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The Daughter of Dawn and the Promotion of American Indian Culture

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The Daughter of Dawn and the Promotion of American Indian Culture



By Wendi M. Bevitt*

The Wichita Mountains sit in southwestern Oklahoma as a monument to preservation. This historic and cultural landmark was set aside for a forest and nature preserve by the federal government in 1901, not only preserving this unique range for the animals that would inhabit it, but also inadvertently preserving a land that was of traditional and cultural significance to several American Indian tribes. The Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge also became the scenic backdrop for *The Daughter of Dawn* (1920), a motion picture with a cast comprised of members of the Comanche Nation and the Kiowa Tribe. The film aimed to capture the cast in traditional dress and living in traditional ways among the mountains, which they held in high regard. *The Daughter of Dawn* preserves an essence of their history and was used to promote American Indian culture to the masses.

The Daughter of Dawn was birthed out of two movements during the early 1910s. One sprouted within the motion picture industry and

sought to not only produce spectacular and factual motion pictures, but also wanted to document and preserve "the habits and legends of the American Indian" before those traditions were lost to history.¹ The other was contributed to in majority by the Society of American Indians and other similar groups that sought to use various outlets to promote a knowledge of American Indian culture as well as unity among Native peoples regardless of tribal affiliation. For years, the US government had been attempting to assimilate Native populations into Euro-American culture, starting with the Dawes Act of 1887 that allotted communally-held tribal land to individual tribal members as a way to suppress the traditions and culture of the American Indian and transform them into farmers in the model of white landholders.² Early outside attempts to counteract this loss of culture included shows like Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show (albeit in a glorified and stereotypical form), Edward Curtis's series *The North American Indian* published in 1907, and the controversial study and promotion surrounding the emergence of Ishi, the last of the Yahi tribe in California, in 1911.

Edward McManus, the one-time general manager of William Randolph Hearst's International Film Service, Inc., who was also the producer of the *Pathé Weekly* news serials, sought to shift Hollywood motion pictures toward realism while promoting the spectacular.³ In 1919 McManus stated, "Drama is a product of much more than pantomime, it is a product of character displayed by the speech as well as action, and to be completely realized from the motion picture it has to be original, otherwise the realism aimed for is incomplete."⁴ McManus himself had produced a film entitled *The Lost Battalion* (1919) starring survivors of the 77th Infantry Division reenacting the struggles they had faced in the Argonne Forest during the Great War, and he was among those who would assist in bringing *The Daughter of Dawn* to the big screen.⁵

The push for realism differed from anything else that Hollywood had created, and these new films sought to "distinguish [themselves] from the 'wild and wooly' thrillers that [had] thrown a silver sheet on the past."⁶ The trend featuring the American Indian began with Edward Curtis's *In the Land of the Headhunters*, a 1914 film starring the Kwakwaka'wakw tribe of the Pacific Northwest. American Indians continued to be used as minor cast members, such as the Hopis who performed traditional dances in Douglas Fairbanks's *The Mollycoddle* (1920).⁷ Two film companies in particular, the American Indian Film Company and the Texas Film Company, were created for the sole purpose of having American Indians as the stars of their productions



Edward McManus, pictured in *The Moving Picture World* magazine, December 27, 1919 (image courtesy of the author).

and depicting their "life, habits and tribal customs" in the territory set aside for a majority of the displaced tribes of the country—Oklahoma.⁸

The American Indian Film Company acted under the guidance of Sherman Coolidge, who was founder of the Society of American Indians (SAI). This company was formed as early as 1914 in Denver, Colorado, by Florence Tsiarina "Princess Tsiarina" Evans. Princess Tsiarina was of Cherokee and Muscogee (Creek) ancestry, schooled first at a boarding school in Eufaula, Oklahoma, and later prepared for a professional singing career at a school in Denver, Colorado. She became a widely known opera singer and toured Europe entertaining the Allied troops during World War I. This experience reinforced her knowledge that the majority of Europeans and Euro-Americans believed that American Indians lived lives of "massacres or wild west show absurdities."⁹ Upon her return to the United States, she sought to educate not only the American public about the true ways of the American Indian through her films but also the American Indians themselves, who were quickly losing their identity to enculturation with white society. Her film company was solely backed by the SAI and bore the slogan "of the Indian, by the Indian and for the Indian." It was meant to be a form of "educational propaganda," utilizing actors



Princess Tsiarina, pictured in *Amateur Movie Makers* magazine, April 1928 (image courtesy of the author).

from her native Oklahoma.¹⁰ While it had plans for more, the American Indian Film Company is known to have produced just one film, *From the Land of the Blue Sky Water* (1920), featuring Tsiarina in the lead and directed by Louis William Chaudet.¹¹

