The Daughter of Dawn and the Promotion of American Indian Culture
The Victory Loan Flying Circus in Oklahoma City and Tulsa, May 2-3, 1919
West Edwards Days: African Americans in Territorial Edmond
Sooner State Civil Defense: Oklahoma Community and College Campus Cold War Preparedness, 1960–68

Notes and Documents  Book Reviews  Minutes
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. 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. 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. 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.” 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.

The push for realism differed from anything else that Hollywood had created, and these new films sought to “distinguish [themselves] from the ‘wild and woolly’ thrillers that [had] thrown a silver sheet on the past.” 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). 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.
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 Tsinanina “Princess Tsinanina” Evans. Princess Tsinanina 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 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 Tsinanina 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. Banks headed straight to the house of the chief who had made such an impression on him years before and asked Quanah Parker if he could stay. The chief, being a gracious host, gladly welcomed him and provided lodging to Banks for more than a year. During that time Banks was immersed in Comanche and Kiowa culture. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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. 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.

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. 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 Quanah. 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 took a particular interest in Quanah Parker and insisted that he send his children to Carlisle for a full five-year term. 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. 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 Quanah 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. LeBarre’s father was a lieutenant of French descent serving at Fort Sill. LeBarre’s mother had just recently rediscovered her roots with the aid of Quanah Parker.
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, Quanah Parker, and Geronimo of the Apache tribe held Christian revival camp meetings throughout southwest Oklahoma during which they all preached.

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).

Charles Goodnight’s Old Texas captured Hunting Horse and other Kiowas 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, Quanah Parker and Hunting Horse, to join him in hunts on his property. On this particular occasion, the Kiowa hunting party was watched by eleven thousand spectators and filmed by the Wiswall brothers of Colorado. Filming also included preparation 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.

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. 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. 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. This was accomplished in part by time spent in Washington, D.C., researching in the Library of Congress as well as other sources.

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. 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.
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. 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, was also filmed on the preserve and included a cameo by Quanah Parker. 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. 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.

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. 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, mocassins, and dresses for the women. By mid-October, the film was previewed at the College Theatre in Los Angeles. 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.

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. McClinton, 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. 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."

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. Heath had been involved in film promotions for the previous eleven years on the West Coast before joining with the Texas Film Company. 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. Hunting Horse used his ties to the Baptist faith to talk about his association...
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). The Regent Theatre boasted a seating capacity of 650, a pipe and echo organ, as well as a ten-piece orchestra. 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. Hunting Horse’s grandson Little Pony, age eight, also accompanied his elders.

Prior to the next designated showing in Topeka, Kansas, the Kiowas visited the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation reservation near Mayetta. Joining their group in Mayetta was a young Kickapoo man named George Masquat. 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 shrapnel. Masquat would be an honored dancer with the group along with twenty-five Potawatomi Indians before the showing of the film.

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. Hunting Horse honored Kansas Governor Henry J. Allen by declaring him an honorary member of the Kiowa Tribe. 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.

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. 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,
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 Schifferdecker 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 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
THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

In December of 1921, the holdings of the Texas Film Company were destroyed in a warehouse fire, causing the loss of more than $1 million for the several film companies whose holdings were housed there. It is very possible that other reels that had been filmed in the Wichita Mountains were destroyed at this time. Photographs with the label "The Daughter of Dawn" located at the Museum of the Western Prairie in Altus, Oklahoma, featuring Bill "Cyclone" Denton and Horace Poolaw theatrically posed, hint at this possibility. Poolaw, a Kiowa, had been involved in both the filming of Old Texas at Goodnight's ranch as well as The Daughter of Dawn. The Texas Film Company renewed their patent in 1922, but it does not seem that the plans for subsequent films ever came to fruition.

The Daughter of Dawn continued to be shown periodically until 1924, not accompanied by the original cast, but by others who wished to continue to use the film for educational purposes and promotion of American Indian tribes. David "Chief" Buffalo Bear and Princess Peka followed the film throughout 1923 and 1924, primarily on the East Coast. Buffalo Bear was from the Sioux tribe and was present at the Battle of Little Bighorn at the young age of thirteen, and his lectures focused on the events leading up to that battle. Buffalo Bear, a former member of the Indian Fellowship League (IFL) based in Chicago, utilized this film to fulfill the intent of the IFL, which was to familiarize the American public with the customs of American Indians.

After the release of the movie, Norbert Myles immediately began directing for Russell Productions. Later, as unionization of Hollywood became more prevalent, Myles chose to focus on a career as a makeup artist, where he became known for his work on Abe Lincoln in Illinois (1940), The Dark Mirror (1946), and television's The Jack Benny Program. He also performed uncredited makeup work in the movies Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (1931) and The Wizard of Oz (1939), on which he was the makeup artist for Ray Bolger as the Scarecrow.

Dick Banks stayed in Cache, Oklahoma, for the remainder of his life, where he died in 1945 and is buried under a simple stone marked "R. E. Banks." No mention was made in his obituary of the story he brought to life with his Comanche and Kiowa friends. Banks’s primary accomplishment listed in that last newspaper tribute was being interpreter and secretary for Quanah Parker.

It is very likely that Dick Banks’s concept for The Daughter of Dawn came out of a desire to honor his beloved friend Parker, who died nearly a decade before the film premiered. The plot line for the film closely mimics Parker’s own love story with his wife Wec-Keah. While in his Works Progress Administration interviews Banks never says that Quanah was the subject of the film, he does state that it was based on the story of a “great Comanche chief,” and also commented throughout those interviews of his familiarity with the main actors of the cast and their connection to Parker. Also notable is the fact that two of Quanah Parker’s children held leading roles in The Daughter of Dawn. White Parker played the male lead of White Eagle and his sister, Wanada, the part of Red Wing. Norbert Myles’s script appeared to be written with Parker’s children already built into it—White and Wanada Parker’s names appear beside their screen directions while all other directions are for the individuals by their character names.

The Daughter of Dawn not only was Dick Banks’s tribute to his great friend, but also a climactic end to Banks’s pursuit of acquaintance with Quanah Parker, as well as his desire to know the Indian as he truly was and share that knowledge with the world. While The Daughter of Dawn did not completely remove the glorified filter that cinematography placed on American Indian culture, it did promote that culture more fully, accurately, and to a wider audience than ever before.
THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Endnotes

1 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 Kiowas 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 Juan Freeman).


6 Ibid.

7 "Hopi Indians 'Movie Stars,'" *Snyder (TX) Signal*, July 9, 1920, 8.


10 Ibid.


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


16 Dick Banks, interview with 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/indianapp/id/3739.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.


21 Banks interview, March 10, 1938, IPP.


23 Banks interview, March 23, 1938, IPP.


26 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.

27 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 Studies, Beverly Hills, CA. Both institutions were personally contacted and have no record of either document.


30 Ibid., 76.

31 Banks interview, March 24, 1938, IPP.

32 Ibid.


34 Banks interview, April 11, 1938, IPP.


36 Ibid.


39 Ibid.

40 "Promise Correct Indian Features," *Vicksburg (MS) Herald*, June 11, 1920, 8.

41 "Legends by Indian Actors," *Star Tribune*, July 25, 1920, 42.


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.