

"FOR A LOVE OF HIS PEOPLE" AND EXPRESSIONS OF PARALLEL MODERNITIES:  
EXPLORING THE FRAMING OF HORACE POOLAW'S PHOTOGRAPHS AT THE  
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

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Modernism carries with it a wealth of presuppositions, predominantly those concerned with a Euro-western hierarchy of categorization that is often limited to the artistic output of a dominant cultural group. There are many different ways of viewing modernity. For many Indigenous North Americans, modernity was/is not experienced as clash between tradition and modernity but rather as the continuity of culture and epistemologies used to mediate and manage their changing realities. In pursuant of such an expression, I would like to examine the photographs of Kiowa photographer Horace Poolaw in the form of a case study, and to also look at how his images were framed in a recent exhibition at the National Museum of the American Indian in New York City (a Smithsonian Institution): "For a Love of His People: The Photography of Horace Poolaw", curated by Tom Jones (Hochunk) and Dr. Nancy Marie Mithlo, (Chiricahua Apache). In this paper, it is my assertion that Horace Poolaw's photography is part of a specifically Native American or Kiowa modernism, and that the exhibition

successfully frames him and his photographs as participants in a broader modernity and modernist movement.

I had the privilege of seeing "For a Love of his People" while in New York City and was struck by the truth, familiarity, and poignancy of his photographs. The photographs are not romanticized or contrived visions of stereotypical Native American Plains culture. Rather, they are beautiful photographs of friends, family, and community transitioning through the turbulence of the twentieth century; they were living their modernity and Poolaw was there to record it. To substantiate my argument, I will examine his photographs and the ways in which they embody Susan Sandford Freidman's notion of modernism being 'expressive dimension of modernity.' Freidman states that the expressive truth of modernity is "one that encompasses a range of styles among creative forms that share family resemblances based in an engagement with the historical conditions in a

particular location.”<sup>1</sup> I will explore the expressive nature of Poolaw’s photographs through examining how they bear witness to his community’s experiences of modernity, how their making was an act of resistance stereotypical representations of Native Americans, and how he engaged with contemporary aesthetic trends. Lastly I will discuss the exhibition, “For a Love of His People” and how it reiterates Poolaw’s articulation of parallel modernities as experienced by his family and community.

Horace Poolaw (Kiowa) was active as a photographer between approximately 1920 and 1978, at which time his failing health prevented him from photographing anymore. He was born in Mountain View, Oklahoma in 1906 and died in 1984. Poolaw lived through a period fraught with upheaval and witnessed many changes and transitions in his community. He was born in what was considered ‘Indian Territory’, where multiple Native American tribes were forced to reside by the American government in order to make way for western settlement. His family had settled in Mountain View in 1900 when the government began assigning

portions of land to Kiowa.<sup>2</sup> The portion of this territory where Poolaw was born was admitted to the state of Oklahoma one year after he was born.<sup>3</sup> His photographic career began when he received his first camera at fifteen while apprenticing with photographers George Long and John Coyle. He learned to hand tint photographs through a correspondence course. During the Second World War, he joined the US Army Air force where he trained to teach aerial photography. He was a talented, self-taught amateur and his photographs are a result of his passion for photographing his people and documenting important moments in his community, and they show his skill with the medium. Poolow’s talent and the historical context in which he was recording situate his work at a crucial period in the Indigenous modernist period. At that time, Mountain View was deeply affected by government legislation and Indian Policy. Shortly before the 1887 Dawes Act had been passed, reservation lands were broken up and distributed to eligible families. The remaining land was sold to white farmers and development, which led to a large reduction in land-base for Native American communities. In

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<sup>1</sup> Susan Friedman, “Periodizing Modernism: Postcolonial Modernities and the Space/Time Borders of Modernist Studies” *Modernism/Modernity* 13 (2006): 432.

<sup>2</sup> Laura E. Smith, “So the Kiowa could remember themselves: A Biography,” in *For a Love of his People: The Photography of Horace Poolaw*, ed. Nancy Marie Mithlo, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 49.

