

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: "SONGS TO SOOTHE A MOTHER":
INTERTEXTUALITY AND
INTERTRIBALISM IN KIOWA WAR
MOTHER SONGS

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War Mother songs were first composed for the women of the Kiowa War Mothers Chapter 18 organization during World War II by two main composers, Lewis Toyebo and James "Jimmy A" Anquoe. These songs initially functioned to provide encouragement for both the servicemen deploying overseas and their mothers, and later were performed to honor returning veterans. Through musical and linguistic elements, War Mother songs serve as an intertext of multiple pre-reservation songs and dances (War Journey, Scalp, and Victory), but also reflect changes in warfare and post-reservation lifestyle in the twentieth-century. After World War II into the Korean and Vietnam Wars, War Mother song performances continued to honor veterans, both returning and fallen in battle, in a mix of Kiowa contexts and intertribal spaces.

“SONGS TO SOOTHE A MOTHER”: INTERTEXTUALITY AND
INTERTRIBALISM IN KIOWA WAR MOTHER SONGS

by

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Pronunciation Guide

I implement the modified Parker McKenzie Kiowa orthography¹ used by the Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program (KLCRP) in this thesis. It is based on the original Parker McKenzie Kiowa orthography² with some slight variations:

Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography—Original Parker McKenzie Orthography

[b replaces *f*= (sound in-between *p* and *b*)

p' replaces *v*= (sound is a plosive *p*)

ts replaces *ch*= (sound is a soft aspirated *s*)

ts' replaces *x*= (sound is a plosive *ts*)

[d replaces *j*= (sound is in-between *d* and *th*)

t' replaces *th*= (sound is a plosive *t*)

[g replaces *c*= (sound is a soft *g*)

k' replaces *q*= (sound is a plosive *k*)

ñ replaces underlined words= (nasalizes a vowel or diphthong)

The following consonants stay the same:

p= (sound is regular English *p*)

s= (sound is regular English *s*)

t= (sound is regular English *t*)

k= (sound is regular English *k*)

l= (sound is regular English *l*)

z= (sound is regular English *z*)

Vowels and diphthongs stay the same:

a= (ah)

au= (aw)

ai= (ah-ee)

au= (oy)

¹ See Poolaw and Poolaw 2016.

² See Meadows 2010:xix-xx.

e= (ay)

i= (ee)

o= (oh)

oi= (oh-ee)

u= (oo)

ui= (oo-ee)

Inflections on vowels stay the same:

á= (slightly raised pitch)

à= (slightly lowered pitch)

â= (slightly raised pitch followed by slightly lowered pitch)

Elongation of phoneme stay the same:

Háuuñ:dé óñ:dé::= (elongation is denoted by a semicolon and sounds
háuuuñdéee óñndéee)

New addition to orthography by the author:

ɫ= (dl) as in saddle

e.g. *hèl* (haydl)

Chapter 1: Introduction

Veterans are highly revered in Kiowa society. “There’s only two people willing to give or gave their life for you and I. That’s Jesus Christ and soldiers,” explained Phil “Joe Fish” Dupoint³ to me on a hot summer day in early June of 2017 at the Kiowa Museum in Carnegie, Oklahoma. Joe Fish is the principal singer for *Tòñkóñgàut* or Kiowa Black Legs society, an all men’s warrior society exclusively for Kiowa veterans. As we sat at his desk in the tribal museum, he talked about the longstanding tradition of warriorship in the Kiowa tribe. He made it apparent that warriors, both past and present, are still honored through song and dance. Joe Fish closed his eyes, took a slow deep breath, and continued his story:

So there comes the second World War and at that time, the older men inspired the younger men and they wanted to go. At that time when they left, they went through basic training, came home, and then left. These mothers, grandmas, aunts, sisters thought about their men. “How are they doing? Are they in harms way?” There was so many things going on in their minds. Lewis Toyebo, he would see his aunts, his mom, his grandma, they would be washing dishes and would be looking out that window and they would be talking like they’re talking to someone. They were praying, “God look over my sons, look over my nephews, they’re away from home. Maybe they’re in danger. Keep those guardian angels around them. Bring them home safely”...And that’s how the women would be talking. They would be crying. There was an old man, he had this gift of song. And different tunes would come this way and he would put words to those songs. And so, that’s the beginning of the War Mother songs.

War Mother songs, as Joe Fish described, are a set of songs initially created for the women of the Kiowa War Mothers Chapter 18 organization whose sons were fighting overseas during World War II.⁴ During this time, many Kiowas enlisted in the military. As Kiowa singer James

³ Joe Fish is a renowned singer, historian, and prominent elder in the Kiowa Tribe. He has also been invited many times to be the principal singer for *[Dáìñpègàu* (Gourd Clan). He is acknowledged by many Kiowa people as a knowledge keeper.

⁴ The Kiowa War Mothers Chapter 18 is an all-female philanthropic organization that is linked to the National American War Mothers. Since the inception of Chapter 18 during World War II, Kiowa women continue to support United States military efforts by sending care packages. Only Kiowa mothers who have a son or daughter in the military are allowed to join (LaVerna Capes, Interview, June 28, 2017). The mothers of Chapter 18 also perform

“Ducky” Anquoe put it, these were “songs to soothe a mother” of the anxieties that they faced, not knowing whether their sons would come back. When soldiers returned home, these songs were rendered at special dances to honor returning male veterans. Those who did not come back were also honored through song for giving the “supreme sacrifice.”

Warriors for a very long time have been held in high regard in Kiowa society, and still are to this day. As one Kiowa woman explained, “we are a warrior people, we always have been and always will be.” While post-reservation lifestyle brought many changes to the Kiowa people, the warrior ethos still remained. Older dances performed to honor veterans, such as the Scalp⁵ and Victory dances, were performed in the 20th century when Kiowa men enlisted in the United States during World War I. Clyde Ellis argues that “Indian people used twentieth-century warfare to create a context in which traditional rituals assumed new and useful meaning” (Ellis 2003:21). Along with the need and resurgence for these pre-reservation dances, War Mother songs were integrated into Kiowa tradition that continued the primary function of women honoring male veterans in World War II and have since been an integral part of contemporary Kiowa musical tradition.

The people who created War Mother songs are few in number. They share a commonality in that they personally knew the Kiowa young men who enlisted in the United States military and often, these composers’ own sons fought overseas. Through my interviews with Kiowa elders and singers, I identified the two main composers of the War Mother song genre to be Lewis

Kiowa dances that have pre-reservation origins in order to both prepare warriors before deployment and to honor returning veterans. These dances and their functions will be addressed in Chapter Two.

⁵ Scalp dances are performed by many other Native cultures, but are tribally distinct.

Toyebo⁶ and James “Jimmy A” Anquoe.⁷ While there are others who created War Mother songs, most elders point towards these two men as the major composers of War Mother songs. For the purposes of this thesis, I dedicate one chapter to each composer. Lewis Toyebo created War Mother songs in World War II as an *intertext* of previous Kiowa songs and dances associated with warfare for the Kiowa War Mothers Chapter 18 organization. They are also chronotopic to these pre-reservation songs and dance through linguistic and musical elements. After World War II into the Korean and Vietnam wars, Jimmy A composed his own War Mother songs and performed them in various intertribal contexts to an audience that included both Kiowa and other Native peoples. War Mother songs in these intertribal contexts acknowledged the warriors who did not return and their families. Both composers created songs primarily for the Kiowa War Mothers organization, but also for Kiowa veterans.

Kiowa people experienced drastic lifestyle changes during the twentieth-century on the former Kiowa-Comanche-Apache (KCA) reservation that include, but are not limited to: forced sedentary lifestyle, emergence of Christianity, individual allotted land, and children sent to boarding schools. While Kiowa people adapted to forced assimilation policies set forth by the United States Government, they maintained certain cultural practices such as language, ceremonies, and songs (Ellis 2003). Despite the violent and traumatic past with the United States government, Kiowa people enlisted in the military. As it was described to me by several elders, Kiowa people enlisted in the United States military because they saw that American enemies posed a threat to the Kiowa community. One elder adamantly told me that “this is still *our* land

⁶ Several authors previously misspelled Lewis’ first name as “Louis” as well as his last name, Toyebo, as “Tayebo.” Most Kiowas pronounce his first name as “Louis.”

⁷ In this thesis, I will refer to Lewis Toyebo by his name and James Anquoe by his nickname because that is how my interlocutors addressed them.

and we went overseas to defend it and our people.” Another explained that the Kiowa young men were enlisting because that was the “Kiowa thing to do.”

Kiowa enlistment in the United States military during World War I called for a resurgence of Kiowa cultural protocol associated with warfare, such as the performance of Scalp and Victory dances (Ellis 1990; Ellis 2003). When a greater number of Kiowa people enlisted in the United States military during World War II, a similar protocol was carried out, but along with the performance of newly composed War Mother songs. These War Mother songs were performed after World War II and well into the Korean and Vietnam wars.

Starting in World War II, the mothers, aunts, grandmothers, sisters, and wives of servicemen would often join Kiowa women auxiliaries such as the Kiowa War Mothers or the Victory Club to aid in the war effort. “It was a trying time,” Delores Harragarra recalled from her childhood from the second World War (Delores Harragarra, Interview, June 14, 2017). The people who composed War Mother songs were *thinking*⁸ of those women. As I was told from descendants from both of these singers, the Kiowa mothers and what they experienced during war time were the sole inspiration for them to compose War Mother songs.

This thesis examines how and why War Mother songs became an important tradition for the Kiowa people, and also entered the intertribal repertoire. I argue that War Mother songs maintain and, in Bakhtinian terms, are chronotopic of certain aspects of pre-reservation songs associated with warfare, but are also negotiated to reflect twentieth-century Kiowa warfare and lifestyle through musical and linguistic elements. These War Mother songs then were performed

⁸ Kiowa elders emphasized these words when talking about War Mother songs: “*thinking*” and “*feeling*.”

in various intertribal contexts to honor not just Kiowa veterans, but all Native veterans and to acknowledge their families, especially Goldstar⁹ families.

[Gáuígú (The Kiowa People): A Brief History

[Gáuígú is the current word in the Kiowa language for “Kiowa people.” N. Scott

Momaday tells of the Kiowa creation story in this way:

You know, everything had to begin, and this is how it was: The Kiowas came one by one into the world through a hollow log. There were many more than now, but not all of them got out. There was a woman whose body was swollen up with child, and she got stuck in the log. After that, no one could get through, and that is why the Kiowas are a small tribe in number. They looked all around and saw the world. It made them glad to see so many things. They called themselves *Kwuda*, "coming out" (Momaday 1969:16).

The most common story that was told to me in Oklahoma is that the Kiowa people originally lived in the western part of Montana. There, they migrated towards the plains where they met [Gàúú:k'yàgàu (Crow Tribe), acquired the Sun dance, learned how to live on the Plains, and established a long-lasting alliance that is still honored to this day. Then they migrated down to the Southern Plains around the states of Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Texas.

Previous names of the Kiowa people reflect key moments during Kiowa migration since the creation story of coming out of the log. Alecia Keahbone Gonzales, a Kiowa speech pathologist and language teacher, describes Kiowa names in relation to place and migration in this way: 1) *Kooie-Daw*¹⁰ (Pulled out or pulling out) or *Tape Daw* (coming out)– the creation story of how Kiowas came into this earth from a hollow cottonwood log; 2) *Tho-kxai-yope* (men from the cold country)– the time Kiowas lived in Yellowstone-Missouri River area; 3) *Koam-*

⁹ This refers to families who lost a son or daughter during war.

¹⁰ These Kiowa names are in the Gonzales orthography. For pronunciation, see Gonzales 2001.

Paw-Behn (large tipi flaps)– the time when Kiowa learned to live in tipis and their tipi flaps were larger than other plains groups; 4) *Awl-kohn-tсах-lah-gaw* (men who have their black hair cut just below the ear)– the time Kiowa warriors cut their hair below the ear to prevent their hair from getting entangled by bow string and arrow. This is also the Plains Indian sign language gesture for Kiowa people; 5) *Oiye-goo* (many people)– the time when Kiowas moved to different places in the southern plains and grew in population (Gonzales 2001:19).¹¹

Warfare was a common practice amongst Plains groups before the arrival of Euro-American colonizers. The Kiowa people initially fought against [*Gyâigú* (Comanche Tribe) after migrating to the Southern Plains, but later established a long-lasting alliance sometime around 1790 (Lassiter, Ellis, and Kotay 2002). They often shared similar traditional enemies. Kiowas primarily fought against *Sá:k'âut[dâu* (Cheyenne Tribe), *Áhyàt[dâu* (Southern Araphao Tribe), *Gùsâugàu* (Osage Tribe), [*Gúik'yâugàu* (Pawnee Tribe), and *Í:[dâ:gàu* (Ute Tribe). With the encroachment of white settlers in the 18th century, Kiowas often fought, raided, and took captives from [*Dehanegau* (Texans), *K'ópt'âu:kâui* (Mexicans), and *Gá:no* (Americans). The martial prowess of Kiowa people, similar to many Great Plains tribes, was attributed to the acquisition of the horse after the Spanish colonization of the Western hemisphere. Horses allowed for mounted warfare, quicker nomadic travel, and were symbols of wealth and power.

Kiowas, including many Plains tribes, kept records of events and battles in a given year through winter calendars. These calendars were created every winter and were often painted on buffalo hides depicting specific battles, dances, disease epidemics, and other key events experienced amongst the tribe as a whole. Noteworthy occasions such as the massacre by the

¹¹ For more detailed information on the Kiowa origin story and migration, see Mommaday 1969; Lassiter, Ellis, and Kotay 2002:7-14; Meadows 2008.

Osages and capture of the *Táíñmé* (spiritual object used in Sun Dance) in 1833, signing of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1867, imprisonment of the legendary Kiowa warriors *Sét'áiñngyà*, *Sét'áiñdé*, and others in 1871, and the introduction of the Ghost Dance by Sitting Bull (Arapaho) in 1890 (Mooney 1892) are documented in winter calendars.

The Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 set forth reservation land for Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches in the southwestern part of Oklahoma. During 1874-5, Kiowas, Comanches, Southern Cheyennes, and Southern Arapahos who refused to settle on reservations in Oklahoma fought against the United States Army. After a few months of battles and skirmishes, these tribes were forced to settle on reservation lands. Chief Quannah Parker and the Quadhadi band of Comanche were the last to surrender. After the war, the U.S. military imprisoned warriors and chiefs from these tribes, including “thirty-six Kiowa and Comanche headsmen,” in Ft. Marion in Florida (Lassiter, Ellis, and Kotay 2002:11).

During the reservation era, in 1890, the United States government forcefully stopped the practice of the Sun Dance, a dance integral to Kiowa religion (Mooney 1898:358-9; Meadows 2010:62, Queton 2014:4). The Sun Dance and Ghost Dance were ceased by Indian agents¹² in the early 20th century and have since never been revived. The simultaneous cessation of these two dances allowed Catholic, Methodist, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Baptist missionaries to flood the reservation and spread Christianity. In 1901, the Dawes Act (first passed in 1887) privatized reservation land (providing 160 acres of allotted land to families) and allowed over two-thirds of reservation land to be encroached by white settlers, marking the era of post-reservation life (Lassiter, Ellis, and Kotay 2002:13). During this time, Indian Agents stole children from their families and placed them into boarding schools where they were forced to

¹² Indian Agents were usually white men who governed American Indian reservations.

learn American customs in tandem with the “Kill the Indian, Save the Man” cultural genocidal agenda (Ellis 1996). Kiowa dance and musical practices were also outlawed and suppressed, but still performed in defiance. One Kiowa *Óhòmàu* song, known as the “Resistance song,” fortuitously tells dancers: “[*Bòì bé áuñgyákàũ[dàu/ Dá bá tóñpáñbàñhò* (Do not hesitate to dance/ Go ahead and be arrested)” (Ellis 2003:18; Meadows 2010:274).

Today, there are three main Kiowa male societies that continue to hold their dances. All three have their roots during pre-reservation times. The first, [*Dáíñpègàu* (Unafraid of Death), a dance exclusive to men, experienced brief periods of revivals throughout the early 20th century, but was fully revived in 1957 and is practiced to this day. *Tòñkóñgàut* (Black Legs), an all-male veteran’s society, experienced a revival from 1912-27 and was revived again in 1958 where it is performed to this day. This dance is conducted on the weekend of Columbus Day¹³ (or Indigenous Peoples Day in some cities). *Óhómàu* (War Dance) is the Kiowa version of the War dance tradition (Ponca and Omaha *Hethushka*, Osage *In-lon-schka*, Pawnee *Iruska*). It is the only Kiowa dance society that has never experienced dormancy (Meadows 2010). War Mother songs today are performed both at [*Dáíñpègàu* and *Tóñkóñgàut*.

Kiowa Involvement in 20th Century Warfare

During the reservation era (late nineteenth century), Kiowas and many Plains tribes no longer engaged in traditional warfare. Consequently, many war societies did not perform their dances since tribes were mandated by treaties not to engage in intertribal warfare. Instead, many

¹³ *Tòñkóñgàut* does not celebrate Columbus Day. *Tòñkóñgàut* originally held their dance on November 11 (Armistice Day) until Victory Club began to hold their dance on that day, in which *Tòñkóñgàut* switched their dance to be held in October when it is still warm outside.

war dances and songs began to be used in social contexts. Most notably, these songs and dances were used for Wild West shows and carnivals that hired American Indian performers, which gave them opportunities to make money and travel off the reservation.¹⁴ This led to the gradual change of the contexts of songs and dances associated with warfare in the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth-century (Ellis 2003). These include, most notably, transformation of the war dance into what is the modern-day powwow and changing performance contexts of War Journey dances into Forty-Nine dances.¹⁵

World War I marked a great change for many tribal nations throughout the United States. Many American Indians for the first time enlisted in the United States military. According to Meadows, approximately fourteen Kiowas enlisted and fought overseas in Europe in the first World War (Meadows 2010:60). To Kiowa society, this marked a major change as Kiowa soldiers engaged with new weapons of warfare, were sent to fight overseas in distant lands previously unfamiliar to Kiowa people, and fought underneath a flag that once meant “death, forced removal, and genocide.”¹⁶ Ironically, American Indians at this time were not even considered American citizens until Congress passed the “Indian Citizenship Act of 1924,” granting citizenship to the first peoples of America.