One production company that did succeed in gaining national attention with the showing of its film was the Texas Film Company. The company was organized under the financial umbrella of a family of businessmen from Denton, Texas, in 1920, with the intent of creating a film utilizing an all-Indian cast.¹² The film *The Daughter of Dawn* was a concept spurred on by the interest of Richard E. "Dick" Banks, who served as the Texas Film Company's secretary and treasurer.¹³ Banks's "knowledge of the Indian and of his traditions . . . gained during the twenty-five years that he lived with them" served as his motivation in pursuing *The Daughter of Dawn*.¹⁴

Dick Banks was born in 1876 in Ellis County, Texas.¹⁵ His family was involved in ranching and eventually moved to Vernon, Texas, where he worked as a cowhand at the H Bar S Ranch. It was here that Banks first made the acquaintance of Comanche Chief Quanah Parker when he visited the ranch.¹⁶ At this time, Parker was involved in negotiating grazing rights on Comanche lands with area ranchers.

The introduction to the commanding Comanche chief made such an impression on Banks that in 1897, at the age of seventeen, he stated that "my ambition and boyish desires were to know the Indian as he really was," and he set out for Oklahoma Territory.¹⁷ Banks headed straight to the house of the chief who had made such an impression on him years before and asked Quannah Parker if he could stay. The chief, being a gracious host, gladly welcomed him and provided lodging to Banks for more than a year.¹⁸ During that time Banks was immersed in Comanche and Kiowa culture.¹⁹ He was given a room upstairs, which was reserved for Parker's lesser wives and children, and a "certain chair to his left" at the dining table.²⁰ While at Parker's house, Banks became acquainted with not only Parker's family, but also others who would become stars in his future film *The Daughter of Dawn*.²¹ Banks was employed with the West Cache Trading Company, specializing in trade with the local tribes, which offered an additional chance to interact with other tribal members of the area.²²

The Texas Film Company chose Norbert Myles to write and direct *The Daughter of Dawn*. Myles began his career on the vaudeville stage and turned to film in 1910, eventually branching out into writing screenplays and even directing a few productions prior to *The Daughter of Dawn*.²³ Myles's reputation had recently become tainted by charges brought against him for conspiring to violate neutrality statutes by smuggling weapons and ammunition to Mexico during the Mexican Revolution.²⁴ It has been claimed that Norbert Myles and Dick Banks became acquainted prior to the writing of *The Daughter of Dawn*, but that information has yet to be verified.²⁵

The goal of the Texas Film Company was to film four six-reel feature films per year, utilizing a proposed Native cast of two thousand Indians with eight hundred horses.²⁶ Ultimately the cast of *The Daughter of Dawn* was comprised of only about three hundred local individuals of Comanche and Kiowa descent, primarily from the Cache area. Many of the cast members were touted to have been Carlisle Indian Industrial School graduates, including Wanada Parker, a daughter of Quannah. Carlisle was a boarding school founded in 1879 in Pennsylvania that sought to isolate young Native men and women from their families in order to more easily assimilate them into Euro-American culture and strip them of their association with American Indian culture. This premise was not limited to Carlisle, and was shared by most of the government schools for American Indians. At the time most of the cast members were attending the school, it was administered by Captain Richard H. Pratt. Captain Pratt was especially interested in bringing in students from the families of notable Indian leaders. He



Dick Banks (in front of center tipi), Norbert Myles (in front of right tipi), and Ray Reis (with camera) with a group of American Indian actors while filming *The Daughter of Dawn* (photograph courtesy of Jana Freeman).

took a particular interest in Quannah Parker and insisted that he send his children to Carlisle for a full five-year term.²⁷ Part of Pratt's process of encouraging the chief's interest included bringing him to Pennsylvania for commencement ceremonies and appointing him to the board of visitors, which required him to become an active recruiter for the school.²⁸ While Carlisle sought to assimilate American Indians into Euro-American culture, it also allowed the opportunity for individuals of all tribal backgrounds to come together and learn about each other's cultures, contributing to the Pan-Indian movement and the promotion of a general Indian culture.

The Daughter of Dawn cast members were all connected in some way to both Dick Banks and Quannah Parker. The female leading role in *The Daughter of Dawn* was portrayed by Esther LeBarre. LeBarre's mother, a Comanche by birth, had been separated from her parents due to smallpox and then raised by a Mexican family.²⁹ LeBarre's father was a lieutenant of French descent serving at Fort Sill.³⁰ LeBarre's mother had just recently rediscovered her roots with the aid of Quannah Parker.³¹



Ray Reis (far left), Norbert Myles (standing second from left), and Dick Banks (far right) with other members of the film crew for *The Daughter of Dawn* (photograph courtesy of Jana Freeman).