<sup>3</sup> John Haworth, “The Transcendence of the Everyday,” in *For a Love of his People: The Photography of Horace Poolaw*, ed. Nancy Marie Mithlo, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 19.

addition to this loss of land and assimilationist legislation imposed by the federal government, the social and political events of the twentieth century affected the entire region of the mid-west. From the interwar period of economic fluctuation, to the Great Depression, to the alphabet agencies of the New Deal, (Works Progress Administration, Indian Reorganization Act, Civilian Conservation Corps, etc.), to the national focuses on urbanization and manufacturing influenced Indian policy (the 1924 Citizen Act was created to encourage Native Americans to assimilate into larger, dominant American culture)<sup>4</sup> Poolaw witnessed a wave of upheaval. At the same time, some of what Poolaw photographed was the self-determination and resurgence of cultural practices in his community that were spurred on by some of these challenges. In the 1930s, under new and sometimes contradictory legislation, US policy moved away from a focus on eradication of Native American cultures. Policies evolved to consider Native American cultural knowledge and political power as worthy of government recognition and support.<sup>5</sup> This change led many communities to revive cultural practices previously prohibited such as pow-wows and other social or ceremonial

gatherings. The American Indian Exposition was started at Anadarko, Oklahoma, a Native American-run event at which Poolaw took many photographs. It also led to the cultivation of artistic and craft making traditions in Native American communities. Poolaw was personally engaged with these changes through his photographs but also through his employment with the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division where he supervised the arts and crafts production in his community.<sup>6</sup> Poolaw's photographs witness these many changes in his community and how they affected the members of the community and his family, which is what makes his photographic works illustrative of a Native American modernism while embodying the expressive dimension of modernity.

As I mentioned above, Poolaw's photographs embody Friedman's notion of the "expressive dimension of modernity" in three very important ways. The first is in his devotion to documenting his family and community experiencing all the facets of their twentieth century life as it was. As Kobena mercer states in the introduction to *Cosmopolitan Modernisms*, "artists all over the world responded to the changing conditions of 20<sup>th</sup> century life."

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<sup>4</sup> Haworth, "The Transcendence of the Everyday," 20.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>6</sup> Haworth, "The Transcendence of the Everyday," 20, 23.

She continues on to say that this is “one of the defining features of modernism, giving rise to a proliferation of artistic movements, styles, and forms.”<sup>7</sup> Through his documentation, Poolaw is directly engaging with expressing his own modernity and that of his community and therefore defining what modernism meant for them. As Kevin Gover and Tim Johnson point out, Poolaw revealed the reality of his family and community as “they truly lived – as both Americans and indigenous citizens of the twentieth century.”<sup>8</sup> He was dedicated to photographing his family and community for a period of over five decades. The result of this prolific photographic effort is the documentation of a Kiowa family and a Native American community experiencing, engaging with, and thriving in their modernity. His photographs are evidence of the negotiation of massive social and political upheaval locally, nationally, and internationally. In his photographs, we can see the arrival of cars, bobbed haircuts, and flapper dresses in the 1920s and 1930s; effects of federal depression era legislation and the subsequent resurgence of Native American cultural practices and promotion of arts and crafts production; and Kiowa men serving in WWII, Korea, and Vietnam. For instance, the image titled

“Christmastime at Rainy Mountain Baptist Church, Mountain View Oklahoma, ca. 1930” (Figure 1) pictures four young women with bobbed haircuts, wearing fashionable dresses and coats, standing outside, each of them holding an arm-full of wrapped gifts. In another image, captioned only as a list of the people in the photographs “Lela Ware (Kiowa), Paul Zumwalt (Kiowa), and Trecil Poolaw (Kiowa). Carnegie, Caddo County, Oklahoma, 1928–35.” (Figure 2) two women in stylish cotton dress and bobbed haircuts lean against a car while a young man glances at the camera from the driver’s seat. These two images are casual and very much indicative of an era in American fashion but also of a significant time for Poolaw’s community and their ability for self-determination. These young people are negotiating their own modernity through what they choose to wear (modern fashions vs tradition clothing) or how to do their hair, which shows the many possible interpretations and experiences of modernity and the uniqueness of their expressions.

Poolaw’s photographs provide glimpses of lived reality and a vibrant history rather than portraits of a romanticized vanishing race. The second way his photographs are expressive of his

<sup>7</sup> Kobena Mercer, “Introduction.” In *Cosmopolitan Modernisms*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), 7.