In many Plains tribes, the first World War influenced revivals of dances and songs associated with honoring veterans. “In the Kiowa community, the return of World War I veterans sparked numerous victory and scalp dances at which veterans received new names, engaged in

¹⁴ See Ellis (2003).

¹⁵ Several Kiowa elders acknowledge that War Journey songs themselves stayed the same, but the contexts in which they were performed changed during the reservation era.

¹⁶ Dennis Zotigh explained the historic indexical meanings of the American Flag from a Native perspective while speaking as Master of Ceremonies at a powwow in Washington D.C. in 2017. Dennis asserted that the meaning began to change once Kiowa men and women enlisted in the United States military starting in World War I, but still carries conflicting meanings due to the historical, traumatic, violent past that American Indians experience(d) with the United States.

old warrior society practices, and generally enjoyed the same status and prestige as nineteenth-century warriors” (Ellis 2003:22).

It was not until World War II that many Kiowas enlisted to fight overseas, sparking another wave of practicing the songs and dances associated with warfare and honoring veterans. According to the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, “more than 44,000 American Indians served in the military from 1941 to 1945, including 800 women” (Holiday et al 2006:4). Meadows reports that of these 44,000 approximately 300 Kiowa men and women served in World War II (Meadows 2010:60). The second World War was a pivotal point for Kiowa musical practice resurgence as traditional dances, such as Scalp and Victory, were revived once again, but were done so in tandem with the creation of War Mother songs, which were performed during honor dances for departing servicemen and returning veterans.

During World War II, three women auxiliaries formed within Kiowa society in response to a need to aid the war effort: Kiowa War Mothers Chapter 18, Victory Club, and Purple Hearts Club. Meadows argues that these sodalities carry their origins from pre-reservation women societies: Calf Old Women and Bear Women¹⁷ (Meadows 2010:358). These three modern women auxiliaries instilled traditional Kiowa women gender roles. These roles include taking care of the men overseas by sending care packages to them and honoring returning male servicemen. The Kiowa War Mothers Chapter 18 is the only Kiowa organization that is part of a national organization, the American War Mothers. They received their charter during World War II on February 10, 1944 in Mountain View, OK (Meadows 2010:334). The Victory Club (based in Carnegie, Oklahoma) and Purple Hearts Club (based in Stecker, Oklahoma) were created by

¹⁷ Both women societies ended in 1905.

Kiowa women themselves. All three auxiliaries conducted many honor dances¹⁸ for servicemen who did and did not return home. The Kiowa War Mothers and Victory Club performed War Mother songs in addition to Scalp and Victory dances, as well as their own society's songs (Victory Club and Stecker Purple Hearts Club have several of their own songs). Since World War II, the Kiowa War Mothers and Victory Club continued to support servicemen and continue to hold honor dances for returning veterans today. In this thesis, I will primarily focus on the songs associated with the Kiowa War Mothers organization, but will also briefly address contexts in which they were performed by the Victory Club. Today, both the Kiowa War Mothers and Victory Club are integral women's auxiliaries of the Kiowa Nation.

Literature Review

There is currently no scholarly work in ethnomusicology that devotes attention to Kiowa musical practice. Most scholarly works concerning Kiowa people come from the field of anthropology. Anthropologist James Mooney's ethnohistoric work on Kiowa Calendars is among the first anthropological works that specifically focuses on Kiowa history through the study of winter calendars (1898). Similarly, Mildred Mayhall focuses on the history of the Kiowa people (1962). Maurice Boyd produced two volumes, *Kiowa Voices Vol 1* (1981) and *Kiowa Voices Vol 2* (1983), that discuss the history of Kiowa societies, dances, and songs. While Boyd provides song text translations, he does not have any discussion on War Mother songs.¹⁹ Eric Luke

¹⁸ Honor dances will be addressed in depth in Chapter Two.

¹⁹ Boyd is criticized by several of my Kiowa interlocutors for rushing his research and overlooking many aspects of the songs and dances that he discuss. I would like to acknowledge that fieldwork in this thesis was conducted in two summers; not enough time to grasp the entire stories about War Mother songs and dances. In light of James Clifford's "Partial Truths" (2010 [1986]), I encourage the reader to see this thesis as a starting conversation about War Mother songs.

Lassiter introduced the methodology of collaborative ethnography, working with interlocutors throughout the process of fieldwork and publication, to anthropology through his monograph *The Power of Kiowa Song* (1998). In his ethnographic work, he discusses how all Kiowa songs are created by *Dàu k'i* (God). He explains that Kiowa song composers do not compose songs in the western sense, but rather have the ability to “catch” these songs. The supernatural connection that Kiowa songs have with *Dàu k'i* is what gives Kiowa song its power. Lassiter and Clyde Ellis coauthored *The Jesus Road* (2002) with Kiowa singer Ralph Kotay on Kiowa Christian hymns. The book is divided into three sections: history of the spread of Christianity on the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation, ethnography of current Kiowa hymn Practices, and Kotay’s commentary on translations and meaning with each individual Kiowa hymn. The book also comes with an audio CD of several Kiowa hymns that accompany Kotay’s commentary. William Meadows’ books *Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies* (1999) and *Kiowa Military Societies* (2010), most notably, are detailed ethnohistoric works on military societies within Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche tribes, from pre-reservation to post-reservation eras. Both books center around the anthropological concept of sodalities (military societies), specifically focusing on the history and function of both pre-reservation and contemporary sodalities. Meadows also includes a section on women auxiliaries. His book is the only scholarly source that discusses War Mother songs, and even then, does so within seven pages. My project seeks to build on Meadows’ ethnohistoric work on War Mother songs by providing further context that led to the creation of War Mother songs and the different contexts in which they were performed. I also include musical and linguistic analysis of how War Mother songs maintain and negotiate aspects of pre-reservation songs associated with warfare.

Anthropological work concerning Kiowa cultural practice also comes from several Kiowa writers themselves. Gus Palmer Jr.'s book *Telling Stories the Kiowa Way* (2003) provides a unique insider's perspective on Kiowa storytelling. He explains that Kiowa stories may be true or untrue, contain magical-realism (may include "unusual" interactions with animals, creatures, or "dream-like people"), occur randomly, and require listener participation. He further explains that storytelling is integral to Kiowa identity. Palmer's work on storytelling is important to the study of Kiowa music because every Kiowa song has a story associated with it. These stories are imperative in understanding music's context and meaning. Warren Queton's paper "Cáuígú Pòlá:yòp: Towards Using Kiowa Rabbit Songs in Language Revitalization" (2014) elucidates the pedagogical role that Rabbit dance and songs play in teaching "Kiowa Habitus" to children. He explains that Pòlá:yòp²⁰ (Rabbit society) functions to instill Kiowa children with Kiowa competency, language, and values through imitating social roles, storytelling, songs, and dance. Other scholarly works by Kiowa authors focus on Kiowa language, grammar, and orthography (McKenzie and Harrington 1948; Watkins and McKenzie 1984; Gonzales 2001; Poolaw and Poolaw 2016).

Several early ethnomusicological sources discuss American Indian warfare and music. Alice Fletcher's *A Study of Omaha Indian Music* (1994 [1893]) discusses how both war songs and Hae-thu-ska songs commemorate war deeds and particular battles. The Kiowa war dance (*Óhòmàù*) originates from the Omaha Hae-thu-ska. Francis Densmore discusses the contexts in which Lakota war society songs were performed in her book *Teton Sioux Music and Culture* (1992 [1913]). She explains that War Expedition songs were performed before a war party

²⁰ Here Queton is using the original Parker-McKenzie orthography. The modified version of Parker-McKenzie orthography would write as *Pòláñ:yòp*.

departed and that Scalp and Victory songs were performed when a successful battle occurred. Alan Merriam takes a functionalist approach to songs associated with warfare, explaining their uses and functions amongst the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Nation (Merriam 1967:79-113). Merriam's interlocutors explain that ceremonies before a war party functioned "to bring spiritual strength to the group" (Merriam 1967:88). Similarly, Bruno Nettl describes Blackfoot songs associated with "the heroic"²¹ that were intended to "ensure supernatural help for warriors" (Nettl 1989:137). Prayer and ceremonies were common practices to ensure the safety of soldiers and success in battle amongst many Plains tribes. The War dance, War Expedition dance,²² Scalp dance, and Victory dances were common amongst Plains tribes at least for several hundred years. Within the Kiowa community during World War II, War Mother songs integrated the functions and musical components from War Journey, Scalp, and Victory songs. They functioned in similar ways to War Expedition, Scalp, and Victory songs by both providing encouragement to warriors before battle and honor returning male veterans.

There are several ethnomusicological sources that discuss American Indian compositional practices. Alan Merriam's *Ethnomusicology of the Flathead Indians* (2011 [1967]) discusses that there are two song composition sources amongst Flathead people: humans and supernatural beings. Merriam explains that songs given to humans by supernatural beings have power, while those composed by humans do not (Merriam 2011 [1967]:3-24). Bruno Nettl similarly explains that in Blackfoot musical practice, some songs are given to humans through

²¹ This is an etic way of explaining songs associated with warfare amongst Blackfoot people. I would like to note that I try my best to include emic ways of classifying songs and composition in this thesis. The term "composer" is used by Kiowa people, but as explained to me by Joe Fish, is different from the western sense in that a Kiowa composer can "catch" a "tune" (a melody in western sense). These "tunes" are made by *Dàu k'i* (God) and "float" around in some sort of space and can be "caught" by composers. However, the composer has the agency and power to add words in the song.

²² Synonymous with War Journey.

dreams or visions (Nettl 1989:60-4,96-103). He argues that “an important component of the Blackfoot conception of song acquisition is the idea of the song as something which exists complete but outside the culture, and is imparted to a human—or particularly, a Blackfoot human—in finished form” (Nettl 1989:99).²³ This concept of composition is also elucidated in Lassiter’s anthropological writing concerning Kiowa musical practice: “when a song ‘comes’ to an individual or when someone ‘makes’ a song, it comes as a whole. This whole is ‘straightened out’ (i.e. worked through to make the breaks, cuts and curves acceptable to a particular song tradition) and then presented as an individual song” (Lassiter 1998:155). This knowledge of songs existing “out there” and composers having the ability to “catch” these songs should be accounted for when discussing Kiowa compositional practice. While my thesis intersects with Lassiter’s work, however, I focus on the need and contexts for the creation of War Mother songs during the twentieth-century, not the actual composition process itself. I focus on how linguistic and musical elements elicit pre-reservation songs, words, and concepts and how they are negotiated to reflect twentieth-century warfare.

Lastly, many sources in anthropology and ethnomusicology cover the concept of intertribalism. James Howard’s essay (1955) on pan-Indianism in Oklahoma first argued that tribes are increasingly acquiring a “Native American” identity and losing distinct tribal identities. This concept was challenged by Ellis, Lassiter, and Dunham (2005) in which they suggest of replacing the term “pan-Indianism” with “intertribal” in order “to draw attention to some of the differences and similarities from community to community and group to group and to help point out the way toward a more systematic and nuanced cross-cultural understanding of powwows” (2005:xiii). Much has been discussed about powwow (Browner 2002; Ellis 2003; Diamond

²³ For an overview on non-Plains American Indian musical composition practices, see Merriam 1964:165-78.

2008; Scales 2012; Harris 2016; Perea 2013), because powwow is the primary context where intertribal gatherings occur. However, there are other intertribal spaces, such as the “Indians for Indians Hour”—a radio show specifically for an intertribal “imagined community,”²⁴ which are often overlooked (Garrett-Davis 2016). My thesis discusses how War Mother songs were performed in intertribal contexts, including “Indians for Indians Hour,” and continued to function to honor Native American warriors, those who returned from battle and those killed in action.

Theoretical Framework

I rely on three theoretical frameworks from literary and linguistic anthropological thought throughout this thesis. The first is from the Russian literary scholar, Mikhail Bakhtin, and his concept of the chronotope (time and space). According to Bakhtin,²⁵ the chronotope is “the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature” (Holquist 1994:84).²⁶ For purposes of this thesis, I will address how time (pre-reservation) and space (warfare on the Great Plains) are interconnected with War Mother songs through musical and linguistic elements, primarily in discussion of Lewis Toyebo. Analyzing War Mother songs and their indexes to time and space of pre-reservation warfare elucidates how War Mother songs continue Kiowa musical traditions of providing encouragement and honoring warriors, and the longlasting value of warriorship to Kiowa people.

²⁴ Political scientist Benedict Anderson coined the concept of “imagined community” in his book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

²⁵ This citation is a translation of his original text.

²⁶ Examples of ethnomusicological works that use the chronotope concept include David Samuels (2004) and Sarah Politz (2018).

In regard to negotiation of Kiowa musical genres, I also rely on Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs' entextualization model of decontextualization and recontextualization, primarily in discussion with the transformation of contexts experienced by War Journey songs, which I will discuss in depth into chapter two (Bauman and Briggs 1990). Although Bauman and Briggs define performance as "what the speaker does in using language," for the purposes of this thesis, we can understand performance to mean musical practice. Bauman and Briggs argue that decontextualization and recontextualization are inseparable processes in the transformation of a text. Change of context occurs when the text is taken out of its original context (decontextualization) and placed in another context (recontextualization). In relation to War Mother songs, due to the decontextualization of War Journey Songs as providing encouragement for warriors and their recontextualization into social events,²⁷ they no longer served their original function of providing encouragement and preparing warriors for battle. As a result, War Mother songs not only continued the function of providing encouragement, they also functioned to prepare warriors before deployment in the twentieth century.

Since this thesis is about the creation of War Mother songs, I also rely on Briggs and Bauman's concept of genre in relation to intertextuality and social power (Briggs and Bauman 1992). They argue that "genre thus pertains crucially to negotiations of identity and power—by invoking a particular genre, producers of discourse assert (tacitly or explicitly) that they possess the authority needed to decontextualize discourse that bears these historical and social connections and to recontextualize it in the current discursive setting" (ibid.:148). In other words,

²⁷ The term "War Journey songs" refers to pre-reservation context in which they were performed before warriors went off to war. The term "Forty-Nine" refers to the context in which these songs were performed in social contexts. These are the same songs (texts) that are performed in different contexts and time. This is integral to discussion of War Mother songs because War Mother songs acquired the function of War Journey songs due to the changing performing context of Forty-Nine. This will be addressed in depth in Chapter Two.

the concept of genre is an intertextual entity that is molded together by different discourses from different people(s) who harness the social power required to recontextualize discourse(s) into a genre. In the case of War Mother songs, I focus on the composers (Lewis Toyebo and Jimmy A) and what led them to create War Mother songs, the various influences that led them to create songs in the War Mother song genre, and the contexts in which they were performed in the twentieth century.²⁸ The composition, acceptance, and performance of War Mother songs is a socially negotiated process between composers, performers, and audiences, which makes the study of these agents and the contexts in which they were negotiated imperative in understanding the development of War Mother songs.

Methodology

When I initially started my fieldwork process, I was interested in veteran songs created in the twenty-first century that address the War on Terror, but quickly found that there were not many songs created since 9/11. With my involvement as a volunteer with the Kiowa Culture and Revitalization Program's (KLCRP) language fair, it was suggested by one member that since I already interviewed Delores Harragarra, that I should focus on War Mother songs, given that Delores' father was one of the main composers.

I conducted fieldwork for two summers in Oklahoma during 2017 and 2018, each period consisting of fourteen weeks. During both summers, I attended several Kiowa language outreach events and worked with the KLCRP as a volunteer for their Kiowa Language Fair in 2017 and

²⁸ I address social power in Chapter Three. Social power within Kiowa context is different in the western way of thinking. I argue that Kiowa composers must carry both experience and cultural competence that is relevant to the purpose of creating songs. However, the Kiowa community, not the composers, has the power whether or not to accept a song in Kiowa musical tradition.

2018. The KLCRP uses the modified Parker-McKenzie orthography. Because of this switch from the original Parker-McKenzie orthography to the modified version, I implement the modified version in this thesis.²⁹

I conducted ethnographic fieldwork primarily in the towns of Carnegie, Mountain View, and Anadarko, Oklahoma. Sixteen formal Interviews were conducted in individual homes, the Kiowa Tribal Complex which houses the Kiowa museum, and the AOA building, or the elders' center. I found in my conversations and interviews with singers, dancers, tribal historians, and elders that Lewis Toyebo and James "Jimmy A" Anquoe composed many of the War Mother songs. For this reason, most of my interviews were conducted with the descendants of these two families: the Harragarra (Toyebo) family and the Anquoe family. The majority of my work was conducted with Delores Harragarra (daughter of Lewis Toyebo) and Ducky Anquoe (son of Jimmy A). Both descendants are elders of the Kiowa Nation, Kiowa speakers, and were present at the times when their fathers composed and performed War Mother songs. I also conducted semi-formal interviews with elders, singers, and knowledge keepers in the Kiowa tribe. I talked with various Kiowa people about War Mother songs in conversations throughout my time in Oklahoma that also influence this work. Some of those people wished not to be identified. Due to time constraints, I was limited in the amount of interviews I could conduct. There are other elders who I was unable to speak with, but who would have offered valuable insights into the story of War Mother songs. To those elders, I sincerely apologize.