Kiowa tribesmen Sankadotie and his son Jack almost refused to be part of the production because Jack had been chosen for the role of the film's antagonist, Black Wolf. The elder Sankadotie was a Christian minister who had been converted by area Methodist missionaries. In 1905 the elder Sankadotie, Quannah Parker, and Geronimo of the Apache tribe held Christian revival camp meetings throughout southwest Oklahoma during which they all preached.³²

The role of Kiowa chief and father of the *Daughter of Dawn* was played by Hunting Horse. Hunting Horse was of the Kiowa Tribe and had been a scout in General George Custer's 7th Cavalry Regiment. He had been converted to Christianity by Baptist missionary Isabel Crawford, who ran the Saddleback Baptist Mission in southwestern Oklahoma. Mabel Aitsan, sister of Hunting Horse, assisted her husband, Lucius, at the Saddleback Mission, interpreting for Crawford. Crawford was effective in her missionary efforts because of her immersion in Kiowa culture and her proficiency in Indian Sign Language, which served her well when an interpreter was not available. It is this

form of sign language that was widely used throughout *The Daughter of Dawn*. Multiple stories from Hunting Horse's family state that Hunting Horse's reminiscences relayed to Dick Banks reveal that he was previously featured in Charles Goodnight's *Old Texas* (1916).³³

Charles Goodnight's *Old Texas* captured Hunting Horse and other Kiowa hunting a bison in the traditional way with a bow and arrow. Goodnight, who had once encouraged the mass killing of bison, now acted as a guardian for the species and raised a herd on his ranch in the Panhandle of Texas. Goodnight had an open invitation for his American Indian friends, Quannah Parker and Hunting Horse, to join him in hunts on his property.³⁴ On this particular occasion, the Kiowa hunting party was watched by eleven thousand spectators and filmed by the Wiswall brothers of Colorado.³⁵ Filming also included preparations for, and the performance of, a traditional Sun Dance. Events like this filmed hunt allowed for special performances of these cultural traditions. Sensational newspaper articles had long fed the public fears of Indian tribal dances, ignoring the true meaning of the ceremonies and creating images of rebellious Native people driven mad by a savage dance, putting these traditions under scrutiny.³⁶

At the time that the filming of *The Daughter of Dawn* began in the summer of 1920, the position of business manager for the Texas Film Company had become the responsibility of John T. Powers. Powers had served as manager for actor Francis X. Bushman and manager of Capital Studios in Los Angeles.³⁷ Powers headed the business portion of the organization out of Los Angeles and was charged with locating studios to film portions of the proposed films, although most would be done outdoors.³⁸ The Texas Film Company, like the American Indian Film Company, had its own research department to ensure the accuracy of the history and traditions depicted in the feature films.³⁹ This was accomplished in part by time spent in Washington, DC, researching in the Library of Congress as well as other sources.⁴⁰

The film crew for *The Daughter of Dawn* began to assemble in southwest Oklahoma in late July 1920. The feature was to be filmed on the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache reservation lands that had recently become part of the Wichita Mountains National Forest and Game Preserve (now the Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge). The assistant director, Roy Coulson, and cameraman, Ray Reis, arrived first, followed by Norbert Myles.⁴¹ The Indian cast members had been on-site in the Wichita Mountains for two weeks before the film crew. The filming would last approximately three months in the Panther Creek vicinity of the preserve, adding to the authenticity of the project with its pristine natural setting and traditional sacred landscape.⁴²

At this time oversight of the Wichita Mountains National Forest and Game Preserve was the job of Superintendent Frank Rush. Superintendent Rush was hired at the preserve in 1907, shortly before fifteen bison were donated by the American Bison Society to reestablish a herd within the preserve's native habitat. Rush had gained the nickname "the Indian's Best Friend" as well as "Oklahoma's cowboy naturalist." He had succeeded in making sure not only the bison thrived in their new range, but also elk and other species that had been native to the area and reintroduced as part of conservation efforts at the preserve.⁴³ *The Daughter of Dawn* was not the first film to be shot on the preserve. *The Bank Robbery* (1908), the first two-reel Western motion picture ever filmed, also was filmed on the preserve and included a cameo by Quannah Parker.⁴⁴

Allowances contributing to the authenticity of *The Daughter of Dawn* were made during filming, closely repeating what had occurred in Goodnight's *Old Texas*. The scene of the bison hunt in the film captured the kill of one of the preserve's 144 bison, and was written off by Superintendent Rush as the sale of a bison.⁴⁵ Traditional dance was a regular occurrence both on and off camera, causing the local Bureau of Indian Affairs field matron to complain, but those complaints were unheeded.⁴⁶

Filming of *The Daughter of Dawn* wrapped in late September or early October and the cast broke camp and cleared the area sometime prior to October 8.⁴⁷ For their participation, the cast was paid \$5.75 per hour for the adults and \$.75 for the children as well as gifted numerous shawls, moccasins, and dresses for the women.⁴⁸ By mid-October, the film was previewed at the College Theatre in Los Angeles.⁴⁹ Even at this time, the plan remained to make more films, including one by a "widely known writer of Indian and early frontier tales of historical and educational type, as well as entertaining qualities," such as *Leatherstocking Tales* and well-known, Western-themed stories.⁵⁰