<sup>8</sup> Kevin Gover and Tim Johnson. “Forward,” in *For a Love of his People: The Photography of Horace Poolaw*, ed. Nancy Marie Mithlo, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 9.

modernity is in their ability to challenge the stereotypical images of Native Americans ever present during his lifetime and beyond. In “An Age of Pictures More Than Words: Theorizing Early American Indian Photography,” Ned Blackhawk states, “unlike his euro-American contemporaries,” Poolaw’s “subjects stand in sharp contradistinction to those found in the objectifying gaze of non-Indian photographers of the time.”<sup>9</sup> By representing his family and community as they lived and not how a euro-American audience or public would expect them to live, Poolaw countering tendencies of cultural homogenization in representations of Native American. He was engaging with the historical situation of his region and community, which Friedmen would consider as Poolaw engaging with the “expressive truth of modernity” and therefore his own, self-defined modernity. The distinctions Blackhawk refers above can be best illustrated through Poolaw’s emphasis on taking photographs of his community in settings, clothing, and poses that exposes the sitter’s modern reality. Photographs of Native Americans meant to be representative of the theory that Indigenous peoples of North America

were a vanishing race were widely circulating in the early to mid-twentieth century and were not relics from the distant, Victorian past, despite being presented as such. New photographs, postcards, books, and other ephemera were made, sold, and collected to propagate this myth—a practice that continues today. Perhaps the most common example of such images are the photography and pseudo ethnographic writing of Edward S. Curtis as published in his twenty-volume project *The North American Indian* (1907-1930) which notably overlaps Poolaw’s photographic career by ten years. Curtis was known to use “dramatic close-ups and lighting, soft-focus lenses, abstract or non-existent backgrounds” and “he added or omitted details, hand-tinted and coloured his work”;<sup>10</sup> Curtis’ photograph “The Vanishing Race” (1904) (figure 3) is characteristic of his photographic style and ideological outlook. The dark, sepia or copper-tone image shows six Native American riders on horseback. Their backs are facing the camera and they are backlight, which softens any possible detail. The soft focus solidifies the picturesque and romantic sentiments. Underscored by the caption, there is no

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<sup>9</sup> Ned Blackhawk, “An Age of Pictures More Than Words: Theorizing Early American Indian Photography,” In *For a Love of his People: The Photography of Horace Poolaw*, ed. Nancy Marie Mithlo, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 72.

<sup>10</sup> Anne Maxwell, “Shifting focus: photographic representations of Native Americans and African-Americans,” in *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the “Native” and the Making of European Identities*, (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), 113.

doubt that the photograph is intended to provide visual proof that Native Americans were in fact a vanishing race and that Curtis was there to witness them riding of into the distance.

Poolaw's photographs stand in stark opposition to these types of fabricated images. His photographs place his family and community in their present moment rather than the a-historical past, filled with the symbols of modernity rather than the purposeful erasure of context and individuality. Poolaw was also self-aware of how Native Americans had and were still being depicted in popular images, which is clear in a photograph he took of his children captioned, "Robert 'Corky' Poolaw and Linda Poolaw (Kiowa/Delaware), dressed up and posed for the photo by their father, Horace. Anadarko, Oklahoma, ca. 1947." (Figure 4) In the photograph Poolaw's two children are dressed in blue jeans, plaid shirts, with handkerchiefs tied around their necks and cowboy hats on their heads. They are posed side by side, looking intently and dramatically out of the frame of the image, pointing toy revolvers at an imaginary foe off camera. The image is tightly cropped and the depth of field is limited in order to blur the treed background. They appear to be dressed up for an ironic pose in which they seem to be playing a game of 'cowboys and Indians.' This indicates to me that Poolaw was strategically appropriating the stereotypical binary of "cowboys and Indians" as a form of

photographic resistance while maintaining a self-aware sense of humour. In "Truth and Humor," Tom Jones states "Poolaw was well aware of how the camera had affected American Indians throughout the history of photography." I would go even further to say that his photographs provide proof of resilient Native American communities that are apart and distinct from the dominant American culture. The photographs challenge stereotypical notions of who Native American people are, what they look like, and what kind of activities they engage in and something as simple as what sort of clothing they wear in their day-to-day lives. As a result, Poolaw's acts of taking photographs operated in opposition mainstream euro-American ideologies.