Many of my interlocutors expressed that War Mother songs are an important genre in Kiowa musical tradition. They are composed in the Kiowa language and in the Kiowa musical style, making them distinct songs from other tribes. These songs are especially meaningful to

²⁹ See Poolaw and Poolaw 2016.

elders because they were performed at pivotal moments in which Kiowa people fought overseas in the twentieth century, during World War II, Korea, and Vietnam. As part of my discussion with members of KLCRP, I plan to repatriate recordings of interviews to the language program and to my interlocutors' families, given that I have permission from my interlocutors.

Over the summers, I attended various events both within and outside the Kiowa community. Although most of the content from this thesis comes from the interviews I conducted, attending these events allowed for me to understand other contexts in which other Kiowa songs function; thus providing a better understanding of how War Mother songs fit in relation to other genres of Kiowa and non-Kiowa songs. These events include powwows (both in Oklahoma and abroad), Kiowa language outreach events, Kiowa Language Fair, Osage *In-lon-schka* (Osage War Dance), [*Dáiñpègàu* (Kiowa Gourd Clan), and Kiowa Tiah-Piah (other Kiowa Gourd Dance society in Carnegie, OK).

Before conducting fieldwork, or even pursuing a degree in ethnomusicology for that matter, I developed a close relationship with the Zotigh family (Kiowa, Santee Dakota, Okay Owingeh) five years prior. I was taught Southern Plains singing by Ralph Zotigh and was taught Fancy dancing by Dennis Zotigh. I perform with the Zotigh family and their drum group, Zotigh singers, at powwows on the East Coast and abroad. They guided me before, after, and throughout the duration of my fieldwork process. During my fieldwork, I was conscious of my position as a Japanese American within the Kiowa community. As an outsider to the Kiowa community, I initially received suspicion by several tribal members of my motives, most which I later learned concerned if I was seeking to make money from tribal knowledge. There were also several Kiowa families, whose ancestors were interviewed by anthropologist James Mooney, that carried a distaste for non-Native anthropologists and other social scientists across generations. I felt that

over time, those tribal members gradually became less suspicious of me. Nevertheless, I tried my best to approach this project with utmost cultural sensitivity and transparency to both my interlocutors and other Kiowa people.

One of my methodologies when conducting interviews with interlocutors was to provide food, tobacco, and a monetary gift. I was advised by Dennis to provide a food basket of “a small roast, a package of Cope’s corn (specific brand), some potatoes, bananas, small can of coffee, some canned soup, green beans, and wheat bread,” which I brought when conducting interviews (Dennis Zotigh, Personal Communication, May 15, 2017). In the “Kiowa way,”³⁰ this act of providing sustenance (food basket) is required in the recognition of the knowledge which I received. Palmer (2003) explains that Kiowa peoples tell stories randomly and in intimate small group settings. Non-Kiowa ethnographers might encounter storytelling and may not even know that they are being told a story, not knowing that a payment is required for that story. Palmer explains that “it is not the payment that is so important here as it is the recognition of something significant happening: the exchange, the song going from one party to another. That is what is important and why it *is* ceremonial” (Palmer 2003:xviii). Many of the interviews I conducted were filled with stories about War Mother songs and their history behind them and required the act of giving.

During my fieldwork, I also changed the way in which I conducted interviews. At first, I came to my interviews with a set of questions, as I was taught in ethnomusicological seminars. I wrote down key points that were made in the discussion or phrases in Kiowa so that I would remember them. At first, one Kiowa elder would occasionally say “[*Bé:gàu!*]” (expression of

³⁰ This phrase was said to me repeatedly during my fieldwork. This term, from the social science point of view, is synonymous with Kiowa cultural practice.

frustration) whenever I would write in my field journal. I also received comments such as “you ask too many questions” or “you’re doing this the *T’áu káui* (White) way.” I began to reflect on the way that I approached my interviews, and through talking with some younger Kiowa people I found that I needed to reduce the amount of questions that I asked and allow elders to control the interview. One Kiowa young man told me, “you’ll find out what you want to know, but it takes time. Sometimes, it might take an entire lifetime to find out what you want to know.” I changed my approach and simply asked at the beginning of my interviews, “can we talk about War Mother songs?” This approach allowed for elders to control the interview and offer how much or little they wished to share. Many times, elders told multiple stories in a single interview. Following Palmer’s approach to Kiowa storytelling, I would participate by occasionally saying “*hàu:*”³¹ and asking follow-up questions when appropriate. This change in my interviewing methodology was important as it generated not only more fruitful discussion, but limited my power as the interviewer and gave more power and agency to the interviewee. I was also reminded that there are certain aspects of cultural practice that ethnographers who are not from the community do not need to know. Those reasons vary but should nevertheless be respected.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith reminds researchers that “colonialism was not just about collection. It was also about re-arrangement, re-presentation, and re-distribution” (Smith 1999:145). Palmer also critiques earlier ethnographic work about Kiowa people and the issue of misrepresentation. As a way to mitigate the issue of misrepresentation, I adopt Lassiter’s collaborative ethnography approach by sending my thesis to both the Harragarra (descendants of Lewis Toyebo) and Anquoe (descendants of Jimmy A) families for their feedback. I edited my thesis accordingly to their critiques. I also privilege Delores Harragarra’s translations of her father’s War Mother

³¹ This means “yes” and can also signify agreement.

songs (chapter two) as well as privileging Ducky Anquoe's translations of his father's War Mother songs (chapter three).

I insert my interlocutors' voices throughout this thesis in block quotes, especially given that knowledge and heritage are highly contested in the Kiowa community. In this thesis, I take a neutral stance and present both interpretations from the two families. Despite trying to insert the voices of my interlocutors as much as possible, I acknowledge that this thesis ultimately is a recontextualized version of my analysis of War Mother songs. I want to remind the reader that the true authority figures on the topic of War Mother songs are the elders, singers, and knowledge keepers of the Kiowa people.

Outline of Chapters

Following this introductory chapter, this thesis is divided into two sections with one chapter dedicated to Lewis Toyebo and Jimmy A. I also include two sections because the descendants of each families presented different interpretations on the development of War Mother songs. The format of this thesis follows the chronology of the creation of War Mother songs and the changing contexts in which they were performed. I am not focusing on the actual process of Kiowa composition itself, but rather the emergence of the War Mother song tradition and its articulation with socio-cultural processes.

In Chapter 2, I argue that the War Mother songs Lewis Toyebo composed are both chronotopic and intertextual to Kiowa pre-reservation songs and dances associated with warfare through musical and linguistic elements, but also include changes in lyrics and performance to adapt to twentieth-century lifestyle and warfare. I discuss pre-reservation songs and dances

associated with Kiowa warfare, primarily War Journey, Scalp, and Victory songs, and their functions. I follow Bauman and Briggs' (1990) model of recontextualization in discussion of the transformation of War Journey dances into Forty-Nine dances and map out the ways in which War Mother songs continue the original function of War Journey songs. I also discuss the continuous function of honoring returning warriors from Scalp and Victory dances through the performance of War Mother songs when servicemen returned from overseas. I provide a textual analysis of several War Mother songs and elucidate the contexts in which they were performed.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the influences that led to Jimmy A's composition of War Mother songs, mainly the importance of Goldstar families and Jimmy A's relationship with Ponca singers. Through his involvement with Ponca singers in White Eagle, OK, Jimmy A was influenced by the Ponca Soldier dance. I also provide a textual analysis of several War Mother songs Jimmy A composed. I then elucidate the various contexts in which War Mother songs were performed, including Kiowa Veterans Day Celebration, Indians for Indians Hour radio show on WNAD, and the American Indian Exposition. Although War Mother songs are Kiowa in nature, they were performed in intertribal contexts to honor all Native American veterans, especially the ones who did not return from battle and their families.

I see two purposes for this thesis. The first concerns the Kiowa audience, focusing primarily on the historical contexts of War Mother songs. It is contested within the Kiowa community who composed, or first composed, War Mother songs. I see my thesis as simply providing two interpretations from two families of why and how their ancestors composed War Mother songs, not taking a definitive stance. The second concerns the academic audience. My thesis seeks to contribute to discourses about music and language (Jakobson 1987 [1932]; Feld

and Fox 1994; Feld and Fox 2000; Faudree 2012), and hopefully will continue to foster a dialogue between ethnomusicologists and linguistic anthropologists.

Chapter 2: Songs of Encouragement, Kiowa Valor, and Intertextuality

In June of 2017 I met with Delores Harragarra, a Kiowa elder and Kiowa language speaker, and her son, Kenny Harragarra, at their house in Mountain View, Oklahoma. I initially met Kenny and Delores three weeks prior at a Kiowa Language outreach event in Tulsa, OK, and had interacted with them several times since. On this occasion, they invited me to their house to discuss the Kiowa War Mother songs that Delores's father, Lewis Toyebo, composed. As we settled in their living room, Kenny set up his CD player and played an audio recording of his grandfather and his grandmother, Richenda Toyebo, singing those War Mother songs. Halfway into the track, Richenda began to sing one of her own compositions from World War II. "This was my grandmother's personal song that she would sing to herself when her son was at war,"³² Kenny commented. Richenda sang in Kiowa with a high-pitched nasal tone filled with melancholy. When she finished singing, she then spoke in the Kiowa language about her song. Delores sat in her chair pausing for a while thinking about what her mother said, and after a few moments, she explained the meaning:

She said my only son has gone away to war and so I become anxious. That's when I sing this song, I sing it in the evening or in the morning. And then she doesn't say, but my father always said that when you do that, then that is therapy. That's why he made those War Mother songs; to do what my mother was doing, especially all that Kiowa women could do at the time. . . . That's what my father was thinking about, all those women. When I think of them, I think about those older women who didn't understand a word of English and they didn't know where their loved ones were so he (Lewis Toyebo) thought about them. . . . He was a very musical person and sung any kind of song. Singing is good for you, it makes you feel good.

³² I do not discuss these songs in depth because they did not have a direct influence in the creation of War Mother songs. The song described here are songs women would sing to themselves while their male relatives were on a war journey. This was practiced in pre-reservation times and was continued well into World War II. As described by Delores, these songs were sung at War Mother meetings to help provide encouragement for the War Mother members. These songs as a genre do not have a name in English or Kiowa.

Lewis Toyebo created War Mother songs as a means to provide encouragement for the women of the Kiowa War Mothers organization whose male relatives were fighting overseas in World War II. These songs were initially composed as a way to mitigate the anxieties and fears experienced by those women. Through the later part and end of the war, War Mother songs were publicly performed at special honor dances held by the Kiowa War Mothers before deployment and when an individual serviceman returned home. These honor dances were typically held on individual allotments and attended by the soldier's family, friends, and the War Mothers organization. In this chapter, I argue that the War Mother songs created by Lewis Toyebo are chronotopic and intertextual to pre-reservation songs associated with warfare (War Journey, Scalp, and Victory), but are also negotiated to adapt to the changes of twentieth century lifestyle and warfare through musical and linguistic elements. Performances of War Mother songs continued pre-reservation musical functions of providing encouragement for women, generating morale for deploying warriors, and women honoring returning male veterans in World War II.

Pre-Reservation Songs and Dances Associated with Warfare

Gender roles were distinct in pre-reservation Kiowa warfare. Kiowa men often conducted war journeys³³ and horse stealing parties against enemy tribes, while women stayed at the encampment. The reasons for going on a war expedition were numerous. Some were conducted to steal horses, raid another tribe's camp, or to kill a specific person or group out of revenge. When warriors returned, the female relatives of those returning warriors were expected to honor them through dance.

³³ Also known as war expeditions. The terms war expedition and war journey are synonymous.

There are three types of songs³⁴ associated with pre-reservation Kiowa warfare from the start of a battle or raid until the end: War Journey songs, Scalp songs, and Victory songs. War Journey songs were performed before a war party went off to war. There was a public dance that was performed the night before warriors departed on their war journey. When warriors came back from a battle, they would hold a “ride around,” a mock-charge of the camp, and would enter the camp in a parade-like manner on the condition that the battle was successful. They would not hold a “ride around” the camp if a single Kiowa warrior was killed.

Following the “ride around,”³⁵ women would hold a series of Scalp and Victory dances as a means to honor the returning veterans. Below I include brief descriptions of these dances to elucidate the functions which the War Mother songs acquired during World War II.

Preparing for War: War Journey Songs (Gúdàul)

War Journey songs were songs that were performed prior to a Kiowa war party departing off on a war journey. Ducky Anquoe explains how War Journey songs were used when preparing for revenge killings: “They were sung like if you organized a war party and at your tipi, you announced in the band camp that you were going to go retaliate. ‘*Ópgóp tópgóp [gyàì,*’ because they hurt your brother real bad or they killed your uncle, father, brother. This word *ópgóp*, it means like if someone picked on you if you were little and your big brother took up for you” (Ducky Anquoe, Interview, August 8, 2017). War Journey songs functioned as a means of

³⁴ When I mention songs, I imply both song and dance. These songs were also performed with a dance.

³⁵ This is the name of the performance Kiowa warriors would perform when entering the camp that was used in my interviews with Ducky Anquoe, hence they are in quotation marks.

enlisting warriors to a war expedition. Guy Quoetone, a Kiowa who was born on the KCA reservation in 1886, recalls how these songs were performed in an interview Julia Jordan:

That was the beginning, in the early days, when they used to have a war party expedition. Going to go on a warpath expedition to old Mexico or some other enemy. That night they take a rawhide, take a rawhide stick and beat all night. Sing, people, young men, that's all they understood. Those that take part will have to go on the war expedition, that's enlisting for service. And they sing, and they go out there and outside they are singing. Girls commence to come in, women come in, men come in, and nobody's to come there unless he's going to enlist to go on the war expedition... They sing all night long. After they get through, the next morning, they go out and everybody that took part in that Forty-Nine Dance³⁶ that night has to go. Nobody's supposed to sit, just like they're drafted, drafted for service (Quoetone 1967).

War Journey songs not only functioned as a means to enlist warriors, they also provided morale and empowerment. In the words of the late Evans Ray Satepauhoodle, a Kiowa singer and speaker: "When they used to get ready to go on an expedition, go off to war, they had a pep rally so to speak" (Satepauhoodle 2006). Billy Evans Horse, another Kiowa singer, explains that after War Journey songs were performed "at day break, they mount their horses and weapons of war and they go to encounter the enemy" (Billy Evans Horse, unpublished CD).

Kiowa War Expedition songs had a distinct drum beat. Some songs contained words while others may have contained vocables. One song simply states "Gú dè dàum gú à táu:í: dàu/ I am going to war to another land." War Journey songs were social in nature but had the specific

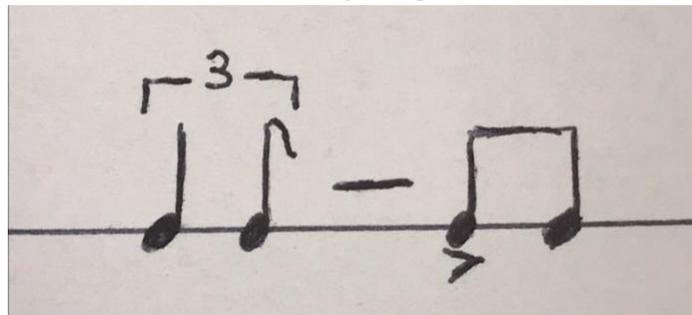


Figure 1 Notated rhythmic pattern of drum beat in war journey songs. Western notation cannot capture the true rhythm of war journey songs, but the beat lies somewhere in-between these two rhythmic notations.

³⁶ Quoetone refers to War Expedition dance as Forty-Nine due to the recontextualization of the dance, which will be addressed in this chapter.

purpose of preparing warriors for battle through cohesion and providing morale. These songs ultimately lost their function of preparing warriors for battle during the reservation era but were still performed as social songs and acquired the name “Forty-Nine,” which I will explain later in this chapter.

Return from Battle: “Ride Around,” Scalp Dance (Àuldàugún), and Victory Dance

The protocol when Kiowa warriors returned included the “Ride Around,” conducted by the returning male veterans, followed by Scalp and Victory dances performed by female relatives of those warriors. Ducky explains that if no one was injured, a Kiowa scout was sent to the camp in which “women would rejoice” (Ducky Anquoe, Interview, August 9, 2017). If “a single warrior got killed or somebody got hurt, there wasn’t a ride around. It was a sad occasion” (ibid.). After a successful raid or battle, the Kiowa warriors returned to the Kiowa camp with war trophies and scalps. Some of these trophies include war bonnets, clothing, and weapons of the slain enemy. Guy Queotone describes how the war party would parade into the camp after a successful battle:

Well, returning with scalps, they’d come and stop over at night near the camp. And they sent one or two men to give the story to the *dóp’ tók’i* or the camp mayor that the war expedition will be in camp by daylight. That they are coming in victorious. And these men stop overnight near the camp, resting. And they, the next morning, they fix their scalps and then they dress in costume, victorious costume. Maybe they capture a war bonnet or whatever things they captured. They have them ready and get them out. And they put on black, charcoal black all over them—that’s a sign of victory—paint, black, tar paint, black all over. And this mayor and others know about it. Maybe half the camp don’t know about it, but relatives and some of them already know about it because these ones that was with the war party came and reported that they’re going to come in by daylight. So some of them are ready to receive their men. And early in the morning, before sun-up, they heard singing coming and charged the village. And they shoot the guns and the people that don’t know about the expedition returning, some of them get scared. Maybe they thought some enemy had raided them. They got up and they see these

men shooting with black paint on them and they know it's a victory return (Queotone 1967).

Following the “ride around” was the report on the particular battle. As described in my interviews, these were known as war stories or *Tép [bà:té]*. Guy Queotone further explains this process and the transition into Scalp and Victory dances:

They (warriors) all march around there and they stop at the chief's tipi. And the chief leads the leader and catches his horse, and they all get off and make their report. And each relative that has a man that went off, he goes out and catch his horse by the bridle, and hold his horse while he gets off. Well, the leader of the expedition, he makes the report of how it happened and who was killed and how many killed...and after they report, they get up and take him over there and they start the Victory [and] Scalp dance (ibid).