After the film was finalized, Dick Banks set off to New York and Washington, DC, to promote the film, along with Oklahoma US Representative James V. McClintic, the representative for the district that included the Wichita Mountains, and Edward McManus of Hearst-Vitagraph, who had taken an interest in this film as part of his push for realism in Hollywood. The picture was screened in the White House by President Woodrow Wilson as well as in the office of Cato Sells, commissioner of Indian Affairs.⁵¹ Wilson commented, "Mr. Banks, you have a wonderful picture, in that it is true of Indian life and customs. I enjoyed the picture very much and wish you success in your noble undertaking."⁵²

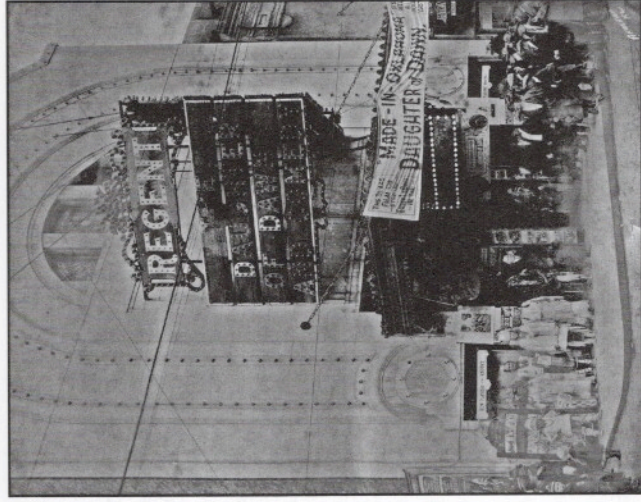


Dick Banks in Washington, DC
(photograph courtesy of Jana Freeman).

By March of 1921, the film started appearing across the United States. One of its first venues was in Edgefield, South Carolina, the hometown for *Dawn* promoter Victor Heath.⁵³ Heath had been involved in film promotions for the previous eleven years on the West Coast before joining with the Texas Film Company.⁵⁴ The film was shown in multiple venues in the Midwest and on the East Coast during that first year. Most times the showings were accompanied by the stars of the show giving talks or performing traditional dances as part of the promotion of the film.

While it is unknown if other members of the cast traveled to promote the show, Hunting Horse and other members of the Kiowa Tribe traveled in a well-documented tour in the summer of 1921. The Kiowas left Cache and made stops at both Chickasha and Tulsa in Oklahoma. They arrived in Tulsa the week of April 18, performing three different days before the theatrical showings of the film, along with a presentation by Hunting Horse to a local Baptist Sunday School class.⁵⁵ Hunting Horse used his ties to the Baptist faith to talk about his association

Kiowa cast members at the Regent Theatre in Kansas City, Missouri (photograph courtesy of Jana Freeman).



with missionary Isabel Crawford and to promote the film whenever the opportunity arose.

When the group reached Kansas City, Missouri, on May 9, their showing was at the Regent Theatre in the downtown district. This theater had been built in 1914 and purchased in 1920 by Maurice, Edward, and Barney Dubinsky, former vaudevillians who would initiate the theater chain that later became American Multi-Cinema (AMC).⁵⁶ The Regent Theatre boasted a seating capacity of 650, a pipe and echo organ, as well as a ten-piece orchestra.⁵⁷ Newspapers during this portion of the tour document Hunting Horse as Chief "Chain-To," a gross misinterpretation of his Kiowa name. At age sixty-nine, he was not the eldest in the group; "Skinny" and "Buffalo" were seventy-three and eighty-three, respectively.⁵⁸ Hunting Horse's grandson Little Pony, age eight, also accompanied his elders.⁵⁹

Prior to the next designated showing in Topeka, Kansas, the Kiowas visited the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation reservation near Mayetta.⁶⁰ Joining their group in Mayetta was a young Kickapoo man named George Masquat.⁶¹ Masquat was a veteran of the Great War, serving as chief of snipers in the 1st Battalion, 137th Infantry of the 35th Division. At the Battle of Argonne Forest, he lost part of his ear and had his arm severely wounded, leaving him with numerous scars from

Hunting Horse with Little Pony, his grandson (photograph courtesy of Jana Freeman).



shrapnel.⁶² Masquat would be an honored dancer with the group along with twenty-five Potawatomi Indians before the showing of the film.⁶³

From May 15 through 18, the Kiowas made multiple appearances in Topeka. Hunting Horse made a presentation to the First Baptist Church in Topeka, addressing the crowds only through an interpreter, which was undoubtedly more for showmanship than by necessity. They visited the state capitol, commenting on the art featuring bison within the capitol walls and regaling George Masquat, a "modern man" who had only seen those animals in captivity, with stories of the bison when they roamed free on the plains and no doubt of the bison's recent return to their homeland in Oklahoma.⁶⁴ Hunting Horse honored Kansas Governor Henry J. Allen by declaring him an honorary member of the Kiowa Tribe.⁶⁵ To mark the occasion, Hunting Horse placed his war bonnet on the governor's head and Governor Allen put his own black silk hat on Hunting Horse's head.⁶⁶