Poolaw was self-taught but he actively sought inspiration from trends in photography and from his photographic contemporaries of the 1930s who were working in the genre of documentary photography. Engaging with these trends exposes Poolaw's awareness of and eagerness to actively participate in the most current aesthetic or artistic movements. This participation in a formative photographic movement in American visual culture is precisely how Poolaw's work exemplifies the expressive dimension of modernity. He is actively using photography as a forum to negotiate his experience of modernism that partially overlaps with a mainstream modernism. Returning to Tom Jones he

says “Poolaw was not living in a vacuum in Oklahoma; he was an avid consumer of images. In particular, we know he paid attention to the photographers of *Life* magazine.”<sup>11</sup> This also indicates that Poolaw was aware of popular aesthetic and artistic movements outside of his community. Linda Poolaw, his daughter, states that her father would excitedly await the newest issue of *Life* magazine.<sup>12</sup> In some cases, Poolaw’s photographs show specific stylistic affinities to images printed in the magazine, such as those taken by Dorothy Lange and Walker Evans who worked for the farm security administration and were featured in *Life*. Poolaw’s photography has been said to share similarities with the work of photographers for the farm security administration (FSA). Both Lange and Evans worked for the FSA and were also featured in *Life* magazine. Whether he took direct inspiration from the work of Lange or Evans and others featured in *Life* magazine over the years, it is hard not to point out some stylistic affinities. Two images that share affinities are Dorothea Lange’s (employed with the FSA from 1935 to 1939), “Six Tenant Farmers Without Farms, Hardeman County TX (1938) (figure 5) and Poolaw’s

“The deacons of Rainy Mountain Baptist Church. L to R: Adolphus Goombi (Kiowa), Lester Momaday (Kiowa), Robert Goombi (Kiowa), Porter Drywater (Cherokee). Rainy Mountain Church, Mountain View, Oklahoma, ca. 1930.” (Figure, 6) In Dorothea Lange’s image, six men stand against a nondescript building, four of the six are dressed in overalls and they are all wearing worn hats that appear to do little to block the sun from their eyes. Their facial expressions are serious as they gaze directly at the camera. The men are unnamed in Lange’s caption as if the six farmers are to represent all the others facing the dire straits of being a tenant farmer during the great depression. The framing is frontal and straight on and the composition is straightforward with all six men standing in line with one another. The image is cold, austere, and anonymous. Poolaw’s image shares many of the same composition attributes. In his photograph, the four men lean casually against a wooden building. The camera has also captured them straight on from what appears to be the photographer’s eye-level. The four men look straight at the camera, squinting a little in the direct sunlight, with a knowing smile or smirk. In contrast to Lange

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<sup>11</sup> Tom Jones, “Truth and Humor,” in *For a Love of his People: The Photography of Horace Poolaw*, ed. Nancy Marie Mithlo, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 124.

<sup>12</sup> Linda Poolaw, “For A Love of His People,” in *For a Love of his People: The Photography of Horace Poolaw*, ed. Nancy Marie Mithlo, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014).

photograph, these men do not look as if they are in despair nor are they anonymous. Every person in Poolaw's photograph has been identified, which makes the image personal and significant. While I have made this comparison and there are stylistic similarities, it is important to point out that unlike the photographs taken by Lange for the Farm Security Administration, which documented the extreme and dramatized poverty of tenant farms, victims of the dust bowl, and the migrant workers of the depression, Poolaw's photographs show another view of America at this time. To quote John Haworth, "Poolaw's photographs did not document abject poverty or a social underclass but pictured rural Indians who were comparatively economically secure, socially confident, and proud of their lives and community."<sup>13</sup> Another marked and important difference between Poolaw and his contemporaries; he was not photographing strangers. His subjects were his family and his community. He documented important moments in the history of his community... He was an insider not a strange outsider hired to get a good story or capture an iconic image to represent a dark time in the history of the continent. His photographs are honest, familiar, and poignant rather than romantic and exploitative.