The Scalp dance was conducted solely by women who would dance with scalps of the slain enemies attached to a stick. Similar to the function of the Scalp dance, the Victory dance³⁷ was performed by women as a means of celebrating the returning veterans.³⁸ Meadows notes “the women's Scalp and Victory dances are physical manifestations of their appreciation of veteran's service and sacrifice” (Meadows 2010:364). Both the Scalp and Victory dances were/are typically performed together and function as a means of honoring male warriors for their war deeds.

Women's Songs Associated with Warfare

There were also songs sung by women while their male relatives were away on a war journey that were performed privately for themselves as a means of self-encouragement. Delores

³⁷ The Kiowa speakers I spoke with could not recall the Kiowa name for Victory dance. Meadows notes that *Áuldáugúngyà* is the name for both Scalp and Victory dances, but he heard one speaker refer to Victory dance as *Óñtáñgùngyà* or Feel Good dance (Meadows 2010:86). Further investigation is needed in explaining why Scalp and Victory dances have two separate names in English when they are performed together.

³⁸ For further in-depth description of Scalp and Victory dances, see Meadows 2010:84-93.

Harragarra describes one pre-reservation song that was composed by her mother's aunt: "I'm a young man [text in the song] and it [the song] implies that his life was cut short" (Delores Harragarra, Interview, July 18, 2018). According to my interlocutors, there is no title in English or the Kiowa language for this group of songs.

During World War II, the mothers of several soldiers continued to compose these songs, and they were performed at War Mother meetings. The songs composed by these women express the anxieties and fears that they endured while their male relatives were engaged in warfare. The War Mothers held monthly meetings in adherence to American War Mother protocol, but more importantly to provide solidarity and strength for all the women experiencing this difficult time. "These other songs were (from the) War Mothers. They belonged to Chapter 18. Whenever they met, they sang" (Delores Harragarra, Interview, July 18, 2018). These private songs that women composed and sung to themselves are part of the Kiowa musical tradition of providing self-encouragement during times of war. Many elders and singers throughout Kiowa country consistently expressed to me that singing makes one feel good. Ralph Zotigh, a Kiowa singer and composer, simply stated that "singing is therapy."

Decontextualization of War Journey Songs and Recontextualization of Forty-Nine Songs

I rely on the Richard Bauman and Briggs' entextualization model to help explain the recontextualization process of War Journey performance context into Forty-Nine performance context (Bauman and Briggs 1990). This process is noteworthy in discussion of War Mother songs because War Journey dances were decontextualized from their original functions (preparing warriors for war, enlisting men to join the war journey, and providing morale) and

recontextualized as social dances, therefore leaving War Mother songs to fulfill the original function of War Journey songs. Not only did War Mother songs acquire the function of empowerment from War Journey dances, they semantically elicit War Journey songs musically through the use of the drum beat (see Figure 1). The recontextualization of War Journey dance occurred during the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century when there was a cessation of traditional intertribal warfare.

The term that was given to recontextualized War Expedition dance used in 20th century social contexts was “Forty-Nine songs.” Dennis Zotigh explained to me one night in the spring of 2015 during a drum practice how these songs were given the name “Forty-Nine.” He explained that he was around Kiowa elders during a tribal function and the topic of discussion was the origin of the name “Forty-Nine.” One interpretation that arose was that the term “Forty-Nine” came from a war expedition that took place long ago in which forty-nine out of fifty warriors returned. Dennis asked Kiowa elders if anyone could name one of the forty-nine warriors, but no one could, and so that interpretation could not be proven. Another interpretation arose in this discussion about the time when Forty-Nine dances were held at carnivals. During the early twentieth century, dancers and singers from Northern and Southern Plains tribes were dancing for impresarios such as Buffalo Bill Cody and the Miller Brothers at fairs, carnivals, and wild west shows. There was a show that was called the “Girls of Forty-Nine” that was themed after miners in the California Gold Rush in the mid-nineteenth century. During this time, someone made a joke, “are you one of the Forty-Nine girls?,” after which the name “Forty-Nine” stuck. Dennis reported that the elders whom he consulted with collectively said “*hàu*” (a Kiowa phrase that signifies agreement). Throughout the twentieth century, Forty-Nine dances were held primarily by young people in powwow scenes. Clyde Ellis suggests that Forty-Nine dances

“became a way for young Indian people to carve out their own sphere in the powwow world and to stamp at least part of the goings-on with their own brand of adaptation” (Ellis 2003:117). Song texts often reflected themes of struggles of young people, love, heartache, and carousing. During this time, Forty-Nine songs³⁹ were already used in social settings, and were not associated with drinking and casual intimate encounters as they now are. Alcohol slowly became integrated into Forty-Nine social gatherings which ultimately led to the decline of Forty-Nine dances and to Native communities’ distaste for them in the later part of the twentieth century.

Delores commented that War Mother songs in a way *are* traditional War Journey songs; however, War Mother songs, instead of War Journey songs, were performed for Kiowa warriors: “I think it’s because they’ve [Forty-Nine songs] been used as social songs for so long because there was no war. And so they became the songs that you were saying, you know, for social reasons. And maybe, what shall we say, they lost their meaning” (Delores Harragarra, Interview, June 8, 2017). In context of World War II, War Expedition songs were not performed before servicemen were deployed. Delores and other elders seem to suggest that the reason lies with the recontextualization of War Journey dance into Forty-Nine dance. However, it was also suggested that War Mother songs carried the function of War Journey songs in providing empowerment for women during World War II. Mildred Tsoodle, who served in the Navy during World War II, reflected this in her interpretation of the purpose of War Mother songs to William Meadows (2010: 343):

The original composer of the War Mother songs, Lewis Toyebo, did not compose these songs for credit or recognition; neither did other traditional Kiowas before him. They were composed as traditional War Expedition songs to give solace and strength and to convey pride. . . . These songs were exclusively for the Kiowa War Mothers, Chapter 18, of the American War Mothers during World War II.

³⁹ Forty-Nine songs are the same as War Expedition songs.

It is noteworthy that Mildred Tsoodle, along with Delores, acknowledged War Mother songs as “traditional War Expedition songs,” because the War Mother songs, as I have argued, carry the function of War Expedition songs, as an intertext,⁴⁰ to provide empowerment for the women of the Kiowa War Mothers and for departing servicemen. War Mother songs also resemble War Expedition songs musically and in dance pattern. The drum beat of the songs is the same, as is the dance step, known as the “Forty-Nine step,” which is where the left foot takes a step to the left and is then followed by the right foot taking a step to the left. The dancers, similar to Forty-Nine and War Journey, move clockwise in a circle. This same step was conducted by the War Mothers in their honorings of individual servicemen, which will be discussed toward the end of this chapter.

The different genres of pre-reservation songs associated with warfare intersect with the creation of War Mother songs. In terms of functions, War Mother songs acquired the purpose of providing empowerment for War Mothers from War Journey songs. Later when servicemen returned from overseas, War Mother songs acquired the function of women honoring male veterans from Scalp and Victory dances. War Mother songs are an *intertext* of these various song genres. This next section focuses on Lewis Toyebo and his compositions of War Mother songs. The songs he composed make references to pre-reservation warfare concepts, but also address the changes associated with twentieth century life.

⁴⁰ I refer to an intertext as an intertextual entity.

Lewis Toyebo and the Composition of War Mother Songs

Lewis Toyebo (1892-1987) (Figure 2) lived with his wife, Richenda Toyebo (Figure 3), on her allotment west of Carnegie, Oklahoma, during the second World War. He was an avid composer of peyote songs⁴¹ and composed approximately twenty War Mother songs during

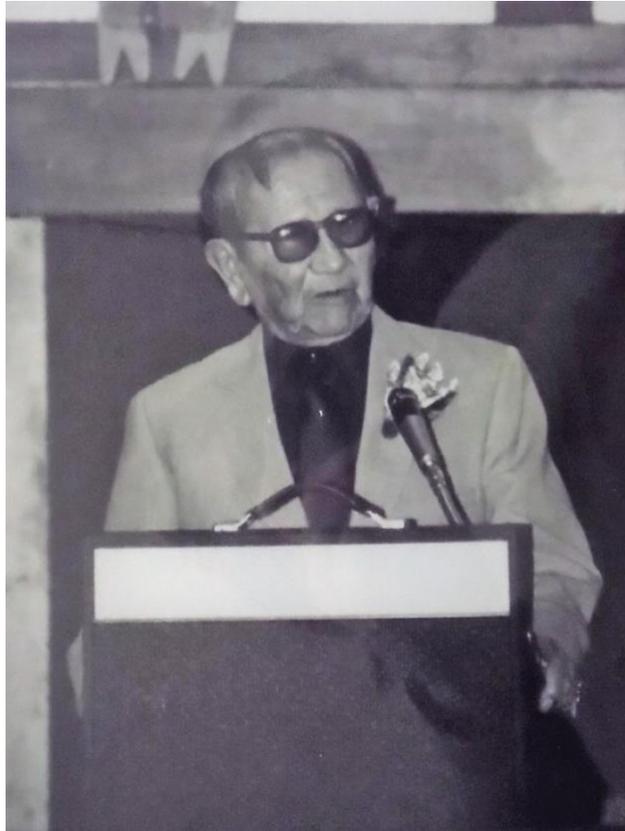


Figure 2 Lewis Toyebo. Photo Courtesy of the Harragarra family.

World War II.⁴² Delores recounts from her childhood that her father sang often: “I could see him

⁴¹ Peyote songs are associated and performed in Native American Church ceremonial contexts. Delores explained to me that her father composed many Peyote songs. In context of this paper, Lewis Toyebo already was a composer of another genre of song when he began composing War Mother songs. For more information on Peyote and the Native American Church, see McAllester 1949; Mooney 1979:221-2, 238-9.

⁴² Lewis Toyebo was recognized for his War Mother song compositions at the Kiowa Veteran’s Day Celebration in November 8, 1970. Delores reported that her father hardly sang War Mother songs after World War II. Debate about who was the first to compose War Mother songs is strongly contested. I would like to remind the reader that I am not focusing on this debate, but rather providing different interpretations that were presented to me during my fieldwork.

sitting on the porch and many times he wouldn't have a drum, he would have something like wood—beating on the porch and he would have his overalls on and sit there and sing” (Delores Harragarra, Interview, June 8, 2017). During World War II, Lewis and Richenda Toyebo’s son, Ritchie Toyebo, served in the 89th division in Europe. Throughout the war, the Toyebo family kept up with current events in the European and Pacific theaters through newspapers and a battery-operated radio. Richenda, along with twenty-three other Kiowa women, became founding members of the Kiowa War Mothers Chapter 18 and received their charter from the national organization, the American War Mothers, on February 10, 1944 (Meadows 2010: 334).



Figure 3 Seated Left to Right: 1) Unknown 2) Ruby Botone 3) Richenda Toyebo 4) Bessie Bo Whites (Oklahoma Historic Society).

Lewis Toyebo was knowledgeable about the different types of extant Kiowa songs and their functions within performance contexts. War Mother songs did not exist prior to World War II because the Kiowa War Mothers Chapter 18 was not founded until the later part of the war. It was not until the inception of Chapter 18 until the end of the war that Lewis Toyebo composed over twenty War Mother songs for their organization. He created these songs specifically for the women of the Kiowa War Mothers whose male relatives were deployed overseas. “He didn’t do it for personal or selfish reasons. He did it to strengthen and help the women, because it was a trying time for them. They had no idea where their loved ones were. And so as in the days when years ago, preservation, old warrior days, I’m sure that’s the way it was” (Delores Harragarra, Personal Interview, June 8, 2017). The Kiowa War Mothers chapter 18 was unique in that almost all of the members of the Kiowa War Mothers only spoke Kiowa and grew up either before forced relocation or during the early period of living on the reservation (Meadows 2010: 334). According to Delores, her father created these songs “to go along with the organization.” She recalled that her father would farm during the day and that it was probably this time that he composed War Mother songs. “I’m sure, being out in the field, all day, he had plenty of time to think” (Delores Harragarra, Interview, July 8, 2017). In the words of Eric Lassiter, Kiowa “songs with words help to express a *feeling* that is usually difficult to express through language alone” (Lassiter 1998:174). Some of the descendants of Lewis Toyebo expressed that he had the gift of composing and that his songs expressed the ineffable pride and empowerment for the Kiowa servicemen that helped to mitigate the anxieties experienced by those women.

Lewis Toyebo’s position as a composer within the Kiowa tribe during this time is noteworthy. Bauman and Briggs' (1990; 1992) discussions on social power and intertextuality is useful here. Reception of Lewis Toyebo’s War Mother songs is an imperative aspect of

composition. The Kiowa community as a collective have the power and agency to determine whether a song is accepted or not. Joe Fish further describes this process of acceptance of song(s) in the Kiowa tribe:

If you're humble about it, you'll go out and introduce it (a song) humbly. And how they respond to it, either they'll respond to it in a good way or a bad way... If they grab it, they'll take it. Any composition that you make, that's how songs survive. If your own people like it, then it's going to go (Phil "Joe Fish" Dupoint, Interview, June 9, 2017).

As described in a few quotations earlier in this chapter, Lewis Toyebo was perceived as a humble man. He was influenced by not only his own experience of his son being deployed overseas to create War Mother songs, he was inspired by the women of the Kiowa War Mothers organization and sought to create songs to strengthen their morale and spirits. The audience (Kiowa War Mothers) accepted the compositions that he made and then integrated them into their performances of honoring individual soldiers. Bauman and Briggs explain that access, legitimacy, cultural competency, and values are all integrated in the process of recontextualization of texts (Bauman and Briggs 1990). Here I want to highlight cultural competency and values. As stated previously, Lewis Toyebo integrated pre-reservation concepts that the Kiowa War Mothers would understand. Not only are they in the Kiowa language, they invoke time and place of pre-reservation Kiowa warfare while addressing new concepts in the twentieth century. Similarly, he exhibits the continued value of warriors in his songs, constantly praising the young Kiowa men for their bravery and sacrifice. These aspects of War Mother songs resonate well and were especially meaningful to the Kiowa War Mothers.

Honor Dances for Returning Servicemen

During World War II, many honor dances were held for returning servicemen at people's individual homes. Participants often included family and friends of the returning servicemen along with members from the Kiowa War Mothers, Victory Club, and Purpleheart organizations. While each of these organizations held separate honorings for returning veterans, the War Mother songs Lewis Toyebo composed were commonly performed in all of the honorings. The singers consisted of men, like Lewis Toyebo, who sung for the event, including Lucius Ahhaitty, David Apekaum, Edgar Guoladdle, James "Jimmy A" Anquoe, Charles Anquoe, and others. Delores recounted how the Kiowa War Mothers honored returning servicemen:

The young man leads and carries a flag with his uniform on and it's just like a grand entry that you see. He comes in and he leads, then usually the president was there of the Kiowa chapter, and they just stand in line and come into the arena and then they sang those War Mother songs and it's the Forty-Nine step. If you know what the Forty-Nine step is, because that's the same thing, that's what Forty-Nine songs were way back. They were War Journey songs and so that was that step; that's the way you danced. And so that's the way the War Mothers dance to those songs (Delores Harragarra, Interview, June 8, 2017).

After the dance, the veteran was presented with a monetary gift followed by a feast provided by the War Mothers. Ernest "Iron" Toppah similarly recalled how the Victory Club, similarly to the Kiowa War Mothers, conducted their honor dances:

I remember during World War II, my grandmother was [part of the] Victory Club, that was organized during World War II, early 40s... I've seen them walk up to a bus station and maybe a man is coming home and the elders will walk up to the bus station. The women welcomed him. They hadn't seen him for years, maybe he's been wounded. I remember that, several of them, badly. To see them again and greet them again, they would sing and they would 'lulu'⁴³ and just be so thankful and happy to see them. We lived just two blocks from the bus station.

⁴³ A colloquial term to describe ululation which is a sonic expression of encouragement conducted solely by women of most Plains tribes. Many Kiowa elders told me that this was performed before male warriors left for battle as means of encouragement before the reservation era. Today, women still "lulu" as a means of encouragement at both social gatherings, such as powwows, and at various tribal functions, such as *Tònkóngàut*.

We all walked down the house and had a meal with that serviceman. Later on in the evening, they had that legion hut, east side by the grocery store and they had a powwow. We didn't Gourd Dance then. Strictly, you know, war dance and war mother songs and that processional with that honoree. And they had songs and get up and honor him all evening (Ernest Toppah, Interview, June 18, 2018).

Ducky Anquoe remembers a War Mother honor dance in which the women would dance with the war trophies taken from World War II:

They used to have Kiowa War Mother meetings at our house...and all the War Mothers were lined up. They had a German helmet, cartridge belt, first aid, they had all kinds of stuff. In line, the first time I saw it, they were lined up outside and the leaders, all these women had letters. Almost all of them from their sons. And dad and them would start singing. So they kinda marched in...So we kinda stepped back and watched them march in. And then there were some War Mothers, their boys were our age and we'd play. They fed afterwards so we were eyeing that food, but looked in there (the house) and this lady was really crying. She was trying to read a letter. This other was trying to console her (Jim "Ducky" Anquoe, Interview, June 8, 2017).

These honor dances continue the pre-reservation tradition of women honoring male warriors.

