2006	47 th Annual Naisha Manatidie
06.17.2006	Yellwofish Descendants (Pa-que-o-haw-pith) Family Celebration and Powwow
06.17.2006	71 st Birthday Powwow for Bill Ware
06.18.2006	Benefit Gourd Dance for Jeremy Beaver
06.18.2006	Akeen Family Father's Day Dance
06.18.2006	5 th Annual Christmas Celebration Powwow Benefit Dance
06.22-24.2006	91 st Annual Murrow Family Powwow
06.23-25.2006	35 th Annual Ea Rosa Descendants Powwow
07.01.2006	Hasinai Summer Youth Camp Caddo Dance
07.01.2006	Fred and Peggy Tsoodle 60 th Wedding Anniversary Gourd Dance Celebration
07.02-04.2006	Kiowa Gourd Clan Celebration
07.02-04.2006	Tia Piah Society of Oklahoma 44 th Annual 4 th of July Powwow
07.02-04.2006	Kiowa Tia Piah Society 4 th of July Annual Celebration
07.07.2006	Silver Crest Manor Mini Powwow
07.13.2006	Geronimo Centennial Powwow Club Benefit Dance
07.13.2006	Jeremy Beaver Benefit War Dance and Social Powwow
07.14-16.2006	54 th Annual Comanche Homecoming Powwow
07.21-23.2006	O-ho-mah Lodge Ceremonials
07.23.2006	Comanche Little Ponies Benefit Powwow
07.24.2006	Boy Scouts of America Mini Powwow
07.28-30.2006	56 th Annual Indian Hills Powwow
07.29.2006	Caddo Nation Princess Dance
07.29.2006	Monique Burnside Graduation Honor Powwow and Fundraiser for Larue Gouladdle
07.29.2006	Jennifer Ann Parker Sweet 16 Honor Dance
07.30.2006	Ana Whitewolf-Cabaniss Birthday Honor Dance and Naming Ceremony
08.04-06.2006	47 th Annual Kiowa-Apache Blackfoot Ceremonials
08.07-12.2006	American Indian Exposition
08.13.2006	Eagles Mahseet Honor Soldier Dance
08.17-20.2006	31 st Annual Wichita Tribal Dance

08.19.2006	American Cancer Society's Celebration of Hope Powwow
09.02-04.2006	Cheyenne and Arapaho Celebration and Powwow
09.09.2006	Comanche Homecoming Benefit Gourd Dance Powwow
09.09.2006	20 th Annual Honor Dance for Saint David Pendleton Oakerhater
09.10.2006	Ruby Redbone Blocker Birthday Honor Dance
09.15-16.2006	Geronimo Centennial Powwow Club 2 Day Powwow Celebration
09.16.2006	Oklahoma City Powwow Club All Gourd Benefit Dance
09.23.2006	Jody Stevens Memorial Dance
09.29- 10.01.2006	15 th Annual Comanche Nation Fair
10.06-08.2006	Black Leggings Warrior Society's Annual Veterans Day Celebration
10.07.2006	13 th Annual Satethieday Khatgomebaugh Powwow
10.07.2006	Hobart Powwow
10.14.2006	Caddo Culture Club Princess Dance
10.15.2006	Comanche Nation College Fall Benefit Powwow
10.20-21.2006	Big Lookingglass Descendants Celebration Powwow
10.22.2006	Oklahoma Gourd Dance Club Benefit
10.28.2006	John-John Yellow Eagle Birthday Dance
10.28.2006	Comanche Nation Outreach Center Christmas Benefit Powwow
11.03.2006	Anadarko Indian Education Benefit Powwow
11.04.2006	Comanche Nation Princess Isa Belle Poor Buffalo Honor Dance
11.04.2006	Cheyenne and Arapaho 1 st Annual Veterans Day Celebration Powwow
11.10.2006	Native American Marine Corps Veterans United States Marine Corps 231 st Birthday Celebration
11.11.2006	65 th Annual Carnegie Victory Club Armistice Day Celebration
11.18.2006	University of Oklahoma American Indian Student Association Annual Fall Powwow
11.18.2006	Joshua Ware Memorial Dance
11.19.2006	Comanche Nation Outreach Center Christmas Benefit Powwow
11.24.2006	Welcome Home Celebration and Honor Dance for Leonard Cozad
11.25.2006	Satethieday Khatgomebaugh Benefit Dance for the Tabernacle of Faith Church
12.01.2006	Comanche Little Ponies All Gourd Benefit Powwow
12.02.2006	Albert Littleman Memorial Dance
12.03.2006	Malayna Parker Dinwiddie Birthday Dance
12.03.2006	Lisa Pocowatchit-Labrada Honor Dance