The Daughter of Dawn played at the Topeka American Legion headquarters located at the nearby Memorial Hall. Memorial Hall had been dedicated in 1914 as a tribute to Kansas's Civil War veterans. Capitol Post No. 1 of the American Legion had paid somewhere in the range of \$300-\$400 to show the film.⁶⁷ In preparation for action in World War I, the 35th Division, a National Guard Division from Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska, had trained at Camp Doniphan, Fort Sill, Oklahoma,

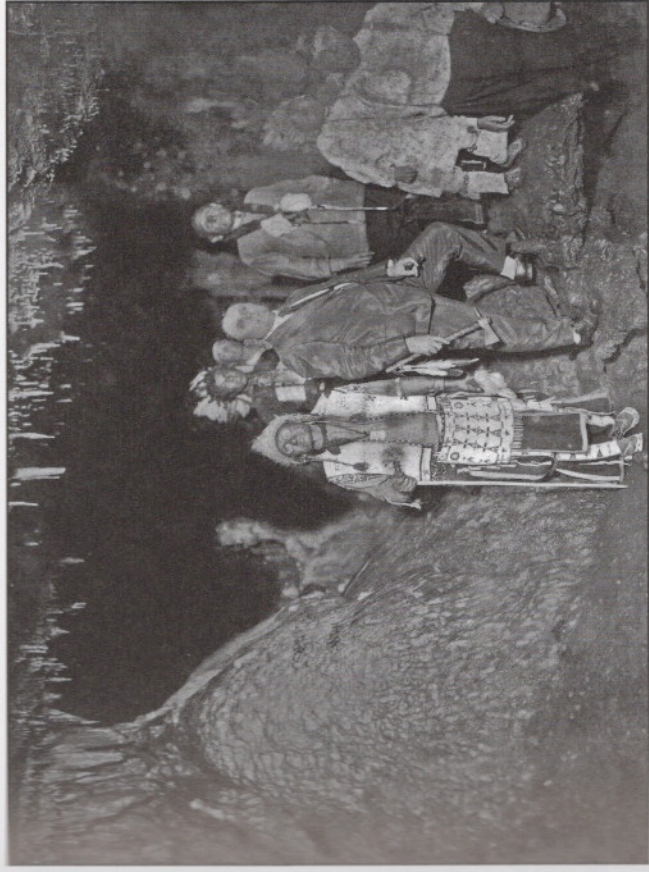


Left to right: Mrs. Pe-Et-Ma, Little Pony, Hunting Horse, Dick Banks, Governor Henry J. Allen, Buffalo, George Masquat, Mary Buffalo, V. I. Boone (interpreter), George Simpson, and Skinny (photograph courtesy of Jana Freeman, caption information from "Gov. Allen Made Member of Famous Indian Tribe," *Topeka State Journal*, May 17, 1921, 1).

near where *The Daughter of Dawn* had been filmed, and the veterans were interested to see a motion picture filmed near the training camp.⁶⁸

The next tour stop, the Electric Theatre in Joplin, Missouri, on May 19 was once again preceded by a lecture on the history of the movie and singing and dancing.⁶⁹ The following day included a treat for the youth of the city and their families with a Boy Scout field day playing host to the Kiowas. The Kiowas paraded with the Scouts, a bicycle corps, and a high school band down Main Street prior to the event at Schiffer-decker Park in the northwestern part of the city.⁷⁰ The cast treated the Scouts and several hundred of their family and friends to a "snake dance," stunts, Indian barbecue, and bow and arrow target practice.⁷¹ The honor of their attendance was reciprocated by the Joplin scout council members who made young Little Pony an honorary scout.⁷²

The tour for the Kiowas concluded in Springfield, Missouri, at the end of May with more of the same pageantry. The show played at the local Electric Theatre, which was under the same ownership as the one



Kiowa cast members at Percy Cave, Missouri (photograph courtesy of Jana Freeman).

in Joplin. The Springfield theater was a combination theater, showing both film and vaudeville acts to a crowd of up to 1,100 individuals.⁷³ There was no orchestra pit, so the eight-piece orchestra played on the auditorium floor in front of the stage.⁷⁴ After the theatrical showing, there was also a stop by Hunting Horse and Esther LeBarre at Percy Cave, now known as Fantastic Caverns.⁷⁵ At that time, the cave was owned by J. W. Crow and was used as a tourist spot, but because of its waning popularity Crow also used it as a speakeasy by night and sought alternative ways to promote its use. The fanfare brought by the Kiowas and their show was surely a welcome event.