While Scalp and Victory dances were not performed at the War Mother or Victory Club honorings that Kiowa elders described, the recurring performance of War Mother songs is especially noteworthy. While most servicemen carried in the American flag during the processional, or beginning of the honor dance, "a young man didn't have to dance all the time, because that was actually a women's dance. Just like an old Victory or Scalp dance" (Delores Harragarra, Interview, June 8, 2017). Meadows argues that songs and dances performed by these women auxiliaries "continued a series of traditions that constitute an important part of the way many Kiowa women define their gender roles and ethnicity" (Meadows 2010:330). While these gender roles continued during the war, the performance of honor dances was adapted to fit the context of twentieth century warfare. Delores notes that the individual honoree carried the American flag along with wearing a United States military uniform. This act of carrying the American flag in uniform is reinterpreted to have new meanings of what it means to be a Kiowa

warrior in the twentieth century. Iron also elucidated that the meeting place for returning veterans was the bus stop in Carnegie. This is where the elders, friends, and family members publicly greeted their returning veteran, and it was followed by an honor dance.

This parallels the pre-reservation custom that when returning warriors entered the camp in a parade-like manner, if successful in their war expedition, it was immediately followed by the performance of Scalp and Victory dances to honor them. Ducky Anquoe also remembers Kiowa War Mothers dancing with war trophies brought back from World War II: “They would sing mainly War Mother songs. A lot of women would cry, they all had a German, Japanese,



Figure 4 Kiowa War Mother's Powwow in Carnegie, OK on May 1946. The singers are in the middle near the American flag and are surrounded by the Kiowa War Mothers (Oklahoma Historic Society).

something,⁴⁴ and they would dance with them” (Ducky Anquoe, Interview, August 8, 2017).

This act of returning with war trophies was a practice that was carried over from pre-reservation warfare. Although in many ways these dances continue pre-reservation warfare concepts, however, Delores and other elders note that these honor dances were small in size and were performed when individual servicemen returned home. They would occur throughout the week when the serviceman was expected to return to the community. A possible reason for this might be that Kiowa veterans were in different divisions in the military and did not return as one cohesive unit, as they would have in pre-reservation times. The linguistic and musical elements of War Mother songs also elucidate how pre-reservation ideologies were maintained, but also negotiated.

War Mother Song Texts and Translations

William Meadows notes that War Mother songs cover the following themes: “the high esteem in which young Kiowa men are regarded as warriors, their willingness to travel far away, the prominence of the United States flag throughout the world, the joyous feeling of meeting returning servicemen, and the courageous deeds, fearlessness, and bravery displayed by Kiowa warriors in battle” (Meadows 2010:345). Members of the Kiowa War Mothers Chapter 18 often were older women who either grew up in Kiowa society prior to forced relocation on the KCA reservation or during the early period of reservation life. As Delores Harragarra simply puts it, Lewis Toyebo “did it for these old ladies and they knew what he talking about” (Delores

⁴⁴ Ducky is referring to war trophies. He described that some of the trophies were German helmets, pistols, and Japanese swords.

Harragarra, Interview, July 20, 2018). While Lewis Toyebo created lyrics that reference pre-reservation concepts and words to the Kiowa War Mothers, he also addresses new concepts and words experienced by Kiowa people during the twentieth century reservation lifestyle. Here I attempt to build on the work of Meadows through a close reading of several of these War Mother songs.

The following texts are from those songs that Lewis Toyebo composed. I worked with Delores in transliterating her father's songs into the modified Parker's-McKenzie orthography. I include her descriptions of these translations to further provide explanation of semantic meanings and cultural context for the reader. When working with Delores on translating her father's songs, she expressed consistent difficulty in translating from Kiowa into English. She also acknowledged that the reader would not be able to fully grasp the true meaning of these War Mother songs through the English language. There were some words that Delores and other speakers forgot, such as *[dái dàum* (brave), that took a while to remember. I even experienced in the field that there are certain words and phrases that multiple speakers interpreted differently, such as *gyà sàu:mì* in which several speakers translated as "awesome," "unbelievable," "strange," and "amazing." Since Delores is the daughter of Lewis Toyebo, I felt it was most appropriate to include her translations of her father's songs. Listed below are five songs composed by Lewis Toyebo.⁴⁵ They were composed during the middle to later part of World War II and are not listed chronologically.

Song 1

[Gáui[dòlyôt dàu tàũñ [dégyà tô:yà: (repeated 3 times)

Throughout the Kiowa camp, they are talking around

⁴⁵ Other translations of the War Mother songs that Lewis Toyebo composed are in the Appendix.

Tàũ [dégyà tô:yà:

They are talking around

[Gáui[dòlyôt dàu tàũ [dégyà tô:yà:

Throughout the Kiowa camp, they are talking around

[Gáui[dògùl dàu

(About the) Kiowa young men

He's using "Old Kiowa"... He lived when there were Kiowa camps, my father. He was born in a Kiowa camp. A lot of the older women (of the Kiowa War Mothers organization) knew what he was talking about. Because they grew up and were born in a camp. Well some of them were older than my mother and my dad... he's using this old term as if someone was riding through the camp... He's thinking like a Kiowa. He's taking it back just like the old ladies think. They didn't have a radio, they didn't read the newspaper, so he's going back to the days that they would've heard about their Kiowa men (Delores Harragarra, Interview, July 26, 2018).

Song 2

[Gáui[dògùl dàu èt [dái dàu hèl, èt [dái dàu hèl, èt táũ[dè bàudà (Repeated 2 times)

Kiowa young men, they were brave, they were brave, people were talking about them

Hègàu gyà à k'àu[dè dò áum dè hèl

It became foggy/hazy/dense with smoke (because of the gun fire)

Gídè è kóbè hà hèl

They ran forward

Háun è í dàu hèl

They were not afraid

Nàu gyà sàu:mì:

And it was amazing/awesome/unbelievable

À k'àu[dè dò áum dè hèl. À is smoke, gyà à ôhmgýà is smoke, it became foggy. À k'àu[dè dò áum dè hèl, it just means it became foggy and you're gonna assume with

gunfire, the smoke. Then they went over anyway through all this smoke into what was facing them. And that's his imagination of when they were fighting... Èt táuñ[dè bàudà, it means people talking about them or telling of their deeds. They're talking about them. All their bravery, all their deeds... You don't talk that way in Kiowa, that's old Kiowa. À k'áu: [dèdò óhñ dè hèl, a lot of people don't know what it means, but it means that it became foggy, hazy, because of the gun fire and smoke. And they, gídè, they pressed forward. Háun èm í dàu, they weren't afraid of anything, they just went (Delores Harragarra, Interview, July 27, 2018).

Song 3

Táíñkàuhôl tàugàu gò, háiyà è yái tàugàu è dàum yái (repeated 3 times)

They (Kiowa young men) went with the American flag, they went far to fight

[Dògùl óhñ gòp àn t'èp è áuitsàn

The fine young men came back

Táíñkàuhôl tàugàu gò

They came back with the American flag

Táíñkàuhôl tàugàu gò, they went with the flag. háiyà è yái, they went off somewhere. Then he talks, he says, dògùl óhñ gòp, the fine young men. Àn t'èp, they came back. Dògùl óhñ gòp àn t'èp, the fine young men, they came back. Tàugàu, they went far... Dògùl óhñ gòp àn t'èp è áuitsàn. They came back (ibid.).

Song 4

Dègyà dòl bè nàu è kàu k'í tsàn tàu (repeated 3 times)

It is going to be grand when they come and we honor them

kàu k'í tsàn tàu= to throw blankets at their feet when they come back (honoring)

[Dògùl óhñ gòp

Our finest young men

Dègyà dòl bè, dòl bè is a word you can use different ways. If you came in and you walked in here and had a suit and a tie and all dressed, èm dòl bè, or if so and so came in and had her finery on and I could say nén dòl bè. It means you look good, you're dressed to the nines, that's dòl bè. And if you do something and you wanted to do something a certain way, you could say, well I think that's dòl bè. Gyà dòl bè bèldò. They did that or they think that's really fine. Whatever they did something or they sang or they dressed or they did something, Gyà dòl bè bèldò. Dòl bè is the word we are trying to interpret with

in this connection. So it says *dègyà dòl bè nàu è kàu k'í tsàn tàu*, they're gonna come home with honors. So you can honor them... when they come home and we're gonna throw them a feast. So *dègyà dòl bè*, it's gonna be grand. How grand it will be when they come. Or it will be grand. *Káu k'í tsàn tàu*, you throw out your blankets... [*Dògùl ôhñ gòp*, our finest young men. *Ôhñ gòp* is your finest rank (ibid.).

Song 5

Táíñkàuhôl tàugàu hé dò í [dè hé dò í [dè (repeated 3 times)

The American flag is still standing

Àup gàu táup dè: dàum tái

All over the earth

Táíñkàuhôl tàugàu the flag is still standing. Táíñkàuhôl tàugàu. Àu gàu táup dè: dàum tái, all over the world. All over the earth, dàum tái. Hè dòl dè, the flag is still standing. Àu gàu táup is all over the world (Delores Harragarra, Interview July 18, 2018).

Memorial Songs

Lewis Toyebo composed two songs in remembrance of the fallen Kiowa soldiers during World War II. These songs are now commonly known amongst Kiowa people as "Empty Saddle" songs.⁴⁶ The first memorial song was composed for William Palmer, who was the father of Lyndreth Palmer, the first Kiowa killed in World War II. When this song was composed, the words originally addressed Lyndreth Palmer (*À ì [gyái hèm/ Your son died in battle*). After the end of World War II, this song began to address all Kiowa young men (*[Dògùl [gyái hèm/ The young men died in battle*). Delores recounts the memorial honoring that the War Mothers held for Lyndreth Palmer in April of 1944:

⁴⁶ Delores Harragarra fervently reminded me that when her father composed these two songs, they did not have a name and were not known as "Empty Saddle" songs. I will discuss in Chapter 3 how the name "Empty Saddle" was attributed to those songs. "Empty Saddle" songs are now commonly performed at *Tòñkóñgàut* in remembrance of all Kiowa warriors killed in action.

The Kiowa War Mothers had a special dance (for Lyndreth Palmer) and invited William Palmer. This last song was composed and sung for him at that dance... I remember it, it was a very moving time and I remember because my classmate was an eagle scout, Tom Jolly, and he stood back in the trees and he played taps. And Evalou Ware and Russell sang the national anthem. It was a very well-organized program and dance that honored this man and the War Mothers sang⁴⁷ this song. It was for him and they gave him gifts. It was held on David and Emma Apekaum's place, west of Carnegie (Delores Harragarra, Interview, June 8, 2017).

Memorial Song 1

Dògyà èm t'áu yí t'àu, èm ôhñ tàñ yíñ t'àu

When you hear this song, you will feel good

À ì [gyái hèm → [dògùl [gyái hèm

Your son died in battle → the young men died in battle

Nàu gyà sàu:mì:

And it is amazing/awesome/unbelievable

Dògyà èm t'áu yí t'àu, when you hear this song, you'll feel good, èm ôhñ tàñ yíñ t'àu. À ì [gyái hèm, your child... I guess you could say your son... Ok, he's saying à ì [gyái hèm, then on the last fourth time, he says dògùl [gyái hèm... So he does say à ì three times, your son, then the fourth time he says dògùl, young men instead of à ì, but now they say dògùl all the way through, but it's à ì because it was sung especially for Bill Palmer (Delores Harragarra, Interview, July 27, 2018)

The second memorial song encourages the listener to remember the Kiowa young men's sacrifice.

Memorial Song 2

Gàu [dé hàui tsàu bàu àuñ jí

All of you think this way

[Dé hàui tsàu bàu àuñ jí

Think this way

⁴⁷ Delores implies the men who sung for the War Mothers organization.

Gàu [dé hàui tsàu bàt bèl [dò dè

Think about this and remember

È [gyái hèm [gáui[dògùl dàu

They died in battle, the Kiowa young men

Àm pèdò

For you

Gàu [dé hàui tsàu bàu àuñ gí, all of you think this way...Bàu àuñ gí is think this way, and bàt bèl [dò dè is remember, or encourages you to remember. It's not a command or harsh command, it's telling you to remember, bàt bèl [dò dè... È [gyái hèm, they died in battle, the Kiowa young men, [gáui[dògùl dàu. And then he says àm pèdò, because for your sake (ibid.).

Musical and Linguistic Elements of War Mother Songs

The words in the War Mother songs that Lewis Toyebo composed are filled with musical and linguistic indexes that connect warfare both to the past, during pre-reservation times, and to warfare in a particular moment in time (World War II). The chronotope concept from Russian literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin is useful in explaining the “connection to historical and momentary agency” (Blommaert 2015:109). The chronotope “refers to the intrinsic blending of space and time in any event in the real world and was developed... as an instrument for developing a fundamentally historical semiotics” (Blommaert 2015:106). In other words, the chronotope indexes a particular time and place through semiotic modalities in a given text. The linguistic and musical elements in War Mother songs both intersect and connect pre-reservation concepts of warfare along with modern concepts associated with warfare.

Linguistically, Lewis Toyebo includes words from what modern Kiowa speakers call “Old Kiowa.” This refers to the language that was spoken by previous generations before forced

relocation and during the early periods of post-reservation life. Most of the terms from “Old Kiowa” language are remembered by older Kiowa speakers, but in the time of my fieldwork, it is not commonly spoken. One older Kiowa speaker explained to me that one possible reason for the decline of “Old Kiowa” was due to the drastic change of an itinerant lifestyle into a forced sedentary, Euro-American lifestyle on the reservation at the turn of the 20th century. “Old Kiowa” words and phrases in the War Mother songs include *[gáui[dòlyôt* (Kiowa camp), *tàu gàu è dàum tó:yà: dò* (soldiers going on a war journey) , and *kàu k’i tsàn tàu* (throwing blankets at warriors’ feet as a way to honor them). These phrases elicit a combination of pre-reservation functions of honoring warriors as well as conception of Kiowa encampments before the reservation era. As it was explained to me by elders, Kiowa people lived in bands, approximately forty families to a band, and would travel throughout the Southern and Northern Plains. In a macro sense, War Mother songs invoke warfare practices from before the reservation period (time) when Kiowa people travelled throughout the Great Plains (space). However, along with these chronotopic concepts are words that reflect twentieth century warfare and lifestyle such as *táĩnkàuhól tàugàu* (American flag), *àup gàu tàup dé: dàum tái* (all over the earth), *p’àu tàup* (going overseas), and references to gun smoke (song 2). Most striking in these songs is the inclusion of the word *táĩnkàuhól tàugàu* (American flag) in many of the War Mother songs. The indexical meaning that the American flag once had for Kiowa people, as well as other American Indian tribes—in the words of Dennis Zotigh, “death, forced removal, genocide”—is recontextualized in War Mother songs to describe the American flag as an object which Kiowa warriors fight under. Some Kiowa perceivers even took one song that describes the raising of the American flag to describe the famous picture of the American flag raising at Iwo Jima.

The musical elements of War Mother songs are constructed out of signs that elicit songs associated with pre-reservation warfare. Most notably, the drum beat pattern (Figure 1) that accompanies the singing of War Mother songs is indexical of War Journey songs, as it uses the same beat. The same dance step is performed during performances conducted by the War Mothers. The elders quoted above acknowledge War Mother songs as “old War Journey songs.”

While it is implicit that the chronotope has a historical connection, it is noteworthy to mention that the perceiver must have a knowledge of the historical context associated with the chronotope in order to understand it. In this case, the perceivers at the time of the composition of War Mother songs are the War Mothers themselves. Delores mentioned several times that her father was “thinking like a Kiowa.” Warfare and the social practices that surround it have been highly valued in Kiowa cultural practice. Lewis Toyebo merges linguistic and musical elements that invoke warriorship, both past and present, to the War Mother members (perceivers). The chronotopic elements in War Mother songs elucidate the idea Kiowa veterans continued to be highly valued amongst Kiowa people during World War II.

Conclusion

As discussed in the ethnographic vignette at the beginning of this chapter, Delores explained that her father initially created War Mother songs for the mothers of the Kiowa War Mothers chapter. I continued to discuss with Delores and Kenny about Lewis Toyebo’s compositions and the Kiowa War Mothers organization. Delores further explained why her mother and other women started a chapter with the American War Mothers: “That’s why they joined. It’s not an Indian organization, but it’s the *concept*. It was easy for them because that’s

what Kiowas have always done. Especially those who only spoke Kiowa” (Delores Harragarra, Interview, June 14, 2017). That “concept” is the connection to pre-reservation Kiowa gender roles, in which the Kiowa War Mothers functioned “to ensuring success in warfare followed by participating in the honoring and celebration of returning warriors” (Meadows 2010:358). The War Mother songs composed by Lewis Toyebo were especially meaningful to the Kiowa War Mothers because they reflect and elicit pre-reservation concepts in the songs, both musically and linguistically, but also reflect the current time during post-reservation life and warfare in World War II.

Chapter 3: “Songs to Soothe a Mother”: War Mother Song Performance in Tribal and Intertribal Contexts

In early August of 2017, I visited with Jim “Ducky” Anquoe at his house in El Reno, Oklahoma, to discuss the War Mother songs that his father, James “Jimmy A” Anquoe (1897-1973), composed. We sat at his kitchen table along with his son Jimmy Anquoe Jr. Ducky sat there with his arms crossed and closed his eyes for a moment. “Those War Mother songs were to soothe a mother,” he said slowly, “cause War Mothers had something in common, they all hurt from one morning to the next. That’s honest, it would just hurt. They were hoping that they would never get that telegram or some army automobile would drive up to your house and walk up to your front door.” He paused for another slight moment. “They (songs) were really important for mothers, to soothe them. They couldn’t get that satisfaction except go to a War Mother dance.”

Jimmy A sang with Lewis Toyebo at honor dances during and after World War II. He also composed approximately forty-seven War Mother songs from the end of World War II until the Vietnam War. In this chapter, I will briefly focus on Jimmy A’s compositions and another possible influence from Ponca⁴⁸ singers that led to the creation of his War Mother song compositions. I will then discuss the various changing contexts in which War Mother songs were performed. War Mother songs continued to be performed in honor dances for individual servicemen within the Kiowa community, but also were recontextualized into broader intertribal contexts. This recontextualization of War Mother songs in these spaces is the focus of this chapter. While performance contexts changed, the functions of War Mother songs were

⁴⁸ The Ponca people’s homelands resided around Nebraska. Two federally recognized tribes of the Ponca people are in the states of Nebraska and Oklahoma. Jimmy A developed close relationships with the Ponca people in Oklahoma.

maintained not only to honor returning veterans, but also to memorialize warriors killed in action as well as to recognize their families.