Cosmopolitan or Multiple Modernisms and the Exhibition:

Having discussed Poolaw's photographs I would now like to show how the exhibition is successful in framing these works as a modernist oeuvre within the concept of multiple or cosmopolitan modernisms. The first, and perhaps most obvious way that the exhibition framed Poolaw's photographs as evidence of multiple modernisms was through the physical organization and design of the exhibit. The visitor views the exhibition by walking through a series of rooms which are organized thematically with titles that read: "The Social Landscape: People of the Plains," "Family," "Community and War," "Performance, Parades, and Pageants" and so on. As the visitor walks through the rooms, they can see photographs that depict life as it was experienced in Poolaw's community over the course of almost fifty years. This thematic organization replaces a linear or chronological progression of the exhibit which would only serve to historicize and create a false sense of artistic progression typical of western art historical narratives. Instead, the images are interwoven together under themes that allow for the photographs to be seen for their subject matter rather than their place along a spectrum of linear development. Poolaw's images perform as proof of an alternate or parallel

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<sup>13</sup> Haworth, "The Transcendence of the Everyday," 23.

modernity to that of the dominant American narrative of twentieth century, which can be seen through the wide range of images placed side by side in the exhibition. They show the multi-faceted, multi-tribal community that Poolaw was documenting. The ceiling was painted a dark grey and the combination of the colours echoed the tones of the large black and white photographs. The soft coloured walls allowed for a stark contrast between the photographs and allowed the rooms to frame the images without resorting to the pure white walls common to many modernist and contemporary exhibition spaces. This made the space feel more intimate and personal, which brought out Poolaw's personal storied being told through his photographs. A story of his community experiences and expressions of modernism told through his articulations of modernity. One of the walls featuring photographs of Poolaw's family is covered in textured wallpaper. The wall gave the illusion of viewing the images on a living room wall, not unlike the homes and living rooms of his family where many of Poolaw's photographs were ultimately seen. These elements created a warm, familiar space for the photographs, which served the intimate, poignant images well.

In addition to the physical organization of the exhibition, the

retrospective format of the show was also an important factor in how Poolaw and the photographs were framed. The retrospective form allows for a focused presentation and examination of Poolaw's work—a case study, if you will. Shanna Ketchum argues in *Native American Modernism(s): A Re-Articulation of Presence through Time and Space* that "illuminating the ways in which Native American artists have engaged cosmopolitan modernism(s) means exploring, exposing, and analyzing specific works by certain artists who, through their artistic practices, [to] reveal what has been excluded from a canon of limited modernism."<sup>14</sup> By this definition, the show was successful in exposing Poolaw's intimate relationship with cosmopolitan modernism/multiple modernisms because the retrospective format enable the curators to create a focused, in depth presentation of Poolaw's work. Rather than grouping Poolaw's photographs with other Native American photographers or artists under a general theme, the curators of "For a Love of His People," saw the opportunity to tell a distinct story of one photographer, his oeuvre, the project of uncovering and restoring the images, and the significance of his documentation.

"For a Love of His People: The Photography of Horace Poolaw" is a

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<sup>14</sup> Shanna Ketchum, "Native American Modernism(s): A Re-Articulation of Presence through Time and Space," *Third Text* 19 (2005): 361.

significant exhibition because it uncovers the work of a Native American photographer and dispels the notion that Native American or Aboriginal photographers suddenly emerged out of the primitive past to represent themselves in the later half of the twentieth century. In fact, Aboriginal peoples had been photographing in the earliest days of the medium's use in North America. In "Returning Fire, Pointing the Canon: Aboriginal Photography as Resistance," Sherry Farrell Racette argues that "Aboriginal people have a historical relationship with two distinct bodies of photography: the ethnographic salvage project and the emergent genre of family photography." She goes on to say that, "these have been critical locations for photography's role in defining standards of authenticity, beauty, and normality, and have simultaneously been sites of erasure and agency."<sup>15</sup> Horace Poolaw's photographs are evidence of the agency of representation that photography can give Aboriginal people. In order to document their histories and traditions, Aboriginal people have successfully appropriated a medium, historically used to marginalize them, in order to form their own culturally specific representations.