By the end of summer 1921, the cast had stopped touring for openings of the feature at theaters. At this time American Indians required a pass from their local Indian agent to travel and were granted these for limited amounts of time. The film was shown before a committee of the US House of Representatives, sponsored by Oklahoma's US Representative Lorraine Gensman, who stated, "This is probably the last picture that will ever be taken of the real Indian in his native haunts and in action. It is fortunate indeed from an educational standpoint that it has been possible to obtain a picture of this kind."⁷⁶

Endnotes

- * Wendi M. Bevitt is owner and historian for Buried Past Consulting, LLC, which conducts cultural resource (archaeological and historical) investigations throughout the Great Plains region. She received her bachelor of arts in history from Washburn University in Topeka, Kansas. Current research pursuits include Tsianina and her American Indian Film Company. The photograph on page 132 shows Kiowa cast members at the Electric Theatre in Springfield, Missouri (photograph courtesy of Jana Freeman).
- ¹ Edward A. McManus, "Public Demands Realism in Pictures Instead of Overwrought Sentiment," *Moving Picture World* (New York, NY), December 27, 1919, 1121, archive.org/stream/movingpicturewor42dec#page/1120; "Texas Film Company Incorporates," *Camera!*, July 17, 1920, 6, archive.org/stream/camera03unse#page/n277.
- ² Dawes Severalty Act (General Allotment Act of 1887), Pub. L. No. 49-119, 24 Stat. 388 (1887).
- ³ Anthony Slide, *The New Historical Dictionary of the American Film Industry* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 102.
- ⁴ McManus, "Public Demands Realism in Pictures Instead of Overwrought Sentiment," 1121.
- ⁵ "Aids President's Feast," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), November 21, 1920, 19.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ "Hopi Indians 'Movie' Stars," *Snyder (TX) Signal*, July 9, 1920, 8.
- ⁸ A. H. Giebler, "New Company to Make Indian Dramas," *Moving Picture World*, August 7, 1920, 727, archive.org/stream/movingpicturewor45aug#page/n81.
- ⁹ "Indian Princess Visits Home of Childhood," *Wichita (KS) Daily Eagle*, July 11, 1920, 24.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ Bruno David Ussher, "Cadman Song Screen Premier," *Pacific Coast Musical Review*, November 13, 1920, 7, archive.org/details/pacificcoastmusi3921sanf/page/n163. The title of this film is listed with varying wording in newspaper and trade periodicals.
- ¹² "Legends by Indian Actors," *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN), July 25, 1920, 42; R. E. Banks, S. E. Fisher, A. K. Gillis, J. M. Williamson, W. F. Gillis, Texas Film Company Declaration of Trust, Comanche County, Oklahoma, August 28, 1920, Office of the Denton County Clerk, Denton, TX.
- ¹³ R. E. Banks, S. E. Fisher, A. K. Gillis, J. M. Williamson, W. F. Gillis, Texas Film Company Declaration of Trust.
- ¹⁴ *The Daughter of Dawn*, written and directed by Norbert Myles, Texas Film Company, 1920.
- ¹⁵ "Dick Banks Dies at Cache," *Lawton (OK) Morning Press*, August 17, 1945, 1.
- ¹⁶ Dick Banks, interview by Bessie L. Thomas, March 10, 1938, v. 5, interview ID 10208, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK (hereafter cited as IPP), digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/3738.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ Dick Banks, interview by Bessie L. Thomas, March 29, 1938, v. 5, interview ID 10369, IPP, digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/3746.
- ²⁰ Banks interview, March 10, 1938, IPP.
- ²¹ Dick Banks, interview by Bessie L. Thomas, March 9, 1938, v. 5, interview ID 10207, IPP, digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/3737; Banks interview, March 10, 1938, IPP; Dick Banks, interview by Bessie L. Thomas, March 23, 1938, v. 5, interview ID 10302, IPP, digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/3742; Dick Banks, interview by Bessie L. Thomas, March 24, 1938, v. 5, interview