Jimmy A and War Mother Song Compositions

Similar to Lewis Toyebo, Jimmy A created War Mother songs for the women whose male relatives were fighting overseas. “War Mother songs are really made to honor our soldiers, mainly, but they were made for women because they suffered the most” (James “Ducky” Anquoe, Interview, August 8, 2017). Most of the War Mother songs that Jimmy A composed were near the end of World War II and into the Korean War. War Mother songs by this time



Figure 5 Left to Right in Front: 1) Sylvester Warrior (Ponca) 2) Louis Faw Faw (Otoe) 3) Sylvester Kimbel (Ponca). Left to Right Standing: 1) Woodrow Big Bow (Kiowa) 2) David Apekaum (Kiowa) 3) Leroy White (Kiowa) 4) Unknown 5) Nathan Doyebi (Kiowa) 6) James "Jimmy A" Anquoe (Kiowa) 7) Unknown (Oklahoma Historic Society).

were used to honor returning veterans, but were still composed with the War Mothers in mind. “He wanted something for the War Mothers, ‘cause Mom had four boys in World War II. So him and my mom were on pins and needles everyday all throughout that duration” (ibid.). The War Mother songs Jimmy A composed, similar to those of Lewis Toyebo, continued to function by providing encouragement for War Mothers while their sons were fighting overseas as well as to prepare male warriors before deployment and to honor returning veterans. According to Ducky, his father collaborated with Lewis Toyebo during World War II and began composing his own War Mother songs. While Lewis Toyebo continued War Mother songs as traditional War Journey songs, Ducky Anquoe presented a different influence that led to the creation of the War Mother songs his father composed. “Dad got the War Mother songs from that [Ponca] Soldier dance” (ibid.). Jimmy A was influenced not only by his interactions with Lewis Toyebo; he was inspired through his relationship with Ponca singers.

Jimmy A sung with Lewis Toyebo at individual honor dances during and after World War II. Ducky reports that his father collaborated with Lewis Toyebo during the war. He explained that the Toyebos would visit his family’s house, located approximately two miles from the Toyebos' allotment, and discuss musical ideas for War Mother song compositions.

Louie would come to the house and he always had a newspaper under his arm when he walked in the house. He said, "Jimmy, I got some words and I'd like to put them in a song." So dad would make the song and use part of what Louie put together. Or a couple times he came and said, "Jimmy, I got a tune. I need to put some words in it." That was his purpose of coming to the house. So the songs grandpa Louie was involved in, what you would say, (was) a collaboration with dad. He would use dad’s advice one way or another” (ibid.).

Meadows notes that “numerous elders, including other singers and relatives of both men, maintain that Toyebo introduced the songs to Anquoe...who subsequently composed other songs” (Meadows 2010:344).⁴⁹

Jimmy A was a renowned powwow singer throughout Oklahoma. He fostered a close relationship with Ponca singers and sang with many of them at powwows and tribal societal dances. He developed a close friendship, in particular, with Albert Waters who invited him to sing at the center drum at Gives Water ceremony.⁵⁰ He was the only non-Ponca singer to be allowed to sing with the center drum for their War Dance. “They took daddy to Gives Water, their ceremony. Theirs is really strict. They gave Daddy a chair in there... That’s a one time thing, nobody will ever do that again at Gives Water” (James “Ducky” Anquoe, Interview, August 8, 2017). Jimmy A was not only well liked for his singing capabilities, he was also well received by Ponca singers for the War Dance songs that he composed. One of his songs was well favored by singers at Gives Water and they added Ponca words to his song and incorporated it into their repertoire of War Dance songs. This particular song is still sung today at Gives Water and the three Osage *In-lon-schka* dances (Gray Horse [also known as Fairfax], Hominy, and Pawhuska) to this day.⁵¹

Through this close relationship with Ponca singers and his participation as a singer at these warrior societal dances, Jimmy A emulated the function of Ponca Soldier Dance into his War Mother song. The purpose of the Soldier dance, similar to Kiowa Scalp and Victory dances, is to honor an individual soldier who has come back from battle. Ponca singers Lamont Brown and Harry Buffalohead recount the origins of the Soldier dance in this way:

⁴⁹ Many Kiowas debate who created the first War Mother songs. This thesis does not seek to address this, but rather present the interpretations from the Harragarra and Anquoe families.

⁵⁰ The ceremony Ducky is referring to here is the Ponca Hethushka, or War Dance.

⁵¹ Osages received the War Dance from Poncas.

This soldier dance was started right here [at White Eagle, Oklahoma] in 1918, right after Armistice. These songs were originally from the *Tu-ká-la*, *Hé-kani*, and *Máska-napi* organizations. These dances are gone now, but the songs are here, so they had no use for them. When World War I was over, these singers got together and took the words out of the old songs and put in new words about this war and peace. And so, they took these songs and made Soldier Dance songs out of them. This is danced clockwise by veterans and relatives of veterans (*Ponca Soldier Dance Songs* 2015 [1971])

Words in Ponca Soldier dance songs reference changes in 20th century warfare. One song composed in World War I belittles the Kaiser of Germany: “Kaiser, you’re a woman, you didn’t use your guns” (ibid.). Another translation of a song text references the use of modern weapons: “*Iba hobi* [George Calls Him’s Ponca name] was a machine gunner, and when the smoke cleared there was peace” (ibid.). These songs were performed in tandem with older dances when Ponca soldiers returned from war in the 20th century. In White Eagle, OK, veterans organization “Buffalo Post 38 also formed the ‘Ladies Auxiliary’ that supported the veterans by performing scalp dances and soldier dances in their honor” (McKenzie-Jones 2015:11). This parallels the honorings performed by the Kiowa War Mothers as both organizations honored returning veterans. Sometimes Soldier dance songs were performed in social contexts, such as powwows. James Howard recalls witnessing the Ponca Soldier dance at four Southern Ponca powwows in Oklahoma.

On each of these occasions it was used to open the dancing program each night, and was identified by PLC (Howard’s interlocutor) as a ‘very old and honored Ponca dance.’ Men and women, interspersed, formed long lines, facing inward toward the drum, and circled the dance ground with a sidestep, moving in a clockwise direction. The best male dancers lifted their left knee with a slight snap as they stepped off with the left foot (Howard and Le Claire 1965:114).

The dance step mentioned in this description is similar to the “forty-nine” step that Kiowa War Mothers danced at their honorings for veterans. The direction that the dancers dance in a circle, “clockwise,” is also the same direction Kiowa War Mothers dance. Because of the close resemblance of the Ponca Soldier dance and the honor dances performed by the Kiowa War

Mothers, during my fieldwork, a Kiowa elder even analogized Kiowa War Mother songs as Soldier dance songs. He explained to me that the reason why they were even called Kiowa War Mother songs is because they were commonly associated with the Kiowa War Mothers Chapter 18. Jimmy A knew Soldier dance songs through his relationship with Ponca singers, but he also heavily participated as a singer back in the Kiowa community, especially during World War II when he would perform with Lewis Toyebo and others.

Importance of Experience in Kiowa Song Composition Process

Both composers, Jimmy Anquoe and Lewis Toyebo, share a common experience in that both of their sons fought in World War II. Both families *thought* of their sons as well as the mothers when composing War Mother songs. As told to me by both descendants of Lewis Toyebo and Jimmy A, it is apparent that War Mother songs were created with a combination of *thinking* as well as *feeling*. To reiterate the composition process in Kiowa musical practice, Joe Fish describes the process of “catching” songs:

The old people say a tune is traveling throughout the air, something we can't see. All you can do is feel. So it's floating around there and everything, and if you're that person and that tune is in that air and it comes by you and gets your attention, then you'll have that tune. So you're gonna go around and kinda like hum that tune and then after a while you're singing it. So the tune is there. And maybe there's a certain event going on and the words are gonna come to you. Maybe you have a certain feeling towards a person or certain individual. So then whatever words are there, you're gonna put the words to this tune and boom, you got a song (Joe Fish, Interview, June 9, 2017).

The personal experiences of composers, as Joe Fish suggests, is what leads to the creation of songs. Lassiter also explains that “in southwestern Oklahoma's Indian world, all dances and songs are ultimately God-given” and that the supernatural connection with God is what in turn gives Kiowa songs their immense deep meaning and power (Lassiter 1998:133). As Joe Fish

simply stated, within Kiowa music, “there’s a spirituality” (Joe Fish, Interview, June 9, 2017). Along with musical and linguistic elements that elicit ties to a long history of pre-reservation warfare, the combination of music’s connection with the supernatural generate immense meaningfulness to a Kiowa audience.

When discussing composition of a particular genre in Kiowa music, in regards to Briggs and Bauman’s notion of social power, anyone can have the ability to “catch” these “tunes” and develop them into songs. Theoretically, it can occur with anyone. Joe Fish explains, “to me it can be Tom, Dick, and Harry, because everybody is equal...And when that happens (a “tune” coming to an individual) then all you can do is just go with it. I guess the thing about it is when you do it, you have to be humble about it” (ibid.). While this may be the case that anyone could make a song, experience plays an important role. Personal experience fosters more meaningfulness in songs. To elucidate this, Joe Fish discusses how one prominent Kiowa composer, Leonard Cozad Sr., became a composer after he served in World War II:

My dad, Leonard Cozad Sr., he was over in World War II and he made this vow with God. “If you get me back home, I want to do things for my people. I want to recognize my people.” He said he wanted to serve his people. When he made it back, he had this gift of song; and a lot of these (Kiowa) songs are his compositions. There’s a lot of veteran songs that are his compositions, Black Legs, Gourd Dance, are his compositions (Joe Fish, Interview, June 5, 2017).

Joe Fish explained to me that Leonard Cozad’s combined experience as a World War II veteran along with his vow with God gives his songs deeper meaning and power. The fact that Leonard Cozad experienced warfare first hand, gives his compositions, especially his compositions for *Tòñkóñgàut*, deeper meaning to Kiowa people. In tandem with my discussion of social power, firsthand experience, I argue, gives a composer their power to create songs and for their songs to be accepted by the Kiowa community. In discussion of War Mother songs, Jimmy A and Lewis

Toyebo both experienced and witnessed their wives' anxieties while their sons were fighting overseas.

War Mother Song Compositions

Jimmy A composed many War Mother songs for Kiowa young men in general and for certain servicemen and their families, as well as for a division. There is one of his songs in particular, the Thunderbird War Mother song, that became very popular amongst Kiowa people in the Korean War and is commonly sung today. The 45th division used the thunderbird, a bird believed by many tribes to have supernatural powers, as its symbol (Whitlock 1998:21). Ducky explains how his father was *thinking* of three individual Kiowa soldiers within the 45th division when composing that song:

I had a first cousin, his name was George Harry Mopope from Anadarko. And our neighbor, you turn in from Highway 9 to our home, right there at the corner of the intersection of Highway 9, 150 yards off, Fred and Betsy Botone. Anyway, Billy Botone, in Korea, he was a commissioned officer, and Roland, his younger brother, he was the same as my brother Jack. He was airborne, but daddy used to pray for George Harry and Billy and Roland Botone. So that War Mother song, that Thunderbird song, was kinda like those three guys, 'cause they were in the 45th (division). And all of them, Roland got wounded, same with George Harry, pretty bad. But anyway, they were the three (that) daddy had in mind. So they can't own that Thunderbird song, but it was who mommy and daddy had in mind when they made that (Jim "Ducky" Anquoe, Interview, August 8, 2017).

Ducky also recalls from his youth how his father composed the Thunderbird (45th division) War Mother song:

My brother Leonard and I, twelve and eleven (years-old), and my dad came into our bedroom and he woke us up. "You boys come here!" So, we jumped up and went in their bedroom. Me and mom and then dad and my brother Leonard on the other side of dad. And dad said, "*dàugyà àukàubé: dàugyà gyà aû*" (I made this round dance). "*Gyà dàu kàum*" (I put some words in there, y'all help me). "In the morning, if you can, if I forget, I want you all to help me remember this song." ... We sat there and I'll never forget that. I

got done and we told dad we would do the best that we can do. And he walked us back to our bedroom...My daddy remembered it and he woke up my mom. He said, "há:tsà: dàuğyà há: [bé:," (this song a certain way), "dàu kàu," (put them words in there). So, mom was singing with dad quite a bit at the end. He started singing it to her. They sung it 'til daylight; they didn't go to sleep. So that next morning, dad went to our neighbor and called Nathan Doybei, and Uncle Nathan brought his recorder and he had that tape, instead of wire, he had tape. They sung it the very next weekend (ibid.).

Jimmy A also made this song because many Kiowa soldiers fought under the 45th division.

Similar to one of Lewis Toyebo's War Mother songs, Jimmy A includes the "Old Kiowa" phrase "kàu k'yá tsàn àul" (they'll throw shawls at your feet), indexing that the War Mothers will honor the returning veterans. He also addresses the 45th division as "Thunderbird," in Kiowa (*Bàsàugút*), and makes reference to their deployment overseas.

Thunderbird Song

Bàsàugút dàubà [bàl táup è dàutó:yà (Repeated 2 times)

Thunderbird, they went over that land, across the water, going around all that ground across the sea

[Dòpé [dè âui kàu k'yá tsàn àul

When they come home, they'll throw shawls at your feet

Bàsàugút is the way they say thunderbird. Dàu bà is they went over that land. [Bàl táup, across the water, è dàu tò:yà, going around all that ground across the sea. [Dòpé means in the future. [Dòpé [dè âui kàu k'yá tsàn àul, kàu k'yá tsàn, when they all come home, we're going to throw shawls at their feet (ibid).

War Mother Song Texts and Translations

I include two other War Mother songs that Ducky translated in our interviews. The first song was composed for Pascal Cletus Poolaw Sr. (1922-1967) when he was killed in Vietnam.

Pascal Poolaw Sr. was the most decorated Kiowa, serving both in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam. The drum beat is slow and as Ducky described it, is a "[dó àt" (cry hard) beat. The

second song was composed for three Kiowa women veterans during the Korean War. To my knowledge, this is the only War Mother song that was composed for women. The rest of the War Mother songs composed by Jimmy A and others overwhelmingly reference male veterans and praise them for their bravery and war deeds.

Song 1

[Dògùl t'áigyà [dóp [dò ópgóp [gyài hèm

Outstanding young warrior, he went over to fight in battle and was killed

[Dègyà sàu:mì:, [dègyà sàu:mì:, [dègyà sàu:mì: [dò

It is amazing/awesome/unbelievable

À ì [dè: à [gyài hèm [dóp ópgóp [gyài hèm [dègyà sàu:mì:

Your son also went over to fight in battle and was killed, it was amazing/awesome/unbelievable

[Dègyà k'áumbàu bá [bàl dàu ópgóp [gyài hèm [dègyà sàu:mì:

People (addressing), think of him, he went over to fight in battle and was killed, it was amazing/awesome/unbelievable

Cletus Poolaw Sr., he got killed after Cletus Jr. got killed in Vietnam. When the body came home, when it was on the way home, they (Poolaw family) came to daddy (Jimmy A) and asked to make a song for Cletus... It's got that [dó àt beat. [Dó àt means to cry hard... [Dògùl t'áigyà is outstanding young boy. [Dóp [dò, the reason why, [gyài [dò báí, why he went to fight. [Dègyà sàu:mì:, it's really unbelievable, strange. À ì, his son, [gyài hèm is fight, to die. À ì [dè: à [gyài hèm [dóp ópgóp, that's the reason why he went over there, to fight, and he got killed. [Dègyà k'áumbàu, all the people, sàu:mì:, that's the way. Bá [bàl dàu, it's all you think of him. That's what that song is, for Cletus (Ducky Anquoe, Interview, August 9, 2017).

Song 2

[Gáuiyá[gáui è bóñ óñ

This young Kiowa girl looks good in her uniform

[Gáui is Kiowa. Yá[gáui is a young girl. È bóñ óñ is really dressed nice... That's all it says in there... Dad, he didn't make it (solely) for Wanda White Fox, cause daddy sung it

for Wanda first, Hazel Tsalo, Geneva Sammott and one more... But anyway, it was nice they were honored for joining the Marine Corps... Right after Korea or at the end of Korea or something like that, whenever Wanda was in the Marines. Her first leave, daddy got to sing it for her. So it's not her song, but it was other girls that I named, they were honored with that song (ibid.).

Similar to the songs Lewis Toyebo composed, Jimmy A's songs praise these individual soldiers.

It is noteworthy that this War Mother song was created for three female⁵² veterans.

Performances of War Mother Songs: Post-World War II-Vietnam War

The Kiowa War Mothers and Victory Club, as described in chapter two, continued to perform honor dances after World War II. While these dances continued throughout the Korean and Vietnam Wars, there are several different contexts in which War Mother songs were performed. The spaces in which these songs were performed are an eclectic combination of Kiowa tribal functions, radio, and American Indian Exposition. Each of these new spaces shared a few commonalities: they were spaces in which most, if not all, audience members were American Indian; War Mother songs were performed publicly for a broad audience instead for a small intimate honoring as conducted in World War II; and, most importantly, the continued function of War Mother song performance to honor warriors, with a recurring emphasis on remembering those killed in action and their families. In this section I explore the increasingly broader recontextualization of War Mother songs. After World War II, the contexts in which

⁵² The only other Kiowa song that I am aware of that honors women soldiers is a Veteran song composed by Ralph Zotigh in the early 2000s. Ralph explained to me numerous times that he was inspired by the plethora of Native women warriors that he encountered when traveling to different military bases in Western and Eastern Europe to perform powwow shows. The words to this song are similar to this War Mother song in that they address women *as* warriors: *máiyóp àl, è sòlé dàum tó:yá; è [gyàì [dò tó:yá; dé:óñdé è áuitsàn* (women also, they went on a war journey, they fought in battle, we are glad that they returned). In my fieldwork and interviews, most Kiowa elders acknowledge women veterans as warriors, but in ceremonial contexts, women are not allowed to dance with male veterans.