Vanessa Paukeigope Jennings (Kiowa Apache/Gila River Pima) says that, "colonized subjects indigenized Western modernity in forming their own modernities within the inequitable framework of colonial power and resistance."<sup>16</sup> In this sense, Aboriginal photographers, like Poolaw have 'Indigenized' photography. The photographs are evidence that the Indigenous subjects are not from 'another world' nor are they the 'Other,' they are experiencing their own parallel or Indigenous modernities.

Poolaw's work proves the existence of alternate or parallel modernities – modernities determined and mediated by Native Americans despite being forced to live within a settler colonial system of oppression, marginalization and legislated segregation and racism. Not only did Poolaw negotiate his own modernity and identity, his photographs are a visual affirmation of community and family from his point of view. His photographs attest to the existence of multiple and parallel modernities through his prolific documentation of his life and family, his community, and their engagement with and expressions of their own modernity.

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<sup>15</sup> Sherry Farrell Racette, "Returning Fire, Pointing the Canon: Aboriginal Photography as Resistance." In *The Cultural Work of Photography*, ed. Andrea Kunard and Carol Payne, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 71.

<sup>16</sup> Vanessa Paukeigope Jennings, "Justin Poolaw Comes to Visit," In *For a Love of his People: The Photography of Horace Poolaw*, ed. Nancy Marie Mithlo, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 151.

The exhibition successfully framed Poolaw's images through the careful attention to organization, contextual information, and by creating a comfortable physical space in which the large photographs could speak loud and clear. The exhibition gave the photographs room to act as visual documents of Native American modernity, intergenerational cultural continuity, and resilience in the face of hardships. The exhibition facilitated the public display of photographs that were printed and uncovered recently for the Horace Poolaw project, which in a way allowed for the exhibition to function as a place of public remembrance and recognition. Poolaw was quoted as saying, "I do not want to be remembered for my pictures, but

through my pictures I want my people to remember themselves."<sup>17</sup> I am reminded of the words of Seminole-Muscogee-Navajo photographer, curator, and educator Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie, in her essay *When Is a Photograph Worth a Thousand Words?* With her words I would like to conclude: "When I begin to tell my stories to my nieces and nephews, I will first create photographic albums in their young minds...where the men are strong and handsome, the women strong and breathtaking, with lustrous warm dark skin, lightening sharp eyes, and smiles that could carry one for days. A photograph album full of beautiful brown people, a photographic album of visual affirmation."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Poolaw, "For a Love of His People," 40.

<sup>18</sup> Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie, "When Is a Photograph Worth a Thousand Words?" In *Photography's Other Histories*, ed. Christopher Pinney, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 52.

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## Figures

Figure 1: Horace Poolaw, “Christmastime at Rainy Mountain Baptist Church, Mountain View Oklahoma, ca. 1930.” Source: <http://online.wsj.com/articles/photos-hooraces-poolaws-for-a-love-of-his-people-1407341674>

Figure 2: Horace Poolaw, L to R: Lela Ware (Kiowa), Paul Zumwalt (Kiowa), and Trecil Poolaw (Kiowa). Carnegie, Caddo County, Oklahoma, 1928–35. (NMAI [P26509](#)) © 2014 Estate of Horace Poolaw. Source: <http://www.nmai.si.edu/explore/exhibitions/item/?id=899>

Figure 3: Edward S. Curtis, “The Vanishing Race” (1904). Source: [http://www.imamuseum.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Curtis\\_1.jpg](http://www.imamuseum.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Curtis_1.jpg)

Figure 4: Horace Poolaw, “Robert ‘Corky’ Poolaw and Linda Poolaw (Kiowa/Delaware), dressed up and posed for the photo by their father, Horace. Anadarko, Oklahoma, ca. 1947.” Source: <http://newsdesk.si.edu/photos/photography-horace-poolaw-1>

Figure 5: Dorothea Lange, Six Tenant Farmers Without Farms, Hardeman County TX (1938). Source: <http://prv.mfah.org/twa/main.asp?target=images2&iid=3025&cp=3>

Figure 6: “The deacons of Rainy Mountain Baptist Church. L to R: Adolphus Goombi (Kiowa), Lester Momaday (Kiowa), Robert Goombi (Kiowa), Porter Drywater (Cherokee). Rainy Mountain Church, Mountain View, Oklahoma, ca. 1930.” Source: <http://nmai.si.edu/explore/exhibitions/item/?id=899>