- ID 10330, IPP, digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/3745; Banks interview, March 29, 1938, IPP; Dick Banks, interview by Bessie L. Thomas, April 11, 1938, v. 5, interview ID 10440, IPP, digital.libraries.ou.edu/cdm/ref/collection/indianpp/id/3748.
- ²² Banks interview, March 23, 1938, IPP.
- ²³ *Motion Picture Studio Directory and Trade Annual* (New York: Motion Picture News, Inc., 1919); *Motion Picture Studio Directory and Trade Annual* (New York: Motion Picture News, Inc., 1921). Both volumes of this publication are available at the California State Library, Sacramento, CA, or online at www.ancestry.com.
- ²⁴ "U.S. Officials' Names Linked in Gun Plot," *San Francisco (CA) Examiner*, February 12, 1918, 2.
- ²⁵ Leo Kelley, "The Daughter of Dawn: An Original Silent Film with an Oklahoma Cast," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 77, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 290-99. Sources within Kelley's 1999 article that were not located include a letter from "Robert" Banks to Norbert Myles, August 20, 1919, cited as being at the Film and Television Archives, University of California-Los Angeles; and Norbert Myles's "My Adventures with the Oklahoma Indians," 1921, Margaret Herrick Library, Center for Motion Picture Studios, Beverly Hills, CA. Both institutions were personally contacted and have no record of either document.
- ²⁶ "Legends by Indian Actors," *Star Tribune*, July 25, 1920, 42; Grace Kingsley, "More Indian Films," *Los Angeles (CA) Times*, July 10, 1920, 17.
- ²⁷ William T. Hagan, *Quanah Parker, Comanche Chief* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 75.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 76.
- ²⁹ Banks interview, March 24, 1938, IPP.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² "Chiefs to Preach," *Abilene (KS) Daily Chronicle*, June 20, 1905, 1.
- ³³ Banks interview, April 11, 1938, IPP.
- ³⁴ Alex Hunt, "Hunting Charles Goodnight's Buffalo: Texas Fiction, Panhandle Folklore, and Kiowa History," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 77 (2004): 5.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.
- ³⁶ Craig R. Smith, ed., *Silencing the Opposition: How the U.S. Government Suppressed Freedom of Expression During Major Crises* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011), 107.
- ³⁷ "Legends by Indian Actors," *Star Tribune*, July 25, 1920, 42; "Texas Film Company Incorporates," *Camera!*, July 17, 1920, 6.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ "Promise Correct Indian Feature," *Vicksburg (MS) Herald*, June 11, 1920, 8.
- ⁴¹ "Legends by Indian Actors," *Star Tribune*, July 25, 1920, 42.
- ⁴² Alice Apekaum Zanella, interviewed by David Jones, February 1968, vol. 33, tape T-231-1, Doris Duke Collection of American Indian Oral History, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK (hereafter cited as Duke Collection); "Biographical Information on Guy Quoetone, Given in a Talk by Rev. Linn Pauahy (Kiowa) on the Occasion of Guy's Eighty-Fourth Birthday Celebration," recorded and transcribed by Julia A. Jordan, October 19, 1969, Duke Collection; Frank Rush Diary, July 13, 1920, NARA ID 765336, Diaries of Superintendents, Rangers, and Guards of the Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge, National Archives and Records Administration, Fort Worth, TX (hereafter cited as Rush Diary).
- ⁴³ Rush Diary, August 25, 1920. Superintendent Rush attempted to showcase his newly established herd of elk in the movie as well, but the elk were reluctant stars and refused to make an appearance.

⁴⁴ Gerry Souter and Janet Souter, *Guns of Ouilaws: Weapons of the American Bad Man* (Minneapolis, MN: Zenith Press, 2014), 143.

⁴⁵ Fish and Wildlife Service, *1920 Annual Report*, US Department of the Interior Fish and Wildlife Service, Cache, OK, Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge Archive Collections, Indianola, OK.

⁴⁶ Magdalena Baker, "Monthly Reports," July 31, 1920, Kiowa Agency, Field Matron Reports, Oklahoma Historical Society Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK.

⁴⁷ Rush Diary, October 8, 1920.

⁴⁸ Helen Quoetone Curley, interview by Darren Twohatchet, c. 1990s, in "Bonus Features," *The Daughter of Dawn* (1920; Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 2012), DVD; Zanella interview, Duke Collection.

⁴⁹ "Indian Picture Given Preview on Coast," *Motion Picture News*, October 16, 1920, 2972, archive.org/stream/motionpicturenew222unse#page/2972.

⁵⁰ "Legends by Indian Actors," *Star Tribune*, July 25, 1920, 42; "\$250,000 Company," *It*, July 15, 1920, 18, archive.org/stream/it1920000itup#page/h51.

⁵¹ "Indians Make Up Movie Cast," *Kansas City (MO) Times*, April 6, 1921, 30.

⁵² "Big Indian Chief at Olympic This Week," *Altoona (PA) Tribune*, February 11, 1924, 10.

⁵³ "Daughter of Dawn," *Edgefield (SC) Advertiser*, March 23, 1921, 10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Kozy theatre advertisement, *Chickasha (OK) Daily Express*, April 13, 1921, 6; "Indians Entertain Class," *Morning Tulsa (OK) Daily World*, April 20, 1921, 13.

⁵⁶ Chuck Van Bibber and David A. Litterer, "Regent Theatre," *Cinema Treasures*, 2016, www.cinematreasures.org/theaters/8913.

⁵⁷ "New Kansas City Regent," *Moving Picture World*, April 15, 1916, 482, archive.org/stream/movwor28chal#page/482.