War Mother songs were performed for a much larger audience, specifically an intertribal audience. These intertribal spaces and “imagined communities” (radio) allowed for culture-sharing between different tribal groups. While most non-Kiowa audiences would not understand the Kiowa language, because of the values of honoring veterans through song and dance other tribes in Oklahoma shared with Kiowa people, War Mother songs would have resonated well to some degree with these audiences.

Kiowa Veterans Day Celebration

This celebration was a Kiowa tribal event held in November 8, 1970, during the Vietnam War, in Anadarko, OK to recognize veterans for their service. This is a tribal gathering to honor veterans collectively, as opposed to honoring individual servicemen. Scott Tonemah, a Kiowa veteran, acted as the Master of Ceremonies for this event. In the beginning of the transcript of this event, a few War Mother songs are performed (Kiowa Veterans Day Celebration 1970). Shortly after, Tonemah gives a testimony of his experience in the military and discusses his interpretation of War Mother songs from the position of a veteran:

Scott Tonemah: While we men were away to service, serving overseas, sometime very bitter hardships, all the time carrying these knapsacks, or these kits, we have to carry on our shoulder, with M-1 rifle, some handle machine gun, all types of weapon and so forth, someone had to keep up with spirits at home. And with inspiration and careful deliberation and thought, several service groups were organized. Back in the old days, the men go off on fierce campaign, life and death campaign. The old folks at home would compose to sing about his hardship, about his campaign, that he would return safely home. So we had our folks to compose songs for us. And we're gonna try and carry these on. And one of these composers, I wanted you to meet him today because we had never brought him out before. He and his group were instrumental in composing many, many songs. One of the songs, for instance, is that we hear overseas, and this about the Battle of the Bulge. With these songs, you can almost smell the gun power. It has a special understanding for we veterans. And we want these people to know we appreciate. And when you physically exhausted, tired, homesick, and you know that your people are

thinking about you, it does give you extra strength...Every major campaign that you can think of in World War II, and even World War I, Korea Conflict, Viet Nam, our elders have composed songs of inspiration to strengthen our spirit and hope (Kiowa Veterans Day Celebration 1970).

Shortly after Scott Tonemah's speech, Jimmy A is requested to perform a War Mother song.

Mr. Amos Toshty: I've been informed by Mrs. Lucy Jackson, the Gold Star Mother who made that extemporaneous remark a moment ago, that Jimmy (Anquoe) sing a special song dedicated to the Gold Star Mother. And she invited you of Gold Star Mother that might be with us, whatever tribe you might belong, to come and stand with us. And I understand she would like, in our humble Indian ways, to make this public proclamation. That you hold the feeling that she has in regards to this son who so gallantly made the supreme sacrifice for you and I that we might be able to enjoy this; our way of life (ibid.).

Shortly after, a War Mother song⁵³ is performed to honor all the Gold Star mothers. War Mother songs continue to provide encouragement for mothers even after times of war, especially for mothers who lost their son(s) in battle. Ducky Anquoe expressed to me the importance of acknowledging Gold star families through song: "War Mother songs always cherished and always remind everyone to remember Gold star mothers, someone's mother that lost a son in combat. [It is] hard to bring that body home or you couldn't bring him home 'cause he was blown to pieces or burned. So anyway, my family in our prayers, we always talk about people, praying for a Gold star family" (Ducky Anquoe, Interview, August 8, 2017). The importance of acknowledging mothers whose sons were killed in action is noteworthy. Although these songs function to memorialize the fallen soldier, they also continue to function of providing encouragement for those Gold Star mothers who lost their sons in combat. This same performance and recognition of Gold Star families occurred on the radio.

⁵³ Not specified which song, but probably an "Empty Saddle" song

Indians For Indians Hour

The Indians for Indians radio program was a show that featured music from various Native tribes in Oklahoma and the American Southwest. This included a wide variety of both social and religious songs, tribal and intertribal (powwow, Forty-Nine, round dance). The program aired in Norman, OK from the University of Oklahoma radio station WNAD for thirty years, starting in 1941. Radio host Don Whistler, a chief of the Sac and Fox nation, created the show and served as emcee from 1941 until his death in 1951 (Garrett-Davis 2018:250-1). The first performance of Kiowa War Mother songs appeared on January 22, 1946 with the Kiowa War Mothers chapter along with nine singers: “Mr. and Mrs. Louis Toyebo, Mr. and Mrs. Jimmy Anquoe, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Botone, Tennyson Unap, Lucuis Ahhaity, and Mr. Charles Anquoe” (Indians for Indians). There are approximately six programs in total that contain War Mother songs from the end of World War II in 1946 into the Vietnam War.

One radio show on April 25, 1947, two years after World War II, starts out with memorial or “Empty Saddle” songs that Lewis Toyebo composed.⁵⁴ The announcer for this program, David Apekaum, introduces the Kiowa War Mothers and explains the purpose of the organization on the air:

David Apekaum: Hello my Indian friends. It is my pleasure to present to you the following program, given by the War Mothers club of Carnegie chapter. Each of these persons, had at least one son in service, and many of them two and three. All serving overseas in all branches of the service. (Inaudible) the supreme sacrifice. This chapter of Indian War Mothers has contributed large sums of money to American Red Cross and other organizations supporting the war effort. They have proven themselves one hundred percent Americans. And furthermore, we Indians are the only peoples, who on earth, honor our war heroes in songs. So it is to you Indians who still are upholding the traditions of our forefathers, we are having this program for your listening pleasure. May

⁵⁴ The program consisted of the Kiowa War Mothers along with singers: Mr. and Mrs. James Anquoe, Mr. and Mrs. Ricky Toyebo, Edgar Guoladdle, Mr. And Mrs. Lucius Ahhaity, Adam Kaulaity, Mrs. Richenda Toyebo, and Mrs. Alice Apekaum Poywetowaup (Indians for Indians).

God bless you. The first three songs, Edgar Guoladdle wants to dedicate to his mother, who is a gold star mother, and this includes other gold star mothers and gold star fathers. (Sings Memorial Song 1 from chapter two)
(Immediately sings Memorial Song 2 from chapter two)⁵⁵ (Indians For Indians Hour Recording)

Another radio show in March 15, 1949, well after World War II, continues to venerate and acknowledge veterans, especially those still healing from their wounds in World War II.⁵⁶ David Apekaum, again, announces the group on the air:

David Apekaum: The first four songs will be War Mother songs. The Kiowa chapter of the Indian War Mothers, an organization of mothers of the World War II Indian boys. We wish to dedicate the following songs to the Indian boys and all other boys in the hospital in the state as a member of tribute to their sacrifice so that they realize we have not forgotten them and what they did for our nation.
(Singing begins)

The radio show reached an audience that ranged between fifty and seventy-five thousand listeners throughout the state of Oklahoma (Garret-Davis 2018:250). The radio's signal, according to Josh Garret-Davis, reached many Native communities, including Kiowa listeners, but did not extend to communities in the eastern part of Oklahoma, such as Choctaw, Cherokee, Seneca-Cayuga, Wyandotte, Miami, Ottawa, Shawnee, Eastern Shawnee, Peoria, Quapaw, and Modoc Nations (Garret-Davis 2018:256). It is important to note that Benedict Anderson's notion of "imagined community," is reflected in the concept of intertribalism, or a shared sense of Native cultural identity (Ellis, Lassiter, and Dunham 2005; Anderson 2006; Perea 2014:8-9; Garret-Davis 2018:256). While most non-Kiowa listeners would not understand the linguistic elements of Kiowa War Mother songs, most would likely understand the importance of honoring

⁵⁵ In this version, the singers perform the song with the original words as described by Delores Harragarra: "à í [gyài hèm]" (your song died in battle). One woman "lulu"s in the middle of the performance of the second song.

⁵⁶ In this program, the participants include the Kiowa War Mothers chapter and twenty-two singers: James Anquoe, Annie Anquoe, David Apekaum, Steve Bohay, Mae Bohay, Harry Ahhaitty, Lizzie Ahhaitty, Mark Keahbone, Eva Keahbone, Quay Tonemah, Effie Tonemah, James Haumpy, Honiho Haumpy, Mary Haumpy, Ed Autibo, Minnie Autibo, Sally Kaulaity, Cary Kaulaity, Ruby Mae Ahhaitty, Barbara Ahhaitty, Walter Kokum, and Adam Kaulaity (Indians for Indians).

Veterans through song—especially given that there were other Indian War Mother chapters amongst other tribes such as Pawnee, Ponca, and Otoe peoples.

Intertribalism was not a new concept amongst American Indian tribes, as demonstrated with the War dances found amongst different tribal groups (e.g., Ponca *Hethushka*, Pawnee *Iruska*, Osage *In-lon-schka*). Paul McKenzie-Jones elaborates, “one of the foremost acts of intertribal respect among Plains nations was the process of gifting songs, dances, and society rights, and since arrival in Indian Territory, Ponca leaders had passed the right to the *Hethuska* ceremonial to several other tribes, including the Osage, Kansa, Sac and Fox, and Comanche people” (McKenzie-Jones 2015:10). Dances such as the War, along with Scalp and Victory dances, were commonly practiced amongst Plains tribes (Browner 2002:20-4; Ellis 2003; Meadows 2010). As one Kiowa elder mentioned to me in the summer of 2017, “we (Kiwos) hardly own anything besides the Gourd Dance. We got dances like that Scalp dance long ago up north.”⁵⁷ It should be no surprise that intertribal exchange continued during the reservation era and well into the twentieth century. The sharing of songs and dances is major impetus that led to the creation of the modern-day powwow (Ellis, Lassiter, and Dunham 2005). While War Mother songs were not officially gifted to another tribe, they were performed in intertribal contexts, such as powwows, for a wide variety of Native listeners. One of the biggest powwows in Oklahoma is the American Indian Exposition that started in the early 1930s. War Mother organizations had a presence at this powwow and Kiowa War Mother songs were performed in the 1950’s.

⁵⁷ This elder refers to the “north” as the time when Kiowa people were up in the northern plains in areas such as Montana and South Dakota.

American Indian Exposition

Jimmy A was requested to sing a memorial song at the American Indian Exposition in Anadarko, Oklahoma, sometime during the Korean War.⁵⁸ The American Indian Exposition is a cultural event that showcases tribal-specific dances, powwow, and pageantry. Participants in the exposition typically are members from tribes within the state of Oklahoma. Starting in the mid-1930's, the American Indian Exposition became a central point for tribes to meet and showcase their songs and dances (Hedglen 2009). During his performance, Jimmy A sang a War Mother memorial song in memory of all the fallen Kiowa warriors and their families. Ducky, who was present at this event, explained that when his father sang this song, a horse with an empty saddle was brought to the center of the dance circle. Ducky mentioned that the song his father sang was previously composed for the Taimpe family who lost their son in Korea. He changed the words of the song's lyrics to address all Kiowa young men who gave the "supreme sacrifice."

Daddy made a song for Lucy Jackson and Guy Taimpe during Korea...well Lucy Jackson and Guy Taimpe, their son, Luke, got killed in Korea. And when they started to ship his body home, they came to the house and they called daddy to make a song for their son. Well two of them came, I remember them singing those for Lucy and they brought the body home and they buried it there. They put it at the Indian Fair, Susie Peters asked daddy to sing a song. They told daddy that they're gonna lead a horse across the grand stand in honor of our fallen soldiers. So daddy, he went to Aunt Lucy Jackson in Vernon, Oklahoma. He told her I'd like to use Luke's song, the one I made for Luke... *Tóntsà àu bé*, Many Crosses, that's Luke's Indian name, take Luke's Indian name out and put [*Gáui[dògùl* (Kiowa young men). And then I can sing it so I can sing it for all veterans. And Aunt Lucy said, 'ah yeah I guess that's okay.' So daddy sung it. And he had a hand drum with the microphone, on top of that runway or whatever you call it. They led that horse and then he sung Luke's song. People were just really touched by it and they really appreciated it. Then the next year, they asked Susie to do it again. So after that, they used it now what they call, 'Empty Saddle' songs (Ducky Anquoe, Interview, August 8, 2017).

⁵⁸ Ducky Anquoe could not recall the exact date when his father performed this "empty saddle" song, but he remembers that it was sometime during the Korean War in the early 1950's.

As Ducky recalls, the horse with an empty saddle was led by two men with a pair of black boots in the stirrups. The horse was brought to the speaker stand when Jimmy A performed this song. This performance, according to Ducky, is how War Mother memorial songs were attributed with the name “Empty Saddle” songs. He further explained that he thinks that this is not a Kiowa practice, but rather a “*t’áu káui*” (White people) concept that was integrated into Kiowa ceremony. E. R. Gaede Jr. mentions that this practice of “Empty Saddle” started in the 1946 American Indian Exposition, but Ducky remembers this particular moment to be during the early years of the Korean War (Gaede 2009:168). In regard to the name of the songs, other elders have expressed their distaste for the term “Empty Saddle” to me, explaining that the sole purpose of these memorial songs is to remember the fallen Kiowa soldiers and that it has nothing to do with empty saddles. However, in many of my conversations with younger Kiowa peoples, many have used the term “Empty Saddle” in referring to the War Mother songs to memorialize Kiowa veterans.

The performance of singing “Empty Saddle” songs and presenting a horse with an empty saddle song was even integrated into Kiowa performance. Joe Fish describes how this performance was practiced at *Tòñkóñgàut*:

Every time we sung that song up (“Empty Saddle”) there at Black Leggings, they always brought a horse in. A black horse. They brought a black horse in, of course they had a black saddle on it, black saddle blanket, black harness, and that was pretty much about it, but they let that horse in. Everybody was quiet, you’d hear the women crying and everything ‘cause they were thinking about their sons that didn’t make it back; their relatives. And then they would just lead it, and of course we would be hitting on the drum [Joe slowly taps, imitating the *[dó àt* drum beat] and then they’d lead it all around and lead it on out... that’s when everyone would ‘lulu’ and holler and everything (Joe Fish, Interview, June 21, 2017).

While this may be a “*t’áu káui*” concept,⁵⁹ the integration of this specific performance practice is noteworthy in that contexts in which War Mother songs are performed changed since the creation of the genre in World War II. Certain elements, such as women performing the “lulu,” are maintained in these settings.

Changing Contexts of War Mother Songs

Most tribal communities throughout Oklahoma, and the United States for that matter, share a commonality in that most, if not all, honor their warriors through performance. Many tribes even share similar dances, such as the Scalp dance amongst Plains tribes, but have distinct tribal variations. While most tribes are heterogeneous both in terms of cultural practice and identity, most shared the experience of adapting to twentieth-century warfare through enlistment in the United States military. With the growing emergence of intertribalism and intertribal spaces, specifically the increasing popularity of powwow, culture-sharing was even more prevalent. Through recording technology, War Mother songs were performed for and listened to by a broader Native American audience. In 1985, the Anquoe family⁶⁰ even recorded a two-volume set of War Mother songs. Ducky mentioned to me that his family did this for “preservation purposes” and that the cassette tapes circulated amongst the Kiowa community.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Further research needs to be done on the origins of the practice of “Empty Saddle.”

⁶⁰ Singers in the production include James “Jimmy A” Asau Anquoe, Anna Keahbone Anquoe, Kenneth Anquoe, Truman Anquoe, Jim Anquoe, Evans Anquoe, Marge Haynes, Anita George, Mary Ann Anquoe, Buntly Anquoe, Jack Anquoe, Gerald Anquoe, Leonard Anquoe, Jackie Anquoe.

⁶¹ Meadows mentions that the two-volume cassette tape of War Mother songs is one main reason why younger Kiowas often credit Jimmy A for all War Mother song instead of recognizing Lewis Toyebo’s compositions (Meadows 2010:344).

It is important to note that Jimmy A and others who knew War Mother songs, composed by both Lewis Toyebo and Jimmy A, performed in these different contexts.

Today, War Mother songs are still performed in various contexts, but more so within Kiowa tribal spaces.⁶² They are performed at [*Dáíñpègàu* after every evening procession of dancers to recognize the War Mothers in attendance,⁶³ at *Tòñkóñgàut* along with Scalp and Victory dances to honor male Veterans before those male society members perform their own dances, at War Mother events such as the Kiowa War Mother's Day powwow, and in individual honor dances held by families with the sponsorship of either Kiowa War Mothers or Victory Club. The functions of providing encouragement for women as well as honoring male veterans has and still is maintained in these performances. In my conversations with elders, I questioned about the decline of War Mother song performances in intertribal contexts since the 1970s. Ducky offered one explanation, in that the Kiowa words in War Mother songs are hard to pronounce and that non-Kiowa singers would have a difficult time singing War Mother songs and therefore would not be performed in intertribal spaces. Delores Harragarra was more adamant that Kiowa War Mother songs should only be performed in the Kiowa community which they came from. She also explained that War Mother songs served a very specific purpose in a specific time and place. Because of the decline of Kiowa language usage amongst younger Kiowa people, she feels that these songs will not be as meaningful to them as they once were to the founding members of the Kiowa War Mothers chapter.

⁶² Further investigation is needed in understanding the decline of War Mother song performances in intertribal contexts from the 1970s until today. War Mother songs today are seldom performed at powwows in Oklahoma.

⁶³ I also argue that [*Dáíñpègàu* today is a celebration of Kiowa identity. Along with recognizing the Kiowa War Mothers in attendance, the performance of Kiowa War Mother songs may also be in celebration of Kiowa identity.