12.09.2006	Henrietta Mann Honor Dance
12.23.2006	Comanche Homecoming Benefit Powwow
12.25.2006	5 th Annual Christmas Celebration Powwow

Appendix 3: Organizations active in southwestern Oklahoma, 2002-2007

The following list of organizations was compiled from the “Powwows and Handgames” listing in the Anadarko Daily News, as well as flyers distributed at dances I attended and flyers I collected from McKee’s Indian Store in Anadarko, Oklahoma. Coverage is a bit sporadic for the years 2002 and 2003, but should be comprehensive for 2004, 2005, and 2006. This list is current through January of 2007.

American Indian Cultural Society	Comanche Nation Youth Program
America’s Warriors	Comanche Native American Church
Anadarko High School Indian Club	Comanche Princess Sorority
Anadarko Indian Education Program	Comanche War Dance Society
Anadarko Middle School Indian Club	Comanche War Mothers
Apache Blackfeet Society (Redbone family)	Comanche War Scouts
Apache High School Indian Club	Darlington School Indian Club
Apache Service Club	Dirty Shame Gourd Clan
Arapaho Veterans	Esa Rosa Descendants
Big Lookingglass Descendants	Fort Marion POW Descendants
Caddo Culture Club	Geronimo Centennial Powwow Club
Caddo Native American Church	Good Medicine Society
Caddo Veterans	Goule-Hae-ee Descendants
Cameron University Native American Student Association	Gracemont Johnson O’Malley Program
Camp Seven	Gulf Coast Tia-Piah Society
Carnegie High School Indian Club	Hasinai Society of the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma
Carnegie Mini Indian Club	Iowa Powwow Committee
Carnegie Tia-Piah Society	Ittanaha Club
Carnegie Victory Club	Kiowa Gourd Clan
Central Oklahoma Tribal Society	Kiowa Marine Corps Color Guard
Chalepah Na-i-sha Blackfeet Society	Kiowa Princess Sorority
Cheyenne-Arapaho Labor Day Powwow Committee	Kiowa Tia-Piah Society
Chief Quannah Parker Descendants	Kiowa Tribal Employees Association
Chief Satanta (Whitebear) Descendants	Kiowa Veterans Association
Chief Wildhorse Descendants	Kiowa Victory Club
Clinton War Mothers	Kiowa War Mothers Chapter #18
Comanche Elders Council	Kiowa Warrior Descendants
Comanche Homecoming	Kiowa Young Men's Association
Comanche Indian Veterans Association (CIVA)	Kitikiti'sh (Wichita) Little Sisters
Comanche Little Ponies	Lenape Legacy
Comanche Nation Code Talkers Descendants	Memphis Tia-Piah Society
Comanche Nation College	Native American Golfers Association
	Native American Marine Corps Veterans
	Northwest Oklahoma Vietnam Veterans

Oklahoma City Powwow Club
Oklahoma Gourd Dance Club
Oklahoma Intertribal Club
Old Chief Lonewolf Descendants
ONAA
OU American Indian Student
Association
Purple Hearts Descendants
Red Hawke, Inc.
Red Moon Service Club
Riverside Indian School Alumni
Association
Riverside Indian School Indian Club
Sand Creek Massacre Descendants
Satethieday Khatgomebaugh
Shuuwi?ti?ti Youth Drum Group
Southwest Intertribal Club

Southwest Oklahoma Choctaw Club
Southwest Oklahoma Vietnam
Veterans
Southwestern Native American Club
Thomas Service Club
Tia-Piah Society of Carnegie
Tia-Piah Society of Oklahoma
Tinker Intertribal Association
Ugly Angels Marine Corps Helicopter
Division
USAO Intertribal Heritage Club
Wahnee Descendants
Walters Service Club
Watonga Cheyenne Veterans
White Star Gourd Dance Society
Wichita Native American Church
Wichita Service Club