⁵⁸ Local newspapers noted the Kiowa members as "Chain To" (Tchi-ne-to), "Skinny" (Pah-o-to-wad), "Buffalo" (Tat-o-ah-na), and "Little Pony" (Kah-va-yo). "Logan Horse, Pony Horse, Buffalo and 'Skinny' Visit State House; 'Skinny' Sings to Great Spirit from Dome," *Topeka (KS) Daily Capital*, May 17, 1921, 1.

⁵⁹ Little Pony had accompanied his grandfather, Hunting Horse, and was filmed during Goodnight's *Old Texas*. "Logan Horse, Pony Horse, Buffalo and 'Skinny' Visit State House; 'Skinny' Sings to Great Spirit from Dome," *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 17, 1921, 1.

⁶⁰ "Indian Speaks at Church," *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 16, 1921, 10.

⁶¹ George Masquat was also known as "Walking Fox" (Pam-o-Thah). "Logan Horse, Pony Horse, Buffalo and 'Skinny' Visit State House; 'Skinny' Sings to Great Spirit from Dome," *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 17, 1921, 1.

⁶² *Holton (KS) Signal*, May 15, 1919, 6; "Logan Horse, Pony Horse, Buffalo and 'Skinny' Visit State House; 'Skinny' Sings to Great Spirit from Dome," *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 17, 1921, 1.

⁶³ "Legion to Show Picture," *Topeka (KS) Daily State Journal*, May 16, 1921, 15; "Indian Movie Actors Appear Here with Film," *Joplin (MO) Globe*, May 19, 1921, 2.

⁶⁴ "Logan Horse, Pony Horse, Buffalo and 'Skinny' Visit State House; 'Skinny' Sings to Great Spirit from Dome," *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 17, 1921, 1.

⁶⁵ "Kiowas Honor Allen," *Pittsburg (KS) Daily Headlight*, May 17, 1921, 1.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ "Legion to Show Picture," *Topeka Daily State Journal*, May 16, 1921, 15.

⁶⁸ "Daughter of the Dawn," *Topeka Daily State Journal*, May 18, 1921, 6.

⁶⁹ "Indian Movie Actors Appear Here with Film," *Joplin Globe*, May 19, 1921, 2.

⁷⁰ "Wichita Indians to Join Scout Holiday," *Joplin Globe*, May 20, 1921, 5; "Troop 14 Wins Meet by Points in Field," *Joplin Globe*, May 22, 1921, 2.

⁷¹ "Wichita Indians to Join Scout Holiday," *Joplin Globe*, May 20, 1921, 5; "Troop 14 Wins Meet by Points in Field," *Joplin Globe*, May 22, 1921, 2.

⁷² "Wichita Indians to Join Scout Holiday," *Joplin Globe*, May 20, 1921, 5; "Troop 14 Wins Meet by Points in Field," *Joplin Globe*, May 22, 1921, 2.

⁷³ James Baumlín, ed. *The Gillioz "Theatre Beautiful": Remembering Springfield's Theatre History, 1926-2006* (Springfield, MO: Moon City Press, 2006), 25. This theater still stands and now is owned by the History Museum on the Square at Springfield, Missouri, and is anticipated to be used for lectures and events.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁷⁵ LeBarre had seemingly not attended other stops along this route, so it is unlikely that she was, in fact, in attendance. *Springfield Leader*, May 28, 1921, 5, 10; *Springfield (MO) Leader*, May 28, 1921, 5, 10.

⁷⁶ *Congressional Records and Proceedings and Debates of the Second Session of 67th Congress* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922), 706-07.

⁷⁷ "Plan to Prohibit Storage of Films in Business Area," *Wichita (KS) Daily Times* December 12, 1921, 7.

⁷⁸ Hadley Jerman, "Acting for the Camera: Horace Poolaw's Film Stills of Family, 1925-1950," *Great Plains Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 110, digitalcommons.unl.edu/greatplainsquarterly/2684.

⁷⁹ "Big Indian Chief at Olympic This Week," *Altoona Tribune*, February 11, 1924, 10.

⁸⁰ *Motion Picture News*, July 2, 1921, 160.

⁸¹ Bonnie Snyder, email message to Wendi Bevirt, April 14, 2016.

⁸² "Dick Banks Dies at Cache," *Lawton Morning Press*, August 17, 1945, 1; *Congressional Records and Proceedings and Debates of the Second Session of 67th Congress*, 706-07.

⁸³ Eugene E. White, *Service on the Indian Reservations: Being the Experiences of a Special Indian Agent While Inspecting Agencies and Serving as Agent for Various Tribes; Including Explanations of How the Government Service is Conducted on the Reservations; Descriptions of Agencies; Anecdotes Illustrating the Habits, Customs and Peculiarities of the Indians; and Humorous Anecdotes and Stories of Travel* (Little Rock: Diploma Press, Arkansas Democrat Company, 1893), 277-91.

⁸⁴ *The Daughter of Dawn*, written and directed by Norbert Myles, Texas Film Company, 1920.

⁸⁵ Banks interview, March 10, 1938, IPP.