Conclusion

Similar to Lewis Toyebo, Jimmy A composed War Mother songs for the mothers whose sons were fighting overseas. More specifically, Jimmy A primarily composed and performed songs for Goldstar families—those whose sons were killed in battle. While anyone has the ability to create a song in Kiowa way of thought, the importance of experience is crucial in Kiowa composition. Both Lewis Toyebo and Jimmy A share the experience of their own sons going off to war while witnessing firsthand the anxieties this caused for the mothers of Chapter 18. This experience, along with using “Old Kiowa” in their songs, indexing the functions of War Journey, Scalp, and Victory songs, gave their War Mother songs immense meaning to the Kiowa War Mothers.

My interviews with Ducky suggests that Jimmy A’s relationship with Ponca singers, along with his participation as a singer with Lewis Toyebo in World War II, played a role in his compositions of War Mother songs. After World War II, War Mother songs were again recontextualized and performed in various performance contexts, both within the Kiowa community and outside in intertribal contexts, all of which served to honor veterans and acknowledge their families.

Final Thoughts

The creation of War Mother songs demonstrates the resiliency of the Kiowa people. Kiowa songs, dances, and traditions persisted despite forced assimilation policies and genocide committed against American Indians. During World War I, songs, dances, and meanings began to change. Older dances associated with warfare returned, despite being outlawed and close surveillance by the United States government. During World War II, even more Kiowas enlisted in a military who fought them only seventy years prior. New organizations such as the Kiowa War Mothers, Victory Club, and Purple Hearts Club formed in response to warfare in the twentieth century. This along with changes in lifestyle in the twentieth century is reflected in their music. War Mother songs in many ways are both intertexts of pre-reservation warfare songs and chronotopic to their functions and values of warriorship. In other ways, they *adapt* to the changes of warfare and lifestyle experienced by Kiowa people in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, they continue the longstanding tradition of honoring warriors that spans thousands of generations.

This thesis relies on oral history as told by the Harragarra, Anquoe, and other Kiowa families and elders. Historical memory of War Mother songs and their performances demonstrates the value and longevity of warriorship amongst Kiowa people. I would like to remind the reader that although I try to insert the voices of these elders as much as possible in this thesis, this project does not seek to speak *for* those elders, but rather presents an analysis and interpretation of the creation and performance War Mother songs from an ethnomusicological perspective. The elders whom I worked with are the true authority figures on this topic of War Mother songs.

Lastly, the National Native American Veterans' memorial, titled "Warriors' Circle of Honor" by Harvey Pratt (Cheyenne, Arapaho), will be constructed on the grounds of the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C. in 2020. This memorial is dedicated to all American Indian veterans for their service to the United States. While there is still much to be done in fighting the "Manifest Destiny Paradigm" (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014) and the continued erasure from the public mind of American Indians and the traumatic history which they endured, it is my hope that more visibility and dialogue will foster recognition of not only American Indians who served in the United States military, but their families who were affected by the "supreme sacrifice"—especially Goldstar families.

Appendix: War Mother Songs composed by Lewis Toyebo

Song 1

K'yàm [dèl è tô:yà: àmpédò (repeated 3 times)

What they went through was arduous for your sake

K'yàm [dèl è tô:yà: nàupédò

What they went through was arduous for my sake

Gàu èt àñ hèl

They were victorious

K'yàm [dèl, they were tired. Even though they were tired, they were victorious. They won the fight for your sake and for mine. But he says àmpédò (your sake), àmpédò (your sake), the last time he says nàupédò (my sake) è tô:yà: (they went off on a war journey). Gàu èt àñ hèl, and they won... (Delores Harragarra, Personal Interview, July 26, 2018).

Song 2

Bót àuñ gàu [dái dàu m dò (repeated 4 times)

Because they were brave

Gàu èt àñ hèl

They were victorious

Ok, that one is also very, very difficult because I do not know and I doubt if anyone knows what [dái dàu m means. Now I heard my uncle use it when he was talking about hymns... Bót is kinda like an exclamation. Just like I heard people say, like they say so and so is a good ball player or a good singer, you say bót áui... Bót àuñ gàu dái dàu m dò, because, it isn't just because. I guess it would be because of their [dái dàu m, whatever [dái dàu m is. And that is why they were victorious or they won... Bót àuñ gàu, because they themselves is àuñ gàu, because they were blessed or endowed (ibid).

Song 3

[Gáui[dògùl dàu sàu:mì [dè hàuñ:dè: èt dàu m hèl, èt dèp bà tái gàu m (repeated 3 times)

The Kiowa young men did amazing feats, they (Kiowa people) are talking about them (Kiowa young men)

[Gáui[dògùl dàu bèt [dò:hìñ dòt [gyái

It is grand and it befits them

[Gáui[dògùl dàu sàu:mì [dè, the Kiowa young men did amazing fetes. And they are talking about them. Èt dèp bà tái gàu, it means they're praising them, they're talking about them. Dèp bà tái means you're describing about them. [Gáui[dògùl dàu bèt [dò:hìñ dòt gyá how befitting it is, it befits them; it means it's something grand. It just befits them (ibid).

Song 4

Tàuñ gàu dà dàu m yái (repeated 3 times)

He (individual Kiowa soldier) went far off on a War Journey

[Dògùl dàu dé [gyái [dò tó:yà:

(This) young man went to war

È àuibòn

We were able to see him again

Tàuñ gàu dàu dàu m yái, he went off, far off on a war journey and we were able to see him again. He's speaking of an individual, that's why he's not saying è dàu m yái and dà dàu m yái, an individual went off and we were able to see him again, è àuibòn (Delores Harragarra, Personal Interview, July 27, 2018).

Song 5

Tàu gàu à dàu m bán mà (repeated 2 times)

I'm going far off to battle

P'àu táup à dàu m bán mà

I'm going far overseas

Dèp gòt dé áu: tò: dòp

I am leaving my relatives for a while

Dáu:[dè à tòyí t'àu (repeated 2 times)

I will be gone for a long time

I'm going off to war, Tàu gàu à dàum bán mà, I'm going far off to war, to battle. Dáu[dè à tòyí t'àu, I'll be gone a long time. P'àu táup à dàum bán mà, I'm going far overseas or across the waters, p'àu táup is across a body of water (ibid).

Song 6

Tõn [gáu gàu hái yái yái (repeated 3 times)

He went a long time ago

[Dògùl dàu

Kiowa young man

Tõn [gáu gàu hái yái yái... He went a long time ago... The young men went away (ibid).

Song 7

Ì è dàum tó:yà (repeated 3 times)

My child (son), he is on the War Journey

It doesn't say my son, it says my child. È dàum tó:yà, he's on a war journey (ibid).

Song 8

[Gáui[dògùl dàu è [dái dàum è k'yá [dái dàum (repeated 2 times)

The Kiowa young men are elite/high ranking

Tàu gàu è dàum tó:yà: dò

They went on a far War Journey

There we go again with that word, [Gáui[dògùl dàu, Kiowa young men. È [dái dàum, whatever that is. È k'yá [dái dàum, now that is gonna be hard to translate. This is one of the few songs that they will sing nowadays... It would be è k'yá is the chief, like if you said k'yà dái k'í, he's the chief. So it's someone that has high rank... They went on a far, Tàu gàu è dàum tó:yà: dò, because they're brave, [dái dàum, because they went on a war journey far away (ibid).

Song 9

Àu gàu tén dò èm [gyái dàu àuñ zòñ gàu bè dòn dàu, zèl bé

With his own heart he volunteered to go to war, he is brave/fierce

Bè dàuñ: dàu

And he was wounded

K'yá [dài dàu

They were the finest

Àu gàu tén dò èm [gyái dàu àuñ zòñ nàu bè dòn dàu, it means he volunteered to go to war and he was wounded... Àu gàu tén dò èm [gyái dàu àuñ zòñ, he volunteered with his own, àu gàu tén, his own heart... Bè dàuñ: dàu, and he was wounded... Zèl bé is a difficult word. Like gya Zèl bé, it's really dangerous or fearful, or you could apply it to someone who is skilled at something. You could say Zèl bé if they are a good horseman or a good, good at something. But it depends on what you are talking about (Delores Harragarrá, Personal Interview, July 28, 2018).

Song 10

Àu gàu táup è mào:gàu: [gyài [tàu yí (repeats 2 times)

It is all over, they are skilled at fighting

[Gáuitàláyóp èt mào:gàu: [gyài [tàu yí

The Kiowa boys are skilled at fighting

Kòbèâui:[dè

Enemy

Àu gàu táup, it's all over, [gáui[dògùl, [gáuitàláyóp, Kiowa boys I think he says. Èt mào:gàu: [gyài [tàu yí, mào:gàu: means they're skilled, they're doing a good job or they're doing their best. [Gyài means war. [Gyài [tàu yí they're fighting. Kòbèâui[:dè, enemy. It's not said commonly, only in these songs...Kòbè is something I guess kinda like annoying. Like if you were asking something for somebody and they said they'll get it later, they ask you again and you'll say, háuñdé kòbèl ét [dàu, he's annoying, bothering me. That's in a sense an enemy (ibid).

Song 11

Hàuñ hàuñdè è gí tãñ: mào: (repeats 2 times)

They were not afraid of anything

[Bèp p'àu [gàu gyà tèm âum dèm hèl

They decided to cross the river

Hàuñ hàuñdè è jí tãñ: mào:

They were not afraid of anything

Nàu gyà sàu:mì

And it was amazing/awesome/unbelievable

[Dògùdàu èt [dái dàum hèl (second half of the start)

The Kiowa young men are brave

[Bèp p'àu [gàu gyà tèm âum dèm hèl

They decided to cross the river

Hàuñ hàuñdè è jí tãñ: mào:

They were not afraid of anything

Nàu gyà sàu:mì

And it was amazing/awesome/unbelievable

Hàuñ hàuñdè è jí tãñ: mào:, they weren't afraid of anything. [Bèp p'àu [gàu gyà tèm âum dèm hèl, they decided to cross the p'àu is river, literally... My brother crossed the Rhein (Delores Harragarra, Personal Interview, July 18, 2018).

Song 12

[Byáui dàu jí gòt hèl dàu, è p'àu gàu hèl dàu (repeated 2 times)

Our sons were brave, they crossed the river/ocean

[Byáui dàu jí gòt hèl dàu, è há: bè hèl dàu

Our sons are brave, they were on a roll

Háuñdé sàu:mì [dè, èt dàum hèl

How amazing/awesome/unbelievable it was, they did amazing feats

Byáui dàu í gàu hèl, our sons were brave... È há: bè hèl. I have to think in Kiowa to know.. it's something that you don't hear today. All of these are. So è há: bè hèl, they.. it sounds so slangish. Its hard to do it in English, that's what's so stressful for me. Like è há: bè hèl, the way I'm gonna say it in English is very disrespectful and slangish because at the moment can't think of the proper English translation... So it's not really brought up that they were in the war, it's just assumed that they are fighting. So byáui dàu í gàu, our sons were brave. Yeah brave. Another word might be fearless. è há: bè hèl meaning our sons are fearless... it's kinda like they decided to step up, ugh, pace of the conflict. And I can't think of the English way to say it. Like what comes to mind is that they are on a roll and I don't like that. For someone that has better English than I do they can think of that. And they crossed the river or ocean. Nàu gyà sàu:mì, it was amazing (ibid).

Song 13

[Gáui[dògùl dàu sàu:mì hí è tsál hèl (repeated 2 times)

The Kiowa young men, they did amazing things

Háũndé sàu:mì hí è tsál hèl

They did amazing things

Àu gàu tàup dé: dàu táí

All over the world

Táĩnkàuhôl tàugàu è dàu gyà má: gòt

They raised the American flag, although though it was difficult

[Gáui[dògùl dàu, the young kiowa men. Sàu mì hí [dè, they did amazing things. Then he says it again, then all over the world they raised the flag. Àu gàu tòp dé: dàu táí, I thought we did that before. We did one similar. It's a difficult thing but they did it. That's the jist of it. They did wonderful amazing, wonderful things. They raised the flag, gyà má: gòt, it means it's difficult (ibid).

Interviews Conducted

Anquoe, James “Ducky.” 2017. Interview by author. El Reno, OK. August 8.

Anquoe, James “Ducky.” 2017. Interview by author. El Reno, OK. August 9.

Capes, Laverna. 2017. Interview by author. Anadarko, OK. June 28.

Clark, Millard. 2017. Interview by author. Lawton, OK. March 30.

Clark, Millard. 2017. Interview by author. Lawton, OK. March 31.

DuPoint, Phil “Joe Fish.” 2017. Interview by author. Carnegie, OK. June 2.

DuPoint, Phil “Joe Fish.” 2017. Interview by author. Carnegie, OK. June 9.

DuPoint, Phil “Joe Fish.” 2017. Interview by author. Carnegie, OK. June 21.

Harragarra, Delores. 2017. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. June 8.

Harragarra, Delores. 2017. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. June 14.

Harragarra, Delores. 2018. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. July 18.

Harragarra, Delores. 2018. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. July 20.

Harragarra, Delores. 2018. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. July 23.

Harragarra, Delores. 2018. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. July 26.

Harragarra, Delores. 2018. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. July 27.

Toppah, Ernest “Iron.” 2018. Interview by author. Carnegie, OK. June 18

Annotated Discography

This annotated discography lists the commercial and private recordings of Kiowa music (War Mother songs, Scalp dance, Victory dance) and Ponca music (Scalp and Soldier dance) discussed in this thesis. Only commercial recordings are accessible to the reader. I would also like to remind the reader that these songs should not be performed without the proper consent of the tribal nations or societies in which they come from.

Billy Evans Horse Singing War Journey Songs, private recording, Harragarra collection. n.d.

This compact disc includes Kiowa War Journey songs sung by Billy Evans Horse. One song that he sings is a War Mother song composed by Lewis Toyebo.

Heartbeat: Voices of First Nations Women, Smithsonian Folkways (SFW40415). 1995. Song 10 in this album includes a recording of Anita George singing a War Mother song.

Kiowa: Black Leggings Society Songs, War Mothers' Songs, Flag Song, Canyon Records (C-6167). 1977 [1975]. The notes in this album are from an interview with Bill Kaulaity, a Kiowa singer from Carnegie, OK. This 33 1/3 RPM LP includes the Kiowa flag song, eight War Mothers' songs (Side 1), and ten Black Leggings Society (*Tòñkóñgàut*) songs (Side 2). This album was recorded by Raymond Boley in Carnegie, OK in June 1975.

Kiowa Scalp and Victory Dance Songs, Canyon Records (C-6166). 1977 [1975]. The notes in this album are by Glenn A. White, but include quotes from an interview with Bill Koomsa Sr. This 33 1/3 RPM LP includes nine Scalp dance songs (Side 1) and seven Victory dance songs (Side 2). Singers in this album include Bill Koomsa Sr, Billy

Hunting Horse, Wilbur Kodaseet, Bill Koomsa Jr, Lonnie Tsoataddle, Georgia Dupoint, Ann Koomsa, Martha Koomsa Perez, and Pearl Woodard.

Kiowa War Mother Songs Vol. I and Vol. II, Two Feathers Inc. 1985. This two volume cassette recording contains War Mother songs and their translations into English. These recordings include songs composed by Lewis Toyebo, Jimmy A, and others.

Lewis and Richenda Toyebo: Kiowa War Mother Songs, War Expedition Songs, Wind Songs, Round dance, Scalp Dance, private recording, Harragarra collection, recorded by Tony Isaacs. 1964. This recording includes Kiowa War Mother songs composed by Lewis Toyebo along with Kiowa War Expedition, Wind, Round Dance, and Scalp songs.

Ponca Scalp Dance Songs, Indian House Records (IH2008), notes by Tony Isaacs. 2015 [1971].

This compact disc recording includes Ponca Scalp dance songs performed by Lamont Brown, Harry Buffalohead, Joe H. Rush, Russell Rush, Sylvester Warrior, Albert Waters, Lenora S. Buffalohead, Metha Collins, Alice L. Cook, and Lucy Cries for Ribs.

Information in the notes include interviews with Lamont Brown and Harry Buffalohead.

This album was previously recorded at White Eagle, Oklahoma, on April 7, 1971.

Ponca Soldier Dance Songs, Indian House Records (IH2009), notes by Tony Isaacs. 2015

[1971]. This compact disc recording includes the Solder Dance Starting Song and Soldier

Dance songs performed by Lamont Brown, Harry Buffalohead, Joe H. Rush, Russell Rush, Sylvester Warrior, Albert Waters, Lenora S. Buffalohead, Metha Collins, Alice L.

Cook, and Lucy Cries for Ribs. Information in the notes include interviews with Lamont

Brown and Harry Buffalohead. This album was recorded at White Eagle, Oklahoma on

April 7, 1971.

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Jordan, Julia. Transcription of Hub City Inter-Tribal Pow-Wow in Clinton, Oklahoma. T-521.

Doris Duke Collection. Western History Collections, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Photograph of Kiowa War Mothers. May 1946. 20912.14.65 Box 1. Tartoue Negative Collection. Western History Collections, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Photograph of Kiowa War Mother's Powwow in Carnegie, Oklahoma. May 1946. 20912.14.190 Box 1. Tartoue Negative Collection. Western History Collections, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Photograph of Singers. N/A. 20912.14.230 Box 1. Tartoue Negative Collection. Western History Collections, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Queotone, Guy. Interview with Julia A. Jordan and Guy Queotone. October 19, 1967. Doris Duke Collection. Western History Collections, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Transcript of Father's Day Dance for Leonard Cozad. June 19, 1971. T-651. Doris Duke Collection. Western History Collections, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Transcript of Kiowa Veterans Day Celebration. November 8, 1970. T-641. Doris Duke Collection. Western History Collections, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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